

Postprint:

The Version of Record of this manuscript has been published and is available in *Sources for the History of Emotions: A Guide* (Routledge Guides to Using Historical Sources) edited by Katie Barclay, Sharon Crozier-De-Rosa and Peter N. Stearns (Routledge: Oxford, 2020), pp. 185-197, <https://www.routledge.com/Sources-for-the-History-of-Emotions-A-Guide/Barclay-Rosa-Stearns/p/book/9780367261450>

Title:

Katie Barclay and Sharon Crozier-De-Rosa, Chapter 15 'Intersectional identities'

Abstract:

The experience of emotion is shaped by identity, not least gender, race and class. Many cultures produced rules or ideals for the expression and experience of emotion that were informed by identity – thus twentieth-century men in the West were expected to be stoic, women more expressive of emotion. At particular times, certain social groups were denied a full range of emotional expression; stereotypes of the 'happy slave' were underpinned by racist beliefs about Africans as less sensitive to violence and less desirous of independence. This chapter explores how ideas about identity intersected with emotion, highlighting a range of ideas, beliefs and social practices across time and place. It particularly highlights 'intersectional' identities, where identities combined to produce complex selves and emotions.

Chapter:

The recent phenomenon of the Women's Marches – those mobilised to protest against US President Donald Trump's inauguration – has brought the issue of 'intersectionality' to global attention.¹ Heated public debates have ensued about who has been included in and excluded from these extensively publicised, wide-reaching demonstrations. For example, organisers of the US marches responded to strident accusations that their protests were of relevance only to white middle-class women by stressing the importance of minority women and their different priorities. In doing so, they demonstrated the continuity of historic feminist debates about intersecting inequalities on the basis of gender, racialised positioning, religion and region. Those witnessing these highly emotional debates were reminded of earlier forms of protest: from African-American abolitionist and women's rights activist Sojourner Truth's 1851 speech 'Ain't I a Woman?', where the emancipated slave articulated her intersecting gendered and racialised oppressions, to early twentieth-century African-American suffragists' angry objections to being relegated to the back of the white-led suffrage processions. Intersectional oppressions produced emotionally volatile contexts, reminding us that intersectional identities combined to produce complex selves and emotions. This chapter explores how ideas about identity intersected with emotion, highlighting a range of ideas, beliefs and social practices across time and place, and how the historian might seek to explore such questions in their source material.

¹ Discussed in greater detail in Chapter 16 'Emotions of Protest' by Sharon Crozier-De-Rosa in this volume. See also Sharon Crozier-De Rosa and Vera Mackie, *Remembering Women's Activism* (Oxford: Routledge, 2019).

Intersectionality and emotions

In the late 1980s, African-American legal scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw coined the term ‘intersectionality’.² She was compelled to do so, she said, because she had observed that feminist and anti-racist advocacy had failed to recognise that racialised and gendered discrimination were in dynamic interaction. Certain strands of feminist and racial liberation movements had embraced identity-based politics, where aspects of the self were considered important explanatory markers of the human condition. They had taken the view that delineating difference did not need to become implicated in the politics of domination, where one person was better than another based on their difference; identity could instead be ‘the source of social empowerment and reconstruction’.³ Identity-based politics were important sources of ‘strength, community, and intellectual development’ for members of marginalised groups. However, Crenshaw also noted that within identity politics ‘difference’ was a contentious and sometimes ambiguous concern. Far from failing to transcend difference, as some critics had accused, identity politics performed the opposite: it frequently conflated or ignored intragroup differences.⁴ Through eliding difference, it minimised the dynamic interaction between multiple categories – dimensions of difference and their associated power differentials – including: gender identity, sexual orientation, ethnicity, racialised positioning, indigeneity, descent from colonisers or colonised, class, region, religion, linguistic background, ability and disability, age and so forth. Identity politics often failed to account for how different parts of identity ‘intersected’ to produce the self and personal experience.

