

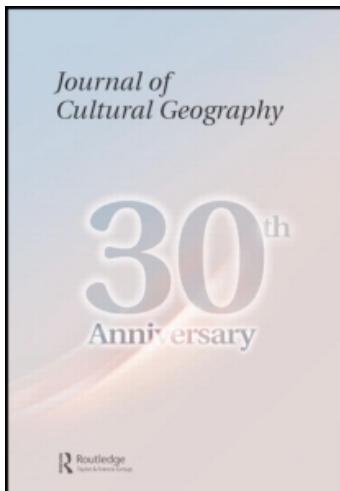
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### Miami's Little Havana: Yard Shrines, Cult Religion and Landscape

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# **Miami's Little Havana: Yard Shrines, Cult Religion and Landscape**

**James R. Curtis**

**ABSTRACT.** *In the short span of only 20 years the Cuban population of Dade County, Florida has ballooned from about 20,000 to a current estimate of 430,000. The impact of such sudden and fundamental change in the pattern of ethnicity has profoundly altered both material and non-material elements of culture in the region, especially in Little Havana, the heart of the Cuban quarter in Miami. This study surveys the contemporary cultural landscape of Little Havana, with particular emphasis on the description and analysis of yard shrines; one of the more distinctive urban landscape contributions associated with the Cuban tenure in Dade County. Although many shrines are built by Catholics, perhaps an equal number, if not more, are erected by followers of a fascinating, syncretic Afro-Cuban cult religion called Santeria. Like other syncretic Afro-Christian folk religions, Santeria combines an elaborate ensemble of ritual, magical, medical and theological beliefs to form a total magico-religious world view. The belief system of Santeria is described with comment on its apparent expansion within the Cuban community in exile.*

In the summer of 1978 a brief article entitled "Neighbors Irate Over Family's Shrine" appeared in *The Miami Herald*.<sup>1</sup> The story told of a group of residents in the predominantly non-Latin city of South Miami who feared that a newly-erected, seven-foot shrine in the front yard of a Cuban neighbor would lower property values. City officials called in to investigate found that the shrine was located too close to the front property line, and thus was in violation of municipal building and zoning laws. Confused and saddened by the turmoil created the Cuban family stated that the shrine had been built (at a cost of \$1,500) in gratitude to Santa Barbara "for answering all of our prayers."

More than an isolated human interest story, the above incident is perhaps symbolic of the bicultural social adjustments, and urban landscape transformations, which have taken place and are continuing to occur in the greater Miami area as a result of Cuban in-migration. In the short span of only twenty years, beginning in 1959, the Cuban population of Dade County has ballooned from about 20,000 to a current estimate of 430,000.<sup>2</sup> Counting the 94,000 non-Cuban Latins residing in the county—mostly Puerto Ricans,

Mexicans and Central and South Americans—Latinos constitute approximately 35 per cent of the county's population, as compared to only five per cent in 1960.<sup>3</sup> Moreover, Latinos have settled in distinct residential concentrations, thereby greatly accentuating the "Latinization" of selected locales.<sup>4</sup> The city of Miami, for example, is almost 56 per cent Latin (207,000 out of 370,000); Hialeah, with a population of 133,000, is over 65 per cent Latin, most of whom are Cuban. The impact of such sudden and fundamental change in the pattern of ethnicity has profoundly altered both material and nonmaterial elements of culture in the region. Nowhere are these transformations better manifested than in Little Havana, a four-square-mile enclave of Cuban culture located a scant mile southwest of downtown Miami (Fig. 1).

### *Little Havana*

Often referred to as "a city (or "nation") within a city," Little Havana is the nucleus, the core, of Cuban life in Miami. Once a healthy middle-class Anglo neighborhood, dating from the immediate post-World War I era, by the mid-1950s it had deteriorated and was declining in population as urban growth and increased mobility opened up newer housing areas for the middle-class in the outlying suburbs.<sup>5</sup> For the newly-arriving Cuban refugees this area was preferred in respect to having available and affordable housing units and vacant shops for potential business endeavors.<sup>6</sup> It was also served by public transportation and near the central business district where social services and employment opportunities were most abundant. The neighborhood was reborn as "Little Havana" almost literally overnight. Although its function as the principal receptor area has declined in recent years as the Cuban population has grown in numbers and affluence,<sup>7</sup> and has since spread out to other settlement areas, Little Havana remains in spirit, if not landscape, the traditional Cuban quarter.

