

Introduction

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This volume advances a novel framework to understand the nature and impact of the Protestant Reformations. It starts from the assumption that it will be fruitful for the next decades of scholarship to investigate religious change as multi-centric across Western and non-Western worlds. Protestantism during the early modern period is currently predominantly presented as a European story, and, despite a growing awareness of European networks of exchange as well as scholarship on the history of missions, much research remains confined to national boundaries. Further dialogue between scholars of the European Reformations and early Americanists, and scholars of the Caribbean, Asia, and Africa is needed to enrich the way the entire subject is conceived and taught. Historians have adopted the concept of a “long Reformation” during the past decades, but they are only beginning to substantially integrate global Protestant experiences into their accounts of the early modern world created by the Reformations, to compare Protestant ideas and practices to other world religions, to chart colonial politics and experiences, and to ask how resulting ideas and identities were negotiated by Europeans at the time. Through its wide geographical and chronological scope, *Protestant Empires* aims to contribute to this change and showcases selective model approaches on just *how* to think anew.

A Europeanized Reformation

During the past decades, university courses, textbooks, and handbooks have Europeanized the Protestant Reformations and globalized the Catholic Reformations.¹ There are several historiographical and institutional reasons for this development. First among these is the influence of the confessionalization paradigm which newly invigorated Reformation history for three decades after 1980 but focused solely on a European path

¹ For a discussion and new departure, see Ulinka Rublack, “Introduction,” in *The Oxford Handbook of the Protestant Reformations*, ed. Ulinka Rublack (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2016), 1–22.

towards modernity.² This paradigm proposed that Lutheranism, Calvinism, and Catholicism consolidated their confessional profiles in Europe in similar ways during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. It argued that this supported state-building processes by enshrining new disciplinary norms among the population. Developed by Wolfgang Reinhard and Heinz Schilling, the paradigm challenged an entire tradition of segregated scholarship that had focused on either the Protestant or the Catholic Reformations and tended to equate only Protestantism with the features identified with modernity, such as greater rationalization. It also departed from the often intensely local and short-term focus of social historical studies, which had been influential from the 1960s onwards and typically explored the local implementation and impact of the Reformation in specific urban or rural communities as well as territories.

Confessionalization historians were informed by sociological approaches and interested in broad structures and comparisons. This meant that they had little time for the new cultural history that took off during the 1970s and 1980s. New cultural historians were influenced by anthropological approaches which led them to investigate historical belief-systems and identities through the rituals, symbols, and everyday practices which made sense to people at the time. They were interested in tracing the relationship of popular and elite cultures, the transgressions and the conflicts. New cultural historians equipped themselves to study the importance of kinship as well as the household as microorganisms of government, ideas about femininity and masculinity, sexuality and the body. They were fascinated by the way in which ideas about the supernatural and “magic” merged with Christian ideas in idiosyncratic ways long into the eighteenth century. All of their research challenged teleological views of modernity as unilinear processes of rationalization or the decline of familial ties, for instance.³ Inspired by microhistory, such research often deeply mined local archives, contextualized case-stories or focused on one particular theme. It intersected with a new cultural history of the book that studied the reception, circulation, and transformation of ideas through practices of reading, annotating, and communication, which

² For an influential summary in English, see Heinz Schilling, “Confessional Europe,” in *Handbook of European History 1400–1600*, ed. Thomas A. Brady, Heiko A. Oberman, and James D. Tracey (Leiden: Brill, 1995), 205–47, free access on the web www.pro-europa.eu/europe/schilling-heinz-confessional-europe/.

³ For general approaches, see Peter Burke, *What Is Cultural History?*, 3rd ed. (Cambridge, UK: Polity, 2018), for the field of religious history more specifically, see Alexandra Walsham, “Migrations of the Holy: Explaining Religious Change in Medieval and Early Modern Europe,” *Journal of Medieval and Early Modern History*, 44/2 (2014): 241–80.

were rooted in specific life-worlds.⁴ The confessionalization paradigm, by contrast, intended to chart the authoritative standardization of ideas through catechisms, for instance, and to map the social disciplining of entire populations by multiple churches and states. It advanced long-term and comparative perspectives of change, but soon invited sustained debate. This eventually led to comprehensive criticism of its top-down nature, its focus on specific definitions of “modernity,” and of its rigid framework and chronology. This debate was at its most vibrant between 1980 and 2010 and involved scholars on the continent, particularly in Germany and Switzerland.⁵

During the same period, it continued to be a major advance for British Reformation historians to transcend national frameworks in order to research the links between English and continental Reform ideas.⁶ North American history remained a separate field of inquiry that often charted the history of one faith tradition in a specific locale, but its specialists became increasingly interested in popular beliefs and everyday religious practices.⁷ Meanwhile, however, the study of Catholic missions, global encounters, and entanglements attracted enormous interest from the 1990s onwards. The field of Jesuit studies, in particular, began to witness remarkable growth. Such research documented how robust institutions and hierarchical structures, such as the Inquisition and bishoprics, or robust networks, such as the correspondence mandatory among Jesuits, fared in an early modern globalized world.⁸

Europeans felt they could tell no comparable Protestant story, as Protestant powers during the early modern period were less insistent on converting indigenous people than their Catholic counterparts and implemented few of the institutional structures of its main confessions – Lutheranism and Reformed Calvinism – abroad. Protestant powers were primarily interested in trade and settlement. They did not conduct mass

⁴ Here the scholarship of Carlo Ginzburg, Robert Darnton, Anthony Grafton, and Lisa Jardine has led the field. For a summary, see Burke, *Cultural History*.

⁵ For a valuable overview, see Stefan Ehrenpreis, Ute Lotz-Heumann, *Reformation und konfessionelles Zeitalter* (Darmstadt: WBG, 2002), 62–74; for a review of debates since then, see Birgit Emich, “Konfession und Kultur, Konfession als Kultur? Vorschläge für eine kulturalistische Konfessionskultur-Forschung,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte* 109 (2018): 375–88.

⁶ See the landmark publications by Diarmaid McCulloch, *Thomas Cranmer: A Life* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1996); *Reformation: Europe’s House Divided 1490–1700* (London: Penguin, 2004).

⁷ For a wide-ranging landmark study, see David D. Hall, *Worlds of Wonder, Days of Judgement: Popular Religious Belief in Early New England* (New York: A. Knopf, 1989).

⁸ For an incisive discussion, see Simon Richard Ditchfield, “Catholic Reformation and Renewal,” in *The Oxford Illustrated History of the Reformation*, ed. Peter Marshall (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2015), 152–85.

baptisms, and they worked with far fewer clergymen through a far more dispersed church structure in Europe that furthermore had abolished religious orders. In contrast to Catholicism, Protestant churches also played a less substantial role as property owners and in the credit markets of local societies outside Europe during the early modern period. Hence, Reformation historians have held Protestantism to be primarily interesting as a European phenomenon, sidelining the story of dissenting traditions.

Disciplinary boundaries shaped this research landscape. Most dialogue between European and US historians of the Reformations continued to focus on European history, and early Americanists seemed only rarely to join the conversation. Protestant Reformation historians in the United States were often tasked to teach European history only, while early modern Europeanists based in European universities rarely attended to religious dimensions in the history of the Dutch Empire or of Britain and British America, let alone of other parts of the world.⁹ The history of Protestant “missions” was treated as a separate field and focused on the “modern” period from 1800 onwards.

