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Rediscovering other geographical traditions

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Abstract

In the last few years, a vibrant interdisciplinary and international literature is rediscovering those sectors of the geographical tradition whose exponents did not match the classical stereotype of the Western academic geographer directly or indirectly contributing to colonialism, warfare, and social conservatism. Ongoing research on primary sources has shown that early progressive, dissident, and unorthodox tendencies in the history of the discipline were more pervasive and influential than what has been believed. In this paper, I define this movement as the rediscovery of "Other Geographical Traditions" (OGTs) arguing that this notion can enlarge our understanding of geography as a plural and contested field. While a great deal of this literature is constituted by studies on early anarchist and critical geographies, I argue that this concept should be extended to scholarly production from the Global South in languages other than English, which is likewise providing important contributions to the discovery of different geographical traditions, politically and culturally. For that, I address the case of recent Latin American scholarship, in Spanish and Portuguese, on the history and philosophy of critical geographies. Moreover, the fact that these "Southern" scholars are rereading and translating classical figures of "Northern" geographers constitutes a reversal of the former colonial gaze from the North–South to the South–North direction. This suggests that the study of OGTs should also consider different cultural and linguistic traditions, challenging monolingualism in both literature reviews and sources' selection.

1 | INTRODUCTION

This paper focuses upon the recent rediscovery of what I define as "Other Geographical Traditions" (OGTs). I argue for a deeper understanding of this notion, in geography and those cognate disciplines interested in the circulation and production of scholarly ideas associated with critical thinking and activism. To this end, I draw upon recent geographical scholarship, especially that set up by Innes Keighren in addressing the increasing tendency to rediscover the "admirable" sides of the geographical tradition, beyond classical works discussing geographers' collaboration with imperialism, warfare, and totalitarianisms. For Keighren, "while some phases of geography's disciplinary history, and some stripes of its philosophy, engender in us shame and demand our atonement, others have the capacity to inspire our admiration and to signal to future possibilities" (Keighren, 2018, 775).

These remarks allude to the growing interest in early anarchist, critical, and anti-colonial geographies that challenge traditional canons in disciplinary history. More generally, they can be applied to many of the "hidden histories" (Driver, 2012) which were excluded from classical readings of the histories of geography that were generally limited to texts by established European and North American academics. Taking inspiration from these recent strands of literature, I would argue that geography is a discipline which has always attracted scholars willing to change the world and that understanding the diversity of its histories is crucial to appreciate the potentiality of socially engaged geographies today. While geography's "relevance" has been often highlighted with reference to its alternative traditions (Kearns, 2004; Stoddart, 1975), my definition of OGTs is broader, and substantially threefold.

First, it includes histories of the production of critical, radical, feminist, unorthodox, and anarchist geographies before these definitions became canonised or even prevailing in geographical scholarship. This involves the production of knowledge considered as non-canonical or not fitting contemporary standards of professional geographies. For instance, some of the early inspirers of critical approaches to geography, such as Alexander von Humboldt (1769–1859), Elisée Reclus (1830–1905), and Pyotr Kropotkin (1842–1921), did not correspond to the present-day figure of the professional geographer as an established academic. This first definition also necessitates taking some precautions against anachronism. This is typically the case with anarchism, which I consider as the principal stream (but hardly the only one) in the rediscovery of OGTs as I explain in the next section. While anarchist geographies play a major role in the process described above by Keighren, a great part of the related scholarship focuses on authors like Reclus, Kropotkin, and their fellows, who worked at a time when the definition of "anarchist geographies" did not exist. Therefore, some scholars prefer to talk about "anarchist geographers" rather than "geographies" (Pelletier, 2013; Siegrist, 2017). Yet, recent literature admits retrospective uses of the definition "anarchist geographies" to describe specific contents from early authors which anticipated notions debated today (Ferretti, 2018a; Springer, 2016). This matches current trends in the history of geography which counter positivistic readings of disciplinary history by noticing the cyclical coming back of "old theories" under new forms which meet new scholarly and societal needs––for instance, biogeography or environmental determinism (Cresswell, 2013; Livingstone, 2012). In this first definition of OGTs, I include the history of the first rising of "radical geographies" in the 1960s and 1970s, because this field has been the object of recent historical investigations and because, in these years, radical and critical scholars still had to challenge an established conservative mainstream.

Second, I include knowledge produced "outside the bubble of the Global North" (Melgaço, 2017) in this notion of OGTs. While geographies from the "Global South," with all the necessary cautions about the use of this definition (Sparke, 2007), are not necessarily politically progressive, they can doubtlessly be considered as a linguistic and cultural alternative to mainstream scholarly production. This is now generally identified as the Anglosphere, which exerts a planetary hegemony in publications, funding, and scholarly production. Moreover, the strong critical drive of radical approaches from peripheral regions of the world is noteworthy: This is especially the case with Latin America, as I discuss below.

