

Devon Dick. 2009. *The Cross and the Machete: Native Baptists of Jamaica - Identity, Ministry and Legacy*. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randall Publishers. 308 pp. ISBN: 978-976-637-387-0.

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In *The Cross and the Machete*, Devon Dick—a Ph.D. historian from Warwick University, UK, and pastor of the Boulevard Baptist Church in St. Andrews, Jamaica—offers an innovative, theologically-sophisticated reassessment of the Morant Bay Rebellion of 1865. Expanding on his previous book, *Rebellion to Riot: The Jamaican Church in Nation Building* (2004), Dick cogently argues that the uprising known as the “Morant Bay Rebellion” should more accurately be known as the “Native Baptist War of 1865.” Dick’s major goal is to demonstrate that prominent leaders of the uprising—most notably Native Baptist Deacon Paul Bogle and Assemblyman George William Gordon—were motivated to political action by their readings of “Creolized” versions of the English Baptist Bible. Unlike earlier studies of Morant Bay by Robert J. Stewart (1992) and Gad Heuman (1994), Dick deftly shifts the focus from European missionaries and suggests instead that the focus should be on Afro-Jamaicans who reinterpreted the practical applicability of selected Biblical passages to fit their daily lives and aspirations. The author’s conclusions are often incompatible with those of his dissertation advisor at the University of Warwick, Gad Heuman. And it is a tribute to Heuman that he encouraged and promoted research questioning many of his earlier assumptions about Morant Bay.

What sets this volume apart is its exacting historiography. In chapter two, “Identity of the Native Baptists,” Dick counters Shirley C. Gordon’s widely-accepted assertions that “statistics for Native Baptists are nonexistent” (Shirley 1998:46) and that “it is impossible to quantify their membership” (Shirley 1998:69). He marshals compelling evidence that between September 1839 and July 1840 the Native Baptists became an established organization with multiple church buildings, schools, a viable financial base, regulations, growing membership, quality leaders, a clearly defined mission, and a central office.

The author also provides a critical examination of the founders of the Native Baptist movement—who they were, what they did, and most important, *who they were not*. He credits George Liele with starting the first Baptist mission to Jamaica and counts him among the movement’s

founders, but concludes that Sam Sharpe and Moses Baker exerted little direct influence on Jamaica's Native Baptists (p. 48).

Dick convincingly contends that Paul Bogle and George William Gordon each took different approaches to the Bible based on their personal religious experiences—not based on the teachings of European missionaries. Assertions regarding the religious beliefs of Native Baptists remain speculative since they were not theologians and left few written records. Whenever possible, Dick brings in original documents attributed to Bogle and other Native Baptists of the period and attempts to establish motivations for Native Baptist actions. In so doing, he introduces a new paradigm for the understanding of Native Baptist struggles for equality, justice, and liberation and lays the foundation for a more complete understanding of Paul Bogle.

Of course, some of Dick's "evidence" is more convincing than others. He offers quotes from George William Gordon's speeches to the Jamaican Parliament which were widely reported in newspapers and in other public documents. But he also brings in selected annotations and marginal notes from Bogle's personal hymnal. Quotes from Gordon's public speeches constitute good evidence, but how do we know that annotations to a hymnal were actually made by Bogle or that these annotations were of particular significance to him? Bogle left no theological writings and there is much about Bogle's beliefs and motivations that will forever remain unknown.

Ultimately, the author concludes that Jamaican Native Baptists should not be seen as rebels but as "men of faith" who fervently believed in and advocated principles of equality and justice. Of course, rebellion and advocacy can exist within the same person at the same time, and it is possible that Bogle and Gordon were both rebels *and* advocates of justice. Dick's major accomplishment has been documenting how a recently emancipated people were able to develop ways of reading the Bible that provided them with a social ethic and reinforced their commitment to social justice. Applications of this study transcend historiography of the nineteenth century. In the twenty-first century, similar approaches to the Bible may prove useful in the development of a public theology and public policy.

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J. Marten Schalkwijk. 2010. *The Colonial State in the Caribbean: Structural Analysis and Changing Elite Networks in Suriname, 1650-1920*. Den Haag: Amrit/Ninsee. 499 pp. ISBN: 978 90 74897 60 0.

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One of the consequences of decolonization upon the bibliography of Caribbean Studies was a notable decline in the attention given by Caribbean authors to the subject of colonialism. As new countries were created in this region from the ruins of colonialism the research concerns in the social sciences gradually but steadily turned towards “nation-building” and the host of problems the new nations faced during the beginning years of the second postwar of the twentieth century. This is particularly true in the case of Suriname. While there is a fairly large body of literature written by Dutch and other historians about the long period that extends from the initial years of Dutch colonization in the seventeenth century to the postcolonial period in Suriname’s history, it has taken many years for its own intellectuals to form a historiographical body of their own. That is why Marten Schalkwijk’s book, *The Colonial State in the Caribbean: Structural Analysis and Changing Elite Networks in Suriname, 1650-1920*, is a welcome addition to the bibliography on historical colonialism in the Caribbean in general, and to Suriname’s in particular.

The book is the end result of the research made by Marten Schalkwijk for his doctoral dissertation, which now sees the light in this edition from the Dutch publishing house Amrit/Ninsee, based on The Hague, Netherlands. Schalkwijk who is Professor of Social Sciences at the *Anton de Kom Universiteit van Suriname* in Paramaribo, is a leading historian of Suriname who is actively working with students at his institution to revisit many chapters of the history of Suriname.

The book takes the reader from the beginning of Dutch colonization during the mid-seventeenth century to the critical years of the 1920s. That decade culminated a period of crisis that had begun during the early years of twentieth century, which triggered changes in the Colonial state structure of the Dutch Guiana, particularly in its coercive component. The author is principally concerned with two research areas. One is related the development of a theoretical framework for understanding the colonial State in Caribbean history, particularly its

Surinamese chapter. This task leads the author into a critical incursion of the literature in the social sciences dealing with the different types of colonial enterprises in this region. The other is bringing to light the particularities of Suriname as a distinctive case study of colonialism in the Caribbean. The book has ten chapters where the author compares and contrasts colonial State formations, particularly the British and the French, and explores the evolution of the economy and society in Suriname, its particular ethnic configuration, the religious ingredient in the colonial society, and the networks formed by elites in Suriname during the period of scrutiny.

From the beginning, the author makes clear his intent of providing new insights about the colonial history of Suriname, discussing the theoretical and historiographical contribution made by others, but providing his own vision of historical events as a native intellectual that has lived the transition from Dutch colonial rule to the establishment of an independent State in 1975. Thus, beyond the careful historical research and sociological analysis that is a mark of the book, there is also a continuous reflection by the author of the impact of Dutch colonial rule upon State formation in post-colonial Suriname that is at times explicit and sometimes embedded in the narrative itself.

The author attempts a comparative historical analysis of the different manifestations of colonial rule in the Caribbean in order to understand colonialism beyond a single case study. He therefore draws from the British experience with Crown Colony government and the centralized policies of French colonial rule in the Caribbean. However, his central attention is placed in the Dutch Guiana itself, where the relationship between the State, the economy and the society took an exceptionally particular form. The Dutch, he argues, was not an archetypical empire. Contrary to French colonial pattern, where complete control of the economy and society by the State was a central objective, the plantation colony in the Dutch Guiana was never fully under the grip of the Dutch state. Although the early stages of colonization in the Caribbean was done primarily by private companies, rather than through state initiative, this process was exacerbated in the case of Suriname, where local actors had a comparatively enlarged role.

