On Historical Geographies of Embodied Practice and Performance

Carl J. Griffin and Adrian B. Evans

There can be little doubt that within the past two decades historical geography has succumbed to cultural geography’s siren calls. Indeed, few are the papers or books published in historical geography that do not directly refer to the manifold concepts of cultural geography or refer to works of cultural geography. Whilst it might be something of an exaggeration to claim that historical geography has been lured onto the cultural geography rocks, there is a profound need to take stock and critically consider whither “culture” in historical geography.

Such a call, of course, is not new. A decade ago, James Duncan posited that culturally-informed—or rather inflected—historical geography had already fallen foul to a trait previously identified in cultural geographies of the here and now. It was, he claimed, too often derived from cultural theory as well as being detached from and resistant to empirical critique.¹ Predicting later calls by Don Mitchell and Nigel Thrift in relation to cultural geographies of the here-and-now,² Duncan concluded what was needed were more “modest” theories that reflected “complexity.”³ The problem, Thrift suggests, lies in the fact that the new cultural geography is obsessively built upon the politics of representation. The symbolic is therefore emphasised over and above the “responsive and rhetorical” and practice downplayed. Methods, he suggests, are needed which “co-produce” the world.⁴

Partly as a response to these critiques, a diverse range of social and cultural geographers have begun to move beyond “culture-as-language” metaphors and have begun

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to explore a whole range of practices which are not primarily linguistic in nature. In particular, trailblazers such as Thrift and Sarah Whatmore have profitably drawn on theorists such as Bourdieu, Deleuze and de Certeau in their attempts to shed light on the more embodied, intangible aspects of everyday life. In particular, they have encouraged other researchers to understand human actions and thoughts in terms of physical embodiment (being-in-the-world) rather than in terms of abstract calculation (Cartesian *cogito*) and they have privileged an exploration of relationships and processes over and above an investigation of bounded entities and static forms. All of which has resulted in a more “modest” form of theorizing, which employs theories as tools that work together with empirical information to generate new insights, rather than as overarching frameworks into which empirical information can be made to fit (more or less comfortably).

Unfortunately, for our current purposes, many—although, as we shall see shortly, certainly not all—geographers adopting this “performative” approach have primarily focused their attention on the present or recent past. Indeed, if one is seeking to break new ground by escaping the tyranny of representation and by immersing oneself within lived, visceral practices, then a dusty archive brimming with words and symbols hardly seems the best place to begin. Furthermore, whilst sophisticated accounts of non-representational theory and performativity highlight the ways in which language and practice interact and have drawn attention to the performative nature of representations (i.e. their ability to intervene with rather than mimic reality), many proponents of non-representational theory still seem to possess a latent desire to journey to the “somewheres words can’t take you” and to privilege ethnography over text, witnessing over reporting. This in turn has meant that many non-representational geographers have implicitly distanced themselves from any ability to engage with past practices through archival sources.

Such trajectories are in many ways hugely troubling to the future of culturally-inflected historical geography. However, as the collection of papers in this volume illustrates, there are possibilities that remain faithful to the purpose of writing geographies past and yet true to the representational critique. Indeed, whilst geographers of the here and now have undoubtedly blazed a vital and highly suggestive trail there is much in their reorientations to suggest a richly fecund set of possibilities for historical geography.

**On the Possibilities for Historical Geographies of Practice**

In recent decades there has been a tangible increase in attempts to critically examine the practices of historical geography, the practices of geography past, and the practices of the field. Such studies have not only been alert to the limits of the archive and of archival practices—what Rose has aptly labeled the archival “grid”—but have
also demonstrated the ways in which we need to be alert to the fact that our writing practices inevitably perform the past in highly structured ways. Such work has, however, also been alert to other possible worlds. Work on the historical geography of science is now dominated by the idea that past scientific knowledge was generated by a series of place-specific bodily practices. Sarah Cant has demonstrated the profound physical engagement of potholing in the development of the “sporting” science of speology. Similarly, Simon Naylor has shown that the field visits of the Penzance Natural History and Antiquarian Society not only generated scientific knowledge but also helped to perform Cornish identity.

