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Apparitions of the Atlantic: Mobility, Kinship, and Freedom among Afro-Brazilian Emigrants from Bahia to Lagos, 1850–1900

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requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Susan Alexandra Corey Rosenfeld

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Apparitions of the Atlantic: Mobility, Kinship, and Freedom among Afro-Brazilian Emigrants from Bahia to Lagos, 1850–1900

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Doctor of Philosophy in History

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Professor Andrew Apter, Chair

This dissertation traces the multigenerational, multi-sited trajectories of the thousands of freed African and African-descended individuals who emigrated from Salvador da Bahia, Brazil to Lagos in present-day Nigeria during the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, it employs macro-scale digital humanities tools and microhistorical accounts to examine the nexus between mobility, kinship, and freedom for these returnees during a period of immense Atlantic transformation. This study incorporates the individual and collective trajectories of the most understudied members of the emigrant population—including non-elites, women, children, and subordinate dependents—in order to provide a more nuanced and statistically informed picture of the formerly enslaved Africans and their descendants who left Bahia for Lagos.

While this dissertation is grounded in Lagos, the circumstances under which its subjects established themselves in the West African port town—including their origins in Yorubaland, their

enslavements in Brazil, and their returns to a burgeoning British colony while Atlantic slavery was in its final throes—fundamentally make this an Atlantic project. Using quantitative data derived from the Afro-Brazilian Returnee Database (ABRD), as well as judicial, baptismal, and probate records, British colonial documents, newspapers, land grants, letters of manumission, and passport and passenger lists from archives on three continents, I argue that trans-Atlantic migration and kinship networks shaped returnees' assertions of freedom and strategies of social mobility on local and Atlantic scales. Further, I find that these individuals undertook multiple voyages and maintained their trans-Atlantic contacts more frequently than previously understood. Finally, by centering Lagos as a crucial node on the Atlantic circuit, I argue that the burgeoning British colony shaped—and was shaped by—these emigrants' trans-Atlantic understandings and assertions of kinship networks, identities, and freed statuses. Indeed, Lagos served as an important locale for provocative articulations of liberty, which informed Africans' assertions of freedom in both West Africa and Bahia. In this way, this project sheds new light on the role of African and African-descended migrants in shaping local, transnational, and imperial understandings of what it meant to be free during the last decades of Atlantic slavery and the early years of abolition and colonial rule.

The dissertation of Susan Alexandra Corey Rosenfeld is approved.

Allen Roberts

Robin D.G. Kelley

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For Miles and his Bubbe.

Their wonderful laughter has filled

the air as I've written this dissertation.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABRD	Afro-Brazilian Returnee Database
APEB	Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia
FO	British Foreign Office
TNA	British National Archives
LSHC	Lagos State High Court
NAI	Nigerian National Archives–Ibadan
RP	Registros de Passaportes

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A hummingbird flew into my living room as I finished packing for my fieldwork in Nigeria on a hot September afternoon. It promptly hit an adjacent window and dropped dead at my feet. I left for Lagos the next morning. Even at that point, I knew that the two events—the hummingbird and my departure—were related; most people who have lived or worked in Nigeria would agree. This knowledge was confirmed soon after my arrival. I spent my first two weeks in Lagos sitting outside of the Chief Registrar's office at the High Court, begging him to grant me access to the scarcely used, nineteenth-century judicial documents that were stored on the top floor of the building's five-story tower. During the third week, the Registrar finally jotted a note of approval; I was certain that my *wàhálà* was finished. However, when I handed the note to the *ọ̀gá* at the records department, he shook his head. My request was impossible, he said; a vicious owl lived in the rafters of the top floor, preventing anyone from accessing the documents. I told him that I would risk it, and he reluctantly agreed; he did not accompany me up the stairs. In the many months that I spent in the tower, I never had an encounter with the owl; however, I treated the documents—and the knowledge that they contained—with care. All of this is to say that, first and foremost, I must acknowledge Eshu, who cleared the path and made it possible for me to complete this dissertation. There were many moments in which I was not sure if I had angered him.

I am also grateful to the many people who cleared my path, or helped me forge new trails. Indeed, I am fortunate to have mentors from multiple fields, institutions, and continents; to all of you*, ẹ ṣé oo, obrigada, thank you*! First, I am forever indebted to Andrew Apter, who went above and beyond his call of duty as my advisor. Andrew's brilliance in thinking outside of discrete categories, in his scholarship and his pedagogical approach, has deeply shaped my development

as a historian. During my time at UCLA, Andrew has treated me as his intellectual equal and as a part of his family, and I deeply value our dynamic of mentorship and friendship. The other members of my committee were tireless in their mentorship and support, as well. I am grateful to Bill Summerhill for the countless hours of intellectual and practical advice that he has given me about both Brazil and the world of academia in general. He has encouraged me to keep the "big picture" in mind in ways that are invaluable, not only beyond graduate school, but also beyond the academy. I thank him for all of the various ways that he has supported me through these years. The first time I met Robin Kelley, he was giving a job talk at UCLA about sifting through Thelonious Monk's storage unit for the archival artifacts that overflowed in his book. His words provided endless motivation for me while I sorted through the dusty and disorganized records at the Lagos State High Court. His exemplary scholarship, pedagogy, and social activism is only matched by his passion and commitment to all three, and I am grateful for all the opportunities and inspiration he has given me. Finally, I thank Al Roberts, who taught me to perceive the mystic in the ordinary, and whose commitment to his students—and Africa itself—is inspiring.

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INTRODUCTION

On 19 July 1852, a Nagô freed woman named Victoria do Couto Vianna appeared before her former master, Senhor José Martins do Couto Vianna, in the northeastern city of Salvador da Bahia, Brazil.[1] She had come to purchase the liberty of her Brazilian-born daughter, Henriqueta, for 300 *milréis*.[2] Just over a year and a half later, on 17 January 1854, Henriqueta do Couto Vianna went to the Salvador police and requested a passport to travel to the African coast.[3] When the young girl boarded the ship that would take her across the Atlantic, she said goodbye to her mother; although Henriqueta was still a minor, Victoria did not accompany her daughter to the continent of her birth. In fact, it is unclear from the written record whether Victoria and Henriqueta ever saw each other again, on either side of the Atlantic.

[1] The term "Nagô" was one of many generalized classifications of enslaved Africans taken from particular ethnic groups, regions, pre-colonial states, or ports along the West African coast. In Bahia, the "Nagô" ethnonym encompassed enslaved Yoruba speakers from kingdoms throughout the region now known as "Yorubaland," including Oyo, Egba, Egbado, Ijesha, Ijebu, Anago, Lagos, Ketu, and Ibadan. This classification was specific to Bahia; the term "Mina" was used in southern Brazil to refer to Yoruba-speaking people. See Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1945 [1905]), 178; João José Reis and Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian, "Nagô and Mina: The Yoruba Diaspora in Brazil," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 77. Analyses of the West African origins of this term include: Robin Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: 'Lucumi' and 'Nago' as Ethnonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 212–13; J. Lorand Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots of the Yoruba Nation," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, no. 1 (1999): 84.

[2] Arquívo Público do Estado da Bahia (hereafter APEB), Livro de Notas 304, Carta da Liberdade 89, 19 July 1852. The *real* (plural *réis*) is the unit of Portuguese currency. One *milréis* is 1,000 *réis*. Portuguese currency is normally written 1$, with fractions carried out three places.

[3] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Registros de Passaportes (hereafter RP) (1852–1854), maço 5894, 17 January 1854. After obtaining her liberty, Henriqueta adopted her master's surname. This practice was common in Brazil among freed African and African-descended people; see Walter Fraga, *Crossroads of Freedom: Slavery and Post-Emancipation in Bahia, Brazil, 1870–1910*, trans. Mary Ann Mahony (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016).

This dissertation traces the multigenerational, multi-sited trajectories of the thousands of freed African and African-descended individuals who, like Henriqueta do Couto Vianna, emigrated from Salvador da Bahia, Brazil to Lagos in present-day Nigeria during the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, it employs macro-scale digital humanities tools and microhistorical accounts to examine the nexus between mobility, kinship, and freedom for these returnees during a period of immense Atlantic transformation. This study incorporates the individual and collective trajectories of the most understudied members of the emigrant population—including non-elites, women, children, and subordinate dependents—in order to provide a more nuanced and statistically informed picture of the formerly enslaved Africans and their descendants who left Bahia for Lagos.

While this dissertation is grounded in Lagos, the circumstances under which its subjects established themselves in the West African port town—including their origins in Yorubaland, their enslavements in Brazil, and their returns to a burgeoning British colony while Atlantic slavery was in its final throes—fundamentally make this an Atlantic project. Using quantitative data derived from the Afro-Brazilian Returnee Database (ABRD), as well as judicial, baptismal, and probate records, British colonial documents, newspapers, land grants, letters of manumission, and passport and passenger lists, I argue that trans-Atlantic migration and kinship networks shaped returnees' assertions of freedom and strategies of social mobility on local and Atlantic scales. Further, I find that these individuals undertook multiple voyages and maintained their trans-Atlantic contacts more frequently than previously understood. Finally, by centering Lagos as a crucial node on the Atlantic circuit, I contend that the burgeoning British colony shaped—and was shaped by—these emigrants' trans-Atlantic understandings and assertions of kinship, mobility, and freedom. Indeed, Lagos served as an important locale for provocative articulations of liberty, which informed

African returnees' assertions of their freed status in both West Africa and Bahia. In this way, this project sheds new light on the role of African and African-descended migrants in shaping local, transnational, and imperial understandings of what it meant to be free during the last decades of Atlantic slavery and the first years of colonial rule.

This dissertation's focus on the African and African-descended returnees who emigrated to Lagos between 1850 and 1900 is justified by the extraordinary nature of both this population and this time period. In fact, the subjects of this study represent the largest group of freed Africans to return to the continent during the era of Atlantic slavery.[4] Indeed, the "Brazilian" community in Lagos alone numbered in the thousands.[5] These returnees were also exceptional because of their high level of geographical mobility. In addition to their forced migrations to Brazil as enslaved people and then their return voyages back to West Africa, many of these freed individuals

[4] For the sake of engagement with the wider literature on African emigrants from Brazil to West Africa—and based on the use of this referent by contemporary British colonial documents—I have chosen to use the words "returnee" and "return." However, these terms do not always speak to the complex realities of the subjects and the processes that are central to this study. On the one hand, many of the Brazilian-born descendants of African emigrants had never actually been to the African coast prior to their departures from Bahia; yet, for many African-descended travelers, their disembarkations in West Africa did represent a return to the region of their ancestral homelands. On the other hand, for African-born settlers, Lagos was not their natal homeland; a large number of these emigrants came from towns and villages on the interior, many of which were destroyed or abandoned during the Yoruba wars. Further, as this dissertation will show, the back-and-forth movement and the trans-Atlantic networks of a significant number of freed Africans make it inaccurate to locate these transnational travelers' "homes" in one locale over the other.

[5] I use the overarching term "Brazilian" in quotes, to acknowledge the historical inaccuracies associated with it. On the one hand, a small proportion of the "Brazilians" in Lagos were freed Africans who actually emigrated from Cuba. However, these individuals' similar trajectories—as Yoruba-speaking people who were enslaved in the Americas and returned to their region of origin (often as Roman Catholics, like the emigrants from Bahia)—led to their rapid incorporation into the "Brazilian" community in the port town. While this dissertation does not focus on these Cuban emigrants, it is often impossible to discern the diasporic origins of individuals who were identified as "Brazilians" in Lagos. On the other hand, this term connotes a particular identity that does not necessarily account for the multiple identity possibilities that emigrants employed in various locales and contexts. For example, formerly enslaved African-born individuals may have identified themselves as "Brazilians" in official documents because of the social capital it provided them; however, they often prioritized their natal, ethnic, or religious identities when they interacted with indigenous Africans living in Lagos.

continued to travel on regional and trans-Atlantic scales after they disembarked in Lagos. This mobility is an important point of inquiry for two reasons. First, this dissertation's systematic study of returnees' movements offers new insights into the patterns and practicalities of travel and migration for formerly enslaved Africans and their descendants, in and between the slaveholding societies that defined the nineteenth-century Atlantic.[6] Second, an examination of these individuals' geographical mobility invites us to reconsider the paradigms through which they understood return migration; it also contributes to scholars' understandings of return movements among people of African descent.

Finally, the majority of these returnees possessed common regional origins, which also made their resettlements to Lagos remarkable. In particular, political upheaval and warfare in the Bight of Benin and its interior precipitated a migratory wave of enslaved, Yoruba-speaking people to the Americas between 1770 and 1850.[7] A large percentage of these individuals disembarked in Bahia. In northeastern Brazil, their linguistic, cultural, and religious similarities, as well as their experiences of enslavement, shaped their collective identities.[8] These commonalities also gave rise

[6] The subjects of this dissertation traveled and migrated between Lagos and Bahia. This distinction is important to understanding these individuals' geographical mobility. However, it is also difficult to clearly categorize these subjects as distinctly travelers or migrants. For instance, many freed Africans continued to travel to Bahia after emigrating to Lagos. For an analysis of the distinction between travel and migration (especially in relation to how migration is related to diasporic formations), see James Clifford, "Diasporas," *Cultural Anthropology* 9, no. 3 (1994): 307–10.

[7] The Bight of Benin—also called the Slave Coast, based on its historical association with the Atlantic slave trade—extends across approximately 640 km of the western African coast. It includes the present-day countries of Ghana, Togo, Benin, and Nigeria. The towns and villages of Yoruba-speaking subgroups comprises the southwestern region of modern-day Nigeria and the easternmost part of Benin.

[8] Many studies examine the cultural and religious commonalities that arose out of this extractive period in the Bight of Benin; they explore the ways in which these common origins shaped social networks and political movements in Brazil. See Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil*; Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil: Toward a Sociology of the Interpenetration of Civilizations*, trans. by Helen Sebba (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 2007 [1960]); Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993); Paul Christopher Johnson, *Secrets, Gossip, and Gods: The Transformation of Brazilian Candomblé* (New York: Oxford University

to various ethnically based networks and institutions, through which these Yoruba-speaking people fought for freedom, purchased letters of manumission, and funded their passages to West Africa.[9] These common origins also dictated freed Africans' decisions to leave Bahia for Lagos. Indeed, the Afro-Brazilians who settled in this particular West African port town were exceptional, due the fact that their resettlements in Lagos represented their returns to the Yoruba-speaking region of their births.[10] Many emigrants rekindled their relationships with members of their social, religious, commercial, and kinship networks, whom they had forcibly left behind when they were enslaved; they also acquainted their Brazilian-born kin with their African relations.