Nor was Suriname the typical colony, since such a pattern led to the formation of a Colonial State where “the local colonists, rather than imperial agents, were able to dominate the colonial government. Self-government was rule rather than exception” (p. 85). This led to a long lasting conflict between the State bureaucracy, representing the Empire, and the powerful local agents involved in different aspects of the internal operation of the colony. Moreover, although the establishment of Crown Colony government by the British during their second occupation of the

territory between the 18th and 19th century gave strength to imperial agents, “it took the Dutch state about two centuries to wrest control over the colonial state apparatus from the local elites (p. 300). Therefore, his analysis of the configuration of a local grid of economic, political and social relations, built by those at the top echelons of colonial society, has particular importance for understanding state formation in the historical Dutch Guiana and as well as in contemporary Suriname.

He analyzes the network and its linkages through a detailed description of the colonial agents, the profile of the political elite, and their location in economy and society. This is intended as a way to uncover the intersection of sectors and actors in order to understand the specific nature of the relationship between the State and the society, during the period of colonial slavery, as well as during the post-emancipation period. Schalkwijk examines the changing elite structure in Suriname through mathematical models that consider the connections between social and economic agents and the state, the patterns of conflict between competing elites, and the demise and rise of a variety of social classes and sectors over time. The book also has very valuable tables and figures on such aspects as ownership in the plantation, the planter and political elites, the economic relations within the plantation system, the political and bureaucratic structure at various historical moments, the social and religious structures, and the judicial and coercive element of the colonial order, that both the specialist as the student of colonial history will appreciate. There are other areas that will be of interest for both academicians and students concerned with the Dutch colonial experience in the Guianas. For example, Schalkwijk considers the formation of ethnically diverse echelons at the top and at the bottom of the society, and the religious factor in the formation of networks, all that providing a vivid view of what life in the colony would look like in those days. In this regard, the author gives a close look at the role of Jews, admitted as colonists in large numbers, whose commercial power and religious separateness prompted what the author considers a “pseudo State” within the colonial State (pp. 107-115).

I find Marten Schalkwijk’s book, *The Colonial State in the Caribbean: Structural Analysis and Changing Elite Networks in Suriname, 1650-1920*, to be an essential addition to the bibliography. It is an important book in these days in which the *Anton de Kom Universiteit van Suriname* is developing plans to strengthen its History Department. It is also a valuable work for researchers in this region, which have longed for works about the former Dutch Guiana, in English, written from within the region itself, which is so much a part of our past regional history, and paradoxically so absent from our present collective Caribbean imaginary.

Belinda Edmondson. 2009. *Caribbean Middlebrow: Leisure Culture and the Middle Class*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press. 240 pp. ISBN: 978-0-8014-4814-0.

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Popular and academic discourse on Caribbean society—past and present—has long centered on a dichotomous view of the region’s culture. Scholars from a wide range of disciplines have argued that Caribbean culture consists of two distinct parts: an elite culture produced and replicated in the European metropole and a working class culture epitomized by the rhythmic sounds of reggae, the vibrant colors of carnival, and the sensual movements of salsa. In *Caribbean Middlebrow: Leisure Culture and the Middle Class*, Belinda Edmondson offers a corrective to this established view. She argues that a prevalent middlebrow culture developed in the nineteenth century Anglophone Caribbean and persists in the contemporary literature and aesthetic performances of countries like Jamaica, Trinidad and Tobago, and Barbados. While identifying this cultural middle ground in popular novels, beauty pageants, and music festivals, Edmondson also aptly demonstrates the ethnic, gender, and transnational considerations that shaped the Caribbean’s middle and working class cultural productions.

Edmondson begins with an analysis of nineteenth and early-twentieth century Caribbean periodicals in which she finds evidence of a socially conscious and culturally vibrant black and brown middle-class. While white elites and working class blacks offered competing interpretations of regional identity, middle-class Jamaican and Trinidadian editors and publishers articulated their vision of Caribbean society in publications like the *Jamaica Times*. These men built on a Caribbean *belles lettres* tradition in consolidating a group consciousness rooted in a desire for national uniformity, racial gentility, and a modernity shaped by British colonialism and subsequent U.S. regional hegemony. Expressions of brownness—a fluid ideology that Edmondson describes as a potential marker of naturalized middle-class status, idealized creolization, and black social ascendance—were not relegated solely to periodicals. Nineteenth and twentieth century Caribbean novelists from various ideological backgrounds contributed to this brown aesthetic in novels such as *Emmanuel Appadocca*, *Adolphus*, *Rubert Gray*, and *One Brown Girl And ¾*. Despite differences among their creators, these works shared “a

commitment to a social agenda that views a ‘brown’ identified Caribbean middle class as the foundation of modern Caribbean society” (p. 84).

Edmondson persuasively argues that gender considerations and transnational developments shaped this literary tradition and other Caribbean cultural productions throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. The Caribbean’s history of slavery and the accompanying debasement of black females, Edmondson posits, created an implicit and explicit link between “black, brown, and Asian constituencies’ desire for a publicly acknowledged respectable femininity” and “the desire for social mobility and political or economic advancement” (p. 111). The feminized “brown ideal”—emblematic of the aspirational quality of middlebrow culture—takes center stage at Caribbean beauty contests. There, contest winners must ostensibly embody their nation, represent black progress, and assuage the concerns of those struggling to reconcile conflicting images of black females’ respectability and alleged promiscuity. Edmondson draws attention to how Caribbean beauty pageant participants and organizers recognize the influence of “global culture” on these local productions. She contends that Oprah Winfrey’s success, the increasing prevalence of black supermodels, and other international developments have created an opportunity for Jamaicans to affirm the beauty, professionalism, and representativeness of their dark-skinned women. Given this perspective, a reference to African American beauty pageants or an acknowledgement of works like Maxine Leeds Craig’s on the subject might have further enhanced Edmondson’s analysis of the effect of white concepts of beauty, race, and respectability on blacks in the Americas.

The link between Caribbean and African American cultures does, however, figure prominently in Edmondson’s discussion of Caribbean carnivals. Trinidad’s annual carnival epitomizes the duality of “state identified” and “tourist oriented” Caribbean middlebrow practices (p. 135). The increasing commercialization of the festivities and participation of professional and elite women reflects a broader national and regional discourse of progress also found in Barbados’ Crop Over celebrations. As these cultural products project national identity, they also cater to the cultural proclivities of black tourists. Since the mid-twentieth century, African Americans have flocked to “the overt displays of Afrocentrism” evident in Caribbean carnivals (p. 135). These celebrations, according to Edmondson, thus represent a revival or reassertion of black identity and culture.