Whilst geographers engaged in writing histories of science have blazed a trail in demonstrating both the possibilities of understanding past practices and their usefulness in unsettling conventional narratives of techno-cultural change, the “performatives” approach has yet to infuse other aspects of historical geography where such approaches could yield intellectual dividends. For instance, in relation to the burgeoning interest in “more-than-human” geographies, Noel Castree and Bruce Braun have argued that:

What counts as ‘nature,’ and our experience of nature (including our bodies), is always historical, related to a configuration of historically specific social and representational practices which form the nuts and bolts of our interactions with, and investments in, the world.

Studies of past embodied practice are, therefore, vital to help firmly root geography present. As such it is both intellectually and politically imperative that there are possibilities for the performatives approach beyond the pursuit of past practice in the somewhat narrow intellectual contexts of studies of geography and other sciences past. If we are to, in the imploring words of Chris Philo, “let a thousand flowers bloom” we have to explore all other worldly contexts. Whilst, as Hayden Lorimer has suggested, the work of Thrift has something of a “quicksilver quality” to it, historical geographers need not wait to think through the possibilities that have already been intimated. This work has already started—and several “new worlds” suggested. Peter Merriman, as part of his broader project to think through the geographies of driving and the geographies that ensue from automobilities, has shown how the publication of the Motorway Code (1958) was a deliberate attempt by the British government to govern the embodied practices of driving. Similarly, Merriman has also shown the possibilities offered by “encounters” with novel archives such as “films, booklets, paintings, newsletters, photographs and sound recordings” in his study of the construction of Britain’s first full-length Motorway, the so-called M1. Elizabeth Gagen has likewise pushed the historical geographical epistemological envelope in her study of children’s physical reform movements in early twentieth-century America.

Simon Rycroft has gone even further. Not only has he highlighted productive
new fields of study for historical geography but he has powerfully suggested that Thrift’s non-representational project has deep(er) historical roots. In his study of the Californian “countercultural” movement of the 1960s, Rycroft suggests that the attempt by artists and performers to “evoke the full range of the senses in the consumers and performers of their work, [and] to privilege more ways of knowing than the cognitive, oral and visual” was in essence an early attempt at non-representation.¹⁹ That, ultimately, the project floundered upon the inability of the various actants to break free from the representational mode of expression need not though, he suggests, mean that “the same fate will ultimately befall nonrepresentational concepts as that of counterculture’s experiments.” Moreover, Rycroft suggests that representation is not a static concept, something “unchanging in its capacity to deaden.” Instead, representational practices can be used to evoke “a range of sensory, experiential and subconscious responses in their consumers and performers, creating decidedly nonrepresentational representational moments.”²⁰

Rycroft is not alone in making such progressive claims. Even keen advocates of, or rather proselytizers for, non-representational theory have stated we need not dispense with representation altogether. John D. Dewsbury et al. have suggested that the project is to move beyond representations as the “primary epistemological vehicles” through which we understand the world. Representations need not be dispensed with altogether.²¹ Rather, as Derek McCormack has stated, representations need to be “re-animated as active and affective interventions in a world of relations and movements.”²² We are left with, according to Lorimer’s recent overview of the state of non-representational research, a theory which “works best as a background hum, asking questions of style, form, technique and method, and ushering in experimental kinds of response.”²³

