

Three kinds of texts contributed to the diversification of Catholicism among the Nahuas and Mayas: those written and published by ecclesiastics for a Spanish and native readership, those written by ecclesiastics for natives but not published, and those composed by natives for natives and not published. The last were subject to the least supervision and not surprisingly contained many deviations from orthodox doctrine. Especially interesting is C.'s explanation of the use of militaristic rhetoric in explaining Catholicisms.

C. illustrates the rich variety and creativity of the friars' approaches to evangelization. He also shows clearly the difference in approach of the Franciscans and Dominicans. "Franciscan Nahuatl texts on baptism in both central Mexico and Yucatan are brief and consistently lack the depth and detail seen in texts deriving from the Dominican and Augustinian orders" (147).

He is right to emphasize the Spanish government's and the Catholic Church's concern for uniformity and conformity. While it is true that this gave rise to the reaction and confiscations of 1577, it should be noted that they arose from the crown's fear of a renewed identity and the possibility of separatism rather than a commitment to orthodoxy.

M. has a profound knowledge of Catholic doctrine and practice. He is also a master of secondary sources, as his copious footnotes and bibliography attest. While technical terms are explained in the text, a glossary would have been useful.

This important book contains a vast amount of useful information. It is in many ways groundbreaking. As extremely detailed and technical, however, its appeal may be limited to specialists and graduate students. Others may find it difficult reading but useful as a reference work.

This is also an important resource for understanding the missionaries' methods in facing a challenging task, one that the church still faces in many parts of the world.

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The Baptism of Early Virginia: How Christianity Created Race. By Rebecca Anne Goetz. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University, 2012. \$55.

In this fine book, Goetz examines how religion influenced the development of racial identity in seventeenth-century Virginia. This is an important issue because, as she points out, most historians have overlooked Christianity's influence on emerging ideas of race. At the start of the seventeenth century, she argues, "English people did not think of themselves as 'white.'" But "Anglo-Virginians created whiteness during the 17th century and redefined Christianity as a religion of white people" (6).

When the English first settled Virginia many had high hopes for converting Native Americans to Christianity. Whiteness and Christianity were not yet mutually engrained. The English believed that because all races of people were of one creation, Christianity was a universal faith. For many Anglo-Virginians, however, this view shifted, especially

after the English–Indian violence of 1622. As Anglo-Virginians saw their culture increasingly threatened, they used Christianity to solidify the boundaries between themselves and both Africans and Indians. A key term in this book is “hereditary heathenism,” the idea “that Indians and Africans could never become Christian” because religious identity was as inheritable as any physical characteristic. This idea helped shape “the foundations for an emergent idea of race and an ideology of racism” (3).

Creating hereditary heathenism involved transforming Christianity from a universal faith to a religion dominated by whites. This transformation was neither quick nor easy. It involved transformed practices and rituals. Baptism, for example, was central to the emergence of hereditary heathenism. In 1667, Virginia passed a law stating that slave owners could baptize their slaves without worrying that baptism implied freedom. This led to a new concept of baptism. Traditionally, many English Protestants had believed that baptism did imply freedom. As a result legislators sought to counter this view in a slaveholding society, apparently believing that the law would encourage masters to instruct their slaves in Christianity. But, G. argues, the law did the opposite because it implied that many slaves were not capable of becoming legitimate Christians. The law implored masters to evaluate their slaves to determine whether they even had the ability to convert. In comparison, no one questioned whether white colonists were capable of converting to Christianity. So this law made it more difficult for Africans and Indians to convert and receive baptism (6, chap. 4).

Baptism was one ritual means of sealing racial and ethnic boundaries; marriage was another. G.’s explanation of hereditary heathenism also sheds new light on the famous story of Metoaka (Pocahontas). In the early seventeenth century, Metoaka was famous for marrying Englishman John Rolfe after having converted to Christianity and was thereby “disinfected” of her Indian “heathenism.” This romance, so celebrated in the early seventeenth century, would have been viewed differently a few decades later, G. argues, because Metoaka’s conversion would have been more problematic. Moreover, by the late seventeenth century, the English “forbade access to Christian marriage for people they defined as heathen” because “Christianity was a matter of lineage and blood as well as belief” (62).

G. makes a strong case for the development of hereditary heathenism, though she stresses that the alignment between whiteness and Christianity was never complete. Even as Christianity reinforced racial division for some, especially Virginia planters, missionaries continued to preach human unity and the spiritual egalitarianism of all peoples. Others who contested this idea of hereditary heathenism included those Indians and Africans who claimed Christianity for themselves.

The division between Christianity as universal and Christianity as innately white became critical in nineteenth-century debates over slavery. G. eloquently documents the colonial roots of this division. Most fundamentally, however, she reveals how important Christianity was in shaping ideas of race. When colonists encountered differences between themselves, Indians, and Africans, they employed religion to explain and defend these differences.

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