New Comparative Approaches

Slowly, a new field of inquiry and different approaches began to emerge. In 1995, Natalie Zemon Davis used the lens of a historian trained in micro-history and the analysis of ego-documents to tell the parallel stories of three women. One of them was Glückel von Hameln, a Jewish woman in Hamburg; another Marie de l’Incarnation, a Catholic nun who migrated to Quebec; and the third of these women was Maria Sibylla Merian, a Protestant artist who observed flora and fauna in the Dutch colony of Suriname. Davis explored how a turn to naturalistic observation, movement, and migration shaped novel experiences, practices, and religious ideas, and showed how global travel had become a possibility even for women. Indigenous natives and slaves shared their knowledge about the uses of plants with Merian, who belonged to the Labadists, a radical Protestant faith group centered in the Netherlands. In contrast to father Labadie, Merian never once referred to those she encountered in Suriname as “savages” and she trusted the authority of her “go-betweens.”¹⁰ This approach showed that highly local encounters could reshape views of

⁹ For an excellent insight into these, see Philip Benedict, “Global? Has Reformation History Even Gotten Transnational Yet?,” *Archiv für Reformationsgeschichte – Archive for Reformationhistory*, 108/1 (2017): 52–62.

¹⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press 1995).

humanity, race, religion, and the imprint of God's nature on the globe that were mediated through Merian's work in Europe.

In 2000, Merry Wiesner-Hanks – initially a historian of Reformation Germany – contributed to the widening scope of comparative research in her landmark account *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World*. This charted how Christianity regulated the sexual and marital lives of both Europeans and their colonial subjects. The book included separate chapters on Catholicism and on Protestantism in early modern Europe as well as on their global impact on North America, Latin America, Africa, and Asia. It highlighted, for example, the ways in which the Dutch Empire could markedly interfere with local attitudes to promiscuity or female animist prophetesses in colonies such as Formosa. The Dutch attempted to establish a society based on male religious experts, married couples, and households. At the same time, Wiesner-Hanks also outlined the problems in staffing that beset the project, and the way in which Protestant messages were adapted in catechisms and altered in response to indigenous ideas.¹¹ Above all, this showed that historians of the Reformation could widen their scope from Eurocentric discussions and think about parallel movements.

The European fear of and debate about old women as witches, for instance, directly related to the ways in which Dutch Calvinist ministers would look at *inibs*, elderly women on Formosa who were associated with greater spiritual power than priests and were tasked with ritually asking for rain through drinking alcohol while standing naked on top of roofs, urinating and vomiting. Chiu Hsin-Hui's 2008 monograph on Dutch Formosa further detailed that by 1651, after twenty years of missionary efforts, 250 of these women were banished, 202 had died, while 48 survived banishment and were placed under the supervision of clergymen. Local elders could collaborate in these policies, but their implementation was often improvised, marked by uncertainty about which spiritual authority to adopt, and resistance to missionary efforts.¹²

As the influence of global and transnational history grew after the 1990s, interest in "connected" histories became ever more marked. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra's influential *Puritan Conquistadors* (2006) argued that the British Protestant expansion shared much in common intellectually with the Iberian Catholic expansion. In search for these

¹¹ Merry Wiesner-Hanks, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice*, 2nd ed. (Abingdon, VA: Routledge, 2010).

¹² William M. Campbell ed., *Formosa under the Dutch: Described from Contemporary Sources with Explanatory notes and a Bibliography for the Island* (Taipei: SMC Publishing, 1992); Chiu Hsin-Hui, *The Colonial "Civilising Process" in Dutch Formosa, 1624–62* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), esp. 212.

similarities, Cañizares-Esguerra particularly focused on ideas about chivalrous conquest as well as on religious idioms in a selection of Puritan sermons and Protestant literary works that equated wilderness with the heretical, for instance by evoking spiritually charged imagery of planting and weeding. This approach sought to newly conceptualize an American Atlantic history as Pan-American, and more broadly investigated the role of religion in US American historical myths of nationhood and Western achievement, which consolidated a patronizing attitude towards Catholic Latin America and its heritage. Cañizares-Esguerra's challenge of narratives of Western supremacy as rooted in Protestant traditions and values of freedom was echoed by many others who highlighted the extent of Protestant people's involvement with colonialism and slaveholding.¹³ David Armitage's groundbreaking *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (2000) meanwhile had already deconstructed the idea that British imperial ideology was underpinned by exclusively Protestant ideas – he pointed to the importance of classical traditions in Catholic and Protestant writers' justifications for empire building.¹⁴

Sir John Elliott's *Empires of the Atlantic World*, also published in 2006, compared practices of state-building and its ideologies in Spanish and British America by scrutinizing the role of religion and churches and by taking a closer look at similarities and differences than Cañizares-Esguerra had done. A shared theological inheritance indeed led to many points of convergence and related imagery – not least in ideas about an omnipotent God and the nature of the demonic. Yet in practice, as Elliott pointed out, malefic magic seemed to have been given greater prominence in New England than in New Spain. The financing of the churches utterly differed – nothing in the Protestant world equalled the massive accumulation of real estate by the church in Spanish America. Protestants, moreover, were bound together by their rejection of papal authority in the name of the superior authority of the biblical word. This meant that diverse interpretations of the Bible led to different Protestant creeds; this “fissiparous character of Protestantism was compounded in British America by the fissiparous character of the process of settlement and colonization.”¹⁵ By the end of the seventeenth century, Elliott concluded, British American religion “stood in a very different relationship to

¹³ Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550–1700* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2006).

¹⁴ David Armitage, *The Ideological Origins of the British Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

¹⁵ John Elliott, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492–1830* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2006), 207 and especially his chapter 7 on “America as Sacred Space,” 184–219.

both society and the state from that which prevailed in the American territories of the Spanish crown.” Religious diversity was interlinked with political plurality. British America appeared as “an atomized society in a continuous state of political turmoil,” marked by tensions about ideas of liberty. These, in Elliott’s reading, could be resolved to some extent in a shared commitment to a biblical culture that also encouraged greater literacy. Just like Cañizares-Esguerra, Elliott criticized the idealized portrayals of Protestant British America that emerged during the eighteenth-century, linking it to liberty and cultures of ingenuity. These, he remarked, “easily air-brushed” indigenous and African people “out of the picture,” and long remained foundational in accounts of the Spanish Empire as locked in tyranny.¹⁶

While Elliott, nonetheless, admitted to focusing on settlers rather than on the indigenous populations, Carla Pestana’s *Protestant Empire* (2009) broke new ground by asking central questions about the ways in which all religions changed as a result of movement and cultural encounters across 300 years in the British Atlantic – European Christianity no less than Native American or Afro-American spirituality – and how they responded to the coming together of different Protestant, Catholic, and Non-Christian traditions in particular locales. Yoruba and biblical myths of origin, for example, needed to be explored side-by-side, as did ideas of progress. The “act of moving,” she posited, “changed people and their beliefs.”¹⁷ Pestana hence highlighted the importance of give and take through negotiations in religious encounters and explored in detail how different beliefs clashed or blended, for what reasons and with which results. As in her essay for this volume, she underlined the different face of the Church of England in the colonies: church buildings, books, communion plates, and vestments all required a daunting investment. Worship services based on prayer books became its most robust structure. As religious diversity grew between the 1640s and 1660s among different Protestant faith groups, transatlantic radicalism among Quakers particularly flourished from its early centers in Barbados and on Rhode Island and helped to generate key ideas in debates about religious liberty. Millennial ideas actioned social change before the second coming of Christ and the imminent end of the world, and led to connections with European Jews as well as to the growth of Jewish settlements in the English colony of Suriname, Jamaica, and Rhode Island. Hope that missionizing might convert those who belonged to other religious

¹⁶ Elliott, *Empires*, 403–5.