Third, I would suggest considering as a special case in OGTs the recent flourishing of histories of geographies produced in the South about Northern scholars, which can be considered as a way to reverse the traditional colonial gaze of the colonisers studying the colonised. This is again the case with recent Latin American scholarship in Spanish and

Portuguese discussing "eminent" Northern scholars, to exert a re-appropriation of disciplinary histories from their standpoint. Studying this literature constitutes a challenge to the all-to-frequent English monolingualism in the literature reviews of papers published in international journals: It is no longer possible to claim for decolonising the discipline, for plurality and inclusiveness of the geographical communities if we continue to read only materials produced or translated in one language. This does not mean that I oppose the use of English as a scholarly lingua franca, an issue widely discussed in Critical Geographies fora (Desbiens and Ruddick, 2006). What I question is the unwillingness of several scholars to deal directly with sources produced in other codes and cultures, also considering that reception and translation studies show how slippery the notion of translation can be (Venuti, 2000). For that, I will quote papers and books in Spanish, Portuguese, and French, giving them the same importance as Anglophone titles.[1]

Therefore, I use OGTs as an encompassing definition. This implies that I do not propose any Manichean distinction between what OGTs are and what they are not. Yet, it is possible to establish some principle: For instance, works by scholars organically inserted in dominant paradigms of their day and/or serving political conservation could hardly match the definition of OGTs. Conversely, this encompasses forms of geographical knowledge which were variously ignored, marginalised, or underplayed by the canons each time dominating the discipline, due to the positionality of their authors (e.g., political dissidents, women, non-academic, non-White, or non-Western persons) or to the unrecognized places and contexts in which these works were produced and disseminated (e.g., academically non-dominant languages, peripheral locations, non-academic outputs such as militant publications, or works lacking the explicit label of "geography"). As I explain below, identifying dominant canons is likewise a contentious matter, and it would be odd trying to define them simply in opposition to OGTs. Moreover, considering as OGTs works which were not labelled as geography or lied at the margins of the discipline at a certain moment can further complicate these canons, emphasising the plural and networked nature of geographical traditions. The whole discipline will benefit from this enlargement of its frontiers to foster its inclusiveness, recently claimed by debates on decolonising the academy.

In the first part of my paper, I highlight examples of recent contributions on the diversity of geography's pasts and critical traditions between the 18th and the 20th century, on reengaging with feminist historical geographies and on discovering early decolonial uses of maps. In the second part, I discuss the recent interest of disciplinary historiography in pioneering figures of the critical and radical turn of the 1960s and 1970s, both in the "Global North" and in the "Global South." In the third part, I analyse the ongoing efforts of Latin American historical geographers in reversing the direction of the classical colonial gaze from North to South by providing new readings of European or North American "classics" in the history of geography. In this way, I wish to contribute to Keighren's claims for the importance of "attempting to account for and give narrative shape to that diversity [as] both the challenge and the reward of scholarship on the history and philosophy of geography; the discipline rarely feels more vital than when contemplating its past … to continue to remind ourselves of the good and the bad in who we are and in what we do, to see in our past both cause for regret and reason for hope" (Keighren, 2018, 776). My goal is to demonstrate that geography and its pasts are not only tremendously vital, but tremendously diverse, and this diversity still deserves further work and recognition.

2 | EARLY CRITICAL GEOGRAPHIES, FEMINIST HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHIES, AND DISSIDENT MAPPINGS

2.1 | Geography's diverse pasts

The first and more spectacular case in the reconsideration of OGTs is that of anarchism, given that historical geographies of anarchism (Ferretti, Barrera de la Torre, Ince, & Toro, 2017) and stories of early anarchist geographers have undoubtedly played a key role in inspiring the idea that our discipline's pasts were more subversive than what has been believed. Anarchist geographies have seen a flourishing of publications in recent years, following the special issues on anarchism published by *Antipode* and *ACME* in 2012, and the study of the historical aspects of the relation

between geography and anarchism is central to this strand of literature. This is well exemplified by books such as *The Anarchist Roots of Geography* by Simon Springer (2016) and the related book forum published by the *AAG Review of Books* (Sidaway et al., 2017). Figures in early anarchist geography like Kropotkin have recently inspired research monographs by both geographers and non-geographers (Adams, 2015; Ferretti, 2018a; Kinna, 2016; MacLaughlin, 2016). Crucially, one of the most important publications in the international field of anarchist geographies, the trilogy *Anarchism, Geography and the Spirit of Revolt*, edited by Springer, Richard White, and Marcelo Lopes de Souza (Souza et al, 2016; Springer et al. 2016; White et al, 2016), contains several historical contributions. Concurrently, figures like Reclus are increasingly discussed as forerunners of emerging anarchist tendencies on vegetarianism and veganism (White, 2015). This emerging work allows arguing for the centrality of alternative, eventually anarchist, geographical traditions in this developing field of study.