The time period of this study is equally extraordinary, due to the vast social, economic, and political transformations occurring in Brazil, Lagos, and the larger Atlantic world. In Brazil, the second half of the nineteenth century began with the passage of the Eusébio de Queiroz Law in September 1850, which outlawed the Atlantic slave trade.[11] The result was a sharp decline in the

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Press, 2002); Reis, "Ethnic Politics Among Africans in Nineteenth-Century Bahia," in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, eds. Paul E. Lovejoy and David Vincent Trotman (London: Continuum, 2003), 240–64; Luis Nicolau Parés, "The 'Nagôization' Process in Bahian Candomblé," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 185–208; Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

[9] The population of Yoruba-speaking individuals was so dominant in nineteenth-century Salvador that many members of other West African ethnic groups likely learned the Yoruba language, which was spoken in the city's streets and marketplaces. As such, some Africans may have adopted Nagô "identities" and, therefore, were incorporated into Nagô networks in Bahia.

[10] My definition of the term "Afro-Brazilian" differs from its usage in the Brazilian political context. Kim D. Butler argues that people of African descent—who previously organized around ethnic identities—began to mobilize around a collective, racially- and nationally-based identity as "Afro-Brazilians" following abolition. In contrast, I employ the phrase "Afro-Brazilian" as an overarching term to refer to *all* of the emigrants—both African- and Brazilian-born—who left Bahia for West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. See Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won: Afro-Brazilians in Post-Abolition São Paulo and Salvador* (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1998).

[11] The passage of the Eusébio de Queiroz Law serves as my justification for the temporal parameters of this study beginning in 1850, approximately one year prior to the British bombardment of Lagos in late 1851.

number of enslaved Africans imported into the country. However, an internal slave trade, which began in the 1830s, continued to move enslaved people from the northern provinces to the coffee-growing regions of central and southern Brazil until 1881.[12] The centrality of slavery to the country's social and economic fabric meant that the process of gradual emancipation, which began in 1850, took almost forty years; Brazil finally abolished slavery by imperial decree in May 1888.

During this gradual process, an increasing percentage of African and African-descended people obtained manumission; however, the economic instability that arose from the transition from slavery to wage labor (and, from 1889 onwards, Brazil's transformation from an empire into a republic) led to high rates of poverty within the freed population.[13] Further, especially in Bahia, repressive legislation limited manumitted Africans' opportunities for geographical movement, wealth accumulation, and political involvement. Finally, a regressive tax system, an expanding legal bureaucracy, less access to land, new forms of discrimination and exclusion based on race, and the lack of institutional avenues through which Africans (and dark-skinned Brazilians) could attain education also presented serious obstacles.[14]

At the same time, the Lagos economy was booming at the start of the second half of the nineteenth century. Africans in Brazil knew of the growing trade in palm products that gradually replaced the Atlantic commerce in human beings in Lagos and the larger Bight of Benin. The British oil trade reached its peak in the 1850s, precisely the decade in which emigration from Brazil

[12] Dale Torston Graden specifies that approximately 222,500 enslaved people were taken to central and southern Brazil from the northern provinces between the 1830s and 1881; see *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835–1900* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), xxviii.

[13] On 15 November 1889, a military coup d'état overthrew the constitutional monarchy and ended the reign of Emperor Pedro II; the First Brazilian Republic was established.

[14] Sueann Caulfield, "Jesus versus Jesus: Inheritance Disputes, Patronage Networks, and a Nineteenth-Century African Bahian Family," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 99, no. 2 (2019): 242.

to West Africa (and especially Lagos) increased.[15] This transition to the "legitimate" commerce in palm products generated new economic opportunities, not only for foreign merchants, but also for African traders, women, and skilled Afro-Brazilian emigrants; all of these groups contributed to the port's commercial vibrancy and urban development.[16] These opportunities—in addition to large-scale displacement caused by continuing warfare in the Bight of Benin and its interior—prompted regional and Atlantic migrants to settle in the burgeoning town. As a result, Lagos experienced exponential population growth.[17] The British presence in the town after 1851 also appealed to prospective returnees from Bahia; they hoped to benefit from the settlement's relative political and economic stability. Finally, freed Africans in Brazil were encouraged to emigrate to

[15] For scholarship on the transition from the Atlantic slave trade to the "legitimate" trade in palm products, see Patrick Manning, "Slaves, Palm Oil, and Political Power on the West African Coast," *African Historical Studies* 2, no. 2 (1969): 279–88; Law, ed. *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 15; Francine Shields, "Palm Oil and Power: Women in an Era of Economic and Social Transition in 19th Century Yorubaland (South-Western Nigeria)" (PhD diss., University of Stirling, 1997).

[16] On Afro-Brazilians' impacts on the social evolution and urban development of Lagos, see Michael J. Echeruo, *Victorian Lagos: Aspects of Nineteenth Century Lagos Life* (London: Macmillan, 1977); J.M. Turner, "Les Brésiliens," 144; John Michael Vlach, "The Brazilian House in Nigeria: The Emergence of a 20th-Century Vernacular House Type," *The Journal of American Folklore* 97, no. 383 (1984): 3–23. See also Mann, "Marriage Choices among the Educated African Elite in Lagos Colony, 1880–1915," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 14, no. 2 (1981): 201–28; Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985); Marianno Carneiro da Cunha and Verger, *From Slave Quarters to Town Houses: Brazilian Architecture in Nigeria and the People's Republic of Bénin* (São Paulo: SP, 1985); Mann, "Women, Landed Property, and the Accumulation of Wealth in Early Colonial Lagos," *Signs* 16, no. 4 (1991): 682–706; Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760–1900* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2007); Liora Bigon, "Urban planning, colonial doctrines and street naming in French Dakar and British Lagos, c. 1850–1930," *Urban History* 36, no. 3 (2009): 426–48; Adédoyin Ṭẹriba, "Afro-Brazilian Architecture in Southwest Colonial Nigeria (1890s–1940s)" (PhD diss., Princeton University, 2017).

[17] Kristin Mann finds that the population of Lagos reached approximately 35,000 by 1880; see "A Social History of the New African Elite in Lagos Colony, 1880–1913" (PhD diss., Stanford University, 1977), 28.

the town by various British officials throughout this period.[18] For these reasons, Lagos became the primary port of disembarkation for those who sailed from Bahia to West Africa after 1850.[19]

Thus, the objectives of this dissertation are informed by the exceptional circumstances in Bahia and the Bight of Benin, as well as the population of Afro-Brazilian emigrants who returned to Lagos as a result. The first objective of this dissertation is to trace the geographical trajectories of the individuals who emigrated from Salvador to West Africa, and specifically Lagos, between 1850 and 1900. In order to follow these translocal travelers across archives and continents, I rely on both qualitative and quantitative data extracted from sources around the Atlantic.[20] From the Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia (APEB), I located African- and Brazilian-born travelers in the passport registers recorded by the Salvador port police; I also traced my subjects' geographical movement using passenger lists that documented their regional and international voyages. From Nigeria, I found some of these same individuals (and others whom I could not locate in Bahia) in probate and judicial records, as well as land grants, all of which are housed at the Lagos State High Court (LSHC), formerly the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony. Finally, I located references to

[18] In late 1851, the British Navy bombarded the port of Lagos and drove the king (*ọba*), Kosoko, into exile in Epe, a small port on the northeastern portion of the lagoon. The bombardment was part of the British effort to end the Atlantic slave trade; it was also a strategic maneuver to control the commerce in palm products. See Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, Ch. 3.

[19] Lisa Earl Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement: Demographics, Life Stories, and the Question of Slavery," *Atlantic Studies* 13, no. 1 (2016): 35–37.

[20] Tiffany Ruby Patterson and Robin D.G. Kelley define translocal as that which "goes beyond nations and nationalities by articulating the geographical units of space (place, nation, region, world) with the locational elements of identity (class, gender, sexuality, race, ethnicity, nationality, etc.)." Of course, these returnees migrated between different nations. However, based on these freed African emigrants' political status as foreigners in Bahia (and, in many ways, in Lagos, as well), their natal allegiances to particular kings and royal lineages in Yorubaland, and the power shifts that occurred in Lagos during the second half of the nineteenth century, I argue that "translocal" is a more over-arching and accurate descriptor for discussions and characterizations of African returnees from Brazil than the term "transnational." See "Unfinished Migrations: Reflections on the African Diaspora and the Making of the Modern World," *African Studies Review* 43, no. 1 (2000): 45.

returnees made in colonial correspondences, newspapers, and diaries from the Nigerian National Archives in Ibadan (NAI) and the Foreign Office (FO) records from the British National Archives (TNA).

Out of these sources, this project traces emigrants' geographical movement at multiple scalar levels. On a macro-level, this dissertation presents new quantitative data about the patterns, connections, routes, and volume of the returnee population who left Bahia for West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, while many scholars—including Pierre Verger, Jerry Michael Turner, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, and Lisa Earl Castillo—have estimated the volume of the nineteenth-century emigrant population, there are significant discrepancies between their findings.[21] Further, specific demographic data that lends itself to a more detailed statistical analysis of this returnee population is scarce.[22] Thus, this study provides a recount of the African and African-descended individuals who left Salvador for West Africa. I derive these new calculations from the Afro-Brazilian Returnee Database (ABRD), which I created as part of the evidentiary infrastructure of my dissertation. In addition to generating large-scale statistics regarding the overall number of emigrants, the ABRD's inclusion of eighty-four variables proffers

[21] Estimates regarding the population of emigrants who left Bahia for West Africa during the nineteenth century range from 3,000 to 8,000, as will be discussed in Chapter 2. See Pierre Verger, *Flux et reflux de la traite de nègres entre le Golfe de Bénin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVIe au XIXe siècle* (Paris, The Hague: Mouton & Co., 1968), which has been translated as *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia, 17th–19th Century* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1976), and is the edition used in this dissertation. See also Jerry Michael Turner, "Les Brésiliens: The Impact of Former Brazilian Slaves upon Dahomey" (PhD diss., University of Boston, 1975); Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, *Negros, estrangeiros: os escravos libertos e sua volta à África* (São Paulo: Editora Brasilense, 1978). More recently, Lisa Earl Castillo has synthesized these studies, in order to provide a demographic breakdown of the individuals who disembarked in West Africa from Bahia; she also analyzes the waves of nineteenth-century Afro-Brazilian emigration, in order to consider the reasons for—and patterns of—return; see "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 25–52.

[22] J.M. Turner provides a detailed analysis of the emigrant population with respect to birthplace (African- versus Brazilian-born); see "Les Brésiliens," 67–69; 77–78. Likewise, Castillo discusses the prevalence and absence of female emigrants during the various waves of nineteenth-century return migration; see "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 27, 35.

meso-scale data about the demographic composition of the returnee population. By analyzing this data as a complement to qualitative sources, I will demonstrate how gender, age, and social status (enslaved, freed, or free) influenced these subjects' reasons for—and patterns of—return. In this way, this dissertation marks an important contribution to the scholarly literature that examines the demographics and patterns of the Afro-Brazilians who emigrated to West Africa. The ABRD, as a supplement to this project, also adds to the growing body of digital humanities tools available to scholars of slavery.

The second objective of this dissertation is to trace the social trajectories and networks of the African and African-descended individuals who resettled in Lagos. Much of the historiography surrounding African emigrants from Brazil has focused on the role of trans-Atlantic commercial, social, religious, and ethnic networks in shaping these subjects' geographical movements, their processes of identity formation, and their involvement in the flows of goods and ideas between Bahia and West Africa. These networks are a central point of inquiry in large-scale studies regarding the formation of "Brazilian" communities along the Bight of Benin coast, such as those by Silke Strickrodt, Robin Law, and Elisée Soumonni.[23] In the specific context of Lagos, Lorenzo

[23] Studies that identify the importance of these emigrants' social and commercial networks to the formation and evolution of the "Brazilian" communities that developed along the Bight of Benin coast include: S.Y. Boadi-Siaw, "Brazilian Returnees of West Africa," in *Global Dimensions of the African Diaspora*, ed. Joseph E. Harris (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1982), 421–39; Mann and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Rethinking the African Diaspora: The Making of a Black Atlantic World in the Bight of Benin and Brazil* (Portland: Frank Cass, 2001); Silke Strickrodt, "'Afro-Brazilians' of the Western Slave Coast in the Nineteenth Century," in *Enslaving Connections: Western Africa and Brazil During the Era of Slavery*, eds. José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy (Amherst: Prometheus/Humanity Books, 2003), 213–24; Law, "Yoruba Liberated Slaves Who Returned to West Africa," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 349–65; Elisée Soumonni, "The Afro-Brazilian Communities of Ouidah and Lagos in the Nineteenth Century: A Comparative Analysis," in *Africa and the Americas: Interconnections during the Slave Trade*, eds. J.C. Curto and Renée Soloudre-La France (Trenton and Asmara: Africa World Press, 2005), 231–42; Monica Lima, "Entre margins: o retorno à África de libertos no Brasil, 1830–1870" (PhD diss., Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2008); Strickrodt, "The Brazilian Diaspora to West Africa in the Nineteenth Century," in *AfricAmericas: Itineraries, Dialogues, and Sounds*, eds. Ineke Phaf-Rheinberger and Tiago de Oliveira Pinto (Madrid and Frankfurt: Iberoamericana, 2008), 37–68.

D. Turner, Anthony B. Laotan, and Lisa A. Lindsay have emphasized the importance of Atlantic interconnectivity in defining the "Brazilian" community; they have also examined these returnees' intragroup dynamics and their social interactions with other settlers in the colony, including British officials, the Yoruba-speaking community, and Sierra Leonean (Saro) emigrants.[24] Still other scholars have emphasized the centrality of trans-Atlantic connections in shaping the social trajectories of individual returnees. For example, many of the studies that focus on earlier "Brazilian" emigrants, such as those by David Ross, Robin Law, and Ana Lucia Araujo, examine the ways in which their social and commercial networks facilitated these individuals' transformations into merchant elites, based on their participation in the slave and, to some extent,

[24] Lorenzo D. Turner, "Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves with Nigeria, West Africa," *Journal of Negro History* 27, no. 1 (1942): 55–67; Anthony B. Laotan, *The Torch-Bearers or Old Brazilian Colony in Lagos* (Lagos: The Ife-Loju Printing Works, 1943); Cunha, *Estrangeiros libertos no Brasil e brasileiros em Lagos* (São Paulo: Unicamp, Tese de livre docência, 1984); Lisa A. Lindsay, "'To Return to the Bosom of their Fatherland': Brazilian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Lagos," *Slavery & Abolition* 15, no. 1 (1994): 22–50. See also Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement"; Mann, "Gendered Authority, Gendered Violence: Family, Household, and Identity in the Life and Death of a Brazilian Freed Woman in Lagos," in *African Women in the Atlantic World: Property, Vulnerability and Mobility, 1660–1880*, eds. Mariana P. Candido and Adam Jones (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2019), 148–68.

