Volume 79

APRIL 2022

Number

#### MATTHEW BUTLER

Catholic Mobilizations in Twentieth-Century Mexico: From Pious Lynchings and Fascist Salutes to a "Catholic 1968," Maoist Priests, and the Post-Cristero Apocalypse

## GEMA KLOPPE-SANTAMARÍA

Martyrs, Fanatics, and Pious Militants: Religious Violence and the Secular State in 1930s Mexico

# JULIA G. YOUNG

Fascists, Nazis, or Something Else?: Mexico's Unión Nacional Sinarquista in the US Media, 1937–1945

# JAIME M. PENSADO

Silencing Rebellious Priests: Rodolfo Escamilla García and the Repression of Progressive Catholicism in Cold-War Mexico

### JORGE PUMA

The Nazas-Aguanaval Group: Radical Priests, Catholic Networks, and Maoist Politics in Northern Mexico

#### LUIS HERRÁN ÁVILA

Las Falsas Derechas: Conflict and Convergence in Mexico's Post-Cristero Right after the Second Vatican Council

**REVIEWS** 

**BOOK NOTES** 

#### Published by

Academy of American Franciscan History

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

#### **BOARD OF EDITORS**

JEFFREY M. BURNS, *Director*Academy of American Franciscan History, USA

Editor
JOHN F. SCHWALLER
University at Albany (SUNY), USA

Associate Editor LEO GAROFALO Connecticut College, USA Editorial Assistant MATTHEW DELAMATER University at Albany (SUNY), USA

PAULA ALONSO
George Washington University
MYRNA IVONNE WALLACE FUENTES
Roanoke College, USA
MARY KARASCH
Oakland University, USA (Emeritus)
JAMES M. KRIPPNER
Haverford College, USA
MANUELLA MEYER

University of Richmond, USA

Assistant Editors
FABRICIO PRADO
William & Mary, USA
DAVID SARTORIUS
University of Maryland, USA
PABLO SIERRA SILVA
University of Rochester, USA
BARBARA A. SOMMER
Gettysburg College, USA

CRISTINA SORIANO
Villanova University, USA
BARBARA A. TENENBAUM
Library of Congress, USA
RICHARD WARREN
St. Joseph's University, USA
ERIC ZOLOV
Stony Brook University, USA

Social Media Editor WILLIAM H. SCHWALLER Temple University, USA

#### **AREA EDITORS**

JOSE AMADOR (2027)
Miami University, USA
CHRIS BOYER (2024)
University of Illinois at Chicago, USA
ALEX BORUCKI (2023)
University of California, Irvine, USA
RAYMOND B. CRAIB (2024)
Cornell University, USA
ALCIRA DUEÑAS (2026)
Ohio State University, USA
RAJESHWARI DUTT (2026)
Indian Inst. Of Technology, New Delhi, India

FLAVIA FIORUCCI (2026)
Universidad Nacional de Quilmes, Argentina
MARIXA LASSO (2024)
Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Colombia
GILLIAN MCGILLIVRAY (2025)
York University, Canada
YUKO MIKI (2027)
Fordham University, USA
ERIKA PANI (2024)
El Colegio de México, México

#### **SENIOR EDITORS**

University of Florida, USA
HERMAN BENNETT (2027)
CUNY-Graduate Center, USA
SHERWIN K. BRYANT (2024)
Northwestern University, USA
ADA FERRER (2022)
New York University, USA
FLAVIO GOMES (2026)
Universidade Federal de Rio de Janeiro, Brazil
LILLIAN GUERRA (2023)
University of Florida, USA
EMILIO KOURÍ (2024)
KATZ Center for Mexican Studies, USA
CHRISTOPHER LUTZ (2022)
Centro de Investigaciones Regionales de Mesoamérica

IDA ALTMAN (2025)

JANE E. MANGAN (2024)
Davidson College, USA
LUIS CARLOS MANTILLA, O.F.M. (2024)
Universidad de San Buenaventura, Colombia
FRANCISCO MORALES, O.F.M. (2024)
Mexico City, Mexico
ELSA SERVIN (2026)
CIESAS, Mexico
NATALIA SOBREVILLA PEREA (2026)
Kent University, UK
GABRIELA RAMOS (2027)
Cambridge University, UK
ANN TWINAM (2025)
University of Texas, USA
BEN VINSON III (2025)

Case Western Reserve, USA

#### **ARTICLES**

181 CATHOLIC MOBILIZATIONS IN TWENTIETH-CENTURY MEXICO: From Pious Lynchings and Fascist Salutes to a "Catholic 1968," Maoist Priests, and the Post-Cristero Apocalypse

MATTHEW BUTLER

- 197 MARTYRS, FANATICS, AND PIOUS MILITANTS: Religious Violence and the Secular State in 1930s Mexico

