REPATRIATED AFRICANS FROM CUBA AND BRAZIL IN NINETEENTH
CENTURY LAGOS

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ABSTRACT

During the late nineteenth century, primarily between the 1840s and 1860s, a significant repatriation movement to Africa took place among ex-slaves from the Latin American countries of Cuba and Brazil. Since most of these repatriates were of Yoruba descent, they chose to resettle in Yoruba-populated areas along the West African coast. Some of these Cuban and Brazilian repatriates resettled in Ouidah and Porto Novo in the present-day country of Republic of Benin. However, many of the returnees established themselves in West Africa’s largest port city of Lagos in what is now known as Nigeria.

It was also during the nineteenth century that British colonialists began to aggressively launch their quest for total domination and annexation of Yorubaland and the hinterland areas of “Nigeria”. In order to facilitate this agenda, the British used the Cuban and Brazilian repatriates as mediators between themselves
and the local Yoruba population. Consequently, in order to secure the repatriates' cooperation, the British elevated the Cuban and Brazilian returnees to an elite status in colonial Lagos.

This thesis examines the economic and social status of repatriated Africans from Cuba and Brazil in Lagos, and the social and economic conditions that served as an impetus for their drastic transition from slavery. More specifically, this study focuses on the relationship between the repatriates and British colonialism during the nineteenth century, and the elite position that the returnees assumed in the Lagos community as a result of this association.

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Dedicated to all the Africans who, around the world, suffered, but fought against the chains of slavery and colonialism. And especially to those Africans whose sacred remains will forever tarry in the waters of the Atlantic
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CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Strapped by horrid memories of enslavement and plantation life even after Emancipation, many formerly enslaved Africans in the Americas abandoned the geographic space of their oppressors' nations and pursued new economic and social freedom elsewhere.

There were enslaved Africans who felt such a sound attachment to their continent of origin that attempting to make a new life for themselves on the soil of their oppressor was, at best, unacceptable and unthinkable. They wanted to return home---to Africa. Hence, repatriation movements to Africa were launched in the "New World".

Thousands of formerly enslaved Africans from Europe and the Americas chose to resettle and seek prosperity in the West African nations of Liberia and Sierra Leone. These repatriation movements
spearheaded by Thomas Peters in the late 1700’s and Paul Cuffe in the early 1800’s “demonstrated the feasibility of black repatriation in Africa.” (Harris, 1972, p.104)

While Peters, with other 1200 free blacks from Nova Scotia, founded Freetown, the spirited efforts of Cuffe combining with Southern planters’ fear of a massive New World African revolt, (especially on the heels of events leading up to Haitian independence in 1804), culminated in the establishment of the American Colonization Society which would later be very instrument in the founding of Monrovia. (Harris, 1972)

However, the impulse for repatriation was never the exclusive preserve of resettled Africans who returned to the nations of Liberia and Sierra Leone. The “Back-to-Africa” movement popularized by Marcus Garvey’s Universal Negro Improvement Association at the turn of the twentieth century also enjoys considerable mention in this regard. Moreover, significant repatriation movements among Africans previously enslaved in Cuba and Brazil also occurred between 1840-1890. This movement remains virtually disregarded in both popular media and academic circles.
Although the details of this movement receive little, if any attention, its significance, especially in terms of global Africa’s experience of slavery and colonialism in West Africa, is enormous. Not only was it a culmination and quintessential expression of anti-slave sentiments, it also brings into focus particularly telling questions regarding cultural identity.

As would be elaborated upon in the fourth chapter of this work, though ardent identification with Africa inspired this phenomenon, it is ironic than many of these repatriated Africans expressed strong desires to preserve some of the cultural and language practices of the very lands from which they fled! This surprising, or perhaps, not so surprising nostalgia is quite accurately characterized in various historical accounts and personal narratives.

This thesis examines the economic and social status of repatriated Africans from Brazil and Cuba, who settled primarily in the West African port of Lagos, Nigeria, and the social and economic conditions that served as an impetus for such a diastic transition. More, specifically, this study will focus on the relationship between the repatriates and British colonialists during the nineteenth century, and the elite position that the returnees assumed in the Lagos
community as a result of this association. The various contributions in business, art and architecture made by Cuban and Brazilian returnees to colonial Lagos will also be discussed in this study.

The principal interest of this project lies in the area of social and cultural history; however, the British economic and political agenda in Lagos will also be considered. Its central questions are: To what extent did the British support of the returnees affect their consequential elite status in Lagos? What was the nature of the relationship between the repatriated Africans of Yoruba descent and the local Yorubas of Lagos and to what degree was the relationship impacted by the returnees' newly acquired identity as elites? What is the relationship between the descendants of Cuban/Brazilian returnees and local Yoruba descendants today?

Prominent scholars such as J.F. Ade Ajayi, Michael J.C. Echeruo, Kristin Mann and numerous others have characterized the Brazilian/Caban returnees' status in colonial Lagos as "elite". However, given the hegemonic and racist nature of the British colonial administration, some may argue that it would be far more
accurate to refer to the rank of the returnees as "pseudo-elite", since they were subordinated to the British and could only be considered elite when compared to the local Yorubas.

According to Abner Cohen in *The Politics of Elite Culture*:

An elite is a collectivity of persons who occupy commanding positions in some important sphere of social life, and who share a variety of interests arising from similarities of training, experience, public duties, and way of life...They also seek to perpetuate their status and privileges by socializing and training their children so succeed them...[and] [t]here is a dialectical relation between power and culture, the one acting on the other (Cohen, 1981, pp. xvi-xvii).

In accordance with this definition, Kristin Mann maintains that although the Brazilian and Cuban repatriates (as well as the Sierra Leonians) did constitute an elite group in nineteenth century Lagos, they cannot, however, be considered a ruling class because the British colonialists clearly controlled the political organization, institutions of "legitimate" education, and possibly more crucial, methods of "monopolized force." (Mann, 1985, p. 5) In fact, it will become evident that not only did the Cuban and Brazilians obtain their elite status directly as a result of the colonialists' desire to establish them as such, they became key to the overall promotion of
British economic interests in Lagos. in so many ways, the British were hopeful that the presence of the Cubans and Brazilians would facilitate a sort of subjugation by proxy whereby the latter would display unquestioned subservience to them while at the same time serving as a veritable buffer between them and the "natives."

There was also a large population of Yoruba returnees from Sierra Leone in who were used to foster British colonialist "development" plans nineteenth century Lagos. (Kopytoff, 1965) Most of these repatriates had been captured as slaves in Yorubaland and placed on slave ships destined for various plantations in the "New World". However, the slave ships on which they were placed were sometimes intervened by British slave patrol squadrons, and the Black captives were consequently resettled in Sierra Leone. There many of these Sierra Leonian Yorubas eventually became fluent in the English language, education and culture. (Kopytoff, 1965)

Upon their return to Lagos, the Sierra Leonians, or Saros, as they were popularly known, assumed elite positions in the colonial administration and in trade due to their fluency in English and ability to relate to the "natives". However, a close analysis of this
group as elites will not be included in this thesis. Although the Saros did share some socio-economic similarities with the Brazilian and Cuban returnees in colonial Lagos, the Saros did not share their experience with Latin American slavery and culture which was partly responsible for the unique Brazilian/Cuban returnee contribution to Lagos' cosmopolitan nineteenth century society. For this reason, this thesis will focus primarily on the elite status of the Cuban and Brazilian repatriates.

Another detail that requires explanation is the terminology used in this thesis to describe the Cuban and Brazilian returnees. In colonial Lagos, the Brazilian and Cuban repatriates were usually grouped together and collectively termed Aguda or Amaro, which, translated from Yoruba affectionately means, "those who have been away from home" (Vlach, 1984, p. 12). Their common Iberian cultural background and analogous slave experiences could possibly explain their common identification as Aguda, however, it is perhaps more reasonable to conclude that terminological distinctions probably derived from the nature of the relationship between the local Yorubas and the repatriates since the term Aguda or Amaro means "those who have been away from home." (Vlach, 1984, p. 12)
1.1 Literature Review

Of the books, articles and other texts that have been consulted for this study, only a limited number of them served as core references. *Negros estrangeiros: os escravos libertos e sua volta a Africa* (1985) by Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, is one such reference. It is one of only two books available exclusively dedicated to the experiences of repatriates from Latin America, and more specifically, those who set sail from Brazil. Carneiro da Cunha offers statistics confirming the (approximate) number of ex-slaves who returned to Africa, using such evidence as passport grants from Brazil and personal narratives by British officials in Lagos. She also discusses the status of the returnees and their notable contributions to colonial West African society. Not only does Carneiro da Cunha supply data regarding the Amaro in Lagos, she also provides information concerning their presence and vitality in other popular West African returnee destinations such as Ouidah and Porto Novo in present-day Benin Republic.

Antonio Olinto’s *Casa da agua* (1970) presents a version of the Brazilian repatriate background in the form of a novel. The plot
revolves around the life of Mariana, a Brazilian woman who departs for Lagos as a teenage girl with her grandmother in the late nineteenth century. Though fictional, Olinto’s work uses historical facts of typical Amaro encounters in Lagos as a framework for this story. The reader accompanies Mariana throughout her entire life; from Bahia (Brazil) to Lagos and Ouidah where she is compelled to confront and come to terms with the realities of three interlocking components of her existence: her cultural identity, the fact of European domination and her religious affiliation.