Intersectionality is more than an intellectual theory; it is and was a ‘reality’. As Crenshaw later explained it: for many people, ‘[i]ntersectionality was a lived experience before it was a term’.⁵ For example, an individual did not simply exist as a ‘woman’ or a ‘man’, or other gendered identity. Rather, identities were positioned in the intersections of different categories, and these intersectional dynamics were subject to change, according to situation and across time. A person might be a black man, or a gay woman. They may also have a disability or be working class. All these components of identity worked together to produce unique personal experiences and to shape how people were treated. Ignoring their combination could cause problems. For example, in the 1970s, people in the USA could sue for discrimination on the grounds of race or gender, but not both together.⁶ This caused issues for black women workers who found they were paid less than black men and white women. They wished to demonstrate that they were disadvantaged by the combination of race and gender, not one alone, but the law did not recognise a claim on this basis. An intersectional framework – one that has especially been emerging from feminist and critical race studies – has helped to bring previously invisible bodies and elided complex identities into view.

² Kimberlé Crenshaw, ‘Demarginalizing the Intersection of Race and Sex: A Black Feminist Critique of Antidiscrimination Doctrine, Feminist Theory and Antiracist Politics’, *The University of Chicago Legal Forum*, 140 (1989): 139–67; Kimberlé Crenshaw, ‘Mapping the Margins: Intersectionality, Identity Politics, and Violence Against Women of Color’, *Stanford Law Review* 43 (1991): 1241–99.

³ Crenshaw, ‘Mapping the Margins’, 1242.

⁴ *Ibid.*

⁵ Kimberlé Crenshaw, ‘Why Intersectionality Can’t Wait’, *The Washington Post*, 24 September 2015, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/in-theory/wp/2015/09/24/why-intersectionality-cant-wait/?utm_term=.2e52de6ca07d, accessed 21 October 2019.

⁶ Crenshaw, ‘Demarginalizing.’

Scholarship on intersectional identities was initially underpinned by theories from Marxism and feminism, which looked to explain how political structures placed different groups into particular categories and with different degrees of power. However, as analysis of identity became more sophisticated – recognising that a person might be white and male but also working class, or black and female but middle class – models were needed that could help account for the significant diversity of experience produced when we acknowledge intersectionality. Here ‘performance’ theory has been quite influential, drawing on the work of sociologists like Ervin Goffman and gender theorist Judith Butler.⁷ Performance theorists suggest that we consider humans as having a set of ‘resources’, from wealth and education to gender and class, which they combined to produce the self. People could use these sets of resources as forms of agency or to produce power. In different contexts, some resources would be more influential than others and so the capacity of people to shape power relationships might vary depending on the situation. This was not to deny that some ‘resources’ held more influence than others in a wider range of situations – for example being white generally makes it easier in most contexts – but it enabled researchers to explain why people might have success in some situations but not others. An example might be where a minority’s opinion holds more weight amongst his or her group than that of an outsider, or where enormous wealth compensated for a lack of education. For performance theorists, emotion can be another ‘resource’ that people use to more or less successfully shape identity or power relationships. The distressed middle-class woman in a nineteenth-century courtroom might gain greater sympathy from the jury or gallery than one who showed little emotion.⁸

While gender is only one intersectional lens, it is an important one, particularly in the realm of emotions scholarship. As the example of the Women’s Marches demonstrates, differences between women have forced women – sometimes reluctantly and uncomfortably – to reflect critically on operations of power among women, the politics of identity and representations, and the dangers of eliding difference; to reflect on the operations of intersectional identity and oppression.⁹ Yet, gender as a frame of analysis is also important because of the traditionally constructed dichotomy between masculinity and femininity, with masculinised qualities being valued above those deemed feminine. Feminist research has exposed a heteronormative power mechanism that reproduces a hierarchical binary gender order which devalues and delegitimises emotions as well as those who are often characterised as emotional. Recent feminist, queer and postcolonial scholarship has demonstrated how such devaluations and delegitimisations are tied to modern capitalist politics and to a hierarchical order based on race, gender and class.¹⁰ Therefore, and as some of the chapters in this volume have elaborated, concepts such as reason, agency, control and objectivity have been characterised and privileged as masculine in the West, whereas those such as emotion, passivity, uncertainty and subjectivity have been stigmatised as feminine.¹¹ Subordinated subjects – women, yes, but also those who are also sexually, racially, ethnically, culturally and economically marginalised – have often been attributed these feminised and

⁷ For a discussion of this methodology as applied to emotions scholarship see the introduction to Katie Barclay, *Men on Trial: Performing Emotion, Embodiment and Identity in Ireland, 1800–1845* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2019).

