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JAH Forum

THE AFFECTIVE, THE INTELLECTUAL, AND GENDER HISTORY*

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Abstract

The integration of gender as a vibrant stream within African historical writing suggests a remarkable success story with many prominent historians and fresh thematics involved. Alongside an interest in subjectivities has emerged vigorous attention to the affective, emotions, and the senses. Why affect has emerged now matters. At the same time, new kinds of intellectual histories are burgeoning in the African field, frequently forwarding an unacknowledged masculinity. With the affective and the intellectual seemingly at odds with each other, it is crucial to seek ways to cross and combine them, while remaining alert to methodological perils and innovative forms.

Key Words

Historiography, gender, method, emotion, intellectual.

Gender history has become a vibrant, critical stream within African historical writing, with many scholars embracing gender relations and meanings, women's experiences, masculinity, and sexuality as aspects of their work. Once we lamented that histories of African women were insufficiently conceptual, while still crying out for more and more of this feminist genre. Yet gender has become a common and nuanced analytic category in African history. New ways of layering scale and perspectives are emerging, and some historians are connecting gender with the global, the transnational, and the queer. Alongside growing attention to subjectivities has emerged a relatively recent language of interpretation: the affective. While histories of the emotions and the senses are important to track, attention should also be paid to the emergence of another major phenomenon in our field, new kinds of intellectual history. Indeed, an important challenge before us lies in how to interweave the affective and the intellectual. Gender historians are unusually well situated to lead the way.

First, let's consider where matters roughly stand. Some of the former urgency to multiply gender histories has subsided. The integration of gender within our field as a concept, analytic, method, and sensibility suggests, in fact, a remarkable success story. Historians of Africa of all intellectual and political hues, working on a wide range of subjects, regions, and time periods, trained in all kinds of institutional locations, have added some combination of gender, masculinity, femininity, feminism, and sexuality to the work they do. The same

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mixtures have gone with greater attention to bodies, illness, population, and health; violence, suffering, the everyday, and the phenomenological; age, generation, girlhood, sexual identification, and youth; and forms of exchange, as in gift-giving, monetary transactions, and other kinds of human and economic interaction.[1] Some have made one of these domains a central focus, while others have made gender an angle within a wider subject or frame.

Whatever the case, African gender history is no longer something that only *female* historians undertake. From Jan Vansina to John Iliffe, some of the most senior, distinguished men in our field have been asking questions about gender relations, meanings, hierarchies, and sentiments.[2] One may also argue that some male historians have long done so, since it only takes rereading *Shambaa Kingdom* or *Womanafu's Bunafu* to see that some of finest, earliest anthropological histories in our field subtly and importantly posed gendered questions – even if the word itself was not yet there.[3] Monographs that announce themselves as histories of women and girls still continue to appear, yet calling for a stronger gendering to historical analysis no longer seems as necessary as it once did. If not everyone is doing gender history, many scholars are, and a few have been doing so exquisitely well. The question is rather what kind of gender history is at play, and with what kinds of politics, methods, and vocabularies.

Gender has been transformative for African history. If many gesture toward women and girls, others have been seriously engaging with issues of masculinity, sexuality, generation, and matters *queer*, or in terms of moral imaginations, selves, communities, and exclusions.[4] Whether done in terms of wealth in persons, knowledge, and things, institutions of health, healing, and care, or honor, much work is shot through with dynamics of gender, sexuality, performance, and identification.[5] Many connect processes at large or medium scales to small and intimate ones of households and associations, including issues of reproduction and sexuality. Sometimes romanticization or brittle formulations have snuck their way in, often with a thrust keen to counter negative stereotypes about Africans. The once elaborate effort to demonstrate African persons, worlds, and imaginations as *moral* now suggests blinders or at least limitations worth challenging. The unethical and the transgressive, the criminal and the violent, the strange, the quirky, and non-normative have received less attention than they might have, while this observation has its own gender implications.[6]

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1 For a capacious definition, see G. Simmel, 'Exchange', in D. N. Levine (ed.), *On Individuality and Social Forms: Selected Writings* (Chicago, 1971), 43–69.

2 J. Vansina, *Being Colonized: The Kuba Experience in Rural Congo, 1880–1960* (Madison, WI, 2010); J. Iliffe, *Honour in African History* (Cambridge, 2005).

3 S. Feierman, *The Shambaa Kingdom: A History* (Madison, WI, 1974); D. W. Cohen, *Womunafu's Bunafu: A Study of Authority in a Nineteenth-Century African Community* (Princeton, NJ, 1977).

4 R. P. Gaudio, *Allah Made Us: Sexual Outlaws in an Islamic African City* (Chichester, UK, 2009); P. Awondo, P. Geschiere, and G. Reid, 'Homophobic Africa?: toward a more nuanced view', *African Studies Review*, 55:3 (2012), 145–68.

5 J. I. Guyer and S. M. Eno Belinga, 'Wealth in people as wealth in knowledge: accumulation and composition in equatorial Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 36:1 (1995), 91–120; J. Lonsdale, 'Moral ethnicity and political tribalism', in P. Kaarsholm and J. Hultin (eds.), *Inventions and Boundaries: Historical and Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Ethnicity and Nationalism*, Occasional papers, 11 (Roskilde, 1994), 131–50; Iliffe, *Honour*.

6 Ibrahima Thioub signaled the importance of deviance as a theme long ago; see, for example, I. Thioub, 'Banditisme social et ordre colonial: Yaadikkoon (1922–1984)', *Annales de la Faculte des Lettres et Sciences Humaines* (Dakar), 22 (1992).

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MODES AND EDGES

Are sharper edges needed? Historians of Africa have long used a variety of modes to push their research and writing in innovative directions, whether through locating and mining special source material, attending to contradictions and gradations in their implications or forms, or drawing from present political urgencies to think through a past as counterpoint. Terence Ranger's words on a 'usable African past' from 1976 still resonate well with what many of us try to achieve. His questions were about scale, reading publics for African histories, and politics, while he signaled the importance of asking about usefulness, value, and for whom.[7]

If many clever, fascinating moves have since emerged as gender history, some curious omissions remain. It is surprising how little we still know about children in African history or speak to issues of the life cycle. Historians of slavery and pawnship, who have done important work along these lines, perhaps have had more copious evidence to work from than historians of colonial and postcolonial Africa.[8] Lynn M. Thomas and Elisha Renne signaled the importance of female youth.[9] Emily Osborne has pushed importantly for deeper pasts.[10] A new historiographical wave on gender, warfare, and masculinity has begun, with Paul Landau, John Iliffe, and Richard Reid perhaps leading the way.[11] Stephanie Newell's *The Forger's Tale* will frustrate those who wish to learn much about how Nigerians once *read* this palm trader of Onitsha, but her bold cultural history of this queer–homosexual–British imperial life in Africa is most welcome.[12] Mark Hunter, Deborah Posel, and Catherine Burns, among others have focused on South Africa's more recent past and have been doing immensely important work by showing how to write subtle histories of sexuality and intimacy.[13]

Today, gender seems ubiquitous. Yet it is worth recalling earlier questions and categories of analysis. The avoidance of the reproductive within African history, a phenomenon still

7 T. O. Ranger, 'Towards a usable African past', in C. Fyfe (ed.), *African Studies since 1945: A Tribute to Basil Davidson* (London, 1976), 17–30.