The Saros were another emigrant community in nineteenth-century Lagos. These formerly enslaved individuals, many of whom were captured during the Yoruba wars, were intercepted by the British Navy during the period of the clandestine slave trade. The British escorted these "liberated Africans" to Freetown, Sierra Leone. They later repatriated to Yorubaland, both in an attempt to return to their homelands and as missionaries who sought to spread Christianity in their region of origin. Further, even Saro emigrants, who were technically under British protection in Freetown, repatriated to Lagos for security from re-enslavement; they feared that, if they stayed in Sierra Leone, they might be taken to the Caribbean as part of a project of indentured servitude. See Jean Herskovits Kopytoff, *A Preface to Modern Nigeria: The "Sierra Leonians" in Yoruba, 1830–1890* (Madison and Milwaukee: University of Wisconsin Press, 1965), 232; C. Magbaily Fyle, "The Yoruba Diaspora in Sierra Leone's Krio Society," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 366–82; David Northrup, "Becoming African: Identity Formation among Liberated Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone," *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 27, no. 1 (2006): 1–21.

palm oil trades.[25] These historiographical contributions provide insight into the importance of these trans-Atlantic networks to the social and geographical mobilities of their subjects.

Yet, while scholars have explored the religious, social, ethnic, and commercial networks of these "Brazilian" emigrants, more research is necessary regarding the role of kinship ties in shaping processes of return and community dynamics along the African coast. Recent historical works by Castillo, Parés, Lindsay, and Mann have begun to examine kinship networks in this context; however, these studies focus on the familial relationships of individual Africans who returned to the continent, as part of larger biographies about their lives.[26] Thus, this dissertation's inclusion of large-scale data about kinship provides new insights into the importance of consanguineous and fictive familial networks to these subjects' patterns of return, resettlement,

[25] This is especially true of studies that center around the famed Brazilian merchants who resettled in the Bight of Benin, "Chacha" Francisco Félix de Souza (d. 1849) and José Domingos Martins ("Domingo Martinez," d. 1864). Scholars have also studied these networks among some of the early freed Afro-Brazilian settlers who returned to West Africa and became prominent traders through their trans-Atlantic connections, such as Joaquim d'Almeida (d. 1857) and José Paraiso; see David Ross, "The Career of Domingo Martinez in the Bight of Benin, 1833–64," *Journal of African History* 6 (1965): 79–90; Ross, "The First Chacha of Whydah: Francisco Felix de Souza," *Odu* 2 (1969): 19–28; Law, "The Origins and Evolution of the Merchant Community in Ouidah," in *Ports of the Slave Trade (Bight of Benin and Biafra)*, eds. Robin Law and Silke Strickrodt (Stirling: Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, 1999), 55–70; Law and Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *William and Mary Quarterly* 56 (1999): 307–34; Law, "A carreira de Francisco Félix de Souza na África Occidental (1800–1849)," *Topoi* 2, no. 2 (2001): 9–39; Alberto da Costa e Silva, *Francisco Félix de Souza, mercador de escravos* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira & EdUERJ, 2004); Strickrodt, "'Afro-Brazilians' of the Western Slave Coast," 213–24; Ana Lucia Araujo, "Forgetting and Remembering the Atlantic Slave Trade: The Legacy of Brazilian Slave Merchant Francisco Félix de Souza," in *Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora*, eds. Ana Lucia Araujo, Mariana Pinho Candido, and Paul Lovejoy (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2011), 79–103.

[26] Castillo and Parés, "Marcelina da Silva e seu mundo: Novos dados para uma historiografia do Candomblé Ketu," *Afro-Ásia* 36 (2007): 111–51; James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Echoes of the Atlantic: Benguela (Angola) and Brazilian Independence," in *Biography and the Black Atlantic*, eds. Lisa A. Lindsay and John Wood Sweet (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2014), 224–47; Lindsay, *Atlantic Bonds: A Nineteenth-Century Odyssey from America to Africa* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2017); Mann, *Transatlantic Lives: Slavery and Freedom in West Africa and Brazil*, forthcoming. Mann's forthcoming book is also a monographic study of a member of the "Brazilian" community in Lagos; it focuses on his trans-Atlantic trajectory, as well as his social, familial, and religious networks in Brazil and Africa.

and household formation in Lagos. Most importantly, using the ABRD and judicial and probate records from the LSHC, I am able to trace relationships among women, children, subordinate dependents, and other non-elites. This prioritization of previously understudied returnees and their networks is a significant contribution to the historiography that focuses on this period; indeed, the roles and impacts of the most subaltern members of the "Brazilian" community in Lagos during the last decades of Atlantic slavery have remained relatively unexplored.[27] My findings demonstrate the continued importance of slavery to returnee kinship networks, especially among these sub-populations. In turn, this dissertation illuminates the ways in which emigrants employed idioms of kinship to articulate their freed status and negotiate spaces for social mobility in Lagos.

The third objective of this dissertation is to contribute to the historiography regarding nineteenth-century returnee movements. Scholarship surrounding formerly enslaved Africans who returned to the continent of their births has grown with the development of the Atlantic world as a field of study. Historians have traced individual and collective emigration among African and African-descended people who left Jamaica, Cuba, Canada, Trinidad, the United States, and Brazil to resettle in present-day Ghana, Togo, Benin, Liberia, Sierra Leone, and Nigeria.[28] In this context,

[27] Kristin Mann's recent chapter discusses the role of kinship for emigrant women in Lagos during this period; see "Gendered Authority, Gendered Violence," 148–68. Besides Mann's work, most of the scholarship surrounding emigrant kinship networks revolves around the trans-Atlantic religious networks of orisha practitioners. Specifically, these scholarly works focus on the importance of fictive kinship in patterns of Atlantic movement and interaction among priests, priestesses, and practitioners; see, for instance, Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil," 72–103; Castillo and Parés, "Marcelina da Silva," 111–51.

[28] This literature accounts for the large number of "Brazilian" communities that formed in West Africa. Called "Tabom" in Ghana, "Agudás" in Benin, "Amaros" in Lagos, and "Brazilians" in both Lagos and Togo, African emigrants from Brazil, in particular, settled along much of the West African coast. For studies of these various returnees from around the African Diaspora, see Christopher Fyfe, *A History of Sierra Leone* (London: Oxford University Press, 1962); Martin R. Delaney and Robert Campbell, *Search for a Place: Black Separatism and Africa, 1860* (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, 1969); Richard Blackett, "Martin R. Delany and Robert Campbell: Black Americans in Search of an African Colony," *The Journal of African American History* 62, no. 1 (1977): 1–25; Rodolfo Sarracino, *Los que volvieron a Africa* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1988); Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias, "Sugar and a

much of the scholarship focuses on migration to Africa as that which was motivated by emigrants' desires to return to their real or imagined homelands.[29] While this was an important factor for many of the individuals who resettled on the continent, the assumption that homecoming was *the* driving impetus for emigration implies stagnancy within both the returnee population and West Africa itself. Indeed, this characterization of return as a singular, "reverse" migration does not account for these individuals' experiences of enslavement, their continued geographical mobility after emigration, or the ongoing transformations occurring in African urban centers during this period.[30]

Brazilian Returnee in Mid-Nineteenth-Century Sokoto," in *West African Economic and Social History*, eds. David Henige and Thomas C. McCaskie (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1990), 37–46; Robin W. Winks, *The Blacks in Canada: A History* (Montreal and Kingston: McGill–Queen's University Press, 1997), Chs. 2 and 3; Alcione M. Amos, "Afro-Brasileiros no Togo: A história da Família Olympio, 1882–1945," *Afro-Ásia* 23 (1999):173–94; Nemata Amelia Blyden, *West Indians in West Africa* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000); Alcione M. Amos and Ebenezer Ayesu, "'I am Brazilian': History of the Tabon, Afro-Brazilians in Accra, Ghana," *Transactions of the Historical Society of Ghana*, New Series, no. 6 (2002): 35–58; Claude A. Clegg, *The Price of Liberty: African Americans and the Making of Liberia* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Kwesi Kwaa Prah, ed., *Back to Africa: Afro-Brazilian Returnees and Their Communities, Volume 1* (Cape Town: The Centre for Advanced Studies of African Societies [CASAS], 2009); Solimar Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas in the Atlantic World* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010); Kwame Essien, *Brazilian-African Diaspora in Ghana: The Tabom, Slavery, Dissonance of Memory, Identity, and Locating Home* (Lansing: Michigan State University Press, 2016). "Return" movements also occurred along the East African coast; see Joseph E. Harris, *The African Presence in Asia: Consequences of the East African Slave Trade* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971), 66–76; A.J. Temu, "The Role of the Bombay Africans (Liberated Africans) on the Mombasa Coast, 1874–1904," *Hadith* 3 (1971): 52–81.

[29] Scholarship that contends with the elements of diaspora for African-descended people—much of which debates the centrality of Africa itself as a real or symbolic homeland—includes: William Safran, "Diasporas in Modern Societies: Myths of Homeland and Return," *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, no. 1 (1991): 83–84; Clifford, "Diasporas," 306; Bridget Jones, "Duppies and Other Revenants: with special reference to the supernatural in Jean D'Costa's work," in *"Return" in Post-Colonial Writing: A Cultural Labyrinth*, ed. Vera Mihailovich-Dickman (Amsterdam and Atlanta: Rodopi, 1994), 23–32; Clifford, *Routes: Travel and Translation in the Late Twentieth Century* (Cambridge, MA and London: Harvard University Press, 1997); Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," 11–45; Emmanuel Akyeampong, "Africans in the Diaspora: The Diaspora and Africa," *African Affairs* 99, no. 395 (2000): 183–215; Paul Christopher Johnson, *Diaspora Conversions: Black Carib Religion and the Recovery of Africa* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2007), 39, 205–26.

[30] As Russell King and Anastasia Christou point out, the notion of "return" or "reverse" migration necessarily draws from overlapping scholarships regarding mobility, transnationalism, and diaspora; see "Of Counter-Diaspora and Reverse Transnationalism: Return Mobilities to and from the Ancestral Homeland," *Mobilities* 6, no. 4 (2011): 451–66. Historical scholarship that grapples with "reverse"

Many scholars acknowledge the complexities associated with return migration, especially in the context of the freed Africans who emigrated to West Africa in the nineteenth century; along these lines, they offer theoretical frameworks that characterize the flexibility of return and the importance of trans-Atlantic currents and contacts in these processes. Verger, for instance, identifies the "flow and counterflow" of people and commerce between Bahia and West Africa as a constant "flux et reflux."[31] Along these lines, J. Lorand Matory details the "coeval dialogue" that contoured African and Afro-diasporic religious networks, ideologies, identities, and political movements in both Bahia and Lagos.[32] Likewise, Lindsay's recent scholarship highlights the "fabric of interconnections" among African and African-descended people in the nineteenth-century Atlantic.[33]

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migration or a "reverse" diaspora that is particularly applicable to this study includes Lindsay, *Atlantic Bonds*, 10; Blyden, *West Indians in West Africa*; Essien, "African Diaspora in Reverse: The *Tabom* People in Ghana, 1820s–2009" (PhD diss., The University of Texas at Austin, 2010).

[31] Verger, *Trade Relations*.

[32] Matory uses this term to describe the ways in which interactions between African trans-Atlantic travelers shaped culture and identity in both Africa and the African Diaspora; see "The English Professors of Brazil," 98. In fact, Matory's work on African cultural "purity" illuminates the processes by which Afro-Brazilians' notions of an African homeland actually increased orisha practitioners' back-and-forth movement between Nigeria and Bahia; see "The 'Cult of Nations' and the Ritualization of Their Purity," *South Atlantic Quarterly* 100, no. 1 (2001): 171–214. Other scholars have also discussed this collaborative dialogue between Africans on the continent and African-born and African-descended people in the diaspora; see José Honório Rodrigues, "The Influence of Africa on Brazil and of Brazil on Africa," *Journal of African History* 3 (1962): 49–67; John Thornton, *Africa and the Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400–1680* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1992); Joseph Roach, *Cities of the Dead: Circum-Atlantic Performance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1996); Moyọ Okediji, "Returnee Recollections: Transatlantic Transformations," in *Transatlantic Dialogue: Contemporary Art in and out of Africa*, ed. Michael D. Harris (Chapel Hill: Ackland Art Museum, University of North Carolina, 1999), 32–51; Olabiyi Babalola Yai, "The Identity, Contributions, and Ideology of the Aguda (Afro-Brazilians) of the Gulf of Benin: A Reinterpretation," *Slavery & Abolition* 22, no. 1 (2001): 72–82; Peter F. Cohen, "Orisha Journeys: The Role of Travel in the Birth of Yorùbá-Atlantic Religions," *Archives de sciences sociales des religions* 47, no. 117 (2002): 17–36; Kevin Yelvington, ed., *Afro-Atlantic Dialogues: Anthropology in the Diaspora* (Santa Fe: School of American Research Press and Oxford: James Currey, 2006); Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas in the Atlantic World*.

[33] Lindsay, *Atlantic Bonds*, 23. Additional studies that highlight African interconnectivity in the Atlantic are: Castillo and Parés, "Marcelina da Silva," 111–51; Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories: Mobility,

While these frameworks have informed my approach, this project reconsiders the nature of return migration through its statistically informed examination of the Afro-Brazilian population in Lagos. Indeed, this dissertation finds that categories and patterns of movement and resettlement—and the ways that these subjects understood "return"—were much more complex than previously understood, based on the fact that many individuals made multiple trips back and forth across the Atlantic. Along these lines, this study demonstrates that repeated trans-Atlantic voyages were not reserved for the most elite members of the returnee population; rather, a significant number of women and non-elites either individually funded their passages or pooled their resources to make multiple trips between Lagos and Bahia. As such, this dissertation argues that these emigrants' trans-Atlantic lives allowed them to reconstitute their freed status, forge extensive kinship networks, and gain social mobility on both sides of the Atlantic. At the same time, their repeated voyages and complex trans-Atlantic identities muddled their understandings of Lagos or Bahia as "home."