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Spike Peterson, ‘Thinking Through Intersectionality and War’, *Race, Gender & Class* 14, no. 3–4 (2007): 10–27.

¹⁰ Brigitte Bargetz, ‘The Distribution of Emotions: Affective Politics of Emancipation’, *Hypatia* 30, no. 3 (2015): 580–96.

¹¹ Peterson, ‘Thinking Through Intersectionality and War’, 3.

denigrated qualities. Calling someone ‘emotional’ was an insult, and as such an insult that could be used to stigmatise and dominate particular groups.

This has major implications for the emotional standards to which these marginalised people are held. A crying woman might be viewed more sympathetically than a man as her emotion was viewed as ‘natural’; a crying man might be condemned for his unmanly behaviour. Yet, acceptance of the idea that women were more naturally ‘emotional’ has produced negative consequences for women. It has been used to justify their exclusion from political and public realms. It is important to note that these standards – and reactions to them – do not remain static. Whether it is acceptable for men and women to cry, and in what contexts, has varied enormously over time and place. Eighteenth-century European men were praised for their emotional sensitivity; tears a marker of manliness.¹² On the other hand, the working classes were castigated as ‘hard’, lacking in the appropriate emotion that could be used to reinforce ‘civilised’ judgement. Within this context, women from the working class could be seen as particularly ‘unnatural’ as their ‘hardness’ was contrasted with a middle-class ideal of the ‘emotional woman’.¹³

Emotional standards change over time, in response to not only changing political, social and economic conditions, but also to challenges from those marginalised groups. African American slaves, for example, used claims to their emotional sophistication – to their capacity to feel pain and suffering – as the basis of their demands to abolish slavery and to be recognised as fully human.¹⁴ Nineteenth-century European women argued firstly that their emotions led to better judgements in some areas of social life, such as around families and households, and later rejected such claims of emotionality altogether to argue that they were similarly reasonable and rational as men.¹⁵ Women fighting in different arenas today – for example, those advocating to be allowed to participate in frontline combat alongside men – still resort to arguing that ‘feminine emotionalism’ is not relevant and does not preclude them from assuming roles deemed more ‘manly’.¹⁶ Despite examples like the previous one, today emotions scholars tend to downplay gender differences, arguing that both reason and emotion combine when making decisions and that men and women do this similarly. If ideas about emotions and gender are not the same as personal experiences of emotion, that people believed such things shaped both personal behaviour and how they treated other people.

Applying ideas of intersectionality to understandings of emotion requires the historian to reflect on how ideas and experiences of emotion were shaped by different categories of identity and to be sensitive to how intersecting categories (say of race and gender) might shape both understandings and experiences of emotion in different ways. This can mean moving beyond just theories of emotion, say those written by philosophers or medical scientists, to examining how people’s lived experiences shaped their personal experiences. An

¹² Thomas Dixon, *Weeping Britannia: A Portrait of a Nation in Tears* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015).

¹³ Katie Barclay, ‘Love and Friendship between Lower Order Scottish Men: Or What the History of Emotions Has Brought to Early Modern Gender History’, in *Revisiting Gender in European History, 1400–1800*, ed. Elise Dermineur, Virginia Langum, and Åsa Karlsson Sjögren (London: Routledge, 2018), 121–44.

¹⁴ Lynn Festa, *Sentimental Figures of Empire in Eighteenth-Century Britain and France* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).

¹⁵ Barclay, ‘Love and Friendship’.