Los que volvieron a África (1988) by Rodolfo Sarracino is a primary resource material. The Cuban repatriates constitute the author’s principal focus. Not only does Sarracino include the historical and political conditions in Cuba and West Africa which collectively functioned as a catalyst for this repatriation movement, he also furnishes the reader with written and verbal testimonies of an actual Cuban returnee family (la familia Muñiz) whose members maintained, for generations, written contact with each other across the Atlantic, from Matanzas (Cuba) to Lagos, even as recently as the early 1980’s!
Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life by Michael J.C. Echeruo produces further insight into the state of elites in colonial Lagos. Echeruo portrays the overall climate of nineteenth century Lagos and the chief factors that contributed to its ascension during the nineteenth century by citing various press releases from its major newspapers such as the Lagos Observer, the Eagle and Lagos Critic and the Anglo-African. Included in these were assorted editorials by residents of Lagos: from repatriated elites, to British administrators.

Jean Kopytoff’s Preface to Modern Nigeria: The “Sierra Leonians” in Yoruba, 1830-1890 evokes aspects of the Lagos elite in terms of the Sierra Leonian experience, and also compares and contrasts their elite status with that of the Aguda. This perspective brings into focus differences in British colonial policies regarding the returnee populations, and also indicates how these policies helped to create or redefine returnee relations with the local Yorubas. Kopytoff’s analysis appropriately leads one to consider the repatriate’s cultural identification.
J.F. Ade Ajayi explores the formation of the Nigerian elite as a component of the Christian missionary enterprise in his book *Christian Missions in Nigeria 1841-1891-The Making of a New Elite* (1969). He proposes that the missionaries, through their “linguistic and educational work [and] their economic policies” (Ajayi, 1969, p. xv), played a key role in the establishment of the elite groups in Lagos and in other cities such as Abeokuta and Bacagri. Ajayi reminds readers that although there were several representations of Christian deaominations, they were actually perceived as a single entity from the perspective of the “Nigerians”, and are therefore considered as such for the purpose of his study.” (Ajayi, 1969, p. xiv)

Finally, a comprehensive article, “‘To Return to the Bosom of their Fatherland’: Brazilian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Lagos”, by Lisa A. Lindsay serves as another substantive reference. Her piece includes some invaluable data pertaining to the nineteenth century Brazilian social climate which gave impetus to the British administration’s policy and ambitions regarding the Brazilian returnees in Lagos. In addition, Lindsay’s article draws on Nigerian
and Brazilian archival records which illustrate the repatriates’ elite status and the British colonial policies of Governor Alfred Moloney and Consul Benjamin Campbell in Lagos.

Geographically this thesis is limited to Lagos, since the greatest number of repatriates settled there, although as previously mentioned, there were notable Amaro settlements in the present-day countries of Togo and Benin.

This exploratory study will begin with a brief history of slavery and the slave trade in Brazil and Cuba, with an emphasis on how these Latin American nations acquired such vast quantities of Yorubas as slaves. It will then examine the factors which led up to and facilitated the repatriation movement. The thesis then proceeds to consider the socio-political elements in Lagos society which finally entitled the Aguda to an elite status and what that position consequently meant for their identification as Yorubas.
CHAPTER 2

The Slave Trade and Slavery in Cuba and Brazil: Late 18th-19th Centuries

Not long after Christopher Columbus' "discovery" of the "New World" in 1492, the harrowing legacy of the Atlantic Slave Trade began. American slavery started on the Caribbean island of Quisqueya (later known as Hispaniola and Santo Domingo) and was later expanded as the number of Spanish, Portuguese and other European conquests in the Americas quickly multiplied. Consequently, this expansion made the demand for slaves in the "New World" even more indispensable. (Rout, 1976)

It has been estimated that between the years 1502 and the late 1870's, approximately 10 to 11.6 million Africans suffered the horrible journey to the other side of the Atlantic; while as many as
1.5 million remain buried eternally in an aquatic grave somewhere between Africa and the Americas. (July, 1992; Rodney, 1982)

Given the limits of this study, the peculiarly shocking details of the circumstances surrounding the Middle Passage will not be discussed, nor will an attempt be made to provide an extensive chronicle of the abominable, indeed outstandingly ignoble dispensation that slavery fostered. Instead, this chapter will center on the Atlantic Slave Trade in order to explain why such immense concentrations of Yorubas were captured, then enslaved in Cuba and Brazil; and how their relative ethnic homogeneity and the conditions under which they suffered in these countries became a notably decisive ingredient within the entire Cuban/Brazilian repatriation movement. In view of this, it is naturally logical to consider the implications of slavery in Cuba and Brazil in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.

2.1 The Cuban and Brazilian "Sugar Boom"

Africans had been transported as slaves to Cuba since 1511 and to Brazil since 1520. (Khapoya, 1994; Rout, 1977) Tobacco, coffee and mining were important enterprises, but sugar was the most
popular and profitable business in Cuba and Brazil during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. [fig. 2.1] (Degler, 1971; Knight, 1970; Paquette, 1988) It was also one of the most hazardous and laborious industries, requiring immense physical endurance, strength and tedious application. (Degler, 1971; Paquette, 1988) A "sugar boom"1 in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, combined with Cuba and Brazil's virtual economic dependence on sugar, created an intense demand for slaves, in order to meet huge international sugar orders. (Davidson, 1980; Knight, 1970; Paquette, 1988, Reis, 1988) It was during this time that the slave population in Bahia (Brazil) increased to 77.63%, causing the White planter population (22.37% out of a total of 858,000) to be greatly outnumbered. (Reis, 1988, p. 114) In Cuba, the slave population

1The gap between the production and consumption of sugar in the United States in the mid 1800's caused the U.S. to turn to Cuba as their primary supplier. Because of the United States' "large merchant marine, its sturdy economy, and its huge domestic consumption of sugar, the United States steadily displaced Britain and Spain as the leading Cuban trading partner." (Knight, 1970, p. 44) By 1855, sugar accounted for 83.78% of Cuba's total export products.

According to Joao Reis, "The European wars, the disruption of the plantation society of Saint Dominigue in the 1790's, and a world economic trend of prosperity all helped to enlarge Brazil's share in the international market...[this development caused] the area allocated to sugar cultivation [to increase] manifold (Reis, 1988, p. 112)."
dropped from 374,806 in 1855, to 287,620 in 1871. (Knight, 1970 p. 63) However, the disparity between the greater number of African slaves and White planter populations in Brazil should not obscure the slaves' generally high mortality and low fertility rates. (Knight, 1970; Paquette, 1988; Reis, 1988; Schwartz, 1992)

According to Knight, Paquette and Schwartz, the Cuban and Brazilian planters overwhelmingly enslaved men. They believed that men could work longer and harder than women, and that fewer women meant less time away from work for childcare. Consequently, the virtual absence of women slaves, coupled with abusive working conditions, led to low birth rates among enslaved Africans. In addition, "among Cuban planters a perception prevailed, true or not, that it was cheaper to work field slaves to death in five years or so and replace them by purchase than to see their long-term maintenance and reproduction (Paquette, 1988, p. 55)". This was an additional condition that exacerbated Cuba and Brazil's need to import slaves.

During the 1820's-1860's, slaves were acquired with relative ease by Cuban and Brazilian traders despite British efforts to eliminate the slave trade via squadron patrols and international
slave trade policies. (Knight, 1970) Traders brought Africans from an array of ethnic backgrounds, but primarily Africans who occupied, or were transported to areas surrounding the Bight of Biafra: Yoruba, Efik (mostly sent to Cuba), Hausa, and Fulani. In addition, Africans seized along the Angolan coast were also made available to the Cuban and Brazilian slave traders. (Degler, 1986; Knight, 1970; Paquette, 1988; Reis, 1988)

This enslavement, unfortunately, was committed with the approval of and facilitation by non-African and African middlemen (liaisons between African captors and European/North American/Latin American/West Indian enslavers). (Davidson, 1980; Law, 1977) These middlemen not only had access to slaves along the West African coast, but since they were also able to penetrate areas of the interior, they produced slaves from a miscellany of ethnic backgrounds for the foreign enslavers. (Reis, 1988)

However, regardless of this regional representation, the Yorubas constituted the largest group of Africans captured and enslaved in Cuba and Brazil in the late eighteenth and early-mid nineteenth centuries. (Knight 1970, Reis, 1988; Schwartz, 1992) This
was primarily because of ongoing imperial wars at this time between Dahomey and Oyo in present-day Nigeria and throughout Yorubaland.

These wars had a tremendous effect on Yorubaland between 1820 and 1893. (July, 1992) During the end of the eighteenth century, Yorubaland had enjoyed relative security after their conquest of Dahomey, which had, in turn, assured trade routes from the Yoruba capital of Oyo (located in the interior) to the Atlantic coastal areas. However, the death of the Yoruba King Abiodun caused descent among his potential successors, making the Oyo kingdom vulnerable to Fulani jihads from the north. (July, 1992)

The Fulani invasions provoked massive southern migrations among the Yoruba "which upset the ethnic and political balance of the Yoruba states and triggered a series of wars and local rivalries." (July, 1992, p. 235) Within this social and political confusion, the new and powerful Yoruba refugee cities of Abeokuta and Ibadan grew tremendously. Ibadan was eventually able to defeat the Fulanis, but it was "not strong enough to unite Yorubaland" (July, 1992, p. 236) and resolve the numerous internal disputes. The
continuous civil wars between the Egba and Ijebu Yoruba sub-groups, among others, contributed to the high availability of Yorubas for countries desiring slaves. (Ajayi, 1969; July, 1992)

As was common practice across sub-Saharan Africa then, prisoners of war were often captured and sold into slavery by their enemies1. (Davidson, 1980; Law, 1977) These POWs provided a steady, readily available and uninterrupted supply of field hands for Cuban and Brazilian plantation owners. In other words, in exchange for such conspicuous conveniences as guns, rum and other products, they were guaranteed nearly unlimited access to Yoruba war captives for enslavement in the “New World”, primarily between the 1820’s and 1880’s. (July, 1992; Knight, 1970)

Since by the late eighteenth and early-mid nineteenth centuries most countries in the Americas had essentially discontinued their participation in slave trading2, Cuba, and to a

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1The concept and practice of slavery on the continent of Africa was different than the chattel form of slavery practiced in the Americas. In many African societies, a slave could even intermarry within the family for whom s/he was a slave.

