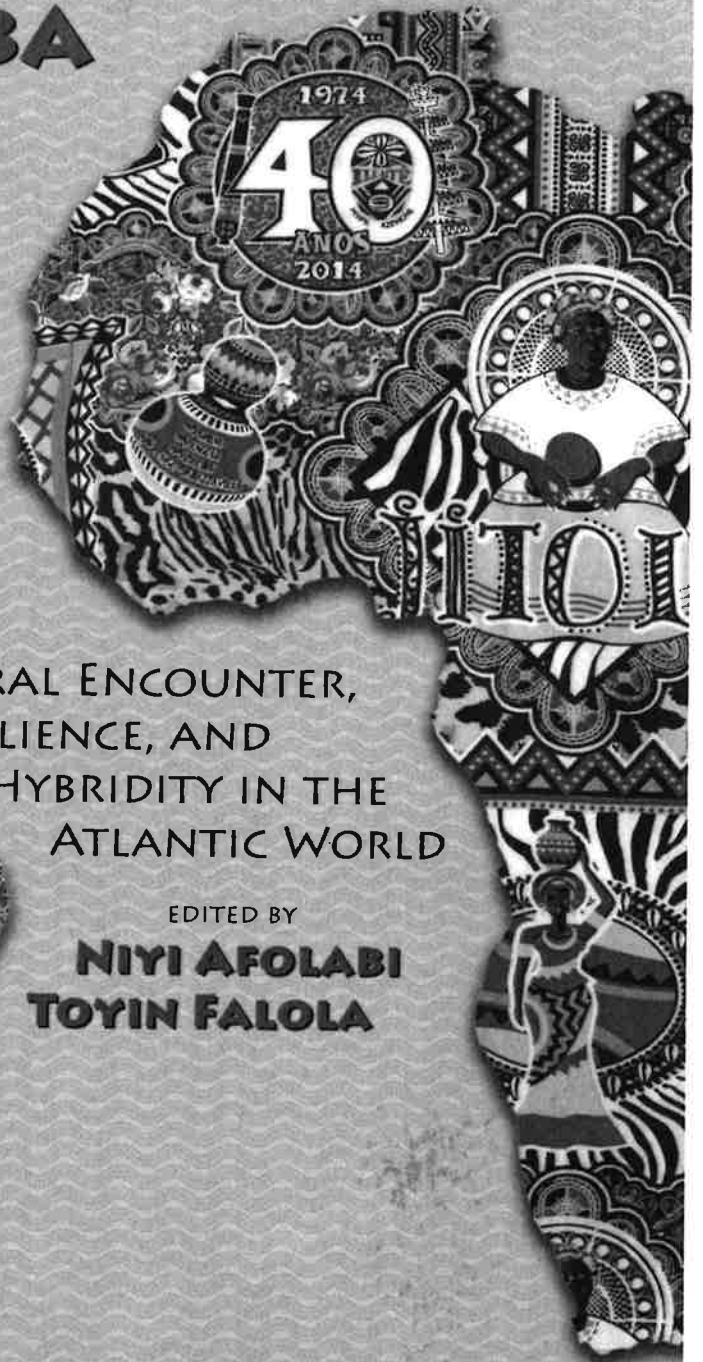


THE YORUBA IN BRAZIL,

O POVO IORUBÁ
NO BRASIL,



CULTURAL ENCOUNTER,
RESILIENCE, AND
HYBRIDITY IN THE
ATLANTIC WORLD

EDITED BY

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TOYIN FALOLA**

DO ILÉ AXE JITOLU PARA O MUNDO
"À, SE NÃO FOSSE O ILÉ AIYÉ!"

BRAZILIANS IN YORUBALAND

OS BRASILEIROS NA
YORUBALÂNDIA

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Chapter 4

The Amaros and Agudás

*The Afro-Brazilian Returnee Community in Nigeria in the Nineteenth Century**

*Alcione M. Amos***

The transatlantic slave trade and the slave system which was born from it produced, among its many lasting effects, the creation of cultural connections between Europe, Africa, the Americas, and the Caribbean, that still exist today. One chapter of this process of forced globalization and cultural exchange was written by the Afro-Brazilians¹ who returned to West Africa in the nineteenth century.

During the nearly 400-year period of active importation of slaves, between 1500 and 1867 (slavery was abolished in Brazil in 1888), Brazil received an estimated 4.9 million Africans.² When one considers the magnitude of this figure, it may seem insignificant that only between 3,000 and 8,000 Afro-Brazilians returned to Africa during the nineteenth century. However, despite their small numbers, these men, women, and children were able to develop a very successful informal settlement system that created Afro-Brazilian communities on the coast of West Africa, in the territories that today are the countries of Benin, Togo, Nigeria, and Ghana. This paper will examine the history of the Afro-Brazilian returnee community in Nigeria, in particular in Lagos.

The returnee Afro-Brazilians preferred to settle in coastal towns, such as Lagos and Badagry, for fear of being re-enslaved and because of the economic opportunities that the coastal towns provided. The danger that the returnees could be re-enslaved, killed, or deprived of their belongings was real. The port of Whydah (today in Benin), which later became one of the centers of concentration of Afro-Brazilians on the West Coast of Africa, for some time was avoided because it was dangerous. In 1856, for example, a group of returnees who had bought passage in a boat from Bahia to Lagos was taken instead to Whydah. There, their luggage was ransacked, the adults were killed, and the children enslaved. The King of Dahomey, who had ordered the barbarism, explained that the returnees were originally from Abeokuta (today in Nigeria), an enemy city.³

Even in Lagos, where the Afro-Brazilians were well-received by the British who had established a consulate there in 1851 and had come to dominate the political scene, a

group trying to disembark in 1854 encountered problems. In May of that year, the British Consul Benjamin Campbell requested and received authorization from the Foreign Office (the British diplomatic service) to help 230 returnees from Rio de Janeiro and Bahia. They were at the Lagos port, aboard the Portuguese ship *Linda Flor*, and the captain refused to let them land because they owed him 1,000 pounds sterling. According to the Consul, the returnees had brought with them cargo that was worth 3,000 pounds sterling and the commandant wanted to confiscate it. The British Consul also requested that the Foreign Office direct the British consuls assigned to the main Brazilian ports to expedite the passage of other freedmen to Lagos. He believed that the Afro-Brazilians were hard workers, behaved well, and were worthy of being protected.⁴

Campbell again strongly intervened in favor of Afro-Brazilian returnees in 1857. This time a group of 125 persons coming from Bahia had arrived at the port in early July on board a French ship. The local ruler, King Dosunmu, tried to impose a heavy entry tax on the travelers because according to him they had a lot of money with them. This action, taken despite the fact that Dosunmu had previously promised the Consul that he would not levy taxes on arriving immigrants, caused Campbell to lodge a strong protest and the king backed out.⁵

After such auspicious reception Afro-Brazilians (and also Afro-Cubans) began arriving in Lagos in a steady stream. Twenty-nine had already arrived in June 1852, and another 100 arrived in June 1856. In 1871 it was estimated that 1,237 Brazilians lived in Lagos. By 1881, the number had reached 2,732. Between 1882 and 1886, 412 returnees arrived and among them were 50 women and 17 children. Finally in 1899 so many had arrived that it was said that one of every seven residents of Lagos had come from Cuba or Brazil.⁶

In Lagos, the Afro-Brazilian returnees found a heterogeneous community. There were the whites, mostly European, but also some Brazilians, who until 1850, when the British effectively ended the slave trade in the city, were active participants in that infamous trade. There was also an indigenous community under the leadership of the local king. The Saros, Sierra Leoneans, were also part of the community. They had immigrated to Lagos beginning in 1839, as merchants or to work for the cause of the Protestant Church Missionary Society.⁷

Despite the British opposition to slavery, the returnee Afro-Brazilians owned slaves even after the proclamation of 1862 which determined that slaves should be turned into apprentices and should receive their freedom within two to seven years. In 1867 a group of Afro-Brazilians complained to a British official about the proclamation. They explained that without the use of slave labor they could not compete on equal footing with the local farmers. Even as late as 1874 slaves were being held by the Afro-Brazilians; in that year three of them brought their freedom from their masters.⁸

In Lagos, the Afro-Brazilian returnees were concentrated in the center of the island in the area known as the Brazilian Quarter (or *Aguadá Popo*). In present-day Lagos, the neighborhood stretches to the northeast from Tinubu Square to the Fajá Market, extending southwesterly towards Bamgbose Street through Cow Lane. The neighborhood streets, established around 1869, received the names of important members of the community such as Shetelou, Pedro, Martins, and Bamgbose. The name of Tokun-

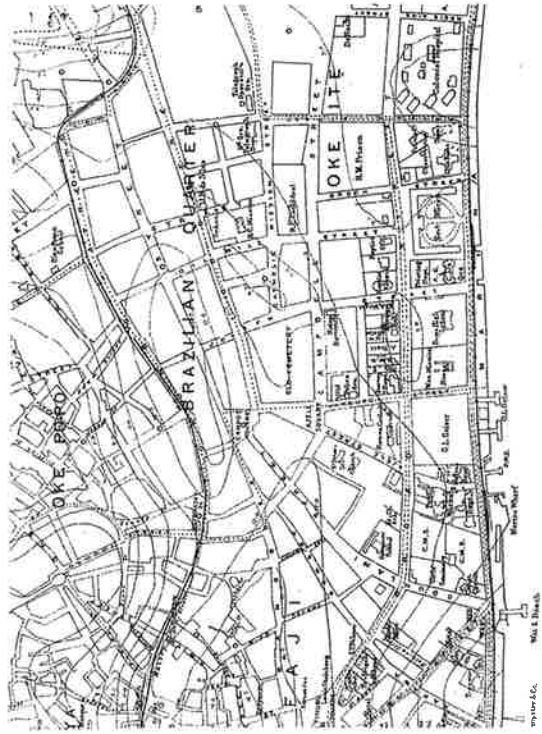


Figure 4.1 Map of the Brazilian Quarter of Lagos in 1908; showing its main streets at the time. Source: The National Archives, London

boh (Tokúnbó) Street, one of the main ones in the neighborhood, very appropriately means the street of "the new member of our family who has come from (over) the ocean." Documentation found in the Land Registry of Lagos indicates that just between 1858 and 1860 King Dosunmu transferred the title of 38 lots to Afro-Brazilian returnees.⁹

We have news of a few returnees who moved to the interior of the country, but in general, as we mentioned before, the Afro-Brazilians stayed on the coast. However Vicente, a returnee from Brazil, went to Mukoro 10 km north of Lagos, a town that today is called Shamolu. There he became one of the town's leaders. George (Jorge?), another Afro-Brazilian returnee, went to the same area and founded there a village to which he gave his name, George.¹⁰

Some Muslim returnees, most likely from the Hausa and Nupe ethnic groups, received extra help from Consul Campbell to move inland while trying to reach their birthplaces. In 1859, Campbell began to issue a special passport in Arabic in the name of Queen Victoria and the Caliph Abdul Majid from Istanbul. The passport requested that the Muslim leaders who controlled the areas through which the returnees had to travel give them all the protection they needed.¹¹

Badagry, another port in southwestern Nigeria famous for its role in the slave trade, had an Afro-Brazilian colony of some size around 1860. One of its members was a returnee named Felipe (the English wrote his name as Philip) José Meffré. He was a

native of Ijesha, in Southwest Nigeria. Captured as a slave and sent to Brazil, Felipe eventually gained his freedom. Son of a babalawo, Felipe had been baptized into the Catholic Church in Brazil; however, he had adopted his father's religious beliefs and brought with him his objects of worship, including his Eshu, when he returned to Africa.¹²

Felipe was an excellent practitioner of the art of divination and was respected both in Badagry and in Lagos. He also was attracted by the opportunity to learn English, the language of the Protestant missionaries of the Church Missionary Society that he met in Badagry. He even began to pay a teacher to give him private lessons, but finding that he was not learning much, he sought help from the Anglican pastor Samuel Pearce, the representative of the Society in town.

After this initial contact, Felipe began to give aid to the Protestant mission including donating money for the purchase of a bell for the church. He also put his son Lino to study at the mission's school. All along he continued his activities as babalawo. Lino's sudden death after a fever in December 1861, led Felipe to consider conversion. He finally converted over two years later in February of 1863.¹³

Felipe, apart from his success as a babalawo, was also a successful merchant. After his conversion, he moved to Lagos to continue his business. There he helped to form the Ijesha Association, which congregated the Afro-Brazilian returnees from that ethnic group who had converted to Christianity. He also became an active member of a Protestant congregation and eventually became a pastor. As a pastor, Felipe used his experience as a babalawo to include examples and explanations in his sermons that could help convert those who still believed in the traditional deities.¹⁴

The religious syncretism used by Felipe to help in his conversion work was a common occurrence among Afro-Brazilian returnees. In fact, although exposed to Catholicism in Brazil, the returnees had not left aside their traditional beliefs. In 1869 a Protestant pastor while visiting the home of a returnee, found several images of African gods in the same room where two religious prints were hanging on the wall (one was of Christ on the cross and the other of St. John and St. James). Questioned by the missionary on the incongruity of honoring African pagan gods and Catholic saints in the same location, the individual informed the surprised pastor that he considered Christ and the Saints as also being his orishas.¹⁵

It is possible that many Brazilian returnees believed that their good luck was due to the orishas. In Lagos, in 1872 a babalawo stated emphatically that his Ifá had given him protection when he had been captured and sold as a slave in Brazil, had continued to protect him throughout his time as a slave, and finally had helped him to obtain freedom and to accomplish the return to Africa. In Badagry another Protestant pastor encountered a group of new returnees from Recife made up of seven women and two men. One of the men declared that their return to the motherland had been possible because of his orishas.¹⁶

Catholic priests also observed the same phenomenon. Father Francesco Borghero, who would go on to help establish a Catholic mission in Lagos, noted that a great number of returnees mixed the Catholic faith, to which they had been exposed in Brazil, with the Muslim tradition, and at the same time did not neglect the Yoruba gods.¹⁷ In fact, although some returnees continued the devotion to their orishas and



Figure 4.2. Passport in Arabic issued by British Consul Campbell; to facilitate travel inland for Muslim Afro-Brazilian returnees. Source: The National Archives, London

some remained loyal to the Muslim religion, it was the Catholic religion, which they had acquired during slavery, which would be the most important for the Brazilian community in Lagos, probably because it provided them with a distinctive status.

In 1862, Father Borghero, the first superior of the French Catholic mission of the Société de Missions Africaines à Lyon in Dahomey, had passed by Lagos during a journey through the West Coast of Africa and had discovered the existence of a Brazilian community. But only during his return trip in September of 1863 had he recognized the eagerness of the returnee Catholic Afro-Brazilians, whom he called *nango*, for access to the Catholic Church.¹⁸

During his second stay in Lagos, Father Borghero received a visit from the prominent local merchants. After the encounter, these Catholic leaders of the community went to the British Consul H. S. Freeman to request the donation of a plot of land to build the mission. The next year the land was donated, but the mission was not completed until October 1868. Plans were also made for the establishment of a school.¹⁹

It is necessary to note though that Lagos Catholics were not completely without the benefit of religion. One of the returnees was called Father (or Pa) Antonio, despite the fact that he had not received priestly orders. He was born in São Tomé, a Portuguese colony in Africa, and had been taken to Brazil as a slave. There he had been sold to Dom Romualdo, the prior of the Carmelite convent in Bahia, and had converted to the Catholic religion to which he became very devoted.