In most important respect, Little Havana is a self-contained community which has evolved, by design, to suit the needs and tastes of its residents, and in so doing has embellished the landscape with a pronounced Cuban flavor. Along West Flagler and Southwest Eighth Streets (the latter known locally as "*Calle Ocho*"), the two principal commercial strips which cut through the district, a full complement of goods and services is offered which cater to the Cuban population. If so desired, a Cuban who lives in Little Havana and speaks only Spanish, could shop, dine out, be medically cared for, attend churches, schools, shows and theaters, die and be buried without a word of English being uttered.

The commercial landscape of Little Havana reflects in both vivid and subtle ways this impress of Cuban culture. From the older stucco buildings of Spanish and art deco styles, and from the small shopping plazas which have been built of late, neon store signs flash "*Joyeria*," "*Ferreteria*," "*Muebleria*," "*Farmacia*," "*Mercado*," "*Zapateria*," and so on. One frequently encounters small groups of three and four gathered at the countless vest-pocket, open-air coffee counters to sip the syrupy-dark, bittersweet *cafe cubano* and consume fresh *pasteles* (pastry).

The newsstands and bookstores in the district display a plethora of

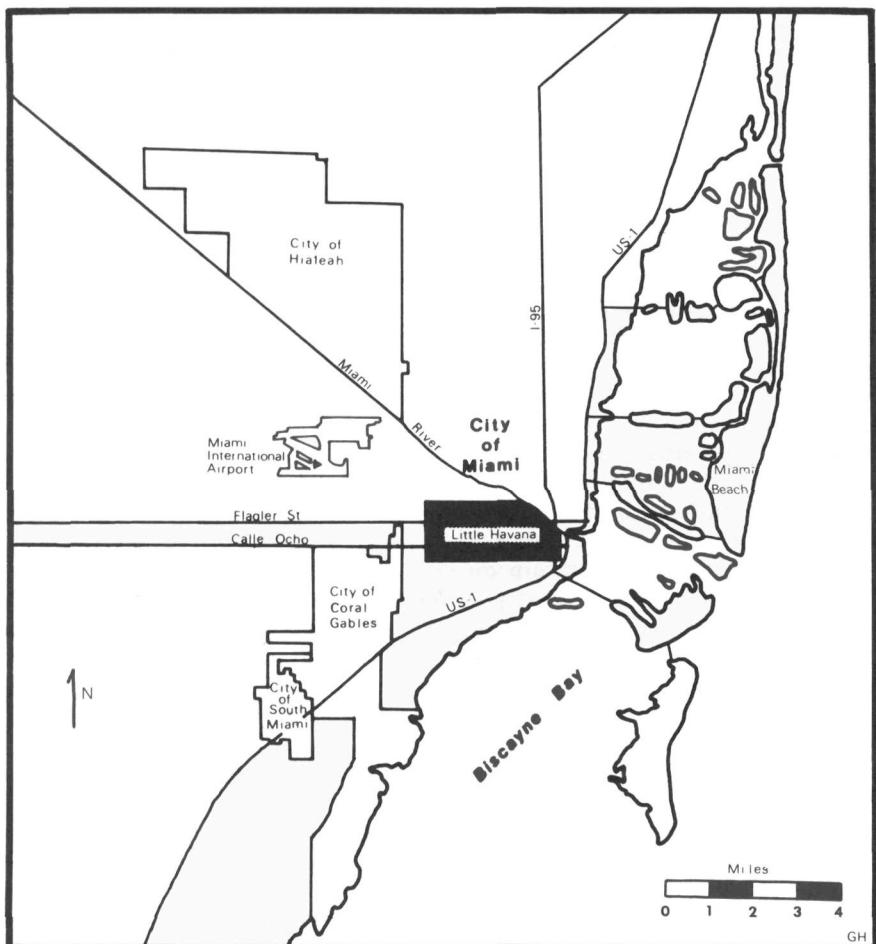


Fig. 1. (Map).

Spanish-language books, magazines and newspapers, including *El Miami Herald* with a circulation in excess of 50,000. The acrid smell of cured tobacco wafts from the thirty or so small cigar factories located in the area where old men (*tabaqueros*) patiently roll cigars *a mano* (by hand).<sup>8</sup> At Antonio Maceo Mini Park, on Calle Ocho, men play continuous games of dominoes on permanently-fixed tables and benches designed specifically for that purpose. Fresh fruits and vegetables are sold in open-air markets and stands which dot the district. The sweet smell of simmering garlic hangs heavy over the hundred-plus restaurants featuring Cuban and Spanish cuisine, ranging from elegant super clubs with valet parking to four-stool cafes.