2Carl Degler (1986, p. 61) reports that the United States continued to “smuggle” slaves even after legal slave trade there “ended” in 1808. He estimates that approximately 270,000 slaves were transported to the U.S. between 1808 and 1860.
lesser degree, Brazil, were forced to conceive new methods for
disguising their trade in slaves in order to successfully protect and
sustain their "sugar boom", while simultaneously avoiding British
surveillance. (Knight, 1970; Sarracino, 1988) For example:

At first the Cubans evaded the British cruisers by
flying foreign flags or by getting their Africans
from south of the equator, outside the effective
patrol off the African coast. [T]he Cubans finally
resorted to getting their slaves from as far away as
the Portuguese colony of Angola, and directly from
Brazil, which still had legal slave trade crossing the
Atlantic until 1845. [Furthermore], the Cuban
shoreline was long, and pitted with innumerable
bays and coves in which slave ships easily hid and
discharged their cargoes. (Knight, 1970, p. 51-52)

Upon arrival in their respective Latin American destinations,
the Africans were quickly sold off to White planters and summarily
put to work, mainly on sugar cane plantations, though some were
forced to cultivate coffee, cotton or tobacco and in some cases, to
become domestic workers. (Paquette, 1988) In Brazil, since the
sugar industry was headquartered in Bahia (northeastern Brazil),
vast numbers of Yorubas were placed in that area; whereas in Cuba,
they inhabited no single, identifiable area on the island. (Cunha,
1985; Irving, 1992; Reis, 1988) The fact that, as noted previously,
that Cuban and Brazilian slavers imported most of their slaves from Yorubaland, fostered a high degree of ethnic homogeneity on the plantations that was clearly unavoidable. The slave owners also recognized the Africans' different ethnic groups by name. For instance in Cuba, the Yorubas were known as Lucumí, while in Brazil they were called Nagôs. (Knight, 1970; Paquette, 1988; Reis, 1988)

The huge concentration of Yorubas in these Latin American communities in turn enabled them to retain memories of their birthplace as well as other crucial components of their culture such as language and the religious practices of Islam and indigenous Yoruba religion.

2.2 Slave Life in Cuba and Brazil

Slavery of any form, whether domestic or in the field, is an experience few can imagine. Not only does it involve forced labor without compensation, it requires one to submit to a "master" who, on a regular basis, subjects his/her slave to the worst sorts of human indignities, while simultaneously, allowing them no means of self-defense or legal redress. (Kent, 1970; Knight, 1970; Paquette, 1988)
Slavery in Latin America has frequently been portrayed as "less severe" than slavery in the United States. This illusion of leniency can most likely be attributed to a combination of two factors: The myth of a Latin American "racial democracy" as a result of large "mulatto" populations and Africans' retention and practice of the more overt elements of African culture, i.e., traditional religion (Candomblé in Brazil and Santería in Cuba), cuisine, language, music during and after slavery. (Paquette, 1988; Skidmore, 1974) In fact, the evidence suggests that the practice of slavery in Latin America was at least equally as harsh as it was in the United States (Degler, 1986).

Life for slaves in these countries on any plantation was obviously arduous, but the eighteenth and nineteenth century "sugar boom" made slave life on the sugar plantations in Cuba and Brazil even more difficult. The sudden international demand for sugar resulted in these two countries sharing some striking similarities in their administration of slavery. It also inspired numerous slave revolts. (Kent, 1970; Knight, 1970; de Montaud, 1982; Paquette, 1988; Sarracino, 1988)
Physical violence and other forms of abuse were endemic to every slave system in the Americas. Various forms of abuse such as rape, and of torture such as whippings and amputations were commonplace on most plantations, but the “sugar boom” in Cuba and Brazil only intensified an already terrible situation. (Degler, 1986; Paquette, 1988; Reis, 1988; Rout, 1976) The high demand for sugar prompted the planters to force slaves to produce more sugar at an even faster pace. Additionally, it required that the slave owner apply stiffer, stricter regulations and punishment for non-compliance.

Prior to the new growth in sugar production, the Bahian slave was often appropriated a certain area of land in order to cultivate staple food items such as cassava and beans for his/her personal consumption. However “with the extension of cane fields, land previously allocated to the growing of foodstuffs was taken away [because] slave owners wanted to utilize all available land for sugar cane (Reis, 1988, p. 112).” This change forced many slaves to now purchase these essential items from the planter at exorbitant prices, driving a significant number of slaves to suffer from malnutrition. (Reis, 1988; Schwartz, 1992)
Field slaves were allocated clothing only twice a year at the beginning of harvest time, which took place between December and May, and at the end. (Knight, 1970; Schwartz, 1992) Primarily, the harvest season pushed slaves into twenty-hour work days that included, but was not limited to: cutting the cane, collecting it, stacking the cane onto carts, changing the oxen for the carts and collecting the cane that fell from the carts. (Knight, 1970) Afterward, the cane had to be pressed in a mill to extract the juice. The sugar cane liquid was finally clarified in cauldrons where the "impurities [were] skimmed [and] poured into molds that then crystallized into sugar (Schwartz, 1992, p. 42)."

In order to keep the slaves from falling asleep during this long and gruelling process, they were often flogged. Certain whipping methods from Cuba were especially popular among overseers who had authority to punish at will:

*Bocabojo* "llevoando cuentas" or "keeping count" called for the slave to count his own lashes out loud as the whip was being applied. Should the pain shortcircuit either his voice or memory, the count would return to zero. *Bocabojo* "a dos manos," "two handed," meant the alternative application of the whip to the slave’s back by two whippers. By
1840 a plantation "novena" had come to mean not a Catholic devotion but nine stripes laid on a slave's back for nine consecutive days. (Paquette, 1988, p. 67)

For a slave woman, pregnancy was not an acceptable excuse from work until she was in labor. If the child was then delivered successfully, the woman was given a "generous" 45 days for recovery. This was actually rare since most women slaves who became pregnant ended up miscarrying or giving birth to stillborn babies due to their strenuous work conditions and serious undernourishment. (Knight, 1970; Paquette, 1988; Schwartz, 1992)

White fear of slave revolts also contributed to the more brutal forms of slavery. Under these harsh conditions, slaves exercised their limited autonomy by practicing African-based religious ceremonies, open fraternization with each other, as well as with freed slaves during the off-season and self-employment when time permitted. (Knight, 1970; Reis, 1988; Schwartz, 1992)

...demographic characteristics, especially the composition of the slave population, were instrumental in promoting African autonomy on the plantations and in cities...The size of the slave class coupled with the growth of the free colored sectors prevented the isolation of plantation slaves. (Reis, 1988, p. 114)
Police frequently searched the homes of freed slaves in Bahia, looking for fugitive slaves or evidence of conspiracy. To further strangle "freed" slaves' liberty, they were required to pay a head tax of 10 milreis or be thrown in prison. Also freed slaves who actually owned property, were forbidden from renting it to slaves or other ex-slaves "unless it was authorized by a judge." (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985, p. 77)

To sum up, the sharp increase in the global need for sugar in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries resulted in an upward thrust in the demand for slaves in Cuba and Brazil. Prisoners from the ongoing wars between the Oyo and Dahomey empires in Yorubaland at the time, provided an immediate and convenient supply of slave labor. The huge concentration of these Yoruba field hands in one geographical location, combined with the extraordinarily harsh work/living conditions of the slaves in Cuba and Brazil, ultimately enabled them to not only retain crucial aspects of their cultural heritage, but also to map elaborate plans and strategies for revolt and rebellion.
CHAPTER 3

The Process of Return

As was fundamentally true of other concerted 19th century "back to Africa" movements, the repatriation experience of Africans from Cuba and Brazil was primarily inspired by a desire to escape the horrors of slavery (elaborated upon in Chapter 2) as well as other post-slavery inequities. Life for the African in general in the Americas, whether still enslaved or freed, was unbearably nasty and brutish.

For the emancipated African in Cuba and Brazil, life was not much better than life in slavery. Some slaves had been able to buy their freedom by saving up money earned from supplementary work or by means of slave and ex-slave credit institutions. These institutions basically functioned by purchasing a slave's freedom with money pooled from the slave/ex-slave communities. (Knight, 1970; Reis, 1988)
However, prior to the "official" abolition of slavery in Cuba and Brazil in 1886 and 1888 respectively, slaves who received manumission were often let go because they were seen as a financial burden rather than ost of the magnanimity of their owners. (Knight, 1970; Reis, 1988).