Apparently while still in Brazil, Antonio received information that the Afro-Brazilians who had returned to Africa were moving away from the Catholic Church. Imbued with missionary fervor, Antonio felt attracted by the opportunity to return to his motherland. He asked for advice on the matter of the new prior of the Carmelite convent who liked the idea. Antonio, who had already obtained his freedom, returned to Africa looking for an opportunity to serve his faith.

During his trip Antonio stopped in Whydah, São Tomé, Fernando Pó, and Porto Novo before reaching Lagos. It is said that when the ship arrived in Lagos in the midst of a tremendous storm, Antonio took the event as a sign that he should stay there. He received shelter at the house of a prominent member of the Afro-Brazilian returnee community, Izidro Ezequiel de Souza. Although there is no concrete information about the date when Pa Antonio arrived in Lagos, it may have been around 1853. It was in that year that one of the missionaries of the Church Missionary Society recorded that the Brazilian community, both white and black, had erected a great cross on a plot of land where they wanted to build a church.

Antonio, years later, told the story of how he constructed a bamboo church where the faithful came looking for him to perform baptisms, marriage blessings, and prayers for those who were sick, and to officiate funerals. He soon came to be called *Padre* (Priest) and when the Afro-Brazilians asked for his blessing they would kiss his hand.

When Abbot Pierre Bouche, of the Société de Missions Africaines, finally arrived in Lagos in 1868 to establish the official Catholic mission, Padre Antonio received him cordially but did test him to make sure that he was a Catholic priest and not another Protestant missionary. Did Father Bouche accept the supremacy of the Pope? Did he know how to say the Mass? Was he single? When Father Bouche responded appropriately to all the questions and even showed him a rosary, Antonio was delighted. An-

tonio continued to serve the Church as an altar boy, ringing the bell at the Angelus hour, and serving as a mediator for disputes among the members of the Brazilian community.

Antonio's health already at this time was not well. He suffered from dropsy, and his legs were swollen. The mission priests, who at first had viewed him with suspicion, now considered him a saint. When Antonio died around 1880, supposedly at 80 years of age, he was paralyzed, but still lucid and in possession of a live intelligence. The story of Antonio is certainly steeped in humility, self-denial, and renunciation because he had not hesitated to hand over to the Church the congregation for which he had worked so much, when the Catholic missionaries arrived.²⁰

Once the official Catholic presence was in Lagos the Afro-Brazilian community proved faithful. The temporary bamboo church, built on Broad Street, was always full. Another church built in 1870 also was crowded. In 1874, it was decided to build a permanent church building, and Brazilian returnees made an effort to raise funds for its construction. The new church, called Holy Cross, eventually was elevated to a cathedral. Although the new church was planned by Catholic priests, it was built by Brazilian craftsmen. The master builder was Lázaro Borges da Silva, a returnee born in Brazil in 1850. After Lázaro clashed with the French priests in charge of overseeing the construction, the second tower of the church was built completely under the planning and execution of Francisco Nobre. He was another famous Afro-Brazilian master builder and considered the most gifted in Lagos. Francisco Nobre was responsible for the construction of at least two churches on the West Coast of Africa: the Catholic

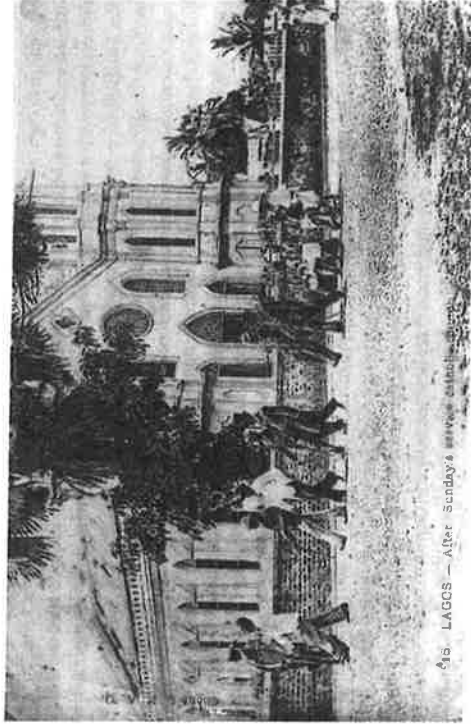


Figure 4.3 Holy Cross Cathedral, Lagos. Source: Lorenzo Dow Turner Collection, Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC.

church of Elmira in the Gold Coast (now Ghana), and the Cathedral of Whydah, in Dahomey (now in Benin).²¹

Balthazar dos Reis, a famous Afro-Brazilian cabinet-maker and woodcarver, created the high altar of the church, the pulpit, and the throne where the Bishop sat. In 1886, he received a medal at the Colonial and Indian Exhibition in the suburb of Kensington in London. Dos Reis exhibited an exquisite marquetry round table made of various species of wood. Jorge Quirino Roberto, considered a "master painter," was in charge of the new church's painting. Holy Cross was finally opened in 1881 with a magnificent celebration and was considered a veritable monument on the coast of Africa.²²

Many years later, the presence of the skilled Brazilians who had built the Holy Cross Cathedral gave the impetus to start special training courses for young African artisans in Lagos. Reportedly, Sir Henry McAllum, Governor of Lagos colony, was touring the city soon after his arrival in 1897, when he spotted the cathedral. He was surprised by the structure and particularly the two towers. When McCallum was told that the second tower, which aligned perfectly with the first, had been planned and built entirely by an Afro-Brazilian artisan, he commented that if local artisans could make such a magnificent piece of work, why not select some of the ablest young Africans to be trained in England? This event led the implementation of a training program for young Lagos craftsmen.²³

In the context of religious architecture Afro-Brazilians did not dedicate themselves only to the construction of Catholic churches. João Batista da Costa, an Afro-Brazilian who probably was Catholic, built the Shitta Bey Mosque in 1882 on Martins Street in the Brazilian Quarter. He was also responsible for the foundation of the Lagos Central Mosque which was completed by his disciple, Sanusi Aka. Shitta Bey Mosque was commissioned by Mohamed Shitta Bey, a wealthy Sierra Leonean who had led a group of Muslims from Sierra Leone to Lagos in 1844. According to one report, he provided the money to build the mosque, but there are other reports that the Muslim Afro-Brazilian community also provided resources and labor for the mosque's construction. The oral tradition of the Cardoso family of Lagos states that João Antonio Cardoso donated resources and that his son, Braimah Cardoso, helped build Shitta Bey Mosque.

The facade of the mosque attempted to reproduce that of a Bahian church of the Baroque period. It included classical pilasters, broken pediments, colorful mosaic tile, and an abundance of plaster and stucco. The building is today considered one of the best examples of the Afro-Brazilian religious building style in the West Coast of Africa and is in fact the most elaborate of the surviving mosques built in that tradition.²⁴

In speaking of the mosques built by Afro-Brazilians one must address the history of the Afro-Brazilian Muslim community in Lagos. There is little information about it. The community's historian, Anthony B. Laotan, was Catholic and editor of the newspaper *Nigerian Catholic Herald*.²⁵ He devoted only a little more than a paragraph in his work about the Afro-Brazilian community of Lagos to the Muslims. We find, however, that Alfa Tairu Eko Ribeiro (his Brazilian name was Cypriano Ribeiro) father of Maximiliana, the wife of Marcolino Assumpção, whose sons later would change their surname to Alakija, was Muslim. Other Afro-Brazilian Muslims were

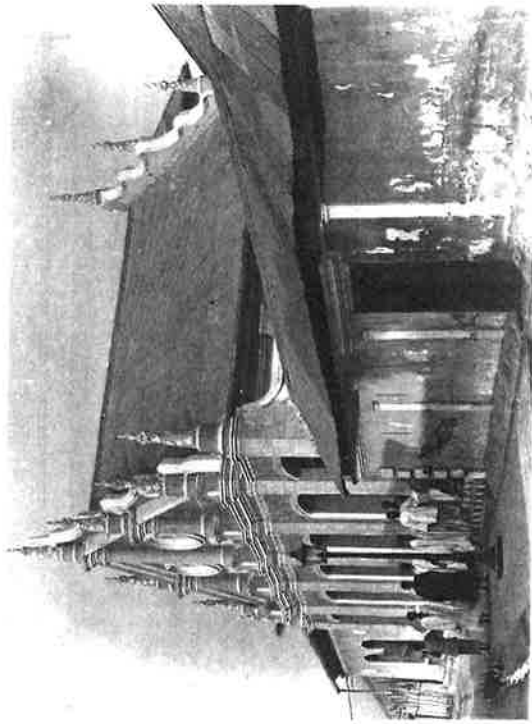


Figure 4.4 Shitta Bey Mosque in Lagos built in 1882 by Afro-Brazilian João Batista da Costa in the Baroque style of a Catholic church from Bahia, ca. 1890. Source: The British Museum

Martin Bangbose, Elias Fernandez, and Aruna Martins. Also identified as Muslir were the Augusto, Pedro, and Gomez Afro-Brazilian families.²⁶

Aruna Martins had at least five children: T. Sumola, M. Suifano, F. Jibril, F. Sul and João Sumonu Martins. In the absence of a Muslim middle school in Lagos, Aruna sent his children to study in Catholic schools. Perhaps due to the religious instruction received at these schools, João Sumonu eventually converted to Catholicism.²⁷

In 1916, Lawal Basil Augusto and F. Jibril Martins (already at that time signing only Jibril Martins) participated in the movement that brought the Islamic Ahmadiyya sect to Lagos. Ahmadiyyah was a Muslim missionary reformist sect founded in India by Miraz Ghulam Ahmad (1839–1908.) The followers of the sect believe that its founder represented the return to earth of Christ, of the Hindu god Krishna, and Muhammad. Although Ahmadiyyah differs from the main beliefs of Islam regarding its founder, it follows the main precepts of Islam regarding prayer, fasting, acts of charity, and the pilgrimage to Mecca as well as other essential theological interpretation of Sunni Islam.²⁸

Lawal Augusto also opened in his house a middle school. Although the school lasted only a year, it was part of an effort by the Muslims of Lagos to provide formal education for their children within the Islamic precepts. In 1920, Augusto went to London to study law, returning to Lagos in 1924 becoming Nigeria's first Muslim

lawyer. F. Jibril became the second Nigerian Muslim lawyer and founder of the first Muslim secondary school in Lagos. Jibril was respectfully styled *Alhaji*, which meant that he had made the pilgrimage to Mecca that is prescribed to all faithful Muslims.²⁹

As happened everywhere along the coast of West Africa where the Afro-Brazilians settled, returnees in Lagos were highly interested in their children's education. So it was that in 1856 at a school that the Anglican missionaries had open in Lagos shortly after the British established the consulate, there were 8 Brazilian and 11 Cuban students enrolled.³⁰

It might be appropriate to open a parenthesis in this narrative to talk about the Afro-Cubans who returned to Lagos in the nineteenth century. The Afro-Cubans began arriving in Lagos around 1830. They apparently came in much smaller numbers than the Brazilians. We have definitive news of a group of 70 or 80 returnees who obtained a royal authorization in November of 1844 to embark on the ship *San Antonio* going to Lagos. Another group of 23 freedmen including 11 men, 8 women, and 4 children were transported to Lagos via Southampton in England in 1854. They had worked as bakers, tobacconists, vendors, and seamstresses to save money for the trip. This group was received in England by representatives of the Anti-Slavery Society. They gave in-depth interviews to the Society, taking the opportunity to tell the story of their lives and how had been able to buy their freedom and the passage to Lagos. Finally, in 1897 there was much celebration in Havana to mark the departure of another group towards Lagos.³¹

In 1981 a Cuban historian was able to find, in Lagos, descendants of returnees José de la Caridad Brunet, Juana Veliz and her husband Cecilio Muniz, Napoleon Rey Couto, and Hilário Campos. Campos may have been the most affluent of the Afro-Cubans who arrived in Lagos in the nineteenth century. He was born in Cuba in 1878 and died in Lagos on December 14, 1941. Campos built the Cuban Lodge as a residence for his family and also as a site to receive the Cubans who had recently arrived.

Campos spoke Spanish at home, and his descendants could still speak Spanish phrases in 1981. He was dedicated to his *Ífá*. He was also very rich and founded several civic associations. In Lagos, Campos Square and Campos Street located in the Brazilian neighborhood were named in his honor.³²

Other Afro-Cubans in Lagos were the Abul, Amara, Cardoso, Carrena, Salustiano, and Tobias families. It is important to note that Giuseppe Carrena was an Italian trader who operated in Lagos in the 1860s. It is possible that those Afro-Brazilians and Afro-Cubans who had this surname descended from him.³³

Afro-Cubans in Lagos had several occupations that were complementary to those of Afro-Brazilians. Many of them were bakers and butchers while we find no mention of these occupations among the Afro-Brazilian returnees. They apparently had no problem in joining the Afro-Brazilian community. Everyone attended Mass at the Holy Cross Cathedral. Cubans learned to cook Brazilian dishes and some of them married Afro-Brazilians. Both Cubans and Brazilians were considered very thrifty and hardworking. The integration between the two communities was such that Brazilian Ambassador Alberto da Costa e Silva met two gentlemen members of the Brazilian Descendants Association of Lagos who identified themselves as "Brazilians from

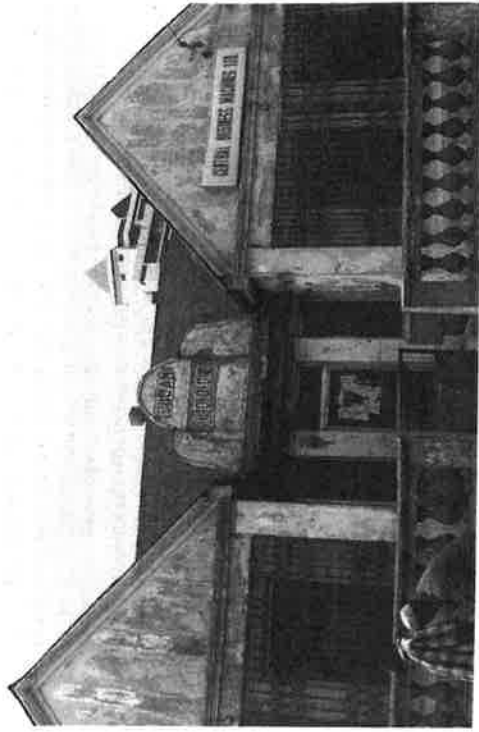


Figure 4.5 The Cuban Lodge built by Hilário Campos to house his family and Afro-Cuban returnees who had recently arrived in Lagos. Courtesy of Bruna Rocha

Cuba." The biggest difference between the two communities seems to have been that the Afro-Brazilians were somewhat more affluent than the Afro-Cubans.³⁴

Returning to the subject of education in Lagos, the Catholic missionaries opened their first school on February 15, 1869 with an enrollment of 30 pupils: 16 boys and 14 girls. The first teacher was Lourenço Rufino, who, one surmises, had been able to acquire some formal education which qualified him to be a teacher. The priests rejoiced in the fact that the children were finally being saved from the heretical lessons of the Protestant school. Portuguese was adopted as the language of instruction not only because the returnees wanted to keep their distinct Afro-Brazilian identity, but also because Portuguese at that time was still the *lingua franca* of the area and was spoken by members of different ethnic groups.³⁵