The life and vitality of these places, however, stand in stark contrast to the somberness surrounding the Cuban Memorial Plaza, where flowers and wreaths are faithfully placed at the base of the Bay of Pigs monument in

memory of loved ones who fell during that ill-fated invasion. To be sure, the landscape of Little Havana conveys a strong feeling of pre-revolutionary Cuba, but the sense of a people in exile remains pervasive. The existence of nearly one hundred officially recognized "municipalities in exile," which function as social and quasi-political organizations composed of former residents of particular municipalities in Cuba, attests to their vitality.<sup>9</sup> Many of these groups, in fact, have converted houses and other buildings in Little Havana into meeting halls where lectures, concerts and dances are periodically held, and where informational and historical newsletters are published.

Thus, as befitting a people caught inextricably between two cultures, Little Havana is not an isolated community devoid of contact and consequence with the surrounding society and environment. Rather, in culture and landscape, it is a mixture of both Cuban and American influences. Cuban and American flags, for example, proudly bedeck the streets of Little Havana during national holidays of both countries. Cuban (grocery) shoppers may patronize the neighborhood Winn Dixie or Pantry Pride supermarkets, and then walk to the back parking lot of these stores and barter with itinerant Cuban peddlers selling fresh fish, poultry, fruit and vegetables. Teenagers sip on *batidos* (exotic fruit milkshakes) from Cuban ice cream shops and eat *grandes macs* from the local McDonald's. In language as well, especially among the younger Cubans, one now hears a curious mixture of Spanish and English ("Spanglish," as it is known).<sup>10</sup> Signs on some store windows, for example, announce "*Gran Sale.*" Young people may be heard shouting to one another, "*Tenga un nice day.*"

Although the housing area of Little Havana has been significantly upgraded and changed as a consequence of the Cuban tenure, the residential landscape is not nearly as "Latinized" as the commercial strips in the district. In fact, a quick drive through the area would probably leave the impression that it is largely indistinguishable from neighboring Anglo residential areas. Yet, upon closer inspection, differences unfold. Fences, for example, now enclose many front yards, and wrought iron and tile have been added to some houses for decorative purposes. Even these characteristically Hispanic features, however, remain relatively minor in comparison to what one might expect to find in most Latin communities. If anything, one is impressed more by how little these embellishments reflect the fundamental replacement of culture groups which has occurred in the area. This observation, however, is somewhat misleading, for it fails to include the single most conspicuous landscape element which clearly distinguishes Little Havana from non-Cuban residential areas.

#### *Yard Shrines*

If the Cuban family in the story recounted at the beginning of this article had lived in Little Havana, it would not have aroused the resentment, or even stirred the curiosity, of neighbors over the construction of its yard shrine. City officials would not have been brought in to search for some minor infraction of local building or zoning laws to force its removal. More commonplace than exceptional, there are literally hundreds of yard

shrines gracing the cultural landscape of Little Havana.<sup>11</sup>

The shrines may be found anywhere in the yard area—front, back or along the sides—although the front yard, especially near the sidewalk, appears to be a favored location. Regardless of placement, however, the front of the shrine always faces the street. Since these are personal shrines, built to suit the religious needs and preferences of individuals, no two are exactly alike; diversity is the standard. In size, the shrines range from about two to ten feet in height, and two to six feet in width. Most are rectangular in shape, although octagonal and circular structures are not uncommon. The most frequently used building materials include brick, cement, stone and glass; wood is rarely, if ever, used except for trimming. Exterior walls, though, are often stuccoed or tiled. A single cross may adorn the top of a shrine, and use of latticework and other forms of ornamentation are occasionally found, but in general the degree of exterior embellishment is more austere than ornate.

Regardless of size, materials used, or shape, the interiors of the shrines remain visible through either sealed glass side panels or a single glass door enclosing the front of the sanctuary. Pedestalled inside, usually on an elevated platform or altar, stands a single statue. At the base of the statue, and occasionally on a small stairwell leading to the base, one often finds an utterly baffling array of items, including, for example, fresh-cut or artificial flowers, candles, crucifixes, jars of leaves, bowls of water, beads, stones, miniature figures of men or animals, and other assorted paraphernalia.

The statues themselves are of Catholic saints, the Madonna and Jesus, each identifiable (at least to the knowing eye) by sex, colors, adornment, and particular symbols, such as a cup, a cane or a cross. By far, the three saints which are enshrined most commonly in Little Havana are, in order, Santa Barbara, Our Lady of Charity (patron saint of Cuba), and Saint Lazarus. Other saints, particularly Saint Francis of Assisi, Saint Christopher and Saint Peter are also found, but with much less frequency. Likewise, shrines built in honor of the Madonna and Jesus are not nearly as numerous as those erected to the main three saints.