Although nominally free and no longer accountable to a "master", the ex-slaves' living conditions remained essentially unaltered. They faced racial discrimination in employment and other facets of society, which essentially retarded the freed slaves' ambitions for upward social and economic mobility. Consequently, their freedom for them was ironically bittersweet. Knight reports that:

It seems reasonable to assume that there could not have been much socioeconomic mobility during the nineteenth century [since] there was almost a uniformly rigid exclusion of colored persons from the upper reaches of the [Cuban] structure. The closed-caste nature of Cuban society relegated all nonwhites to the lower social economic positions; and persons with black skin found the situation exceptionally difficult. (Knight, 1970, p. 98)

For the few *emancipados* lucky enough to find work in such menial professions as petty trading, artistry, tailoring, and music,
making ends meet was often difficult. (Paquette, 1988; Reis, 1988) A large proportion of them were actually forced to seek employment with sugar plantations similar to these for which they worked while in bondage. For them, this realistically entailed working side by side with their still enslaved brothers and sisters, under similar unconscionable working conditions, and with little compensation. (Paquette, 1988; Schwartz, 1992)

In addition, ex-slaves' apparent dissatisfaction with discrimination, close association and fraternization with plantation slaves and their physical freedom caused serious concerns for Whites in Cuba and Brazil. White planters believed that this fraternization, coupled with examples of slave revolts in Haiti, would cause successive slave/ex-slave revolutions in their own countries. (Knight, 1970, Paquette, 1988; Reis, 1988; Schwartz, 1992)

In fact, several slave rebellions in Cuba and Brazil did occur as a result of planning between slaves and ex-slaves in the nineteenth century. Mention must be made of two major revolts in Cuba and Brazil: the conspiracy of La Escalera in 1844 and the 1835 revolt, which took place in Cuba and Brazil respectively, both of which were said to have been masterminded by slaves and ex-slaves. These
bloody revolts were so frightening to Whites, they implemented strict laws regarding slave and ex-slave association and deported or executed certain leaders of these revolutions. (Degler, 1986; Helg, 1995; Kent, 1970; Paquette, 1988; Reis, 1988)

This period was marked by a macabre cycle of destruction: incipient white fear and distrust sequentially resulted in severe restrictions on African slaves and *emancipados* which in turn caused the slaves and ex-slaves to revolt. Rebellion and/or fear of rebellion, begot a harsher treatment and ultimately forced Blacks in Cuba and Brazil to seek prosperity and security elsewhere.

Upon receiving manumission or in some cases, after being deported as a result of being suspected of participating in or plotting rebellion, some Africans in Cuba and Brazil wasted to return to Africa with relatives and friends who had been born in captivity. However, idle nostalgia was not the only factor that contributed to this decision to journey back to the continent.

A crucial impetus, especially given certain peculiarities of their overall historical experience (their near monolithic ethnic constitution and ability to retain significant components of their
culture), was the desire to not only return to their place of birth but also reunite with long lost family members and friends.

Equally important was the economic incentive. Being that these returnees often possessed vocational skills and some education, they went back fully aware of their potential for economic success or prosperity. (Lindsay, 1994; Sarracino, 1988; Turner, 1975) Some of their kith and kin who had either worked on British vessels en route to Lagos or had been originally shipped back to Africa due to expulsion, came back to Cuba and Brazil with exciting news of a bustling new port city that offered potential for trade, farming and social freedom. (Reis, 1988; Sarracino, 1988)

Many Whites in Cuba and Brazil welcomed the opportunity for the “free” Africans to return to the land of their origin because they were collectively perceived as a threat to White security and domination.

The “whitening” process in Cuba and Brazil at the time engendered an atmosphere that was totally anti-African. There was a conscious effort to import Europeans in hopes that this would minimally resolve the potential demographic imbalance effected by massive importation of slaves. (Skidmore, 1979)
The authorities in Cuba and Brazil believed that they could diminish or eliminate the Black element in their populations by aggressively pursuing a dual policy that on the one hand involved creating serious incentives for White immigration into their countries while on the other hand devising disincentives for the freed Africans to stay. (Skidmore, 1974)

When the Africans made the decision to return to Africa, the move was rarely immediate. In most cases, these future repatriates had to wait months, if not years, to accumulate enough money to pay for the trans-Atlantic trip to Africa. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Olinto, 1970; Sarracino, 1988)

In addition to purchasing freedom for slaves, the collective lending institutions of the African communities in Cuba and Brazil were also instrumental in financing the return of ex-slaves to Africa. (Lindsay, 1994; Turner; 1975) These two methods of financing the trip to Africa must have been more common, since most returnees went to Africa on their own free will. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985)

Transportation for this journey was often provided by British ships that frequented both sides of the Atlantic for trade, but in some instances Portuguese or Spanish vessels were used.
Since most of the enslaved Yoruba descendants in Cuba and Brazil were placed in rural areas to work in sugar cane fields, the repatriates had to first move to unfamiliar port cities such as Rio de Janeiro or Havana to wait for a departing ship. Securing a ship for this trip was not easy. Sometimes, even after working months or years to save money to pay for the trip, repatriates would sometimes have to wait another few months or years before they could even obtain a ship that was willing to take them to Africa (Otinto, 1970; Turner, 1975)

Carneiro da Cunha reports that typically, ex-slaves would commission a British vessel to take them to Lagos. In one case, the British ship, Robert agreed to transport 63 freed slaves from Bahia to Badagri or Lagos for the price of 800 pounds. The agreement specified that the captain would provide the returnees with rations such as dry meat, black beans, flour and fresh water, but that they (the returnees) were responsible for cooking the food themselves. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985)

The appointed British governor Alfred Moloney and Consul Campbell of Lagos were reported to also have requested passports for a number of Brazilian repatriates to return to Lagos. These
British officials also arranged for British ships to safely transport the returnees from Bahia to Lagos. (Lindsay, 1994; Kopytoff, 1965)

It is difficult to determine the exact number of Africans formerly enslaved in Cuba and Brazil who left for Africa. According to Carneiro da Cunha, between 1850 and 1899, 3,300 Africans and 1,278 Creoles (Africans born in Brazil) left Bahia for Africa; between 1820 and 1899, approximately 8,000 returned to Africa. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985) Rodolfo Sarracino reports that according to government passport requests, at least 99 Cubans left Cuba for Africa sometime in the mid-1800’s, although he estimates the total number of Cubans repatriates to be higher. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Sarracino, 1988)

Out of those Africans who returned to Africa, Lisa Lindsay reveals that the majority of them were, indeed Yorubas, and in particular, members of the Egba sub-group. However, there were a few Africans of Hausa descent who also returned, such as Mohammah Baquaqua, an ex-Brazilian slave who returned to Zoogoo as a Christian minister. (Ajayi, 1969; Farias, 1990; Lindsay, 1994; Moore, 1854)
"During the first wave of migrants, until 1860, the median age of returnees was about 35; later it rose to about 55, reflecting an increasing proportion of Brazilians returning to Africa for retirement or to die there." (Lindsay, 1994, p. 25)

After securing a vessel and acquiring ample funds for both supplies for the trip and settling expenses in Africa, these pilgrims leaving Cuba and Brazil still had some factors with which to contend. Because they travelled primarily on cargo ships, the comfort level was, at best, minimal.

The exhausting trip across the Atlantic typically lasted for approximately three months, but undesirable wind conditions or rough sea waters sometimes delayed arrival dates by weeks. These delays would often result in a depletion of resources, such as low quantities of fresh water and food. (Olinto, 1970)

In addition, many of the returnees, especially the very old and very young were vulnerable to sickness, and some died, since there were usually no doctors or sufficient medicines on board for immediate medical attention or treatment. (Olinto, 1970)

Perhaps the greatest danger facing the repatriates was the possibility of recapture and re-enslavement. There were cases
reported of returnee ships being redirected by British, Portuguese or Spanish ship captains to slave staging posts on the west African coastline. J. Michael Turner reported that:

In one incident which occurred in December 1855, a group of Yoruba freedpersons both those who had been born in Africa and creoles who were descended from Yorubas, contracted with a captain for passage to Lagos. The captain instead of landing at Lagos went directly to the Fon and Mina ports of Ouidah and Agoue, towns which were extremely hostile to Yorubas. The final result of this act of treachery was the recapture and re-enslavement of many of the unfortunate emigrants by the populace of the two port towns. (Turner, 1975, p. 71)

He comments on another incident, but gives no resounding proof of this occurrence:

The unfortunate Afro-Brazilian passengers of the General Rego were...forced to march to Abomey where they were declared to be spies for the enemy Egba of the Yoruba town of Abeokuta. Glele [the leader] ordered that all the adults be immediately killed and the children enslaved. (Turner, 1975, p. 71)

The destinations of the repatriates varied. Repatriates who were taken as slaves from Central Africa established communities
along the West African coast of Angola, such as Puerto Rico, Matinika, Pernambuco and Povo Grande (Lindsay, 1994).