¹⁷ Carla Gardina Pestana, *Protestant Empire: Religion and the Making of the British Atlantic World* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2009), 7.

traditions now also extended to the Indians, who were often categorized as descendants of Jews. The impact of such missions was highly local but stood in marked contrast to the much longer reluctance to Christianize slaves or convert Catholic slaves to Protestantism. Above all, Pestana detailed the extraordinary picture of Protestant colonial diversity in North America, which by 1683 included the Labadist community of “New Bohemia” as a first separatist experiment, alongside Mennonites, French Huguenots, Swedish or German Lutherans, German Pietists, Walloon Calvinists, Dutch Reformed believers, among others. All of them transplanted and transformed their own traditions in ways that could link to contingency and local adaptation as much as to systemic economic interests and political shifts.¹⁸ An emphasis merely on the similarities between these traditions and Catholicism would be insufficient to capture the dynamic of Protestant practices and ideas.

The purpose of this book is to build on Pestana’s and Wiesner-Hanks’s pioneering works. This entails mapping out a wider geography of plural *Protestant Empires* and explains the book’s title. Further, the title is intended to suggest that empires of the mind, or failed and short-lived practices, are as interesting as long-term and politically stable structures. Given the limited amount of comparative research and in order to be able to more precisely map out similarities and differences in relation to Catholic Empires or other faith traditions, it is crucial to sharpen our understanding of the scope and nature of Protestant experiences through their encounter with other faith traditions in the Americas as much as in Asia, the Mediterranean, or the Ottoman Empire from the sixteenth century onwards. In an overview article “The Reformation in Global Perspective,” published in 2014, Charles H. Parker observed that “the study of Protestants in overseas environments” for the early modern period was “not nearly as extensive or theoretically well developed as it is for Catholic missionaries or institutions.” “According to standard narratives,” he elaborated, “Protestants were either uninterested or incapable of converting native peoples outside of exceptional and short-lived episodes in Massachusetts and Taiwan, until the great Pietistic revivals of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.”¹⁹ Yet Parker also pointed to recent Dutch studies that had argued for far more significant successes given the limited resources available, especially in Batavia and the Molucca Islands. The Reformed Church in Batavia, for instance, is now estimated to have had around 5,000 members by 1700, most of

¹⁸ Pestana, *Protestant Empire*, here 6–7.

¹⁹ Charles H. Parker, “The Reformation in Global Perspective,” *History Compass* 12/12 (2014): 924–34, here 926.

whom were Portuguese-speaking freed slaves who were converted from Catholicism. D. L. Noorlander has recently built on such research to argue that the Dutch Reformed Church was integral to Dutch colonization and that the WIC's religious activities were interrelated with its secular goals: "a deep religious sensibility and social, institutional commitment to the Dutch Reformed Church and its politics permeated the WIC and influenced its plans and activities." Lay clergy supported the small number of paid, ordained ministers. Their ratio in relation to the size of the population was not too dissimilar from staffing in the Dutch Republic.²⁰ Dutch missionary power reached its modest highpoint during the 1640s. It missionized among the Tupi in Brazil as well as among black slaves. In Africa, there "was a new school at Elmina, a few clergy and schoolmasters in Luanda, and a foothold in the kingdom of Kongo."²¹ Parker's contribution in 2014, however, also underlined the importance of looking at Protestant experiences in or through global settings aside from this focus on conversion. As he further explores in his contribution to this volume, major intellectuals, including the Dutch philosopher Hugo Grotius, constructed an "ecumenical and ethical Christianity as a response to both domestic and global points of reference."²² An understanding of how religious knowledge was created in Europe can therefore be globalized.

The most recent research, moreover, continues to turn up new and unexpected aspects of Protestant translations and brokerage that emerged from the remarkable intersections of several cultures and faiths in global locales. The ethnomusicologist David R. M. Irving, for instance, has shown that the Genevan Psalter was translated into several local Asian languages in and for eighteenth-century Indonesia and Sri Lanka. The Psalter with its Swiss musical settings was based solely on the Psalms of David and translated "into Portuguese (a language traditionally associated with Catholicism), Tamil (associated with Hinduism), Sinhala (associated with Buddhism) and Malay (associated with Islam)." It was printed by the presses of the Dutch East India Company in the two major port cities of Java and Sri Lanka for use by Asian and Eurasian communities.²³ The slim and portable Tamil version was printed in Colombo and translated by Philippus de Melho (b. 1723), a Sri Lankan Tamil who was the first native minister of Ceylon's Dutch Reformed Church. The result was a musical hybrid that attributed indigenous

²⁰ D. L. Noorlander, *Heaven's Wrath: The Protestant Reformation and the Dutch West India Company in the Atlantic World* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 2019), 218, 225.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 180. ²² *Ibid.*, 929.

²³ David R. M. Irving, "The Genevan Psalter in Eighteenth-Century Indonesia and Sri Lanka," *Eighteenth-Century Music*, 11/2 (2014): 235–55, here 235.

syllables to each note. Melho acted as a go-between who knew how to combine European staff notation with South Asian musical *nomenclatura* to further the reach of congregational singing among the indigenous population. For Calvinists, psalm singing provided the most direct communication with God. It was an embodied practice that crucially linked to ideas about measured emotions and civility. The Psalter's melodies were correspondingly measured, and thus regarded by Calvinists as "pure" music in contrast to other types of music they feared as inciting lasciviousness and other ungodly sentiments.²⁴

This volume's principal focus on Protestantism is therefore not directed against attempts to provide more unified accounts of religious change in the age of Protestant and Catholic Reformations or comparisons of the Protestant and Catholic Reformations. These have recently successfully focused on themes such as the greater awareness of normative relativism which emerged from encounters with the Americas, or the importance of exile and social purification. Lee Palmer Wandel's *The Reformation: A New History* (2011) demonstrates how the intellectual dislocation caused by the Reformation ran parallel to the unsettling of European views about the sacred through an encounter with the New World, and was mediated by print.²⁵ Nicholas Terpstra's "alternative history of the Reformation," published in 2015, shows that the Catholic and Protestant Reformations were "Europe's first grand project in social purification." Its account of Christian experiences nonetheless overwhelmingly focuses on how elites enforced exile and how this reshaped European society, rather than integrating, for instance, the history of British America to show how Protestant refugee experiences reshaped wider parts of the globe.²⁶ By using the methodological insights of pioneering studies on the later Protestant missions, this volume seeks to contribute to building better foundations for comparison and for further work interlinking research on the early modern period.²⁷

²⁴ Ulinka Rublack, *Reformation Europe*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 233. The experience in borderlands rather than contact zones could be very different, as Lutheran missionaries in Scandinavia sought to root out Sami traditions of drumming, which they likewise thought of as heathen, see Cat., *Der Luthereffekt* (Berlin: Deutsches Museum 2017).

²⁵ Lee Palmer Wandel, *The Reformation: A New History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

²⁶ Nicholas Terpstra, *Religious Refugees in the Early Modern World: An Alternative History of the Reformation* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015).

²⁷ For an important book series in this area, founded in 2013, see Crawford Gribben and Scott Spurlock eds., *Christianities in the Trans-Atlantic World* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013–); as well as Sujit Sivasundaram, *Nature and the Godly Empire: Science and Evangelical Missions in the Pacific, 1795–1850* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Entanglement and Its Limits

A commitment to understanding “entanglements” and “connected histories” remains key for all contributions. Put simply, the goal is to highlight the ways in which existing attitudes framed practices and ideas and then shifted in new locales, which in turn reflected back upon European understandings. The concept of such “entanglements” in encounters has replaced the idea that cultures were necessarily entirely separate from each other, that they clashed or had to be forcefully acculturated. “Rather,” as Sanjay Subrahmanyam has put it, “what usually happened was approximation, improvisation, and eventually a shift in the relative positions of all concerned.” People of other cultures could be as involved in building bridges or functioning as go-betweens as Europeans themselves, and historians have increasingly charted their motives and investment in those processes.²⁸ For the history of Protestant faiths, as several contributions to this volume document, it has thus been important to recognize how many indigenous women and slave women gained new social roles and types of authority through their involvement in churches, and to examine their role as translators.