¹⁶ Leanne K. Simpson, ‘Eight Myths about Women on the Military Frontline – and Why We Shouldn’t Believe Them’, *The Conversation*, 1 April 2016.

example here might be to recognise that the social conditions of slavery, where slaves were expected to present cheerful faces or suffer violent repercussions, might have shaped how they were allowed to express emotion, and that these constraints on emotional behaviour may leave a mark on the historical record.¹⁷ The historian therefore may wish to read accounts of cheerful slaves written by their owners with a critical eye. Recently, ongoing representations of the cheerful slave have been challenged. For example, in 2016, a children's book (*A Birthday Cake for George Washington*) was taken out of circulation because of public outcry over its depiction of President George Washington's slaves as jovial workers.¹⁸

Intersectional emotions and historical source material

Identifying categories of identity

The first step in exploring intersectional emotions in source material is to recognise that the experience of emotion has rarely been considered identical across various identities. It may be that in some historical periods or places that some aspects of identity – gender, race, disability – were considered more important than others, and so were given more consideration when shaping power relationships between people. But it is rare for societies to genuinely hold all categories of people as equal. Therefore, one of the first jobs of the historian is to reflect on what aspects of identity were important in that particular society. If there is not an obvious starting point – perhaps because nothing has been written on this society by historians before – then starting with categories from our own society can be useful. Worst case, we might learn that ideas of gender or race or class held little purchase within the society we are studying – and that's quite interesting by itself.

Categories of identity intersect with emotion, because emotion plays a central role in producing power relationships. It does this in two ways. First, ideas about emotions can be used to reinforce hierarchies of power. That women were thought to be emotional was used by many classical thinkers to justify their subordination by men. Second, the experience of inequality produces certain forms of 'suffering', where people recognise their disadvantage through their embodied feelings. This can be manifested in multiple ways, from physical disadvantage that leads to pain, suffering or anxiety, to emotions associated with injustice, like anger or frustration, or to a sense that one cannot express one's desired emotions due to the emotional rules of society. In the latter case, a person might find an 'emotional refuge' to use William Reddy's term, where like-minded people could find a space to express their emotions freely with each other.¹⁹ For example, slaves might have claimed evangelical Christianity as a space in which to express emotions not otherwise permitted, such as hope manifested through song and hand clapping.²⁰ Within hierarchical societies, some people might experience more 'emotional liberty', the freedom to express their emotion as desired, than others. Thus while

¹⁷ Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1997).

¹⁸ Shamar Walters and Elisha Fieldstadt, 'Scholastic Pulls Children's Book Criticized for Depiction of Happy Slaves', *NBC News*, 19 January 2016, <https://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/scholastic-pulls-children-s-book-criticized-depiction-happy-slaves-n498986>, accessed 3 November 2019.

¹⁹ William M. Reddy, *The Navigation of Feeling: A Framework for the History of Emotions* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

²⁰ Albert J. Raboteau, *Slave Religion: The 'Invisible Institution' in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2004).

expressing anger was considered unmanly in nineteenth-century Ireland, elite men who displayed anger were often given greater latitude than other social groups.²¹ Identifying moments of emotional conflicts or sites of emotional refuge can offer an access point to the emotional power dynamics of a given society.

Setting emotional standards

Having identified the category or categories of identity under study – say gender or class or even gender and class – then the historian sets out to read their historical source with attention to what they might tell us about this group. We may wish to begin with sources – like philosophical works or medical treatises – that lay out emotional standards for a particular society. The chapter in this volume on prescriptive literature is a good starting point for identifying such sources. How do these texts apply their rules to different groups? Are men and women expected to perform emotion in the same way? Are there further differentiations, perhaps by class or race or some other category? If so, who is included in such discussions and who is ignored? What might we learn, for example, if a record makes no mention of black people or the disabled? We might attend to the audience for such material, exploring how the target reader might have shaped the material which was included.

Popular culture materials – novels, plays, television – can also be useful for depicting emotional norms for different identity groups. We can observe the range of emotions expressed by individuals, how they were depicted in emotional terms (did their face go red, or did they cry?), and how other characters responded to them. Responses can be important as they help us understand whether a character's emotional range was considered socially acceptable or deviant, giving access to the emotional standards of a society. As for all sources, understanding who produced such works and why can also help us understand how we should interpret the emotions produced in a text. Many nineteenth-century texts could be racist and these attitudes informed how black people were represented. One example we could offer of this is Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. In this 1847 novel, Brontë 'others' the character of Bertha Mason, Mr Rochester's violently insane Creole wife. Dehumanised (described in animalistic terms) and presented as both childlike and emotionally unhinged, Bertha is an object of sympathy and fear. As the 'madwoman in the attic' descended from racially dubious lineage, her emotional and psychological instability is gendered and racialised. Nineteenth-century audiences would have recognised in Bertha a level of decadence and untrustworthiness that they would not have expected from the more 'civilised' English characters, like Jane and Rochester. Illustrating that emotional norms and expectations change, it was not until nearly 200 years after her creation, with Jean Rhys's *Wide Sargasso Sea* novel (1966), that Bertha – renamed Antoinette Cosway – was granted the agency to represent herself as a victim of oppression, thereby contextualising her emotional 'instability'.²²