The Catholic school, in that first moment, was considered inferior to Protestant schools, staffed with a black faculty coming from the Saro community. English was the language of instruction in the Protestant schools. It was the language of the European group which was now beginning to predominate in Lagos. Only in 1882 when the British decreed that English would be the official language of education, did the teaching in Portuguese disappear from the Catholic schools. At that point, a particular effort was made to teach English to the most promising male students. Of the nine students selected, seven were Afro-Brazilian: Romão Silva, Amancio Santos, Simão de Souza, Alexandre Francisco da Silva, José Miranda, and Domingo Lopez. In 1883, when students of the Catholic high school, presumably many of them descendants of Afro-Brazilian returnees, enacted a play, their English was considered very bad.³⁶

A Catholic school using English as the medium of instruction had been established by the priests but closed in 1873 when the teacher, a Protestant Saro, left his job. The school reopened in 1875. Finally, in 1878, an Irish priest, Brother Timothy Doyle, arrived to act as principal of the school. By 1882, the first Catholic secondary school was in operation. In 1886, after a concerted effort to improve the secondary school's teaching methods, its pupils started to be successful in the public tests given to students in Lagos.³⁷

On the other hand, the female Catholic schools in Lagos were an instant success. They were the only ones available for girls; in which the students were taught practical subjects such as home economics, embroidery, sewing, washing, and ironing. In addition, the curriculum included lessons in reading, writing, grammar, geography, arithmetic, dictation, and reciting poetry.³⁸

The first Catholic school for girls opened in 1873 and the two teachers, Sister Colette and Sister St. Joseph, were very knowledgeable of Portuguese but did not know English well. Two of their best students, the Afro-Brazilians Manuela and Canuta Campos, helped them get through class when their English faltered.³⁹

When the Catholic missionaries began opening schools in other locations beyond Lagos, Afro-Brazilians were immediately engaged in the effort. In 1876 farmland was acquired at Topo and an agricultural school was opened at that location. Antonio Joaquim Marinho came from Porto Novo in Dahomey to head the school. In 1880 a school that had been opened in Abeokuta was under the leadership of Alexandre Francisco da Silva, who, as we have seen, was one of the promising students in Lagos who had been singled out for special training. He also had been sent to Sierra Leone for "a short educational visit."⁴⁰

Abeokuta boasted a thriving Afro-Brazilian returnee community. Two of its leaders were Marcolino Assumpção, whom we mention later in detail, and Pedro P. Martins, who became secretary of the *Alaké* (king) of Abeokuta in 1898.⁴¹

At first upon arrival in Lagos the Afro-Brazilians were viewed with suspicion and even jealousy by the locals. One of the names by which they were called, *Amaro*, meant "those who stayed outside" giving emphasis to the fact that the returnees had been out of their communities and had been exposed to external influences and therefore were subject to rejection. Another term by which they were known throughout the West Coast of Africa, *Agudá*, was possibly derived from Whydah. In Lagos, the term has come to mean Catholic and with this meaning it entered the Yoruba vocabulary.⁴²

One of the toughest enemies of the Afro-Brazilians in Lagos was Madame (sometimes spelled *Madam*) Tinubu. She was a successful Egba trader, who resented the immigrants from Sierra Leone and Brazil because many of them had brought new knowledge, were literate, and had become successful traders. They were therefore potentially her rivals in business.

Benjamin Campbell, the British Consul who had protected the Afro-Brazilians all along, positioned himself again on the side of Afro-Brazilians in a dispute with Tinubu. During the vacation of the Consul in England in 1855, Tinubu's opposition to the Brazilians increased. Madame Tinubu accused the Afro-Brazilians of using their growing economic affluence and influence in Lagos against King Akintoye. When the British Consul returned from his holiday, he decided to deal with the situation once

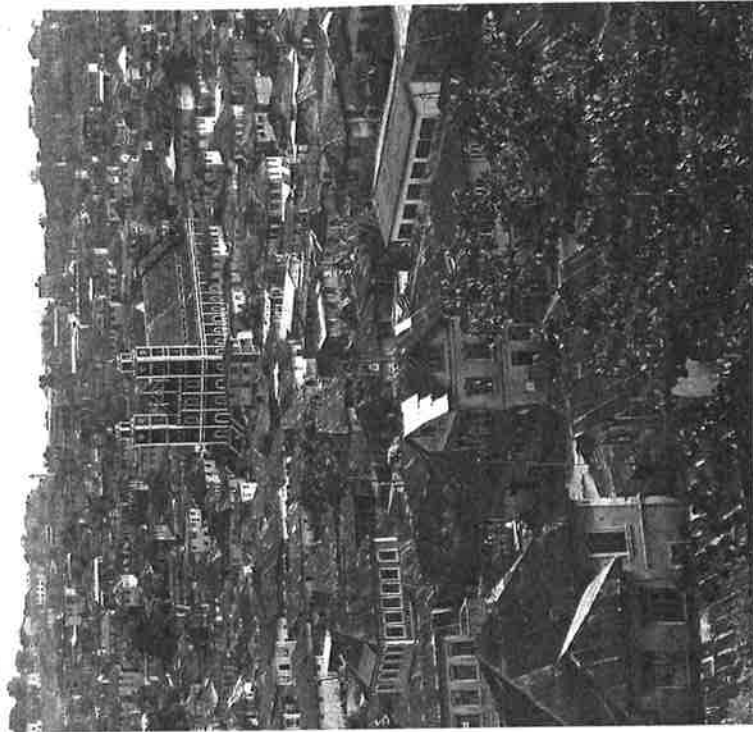


Figure 4.6 The Central Mosque of Abeokuta, photographed from the Olumo Rock. Its façade is in the typical style of Bahian Baroque churches which indicates that it was built by an Afro-Brazilian master builder. Courtesy M. E. "Buddy" Baker, Florida, USA

and for all. In May 1856, Madame Tinubu was expelled from Lagos and taken to Abeokuta. Today Tinubu Square is located in the center of Lagos, next to the Brazilian Quarter. Madame Tinubu entered Nigerian history as a heroine who had the courage to go against the wishes of the European colonial power.⁴³

The returnees had brought with them valuable knowledge for a society that was quickly westernizing with the arrival of the British. The Afro-Brazilians were masons, carpenters, painters, and locksmiths. They would have great influence on Nigerian architecture. Other returnees were tailors and shoemakers who brought new modes of dress and footwear. The women were seamstresses, cooks, and bakers who could enhance local cuisine. Consequently the locals and even the Saros, whom the

Afro-Brazilians dismissively called *òyinbó dúúú* (black whites), became their apprentices.⁴⁴

It was undoubtedly in the fields of building construction and architecture that Afro-Brazilians made their biggest and best contribution to Lagos. In 1859, the first Lagos brick kiln (*oko tijoóló* in Yoruba, which translates loosely as brick farm) was established by Mateus da Cruz, a Brazilian returnee. It is interesting to note that a word sometimes used in the Yoruba language for brick, *tijoóló*, is obviously derived from the word *tijolo* for brick in Portuguese.⁴⁵

In addition to the Afro-Brazilians mentioned with respect to the construction of mosques and the Catholic church, we find information on other Afro-Brazilians dedicated to the building trade. Prisco Francisco da Costa, a returnee who arrived in Lagos in 1867 and who worked as a bricklayer in the construction of Holy Cross Church, became later a "master builder," the only one mentioned in a 1905 jury list compiled by the British. André Quirino Pereira was for many years a carpenter for the Catholic mission, while Walter Paul Siffre, who lived on Bamgbose Street and started his life in Lagos as a house painter, became later a successful businessman who owned two farms on the outskirts of Lagos. The 1905 list made clear that the Afro-Brazilians were still the main presence in the Lagos building industry in early twentieth century, with most of them working as bricklayers and carpenters.⁴⁶

These Afro-Brazilian builders had brought to Lagos the *sobrado*, a type of Brazilian townhouse of two or three levels that sometimes had the first floor dedicated to commerce. All of these houses included large windows and balconies decorated with iron rails and broad staircases connecting the floors. Their fronts displayed the elaborate decorations of the Baroque style found in Brazilian colonial towns. This new construction style stood in sharp contrast with the pattern of uniform mud walls and thatched roofs characteristic of indigenous constructions. In the twentieth century, this building style became known as "Brazilian House" and was thoroughly adopted by the Nigerian middle class. A scholar of the subject believes that the "Brazilian house" gained such high level of acceptance in Nigeria because it was originally built by the "cousins" returned from the exile of slavery, and had some of the traditional exuberance of Yoruba art. The "Brazilian House" also allowed the Nigerians to display a certain level of ostentation that had nothing to do with the architecture of the British colonial power. Some of the original houses are still to be found in Lagos, and about 90% of the domestic architecture in the Yoruba areas of Nigeria are influenced by the "Brazilian house" style.⁴⁷

In the 1980s a researcher identified ninety houses located in Badagry and Lagos built in the Brazilian style. The earliest one was the *Okoyá* House built in Badagry in 1784, at the very beginning of the arrival of Afro-Brazilians in the area. This same survey demonstrates that the building boom of "Brazilian houses" in Lagos was between 1880 and 1900 when at least 36 of them were erected, as well as the Holy Cross Church and Shitta Bey Mosque.⁴⁸

Unfortunately, many of the houses built by the Afro-Brazilians in Lagos succumbed to urban development schemes or disappeared because of lack of maintenance or due to fires. The house built by Antonio Joaquim Devodé Branco on Kakawa Street was demolished in 1955 to make way for a building used by the Public Works Department



Figure 4.7 View of Kakawa Street in Lagos in the late 1800s. The large white building, glimpsed on the left, was the residence of Américo Rodriguez and built in the Brazilian style. Source: Archives of the Societ  de Missions Africaines, Rome

of Nigeria. The house built around 1890 by L zaro Borges da Silva, the master builder of the first Catholic church in Lagos, located on the corner of Oshodi and Tokunboh streets, caught fire in 1979 and was destroyed. The Eburn House, built on Odunfa Street in 1913, and reportedly the first house in Nigeria to have three floors, was also demolished. The Water House, to which we refer in detail later, received an addition in 1967 that unfortunately changed the scale and proportions of the original construction.⁴⁹

The "Brazilian house" (known in Yoruba as *il  p t si*, meaning home with an up-stairs) is a concrete example of the cultural exchanges that have made the trip between Europe (Portugal), the Americas (Brazil), and Africa because of the slave trade and slave system that was the result of it. It was a very heavy price to pay for such an interesting cultural exchange.⁵⁰

While many returnees devoted themselves to working in crafts in which they had been trained in Brazil, others became import and export merchants. The first commercial association of Lagos, the African Commercial Association was founded on October 7, 1863. It was unique for the time because it had members from various ethnic groups. Its Vice-President was the Afro-Brazilian Pedro Pacheco.⁵¹

Once the slave trade effectively ended in Lagos in 1852, the era of so-called "innocent" trade began. The Afro-Brazilian returnees would participate actively in it. Lagos had always imported from Brazil such items as tobacco in rolls (*fumo de rolo*, the type

preferred in West Africa), and Brazilian rum (*cachaça*) but with the development of the Afro-Brazilian returnee community the list of imported articles increased considerably. It included *carne de sol* (beef jerky) and a particular type of sandals only manufactured in Brazil. These were, apparently, essential items for the gastronomic and physical comfort of the returnees. The list also included iron rails for the balconies of the distinctive "Brazilian houses," cigars, and musical instruments, presumably items not for sale in Lagos at the time. Other products were even more interesting. In 1888 two coaches were imported from Brazil. It is possible that the rich Afro-Brazilian returnees wanted to use the same kind of coach that their former owners might be using in Brazil. A British coach would not give the same pleasure!⁵²

On the other side of the Atlantic in Brazil there was a constant demand for items for use in Afro-Brazilian religious ceremonies or to deal with the homesickness of Afro-Brazilians who had not been able to return to Africa. These exports, mainly to Bahia, included the *pano-da-costa* (loosely translated as coast cloth). This was a hand-loomed, strip-woven cotton fabric which was much appreciated by Afro-Brazilians in Bahia for the making of traditional outfits.



Figure 4.8 A Bahian elderly lady wearing a pano-da-costa shawl and holding the hand of a child, ca. 1940–41. Source: Lorenzo Dow Turner papers, Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

The *ataré* (*ataare* in Yoruba) also known as *pimenta da costa* (pepper from the coast), was an essential spice not only for everyday food, but for the ritual food cooked for the Candomblé ceremonies. The kola nut or *orobô* was used in the rites of Ifá divination and also as a symbol of welcome. African raffia was imported to make the garments for *Omolú*, the *orishá* god of diseases and smallpox in the Candomblé faith. The cowries, white and transparent shells that had been used in Africa as currency, were essential in Brazil to be used in African religious ceremonies because some deities did not accept the use of local cowries for their rituals. Palm oil (the *azeite de dendê* essential for Bahian cuisine), gourds, and shea butter were also items that were in great demand in Brazil.⁵³

On the Bahian side of the Atlantic, two prominent examples of this exchange were Eugênia Anna dos Santos (Mãe Aninha), the *iatorixá* (female leader of a Candomblé temple) and founder in 1910 of the famous Salvador Candomblé temple Ilê Axé Opô

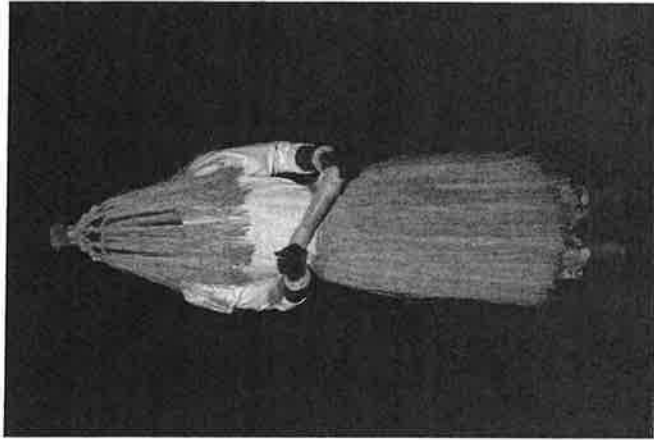


Figure 4.9 Omolu costume acquired in Bahia in 1940–41. Raffia was imported from Africa until the Second World War to produce these outfits. Source: Lorenzo Dow Turner Collections, Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

Afonjá, and Martiniano Eliseu do Bomfim. Aninha only prepared her offers to the gods with authentic African products. She was also in the business of importing these products and selling them at the Mercado Modelo (the Central Market of Salvador) and also at a small store she owned at 77 Ladeira do Pelourinho, at the historical center of Salvador. This store was next to the Afro-Brazilian Catholic church of Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Homens Pretos (Our Lady of the Rosary of Black Men.) Despite her activities as a Candomblé leader, Mãe Aninha also belonged to the Catholic Church in the well-known Afro-Brazilian tradition of syncretism. Her wake was held at the church after she passed away on January 3, 1938.⁵⁴

Martiniano Eliseu do Bomfim was the son of African parents who were able to buy their freedom before the birth of their son on October 16, 1859. Martiniano's Yoruba name was *Ojéládé* (the name given to a child born in a family belonging to the Yoruba *Egúngún* ancestor worship). In 1875 Martiniano went to Lagos to study. There he learned English, Yoruba, painting, and bricklayer trades from the famous Afro-Brazilians craftsmen.

In Lagos, Martiniano was also trained as a babalawo and remained connected with the *Egúngún* worship to which his family was dedicated. After he returned to Bahia he earned a living not only working in his trades but also teaching English to the Afro-Brazilian elite in the city. In his activities as a babalawo he was also much respected. He also travelled between Salvador and Lagos to participate in the import and export trade.