Santa Barbara is most often portrayed as a young woman dressed in a white tunic with a red mantle bordered with gold trimming. She wears a golden crown and holds a golden goblet in her right hand and a golden sword in her left (Fig. 2). Our Lady of Charity is similarly represented as a young woman dressed in a white tunic. Her cloak, however, is either blue or white. She holds a child in her left arm. At her feet, seated or kneeling in a boat, are two or three small male figures looking reverently upward (Figs. 3, 4). Saint Lazarus is usually depicted as a bent and crippled man of middle-age, with open wounds and sores, supported with the aid of crutches. Two or three small dog figures often stand at his feet (Fig. 5). This particular portrayal of Lazarus is not the image officially recognized or sanctioned by the Church; it has evolved from Cuban tradition.

Sacred elements in the landscape often convey much less religious context from which they spring than observation alone would suggest. The religious beliefs which inspire the construction of yard shrines in Little Havana are illustrative of this contention. Considering, for example, that a vast majority of Cubans are Roman Catholics, and that most of the shrines



Fig. 2 Santa Barbara is the most commonly enshrined saint in Little Havana. In the *Santeria* cult religion, Santa Barbara is identified with *Chango*, ancient Yoruba god of fire, thunder and lightning.

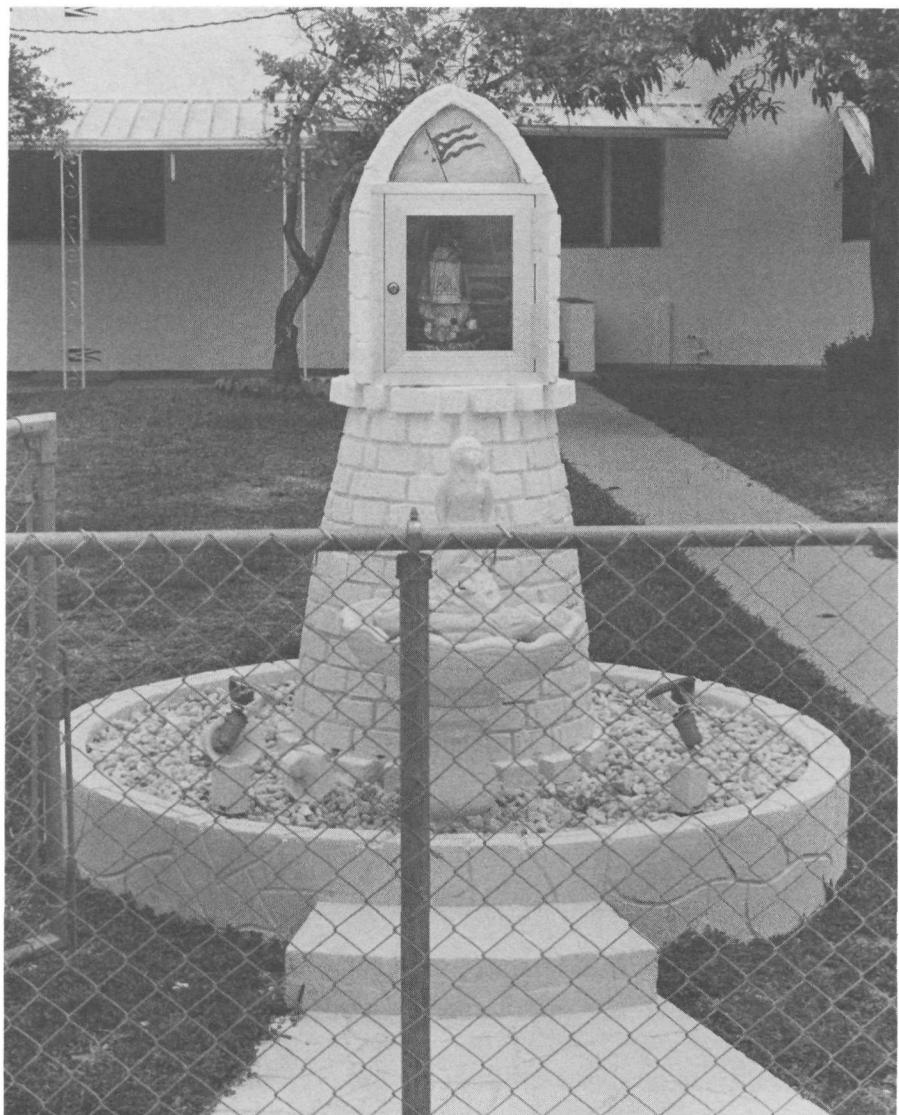


Fig. 3. This shrine of Our Lady of Charity is one of the many yard shrines in Little Havana erected in honor of the patron saint of Cuba.



Fig. 4. To the followers of *Santeria*, Our Lady of Charity is the Catholic image associated with *Oshun*, Yoruba god of love, marriage and gold.