An example of the importance of anarchism in inspiring works on different geography's pasts is geographies of anti-colonialism. Recent scholarship has rescued the neglected role of early anarchist geographers as European authors performing radical anti-colonialist and anti-racist agendas in imperial ages (Ferretti, 2016, 2017), extending interdisciplinary work on the "transnational turn" in anarchist studies (Bantman & Altena, 2015). Similar topics have been addressed by historical geographers working on geographies of radical histories from perspectives not strictly identifiable with the anarchist ones (Davies, 2017; Featherstone, 2017; Griffin, 2018) and by a burgeoning literature on de-colonisation, Black internationalism, and solidarity networks (Craggs & Wintle, 2016; Hodder, 2016; McGregor, 2017). Therefore, OGTs are far from being limited to anarchism: first, because anarchism is a complex field which would hardly fit a unique scholarly "paradigm," as exemplified by the discussions mentioned above about the definition of "anarchist geographies" and, second, because other critical approaches (sometimes intersecting with anarchism) can contribute to the rediscovery of OGTs, such as Marxism and other socialistic tendencies, feminism, critical race studies, postcolonialism, and decoloniality among the others.

This can be related to more general notions of unorthodoxy in the history of geography. For instance, Keighren analyses the case of the "seditious knowledge" circulated by British traveller William Macintosh (ca. 1738–ca. 1816), who published a book on his *Travels in Europe, Asia and Africa* (1782) issued by famous publisher John Murray, which was the occasion for heated controversies and indignant replies. This was mainly because "Macintosh was scandalized by what he saw as the inefficient, corrupt and cruel administration of British India" (Keighren, 2017a, 71) and released harsh criticisms of British rule and repression under the auspices of the East India Company. While Macintosh could hardly be defined as a "geographer," also because geography was not yet canonised as an academic discipline at that time, travel literature was then one of the main expressions of geographical knowledge. Moreover, John Murray was the mainstream publisher for the circulation of these travel accounts from the British Empire (Keighren, Withers, & Bell, 2015). In this light, Keighren notices that "Murray's decision to publish a text so evidently critical of an organization in which he was both financially and socially embedded appears somewhat peculiar" (Keighren, 2017a, 72). Although Keighren discusses this case from the angle of editorial issues and of the circulations and receptions of Macintosh's text, it is possible to argue that this is a further example of early mobilisation of geographical knowledge for serving political agendas other than those of the state, the empire, or the army.

A further example of the different political agendas which can be mobilised in geography, eventually related to a same geographical object, is provided by a paper of Mike Heffernan and Ben Thorpe on the Tariff Walls Map produced by Sir Clive Morrison-Bell (1871–1956). This map was "a three-dimensional model of Europe originally constructed in 1926, on which international borders were represented by actual physical walls, the varying heights of which reflected the average tariffs levied by each country upon imported goods" (Heffernan & Thorpe, 2018, 24). While the map was conceived by its creator, a Conservative politician, as a plea for free trade serving British interests within the League of Nations, the uses and reception of this geographical object went well beyond this authorial intentionality. While "there is no evidence that Morrison-Bell was influenced by European geopolitical cartography, or by professional geographers more generally" (Heffernan & Thorpe, 2018, 30), it is possible to appreciate the performativity of this map in its subsequent readings, fostered by its exposition in heterogeneous places including the 1927 International Labour Conference in Geneva. Eventually, after the 1929 Big Crisis, "the TWM was recast first

as a rallying cry for European unity and then, much to Morrison Bell's astonishment, as evidence to support the case for protectionism rather than free trade and eventually for the revision of the international border devised at Versailles" (Heffernan & Thorpe, 2018, 36). Other works by Heffernan address unorthodox figures like Sándor Radó (1899–1981), a Hungarian cartographer and Soviet spy, whose adventurous life shows once more that geography is not an innocent science and can serve complex political agendas (Györi, 2015; Heffernan, 2015). The fact that geographical works can have diverse political uses beyond the intentionality of their authors allows considering research on circulations of knowledge and reception studies as a crucial exercise to assess the plurality and complexity of geographical traditions.