8 On children, see K. Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760–1900* (Bloomington, IN, 2007); and M. Vaughan, 'A baby in the salt pans: mothering slavery', in M. Vaughan, *Creating the Creole Island: Slavery in Eighteenth-Century Mauritius* (Durham, 2005), 123–51. Pier Larson developed a wonderful syllabus on the history of children at The Johns Hopkins University several years ago, 'Children and Adversity in Africa'; most unfortunately, it is no longer available on his website.

9 L. M. Thomas, *Politics of the Womb: Women, Reproduction, and the State in Kenya* (Berkeley, CA, 2003); E. P. Renne, *Population and Progress in a Yoruba Town* (Ann Arbor, MI, 2003); A. E. Weinbaum *et al.* (eds.), *The Modern Girl Around the World: Consumption, Modernity, and Globalization* (Durham, NC, 2008).

10 E. L. Osborne, *Our New Husbands Are Here: Households, Gender, and Politics in a West African State from the Slave Trade to Colonial Rule* (Athens, OH, 2011).

11 P. S. Landau, *Popular Politics in the History of South Africa, 1400–1948* (New York, 2010); Iliffe, *Honour*; R. Reid, *Warfare in African History* (Cambridge, 2012).

12 S. Newell, *The Forger's Tale: The Search for Odeziaku* (Athens, OH, 2006).

13 M. Hunter, *Love in the Time of AIDS: Inequality, Gender, and Rights in South Africa* (Bloomington, IN, 2010); D. Posel, 'Sex, death and the fate of the nation: reflections on the politicization of sexuality in post-apartheid South Africa', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 75:2 (2005), 125–53; C. Burns, 'Controlling birth: Johannesburg, 1920–1960', *South African Historical Journal*, 50:1 (2004), 170–98; E. Salo and P. D. Gqola (eds.), Special Issue 'Subaltern sexualities', *Feminist Africa*, 6 (2006).

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strong in the 1970s and 1980s, has largely disappeared.[14] The body has arrived with a vengeance, and it seems here to stay within histories now marked with concrete and metaphorical bodies of all kinds – some soaped, baptized, medicalized, scarified, circumcised, or possessed, others flogged, war-ravaged, dismembered, emaciated, fattened, bloated, or scatological. African bodies, whether in our historical narratives or in pasts as they unfolded, have never been so plotted, problematized, and analogized.[15] It sometimes seems that two kinds of bodies are present, though rarely entwined in recent gender histories. The first is more a practical, expressive, phenomenological body, often dissenting in relation to religious, political, or domestic matters; it often embraces spirit possession.[16] The second is less embodied and sometimes starkly Foucauldian. It invokes the body as a site for colonizing processes, sometimes biopolitical, sometimes more intimate, twisted, or voyeuristic.[17] Janice Boddy's history of colonizing processes in colonial Sudan is an important exception since it entwines these two kinds of body, and poetically so with interjections from spirits possessed who interrupt her analysis of colonial power and processes.[18] Her history is fresh, innovative, and highly unusual in how it creates counterpoints between genres, rather than blurring the historical and the anthropological.

Boddy's work follows several now canonical works in African gender history that set a high standard for historians in all fields. Works like Landeg White's *Magomero*, Megan Vaughan's *Story of an African Famine*, and Thomas McCaskie's *Asante Identities* are among these.[19] Much else emerged during the late twentieth century, with Luise White's first book on prostitution remaining essential reading for those working on sexuality and the everyday in an African metropolis.[20] Histories on such themes as reproduction, health, embodiment, maternity, childbearing, and puberty rituals also have emerged.

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14 Discussed in N. R. Hunt, 'Placing African women's history and locating gender', *Social History*, 14:3 (1989), 359–79.

15 Among others see, J.-F. Bayart, *The State in Africa: The Politics of the Belly* (London, 1993); J. Boddy, *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men and the Zār Cult in Northern Sudan* (Madison, WI, 1989); T. Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe* (Durham, NC, 1996); H. Gengenbach, 'Tattooed secrets: women's history in Magude District, southern Mozambique', in A. Burton and T. Ballantyne (eds.), *Bodies in Contact: Rethinking Colonial Encounters in World History* (Durham, NC, 2005), 253–76; N. R. Hunt, *A Colonial Lexicon of Birth Ritual, Medicalization, and Mobility in the Congo* (Durham, NC, 1999); A. Mbembe, *On the Postcolony* (Berkeley, CA, 2001); Thomas, *Politics of the Womb*.

16 See, for example, M. Lambek and A. Strathern (eds.), *Bodies and Persons: Comparative Perspectives from Africa and Melanesia* (Cambridge, 1998); and J. Boddy, *Wombs and Alien Spirits: Women, Men and the Zar Cult in Northern Sudan* (Madison, 1988).

17 See, for example, M. Vaughan, *Curing their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Stanford, CA, 1991); and D. Lewis (ed.), Special Issue 'Scripted bodies', *Social Dynamics*, 37:2 (2011).

18 J. Boddy, *Civilizing Women: British Crusades in Colonial Sudan* (Princeton, NJ, 2007). For a different kind of marrying in approach, see H. Gengenbach, *Binding Memories: Women as Makers and Tellers of History in Magude, Mozambique* (New York, 2005).

19 L. White, *Magomero: Portrait of an African Village* (Cambridge, 1987); M. Vaughan, *The Story of an African Famine: Gender and Famine in Twentieth-Century Malawi* (Cambridge, 1987); T. C. McCaskie, *Asante Identities: History and Modernity in an African Village, 1850–1950* (London, 2000). See also S. Marks (ed.), *Not Either an Experimental Doll: The Separate Worlds of Three South African Women* (Bloomington, IN, 1987); H. L. Moore and M. Vaughan, *Cutting Down Trees: Gender, Nutrition, and Agricultural Change in the Northern Province of Zambia, 1890–1990* (Portsmouth, NH, 1994).