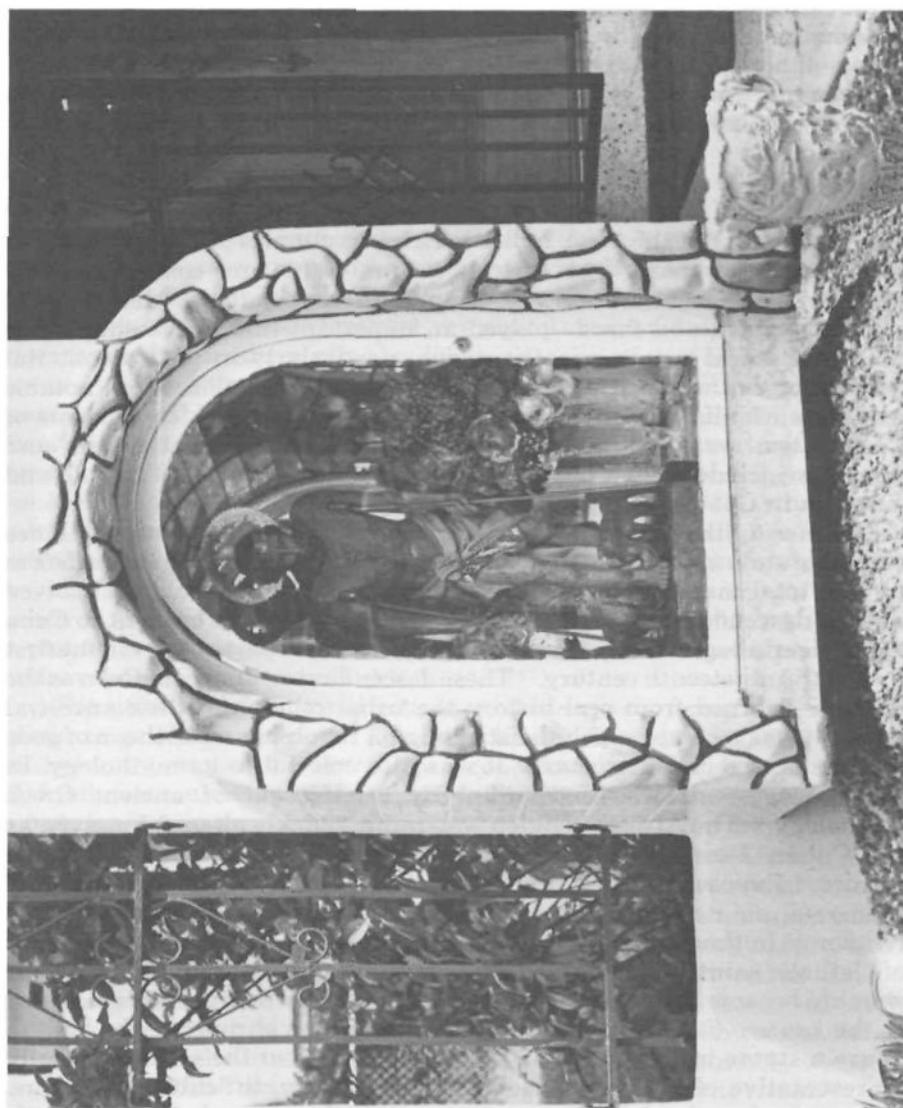


Fig. 5. The image of Saint Lazarus as a bent and crippled man has evolved from Cuban tradition. In the Santeria religion, Saint Lazarus is associated with *Babalu-Aye*, Yoruba god of illness and disease.

are built in apparent homage to saints, one might logically suspect that these shrines are erected by followers of the Catholic faith. This assumption, however, is neither entirely correct nor incorrect. In truth, many of the shrines are built by Catholics, but perhaps an equal number, if not more, are erected by followers of a fascinating, syncretic Afro-Cuban cult religion called *Santeria*.

### *Santeria: An Afro-Cuban Religion*

The history of the West Indies is rich in examples of the spontaneous melding of European and African culture traits and complexes. This process of transculturation—in which different cultural elements are jumbled, mixed and fused—played an important role in the shaping of present cultural patterns in the region, particularly in the nonmaterial aspects of culture such as language, music and religion. More notable examples of religious syncretism in the New World in which elements of Catholicism were combined with ancient African tribal beliefs and practices include *Vodun* (i.e., “voodoo”) in Haiti, *Xango* in Trinidad and *Santeria* in Cuba.<sup>12</sup>

