

Overlaps and Intersections in New Scholarship on Empires, Beliefs, and Emotions

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Feminist standpoint theory and post-modernism have both taught us that our position matters, so I would like to establish mine. I am not a historian of the emotions, though perhaps better said I have never defined myself as such, and I am writing this in August of 2016 in the United States. Earlier this summer voters in Britain voted to leave the European Union, and Republicans in the United States chose as their presidential candidate a man who has never held political office and has little familiarity with the world other than its golf courses, casinos, and hotels. Both those who supported and those who were appalled by these decisions saw emotions as voters' key motivations, and, somewhat surprisingly, were not that different in describing these emotions: anger, fear, resentment, nostalgia. If I am to understand today's politics, perhaps I should become a historian of the emotions.

There are less frightening reasons to do so. Across the humanities over the last decade or so there has been an 'affective' or 'emotional' turn, building on scholarship that began in the 1980s.¹ This has brought with it the key institutional structures required for an academic field to thrive. Research centers and clusters for the study of emotions have been established across the world, including the Australian Research Council (ARC) Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, based at the University of Western Australia; the Centre for the History of Emotions at Queen Mary, University of London; the Languages of Emotion Cluster of Excellence, Freie Universität Berlin; and the Center for the History of Emotions at the Max Planck Institute for Human Development, also in Berlin. Several publishers have book series in the history of the emotions, including Palgrave, Oxford University Press, and the University of Illinois Press, although the series at New York University Press is no longer being published. An interdisciplinary journal devoted to the topic, *Emotion Review*, began publication in 2009, and another, *Emotions: History Culture Society (EHCS)*, sponsored by the ARC Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, is scheduled to begin publication in 2017. The ARC Centre is also sponsoring a new scholarly society, The Society for the History of the Emotions, designed, as its flyer notes, 'to establish the history of emotions as a widely used framework for understanding past societies and cultures' and 'to understand the changing meanings and consequences of emotional concepts, expressions and

¹ For an early comment on this, see SCOTT MCLEEMEE, "Getting emotional", *Chronicle of Higher Education* (2003); the on-line version does not provide page numbers.

regulation over time and space.’ There is an H-Net group, H-Emotions, several scholarly blogs, and many publications in a variety of fields.² Thus I would have perfectly normal academic reasons for my own emotional turn.

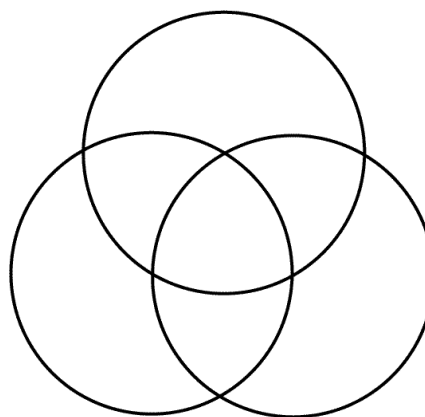
New scholarly fields develop at the time they do for a reason (or more often reasons), and scholars who *are* historians of the emotions have several explanations for why the field took off when it did, some of which reflect their own personal trajectories through (and out of) the linguistic turn, gender history, cultural history, body history, and so on.³ More than one has pointed to an event outside the realm of academe, however, and, in fact, closely related to the politics of 2016: the attack on the World Trade Center and Pentagon on September 11, 2001. Jan Plamper has noted that although scholars were already studying affect, feelings, and the emotions, this event ‘catalytically sped up several interrelated processes that were already underway,’ and helped create ‘the conditions that made the ‘emotions moment’ possible in various disciplines and fields.’⁴ One may not agree with Plamper about the extent of the impact of 9/11 on the field as a whole, but his comments also point to the particular relevance of the conjunction of topics that is the theme of this special issue: Empires, Beliefs, Emotions. Whatever else 9/11 was, it was an event that brought these three together. Both its causes and its consequences have been cross-cultural and connected, the new course *Cromobs* has taken as a journal.

² An excellent bibliography of works in several fields published in English up to 2013, compiled by Jan Plamper, can be found on [H-Emotions](#). Accessed 1 August 2016.

³ For discussions of the trajectory of the field, see: JAN PLAMPER, “The history of the emotions: an interview with William Reddy, Barbara Rosenwein, and Peter Stearns”, *History and Theory* 49 (2010): 237-265 and his *The History of Emotions: An Introduction*, transl. KEITH TRIBE (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015): 41-75; “Forum: history of emotions”, *German History* 28, 1 (2010): 67-80; UTE FREVERT, “Emotions in History: Lost and Found”, paper presented at Natalie Zemon Davis Annual Lectures (Budapest: Central European University, 2011); SUSAN J. MATT, “Current emotion research in history: or, doing history from the inside out”, *Emotion Review* 3, 1 (2011): 117–24; NICOLE EUSTACE, EUGENIA LEAN, JULIE LIVINGSTON, JAN PLAMPER, WILLIAM M. REDDY and BARBARA ROSENWEIN, “AHR conversation: the historical study of emotions”, *American Historical Review* 117, 5 (2012): 1487-1531; *Doing Emotions History*, ed. by SUSAN J. MATT and PETER N. STEARNS (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2013), especially chapters 1-2. For the “emotional turn” in scholarship beyond history, see *The Affective Turn: Theorizing the Social*, ed. by PATRICIA T. CLOUGH and JEAN HALLEY (Durham: Duke University Press, 2007); RUTH LEYS, “The turn to affect: a critique”, *Critical Inquiry* 37 (2011), 434-72; *Emotions and Social Change. Historical and Sociological Perspectives*, ed. by DAVID LEMMINGS and ANN BROOKS (London: Routledge, 2014): especially 1-62.

⁴ Comments by PLAMPER in “AHR conversation: the historical study of emotions”, 1492. For a consideration of the role of fear in American culture and the way it was manipulated after 9/11, see PETER STEARNS, *American Fear: The Causes and Consequences of High Anxiety* (New York: Routledge, 2006). For broader studies of fear, see JOANNA BOURKE, *Fear: A Cultural History* (London, Virago, 2006); *Facing Fear: The History of an Emotion in Global Perspective*, ed. by MICHAEL LAFFAN and MAX WEISS (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2012).

A survey of scholarship that is about all three of these, and is also cross-cultural, would be quite short, as one of the key points made by those reflecting on the field is the predominance of the West. When asked in 2010 about future directions the history of the emotions should take, Peter Stearns, one of its pioneers, commented ‘most obviously, to me, more courageous comparative work.’⁵ And in 2012 both Eugenia Lean and Julie Livingston warned about the tendency to use



European emotional genealogies as the norm, viewing this, in part, as a result of the abundance of scholarship on the West.⁶ Thus I would like to approach this as a Venn diagram, thinking of empires, beliefs, emotions as three overlapping circles. I will examine scholarship that connects at least two of these for the period 1400-1900, and end with some works that focus on all three, the central triangle in the Venn diagram. This of course is not exhaustive, as it could not be in an article of this length, but suggestive of what is available in English. Much of the recent scholarship on the emotions in this and other historical periods draws on many disciplines, including neuroscience, anthropology, art history, history, and literature, and some of it is collaborative, especially that sponsored by research centers.⁷ Thus many of the works I mention analyze a wide range of textual, visual, and material sources, and use theories and methodologies in a multi-disciplinary way

First beliefs and emotions. On this Peter and Carol Stearns and Barbara Rosenwein have been leaders, both in theorizing and close analysis of sources. In what became a path-breaking article in 1985, Peter and Carol Stearns encouraged historians to consider the history of the emotions, and particularly to examine what they termed ‘emotionology,’ the rules, norms, and standards that a society or a group within society maintained toward emotions and their appropriate expression.⁸ They stressed this not, as Peter Stearns later explained, because this was the only thing they

⁵ Quoted in PLAMPER, *The history of the emotions*, 264. Because Stearns has long regarded the emotions as a significant topic of research, the *Journal of Social History*, which he edits, has published a number of articles on emotions, feeling, and affect, though most of these are about the West.

⁶ Comments by LEAN and LIVINGSTON in “AHR conversation: the historical study of emotions”, 1517-1521.

⁷ For thoughtful reflections on the intellectual and emotional benefits of interdisciplinary collaboration and shared communities of scholarship, see JENNIFER KOLPACOFF DEANE, JULIE A. ECKERLE, MICHELLE M. DOWD and MEGAN MATCHINSKE, “Women’s Kinship Networks: A Meditation on Creative Genealogies and Historical Labor,” in *Mapping Gendered Routes and Spaces in the Early Modern World*, ed. by MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS (Farnham: Ashgate, 2015), 229-250.