Another set of possibilities is offered not by geographers but by historians, though the ideas—or at least frames of reference—have filtered into the work of some geographers. Peter Burke has recently delineated what he calls a “performative turn” in historical studies mirroring similar “turns” in linguistics, sociology and anthropology. Whilst Burke acknowledges that historians have long considered that, to some extent, society and societal interactions can be understood as theatrical “stagings” he suggests that historians have moved beyond this metaphorical model to adopt a “dramaturgical” model that emerged in the 1940s and 1950s in the work of anthropologist Kenneth Burke, sociologist Erving Goffman and the philosopher John Austin.²⁴ In recent years historians have begun appropriating these ideas in a variety of intellectual contexts in what Peter Burke has labeled a “quiet revolution.”²⁵ This revolution has developed on two interrelated paths: firstly, in ways in which intellectual historians understand the processes of historical production; and secondly, in the ways in which historians consider how and why the same person behaves in different ways “on different occasions...or in different situations.”²⁶

The first path has obvious parallels with the aforementioned studies of the practices of geography past. Indeed, the example given by Burke of Hayden White’s
suggestion that nineteenth-century historians’ use of narrative was a conscious attempt to produce “dramas” bears a striking similarity to Felix Driver’s recent examination of the role of fieldwork in dramatizing geography. The second path is somewhat more novel compared to recent developments in human geography. The deployment of performance by historians is an attempt to understand that in the documents that make up the archive are manifold encoded performances that represent deliberate stagings. In the words of Diana Taylor, these performances should be interpreted more straightforwardly as the practices of “carrying through, actualizing [and], making something happen.” Thus historians have tended to focus not only on the immediate—and somewhat obvious—contexts of ritual behaviour and how language performs social relations, but also upon the less immediate contexts of how identities and gender are performed. Thus there is no analogy to be made between society and theatre because there is actually no division between the two. Any study of society past thus needs to realize that the ways in which we, to paraphrase Philo, allow a thousand performances bloom, must acknowledge that these performances are always ritualized and open to a multiplicity of different interpretations. For example, a baptism in eighteenth-century England may evoke Biblical associations for some participants but for others represent a pressing need to conform to community expectations. As Bourdieu’s concept of habitus suggests, our everyday lives are guided by the principles of regulated improvisation rather than a rigid systems of rules.

A Manifesto

This is not a manifesto for the study of dead bodies (for which see Leigh Foster’s Choreographing History). Instead, it is a manifesto for taking the historical geographies of embodiment seriously. Neither do we intend that this introduction, or the essays that follow, should be read as attempts to make the bodies of past geographical protagonists live through the vicarious medium of archive, theory and print. Nor, at least not intentionally, do these essays betray the spectral presence of dead bodies. Indeed, we tend to agree with Thrift’s pronouncement that to elevate the fleshy body to “some primordial distinction” is deeply unhelpful for the simple reason that bodies are not always intentional agents which “cultivate and hone” every occasion. Our bodies—and those of the author’s subjects—are instead seen as staging points in a series of interactions with all sorts of matter that make up the world. Moreover, as Steven Pierce and Anupama Rao, summoning the corpus of Judith Butler and Michel Foucault, have stated, the body is not a historically static entity. Instead, “[i]ts political extensions and its social entailments have radically shifted over the past several centuries.” If bodies are often found enacting geographies—masters of ceremonies in a flesh-centric world—then they are just as frequently found to be passive and even totally overwhelmed by the rest of the world.
Furthermore, the human actors so central to the writing of most history are important—but not as the sole agents of change, that which is after all the *locus classicus* of social history. Human actors instead should be understood as archival vectors—we feel the term conduit too strong, too suggestive of elemental historical truths—of the past. To, again, paraphrase Thrift, actors, whether human or non-human, are but “ongoing rearrangement[s] of objects and symbols within a field involving the body.”

The embodied historical geographies, the embodied practices that we wish to promulgate are generous in their allowing for an infinite array of worlds in which the agency of all things is allowed for in truly democratic ways.