Using emotional representations to elicit emotional responses

Identifying the targeted audience of texts is pivotal for understanding how emotions and identity are intended to work in those texts – whether they are successful or not in this enterprise. This is true of works that have

²¹ Barclay, *Men on Trial*.

²² Carol Atherton, 'The Figure of Bertha Mason', *Discovering Literature: Romanticism and Victorians*, British Library, <https://www.bl.uk/romantics-and-victorians/articles/the-figure-of-bertha-mason>, accessed 2 November 2019.

been produced in order to enlist public sympathy for or investment in a range of causes, from imperialism to abolitionism to religious missions. Therefore, while poems like Rudyard Kipling's 'The White Man's Burden' (1899) depicted the 'uncivilised' emotionally and morally incompetent colonised other to communicate a sense of pride in the imperial project while also eliciting sympathy for the white male imperialist from a general public that was well disposed to Western imperialism,²³ other texts, like Harriet Beecher Stowe's 1852 novel *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, worked to induce feelings of sympathy for the humanised chattel slave, while still relying on seemingly benign stereotypes of the slave (including that of the long-suffering dutiful servant).²⁴ Understanding the motivations of the writer can also help us to discern anticipated emotional attitudes to the subject. Stowe, for example, said that she was compelled to write in the way she did because of a sense of Christian and maternal love, sorrow and compassion. This white female writer's emotional subjectivities inform her representation of the enslaved other.

Other works have represented others – colonised others, for instance – with the explicit intention of getting the public onside so that they will be inspired to not only emotionally, but also financially, support a cause. Mission work is one good example of this. Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen have used British Protestant missionary publications to examine how emotions were used to construct 'good' colonial subjects and imagined emotional communities of British and Indian women to appeal to the interested public 'at home'; those most likely to offer practical, spiritual and financial support. Given their pervasiveness – for example, they were distributed widely by missionary societies at churches and Sunday Schools – these texts were regarded as effective vehicles for disseminating information about the good work being carried out by Christian missionaries. Often, as Haggis and Allen argue, these publications were predicated on juxtaposing the combination of cold loveless Indian family and ruthless unfeeling Indian men with 'the sweetness and light of an English home' to position the innocent and fearful Indian woman and child as in dire need of the missionary woman's civilised attentiveness to love, care and salvation. In this way, these sources can be used to furnish a conversion narrative that 'discursively construct(s) "emotional communities" of religion that work to imbricate Indian and British women into imperial structures of feeling that are raced, classed and gendered'.²⁵

Similarly, historian Jane Lydon uses mission texts – in this case slides from magic lantern (image projector) shows – to lay bare the construction of the emotional relationship between the missionary or coloniser and the colonised other. Missionaries worked to create representations of colonised subjects – in Lydon's case, Australian Aboriginal people – to convince audiences – Australian colonists who were being appealed to contribute to the welfare and well-being of the country's indigenous population – that this group was worthy of their pity and compassion. Unfavourable public reactions to these shows – attacking and lampooning

²³ Patrick Brantlinger, 'Kipling's "The White Man's Burden" and Its Afterlives', *English Literature in Transition* 50, no. 2 (2007): 172–91.

²⁴ Kevin Pelletier, 'Uncle Tom's Cabin and Apocalyptic Sentimentalism', *Literature Interpretation Theory* 20 (2009): 266–87.