⁸ PETER N. STEARNS and CAROL Z. STEARNS, “Emotionology: clarifying the history of emotions and emotional standards”, *American Historical Review* 90, 4 (1985): 813-836.

were interested in, but because ‘we should admit when we’re dealing with culture and not pretend it describes actual experience. And we should admit that culture is a lot more accessible. It is important in its own right, because it affects public policies and behaviors, including the law; and it normally affects actual emotional evaluations including self-evaluations and actual experience as well, though not always with full correlation.’⁹ The Stearns followed this article with a series of works on various emotions, including anger, sadness, jealousy, and desire in which they focused primarily on culture, but also examined actual behavior.¹⁰

In a 2002 article and then in several books, Barbara Rosenwein developed and expanded the idea of ‘emotional communities,’ which she defines as ‘social groups that adhere to the same valuations of emotions and how they should be expressed.’¹¹ Her most recent book, *Generations of Feeling*, provides a comprehensive history of emotions in Western Europe across more than a millennium, assessing the ways in which emotional norms and modes of expression respond to, and in turn create, their social, religious, ideological, and cultural environments. In all her work, she points out the words used to describe what we would term ‘emotions’ in general, and the words used for individual feelings, noting the different valances of these and how they changed.

Although Rosenwein’s work is about more than religion, the fact that she began as a historian of monastic life and monasteries are always included as one of the ‘emotional communities’ she explores means that the emotional resonances of Christianity are central to her work. She explicitly and pointedly rejects Johan Huizinga’s idea that medieval emotional life was childlike and simple, as well as Norbert Elias’s theory of the ‘civilizing process,’ which viewed the medieval period as unrestrained, coarse, and impulsive and the modern period as restrained and self-controlled. Instead she sees shifts over time in the valorization of specific emotions and the words used to express these as far more complex.

Other historians of the emotions also emphasize semantic change, building on the work of conceptual historians such as Reinhart Kosseleck and Otto Brunner to

⁹ Quoted in PLAMPER, *The history of emotions*, 263.

¹⁰ PETER N. STEARNS and CAROL Z. STEARNS, *Anger: The Struggle for Emotional Control in America’s History* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1986); CAROL Z. STEARNS, “«Lord help me walk humbly»: Anger and sadness in England and America, 1570–1750”, in *Emotion and Social Change: Toward a New Psychohistory*, ed. by PETER N. STEARNS and CAROL Z. STEARNS (New York: Holmes & Meier, 1988), 39–68; PETER N. STEARNS, *Jealousy: The Evolution of an Emotion in American History* (New York: New York University Press, 1989); PETER N. STEARNS, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-century Emotional Style* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); PETER N. STEARNS, *Battleground of Desire: The Struggle for Self-control in Modern America* (New York: New York University Press, 1999).

¹¹ BARBARA H. ROSENWEIN, “Worrying about the emotions in history”, *American Historical Review* 107, 3 (2002): 821-845; *Emotional Communities in the Early Middle Ages* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2006); *Generations of Feeling: A History of the Emotions, 600-1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

discuss shifts in the words used to describe passions, feelings, emotions, and affect, and thus in the way people were taught to conceptualize emotion. *Emotional Lexicons*, for example, jointly authored by nine scholars associated with the Max Planck Institute, examines terms of emotion found in German, French, and English language encyclopaedias from the late seventeenth century through the late twentieth century, using these as evidence not only of changing language use but also of broader cultural and social shifts.¹² Several of the essays in the book compare sources across countries, noting national differences, and in some cases highlighting terms for which it is difficult to find a one-to-one translation because they carry many valences. This is somewhat ironic in a book that itself was largely translated from German, and reflects a problem that is both linguistic and conceptual. If we accept that words used to describe emotions change over time and are different from place to place—now a commonplace in scholarship on the emotions—how do we know what they mean in our sources? Might there be words that are untranslatable because the emotions themselves are untranslatable, as Orhan Pamuk has suggested for *hüzün* in Turkish¹³, and has sometimes been argued for *Gemüt* in German and *aware* in Japanese? And, thinking of the Sapir-Whorf hypothesis as well as Stearns' notion of 'emotionology,' does the existence of words create or at least influence the emotions in the first place? Some neuroscientists suggest that the way out of the dilemma created by language is to map emotions in the brain through neuroimaging the way they have begun to with numbers and consciousness, but this is obviously impossible for historical or literary subjects, and, judging by the books and articles written by those neuroscientists, brain scans do not speak for themselves, but must be analyzed and discussed in language. In addition, as Jan Plamper has stressed, the neuroscience of the emotions has yet to 'acquire the degree of robustness that we depend on in a humanities discipline like history,' and it has its own epistemology, 'which includes reductionist experimental designs, iron distinctions between true/false, and universal claims to truth.'¹⁴ So we are left with words, but these questions remind us that translation and cross-linguistic or cross-cultural comparison must always be done carefully and self-consciously, and with attention to ambiguity.

One study that does this, and that also takes up Rosenwein's idea of 'emotional communities' and the Stearns' focus on 'emotionology' (though does not use that term) is Susan Karant-Nunn's *The Reformation of Feeling*. This builds on her own work on changes in ritual in the Protestant Reformation to examine the emotional tenor in the programs that revived Catholicism, Lutheranism, and Calvinism developed for

¹² UTE FREVERT et al., *Emotional Lexicons: Continuity and Change in the Vocabulary of Feeling 1700-2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014).

¹³ ORHAN PAMUK, *Istanbul: Memories and the City* (New York: Knopf, 2005).

¹⁴ PLAMPER in "AHR conversation: the historical study of emotions", 1512.

their members.¹⁵ As she notes, preaching clergy explicitly and implicitly encouraged their parishioners to make an emotional investment in the faith, though they differed in the particular kinds of sentiment they sought to cultivate and thus in the emotional communities they sought to build. Like Rosenwein, she notes the continuing power of Elias's paradigm, discovering as she does so that 'he added remarks on the emotions to the English translation of one of his works that evidently do not appear in the German original.' (p. 4) Thus those who have read him in English have a slightly different view of that paradigm than those who read him in German, and this is not simply the result of translation. To her study of sermons and consideration of the decorative liturgical, musical, and disciplinary changes made by authorities attempting to inculcate what they saw as proper feelings, Karant-Nunn adds an analysis of the much smaller body of surviving sources from laity that speak to their reception of these instructions and admonitions.

As one would expect given the centrality of religion to the history of Europe during the early modern period, religion figures prominently in collections of essays that focus on the interplay between emotion and other aspects of society in this era. A recent collection of essays on emotion and childhood, for example, examines Puritan children, Jewish children, and the inculcation and practices of piety among Protestant children in several parts of Europe, and has one of the relatively few essays that considers religion and emotion in a situation of cross-cultural contact.¹⁶ Another that examines the roles that gender ideologies and lived, structured, and desired emotional states played in producing stability and instability considers convents and religious schools as emotional communities, and examines the gendered nature of Protestant religious revivals.¹⁷

¹⁵ SUSAN C. KARANT-NUNN, *The Reformation of Ritual: An Interpretation of Early Modern Germany* (London: Routledge, 2005) and *The Reformation of Feeling: Shaping the Religious Emotions in Early Modern Germany* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

¹⁶ *Childhood and Emotion: Across Cultures 1450-1800*, ed. by CLAUDIA JARZEBOWSKI and THOMAS MAX SAFLEY (London: Routledge, 2014). The cross-cultural essay is NICOLA BORCHARDT, "Growing up in VOC Batavia: transcultural childhood in the world of the Dutch East India Company", 42-56.

¹⁷ *Gender and Emotions in Medieval and Early Modern Europe: Destroying Order, Structuring Disorder*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL (London: Routledge, 2015). For articles that examine religious aspects of emotional communities in the centuries covered by this special issue, see many of the essays in *Emotions in the Household, 1200-1900*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2008); *A History of Emotions, 1200-1800*, ed. by JONAS LILIEQUIST (London: Routledge, 2012); *Spaces for Feeling: Emotions and Sociabilities in Britain, 1650-1850*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL (London: Routledge, 2015); MELISSA RAINE, "Searching for emotional communities in late medieval England" and CLAIRE MCLISKY, "The emotional economies of Protestant missions to Aboriginal people in nineteenth-century Australia", in LEMMING and BROOKS, *Emotions and Social Change*; ULINKA RUBLACK, "Interior states and sexuality in early modern Germany", in *After The History of Sexuality: German Genealogies with and beyond Foucault*, ed. by SCOTT SPECTOR, HELMUT PUFF and DAGMAR HERZOG (New York: Berghahn, 2012), 43-62.

