between. All also consider the role of "emotional communities" created by the practices of religious affection.

Mark Valeri describes Jonathan Edwards's definition of religious affections as structured, well-ordered, rational responses consistent with contemporary political and philosophical ideas. Valeri's linguistic approach provides and explores the reading habits and processing of language among learned eighteenth century Protestant men. Scott Manning Stevens focuses on the limits of conveying complex religious feelings across European and Indigenous language barriers, specifically among the Haudenosaunee and English and French missionaries. Manning Stevens encourages readers to reconsider claims of linguistic fluidity by the seventeenth and eighteenth century European missionaries, and provides a detailed consideration of the Haudenosaunee's own concepts of religious affection seen in the *ska.nonh* ("Condolence Ceremony"). Melissa Frost grapples with the problem of hallucinogenic botanicals-inspired ecstatic religious experiences among Indigenous peoples and colonizers in the seventeenth century New Spain, which challenged orthodoxy and creating headaches for the Catholic hierarchy and the Office of the Inquisition. John Sensbach's work on antislavery sentiment among Quakers in North Carolina and the Caribbean considers the role of blackness's positive connotations to some Christians, along with hazards of challenging prevailing racial norms in slave societies.

As a historian of religious encounters and lived religion, I feel these essays are at their best when authors adopt a broad approach to define emotional communities, diverse historical players, and changes over time. While all four essays achieve this, Frost's and Sensbach's essays might be the most useful to scholars of religion and social history.

In creating this book, the editors chose a novel approach: following each essay is a brief response by a fellow scholar, who both enriches and challenges the essayists' interpretations. *Feeling Godly* provides a reading experience that feels like an extended conference session, complete with the requisite robust exchange of ideas. It works, and might be a model whose time has come for future essay collections.

Laura M. Chmielewski
State University of New York at Purchase
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Slavery and the Catholic Church in the United States: Historical Studies. Edited by **David J. Endres**. Washington, DC: The Catholic University of America Press, 2023.

American Catholics have long assumed that theirs is an immigrant story, remote from the nation's original sin of slavery. Recent media coverage of a slaveholding past at Georgetown and other Jesuit universities thus came as a something of a shock. But the Jesuits were far from the only Catholic religious order to have depended on slave labor – virtually every Catholic religious order, women's as well as men's, stationed in places where slavery was legal owned at least some slaves. Bishops and even priests – a surprise here simply because most antebellum priests were poor – owned slaves as

well. So did Catholic laymen. Until the 1960s, most historians of American Catholicism, nearly all of them Catholics themselves, did not so much deny this uncomfortable reality as underestimate its extent and put a positive spin on it. Catholic slaveholders, they typically maintained, were unusually humane masters, concerned for both the temporal and spiritual well-being of their enslaved people. This was especially true, or so the argument ran, of those lucky enough to be enslaved by Catholic religious.

Although the subject has not yet been adequately explored, Catholic slaveholding has lately received much greater and more critical attention from historians, as David Endres's fine volume attests. But much remains to be done, as Endres explains in a thoughtful closing essay. How many enslaved persons were owned by the various Catholic religious orders? How well were they treated and, of particular importance, how frequently were they sold? We simply do not know. Kelly Schmidt's excellent essay on Jesuit slaveholding in their southern and midwestern missions offers a tentative figure of "more than 189 individuals" who were "owned, rented and borrowed" by the Jesuits in these locales, and points in addition to a long history of Jesuit slaveholding globally. No underestimating here when it comes to the extent of Catholic slaveholding! Like other contributors to the volume, she is briskly dismissive of the notion that Catholic religious were dependably gentle masters: "the Jesuits were no different in how they treated enslaved people than other enslavers" (5). Since all systems of slavery depend ultimately on a willingness to employ violence, this characterization is bound to be closer to the truth than the pious conclusions of earlier historical accounts. But the relevant evidence is exceedingly limited, and Schmidt's judgment may say as much about present-day passions as it does about the past.