2.2 | Reengaging with feminist historical geographies

In the past three decades or so, some of the most vibrant contributions to critical geographies and their histories have come from feminist scholars. While the idea of feminist historical geographies has been refreshed by initiatives including the special number of *Historical Geography* edited by Tamar Rothenberg, Karen Morin, and Mona Domosh (2016), a recent section of *The Professional Geographer*, edited by Heike Jöns, Janice Monk, and Keighren, discusses issues of inclusion within histories of geographical knowledge with a special focus on female agencies. Debates on the suppression of women's voices from geography and the related discussion on how to avoid gender essentialism have been very rich and go beyond the scope of this text (see for an account: Maddrell, 2009). Yet, I would argue that what is new in this focus section is that its authors raise a problematic similar to what I am discussing here, that is the need for enlarging the reach of the philosophy and history of geography by including a new "variety of previously hidden, unfamiliar, and mundane aspects of its creation and dissemination" (Jöns, Monk, & Keighren, 2017, 656). This implies "identifying and exploring diverse archives that more fully capture the contributions made by those heretofore wrongly ignored in geography's histories" (Jöns et al., 2017, 659). This eventually includes interrogating the places where geography was produced to understand the reasons for overlooking certain figures and certain ways of producing geographical knowledge. For instance, a "relative absence from conference networking presents a specific reason for the long invisibility of women in geography and other disciplines despite often substantial writings" (Jöns et al., 2017, 657). Crucially, the authors stress the importance of these historical enquiries for addressing present-day agendas, by noticing that "the systematic underrecognition of women's contributions to academic knowledge production … is still a frequent practice in twenty-first-century academia" (Jöns et al., 2017, 657).

Among the contributions to this section, Jöns's paper analyses "the role of women in the transformation of the University of Cambridge from an ancient centre of learning, … into a modern research university, sustained since the 1920s by an increasingly mobile academic workforce" (Jöns, 2017, 671). Even though this paper refers to a prestigious European university, canonised as a place to produce scholarly geography, the author significantly claims that "feminist historical geography and feminist historiography of geography" (Jöns, 2017, 679) can enlarge current notions of geography and foster interdisciplinary engagement. Keighren's paper on the contrasted process of women's inclusion in the Royal Geographical Society extends former literature on this process by analysing the little-known case of the Geographical Circle of the Lyceum Club based on newspaper sources, given the paucity of other kinds of documents. This already highlights the problem "that historians of geography work with fragments and slivers, more often than they do with satisfying wholes" (Keighren, 2017b, 662), questioning the influence that institutional archives have played in informing "canonical" histories of geography. Again, this case confirms the political complexity of geography: Although the inclusion of women in geographical societies is universally considered as a progressive endeavour, the Circle was an overtly imperialist group and its leader Bessie Pullen-Burry was right-wing, coming to embrace "fascist politics" (Keighren, 2017b, 665). This situation also stimulates reflections on the fact that engaged scholarship and explicit political commitment do not necessarily correspond: A reactionary person could have been a campaigner for women rights in geography, prompting civil liberties which went well beyond that specific situation.

In addition to the recovery of disciplinary histories which can be deemed "other" from a gendered standpoint, there is increasing recognition of intersectional ideas in scholarship investigating histories of insubordination by women challenging different forms of domination. In the history of geography, exclusions have also been motivated by diverse arrays of political, epistemological, racial, cultural, gender, or linguistic biases. This constitutes a further argument for making plural and heterogeneous responses to these exclusions, to be performed both through the inclusion of different actors in geographical scholarship and through the enlargement of disciplinary paradigms. In the field of cultural and historical geographies, key contributions by Caroline Bressey discuss women's anti-racist engagement in Victorian Britain analysing the alternative geographical imaginations spread by the journal *Anti-Caste* (Bressey, 2013). This research stands at the intersection between geography and radical histories in recovering Black women's lives and questioning racial biases in schools' historical curricula (Bressey, 2017). Likewise, interdisciplinary literature sensitive to geography and spatial issues is rediscovering anti-imperial views from women such as Ida Wells-Barnett or more recently Gloria Anzaldúa (Marso, 2016). Black feminisms are gaining increasing importance in inspiring initiatives on the "colonial present" of the discipline in RGS-IBG research groups like the RACE (Noxolo, 2017), comprising scholars interested in geography's pasts. Concurrently, there seems to be a renewed interest for the intersection of geography and Afro-American histories, as exemplified by recent returns on William Bunge's *Fitzgerald* through the lenses of critical race studies (Bentley, McCutcheon, Cromley, & Hanink, 2016). Yet, one can argue that, despite some openings, historical geographers (including the author of this paper) should deal more with this kind of "other" stories.

