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Working-with: talking and sorting in personal archives

Paul Ashmore [a], Ruth Craggs [b,*] and Hannah Neate [c]

[a] Department of History, University of Sheffield, Sheffield S3 7RA, UK
[b] Department of Geography, St Mary's University College, Twickenham, TW1 4SX, UK
[c] School of GeoSciences, University of Edinburgh, Edinburgh EH8 9XP, UK

Abstract

This paper draws upon experiences of working in a personal archive in a domestic space in order to contribute to recent debates about archival formation, conduct and practice. By exploring the collaborative practices of working-with an archive owner in ordering and cataloguing a collection, we provide methodological insights into how historical geography research is carried out. Although such working-with in archives is, we argue, a common practice amongst researchers, these interactions with others are often absent from published work. This paper provides an explicit discussion of these often hidden collaborations and socialities, highlighting their importance for the conduct of archival research in three specific areas. First, we show how working-with actively (re)shapes and (re)makes archival materials and the stories that emerge from them. Second, we argue that working-with the owners of archives, but doing so without clearly defined research aims and going against the grain of productivist methods of working, can be rewarding both within and beyond academia. Third, in focussing on working-with, the paper extends conceptions of the archive and archival practice. We argue that the domestic setting of archival work produces particular patterns of archival conduct and disrupts the boundaries of collections themselves.

Keywords: Personal archives; Collaboration; Domestic space; Archival practice; Methodology

This paper emerges from discussions about our own archival practice and, more specifically, our experiences of archiving personal collections in collaboration with their owners. We have each been involved with helping to sort, order and catalogue the collections of individuals in their homes as an extension to more formal research undertaken. This other facet of historical geography work that goes beyond 'formal research' and often remains in the background, unreported and under-theorised, is crucial to the shaping of research.[1] Recent debates about archival method in geography have indicated the necessity of moving beyond textbook accounts and towards 'methodological commentary, exchange and review at a more advanced level'.[2] We argue that although more explicit and intentional creative practices in archives have been well documented over recent years, more mundane but nevertheless important engagements with domestic archives have been ignored.[3] In this paper we use one example – that of working-with the personal archive of Derek Ingram, a Commonwealth journalist – in order to address this lacuna in academic commentary. Episodes from the authors' experiences in this collection are used to outline some of the specificities of this sort of archival practice. Thus the paper does not provide analysis of the merits and utility of the particular archive *per se*; rather, it uses this example to contribute to wider methodological debates around three issues. These are: sociability and collaboration in historical geography, the value of work beyond a productivist agenda, and the importance of place in archival research.

Archival work is often figured in published accounts as something of a solitary process, a space for intimacy with, immersion in and reflection on materials and subjects past. This is perhaps inevitable if the work of historical geography is taken as being 'based on the traces left by former lives' and where 'For many historical geographers, often those traces are found in an archive'.[4] Working-with the owner of an archival collection offers an opportunity to consider the archival practices of historical and cultural geographers where the archive presents both traces of past

* Corresponding author.
E-mail addresses: Paul.Ashmore@sheffield.ac.uk (P. Ashmore), craggsr@smuc.ac.uk (R. Craggs), Hannah.Neate@ed.ac.uk (H. Neate).

[1] P. Merriman, Creating an archive of geographical engagement, *Area* 43 (2010) 387–390.

[2] H. Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time, in: D. DeLyser, S. Herbert, S. Aitkin, M. Crang, L. McDowell (Eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, London, 2010, 248–273, 250. See also D. DeLyser, B. Rogers, Meaning and methods in cultural geography: practicing the scholarship of teaching, *Cultural Geographies* 17 (2010) 185–190; C. Harris, Archival fieldwork, *Geographical Review* 91 (2001) 328–334.

[3] C. DeSilvey, Art and archive: memory-work on a Montana homestead, *Journal of Historical Geography* 33 (2007) 878–900.

[4] F.P.L. Moore, Tales from the archive: methodological and ethical issues in historical geography research, *Area* 43 (2010) 262–270, 263; C. Steedman, The spaces of memory: in an archive, *History of the Human Sciences* 11 (1998) 65–84.

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and ongoing lives, and where archival research becomes explicitly sociable and collaborative. Such collaboration unsettles traditional notions of historical credibility gained through painstaking archival research, but, we argue, offers alternative forms of communal knowledge formation which are worthy of further consideration.[5] The process of working-with, combining the physical graft of moving and discarding, intellectual work of evaluating, organising and making connections, and emotional work of listening, discussing and reviewing particular objects can be productive.

A second premise on which much archival research is based is that such work is done with particular research objectives in mind. These types of projects drive the geographer's approach to, and shape their understandings of, the archive. For Bailey, Brace and Harvey 'the institutional environment and the practicalities of research projects, in part, shape the quality and rigour of the intellectual engagement with, and construction of, historical archives. The archive, therefore, is always already shaped by the trajectories of how the future dissemination of the research is imagined.'[6] This paper shows how working-with the owner of an archive complicates an instrumentalist understanding of the archive, and draws attention to other forces at play in the way materials are shaped and re-shaped. It also disrupts the figure of the 'researcher' who can also assume a series of other subjectivities, for instance of the interested listener, guest or sounding board for archival ideas.

Anderson, Adey and Bevan have argued that 'The archive, like all geographical locations for method, should not therefore be considered as lying passive passively in the background of the research encounter, but as an active participant in the constitution of relationships'[7] This paper extends existing discussions of domestic archives and attends to the particular social relations of archival conduct that emerge in such spaces.[8] The home plays an important part in the formative process of archive and archival materials and, in turn, relationships with the archive and the owner of the collection.[9] Working-with in a domestic setting, where that space is also archival space, throws up different issues, dynamics and opportunities related to archival access, responsibility and procedure to those experienced in an institutional setting or when working home-alone.[10]

The paper begins by outlining existing writing about archival practice, before introducing the archive that we worked in and the circumstances that led to our collaborative archiving experiences. It then provides a series of examples from this practice, each of which resonates in different ways with issues of sociability, productivity, and place. In conclusion we consider what this talking and sorting can add to broader discussions of archival work and the work of archives within historical geography.