Figure 4.10 Mãe Aninha as a young woman, date unknown. Source: Ruth Landes Collection, Anthropological Archives, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

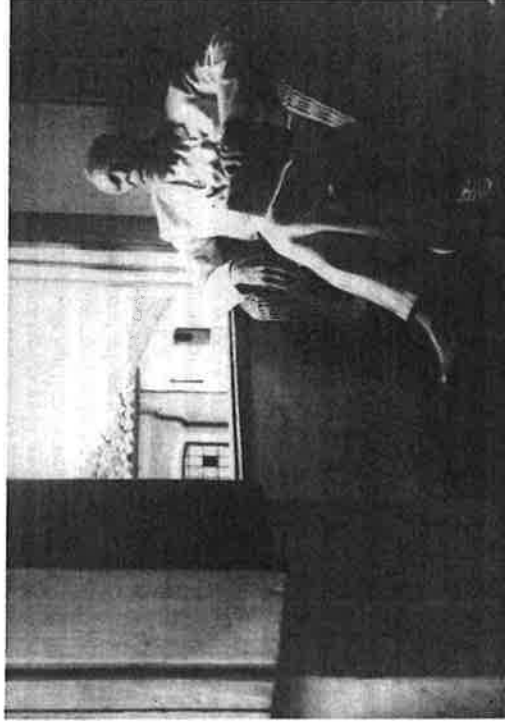


Figure 4.11 Martiniano Eliseu do Bomfim, babalawo and voyager between Bahia and Lagos, 1940–41. Source: Lorenzo Dow Turner Collections, Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC

Martiniano collaborated with Nina Rodrigues, the famous Brazilian ethnologist, translating texts from Yoruba into Portuguese. Later he was a collaborator of Jorge Amado, one of the most important Brazilian fiction writers, when he wrote his romance *Jabiabá*. In addition he was interviewed by American scholars who went to Bahia in the 1930s and 1940s to study Afro-Brazilian culture. He passed away in 1943.⁵⁵

Organized import commerce from West Africa to Brazil lasted until the Second World War. Nevertheless, we found documentation indicating that even in the 1950s Candomblé practitioners in Bahia were still trying to obtain from Nigeria the necessary items for the offerings. This time the intermediary was the ethnologist and photographer Pierre Verger.⁵⁶

The import and export trade was so lucrative that even the craftsmen tried to make money dealing with it on a small scale. Thus, João de Deus Castro, who was a tailor by profession, made money selling tobacco rolls and beef jerky that he brought from Brazil to Lagos when he returned from a trip in 1881.⁵⁷

Other returnees became real millionaires with the trade between Brazil and Africa. Such was the case with João Esan da Rocha. He was born in Africa between 1835 and 1844 and was captured and sold as a slave and sent the state of Bahia when he was ten years old. During slavery, he met and fell in love with a slave named Luiza Angélica Nogueira. He married her and eventually was able to buy his freedom and that of his wife.

Their first son, Candido João, was born in Brazil on October 3, 1867. He and his mother remained in Brazil when João Esan decided to go to Lagos to try a new life. Being successful, he sent for Luiza Angélica and Candido in the early years of the 1870s. In Lagos, João Esan and his wife had three more children: Moisés João, Joana, and Josefina. Luiza Angélica died shortly after the birth of Josefina when she was 44 years of age. Although the family was Catholic (Josefina, for example, was a member of the Legion of Mary), João Esan had in his house an altar dedicated to Ogun, the Yoruba god of iron and war.⁵⁸

The da Rocha family became prosperous quickly thanks to the entrepreneurial savvy of the patriarch. With money earned in trade, João Esan built a large house on Kakawa Street in the Brazilian baroque style. It became known as the Water House because João Esan had a water-well dug in the backyard. The well was fitted with an imported pumping mechanism, and part of the da Rocha fortune was made by selling its water, although it is said that when somebody was too poor to pay the water was given for free. The Water House originally had only one floor. Around 1895 Candido João expanded it into a *sobrado*. In the 1950s the Water House still had a store called "Bahia Stores" installed in its first floor. In 1967, an extension was built to the house to provide additional living space for two of Candido's daughters. Nevertheless the structure is still considered an excellent example of the "Brazilian house" architectural style and listed by the Nigerian government as a national monument.⁵⁹

In the 1880s and 1890s, João Esan and later Candido João had various commercial enterprises in Lagos. One was located on Kakawa Street. Two more were on Tinubu Square. The Da Rocha restaurant and inn established on Tinubu Square was known for its excellent meals and for offering a good room for the weary traveler to spend the



Figure 4.12 Water House built by João Esan da Rocha. It was changed by an addition to its left in 1967 and dwarfed by a skyscraper built next to it. Courtesy Bruna Rocha

night. Father and son participated in the export and import trade with Brazil. They exported items such as *perno da costa*, cowries, kola nuts, alligator skin, and pepper to Brazil and imported shoes, gold dust, gold bars, and salted fish into Lagos. João Esan died circa 1891 and left a legacy of £1,500.⁶⁰

Candido João da Rocha was a financier, hotelier, gold trader, and the owner of several houses and land parcels in Lagos. He received his education at the Church Missionary Society School. He then went into business and became wealthy very fast. In 1901, he bought the building located at 37 Marina Street, the most elegant area in town, for £1,300, while his father had left a legacy of only £1,500 a little bit more than ten years earlier. Candido named his building "Perseverance" and in 1949 rented it to the National Bank of Nigeria. Also in the 1940s he owned the Bonanza Hotel on Customs Street. His land holdings in Agege, a suburb of Lagos where he also built a retreat, were estimated at 55 acres. He apparently was also a pioneer in transportation in Lagos. In 1898, the "da Rocha Rickshaw" was introduced as the first individual wheeled public transport in Lagos.

Candido's favorite sport was horse racing. He founded the Lagos Racing Club in 1891 owned many thoroughbreds, including a great winner named *Vampa*, which he raced at the Lagos racetrack against the horses of other rich local personalities. He became so wealthy that the Yoruba expression "*l'owo bi da Rocha*" (he is as rich as da Rocha) ended up being used commonly in Lagos. Candido da Rocha died in 1959. For his overnight wake, the streets around Water House were closed to traffic because of the crowds that came to pay their respects. In the morning his body was taken to the Catholic cathedral in a golden casket and all of the members of the family were dressed in purple. An observer called the event "the peak of the social season."⁶¹

A measure of the extent of the wealth and professional success of the Afro-Brazilian elite in Lagos in the nineteenth century was encapsulated in a Yoruba popular saying, "*Agudá ò je lábè Gègèsi, isé owó wa láwáá n je*," which roughly translates as, "We the

Agudás do not depend on the British for our sustenance, for our professional aptitudes are enough to take care of our needs." The following story, told with relish to this day, completes the picture: when paper money was introduced in Lagos for the first time, Afro-Brazilians, who until then had used cowries as currency in their financial transactions, showed their contempt for the new notes by lighting their cigars with them. Let's not ignore that the likeness of Queen Victoria was on each one of them!⁶²

The other son of João Esan, Moisés João, was born in Lagos on January 1, 1875. He was educated first at the Wesleyan (Methodist) Tinubu School where he studied from 1883 to 1884. From there he went to the Faji School of the Church Missionary Society where he stayed until 1886. Later, he studied at St. Francis Xavier Catholic School, the Catholic school that was under the direction of Afro-Brazilian Lourenço Cardoso.⁶³ In December 1888, when Moisés had hoped to enter the Catholic St. Gregory's Grammar School he was surprised by the decision of his father to transfer him to the Protestant Church Missionary Society Grammar School where he was admitted on January 2, 1888 at 13 years of age.

At first Moisés found himself at some disadvantage in his new school since he was not used to what he called the "Protestant atmosphere" so different from the Catholic environment to which he was accustomed. He was also at a scholastic disadvantage since he did not know Latin or Greek. But over the next five years Moisés overcame all of the adjustment problems, and was surprised to see that the Protestants did not attempt to convert him.

Moisés became an excellent student and went on to edit the school newspaper, *The Grammarian*. His efforts were successful and in December 1893 Moisés graduated in the first place in his class. After graduating he went on to study with the local doctors in the Colonial Hospital. During the three years he was there, he collaborated with the Lagos newspapers, always writing about religious matters.⁶⁴

In 1896 Moisés went to Scotland to study medicine at the University of Edinburgh, but his college career would soon derail. In 1897, along with other African and Caribbean students studying in the United Kingdom, Moisés helped Henry Sylvester Williams found the African Association of which he was Assistant Secretary. The Association had the aim of encouraging unity among Africans and all other members of communities of African descent in the British colonies. In 1900, the Association organized the first Pan-African Conference in London, which received representatives of the United States, the Caribbean, and West Africa.⁶⁵

Thereafter Moisés began to participate in the intense Pan-African intellectual and political activity that was taking place at the time. As he explained, he put aside his medical books and spent the next eleven years devoted to politics and journalism. His articles appeared in newspapers in Edinburgh, London, Liverpool, Washington, DC, South Africa, Sierra Leone, and of course Lagos. After eleven years of politics and journalism, Moisés surrendered to family pressure and returned to his medical studies graduating in 1913. Returning to Lagos in 1914, he established a medical practice on Tinubu Street and continued to write and publish mainly on matters relating to the Catholic Church.⁶⁶

In 1923, on the eve of the election of the Nigerian Legislative Council, Moisés attempted to enter politics and founded a political movement called Union of Young



Figure 4.13 Moisés João da Rocha, physician and Pan-Africanist, was part of the first generation of descendants of Afro-Brazilian returnees to be born in Africa. Source: Library of Congress, Washington, DC

Nigerians. The movement was unsuccessful and rapidly disintegrated. Moisés died in Lagos 20 years later on May 1, 1942, and his death was considered a great loss for Nigeria.⁶⁷

When João Esan da Rocha moved to Lagos, and brought his wife and son to join him, he left behind in Brazil another family who was known to the family in Africa. Candido da Rocha went to Brazil on an extended visit in 1913 and probably visited the da Rocha family branch in Salvador. In the early 1970s, João Esan's granddaughter Angélica, daughter of Candido, was invited by the Brazilian government to visit Brazil. During the visit to Salvador, she told the story of the family left behind by her grandfather to the journalists who interviewed her. José, Beatriz, and Aluizio Rocha, descendants of the family that João Esan had left behind, saw the news and came to meet their African cousin. Thus the family contact was reestablished. In 1978, Maria Angélica da Rocha, great-granddaughter of João Esan, granddaughter of Candido, and daughter of Angélica, was also invited to visit Brazil by the Brazilian Ambassador in Nigeria at the time, Alberto da Costa e Silva. In Salvador Maria Angélica also met the Brazilian side of the family. They are in contact with each other to this date.⁶⁸

Another Brazilian to make a fortune in the import and export trade with Brazil was Joaquim Francisco Devodé Branco. Joaquim Francisco, born in 1856, was captured when he was a child and taken to Brazil as a slave. He received his freedom from his owner, João Francisco Branco, from whom he had inherited the Brazilian name. Joaquim Francisco returned to Africa where he devoted himself to trade. He was so successful that in 1897, of the eight firms in the import and export business in Lagos which belonged to Afro-Brazilians, three were his. He owned residences in Porto Novo

and Lagos and always traveled to Brazil where he took the essential objects to practice the rituals of Candomblé and brought back the popular *carne de sol* and *cachaça*. In the mid 1880s he traveled back and forth to Brazil on a yearly basis; researchers have found records of four trips to Bahia between November 1884 and August 1887.⁶⁹

In his will, drawn up in Lagos on June 14, 1919, Joaquim Francisco left a legacy that included 18 homes in Lagos and two in Porto Novo. He also left cash and plots of land in Lagos and Porto Novo. Generous and grateful to the master who had given him his freedom, he also left bequests in his will to two of the master's daughters and two of his nieces.⁷⁰

Another wealthy merchant of Lagos had a worse fate. Manoel J. de Sant'Anna, described as a mulatto, owned in his heyday several ships. In 1880, he operated a ship in the Lagos lagoon; a steamship *Oltinda* operating in the freight transport off the coast of Africa and several sailing ships plying the Lagos-Salvador route. But in 1895 he had to flee Lagos overnight when one of his ships sank and he was not able to pay his debts. His sailing ships were the last to maintain a steady connection with Brazil.⁷¹

While the returnees from Lagos were enriching themselves in trade or becoming successful craftsmen they were introducing lots of novelties as well, some of them quite interesting. For example, Afro-Brazilian men let their hair grow and then divided it on the right side or in the middle of the head as the whites did with their straight hair. This new hairdo became a symbol of social status in Lagos.⁷²

The Afro-Brazilian photographer George S. A. da Costa wore his hair in the new style. In 1895, he left his job as manager of the Church Missionary Society bookstore in Lagos and opened a photographic studio. By 1920, he was considered one of the best



Figure 4.14 George S. A. da Costa, an Afro-Brazilian photographer in Lagos, sporting his hair parted in the middle, a fashion introduced by the Afro-Brazilians. Source: Library of Congress, Washington, DC

photographers on the West Coast of Africa and was hired by the British publisher Allister Macmillan to cooperate in the production of *The Red Book of West Africa*, an illustrated compendium on the life in several of the British colonies in West Africa.⁷³

Some of the Brazilian delicacies introduced to Nigerian cuisine by the returnees are still appreciated today. The *canjifka*, a dish made with white corn and commonly served in the winter months in Brazil, is served during funeral wakes in Lagos. The *freijon* or *frijol* which is the *feijão de leite* (beans and milk) from Bahia is served as an accompaniment to fish on Good Friday when Catholics cannot eat meat. In Lagos, its preparation is surrounded by special ceremony and the cow milk used in Brazil has been substituted by coconut milk. *Imoyo* is a soup, but the name comes from the word for gravy in Portuguese (*molho*). *Mengau*, the name of a porridge made from tapioca with coconut water, comes from the Portuguese word *mingau*. The difference is that *mingau* in Brazil is prepared with milk and wheat flour. The returnee Afro-Brazilian are also credited with the introduction of the coconut as a culinary ingredient in Nigerian cuisine as well as the techniques for the production of tapioca (the starch extracted from the cassava). Other novelties brought from Brazil by the returnees were the cashew (*cajú* in Portuguese) and various kinds of bananas different from the indigenous species.⁷⁴

Contact with Brazil was a constant in the life of Afro-Brazilian returnees in Lagos until at least the First World War. The export trade to Brazil survived at least until the start of the Second World War when the sea transport lanes were totally disrupted. In the case of some families contact continues today. Certainly the reason for this constant contact was due to the fact that the families of the returnees were divided between Lagos and Brazil. A historian after looking through the wills of Afro-Brazilians residing in Lagos in the 1880s and 1890s, found that many of them bequeathed money and properties for sons and daughters who had stayed in Brazil when the parents had returned to Africa. One example was that of Eliseu Domingo Martins who in 1890 left his home in Lagos for his son Alfonso Eliseu Domingo Martins who lived in Bahia.⁷⁵

It is worth mentioning here that the opposite also happened; that is, Afro-Brazilian who had stayed in Brazil left assets for relatives who had returned to Africa. That was the case of Luiza Francisca Gonçalves, an ex-slave who having lost her husband and children left in 1854 part of her estate to Armando and Margarida, her relatives who were in Africa.⁷⁶