A striking biographical example of a male go-between is offered by the short-lived Jacobus Eliza Joannes Capitein (1717–1747), who was born as a slave in Ghana, taken to Holland aged eleven, and eventually studied theology at Leiden (Fig 0.1). Having justified slavery in his dissertation, Capitein returned to Ghana in 1742 as a minister and translated the Lord’s Prayer and the Ten Commandments into local languages with the inclusive rendering “Father of all of us” at the start. He enthusiastically ran and extended a multi-racial primary school in the town of Elmina that included black and mixed-race children. He became more critical of slavery and struggled with the control mechanisms imposed by the Dutch church, which prohibited his marriage to a local black woman who was not Christianized. Capitein was forced to marry a Dutch woman, but he continued to ask questions which confronted his Dutch superiors with the inconsistencies in their ideas about sexuality, religion, and race.²⁹

²⁸ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Courtly Encounters. Translating Courtliness and Violence in Early Modern Eurasia* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2012), 29; see also Simon Schaffer et al. eds., *Go-Betweens and Global Intelligence, 1770–1820* (Segamore Beach: Watson publishing, 2009).

²⁹ For a brief treatment of this, see Charles R. Boxer, *The Dutch Sea-Borne Empire 1600–1800* (London: Penguin, 1965), 170–71, 180, for a recent and highly interesting reading, see Christine Leveq, “Jacobus Capitein: Dutch Calvinist and Black Cosmopolitan,” *Research in African Literatures*, 44/4 (Winter 2013): 145–66.

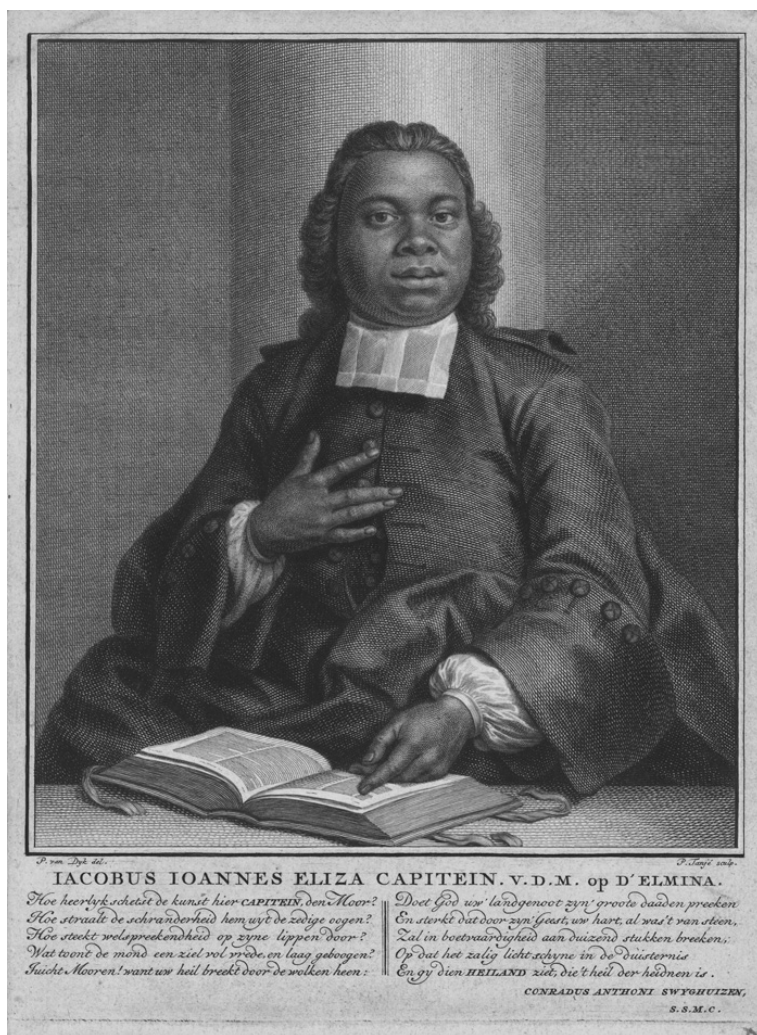


Fig 0.1 Pieter Tanje, *Jacobus Eliza Joannes Capitein* 1742, Rijksmuseum

As critics of entangled approaches have noted, it remains crucial to carefully investigate to what extent experiences in a colonial locale really did influence European policies and perceptions elsewhere or at home. If “ideas and concepts only operate in a particular historical and cultural context and in so doing are transformed,” historians need to explain

whether and how they were communicated beyond that specific context to precisely outline their reach.³⁰ Jonathan Israel, for instance, has argued that the unusual amount of tolerance the Dutch conceded to Jews and Catholics during their twenty-four year interlude in Brazil (1630–1654) seems to “have had very little, if any, symbolic significance either for the late seventeenth-century European toleration debate where this topic, seemingly, is virtually never mentioned or indeed for the Enlightenment proper.” Sephardic Jews were granted greater liberties in Dutch Brazil because of their language skills, money, and experience with the sugar industries. Lutherans, by contrast, were excluded from tolerant policies. After Governor Johann Mauritz’s departure, tolerance was further restricted, while Catholics were banned from worshipping in Suriname, for instance, until 1787 (Fig 0.2). “Even in the case of the Jews, the specific toleration prevailing after 1667 in Suriname did not entail the extension of comparable Jewish privileges, on a lasting basis, to the West Guyana colonies of Berbice, Essequibo, and Pomeroun.”³¹ As historians of Europe have likewise stressed, “tolerance” was therefore certainly founded on pragmatism, and its framework needs to be explored in its own right. Yet on the other hand, as Charles Parker argues in his contribution, we can certainly observe crucial shifts in the intellectual framework towards Enlightened debates, which would have been unthinkable without the need for university professors of oriental languages or theology who sought to more successfully train colonial missionaries to respond to experiences in the Dutch Empire. A broader range of texts needs to be taken into consideration to explore closely contextualized discursive changes.

Protestantism, of course, is often equated with the mythical movement towards tolerance, freedom of conscience, free inquiry, democracy, and believers’ more “individual” relationship with God.³² Several chapters in this volume further contribute to our understanding of how global perspectives can challenge this narrative. As Renate Dürr, Ulrike Gleixner, and Jon Sensbach underline, Protestantism needs to be confronted with its deep entanglement with slavery and forced migration in the Mediterranean as much as in the Atlantic world and Asia. Susanna Burghartz meanwhile shows how the mediation of ideas was linked to market forces in publishing. From the sixteenth century onwards, for

³⁰ Shruti Kapila, “Preface,” in *An Intellectual History for India*, ed. Shruti Kapila (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), vii.

³¹ Jonathan Israel and Stuart B. Schwartz, *The Expansion of Tolerance: Religion in Dutch Brazil (1624–1654)* (Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2007), 1–32.

³² Alec Ryrie, *Protestants: The Radicals Who Made the Modern World* (London: William Collins, 2008).



Fig 0.2 Theodor Matham after Frans Jansz Post, *Portrait of Johann Moritz van Nassau-Siegen with his motto "As Far as the World Extends,"* 1635–1676, engraving, Rijksmuseum

instance, European religious identities could be sustained by the media-
 lization of images of abhorrent non-European idolatry. Anthony Grafton
 and Neil Kamil moreover stress that an understanding of books by
 Protestants was not necessarily individualized but could be strongly
 shaped by family traditions, as annotated books were bequeathed over

generations and libraries formed the learned reputation of descendants. Alchemical thinking, moreover, was central to elite and artisanal making and thinking in France and England as much as in North America.