In turn, this dissertation demonstrates the ways in which Lagos served as a crucial site of freedom and mobility for the African emigrants who traversed the Atlantic. Thus, the final objective of this project is to contribute to the local historiography of Lagos itself. In particular, this dissertation challenges scholars' current conceptualizations of the intersections between Lagos and Atlantic systems of slavery; it also repositions the port town as central to the development of imperial understandings of freedom and the "place" of freed Africans in the Atlantic during the age of abolition. Many historians, such as Anthony Hopkins, Robin Law, Kristin Mann, and Olatunji Ojo, have highlighted the development of Lagos as a major entrepôt for the Atlantic slave

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Personal Ties, and Slaving in the Black Atlantic World (Angola and Brazil)," in *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic*, eds. Nancy Priscilla Naro, Roger Sansi Roca, and David H. Treece (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 99–128; Sweet, *Domingos Álvares*; Parés, "Afro-Catholic Baptism and the Articulation of a Merchant Community, Agoué 1840–1860," *History in Africa* 42 (2015): 165–201.

trade from the 1790s to 1850, as well as its involvement in local and regional systems of slavery throughout the nineteenth century.[34] However, the centrality of Lagos to Atlantic slavery during its final decades remains relatively unexplored in the historiography. Through this dissertation's examination of understudied aspects of the British Foreign Office records on the slave trade, it reveals that the Lagos Consulate adopted unprecedented practices related to Africans' geographical movement, such as the issuance of British passports to emigrants. By tracing the returnees who used these passports to travel on regional and trans-Atlantic scales, this project illuminates the ways in which Lagos—and the emigrants who disembarked in this specific port town—shaped Atlantic ideas and policies surrounding freedom during this period. In other words, I contend that Lagos served as a distinct node of liberty and mobility for the freed Africans who navigated Atlantic currents in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Conceptual Framework

As outlined, this dissertation focuses on ways in which African and African-descended emigrants employed translocal networks and travel to perform their freed status and obtain social mobility on both sides of the Atlantic. It argues that these returnees strategically transcended the dialectics of fixity and movement, marginality and rootedness, and recognition and subversion in the physical locales that comprised their Atlantic networks, as well as in the archive itself. Especially for the Yoruba-speaking individuals who landed in Lagos, their disembarkation represented a return-with-a-difference; many of the freed Africans who settled in the port town

[34] A.G. Hopkins, "Property Rights and Empire Building: Britain's Annexation of Lagos, 1861," *Journal of Economic History* 40, no. 4 (1980): 777–98; Law, "Trade and Politics Behind the Slave Coast: The Lagoon Traffic and the Rise of Lagos, 1500–1800," *Journal of African History* 24, no. 3 (1983): 343–48; Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*; Olatunji Ojo, "The Organization of the Atlantic Slave Trade in Yorubaland, ca.1777 to ca.1856," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, no. 1 (2008): 77–100.

understood their world through a Yoruba lens, refracted by their experiences as enslaved and freed people in Brazil, and then refocused under the particular currents and conditions operating in Lagos and the larger Atlantic during the second half of the nineteenth century.[35]

In this context, this dissertation understands the flexibility of these subjects through that which I term the "multilectical" condition that defined their trans-Atlantic lives. In my adaptation of the concept of multilectics, I draw from Gene Fellner's sociological studies of interactive processes within urban settings. According to Fellner, in contradistinction to dialectics—which is defined by the duality of two opposing states of being—multilectics can be understood as "the interplay of countless interacting dynamics." He explains, "The multiplicity of fields constantly pushing and pulling against each other demands a recognition of contingency in the roads that emerge and may be chosen from within any social process. Each field brings together the many voices and meanings of its members, but multilectics also embraces the idea that every person contains within him/herself a multiplicity of identities conditioned by the fields in which he/she enacts knowledge."[36]

It is through this framework of multilectics that I understand these returnees' transatlanticism as both an identity possibility and a practice. In Laura M. Stevens' employment of transatlanticism as a conceptual paradigm through which to describe literary and cultural fluidity

[35] Clifford defines diaspora according to this difference; he states, "Diaspora articulates, or bends together, both roots *and* routes…to construct…alternate public spheres, forms of community consciousness and solidarity that maintain identifications outside the national time/space in order to live inside, with a difference." However, my focus is on the ways in which returnees—based on their experiences as enslaved people in the Atlantic—lived "inside, with a difference" *in their homeland.* See "Diasporas," 308.

[36] Gene Fellner, "Street Smarts, School Smarts, and the Failure of Educational Policy in the Inner City: A Multilectical Approach to Pedagogy and the Teaching of Language Arts" (PhD diss., The City University of New York, 2012), 7–8. See also Bourdieu and Loïc J.D. Wacquant, *An Invitation to Reflexive Sociology* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 94–115; Fellner, "Multilectics and Its Methods," in *Sociocultural Studies and Implications for Science Education 12: The Experiential and the Virtual*, eds. Catherine Milne, Kenneth Tobin, and Donna DeGennaro (Dordrecht: Springer, 2015), 33–58.

in the Atlantic, she argues, "The ocean offers a pliable metaphor for a late modern world understood in terms of permeable boundaries, uncertainty, or flux."[37] I adapt Stevens' notion of permeable boundaries and uncertainty to reconceptualize transatlanticism as both a practice and an identity possibility. This framework makes it possible to understand these returnees' translocal networks, their freed statuses, and their calculated geographical movements as that which provided them with unprecedented opportunities for reinvention; indeed, these individuals deployed social and economic resources in generative ways in both Lagos and Bahia. However, while these emigrants' transatlanticism defined the multilectical frameworks through which they appeared and asserted themselves in various locales, it also allowed them to disappear into the Atlantic interstices.

Along these lines, I contend that the Afro-Brazilians who left Bahia for Lagos used their transatlanticism to become strategically apparitional figures on local and Atlantic scales. This

[37] Laura M. Stevens, "Transatlanticism Now," *ALH* 16, no. 1 (2004): 94. The origin of transatlanticism as a conceptual framework derives from literary scholars' contributions to postcolonial methodological revisions, in which the Atlantic world was prioritized as its own unit of study. As Atlantic Studies developed into a disciplinary field, literary scholars began to consider the ways in which national literatures were defined by transnational flows; as Cristina Iuli explains, "This paradigm aims to account for the relational, mutable, and erratic nature of literary objects and their concurrence in processes of identification and identity formation that transcend and transgress the category of the nation, particularly when these processes have occurred throughout historical, geopolitical and cultural environments brought into contact by Atlantic crossings" (228). In this way, transatlanticism became a term with which to identify particular methodological approaches to Atlantic encounters. For instance, as opposed to the phrase "Atlantic studies," Coleen Glenney Boggs argues, "Transatlantic defines a location that is always elsewhere. […] The term operates in relation to, yet independently of, any definitive locus. Only secondarily a geographic marker, it is therefore first and foremost a term that defines a relationship" (222). For scholarship about transatlanticism as a methodological framework, see Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges, and Opportunities," *American Historical Review* 111, no. 3 (2006): 741–57; Thea Pittman and Andy Stafford, "Introduction: Transatlanticism and Tricontinentalism," *Journal of Transatlantic Studies* 7, no. 3 (2009): 197–207; Boggs, "Transatlantic Romanticism," in *Transatlantic Literary Studies, 1660–1830*, eds. Eve Tavor Bannet and Susan Manning (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2012), 219–35; Lisa L. Moore and Joanna Brooks, "Introduction," in *Transatlantic Feminisms in the Age of Revolutions*, eds. Lisa L. Moore, Joanna Brooks, and Caroline Wigginton (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), 3–34; Iuli, "Trans-Atlantic Stories, Transnational Perspectives, Hemispheric Mutations: American Literature Beyond the Nation," in *Modern European-American Relations in the Transatlantic Space*, ed. Maurizio Vaudagna (Turin: Otto Editore, 2015), 223–55.

dissertation demonstrates the ways in which African emigrants harnessed their liminal status to achieve recognition and subvert categorization in particular contexts.[38] Of course, this notion of liminality among socially marginal figures is well documented in studies of slavery and migration; many scholars have reworked Jacques Derrida's metaphor of the specter—which he identifies as "a non-present present"—to examine the social and political invisibility that accompanies migration, exile, and the condition of being stateless.[39] Yet, while the specter is defined as "an immaterial appearance as of a real being," the apparition is characterized as "the action of appearing or becoming visible; manifestation, demonstration, display." In other words, the apparition possesses an active and performative element; thus, it speaks to these emigrants'

[38] Leo Spitzer defines the liminal state as an existence "between two worlds" (4). In many situations, these subjects' liminality was disadvantageous; these contexts are the focus of Orlando Patterson's famous study of liminality among enslaved people. Patterson argues that enslaved individuals' liminal positions resulted from their loss of "all claim to autonomous power" (337). In my contention that Africans employed liminality as an agentive strategy, I follow Homi Bhabha's characterization of the liminal as a transitory space of potentiality. Bhabha explains, "This interstitial passage between fixed identifications opens up the possibilities of a cultural hybridity that entertains difference without an assumed or imposed hierarchy" (4); see Spitzer, *Lives in Between: Assimilation and Marginality in Australia, Brazil, West Africa, 1780–1945* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989); Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 38–51; Bhabha, *The Location of Culture* (New York: Routledge, 1994). Many ethnologists and folklorists have explored the liminal state in rites of passage; see Arnold van Gennep, *The Rites of Passage* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1960); Victor Turner, *The Forest of Symbols* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1967); Turner, "Variations on a Theme of Liminality," in *Secular Ritual*, eds. Sally Faulk Moore and Barbara G. Myerhoff (Assen/Amsterdam: Van Gorcum, 1977), 36–52.

[39] Jacques Derrida, *Specters of Marx: The State of Debt, the Work of Mourning and the New International*, trans. Peggy Kamuf (New York and London: Routledge, 2006 [1993]), 5. Various subaltern studies have used the scepter as a theoretical framework; they include Pheng Cheah, *Spectral Nationality: Passages of Freedom from Kant to Postcolonial Literatures of Liberation* (New York: Columbia University Press, 2003); José Rabasa, *Without History: Subaltern Studies, the Zapatista Insurgency, and the Specter of History* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2010); Vivek Chibber, *Postcolonial Theory and the Specter of Capital* (London: Verso, 2013); Esther Peeren, *The Spectral Metaphor: Living Ghosts and the Agency of Invisibility* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014). In the context of the history of Atlantic slavery, see Ian Baucom, *Specters of the Atlantic: Finance Capital, Slavery, and the Philosophy of History* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 2005).

strategic liminality and the notion of transatlanticism as a practice.[40] As such, I contend that the (dis)appearances of these apparitional subjects—through performances of recognition/belonging and subversion/foreignness that manifested on a multilectical spectrum—served as strategies with which these African and African-descended travelers moved between identity possibilities, networks, and locales.

Emigrants also employed their apparitional status to move between—and outside of—institutional and archival registers. Of course, the appearances of African people in Atlantic archives were dictated by those in power; enslaved and freed individuals often emerged fleetingly within the written record, and otherwise remained enshrouded in anonymous flows and statistics. As Marisa J. Fuentes points out, official documentation inherently "bur[ies] the narratives of the most subaltern."[41] However, this dissertation draws from Atlantic scholarship that seeks to read along and against the archival grain, in order to locate moments in which Africans strategically asserted themselves into—or altogether avoided—official documentation.[42] I argue that it is important to read these emigrants' (dis)appearances in the archives of the Atlantic as moments that reveal the strategies with which they protected their liberty and mobility during a period when slavery and racial discrimination made freedom and relationships unstable.

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[40] In my consideration of the performative elements of liminality, I draw from Susan Broadhurst, *Liminal Acts: A Critical Overview of Contemporary Performance and Theory* (London and New York: Cassell, 1999); Diana Taylor, *The Archive and the Repertoire: Performing Cultural Memory in the Americas* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2003).

[41] Marisa J. Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives: Enslaved Women, Violence, and the Archive* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press 2016), 5.

[42] Ann Laura Stoler, *Along the Archival Grain: Epistemic Anxieties and Colonial Common Sense* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009).

Chapter Outline

The chapters of my dissertation are organized both spatially and thematically. In the context of the former, this study proceeds in a way that embodies the geographical movements of the emigrants themselves: it opens in Brazil and makes its own "return" migration to Lagos. As was the case for many of my subjects, this dissertation also makes multiple voyages back to Bahia. These chapters are also thematically structured around the nexus of geographical migration, kinship, and freedom. I introduce these intersections through documentary fragments that piece together the life of Henriqueta do Couto Vianna, the young, Brazilian-born girl who emigrated to Lagos in 1854. Indeed, Henriqueta's story unfolds over the course of the chapters that follow; her reach across oceans, generations, empires, and archives provides a useful framework through which to understand the ways in which emigrants' kinship networks and understandings of freedom shaped their trajectories from enslaved people in Brazil to freed settlers and travelers in Lagos and the Atlantic world. Further, Henriqueta's story illuminates the importance of Lagos itself to these processes.

Accordingly, Chapter 1 sets the stage by examining the Brazilian experiences of "those who returned." In particular, it focuses on the enslaved and freed population of Africans in Bahia, and especially in the city of Salvador. This chapter draws from letters of manumission to outline the avenues through which these individuals obtained their liberty, examining how African networks and urban slavery influenced patterns of freedom. It also details the conditions under which Africans and their descendants lived as emancipated people, in order to explain the various waves of nineteenth-century return migration from Bahia to the African coast.

Chapter 2 traces the geographical trajectories of the freed individuals who left from the port of Salvador and disembarked in West Africa between 1850 and 1900. In particular, it employs

the ABRD to quantify the volume and movement of the returnee population. This chapter begins by introducing the database itself; it also discusses the ways in which the methodological framework of the ABRD addresses some of the problems encountered by scholars of slavery who use quantitative data and digital humanities tools. This chapter then examines the data gleaned from available passenger lists and passport records, in order to provide new estimates of the volume of the returnee population. This recalculation seeks to quell current historiographical discrepancies. Finally, this chapter presents a statistically informed analysis of the demographic makeup of the emigrant population; it prioritizes the movement of non-elites, women, children, and subordinate dependents who, I contend, recontoured gender roles, family structures, and power dynamics in Lagos during this period.

Chapter 3 also utilizes the ABRD, in order to trace the social networks of these emigrants. In particular, this chapter focuses on the importance of kinship in return migration. It begins with an examination of these freed Africans' understandings and iterations of kinship in Bahia. I argue that returnees' consanguineal and fictive relationships—forged in West Africa and the slaveholding society of Brazil—derived from both Yoruba and Brazilian notions of kinship. Using the ABRD, judicial documents, and probate records, this chapter then maps the trans-Atlantic kinship networks of these emigrants. I contend that these returnees' kinship ties shaped patterns of return migration, especially for African-born women and Brazilian-born children who traversed the Atlantic.