Another similar case was that of Paulo José Ferreira, whose African name was Abi Agudá. He was born in Bahia in 1886 and went to Lagos with his parents after the 1888 emancipation of slaves in Brazil. He eventually went back to Rio de Janeiro where he earned his living as an importer of African goods and a practitioner of Ifá. He was so successful financially that he sent money for a son who had stayed in Lagos until the financial connections were stopped by the Second World War.⁷⁷

Another interesting example of uninterrupted contact between Lagos and Salvador Bahia is that of the Assumpção/Alakija family. The patriarch of the family, Marcolino Assumpção, was originally from Abeokuta. In Brazil, he had lived in Rio de Janeiro. Family traditions indicate that he was a free man. His wife Maximiliana was the daughter of Cypriano Ribeiro, whose African name was Alpha Akinosho Tairu. The Ribeiro family was Muslim. Marcolino and Maximiliana met in Bahia where they got

married. They eventually returned to Africa and settled in Abeokuta. Cypriano Ribeiros also returned to Africa but settled in Lagos where he died in 1907.⁷⁸

Marcolino, according to family tradition, was part of the royal family of Abeokuta. Upon his return to Africa he became a leader of the returnee Afro-Brazilian community in that city. He was a devoted Christian, despite some disagreements with the Catholic priests. As a matter of fact the first Mass was said in Abeokuta at his house by Father Théodore Holley on August 8, 1880. During the Mass, five children were baptized.⁷⁹

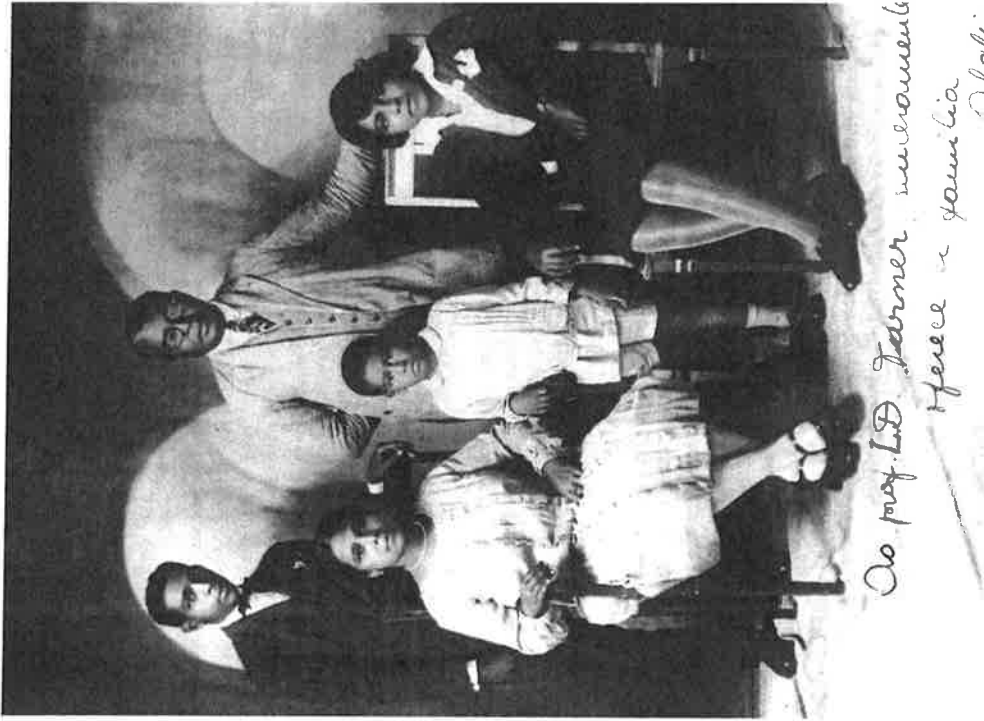
Marcolino and Maximiliana had seven children. The oldest son was Maximiliano who died early. Angela (Angelina), whose Yoruba name was Tejumade, was the oldest daughter.⁸⁰ Next was Porfirio Maximiliano, born in Lagos either in 1877 or 1878. There were also twins, Plácido Maclean and Honório Marcus, born in 1884, and Emiliano Marcolino and Paula for whom we do not have birth dates.⁸¹

After several years of informal education at home in Abeokuta, Angela was sent to Lagos to receive formal education at a Catholic convent. When she returned to Abeokuta she was courted by and eventually was married to Ladapo Ademola, who at the time was prince and later the *Aldáké* (king) of Abeokuta. They had at least one child, whom they named Adétókunbò, meaning the "royal-lineage family head has just returned home from overseas," an obvious allusion to the fact that the Assumpção/Alakija family had returned home from Brazil. Adétókunbò Ademola became one of the most famous jurists in Nigeria, receiving a knighthood from the British and becoming the Chief Justice of the Federal Republic of Nigeria.⁸²

Emiliano Marcolino Assumpção (he eventually shortened his name to Emile, but never adopted the surname Alakija) attended Catholic schools in Lagos and entered the British colonial service in 1891 as a printing apprentice. He steadily climbed the career ladder during the next 25 years. When his name disappears from the list of Colonial Service employees (possibly when he passed away) he was the supervisor of the printing department of the Nigeria Railways. His wife's name was Teresa Januário and she was from an Afro-Brazilian family from Porto Novo.⁸³

Porfirio Maximiliano moved to Brazil in 1898 (another source mentions 1893) after completing his education in Lagos at St. Francis Xavier School (a Catholic elementary school) and the Wesleyan (Methodist) High School. He had visited Salvador, Bahia when he was a small child, had fallen in love with the city and had decided to come back to stay. In Bahia, he entered law school, qualifying to practice in 1903. Besides his law practice, Porfirio also worked as an English teacher in traditional private high schools of Salvador.⁸⁴ He married Ignéz "Selene" in 1907. She was the first formally trained midwife in Bahia. With Ignéz he had three children: Delhi, a boy born in 1908, who graduated from engineering school; Cleonice, born in 1910 who was the first female doctor to specialize in ophthalmology in Bahia; and George, born in 1921 who received a degree in psychiatry. George was a precursor in the use of hypnosis as a therapy for mental sickness in Brazil. He also received the Rio Branco medal from the Brazilian government. Porfirio also had two children from a previous relationship, Daley and Celia, who were educated in England and eventually went to live in Nigeria.⁸⁵

Porfirio travelled to London in 1913 apparently with the purpose of attending the calling to the bar of his younger brothers Honório and Plácido. Celia, who was eight



*Do prof. L.D. Turner. mencionado
Herece a familia
Alakija*

Figure 4.15 Porfirio Maximiliano (Maxwell) Alakija and family in Bahia. From left to right: (standing) Delhi and Porfirio Maxwell, (seated) Ignéz, George, and Cleonice date unknown. Source: Lorenzo Dow Turner collection, Anacostia Community Museum, Washington, DC

years of age then, accompanied her father.⁸⁶ At the time, Porfirio's profile was featured at the magazine *The African Times and Orient Review*. Celia stayed behind in England to study. In August of 1920, her father returned to England to pick her up. She was then 16 years old. They departed back to Brazil on September 24. Celia returned to England in 1925 at age 20. She was bound to Reading and was by now a music and singing teacher. We have no more information about her after this trip. There is also no information about Daley. Family tradition indicates that both Daley and Celia eventually went to live in Lagos.⁸⁷

In Bahia, Porfirio was active in politics running for office under the aegis of the *Liga Henrique Dias* (Henrique Dias League) an activist pioneer Afro-Brazilian organization in Salvador. He was also one of the founders of the militant *Frente Negra* (Black Front) in Bahia in the 1920s. Porfirio also often protested in the newspapers against the pervasive racial discrimination he encountered in Brazilian society. Porfirio died in Bahia in 1933.⁸⁸

Twin brothers Honório and Plácido also attended Catholic schools in Lagos. Once they completed their studies they both entered government service. Honório worked his way to Deputy Registrar of the Courts. Plácido held several positions in the Education, Railways, Treasure, and Post and Telegraphs departments. In May of 1910, they were admitted to the Middle Temple in London as law students.⁸⁹

It was there that, according to family oral history, they changed their surname to Alakija. As the story goes, in London it became apparent that the name Plácido Assumpção was utterly unpronounceable in English. In addition, the surname provoked laughter since the English translation, *assumption*, led to the comic translation of Plácido Assumption. Plácido decided to change his surname to Alakija, a mixture of *Alá* meaning "comes from" and *Kija* a corruption of Ikeja, a town in Nigeria. To complete the change, Plácido chose as his first name Adeyemo (meaning "our royal-lineage family befits this child") and Honório changed his to Olayimika (meaning "nobility surrounds me"). The new surname was eventually adopted by most of the family.⁹⁰

Adeyemo and Olayimika Alakija returned to Lagos in 1913 and opened a successful law firm, Alakija and Alakija. Olayimika became known as "square shoulders" presumably because he was determined and fearless. He apparently had a successful professional career which culminated with his becoming a member of the Legislative Council. He passed away in 1941.⁹¹

Adeyemo went on to live an active professional and political life. In addition to being a lawyer, he was also a journalist, founding the newspaper *Daily Times*, the first daily published in Lagos. He was also the leader of Nigeria's first political party, the Action Group.

In 1915, he was elected Secretary of the section of Lagos of the Aboriginal Protection Society, a society which protected the rights of the population of Nigeria in general, not just the population of Lagos, from the abuses of the colonial power. He was chosen by the Egba Native Authority to represent Abeokuta at the Legislative Council in Lagos from 1934 to 1938. He was also part of the selected group of African citizens invited to join the Executive Council of Nigeria. It is important to note that up to 1940 the Council consisted only of Europeans. Finally, he received the title of Knight of the British Empire and thus he was addressed as Sir Adeyemo Alakija.⁹²



Figure 4.16 Brothers Adeyemo and Olayimika Alakija in their lawyerly robes, ca 1913. Source: Lorenzo Dow Turner collection, Anacostia Community Museum, Washington, DC

Adeyemo Alakija was conservative and pro-British, as he stated, "because of the benefit they have brought to my people." Nevertheless he was also a Yoruba nationalist and a fighter against discrimination. In 1943, he founded the Island Club in Lagos to counter the Ikoyi Club, which practiced racial discrimination. In March of 1944, Adeyemo went head on against the Greek owner of the Bristol Hotel in Lagos, which refused services to non-whites. He led a delegation to the British Governor and demanded the immediate end of racial discrimination and the expulsion of the owning hotel owner from the country. This action led not only to the expulsion of the offending hotel owner, but also to the enactment of laws that barred racial discrimination in Nigeria, the first among British colonies.⁹³

Adeyemo's last political role was as president of the Egbe Omo Oduduwa (The Society of the Descendants of Oduduwa), organized in Lagos on November 28, 1947, whose main goal was to foster the idea of a single nationalism among the Yoruba. In this capacity he was placed in direct and personal opposition to Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe (Zik), an Igbo leader and later the first President of independent Nigeria, who resented the implication, advanced by the Egbe, that the Yoruba were a superior people.⁹⁴

In his private life, Adeyemo Alakija's major love was horse racing. He served as chairman of the Lagos Race Club and organized the races at the Lagos Race Course. He passed away in Lagos on May 10, 1952.⁹⁵ Adeyemo was married twice and had at least nine children. His son Ibikunle (meaning "children have filled the home") was a successful contractor in Lagos. Another son, Babatunde (meaning "the departed father

has come again"), was the first African to be selected for training as a pilot for the Royal Air Force in World War II. His daughter Titilola (meaning "our noble family is for all time") married Kofi Annan in 1965. Annan would later become the United Nations Secretary General. The couple had two children, Kojo and Ama, and divorced in the 1980s.⁹⁶

The families of Porfirio in Brazil and Plácido/Adeyemo in Lagos always maintained contact. Célia and Daley, as we have seen, came from Brazil to live in Nigeria, and George, younger son of Porfirio, visited Lagos in 1976 when he had the opportunity to meet the African part of the family. To this day, family members of the Assumpção/Alakija family who remain in Lagos are considering a visit to Brazil, during Carnival, of course.⁹⁷

While Afro-Brazilian men were becoming rich in trade or as skillful craftsmen, some of their wives and daughters remained at home, restricted to domestic activities, in the same manner that women of high social class in Brazilian society did. Other Afro-Brazilian women had to dedicate themselves to small commerce in the same way as the Yoruba women did to earn their living. Felicidade, an Afro-Brazilian woman known to us only by her first name, was an example.

Felicidade was captured in Africa and taken as a slave to Brazil. There she married Francisco Augustino, who managed to buy the couple's freedom. In 1871, the two had a fight so violent that one of Felicidade's teeth was pulled from her mouth. Displeased with the incident, she decided to go to Lagos to begin a new life. In Lagos, Felicidade was living at Antonio Arriba's house. To make a living she tended a small stand in front of Arriba's residence selling fried bananas to bystanders. Felicidade died around 1876, leaving only a few belongings.⁹⁸

On the other hand, other Afro-Brazilian women were more successful. Felicidade Maria da Conceição was an import and export trader working as a representative of agents in Bahia. She was also a financier and she owned her home. Clemência Guimarães was remembered in the Afro-Brazilian community for her ability as a seamstress and for having her services requested by traditional families from the Saro community and even by the British. Aguida (Agnes) Marinho was another Afro-Brazilian seamstress who became very famous. She learned to sew the *agbadá*, the traditional male Muslim outfit, and also became the favorite dressmaker for Muslim women. Aguida trained dozens of young seamstresses who in turn became teachers themselves. She was the wife of Antonio Joaquim Marinho, who, as we have seen, taught at Catholic schools. Aguida was responsible for the teaching of the girls at the school in Topo when her husband worked there.⁹⁹

One of the most famous women among the Afro-Brazilians was Joana Tristão or Yaya Tokunboh. A devoted Christian, she covered the sidewalk in front of her house with flowers for the passage of the Eucharist procession. A woman of great dynamism, she contributed to the growth of the Brazilian community.¹⁰⁰

The dynamism and excellence of Afro-Brazilian women are acknowledged in this traditional Yoruba saying, "*Ceremony lo'npa Iya Aguida*," meaning that a woman member of the Afro-Brazilian returnee community is often encumbered with details, for the enactment of traditional celebrations and to keep a distinctive household, which can be costly to her life.¹⁰¹

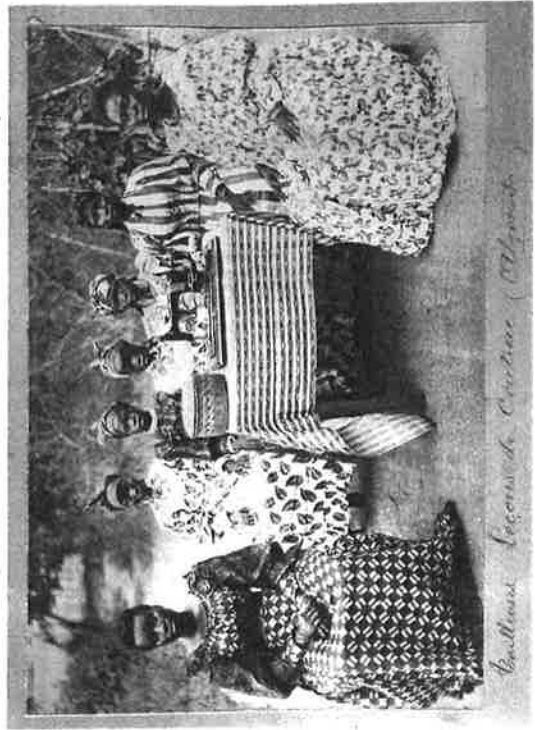


Figure 4.17 Afro-Brazilian women with students at a sewing class. Sewing was one of the trades introduced by the Afro-Brazilian female returnees. Source: Archives of the Societé de Missions Africaines, Rome

In the late 1880s and the early 1890s, the Afro-Brazilian community was in its heyday in Lagos. Upper-class women were beginning to contract marriages with young Afro-Brazilian or Saro men of the same social class. Unions within the norms of the Marriage Ordinance passed by the British in 1884 became the aspiration of upper-class women in Lagos. The new law did not admit polygamy, and Christian marriage within the rules of this new law introduced new perceptions about the nature of the relationship between men and women. Women within these marriages should just be wives and mothers, and work outside of the home was not considered proper for them.¹⁰²

In 1896, it was celebrated with great pomp the marriage of Lourenço A. Cardoso with Joanna G. Bastos. The bride was the daughter of the famous financier Felicidade Maria da Conceição. Lourenço was part of the first generation of Afro-Brazilians born in Africa. He was born in Lagos in 1865, and his father was the returnee Antonio Sanyaolu Cardoso. Lourenço was one of the first three professors who passed the public examinations in Lagos in 1884. He worked as the principal of the Catholic St. Gregory's Grammar School from 1884 to 1893. In 1893, he left teaching and became a merchant in the import and export business with offices at number 23 Bamgbose Street, in the heart of the Brazilian Quarter. He travelled regularly to Brazil to trade, and on one of these trips he connected with the Brazilian ethnologist Nina Rodrigues.