²⁵ This article uses texts like those of the London Missionary Society, Church of England Zenana Missionary Society, the Mission Settlement for University Women and the Poona and India Village Mission, all of which were produced between the 1880s and 1900s. See Jane Haggis and Margaret Allen, 'Imperial Emotions: Affective Communities of Mission in British Protestant Women's Missionary Publications c1880–1920', *Journal of Social History* 41, no. 3 (2008): 691–716.

responses on the part of Australian settlers who were keen to protect their own interests in the face of threatening or unsettling settler–indigenous interactions as new frontiers were formed – can be looked at to reveal how emotional narratives worked to construct imperial relations and constitute colonial cultures.²⁶ Sources like these presentation slides can also be used to highlight the limitations of mission texts. We can use them to cast light on the emotional intentions of the author, but not necessarily the emotional reaction of the audience. Nor can they be used to directly reveal the emotions of their subjects, although projects are under way that work to read sources like these against the grain to tentatively reconstruct a picture of what they reveal about indigenous people’s feelings; about, for instance, kin, country and the arrival of strangers.²⁷

Emotions and self-representation

If representational sources offer access to emotional standards and the attitudes of different groups to others within a society, other types of sources might better offer insight into personal or individual experience. As noted in previous chapters, no source offers free access to the soul, but those produced by a particular group, rather than about them, offered the authors greater opportunity to exercise some agency in how they were represented. They might use such opportunities to challenge preconceptions about their emotional expression or repertoire, undermining stereotypes or making claims to power that are intertwined with ideas about emotion. This can open up opportunities to explore how different groups sought to express themselves in emotional terms. Audience here is again important. A group of slaves writing for a white audience to demand freedom might deploy emotional motifs familiar to their audience to persuade them to change their behaviour. As outlined in the chapter on protest emotions, former slaves’ narratives expressed anger and rage, working to elicit a similar sense of outrage from a sympathetic abolitionist audience, in a way that was denied to them while in bondage where, for example, slave letters which were often read by owners could only accommodate muted emotions.²⁸ If this might not reflect how an individual African American expressed themselves in daily life (and it might!), such representations suggest their familiarity with such emotional norms and their ability to deploy them strategically.

One source that unambiguously declares that it represents the feelings of its author is Sojourner Truth’s previously mentioned speech, ‘Ain’t I a Woman?’, delivered at the Women’s Rights Convention, Akron, Ohio, in 1851. In this much-cited text, Truth reveals her gendered and racialised positioning through pleas that have since elicited profuse emotional responses:

That man over there says that women need to be helped into carriages, and lifted over ditches, and to have the best place everywhere. Nobody ever helps me into carriages, or over mud-puddles, or gives

²⁶ Jane Lydon, ‘Charity Begins at Home? Philanthropy, Compassion, and Magic Lantern Slide Performances in Australasia, 1891–1892’, *Early Popular Visual Culture* 15, no. 4 (2017): 479–99.

²⁷ One example is Shino Konishi’s project, ‘Reconstructing Aboriginal Emotional Worlds’, <http://www.historyofemotions.org.au/about-the-centre/researchers/shino-konishi/>, accessed 3 November 2019. On ‘reading against the grain’, see Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz and Mary Elizabeth Perry, ‘Introduction’, in *Contesting Archives: Finding Women in the Sources*, ed. Nupur Chaudhuri, Sherry J. Katz and Mary Elizabeth Perry (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2010), xv.

²⁸ Thomas C. Buchanan, ‘Class Sentiments: Putting the Emotion Back in Working-Class History’, *Journal of Social History* 48, no. 1 (2014): 72–87.

me any best place! And ain't I a woman? Look at me! Look at my arm! I have ploughed and planted, and gathered into barns, and no man could head me! And ain't I a woman? I could work as much and eat as much as a man – when I could get it – and bear the lash as well! And ain't I a woman? I have borne thirteen children, and seen most all sold off to slavery, and when I cried out with my mother's grief, none but Jesus heard me! And ain't I a woman?²⁹

Truth's astute analysis of the inequitable treatment of black women, when placed alongside their white counterparts, was both a strategic challenge to a racist society and moving articulation of her suffering.

Sources that are targeted at members of the same group – such as love letters between a same-sex couple – might provide insight into how a group expresses themselves when they are alone and together. Gay subcultures in twentieth-century Britain provided men not only with an opportunity to meet other gay men, but a distinctive rhetoric that allowed them to express their feelings and to demonstrate their inclusion within the community.³⁰ Their love letters were turned against them during criminal prosecutions where their emotions were subject to scrutiny and ridicule. The emotions expressed within such subcultures were not necessarily more 'natural' for the individual than those they used in everyday life; indeed, opportunities to express such emotion might be relatively rare. However, they highlight how emotion was deployed and shaped personal experience in particular contexts and where opportunities for emotional liberty might be realised.