To many geographers such understandings may be troublesome. So be it. These are not, after all, solutions, merely possibilities. We do not believe that performance, the study of embodied practice, is a universal panacea or universally applicable. There will always be space for the competent empiricist historical geographer manipulating data series without resort to theories of embodiment. One final (dis)claim(er). This special issue does not attempt to offer a systematic consideration of the practices of historical geography (for such a recent attempt see Gagen et al.’s recent pamphlet). That all six essays do engage with the archive in creative and innovative ways, even creatively understanding and undermining the very notion of what an archive is, should instead be read as a happy by-product of the brief. For placing considerations of practice at the centre of these historical geographies inevitably leads to tensions in the conventional ways in which we read “scripts” with the grain. Instead all six papers offer different approaches to how we can practice historical geography in new ways. But these new ways are not in any sense an attempt to set fresh parameters for the practice of our discipline. If they inspire debate, imitation, wrath, so be it. In this sense neither are we, or the other authors, attempting to write historical geography as some sort of neat, linear understanding of past place. The papers are attempts instead to offer a multiplicity of readings of past geographies. We write histories, not history.

A Guide

The six papers that follow are the product of three sessions organized by the current authors at the 2007 meeting of the Association of American Geographers and sponsored by the Historical Geography Specialty Group. The papers cover a variety of different time periods, ranging from early eighteenth-century material cultures, to practices of taxidermy in the Victorian-Edwardian era, to the early writings of Samuel Beckett (1928-1946). Furthermore, they illuminate a wide range of different topics, focusing on such issues as the performative and affective dimensions of violence during popular protests; the ways in which everyday practices, such as talking and walking, and geographical locales and milieus impacted upon both styles of writing and concept formation; and the ways in which past objects, practices and events bear witness, in
sometimes unexpected ways, to various forms of colonial exploitation. Similarly, the authors employ a variety of different, often highly innovative, methodological tools in their attempts to write alternative histories of embodied practice, ranging from Patchett’s purposeful accumulation of fragments (including objects, texts, locales, oral histories and contemporary practices) to compose an unorthodox archive to Evans’s theoretically-informed micro-histories of early modern domestic objects, spaces and linguistic descriptions.

Notwithstanding this diversity, the papers in this volume coalesce around a number of themes. Firstly, they all develop alternative historical geographies, which attempt to take seriously both critiques of grand cultural theory and critiques of representation. In particular, all the authors have attempted to produce accounts, which shed light on the more-than-representational dimensions of the past. For example, Griffin manages to bring to life some of the more emotional and affectual dimensions of the performance of violence. Patchett and Evans illustrate various different ways in which objects and materials can bear witness to (rather than simply represent) past practices. Kopf highlights the importance of events and performances in helping to re-produce colonial power relations. Travis and Saunders help to re-animate the texts of Samuel Beckett and Arnold Bennett by highlighting the multifarious ways in which their writings were informed by and enmeshed within their everyday embodied practices.

Secondly, in seeking to write alternative histories of practice and embodiment, rather than rejecting the written record, the authors in this volume have engaged with historical texts in ways that highlight the intimate connections between language and embodied practice. Whilst this approach is most apparent within the papers of Saunders and Travis, the case for creatively engaging with archival texts as a means of shedding light on past embodied practices is a strongly re-occurring theme throughout this special issue. It is also worth noting once more that this approach is entirely compatible with a desire to write “non-representational histories.” Non-representational theory does not equate to a critique of representations in themselves, but rather a critique of the types of Cartesian-Platonic approaches that would have us believe that representations are static mirrors of reality rather than active assemblages which are informed by, and in turn intervene with, everyday embodied practices.