Lourenço translated Yoruba texts for Rodrigues, which were published in his book *Africanos no Brasil* (Africans in Brazil). In addition, Lourenço was a farmer, producing cocoa for export. He also had time to act as auctioneer, and to establish a newspaper, *Advanced Opinion*, in 1923.¹⁰³

Courting and marriage under the new elite's social standards in Lagos at the end of the nineteenth century followed a strict protocol. A good example was the case of Florentina Nogueira and Amatus Carrena. Once Amatus resolved to ask for the hand of Florentina in marriage, his father, A. E. Carrena, wrote a formal letter to P. Nogueira, Florentina's father asking for the hand of his daughter in marriage. Days later Nogueira wrote back accepting the request on behalf of his daughter.

Once the request had been accepted, the groom's family paid a visit to the bride's family to have the engagement concluded. The family of the groom had to bring several traditional gifts; these were the same gifts that would have been given for a marriage contracted within the Yoruba traditional custom. The list included kola, bitter kola, alligator pepper, imported alcoholic drinks, mineral water, and biscuits. In addition, the groom should also present the bride with a Bible and a gold wedding ring tied with a blue ribbon.¹⁰⁴

Other Afro-Brazilian women accepted indigenous grooms. That was the case of Emelinda Segboa Branco, daughter of Joaquim Antonio Devodé Branco, who contracted marriage with Claudius Dosa Akran. He was the son of chief Kopon, the Akran of Badagry (the traditional leader of the Ogu people), and would inherit the title from his father. Claudius was educated in the Catholic schools of Lagos and it was probably during this time that he became acquainted with the Afro-Brazilian community and the Branco family.¹⁰⁵

In late 1880 the Afro-Brazilian high society in Lagos contributed to the city's cultural life with musical and theatrical presentations. In 1880, the Brazilian Drama Company promoted, at the Phoenix Hall, a presentation to celebrate the birthday of Brazilian Emperor Pedro II. On May 23, 1882, under the patronage of the German Consul Heinrich Bey, the same company presented a variety show in honor of the birthday of Queen Victoria.¹⁰⁶

In October 1888 the community celebrated with great pomp the abolition of slavery in Brazil. The festivities lasted for six days and included processions, a celebratory Mass, a speech by the British Governor, fireworks, banquets, two dances (including one in costume), and a theatrical presentation titled "The Mysterious Ring," a drama in five acts.¹⁰⁷

While this kind of festivity probably might attract only Lagos' Afro-Brazilian high society, traditional festivals were attended by the entire community, regardless of social level. At Easter the *caretas* (masquerade) went out.¹⁰⁸ On the eve of the Epiphany, the *Burrinha* or *Bumba Meu Boi* took to the streets. The next day was celebrated the *Nosso Senhor do Bonfim* (Our Lord of the Good Death) Festival, very traditional in Bahia. But in Lagos the celebration was to the *Nossa Senhora do Bonfim* (Our Lady of the Good Death). The parades passed through the Saro neighborhood where there were major fights, sometimes with head injuries and broken arms, because the Afro-Brazilians used to sing disrespectful songs of abuse against the Saros. Afterwards, a picnic was held on the farms of Ikoyi, mainly on the farm of Walter Siffre.¹⁰⁹

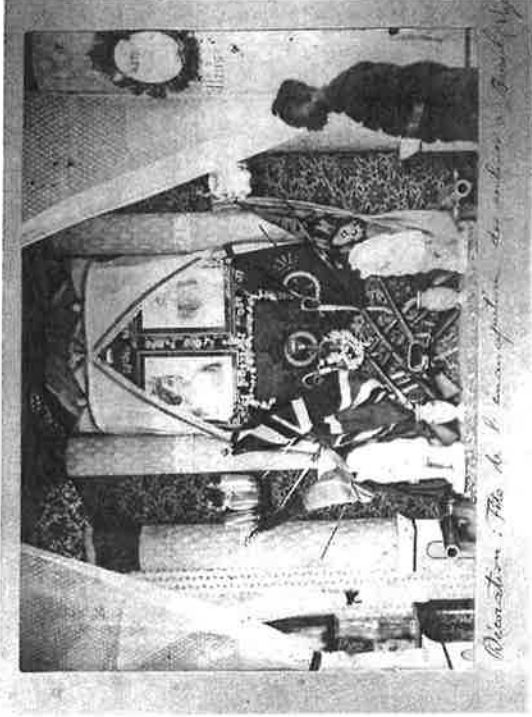


Figure 4.18 Decorations for the Celebration of Brazilian Emancipation Proclamation in Lagos including photos of Queen Victoria and Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil October 1888. Source: Archives of the Societé de Missions Africaines, Rome

Corpus Christi, celebrated by the community with a procession which went around the entire Afro-Brazilian neighborhood, stopped at a decorated altar in the square in front of the house of João Angelo Campos.¹¹⁰ Dancing was another great entertainment for the community. *Papae Mudatugar* (Daddy Change-Places) was the nickname of Manoel Joaquim dos Reis. He was the master of ceremonies for the quadrille, dance that demands intricate moves by the dancers and constant movement from one place to another, thus the nickname of the master. Everybody also danced the waltz, the polka, and the samba. Musical instruments introduced by Brazilian musicians were the tambourine, guitar, flute, clarinet, and the concertina.¹¹¹

The music and dance brought by the Afro-Brazilian returnees came to influence Nigerian music. In the early twentieth century the *Asikò*, a popular music style performed at weddings, wakes, and social gatherings of all types, was based on the Brazilian *samba*. Two of the musical instruments used by *Asikò* players, the *sámbá* drum and the carpenter's saw, which was scratched to produce a distinctive sound, were connected to the Agudá, who had introduced the carpentry trade to Lagos. Still today the *sámbá* drums are made by carpenters and not by specialized instrument makers.¹¹²

It is perhaps in the *Caretta/Fanti*¹¹³ Carnival in Lagos that the Afro-Brazilian cultural and musical influence has left its strongest mark. As we have seen previously, the *Caretta* was an Easter celebration introduced by Afro-Brazilian returnees. Today it



Figure 4.19 João Angelo Campos with his family and servants. Source: Archives of the Societé de Missions Africaines, Rome

festival inspired by that original celebration is held three times a year to celebrate Easter, Christmas, and the New Year and is part of Lagos's cultural calendar. Descendants of Afro-Brazilians congregate under the aegis of the Brazilian Campos Caretta Carnival group. Their colors are the very Brazilian green and yellow, and their motto is "Great Campos."¹¹⁴ Perhaps the only dark side of the celebration today is the fact that some people from Lagos deride its roots by labeling it *nikan awon eru* (the heritage of slaves), harking back to the origins of the pioneer celebrants.¹¹⁵

The decade of 1890 brought a sudden change to the Afro-Brazilian community. The British, who until then had implemented a program of colonization aimed at preparing the Africans to govern themselves, changed their policy and decided to simply colonize Africa. In Lagos, this new attitude resulted in fewer opportunities for Afro-Brazilians who, in turn, feeling abandoned and without prospects, joined with fervor the movement that took hold in Nigeria valuing Yoruba culture.

Adoption of Yoruba names and change in dress styles started to be the norm while a campaign in the local press mocked the use of Western clothes and names. Yet, despite the local mocking, the pattern of adopting English names and wearing Western clothes, was quite widespread. As we have seen, the Assumpção brothers changed their name to Alakija. Thus Cardoso became Alade, and Ouser became Hughes. Costa turned into George, Graça became Grace, and Rufino became Soluade. This was the process of adaptation and integration to the new reality of Lagos.¹¹⁶

Among the less affluent members of the Lagos Afro-Brazilian community, the appreciation of Brazilian things did not diminish. When the first researchers, ethnologists, and Brazilian diplomats arrived in Lagos, in the decades after the Second World War, they found people talking and writing a very understandable Portuguese with a lot of curiosity about Brazil. The fact that all the Brazilian returnees who were arriving in Lagos at that point were white caused some apprehension expressed in the anxious question of an Afro-Brazilian returnee: "In Brazil are there still people of my color?"¹¹⁷

Until very recently vivid memories of Brazil persisted in Lagos. The Brazilian photographer and reporter Carlos Fonseca went to West Africa in 1999 to visit the descendants of Afro-Brazilian returnees. He found many traces of Brazil still in evidence. At Carrena Street he found Nestor Carrena, who could still sing and play on the piano a Brazilian song learned from his mother in the 1920s.¹¹⁸

Other descendants of the returnees recalled with irreverence the cursing they had learned as small children with their parents and grandparents. Among their memories was the ever present *feđa* [expletive] (mother [expletive]). Joanna Kehinde Marshado, with the Brazilian surname Machado adapted to Yoruba spelling, still had in her mouth the taste of dried beef imported from Brazil that she had eaten for the last time in 1936.¹¹⁹

This presence of memories of Brazil in Lagos now enters its third century. This is due no doubt to the intensity with which the nineteenth-century returnees maintained links with Brazil, not only due to a sense of nostalgia, but also because of the idealization of Brazil as a land of happiness. It also no doubt survived so intensely because of the economic and trade links which lasted until mid-twentieth century. Only the future can determine how long the memory of Brazil will be present in Lagos. But one fact is clear: the Afro-Brazilians who returned to Lagos launched themselves into an adventure that turned out to be indeed very successful.

Notes to Chapter 4

* An earlier version of this essay was published in Portuguese in Alcione Meira Amos, *Os Que Voltaram: A História dos Retornados Afro-Brasileiros na África Ocidental no Século XIX* (Belo Horizonte: Tradição Planalto Editora e Distribuidora, Ltda., 2007), 91–125.

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1. In order to simplify the text, we chose to identify those who returned to West Africa from Brazil in the nineteenth century as Afro-Brazilian, independently of their place of birth.

2. Data from "Assessing the Slave Trade," accessed June 21, 2011, <http://www.slavevoyages.org/tast/assessment/estimates.faces>

3. Pierre Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo do Tráfico de Escravos entre o Golfo do Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos, dos Séculos XVII a XIX*, 2nd ed. (Salvador, Bahia: São Paulo: Editora Corrupio, 1987), 614; Campbell to Clarendon Jan. 21, 1856, The National Archives of Great Britain (hereafter TNA), Public Records Office (hereafter PRO), Foreign Office (hereafter FO) 84/10002/1856.

4. TNA PRO/FO, Campbell to Clarendon, May 4, 1854; TNA PRO/FO 84/950/1854; Campbell to Clarendon, Dec. 28, 1853, TNA PRO/FO 84/920/1853.
5. Campbell to Clarendon, July 2, 1857, TNA PRO/FO 84/1031/1857.
6. Spencer H. Brown, "A History of the People of Lagos, 1852-1886" (PhD diss., Northwestern University, 1964), 57; J. Buckley Wood, *Historical Notices of Lagos, West Africa and on the Inhabitants of Lagos: Their Character, Pursuits, and Languages* (Lagos: Church Missionary Society Bookstore, 1933), 62; Moloney to Holland, July 20, 1887 TNA PRO/CO (CO, "Colonial Office") 147/59/1887; J. Lorand Matory, "English Professors of Brazil: on the Diasporic Roots of the Yoruba Nation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41 (1999): 84; Lisa A. Lindsay, "To Return to the Bosom of their Fatherland: Brazilian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Lagos," *Slavery and Abolition* 15 (1994): 27, 47; Campbell to Clarendon, June 6, 1856, TNA PRO/FO/84/1031/1856.
7. Mariano Carneiro da Cunha, *Da Senzala ao Sobrado: Arquitetura Brasileira na Nigéria e na República Popular do Benim* (*From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People's Republic of Benin*) (São Paulo: Nobel/EDUSP, 1985), 31.
8. Kristin Mann, "Owners, Slaves and the Struggle for Labour in the Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa," in *From Slave Trade to "Legitimate" Commerce: the Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa*, ed. Robin Law (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 160; Freeman to Newcastle, Oct. 9, 1862, TNA PRO/CO/14711/1862; Blackall to Buckingham, May 6, 1867, TNA PRO/CO 147/13/1867.
9. Adebayo Babalola and Olugboye Alaba, *A Dictionary of Yoruba Personal Names* (Lagos: West African Book Publishers Limited, 2003), 847; Cunha, *Da Senzala*, 41-45; David A. Aremu, "The Brazilian Legacy of the West African Coast: Anthropological Perspective of the Presence of Afro-Brazilians in Lagos, Nigeria" (paper presented at the Conference "Agudá: Aspects of Afro-Brazilian Heritage in the Bight of Bénin," Ecole du Patrimoine Africain, Porto-Novo, République du Bénin, Porto Novo, 26-30 November 2001); Moloney to Holland, July 20, 1887, TNA PRO/CO/147/59/1887; Hakeem B. Harunah, *Nigeria's Defunct Slave Ports: Their Cultural Legacies and Touristic Value* (Lagos: First Academic Publishers, 2000), 121.
10. See map in Sandra T. Barnes, *Patrons and Power: Creating a Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 26, 28.
11. Passport in Arabic attached to Campbell to Malmesbury, Feb. 4, 1859, TNA PRO/FO 2/28/1859, translation from Arabic courtesy of Najwa Safar.
12. J. D. Y. Peel, "The Pastor and the *Babalawo*: the Interaction of Religions in Nineteenth-Century Yorubaland," *Africa* 60 (1990): 299, 350-51, 352.
13. *Ibid.*, 352.
14. *Ibid.*, 244, 299, 302.
15. Peter R. McKenzie, *Hail Orishá! The Phenomenology of a West African Religion in the Mid Nineteenth Century* (Leiden and New York: Brill, 1997), 111.
16. *Ibid.*, 472, 502-503.
17. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros: Os Escravos Libertos e Sua Volta à África*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2012), 196.
18. Francesco Borghero, *Journal de Francesco Borghero Premier Missionnaire de Dahomey (1861-1865)*. *Sa Vie, Son Journal (1860-1864), la Relation de 1863* (Paris: Karthala, 1997), 98, 136; *Nangó* is a corruption of *Anagó*, one of the divisions of the Yoruba people (R. C. Abraham, *Dictionary of Modern Yoruba* (London: University of London Press, 1958), 55); see also in Fon *Nagó* meaning Yoruba country (Hildegarde Höftmann, *Dictionnaire Fon Français* (Köln: Rüdiger Köppe Verlag, 2003), 307).
19. Borghero, *Journal*, 197, 137; Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 188-89.
20. The story of Padre Antonio as told here is based on Elizabeth Isichei, "An Ob-scure Man: Pa Antonio in Lagos," in *Varieties of Christian Experience in Nigeria*, ed. Elizabeth Isichei (London: MacMillan Press, 1982), 28-33; A. B. Laotan, *The Torch Bearers: or, Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos* (Lagos, Nigeria: He-Olu Printing Works, [1943]), 8.
21. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 189-90; A. B. Laotan, "Brazilian Influence in Lagos" *Nigeria Magazine* 69 (1961): 159; "Notes on Afro-Brazilians in Lagos," Lorenz Dow Turner papers, Melville J. Herskovits Library of African Studies, Northwestern University (hereafter Turner papers, NU), Evanston, Ill., box 1, folder 2.
22. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 14-15; Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 191, 192. The goal of this exhibition was to give England a practical demonstration of the progress and wealth of the British colonies. Swati Chattopadhyay, "A Critical History of Architecture in the Post-Colonial World: a View from Indian History," *Architronic* 6, accessed December 6, 2005. <http://architronic.saed.kent.edu/v6n1/v6n1.05a.html>. Three table were displayed in the Lagos part of the exhibit as examples of the uses of native wood *Colonial and Indian Exhibition 1886: Official Catalogue*, 459, accessed July 25, 2012 http://archive.org/details/cihm_05255.
23. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 14-15, 7; Kunle Akinsemoyin and Alan Vaughan-Richards, *Building Lagos* (N.p.: F & A Services, 1976), 22.
24. Babatunde A. Agiri, "Architecture as a Source of History: the Example of Lagos," in *History of the People of Lagos State*, eds. Ade Adefuye, Babatunde Agiri, and Jide Osuntokun (Ikeja, Lagos: Lantern Books, 1987), 349; "Cardoso, Nigéria," accessed April 2, 2012, <<http://www2.mre.gov.br/cartafica/familias/cardoso.htm>>; Davit Aradeon, "Planning Lagos: the Unmaking of Tradition" *Glendora: African Quarterly of the Arts* 1 (1996): 78-79, accessed April 2, 2012, <<http://digital.lib.msu.edu/projects/africanjournals/pdfs/glendora%20review/vol1no3/graao01003020.pdf>>. For information on the "Brazilian" mosques of West Africa see Carla de Benedetti, "Moschee d'Africa," *Domus* 658 (February 1985): 30-37; Barry Hallen and Carla de Benedetti "Afro-Brazilian Mosques in West Africa," *Mimar: Architecture in Development* 2: (1988):16-23; Marjorie Moji Dolapo Alonge, "Afro-Brazilian Architecture in Lagos State: a Case for Conservation" (PhD diss., University of Newcastle upon Tyne, Great Britain, 1994), 272-76; Jonathan Bloom and Sheila Blair, *The Grove Encyclopedia of Islamic Art and Architecture* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2009), 23.
25. Laotan was not Afro-Brazilian. He was educated in a Catholic school under the guidance of Antonio Joaquim Marinho and became totally integrated into the community. Cunha, *Silva Negros Estrangeiros*, 235.
26. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 17; Fred I. A. Omu, *Press and Politics in Nigeria, 1880-1937* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1978), 258; G. O. Gbadamosi, "Pattern