In turn, Chapter 4 investigates iterations of kinship among Lagos' "Brazilian" community during the second half of the nineteenth century. Using case studies collected from judicial and probate records, I argue that emigrants employed their trans-Atlantic relational networks, in order to create opportunities for social mobility in Lagos. Further, I contend that the burgeoning

colony—as the epicenter of resettlement for both regionally displaced, Yoruba-speaking people and their formerly enslaved counterparts who emigrated from Bahia—served as a unique locale for the formation of multi-layered, multigenerational, and trans-Atlantic kinship networks. Consequently, Lagos also became a distinct node for African and African-descended returnees, who employed these complex familial systems to accrue social and economic capital in the town. In this context, this chapter examines the ways in which emigrants utilized Yoruba and Brazilian notions of kinship to negotiate their status in the burgeoning British colony. I contend that, by employing parallel understandings of slavery and the household, these emigrants fashioned their identities around their familial relations and their freed statuses; they used these identities to fight for rights to inheritance within British colonial institutions. As such, I argue that the matrifocal households and parallel kinship structures that defined many returnee families altered the landscape of Lagos itself, and threatened patrilineal authority in the colony.

Finally, Chapter 5 investigates the connections between geographical and social mobility and emigrants' assertions of their freed status, both in Lagos and in the larger Atlantic. This chapter begins with an examination of the precariousness of liberty for people of African descent, especially among those who traveled on regional and Atlantic scales. I contend that returnees went to great lengths to maintain their freedom *as they understood it*; their notions of liberty were inextricably intertwined with their freedom to move between geographical spaces. In this context, I explore these emigrants' deployments of British passports, which they obtained specifically in Lagos. I argue that manumitted Africans used these passports to protect and perform their freed status as they traveled back and forth across the Atlantic; thus, this West African port served as a freedom node on the Atlantic circuit for African and African-descended people. Finally, this chapter analyzes the ways in which the individuals in possession of British passports instigated

imperial debates about the meaning of freedom for the increasing number of liberated Africans in the Atlantic world during the age of abolition. I argue that these contentious debates altered definitions of freedom in national and international contexts.

As a whole, these chapters present a social and cultural history of African migration, kinship, and liberty during the final decades of Atlantic slavery. While this dissertation is clearly Atlantic in scope, it remains grounded in West Africa, and particularly in Yorubaland; in turn, this project illuminates the ways in which Lagos—as a crucial urban node on the Atlantic circuit—shaped the trajectories of these subjects in distinct ways. For the freed Africans who circulated around the Atlantic, Lagos was a practical and symbolic site of liberty; during the second half of the nineteenth century, it became a locale in which emigrants forged new understandings of what their freed status meant, in relation to their translocal identities and relationships, their social and geographical mobility, and their rights in the Atlantic world.

CHAPTER 1

Leaving Bahia: Routes from Enslavement to Emigration for Africans and Their Descendants

Around 1838, a Yoruba-speaking woman named Victoria birthed her daughter, Henriqueta, on her master's property in Salvador da Bahia, Brazil. Despite her enslaved status, Victoria's relative freedom to peddle goods in the urban setting of Salvador allowed her to accumulate enough capital to purchase her freedom. On 19 April 1847, Victoria obtained her letter of manumission from her proprietor, José Martins do Couto Vianna.[43] However, Henriqueta, her young daughter, remained enslaved. Thus, Victoria set out to accrue the additional funds needed to buy her daughter's freedom; five years later, the freed woman handed her former master 300 *milréis*, and Vianna drafted a second letter of manumission.[44] Henriqueta's early life, then, was defined by a variety of experiences. She made the transition from slavery to freedom and, while she was Brazilian-born, she was probably well-versed in Nagô language and culture through her mother. Ultimately, however, Henriqueta did not remain in Brazil; rather, the young girl left her birthplace and emigrated to West Africa in 1854, a year and a half after obtaining her liberty.[45]

This chapter examines the experiences of enslavement, manumission, and return migration for Afro-Brazilians like Henriqueta, who left Salvador for the African coast.[46] In particular, it

[43] Kristin Mann and Urano Andrade, Banco de Dados, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 281, p. 171V, 19 April 1847. I am grateful to the co-creators of this database for generously sharing it with me.

[44] APEB, Livro de Notas 304, Carta da Liberdade 89, p. 128, 19 July 1852. The duration of Victoria's enslavement has yet to be uncovered.

[45] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1852–1854), maço 5894, 17 January 1854.

[46] This chapter's lack of specificity regarding particular ports of disembarkation derives from the terminology used in the passport records and passenger lists. Many entries state only that an individual intended to travel to the *Costa d'África*, rather than listing a specific location. Yet, this reference to the African coast connoted a return to ports in West Africa, including Ouidah, Agoué, Great Popo, Porto Novo,

focuses on the enslaved and freed populations of Bahia, in order to outline the larger social, economic, and political processes that set the stage for multiple phases of African emigration over the course of the nineteenth century. The first section of this chapter contextualizes the demographic composition of the African population in Bahia in relation to the currents and flows of Atlantic slavery. It then examines the ways in which the large concentration of Yoruba-speaking people in Salvador—as well as the urban setting of slavery that characterized this northeastern Brazilian port—shaped patterns of manumission and emigration. In this way, this chapter establishes the conditions under which freed African and African-descended people emigrated to West Africa, and specifically to Lagos, between 1850 and 1900. I contend that it is only possible to understand the social, political, and economic dynamics among the "Brazilian" community in Lagos if we connect their West African returns to the conditions and currents in which they lived in Bahia.

Setting the Stage: Urban Slavery and the Yoruba Diaspora in Nineteenth-Century Bahia

The Atlantic dispersion of enslaved Africans from the Bight of Benin began in the seventeenth century; between 1650 and 1865, scholars estimate that approximately two million captives departed from this region.[47] Yoruba-speaking individuals—who constituted the majority

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and Badagry, as well as present-day Togo and Ghana. Still, the majority of emigrants after 1850 returned to Lagos, as will be discussed.

[47] For an explanation of the variance between estimates made by scholars, see P. Lovejoy, "The Yoruba Factor in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," 52. Further, many scholars have outlined the regional shifts that caused various populations and ports to be enslaved in greater numbers at different periods; for instance, Law and Mann explain, "The principal supplier of slaves to the coastal ports in this region was initially the kingdom of Allada, but in the eighteenth century its place was taken by Dahomey, which conquered both Allada and Ouidah in the 1720s." Still, the Bight of Benin included various ethnic groups, whose people were enslaved in greater numbers at different moments, based on both political dynamics in West Africa and trends in the Atlantic slave trade. Lovejoy provides a useful summary of the timeline of exportations. He and other scholars find that the Gbe groups (Ewe, Fon, Allada) experienced the greatest population loss during the early years of the slave trade; these groups were referred to as the "Gêge," "Allada," "Fon,"

of enslaved and freed Africans in nineteenth-century Salvador—made up the largest proportion of the captives who embarked from ports along the Bight of Benin coast; according to David Eltis, "A total Yoruba-speaking migration of 968,000 is derived, two-thirds of whom left for the Americas between 1776 and 1850."[48] Using Eltis' *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Paul Lovejoy emphasizes the increasing volume of Yoruba-speaking people who embarked for the Americas over time; he outlines, "In the last quarter of the seventeenth century, an estimated 22,000 [Yoruba-speaking people] appear to have been among those deported. The number of Yoruba doubled in the first quarter of the eighteenth century, rising to 41,700, before doubling again in the second quarter to 89,500, and continued to increase at a rapid rate (140,100 in the third quarter of the eighteenth century and 172,900 in the fourth quarter), increasing even more in the nineteenth century (211,400 in the first quarter and 257,400 in the second)."[49]

"Mahi," or "Mina" in the Americas. Enslaved Yoruba-speaking people had the greatest population loss after 1750. See Law and Mann, "West Africa and the Atlantic Community," 12; P. Lovejoy, "The Yoruba Factor in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 52. For details surrounding the geography and demographic breakdown of the slave trade in the Bight of Benin, see also Peter Morton-Williams, "The Oyo-Yoruba and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1670–1830," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3, no. 1 (1964): 25–45; Manning, "The Slave Trade in the Bight of Benin, 1640–1890," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, eds. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 107–41; Manning, *Slavery, Colonialism, and Economic Growth in Dahomey, 1640–1960* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Eltis, P. Lovejoy, and David Richardson, "Slave Trading Ports: Towards an Atlantic-Wide Perspective, 1676–1832," in *Ports of the Slave Trade (Bights of Benin and Biafra)*, eds. Robin Law and Silke Strikrodt (Stirling, UK: Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, 1999), 12–34; P. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000 [1983]), 51, 56, 146; Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 15–21; Eltis et al., *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, https://www.slavevoyages.org/ (accessed 12 July 2019).

[48] Eltis, "The Diaspora of Yoruba Speakers, 1650–1865: Dimensions and Implications," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 29.

[49] P. Lovejoy, "The Yoruba Factor in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," 44. Lovejoy points out, "Yoruba came largely in the century after 1750, when the total number of slaves exported from the Bight of Benin was over one million individuals, divided almost equally between 1751 and 1800 and between 1801 and 1865" (43).

This significant rise in the number of Yoruba-speaking captives can be explained by regional developments in the Bight of Benin in the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries; these events led to significant changes in the dynamics of the slave trade, both in West Africa and in the Atlantic world. In particular, the decline of the Oyo Empire after 1789 precipitated a regional disintegration that led to a series of civil wars, including the Oyo slave revolt in 1817, the Owu wars that began in 1912, the 1825 Egba war, and the eventual collapse of Old Oyo in 1835.[50] Further, the kingdom of Dahomey, to the West of Oyo, was gaining power in the region, especially after the ascension of King Gezo in 1818 and Dahomey's declaration of independence from Oyo in 1821 (Figure 1.1).

Concurrently, Islamic scholar Usman Dan Fodio began his conquest to create a new Muslim empire in 1804. Soon after, the Hausa states in present-day northern Nigeria became emirates of Sokoto, the new capital of the Sokoto Caliphate. As the *jihād* moved southward into Yorubaland, it contributed to the fall of Old Oyo and the rise of the states of Ibadan, New Oyo, and Ijesha. Further, the northern Yoruba-speaking province of Ilorin—which had been central to

[50] The literature surrounding political turmoil in late-eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Yorubaland is vast. It is important to note that scholars debate the provenance of the Yoruba wars, as well as the extent to which these wars were caused by the *jihād* that occurred during the same period. Scholarship surrounding the Yoruba wars includes: J.F. Ade Ajayi and Robert Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press in association with the Institute of African Studies, University of Ibadan, 1964); Law, "The Chronology of the Yoruba Wars of the Early Nineteenth Century: A Reconsideration," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2, no. 2 (1970): 211–22; S.A. Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland 1840–1893* (London: Longman Group Ltd., 1971); J.A. Atanda, "The Fall of the Old Oyo Empire: A Reconsideration of Its Cause," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 5, no. 4 (1971): 477–90; Law, *The Oyo Empire c.1600–c.1836: A West African Imperialism in the Era of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977); G.O. Oguntomisin, "Political Change and Adaptation in Yorubaland in the Nineteenth Century," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 15, no. 2 (1981): 223–37; Robert S. Smith, *Warfare and Diplomacy in Pre-colonial West Africa* (London: James Currey, 1989); Ann O'Hear, "The Enslavement of Yoruba," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 56–74.

Old Oyo—became part of the Caliphate.[51] Oyo's final collapse under the *jihād* was one of the major instigating factors of the Yoruba wars. Thus, vulnerable populations of refugees and war captives from this region supplied the Atlantic slave trade between 1770 and 1850, a period that

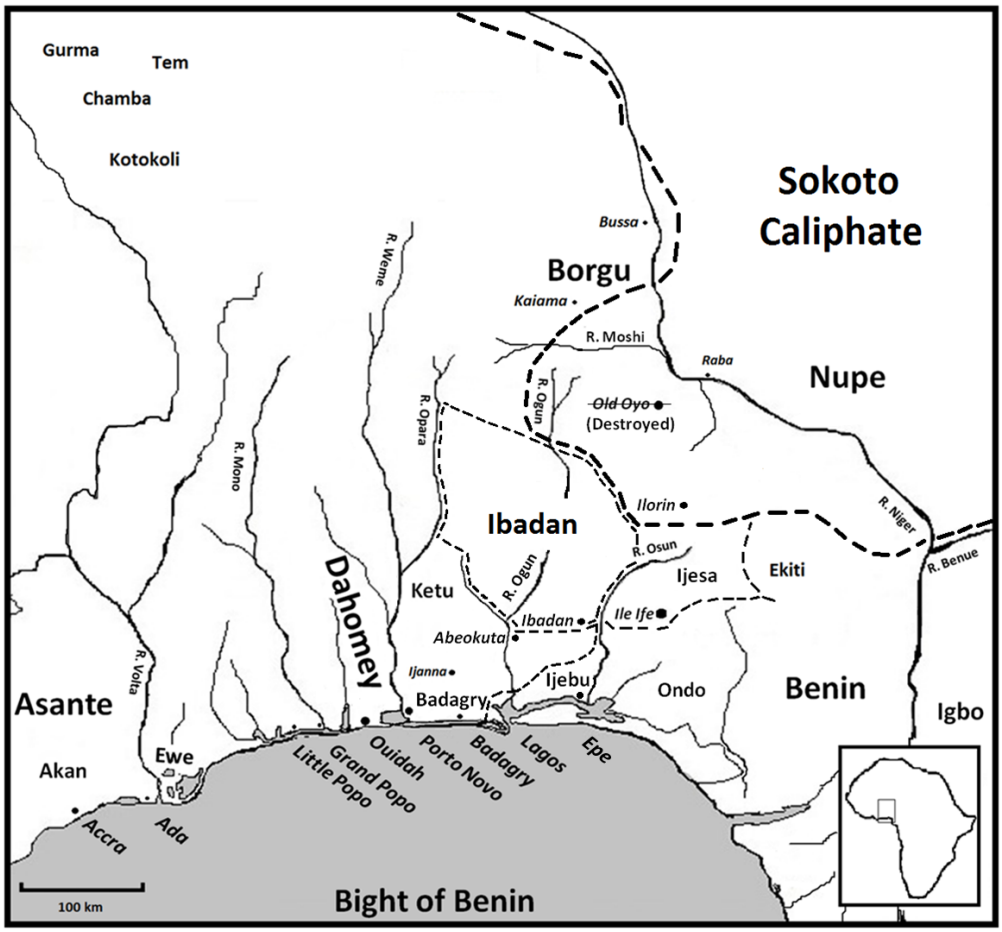

Figure 1.1. Map of the Nineteenth-Century Bight of Benin after the Fall of Old Oyo.
Source: Henry B. Lovejoy, African Diaspora Maps Ltd.