By challenging unilinear narratives of change towards modernity, the volume thus chooses not to approach a global history of Protestantism through a comparison of “world civilizations” via a selection of theological writings.³³ Rather, it highlights the importance of densely researched case studies of cultural and intellectual encounter informed by questions derived from the history of knowledge and the anthropology of religion. These, in sum, suggest that there is fruitfulness in the following lines of inquiry: How were global Protestantisms formed in particular sites and through particular interpretative communities, institutions, and media of communication that were rooted in interaction with symbols and the imaginary of the time; and how did they connect with other locales and undergo processes of translation? How can we move away from an institutional history of European missions towards a connected cultural history? Who created knowledge about religion and where? How could this authority be claimed and defended, and how was this knowledge organized, disseminated, and controlled? How contested was it inside and outside of movements, and what new forms of inquiry, explanation, and argument did such knowledge-making generate? How can we investigate the cultural and emotional meanings behind ideas of the divine, and how did Protestant perceptions and practices shape everyday life, demarcations of the feminine or masculine, ethnic stereotypes, commercial practices, notions of temporality, of violence, spatiality, the sensuous, and of visual and material culture? Protestants went on different paths in marking difference to or excluding specific groups, in mapping out internal hierarchies, inter-faith relations, attitudes towards science and commerce, or moral discourses on issues such as social inequality or ethnicized politics. These plural histories in global interactions and their effect on Europe form part of a history of the “long Reformation” in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries properly conceived (Fig 0.3).

A commitment to this novel framework connects contributors and lends the volume its coherence and momentum. Eleven contributions present major case studies. These begin with a challenging new account of “Puritans” in early America and end with a fundamental reworking of the famous story of Mary Prince, the nineteenth-century

³³ This approach is attempted by Heinz Schilling and Silvana Seidel Menchi eds., *The Protestant Reformation in a Context of Global History: Religious Reforms and World Civilisations* (Berlin: Dunker und Humblot, 2017).



Fig 0.3 Gesina ter Borch, *Hillegonda Louise Schellinger in Curaçao*, 1680, Rijksmuseum

abolitionist who became the first black woman to publish an autobiography and lived in London. The volume broadly follows chronologies, but certainly does not take them as a structuring feature with which to map the march of Protestantism around the world. Instead, as we have seen, it asks centrally about the circulation and translation of ideas, the role of media, and of sermons or performances in providing imagined or real contact zones, as well as the accommodation and pluralization of beliefs and practices in local milieus.

Protestant Empires does not aim to be comprehensive in its coverage of all strands of Protestantism, but it significantly extends the scope beyond research on the British Atlantic by including scholarship, for instance, on German Lutheranism, French Huguenots, or on Calvinists employed by the United East India Company. It therefore moves past an institutional history of missions by incorporating questions about the ways in which other faiths were imagined by Protestants, or how, for instance, the conversion of Muslims was ritualized and medialized in Europe. Questions about the nature of religious encounters among people of different Christian faiths in relation to their European traditions are richly explored. Several contributions show how conceptions of resistance, gender, or the supernatural were worked out in distinctive ways; how different religious emotions were learned and made to matter. These emphasize that visual and object cultures played a key role in translating faith. Alongside this interest in practices of belief the volume consistently looks at the importance of learned traditions, which included artisanal or alchemical knowledge in particular milieus. A repudiation of “mentalist” in favour of “materialist” approaches towards the study of religious cultures is unhelpful. Instead, our contributors analyze how Dutch university scholars shaped attitudes towards Muslims in Southeast Asia, how European humanism could be accommodated, adapted, and expanded in North America, or how French Huguenots invented new material aesthetics in relation to their beliefs. The importance of millenarianism in Pietist missions and its links to Enlightened thought are likewise brought out, while the story of Mary Prince reveals how the genre conventions of a spiritual autobiography concealed far more complex spiritual worlds. Taken together, this underlines the importance of a broadly conceived intellectual history of global Protestantism which investigates the circulation of ideas and their framing in nuanced ways.

Connectivities and Comparisons

Carla Pestana begins the volume by exploding one of the most influential Protestant myths of origin in an examination of the English religious migrants who first settled in Leiden and then in Plymouth Plantation in 1620. Cast as “forefathers” and “pilgrims” since the eighteenth century, their alleged purity amidst hardship and the fight for religious freedom became the major building block of a US national mythology that remains foundational in the celebration of Thanksgiving to this day. Pestana closely examines the sources to reveal that these migrants confronted

the same structural difficulties as any migrant church, battling with issues of adequate staffing of ministers and the definition of membership. For the first nine years of their settlement they had no minister at all and were not exacting in their demands for “purity” among those who attended gatherings. Many more people arrived with the Great Migration in 1630. This created its own difficulties in deciding which practices should be followed and which boundaries between the “pure” and “impure” should be drawn. Meanwhile, Plymouth, like other Atlantic locations, proved an attractive prospect for predators: in at least one known case a minister who raped a number of parishioners had to be brought to court in England. Pestana concludes: “Even the best-known colonies – the easily categorized places – in practice had complex and contingent relationships to their purported identities.” The Leiden church was not transplanted, rather it was a “mixed community struggling to gain common ground.” Attempts to monumentalize its members as heroes of piety, tolerance, and dedication appear to have been hopelessly overblown.

David Hall’s contribution turns to Massachusetts and to the exceptional source material of lay people’s “relations” in Cambridge during the decade 1638–1648 as well as to sermons preached by Thomas Shepard, a graduate of the “old world” Cambridge. Hall underlines that these men and women often felt profoundly alienated from their churches and from ineffective pastors in England, and they therefore practiced alternative forms of worship for the “precise” through prayer meetings and psalm singing in conventicles. Cambridge, Massachusetts meant church building, and this brought with it tensions about the control of “pure” behavior and thus membership. Hall examines the psychological costs of this process. Above all, the uneasy feelings of “spiritual deadness” were mixed with anxiety about hypocrites and a deep insecurity about what might make one worthy to receive God’s grace. These reveal the continuities between old and New England as well as new urgencies in an Atlantic locale. As this community’s minister, Thomas Shepard, too, had different voices within him that were linked to his English upbringing and education as much as to the people he now had to guide through life as his flock. His stress on humility, repentance, and the difficult road to salvation formed a tension with his message of mutual love and his “children’s innocence.” Parishioners responded to these registers in different ways. Their experiences cannot be easily slotted into the commonplace notion that Protestantism furthered greater “rationalism” or a more individualized relationship to the divine. Just as in Europe, the church, with its entrenched mechanisms of inclusion and exclusion, and its male ministers, powerfully shaped faith and religious struggles in ways which were

linked to doctrinal questions of sin and grace as much as to ideas about gender and authority.

Social Histories of Protestant Knowledge

Anthony Grafton's contribution continues to highlight the importance of drawing a far more complex and nuanced map to show how the old world interlinked with the new. He turns to the later seventeenth and eighteenth centuries to examine the ways in which attitudes to a wide variety of books and reading that were shaped in Europe significantly influenced the lives of New Englanders. The history of how these men and women read and of how they worked with the books they sourced from Europe has barely begun to be written. Grafton focuses on Francis Daniel Pastorius, a German lawyer who had studied in Altdorf and founded Germantown; on James Logan, a fur-trader and powerful Pennsylvanian, who built a collection of almost 4,000 books; and on the Winthrop family and their uses of books. Protestant late humanist practices of systemic, interpretive reading, and of annotating and excerpting as a way to manage knowledge and gain orientation in the world guided these avid readers. Pastorius (1651–1719) drew on books in classical languages as well as in German, Dutch, and English. These were not mere dusty tomes: reading could be politically explosive. For instance, a seventeenth-century Dutch book informed Pastorius's radical stance that all humans around the globe were divinely created and that slavery must be abolished. Needless to say, not all books led to the same ideas, and their reception was embedded in the different practices of sharing them. Pastorius, for instance, discussed his ideas with women and was more flexible in spirit than the Winthrops. John Winthrop and his circles, by contrast, saw reading in part as an exercise through which he might fortify himself against the lure of mad love and evil feminine temptation. A practice which appeared to make him fear the threat of witchcraft all the more. His son Wait was one of the judges at the trials in Salem in 1692, and Grafton suggests that John's library helped to create his own reputation as learned man. Book annotations reveal that much of this learning was not about a more "rational," "modern" religion in spirit, but was rather concerned with the invisible power of the unseen – devils, angels, witches, and divine providence.