Perhaps the most interesting essays in the volume deal not with slaveholding but Catholic attitudes toward slavery. Almost no Catholics appear to have been abolitionists, regarding the abolitionist movement, with considerable cause, as hostile to Catholicism and Catholics themselves. Indeed, few Catholics appear to have suffered moral qualms over slavery. Only three American bishops gave public support to Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation, which had the effect on the great majority of Catholics of strengthening their already-strong support for the northern peace movement. Only one bishop is known to have embraced immediate emancipation, which he did only in 1863. Even after the war's conclusion, the assembled American hierarchy expressed regret that an extended period of gradual emancipation had not been possible. The views of the bishops were doubtless grounded at least in part on racism. But their assumptions about the necessarily hierarchical nature of a stable society played a prominent role as well. As for the majority of Catholic laymen, distant from slavery themselves but deeply hostile to persons of African descent, the prospect of emancipation elicited a toxic blend of rage and fear. Racism was surely a principal factor, but so were anxieties in a heavily immigrant population about economic competition from a newly freed black populace.

Were Catholics much different from Protestants when it came to race and slavery? Although none of the authors addresses this question, the answer is very likely no. The Catholic church did not suffer division over the issue as certain Protestant denominations did, and Catholics in general remained on the periphery of national debates over slavery in the antebellum decades. But even immigrant Catholics imbibed the unfiltered racism that infected nearly all Americans long after slavery ended – racism against which few Catholic leaders preached. In this sense especially, the American Catholic past does indeed bear the taint of the nation's original sin.

David Endres and his collaborators have made a welcome contribution to the on-going work of re-conceptualizing the American Catholic past.

Leslie Woodcock Tentler
Catholic University
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The Stations of the Cross in Colonial Mexico: The via crucis en Mexicano by Fray Augustín de Vetancurt. By **John W. Schwaller**, Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press and The Academy of American Franciscan History. 2022. 252 pages. $45 hardcover.

There is no shortage of works about Christ's Passion from the early modern Catholic world, but the one studied here stands apart. It is probably the only surviving copy of a book by notable author and Franciscan Augustín de Vetancurt. It was also written in Nahuatl, yet popular enough to have been published in at least two editions at a time when printing focused on Spanish-language audiences. This surviving version offers an additional layer of interest as a manuscript copy with images added by its indigenous scribe.

According to the title page, Vetancurt's book is from 1680 and according to the final page Matheo de San Juan Chicahuastla made his copy some forty years later in 1738. Their work guides readers through the stations of the cross, a devotional practice that was, during this time, developing a wide audience and coalescing into its canonical form of fourteen moments that led up to Christ's death and resurrection.

Schwaller's book provides a transcription and English translation of this fascinating work and offers explanations of how and why Vetancurt might have created it. Schwaller opens with a short introduction that offers background on Catholic practices, church structures, and the Gospel and traditions that served as sources for the stations. Four body chapters follow. In a chapter on the European origins of the stations, Schwaller argues that the devotion arose out of three "historical streams": attraction to the Holy Land, the *devotio moderna*, and late medieval efforts to build imagined landscapes.

A chapter on Mexico's religious and literary culture centers printed devotional works about the Passion and especially those on the stations, which, Schwaller argues, helped standardize the number of stations and what they portrayed. Among the most important of these works was the Franciscan Francisco de Soria's *Manual de exercicios para los desagravios de Christo*, which was published in at least 27 editions between 1686 and 1793 (62). Its titular devotion was an image of Christ in the Mexico City Franciscan convent's San Josef de los Naturales chapel, where Vetancurt served as priest. Schwaller notes that some editions of Soria's work conclude with two different sets of meditations and prayers for the stations of the cross, one of which – that by Fr. Antonio de la Anunciación – he thinks is the source for Vetancurt's translation.

Schwaller then turns to Vetancurt's work itself in a meaty chapter that offers close readings of the text. For each of the fourteen stations, he compares English translations of the Anunciación and Vetancurt texts, notes where Vetancurt followed or made