[51] Scholarly works that examine the *jihād* and its impact on Yorubaland and the slave trade include: Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (New York: Humanities Press, 1967); Hugh Johnston, *The Fulani Empire of Sokoto* (London: Oxford University Press, 1967); Joseph P. Smaldone, *Warfare in the Sokoto Caliphate: Historical and Sociological Perspectives* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Toyin Falola, "The Impact of the Nineteenth-Century Sokoto Jihad on Yorubaland," in *State and Society in the Sokoto Caliphate*, eds. A.M. Kani and K.A. Gandi (Sokoto: Usmanu Danfodio University, 1990), 126–41; P. Lovejoy, "Background to rebellion," 151–80; O'Hear, "Ilorin as a Slaving and Slave-Trading Emirate," in *Slavery on the Frontiers of Islam*, ed. P. Lovejoy (Princeton: Markus Wiener, 2004), 55–68; O'Hear, *Slavery, Commerce and Production in the Sokoto Caliphate of West Africa* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2005).

Verger identifies as the "Bight of Benin cycle."[52]

This large concentration of captives transformed various port settlements—including Lagos, Ouidah, Agoué, Great Popo, Porto Novo, and Badagry—into West African urban nodes and crucial sites for the Atlantic slave trade.[53] Lagos, in particular, had been increasing in prominence since the 1760s; however, after 1800, the settlement became the primary port through which enslaved people in the region embarked for the Americas (Table 1.1). In her study of the town's development, Kristin Mann explains, "In the first quarter of the nineteenth century, the town became the leading slave port in the Bight of Benin, and then in the next twenty-five years it developed into the largest slave exporter north of the equator."[54] This translocation from more westward ports, such as Ouidah, corresponded with the increasing number of captives who came from the Yoruba interior during this period. Lovejoy explains, "Whereas Ouidah connected to

[52] Verger, *Bahia and the West African Trade, 1549–1851* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1964), 3. In addition to the Yoruba-speaking people who were captured during the *jihād*, the emergence of the Sokoto Caliphate brought a significant supply of enslaved Hausa people to the Americas (including Bahia) during this period. In addition, the *jihād* also produced a large number of Nupe and Kanuri captives (referred to as Borno and Tapa, respectively, in Brazil). For scholarship on Hausas in the Atlantic slave trade and in Bahia—including their roles in resistance movements during the nineteenth century—see Philip Curtin and Jan Vansina, "Sources of the Nineteenth Century Slave Trade," *Journal of African History* 5, no. 2 (1964): 185–208; Reis, "Slave Resistance in Brazil: Bahia, 1807–1835," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 25, no. 1 (1988): 111–44; Reis and Paulo F. de Moraes Farias, "Islam and Slave Resistance in Bahia, Brazil," *Islam and sociétés au sud du Sahara* 3 (1989): 44–61; P. Lovejoy, "Background to Rebellion: The Origins of Muslim Slaves in Bahia," *Slavery and Abolition* 15, no. 2 (1994): 151–80; P. Lovejoy, "Jihad e escravidão: as origens dos escravos muçulmanos da Bahia," *Topoi* 1, no. 1 (2000): 11–44; Manuel Barcia, *West African Warfare in Bahia and Cuba: Soldier Slaves in the Atlantic World, 1807–1844* (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2014).

[53] Law and Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community," 312. Law and Mann also mention the intermittent significance of Little Popo (Aneho), Jakin (Godomey), and Badagry.

[54] Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 18. Law and Mann identify Ouidah as the prominent port along the Bight of Benin for much of the history of the slave trade, until the 1830s and 1840s, when Lagos overtook it with respect to its dominance in the exportation of enslaved people; see "West Africa in the Atlantic Community," 12.

Yoruba markets via routes along the west of the Weme River and then to the northeast, Porto Novo, Badagry, and Lagos were directly south of the Yoruba heartland and hence the closest outlets for most of Yoruba country."[55] Thus, when historical shifts in the geography of the slave trade are considered in relation to ethnic patterns, it is evident that a large number of the Yoruba-speaking people who went to the Americas embarked from Lagos.

Various social, economic, and political dynamics in the Atlantic also shaped patterns of disembarkation for enslaved Yoruba-speaking people. The collapse of the sugar industry in St. Domingue, which resulted from the onset of the Haitian Revolution in the 1790s, spurred the rapid expansion of sugar production in northeastern Brazil.[56] The production of a low-grade tobacco specific to the region also reinvigorated the need for agricultural labor.[57] As a result, tens of thousands of enslaved Africans were imported to Bahia; after 1810, more than half of the captives from the Bight of Benin disembarked in the province.[58]

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[55] P. Lovejoy, "The Yoruba Factor in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," 44.

[56] Sugar had been an important export crop for Bahia since the sixteenth century, even before enslaved Africans became the labor source. The fertile soil and frequent rain that characterized the Bahian Recôncavo, or the hinterland of Salvador, made this region lucrative for sugar cultivation. It also led to great prosperity among a small population of planters and merchants. However, Brazilian sugar production fell by the end of the seventeenth century. While gold and diamonds shifted the center of wealth to the South in the eighteenth century, Bahia still served as an important site of tobacco production during this period. See Mieko Nishida, *Slavery and Identity: Ethnicity, Gender, and Race in Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2003), 12–15.

[57] Reis argues that Bahian traders met African consumers' demand for tobacco rolls, leading these traders to control the external slave trade in the Bight of Benin during the nineteenth century; see "African Nations in Nineteenth-Century Salvador, Bahia," in *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, eds. Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D. Childs, and James Sidbury (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 64–65. See also Verger, *Trade Relations*, 12–26.

[58] Eltis, "The Diaspora of Yoruba Speakers," 28. In fact, Bahia was the point of disembarkation for 75 percent of the enslaved Africans who left the Bight of Benin between 1791 to 1830; see Eltis and Richardson, "West Africa and the Transatlantic Slave Trade: New Evidence of Long-Run Trends," *Slavery and Abolition* 18, no. 1 (1997): 21.

Table 1.1. Estimated slave departures from Lagos by five-year periods, 1761–1851 (in thousands)

Date	Estimated Slave Departures (in thousands)
1761–65	269
1766–70	2,873
1771–75	1,848
1776–80	2,162
1781–85	3,870
1786–90	14,077
1791–95	4,186
1796–1800	3,282
1801–05	21,412
1806–10	28,418
1811–15	20,584
1816–20	22,683
1821–25	17,727
1826–30	31,776
1831–35	16,336
1836–40	27,582
1841–45	35,038
1846–50	37,715
1851–55	5,410
Total	297,248

Source: Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 17.

At the same time, the British abolitionist campaign altered the destinations of enslaved Africans. The Slave Trade Act of 1807 pressured European nations to enforce the abolition of the Atlantic commerce in human beings.[59] In the first decades of the nineteenth century, British and French merchants, who dominated the foreign slave trade in the Bight of Benin, withdrew *en masse*; Brazilian and Cuban traders capitalized on their departures, and established West African factories for the collection and boarding of enslaved individuals. This organizational infrastructure

[59] These European nations included Portugal, Sweden, France, the Netherlands, and Spain.

made it possible for Brazilian vessels to shorten their loading times on the coast during the era of the clandestine trade.[60] This reorganization of the Atlantic slave trade altered the demographics of the enslaved population in Bahia.

For these reasons, at least 318,200 enslaved people landed in Bahia between 1801 and 1856; approximately 70 percent of these captives came from the Bight of Benin and its hinterland.[61] Further, despite Britain's attempts to enforce the abolition of the slave trade, the number of enslaved Africans exported from the Bight of Benin actually increased between 1826 and 1850, when compared with the previous twenty-five-year period.[62] Since Yoruba-speaking people comprised the majority of captives during the clandestine trade, this population grew exponentially in Bahia. By the second half of the century, according to Reis and Mamigonian, Yoruba-speaking individuals represented 79 percent of the African-born enslaved population and 54 percent of freed people in the province.[63]

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[60] Ojo, "The Organization of the Atlantic Slave Trade," 77–100.

[61] Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 243–44; Reis and Mamigonian, "Nagô and Mina," 80. The actual number is probably higher, since these parameters include the period of the clandestine slave trade. Further, many individuals were listed simply as "West Africans," suggesting that at least some of these people would have been Yoruba speakers. This probability is also supported by further calculations done by Eltis, who finds that between 1821 and 1843, 90 percent of the enslaved people who landed in Bahia came from the Bight of Benin; see "The Export of Slaves from Africa, 1821–1843," *The Journal of Economic History* 37, no. 2 (1977): 418.

[62] Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), 89. Mann emphasizes this statistic in "The Illegal Slave Trade and One Yoruba Man's Transatlantic Passages from Slavery to Freedom," in *The Rise and Demise of Atlantic Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Atlantic World*, ed. Philip Misevich and Kristin Mann (Rochester, NY: University of Rochester Press, 2017), 220.

[63] Reis and Mamigonian, "Nagô and Mina," 80.

A large proportion of the enslaved Africans who went to Bahia disembarked in Salvador.[64] Indeed, as the capital of Portuguese America from its founding in 1549 until 1763, the city served as a major political and economic center. Even after the capital moved to Rio de Janeiro, Salvador remained an important religious and commercial center. The city was a crucial site for commerce with West Africa, based on agricultural goods produced in the Recôncavo, or the Bahian hinterland. Further, Salvador's location—midway down the eastern coast of Brazil on the Atlantic seaboard—contributed to its appeal as a center of trade (Figure 1.2). While most of the enslaved individuals who landed in Salvador were taken to the Recôncavo as plantation labor, the city's status as an international trade hub and its role as a center of wealth in the northeastern region made it an important site for slavery. According to Reis, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, "Salvador displayed a higher proportion of African-born slaves (68.5 percent) than did the Recôncavo (40.2 percent)."[65] Among the enslaved population in the city, the number of Yoruba-speaking people increased in direct proportion to the influx that occurred as a result of the Bight of Benin cycle; Reis and Mamigonian explain, "In 1820, 67 percent of African-born slaves had come from West Africa, and only 16 percent were Yoruba speakers. Fifteen years later the Yoruba increased their representation to 31 percent, and in the 1850s they comprised 76 percent of the African-born and 86 percent of the West African slaves in the city."[66]

[64] Enslaved Africans were no longer taken to the port of Salvador after the official ban on the slave trade on 7 November 1831. While the clandestine trade continued on a large scale, Nishida explains, "Slave ships unloaded their illegal cargoes clandestinely on the islands of the Bahia de Todos os Santos (the Bay of All Saints) or at the mouth of the Rio d'Una. The west side of the main island of Itaparica was the main depot, from which Africans were shipped further in the coastal trade or taken directly to the slave market of Salvador"; see "Manumission and Ethnicity in Urban Slavery: Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 73, no. 3 (1993): 365.

[65] Reis, "African Nations in Nineteenth-Century Salvador," 64.

[66] Reis and Mamigonian, "Nagô and Mina," 80.

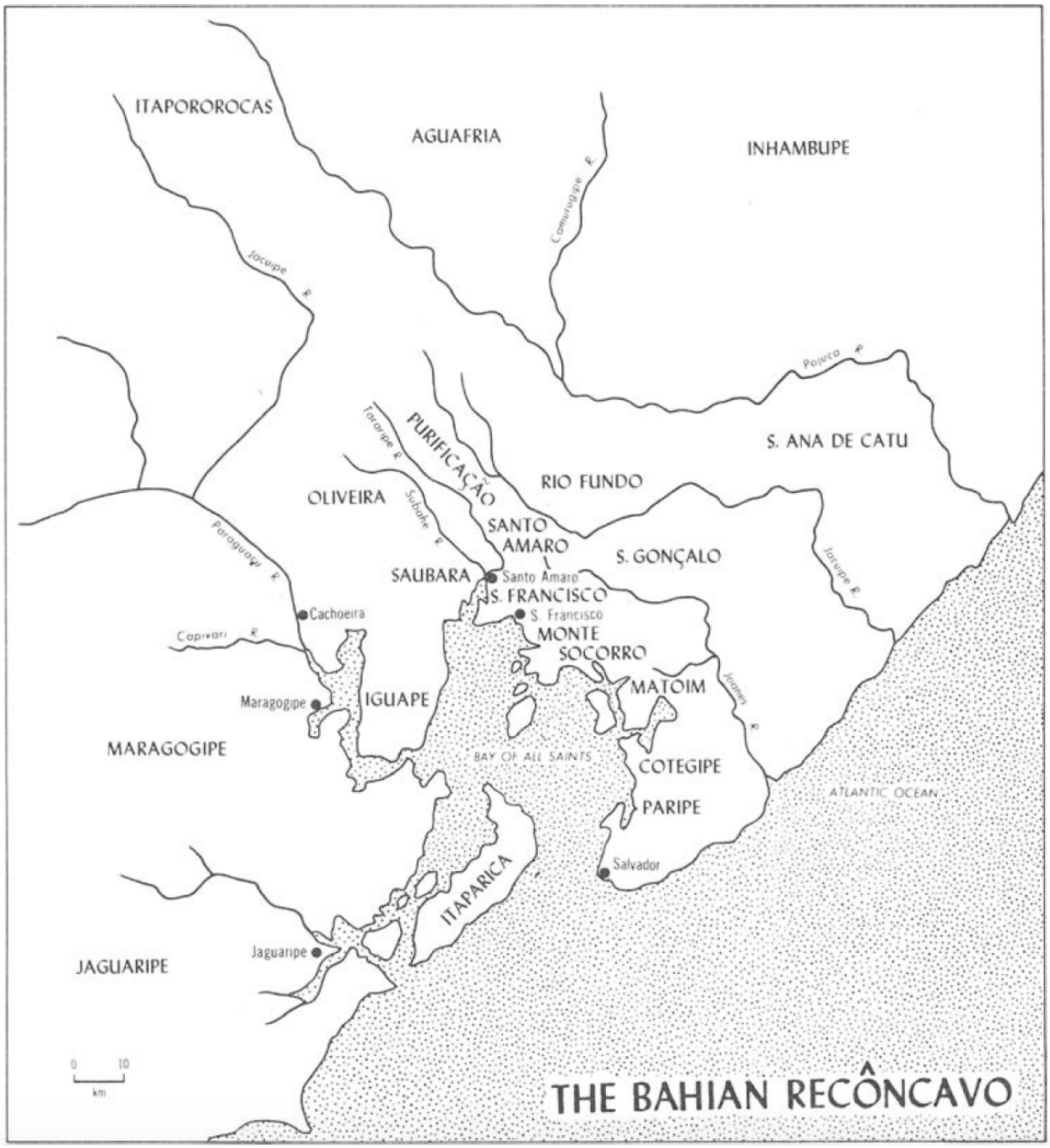

Figure 1.2. Map of Salvador and the Recôncavo of Bahia
Source: Stuart B. Schwartz, "Patterns of Slaveholding in the Americas: New Evidence from Brazil," *The American Historical Review* 87, no. 1 (1982): 56.