This explains why it remains a crucial part of study to attend to the complex spiritual crucible of early modern Protestant ideas as they made sense of their own worlds. Alchemical ideas about the transmutation of matter and spirit were extremely influential. This was true for elites, who paired libraries with laboratories, as well as for many artisans, who made these ideas their living. Protestantism has often been seen as a movement

that repudiated the material world as profane, but this view can easily be challenged. Instead, we need to ask how ideas about the material and nature were spiritualized and how they were made to matter and by whom in particular contexts. Neil Kamil's essay focuses on the little-known entrepreneur Jacques Fontaine (1658–1728), a Huguenot refugee who left behind a lengthy account of his life. Together with his wife and sister-in-law, Fontaine invented a small, portable fire machine to produce a cheap imitation-silk finish on woolen textiles. Cheap, "little" materials, such as wool, could be ennobled through their surface treatment. Such ingenuity in spirit led to polished appearances, and these "New Luxuries" were manufactured by highly skilled refugee Huguenot artisans scattered throughout the Atlantic after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes (1685). Fontaine modelled himself on St. Paul and the Huguenot potter Bernard Palissy (1510–1590), both of whom were artisans and preachers. Kamil shows that Fontaine and his descendants formed a multi-generational, transatlantic link to Palissy, who is best known for his earthenware dishes which featured many casts of earth-bound, "lowly" animals, such as snakes and worms. Kamil traces the influence of his origin story as "the first Reformed artisan from the 'primitive church' of Saintonge to represent alchemical death and rebirth as the pious artisan's way to achieve material and spiritual translucency in refuge." Fontaine instructed his transatlantic family to follow this as a strategy for self-improvement over a century later. Ten thousand French religious refugees traveled across the Atlantic or further afield to the Indian Ocean, and most of them settled in British America. Atlantic networks of knowledge, alchemical, and religious ideas thus fired a Protestantism that led to technological change and merged with strong ideas about politeness that were at the heart of the consumer and industrial revolutions. Material objects, from textiles to furniture, constituted Protestant identities in ways that interlinked Europe and British America in their quest to define taste. This tells a far more interesting story than the traditional focus on the reduced aesthetics of Puritan meetings houses or Shaker styles has allowed us to see.

Protestant commercial activity was, of course, also linked to activity in the burgeoning book market. Susanna Burghartz's essay is about the most famous Protestant cultural entrepreneurs in the business, the de Bry family. Theodor de Bry, his sons, Johann Theodor and Johann Israel, and their son-in-law, Matthäus Merian, chronicled the European expansion in elegant folio volumes, replete with fine illustrations. Much movement had shaped the de Brys' experience before they settled in Frankfurt in 1590 to produce this first global Protestant travel collection. Their enterprise used to be seen as a Calvinist vehicle to denounce the Catholic expansion as dehumanizing and motivated by greed, but recent research

has challenged this view. Building on such research, Burghartz demonstrates how the de Brys used Calvinist migrant knowledge but aimed their work at a broad readership beyond all confessional barriers. The essay then focuses on the de Brys' conflicted attitude to images – both in print and as “idols.” Fascinated by South American goldwork, Burghartz explains how the de Brys valued their indigenous colleagues as equal while harshly condemning the production of idols and idolatrous images and rituals by heathens as well as by Catholics. Yet their own use of images was not just didactic, but also sensuous and aesthetic in its refinement. It turned readers into eyewitnesses, secured the book market, and continues to define our pictorial archive of the beginnings of the European expansion. These findings correspond to Bridget Heal's recent work on Protestant uses of the image in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which likewise questions the notion that Protestants so feared the power of images that they reduced them to didactic tools to “rationalize” their power and appeal.³⁴ Protestantism has often been linked to the importance of print as a cultural sphere so as to imply that books only consisted of words. The printed image and arguments about Protestant uses of the visual beyond Reformation broadsheets is clearly a fertile field of enquiry. Burghartz emphasizes the need for Calvinists to also distance themselves from the Muslim hostility to images: “If they wished to be successful on the European market,” she thus concludes, “Calvinist goldsmiths and publishers like the de Brys had to adopt a rather paradoxical stance, at once positioning themselves critically towards idolatry and emphasizing the particular significance of the skillful artistic portrayal of God's wonders.”

Burghartz therefore shows how relevant the notion of “entanglement” is to unlock European Protestant identities in new ways. In 1599, for instance, the Protestant German duke Frederick I of Württemberg built a public entertainment that closely referenced the de Brys' recent depiction of Virginia. The Lutheran ruler himself paraded as Queen America and was accompanied by his politically influential officers, all of whom were clad in skins and American featherwork. The Württemberg court went to great lengths to source authentic American featherwork via the Netherlands and then recreated further items. The de Brys' travel books therefore interlinked with the trade and collecting that furnished elite cabinets of curiosities, but in this case also helped to make a far wider point. The duke used knowledge about America to project his ambition as a leading Protestant ruler who was curious about the world and sought to

³⁴ Bridget Heal, *Magnificent Faith: Art and Identity in Lutheran Germany* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017).

integrate the commercial benefits of cultural encounters. This was not merely an age of traditional, navel-gazing Lutheran “orthodoxy” in the German lands.³⁵

Islamic Encounters

Protestantism hence continued to unfold within an international Eurasian context characterized by imperial expansion and revived long-distance trade. Charles Parker explores what this meant for Dutch Calvinist attitudes towards Islam. The United East India Company (VOC) traded with and sometimes fought Muslim rulers in the East Indies throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. The company’s fundamental goal was profit, but many of their investors were pastors and the company also employed missionaries who cared for employees and sought to convert Muslims. Although they regularly complained about being understaffed, they still managed to set up schools, preach, and teaching the catechism. Historians have often taken such complaints as evidence that the Dutch neglected missions. Yet, as Parker explains, the “company objectives aligned perfectly with Calvinist conversion efforts with one sizeable category of peoples in the East Indies: those who had been baptized by Catholic priests.” The numbers here are significant – in addition to lay chaplains, between 700 and 1,000 missionary pastors worked in the Dutch Empire to convert thousands of non-Europeans. Parker traces the fluidity of evolution in these missionaries’ views. Initially, he writes, missionaries simply dismissed Islam through conventional stereotypes. Just like the early Luther in relation to Jews, they expected large-scale conversions upon proclaiming the Word of God. Yet they failed to attract a significant number of Muslims and soon understood that proper learning was needed to engage in debate. University theologians at Utrecht and Leiden in the mid-1600s therefore comprehensively compared the Qur’an with the Bible in order to better equip their students when they went overseas. Just as in New England, then, learning had practical uses, and applications and books were not made just for ivory towers or sealed off libraries. This new learned tradition changed the missions in the East Indies. Calvinist and indigenous linguists in the second half of the 1600s translated large sections of biblical texts, and a Malay Bible appeared in 1730. The ministers still

³⁵ See my forthcoming article on this subject in Susanna Burghartz, Lucas Burkart, Christine Göttler, and Ulinka Rublack eds., *Materialised Identities* (2021) which relates to a Swiss National Foundation funded project, www.materializedidentities.com/.

failed to convert Muslims, and meanwhile the VOC's economic success slowly contracted.

