

and without much commentary, the native voices are almost completely decontextualized. Hart gives us almost no background about the life experiences of the speakers, and for interviews conducted during the horrendous repression of the 1980s and early 1990s, when Guatemalan communities were wrenched apart by affiliations with leftist rebels or with right wing military units, or by attempts at remaining “neutral,” the lack of such information is devastating. Religion was at the center of those violent years. The repressive government of Efraín Ríos Montt recruited Evangelical Protestantism to the cause of an “anti-communist” crusade. The Catholic Church, once firmly aligned with the social/political establishment, had developed an activist left wing devoted to liberation theology. Meanwhile, Maya Traditionalism tended to be caught in the middle, scorned by Evangelicals as pagan and viewed by liberationist progressives as out of touch with social and political reform.

By choosing not to engage with existing academic scholarship on Maya spirituality or current sociopolitical issues in Central America, Hart means to foreground the native voice. But by presenting anonymous, decontextualized voices, Hart inadvertently contributes to the essentializing of the Maya. Ironically, the diversity of views of the Maya informants is actually undercut by this decontextualization: because nothing is privileged, nothing critiqued or analyzed, the voices merge into a collection of undifferentiated oral reportage. Hart tells us that he is happy to embrace even hearsay as a way to understand the Maya, but that does not address the issue of what uses can best be made of this collection. A teacher can cite one of these anonymous testimonials by a Maya Traditionalist, but to what end? What is that speaker’s standing in his or her community? What kind of relationship has this person had to other elders, or to family members? What was this person’s experience in relation to the years of repression in Guatemala? Without such contextual information, Hart’s native collaborators speak, as it were, from a void and into a void. Fortunately, we also have a growing body of not-anonymous Maya voices appearing in print as part of the current Maya cultural revival movement and their growing prominence in the current cultural scene in Guatemala gives assurance that their participation in the conversation is at hand.

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Revolutions in Mexican Catholicism: Reform and Revelation in Oaxaca, 1887-1934. By Edward Wright-Rios. Durham: Duke University Press, 2009. Pp. xiii, 362. Maps. Figures. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. Index. \$84.95 cloth; \$23.95 paper.

This is a book about Catholic survival and resurgence in a Mexico increasingly characterized by secular and anti-Catholic political and cultural elites who put statecraft and nation building above all other considerations. The War of the Reform (1858-1860) and the French Intervention and Second Empire under Maximilian of Hapsburg (1862-1867) created a deepening rift between the Catholic hierarchy and its allies on the one hand, and liberal or eventually anarcho-socialist or socialist elites, on the other.

For self-proclaimed Catholics, or political Catholics, a sense of Mexicanness and the links of fraternity and nationhood among Mexicans could only be explained by the deep roots of Catholicism, which had founded a nation wrought out of and placed above colonial conquest and the social conflict so readily and logically associated with it. Mexico was a special home to Christ and his virgin mother, and the liturgy, public rituals and social modalities of Catholicism were the sinews of national union.

Gradually, however, this view of a nation forged out of conquest was insufficient for nation builders in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In their eyes, Mexico must become a progressive and prosperous nation in the competitive world of modern capitalism and science, of socialism and social reform. The Catholic clergy and clerical wealth, even the orientation of Catholic education, became bones of contention between the 1820s and the 1850s. The Constitution of 1857, with its inclination toward religious toleration and increased state powers, precipitated tensions into open conflict. Things would never quite be the same thereafter.

It is not at all uncommon among modernizing Mexican intellectuals to relegate the Catholic Church to Mexico's past, or perhaps to certain prevailing local customs in towns or plebeian areas of cities. When brought into current history, a vocal and active Catholic Church is looked on as a threat, or at best a nuisance. The associations between certain economic and social elites and militant Catholicism are a source of concern. Persistent Catholic devotion is often considered a passive and recessive aspect of Mexican life, which may indicate where Mexico is coming from, but will scarcely show you where it is heading.