Archival practice

The experiences of working-with outlined and discussed in this paper contribute to recent debates around the formation of the archive and archival practice.[11] The 'move from archive-as-source to archive-as-subject' reflected in this literature has created the space for exploring materials that make up collections and the practices of collecting, classifying, ordering, display and reuse which reproduce them.[12] This work has illustrated the judgements, values and power relations embedded within these practices and collections and the experiences of working within them, focussing not only on amateur and professional collectors and archivists, but also on researchers.[13] It has also shown how messy archival practices can be. Brown notes how 'Humans have a certain penchant for preserving their things, all kinds of things' and Steedman argues that, 'The Archive is made from selected and consciously chosen documentation from the past *and* from the mad fragmentations that no one intended to preserve and that just ended up there.'[14] These observations indicate the need to consider both things intentionally 'preserved', as is often the case in 'official' collections, and the accumulation of materials gathered together in other spaces, where accumulations occur with and without intent, and whose broader value might be considered archival.

Although this 'archival turn' has often focused on official collections, more recently there has been a broadening out of what is considered worth saving and what we can consider as an archive.[15] A plethora of work has begun to consider less formal collections, considering everything from family photograph albums, to postcards and recorded birdsong.[16] Often based in

[5] T. Osborne, The ordinariness of the archive, *History of the Human Sciences* 12 (1999) 51–64.

[6] A.R. Bailey, C. Brace, D.C. Harvey, Three geographers in an archive: positions, predilections and passing comment on transient lives, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 34 (2009) 254–269, 256.

[7] J. Anderson, P. Adey, P. Bevan, Positioning place: polylogic approaches to research methodology, *Qualitative Research* 10 (2010) 589–604, 598.

[8] Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2); H. Lorimer, The geographical field course as active archive, *Cultural Geographies* 10 (2003) 278–308.

[9] Anderson, Adey and Bevan. Positioning place (note 7), 590.

[10] See also G. Rose, Practising photography: an archive, a study, some photographs and a researcher, *Journal of Historical Geography* 26 (2000) 555–571; G. Rose, *Doing Family Photography*, London, 2010; J. Wylie, The ends of the earth: narrating Scott, Amundsen and Antarctica, in: D. Cosgrove, V. della Dora (Eds), *High Places: Cultural Geographies of Mountains, Ice and Science*, London, 2009, 33–47.

[11] A. Burton (Ed.), *Archive Stories: Facts, Fictions and the Writing of History*, Durham, NC, 2006; A. Stoler, Colonial archives and the arts of governance, *Archival Science* 2 (2002) 87–109; A. Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain*, Princeton, NJ, 2009; C.W.J. Withers, Constructing 'the geographical archive', *Area* 34 (2002) 303–311; J. Duncan, Complicity and resistance in the colonial archive: some issues of method and theory in historical geography, *Historical Geography* 27 (1999) 119–128.

[12] Stoler, Colonial archives and the arts of governance (note 11), 87; see also R. Craggs, Situating the imperial archive: the Royal Empire Society library, 1868–1945, *Journal of Historical Geography* 34 (2008) 48–67; T. Richards, *The Imperial Archive: Knowledge and the Fantasy of Empire*, London, 1993; M. Lynch, Archives in formation: privileged spaces, popular archives and paper trails, *History of the Human Sciences* 12 (1999) 65–87.

[13] R. Cox, The end of collecting: towards a new purpose for archival appraisal, *Archival Science* 2 (2002) 287–309; Burton (Ed.), *Archive Stories* (note 11); Stoler, Colonial archives and the arts of governance (note 11); Duncan, Complicity and resistance in the colonial archive (note 11); N. Thomas, Exploring the boundaries of biography: the family and friendship networks of Lady Curzon, Vicereine of India 1898–1905, *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 496–519; Withers, Constructing 'the geographical archive' (note 11), 304.

[14] B. Brown, Objects, others and us (the refabrication of things), *Critical Inquiry* 36 (2010) 183–207, 192; Steedman, The spaces of memory (note 4), 67.

[15] See for example Stoler, Colonial archives and the arts of governance (note 11); R. Harvey Brown, B. Davis-Brown, The making of memory: the politics of archives, libraries and museums in the construction of national consciousness, *History of the Human Sciences* 11 (1998) 17–32. For work that reflects on what archives are see Withers, Constructing 'the geographical archive' (note 11); E. Gagen, H. Lorimer, A. Vasudevan (Eds), *Practising the Archive: Reflections on Method and Practice in Historical Geography*, London, 2007; Osborne, The ordinariness of the archive (note 5), 52; M. Featherstone, Archiving cultures, *British Journal of Sociology* 51 (2000) 161–184, 170.

[16] Rose, Practising photography (note 10); P. Holland, J. Spence (Eds), *Family Snaps: The Meanings of Domestic Photography*, London, 1991; P. Holland, E. Sandon, Can Whiskey come too? Re-viewing cultural identity at the end of the empire, in: A. Ramamurthy, S. Faulkner (Eds), *Visual Culture and Decolonisation in Britain*, Aldershot, 2006, 153–188; J. Gillen, N. Hall, Any mermaids? Early postcard mobilities, in: M. Büscher, J. Urry, K. Witchger (Eds), *Mobile Methods*, London, 2010, 20–35; H. Lorimer, Songs from before – shaping the conditions for appreciative listening, in: E. Gagen, H. Lorimer, A. Vasudevan (Eds), *Practising the Archive: Reflections on Method and Practice in Historical Geography*, London, 2007, 57–73.

domestic spaces, and in the care and control of individuals rather than states, businesses or other institutions, these collections develop different sets of relations of power, and different priorities for acquisition, classification and display.[17] Such materials can be important, not only as a record of the vernacular or private sphere of everyday life but also as rare and valuable collections not held in institutional or 'official' archives or museum collections.[18] Holders of private collections and archives, then, can be seen, and, in some cases, see themselves, as guardians of a certain history neglected elsewhere.

Taking personal collections seriously as useful spaces for research is far from new, but considering the precise practices that go on in them offers further insight into the doing of archival research.[19] Accessing such collections requires forming relationships with their holders and often renders this sort of archival research a sociable occasion. Although there has been detailed reflection on the individual 'researcher's relationship with source materials' in recent years, examples where the social nature of research is made explicit are still rare.[20] There is now, however, a move 'to evoke more of archival life: as a particular kind of place where complex subjectivities, and working relations, are created through the act of researching the past.'[21] Dwyer and Davis also highlight the work within geography that has employed 'innovative methods for "animating" the archive', noting that 'These research practices seek, in different ways, to bring the material and documentary properties of archives into play, through an emphasis on bodily performance, the mobility of materials and the interplay between generating accounts and ongoing processes of interpretation'.[22] A good example of work that has examined the creative processes through which archival objects are gathered, documented and reused is the 'salvage memory' project undertaken by Caitlin DeSilvey.[23] In her accounts of this project, she highlights the creative collaboration between objects and people through which stories of the past can be told. In what follows, we provide an account of a different sort of archival work which feeds into these broader discussions about creativity and collaboration through explicit discussion of the practices of talking and sorting. In the next section we outline the details of the collection in which this archival work was conducted.