Numerous Yoruba returnees chose to resettle in the current nations of Togo and Benin Republic in the towns of Ouidah and Porto Novo, while the vast majority elected to reside in present-day Nigeria. A few of the repatriates who moved back to Nigeria, returned to their birthplaces inland such as Abeokuta and Ibadan, but for the most part, these Yoruba repatriates organized themselves in the coastal city of Lagos. (Cunha, 1985; Lindsay, 1994; Sarracino, 1988)

Though most of the returnees were not originally from Lagos, they preferred to reside there because of growing economic and social opportunities. In fact, Lagos, prior to British colonization was actually a small settlement inhabited mostly by Yoruba farmers and fishermen. (Lindsay, 1994)

In the seventeenth century, Lagos, originally known as Eko, became increasingly important internationally, as it was a major slave trading port in West Africa; and by the eighteenth century,
Lagos was also a major port for trade in products such as palm oil and other important commodities. (Echeruo, 1977; Ifeka & Stride, 1971; Kopytoff, 1965; Lindsay, 1994; Smith, 1979)

Consequently, in order to benefit from trade in important products and to suppress the slave trade, not to mention to expand their flourishing empire, the British designated Lagos as their African headquarters. This designation caused Lagos to be the largest and one of the most important cities in all of West Africa, and most naturally, an attractive destination for the Cuban, Brazilian and Sierra Leonian returnees, as well as "Nigerians" from the hinterland areas. (Echeruo, 1977; July, 1992; Kopytoff, 1965)

In summary, former slaves from Cuba and Brazil left those countries in search of economic and social liberties; rights which they were not granted even after securing their "freedom". The emancipated slave was essentially marginalized and disenfranchised in Cuba and Brazil, and those countries' ipertation of European immigrants to "improve" the racial makeup of their nations marginalized these Blacks even further.
Ex-slaves' battle with racial discrimination and injustice, along with the promise of economic upward mobility inspired efforts to return to their homeland of Africa. After obtaining sufficient funds for transportation and settlement expenses, these formerly enslaved Africans from Cuba and Brazil set out for Africa.

The journey, however, was not without consequence. The returnees faced a myriad of tribulations such as: depletion of rations on board the ship, death and disease in transit, as well as the very real possibility of re-enslavement. Upon arrival in Africa, most repatriates resettled in Lagos, because of that port city's unparalleled potential for economic development and prosperity at the time.
CHAPTER 4

The Arrival

Upon arrival in Lagos after a long, arduous voyage, returnees hopes for a warm welcome by both fellow returnees and family members were abruptly dashed. They were often immediately detained and put through a humiliating quarantine by British colonialists.

British fear of disease epidemics or the general concern for the effective containment of contagious ailments resulted in the returnees being forced to remain on their ships for days, even weeks. Their clothes and other personal belongings were quickly confiscated and sometimes incinerated by British officials, thus leaving the Agudas without recourse or restitution. (Olinto, 1970)

Also, according to S. Biobaku and J. Kopytoff, the newly arrived Cuban/Brazilian returnees were prone to the harassment of King Kosoko, the then ruler of Lagos during the late 1840’s. (Lindsay,
Several historical accounts report that Kosoko stole property from the Agudas, and in a letter to a high-ranking British official in England, Consul Benjamin Campbell claimed that Kosoko actually had some of the returnees killed. (Geary, 1965; Sarracino, 1988) Though this incident could be true, it is also possible that Campbell fabricated this story in order to justify "replacing him with [the] more tractable member of the royal house". Akitoye (July, 1992, p. 241)

Benjamin Campbell, the first British consul of Lagos (1853), would consequently use the Aguda-Kosoko conflict to the advantage of British aspirations in Lagos. In exchange for British protection from Kosoko and colonial assistance in the general promotion of repatriate economic interests, the Agudas were to agree to the following conditions:

1) That they consider Akitoye as the rightful king of Lagos, not Kosoko
2) That they abandon all relations with trade in slaves

*Because of King Kosoko's (Oba of Lagos in the early 1850's) apparent control over trade within Lagos and his lack of recognition of and cooperation with British authority, British colonialists in Lagos sought to systematically oust him from power; as Kosoko was viewed as a major threat to British domination over the very profitable palm oil trade. (Kopytoff, 1965)*
3) That they register all heads of household with the British consulate
4) That they send all of their children to missionary schools in order to receive instruction in English and learn anti-slave language (Gear, 1965, p. 29; Sarracino, 1988, p. 152)

These conditions gave the impression that the Cuban/Brazilian returnees actually had a choice in whether or not they would comply with the wishes of British officials. However, according to Rodolfo Sarracino, if the returnees refused to obey the British conditions, they and their family members would be exiled to the West African island of Fernando Po where they could face possible re-enslavement. (Sarracino, 1988)

4.1 British Incentives for Relationship with the Agudas

Why then did the British create this kind of relationship with the Agudas and why were the conditions placed upon them so important? Apparently, the British considered the Aguda to be an important instrument in their overall colonization strategy in what was later to become the British colony of Nigeria. (Ajayi, 1969; Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Echeruo, 1977; Sarracino, 1988)
During the nineteenth century, the British wanted to expand their empire by annexing Lagos, "the youngest and fastest growing community on the West Coast." (Echeruo, 1977, p. 16) However, Lagos needed to be "developed" economically, physically and socially to suit British plans for increase in trade in goods such as palm oil, cotton and ivory. (Kopytoff, 1965; Lindsay, 1994)

The British colonialists also had plans for expansion into the hinterland areas and trusted that the Agudas could expedite this process with less resistance by using their influence as Yorubas. (Kopytoff, 1965)

4.1.1 The "Good Example"

In "developing" Lagos (and "Nigeria"), the cooperation of the local people (mostly Yorubas) was key. Since Lagos was their prized possession of West Africa, the British could not afford to jeopardize their colonization project with conflict and ambivalence from the local Yorubas. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985)

Consequently, in accordance with the usual British policy of indirect rule, they naturally regarded the Cuban/Brazilian (as well as the Sierra Leonian) repatriates as the perfect middlemen to execute
their expansion and development plan, since most of the Agudas were of Yoruba origen. (Ajayi, 1969; Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Kopytoff, 1965)

The British believed that the Agudas would set a "good example" for the local Africans by demonstrating the "benefits" of colonialism and cooperating with their imperial designs such as access to European education, business ownership and political clout; thereby facilitating their own plans for a total infiltration of what wasto become Nigeria. (Ajayi, 1969; Cole, 1975; Geary, 1965; Sarracino, 1988)

4.1.2 Background in cash-crop farming

Not only did the British believe that the Agudas could be effective intermediaries between themselves and the local Yorubas, they were also aware of the experience of the Agudas as slaves and the cash crop farming skills which they acquired as a result of their enslavement. (Ajayi, 1969; Cole, 1975; Vlach, 1984) The British then sought to exploit this skill to advance their own colonialist agenda in Lagos. (Ajayi, 1969; Vlach, 1984)
The Agudas were known to have acquired several years of experience in the cultivation of sugar, tobacco and coffee. For this reason, the British also believed that the Agudas could contribute to the agricultural development of Lagos. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Lindsay, 1994; Sarracino, 1988) This idea led to the “encourage[ment] [of] Brazilian immigration as a way of promoting agricultural development in the colony [of Lagos and] to hasten economic change in the hinterland.” (Kopytoff, 1965, p. 208, p. 267)

As a matter of fact, British Governor Alfred Moloney of Lagos submitted an idea in 1890 to an audience in Manchester, England. In his desire to increase profits from export crops in Nigeria, he proposed and eventually implemented a recommendation to provide steamships, with regular trips between Lagos to Bahia, to transport ex-Brazilian slaves desirous of repatriation; this was all executed under the moral pretext of kindness and goodwill to humanity. (Lindsay, 1994; Sarracino, 1988) However, Moloney’s primary interest was in using these ex-slaves’ experience in agriculture to benefit British trade interests in the colony. (Lindsay, 1994)
4.1.3 Belief in Jesus Christ

The fact that most of the Agudas were already Christian was another advantage that the British could hardly ignore. Even though the Agudas were overwhelmingly Catholic and the British mostly Protestant, they believed that the Agudas' belief in Christ would subsequently influence their "pagan" Yoruba brothers and sisters to convert, especially after beholding the Agudas new found elite status.

Once Christianized, the British surmised that not only would these non-believers be "saved" from evil, but they would also become more amenable to future British efforts to penetrate Lagos and the rest of "Nigeria". (Ajayi, 1969; Kopytoff, 1965)

The British missionaries did, however, have a problem with the Agudas' particular brand of Catholicism, known in Brazil and Cuba as Candomblé and Santeria, respectively. (Bolivar, 1993; Olinto, 1970)

The Aguda version of Catholicism involved the integration of Yoruba religious beliefs and practices with established doctrines, Vatican orthodoxy.

Even prior to repatriation, the Aguda frequently prepared altars to such Yoruba deities as Shango, Osun and Oya while still in Cuba and Brazil. This practice continued after repatriation. (Cunha,
1985) Visiting missionaries "disapproved of [Agudas'] doctrinal ignorance, their mixture of Catholic and Yoruba customs, and their less than orthodox views of religious authority." (Lindsay, 1994, p. 32)

The Agudas eventually established their own churches, mimicking the same ceremonies which they had created in Cuba and Brazil. One of their own community members, a Brazilian emancipado named Pa Antonio, assumed the position of church leader. (Ajayi, 1969) "He baptized new-born babies, blessed marriages like the patriarchs of the old, and was called to the side of the dying for the ministrations." (Ajayi, 1969, p. 51)

4.1.4 Skill in European-style architecture

Perhaps one of the most valuable skills that the Aguda possessed that the British desired desperately was their exceptional mastery of architectural design. John Vlach describes the Aguda "vernacular house type" (Vlach, 1984, p. 3) as being one of the most noticeable contributions to the change in nineteenth century Lagos.
The design style of the Aguda was much appreciated and highly desired by the British colonialists because:

These Europeans, it appears, sought to impress Africans with the grandeur of their architecture which in turn they hoped would help to impress the "natives" with the superiority of the European political, economic, and moral order. In short, large mansions became advertisements for the advantages of a new civilization. It was at this stage of colonial conquest that people from Brazil [and Cuba] began to arrive in Lagos. (Vlach, 1984, p. 6)

Given this, the Aguda returnees found that their experience in carpentry was eagerly sought after by the British colonialists.