Just as in the case of Pastorius in New England, the gifted Utrecht linguist Adriaan Reland's more tolerant understanding was brought about through his own learning in the early eighteenth century. Reeland was a professor of oriental languages at the University of Utrecht and from an orthodox Calvinist milieu. His highly influential 1705 publication *On the Mohammedan Religion* was not just an exercise in Enlightened learning, it was also directly linked to his frustration that the success of missions in the Dutch Empire had been so limited. Reeland argued that Christians had to understand and even appreciate Islam before they could engage Muslims successfully. They should learn Arabic and explore similarities between the faiths. Reeland's work significantly helped to reshape learned European views of Islam in the age of Enlightenment. The faith was flawed, but reasonable, he suggested; no new religious truth could be imposed in a spirit of ignorance and arrogance. Entanglement hence means in this case that the European Enlightenment was propelled by a sustained experience of encounter in which the resistance of the population in the Dutch Empire through debate was as important as the collaboration of learned local informers. This is a particularly important aspect in emphasizing how local populations of different faiths played an active part in reshaping European attitudes.

Of course, European Protestants frequently encountered Muslims closer to home. Reeland's book asked rhetorically: "Do we not have much contact" with Muslims in "Constantinople, along the borders of Hungary and Turkish lands, on the coasts of Africa, in Syria, Persia?" Renate Dürr's chapter draws attention to the fact that Europeans abducted and enslaved Muslims, and even celebrated their conversion at home through elaborate baptisms. Like Burghartz's chapter, Dürr's essay deconstructs the image of early modern Protestant Germany as provincial and uninterested in global issues. Indeed, the numbers significantly undermine that notion: the Holy League captured over 2,000 prisoners in Buda alone during the 1680s who were then given away or sold in the German heartland of the Holy Roman Empire. Dürr analyzes the printed baptismal sermons as tools of Lutheran self-assertion and concludes that they "became a divine symbol of an explicitly Lutheran universalism." This, in short, was "global Lutheranism that did not need to embark on missions"; it was "glocal" in nature and anchored in small towns or even villages; it focused on individuals and celebrated local territorial rulers to reach a broad audience through print: through stories of single individuals, "small-town Germans learned about the wider world." We know of some Muslims who voluntarily entered Protestant lands, and, as in

Parker's case, it is important to highlight that the knowledge interlocutors from different faiths offered propelled Western culture in new directions. One example for such an entanglement is Haq Virdī, a man in mid-life who accompanied a Persian embassy to northern Germany and up to his death in 1650 helped the scholar Olearius to compile a dictionary of Persian, Arabic, Turkish, German, and Latin. This served to translate Persian texts into German, such as a collection of poems entitled "Persian Rose Valley" in 1654.

Pietist Empires

During the eighteenth century, one of the best-known missionary efforts in German-speaking lands traveled from Salzburg to Georgia. Here, a Pietist pastor named Johann Martin Boltzius served more than thirty years in Ebenezer, a small community made up of refugees from Catholic Salzburg on the southernmost frontier of Britain's North American empire. Boltzius also sought to convert Georgia's indigenous population. Pietism actively promoted what James van Horn Melton describes as a "program that aimed at nothing short of evangelizing the world and bringing forth the Kingdom of God." This was interlinked with Luther's early hope that Jews might be saved through conversion once Protestantism had reformed the Christian Church. Pietists at Halle University during Boltzius's student days regarded St. Paul's unrealized prophecy of Jewish conversion as imminent. Just as in the Dutch republic, university learning in subjects such as oriental languages shaped these young missionaries. At Halle, Johann Heinrich Callenberg taught Greek, Arabic, Hebrew, and Yiddish explicitly in order to train a future generation of missionaries both abroad and in Europe. In 1728, he founded an institutional center for the first organized Protestant mission to Jews in Germany. It included a printing house and distribution center for Hebrew and Yiddish dictionaries, grammars, and translations of the Christian gospels. Van Horn Melton hence shows that when Boltzius settled in Georgia he not only sought to convert the indigenous Yuchi people, but also the German-speaking Jews as well as the enslaved Africans who arrived in far greater numbers after 1750. He mines Boltzius's journals, which were published in Germany at the time, as well as his diaries and letters, which reflected on these efforts as they evolved and ultimately failed. The "dimmer the prospect of conversion," Melton explains, "the more threatening non-Christians appeared in the pastor's eyes." The Yuchi resisted by refusing much contact. In relation to slaves in households and on plantations, Boltzius was assured by Samuel Albinus, a Halle-trained Pietist preacher at the German court chapel in London,

that Christian education was entirely compatible with slaveholding. Like the Dutch missionaries, Boltzius's attitude in regard to this issue proved remarkably fluid. His initial pessimism turned into a perception that slaves were "distinct individuals with souls amenable to salvation," and by 1763 he was calling for the abolition of slavery altogether, most likely as a result of reading Quaker abolitionist literature. Key to this was the notion that slaveholding was a result of Christian greed. Boltzius was ambivalent about Ebenezer's new prosperity – he was replaced by a minister who was both wealthy and a major slaveholder. For Boltzius, slavery "had become a symbol of how Ebenezer, once chosen and thus exceptional in God's eyes, had succumbed to worldly temptation."

In order to answer the question of how German Pietists fared in other parts of the globe, Ulrike Gleixner turns her attention to the South Indian missions during the early eighteenth century. She argues that millenarian expectations – the idea that Christ would establish a messianic kingdom on earth after his second coming and would reign over it for 1,000 years before the Last Judgment – shaped the fundraising for these missions as much as their planning and medialization. During the late seventeenth century, Pietists began to believe that educational activities and conversion work among Jews and other non-Christians benefitted a better society which would gradually realize God's Empire on earth. Gleixner analyzes sources from a transnational network of those who organized and staffed missions to South India. She furthermore explores the correspondence between Halle and male and female donors for the mission in Europe as well as Halle's published mission journal. During the eighteenth century these efforts resulted in a narrative of progress which tied in with Enlightenment ideals. August Hermann Francke (1663–1727) campaigned for a "universal social reform" and institutionalized it in Halle. Orphanages and schools based on the Halle model developed in the German-speaking lands, in Britain, Eastern Europe, North America, and in India. As in the case of Boltzius, many of the university graduates influenced by Halle Pietism regarded themselves as active ambassadors sent to expand the Empire of God on earth. The South India project lasted from 1706 until 1845. It was initiated and supported by the Danish court, London's "Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK)," and by the Halle Orphanage. The Danish crown held the colonial trading post in Tranquebar, paid the salary of the missionaries, and oversaw a supervisory committee. Halle educated the missionaries and brought in donations through a "constant flow of information" in letters and a mission journal. Middle-class women from highly educated office-holding families were prominent in organizing regional support groups, while a noble abbess of a Protestant convent paid for two Indian

schoolboys to be educated, and established a “fund for widows” in her birthplace as well as in Tranquebar. Gleixner explains that this endowment can be seen as a practice which expanded the Protestant Empire geographically, while the abbess’s “paralleled charitable activities made Europe and India appear as one territory in which she acted as a sovereign.” Such activities stabilized Protestant identities through much enthusiasm about the tangible extension of God’s Kingdom. The first Tamil was converted in 1733. Schooling relied on local men and women as helpers, and intercultural collaboration in the mission field was a common practice. As in earlier essays in the volume, we can see that indigenous people transferred their knowledge about languages, religious philosophies, medicine, and local conditions in ways which reshaped European expertise. Gleixner concludes: “The core of millenarianism required social, educational, and religious creative initiative and activism; the concept resulted in practices,” which influenced the globalization of Protestantism through Danish, German, and British collaborators “to a high degree.”