The archive

As noted at the beginning of the paper, we have each undertaken talking and sorting work in collaboration with owners of personal archives in domestic space. However, the case study drawn upon in the following discussion involved only two of the three authors. [24] Despite this, the examples drawn out reflect the broader experiences of all of us. The archive in question is the personal collection belonging to Derek Ingram, a journalist and political commentator. Ingram was a deputy editor of the *Daily Mail* in the late 1950s and early 1960s, a period when the paper was of a different political hue than today. He has authored several books about the Commonwealth, and is the founder of Gemini, a Commonwealth-wide news agency.

Ruth met Derek when doing research for her Masters dissertation and met with him several times subsequently through the course of her PhD research on the Commonwealth. During this process she got to know him well, and he confided that his papers were rather 'out of control' and needed sorting. She has worked with Derek on his personal archive over several spells from an afternoon to several weeks over the last three years. This working-with was thus an extension to more formal contact with the collection and its owner in the course of ongoing research. Paul, working in the field of twentieth-century imperial history, was invited by Derek to help in the ongoing organisation of his 'mountain of papers' in June 2010 after meeting him in the course of research. This work took place over the summer and autumn of 2010 with further visits as and when schedules allowed. Paul and Ruth did not work with Derek simultaneously.

In collaborating with Derek, we were aware that we did not have formal training in manuscript processing and cataloguing.[25] As historical geographers rather than archive professionals we occupied the role of enthusiastic amateurs, and were concerned, at least initially, as to our practical skills to carry out this work.

Research on the categories of professional and amateur in archival practice shows them to be slippery, however.[26] Many institutional and public archives rely heavily on the labours of volunteers with not only menial tasks but also the highly skilled work of cataloguing, 'attributable to the class of leisured amateur with an interest in academic history.'[27] Writing a PhD on a relevant

[17] Lorimer, The geographical field course (note 8); H. Lorimer, Telling small stories: spaces of knowledge and the practice of geography, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 28 (2003) 197–217; Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2).

[18] H. Geoghegan, 'If you can walk down the street and recognise the difference between cast iron and wrought iron, the world is altogether a better place': being enthusiastic about industrial archaeology, *M/C Journal* 12 (2009) n.p.

[19] For earlier commentary on working with private archives see: C. Hall, Private archives as sources for historical geography, in: A.R.H. Baker, M. Billinge (Eds), *Period and Place: Research Methods in Historical Geography*, Cambridge, 1982, 247–280.

[20] Though see L. Cameron, Oral history in the Freud archives: incidents, ethics, and relations, *Historical Geography* 29 (2001) 38–44, 39; E. Gagen, H. Lorimer, A. Vasudevan, Introductory remarks, in: E. Gagen, H. Lorimer, A. Vasudevan (Eds), *Practising the Archive: Reflections on Method and Practise in Historical Geography*, London, 2007, 1–8, 1. See also, H. Lorimer, F. MacDonald, A rescue archaeology, Taransay, Scotland, *Cultural Geographies* 9 (2002) 95–102; J. Wylie, Landscape, absence and the geographies of love, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 34 (2009) 275–289. For a broader account of the knowledge cultures of historical geography see L. Cameron, Digging in the dirt: unnatural histories and the 'art of not dividing', *Historical Geography* 38 (2010) 5–22.

[21] Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2), 249.

[22] C. Dwyer, G. Davies, Qualitative methods III: animating archives, artful interventions and online environments, *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (2010) 88–97, 89. See also S. Jackson, *Lines of Activity: Performance, Historiography, Hull-House Domesticity*, Michigan, 2000; J.D. Dewsbury, Performative, non-representational, and affect-based research: seven injunctions, in: D. DeLyser, S. Herbert, S. Aitkin, M. Crang, L. McDowell (Eds), *The SAGE Handbook of Qualitative Geography*, London, 2010, 321–334; D. DeLyser, 'Do you really live here?': thoughts on insider research, *Geographical Review* 91 (2001) 441–453; L. Cameron, *Openings: A Meditation on History, Method and Sumas Lake*, Montreal, 1997.

[23] DeSilvey, Art and archive (note 3); C. DeSilvey, Salvage memory: constellating material histories on a hardscrabble homestead, *Cultural Geographies* 14 (2007) 401–424.

[24] For further details of the third author's talking and sorting experiences, see H. Neate, Archiving an artist, unpublished paper presented at Association of American Geographers' annual conference, Seattle, 2011.

[25] Although archival order is a research interest of one of the authors: see Craggs, Situating the imperial archive (note 12).

[26] On archivists and collecting see Cox, The end of collecting (note 13); on amateur knowledge, collecting and questions of enthusiasm see R.A. Stebbins, *Amateur Professionals, and Serious Leisure*, London, 1992; R. Ellis, C. Waterton, Caught between the cartographic and the ethnographic imagination: the whereabouts of amateurs, professionals, and nature in knowing biodiversity, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 23 (2005) 673–693; S. Naylor, Collecting quoits: field cultures in the history of Cornish antiquarianism, *Cultural Geographies* 10 (2003) 309–333; Geoghegan, 'If you can walk down the street…' (note 18).

[27] M. Bateson, R. Leonard, Social club or compulsory experience: reflections on the proper role of volunteers in record offices, *Journal of the Society of Archivists* 20 (1999) 75–84, 83.

subject, and conducting continuing academic research, provides an important perspective on collections and their individual materials, and could be seen as a professional qualification of relevance for archival practice.[28] Moreover, a professional life spent archiving and one spent doing historical geography both provide similar and simultaneous closeness to and distance from materials. For both archivist and academic, a supposed distance borne of intellectual engagement with materials coexists alongside a closeness associated with detailed work with (and often devotion to) a set of objects or ideas, throwing up comparable experiences and dilemmas. For Derek, who was well aware of our (lack of) training, shared interests in the collection were suitable qualifications for talking and sorting.