  GEMA KLOPPE-SANTAMARÍA
- 229 FASCISTS, NAZIS, OR SOMETHING ELSE?: Mexico's Unión Nacional Sinarquista in the US Media, 1937–1945

  Julia G. Young
- 263 SILENCING REBELLIOUS PRIESTS: Rodolfo Escamilla García and the Repression of Progressive Catholicism in Cold-War Mexico

JAIME M. PENSADO

- 291 THE NAZAS-AGUANAVAL GROUP: Radical Priests, Catholic Networks, and Maoist Politics in Northern Mexico

  JORGE PUMA
- 321 LAS FALSAS DERECHAS: Conflict and Convergence in Mexico's Post-Cristero Right after the Second Vatican Council Luis Herrán Ávila

# **REVIEWS**

#### **BOOK REVIEWS**

#### CENTRAL MEXICAN NAHUATL WRITING

351 Deciphering Aztec Hieroglyphs: A Guide to Nahuatl Writing. By Gordon Whittaker.

Dominique E. Polanco

#### MORISCOS AND MUSLIMS

Forbidden Passages: Muslims and Moriscos in Colonial Spanish America. By Karoline P. Cook. Francisco Quiroz Chueca

#### INTERETHNIC RELATIONS IN COLONIAL PARAGUAY

- 354 Colonial Kinship: Guaraní, Spaniards, and Africans in Paraguay. By Shawn Michael Austin. Damian A. Gonzales Escudero
- 356 Pueblos, Plains & Province: New Mexico in the Seventeenth Century. By Joseph P. Sánchez. Joshua J. Jeffers

#### SPANISH IMPERIALISM AND CATHOLICISM

357 *Pious Imperialism: Spanish Rule and the Cult of Saints in Mexico City.* By Cornelius Conover. **David Rex Galindo** 

#### COLONIAL CHURCH CLOTHING

359 Clothing the New World Church: Liturgical Textiles of Spanish America, 1520–1820. By Maya Stanfield-Mazzi.

Ray Hernández-Durán

#### GALENIC PHARMACY

360 Compound Remedies: Galenic Pharmacy from the Ancient Mediterranean to New Spain. By Paula S. de Vos.

Benjamin Breen

#### PÍCAROS IN BOURBON MEXICO

Fugitive Freedom: The Improbable Lives of Two Impostors in Late Colonial Mexico. By William B. Taylor.

Eileen Ford

#### GRAPHIC HISTORY OF THE AGE OF REVOLUTION

Witness to the Age of Revolution: The Odyssey of Juan Bautista Tupac Amaru. By Charles F. Walker and Liz Clarke.

Mark Rice

#### **CUBAN SLAVERY**

365 The Power of Their Will: Slaveholding Women in Nineteenth-Century Cuba. By Teresa Prados-Torreira.

Frank Proctor

#### MEXICO'S REVOLUTIONARY STATE

366 Soldiers, Saints, and Shamans: Indigenous Communities and the Revolutionary State in Mexico's Gran Nayar, 1910–1940. By Nathaniel Morris.

Stephen Neufeld

#### **MEXICO'S LEFT**

368 Edición y comunismo. Cultura impresa, educación militante y prácticas políticas (México, 1930–1940). By Sebastián Rivera Mir.

Matthew Vitz

#### ECUADORIAN LEFT IN THE 1950S

370 The CIA in Ecuador. By Marc Becker.

**Colby Ristow** 

#### SISTER CITIES IN THE UNITED STATES AND EL SALVADOR

371 Long Journey to Justice: El Salvador, the United States, and Struggles Against Empire. By Molly Todd.

Peter M. Sanchez

# LULA'S EARLY RISE TO PROMINENCE

373 Lula and His Politics of Cunning: From Metalworker to President of Brazil. By John D. French. **Joel Wolfe** 

#### BRAZIES RURAL BLACK COMMUNITIES

375 For Land and Liberty: Black Struggles in Rural Brazil. By Merle L. Bowen. Evan Ward

#### BLACK AND INDIGENOUS RESISTANCE

377 Black and Indigenous Resistance in the Americas: From Multiculturalism to Racist Backlash.
Edited by Juliet Hooker, Giorleny Altamirano Rayo, Aileen Ford and Steven Lownes.
Julie L. Williams

# ECUADOR'S INDIGENOUS MOVEMENTS AND NEOLIBERAL MULTICULTURALISM

378 Undoing Multiculturalism: Resource Extraction and Indigenous Rights in Ecuador. By Carmen Martínez Novo.

Marc Becker

#### POLITICS OF FOOD

Gastropolitics and the Specter of Race: Stories of Capital, Culture, and Coloniality in Peru. By María Elena García.

Rosa Elena Carrasquillo

#### **HONDURAS**

Roots of Resistance: A Story of Gender, Race, and Labor on the North Coast of Honduras. By Suyapa G. Portillo Villeda.

