

hierarchies, most notably in the National Guard's officer corps, he did not see liberalism and slavery as incompatible. As property, slaves had no claim to citizenship or the rights it conferred.

Yet, Rebouças recognized that in a society dependent on enslaved labor, and with growing numbers of freed people, liberalism as a legal project required regulating the passage from enslavement to freedom, from property to citizen. In the case of self-purchase, he took a narrow view of when freedom was legally recovered (the end rather than the beginning of agreed-upon service). He also regarded Africans as "barbarians." At the same time, he insisted that the effects of a new legal status were all-encompassing. Former slaves were to have equal social, political, and economic opportunities (88).

As Grinberg also persuasively shows, the problem for Rebouças was that among both his political allies and his opponents, his skin color and ancestry continued to carry a disqualifying weight. He endured social discrimination and racial slurs. Notwithstanding his ownership of slaves and his pledge to serve as a "guarantor" of Brazilian political unity, other political elites accused Rebouças of harboring "dangerous," divisive ideas. By the second half of the nineteenth century, when abolitionist projects gained ground, Rebouças had stepped away from political life. For a younger group of liberals more invested in collective legal-political transformations, his views on slavery and race seemed fossilized.

First published in Brazil in 2002, this book recovered the complexity of Rebouças' life and work left aside in histories of nineteenth-century Brazil. The English translation of the book by Kristin McGuire is expert and seamless. Grinberg's scholarship also invites broader considerations of comparison and translation. While the title here identifies Rebouças as a "Black jurist," she points to instances when he defended the political rights and reputation of "mulattos," a category with which he identified himself. It was a category that, like Rebouças himself, stood in tension with his belief in liberalism's capacity to deracialize civil and political rights.

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RELIGIOUS REBELLION

Victory on Earth or in Heaven: Mexico's Religionero Rebellion. By Brian A. Stauffer.
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Between 1873 and 1877, a radical religious rebellion tore through Mexico's Catholic heartland in response to the "draconian" secularization project of liberal president

Sebastián Lerdo de Tejada. Though largely overlooked, the Religionero rebellion appears in history as a typical nineteenth-century conflict between Church and state. However, as Brain Stauffer makes clear in this meticulous study, appearances can be deceiving. In this case, they obscure a grassroots movement of sometimes bewildering complexity. Stauffer acknowledges that in the broadest terms the Religionero rebellion was a form of self-defense against liberal secularization; nevertheless, not all Catholics took up arms or supported armed rebellion. Mapping out who did draws us to the intersection of high ecclesiastical politics and Michoacán's myriad local religious cultures.

Stauffer argues that the shape of Religionero mobilization in Michoacán was determined primarily by conflict within the Church, rather than liberal reforms (though the two were not always so clearly disentangled). Specifically, in rural Michoacán competing Catholic restoration projects came into conflict, and this clash between elite Ultramontane piety and popular Baroque religiosity created the conditions for armed rebellion. The newly founded diocese of Zamora represented the ascendancy of Ultramontane piety, with its deference to hierarchy and emphasis on individual introspection, as an antidote to the "religious indifference" that accompanied secular civil society. In rural communities, Ultramontane restoration projects clashed with idiosyncratic religious practices, bound loosely by a Baroque spiritual ethos. Highly syncretic, reflecting the indigenous and Afro-mestizo character of the countryside, Baroque religiosity in Michoacán was collective, public, and lavishly performative—a near-opposite of Ultramontane austerity. Often aimed at prohibiting public devotional practices, Ultramontane "modernization" projects trapped many communities between liberal legislation and "new forms of officially sanctioned piety that relegated their cultic traditions to the sidelines" (99).

Stauffer's analysis shatters monolithic interpretations of the Catholic Church and its response to the liberal challenge, revealing a movement that was uncoordinated, heterogeneous, and "stubbornly provincialist." Despite its ideological inconsistency (and a fragmentary archival trail) Stauffer extracts some hard-won conclusions, using three regional case studies to construct a sort of spiritual-cultural topography of Michoacán. A few discernible patterns emerge. In areas with both a strong Ultramontane clergy and entrenched local religious cultures, Catholic reforms were interpreted as an all-out attack on local religious traditions, amplifying the deleterious effects of the liberal reforms. Here rural people took up arms against both the secularizing state and the Romanizing Church. Without a strong Ultramontane impulse, the potentially deleterious impact of liberal reform was thrown into sharper relief and the rural poor in these areas took up arms more clearly against the state. In other areas, material concerns subsumed spiritual concerns and the poor mobilized to defend their economic resources. The disparate nature of the movement not only defies easy historical categorization, but also limited its impact among contemporaries.

Although the Religioneros ultimately failed militarily, they were incorporated into Porfirio Díaz's Plan de Tuxtepec and temporarily integrated into his transitional government. In

the process, Catholics found a place in the public sphere free from censure. Stauffer argues that Díaz's handling of the religioneros paved the way for his rapprochement with the Catholic Church, one of the key pillars of his dictatorship. However, juxtaposing liberal and conservative interests, and aligning with rebels only to eliminate or co-opt them after achieving stability, were typical of Díaz's two-handed politics and hardly novel to the Religioneros case. That said, the bigger conclusion here—that the state's reconciliation with the Church derailed its secularization project and thereby constituted a “win” for Catholic rebels—is more convincing and valuable.

This is a carefully conceived and diligently researched book, and it is an achievement in archival investigation. By backgrounding material concerns and focusing on the many Catholicisms of Mexico's spiritual center, Stauffer brings much-needed nuance to the study of secularization and Church-state conflict in the contentious nineteenth century.

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REVOLUTIONS

Twentieth-Century Latin American Revolutions. By Marc Becker. Lanham, Md.: Rowman and Littlefield, 2017. Kindle edition. \$85.00 cloth; \$30.00 paper.
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This book offers an overview of revolutionary movements in twentieth-century Latin America, appropriate either for undergraduate level or for a general audience. Aiming to contextualize events in Latin America, the book opens with a chapter that explores the concept of “revolution” from a theoretical point of view, provides an overview of the global left, and highlights the factors required to foster a revolution (social and economic inequalities, leadership, and ideology). This is followed by seven case studies of revolutionary movements analyzed in chronological order: Mexican Revolution, 1910–20; Guatemalan Spring, 1944–54; Bolivia's Nationalist Revolution, 1952–64; Cuban Revolution, 1959–; Chilean Road to Socialism, 1970–73; Nicaraguan Sandinistas, 1979–90; Venezuela's Bolivarian Revolution, 1999–; plus a chapter that studies 1980s guerrilla movements in Latin America that failed to take power, with a focus on Colombia, El Salvador, and Peru, the three countries with the most significant insurgencies. The book concludes with a survey of the emergence and consolidation of leftist governments in Latin America at the beginning of the twenty first century, “with an eye toward what they can teach us about past revolutionary movements” (vii). As no canon of Latin American revolutions exists, this book's case studies are the byproduct of Becker's “years of study and analysis of transformative movements” (vii).