Apart from the bulk of the Gemini archive which is now held by the *Guardian* newspaper, Derek's archive is kept at his house in bookcases, filing cabinets, piles of papers, and bursting storage boxes. Material has been accumulated over the course of his life, from childhood attempts at 'newspaper' production through to newsletters from the many organisations with which Derek is associated, which continue to arrive on a frequent basis. The archive reflects and constitutes Derek's wide interests and activities. These materials point to his work in newspapers and media, an interest and participation in organisations related to the Commonwealth, and as an enthusiast of literature and theatre. The bulk of the collection is made up of cuttings from newspapers over the last 60 years, organised by country, event, person or theme. Materials include every speech, article, and piece of copy written by him, personal and business correspondence, and papers related to the different organisations and initiatives with which he is or has been involved.

The collection is very much still in everyday use, where clippings are needed for the writing of articles and memos, to take along to meetings, or just to show interested friends and colleagues. Furthermore, it is constantly in-formation, as old materials are brought out, referred to and re-filed, whilst recent clippings and letters are added to existing files, piles and boxes. It also forms the basis of a collection of essays in the process of being completed, which reflect on various episodes in his life. The collection required sorting, on the one hand to provide more space in the house, and on the other, to facilitate easier reference for these new and ongoing projects. The aim was therefore not to ready the archive for a move to an institutional setting, or even to produce an outward-facing archive (although our endeavours have certainly allowed Derek to work through some of the materials with researchers, including ourselves).[29] Material processing, categorising, and cataloguing in which we were involved, were undertaken on personal, rather than institutional terms.

This collection is understood by Derek, and the occasional visiting researcher, as an archive, and is accompanied by a catalogue of sorts, which provides an outline of the materials it contains. In participating in the archiving project we were not starting from scratch, as another research student had worked on the archive and initiated the process of creating a catalogue in a previous bout of sorting several years ago. Our aim was to continue and 'complete' this process, and in our work with Derek, we have made, to quote him, 'marvellous progress' in rationalising and ordering the materials to make them more accessible and useful for his ongoing projects. However, as the archive is in constant use, with new things added and old material drawn on, the archive takes on an ongoing self-ordering, as materials of moment surface and others are set aside to accumulate new arrangements of (dis)order.[30] This ongoing use and accumulation of material, and in turn, re-ordering of other materials, mean that these remarks are not about a 'finished' archive in any sense.

The work of ordering and cataloguing materials, following previous systems and adding in new categories took place for the most part in Derek's home, with occasional forays out and about to collect appropriate stationary and (more) repositories for storage. Most rooms in the house constituted archival space, although material was especially concentrated in some spaces, for instance the relatively unfrequented guest bedroom, where two walls were lined with shelves and floor space and a wardrobe provided handy places to store a box or tuck away a pile of papers. This dispersal reflects the variety of material that makes up this collection: newspaper clippings, loose or stowed away in files and transparencies, newsletters, magazines, theatre programmes in boxes and on ready-to-hand flat surfaces, books on shelves, photographs in albums, or piled up for insertion, mugs recalling anti-apartheid organisations hanging on the kitchen wall.

The paper now provides some empirical examples of talking and sorting experiences in this archive. These are divided into four sections. The first focuses on the domestic space of the archive, and how this works to figure the social nature of archival work and specifically, our relationships with the archive's owner. The second discusses how these relations in turn shape the manner in which the material in the archive is dealt with. The third explores the affective and emotional states generated in archival work through the relations between materials, practices and people in the archive. The fourth section discusses the stories which emerge through talking and sorting whilst working-with.

Conduct in the archive: sociable relations in collaboration

How do we conduct ourselves in relation to the owner of the archive and archival materials? Working in a domestic space as archive necessitated particular social interactions – of comportment, restraint, deference – between ourselves and the owner of the archive. It also meant working-with and amidst the rhythms and ruptures of the multiple geographies of home. The plumber came and went, the printer broke, the front door received a fresh coat of paint, the printer was put back in working order, friends and relatives visited, the 'phone rang, a 'ping' sound from the computer signalled the arrival of another email. These domestic spaces, activities and timings produced particular sets of sociability. After sustained work together, the authors' individual relationships with Derek developed into those of familiarity and friendship and this worked to figure our relations with and approach to working in the archive.[31] Our experiences were thus different to those of conducting research in institutional settings, which can be alienating and unfamiliar.[32] Instead, as we arrived at the house for a day's sorting, we were more akin to host and guest, though with a purpose beyond social conversation.

[28] H. Guest, The archive and academia, *Cinema Journal* 49 (2010) 106–110.

[29] See M. Stevens, A. Flinn, E. Shepherd, New frameworks for community engagement in the archives sector: from handing over to handing on, *International Journal of Heritage Studies* 16 (2010) 59–76 for discussion of the shift to more flexible working relationships between professional archivists and community or private archives.

[30] See also H. Lorimer, C. Philo, Disorderly archives and orderly accounts: reflections on the occasion of Glasgow's geographical centenary, *Scottish Geographical Journal* 125 (2009) 227–255.

[31] See also S.M. Hall, 'Private life' and 'work life': difficulties and dilemmas when making and maintaining friendships with ethnographic participants, *Area* 41 (2009) 263–272.

[32] Wylie, The ends of the earth (note 10), 41

Archives 'are not passive storehouses of stuff, but active sites where social power is negotiated, contested, confirmed.'[33] Here archival work, and the space of the home and hospitality within it, are each produced through complex sets of power relations which affect who can do and say what. The role of guest in home and archive meant being catered for, with the host setting the terms of engagement. At the same time our being regarded as 'researcher' or 'academic' meant sometimes being deferred to, as professionals of a sort, even if not those trained in archival science. However, this was not a stable role and the 'researcher/academic/archivist' could shade into the position of intern in relation to particular histories and geographies implicated in the collection itself. This relationship was one of mutual collaboration in the process of archiving, formed through the oscillating momentum of (lack of) expertise from moment to moment.

The informal relationship with the archive's owner, and the intimate relationship between the owner and the materials in the collection, led to a commitment to people and materials somewhat different to that explored in accounts of archival integrity in dealings with the deceased.[34] Lorimer draws attention to the 'delicacy demanded in negotiating publishable versions of the past… in person' and there are similar demands even when the publication of research is not the primary driving force for archival practice.[35] Here concerns permeated the negotiation of value and connection in the search for archival order and shaped the way we were able to talk about certain materials.