2.3 | Discovering early counter-mappings

Further rediscoveries of early alternative or "subversive" social uses of geographical knowledge, eventually under the form of maps, are ongoing in the history of cartography. While one of the inspirers of this field of studies, John Brian Harley, had argued that maps are essentially the instrument of power, and hardly that of social or political subversion, because maps' "ideological arrows have tended to fly largely in one direction, from the powerful to the weaker in society" (Harley, 2001, 79), his continuators are now reconsidering different uses of maps. The recent collective book *Decolonizing the Map*, edited by James R. Akerman, the former editor of *The Imperial Map* (Akerman, 2009), is presented as "an obvious counterpoint and successor [of the former book, addressing] the engagement of mapping in the long and clearly unfinished process of decolonisation and the parallel process of nation building from the late eighteenth century to the mid-twentieth century" (Akerman, 2017, i).

While the cartographic invention of newly decolonised nation states can be considered part of the exercise of formal political power, the construction of alternative models for representing the nation during anti-colonial struggles can be conversely considered as a form of counter-mapping. Although it is not possible to establish a rigid distinction between these two typologies, one can consider mappings as ways to "put the historical experiences and processes of decolonisation in Africa and Asia, in North America and Latin America, in Oceania and Southwest Asia into conversation, comparison and relation to one another" (Craib, 2017, 13). For Raymond Craib, cartographic devices like toponyms and borders, including artistic features of maps, were tools of mobilisation for challenging both "internal" and 'external' colonialisms, from the decolonisation periods until current claims of indigenous peoples, including "revolutionary" uses of surveys to counter latifundia during 1910–1920 "Mexico's revolution" (Craib, 2017, 45). Several cases of indigenous agency and complex negotiations in colonial mappings and maps' uses in decolonisation are likewise discussed in this book for cases such as Colombia (Castillo, 2017), Egypt (Culcasi, 2017) and India (Ramaswami, 2017). Other studies in the history of cartography highlighted how mappings were crucial in the controversies between South American decolonised states and European colonial powers, like in the case of the 1897–1900 French-Brazilian border dispute over Guiana, eventually won by Brazil (Ferretti, 2015). Therefore, de-colonial mappings, counter-mappings and complex agencies within the production of colonial maps can be considered as part of other geographical traditions, and further work is needed in this direction.

3 | HISTORICISING THE CRITICAL TURN (1960s–1970s) BETWEEN NORTH AND SOUTH

The protagonists of the critical and radical turn which occurred in geography in the 1960s and 1970s around journals like *Antipode* are being canonised as major figures in the history of geography (Cresswell, 2013). This growing historiographical attention to a relatively recent period in disciplinary histories can be likewise considered as a reassessment of disciplinary traditions. In this vein, authors like Trevor Barnes question the divide between a "conservative" spatial revolution characterising those decades and a "radical" reaction to this, showing how these phenomena were strictly interconnected, through figures like David Harvey or William Bunge (Barnes 2009 and 2018). It is possible to read in this light contributions like the recent publication of the archives of the *Union of Socialist Geographers Newsletter* by the *Antipode* Foundation,[2] the publications dedicated to reassessing Neil Smith's works (Heynen, Kent, McKittrick, Gidwani, & Larner, 2017; Mitchell 2014 and 2015), and numerous studies on William Bunge (Barnes, 2016; Barnes, Heynen, Merrifield, & Mountz, 2011; Bergmann & Morrill, 2018; Heynen, 2013). Research on new archives is likewise highlighting the relations between radical approaches and exponents of research lines traditionally considered as less "subversive", like humanistic geographies (Cresswell, 2013): it is the case with Anne Buttimer (1938–2017) and her worldwide networking with geographers, including many international radical exponents (Ferretti & Jones, 2018). This context confirms how complicated the establishment of "canons" in geography is (Keighren, Abrahamsson, & Della Dora, 2012) and how many possibilities historical geographers have for dealing with non-academic experiences in the production of engaged geographical knowledge. This is further demonstrated by Jo Norcup's thesis on the British non-academic journal *Contemporary Issues in Geography and Education* (Norcup, 2015). Thus, it is possible to argue that the progressive historicising of relatively "recent" periods in the history of geography is progressively highlighting the breadth and pervasive nature of critical and radical tendencies in the discipline.

Crucially, critical geographical traditions from the Global South play a central role in this historicising of radical approaches in the 1960s and 1970s. Many of the authors concerned are Brazilian, like Milton Santos (1926–2001), the radical geographer who was exiled after the 1964 military coup in his country. Permitted to return only in 1977, Santos was protagonist of an influential networking with the initiators of early Northern radical geographies in France and in the United States (Davies, 2018; Melgaço, 2017, Melgaço & Prouse, 2017, Ferretti & Viotto Pedrosa, 2018, Vasconcelos, 2018). Santos's work is also the subject of a critical forum published on the website of the *Antipode* foundation,[3] and the Manifesto for an Active Geography that he consigned with his closest Brazilian collaborators has been recently translated, like his key book on *Globalization* (Santos, 2017). Santos's rescue is largely the result of efforts in making his work known accomplished by scholars like Carolyn Prouse and Lucas Melgaço. It is possible, however, to argue that this is only the tip of the iceberg in the scholarly movement rediscovering this period and this kind of figures.