Carmen Kordick

#### **GUATEMALA**

- 383 Ladina Social Activism in Guatemala City, 1871–1954. By Patricia Harms. Abigail Adams
- 385 Agrotropolis: Youth, Street, and the Nation in the New Urban Guatemala. By J. T. Way. Diane Nelson

#### RACIALIZED IDENTITIES OF LATINOS

387 Inventing Latinos: A New Story of American Racism. By Laura E. Gómez. Jennifer Domino Rudolph

# LATIN AMERICAN RELATIONS WITH THE UNITED STATES

388 The Third Century: U.S.-Latin American Relations since 1889. Second edition, revised. By Mark T. Gilderhus, David C. LaFevor and Michael J. LaRosa. John J. Dwyer

# **BOOK NOTES**

- 391 A Black Soldier's Story: The Narrative of Ricardo Batrell and the Cuban War of Independence. By Ricardo Batrell Oviedo. Edited and translated by Mark A. Sanders. D. S.
- 392 Museum Matters: Making and Unmaking Mexico's National Collections. Edited by Miruna Achim, Susan Deans-Smith and Sandra Rozental.
  J. F. S.

# **CONTRIBUTORS**

Matthew Butler is Associate Professor of Mexican History at the University of Texas at Austin and researches the religious and agrarian history of nineteenth-and twentieth-century Mexico. His most recent publication, co-edited with Yves Solís and Camille Foulard, is *Cruce de fronteras: la influencia de los Estados Unidos y América Latina en los proyectos de nación católicos en México, siglo XX* (2020). A recently completed manuscript on the history of revolutionary-indigenous Catholicism in Mexico, *Father Pérez's Revolution: The Mexican Catholic and Apostolic Church*, is under review. He is finishing another manuscript on the history of Catholic dissent in Mexico and a co-edited volume on the history of indigenous land privatizations in nineteenth-century Michoacán.

Luis Herrán Ávila is Assistant Professor of History and Latin American Studies at the University of New Mexico. He has published in both English and Spanish on various aspects of Latin American Cold War history with a focus on right-wing movements and is currently working on a manuscript about the transnational dimensions of Mexican Cold War anticommunism. He received his PhD in Politics and Historical Studies from the New School for Social Research in 2017.

Jorge Puma is a PhD candidate in History at the University of Notre Dame and the University of Paris-Saclay. He is a Kellogg Institute PhD Fellow and a Fulbright-García Robles 2017 alumnus. His dissertation project deals with the reception of left-wing ideologies in late twentieth-century Mexico in the context of social and political changes on a global scale. In 2021, the project won an award for historical research dissertation projects from the National Institute for the Historical Studies of Mexico's Revolutions (INEHRM). His research focuses on a transnational community of revolutionaries and student radicals who adopted Maoism, and their interaction with Catholic activism inspired by the Second Vatican Council. Puma has published his work in peer-reviewed journals in Chile and United States. His latest work, on Mexican Maoism, appeared in the November 2017 Latin American Perspectives.

**Julia Young** is a historian of migration, Mexico and Latin America, and Catholicism in the Americas at The Catholic University of America in Washington, DC. She is the author of *Mexican Exodus: Emigrants, Exiles, and Refugees of the Cristero War* (2015) and the co-editor of *Local Church, Global Church: Catholic Activism* 

in Latin America from Rerum Novarum to Vatican II (2015). She has published scholarly articles in *The Americas*, Catholic Historical Review, Mexican Studies/Estudios Mexicanos, Modernism, and the Journal on Migration and Human Security. In 2020-21, she was a fellow at the Luce/ACLS Program in Religion, Journalism & International Affairs. She frequently writes for the media about immigration, border issues, and Catholic immigration history.

Gema Kloppe-Santamaría is Assistant Professor of Latin American History at Loyola University Chicago and a 2021-22 Marie Curie Junior Fellow at the Freiburg Institute of Advanced Studies. Her research deals with questions of violence, gender, religion, and state formation in Latin America. She is the author of In the Vortex of Violence: Lynching, Extralegal Justice, and the State in Post-Revolutionary Mexico (2020). Her work has been featured in several academic journals including Latin American Research Review, Journal of Latin American Studies, Journal of Social History, The Americas, and the Oxford Encyclopedia of Latin American History. Her research has been supported by a number of grants, including most recently a 2020 Harry Frank Guggenheim Foundation Distinguished Scholar Award and a 2021 Mellon Emerging Faculty Leaders Award. She is currently working on a second book project on the contentious relationship between religion and violence in twentieth-century Mexico.

Jaime M. Pensado is Associate Professor of History at the University of Notre Dame. He is the author of *Rebel Mexico: Student Unrest and Authoritarian Political Culture During the Long Sixties* (2013) and co-author with Enrique C. Ochoa of *México Beyond 1968: Revolutionaries, Radicals, and Repression during the Global Sixties and Subversive Seventies* (2018).