Jazz festivals similarly demonstrate the middle-class Caribbean’s association with African American notions of authenticity and blackness. These events are modeled on African American jazz festivals, advertised among black American consumers, and even underwritten by Black

Entertainment Television. Along with jazz, current trends in Caribbean popular fiction substantiate Edmondson's conclusion that the importing of middlebrow culture has become a visible and integral part of Caribbean ideas of authenticity. New Caribbean fiction, she argues, belongs to a diasporic community that also consists of African Americans and Caribbean immigrants in the United States. The local and transnational elements of Caribbean identity become consolidated in this diasporic milieu where in Caribbean consumers of popular fiction simultaneously acculturate to African American values and reaffirm their Caribbean identities. Edmondson thus surmises that in modern Caribbean literature, as in the region's carnivals and festivals, "it is perhaps the idea of blackness itself that is being copied, transformed, and exchanged" (p. 147). To what degree, one consequently wonders, have Caribbean communities and cultural productions affected similar transformations in the middle-class African American practices and ideologies that occur within Edmondson's transnational, black communities?

This query into the transnational influence and transformative power of Caribbean middlebrow culture lies, perhaps, beyond the scope of an already ambitious and compelling work. In *Caribbean Middlebrow*, Edmondson accomplishes her goal of demonstrating the existence of an aspirational and leisure-oriented middlebrow culture in the Anglophone Caribbean from the mid-nineteenth century through the present. Her cultural study provides a corrective to the established view of a polarized Caribbean culture and compliments previous scholarship focused on the political orientation of the Caribbean's black and brown middle-class. Further scholarly inquiries into the cultural or even political, social, and economic development of this historically misrepresented segment of Caribbean society will likely benefit from Edmondson's timely work.

Ángel G. Quintero Rivera. 2009. *Cuerpo y cultura: Las músicas “mulatas” y la subversión del baile*. Madrid: Iberoamericana/ Frankfurt am Main: Vervuert. 394 pp. ISBN: 9788484894216.

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Cuerpo y cultura is a dance music analysis, a music investigation first and foremost, and one that seriously considers not only the dance movement, but also the implications of dancing male and female bodies. *Cuerpo y cultura*'s full title suggests “subversion,” the undermining or destruction of *el baile*. This *subversión* is not the turning away or overthrow of dance, but the revolution or challenge that the dance and its music ultimately promote. “The music that constitutes a dialogue between musical agents and the dancing body” is what this book examines and explains (p. 55).

Ángel Quintero Rivera attributes the *mulata* dancing body that surfaced from historical European and African interchanges and cultural mixtures across the Americas, as the source of resistance to European and North American preoccupations with the Cartesian mind/body dichotomy. This dancing body is not of little consequence. Its dance music presents, projects, and underscores the critical interconnectedness of music and dance movement and of the mind and the body. In fact, and more in keeping with what Quintero Rivera states inside the book rather than what the title might first suggest, the mission of *mulata* dance music is to confront and disrupt the high/low dichotomies of previous eras that insinuate mind/body and music/dance as polarized, separated, and usually unequal entities, and to profess and indicate body and music-making understandings and their consequent contributions, which are pervasive within integrated, yet distinct cultural segments of the Americas.

It was a pleasure in the end, but a daunting challenge linguistically, to read *Cuerpo y cultura*. Quintero Rivera's preface put me face to face with work that penetrated the dancing body as I had attempted in my book, *Dancing Wisdom*—his book, an investment in popular dance as opposed to my book, an investment in sacred dance. Ever since 1986 when I discovered Quintero Rivera's rigorous analysis of *danza* within the context of Puerto Rican colonial and nationalist struggles, I have admired this British-trained sociologist, using this article in my courses on dance and cultures, choreography and music, and the anthropology of dance. My first impressions of the present work surrounded total admiration for the seasoned thought and apparent commitment he exercised in discussing

his subject so thoroughly. His book made synthesizing use of Caribbean dance form, in that he cleverly employed Puerto Rican *danza* form as the outline and organizing principle that allowed chapters to unfold and with them, detailed social and music history.

In dance history, Pan-Caribbean *danza* was a nineteenth and early twentieth century dance that had two or three sections. The first section, a somewhat formal or stately *paseo*, was the introduction in which gentlemen asked ladies to dance and the dancing couple promenaded within the dance space, greeted other dance couples, perhaps attended to the musical instrumentation and melody, and generally “oriented” themselves for the actual dancing that followed. The second section, called *merengue*, presented the dance steps and sequences, which countered earlier exceedingly formulaic floor patterns and bodily gestures from sixteenth through eighteenth century court imitations. This section flagrantly promoted the danced response to European form and style that developed in and eventually permeated the Americas. In its heyday, this two-part *danza* maintained face-to-face body positioning while dancing, and featured the African-derived and Haitian-influenced rhythms (e.g., *cinquillo* or *quintolet*, *habanera*, use of *tresillos elásticos*, and polyrhythm) that forever overwhelmed previous rhythmic standards in dance music of the Americas. In Puerto Rico (the home of Quintero Rivera), *danza* acquired a third section: *jaleo*, where both dancers and musicians expanded elaboration and creativity; where thick, loud, and complex textures of both sound and movement went to extreme fullness and long-lasting development. With the addition of this third section, Puerto Rican *danza* form not only framed the organization of the book, but also shaped the presentation of substantive Puerto Rican findings.

Even though any dance music necessitates the body as part of its analysis, Quintero Rivera’s account was tremendously satisfying by genuinely featuring the dancing body and discussing it knowingly as an integral, if not pivotal element of musical analysis. He states, “Dance is the central element of improvisation” [in *mulata* dance music] (p. 279). Allowing the dancing body to speak within the analyses and relating the consequences of music and dance jointly became a projection of holistic music investigation. Additionally, the extensive use of findings from the Portuguese, French, English, as well as Spanish dance literatures was especially informative and exceedingly helpful to potential readers with limited access to specialized dance literature libraries.

Quintero Rivera related the music/dance interconnection within Caribbean dance music as the salvation of European and North American philosophical dichotomies. Here, he placed a Eurocentric history of American music as he inserted early Creole cultural tendencies that were influenced greatly by the input of African legacies among mulatto

musicians and later, the persistent values of working class Americans that existed concurrently with elite and elite-thinking Americans as centuries continued. He pointed out clearly that that dance music was/is first and foremost “*mulata*”—a product of the European and African *mélange* and that dance music signaled the pre-eminence of dance as the “democratic, unpredictable, and free” site of emotion, innovation, and cultural citizenship (pp. 52-58).

Quintero Rivera’s investigations showed how popular dance communities of the Americas fought, and still fight the stresses of daily life and how they rehabilitate themselves through *mulata* dance music. The dance becomes a composite of individual expressions that jointly yield community solidarity; the music initiates a ritual between musical sound and dancing bodies, a ritual of belonging, of cultural citizenship with specific principles. *Mulata* music rejects the “West’s” rejection of the body, its Eurocentric modernity, and mind-only understandings; it stays in contact with the *mulata* dancing body and thereby facilitates creativity and simultaneously carves out an enjoyable and free space —“a maroon environment” while dancing (see also Vaughan 2012), a 21st century modernity.

Quintero Rivera’s concentration on corporeal importance locates the body as that powerful site of elaboration, innovation, and creativity, which is used within the rhythms of popular music to break the conceptual dichotomy of mind/body. The mind is not exactly abandoned for the hips and buttocks, as some might think; rather, the head is the precise body part that manages the dialogue among melody, harmony, and rhythm and initiates and explores all the complexities among vocal and instrumental music and bodily movement. Body sensuality and varying sentiment are included and assessed continually from within lyrics, instruments and arrangements, body responses and body innovations. The result is an “open, indeterminate invitation” as the major characteristic of *mulata* music and its dance (p. 58).