20 L. White, *The Comforts of Home: Prostitution in Colonial Nairobi* (Chicago, 1990).

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These range from Renne's *Population and Progress* to Thomas's *Politics of the Womb*, as well as a growing body of work by demographically skilled and poetically inclined anthropologists.[21] Also of significance are studies of marriage, labor, and masculinity among other thematics.[22]

What else? The former proclivity to conclude our African histories at decolonization has finally come to an end. And, if our field was once lopsided toward orality, tape recorders, and 'authentic voices', orality-textuality and voice-silence binaries have come in for deconstruction, as scholars, especially those based in South Africa, have moved on to subtleties like 'genealogies of voice' and 'sounding lines'.[23] The new materialisms of African gender history are to be welcomed, too. In addition to human bodies, historians of Africa have turned to concrete histories of material objects and value, with much attention to transactions, infrastructure, and practice. Still, there is room left to more fully engage with the emergence of individual, collective, and generational subjectivities in relation to material processes or mediated things, and not only clothes, soap, or roads, but also hoes, photograph albums, graveyards, cinema, sexual economies, and ecological ruination.[24]

INTIMACIES AND THE AFFECTIVE

I have suggested that two registers regarding the body have been at play, one more Foucauldian and disciplining, the other more intimate, embodied, and wrapped up in individuation. It is also worth noting that there is now an immense corpus of literature that moves between intimate and discursive registers, with a felicitous flickering of the sort that we perhaps first saw with *Not Either an Experimental Doll*. With this stunning book, Shula Marks in many senses was the first to write an African history of the emotional and the affective.[25] Its success originated with an extraordinary archival find and then the superb good sense to publish the complete correspondence alongside her nuanced interpretation.

Not all archival finds may be published in full. Nor do all deserve to be. Trevor Getz has since taken a few slender legal documents about one nineteenth-century Gold Coast

21 E. Renne, *Population and Progress*; Thomas, *Politics of the Womb*; N. R. Hunt, 'Fertility's fires and empty wombs in recent Africanist writing', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 75:3 (2005), 421–35.

22 B. M. Cooper, *Marriage in Maradi: Gender and Culture in a Hausa Society in Niger, 1900–1989* (Portsmouth, NH, 1997); L. A. Lindsay, *Working with Gender: Wage Labor and Social Change in Southwestern Nigeria* (Portsmouth, NH, 2003); L. A. Lindsay and S. F. Miescher (eds.), *Men and Masculinities in Modern Africa* (Portsmouth, NH, 2003).

23 See the important volume, W. Woodward, P. Hayes, and G. Minkley (eds.), *Deep HiStories: Gender and Colonialism in Southern Africa* (Amsterdam, 2002).

24 Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*; J. Cole, *Sex and Salvation: Imagining the Future in Madagascar* (Chicago, 2010); J. I. Guyer, (ed.), *Money Matters: Instability, Values, and Social Payments in the Modern History of West African Communities* (Portsmouth, NH, 1995); J. I. Guyer, *Marginal Gains: Monetary Transactions in Atlantic Africa* (Chicago, 2004); G. Hecht, *Being Nuclear: Africans and the Global Uranium Trade* (Cambridge, MA, 2012); Hunt, *Colonial Lexicon*; B. Larkin, *Signal and Noise: Media, Infrastructure, and Urban Culture in Nigeria* (Durham, NC, 2008); J. Prestholdt, *Domesticating the World: African Consumerism and the Genealogies of Globalization* (Berkekey, CA, 2008).

25 Marks (ed.), *Not Either*.

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woman's search for freedom and turned them into a startling, accessible graphic novel.[26] I appreciate his interpretive effort within the history of law, marriage, and slavery, especially for its pedagogical value and visual originality. Yet as a teaching device, I would still rather challenge my undergraduates with the more intricate archive of original letters found in *Not Either*. Surely more epistolary finds are on their way within our field, and hopefully more excellent work in gender history scholarship and teaching will be done on the basis of them. Additional primary sources, whether letters or a partially fictional comic book, could enable the interrogation of the fragilities, yearnings, and intimate struggles found within marriages, relationships, and households.

Since *Not Either* first appeared in 1987, an important new dimension to African historical writing has developed, much of it engaging anthropological questions. Let us call this strand 'affective', even if in many ways it began with emotions. Most scholars distinguish between affect and emotions.[27] Affect tends to be the wider term, embracing feelings, moods, and sensations.[28] An early example of the approach came with Megan Vaughan's study of Indian Ocean slavery, notably its striking chapter on 'Love in the Torrid Zone'. Jennifer Cole and Lynn M. Thomas's 2009 collection on the history and anthropology of love brought together strong and fascinating essays, if all confined to the long twentieth century.[29] Others have been circling around similar issues. Before *Love in Africa* appeared, James Brennan was examining Tanzania's 'private sphere'. Likewise, Kelly Bryant considered what it felt like to be a member of the early nineteenth-century francophone black diaspora, Egodi Uchendu examined the painful memories of being children during the Nigerian Civil War, and Heran Sereke-Brhan considered affective dimensions of nineteenth-century Ethiopian marriages and politics.[30]

Friendship has become a significant theme, particularly in southern African studies.[31] Mohamed Adhikari has observed an array of emotions – hope, fear, and shame – among

26 T. R. Getz and L. Clarke, *Abina and the Important Men: A Graphic History* (New York, 2012).

27 For instance, L. M. Thomas and J. Cole, 'Introduction: thinking through love in Africa', in J. Cole and L. M. Thomas (eds.), *Love in Africa* (Chicago, 2009), 1–30.

28 N. R. Hunt, 'Interview with Nancy Rose Hunt', 'Acoustic register, tenacious images, and Congolese scenes of rape and repetition: supplemental material', (http://www.culanth.org/articles/106-an-acoustic-register-tenacious-images-and), supplement to *Cultural Anthropology*, 23:2 (2008), also collected in J. Davie-Kessler, B. Guffin, and R. McGrail (eds.), 'Affect, embodiment, and sense perception', a *Cultural Anthropology* curated online collection with author interviews, (http://www.culanth.org/curated_collections/16-affect-embodiment-and-sense-perception), launched 15 Mar. 2013.

29 M. Vaughan, 'Love in the torrid zone', *Creating the Creole Island*, 152–77; Cole and Thomas (eds.), *Love in Africa*. See, too, M. Vaughan, 'The history of romantic love in sub-Saharan Africa: between interest and emotion', in *Proceedings of the British Academy, number 167* (Oxford, 2011), 1–24.