For instance, a Brazilian scholar whom Santos considered as his first teacher, Josué de Castro (1908–1973) is still an inspiration for intellectuals who explicitly rely on his political and intellectual legacy, such as Jean Ziegler (2013) and Jahi Chappell (2018). De Castro's works are the object of rediscovery for Brazilian historians, geographers and medical scholars (Fontana, 2014; Santos Silva, 2016) while, in English-speaking geographical scholarship, his name remains mostly unknown, albeit with some notable exceptions like Archie Davies's ongoing PhD research at King's College[4] and a recent paper by Eric Carter on population control in Latin America (Carter, 2018). Another exponent of this network of Brazilian geographers who fought against the military dictatorship was Manuel Correia de Andrade (1922–2007), whose archives are now interesting Brazilian and international scholars (Ferretti, 2018b; Iumatti & Nicodemo, 2018). A Mexican geographer and activist of the same generation as Santos, acquainted with the Brazilian scholars mentioned above, Angel Bassols Batalla (1925–2012), produced works which are likewise being reconsidered in contemporary Mexican scholarship. These authors present Batalla as an example for humanistic and engaged geographies (Delgadillo, 2015) and as the advocate of a critical Southern geography supporting alternative views for enhancing endogenous development and national sovereignty against European and North American imperialisms (Mendoza Vargas, 2017). Critical, reflective, and epistemological approaches are now considered as a marker of Latin American geographies since the 1990s (Urquijo Torres & Bocco Verdinelli, 2016).

These works are often inspired by the so-called "biographical turn" in the history of geography (Baigent, 2004), arguing for considering life experiences beyond mere texts to provide more contextual readings for the history of ideas. While these approaches can still give the impression that the history of geography is about "Big Men," a certain emphasis on networks and circulations of knowledge can correct this perception in general terms. More specifically, what deserves more recognition is the strong female participation in these networks. Some important papers have already appeared in recent years, like an interview by Neil Smith and Caroline Desbiens with Graciela Uribe Ortega (1928–2000), an important dissident geographer who had to flee from Chile in 1973 to escape the repression of Pinochet's dictatorship (Mendoza Vargas, 2018). There, Uribe claimed that: "Although men maybe won't like to admit it, there are many women in Latin American geography, and we have existed for many years" (Smith & Desbiens, 2000, 547). In the same vein, a report by Blanca Rebeca Ramírez Velázquez on the Latin American critical geographers' network GeoRaizAl discusses the links between feminism, de-coloniality, and reconsideration of indigenous knowledges, highlighting the centrality of female agency in present-day networks (Ramírez Velázquez, 2012). Finally, scholarship from the "Global South" has great potentialities for nourishing different disciplinary histories, on the condition that geographical scholarship becomes truly cosmopolitan, international, and available to consider multilingual sources and multicultural approaches to its problematics, as I explain in the following section.

4 | RECENT TRENDS FROM THE SOUTH: REVERSING THE COLONIAL GAZE

One of the most brilliant examples of reversing the traditional European gaze from North to South is the rubric *Nossos Clásicos* (Our Classics) published in each number of *Geographia* (Rio de Janeiro), one of the most prestigious peer-reviewed Brazilian journals of geography. This series usually includes a text of a famous non-Brazilian geographer, translated into Portuguese for the first time and accompanied by an essay of a Brazilian scholar. Critical and anarchist geographies are well represented in this rubric, with texts by Kropotkin (El Hakim de Paula, 2014; Netto, 2018), Henri Lefebvre (2017), and less recently Reclus (2010). In the rest of the journal, figures of critical geographies are often discussed, like in the case of recent recollections of Brazilian feminist geographers on Doreen Massey (Silvia, Ornat, & Chimin, 2017). This also corresponds to new Brazilian and Latin American disciplinary trends paying more attention to international, and especially English-speaking, literature. Traditionally, scholarship in French has enjoyed a major prestige in the region, mainly due to Latin American scholars' wariness of North American cultural imperialism. While works on the French university missions in Brazil have shown that Francophone scholarship was not less imperialist than the Anglophone one (Ferretti, 2014), it is worth noting that this led to the early translation and circulation in Spanish and Portuguese of French radical works such as books of Lefebvre, and of Yves Lacoste, from the 1970s (Machado, 2008). In this section, I also discuss French contributions to OGTs showing that, ironically, Francophone scholarly literature can be compared today to the Latin American ones in terms of its peripheral position in relation to the Anglophone mainstream.