*Santeria*, like other syncretic Afro-Christian folk religions, combines an elaborate ensemble of ritual, magical, medical and theological beliefs to form a total magico-religious world view. The *Santeria* religion evolved among descendants of the Yoruba slaves who had been brought to Cuba from Nigeria beginning in the sixteenth century, but particularly in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>13</sup> These descendants—known in Cuba as the *Lucumi*—learned from oral history the tribal religion of their ancestral home. It was a complex polytheistic religion involving a pantheon of gods and goddesses called *orishas*.<sup>14</sup> It was also colorful in its mythology. In many respects it was extraordinarily reminiscent of ancient Greek mythology.<sup>15</sup> The African religion was rather quickly altered, however, as the Cuban *Lucumis* fell increasingly under the sway of the Spanish culture.<sup>16</sup> Exposure to the Catholic religion, particularly its veneration of numerous saints, greatly influenced the nature of the emergent folk religion.<sup>17</sup> In time, the Yoruba deities came to be identified with the images of Catholic saints.<sup>18</sup> The *orishas* then became *santos* (“saints”), and their worship became known as *Santeria*—literally the worship of saints. Thus, to the *santero* (i.e., the practitioner of *Santeria*), a shrine may be built to house a statue in the image of a Catholic saint, but the saint is actually representative of a Yoruba god. It is exceedingly difficult to determine accurately, based solely on appearance, whether a yard shrine in Little Havana actually belongs to a Catholic or a follower of *Santeria*. In general, however, yard shrines built by practitioners of *Santeria* are more likely to contain non-traditional religious items such as bowls of water, stones and jars of leaves.

The followers of *Santeria* believe in a supreme god called *Olodumare*, *Olofi* or *Olorun*. He is thought to be a distant, lofty figure. Contact with this supreme deity is attainable only through the *orishas* who serve as intermediaries.<sup>19</sup> Thus, worship of god-saints serves as the focus for formal and informal devotional practices; there are no subcults or special rites

exclusively in honor of *Olodumare*.

The saints—who are known both by their Catholic names and their Yoruba appellations—are associated with specific colors, particular symbols or “weapons,” such as thunder, fire or swords, and are considered to have the same supernatural powers ascribed to the African deities.<sup>20</sup> Each is believed to possess specific attributes, which in total govern all aspects of human life and natural phenomena. A *santero* might seek to invoke the power, for example, of *Babalu-Aye* (associated with Saint Lazarus), god of illness and disease, to cure a particular ailment, or *Orunmila* (associated with Saint Francis of Assisi), god of wisdom and divination, to bestow knowledge. Others, purportedly, can assure success in a job, ward off an evil spirit, bring back a former lover, and so on.

The numerous deities, however, are not all venerated equally; some are more favored than others, often leading to the formation of a special subcult devoted to a particular god-saint. In Cuba, as in Miami now, *Chango* (associated with Saint Barbara), god of fire, thunder and lightning, is the most popular of all the *orishas*.<sup>21</sup> *Chango* represents a curious form of syncretism involving a change of sex from the male Yoruba god to the female Catholic saint. *Oshun* (associated with Our Lady of Charity, patron saint of Cuba), god of love, marriage and gold, and *Babalu-Aye* are also extremely popular in Miami. Seven of the most revered and powerful *orishas* are often worshipped collectively. This group is known among *santeros* as the “Seven African Powers.” The *orishas* which make up this septet, their associated Catholic images, colors, human aspects controlled, and weapons are shown in Table 1.

The ritual and devotional activities of *santeros* are confined, in most cases, to private residences. The more important functions, such as an initiation into the cult, a funeral, or a consultation in which some form of divination is sought is presided over by a high “priest” of the religion, called a *babaloa*.<sup>22</sup> Lesser orders of priesthood attend to the more mundane rites and rituals. The rituals themselves are primitive, bizarre affairs, often involving the consumption of beverages concocted from exotic herbs and roots, the use of incense, oils and foreign perfumes, drumming, dancing, trance induction and animal sacrifices.<sup>23</sup> Many of the liturgical practices including phraseology used in prayers and incantations, as well as various paraphernalia needed for ritualistic purposes, are also borrowed from Catholicism. A *Santeria* priest might even suggest to a follower that he or she attend a Catholic mass; in many cases simply to obtain holy water or even a piece of the consecrated host for use in a subsequent ritual.<sup>24</sup>

### *The Expansion of Santeria*

As surprising as it may seem *Santeria* today is neither a predominantly rural nor a lower socioeconomic class phenomenon. Indeed, authorities on the religion confirm that *Santeria* has permeated all racial groups and socioeconomic classes in Cuba, and now in the Cuban community in exile.<sup>25</sup> With the Cuban immigration to the United States, *Santeria* is known to be thriving in the larger cities where Cuban refugees have settled, including New York, Los Angeles, Detroit, Chicago and particularly Miami. A precise