Denying the imposition of emotional standards

In many of the sources that we have mentioned, readers can detect how dominant classes have prescribed emotional norms or standards for subjected peoples. We can also find texts where those subjected peoples have denied the relevancy of these emotional codes. For example, Irish nationalist feminist publications from the early twentieth century can be very usefully employed to trace how Irish women – who considered themselves doubly 'enslaved' through their gender and colonised status – rejected what they said were British imposed emotional norms.³¹ These norms, which were disseminated around the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, directed that those on the Celtic peripheries were childlike, emotional and irrational, in contrast to the reasonable, disciplined Anglo-Saxon core. They also dictated that men and women belonged in separate spheres with different prescribed emotional norms: men in the public world of business, politics and war which necessitated courage, decisiveness and resilience; and women in the private world of intimacy, passivity and loving care. Irish women used the issue of political violence to argue that the emotional standards imposed on them by the British coloniser were inappropriately gendered and ethnicised; they were dismissive of an ethnic Celtic heritage of gender equality which declared that men and women could equally participate in the public sphere, even in theatres of war (whereas British standards declared the violent woman to be

²⁹ Sojourner Truth, 'Ain't I a Woman?' Women's Rights National Historical Park, <https://www.nps.gov/articles/sojourner-truth.htm>, accessed 2 November 2019.

³⁰ Jeffrey Meek, 'Risk! Pleasure! Affirmation! Navigating Queer Urban Spaces in Twentieth-Century Scotland', in *The Routledge Handbook of the History of Gender and Urban Experience*, ed. Deborah Simonton *et al* (London: Routledge, 2017), 385–96.

³¹ Crozier-De Rosa uses feminist periodicals like *Bean na hEireann*, translating as *Woman of Ireland*, (1908 to 1911) and the *Irish Citizen* (1912–20) to access Irish women's responses to British imposed emotional norms. See Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, *Shame and the Anti-Feminist Backlash: Britain, Ireland and Australia, 1890–1920* (New York: Routledge, 2018).

shameful).³² Through examining these anti-colonial texts, we can see how women activists used awareness of their intersecting gendered, ethnicised and colonised positioning to rationalise their recourse to militancy, thereby denying British-centred understandings of the shame of the violent woman while also rebutting Anglo-Saxon tropes of the irrational Celt.

Claiming emotional styles

Recognising that particular groups use emotion in specific ways can be interesting for what it tells us about group identity. Rather than seeking to conform to emotional standards produced by a dominant regime, many people have sought to use emotion and emotional expression as part of their identities. A number of twentieth-century feminists embraced their apparent ‘emotionality’ to argue that it offered a more ethical way to live. The capacity to feel empathy for the other, and the ‘emotional intelligence’ to read the needs of the other, could be both strategically useful and lead to a better, more peaceful society. Conversely, men, especially elite white men, were often criticised for their failures to exercise empathy, their social position coming to be marked by a deficiency of an ethical emotional range or nuance. Subcultures have often deployed particular emotional repertoires as part of their ‘style’, whether that is the distinctive way that twentieth-century African Americans deployed the idea of ‘American cool’ in their art and culture or the ‘gloomy’ presentation of goths in the 1990s.³³ Emotion here became a tool for expressing and honing identity, one that could reflect larger social trends or positioning but that was also shaped by the individual in the production of a particular type of self.

Emotions, judgement and power

Once we have identified how different emotion rules apply to particular groups, and also how those groups deploy emotion themselves, the next step is to consider how these various expressions of emotion are valued and the implications for power relationships within a given society. Are certain forms of emotional expression considered good or worthy, indicative of virtue, while others are sinful or anti-social? Do they overlap with access to political power, such as when women were excluded from the vote due to their expected emotion? If so, what does that tell us about how power flows and operates in that society? Building on this, can we then look at how individuals or groups resisted such models of power, either by conforming their emotions to idealised norms despite their gender or race, or by producing new emotional communities in order to express themselves and to build resistance to the norm? To do this, we may wish to look at the circumstances in which our source material were produced. Mainstream advice texts that were widely circulated are indicative of larger or dominant norms, whereas letters or diaries captured by the police as part of criminal investigations might suggest to us that the emotion expressed was not acceptable. Many love letters between gay men that

³² Crozier-De Rosa, *Shame and the Anti-Feminist Backlash*, chapter ‘Shame of the Violent Woman’; Sharon Crozier-De Rosa, “Divided Sisterhood? Nationalist Feminism and Militancy in England and Ireland”, *Contemporary British History* 32, no. 4 (2018): 448–69.