Across the Atlantic, John Corrigan also focuses on the emotional communities created by religion, including those that resulted from the ‘Businessmen’s Revival,’ a religious revival that unfolded after the 1857 market crash among white, middle-class Protestants in New England, in which they increasingly saw emotion as a commodity governed by contract.¹⁸ Corrigan edited the first collection on religion and emotion that reached across religious traditions to consider the ways in which emotionality and performances of religious feeling express, reinforce, are shaped by, and challenge social and moral orders in many traditions, and has also edited a major handbook on religion and emotion, which looks at various religious traditions separately and also at the ways in which key components of religious life —ritual, music, gender, sexuality, and material culture —represent and shape emotional performance.¹⁹

Scholarship on Christianity explicitly defines itself as part of the history of emotions, but that on other religious traditions in this era certainly examines emotions as well, particularly within more individualized and mystical forms of piety. Within Judaism, this includes studies of the development and spread of the Kabbalah, that group of texts that offer a mystical path to oneness with God. Lawrence Fine, for example, analyzes the teachings of the Kabbalist rabbi Isaac Luria, who in the sixteenth century developed new systems of spiritual practices, mystical ceremonies, and guides to behavior based on the Kabbalah from the village of Safed in Palestine. Groups studying and practicing Lurianic Kabbalah were organized in many Jewish communities in the Ottoman Empire and in Europe, devoted to prayer, moral behavior, and interior individual piety, thus forming intense ‘emotional communities’ with a distinct ‘emotionology’ within early modern Judaism.²⁰

The emotions are also central to Sufi piety within Islam, as Sufi poets and scholars such as Rumi thought that music and dancing could help people achieve a state of ecstasy that would lead to greater spiritual awareness and bring them closer to God. Exuberant Sufi ceremonies generally became more popular than the more formal and reserved services in mosques, and Sufi brotherhoods became not only devotional groups, but also important social, political, and economic institutions, including the ruling houses of two empires, the Safavid and the Ottoman. Nile Greene’s recent overview of the history of Sufism explores all of this, and Kathryn Babayan examines the way desire for the divine and hope for a spiritual utopia shaped culture and society at the beginning of the Safavid

¹⁸ JOHN CORRIGAN, *The Business of the Heart: Religion and Emotion in the Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002).

¹⁹ *Religion and Emotions: Approaches and Interpretations*, ed. by JOHN CORRIGAN (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2004) and *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, ed. by JOHN CORRIGAN (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008).

²⁰ LAWRENCE FINE, *Physician of the Soul, Healer of the Cosmos: Isaac Luria and His Kabbalistic Fellowship* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).

Empire.²¹ Dror Ze-Evi includes Sufi literature as well as a range of other medical, religious, legal, literary, and travel texts in his analysis of the ways in which desire for humans as well as for the divine were expressed and shaped in the Ottoman Empire, and Walter Andrews and Mehmet Kalpakli provide one of the few cross-cultural studies of a particular emotion —love— that directly compares Muslim and Christian works, with a chapter on love and religion.²² The study of the emotions within Islam is clearly a growth area of research; for example, the newly-established *Pakistan Journal of Historical Studies*, sponsored by the Khaldania Centre for Historical research in Lahore and published by Indiana University Press, set the emotions as the topics for both issues of its first volume in 2016, the first on ‘emotions and marginal communities’ and the second on ‘emotions, humans and animals.’²³

Traditions of personalized affective piety —generally known as *bhakti*— in early modern India, such as Vaishnavism of the spiritual teachers Chaitanya and Vallabha that advocated loving devotion to an avatar of Vishnu (often Krishna), have also been examined from the perspective of the emotions, or with a focus on related topics such as the heart or the imagination.²⁴ In the Hindu context, religious love is conceptualized within theories of *rasa* and *bhava* that were initially developed for —and still inform— secular aesthetics and performing arts. Though *rasa* and *bhava* are among the words that are often regarded as untranslatable, *bhava* may be thought of to some degree as emotion or emotional state, and *rasa* as the dominant interior state or aesthetic reaction experienced by the audience watching performers portray various *bhava*. In the sixteenth century, *rasa* theory was applied to *bhakti* devotion, in which Krishna’s divine acts were understood to evoke intense love and spiritual delight, a *rasa* that surpassed all other *rasa* and all other experiences.²⁵

²¹ NILE GREEN, *Sufism: A Global History*, (London: Wiley-Blackwell, 2012); KATHRYN BABAYAN, *Mystics, Monarchs, and Messiahs: Cultural Landscapes of Early Modern Iran* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2003).

²² DROR ZE-EVI, *Producing Desire: Changing Sexual Discourse in the Ottoman Middle East* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2006); WALTER ANDREWS and MEHMET KALPAKLI, *The Age of Beloveds: Love and the Beloved in Early-Modern Ottoman and European Culture and Society* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005). For gendered emotions in Islam, see MARGRET PERNAU, “Male anger and female malice: emotions in Indo-Muslim advice literature”, *History Compass* 10, 2 (2012): 119-28.

²³ <http://hak3408.wixsite.com/khaldunia/pakistan-journal-of-historical-studies>. Accessed 22 September 2016.

²⁴ JEFFREY R. TIMM, “The celebration of emotion: Vallabha’s ontology of affective experience”, *Philosophy East and West* 41, 1 (1991): 59-75; *Alternative Krishnas: Regional and Vernacular Variations on a Hindu Deity*, edited by GUY L. BECK (Albany: SUNY Press, 2012); DAVID SHULMAN, *More than Real: A History of the Imagination in South India* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012).

²⁵ For a brief introduction to *Rasa* theory in relation to religion, with references to longer works, see DAVID BUCHTA and GRAHAM M. SCHWEIG, “*Rasa* theory,” in *Brill’s Encyclopedia of Hinduism*,

Because Kabbalah, Sufism and devotion to Krishna are living religious traditions practiced by many, there are also countless books designed to guide meditation in the here and now to produce certain emotional states. They include texts from the past, but tend to frame these as ‘timeless wisdom’ rather than as reflecting the cultures that produced them. The same is true of Buddhism: only rarely do historical studies explicitly frame themselves as part of the history of the emotions, although one could argue that because of the centrality of mindfulness and the lessening of desire, *all* analysis of the teachings and practice of Buddhism is about the emotions.

Although both beliefs and emotions are sometimes opposed to thought, scholars of the emotions instead see them as intimately connected to thought, and not simply thought in its Buddhist sense of mindfulness, but also thought in the sense of rationality. An influential voice on this has been William Reddy, who has coined several concepts that along with Rosenwein’s idea of ‘emotional communities’ and the Stearnses’ emphasis on culture have been taken up by other historians to investigate a variety of times and places. One of these is ‘emotives,’ which Reddy defines as ‘an attempt to call up the emotion that is expressed; it is an attempt to feel what one says one feels.’²⁶ This calling up is most often verbal, such as telling someone ‘I love you,’ or saying about oneself ‘I feel frightened,’ but it can also be somatic, such as smiling or crying. Putting feelings into words or choosing other ways to outwardly express them serves as a way to both manage and explore them, Reddy asserts. Thus saying ‘I feel frightened’ is both a way to manage fear and explore whether one is really afraid, which then can have an impact on just how afraid one feels.²⁷ Reddy uses the findings of cognitive and affective neuroscience to support his ideas on this feedback loop of self-evaluation between conscious and unconscious or subconscious processes.²⁸ One might object that focusing on externally-expressed ‘emotives’ moves away from what people really feel, but even historians who do not use Reddy’s concept of emotives note that we have no other choice. The only way we can know about the emotions of the past—and actually the present, for any emotions other than our own—is when these are expressed through words, gestures,

Volume Two: Sacred Texts, Ritual Traditions, Arts, Concepts, ed. by KNUT AXEL JACOBSEN (Leiden: Brill, 2010), 623-29.

²⁶ WILLIAM M. REDDY, quoted in PLAMPER, *The history of emotions*, 240.

²⁷ WILLIAM M. REDDY, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of the Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001). Reddy uses this idea in his more recent comparative study of romantic love as well: *The Making of Romantic Love: Longing and Sexuality in Europe, South Asia, and Japan* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012).

²⁸ WILLIAM M. REDDY, “Saying something new: practice theory and cognitive neuroscience”, *Arcadia: International Journal for Literary Studies* 44, 1 (2009): 8-23. For another study of the way thought shapes emotions, see SOPHIA ROSENFELD, “Thinking about feeling, 1789–1799”, *French Historical Studies* 32, 4 (2009): 697-706.

or actions, and these are shaped by the historical subject's cognitions, values, and culture.²⁹

Reddy's concept of 'emotives' does not deny that feelings really exist, but he also notes that 'emotives' can be prescribed by society as well as the individual, through ideals, norms, rituals, prayers, oaths, and so on, what the Stearnses called 'emotionology.' Societies create what Reddy terms 'emotional regimes'—another important concept taken up by other scholars—which he defines as 'the set of normative emotions and the official rituals, practices, and «emotives» that express and inculcate them' and notes that this is 'a necessary underpinning of any stable political regime.'³⁰ 'Emotional regimes' are thus similar to Rosenwein's 'emotional communities,' but have a more Foucauldian valance, as Foucault emphasized the centrality of institutional control mechanisms and the technologies of power in his studies of the creation of modern Western patterns of feelings.³¹

As the Stearnses noted in the 1980s, many of the sources for examining the creation and enforcement of emotional regimes are normative and prescriptive, and for ancient and medieval history are often the most common evidence available on the emotions (as well as on many other topics). Thus emotional regimes have been widely studied. Karant-Nunn's *The Reformation of Feeling* is really about emotional regimes in Reformation Europe, though she does not use that term, and other scholars as well have studied the ways political and intellectual authorities have prescribed new standards for culturally-sanctioned emotions. In *Parenting in England, 1760-1830*, for example, Joanne Bailey traces ideas about parenthood in a Christian society that was responding to new cultural trends of sensibility, romanticism and domesticity, along with Enlightenment ideas about childhood and self.³² She uses some descriptive sources such as memoirs, letters, and court records, but also a wide range of prescriptive sources such as laws, sermons, and advice literature that created the 'emotional regime' of late Georgian England. She argues that the emotional experience of parenthood, and not simply its genealogical necessity, was central to ideas about individual mental and physical well-being, public reputation, familial standing, and even national identity, thus clearly, in Reddy's terms, a 'necessary underpinning' of that particular political regime.