The work of archiving consisted of working through piles of material, lying and layering on shelves as it was accumulated, or filed away long ago, and often forgotten about. Schwartz and Cook comment that 'the history of making and keeping records is littered with chaos, eccentricity, inconsistency and downright subversion, as much as it is characterised by jointly agreed order, sequence and conformity.'[36] In this archive, the putting in place of material was structured both through contingency, what had ended up where, and through social relations, worked through the process of talking and sorting. As we looked at material a decision was made as to where the material might most usefully be placed. Or, as would often be the case, an indecision. Long stares and scratched heads over a document were often accompanied with the refrain 'I'll leave that to you' from Derek, answered with a 'I'll give it some thought', the document placed on one side for further and future consideration. A series of imperatives were at play in figuring the processes of sorting, sifting, ordering and cataloguing. In turn, these could themselves be disrupted or modified by the unexpected appearance of materials during the sorting process. Indeed, the importance of different materials, their place in the archive and recording them in the catalogue were moved by different and changing imperatives. Papers and objects were pulled into place in reference to intruding and intriguing events and future and ongoing projects – an unfolding political drama, a book half written – and by the emergence of other material that might in turn act on understandings of other archival things.

Amidst archival materials we established patterns of work – breaks for biscuits and hot drinks punctuated morning and afternoon, and a break for lunch just before 1 pm. These breaks themselves formed part of the domestic spaces of the archive and archiving, moments to reflect on a morning's work, to consider documents found, to speculate together on the next task to be undertaken or tend to the out of order printer. These patterns of informal and communal lunchtime activity offer a distinct contrast from the rhythms of research undertaken in an institutional archival setting. Wylie recalls how, when conducting research in the library and archive of Cambridge University's Scott Polar Research Institute, 'every lunchtime the library shut completely and I was obliged to while away an hour somewhere else… Sometimes I went to a pub or a café, but mostly, to save money, I sat eating my sandwiches in a bare park on the other side of the main road'.[37] Domestic spaces, then, worked to shape the emergence of an ordered archive and the specific set of socialities amidst which such work took place.

Conducting the archive: sorting and sifting

Working in the spaces of home as archive also signals the importance of domestic events in shaping and understanding archival material. The refurbishment of a room could cause wholesale movements of material, this being piled up elsewhere in a rush of contingency, a 'haphazard accumulation', left to be sorted in due course.[38] Unforeseen moments of domestic emergency caused by wear and tear in and of home also necessitated the relocation of documents, a leaky ceiling becoming the cause for the laying out of material elsewhere and averting damage to wet papers left untended.[39] Time passing could also lend itself to the accumulation and settling of materials. As Derek noted, rustling through some unpromising-looking documents with Paul, and finding a few jotted notes on a slip of paper, 'These things were just tucked into my bag, I took them out when I got home and they've been there ever since'.

Lorimer has noted that there are particular 'phenomenological textures' of research in spaces other than formal archives.[40] These experiences point to the co-constitution of archive and home, and it becomes difficult to demarcate them as separate spaces. In the space where the work took place, not only did piles of documents escape the order of filing cabinets and box files to wander in waist high piles across the floor, but there were also photographs, prints, posters, hats and other ephemera collected or presented over the last half a century adorning the walls, lent against bookshelves and sat on tables. The stairway includes photographs of Derek between gun-toting border guards, framed letters from famous and infamous politicians, and personal photographs of colleagues, friends and family, which Ruth found it difficult to walk past without eliciting a related story. These are an integral part of the collection: papers in files relate to photographs on display, letters on display relate to events detailed in newspaper accounts stowed away in filing cabinets. Working in the archive involves not only being surrounded by material piled high, but by the fabric of the house

[33] T. Cook, J. Schwartz, Archives, records and power: from (postmodern) theory to (archival) performance *Archival Science* 2 (2002) 171–185, 172. See also R. Johnston, C. Withers, Knowing our own history? Geography department archives in the UK, *Area* 40 (2008) 3–11, 5.

[34] DeLyser, 'Do you really live here?' (note 22); Moore, Tales from the archive (note 4).

[35] Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2), 264; see also H. Lorimer, N. Spedding, Locating field science: a geographical family expedition to Glen Roy, Scotland, *British Journal of the History of Science* 38 (2005) 13–33.

[36] J. Schwartz, T. Cook, Archives, records and power: the making of modern memory, *Archival Science* 2 (2002) 1–19, 14.

[37] Wylie, The ends of the earth (note 10), 43.

[38] Withers, Constructing 'the geographical archive' (note 11), 305.

[39] See also T. Edensor, Entangled agencies, material networks and repair in a building assemblage: the mutable stone of St Ann's Church, Manchester, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 36 (2011) 238–252.

[40] Lorimer, Telling small stories (note 17), 202.

which is part of this collection. Living and working there involved 'staying with things… preserving them and caring for them'.[41]

Just as in libraries and other formal depositories, location plays a role in the encounter with archival materials. But rather than isolated materials delivered to reading rooms and worked through alone and where the labour of others provides only an audio background, these objects were enlivened through their place within the clutter of the domestic environment. The archive's presence in the house was very much part of life lived within and outside of the house, and however much piles of material were sorted and ordered through our collaborative labour, the materials on the walls, bookshelves and coffee tables would remain. Different and diverse spaces of storage and display offer challenges to attempts to order archival materials. Storage box, foolscap file, A4 transparency, dining table and staircase wall all present opportunities and difficulties to attempts to order archival materials. This points towards a need to acknowledge the 'sense of incompleteness and shifting sites of archival work.'[42]

Sorting through material also involved sifting. Material often surfaced that was deemed by Derek to be of no use, or no longer of use, and questions asked as to why it might ever have been saved, something probably put aside to be read but 'never got round to' that could now be thrown away. This was an important part of the sorting process as archival material in domestic space was re-ordered as just so much clutter, filling up valuable space in the home. The decision-making process could be a relatively straightforward one, copies of *Which*? magazine being earmarked as prime targets for recycling. But this was not always the case. At first Derek declared that duplicate copies of items might share the same fate, just the most legible or intact copy being kept. But it soon became apparent that this was not a rule to be followed unquestioningly. Reproductions of a photograph might be of interest to others, of which it might be worth keeping hold of, say, five or six copies. Where and why to file things, and, crucially, where these things might be sought in the future when required was also important.[43] This process by which an archive takes formation, what Ketelaar terms 'archivalization', unfolds in particular ways in collaboration.[44] Working-with the holder of a collection in this way provides different insights into the process through which the selection of 'what should and should not be kept' takes place.[45] It also highlights different regimes of value at work in the archive. There were moments of disagreement when personal research interests encroached upon debates over whether to keep items, securing the future of 'valuable' items in Derek's archive, despite this value being more keenly felt by the authors. As we are used to caring for all archival materials in the course of research, throwing things away was a difficult experience. Indeed, at times, impossible. Duplicate and unwanted materials were readily accepted, occasionally new materials for imagined future research projects, more often with a less well defined utility and an eye for the quirky. In our own collections now lie, gaining a reprieve from the rubbish bag, a menu from the RMS Orcades and a travel document wallet from Rhodesia Railways, maybe a case of 'the sentimental "pack-rat" in all of us' coming to the fore.[46]