³³ Peter Stearns, *American Cool: Constructing a Twentieth-Century Emotional Style* (New York: New York University Press, 1994); Christina Simmons, “‘He Isn’t Affectionate at All’: African-American Wives in the 1940s and the Problem of “Cool””, in *Courtship, Marriage and Marriage Breakdown: Approaches from the History of Emotion*, ed. Katie Barclay, Jeffrey Meek and Andrea Thomson (London: Routledge, 2020), 144–59; Katie Barclay, *The History of Emotions: A Student Guide to Methods and Sources* (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).

survive today do so as they became part of police evidence files during criminal prosecutions. Knowing that they were used as part of a criminal prosecution can help us interpret how that society valued such emotional expression and so the consequences for such feeling. Exploring how our sources were made and used helps us to build a picture of the positioning of the people who made them and used them.

Silences and omissions

One important practice when exploring intersectional identities is to look for gaps and silences. All-male parliamentary committees in the nineteenth century may tell us much about norms amongst elite men, but little about how women or minorities might experience emotion. Yet, if we are to write histories of people other than elite parliamentarians, we may have to approach our sources imaginatively and ask what is missing from such discussions, and how such silences shape the narrative being told. Histories of the ‘self-made’ man in the nineteenth-century Anglophone world, for example, often briefly acknowledge a wife or family ‘behind the scenes’ but place emphasis on the acts of the individual man.³⁴ We might want to ask how such achievements were made possible without the domestic and reproductive labour that enabled success. In an emotions context, we may consider how refusals to acknowledge certain forms of emotion – anger or pain – might be used to legitimise a parliamentary decision, or to dismiss the concerns of a particular social group. Denying that slaves were unhappy with the condition of slavery – and so the emphasis of ‘cheerful slaves’ in much nineteenth-century literature – could be used to justify continuing the practice. Reading between the lines is often a skilful task, requiring a good knowledge of the surrounding historical context, but can open up insight into social groups who are hidden behind those in power.

Conclusion

A study of emotions requires historians to pay attention to whose emotions we are studying. Attending to large social groups has its uses in such studies, but can miss how emotional norms or standards are applied differently to different people, and that individual experiences shape our emotions and how, when and where we express them. The concept of ‘intersectionality’ draws attention to the ways that different aspects of identity frame our experience, providing historians with an analytical lens to apply to our source material. Exploring how gender, race, class, other dimensions of identity and their intersections interact with the experience, expression and valuation of emotion provides a more nuanced understanding of emotions’ role for the individual and within society. It also allows us to explore how emotion could be deployed by individuals to shape wider power relationships. Attending to the relationship between intersectional identities and emotion in source material requires the historian to attend more carefully to whom emotional norms and standards are written for, who is excluded and how the excluded reshape or reframe emotions for their own purposes. This is typically done by a close reading of a wide range of source material, including acknowledging the gaps and silences than can appear in the record. If this can be a challenging exercise, its reward is a richer understanding of emotion as it was played out in everyday life. If the meanings attached to

³⁴ Julie-Marie Strange, *Fatherhood and the British Working Class, 1865–1914* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

race, gender and other dimensions of identity are culturally specific, this is a methodological approach that has relevance in a wide variety of global contexts. Imperial engagements in Africa, Asia and beyond have led to diverse communities with complex histories and power relationships; alternatives to the two-sex model for gender can be found in some Indian communities, as well as in the contemporary West. Class has less purchase in non-Western contexts, and yet social stratification remains marked across the world. Teasing out how emotions are experienced by individuals across the world's diverse cultures remains an exciting opportunity for historians of emotions.