30 J. Brennan, 'The private sphere in Tanzania', *The Journal of African History*, 48:2 (2007), 337–40; K. D. Bryant, 'Black but not African: francophone black diaspora and the "Revue des Colonies", 1834–1842', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 40:2 (2007), 251–82; E. Uchendu, 'Recollections of childhood experiences during the Nigerian civil war', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 77:3 (2007), 393–418; H. Sereke-Brhan, '"Like adding water to milk": marriage and politics in nineteenth-century Ethiopia', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38:1 (2005), 49–77.

31 D. Pucherova, 'Re-imagining the other: the politics of friendship in three twenty-first century South African novels', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 35:4 (2009), 929–43; I. Chipkin and B. Ngqulunga, 'Friends and family: social cohesion in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34:1 (2008), 61–76.

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South Africa's Coloureds from 1910.[32] Iliffe powerfully suggested the importance of honor as an affective complex, one not at all divorced of ideas.[33] Precolonial history is being taken in vital new directions as well by Kathryn de Luna who first considered hunting reputations in South-Central Africa, before writing a major programmatic review on affect in precolonial Africa.[34] Others have focused on a singular emotion – not only love, but revulsion. In a volume on German colonialism, Thomas Schwarz looks at disgust as an emotion of colonial superiority, while Julie Livingston examined disgust in relation to bodily aesthetics,[35] as well as the ways in which 'toxic' situations shaped experiences of debility in twentieth-century Botswana.[36]

Studies that explicitly engage affect remain relatively new across all fields of history, though it seems that the theme will expand as an analytic in African history over the years to come. A search for 'affect' and 'affective' in three of our core journals – *The Journal of African History, Africa*, and *Journal of Southern African Studies* – confirms the substantial growth in the scholarly use of these words since about 2004. As a register, the affective has been morphing in novel ways as well. Some have carried it into fresh kinds of places and milieus, from churches and faith healing to worlds of prophecy, labor, and possession, even the dynamics of colonial anthropological fieldwork.[37] Many have begun crossing temporalities or memory with affect, often from an anthropological perspective. Stephan Miescher's history of masculinity in Ghana pointed to complex evidentiary issues involved in working across life histories and memory work.[38]

That much scholarship on Africa has become 'presentist' is an issue that historians would do well to critically explore. Historical anthropology across fields has long worked in relation to a 'breach' between registers of time, a past and present. In African studies particularly, the recent vogue for memory, heritage, and archives has coincided with attention to temporalities, but also to catastrophe. Whether 'the category of the present dominates' in scholarly interpretations or not, the ubiquitous framing of crisis or disaster suggests our 'presentist world' within which ethnographic historians or anthropologists

32 M. Adhikari, 'Hope, fear, shame, frustration: continuity and change in the expression of coloured identity in white supremacist South Africa, 1910–1994', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:3 (2006), 467–87. See also J. Delisle, 'Finding the future in the past: nostalgia and community-building in Mhlophe's "Have You Seen Zandile?"', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:2 (2006), 387–401.

33 Iliffe, *Honour*.

34 K. M. de Luna, 'Hunting reputations: talent, individuals, and community in precolonial south central Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 53:3 (2012), 279–99; K. M. de Luna, 'Affect and society in precolonial Africa', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 46:1 (2013), 123–50.

35 T. Schwarz, 'Colonial disgust: the colonial master's emotion of superiority', in V. M. Langbehn (ed.), *German Colonialism, Visual Culture, and Modern Memory* (New York, 2010), 182–96; J. Livingston, 'Disgust, bodily aesthetics and the ethic of being human in Botswana', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 78:2 (2008), 288–307.

36 J. Livingston, *Debility and the Moral Imagination in Botswana* (Bloomington, IN, 2005).

37 A. Mohr, 'Capitalism, chaos, and Christian healing: Faith Tabernacle Congregation in southern colonial Ghana, 1918–26', *The Journal of African History*, 52:1 (2011), 63–83; K. Luongo, 'Prophecy, possession, and politics: negotiating the supernatural in 20th century Machakos, Kenya', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 45:2 (2012), 191–216; J. Parker, 'The dynamics of fieldwork among the Talensi: Meyer Fortes in northern Ghana, 1934–7', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 83:4 (2013), 623–45.

38 S. Miescher, *Making Men in Ghana* (Bloomington, IN, 2005).

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now work.[39] Their scholarship often appears in the pages of *Africa* or the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, rather than in the *The Journal of African History*.

Engaging a contemporary present and often using the ethnographic as well, such work embraces topics like memory, friendship, sexuality, and health, as well as money, speed, boredom, joy, mourning, fantasy, print culture, and spatial tactics. Some have been asking what persons do with emotions, like Michelle Gilbert showing how some in Akwapim disguise the pain of remembering.[40] In an essay on hope in post-apartheid communities, Fiona Ross demonstrates 'sense-scapes', with people drawing on sensibilities of decency and aspiration as they make new homes and shape housing and the everyday.[41] Sean Field does something parallel for Coloureds in Windemere through a rubric of 'fragile identities', balancing memories, emotions, oral history, and remembering among those awkwardly caught between community and displacement.[42] Finally, in a piece on African history and global studies, Isabel Hofmeyer suggests how affective, intellectual, and aesthetic impulses are married within contemporary Africa-based networks and publications.[43] Such work may seem temporally shallow. Yet it remains vital for the historical imagination, and some of it may stir important scholarship excavating deeper, more autonomous, and less instrumentalized pasts.[44]

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39 F. Hartog, with F. Brandi and T. Hirsch, *La chambre de veille* (Paris, 2013), 154, 166–7, 181, and 187. See also, F. Hartog, *Régimes d'historicité: Présentisme et expériences du temps* (Paris, 2003). On catastrophe logics, see N. R. Hunt, *A Nervous State: Violence, Remedies, and Reverie in Colonial Congo* (Durham, NC, forthcoming).

40 M. Gilbert, 'Disguising the pain of remembering in Akwapim', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 80:3 (2010), 426–52.

41 F. C. Ross, 'Sense-scapes: senses and emotion in the making of place', in *Raw Life, New Hope: Decency, Housing, and Everyday Life in a Post-Apartheid Community* (Claremont, South Africa, 2010), 54–74.

42 S. Field, 'Fragile identities: memory, emotion, and coloured residents of Windermere', in S. Field (ed.), *Oral History, Community, and Displacement: Imagining Memories in Post-Apartheid South Africa* (New York, 2012), 37–52.

43 I. Hofmeyr, 'African history and global studies: a view from South Africa', *The Journal of African History*, 54:3 (2013), 341–9.