Archives of affect/emotion

Much of the archival work involved physical movement – lifting, shifting, making up of archive boxes, pulling bags down from cupboards, taking files from drawers, hauling piles of recycling outside. However, the sorting also held emotional and affective stakes. Anderson has shown how the home can be understood 'as a space-time animated by multiple logics of affect'.[47] The archive and the process of archiving within domestic spaces can also be approached through such an understanding. This was illuminated by the resonance of one file and its contents. The 'missing' 'Tambo file', containing transcripts of a talk at the Royal Commonwealth Society (RCS) by the African National Congress figure Oliver Tambo, was the cause of worry and concern. After finding photos from the RCS talk, consternation arose as to the whereabouts of this other material, filed away and forgotten about. Later found, the material was accorded meaning befitting of its affective push and was placed in a position of prominence, in isolation from other items, ready to be pulled out at a moment's notice. Emotionally moving material could also physically move, and the 'Tambo file' has since travelled outside of the spaces of home, to be shown to friends and colleagues, returning home with new tales and significance attached, as times past were remembered through conversation over the material within.

Collections can take over domestic space and encroach on the lives of those dwelling in the house.[48] In this case, this encroachment had brought about feelings of despair in Derek, papers out of control, projects unfinished as a result, a check on enjoyment of their content. Material might work to frustrate, and in turn disrupt the process of trying to find and create order amidst a deluge of items.[49] This relates to the nature of archival material to belie imposed order. Where did we put that clipping? Now found again, where should it be placed so that it might better be located when required again? 'I just don't *know*'. Material close to hand and out of hand might lead to annoyance, recognition of the difficulty of keeping tabs on material in the archive in flux. However, the working-with of archiving could also act to offset affective states that might work against sorting. As Paul and Derek shuffled through old maps and guidebooks collected and used during past travels (and planned but never realised trips) the sociality of working-with emerged. As Derek remarked 'I'd never do it on my own, it'd be so miserable'. Momentary eruptions could also work to set in motion positive affects, to re-enthuse, as material came to make sense in different configurations. Talking about travels away triggered by old guidebooks, and leaflets advertising attractions and hotels, from Tresco to Sitges to Matopos, worked to offset the emergence of boredom.[50] Mundane items, stuffed away, dug out in the process of sorting, could act as affective pushes, and in turn ensured the continuation of the archiving project.

Working-with in the archive required a positive reaction to materials discovered in the collection.[51] This was in part a practice of politeness, but more than that it emerged in a shared wonder at the objects that (re)appeared as part of the archiving process. In her account of collecting, Geoghegan reminds us of the value of

[41] N. Gregson, *Living with Things: Ridding, Accommodation, Dwelling*, Oxford, 2007, 21.
[42] Featherstone, Archiving cultures (note 15), 170.
[43] See also M. Kurtz, Situating practices: the archive and the file cabinet, *Historical Geography* 29 (2001) 26–37.
[44] E. Ketelaar, Tacit narratives: the meaning of archives, *Archival Science* 1 (2001) 131–141, 133.
[45] Ketelaar, Tacit narratives (note 44), 136.
[46] Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2), 261.
[47] B. Anderson, Practices of judgement and domestic geographies of affect, *Social and Cultural Geography* 6 (2005) 645–659, 647.
[48] Geoghegan, 'If you can walk down the street…' (note 18).
[49] See also C. DeSilvey, Observed decay: telling stories with mutable things, *Journal of Material Culture* 11 (2006) 318–338.
[50] B. Anderson, Time-stilled space-slowed: how boredom matters, *Geoforum* 35 (2004) 739–754.
[51] Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2).

considering 'the importance of the passion and joy surrounding our attachment to things, namely what is "cherished"'.[52] Research interest and more unfettered enthusiasm for object, period, subject or site are often intertwined.[53] In the collaborative process of working in and on Derek's archive, this enthusiasm was shared. In archival collections, we can therefore consider not only the intellectual value of papers and other ephemera, but also, in the context of personal collections in domestic spaces, their capacities to affect the lives lived around them and work done within them.

Archival things and emergent stories

Working-with(in) the archive was often accompanied by the telling of stories prompted by archival things. Crang has noted the prompting function of photographs in the context of working with a local history group, where 'slides functioned perhaps less as containers of history than as provocations to talk, landscapes to be written and overwritten – a recollective palimpsest'.[54] Crang's observations might be usefully applied to other archival things. In sorting archival materials, things prompt tangents, and allow stories to be told, opening up old and new significances in and of things. Working-with in domestic archives, the (re)construction of these stories could be immediate and intimate. Materials brought together during the process of sorting, odd snatches of film and old slips of paper worked together to draw out personally significant stories. A chance leaflet through the door one day offering £5 off the conversion of old film to DVD lent new significance to the drawer-full of spool that Paul and Derek had opened some weeks earlier. 'Africa 1960' declared one label, offering promise of great hidden footage and speculation over where exactly it might have been shot. The offer that had dropped innocuously through the letterbox with the usual adverts for airport taxis and local restaurants gave new hope to uncovering the elusive contents of the film.

A chilly early autumn morning provided the context for sitting down, hot chocolate in hand, ginger biscuits within reach, and intrigue shared, to witness 'Africa 1960'. What followed was mildly disappointing. Some shaky shots and panoramas of African landscapes, generic to the extent that the images triggered no memories for Derek of a specific trip or encounter. But finally, a familiar face appeared, a spark to remember an event, a nervy plane journey and a visit to a particular place. As talking and sorting continued over the next few days, these images continued to flicker and resonate through the archive. They acted to work on other material, imbuing them with a (re)new(ed) significance and meaning. Some days later a telegram was unearthed from a large pile of papers concerning the same occasion, and a map from the trip with dates penned onto the document in appropriate places. Discussion allowed a story to emerge through the appearance of these materials, dispersed throughout the archive. A film reel for so long rendered unviewable by technological obsolescence, and a gradual forgetting of its existence as it was put away at the back of a drawer where it remained for so long, a scrap of yellow paper, and neatly folded map found amidst newspaper clippings and papers in a spare bedroom. The archive is not just a selection of items, but takes further form as an emergent story through the practices of talking and sorting.