²⁹ This point is made strongly by EIKO IKEGAMI, "Emotions", in *A Concise Companion to History*, ed. by ULINKA RUBLACK (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011), 333-353 and MONIQUE SCHEER, "Are emotions a kind of practice (and is that what makes them have a history)? A Bourdieuan approach to understanding emotion", *History and Theory* 51, 2 (2012): 193-220.

³⁰ REDDY, *The Navigation of Feeling*, 129.

³¹ MICHEL FOUCAULT, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison* (New York: Random House, 1975). For analyses of how affect is shaped by discursive regimes outside of Europe in the very recent past, see the essays in *The Politics of Passion: Reframing Affect and Emotion in Global Modernity* ed. by DIRK WIEMANN and LARS ECKSTEIN (London: Peter Lang, 2013).

³² JOANNE BAILEY, *Parenting in England 1760-1830: Emotion, Identity, and Generation* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012).

As Bailey's book and many others highlight, 'beliefs' are not all religious, but may be philosophical, social, political, or even economic. In *Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution*, for example, Nicole Eustace argues that a broadening of the idea of who had virtuous sociable feelings during the eighteenth century played a pivotal role in reshaping power relations and reordering society in the decades leading up to the American Revolution.³³ In *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism*, she extends this analysis to the role that emotions played in the early nineteenth century, when the militarily disastrous War of 1812 gained so much popular support that it ushered in what is known as the 'era of good feelings' and played on romanticized notions of familial love to strengthen national identity and patriotism.³⁴ In his many works on emotions, Peter Stearns examines the ways that social and economic changes led to emotional shifts, noting, for example, 'By the late 1840s people began to realize that the same industrial world that required the family as an emotional haven also required new emotional motivations for competitive work... The resultant response explains why Victorianism introduced its most distinctive emotional emphases in arguing for channeled anger and courageous encounters with fear.'³⁵ William Reddy examines lines of causation that went in the opposite direction, when the social constraints on emotions at the French court of Louis XVI were so restrictive and the outlets for emotional expression provided by alternatives such as salons, Masonic lodges, theatres, and coffeehouses so freeing that emotional needs led to a political revolution.³⁶ Recent article collections have explored the influence of print culture on the way the emotions were conceived, performed and authenticated, the intense emotional dynamics and trauma created by dramatic events like massacres, floods, fires, earthquakes and plagues, changes in emotional cultures of the early modern battlefield, and the emotional norms, values, and practices surrounding the death of children ³⁷

Links between the emotions and political, social, and economic beliefs and ideas have also been examined in East Asia for the early modern period. In *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China*, for example, Timothy Brooke examines changing attitudes to the inter-relationship of commerce and culture during the expansion of the market economy from the fourteenth century to

³³ NICOLE EUSTACE, *Passion Is the Gale: Emotion, Power, and the Coming of the American Revolution* (Durham: University of North Carolina Press, 2008).

³⁴ NICOLE EUSTACE, *1812: War and the Passions of Patriotism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2012).

³⁵ STEARNS, *American Cool*.

³⁶ REDDY, *The Navigation of Feeling*.

³⁷ *Passions, Sympathy and Print Culture: Public Opinion and Emotional Authenticity in Eighteenth-Century Britain*, ed. by DAVID LEMMINGS, HEATHER KERR, and ROBERT PHIDDIAN (London: Palgrave, 2016); *Disaster, Death and the Emotions in the Shadow of the Apocalypse, 1400-1700*, ed. by JENNIFER SPINKS and CHARLES ZIKA (London: Palgrave, 2016); *Battlefield Emotions 1500-1800: Practices, Experience, Imagination*, ed. by ERIKA KUIPERS and CORNELIS VAN DER HAVEN (London: Palgrave, 2016); *Death, Emotion and Childhood in Premodern Europe*, ed. by KATIE BARCLAY, CIARA RAWNSLEY and KIMBERLEY REYNOLDS (London: Palgrave, 2016).

seventeenth. Educated elites feared the end of their influence and looked nostalgically back on an imagined golden past, but instead of losing influence the scholarly gentry became interwoven with the nouveau riche merchant classes. He concludes: ‘However thoroughly commerce had replaced paternalism and deference with a wage relationship, or however well some individuals managed to step over social barriers and move up the social ladder, or however deeply the successful were troubled as standards and distinctions seemed to dissolve beneath them, the class system of overlordship and deference that held the Chinese world together at the beginning of the Ming was still there at the end.’³⁸ Thus emotions can be an important factor in social and political continuities as well as changes. Paolo Santangelo uses the huge database of Ming and Qing sources that he has developed to examine how emotions and states of mind were expressed, thus examining ‘emotives,’ though he does not use that term. As Reddy did in *ancien régime* France, he finds contradictions between official values with rigid ethical codes that promoted ‘virtuous sentiments’ and personal desires for wealth and pleasure, and he also analyzes the way that social control influenced the cognitive elements of emotions.³⁹ Dorothy Ko examines the huge range of emotions associated with footbinding over its thousand-year history—desire, suffering, love, pride, family loyalty, revulsion—and the ways these were interwoven with issues of gender, class, sexuality, education, medicine, religion, philosophy, and politics. She also highlights the way that one type of emotion—the revulsion and horror with which nineteenth and early twentieth century reformers and missionaries regarded footbinding—has shaped our own responses as contemporary academic readers, thus making it very difficult for us to understand other types of feelings about the practice.⁴⁰

Turning to Japan, Eiko Ikegami examines the historical development of the samurai ethos in premodern Japan, what she terms ‘honorific individualism’ obsessed with personal dignity and military reputation, and the way this was transformed into an ethos of ‘honorable collaboration’ as the samurai themselves were transformed into a hereditary class of vassal-bureaucrats in the emergent Tokugawa state. This interplay between the individual and the collective, she argues, helps explain the distinctive Japanese path toward modernity, though she also cautions that this is not a teleological story with a major turning point à la Elias’s ‘civilizing process’ thesis, but

³⁸ TIMOTHY BROOKE, *The Confusions of Pleasure: Commerce and Culture in Ming China* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1999), 260.

³⁹ PAOLO SANTANGELO, *Sentimental Education in Chinese History: An Interdisciplinary Textual Research on Ming and Qing Sources* (Leiden: Brill, 2003). See also his edited volumes, with DONATELLA GUIDA, *Love, Hatred, and Other Passions: Questions and Themes on Emotions in Chinese Civilization* (Leiden: Brill, 2006), and, with ULRIKE MIDDENDORF, *From Skin to Heart: Perceptions of Emotions and Bodily Sensations in Traditional Chinese Culture* (Wiesbaden: Harrassowitz, 2006). Other works on the emotions in early modern China include *Love and Emotions in Traditional Chinese Literature*, ed. by HALVOR EIFRING (Leiden: Brill, 2004).

⁴⁰ DOROTHY KO, *Cinderella’s Sisters: A Revisionist History of Footbinding* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2005).

instead one of gradual transformation in the ways emotions were valorized, navigated, taught, and learned.⁴¹ She also emphasizes the political impact of the emotions, noting ‘since emotions are critically related to human bonds and conflicts, power politics naturally enters the dynamics of navigating sentiments.’⁴²

The emotions have been an ongoing theme in the anthropological literature that discusses Africa, but most of this is ethnographic and has focused on the twentieth and now twenty-first centuries.⁴³ Some explores earlier periods, however, such as the work of David Schoenbrun on how experiences of loss in early modern Bunyoro shaped beliefs about political legitimacy or of Rhiannon Stephenson on the cultural and social meaning of motherhood in Uganda.⁴⁴

Examining scholarship on Africa that links beliefs and emotions leads into the second section of the Venn diagram I wish to discuss, that in which the circles on empire and emotions overlap.⁴⁵ Although one could argue that because empires become empires only through military conquest every study of empires should be about emotions—greed, desire for power, fear, and so on— traditional studies of empire have only rarely been conceptualized as such (Biographies of conquerors, by contrast, generally *do* pay attention to their subjects’ feelings and how these motivated their actions, often claiming an understanding of this that would make many historians of emotions wince. Popular biographies do this to make the story more exciting, ‘Driven by resentment, he angrily strode into the room...’ but scholarly biographies do so as well.) Topics that are now sometimes conceptualized as the history of emotions began as studies of imperialism/colonialism and sexuality, on which there is a huge literature and which continues as its own field of inquiry.⁴⁶

⁴¹ EIKO IKEGAMI, *The Taming of the Samurai: Honorific Individualism and the Making of Modern Japan* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997) and *Bonds of Civility: Aesthetic Pursuits and the Political Origins of Japanese Culture* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005). See also WILLIAM R. LINDSEY, *Fertility and Pleasure: Ritual and Sexual Values in Tokugawa Japan* (Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press, 2006).