Today, Brazilian historians of geography are doing original archival work on "Northern" sources, like in the case of Willian Antunes's doctoral work on Camille Vallaux (1870–1945). While no French thesis exists on the works of this original and "dissident" French geographer, Brazilian scholarship is reconsidering this figure as an early representative of a social geography which is not unfamiliar with political engagement, a rather uncommon feature in "classical" French geography (Antunes, 2017). One of the best examples of "reversing the gaze" are the works of Leonardo Arantes on German geography, namely, the "classics" of Humboldt and Carl Ritter (1779–1859). As for Reclus (who was, significantly, Ritter's student), these classic authors are often quoted but their original writings remain little-known. For *Geographia*, Arantes translated from German and commented on some texts of Humboldt and Ritter, aiming to demonstrate that they shared views of geography as a science for social progress. For Arantes, Ritter's text on geographical education demonstrates that the German geographer considered that one of the most important

roles of geography is the formation of responsible citizens "through the construction of a worldview by stimulating creative geographical imagination rather than using texts as mnemonic devices" (Arantes, 2016b, 212).

Among Latin American readings of early European geographies, a special place is reserved for Humboldt, whose empathetic commentaries on Amerindian cultures are the reason of his lasting reputation as one of the inspirers of Latin American decolonisation and an early advocate of indigenous peoples (Buttimer, 2012). According to Arantes, Humboldt's anti-colonial critiques anticipated "many aspects of the positions carried out by the theorists of the post- or de-coloniality" (Arantes, 2016a, 165). In Humboldt's text, "the idea of colony, that is pretending that a land is the tributary of another, is intrinsically immoral" (Arantes, 2016a, 173). For Humboldt, the alleged freedom of people living in the colonies only meant "being allowed to mistreat [black] slaves with impunity and to insult white people if they are poor" (Arantes, 2016a, 174). Thus, this position also implied a critique of slavery and of social inequality in general. Humboldt's anti-racist and anti-slavery commitment is especially apparent in the texts translated by Arantes: Mistreatment of Blacks was defined as "a horror of [Caribbean] islands" (Arantes, 2016a, 174). Following in the line of Humboldt's appraisals, Héctor Mendoza Vargas (2016) compares the journey of three eminent German travellers to Mexico in different periods of the history of geography: Humboldt, Friedrich Ratzel (1844–1904) and Adolf Reichwein (1898–1944). In this "German gaze," imperial implications of both Germany and the United States are explicitly examined by Mendoza, stressing the changes in German culture through the lens of these geographers' approaches to Mexico, that is inverting again the classical direction of the gaze.

In Brazil, "Northern" influences have been effective in the establishment of academic geography especially by way of the French university missions, that were instrumental in the foundation of the first Brazilian research universities in the 1930s. Now, Brazilian scholars have begun to question the directionality of this cultural transfer, showing their awareness of cultural imperialism. In this vein, an important collection of essays by leading French "classical" geographer Paul Vidal de la Blache (1845–1918) has been edited by Sérgio Nunes, Guilherme Ribeiro, and Rogério Haesbaert (Haesbaert, Nunes Pereira, & Ribeiro, 2012). A pioneering work by José Borzacchiello da Silva on the history of French-Brazilian exchanges in geography, first published in Brazil in 2012, has been recently translated into English and contains explicit interrogations on the colonising intentions of the components of French university missions (Borzacchiello da Silva, 2016). Another research monograph by geographer Guilherme Ribeiro on the work of famous French historian Fernand Braudel (1902–1985) marks a Brazilian re-appropriation of the idea of "geo-history," formerly a sort of "privilege" for French scholarship (Ribeiro, 2017).

The leading Brazilian journal in historical geography and in the history and philosophy of geography, *Terra Brasilis*, regularly publishes papers on the works of "Northern" scholars, with an emphasis on critical and anarchist traditions in geography, which was also locally implemented through events like the international conference on Elisée Reclus organised at the USP in 2011 (Ramírez Palacios & Skoda, 2016). *Terra Brasilis* is publishing a dossier series on "Geographers' Trajectories" where the idea of looking from the South at leading international figures in geography is apparent. The journal *Território Autónomo* likewise publishes contributions inspired by the anarchist tradition, eventually represented by ideas of Reclus and Kropotkin reinterpreted through the lenses of more recent authors such as Murray Bookchin (1921–2006) and Cornelius Castoriadis (1922–1997). In this vein, leading Brazilian critical geographer Marcelo Lopes de Souza has recently published a book on anarchism and geography, where attention is also paid to the historical aspects of this relation (Souza, 2017).