- and Developments in Lagos Religious History," in A. B. Aderibigbe, ed., *Lagos: the Development of an African City* (Ikeja: Longman Nigeria, 1975), 180; "Notes on Afro-Brazilians," Turner papers, NU.
27. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 17–18.
28. "Ahmadiyyah Advanced Information," accessed April 2, 2012, <<http://mb-soft.com/believe/trw/ahmadi.htm>>.
29. Humphrey J. Fisher, *Ahmadiyyah: a Study in Contemporary Islam on the West African Coast* (London: Oxford University Press, 1963), 97, 104; Siyan Oyeweso, *Journey from Epe: Biography of S. L. Edu* (Itupeju, Lagos: West African Book Publishers, 1996), 94–95, 253, 255.
30. McKenzie, *Hail Orishá!*, 503.
31. Solimar Otero, "Orumilè Heaven is Home": Afrolatino Diasporas in Africa and the Americas" (PhD diss., University of Pennsylvania, 2002), 216, 126; Solimar Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas in the Atlantic World* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010), 37–38, 171 n. 89; Rodolfo Serracino, *Los Que Volvieron a África* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1988), 200; Peter Deschamps Chapeaux and Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Contribución a la Historia de la Gente sin Historia* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1974), 167.
32. Serracino, *Los Que Volvieron*, 48–52; Otero, "Orumilè," 215, 217; Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas*, 94–99. Laotan, the historian par excellence of the Afro-Brazilian community in Lagos, reported that the square was named after the Afro-Brazilian returnee Romão Campos (*Torch Bearers*, 12). Yet another member of the community indicated that Romão Campos was Cuban and the father of João Angelo and Hilário Campos (Lola Bamgbose-Martins, "Experience and Acknowledgement of a Brazilian Agudá of Lagos, Nigeria" (paper presented at the Conference "Agudá: Aspects of Afro-Brazilian Heritage in the Bight of Bénin," École du Patrimoine Africain, Porto-Novo, République du Bénin, Porto Novo, 26–30 November 2001), 7).
33. Serracino, *Los Que Volvieron*, 48, 49; Clément Cruz, "Les Métiers Artisanaux," in *Cultures Africaines: Documents de la Réunion d'Experts sur "Les Apports Culturels des Noirs de la Diaspora à l'Afrique. Cotonou (Bénin) 21–25 March, 1983* ([Paris: UNESCO, 1983]), 193–96; Giambatista Scala, *Memoirs of Giambatista Scala, Consul of his Italian Majesty in Lagos in Guinea* (1862) (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), xxiii.
34. Otero, "Orumilè," 198–99, 243, 245, 251, 226; Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas*, 99–106; Alberto da Costa e Silva, "Os Brasileiros ou Agudás e a Ocupação Colonial da África Ocidental: Cumplicidade, Acomodação e Resistência," in *A África e a Instalação do Sistema Colonial, Actas da III Reunião Internacional de História da África* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos de História e Geografia Antiga do Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 2000), 205.
35. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 205–06; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 16; Borghero, *Journal*, 46; Nicholas Ebeawuchi Omenka, *The School in the Service of Evangelization: the Catholic Educational Impact in Eastern Nigeria, 1886–1950* (Leiden and New York: E. J. Brill, 1989), 19.
36. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 208; Moloney to Kimberly, Sep. 8, 1882, TNA PRO/CO/147/51/1882; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 20. Alexandre Francisco da Silva was usually

- cited as Alex F. da Silva. His full name is listed under his son Miguel Alexandro-Sho-Silva's entry in *Who's Who in Nigeria: a Biographical Dictionary* (Lagos: Nigeri Printing and Publishing Company Limited, 1956), 253.
37. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 207, 209.
38. *Ibid.*, 209.
39. Patrick Gantly, *Histoire de la Société des Missions Africaines (SMA) 1856–19: De la Fondation par Mgr Marion Brésillac (1856) à la Mort du Père Planque (1919)* (Paris: Éditions Karthala, 2009), 1:270; Ellen Thorp, *Ladder of Bones* (London: Jonathan Cape, [1956]), 155–56.
40. Martinho's teaching career lasted until 1924 (Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 207; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 21).
41. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 22; Ajayi Kolawole Ajisafe, *History of Abeokuta*, 3rd ed. (Lagos: Klash and Klare Bookshop, 1948), 90.
42. Aremu, "Brazilian Legacy," 6; Milton Guran, *Agudás: os "Brasileiros" do Ben (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1999)*, 15; Joseph Ajayi Fashagba, *The First Illustrated Yoruba Dictionary: Two Paris Yoruba-English-English-Yoruba* (Toronto: J Compiler, 1991), 257; Abraham, *Dictionary*, 31. Dr. Félix Ayo Omidire on the other hand theorizes that the name *Amaro* came from the name of the Bahian city of São Amaro da Purificação: "Agudas and Jagudas: Afro-Brazilian Returnees, Cultural Renaissance and Anticolonial Protagonism in West Africa," in *Back to Africa: Afro-Brazilian Returnees and their Communities*, ed. Kweisi Kwah Prah (Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Society (CASAS), 2009), 197.
43. "Madame Tinubu," in Nigerian Broadcasting Corporation, *Eminent Nigeri of the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 35–36; McCorsy to Campbell, Mar. 17, 1856, TNA PRO/FO/2/17/1856. For a biography of Madame Tinubu see Oladipo Yemitan, *Madame Tinubu: Merchant and King-Ma* (Ibadan: University Press, 1987).
44. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 6; Ayo Omidire "Agudas and Jagudas," 2009, 204.
45. John Augustus Otonba Payne, *Table of Principal Events in Yoruba History* (Lagos: Andrew M. Thomas, 1899), 1; Akinsemoyin and Vaughan-Richards, *Building Lagos*, [1]; John B. Losi, *History of Lagos* (Lagos: African Education Press, 1967), Fashagba, *First Illustrated Yoruba Dictionary*, 207. Twenty years later the Catholic missionaries established a brick kiln to fabricate bricks for the construction of a Catholic church (Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 190).
46. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 14–15; Lisa A. Lindsay, "Brazilian Women In Lagos 1879–1882," in *Proceedings of the First International Conference on Women in Africa and the African Diaspora (WAAD): Bridges Across Activism and the Academy*, Nsuk Nigeria, July 13–18, 1992, ed. Obioma Nnaemeka (Nsukka, Nigeria: The Conference Center, Indianapolis: Association of African Women Scholars, Women's Studies Program, 1992), 110; Laotan, "Brazilian Influence," 164; "Jury List for 1905," in *Government Gazette of Lagos* (Lagos: n.p.), 15–27.
47. John Michael Vlach, "The Brazilian House in Nigeria: the Emergence of a 20th-century Vernacular House Type," *The Journal of American Folklore* 97 (1984): 11–12; Ulli Beier, *Art in Nigeria, 1960*. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1960), 11–12; John Godwin, "Architecture in Nigeria," *Nigeria Magazine* 91 (1966): 249; Alon

"Afro-Brazilian Architecture," 96–98; Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *The History of African Cities South of the Sahara: From the Origins to Colonization*, trans. Mary Barker (Princeton, NJ: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2005), 183.

48. Alonge, "Afro-Brazilian Architecture," 177–81, table 5.13.
49. Aradeon, "Planning Lagos," 79, 77; Alonge, "Afro-Brazilian Architecture," 180, photo page 184.

50. Vlach, "Brazilian House," 7; Abraham, *Dictionary*, 302, 554.

51. Akinsemoyin and Vaughan-Richards, *Building Lagos*, [1].

52. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 144–48; *Blue Book, The Colony and Protectorate of Lagos, 1888* (Lagos: J. Sylvanus George, Government Printer 1889), 52, accessed August 27, 2014 [BritishOnlineArchives.com, paid database online].

53. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 148–52; Cunha, *Da Senzala* 17–18; Melville J. Herskovits, "Some Economic Aspects of Candomblé Afro-Bahian," in *The New World Negro: Selected Papers in Afroamerican Studies*, ed. Frances S. Herskovits (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1966), 249. The kola nut is also a symbol of goodwill and friendship when the nuts are eaten by a group of people it is assumed that the friendship between them gets stronger. Emmanuel Ayankanni Ayandele, *Holy Johnson: Pioneer of African Nationalism* (New York: Humanities Press, [1970]), 225, n. 89; Abraham, *Dictionary*, 74.

54. Aydano do Couto Ferraz, "Volta a África," in *Antologia do Negro Brasileiro*, ed. Edison Carneiro (Rio de Janeiro: [Technoprint Gráfica, 1971]), 228; Kim D. Butler, "Africa and the Reinvention of Nineteenth-Century Afro-Brazilian Identity," in *Rethinking the African Diaspora: the Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil*, eds. Kristin Mann and Edna Bay (London: Frank Cass, 2001), 143–44; Deocóredes Maximiliano dos Santos, *História de um Terreiro Nagô: Crônica Histórica* (São Paulo: Carthago e Forte, 1994), 9–16.

55. Vivaldo da Costa Lima and Waldir Freitas de Oliveira, "O Candomblé da Bahia na Década de Trinta," in Edison Carneiro, *Cartas de Edison Carneiro a Artur Ramos: de 4 de Janeiro de 1936 a 6 de Dezembro de 1938*, eds. Vivaldo da Costa Lima and Waldir Freitas de Oliveira (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1987), 47, 51; Franklin E.razier, "The Negro Family in Bahia, Brazil," *American Sociological Review* 7 (1942): 474–75; Donald Pierson, *Negroes in Brazil: a Study of Race Contact at Bahia* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1942), 241–42, 293–95; Jorge Amado, "Elogio de um Chefe de Seita," in *O Negro no Brasil: trabalhos apresentados no 2º Congresso Afro-Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1940), 326–28; Ruth Landes, *The City of Women* (New York: Macmillan, 1947), 22–34; Edison Carneiro, "Martimiano do Bomfim" in *Antologia do Negro Brasileiro*, ed. Edison Carneiro (São Paulo: Editora Globo, 1950), 404; Lorenzo Dow Turner, "Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves with Nigeria, West Africa," *Journal of Negro History* 27 (1942): 62–63; *Jornal da Bahia*, May 14, 1936, 5; Félix Ayoh'Omidire and Alcione M. Amos, "O Babalá Fala: a Autobiografia de Martiniano Eliseu do Bomfim," *Afro-Ásia* 46 (2012): 229–61, accessed August 7, 2014, <http://www.afroasia.ufba.br/pdf/AA_46_FAOmidire-AAAamos_1.pdf>.

56. Herskovits, "Some Economic Aspects," 249; list of items used in the Candomblé rituals prepared for a client in Bahia by L. P. Santos and Sons, Import and Export,

Lagos, Nigeria, June 13, 1958, folder A-B, Descendentes de brasileiros na África, Personal Archives of Pierre Verger, Fundação Pierre Verger, Salvador, Bahia.

57. Lindsay, "To Return," 29.

58. "Lagos Polo Mini Tournament," accessed April 2, 2012, <<http://lagospoloclub.blogspot.com/2011/11/lagos-polo-mini-tournament.html>>, (hereafter "Lagos Polo").

Cunha, *Da Senzala*, 103–104.

59. "Da Rocha Candido 1869–1959," in *People in the News, 1900–1999: A Survey of Nigerians of the 20th Century* (Lagos: Independent Communications Limited, 2000) 172; photo no. 1136, Fundação Pierre Verger, Salvador, Bahia; Alonge, "Afro-Brazilian Architecture," 250–51, 262.