Prior to the arrival of the returnees from Cuba and Brazil, the typical Yoruba house was a one story building, nestled within a compound setting around other similar houses, which surrounded a common courtyard; and in most instances, the houses were covered by thatched roofs. (Vlach, 1984)

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the style of buildings in Lagos began to change because of Aguda architectural influence. Not only was their style present in the houses that they built for themselves, but it was also apparent in the numerous
public structures at the time such as the Holy Cross Cathedral in Lagos, the Shitta Bey Mosque and the Central Mosque. (Ajayi, 1969; Vlach, 1984)

The Aguda architectural design usually consisted of a two-story house (*ile petesi*) with elaborate trimmings along the edge of the roof and around the windows. Rooms in the house were planned around a central hallway, with a door in the front and in the rear of the house. A series of rooms were situated on both sides of the hallway: the first, usually a receiving room for guests; the rest were bedrooms or rooms used for some other purpose. (Vlach, 1984)

For the Agudas, cooperation with and acceptance of the aforementioned conditions in exchange for British protection, along with their possession of skills that were highly regarded by the British, afforded them certain “privileges”; even though the privileges were of a nature that foremostly furthered the colonizers’ interests too. (Ajayi, 1969; Carneiro da Cunha. 1985; Kopytoff, 1965; Lindsay, 1994; Sarracino, 1988; Vlach, 1984)

These “privileges” have been cited to buttress the Aguda elite status, but not in the traditional sense of an autonomous ruling class. (Mann, 1985) Much as the British were still unquestionably in
control, the economic and social advantage that the Agudas enjoyed over the local Yoruba population did extend them some degree of power and influence. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Lindsay, 1994; Mann, 1985)

4.2 Aguda Colonial “Advantages”

Even with their new elite status in colonial Lagos, the Agudas faced stiff opposition from the Saro (Sierra Leonian) returnees, who also achieved their own elite status as a result of their background in British education and Christian religious affiliation. (Ajayi, 1969; Kopytoff, 1965)

According to Lisa Lindsay and J. Michael Turner, the Agudas who resettled in Porto Novo and Ouidah fared slightly better than their counterparts in Lagos because they did not have to compete with the Saros for elite positions in that French colony, present-day Benin Republic.

4.2.1 Allotment of Land

One of the first benefits the Agudas received as a result of their cozy affiliation with the colonialists was allocation of land. This trend
initiated the practice of colonial land privatization practice in Lagos; a British ideal that directly conflicted with the Yoruba concept of communal land ownership. Under this communal tradition, all land was administered by the town oba (king), but could not be owned by any one person in particular. (Obenson, 1977) As a result, “there was a clash between the law and custom of the Yoruba as regards ownership of land and the English land law.” (Obenson, 1977, p. 113)

Between 1858 and 1860, Consul Campbell “convinced” (Lindsay, 1994, p. 26) King Donsunmu of Lagos to make 38 land grants to Brazilian/Cuban returnees. (Lindsay, 1994) These “grants” helped to create a Lagos that was essentially divided into four distinct quarters: 1) the European— the area on the Marina; 2) the Saros (Sierra Leonians) section in Olowogbowo, located west of the Europeans; 3) The Aguda division—located behind the Europeans in an area known as Portuguese Town or Popo Aguda. 4) The local Yoruba— areas in the remaining sections of the city. (Cole, 1975; Echeruo, 1977; Olinto, 1970)
The Aguda section later became popularly known as the Brazilian Quarter, even though there was a significant number of returnees from Cuba who resided there also. (Echeruo, 1977; Kopytoff, 1965; Vlach, 1984)

With increased incentives for repatriation, the Aguda population experienced an increase and most of them were located in the Brazilian Quarter:

In 1853 Consul Campbell reported that there were approximately 130 Brazilian families living in Lagos. By 1865 there were roughly 1,000 Brazilian inhabitants out of a total population of near 25,000. Their number grew steadily: according to the governor of the colony in the 1880's, in 1871 there were 1,237; in 1881, 2,732 and in 1887, 3,221. Two years later Governor Alfred Moloney estimated that the new immigration had brought the number to approximately 5,000, out of a total population of 37,458. (Lindsay, 1994, p. 27)

The mere fact that the colonialists set aside a specific area of town for Aguda residency gave profound indication that they were considered to be an important part of the overall development of Lagos. (Echenio, 1977)

This allotment of land was indeed a method by which the British established the Aguda as elites. In colonial Lagos, the
acquisition and retention of land was directly related to the amount of power one wielded in the community. Land ownership was very fundamental to the rise of new independent businesses and agricultural projects in the larger Lagos metropolitan area. (Olinto, 1970)

Not only did the British reserve land for the Agudas, they even named streets after prominent figures in their community. For instance, Campos Square, located in the heart of the Brazilian Quarter, was named after Hilario Campos, a very successful businessman who came to Lagos from Cuba. (Sarracino, 1988) Bamgboshe Street, Pedro Street and Martin Street were all named in honor of prestigious Aguda community leaders. (Echeruo, 1977; Kopytoff, 1965)

There is no doubt, given the dynamics of nineteenth century land ownership and British colonial ambition, that this gesture was offered in order to further anchor the Aguda support for the British occupation of Lagos.
4.2.2 European education

In exchange for their recognition of British colonial power in Lagos, Aguda children received the much coveted European education which was basically administered at the time by foreign missionaries.

During the first stages of repatriation among the Cubans and Brazilians, the British saw the value of the Agudas only in terms of their architectural and agricultural management skills and were not as interested in formally educating them as was the case with the Saros. Therefore, their only alternative for receiving any formal education was under non-governmental, missionary auspices. (Kopytoff, 1965; Lindsay, 1994)

The Agudas were particularly responsible for attracting some of the first missionaries into Lagos during the nineteenth century. As a result, Spanish and Portuguese were in most cases the languages of instruction in these missionary schools. (Ajayi, 1969)

There was conflict, however, between the Agudas and the missionaries regarding their purpose for enrolling their children in missionary schools. The Agudas wanted their children to be exposed
to European education and the English language in order to enhance
the children’s prospects for upward mobility under
colonial Lagos’ economic/administrative structure. The missionaries,
on the other hand, were hoping to convert Aguda children to
“legitimate” Catholicism. (Lindsay, 1994)

The Agudas were particularly troubled by this clearly
orchestrated attempt to steer their children away from their parents’
religious practices. The quality of the education provided by the
missionaries, amidst growing opportunities for socio-economic
advancement, was equally of concern for Aguda parents. (Ajayi,
1969, Olinto, 1970)

When Aguda children began enrolling in local boarding schools
around Lagos, the situation got even more complex. It meant that
these children were spending less time around their Aguda culture,
and more time surrounded by European Catholicism and British
colonial propaganda. While in some cases this created feelings of
superiority among Aguda children, this attitude worried the
missionaries since they believed that the conflict it generated in
Aguda households might ultimately discourage the parents from sending their children to the missionary schools. (Ajayi, 1969; Olinto, 1970; Sarracino, 1988)

Despite this conflict, Aguda parents continued to send their children to the schools, believing that their Western education would secure the much coveted elite status in Lagos and assure future financial prosperity. (Lindsay, 1994)

The more financially able Aguda children graduating from these schools gradually went to Europe, England in particular, in search of the definitive cloak of Western education. (Olinto, 1970; Sarracino, 1988)

Michael Echeruo describes European education as a significant advantage to the Aguda and other "immigrant" populations because:

[I]t opened up opportunities for work with the missions; it made it possible to secure appointments with the expanding British administration. Those who could speak English and count to two hundred in English were particularly needed by the trading companies in Lagos and the interior. In an aspiring young community such as Lagos was, this advantage was usually exercised to the detriment of the uninitiated and the illiterate. (Echeruo, 1977, p. 50)
4.2.3 Economic, social and political prominence

As stated earlier in this chapter, the British in Lagos intended for the Brazilian and Cuban returnees to become managers and proprietors of agricultural development projects, in addition to servicing the colony with their exceptional skills in carpentry and masonry. The Agudas, however, set their goals toward the field of business and trade, hoping this would bring about the much desired financial independence, stability and community prosperity. (Lindsay, 1994)

It has been alleged that one of the first businesses the Agudas sought after was slave trading. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985) If this was the case, it is logical to assume that very few of the Cuban and Brazilian returnees did engage in such business, considering that one of the conditions placed upon them by the British was that they were not to trade in slaves, or face exile to Fernando Pó.

According to Carneiro da Cunha, when the Agudas arrived in Lagos, many of them took up residence and formed friendships with some White and Mulatto slave traders. The Brazilian “mulatto” Domingo Martinez was one such trader who, through his close
relations with several Yoruba chiefs, managed to be one of the most
notorious slave traders in West Africa in the nineteenth century.
(Kopytoff, 1965; Newbury, 1961)

Several Agudas found that unlike farming, slave trading as a
business was very lucrative because the demand for slaves in the
"New World", especially in Brazil and Cuba, was still very much alive
and thriving. (Lindsay, 1994; Newbury, 1961)

Also, ex-slaves from Brazil and Cuba found their Aguda status
to be particularly beneficial in the business because:

[T]hey had in common commercial abilities, as well
as in most cases part-African parentage which
enabled them to rise to positions of confidence and
fluence in the coastal chiefdoms, while their
business connections in Bahia and Havana made
them ideal entrepreneurs during the last intensive
phase of the Atlantic slave trade. (Newbury, 1961,
p. 37)

However, with British threats of expulsion, the Aguda
participation in the slave trade was said to have declined. Carneiro
da Cunha asserts that there were other forms of trade that were as
equally lucrative as and far less risky than slave trading. For this
reason, palm oil and palm kernels became the favored trading commodities among the Aguda population in Lagos. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985)

In the area of trade, the Agudas' primary competitors were the British themselves. Concerning trade to Europe and parts of the United States, the British virtually monopolized both the market and the profits emanating therefrom. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985) This being the case, the Agudas sought trade with other partners in the hinterland areas and were, in time, able to accumulate considerable amounts of capital.