⁴² IKEGAMI, *Emotions*, 336.

⁴³ For representative studies of the twentieth century by both anthropologists and historians, see *Love in Africa*, ed. by JENNIFER COLE and LYNN M. THOMAS (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2009).

⁴⁴ DAVID L. SCHOENBRUN, “A mask of calm: emotion and founding the Kingdom of Bunyoro in the 16th century”, *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 55, 3 (2013): 634-664; RHIANNON STEPHENS, *A History of African Motherhood: The Case of Uganda, 700-1900* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

⁴⁵ For an excellent survey on the “new imperial history” in general, see DURBA GHOSH, “Another set of imperial turns?”, *American Historical Review* 117, 3 (2012): 772-794. Scholarship that defies itself as “imperial” tends to focus on Western European empires, especially the British, though some cross-cultural (and cross-temporal) studies are emerging, such as JANE BURBANK and FREDRICK COOPER, *Empires in World History: Power and the Politics of Difference* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011).

⁴⁶ See, for just some examples: WARD STAVIG, “Living in offense of our lord: indigenous sexual values and marital life in the colonial crucible”, *Hispanic American Historical Review* 75 (1995): 597-622; ANNE MCCLINTOCK, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest* (London: Routledge, 1995); ANN STOLER, *Race and the Education of Desire: Foucault’s*

Many recent works demonstrate that imperial power is explicitly and implicitly linked with sexuality, and that images of colonial peoples were gendered and sexualized. Research on sexuality in the context of imperialism has also emphasized links between colonized areas and the metropole, arguing that the process of colonization shaped ideologies and practices everywhere.⁴⁷

Sexual desire figures large as an emotion in newer studies of the political and cultural history of empires, but increasingly other types of intimacy and affect have begun to be examined as well. In her essays collected in *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule*, Ann Stoler links matters of intimacy to matters of state policy in late nineteenth and early twentieth century Indonesia, and especially examines the role of affective attachments in creating colonial categories. Sexual desire is one of the emotions she examines, but so are the attachments between parent and child, servants and the families they served.⁴⁸ The authors in *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History*, also edited by Stoler, examine the critical role of ‘domains of the intimate’ in the consolidation of colonial power, noting how these created and reinforced categories of difference underlying colonialism. Whether in the bedroom, classroom, or medical examining room, the emotions are a major part of this categorization.⁴⁹ The essays in Tony Ballantyne and Antoinette Burton’s *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire* assess ways in which distance and movement shaped intimacy,

History of Sexuality and the Colonial Order of Things (Durham: Duke University Press, 1995); FELICITY NUSSBAUM, *Torrid Zones: Maternity, Sexuality and Empire in Eighteenth-Century English Narratives* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); *Sites of Desire, Economies of Pleasure: Sexualities in Asia and the Pacific*, ed. by LENORE MASTERTON and MARGARET JOLLY (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1997); *Domesticating the Empire: Race, Gender and Family Life in French and Dutch Colonialism*, ed. by JULIA CLANCY-SMITH and FRANCES GOUDA (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1997); ALICE CONKLIN, *A Mission to Civilize: The Republican Idea of Empire in France and West Africa, 1895-1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1997); *The Faces of Honor: Sex, Shame and Violence in Colonial Latin America*, ed. by LYMAN L. JOHNSON and SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1998); ANNE ALICE BULLARD, *Exile to Paradise: Savagery and Civilization in Paris and the South Pacific, 1790-1900* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000); PETE SIGAL, *From Moon Goddesses to Virgins: The Colonization of Yucatecan Maya Sexual Desire* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000); DURBA GHOSH, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire*, Cambridge (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); RICHARD PHILLIPS, *Sex, Politics, and Empire: A Postcolonial Geography* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2006); MARÍA EMMA MANNARELLI, *Private Passions and Public Sins: Men and Women in Seventeenth-century Lima*, trans. Sidney Evans and Meredith Dodge (Albuquerque, University of New Mexico Press, 2007). Scholarship on gender and imperialism/colonialism also includes discussion of the emotions. For an overview of recent directions in this, see MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS, “Crossing borders in transnational gender history”, *Journal of Global History* 6 (2011): 357–379.

⁴⁷ *At Home with the Empire: Metropolitan Culture and the Imperial World*, ed. by CATHERINE HALL and SONYA ROSE (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006).

⁴⁸ ANN LAURA STOLER, *Carnal Knowledge and Imperial Power: Race and the Intimate in Colonial Rule* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2011), 2nd ed.

⁴⁹ ANN LAURA STOLER, *Haunted by Empire: Geographies of Intimacy in North American History* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006).

and in which intimacy, or the prospect of intimacy, or the desire for intimacy, influenced the formation of imperial power. The intimate served ‘not merely as a domain of power but as one of the technologies available to colonizer and colonized alike in the struggle over colonial territory, imperial goods, and the meanings of global aspirations.’⁵⁰ In *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters*, Vanessa Smith explores the meaning of friendship in the Pacific in the late eighteenth century, when a whole series of European explorers believed the first word they heard from the various peoples they encountered was the word for friend.⁵¹ She puts this within the context of European thinking about intimacy and emotional commerce, and unpacks the political and emotional significance of ideas about friendship in explorations of Oceania. With their focus on intimacy in imperial interactions, all of these studies examine what happens when different emotional communities come into contact with one another, and set this squarely within a political context of unequal power relations, thus analyzing both emotional and other sorts of regimes. The same is true of studies that focus or include discussion on the emotions of the slave trade, including terror and anger.⁵²

In *The Inner Life of Empires*, Emma Rothschild examines another type of intimacy, that among family members, as she surveys the ideas, sentiments, and values of a large Scottish family, the Johnstones, the male members of which lived around the globe in the eighteenth century, and all of whom wrote often to one another ‘continually evaluating their own and other people’s inner sentiments in the light of their outer circumstances.’ Rothschild sets this microhistory within the context of the larger story of empire and Enlightenment, but pays great attention to what the brothers and sisters were thinking and feeling, noting that ‘the distinction between the inner and the outer life, or between an interior, private existence of the mind and an exterior universe of events and circumstances, is very difficult to identify in the lives of the Johnstones (as it is in our own lives).’⁵³ Like Rosenwein, she pays attention to the words used to describe both what we would term ‘emotions’ in general, which included ‘sentiments’ ‘passions’ ‘sensibility’ ‘sympathy’ and ‘imagination’ as well as ‘emotion,’ and the words used for individual emotions.

⁵⁰ *Moving Subjects: Gender, Mobility, and Intimacy in an Age of Global Empire*, ed. by TONY BALLANTYNE and ANTOINETTE BURTON (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2009), 12. See also *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History*, ed. by TONY BALLANTYNE and ANTOINETTE BURTON (Durham: Duke University Press, 2005); ELISA CAMISCIOLI, *Reproducing the French Race: Immigration, Intimacy, and Embodiment in the Early Twentieth Century* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

⁵¹ VANESSA SMITH, *Intimate Strangers: Friendship, Exchange and Pacific Encounters* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

⁵² See STEPHANIE E. SMALLWOOD, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2007); BENJAMIN LAMB-BOOKS, *Angry Abolitionists and the Rhetoric of Slavery: Moral Emotions in Social Movements* (London: Palgrave, 2016).

⁵³ EMMA ROTHSCHILD, *The Inner Life of Empires: An Eighteenth-Century History* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011), 7-9.