In the French-Brazilian journal *Confins*, Breno Viotto Pedrosa examines the relation between Carl Sauer and Alfred Kroeber over superorganicism and ideas on cultural geography. Pedrosa argues that, after that cultural approaches exerted an increasing influence on Brazilian geography from the 1990s, it is time that Brazilian scholars investigate closely the origins of this cross-contamination to "understand the origins of cultural geography at all" (Viotto Pedrosa, 2015) performing original research on European and North American sources. Again, this means inverting the classical direction of scholarly views and visions from North–South to South–North directions.

It is worth concluding by mentioning Francophone scholarship. Albeit not exactly representing the South, and despite the survival of some debris of the French imperial past like the conservation of French as an official language for the IGU, French scholarship is relatively marginalized in relation to mainstream geography journals. Nevertheless,

research on early anarchist geographers has its specific French strands, especially represented by works on Reclus by authors such as Ronald Creagh, Philippe Pelletier, Isabelle Lefort, and Christophe Brun (Brun, 2015; Creagh & Deschler, 2018; Lefort & Pelletier, 2015). In French-speaking Switzerland, the Geneva publishing house Héros-limite recently published several anthological books with work by Elie and Elisée Reclus, Charles Perron, Kropotkin, and other early anarchist geographers. These Francophone publications generally match international tendencies in the rediscovery of early anarchist geographies by engaging with new archives and original texts. In the same vein, after dealing a lot with works of Vidal de la Blache's academic successors, French historians of geography are increasingly considering authors who were marginalized for different reasons from the academic mainstream and had often to make their careers in other fields like politics, diplomacy, and publishing. They are defined as *géographes-hors-les-murs* (geographers outside the walls; Clerc & Robic, 2015), and some of them also took dissident and anti-colonialist positions, like in the case of Yves Châtaigneau (Clout, 2016).

5 | CONCLUSION

It is possible to conclude that geography's pasts show how geography was not only a science of the empire, but also a science for diverse and/or unorthodox thinking. Scholarship is increasingly rescuing works and concepts that were formerly erased from the history of geography for the political, geographical, linguistic, cultural, or professional positionalities of their authors. In this vein, research on new sources and original texts through multilingual and critical approaches is the key characteristic of what I call the rediscovery of OGTs. This paper has shown that the study of these alternative traditions is more vital, cosmopolitan, international, and multilingual than ever. It enlarges geography's disciplinary boundaries by advocating geographers' consideration for geographical knowledge which did not carry the explicit label of "geography," or which was produced in places or contexts that were overlooked, underplayed, or marginalised by the dominant canons of the discipline. Likewise, it questions the very idea of having dominant canons or paradigms in geography, promoting a plural, open, and inclusive discipline.

I would also argue that rediscovering OGTs is not only of interest for the fields of the history of geography and historical geography to avoid overlooking key currents of thoughts. It also proves that looking backwards is more and more necessary to understand what is going on today. While Clarence Glacken famously argued that the history of scholarly disciplines is indispensable to avoid the arrogance of believing that we have invented everything (Glacken, 1980), OGTs are not only challenging commonplaces on disciplinary tradition. They are also confirming that geography was a science attracting various kinds of subversive, progressive, and unorthodox authors: Therefore, it embeds in its paths values of cosmopolitanism, pluralism, and difference, allowing critical geographers to be sometimes proud, and not only ashamed, of their disciplinary tradition. This has outstanding repercussion on contemporary agendas: Including in the discipline actors, places, languages, and practices which were formerly marginalised, OGTs can decisively contribute to the task of decolonising geography and of rendering it more open to differences, as often solicited in the last years (Esson, Noxolo, Baxter, Daley, & Byron, 2017; Radcliffe, 2017).

However, this line of research is not exempted from limitations and contradictions: The looseness of the possible definitions of OGTs can be criticised, even though I would argue that this should serve as a device for fostering inclusiveness and open-mindedness in the geographical field. Finally, positing the issue of monolingualism implies likewise limitations: For instance, in this paper, I could not address scholarly literature in languages which stand outside my linguistic skillset, such as Hindi, Mandarin, and Vietnamese. This calls for further collaborative efforts in the internationalisation of this field of study.

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ENDNOTES

[1]All quotes from texts in these languages have been translated by the author.

[2]Antipode Foundation, *The Union of Socialist Geographers Newsletter, 1975–1983* https://antipodefoundation.org/2017/06/28/usg-newsletter-archive/

[3]Antipode Foundation, *Introducing Milton Santos* https://antipodefoundation.org/2017/03/15/introducing-milton-santos-and-the-active-role-of-geography/

[4]Archie Davies, *Josué de Castro's* Geografia Combatente *and the political ecology of hunger*, PhD thesis. Supervised by Alex Loftus and Jeff Garmany, Department of Geography, King's College London.

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