... (P)olycentric or decentralized *mulato* dance put into space an alternative sentimental structure. This type of alternative would indirectly come to represent anti-colonial democratizing gaps in hegemonic terrain. (p. 57)

... (T)he harmonic and rhythmic elaboration within *mulata* music was not subordinated to one single, one-dimensional ordering (a song or tune with lyrics); rather, it was established as a dialogue among the three central elements of sound... (p. 58)

Quintero Rivera follows *mulata* music and the dancing body across time and American geography to reveal them as sources and resources, not only in Caribbean dance music, but also in Latin American and U.S.

American dance music forms and styles.

Part I or *Paseo* is subtitled “Dance and Citizenship,” also the subject of on-going interest for cultural theorist Lucía Suarez and myself, who co-chaired a panel with the same title at LASA in Toronto, 2010 (see also Suárez 2010). I had previously concluded my analyses of Circum-Caribbean sacred dance as a “charter for citizenship” (Daniel 2005) and more recently, was applying that premise to analyses of both sacred and secular dance forms (Daniel 2011). Thus, to read such detail in a persuasive section on how Caribbean and Latin populations confronted European and North American hegemony through danced longings and symbolic demands for cultural citizenship made me reel with enthusiasm.

In laying out his notion of citizenship and dance music, Quintero Rivera relies on the illuminating concepts of Peruvian sociologist Aníbal Quijano, who has previously provided powerful analytical tools for the understanding of cultural behaviors across the Americas that allude to colonial tastes and interests, despite independence from European control (Quijano 2000). Quijano is inserted honorifically within Quintero Rivera’s book and his terms: “long-lasting prison-term” and “coloniality” stand for the Eurocentrism that *mulata* music has confronted consistently over time.

While the *paseo* section contains critical understandings, the dense and interrelated themes of history, culture, and the body form only the foundation for Quintero Rivera’s analyses, a sketched background—hence *paseo*—for what is to follow.

Part II, *Merengue*, was a deep plunge into what is called “a short history,” but in reality covers almost half of the book. Like a substantive *danza merengue* that presents the dancing—and especially after the music has contained bodily responses to formal promenading only, Quintero Rivera’s *merengue* section breaks fully into dance/documentation/analysis, as he thoroughly examines the most important types of *mulata* dance music that were popular in the Caribbean islands, the United States, Mexico and some Central American countries, as well as from Peru, Colombia and Venezuela to Brazil, Uruguay, Argentina, and Chile in South America. After completing a similar canvassing of Caribbean and Latin American dances for my latest book, I fully appreciated the magnitude of Quintero Rivera’s investigation and his creative analyses as developing *merengue* sequences. I concurred especially with his emphasis on the relationship between popular dance music forms that emerged and the social conditions that produced and affected such forms. Clearly also, I felt Quintero Rivera’s genuine pleasure in discussing the full range of musical forms that comprised the whole of American musical culture, but here Caribbean and Latin American cultures especially.

This “brief” section was comprehensive and remarkable, reminding

readers how central dance music is to many American populations, how important popular music can become to elite musical forms, and how knowledgeable non-music specialists can be about musical styles and music history. At times, Quintero Rivera's discussions were as exacting as my music analysis homework assignments when I was a piano major in college, which most readers would not expect from a sociologist. He gave pointed review of Louisiana-born pianist/composer Louis Moreau Gottschalk and his visits to nineteenth century Caribbean, Central and South American sites, of Cuban composer Ernesto Lecuona and his influence on popular music, and of Cuban/Mexican orchestra leader/composer Dámaso Pérez Prado and Cuban/Mexican singer/dancer Ninón Sevilla for their contributions to dance music culture. Additionally, he augmented our knowledge of singularly important Boricua, Cuban, and Brazilian musicians, such as Juan Morel Campos, Rafael Hernández, Rafael Cortijo, Mario Bauzá, Francisco "Machito" Grillo, Tito Rodríguez, Héctor Lavoe, Ismael Rivera, Tite Curet Alonso, and especially women artists/composers like Celia Cruz, Chiquinha Gonzaga, Teresa Carreño, María Grever, as well as Nuyorican musicians, such as Willie Colón, Ray Barreto, Tito Puente, and Eddie Palmieri. These and many other Caribbean and Latin American dance music artists have enriched popular dance music scores, literatures, and dance and music practices. The music analyses and discussions of music history provided compelling evidence for Quintero Rivera's main hypotheses regarding (a) *mulata* dance music of the Americas and (b) the Caribbean, Latin American, and U.S. African American resistance to European and North American mind/body separation through popular dance music. The book could have made significant contribution with the *merengue* section alone; it is a huge mouthful of music and dance history to digest.

Part III, *Jaleo*, refers first to the improvisational and expanding character of Puerto Rican *danza* specifically and also to the Puerto Rican impetus and influence within popular dance music of the Americas. Just as Puerto Rican *danza* initiated, extended, and rhythmically influenced Pan-Caribbean *danzas* that flourished across the Americas after the 1840s, Quintero Rivera's *jaleo* showcases the contributions of Puerto Rico and its outstanding musicians through distinct nationalized forms that surfaced in the nineteenth century and the "Latin dance" globalization that challenged mainstream (mainly U.S. American) popular dance culture during the twentieth century.

With the *jaleo* section divided into three *repiqueteos*, Quintero Rivera, like Puerto Rican *danza jaleo* performers, elaborates lively and piercingly to underscore and "tap out" his themes. Accordingly, he deepens his examination of the first partnered Caribbean *danzas*, which results in fascinating island comparisons, and he clearly re-enforces

danza as the first strike of the free mulatto class toward recognition as persons, as citizens. He explicates social conditions to show how *danza puertorriqueña* was relevant to the materialization of political change.

Then, through the career and songs of *sonero* Ismael Rivera, he expounds on the incredible creativity of Puerto Rican musicians, who, in the 1940s and 1950s, came to influence and predominate within so much American dance music. He fathoms the growth of the Puerto Rican *conjunto* and later, the Latin orchestral sound with musical analyses that crystallize the development of lead singer artistry or *soneos*. Additionally, Quintero Rivera traces the roles of percussionists, pianists, bassists, trombonists, and saxophonists, and he relates the pivotal importance of lyrics, rhymes, and rhythms of the *sonero* in traditional genres of Puerto Rico, which became the trademark of combo form. The tone of this second *repiqueteo* shifts to a more accessible, almost personal narration. At times, the reader feels like s/he is walking with Quintero Rivera down the streets of Santurce, Carolina, Loíza or in Spanish Harlem in New York, reminiscing and dwelling in historic musical happenings.