Moravian Encounters

Just as there were European efforts to reform “popular religion,” indigenous cultures likewise reinterpreted the messages they received from missionaries through local cosmologies and social values. To explore this indigenous response, Jacqueline Van Gent turns to Moravian missions – one of the earliest and fastest growing mission movements. Moravians were present in Danish colonies (1733 Greenland, 1734–1736 Lapland, 1737 Guinea, and from 1758 Tranquebar), in Dutch colonies (1738 Suriname, 1737 South Africa, and 1739 Ceylon), and English colonies (from 1735 in Georgia and after 1740 in New York and Pennsylvania). Their history reached back to the Hussite movements in fifteenth-century Bohemia, and their experiences of repression and exile since the sixteenth century powerfully shaped Moravian faith across the generations. Van Gent’s contribution focuses methodologically on new approaches from the history of emotions towards the study of verbal and non-verbal communication between missionaries and those they attempted to convert. Missionaries took the performance of a repertoire of “appropriate” emotions to indicate successful internal conversion or, at least, a readiness for baptism. They perceived the heart as the center of feeling and a vehicle for a connection with Christ’s love and suffering. This idea was linked to a metaphorical use of temperature – a believer’s “warm” or even “melting” heart indicating proper connection and aliveness. Van Gent highlights the important role played by indigenous Christian converts in these

religious encounters. This leads her to focus on the intricate power relations that were formed between missionaries, converts, and communities that reshaped emotional practices and emotional communities. Missionaries, she writes, “sought to promote a shared understanding of spiritual love and the experience of Christ’s suffering, while also maintaining social distance and superiority by reinforcing shame and patriarchal obedience.” Converts were socialized into new emotional styles and communities in a life-long process which constituted and re-affirmed belonging through the performance of specific emotional repertoires regarded as pious. This particularly centered on annual rituals of spiritual “awakening,” which took place at night, in the wilderness, and were experienced through weeping to acknowledge one’s own worthlessness. Van Gent returns us to Tranquebar, also the focus of Gleixner’s essay, to tell the story of Maria Magdalena Malabar. Maria was born in 1774 to a slave woman and was baptized. Rituals such as the awakening, but also rituals of “speaking” faith from her childhood onwards shaped her faith with its notions of sincere emotional intensity. Moravian encounters with the Inuit, by contrast, show how difficult it could be to map emotional repertoires on to local populations, especially if they had very different conceptions of “love.”

Resistance, conflict, and negotiation thus once more highlight the active part that indigenous people played in the transformations of global Protestantism. Jon Sensbach provides a re-reading of the story of a famous Caribbean woman, Mary Prince. The first slave woman to write an autobiography, Prince’s book, *The History of Mary Prince* (1831) helped to galvanize the British antislavery movement. Before settling in Britain, Prince had belonged to the Moravian Church in Antigua, then part of the British West Indies. Methodists and Moravians started their unusually successful missions among slaves in the 1750s. The colony seemed so much the “favorite of heaven” that John Wesley visited in 1758. Women recruits were particularly active in spreading these Protestant faiths, so that by the early nineteenth century they claimed to have 15,000 members. Sensbach for the first time uses Moravian manuscripts to reveal how Prince’s narrative was shaped by her British editors in order to strategically conceal her reliance on African-derived spiritualities, which flourished alongside and within evangelical worship in Antigua. Prince’s *History* streamlined the narrative of her Christian faith, which was actually rooted in a multi-layered religious culture that challenged or even ignored specific Christian practices and concepts. Prince was therefore the product of a larger culture of West Indian slavery and thus emerges as a person “immersed in several overlapping sacred worlds in conversation, and often at odds, with her providential narrative.”

African-American Christianity in the West Indies, North America, and England developed through those like Prince who left the colony and carried their Afro-Caribbean spirituality with them. Yet the court records of the Moravian church in Antigua also paint a disturbing picture of a violent colonial society in which slaves themselves reproduced violence in order to fight for their role in the congregation. Missionaries, moreover, used punitive exclusion mechanisms in order to uphold discipline on sugar plantations. Sensbach thus maps out the hidden history of a very different emotional community that formed between European Christians and their colonial congregations – a community in which gender deeply mattered and one that was marked by fear and jealousy about authority and rage.

Reciprocal Comparisons

Merry Wiesner-Hanks closes this volume by linking the findings of several essays in the collection to central themes in the historiography of gender and religion. She builds on Sensbach's and Van Gent's interest in emotional communities and on the interest across several contributions to include a wider range of historical actors, in particular European women and indigenous men and women. Wiesner-Hanks's contribution emphasizes the importance of embedding an analysis of Protestants through "reciprocal comparison" across global cultures, which views each case "from the vantage point of the others." This makes it urgent, as Sensbach and Van Gent likewise suggest, to investigate non-Western concepts of mood, mind, or heart, and the practices of physical enactment or literary expression linked to them. This can equally inspire historians of European Protestantism, as competing concepts of emotions also co-existed in European societies, and their adaption or contestation has not been sufficiently explored by historians of religion. Wiesner-Hanks then addresses research that has contributed to the "spatial turn," and in particular to the subject of migrations in the Atlantic world as a site of complex interactions among gender cultures and different diasporas. As this volume shows, this research strand has done much to add to the previous research that overwhelmingly focused on Puritan experiences. The most recent research on Quakers, for instance, demonstrates a need to re-think gendered accounts of godly households as domesticated, patriarchal spheres. This approach has become particularly influential through work on the early Reformation in Germany. But it might not fit later developments. As Naomi Pullin has recently shown, it certainly does not fit

the situation of Quakers in eighteenth-century Britain and British America.³⁶ Here, women became transcultural brokers of religious ideas and identities by making their households meeting points and by forming bonds among themselves. Quakers were the most influential Protestant religion in British America during this period, and – just as among Moravians – within it women were extremely influential. This in turn means that historians of Europe, as in the case of Gleixner's essay, must continue to re-assess the significant role of women as supporters and mediators of faith through mutual bonds in order to nuance the notion that this was a straightforwardly patriarchal religion.

As indicated above, Wiesner-Hanks's book on *Christianity and Sexuality*, published in 2000, pioneered a global history of religion which sufficiently integrated early modern Protestant experiences in Europe and abroad. Her contribution here underlines the need for the historiography to further attend to the experiences of indigenous people as actively producing and reproducing spiritual worlds, knowledge, and life-worlds of wider consequence. As I hope this introduction has made clear, there is no reason to confine accounts of Protestantism to Europe without considering the ways in which identities and knowledge inflected with the global, first predominantly through print, but from the early seventeenth century onwards increasingly through settlement and encounter as well as through sustained intellectual debates.³⁷

This volume arose from a conference held at the Huntington Library in December 2017 – a year that marked the commemorations of 500 years of Protestantism. These predominantly focused on Martin Luther, who disseminated his 95 Theses against the indulgence trade in 1517. I am grateful to all contributors to the conference and to this volume for their willingness to take part in a continued effort to avoid a narrowing of the history of Protestantism through a return solely to founding figures, and for embarking on an intellectual adventure which this book hopes to further sustain.

³⁶ Naomi Pullin, *Female Friends and the Making of Transatlantic Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018).

³⁷ On one of the most prominent results of such debates, see Lynn Hunt, Margaret C. Jacob, Wijnand Mijnhardt, *The Book that Changed the Europe: Picart & Bernard's Religious Ceremonies of the World* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2010).