44 S. Ally, 'Peaceful memories: remembering and forgetting political violence in KaNgwane, South Africa', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 81:3 (2011), 351–72; N. Argenti, 'Things of the ground: children's medicine, motherhood and memory in the Cameroon Grassfields', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 81:2 (2011), 269–94; I. Chipkin and B. Ngqulunga, 'Friends and family: social cohesion in South Africa', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 34:1 (2008), 61–76; A. Kaler, '"When they see money, they think it's life": money, modernity and morality in two sites in rural Malawi', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 32:2 (2006), 335–49; F. Klaits, 'The widow in blue: blood and the morality of remembering in Botswana's time of AIDS', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 75:1 (2005), 46–62; M. Lamont, 'Speed governors: road safety and infrastructural overload in post-colonial Kenya, *c.* 1963–2013', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 83:3 (2013), 367–84; A. Masquelier, 'Teatime: boredom and the temporalities of young men in Niger', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 83:3 (2013), 470–91; F. B. Nyamnjoh, 'Fishing in troubled waters: disquettes and thiofs in Dakar', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 75:3 (2005), 295–324; C. Plancke, 'On dancing and fishing: joy and the celebration of fertility among the Punu of Congo-Brazzaville', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 80:4 (2010), 620–41; R. J. Prince, '"Tarmacking" in the millennium city: spatial and temporal trajectories of empowerment and development in Kisumu, Kenya', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 83:4 (2013), 582–605; Pucherova, 'Re-imagining the other'; K. Pype, 'Fighting boys, strong men and gorillas: notes on the imagination of masculinities in Kinshasa', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 77:2 (2007), 250–71; L. Saint, 'Not Western: race, reading, and the South African photocomic', *Journal of*

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A NEW MASCULINITY?

Simultaneously, amid all the ferment over the body, gender, catastrophe, and affect, one of the oldest thematics in historiography has been undergoing a resurgence in the African field: intellectual history. Gender historians would do well to take note. Many other historians of Africa have been preoccupied with producing new histories of thought and thinking and this revitalization raises matters of masculinity, though rarely acknowledged as such.

There is a need to unpack these new intellectual histories, a substantial undertaking, well beyond my remit here. Yet let's at least pose a key question: how and where might this new scholarly strand best engage or even reshape gender history? A cursory examination suggests several robust strands among those who espouse the term 'intellectual'. Although many do not use this word to describe their work, they labor with ways of knowing and kinds of thought, vocabularies, visions, and the like. Some historians consider a particular social category and their modes of thinking, such as the West African intelligentsia's take on abolitionism.[45] Others broach ransoming ideas in nineteenth-century Sokoto, or Qur'anic learning.[46]

Some recent histories concern nationalist politics, racial thought, or political consciousness, though few explore the gender dimensions of intellectuals' biographies or thought formation.[47] An idea of decolonizing intellectual history is sometimes present, but rarely is attention given to women's contributions or gender inequity.[48] Bruce Hall's *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960* is self-consciously intellectual. It considers the development of ideas about race, racial categories, and difference along the Niger Bend, from a deep time when blackness mixed with notions about slavery and banditry, through to the ways such thinking has oriented forms of racism in the region ever

Southern African Studies, 36:4 (2010), 939–58; R. Spronk, 'Sex, sexuality and negotiating Africanness in Nairobi', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 79:4 (2009), 500–19; J. Steinberg, 'Working through a paradox about sexual culture in South Africa: tough sex in the twenty-first century', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 39:3 (2013), 497–509; N. Tousignant, 'Pharmacy, money and public health in Dakar', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 83:4 (2013), 561–81.

45 K. O. Akurang-Parry, '"We shall rejoice to see the day when slavery shall cease to exist": the *Gold Coast Times*, the African intelligentsia, and abolition in the Gold Coast', *History in Africa*, 31 (2004), 19–42.

46 J. Lofkrantz, 'Intellectual discourse in the Sokoto Caliphate: the triumvirate's opinions on the issue of ransoming, ca. 1810', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 45:3 (2012), 385–401; R. T. Ware III, *The Walking Qur'an: Islamic Education, Embodied Knowledge, and History in West Africa* (Chapel Hill, NC, forthcoming).

47 J. Allman, 'Kwame Nkrumah, African studies, and the politics of knowledge production in the Black Star of Africa', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 46:2 (2013), 181–203; E. Hunter, '"The history and affairs of TANU": intellectual history, nationalism, and the postcolonial state in Tanzania', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 45:3 (2012), 365–83; X. Mangcu, 'Steve Biko in the intellectual history of the Eastern Cape: the African elite and European modernity', *Biko: A Life* (London, 2014), 33–78; D. R. Magaziner, 'Pieces of a (wo)man: feminism, gender and adulthood in Black consciousness, 1968–1977', *Journal of Southern African Studies*, 37:1 (2011), 45–61; D. R. Magaziner, *The Law and the Prophets: Black Consciousness in South Africa, 1968–1977* (Athens, OH, 2010); M. Terretta, '"God of independence, God of peace": village politics and nationalism in the Maquis of Cameroon, 1957–71', *The Journal of African History*, 46:1 (2005), 75–101.

48 E. Brizuela-Garcia, 'Literacy and the decolonization of Africa's intellectual history', *History in Africa*, 38 (2011), 35–46.

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since.[49] Jonathan Glassman's *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar* powerfully and elegantly combines intellectual and social history, as it traces the emergence of 'racial thought' in modern East Africa and its historical eruption into forms of popular violence.[50]

Other historians have been working with more conventional kinds of intellectual history, considering for example Africa's intelligentsia and their pan-African and activist networks. Rarely gendered, such work focuses on men and is implicitly about masculinity. From Garveyism to Black Consciousness, it privileges ideas.[51] At the same time, impressive across this realm of new intellectual histories are deep cross-sections of time, and also many fresh questions asked about knowledge, transmission, and sensibilities.[52] But gender seems rare as even a partial aim of analysis, while the exceptions seem like throwbacks to the 1980s with their narrow focus on women subjects.[53]

FUSIONS

It is time to ask how these two interpretive strands are making marks or crossing paths. Are the affective and the intellectual irremediably at odds with each other? Or, how might they be productively combined? Such questions need to be resolved, not only theoretically or empirically but methodologically.