Lastly, Quintero Rivera updates his on-going deliberations on *salsa* with a justified exposé of the horrific racism and elitism within U.S. American society and its media that Caribbean-, Latino-, and African American-descended musicians have had to endure to this date, exemplified in the life artistry of Eddie Palmieri, Héctor Lavoe, Willie Colón, and others. Quintero Rivera discusses contemporary struggles in terms of similar yearnings within nineteenth century *danza*, first a camouflaging of traditional *mulata* dance genres inside contemporary music, but ultimately "...social fights for sound space" in "hegemonic terrain" (p. 330). Through a series of charts that record the origin country of *salsa* recordings from 1960-2000, added to a survey of dance clubs that feature *salsa*, and a review of numerous *salsa* compositions, orchestras, and *conjuntos*, Quintero Rivera proves that *salsa* continues to embrace the planet, both as a varied dance genre and as an anti-hegemonic, musical movement. Thus, the third section significantly lengthens the already complex history of dance music and presents yet another almost independent and fully contained section (the other half of the book) on specific Puerto Rican contributions to dance music. In classic *jaleo* form, it is teeming full and profound.

Cuerpo y cultura highlights the often-dismissed roles of Caribbean and Latin American popular music and vernacular dance. *Mulata* dancing and dance music are not undermined in *Cuerpo y cultura*; they confront and undercut previous biases and reveal the social substance within popular dancing; they soften the analytical insistence on the mind alone and dissolve the marginalization of the body; they challenge the hierarchy within ethnomusicology where dance music analysis often

minimizes the dancing body's content and within concert dance where music other than that within ballet scores, Broadway musical theater, or modern dance is too often minimized as unsophisticated, superfluous, and inconsequential. Quintero Rivera's sound research argues forcefully for what American dancing bodies have stated insistently; namely, that the dancing body permits the expression of exceedingly important ideas and values in a non-verbal and creative way—and especially in popular dance music.

For a meticulously encompassing study of the dance musics that over centuries have captivated social dancers and popular musicians of the Americas (and countless non-Americans), travel the Americas securely through the excavations of Quintero Rivera. Specialists will especially languish in the mammoth array of unearthed history and music details. Thanks to an obvious lover of the dance and an astute sociologist, I have personally fathomed another layer, a rich musical perspective on popular dance; and I am certainly more knowledgeable about the indelible and widespread Puerto Rican contributions to the Americas. I disagreed with Quintero Rivera on a few occasions—especially regarding his (and other Caribbean and Latin American scholars') special attention to Curt Sachs's 1933 "arm-chair" study when there are so many more thorough and less questionable ethnographic dance studies now (p. 209). Also, I would not agree with Quintero Rivera's acceptance of Gilbert Rouget's point that suggests that music is the only means of speaking to both the head and legs simultaneously (pp. 97-98). In my dance data, gesture and minimal movement, like swaying, speak to both the head and other body parts simultaneously; for example, with no drumming or chorus, swaying can initiate danced spiritual manifestation where rhythm and minimal body movement—not necessarily vocal or instrumental music—speak powerfully. These points are truly minor in comparison to what is learned through engaging this research.

Even though this book is decidedly dense and sophisticated, it is an incredible honor to ordinary dancers, popular musicians, and Puerto Rican dance music artists. It is a complex study, a contribution to sociology, but a new requirement for ethnomusicology, dance anthropology, performance studies, and Caribbean, Latin American, and Diaspora studies.

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Gina A. Ulysse. 2007. *Downtown Ladies: Informal Commercial Importers, a Haitian Anthropologist, and Self-Making in Jamaica*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. 333 pp. ISBN 0-226-84122-7.

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Downtown Ladies is Gina A. Ulysse's thought-provoking response to the challenge of gendering globalization as anthropologists and other social researchers encounter it across multiple local and extra-local sites where they negotiate the conditions and ferret out the evidentiary contents of fieldwork. Ulysse undertook this project in Kingston as a regional native and local outsider committed to dovetailing research with the political sensibilities of an activist. The result is an engaging ethnography framed within a transnational black feminism drawing from diverse sources—black and Latina feminisms, cultural studies, Caribbean(ist) social science, and Jamaicans' vernacular knowledges. The latter includes "Bob Marley's lyrical theories" (p. 165) and the views and voices of "third world, subaltern female[s] in multiple shadows" (p. 1).

Ulysse brings the wisdom of Informal Commercial Importers (ICIs) into conversation with an interdisciplinary array of social theorists and cultural critics, resulting in a richly-textured analysis, punctuated by perspectives from anthropologists (e.g., Michel-Rolph Trouillot and Anna Tsing) and Jamaican intellectuals (e.g., Patricia Anderson, Carol

Campbell, Elsie Le Franc, and Michael Witter). Even with the abundance of citation-worthy sources, Ulysse's voice is distinctive. It articulates an "alter(ed)native" perspective on the emergence of ICIs onto the national and global stage as both economic and cultural actors. She convincingly demonstrates the salience of their socioeconomic practices and symbolically evocative self-making as mutually constitutive domains within a reflexive political economy.

The idea and practice of black working-class women refashioning themselves as downtown *ladies* works against the grain of the traditional lady/woman and uptown/downtown binaries, which interlock with polarities and hierarchically-ordered gradations of race, color, class, and space. Ulysse elucidates how ICIs, especially the visible ones that stereotypes of tough, "rude gal" traders purport to represent, disrupt the meanings of class, which are "lived through race and gender" (p. 13) and are color-coded. The cultural politics and mediating performances of color, the intricacies of which are often elided in the research literature, are part of an enduring legacy of colonial racialization in contemporary Jamaican "pigmentocracy." As independent international traders maneuver through the cracks and interstices of the transnational terrain, they are often stigmatized as outsiders and outlaws (e.g., as drug smugglers, "mules").

Ulysse provides an instructive historical overview of the intersecting codes of gender, class, and color, which higglers, ICIs' predecessors who have been central to internal marketing, were compelled to negotiate and mediate. Representing "icons of black womanhood" and "social marker[s] of difference" (p. 23), higglers and ICIs have contested dominant images by redefining femininity and beauty, setting the stage for black working-class women's performances as ladies. Ulysse explains how mediations and refractions of class and color have been integral to Jamaican women's self-making since the era of slavery, when femininity was considered the reserve of privileged white females. Then and now, black and brown women have deployed different forms of capital, material and symbolic, as vehicles for upward social mobility. Ulysse paints a graphic picture of the phenotypic markers and modifications in appearance that have served as capital.

Although ICIs' mobility is constrained by stigmatizing stereotypes and saturated markets, some traders have managed to achieve success navigating neoliberal landscapes. However, this "relative success puts them in constant conflict with the state and big business" (p. 59). Ulysse provides the background for understanding how independent international traders emerged in the political-economic crisis of the 1970s. As self-employed "suitcase traders," they traveled throughout the Caribbean and eventually to Miami, New York, and other destinations in North America and Europe to "buy and sell." The government responded to the business

establishment's anxieties over this emergent class of competitors with policies to regulate and restrict their expanding sphere of the informal economic activity. Ulysse explains that the government-coined label, Informal Commercial Importers, belies the intensifying controls through registration, licensing, foreign exchange quotas, calibrated import duties, and restrictions on spatial placement. These domesticating policies lack transparency and are implemented inconsistently. Hypervisible ICIs are forced to comply while their less detectable counterparts in the middle- and upper-classes circumvent the rules.

The book does an excellent job illuminating the diversity of women (and to a lesser extent men) who work as ICIs. Ulysse characterizes informal importing as a continuum of business activities "vary[ing] in degrees of formality and informality" (p. 133). However, as a heuristic device, she draws a contrast between the ICIs whose bodies and business practices are targeted for punitive regulation and those who are less detectable due to their self-presentations and color encoded classed performances (e.g., as they pass through airport customs inspections without being searched).