Finally, all the papers in this volume provide us with modest accounts of the past. Indeed, rather than presenting us with grand narratives concerning historical change or social-cultural structures, the papers in this volume tend to focus their attention on particular objects (such as mounted tiger heads or varieties of tea and sugar), particular events (such as the Berlin Trade Exposition or particular episodes of protest with the Swing Riots) or particular texts (such as the early writings of Samuel Beckett or certain writings of Arnold Bennett). This is not to say that these papers are uninterested in wider social and cultural processes, rather it is to contend that they approach these processes from the bottom up. For example, Patchett finds evidence for the drudgery of colonial labour within the standardization of tiger trophy mounts, whilst Grif-
fin finds evidence of broader changes occurring in customary culture within the enactment of Swing protests. The authors within this volume all mobilize the skills of the micro-historian. They recognize the uniqueness of events and the radical situatedness of practices, and they understand the dangers of making claims beyond their immediate empirical contexts. However, they are also alert to the possibilities of making tentative links between practices, of exploring the ways in which practices intertwine and of examining the ways in which certain sets of practices can achieve temporal duration and spatial extension.

Having considered some of the broader interconnections between the different contributions to this special issue, we would now like to provide the reader with brief summaries of the papers that follow:

Patchett’s paper attempts to recover the embodied practices of taxidermy in the Victorian-Edwardian era. She draws on a wide range of different source materials to construct an “unorthodox archive” which is capable of shedding light on the sets of people, practices and processes which conspired to bring about the creation of a set of seven tiger head trophy mounts which now adorn the walls of the tiger room in Hopetoun House, Scotland. Furthermore, Patchett draws on sources such as hunting photographs to build up a sense of some of the embodied spaces (such as “the field” and “the factory”) through which the transformations of these tigers would have taken place. Her approach allows for the writing of “broader narratives about the colonial forces and practices which enabled and drove such movements” which can help to “further enliven” otherwise dead geographies.

Evans is more methodological in tone in his attempt to examine the extent to which it is possible to use probate inventories of household possessions to shed light on embodied aspects of eighteenth-century consumption. In particular, he contends that by drawing on a range of insights gained from theorists of practice (including Deleuze and Guattari; Shotter; and Thrift), it is possible to enliven the contents of inventories. Furthermore it is also possible to shed light on the sensual nature of early eighteenth-century commodity descriptions, the ways in which material objects helped to shape and configure practices “without the need for words,” and the intimate interconnections between domestic spaces and everyday dwelling practices. Evans concludes that on the one hand adopting a non-representational approach and attempting to take issues of embodiment, process and performativity seriously can frustrate our attempts to write histories. On the other hand it can provide us with a range of fresh insights in to the past both by challenging our previously taken-for-granted (and often deeply representational) assumptions about the world and our place within it and by opening up new ways of being attentive to language, thought, identity, objects and spaces.

Travis explores how the early writings of Samuel Beckett (between 1928 and 1946) were animated by Beckett’s experiences of Dublin, London and Saint-Lô in post-
war France. Furthermore, he examines how Beckett’s literary perspective shifted from “a latent Cartesian verisimilitude to a more phenomenological, fragmented and dissolute impression of place” during this time period. In particular, Travis contends that Beckett’s embodied experiences with various places, coupled with his engagement with authors such as Dante, Heidegger, Proust and Joyce, helped to shape his views of the need to move beyond notions of “representation,” “Cartesian space” and the “coherence of subjects.” In place of these overly neat and ordered concepts, Beckett offers us a vision of the world in which writing can simultaneously convey an embodied, affective and sensual experience and in which spaces and subjects are fragmented and incoherent.

Saunders explores how a particular event, a meeting that took place between the authors Arnold Bennett and Eden Phillpotts on the weekend of 27 October 1899, can be used as a starting point to explore the ways in which the embodied practice of writing intertwines with a range of other embodied practices, such as conversing and walking. In particular, she contends that “[b]y exploring the practice of writing through its relationship with conversation—through the ways authors talk, discuss and seek inspiration for their work—it becomes possible to access the intimate sphere of the writer and begin to appreciate the vigor of writing and the cultural knowledges it promotes and circulates.” Furthermore, she contends that writing is a spatialised practice, which emerges from an author’s encounters with the world and that, when seen in this light, walking (as exemplified by the walks taken by Bennett and Phillpotts within the locality of Torquay) is not merely a mode of travel but a mode of composition, through which ideas can be formulated, articulated and refined.