For the Africans and their descendants who were enslaved in Salvador itself—as opposed to working on the sugar plantations (*engenhos*) in the Recôncavo—the urban setting of slavery

engendered various advantages and disadvantages that contributed to the multiple waves of African emigration.[67] Occupations held by Africans in the bustling port town provided them with more opportunities to engage with one another; the influx of people and information into the port also allowed these individuals to remain abreast of political and social currents in the larger Atlantic, including in their regions of origin. Further, Salvador's demographic composition contributed to its cultural milieu during the nineteenth century; the linguistic, cultural, and religious similarities among the large population of enslaved individuals from the Bight of Benin shaped African ethnic, social, and commercial networks in northeastern Brazil.[68] Among the Yoruba-speaking population, enslaved and freed individuals in the province continued to forge relationships and institutions based on ethnic and religious subgroups in Yorubaland; they also adopted new "Nagô" and "African" identities. Matory avers, "A shared name and common

[67] Schwartz defines the *engenho* as "a relatively large tropical or semitropical agricultural estate, cultivated by enslaved or coerced workers, producing for the market." He points out that the word "plantation" to define an *engenho* was never used by the Portuguese in the same context as it was used in the Americas; see *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), xvii.

[68] There are a plethora of studies that examine the ways in which African cultural and religious commonalities that arose out of the "Bight of Benin cycle" shaped social and religious networks, as well as political movements; these studies include Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil*; Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil*; Reis, "Nas malhas do podei escravista: A invisão do Candomblé do Accú na Bahia, 1829," *Religião e Sociedade* 13, no. 3 (1986): 108–27; Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil*; Mikelle Smith Omari, "Candomblé: A Socio-Political Examination of African Religion and Art in Brazil," in *Religion in Africa*, eds. Thomas D. Blakeley, Walter E.A. van Beek, and Dennis L. Thomson (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1994), 135–59; Rachel E. Harding, *A Refuge in Thunder: Candomblé and Alternative Spaces of Blackness* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000); Johnson, *Secrets, Gossip, and Gods*; Reis, "Ethnic Politics Among Africans in Nineteenth-Century Bahia"; Parés, "The 'Nagôization' Process"; Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*; Reis, "Candomblé and Slave Resistance in Nineteenth-Century Bahia," in *Sorcery in the Black Atlantic*, eds. Luis Nicolau Parés and Roger Sansi (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2011), 55–74.

experience in Brazil…allowed them to develop a collective identity hitherto unknown in the African lands of their origin."[69]

At the same time, restrictive policies also served as a motivation for emigration among the freed Africans who lived in Salvador.[70] To be sure, these policies affected the practicalities of liberty. White residents in the city were in the minority, which contributed to their fear of Salvador's large African population.[71] This trepidation was exacerbated by the growing trend of slave rebellions in the larger Atlantic, as well as the repeated revolts among enslaved and freed people in Bahia itself during the first decades of the nineteenth century. Consequently, governmental officials—with the pressure of Salvador's white elites—instituted restrictive policies and practices for free and freed people of color, as the next section will address.[72]

In this way, the demographic composition of nineteenth-century Bahia—and especially Salvador—contributed to the abilities of enslaved and freed Africans to accrue capital, maintain

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[69] Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil," 84. There is a large amount of scholarship about the formation of "Nagô" and "African" identities in Brazil (a process that also occurred in Lagos itself). It includes Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade"; Maria Inês Côrtes de Oliveira, "Viver e morrer no meio dos seus: Nações e communidades africanas na Bahia do seculo XIX," *Revista USP* 28 (1995–96): 174–93; Butler, "Africa in the Reinvention of Nineteenth Century Afro-Bahian Identity," *Slavery and Abolition* 22, no. 1 (2001): 135–54. In particular, Beatriz Góis Dantas argues that the association of "Nagô" identity with "African" purity converged within the ideology of Candomblé; see *Nagô Grandma and White Papa: Candomblé and the Creation of Afro-Brazilian Identity*, transl. by Stephen Berg (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2009).

[70] The abolition of the Atlantic slave trade in 1850 gradually shifted the population from majority African-born to Brazilian-born over the course of the nineteenth century, as the influx of newly arrived Africans came to a halt. In 1835, 42 percent of Salvador's population was enslaved and, of these individuals, 64 percent were African-born. By 1872, 57.3 percent of the city's 108,138 residents were free (either manumitted or free-born) people of African descent. See Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 364–65.

[71] Salvador's population totaled 51,112 in 1807, and only 28 percent were white. By 1835, the population was 65,500, with the same proportion of white residents. In 1872, the white population had increased, but only to 31 percent; see Nishida, 364–65.

[72] Recent studies have demonstrated that urban slavery was rife with public displays of racial discrimination; see Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*; Karwan Fatah-Black, "Introduction: Urban Slavery in the Age of Abolition," *International Review of Social History*, n.d., 1–14.

distinct local and trans-Atlantic communication networks, and mobilize along ethnic and racial lines. These advantages—as well as the social and political discrimination that these Africans experienced based on their race and birthplace—shaped their strategies and patterns of manumission and emigration. The next section explores that which Turner has called the "process of return," or the steps that prospective emigrants took to obtain their freedom in Brazil and embark for West Africa.[73] Indeed, the demographics, social and economic networks, and trans-Atlantic migrations of the Africans and African-descended people who returned to the African coast can only be understood in relation to the multiple hurdles that these individuals had to overcome before they could depart.

Leaving Bahia: The "Process of Return" for Africans and Their Descendants in the Nineteenth Century

For most Africans and their descendants, the process of attaining social and geographical mobility began with manumission. In Salvador, self-purchase, or coartation, was the most common method through which enslaved Africans obtained their freedom.[74] The urban nature of slavery was largely responsible for these individuals' abilities to buy their liberties; Africans worked on the streets as street peddlers and wage earners (called *ganhadores* or *negros de ganho*), and gradually accrued enough capital to purchase their freedom.[75] It is clear from the number of

[73] Turner, "Les Brésiliens," 56.

[74] It is important to point out that, prior to the 1871 Free Womb Law (*Lei do Ventre Livre*)—which mandated that any child born to a slave after that year was born free—self-purchase was a prevalent practice with no legal grounds. Nishida asserts that, before 1871, "No slaveowner was bound by any legal obligation to liberate slaves who claimed their right to buy themselves out of slavery by offering a sum equivalent to their asserted value"; see "Manumission and Ethnicity," 379.

[75] Reis estimates that these individuals saved for an average of eight to ten years before they could purchase their freedom; see "African Nations in Nineteenth-Century Salvador," 70.

enslaved and freed individuals who lived in Salvador that the city relied on African labor to function. Richard Graham outlines the work performed by both enslaved and freed individuals; he explains, "They carried water from the fourteen public fountains […]. They cleaned the houses and public buildings, washed the clothes, and removed the garbage and sewage. They cooked the food and distributed provisions, delivering manioc meal and meat to households and selling fresh fruit and vegetables door-to-door." Further, the topography of Salvador itself—which consisted of a lower and upper city, and steep streets called *ladeiras* that connected them—made the movement of goods from the port logistically difficult. Since horses and carts had trouble navigating the *ladeiras*, African carriers made commerce possible.[76]

In fact, most of the jobs held by Africans were characterized by the hiring-out (*ao ganho*) system. Reis provides a useful description of this system when he explains, "The slave *negros de ganho* contracted with their masters to hand over a certain sum at the end of each daily or weekly working-journey. Theoretically, any money exceeding the sum contracted for could be kept by the slave."[77] By the end of the 1850s, Nagôs comprised almost 80 percent of the street workers in Salvador, which may partially explain patterns of manumission and subsequent return migration.[78] In her work on manumission in nineteenth-century Salvador, Nishida clarifies the relationship between the *ao ganho* system and self-purchase:

> Wage-earning slaves called *escravos de ganho* were hired out on either a full-time or part-time basis. They were obliged to return to their owners a mutually agreed portion of their daily or weekly wages. Some even lived outside their owners'

[76] Richard Graham, *Feeding the City: From Street Market to Liberal Reform in Salvador, Brazil, 1780–1860* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 38–39.

[77] Reis, "Slave Resistance in Brazil," 115. Of course, masters manipulated the amount that they collected from these urban laborers, who often worked as chair porters and dock workers (called *stevedores*, these workers were crucial to the sugar industry in Bahia). For instance, masters usually collected back the capital they invested, plus interest; see Reis, 115–17.

[78] Reis, "African Nations in Nineteenth-Century Salvador," 80.

> houses. The most visible examples of *escravos de ganho* were peddlers of both sexes, male porters working in gangs, male artisans, and female market-stall keepers called *quitandeiras*. The city also permitted domestic slaves to hire themselves out as peddlers or prostitutes at night and on Sundays and holidays. This wage-earning system in urban slavery enabled the enterprising slave to accumulate money eventually to purchase freedom.[79]

Thus, many occupations within Salvador afforded African laborers more opportunities to obtain their liberty than their counterparts in rural areas had.

Women also accrued capital through the *ao ganho* system. While many females of African descent worked as domestic servants, African-born women predominated in the public sphere.[80] Most of these enslaved and freed African individuals labored as market women or street peddlers, selling goods and services.[81] In fact, Jane-Marie Collins finds that 70 percent of African women in the parish of Santana worked *ao ganho* in 1849; the majority of these *ganhadeiras* were classified as Jêge or Nagô in the parish census for that year. In turn, according to Collins, "The interplay of race prejudice, politics and gender hierarchies in the labour market of nineteenth-century Salvador produced a correlation between status and occupation favourable to African

[79] Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 369.

[80] Sandra Lauderdale Graham defines domestic labor as that which incorporates a wide range of more specific roles within a household. She explains that the term "domestic" includes "at one extreme the *mucamas* or personal or chambermaids and the *amas de leite* or wetnurses, and at the other end casual water carriers, laundresses, and seamstresses"; see *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), 6.

[81] In fact, these women were part of exclusively African supply chain networks that linked Salvador with the Recôncavo; through these networks, African women had monopolies over the distribution of particular agricultural products in the city. Reis explains, "On different occasions in the 1850s Bahian merchants complained that African farmers sold their produce to African intermediaries, who in turn sold to African street peddlers and merchants in Salvador, thus forming a chain of preference that resulted, according to those merchants, in virtual market control of certain products." These organizational schemes were often defined by ethnicity; after 1850, Nagô small-scale farmers and street vendors opted to network with one another, rather than with white merchants. See Reis, "African Nations in Nineteenth-Century Salvador," 70.

women's potential for capital accumulation."[82] This ability to accrue wealth was important in the context of liberation from enslavement; it also mattered in relation to the size and impact of the population of African freed women (*Africanas libertas*) in Salvador. Collins explains, "Their [African women's] predominance in the street-trading activities enhanced their chances of manumission through self-purchase with the result that African women were more proportionately represented among the freed than their male counterparts, the element of Brazilian slave society most feared by the predominantly white, male political and economic elite."[83]

Through the relative local geographical mobility and social autonomy that defined the *ao ganho* system for both women and men, Africans cultivated their own social networks, participated in religious institutions, and engaged in their own small-scale commercial endeavors in Salvador. Many of these relationships and organizations formed along ethnic lines and played roles in advancing Africans' social status and well-being. For instance, networks of male street peddlers and wage-earners organized into *cantos*, or working groups that were defined by ethnic ties and geographical location within the city. These *cantos* gathered on particular street corners while waiting for clients; each *canto* had a captain who was familiar with the customers, negotiated payments, and knew the skills of its members. Reis describes, "The *canto* thus served as a kind of ethnically defined labor pool where employers could find different kinds of specialized workers."[84] Enslaved people who worked *ao ganho* also joined ethnically-based credit unions, called *juntas*

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[82] Jane-Marie Collins, "'Uteis a si e a sociedade' or a brief guide to creolisation in nineteenth-century Brazil: black women, mobility, marriage and markets in Salvador da Bahia (1830–1888)," *European Review of History: Revue européenne d'histoire* 16, no. 3 (2009): 418.

[83] Collins, 417.

[84] Reis, "African Nations in Nineteenth-Century Salvador," 69. Reis' scholarship regarding these *ganhadores* and their *cantos* includes: "Slave Resistance in Brazil," 115–17, and; "'The Revolution of the *Ganhadores*': Urban Labour, Ethnicity, and the African Strike of 1857 in Bahia, Brazil," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 29 (1997): 355–93.

de alforria, to which they contributed. Individual members of these *juntas de alforria* could borrow funds, in order to supplement their own savings for self-purchase or other expenses. As Peter F. Cohen explains, "Africans took particular advantage of such arrangements, and between 1831 and 1852 the African-born free population of Salvador surpassed that of free Creoles."[85]

Black lay brotherhoods, called *irmandades*, became another institutional outlet through which Africans requested financial assistance, first for manumission, and then for trans-Atlantic travel. These *irmandades* performed political, religious, and social functions and organized around ethnic categories. In particular, as social organizations in Salvador, *irmandades* became that which Cohen identifies as "centers for the concentration of money and power" among enslaved and manumitted Africans.[86] From their inception through the eighteenth century, black lay brotherhoods loaned money to members in times of illness, death, or debt; in this early period, *irmandades* also had emancipation pools, from which enslaved Africans borrowed funds for self-purchase. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, however, the black lay brotherhoods discontinued the monetary pools that were specifically set aside for emancipation. Instead, they redirected their charity to general funds for impoverished people of African descent in Salvador.

[85] Cohen, "Orisha Journeys," 25.

[86] Cohen, 26. For more literature about *irmandades*, their members, and their social and political functions, see Manoel S. Cardozo, "The Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil," *Catholic Historical Review* 33, no. 1 (1947): 12–30; A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil: A Study in Collective Behavior," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 54, no. 4 (1974): 567–602; Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684–1745," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 55, no. 4 (1974): 618; Julita Scarano, *Devoção e escravidão: A irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos prêtos no distorito diamantino no século XVIII*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Nacional, 1978); Scarano, "Black Brotherhoods: Integration or Contradiction?," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 16, no. 1 (1979): 1–17; Patricia A. Mulvey, "Black Brothers and Sisters: Membership in the Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 17, no. 2 (1980): 253–79; Fayette Darcell Wimbery, "The African *Liberto* and the Bahian Lower Class: Social Integration in Nineteenth-Century Bahia, Brazil 1870–1900" (PhD diss, University of California at Berkeley, 1989), 176–88; Reis, *Death is a Festival: Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 127–28.