Ulysse's includes an in-depth treatment of everyday work in the downtown arcade. The arcade is an important venue for visible ICIs who face the most strict government controls as well as the dangers of working in the vicinity of garrison communities. The inhabitants of these localities live under siege (p. 169), caught between the violence of police and gangs. The arcade's spatial and class proximity to the downtown ghetto zone contributes to ICIs' criminalization and depreciated value as persons, largely women, with "black bodies and black lives" (p. 181). Their ability to survive in this risky environment depends on their command of "learned tools" and skills (p. 191). A prime example is the performance of "tuffness" (p. 187), a behavior inappropriate for ladies in the mainstream model of femininity. Ulysse's analysis of this gendered class habitus in terms of the wider context of "gun (men), violence, and the state" (p. 168) is compelling. Her perspective is also relevant to debates on the respectability/reputation model of gendered subjectivities and value orientations (p. 183).

The capstone event in Ulysse's narrative is a shopping trip to Miami. Accompanying Miss T and Miss B, Ulysse participated in two intense days of shopping, packing and shipping and then returning to Jamaica, where the ICIs passed through customs and paid duties and taxes, which, are generally more than what "established merchants [pay] for their imported merchandise" (p. 201). This may be a heavy price to pay for a trade whose markets are heavily saturated, but Ulysse explains how this problem is offset somewhat by commodity diversification and occupational multiplicity. Moreover, self-employment, camaraderie, and

“being a player, no matter how small, in the global market” (p. 205) are highly valued, no matter the constraints. ICIs’ agency, elucidated through richly textured ethnographic analysis, is now threatened by two trends: the inflow of Hong Kong wholesalers with the means to operate on a larger scale; and the expansion of the illicit drug trade, whose couriers are conflated with ICIs. Not knowing the extent to which drug traffickers have infiltrated ICI ranks, distrust among traders has grown, making it harder to build trader coalitions to promote their interests.

Some of the most intriguing parts of the ethnography are where Ulysse addresses the cultural struggles and cross-class tensions over style, fashion “excesses,” and the politics of making fashion statements. She delves into the anxieties and compensations of dark-skinned middle-class women whose self-presentation is meant to neutralize their racial proximity to the majority of Afro-Jamaicans. The fashion statements that downtown ICIs make are constrained by their recognition that even with material success there are boundaries they cannot cross. Ulysse gained as much insight into these matters as she did because of her dress code breaches. The story she tells about her jelly platform shoes, popular in the United States and Europe but considered “so common” (p. 232) and unfeminine in Jamaica, is as illuminating as it is humorous. Auto-ethnographic experiences as a regional native and local outsider were integral to the success of her investigation. She learned to negotiate sociocultural codes, and, through her own particular status incongruities, she observed how corporeal performances of gender, sexual, and class identities are policed (p. 118).

The ethnography’s theoretical underpinnings mesh with Violet Eudine Barriteau’s (2006) argument that key aspects of black feminist theory (e.g., intersectionality, multiple consciousness, problematizing sisterhood), developed largely in the U.S. and, to some extent, the U.K., warrants being reworked and applied in the Caribbean. By implication, she seems to advocate that Anglophone Caribbean feminists, her principal audience, engage the contributions of other diasporic feminisms. Presumably, this includes the alter(ed)native feminism of a transnational Haitian anthropologist. Barriteau’s essay, with its implications for research and social analysis in Caribbean feminist scholarship and in Caribbean studies more generally, underscores the merits of how Ulysse frames and theorizes the circumscribed agency and citizenship of Jamaican ICIs.

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Who is Kamau Brathwaite? He is a poet and a historian. He is a cultural critic and a Caribbean intellectual. He is a man of many talents whose contributions to Anglophone Caribbean literature and studies are boundless. Through his poetry and scholarship, Brathwaite “challeng[es] us to rethink and renew our disciplinary languages, methodological frameworks and modes of imagining” (Edwards 2007:17). No one collection could successfully capture the scope of his influence. Recognizing the futility of assembling such collection, Annie Paul instead offers a glimpse into the genius that is Brathwaite with her edited volume *Caribbean Culture: Soundings on Kamau Brathwaite*. A compilation of twenty-two papers presented at the Second Conference on Caribbean Culture back in 2002, *Caribbean Culture* is an excellent introduction for any reader who has never encountered Brathwaite’s work or, for the reader who is familiar, it provides the opportunity to engage his work in another way.

The volume opens with Nadi Edwards’s instructive introduction which situates the significance of Kamau Brathwaite to the Caribbean while explaining the motivation of this text. While previous collections have also provided multidisciplinary readings, this volume differs in its approach by examining issues of globalization and subalternity while putting Brathwaite in conversation with other regions. The twenty-two essays are divided into seven sections which organize them by common questions, interests, or methods.

Part one, “Ceremonies of the Word,” examines the orature and performances of Brathwaite’s poetry through five essays. The section begins with Kofi Anyidoho’s “Atumpan: Kamau Brathwaite and the Gift of Ancestral Memory.” Textually invoking Brathwaite, Anyidoho examines how Brathwaite’s experience of Africa, both as ancestral memory and from living in Ghana, informs his use of the word. While it becomes evident the influence of the Akan tradition on Brathwaite’s poetry, Anyidoho argues that Brathwaite is not mimicking Africa, but producing culture which is Caribbean and aware of its history and place. Moving away from the text, Maureen Warner-Lewis considers the impact

of Calypso sound and rhythm to demonstrate how Brathwaite crafted his poetry to “captur[e] West Indian sounds, voices, and speech acts” (p. 55). Hubert Devonish continues this examination of speech acts in his analysis of a 2001 calypso competition in Barbados. In his essay, J. Edward Chamberlin shifts discussion away from Brathwaite’s contribution to the Caribbean and towards how he inspires the Americas to claim their respective nation language. Jeanne Christensen concludes the section by exploring how Brathwaite challenges Western notions of knowledge through the language of myth.

The three essays of part two, “Jah Music and Dub Elegy,” investigate the role of music. From the drums of Africa to jazz and West Indian music, Brathwaite had an immense appreciation and understanding of music. In “The Music of Kamau Brathwaite” Lilieth Nelson explores how Brathwaite integrated musical elements, such as form, rhythm, and harmony, into his work. Donette A. Francis, on the other hand, argues jazz allowed Brathwaite to discover “an aesthetics of dissonance that enabled him to conceive of an alternative to Eurocentric culture and aesthetics” (p. 142). While not focused on him, Linton Kwesi Johnson discusses how dub poets, like Michael Smith, took a cue from Brathwaite by using vernacular language and reggae rhythm in their poetry to counter/challenge European notions of poetry.

“The Sea is History,” part three of the volume, considers the relationship between Brathwaite and history. By re-examining Brathwaite, Elizabeth DeLoughrey calls for a “tidal dialectic,” which considers both roots and routes to decolonize history. While previous scholars have established the ocean as the site of history, this view fails to capture the true complexity of history. A more productive approach not only understands water as a space where history is recognized as fluid and in flux, but also how land, or national sovereignty, impacts the water. In her essay, Marie-José Nzengou-Tayo discusses Brathwaite’s *Dreamstories*, a set of poems inspired by the Haitian boat people. Through these poems, he interweaves his imagined experience of the Haitian boat people with his own personal history of traumas. Nzengou-Tayo explores how the form of the poems makes sense of the relationship between the two types of histories he engages.