In the early twenty-first century, scholarship on colonialism and imperialism began to cast itself explicitly as examining the emotions, particularly in the essay collections that often grow out of conferences and mark the introduction of a new framework. The essays in *Emotions and Daily Life in Colonial Mexico* examine daily life through the study of love, lust, jealousy, piety, and anger, exploring how individuals experienced emotions on a personal level and how institutions such as civic and church rituals guided and channeled the expression of emotions in the colonial emotional regime.⁵⁴ The essays in *Civilizing Emotions* argue that the emotions were at the core of the practices linked to the creation of the new hierarchized global order in the nineteenth century, exploring why and how emotions were controlled, managed, and ascribed to different societies and social groups in ventures that were understood as ‘civilizing’ them.⁵⁵ Other studies as well examine the emotional investments in empires, both personal and institutional, and the ways these were performed in colony and metropole.⁵⁶ Several scholars have combined the ‘emotional turn’ with an interest in memory, exploring, for example, the emotional dimension of myths about the conquest and colonization of the Americas in fin de siècle Iberian literature or the way twentieth-century Latin American magical realist narratives reimagine the colonial sense of wonder as a structure of feeling.⁵⁷

Turning to the third overlap in my Venn diagram, scholarship that is about both empire and religion means moving to a space that could easily swell to hide the rest of the diagram, so I will mention just a handful of the many studies available. Even fairly traditional studies of empires in this period —European and non-European— that focus primarily on the political and economic now generally pay some attention to culture and religion, and to a lesser extent, social history.⁵⁸ Every study of Spanish colonialism includes an analysis of the role of Catholicism in this,

⁵⁴ *Emotions and Daily Life in Colonial Mexico*, ed. by JAVIER VILLA-FLORES and SONYA LIPSETT-RIVERA (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2014).

⁵⁵ MARGRET PERNAU, HELGE JORDHEIM, et al., *Civilizing Emotions: Concepts in Nineteenth Century Asia and Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

⁵⁶ See e.g. TAPAN RAYCHAUDHURI, *Perceptions, Emotions, Sensibilities: Essays on India's Colonial and Post-colonial Experiences* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000); SIU KEUNG CHEUNG, *Gender and Community Under British Colonialism: Emotion, Struggle and Politics in a Chinese Village* (London: Routledge 2012).

⁵⁷ JAVIER KRAUEL, *Imperial Emotions: Cultural Responses to Myths of Empire in Fin-de-Siècle Spain* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 2014); JERÓNIMO ARELLANO, *Magical Realism and the History of the Emotions in Latin America* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2015).

⁵⁸ See, for example, the massive *Empires and Encounters: 1350-1750*, ed. by WOLFGANG REINHARD (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015) or *Portuguese Oceanic Expansion, 1400-1800*, ed. by FRANCISCO BETHECOURT and DIOGO RAMADA CURTO (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015). See also CARLA GARDINA PESTANA, “Religion”, in *The British Atlantic World, 1500–1800*, ed. by DAVID ARMITAGE and MICHAEL J. BRADDICK, 2nd ed. (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2009), 69–89. Antoinette Burton is also editing a multi-volume series on the Cultural History of Western Empires, published by Bloomsbury, which will be out beginning in 2018.

and some historians have begun to argue for a ‘Catholic Atlantic.’⁵⁹ Studies of British North American colonialism have always paid attention (or indeed over-emphasized) the role of religion as a motivating force for migration, but religion is now being integrated more fully into discussions of political developments. Carla Pestana’s *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World*, for example, employs the themes of circulation, transplantation, and negotiation to place British expansion into the Atlantic world in a religious context.⁶⁰ Broad surveys of Christianity in this era remain predominantly European, but now usually include some discussion of regions beyond Europe.⁶¹

The most interesting analyses of religion within the context of colonialism and the increasing interactions that characterized the early modern era, in my opinion, are studies that focus on processes of conversion. They are also those that are the most likely to have significant consideration of emotions, and thus be in the center triangle of my Venn diagram. I am not alone in thinking this. Although the new *Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion* oddly does not have a chapter that discusses emotions and conversion (though it does link conversion to nearly everything else, including legal issues, cognitive neuroscience, dreaming, semiotics, geography, demographics, sociology, and psychology), the *Journal of Religious History* just published a special issue on emotions and conversion.⁶² This issue, edited by Jacqueline van Gent and Spencer Young, grew out of a 2013 workshop sponsored by the Australian Research Council Centre of Excellence for the History of Emotions, and includes the role of the emotions in conversion to Christianity by indigenous peoples in several parts of Canada and in Greenland, in debates over conversions to Christianity in South and Southeast Asia, and in conversions back and forth between Islam and Christianity in the Mediterranean.⁶³ Similarly, another very recent collection, *Emotions and Christian*

⁵⁹ ALLAN GREER and KENNETH MILLS, “A Catholic Atlantic”, in *The Atlantic in Global History, 1500–2000*, ed. by JORGE CAÑIZARES-ESGUERRA and ERIK R. SEEMAN (Upper Saddle River: Pearson Prentice Hall, 2007), 3–19.

⁶⁰ CARLA GARDINA PESTANA, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009).

⁶¹ *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 6: *Reform and Expansion, c. 1500-c. 1660*, ed. by R. PO-CHIA HSIA (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); *The Cambridge History of Christianity*, Vol. 7, *Enlightenment, Reawakening, and Revolution, 1660–1815*, ed. by STEWART J. BROWN and TIMOTHY TACKETT (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); CARLOS M.N. EIRE, *Reformations: The Early Modern World, 1450-1650* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016). Forthcoming in 2017 will be *Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformation*, ed. by ULINKA RUBLACK (Oxford: Oxford University Press) for which I wrote the final chapter, “Comparisons and consequences in global perspective”.

⁶² *Oxford Handbook of Religious Conversion*, ed. by LEWIS R. RAMBO and CHARLES E. FARHADIAN (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014). Although words describing emotions are used in many chapters, ‘emotions’ is also not an index entry, nor are any words for individual emotions. Apparently the editors did not pay attention to *The Oxford Handbook of Religion and Emotion*, which was published in 2008.

⁶³ *Journal of Religious History* 39, 4 (2015): 461-630 (special issue on Emotions and Conversion, ed. JACQUELINE VAN GENT and SPENCER YOUNG).

Missions: Historical Perspectives explores the ways in which emotions were conceptualised and practised in Christian mission contexts from the 17th to the 20th centuries. The authors show how emotional practices such as prayer, tears, and Methodist ‘shouting,’ and feelings such as pity, joy and frustration, shaped relationships between missionaries and prospective converts.⁶⁴

Conversion in colonial settings used to be understood largely as ‘spiritual conquest,’ but recent studies in what has come to be called the ‘New Mission History’ have replaced this view with one that emphasizes cultural blending, indigenization, hybridity, creolization, and syncretism.⁶⁵ The New Mission History situates this process of transcultural exchange, negotiation, and *mestizaje* within the context of colonial conquest and enormous power differences, so it is not overly celebratory, but it recognizes European, African, indigenous, and mixed-race people as actors.⁶⁶

⁶⁴ *Emotions and Christian Missions: Historical Perspectives*, ed. by KAREN VALLGÅRDA, CLAIRE MCLISKY and DANIEL MIDENA (London: Palgrave, 2015).

⁶⁵ On the New Mission History as a field, see ERICK LANGER and ROBERT H. JACKSON, ed., *The New Latin American Mission History* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1995) and SUSAN DEEDS, “Pushing the borders of Latin American mission history – review article”, *Latin American Research Review* 39, 2 (2004). For examples, see WILLIAM B. TAYLOR, *Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth Century Mexico* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); PETE C. PHAN, *Mission and Catechesis in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam: Alexandre de Rhodes and Inculturation in Seventeenth-Century Vietnam* (New York: Orbis Books, 1998); INES G. ZUPANOV, *Disputed Mission: Jesuit Experiments and Brahmanical Knowledge in 17th Century India* (Delhi: Oxford University Press, 1999) and *Missionary Tropics: The Catholic Frontier in India (16th-17th Centuries)* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 2005); ISABEL PINA, “The Jesuit missions in Japan and in China: two distinct realities; cultural adaptation and the assimilation of natives,” *Bulletin of Portuguese/Japanese Studies* 2 (2001): 59-76; *Colonial Saints: Discovering the Holy in the Americas*, ed. by ALLAN GREER and JODI BILINKOFF (London: Routledge, 2002); *Conversion: Old Worlds and New*, ed. by KENNETH MILLS and ANTHONY GRAFTON (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003); JAMES A. SANDOS, *Converting California: Indians and Franciscans in the Missions* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2004); MIROSLAVA CHÁVEZ-GARCÍA, *Negotiating Conquest: Gender and Power in California, 1770s to 1880s* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2004); ROBERT C. GALGANO, *Feast of Souls: Indians and Spaniards in the Seventeenth-Century Missions of Florida and New Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2005); STEVEN W. HACKEL, *Children of Coyote, Missionaries of St. Francis: Indian-Spanish Relations in Colonial California, 1769-1850* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005); *Religions and Missionaries around the Pacific, 1500-1900*, ed. by TANYA STORCH (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2006); JOHN D. EARLY, *The Maya and Catholicism: An Encounter of World Views* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006); LUKE CLOSSEY, *Salvation and Globalization in the Early Jesuit Missions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2008); CHARLES H. PARKER, “Converting souls across borders: Dutch Calvinism and early modern missionary enterprises”, *Journal of Global History* 8, 1 (2013): 50-71.