The Seven African Powers

Table 1

Orisha	Catholic Image	Colors	Human Aspect	Controlled	Weapons or Symbols
Chango	Santa Barbara	red/white	passion, enemies	thunder, sword, cup	
Elegua	Holy Guardian Angel	red/black	messages	iron nails, small iron rooster	
Obatalá	Our Lady of Mercy	white	peace, purity	all white substances	
Oggún	Saint Peter	green/black	war, employment	iron, knives, steel	
Orumilá	Saint Francis of Assisi	green/yellow	divination	Table of Ifa (a divination board)	
Oshún	Our Lady of Charity	yellow/red/green	love, marriage, gold	mirror, seashells, pumpkins	
Yemaya	Our Lady of Regla	blue/white	maternity, womenhood	canoe, seashells, fans	

Source: Migene Gonzalez-Wippler, Santeria: African Magic In Latin America. Julian Press, Inc., 1973. New York: The

determination of the numbers of adherents to *Santeria* in Miami is virtually impossible to ascertain, since they do not build public churches or publish membership records. It is believed, however, that their numbers run into the thousands. One rough indication is provided by anthropologist William Bascom who estimated in 1969 that there were at least 83 *babaloas*, or high priests, practicing in Miami.<sup>26</sup> This may be compared to Havana, which is the stronghold of *Santaria* with tens of thousands of followers, where Bascom estimated the number of *babaloas* at about 200 just prior to the Cuban Revolution.<sup>27</sup> Perhaps a better indicator is the existence in Miami of over 12 *botanicas*, which are retail supply outlets catering to the *Santeria* trade.

By all scholarly accounts, *Santeria* is becoming increasingly popular among certain segments of the Cuban exile community. The reason most commonly cited for this kindling of interest is the fear of some Cuban refugees of losing their cultural identity through acculturation to the American way of life.<sup>28</sup> Such a conversion would perhaps represent an attempt to maintain linkage to a more stable past in the face of rapidly changing values and lifestyles. Disenchantment with the Catholic faith is another factor also frequently mentioned as contributing to the apparent expansion of *Santeria* in the United States. In this respect, the Catholic church's questioning of the historical validity of certain saints who were popular in Cuba (such as Saint Lazarus and Saint Christopher), the elimination of many rituals practiced in Cuba, and just the size and institutionalized nature of the Catholic religion have reportedly prompted some Cuban-Americans to seek out alternative religious affiliation, including *Santeria*.<sup>29</sup> Furthermore, the adaptive nature of the *Santeria* religion itself has apparently contributed to its expansion. Mercedes Sandoval, for example, concludes that: "Its intrinsic flexibility, eclecticism and heterogeneity have been advantages in helping ensure functional, dogmatic and ritual changes which enable it to meet the different needs of its many followers."<sup>30</sup> Evidently one of the more important and attractive aspects of *Santeria* for the Cuban community in Miami is its function as a mental health care system.<sup>31</sup>

In the process of change and modification as practiced in the United States, however, many African chants and dances, the use of certain herbs and roots and other medicinal and ritualistic elements have been abandoned. One of the more interesting adaptations, for example, involves a change in the Oil of the Seven African Powers, used in the worship of those deities. The "oil" is now available in *botanicas* in Miami as an aerosol spray. Directions on the side of the container read as follows: "Repeat as necessary. Make your petition. Make the sign of the cross. Air freshener, deodorizer."

Perhaps the apparent expansion of interest in *Santeria* among certain members of the Cuban exile community is only a transitional phenomenon which will subside, or die out completely, as the process of acculturation speeds ahead; which occurred, for example, in Italian-American cult religions.<sup>32</sup> At the present time, however, as one follower of *Santeria* said, "... when we hear thunder in Miami, we know that *Chango* is in exile."<sup>33</sup> Regardless of the future of this particular religious cult, the yard shrines

and other contributions to the cultural landscape associated with the Cuban sector reflect the growing social diversity of this rapidly changing cosmopolitan city.

## Notes

<sup>1</sup>Sam Jacobs, "Neighbors Irate Over Family's Shrine," *The Miami Herald* (July 2, 1978), section A, p. 23.

<sup>2</sup>Strategy Research Corporation, "Latin Market Survey," Miami, Florida, 1977, p. 78; Metropolitan Dade County Office of the County Manager, "Profile of the Latin Population in the Metropolitan Dade County Area," Miami, Florida, 1976.

<sup>3</sup>Strategy Research Corporation, p. 78.

<sup>4</sup>Metropolitan Dade County Planning Department, "Ethnic Breakdown By Census Tract," Miami, Florida, 1975.