Cecil Gutzmore’s essay, which problematizes the use of creolization in Caribbean historiography, transitions the volume into part four, “Creolization, Historiography, and Subalternity.” Gutzmore offers a close reading of Brathwaite’s creole theory to consider why he was compelled to integrate his Africanist perspective. Glen Richards reflects upon the same question in examining Brathwaite’s impact on history writing and postcolonial theory in the Caribbean. Ileana Rodríguez further complicates Brathwaite’s creolization by considering his concept in relation to

other terms such as *mestizaje*, *transculturation*, hybridity, and pluralism, where each term emerges from a specific place and historical moment. Unlike the other essays of this section Leah Rosenberg does not critique creolization. Instead, she offers an engaging discussion on why there is no anglophone Caribbean version of the subaltern studies group. By putting Ranajit Guha, presumed founder of subaltern studies, and Brathwaite in conversation, she shows how both men, despite working at different time and different regions, we're engaging in similar projects to read against the colonial narrative.

Part five, "Resurrecting the Human Face from the Archive," provides four examples of historians revealing silenced histories. First, Verene A. Shepherd calls for alternative ways of reading the colonial archive to recover the voices of both enslaved and indentured women. She argues their voices and concerns can be uncovered from closer examinations of texts which "ventriloquize" them. Douglas B. Chambers attempts to discover historical creolization in Jamaica. By examining the slave trade and fugitive slave advertisements, Chambers offers a method to locate the origin of Jamaica's African legacy. In their essay, Yacine Daddi Addoun and Paul E. Lovejoy demonstrates how the Arabic manuscript of Muhammad Kabā Saghanunghu provides evidence that there was a small group of Muslims in Jamaica who continued Arabic scholarship in covert ways during their enslavement. And Veront M. Satchell concludes this section with his study of the Jamaican Baptist Free Church to show how religious places provided a space to cultivate a racial consciousness and to mobilize politically.

The volume concludes with sections on gender and sexuality, "Creole Bodies, Dancehall Style," and globalization, "Jamaican Identities and Globalization." In her article, "Love Punanny Bad," Donna P. Hope considers the relevancy of Brathwaite's creole society to Jamaica's dancehall culture by focusing on gender. Hope argues the lyrics reveal a "femmephobia" or "an overwhelming fear of the power of the feminine other on the part of men, in their quest for masculine identities" (p. 368). This fear, drawing on Brathwaite, is rooted in colonial notions of gender and sexuality. Rachel Moseley-Wood examines the representation of the female body in the film *Dancehall Queen*. While Brathwaite called for Caribbean writers and poets to use the *nation language* to make their work Caribbean, Moseley-Wood considers what the film equivalent would be. Can we read the film makers' portrayal of the female body and sexuality as an attempt at *nation language*? In the penultimate essay Robert Carr's discusses the crisis of the Jamaican state brought on by the don system. Calling the don system a subaltern state, Carr further argues the dehumanizing violence towards men and women which makes an individual a "worthy citizen" is what enables globalization. Bernard

Jankee's essay concludes the volume by looking at the role of the internet in constructing the Jamaican identity.

While the collection succeeds in offering the reader a peek into the scope of Brathwaite's work and legacy, it suffers from a few weak points. First, many articles had little engagement with Brathwaite. For instance Devonish's essay in part one offers a compelling analysis of calypso as a performance speech act, but without situating Brathwaite in the research. The inclusion of this essay is further questioned by Edwards's inability to elucidate the connection in his introduction. Other essays, such as Jankee's, that do reference Brathwaite, do so in an abbreviated manner which suggests the relationship is tenuous at best. This failing could have been avoided if each section began with an introduction. Edwards does an amazing job linking the essays in his introduction, but considering the length of this volume, their inclusion at the start of each section might have been more helpful. Finally, the collection could have benefited from a concluding essay about the possible future contributions of Brathwaite. While Jankee's essay explores the possibilities of Brathwaite in cyberspace, this future was limited to the spread of *nation language*. What about the future impact of creolization? How can Brathwaite guide our understanding of the transnational Caribbean? Despite this feeling of incompleteness, which is probably a conscious aim of the editor, *Caribbean Culture* is still a satisfying tribute to Kamau Brathwaite that will inspire most readers to seek out and engage his work more.

Mercedes Cros Sandoval. 2006. *Worldview, the Orichas, and Santería: Africa to Cuba and Beyond*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida. 417 pp. Cloth: ISBN 13: 978-0-8130-3020-3.

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Mercedes Cros Sandoval is Professor Emeritus at the Department of Social Sciences at Miami Dade College and former adjunct professor of anthropology, Department of Psychiatry, at the School of Medicine of the University of Miami. Her book, *Worldview, the Orichas, and Santería: Africa to Cuba and Beyond*, is organized in

twenty-four chapters with their respective conclusions, and divided in three parts. It also includes seven appendixes (pp. 359-371). In terms of the methodology utilized to collect religious systems data, Cros Sandoval uses the following techniques: historical data analysis, formal interviews, participant observation, intimate personal conversations, recorded oral histories and musical reminiscences, as well as content analysis of *Santería's* priests and priestesses' notebooks (pp. xxx-xxxii).

Part 1 of this work addresses the origins of *Santería* (pp. 1-160). It describes aspects of the worldview of the Yoruba religion and characteristics of the worldview of a large portion of the Cuban population that were shared with the author through interviews. It also describes the establishment and development of this religion in Cuba; its structure, religious paraphernalia, and practices. Included in this section is a biographical account that sheds light and provides information on *Santería's* functions and accommodations within a rural setting. In this section, the author discusses the loss of some of the Yoruba beliefs about reincarnation and the consequences of this loss for the religion. An additional discussion in this section is the significant value that *Santería's* function as a health and wellbeing—therapeutic—delivery system has had in attracting new adherents, especially Cuban non-blacks and people of non-Cuban extraction.

Part 2 provides a comparison of the *Orichas* in Africa and their corresponding deities in Cuban *Santería* (pp. 161-306). This section is an English version, revised and expanded, of Cros Sandoval's book *La religión afrocubana* (1975). It includes an extensive description of Nigerian and Afro-Cuban religious mythology. This segment is an effort to engage the reader in both the humane, and the extraordinary and supernatural elements and environment of *Santería*. The purpose is to provide a substantial basis for interpreting types and degrees of change in *Santería*.

In part 3 (pp. 307-358) the author focuses on the changes that have occurred to *Santería* in the island and in exile since the Cuban Revolution. It concludes with "New Ways and Current Trends" in *Santería* practice and suggests that worldview analysis of *Santería* (which is based in Michael Kearney and Florence Kluckhohn's "Models for Worldview Analysis" (pp. xvii-xix) in new historical, socio-cultural, religious, political, and ecological contexts will be important, almost essential, for our understanding of cultural continuities and change in this specific African-derived religion in the Americas in the future. Systematically exploring every facet of *Santería's* worldview, Sandoval examines how practitioners have adapted received beliefs and practices in order to reconcile them with new environments, from plantation slavery to exile in the United States of America.