⁶⁶ GEORGE E. BROOKS, *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: University of Ohio Press, 2003); JAMES SWEET, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); PRATIMA KAMAT, “The tail wags the dog? Colonial policies of conversion and Hindu resistance through syncretism and collaboration in Goa, 1510 - 1755”, *Indian Historical Review* 30, 1 (2003): 21-39; J. LORAND MATORY, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the*

Just as are the emotions, conversion is regarded as an inner process, but with externally visible changes in behavior and demeanor. In a comparative study of conversion in the seventeenth century and today, for example, Craig Harline explores the effects of religious conversion on the inner life of the individuals involved and also on family relationships and dynamics.⁶⁷ In my *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice*, I survey the ways in which Christian ideas and institutions shaped sexual norms and conduct around the world from the time of Luther and Columbus to that of Thomas Jefferson.⁶⁸ I look at marriage and divorce, fornication and illegitimacy, clerical sexuality, same-sex relations, witchcraft and love magic, moral crimes, and inter-racial relationships. Neither Harline nor I frame our books as studies of the emotions, but we do discuss a wide variety of them, including sexual desire, love, envy, fondness, hate, jealousy, and a range of others, as do many of the studies of conversion referenced above. There are also articles examining one particular emotion within the context of religious conversion, such as lust, guilt, fear, or suspicion; those published in the last decade sometimes use the theoretical insights of Stearns, Rosenwein, and Reddy.⁶⁹

Afro-Brazilian Candomblé (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005); DOUGLAS L. WINIARSKI, "Native American popular religion in New England's Old Colony, 1670-1770", *Religion and American Culture* 15, 2 (2005): 147-186; ALLAN GREER, *Mohawk Saint: Catherine Tekakwitha and the Jesuits* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2006); NICOLE VON GERMETEN, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006); HARUKO NAWATA WARD, *Women Religious Leaders in Japan's Christian Century, 1549 -1650* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2009); TRACY NEAL LEAVELLE, *The Catholic Calumet: Colonial Conversions in French and Indian North America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011); LAURA M. CHMIELEWSKI, *The Spice of Popery: Converging Christianities on an Early American Frontier* (Notre Dame, IN, University of Notre Dame Press, 2011). For a general study of cultural mixing in the Atlantic, see JOHN K. THORNTON, *A Cultural History of the Atlantic World, 1250-1820* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012). On mixing more generally, see PETER BURKE, *Cultural Hybridity* (London: Polity, 2009).

⁶⁷ CRAIG HARLINE, *Conversions: Two Family Stories from the Reformation and Modern America* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2013).

⁶⁸ MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (London: Routledge, 2009).

⁶⁹ See ANN WALTNER, "Demerits and deadly sins: Jesuit moral tracts in late Ming China", in *Implicit Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters Between Europeans and Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era*, ed. by STUART SCHWARTZ (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1994), 434-455; LEONARD BLUSSÉ, "Retribution and remorse: the interaction between the administration and the Protestant mission in early colonial Formosa", in *After Colonialism: Imperial Histories and Postcolonial Displacements*, ed. by GYAN PRAKASH (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1995), 153-182; DAVID CARRASCO, "Uttered from the heart: guilty rhetoric among the Aztecs", *History of Religions* 39, 1 (1999): 1-31; INES G. ZUPANOV, "Lust, marriage and free will: Jesuit critique of paganism in South India (seventeenth century)", *Studies in History* 16, 2 (2000); JOHN NELSON, "Myths, missions, and mistrust: the fate of Christianity in 16th and 17th Century Japan", *History and Anthropology* 13, 2 (2002): 93-111; ANGELA BARRETO XAVIER, "Disquiet on the island: conversion, conflicts and conformity in sixteenth-century Goa", *Indian Economic and Social History Review* 44, 3 (2007): 269 - 295; ZEB TORTORICI, "Masturbation, salvation, and desire: connecting sexuality and religiosity in colonial Mexico", *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 16, 3 (2007): 355-372; MARGRIT PERNAU, "Teaching

It is clear, as Jacqueline van Gent and Spencer Young note in their introduction to the special issue on conversion and emotions, that *every* cross-cultural religious encounter, whether for the purposes of conversion or not, involved emotions, for ‘emotion is deeply imbricated within the many varieties of religious experience.’⁷⁰ Certain religious groups emphasized feelings and emotions more than others, however, making this an aspect of their piety impossible to ignore. On this the Moravians are becoming the best studied from a global perspective. The Moravians established missions across Europe from Ireland to Silesia, and then beyond to the islands of the Caribbean, Surinam, West and South Africa, and the British colonies of North America from Labrador to Georgia.⁷¹ They developed a distinctive theology centered on the blood and wounds of Christ, expressed in sensual language about blood flowing from the side wound and believers crawling inside this to bathe or be baptized in the blood.⁷² This was powerful to indigenous peoples in many parts of the world, for whom blood and wounds also had deep meaning. Missionaries’ letters and reports from Pennsylvania, for example, speak of Native American women and men who were ‘hungry after the Savior’s blood,’ and saw this blood as both a spiritual and physical healing agent.⁷³ Their dreams and visions, told as part of the life stories about spiritual longing and crisis that were related after baptism, were written down, distributed, and read by Moravians and others in Pennsylvania and beyond. Thus as Native Americans accommodated their spiritual language and emotional register somewhat to Moravian idioms to join this new spiritual and emotional community—or the missionaries recorded them as doing so—German and English audiences read about vision quests, hunting magic, and miraculous healings, which fit well with their own world view in which prophecies, apparitions, and portents were regularly reported, interpreted, and responded to in emotional terms. Within the context of colonialism, European

Emotions: The Encounter between Victorian Values and Indo-Persian Concepts of Civility in Nineteenth-Century Delhi”, in *Knowledge Production, Pedagogy, and Institutions in Colonial India*, ed. by INDRA SENGUPTA and DAUD ALI (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 227-47; GIOVANNI TARANTINO, “A ‘Protestant’ Approach to Colonization as Envisaged in John Lockman’s Martyrology (1760)”, in *Violence and Emotions*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL and SARAH FINN (London: Routledge, 2015); CHARLES WALKER, “«When fear rather than reason dominates»: priests behind the lines in the Tupac Amaru rebellion”, and LISBETH WALKER, “Fear in colonial California and within the borderlands”, in LAFFAN and WEISS, *Facing Fear*, 54-73 and 74-90.

⁷⁰ VAN GENT and YOUNG, “Introduction,” 461, in *Journal of Religious History* 39, 4 (2015) (special issue on Emotions and Conversion).

⁷¹ *Pious Pursuits: German Moravians in the Atlantic World*, ed. by MICHELE GILLESPIE and ROBERT BEACHY (New York: Berghahn, 2007).

⁷² CRAIG D. ATWOOD, “Sleeping in the arms of Christ: sanctifying sexuality in the eighteenth-century Moravian Church”, *Journal of the History of Sexuality* 8 (1997): 25-51; AARON SPENCER FOGLEMAN, *Jesus is Female: Moravians and Radical Religion in Early America* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2007), especially 95-103; PAUL PEUCKER, *A Time of Sifting: Mystical Marriage and the Crisis of Moravian Piety in the Eighteenth Century* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 2015).

⁷³ Quoted JANE T. MERRITT, *At the Crossroads: Indians and Empires on a Mid-Atlantic Frontier, 1700-1763* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 113. For an article that considers the Moravians within the context of the history of the emotions, see JACQUELINE VAN GENT, “The burden of love: Moravian conversions and emotion in eighteenth century Labrador”, *Journal of Religious History* 39, 4 (2015): 557-554.

emotional regimes —using Reddy’s term— would become the more powerful, but there was also some interweaving of emotional communities.

The Moravians were not the only Christian group in a colonial context for whom the emotions were important; so were evangelical Protestants of other types, as Karen Vallgård has emphasized in her new book, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark*.⁷⁴ Feelings were essential in Catholic conversion as well, and of course in other world religions, including Islam, which was becoming a global religion as it spread across Africa and South and Southeast Asia in this era.⁷⁵ Thus we can look forward to more studies of these in the future.

Judging by some of the work scheduled to appear in the near future, we can look forward not only to more studies of conversion informed by the rich theoretical work on the emotions, but more analyses that bring empire, beliefs, and emotions together in a variety of ways. Despite the fact that it is called ‘an introduction,’ Susan Broomhall’s *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, due out later this year, is really a comprehensive survey of the field, and will include essays on religion, on colonialism, and on religion *and* colonialism, along with other topics, including modern theories and models of emotions, sources and methodologies for studying the emotions, early modern terms, concepts and practices of emotions, and a number of specialized political, intellectual, social, and cultural subjects.⁷⁶ Its more than fifty essays are primarily about Europe, but seven of them do go beyond Europe to consider European missions, trading networks and colonies. This will be the place to start in 2017 and beyond.