For neither the 'Tambo file' or 'Africa 1960' was it the historical importance of the event itself that lent these things resonance, but the memories associated with them, and the personal experience invested in the event, and recalled through their contents. The value of an archival thing, a scrap of paper, a faded photo, a newspaper clipping, was often to be found in the work it did as a trigger to thought. As Derek remarked, 'The benefit of these bits is that they remind me of people'. A diagram of seating arrangements for a dinner bearing no reference to a particular occasion could still convey importance as a prompt for recalling figures from the past. In this manner things became important as they were found, perhaps more so than in their filing away and recording. The time and people remembered, the story emergent *from* the thing in-relation, working in concert with the words set down on and in specific materials. Working-with created space for the digging out and narration of these memories and stories. Because as Lorimer has noted, 'interleaved with reminiscence, archival materials play with the appearance of historical events, and alter the eventual conditions of its narration', it is particularly important to be explicit about this 'interleaving' aspect in conducting archival research.[55]

In the process of talking about files and films, and allowing the valuable materials and stories to be identified and narrated, it was also possible to gain a greater understanding of the value of the collection, and of the importance of certain events captured within it. An approach led by sorting interspersed with talking, places the emphasis on emergence rather than targeted burrowing. Thus instead of actively searching for particular records or stories, concerns of ordering, organising, and clearing another section of carpet allowed things to emerge in a more haphazard way, and for the stories that followed to take the same course. Such an approach, then, avoids the dangers of searching intently and thus dismissing superficially tangential but perhaps more rewarding connections in the long term.

Working amongst a personal archive also provided the opportunity for broader discussion. Talking and sorting often spilled over into just talking, over lunch or a glass of wine, about interesting figures past, the contemporary political scene and future directions and speculations. Mundane work in an archive could open opportunities to absorb a particular perspective on diverse topics. It also led to the suggestion of possible new research directions and endeavours whilst discussion also prompted a re-thinking of materials, events and places. Thus although like other archival engagements, there were negotiations with people over what could and should be produced as a result of this labour, in working-with Derek, these negotiations moved in both directions, with all of us actively engaged in the production of new things and thoughts out of these materials.[56] There is creativity in the practice of researching in archives and producing work as a result. When working in collaboration in archival space, this creativity and partiality is made more explicit, as discussion, deliberation and story-telling enforces a conscious analysis of what is interesting, relevant, and worth keeping. Decisions made internally, and whirring behind the turning of pages and noting of details in the archive, 'not to bother with those' are re-examined when they must be articulated to others. Collaboration explicates creativity but also reveals the partiality, inherent in all archival practice, by allowing for an interrogation of the values placed on materials by the 'researcher' and the 'owner' of the archive.

[52] Geoghegan, 'If you can walk down the street…' (note 18) n.p.
[53] D. DeLyser, A. Curtis, R. Sheehan, Using E-Bay for research in historical geography, *Journal of Historical Geography* 30 (2004) 764–782; Lorimer, Songs from before (note 16); Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2).
[54] M. Crang, Envisioning urban histories: Bristol as palimpsest, postcards and snapshots, *Environment and Planning A* 28 (1996) 439–452, 448.
[55] Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2), 264.
[56] See also Lorimer, Spedding, Locating field science (note 35).

Conclusions

Working-with in a domestic archive can be immensely productive. Accounting for archival practices that are already underway, and pointing to the utility of becoming involved in similar ways in the future, the paper provides a deeper understanding of the challenges and opportunities of archival research. These instances also raise specific points of importance to archival work in historical geography and to archival work more broadly, along the themes of: the sociality of archival work; the relations between this work and research agendas; and the implications of place in doing work in the archive.

Our experiences point to the fact that working-with the holder of an archive adds a significant dimension to how archival work is conducted, and raises questions about how historical geographers go about doing archival work. In the work described here, the social nature of archival research was significant, going beyond a simple explanation of materials found to forge new connections, take research in new directions and reconstitute the archive and its organisational structures in new ways.

Working-with owners of personal archives is more than a route to specific archival objects. Conversations, divergences and stories emerge that would otherwise remain hidden and in turn feed back into understandings of archival material. Objects and their owners can tell many stories and open up new spaces for geographical engagement. Although the 'outcome' (the reshaping of the archive) is less visible and more open to continued change than in the case of some other geographical collaborations, for example those with artists, such archival collaborations are nonetheless significant.[57] They continue to shape approaches to the archive and the archive itself, in interesting, but as yet unexplored ways.

In discussing the role of talking in archival research, this paper also underlines the importance of paying attention to the social interactions that accompany all archival practice, and the influence that these interactions have. This has resonance outside of the sorts of explicitly collaborative work considered here. Paying attention to the more quiet interactions – with archivists, keepers of collections, amateur enthusiasts and other researchers – that occur in formal and informal archives is crucial to wider reflections on research practice. It is therefore vital, as Cameron has shown, to understand 'oral and written archives not as self-contained repositories where one quietly gathers the facts on individuals but rather as webs of connections and opportunities for dialogue'.[58] It has become commonplace to argue that 'users of archives (historians and others) and shapers of archives (records creators, records managers, and archivists) add layers of meaning, layers which become naturalised, internalised, and unquestioned'.[59] Working-with as a collaborative activity throws open these layers of meaning, forcing researchers to openly reflect on archival conduct and related questions of authority.

This article has raised the question of the value of exploratory archival practice. The working-with discussed here to some extent goes against the grain of a productivist method of working. Being part of ongoing projects without a clear research question or set of objectives in mind is certainly not something that many people would readily admit to. Yet this exploratory work has the potential to throw up stimulating ideas and possible lines for further research, writing and method. This therefore suggests it is possible to work purposefully below or beyond a particular research agenda, maintaining an openness to the opportunities that this work can generate. This is something more akin to overtly experimental geographical practice, such as dance/movement, but can also be fruitfully explored in archival work.[60] As such, archival research can be tentative and involve working with hunches that can sometimes be enabling and sometimes lead to dead ends. In this case new research agendas suggested themselves and older projects developed new tangents as a result of this archival work. However, working in this manner may not guarantee short-term gains or outputs but as exemplified by the emergent stories discussed in the previous section it is far from bereft of intellectual value. For Merriman:

> many of the 'quieter' engagements, outputs and activities of academics are seldom registered beyond their immediate constituency. In one sense this is not surprising, as many of these small actions and 'small stories' (Lorimer 2003) are not intended to be registered or persist as grand statements, and their effectiveness lies in their instantaneous and momentary engagement of particular 'publics'.[61]

Working-with is therefore an example of some of the 'more-or-less exciting or novel activities geographers are engaging in.'[62] Several authors have noted that even when working within the boundaries of measurable impacts there has to remain room for curiosity and collaboration in research.[63] Instead of approaching the archive as a consumer – as a researcher who will extract meaning from the contents – it is also possible to shape the emphasis and order of an archive itself, assuming the interchangeable roles of expert/intern, both learning about and influencing the collection. In this way 'owner/archaeologist/geographer/artist [become] enfolded in the co-construction of biographies of people, objects and places.'[64]

Finally, the paper has argued that the *where* of archival research matters. The home, traditionally understood as a space for personal refuge and security, can often be a challenging environment in which to conduct research. There are usually certain formalities and limits associated with being a visitor or guest in someone else's home which govern conduct and hospitality and have spatial implications.[65] The domestic thus conditions archival engagements in ways different to the experience of working in official collections.

Mirroring the 'official' archive, within domestic spaces there are certain 'back-zone storage spaces' that it is implicit that even the most trusted researcher will not get access to.[66] However, as the experiences detailed in this paper attest, talking and sorting provides an opportunity to move beyond these domestic

[57] K. Foster, H. Lorimer, Some reflections on art-geography as collaboration, *Cultural Geographies* 14 (2007) 425–432; P. Merriman, C. Webster, Travel projects: landscape, art, movement, *Cultural Geographies* 16 (2009) 525–535.
[58] Cameron, Oral history in the Freud archives (note 20), 29; see also Lorimer, Caught in the nick of time (note 2).
[59] Schwartz, Cook, Archives, records and power (note 33), 18.
[60] On dance, see for example: D.P. McCormack, Drawing out the lines of the event, *Cultural Geographies* 11 (2004) 211–220.
[61] Merriman, Creating an archive of geographical engagement (note 1), 387.
[62] Merriman, Creating an archive of geographical engagement (note 1), 388.
[63] R. Phillips, The impact agenda and geographies of curiosity, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 35 (2010) 447–452; R. Pain, M. Kesby, K. Askins, Geographies of impact: power, participation and potential, *Area* 43 (2011) 183–188.
[64] H. Hawkins, Turn your trash into… rubbish, art and politics. Richard Wentworth's geographical imagination, *Social and Cultural Geography* 11 (2010) 805–827, 811.
[65] Gregson, *Living with Things* (note 41).
[66] Gregson, *Living with Things* (note 41), 7.

boundaries to render ethnographical, as well as archival worlds accessible.[67] Such collaboration also provides valuable new directions for oral histories and research into material cultures.[68] Being in the domestic sphere, amongst domestic objects, allows the opportunity for lives to be told through discussion and reminiscence. Items such as photographs and clippings, both on display and stowed away, can be used to explore the complexities and contingencies of a life, and the role of these complexities in the shaping of bigger events.[69] Considering archives, particularly those made public (albeit in a domestic space) through framing and hanging, in a similar way to those who have explored the role of 'home possessions' as 'precipitates of re-memories and narrated histories' can provide a valuable methodological tool, as well as an important insight into their role in the reconstruction of personal and shared memories.[70]

Analytical attention to domestic space as an archive in turn highlights alternative forms of archival practice. There are many types of archives, each opening up spaces for geographical enquiry, encounter and conduct. Working within someone else's home challenges assumptions relating to archival conduct and practice and adds to debates surrounding what constitutes an archive. Sitting at a dining room table, on a comfy sofa, perched on the edge of a bed, sprawled on the floor, drinking coffee in the close vicinity of archival materials, the radio providing an audible background hum. The freedom to use a pen – rather than the strictly enforced pencil – whilst sorting through mounds of papers as opposed to regulated and slowly arriving individual items offers different experiences of notions of scholarly conduct than those usually associated with being 'in' the archive. As Barnes notes:

> The physical manuscript is sacred. One should never riffle through carbon copied, onion-skin paper letters, crinkled yellowing mimeographed Departmental memos, and fading, badly typed graduate student essays written 75 years ago. But that is what I wanted to do (and ashamedly sometimes did, when no one was looking).[71]

As historical geographers working in the archive there are spoken and unspoken rules, set practices and behaviour that should be adhered to. Domestic archives provide the setting to openly transgress these norms. This raises questions about scholarly conduct and what is permissible in private and public archive spaces and in turn, how such practices shape research and method, reflecting broader concerns about creation, custodianship and maintenance of archival collections. These concerns speak to questions of ethical, professional, authorial and epistemological credibility.[72] Personal archives are somewhere to become immersed and literally surrounded by the collection. Bailey, Brace and Harvey comment that 'The tactics and strategies that are used to consume archives… are the partial product of research training, personal character traits and inculcated habits.'[73] It is not always easy to work against these ingrained habits. However, working-with provides a different, collaborative and conversational modality of archival conduct. Talking and sorting allows researchers, subjects of research, and owners of archives a way of making sense of materials that can be rewarding both in academic contexts and beyond.

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[67] See also C. Trace, What is recorded is never simply 'what happened': record keeping in modern organizational culture, *Archival Science* 2 (2002) 137–159.

[68] Building on work such as R. Hurdley, Dismantling mantelpieces: narrating identities and materialising culture in the home, *Sociology* 40 (2006) 717–733; D. Tolia-Kelly, Locating processes of identification: studying the precipitates of re-memory through artefacts in the British Asian home, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 29 (2004) 314–329; G. Rose, Family photographs and domestic spacings: a case study, *Transactions of the Institute of British Geographers* NS 28 (2003) 5–18.

[69] T. Barnes, Lives lived, and lives told: biographies of geography's quantitative revolution, *Environment and Planning D: Society and Space* 19 (2001) 409–429; see also Lorimer, The geographical field course as active archive (note 8); Lorimer, Telling small stories (note 17); Hurdley, Dismantling mantelpieces (note 68); Tolia-Kelly, Locating processes of identification (note 68).

[70] Tolia-Kelly, Locating processes of identification (note 68), 314.

[71] T. Barnes, Taking the pulse of the dead: history and philosophy of geography, 2008–2009, *Progress in Human Geography* 34 (2010) 668–677, 668.

[72] Osborne, The ordinariness of the archive (note 5).

[73] Bailey, Brace, Harvey, Three geographers in an archive (note 6), 260.