In this section, Cros Sandoval also discusses the moral dimensions of Santería, providing an outline of some of the ideals of behavior that are inhered in this religious system. The reason for this discussion is that the intermediary divinities (*Orichas*), along with all other Santería's Supreme Being (*Olodumare*) creations, reflect the simultaneous characteristics of virtuosity and malevolency, components of their essential nature. It also elaborates upon the value and usefulness of worldview analysis as related to the author's understanding of religious *logico-structural integration*. This sort of analysis and understanding contributes to a better comprehension of continuity and change processes in Santería conceived as a cultural and religious system (pp. 307-358). Such examination and understanding supports her general hypothesis concerning the linkage that relates West African Yoruba worldviews and Afro-Cuban Santería. Ultimately, she asserts that the presence of both "structural consistencies and inconsistencies" between West African and Afro-Cuban religious traditions, reveals that the correlation which links Yoruba and *La Regla de Ocha* religious practices is not fully sustainable (pp. 321-322).

At the conclusion of the book we find the appendixes (pp. 359-371), the notes, the glossary, the references, and an Index. In the appendixes, Cros Sandoval provides brief descriptions of the *routes*, or different *pathways*, of the following seven Orichas: *Obatalá*, *Elegguá*, *Changó*, *Ochún*, *Yemayá*, *Babalú Ayé*, and *Ogún*. By finishing the book this way, Cros Sandoval evidences that worldview, the Orichas, and Santería are particularly relevant resources for the gathering and analytical presentation of mythological tales interconnected to both West African Yoruba religious practices and Afro-Cuban Santería.

The distinctive contribution of Cros Sandoval in this work is that she comprehends the adjustment process that gave birth to Santería as a successful attempt to find meaning associated to alien religious elements in a way that may appeal to a diverse following. She looked at Santería not as a singular result of cultural resistance, but as a manifestation of the religious syncretic processes that were forging Cuban culture nurtured by what she conceives to be a spiritual and mystical point-of-view, widespread in both Cuba and West African *Yorubaland* (pp. 347-354).

The author also examines the transatlantic history of how Yoruba traditions came to Cuba and conversely flourished and adjusted to Cuban society. She provides a comprehensive comparison of Yoruba and Afro-Cuban religions along with an overview of how Santería has continued to disseminate and change in response to new contexts and adherents—with an especially illuminating perspective on Santería among Cubans in Miami. This adaptation process was not yet a particular result of cultural conflict and struggle, she argues, but a successful endeavor to find meaning connected to unfamiliar religious elements in a way that

appealed to a diverse following (pp. 308-355).

From an extensive and extended research, initiated forty years ago with her doctoral dissertation *Lo Yoruba en la Santería Afrocubana* (1966) (p. xxx), Cros Sandoval's worldview theoretical framework, allowed her to deepen into the history and religious practices of Santería and its Yoruba aspects in Afro-Cuban, Cuban American, and Caribbean manifestations (pp. xvii-xix; pp. 307-358).

The author assumes anthropologist Michael Kearney's theoretical notion of worldview. This notion could be defined as the *overall cognitive framework of ideas and actions in society*. Furthermore, the worldview of a people is their way of looking at reality. It consists of basic assumptions and images that provide a more or less coherent way of thinking about the world. A worldview comprises images of Self and of all that is recognized as not-Self, plus ideas about relationships between them, among other ideas. In that sense, Mercedes Cros Sandoval has introduced into the research discourse on Santería the value of a worldview approach as a means of understanding the dynamics of cultural change within a religious framework. This approach will bring fresh insights and theoretical challenges to scholars in the field. It will also bring new conceptualizations and knowledge to readers who may not otherwise appreciate the full significance of the comprehensive study she has undertaken.

Cros Sandoval believes that Kearney's theoretical understanding is a sound tool for comprehending socially constructed human consciousness and the cognitive framework that supports a group's lifestyle. As such, worldview provides a logical or cognitive matrix that may be used as a basis for comparison when people from different cultures are placed in situations of coexistence in spite of the manner in which such a situation comes about. Worldview analysis helps us to perceive the extent of congruencies, or lack thereof, in the lifestyles of groups in contact.

This type analysis seeks to enrich scientific research of Afro-Caribbean religions, explaining how pan-cultural features of the human mind, interacting with their natural and social environments, inform and constrain religious thought and action and promise to yield new evidence regarding how the structures of the human mind informs and constrains religious expression including ideas about gods and spirits, the afterlife, spirit possession, prayer, ritual, religious expertise, and connections between religious thought and morality, and social behavior or action. For the author, these theoretical assumptions offer also a means of analysis that may help to understand cultural continuities as well as the process of cultural borrowing, syncretism (*the coming together*), and merging (*transculturation*)—a process that gives rise to something new but, at the same time, something that has emerged from tradition. She applies this approach to understand Santería's dynamic processes of

cultural association, borrowing, and adaptation, prompted by the abrupt contact of groups of people from different cultural traditions. In doing this, she examines how practitioners have modified received beliefs and practices to adapt themselves to new situations, from plantation slavery to diaspora and exile in the Americas and the Caribbean. In summary, her understanding is that this theoretical approach helps us comprehend Santería's continuity and change process (pp. xvii-xix; pp. 307-358).

As a sociologist of religion, who recently finished a doctoral degree with emphasis in learning and cognitive psychology, I find Mercedes Cros book's theoretical analysis approach to be a valuable contribution to the newly emerging dialogue between interdisciplinary social sciences, cognitive sciences, and neurosciences.

Given the clinical-health context of her academic and anthropological work on Yoruba and Afro-Cuban religions from a cognitive framework of ideas and actions in society, this book appeals to fields such as evolutionary anthropology, medical anthropology, psychological anthropology, neuroanthropology, and the rapidly developing area of interdisciplinary research in cognitive studies of religion; all academic and research areas which characterize recently developments in anthropological science.

Finally, *Worldview, the Orichas, and Santería: Africa to Cuba and Beyond* has a relevant limitation. Although Cros Sandoval's understanding of Santería derives from a broad cultural knowledge of archaeology, historical events, classic texts of West African art history, and cognitive theories, unfortunately she did not perform fieldwork in West Africa.

Given that she approaches the emergence of Afro-Cuban Santería from a worldview theory, it would be valuable to have performed ethnographic fieldwork in West Africa as a way of comparing more rigorously the original Yoruba's consciousness and cognitive framework of its religious meaning system with that of present day Santería. The goal for applying this method should be to understand empirically validate the socially constructed cognitive framework which supports Santería's dynamic processes of cultural and religious association, adaptation, and modification in the context of received beliefs and practices in plantation slavery economy, diaspora, and exile in the Americas and the Caribbean.

Ethnographic field study in Africa was merited in this case in order to explain and comprehend the areas of meaning that allow people to continue on an identifiable sociostructural path that also allows variations while preserving a fundamental meaning-system that supports cultural continuities in the face of change (transculturative processes) in Afro-Cuban and Afro-Caribbean Santería. It will also help explain the loss or diminished role of some of the original African Yoruba Orichas (divinities) in Cuba and the Caribbean (pp. 14-17 & chapter 22).

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