A few scholars have been crossing the intellectual, the affective, and the gendered in interesting if unannounced ways. Emily Callaci beautifully shows how racial thought

49 B. S. Hall, *A History of Race in Muslim West Africa, 1600–1960* (Cambridge, 2011).

50 J. Glassman, *War of Words, War of Stones: Racial Thought and Violence in Colonial Zanzibar* (Bloomington, IN, 2011).

51 A. Ivaska, 'At home in exile: Dar es Salaam's transnational activist scene and the politics of youth, 1960s–1970s', Transnational Age: Youth in the Twentieth Century World web project, (http://www.history.hku.hk/youth/abstractivaska.html), 2012; M. Terretta, *Nation of Outlaws, State of Violence: Nationalism, Grassfields Tradition, and State Building in Cameroon* (Athens, OH, 2013); R. T. Vinson, *The Americans Are Coming! Dreams of African American Liberation in Segregationist South Africa* (Athens, OH, 2012); P. S. Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects: An African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville, VA, 2000). For a rare gendered exception, see Magaziner, 'Pieces of a (wo)man'.

52 S. B. Diagne, 'Toward an intellectual history of West Africa: the meaning of Timbuktu', in S. Jeppie and S. B. Diagne (eds.), *The Meanings of Timbuktu* (Cape Town, 2008), 19–30; R. Dilley, *Islamic and Caste Knowledge Practices among Haalpulaaren in Senegal: Between Mosque and Termite Mound* (Edinburgh, 2004); S. Dubow, *A Commonwealth of Knowledge: Science, Sensibility, and White South Africa, 1820–2000* (Oxford, 2006); P. Harries, *Butterflies & Barbarians: Swiss Missionaries and Systems of Knowledge in South-East Africa* (Oxford, 2007); N. Kodesh, *Beyond the Royal Gaze: Clanship and Public Healing in Buganda* (Charlottesville, VA, 2010); G. Krätli and L. G. Lydon (eds.), *The Trans-Saharan Book Trade: Manuscript Culture, Arabic Literacy and Intellectual History in Muslim Africa* (Leiden, 2011); K. Kresse, *Philosophising in Mombasa: Knowledge, Islam and Intellectual Practice on the Swahili Coast* (Edinburgh, 2007); P. F. de Moreas Farias, 'Intellectual innovation and reinvention of the Sahel: the seventeenth-century Timbuktu chronicles', in Jeppie and Diagne (eds.), *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, 95–108; S. S. Reese (ed.), *The Transmission of Learning in Islamic Africa* (Leiden, 2004); J. H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill, NC, 2011).

53 B. B. Mack, 'Muslim women scholars in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: Morocco to Nigeria', in Jeppie and Diagne (eds.), *The Meanings of Timbuktu*, 165–80; M. S. Umar, 'Mass Islamic education and emergence of female "ulamā" in northern Nigeria: background, trends, and consequences', in Reese (ed.), *The Transmission of Learning*, 99–120.

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and politics may be combined with matters of sexuality and forms of distraction in an article on colonial dancehall politics.[54] The major corpus of work drawing on legal documents has long had important gender dimensions, surely because issues of affect and materiality are striking within court cases relating to divorce, domestic violence, adultery, and the like.[55] The historiography on religious practice and imaginations, whether concerning Christian missions, prophetic movements, Islamic communities, or conversion, has often bridged ideas, and embodied practice and sentiments like love, honor, shame, self-worth, purity, and ambivalence.[56] Both of these substantial bodies of work exhibit important, quiet crossings among gender, emotions, and thinking, while often they have been sites for interaction among historians and anthropologists and their methodologies as well.

Consider, too, the work of Ciraj Rasool. He treats life histories 'as productions', while asking theoretical and methodological questions related to 'processes of biographic production' and their 'mediation'.[57] By demonstrating the intellectual and emotional work that went into the biography of prominent South African political activist, Isaac Bangani Tabata, this figure's relationship with Dora Taylor emerges as significant. The two intertwined ideas, convictions, and the intimate, joined forces in forging Tabata's political writing and career, and shared interests in music, literature, as well as their 'love relationship'.[58] While exposing this 'biographical production', Tabata is kept in 'a decentred or displaced position' that allows pressing questions to emerge about narration and self-narration, privileging 'the career of biography', and avoiding 'seamlessness' in historical narrative.[59]

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54 E. Callaci, 'Dancehall politics: mobility, sexuality, and spectacles of racial respectability in late colonial Tanganyika, 1930s–1961', *The Journal of African History*, 52:3 (2011), 365–84.

55 E. Burrill, R. Roberts, and E. Thornberry (eds.), *Domestic Violence and the Law in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Athens, OH, 2010); M. Chanock, *Law, Custom and Social Order: The Colonial Experience in Malawi and Zambia* (Cambridge, 1985); M. Chanock, *The Making of South African Legal Culture, 1902–1936: Fear, Favour and Prejudice* (Cambridge, 2001); S. Jeppie, E. Moosa, and R. Roberts (eds.), *Muslim Family Law in Sub-Saharan Africa: Colonial Legacies and Post-colonial Challenges* (Amsterdam, 2010); K. Mann and R. Roberts (eds.), *Law in Colonial Africa* (Portsmouth, NH, 1991); T. McClendon, *Genders and Generations Apart: Labor Tenants and Customary Law in Segregation-Era South Africa, 1920s to 1940s* (Portsmouth, NH, 2002); R. Roberts, *Litigants and Households: African Disputes and Colonial Courts in the French Soudan, 1895–1912* (Portsmouth, NH, 2005); B. L. Shadle, *'Girl Cases': Marriage and Colonialism in Gusiiland, Kenya, 1890–1970* (Portsmouth, NH, 2006).

56 C. A. M. Babou, *Fighting the Greater Jihad: Amadu Bamba and the Founding of the Muridiyya of Senegal, 1853–1913* (Athens, OH, 2007); B. Buggenhagen, *Muslim Families in Global Senegal: Money Takes Care of Shame* (Bloomington, IN, 2012); J. Comaroff and J. L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume I: Christianity, Colonialism, and Consciousness in South Africa* (Chicago, 1991); J. L. Comaroff and J. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution, Volume II: The Dialectics of Modernity on a South African Frontier* (Chicago, 1997); B. M. Cooper, *Evangelical Christians in the Muslim Sahel* (Bloomington, IN, 2006); P. S. Landau, *The Realm of the Word: Language, Gender, and Christianity in a Southern African Kingdom* (Portsmouth, NH, 1995); Landau, *Popular Politics*; D. R. Peterson, *Ethnic Patriotism and the East African Revival: A History of Dissent, c. 1935–1972* (Cambridge, 2012).

57 C. Rassool, 'The individual, auto/biography and history in South Africa' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Western Cape, 2004), 5, 12, and 510.

58 *Ibid*. 397. See also C. Rassool, 'Writing, authorship, and I. B. Tabata's biography: from collective leadership to presidentialism', *Kronos*, 34:1 (2008), 181–214.