<sup>5</sup>Metropolitan Dade County Office of the City Manager, "Impact of the Community Development Program on Private Involvement in the Commercial Rehabilitation of the 'Little Havana' Neighborhood," Miami, Florida, 1978, p. 2.

<sup>6</sup>Kimball D. Woodbury, "The Spatial Diffusion of the Cuban Community in Dade County, Florida" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Florida, Department of Geography, 1978), p. 33.

<sup>7</sup>F. Pierce Eichelberger, "The Cubans in Miami: Residential Movements and Ethnic Group Differentiation" (unpublished M.A. thesis, University of Cincinnati, Department of Geography, 1974), p. 83.

<sup>8</sup>William D. Montalbano, "Vanishing Hands," *The Miami Herald* (Feb., 4, 1979), Tropic section, pp. 19-21.

<sup>9</sup>Ileana Oroza, "The Traditionalist," *The Miami Herald* (July 4, 1978), section A, p. 16.

<sup>10</sup>John Dorschner, "Growing Up Spanglish in Miami," *The Miami Herald* (Sept., 11, 1977), Tropic section, pp. 6-13.

<sup>11</sup>Matthew Creelman, "Count Your Built-In Blessings," *The Miami Herald* (July 21, 1979), section D, p. 3.

<sup>12</sup>George E. Simpson, *Religious Cults of the Caribbean: Trinidad, Jamaica, and Haiti* (Rio Piedras, Puerto Rico: Institute of Caribbean Studies, 1970), p. 11.

<sup>13</sup>Migene Gonzalez-Wippler, *Santeria: African Magic In Latin America* (New York: The Julian Press, 1973), p. 1.

<sup>14</sup>D.E. Baldwin, *The Yoruba of Southwest Nigeria* (Boston: G.K. Hall, 1976).

<sup>15</sup>J.O. Lucas, *The Religions of the Yorubas* (Lagos: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1942).

<sup>16</sup>William Bascom, "The Yoruba in Cuba," *Nigeria*, 37 (1951), pp. 14-20.

<sup>17</sup>William Bascom, "The Focus of Cuban Santeria," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology*, 6 (Spring, 1950), pp. 64-68.

<sup>18</sup>Gonzalez-Wippler, p. 3; Melville J. Herskovits, "African Gods and Catholic Saints in New World Negro Belief," *American Anthropologist*, 39 (Oct.-Dec., 1937), pp. 635-643.

<sup>19</sup>Isabel Mercedes Castellanos, "The Use of Language in Afro-Cuban Religion" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Georgetown University, Dept. of Languages and Linguistics, 1976), pp. 31-33.

<sup>20</sup>Gonzalez-Wippler, p. 16.

<sup>21</sup>Mercedes C. Sandoval, "Santeria As A Mental Health Care System: An Historical Overview," *Social Science and Medicine*, 13 B (April, 1979), p. 139; William R. Bascom, *Shango In The New World* (Austin, Texas: Univ. of Texas Press, 1972), pp. 13-15.

<sup>22</sup>Castellanos, p. 35.

<sup>23</sup>Mercedes C. Sandoval, *La Religion Afro-Cubana* (Madrid, Spain: Playor, S.A., 1975); Lydia Cabrera, *El Monte* (Miami: Ediciones, C.R., 1971); Ellen Hampton, "Drums Beating and Animals Shrieking Frighten Southwest Dade Residents," *The Miami Herald* (Nov. 25, 1979), section B, p. 19.

<sup>24</sup>Gonzalez-Wippler, p. 4.

<sup>25</sup>Sandoval, *La Religion Afro-Cubana*, pp. 270-272; Castellanos, pp. 163-164.

<sup>26</sup>Bascom, *Shango In The New World*, p. 20.

<sup>27</sup>*Ibid.*

<sup>28</sup>Castellanos, p. 164.

<sup>29</sup>Sandoval, *La Religion Afro-Cubana*, p. 272.

<sup>30</sup>Sandoval, *Social Science and Medicine*, p. 137.

<sup>31</sup>*Ibid.*, pp. 137-151; Clarissa S. Scott, "Health and Healing Practices Among Five Ethnic

Groups in Miami, Florida," *Public Health Reports*, 89 (Nov.-Dec., 1974), pp. 526-527.

<sup>32</sup>Rudolph J. Vecoli, "Cult and Occult in Italian-American Culture: The Persistence of a Religious Heritage," in *Immigrants and Religion in Urban Culture*, ed. by Randall M. Miller and Thomas D. Marzik (Philadelphia: Temple Univ. Press, 1977), pp. 25-47.

<sup>33</sup>Sandoval, *La Religion Afro-Cubana*, p. 274.

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