Kopf’s paper explores how notions of German national identity, gender, religion and race were enacted at the 1896 Berlin Trade Exposition. By drawing on images and descriptions from the exposition’s souvenir program, she shows how the colonial and Cairo exhibits, whilst ostensibly concerned with presenting authentic depictions/experiences of various exotic others, were actually intertwined with and actively reproduced certain versions of Germanness. In particular, Kopf contends that these exhibits demonstrated the power of the newly emerging German empire in far-away lands and that they “spoke to” changes in gender relations taking place within Berlin. Crucially, Kopf is interested in a diverse range of more-than-representational phenomena, which helped to foster these national and colonial identities, including the materiality of the displays; the spatial layout and organization of the exhibits; and the presence, absence and positioning of various bodies within the exhibits.

Griffin’s paper represents an attempt to think through the ways in which bodies could be made to feel something visceral through sign and symbol. Using the case study of the Swing Riots of 1830-31, Griffin shows the ways in which the protesting poor could call upon the Cartesian cogito in their defence (as rational beings as opposed to irrational fools) but through their complex strategems and practices break down the Cartesian mind-body dualism. Understanding the affective dimensions of Swing helps
us therefore to move beyond narrow definitions of violence as something that involved
flesh (or weapon) upon flesh. It also serves to remind us that Swing dealt in a complex
sort of community politics. This politics was based upon what Nigel Thrift has called
“joyful encounters” which have the potential to empower all involved. This politics of
“belonging-by-assemblage” attempts to create a space in which new “orders” can emerge
that make life worth living.\textsuperscript{38}

Notes

1. James Duncan, “Complicity and Resistance in the Colonial Archive: Some Issues of

Nigel Thrift, “Introduction: Dead or Alive?” in Ian Cook, David Crouch, Simon Naylor and
James Ryan, eds., \textit{Cultural Turns/Geographical Turns: Perspectives on Cultural Geogra-

3. Duncan, “Complicity and Resistance,” \textit{passim}.

“Dead or alive?” 5.

naler B} 86 (2004): 57-78; Paul Glennie and Nigel Thrift, “Revolutions in the Times:
Clocks and the Temporal Structures of Everyday Life,” in David Livingstone and Charles
160-198; Sarah Whatmore, \textit{Hybrid Geographies: Natures, Cultures, Spaces} (London: Sage,
2002): esp. 12-34.


7. Catherine Nash and Brian Graham, “The Making of Modern Historical Geographies,” in
Alan Baker, \textit{Geography and History: Bridging the Divide} (Cambridge: Cambridge University
Press, 2003); Elizabeth Gagen, Hayden Lorimer and Alex Vasudevan, eds., \textit{Practising the
Archive: Reflections on Method and Practice in Historical Geography} (London: Historical
Geography Research Series, 2007).

8. David Livingstone, \textit{Putting Science in its Place: Geographies of Scientific Knowledge}
(Chicago: Chicago University Press, 2003); Robert Mayhew, \textit{Enlightenment Geography: The
Political Languages of British Geography 1650-1850} (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2000); Miles Ogborn,
“Geographia’s Pen: Writing, Geography and the Arts of Commerce, 1660-

9. John D. Dewsbury and Simon Naylor, “Putting Philosophies of Geography into Practice:
Practising Geographical Knowledge: Fields, Bodies and Dissemination,” \textit{Area} 34 (2002):
253-60; Felix Driver, \textit{Geography Militant: Cultures of Exploration and Empire} (Oxford:
Blackwell, 2000); Hayden Lorimer, “The Geographical Fieldcourse as Active Archive,” \textit{Cul-
tural Geographies} 10 (2003): 278-308; Simon Naylor, “The Field, the Museum, and the
Lecture Hall: The Spaces of Natural History in Victorian Cornwall,” \textit{Transactions of the


35. Gagen et al., *Practicising the Archive*.