59 Rassool, 'The individual', 9, 12, 16, and 22.

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While African history remains lopsided toward the twentieth century and the present, and some new intellectual histories seem part of a move to correct this imbalance, the relative presentism of our field still carries distinct rewards. No continent or topography has achieved more interesting fusions of history and anthropology than Africa. Ethnographic history has become a vital genre, one that may move in more intellectual or affective directions. Discussion of memory is usually not far away, less as social fact than as mediation or performance. What constitutes this mixed craft, how to nurture attentive listening and unusual composition – such methodological dimensions are worthy of much further thought and fostering. We will surely see new experiments that mix scales and media in the years to come, only in part through using the digital as methodology. But it is not only through questions of technique that the methodological deserves careful scrutiny and fresh conferences. Heidi Gengenbach's highly original electronic history opened up vital issues about knowledge and feminist field methodology as they relate to modes of researching and narrating an academic history. Her work, which grapples with vernacular memory forms, is worthy of careful reconsideration.[60] A visual turn also has emerged, with Patricia Hayes brilliantly leading the way.[61] The practitioners of two recent moves – toward vernacular textuality and toward visuality – have only partially been talking with each other, however. We still seem to have more on Africans producing and consuming texts than we do on their creating and receiving pictures and photographs. Yet there are some important exceptions in the new literature on visual culture, while art historians are at risk of losing their once tight grip over this domain.[62]

Many historians engage their sources, first and foremost. Some are using letters, newspapers, and songs to read gendered discourses and emotions.[63] Love letters remain a key source for mining textualities.[64] Relatively novel still, are questions about audiences and translation, often within two domains – vernacular spaces and medical cultures. Sometimes, these two blur. Indeed, Luise White has shown how the two have fused

60 Gengenbach, *Binding Memories*.

61 P. Hayes (ed.), *Visual Genders, Visual Histories: A Special Issue of Gender and History* (Oxford, 2006); P. Hayes, 'Seeing and being seen: politics, art and the everyday in Omar Badsha's Durban photography, 1960s–1980s', *Africa: Journal of the International African Institute*, 81:4 (2011): 544–66; P. Hayes, 'The form of the norm: shades of gender in South African photography of the 1980s', *Social Dynamics*, 37:2 (2011): 263–77; P. Hayes, 'Santu Mofokeng, photographs: "the violence is in the knowing"', in Special Theme Issue: 'Photography and historical interpretation', *History & Theory*, 48:4 (2009), 34–51; W. Hartmann, J. Silvester, and P. Hayes (eds.), *The Colonising Camera: Photographs in the Making of Namibian History* (Cape Town, 1999); J. Liebenberg and P. Hayes, *Bush of Ghosts: Life and War in Namibia, 1986–90* (Cape Town, 2010).

62 See the pages of *African Arts*, as well as C. M. Geary, *Bamum* (Milan, 2011); C. M. Geary, *In and Out of Focus: Images from Central Africa, 1885–1960* (London, 2002); P. S. Landau and D. D. Kaspin (eds.), *Images and Empires: Visuality in Colonial and Postcolonial Africa* (Berkeley, CA, 2002); H. N. Mustafa, 'Portraits of modernity: fashioning selves in Dakarois popular photography', in Landau and Kaspin (eds.), *Images and Empires*, 172–92; S. Nuttall (ed.), *Beautiful/Ugly: African and Diaspora Aesthetics* (Durham, NC, 2006).

63 See, for example, L. Kapteijns, 'Discourse on moral womanhood in Somali popular songs, 1960–1990', *The Journal of African History*, 50:1 (2009), 101–22.

64 A. C. Prichard, '"Let us swim in the pool of love": love letters and discourses of community composition in twentieth-century Tanzania', *The Journal of African History*, 54:1 (2013), 103–22.

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in fantasy.[65] Objects are often involved, as are mobilities and the therapeutic in ideas and practice.[66] There has been much turning toward the semiotic and performative, toward reading objects, figures, and symbols as meaning-making apparatuses in their own right, whether in studies of *Dear Abby*-like newspaper columns, of dress, cinema, and museum exhibits, or soap as adornment.[67] Others have used the epistolary to consider colonial situations, ideas, and sentiments, while glossing the mixture as 'intellectual lives'.[68]

The torrent of new work on letter writing and letter writers has enabled the affective to thrive. Yet texts – whether epistolary or not, whether private, public, or print-based – need not offer up the affective alone.[69] Working with letters, editorials, and fictional texts may enable new histories of thinking and ideas, of subjectivities and the senses as well.[70] To suggest the importance of affect is critical, but it needs to be balanced with other dimensions, not only 'the intellectual', but also images, aspirations, sounds, words, materialities, mediations, and registers.[71]

Our most important challenge as a field remains less with new themes, topics, or labels than with *how* we investigate pasts, with kinds of experimentality with method, sources, media, and mixtures, parallel to the methodological experimentation that has marked African history and anthropology since the late 1950s. Concepts matter and enable. Yet it is through refining questions about medium and perception, orality, textuality, and memory, the acoustic, visual, and vernacular, and in relation to spaces, fields, and counterpoints, as well as gradients of depth and presentism that historians of Africa have long been shaping the strikingly unusual histories that keep our field special and unique.

A greater awareness of the mediation of things and technologies has had young (and not-so-young) researchers heading to ethnographic fields in new kinds of ways, armed with archival images and texts that they keenly seek to share with informants – and this

65 K. Barber (ed.), *Africa's Hidden Histories: Everyday Literacy and Making the Self* (Bloomington, IN, 2006); L. White, *Speaking with Vampires: Rumor and History in Colonial Africa* (Berkeley, CA, 2000).

66 Hunt, *Colonial Lexicon*; S. A. Langwick, *Bodies, Politics, and African Healing: The Matter of Maladies in Tanzania* (Bloomington, IN, 2011).

67 See, for example, D. Kallmann, 'Projected moralities, engaged anxieties: northern Rhodesia's reading publics, 1953–1964', *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 32:1 (1999), 71–117; and Burke, *Lifebuoy Men*.

68 D. R. Peterson, 'The intellectual lives of Mau Mau detainees', *The Journal of African History*, 49:1 (2008), 73–91. See, too, D. R. Peterson and M. Giacomo (eds.), *Recasting the Past: History Writing and Political Work in Modern Africa* (Athens, OH, 2009).