It could indeed be surmised that they were forced to look to their "own" people (mostly Egbas) in the hinterland areas in the same way that the Europeans looked to their own. Therefore, "ethnic loyalty" (Cole, 1975, p. 72) became a decisive factor in trade advantage. Even Aguda traders from Porto Novo and Ouidah traded rum and tobacco for palm oil and cowries with their companions in Lagos. (Ajayi, 1969)

Beyond these hinterland markets, "the Brazilians [and Cubans] in Lagos had one commercial outlet that was theirs alone--Brazil
itself.” (Kopytoff, 1965, p. 169) During the nineteenth century, ships
left from Lagos to Bahia several times a year carrying articles that
were in high demand by Yoruba descendants still residing (or
enslaved) in Bahia. These items included, but were not necessarily
limited to, cowries, palm oil, kola nuts, clothes and other objects used
in Candomblé worship. (Kopytoff, 1965)

Access to the Brazilian market, and other trade markets,
afforded the Agudas more wealth and prominence which in turn
enabled them to further consolidate their elite status compared to
the local Yorubas. (Mann, 1985)

Besides trade, the Agudas earned their wealth in professional
areas, but those endeavors were less prosperous. Many such as
Prisco da Costa, who came to Lagos from Brazil in 1867, earned a
substantial living as accomplished builders in Lagos. (Lindsay, 1994)
Other Agudas had occupations as tailors, merchants and entertainers
(Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Lindsay, 1994)

Since many Agudas were bilingual in Spanish/Portuguese and
English, they were able to obtain jobs working with British
government offices and corporations. (Echeruo, 1977; Lindsay, 1994;
Sarracino, 1988)
One such person was Andrés Muñiz, an Aguda who had been born in Cuba. (Sarracino, 1988) According to Sarracino, Muñiz was employed by a British firm (company name not given) in Lagos as a translator. The firm had investments in sugar cultivation in Cuba and sent Muñiz there to represent their interests. Apparently, Muñiz was fluent in English and Spanish (which he spoke with his family in Lagos), but once he arrived in Cuba, he became known as “the Jamaican” because of his “strange” accent. (Sarracino, 1988)

However, governmental positions and corporation assignments were difficult for the Agudas to acquire because of competition with the Saro population in Lagos, who were already literate and fluent in English. (Lindsay, 1994) Before 1890, “[o]nly six out of 92 Brazilians were identified as clerks or civil servants.” (Lindsay, 1994, p. 29)

Economic power among Agudas almost naturally led to a degree of political influence in Lagos. This power was not over the British colonialists because the repatriated Africans relied on the British colonialist to sustain their autonomy and personal safety in Lagos. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985) Whatever power the Agudas had was primarily over themselves (to a degree) and over the local Yoruba population. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Lindsay, 1994) As
noted earlier, the British believed that by giving the Agudas and Saros political influence over the locals, their own agenda for both expansion and domination in “Nigeria” would be facilitated.

For instance, in 1855, Consul Campbell, in order to avoid unnecessary contact with the local Yorubas, founded the Committee of Liberated Africans (CLA). (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Kopytoff, 1965) This organization which was composed only of Agudas and Saros, was formed to mediate commercial disputes between returnees and local Yorubas. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985) Consisting of a board, president and vice-president, CLA settled local matters and provided legal advice for new repatriates as well as a “night patrol” (Kopytoff, 1965, p. 101) service.

The CLA, however, functioned on the premise that the Oba had the ultimate decision authority when there was a dispute between a returnee and a local Yoruba and that no local Yoruba could be detained for any offense without the consent of the Oba. (Kopytoff, 1965) Although this condition seems unusual since, as indicated in preceding sections of this thesis, the returnee population typically had power to delegate trade conditions over the local Yoruba population, it is reasonable to assume that this gesture was
out of a British desire not to totally denigrate every facet of local Yoruba authority. Checks and balances of this nature were a necessity if both segments of the population were to co-exist peacefully.

Another returnee political coalition was the Lagos Ekiti Parapo Society. This organization was a branch of the Ijesha Association which was founded by Aguda and Saro returnees who were of Ijesha and Ekiti descent. (Kopytoff, 1965) Their primary mission was to extend the benefits of trade and development from Lagos to their Ijesha and Ekiti relatives who lived in the hinterland areas. (Kopytoff, 1965)

Despite these types of affiliation with the local Yorubas, the Agudas (and the Saros), in many instances, expressed desires to maintain a degree of identification with their Brazilian/Cuban past, as it was their European identity that was partially responsible for their British-appointed European elite status. This desire seems ironic since an ardent identification with their Yoruba past is partly what enabled them to return to Africa in the first place!

The Agudas’ virtual dual identity (Spanish/Portuguese and Yoruba) caused some confusion in their communities. According to
Echeruo, the returnees often battled over which names, mode of dress or language to adopt once they had established themselves in Lagos.

In Cuba and Brazil, the returnees had been able, via their large homogeneous population, to retain and practice their Yoruba culture and religion even though after years of separation from their ancestry, the culture had been transformed into some “Cubanized/Brazilianized” version of the original. However, the Yorubas who were enslaved in Cuba and Brazil had been forced to take on Spanish/Portuguese names for identification. Though many Aguda returnees did decide to use their pre-enslavement Yoruba names in Lagos, many retained names like Campos, da Costa, da Silva etc., as a means of distinguishing themselves from the local Yoruba population and of emphasizing their cosmopolitan cultural experience. (Echeruo, 1977; Olinto 1970)

The emphasis on their familiarity with European culture as opposed to Yoruba culture, essentially became a matter of convenience. When desirous of the help of local Yorubas, they would naturally assert their Yoruba cultural characteristics. If, on the other
hand, the situation warranted more benefits from British colonialists, they would easily reassume back to their Spanish/Portuguese identity. (Lindsay, 1994)

The Agudas, "especially in the late nineteenth century, [displayed] conflicting values, emphasizing both Yoruba nationalism and self-conscious adaptation of European-style housing, clothes and manners." (Lindsay, 1994, p. 39)

In order to further reinforce their cultural exclusivity, Agudas typically married other Agudas or Saros. (Mann, 1985)

Interrmarriage between elites was, in a sense, an investment in the legacy of their elite status; it consolidated the wealth and resources between the couple and their families. This, in effect, made it nearly impossible for local Yoruba "outsiders" to form an idea of the wealth of the elite returnees. In addition, marriage with other elites all but guarantees that the elite family's wealth and social status will be inherited by their children, and consequently passed down from one generation to the next. (Mann, 1985)

The Aguda economic and political "privilege" and deliberate class restrictions naturally caused some resentment among local Yorubas. In some instances, local Yoruba kings vowed to expel
Agudas (and Saros) for their seemingly "superior" attitudes toward them. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Lindsay, 1984)

However, scholars such as Kopytoff and Geary have portrayed the local Yorubas as carrying more resentment toward the Saros than the Agudas. Cole believes that the resentment could have stemmed from the returnee demeanor:

The attitude of the Saros to the indigene in the 1880 was at best patronising if not condescending, [but] the Brazilians came off a little better in the eyes of the natives. (Cole, 1975, p. 49)

However, with increased British presence in Lagos, the dynamics of the relationship between the Agudas and the local Yorubas would change, not to mention the Agudas' overall power and influence in Lagos.

4.3 Impact of Increase in British Presence on the Agudas

Toward the end of the nineteenth century, the demographics of the West African port of Lagos experienced a change. Prior to this period, British colonialists often died from diseases resulting from their low tolerance for West Africa's mosquitoes and malaria. (It is

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widely believed that this, combined with British ambivalence toward African culture in general, inspired the British policy of indirect rule in Africa. (Lindsay, 1994)

Given the Aguda Yoruba origins and their experience with European culture and subjugation, the British initiated them along with the Saros from Sierra Leone as uncelebrated forerunners or standard bearers of the colonial administration in Lagos.

By the end of the nineteenth century, Lagos became an even greater port as the international demand for local agricultural products like palm oil, cotton and palm kernels increased. This economic windfall, combined with British disappointment in the Saro performance in pushing the colonial agenda, persuaded the British to increase their presence in Lagos.

Perhaps the single most important factor responsible for this turn around were new innovations in the field of medicine. The discovery and subsequent application of quinine enabled the British to stay in Lagos for extended periods without becoming ill. With this
development, more Europeans sought jobs in West Africa. Many Agudas and Saros were displaced and later relegated to less skilled, clerical civil service positions.