Increasingly however, such a view of Catholicism in Mexico has come to seem limited, prejudiced and narrow. Catholic influence has been felt in contrary political movements, and the heterogeneous characteristics of Mexican Catholics have only become more and more visible over time. Edward Wright-Rios has found an engaging and exciting way to approach this complex history. He has done so by interweaving separate but interconnected narratives: the episcopal reforms of Catholic practices under bishop Eulogio Gillow (1887-1922) and two indigenous rural Catholic revival movements (ca. 1911-1950 and 1928-1934). This has allowed him to embrace major issues of Church-State relations during the liberal dictatorship of General Porfirio Díaz and then under the revolutionary governments arising after 1910, but at the same time subtly deal with tensions between urban and rural Catholicism, between episcopal intent and popular understandings, and between modernization's pretense and its reach into more marginal geographies.

These three interconnected stories are fascinating in themselves and intriguing when they converge. Bishop Gillow, a combination of traditional aristocrat and modern bourgeois, educated in Mexico, England, Belgium and Rome, appears committed to modernizing Mexico but bringing along a robust Vatican-inspired Church as part of the enterprise. He combined the man of vision and the ultimate pragmatist while his reforms connected both with Bourbon religious interests in a personal ethical religiosity of absolute orthodoxy and hierarchical ordering, and late nineteenth-century Catholic and Vatican resentment at displacement. Central to his endeavors were a restructured liturgy and modern devotionism, along with an active Catholic press and popular organizations, which would both

intensify the religious experience among believers and tie all Catholics clearly to the Church hierarchy. Vatican actions and directives, as well as the broad and deep sweep of nineteenth-century apparitionism were central to his plans and ultimately related to the limits of their implementation. Wright-Rios shows that the bishop had more control over Oaxaca City, its Church activities and seminary-trained priests than he had over the autochthonous beliefs and practices of his rural parishioners who, ultimately caught up in the ambiguities of modernization but clinging to longstanding apparitionist traditions of their own, responded to the clash between secularism and religious revival in complex ways. The author argues that all the levels of society and Catholicism were connected and in significant communication, but the pretense of top-down revivalism was at least partially subverted by local, popular initiative and relative autonomy *vis-à-vis* clerical preference.

Gillow had to contend with this inveterate religious localism and its vibrant community organizations in his devotional and liturgical reforms. But he and other diocesan authorities would face even stronger manifestations of the same in the persons of Barola Bolaños and Matilde Narváez, convinced advocates of sacred apparitions in two distinct parishes. It is through their stories that Wright-Rios graphically points up the partially centrifugal tendencies of Oaxaca's Catholic pueblos, but also highlights the inherent tensions to the increasing lay and especially female presence in the spiritual associations and spirit of Catholic revival. With distinctly different outcomes, Bolaños and Narváez championed local apparitions and their conversion into regional devotional movements. Bolaños successfully navigated the clerical and organizational complexities necessary to success. But Narváez did not. These stories are wonderfully recounted and brought to bear on the whole question of the Mexican Church and its successful, if accident-filled, response to secular nation-state building and the perils of state-led development.

Wright-Rios has produced an elegantly written book that reflects a deep knowledge of colonial and national Mexican and Mexicanist historiography. This carefully researched and thoughtfully articulated study is a major contribution to the rethinking of Mexican Catholicism and Mexican Catholics in a country whose formal constitutions (1857, 1917) and political elites have been prevalently oriented to secular liberalism, national development and social reform since the mid-nineteenth century, and especially after the revolution of 1910.

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POLITICS & GOVERNANCE

Hegel, Haiti, and Universal History. By Susan Buck-Morss. Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2009. Pp. xii, 164. Illustrations. Notes. Bibliography. \$45.00 cloth; \$16.95 paper.

When Susan Buck-Morss published the essay, "Hegel and Haiti," in *Critical Inquiry* (2000), it prompted responses in fora as varied as art catalogues, workers' newspapers, and