Like all handbooks, companions, and other such overviews, Broomhall’s forthcoming collection provides a snapshot of the field as it actually is now, not as we wish it might be. Scholarship on the history of the emotions is overwhelmingly European, so much so that the blurb describing *Early Modern Emotions* does not mention this, making Europe an unmarked category. Thus Peter Stearns’ comment about the need for comparative work and Eugenia Lean’s and Julie Livingston’s call for more connectivity that I mentioned at the beginning of this article are well taken. Lean is absolutely right that ‘throughout history, emotions not solely develop over time, but move and traverse over space, small-scale and large, and in messy, unexpected ways that do not conform to civilizational, regional, national, or local

⁷⁴ KAREN VALLGÅRDA, *Imperial Childhoods and Christian Mission: Education and Emotions in South India and Denmark* (London: Palgrave, 2015).

⁷⁵ To my knowledge, none of the studies of the expansion of Islam frames this within the history of the emotions, although OMAR H. ALI, *Islam in the Indian Ocean World: A Brief History with Documents* (Boston: Bedford, 2016), contains many documents that refer to emotions and their impact, and Ali’s introduction mentions various emotions. This small book also contains an excellent select bibliography to both print and web materials on the expansion of Islam.

⁷⁶ *Early Modern Emotions: An Introduction*, ed. by SUSAN BROOMHALL (London: Routledge, forthcoming December 2016).

boundaries' and Livingstone that 'if we understand emotions as necessarily social processes, then we must contemplate them within socially complex and dynamic historical worlds. These worlds are linked and at times densely connected through movements of people, goods, ideas.'⁷⁷ Because so much of the theorizing about the emotions to date has been based on Western evidence and Western models of feeling, such comparative or connected studies will need to engage with the theoretical formulations regarding affect, moods, cognition, mind, heart, and other concepts (including those for which there are no easy English translations) from other cultures, such as the theories of *rasa* and *bhava* that have informed Indian aesthetics and religion, to allow what world and global historians call 'reciprocal comparison,' in which each case is viewed from the vantage point of the others.⁷⁸

More comparative, connected and cross-cultural studies are particularly appropriate for the period from 1400 to 1900 because increasing movements of people, goods, and ideas are what defines the period. The description of *The Journal of Early Modern History*, launched at the University of Minnesota in 1997, states: "The early modern period of world history (ca. 1300-1800) was marked by a rapidly increasing level of global interaction. Between the aftermath of Mongol conquest in the East and the onset of industrialization in the West, a framework was established for new kinds of contacts and collective self-definition across an unprecedented range of human and physical geographies."⁷⁹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam comments that the period 'defines a new sense of the limits of the inhabited world, in good measure because it is in a fundamental way an age of travel and discovery, of geographical redefinition.'⁸⁰ He sees the effects of these interactions in 'complex changes in political theology' and 'new and intensified forms of hierarchy, domination, and separation.'⁸¹ Evelyn Rawski agrees, noting that 'elites, ideas, and religions moved across regions with greater frequency than ever before, significantly influencing intellectual and cultural life.'⁸² And Ayesha Ramachandran argues that this expansion in networks of circulation was not simply something we can see looking backwards,

⁷⁷ Comments by LEAN and LIVINGSTON in *AHR conversation*, 1518, 1520.

⁷⁸ For examples of reciprocal comparisons, see *Beyond Binary Histories: Re-imagining Eurasia to c. 1830*, ed. by VICTOR LIEBERMAN (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1999); JACK A. GOLDSTONE, "Divergence in Cultural Trajectories: The Power of the Traditional within the Early Modern," in *Comparative Early Modernities, 1100-1800*, ed. by DAVID PORTER (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2012), 165–192.

⁷⁹ <http://www.brill.nl/journal-early-modern-history>. Accessed 8 August 2016.

⁸⁰ SANJAY SUBRAHMANYAM, "Connected histories: notes toward a reconfiguration of Early Modern Eurasia", *Modern Asian Studies* 31, 3 (1997): 735-62, here 737. For a particularly forceful articulation of this view, see JERRY BENTLEY, "Early Modern Europe and the Early Modern World," in *Between the Middle Ages and Modernity: Individual and Community in the Early Modern World*, ed. by CHARLES H. PARKER and JERRY H. BENTLEY (London: Rowman and Littlefield, 2007), 13-32.

⁸¹ SUBRAHMANYAM, *Connected histories*, 739.

⁸² EVELYN S. RAWSKI, "The Qing Formation and the Early-Modern Period," in *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, ed. by LYNN STRUVE (Cambridge: Harvard University Asia Center, 2004), 211.

but that many people living at the time recognized it as well: ‘As both a potent idea and image, «the world» occupies a crucial position in early modern culture.’⁸³

This spatial expansion will involve new research, but it will also involve recasting existing research and analyses in terms of the emotions, a direction William Reddy called for in 2010: ‘The history of the emotions is a way of doing political, social, and cultural history, not something to be added to existing fields.’⁸⁴ Thus the emotions can be a lens as well as a subject, just as gender has become over the last several decades, a parallel that Jan Plamper has highlighted as well in his suggestion to ‘envision the history of the emotions not as a specialized field but as a means of integrating the category of emotions into social, cultural, and political history, emulating the rise of gender as an analytical category since its early beginning as ‘women’s history’ in the 1970s.’⁸⁵ Scholarship on the emotions, by the way, almost always uses gender as category of analysis.

In thinking about my own publications, which now stretch back more than thirty years, I realized that, armed with theories and examples from the rich body of scholarship surveyed here, I could without too much effort recast many of these within the history of the emotions. I started as a historian of early modern working women, and when I reread my first articles and my first book, I now see words relating to feelings, emotions, and affect leaping out at me on nearly every page, both in my translations of sources and in my analysis: fear, anger, shame, concern, jealousy, pride, love, envy, caring, friendship.⁸⁶ So apparently I’ve been a historian of the emotions all along, just not knowing it. This may not be enough to get me through the coming political season, however, which will challenge my emotions the

⁸³ AYESHA RAMACHANDRAN, “A War of Worlds: Becoming ‘Early Modern’ and the Challenge of Comparison,” in *Comparative Early Modernities, 1100-1800*, ed. by DAVID PORTER (London: Palgrave-Macmillan, 2012), 21. Issues involving the use of “early modern” for areas other than Europe have been discussed in ANTHONY REID, “Introduction: A Time and a Place”, in *Southeast Asia in the Early Modern Era: Trade, Power and Belief* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1993); *Conflict and Accommodation in Early Modern Asia: Essays in Honour of Erik Zürcher*, ed. by LEONARD BLUSSÉ and HARRIET T. ZURNDORFER (Leiden: Brill, 1993); LEONARD Y. ANDAYA and BARBARA WATSON ANDAYA, “Southeast Asia in the early modern period: twenty five years on”, *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 26 (1995): 92–8; JACK A. GOLDSTONE, “The problem of the «early modern world», *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* 41 (1998): 249–84, with replies by Peter van der Veer and David Washbrook; *Early Modernities*, special issue of *Daedalus: Journal of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 127 (1998). Lynn A. Struve provides an excellent survey of this discussion among Asian historians in the introduction to *The Qing Formation in World-Historical Time*, and several of the essays in that volume explicitly consider the question. For a history of “early modern” as a term, see: RANDOLPH STARN, “The early modern muddle”, *Journal of Early Modern History* 6 (2002): 296–307. For a discussion of some of the controversies related to the use of “early modern” for studying women and gender, see MERRY E. WIESNER-HANKS, “Do women need the Renaissance?”, *Gender & History* 20 (2008): 539-557.

⁸⁴ REDDY in PLAMPER, *History of emotions*, 249.

⁸⁵ PLAMPER, *History of emotions*, 37.

⁸⁶ MERRY E. WIESNER, *Working Women in Renaissance Germany* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1986).

way few in the past have done. For that, I will have to translate my emotions into action, as I have in political seasons in the past, to make sure my emotions on November 9 are relief and happiness rather than terror and dread.

[A post-election postscript on November 20: Well, anger, fear, resentment, and nostalgia triumphed in the U.S. just as they did in England, or better said, anger, fear, resentment, and nostalgia in certain parts of the country trumped the will of the majority. (As of today, Hillary Clinton is leading in the popular vote by over 1.5 million.) In a sad irony for those of us who study the early modern period but hoped for a different outcome of this election, emotions of the eighteenth century--especially the fear of immigrants, cities, and northerners on the part of southern white male slaveholders and of large states by small states--had particular power in this election, as they were some of the reasons behind the creation of the Electoral College system. I wish they were not quite so relevant. (The notion of voters choosing a woman to be president was literally unthinkable to those men of the Enlightenment, of course, who could only imagine with horror--quoting Jefferson here--the "depravation of morals and ambiguity of issue" that would happen if women "mixed promiscuously in the public meetings of men.") Predictions of what is coming range from apocalyptic to merely awful, so with many others I will dust off my protest shoes--which never really get dusty in the United States--and join my students in using our own anger and fear in a way that leads forward, not back.]