60. The narrative of the life of João Esan da Rocha is based on the following sources: Olatunji Ojo, "Brazilians in Lagos: Families, their Descendants and Interaction with Bahia," (paper presented at the Conference "Agudá: Aspects of Afro-Brazilian Heritage in the Bight of Bénin," École du Patrimoine Africain, Porto-Novo, République du Bénin, Porto Novo, 26–30 November 2001), 5–6; Cunha, *Da Senzala*, 52–52 "Rocha, Nigéria," accessed April 2, 2012, <<http://www2.mre.gov.br/cartafica/familias/rocha.htm>>, (hereafter "Rocha, Nigéria"); Lloyd C. Gwan, "The Writings of D. Moses João da Rocha (1875–1942)," *Ibadan* 25 (1968): 41; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 1; Nina Mba, "Literature as a Source of Nigerian History: Case Study of *The Water Hous* and the Brazilians of Lagos," in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, 355–57; Antônio Olinto, *Brasileiros na África* (São Paulo: Edições GRD, 1980), 193–194; Kristin Mann "The Social History of the New African Elite in Lagos Colony, 1880–1913 (PhD diss Stanford University, 1977), 129.

61. Olinto, *Brasileiros na África*, 194; Mann, "Social History," 129; Ojo, "Brazilian in Lagos," 6; Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo*, 628; "Rocha, Nigéria"; Antony G. Hopkin; "Property Rights and Empire Building: Britain's Annexation of Lagos, 1861," *Journal of Economic History* 60 (1980): 793; Jean Comhaire, "A Propos des 'Brésiliens de Lagos,'" *Grands Lacs* 119 (1949): 42; "Da Rocha Candido 1869–1959," 171; Francis Jaekes *The History of the Nigerian Railway, v. 2 Network and Infrastructures* (Ibadan: Spectrum Books, 1997), 66; "Lagos Polo"; Geoffrey Taylor, "Lagos to Salisbury: Two African Capitals," *West African Review* 31 (1960): 44–45.

62. Ayoh'Omidire, "Agudás and Jagudas," 208, n.8; Tundonu A. Amosu, "The Ibad Heritage: Nigeria's Brazilian Connection," *África: Revista do Centro de Estudos Africanos da USP* 10 (1987): 48.

63. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 11, 19; Gwan, "Writings," 41.

64. Gwan, "Writings," 42.

65. Hakim Adi, *West Africans in Britain, 1900–1960: Nationalism, Pan-Africanism, and Communism* (London: Lawrence and Wishart, [1998]), 9–10; Philip Serge Zachernuk, *Colonial Subjects: an African Intelligentsia and Atlantic Ideas* (Charlottesville VA: University Press of Virginia, 2000), 65.

66. Gwan, "Writings," 42–43; Annie E. Coombes, *Reinventing Africa: Museum, Material Culture and Popular Imagination in Late Victorian and Edwardian England* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1994), 34–36; Allister Macmillan, *The Red Book of West Africa: Historical and Descriptive, Commercial and Industrial Facts Figures & Sources* (London: W. H. & L. Collingridge, 1920), 130.



67. Gwan, "Writings," 42; Macmillan, *Red Book*, 130.
68. Candido da Rocha, born 1867, male, merchant, travelled from Liverpool to Salvador, Bahia on November 18, 1913, in Findmypast.co.uk [paid database online]; Candido da Rocha, born about 1868, arrived in Liverpool on June 10, 1914, U.K. Incoming Passenger Lists, 1878–1960 [Ancestry.com, paid database online]; Mba, "Literature as a Source of Nigerian History," 357; "Rocha, Nigéria," accessed April 2, 2012, <http://www2.mre.gov.br/cartafica/familias/rocha.htm>, (hereafter "Rocha, Nigéria"); J. Lorand Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matrilinearity in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005), 173.
69. Cunha, *Da Senzala*, 50–51, 181–85; Olimto, *Brasileiros na África*, 188–89. The other firms were Fernandez and Co., P. F. Gomes, Walter P. Siffre, and J. A. Campos who was associated with the Saro J. O. George (Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 161; Luis Nicolau Parés, "O Mundo Atlântico e a Construção da Hegemonia Nagô no Candomblé Baiano," *Revista Esboços* 17 (2010): 184, n. 39, accessed April 5, 2012, <http://www.periodicos.ufsc.br/index.php/esboços/article/view/2175-7976.2010v17n23p165>).
70. See Cunha, *Da Senzala*, 181–85 for the full transcript of the testament.
71. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 14; Mann, "Social History," 101.
72. Tititola Euba, "Dress and Status in nineteenth Century Lagos," in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, 149.
73. Macmillan, *Red Book*, 116.
74. Funso Akere, "Linguistic Assimilation in Socio-Historical Dimensions in Urban and Sub-Urban Lagos," in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, 186; Amosu, "Jaded Heritage," 45; Aremu, "Brazilian Legacy," 10; Alaba Simpson, "Local Memories of a Slave Field Culture: the Socio Cultural Significance of Frijol, the African Brazilian Easter Food Heritage in Lagos," in *The African Diaspora Archeology Network Newsletter* (March 2009), accessed February 5, 2011, <http://www.diaspora.uic.edu/news0209/news0309-7.pdf>; William O. Jones, "Manioc: an Example of Innovation in African Economies," *Economic Development and Cultural Change* 5 (1957): 100; Zora Seljan, "Influência da Alimentação Brasileira na Nigéria," in Zora Seljan, *Educação na Nigéria* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Leitura, [1962]), 87–88.
75. Lisa A. Lindsay, "Brazilian Women in Nineteenth Century Lagos," unpublished and undated manuscript, 12.
76. Mieko Nishida, *Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003), 114.
77. "Note from José Bonifácio Rodrigues to Lorenzo Dow Turner," Lorenzo Dow Turner collection, Anacostia Community Museum, Smithsonian Institution, Washington, DC (hereafter Turner collection, Anacostia); Turner, "Some Contacts," 64–65.
78. Ana Alikija [sic], "Africans in Brazil, Brazilians in Africa," in *Back to Africa*, 314; Turner, "Notes on Afro-Brazilians," Turner Papers, NU.
79. Alikija [sic], "Africans in Brazil," 314; Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 222; Gantly, *Histoire de la Societé*, 1:391–93; Turner, "Some Contacts," 65; "Assunção (Alakija) Nigéria," accessed April 2, 2012, <http://www2.mre.gov.br/cartafica/familias/alakija.htm> (hereafter "Assunção (Alakija) Nigéria"); Patrick Cole, *Modern and Traditional Elites in the Politics of Lagos* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1975), 267.
80. *Tejumade* means "fix your gaze on the crown," or "fix your gaze on our royal lineage family." Babalola and Alaba, *Dictionary*, 843.
81. Folarin Coker, *The Rt. Honourable Sir Adétokunbo Ademola, GRF, KBE, PC: Biography* (Lagos: Times Press, 1972), 21; Turner, "Some Contacts," 65; Kristin Manu *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status, and Social Change Among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 128; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 17; "Assunção (Alakija) Nigéria," "Notes on Afro-Brazilians" Turner papers, NU Alikija [sic], "Africans in Brazil," 315.
82. Babalola and Alaba, *Dictionary*, 63; Coker, *Rt. Honourable*, 21.
83. *Colonial Office List, or General Register of the Colonial Dependencies of Great Britain* (London: Harrison, 1902), 426; (1913), 466–67; "Afro-Brazilians" Turner papers, NU.
84. "Maxwell P. de Assumpção, LLD, Barrister-at-Law," *The African Times and Orient Review* (June 1913): 407; "Morreu um antigo professor de inglês e advogado undated clipping from unnamed newspaper, in box 19, folder 22, Turner collectio Anacostia.
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86. Maxwell Porphyrio Assumpção and Celia Maxwell Assumpção, arrival da April 5, 1913, port of arrival, Southampton, England, U.K. Incoming Passenger Lists 1878–1960," Ancestry.com [paid database online].
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88. Jefferson Bacerlar, "A Frente Negra Brasileira na Bahia," *Afro-Ásia* 17 (1996): 7; accessed April 19, 2012, <http://www.afroasia.ufba.br/pdf/afroasia_n17_p73.pdf>; Thales de Azevedo, *As Elites de Cor Numa Cidade Brasileira: um Estudo de Ascensão Social e Classes Sociais e Grupos de Prestígio* (Salvador: Empresa Gráfica da Bahia: EDUFBA, 1996), 99–100, n. 69.
89. Musliu Olaiya Anibaba, *A Lagosian of the 20th Century: an Autobiography* (Lagos: Tisons Limited, 2003), 91; admission papers for Honório Marcus Akklade Assumpção at Plácido Maclean Adeyemo Assumpção, Middle Temple, London, MT.3/AHC/23, T. Honourable Society of the Middle Temple, Middle Temple Archive, London.
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91. Anibaba, *Lagosian*, 89; Richard L. Sklar, *Nigerian Political Parties: Power in an Emergent African Nation* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1963), 54.
92. *Builders of Modern Nigeria*, v.1, ed. Oladapo Odebiyi (Lagos: VBO International, 1985), 23–24; Akin Alao, *Statesmanship on the Bench: the Judicial Career of Sir Adetokunbo Ademola (CJN), 1939–1972* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2007), 74–75.
93. A. McL. Davidson and P. A. Bello, "The Origin and Early History of Lagos," *The Nigerian Field* (1954): 19, 18; Anibaba, *Lagosian*, 91; Mbazulike Amechi, *The Forgotten Heroes of Nigerian Independence* (Onitsha: Erukokwo Press (Nig.) Limited, 1985), 45–48.
94. For a detailed study of the *Egbe Omo Oduduwa* refer to S.O. Arifalo, *The Egbe Omo Oduduwa: A Study in Ethnic and Cultural Nationalism (1945–1965)* (Akure, Nigeria: Stebak Books & Publishers, 2001).
95. "Adeyemo Alakija. Nigerian newspaper entrepreneur and lawyer," accessed April 2, 2012, <<http://people.africadatabase.org/en/person/11034.html>>; Mann, *Marrying Well*, 128; "Assunção (Alakija) Nigéria," Avandele, *Holy Johnson*, 346–47; Onnu, *Press and Politics*, 57.
96. Babalola and Alaba, *Dictionary*, 376, 237; *Who's Who in Nigeria*, 65; George Padmore, "Hitler Makes British Drop Color Bar," *Crisis* (March 1941): 82; "Air Marshall L. A. Pattison. Air Officer Commanding-in-Chief, Flying Training Command, talking to Babatunde Alakija, the First Nigerian to Join RAF, at RAF Receiving Depot at Stratford-upon-Avon, Warwickshire," accessed August 21, 2014, <<http://www.iwm.org.uk/collections/item/object/205210040>>; Stanley Meister, *Kofi Annan: A Man of Peace in a World of War* (Hoboken: John Wiley & Sons, 2007) 27–29, 32, 35.
97. "Assunção (Alakija) Nigéria."
98. Lindsay, "Brazilian Women," 111.
99. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 7, 16; Laotan, "Brazilian Influence," 164; Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 217; Abraham, *Dictionary*, 25.
100. Akere, "Linguistic Assimilation," 187; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 13.
101. Simpson, "Local Memories," 5; Alaba Simpson, "The Politics of Culture and Diaspora Settlement in Lagos: Ethnographic Presentation of the African Brazilian Fanti/Caretta Carnival," *The African Diaspora Archeology Network Newsletter* (June 2007), 10–11, accessed April 19, 2012, <<http://www.diaspora.uic.edu/news0607/news0607-6.pdf>>.
102. Mann, "Social History," 171–76.
103. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 217; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 11; Macmillan, *Red Book*, 110; Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo*, 627; Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1976), 218; Increase H. E. Coker, *Landmarks of the Nigeria Press: an Outline of the Origins and Development of the Newspaper Press in Nigeria: 1859 to 1965* (N.p.: n.p., 1968?), 118.
104. Mann, "Social History," 188; Kristin Mann, "Marriage Choices Among the Educated African Elite in Lagos Colony, 1880–1915," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14 (1981): 214–15.
105. *Who's Who in Nigeria*, 63; Claudius Doa Akran and Emelinda Segboa Akrai out-going passengers, M.S. Aureol, departure October 31, 1957 to West Africa, U.K Outward Passenger Lists, 1890–1960, accessed August 12, 2014 [Ancestry.com, pai database online].
106. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 180; Michael J. C. Echeruo, "Concert and Theatre in Late Nineteenth-Century Lagos," *Nigeria Magazine* 74 (1962): 68–74.
107. David Brion Davis, *Slavery and Human Progress* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1984), 298–99; Cunha, *Da Senzala*, 26–27; speech delivered by Governor Molemy, Manuscript Collection, British Empire, 22 G80a, Rhodes House Library, Oxford.
108. In Maranhão groups of *Caretas* went out on Good Friday. The participant used masks described as being "nasty" and carried with them whips to defend themselves from other groups. They were representing the protectors of Judas, the apostle who betrayed Jesus, and by using the whip they were defending Judas from being taken before the morning of Alleluia. Luis Camara Cascuo, *Dicionário do Folclore Brasileiro*, 4th ed. (Rio de Janeiro: Edições Melhoramentos, 1979), 195; Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe (Zik), the first president of independent Nigeria, lived on Bamgboke Street in the Brazilian Quarter during his childhood and remembered the use of the horse whip during the Brazilian *Caretá*, Benjamin Nnamdi Azikiwe, (Zik), "Insic Stuff, My Odyssey," *The West African Pilot*, August 2, 1938, 4–5.
109. Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 8.
110. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 182.
111. Laotan, "Brazilian Influence," 164–65; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 8; Christoph Alen Watermann, *Jijiti: A Social History and Ethnography of an African Popular Music* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1990), 32.
112. Waterman, *Jijiti*, 39–40, 234 n.7; Afolabi Alaja-Browne, "The Origin and Development of Ju Ju Music," *The Black Perspective in Music* 17 (1989): 55–56.
113. *Caretta* is a corruption of the Portuguese word *Caretá*, which means mask and also a grimace; *Fanti*, sometimes also spelled as *Fanty*, is believed to be a corruptio of the word *fancy* because the participants of the Carnival parade wear highly decorated costumes. *Fanti* has also been connected with the participation of Togolese and Ghanaian (*Fanti* speakers) immigrants to Lagos in the Carnival, (Simpson, "Politics of Culture," 10–11).
114. "Fanty Carnival Uniting Communities in Lagos," *National Daily News* (Nigeria) January 9, 2012, accessed April 19, 2012, <http://www.nationaldailyng.com/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2733:fanty-carnival-uniting-communities-in-lagos&catid=328:main&Itemid=601>.
115. Simpson, "Politics of Culture," 22.
116. Cunha, *Negros Estrangeiros*, 185, 231; Laotan, *Torch Bearers*, 12, 16; Olint *Brasileiros na África*, 189, 214.
117. Zora Seijan, *No Brasil Ainda tem Gente da Minha Cor?* (Salvador: Prefeitura da Cidade de Salvador/Departamento de Assuntos Culturais/Secretaria de Educação e Cultura, 1978), 9–11. The question was answered by Seijan, wife of Brazilian Ambassador Antônio Olinto, as follows "There are still many, thank God!" Jerry D'Avil "Pele Branca, Máscaras Negras: Diplomatas Brasileiros na Nigéria e Concepções Hereditárias (1962–1966)," *Revista de Antropologia*, USP 51 (2008): 481.

118. "Carrena, Nigéria" accessed April 2, 2012, <<http://www2.mre.gov.br/cartafrica/familias/carrena.htm>>.

119. "Machado, Nigéria" accessed April 2, 2012, <<http://www2.mre.gov.br/cartafrica/familias/machado.htm>>; "Gonçalo/Nigéria" accessed April 5, 2012 <http://www2.mre.gov.br/cartafrica/familias/goncalo.htm>>.

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