69 For an early appraisal, see N. R. Hunt, 'Letter-writing, nursing men and bicycles in the Belgian Congo: notes towards the social identity of a colonial category', in R. W. Harms, J. C. Miller, D. S. Newbury, and M. D. Wagner (eds.), *Paths toward the Past: African Historical Essays in Honor of Jan Vansina* (Atlanta, 1994), 187–210. Also compare an early and more recent approaches: J. Fabian (ed.), with assistance and notes from K. Mango, and W. Schicho, *History from Below: The 'Vocabulary of Elisabethville' by André Yav: Texts, Translations, and Interpretive Essay* (Amsterdam, 1990); and Barber (ed.), *Africa's Hidden Histories*.

70 N. R. Hunt, 'Between fiction and history: modes of writing abortion in Africa', *Cahiers d'Études Africaines*, 47:186 (2007), 277–312.

71 See, for example, N. R. Hunt, 'An acoustic register, tenacious images and Congolese scenes of rape and repetition', *Cultural Anthropology*, 23:2 (2008): 220–53, reprinted as 'An acoustic register: rape and repetition in Congo', in A. L. Stoler (ed.), *Imperial Debris: On Ruins and Ruination*, (Durham, NC, 2013), 39–66.

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methodological issue has been sorely undertheorized and debated.[72] It is a reminder that African history has long been methodologically inventive, sometimes naively so. Our field was born in the late 1950s in part out of the idea that the historian should listen, observe, record, and sense pasts in relation to a present. It grew from the notion that vernacular language and metaphors matter. Greater complexity has come from deeper attention to craft and theory, an explosion in the diversity of sources used, and an anthropological commitment to intricately linking – or attending to a 'breach' between – pasts to presents.[73] Poststructuralist sensibilities have surely not hurt our field's originality. Nor has creative attention to the concrete, the ethnographic, and the visual, with many historians specializing in a region, city, village, hospital, set of shrines, workplace, or web of institutions. Much fine work has long emerged as microhistories that visit in upon one locality or space in a thick way, forming richly layered readings and representations, while attending to *process* and *mediation* in complex ways.

CONCLUSION

At this juncture, therefore, we should be careful not to let African historical writing *bifurcate* into intellectual histories of men and affective histories of women and gender. It is important to engage critically with the newly self-conscious 'intellectual history' and its impressive temporal and thematic range, stretching from racial thinking, political theorizing, and religious ideas – yet still of men foremost. Recent scholarship on love, friendship, and sexuality, by contrast, explores gender in crucial intimate dimensions, though sometimes still speaks too narrowly and explicitly of a singular emotion.

Historians, like anthropologists, would do well to interweave and cross these two rich registers or strands. The rise of the affective, just like the risk of it being separated out from the intellectual, is not unrelated to the 'ontology' *rage* currently on the move across the humanities and the human sciences. The latter tends to starkly divide the epistemological from 'the ontological', ways of knowing from embodied being, while privileging 'ontology' as superior. Many align 'ontology' with affect. Yet relatively few historians, as we have seen, are explicitly crossing knowing and feeling. While debates over the grandiose new ontology word and its polysemous range seem unlikely to calm down soon,[74] some feminist theorists have been offering up sharp and cogent critique. Clare Hemmings suggests that a preference for subject formation and the interpersonal turned quickly into

72 I know of this issue from critiquing doctoral students' Social Science and Research Council proposals, an academic genre that knows its own form of intertextuality. One successful candidate who took up the practical and ethical issues with finesse, addressing how to stay alert to the way 'memory work' findings collected in a research field may become marked by the impact of scholar-introduced images and texts was a visual historian. See I. M. de Rezende, 'Visuality and colonialism in the Congo: from the "Arab War" to Patrice Lumumba, 1880s to 1961' (unpublished PhD thesis, University of Michigan, 2012); and I. M. de Rezende, '*Elsewhere* in the Belgian Congo ca. 1953: Luc de Heusch films the Tetela-Hamba', *Visual Anthropology*, 27:1–2 (2014), 1–16.

73 Hartog, with F. Brandi and T. Hirsch, *Chambre de veille*, 187.

74 At least if one considers recent annual meetings of anthropologists in North America; see 'Ontology as the major theme of AAA 2013', Savage Minds blog, (http://savageminds.org/2013/11/27/ontology-as-the-major-theme-of-aaa-2013/), 27 Nov. 2013.

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the hyperbolic celebration of affect and ontology as a 'new cutting edge'. They arrived as a new way to understand worlds and objects, the unexpected and the body, as well as to express dissatisfaction with structural, institutional (read: Foucauldian) approaches to power. Yet many feminists, under the rubric of standpoint epistemology, have long encouraged knowing about knowing, while also tackling emotional investments, political networks, and possibilities for transformation.[75] Similarly, postcolonial scholars have shown how inhabiting colonial margins went with feelings of ambivalence, with not being caught in racialized binaries (as in: colonizer-colonized), but rather privy to subaltern forms of belonging. This nuanced way of looking at colonial difference as imparting knowing and feeling, use and inflection, allows for disclosing historical situations 'crosscut with fissures', where violence signified but also enabled thinking, sensing, and belonging.[76]

Thus, it is fascinating to think about why affect has emerged *now*, just when gender studies seem less assured across the disciplines, when 'representations' lie dormant as if flat and untenable, and when many are weary of Foucault and that earlier flaunting word, epistemology. It is also worth wondering about where the recent new thrust toward the intellectual – toward knowing and thinking – has come from in our field. That a social history orientation has long advanced 'agency' as the best way to write balanced histories, with Africans present and *doing* something, this should not be forgotten. In many a sense, both the affective and the intellectual are anchoring themselves in new conceptual ways – and often *without* agency – in these times.

My point is to tether and cross these registers. Dividing or ranking will only distort. In refusing to split apart the intellectual and the affective, Africa's historians may write of the everyday in ways that convey exuberance, politics, and *ressentiment*. Moving beyond singular emotions may well go with rendering the moods that suffused a location or motivated an event.[77] Often we sense affect in words verbalized or penned, while ideas also enter through sound, script, or print. Splicing together visceral and perceptive bits of evidence may enrich the portrayal of a location or the events through which once coursed power and its tonalities. Such suturing might begin by attending to the lexicon, perceptions, tempers, images, and dreams of a generation, a social category, or even a milieu.[78] By combining sustained attention to moods and vocabularies, with alert gender sensibilities abetting at every turn, more may even forsake catastrophe as a frame.

75 C. Hemmings, 'Invoking affect: cultural theory and the ontological turn', *Cultural Studies*, 19:5 (2005), 548–67.
76 *Ibid*. esp. 558.
77 'Interview with Nancy Rose Hunt'.
78 N. R. Hunt, *Suturing New Medical Histories of Africa*, Carl Schlettwein Lecture, no. 7 (Berlin, 2013).

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