[The Aguda and Saro] had not anticipated the heightened racism that accompanied the change in policy. As more Europeans, including women and working-class males, arrived in Lagos, educated Africans began to be systematically excluded from new jobs created and old positions they had held. (Mann, 1985, p. 23-24)

The Agudas continued to maintain their relative elite status, but with further British infiltration, they also began to lose many of their trade opportunities that had made them wealthy in the mid-nineteenth century. (Lindsay, 1994; Mann, 1985) Many Agudas had lost their businesses to European competition and increasing racial discrimination caused many of their European connections upon which they had relented for several years, to fizzle. (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985; Mann, 1985)

This reality contributed to an eventual halt to Brazilian and Cuban repatriation5. Widespread racist and discriminatory policies

5In addition, changing attitudes regarding race and nationality began to take place in Cuba and Brazil. As previously stated, the myth of racial democracy was being asserted in these countries, especially after the abolition of slavery in Cuba in 1886, and in Brazil, in 1888; and was
of the British colonizers provided no incentives for potential repatriates to abandon the little they had acquired in Cuba and Brazil for conditions that were to all intents and purposes increasingly becoming reminiscent of the lands from which they were fleeing (Carneiro da Cunha, 1985)

Under these new conditions, the Agudas began to forcefully assert their identity as Yorubas. With the increase in European presence in Lagos, the British began to unilaterally lump all Africans into one category; thus de-emphasizing differences (based on their histories with European education and subjugation) hitherto regarded as both crucial and sacrosanct:

African elites adopted an ideology of cultural relativism and asserted the equal validity of Yoruba social institutions and mores. They studied Yoruba language, history and traditions, and they chose Yoruba names and clothes over European ones. This coincided with the development of African

becoming widely accepted not only by whites and mulattos of these two countries, but by the Blacks as well. Blacks also began to form their own nationalist organizations such as Club "Guerra de Maceo" in Cuba in the 1890's and the Afro-Brazilian Congress, asserting their rights as Cuban/Brazilian citizens. These phenomena, along with the increase in the "creole" African population due to the tapering off of the slave trade, heavily contributed to Blacks' feelings of more alliance with Cuba/Brazil rather than with the land of their ancestors. It is probable that these sentiments eventually quieted Blacks' desires to return to Africa. (Helg, 1995; Skidmore, 1974)
separatist churches and with the increasing appeal for Lagos’ elite of African rather than government-sanctioned marriage. (Lindsay, 1994, p. 38)

By way of recapitulation, the Cuban and Brazilian returnees were embraced by British colonialists in Lagos for four primary reasons: 1) They could set a “good example” for the local Yorubas due to their history with European subjugation and adoption of European culture 2) The Agudas were Christian and could help to influence the conversion of their “pagan” brothers and sisters 3) They were skilled in the field of architectural design, which was used by British colonialists to “impress” the locals into subjugation 4) They served as cash-crop farmers which bolstered the colony’s export industry.

For these reasons, the British encouraged Cuban and Brazilian repatriation and even supplied them with passports and ships to facilitate their return. Upon arrival, the Agudas (the name given to them by the local Yorubas) had to agree to certain conditions put forth by the colonialists; otherwise they were to be expelled to Fernando Po, where the Agudas could face possible re-enslavement.

In exchange for agreeing to the British conditions, the Agudas were allotted land in an area of Lagos, known as the Brazilian
Quarter, they were sent to missionary schools and received economic, political and social prominence in nineteenth century Lagos society, which eventually caused resentment by the local Yoruba population.

The elite status of the Agudas was drastically altered when new medical discoveries in the development of quinine enabled British tolerance of the inauspicious tropical climate of the region. As the British population increased, more racist and discriminatory policies were implemented. These proved very devastating for the Agudas. The British redistributed available colonial jobs, reserving the better ones for their own immigrants and marginalizing the Agudas.

With this increased adversity and the ensuing decrease in “privileges”, the Aguda population began to coalesce with the local Yorubas. They started to vociferously assert their identity as Yorubas; preferring to dress in the Yoruba style and wholeheartedly study Yoruba history and language.
CHAPTER 5

CONCLUSION

One critical finding of this research paper, regarding the return of Cuban and Brazilian ex-slaves to Lagos, is that the British colonialists fostered a partisan elite status of the Agudas not necessarily to strengthen the Agudas economic and social standing in Lagos per se, but to bolster and advance the British presence in "Nigeria".

The British deliberately allotted the Agudas land, extended Western education to their children, commissioned them to build elaborate buildings to impress the "natives," and granted them trade preferences with Brazil and peoples in the hinterland areas. In exchange for these "benefits," the Agudas were obligated to support the colonial mission of the British in Nigeria. They served as
mediators between the local Yorubas and the British, in direct compliance with the British foreign administrative method of indirect rule. (Kopytoff, 1965)

Also, the British allowed the Agudas some political influence in Lagos; enough as to create the anticipated friction, between them and the local Yorubas and to buttress their own absolute autonomy.

The Committee of Liberated Africans (CLA) was essentially founded to advance this agenda. With a board consisting solely of Agudas and Saros (Sierra Leonians), the CLA functioned as a sort of unofficial court whose duty it was to settle disputes both amongst and between the Aguda and Saro elite and the local Yorubas.

True to the expectation of British colonists, even though the Agudas were of Yoruba descent, their position of relative “privilege” caused some tension between them and the local Yorubas. For one, British colonial land policy resulted in a situation whereby the local Yorubas were forced by the British to forfeit their land to the newly returned ex-slaves from Cuba and Brazil. This, combined with the forced recognition of Aguda authority through organizations such as the CLA, led many of the local Yorubas to resent the Aguda presence in Lagos.
The resentment was so intense that by 1856, King Dosunmu of Lagos imposed a tax of ten cowries on every Aguda (and Saro) in Lagos, but under British colonial pressure and possible fear of retaliation, Dosunmu first lowered and then withdrew the tax completely.

Furthermore, with British foreknowledge and approval, the Agudas were settled in an exclusive section of Lagos, the Brazilian Quarter of Lagos, apart from most local Yorubas. This physical separation would eventually encourage a social chasm as well.

The Agudas tended to marry exclusively within their own group, or in some cases with Saros, in order to sustain their elite status in Lagos. "They also formed their own social organizations, such as the Brazilian Dramatic Company and organized regular "soirees" principally, it would appear, to entertain themselves." (Echeruo, 1977, p. 74)

However, as the British presence in Lagos increased, the elite status of the Agudas declined. The British began implementing more racist, exclusionary socio-political policies that sought to deliberately replace or marginalize the Aguda (and Saro) presence in the civil
service. In addition, external trade in Lagos became more monopolized by the British colonialists, causing the Agudas' trade markets to be severely restricted mostly to Brazil.

Since the Agudas were now barred from many colonial opportunities, they began to associate more with the local Yoruba population in Lagos. This, in turn produced a more homogenized Yoruba culture. The Agudas began to recognize and strongly affirm their identity as Yorubas by studying the Yoruba language, and learning Yoruba history. They also began to intermarry with local Yorubas; although some Agudas still chose to assert their distinct identity as Yorubas with Cuban/Brazilian backgrounds.

It has been documented by some scholars such as Lindsay and Carneiro da Cunha, that some of the Aguda repatriates chose to leave Lagos and return to Cuba and Brazil. Many of the Agudas, after returning to their land of origin, found a stronger attachment to their homes in Latin America and subsequently went back to their land of captivity. In most cases, it was found that those who went back, left because they missed family members who from the onset had elected not to participate in the repatriation movement.

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In at least one case, it was found that there was a prolonged maintenance of contact between members of the Muñiz family, in Matanzas, Cuba and Lagos, Nigeria. Amazingly, this contact was sustained via an uninterrupted exchange of letters and other correspondence, from the late nineteenth century until the early 1980’s. Muñiz family members, who had never met personally, regularly informed each other of current family status and other important events on both sides of the Atlantic. In fact, it was reported that one of the Muñizes, Filiberto Olatunde Muñiz, had planned to send his son Andrés to Cuba to further his studies before suffering a sudden stroke in the early eighties. The incapacitation that followed would effectively abort that plan, he would no longer afford it. (Sarracino, 1988)

Today, there is still evidence of Brazilian and Cuban repatriates in Lagos. Buildings in Lagos, as well as in other Nigerian cities, exhibit the traditional sobrado style seen in Brazil. Many Nigerians still bear Spanish and Portuguese surnames such as Campos, Muñiz, da Silva and da Rocha, although several reverted to using Yoruba names. (Lindsay, 1994)
Since this thesis concentrates on Cuban and Brazilian repatriates in the late nineteenth century, it is difficult to ascertain whether or not earlier feelings of superiority still exist among Agudas. However, a future research project on the current status of the Agadas could uncover such information.

In addition, it would be rewarding to investigate if there were repatriation experiences of Africans in other Latin American countries like the Dominican Republic, Panamá, or Venezuela where there were also large concentrations of African slaves. Also, more research is needed concerning African-Latinos on the continent of African who settled along the Angolan coast and on the island of Fernando Po.

The study of repatriates from Cuba and Brazil has tremendous implications for the global African experience. Considering that Latin America has traditionally been omitted in Diasporic studies, it is important to remember and reaffirm the African-Latino sacrifices for and contributions to the "New World" as well as their celebrated attempts at establishing an enduring cultural connection to the continent of Africa. Unfortunately, the myth of racial democracy in
Latin America has left many outside, as well as inside Latin America with the impression that the African-Latine is excluded from the global African struggle for justice and equality.

This study of the Aguda experience in Latin America and in Lagos substantiates the fact that Africans in Latin America did recognize, and to a significant degree, appreciate their African heritage. However, due to the fact that the Agudas expressed pride and occasionally, superiority based on their Iberian identity, it is worth researching if race theories in Latin America had any impact.

Perhaps, this examination of an African-Latino experience on the continent of Africa will minimally inspire other studies of this nature. Most importantly, however, it is hoped that it would go a long way in broadening the horizon of the field of African Studies; thus validating the belief that interest in the subject matter is not and should never be limited to selected Caribbean countries, the Continent and the United States of America.


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