Members of the *irmandades* contributed to these pools, which became important funding sources for trans-Atlantic passage.[87]

Prospective African emigrants obtained their letters of manumission through other strategies of self-purchase, as well. In particular, some Africans in Salvador paid for their freedom through the practice of substitution.[88] Primarily an urban phenomenon in Brazil, substitution occurred when enslaved individuals traded other enslaved Africans for their own *cartas de alforria*, or manumission papers.[89] In her examination of this practice in Salvador, Nishida observes, "Substitute slaves were usually newly arrived Africans, whose prices were lower than those of skilled Brazilian-born slaves or acculturated African-born slaves. This explains why the practice of substitution nearly disappeared with the termination of the transatlantic slave trade. […] With the owner's consent, a slave purchased the substitute, acculturated and trained the newcomer in special occupational skills, and finally 'traded in' the substitute for the slave's own freedom."[90]

This approach benefited both proprietors and enslaved individuals who sought manumission. On the one hand, substitution meant that white owners were not responsible for acculturating these recently arrived replacements. On the other hand, as Mary Karasch has pointed

[87] Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 385.

[88] Various scholars have written about substitution as a form of self-purchase, including: Schwartz, "Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil," 626; Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 358; Kathleen Higgins, "The Slave Society in Eighteenth-Century Sabara: A Community Study in Colonial Brazil" (PhD diss, Yale University, 1987), 247–48; Katia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550–1888*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press, 1986), 158; Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 387–91.

[89] In the context of slavery in the Americas and the Caribbean, Nishida argues that the practice of substitution as a form of self-purchase was unique to Brazil; see "Manumission and Ethnicity," 387.

[90] Nishida, 389.

out, this practice "solved the problem of capital depreciation. In place of an aging African woman, they [slave owners] might receive a teenage boy with years of service in the future."[91] Kristin Mann and Urano Andrade created a database of manumission records that were registered in Bahia between 1829 and 1852; some of its entries detail the ways in which proprietors profited from substitution. For example, a Nagô woman named Gaudência obtained her freedom in 1847 by providing her master with another enslaved Nagô woman and her daughter. Thus, Gaudência's master received two enslaved individuals in exchange for one; on her manumission record, it states that this trade "corresponded to the value of 500 *milréis*."[92]

This strategy of substitution also made financial sense for Africans who pursued self-purchase. First, it was more feasible for enslaved Africans to buy newly arrived enslaved individuals than to try to accrue enough money to pay their own values.[93] Second, African owners could employ their prospective substitutes as *escravos de ganho*. Sending the enslaved people whom they purchased to peddle goods and services on Salvador's streets relieved these African proprietors of a portion of their labor, while simultaneously allowing them to accumulate the extra capital needed for self-purchase.[94]

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[91] Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 358.

[92] Kristin Mann and Urano Andrade, Banco de Dados (hereafter BD), APEB, Alforrias, Livro 285, p. 38, 6 May 1847.

[93] Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 390. The terms *boçal* or *negro novo* were used in Brazil to describe newly arrived, unacculturated Africans; the word *boçal*, especially, had derogatory connotations.

[94] Nishida contends that these close working relationships and the task of acculturation explain enslaved Africans' propensities to purchase substitutes of the same ethnic group; she purports that doing so "eliminated the problem of instructing the new arrival who did not understand the Portuguese language or Luso-Brazilian culture." This assertion departs from those of Schwartz and Karasch, who suggest that archival evidence of enslaved people purchasing Africans from the same ethnic group was sparse; see Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 390; Schwartz, "Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil," 626; Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro*, 358; Higgins, "The Slave Society in Eighteenth-Century Sabara," 247.

In addition to the strategy of substitution, many African-born people bought their own letters of manumission, and then saved additional funds to buy the freedom of their family members; such was the case for Victoria do Couto Vianna, who purchased her own freedom and then that of her daughter, Henriqueta. When possible, women purchased their children's freedom along with their own. Such was the case for a Gêge woman named Rita, who was enslaved in the area of Salvador known as Quinta dos Lázaros, or Baixa de Quintas; in 1835, she collectively purchased *alforrias* for herself and her daughter, Alexandrina da Gama, for 120 *milréis*.[95] Likewise, a Nagô woman named Júlia, who had been enslaved since 1828, purchased her own freedom and that of her son, Adolfo, for 500 *milréis* in 1848.[96] In 1827, on a sugar plantation in the town of Tucano, a woman named Ilaria used substitution to obtain freedom for herself and her daughter, Jozefina, who was still breastfeeding. In exchange for their letters of manumission, Ilaria gave her master an enslaved Mina man named Antônio, who is described in her *carta de alforria* as "robust and ready for the service of farming."[97]

It often took many years for freed Africans to save enough money to secure the freedom of their familial relations. For instance, an Egba woman named Rita paid her master 400 *milréis* in 1836 to obtain her *carta da liberdade*. She could not afford to buy the freedom of her son, Jony, until 1842.[98] Likewise, a Nagô woman named Reginalda bought her own liberty from her master

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[95] Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 257, p. 7V, 5 May 1835.

[96] Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 298, p. 122, 12 June 1848; Júlia's and Adolfo's *alforrias* not registered until 10 April 1851, when Adolfo was three years old. Upon the birth of her son, Júlia did everything possible to ensure that he would lead a life of liberty. First, she had him baptized in the Church of São Pedro Velho and, soon after, she paid for his freedom.

[97] Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 236, p. 174V, 6 November 1827; Ilaria's and Jozefina's *alforrias* were registered on 11 June 1831. Tucano was a town in the interior of Bahia.

[98] Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 255, p. 183V/184, 29 December 1836 (Rita's *alforria* was registered on 27 June 1837); Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 278, p. 70/70V, 6 July 1842 (Jony's *alforria* was registered on 24 October 1843).

in 1833. It took Reginalda almost ten years to again accrue enough capital to purchase a second letter of manumission for her Brazilian-born daughter, Fábia; in 1842, Reginalda paid her ex-proprietor an additional 500 *milréis* for Fábia's freedom.[99]

Africans' strategies for purchasing the liberty of loved ones could be quite complex, involving substitutions and coordination across multiple parties. For example, in 1828, a *crioula* named Bernardina gave her master, José Pereira Caldas, an enslaved Nagô woman named Rita, in exchange for her freedom. Bernardina had obtained Rita from her mother, who had a different master, Diogo Vaz Lordelo. With the approval of Senhor Lordelo, Bernardina's mother delivered this enslaved woman to her daughter, so that Bernardina could obtain her liberty from Senhor Caldas.[100] In another instance, a Mina man named Domingos, who worked in the Recôncavo at the Natiba sugar mill, substituted an enslaved Nagô named André for his freedom. Domingos' freed brother had purchased André and brought him to Natiba to help his sibling. In Domingos' record of manumission, it states that he paid 400 *milréis*: his substitute, André, was valued at 300 *milréis*, and he gave his master an additional 100 *milréis* to obtain his liberty.[101] It is important to note that Brazilian-born individuals benefited most frequently from familial relations who helped them to buy their freedom; however, there were instances in which Africans aided other African

[99] Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 243, p. 171V, 20 January 1833 (Reginalda's *alforria* was registered on 22 September 1834); Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 274, p. 118, 18 May 1842.

[100] Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 238, p. 128V/129, 10 March 1828; Bernardina's *alforria* was registered on 16 August 1832.

[101] Mann and Andrade, BD, APEB, Alforrias, Livro 246, p. 9/9V, 4 March 1834.

family members and friends in obtaining their letters of manumission, as the example of Domingos and his freed brother illustrates.[102]

Along these lines, the process of obtaining liberty looked quite different for Brazilian-born individuals of African descent. While African-born people usually obtained their freedom through self-purchase, the liberty of Brazilian-born individuals often depended on their occupations, race, and gender. For *crioulos*, or the Brazilian-born children of African parents, the most common route to freedom was through testamentary manumission, or payment through years of domestic labor and loyalty to their owners. In contrast, Collins explains, "Mixed-race Brazilian-born slaves with lighter skin colour, known generally as *pardos* or *mulattos*, benefited most from baptismal manumission. When *pardos* and *mulattos* were freed as infants it was usually in recognition of the services provided by their enslaved mothers."[103]

Regardless of how Africans and their Brazilian-born descendants obtained manumission, their lives remained rife with challenges as freed people in Brazil. These perils prompted multiple waves of emigration to West Africa over the course of the nineteenth century.[104] In Bahia, the first large wave of African migration in the latter half of the 1830s stemmed from a series of uprisings,

[102] Nishida argues that, while Brazilian-born individuals had blood relatives and godparents who could help them gain manumission through purchase, most Africans did not have local familial relations who could assist them. In her examination of manumission letters for the period 1808 to 1884, Nishida does not find any instances of relatives paying to manumit their enslaved African kin; further, she only locates three cases of godfathers purchasing the freedom of their female, African-born godchildren. These findings contradict the data that I obtained from witness testimonies of African "returnees" in Lagos. While *crioulos* had larger relational networks from which they could draw when seeking money for self-purchase, Africans also purchased the freedom of other Africans in their social and familial networks; see "Manumission and Ethnicity," 384.

[103] Collins, "Black women, mobility, marriage and markets," 416.

[104] Castillo has articulated three main migratory phases for the individuals who emigrated from Bahia to West Africa; see "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 25–52.

which began in 1807 and culminated in the Malê revolt in January 1835.[105] This revolt began in Salvador; it was coordinated by a group of freed Africans, the majority of whom were Nagô Muslims (the rebellion also included some Hausa practitioners of Islam). Using their religious and ethnic networks to organize, approximately six hundred people took to the streets, targeting individuals and institutions who participated in Bahia's slaveholding culture.[106] The Malê revolt was quickly quashed; many of the individuals who participated in the rebellion were sentenced to lashings, life imprisonment with forced labor, or death by firing squad.

However, the revolt incited fear among government officials, who worried that additional large-scale uprisings would follow. These officials were especially concerned about more rebellions in Salvador, where Nagôs lived in close quarters. Consequently, according to Reis, "A war was declared against the Africans," on both corporeal and legislative grounds.[107] On 3 March 1835, two months after the insurrectionary plot, the President of Bahia Province, Francisco de Souza Martins, stated that "all liberated Africans who constitute a danger to our tranquility" should be sent out of Brazil.[108] Thereafter, approximately two hundred people of African descent were

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[105] Reis notes, "Slave revolts and conspiracies occurred in Bahia in 1807, 1809, 1814, 1816, 1822, 1824, 1826, 1827, 1828, 1830, 1831, and culminated with the great urban uprising of 1835"; see "Slave Resistance in Brazil," 119.

[106] There is some debate in the literature of the field about whether the Malê revolt was organized around ethnic or religious identities. In this context, it is evident that Islam connected both enslaved and manumitted practitioners across ethnic lines in the 1835 rebellion. Nishida explains, "Islam emerged as a common symbol shared by the participants of African birth…and as such transcended ethnic divisions; the written language of Islam was closely associated and identified with literacy in Arabic, which enabled cross-ethnic communication and the creation of an African-born identity." Still, the fact that the majority of the leaders of the Malê revolt were Nagô illuminates the ways that categories of ethnicity forged under the conditions of Atlantic slavery remained relevant; see *Slavery and Identity*, 116.

[107] Reis, "Slave Resistance in Brazil," 129.

[108] TNA, Public Record Office (hereafter, PRO), FO 84/174–Extracts from the *Aurore Fluminense* of Rio de Janeiro, of 20 March 1835; quoted in Verger, *Trade Relations*, 314. See also Bellarmin C. Codo, "Returning Afro-Brazilians," in *From Chains to Bonds: The Slave Trade Revisited*, ed. Doudou Diène (Paris: UNESCO Publishing, 2001), 55.

deported for their alleged involvement in the uprising. These individuals constituted a proportion of the early returnees who forged communities along the West African coast.

Still, the large population of Africans made this plan so costly that it was impossible to enforce, despite the fact that the legislation mandated the deportation of the entire freed African population. For the Africans who remained in Bahia, then, Martins instituted a series of restrictive measures. He explained, "Such individuals, not having been born in Brazil, possessing a different language, religion and customs, and having shown themselves to be enemies of our tranquility during recent events, should not benefit from the constitutional guarantees set down only for Brazilian citizens."[109] Consequently, the President of Bahia put various social and economic restrictions into place; Castillo explains, "The new legislation created a steep annual tax that only applied to Africans, barred them from buying real estate and required them not only to register with the police but also to report any change of address. Moreover, landlords now needed to obtain police authorization before renting to Africans." These laws "curtailed freed Africans' possibilities for economic ascension and brought them under close surveillance."[110]

Thus, threats of deportation and social and economic restrictions prompted additional Africans to leave Brazil on a voluntary basis.[111] For the Africans who could afford to pay for their passages to West Africa, playing a proactive role in their departures seemed favorable to deportation. Verger explains, "[T]he sight of thousands of whip-lashes administered daily in the

[109] TNA, PRO, FO 84/174–Extracts from the *Aurore Fluminense* of Rio de Janeiro, 20 March 1835; quoted in Verger, *Trade Relations*, 314.

[110] Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 26. Castillo points out, "For Africans who had not yet attained financial stability [in Bahia], the annual head tax was a heavy burden, and the constraints on renting to Africans made finding housing more difficult" (27).

[111] Castillo emphasizes that the legislation "posed a clear invitation for freed Africans to leave of their own accord, and, importantly, at their own cost"; see Castillo, 26–27.

public squares and hundreds of unjust sentences incited them to leave of their own free will on the ship of their choice, sailing to a port near their final destination; otherwise they faced the possibility of being forcibly sent away by the Bahia authorities, with the risk of being dropped off at any point along the coast of Africa. Thus, they left aboard Brazilian, Portuguese or Sardinian ships which made regular voyages between Bahia and the Bay of Benin."[112] It was under these circumstances that the Bahian police issued passports to approximately 925 people bound for the African coast between September 1835 and the end of 1837.[113] This included a group of 160 freed Africans, who voluntarily chartered a British ship called the *Nimrod* to take them to West Africa in early 1836.[114]

As opposed to the second half of the nineteenth century, many of the returnees who arrived on the continent during this first migratory wave settled in Dahomey, in modern-day Benin. Indeed, the kingdom of Dahomey possessed an existing Lusophone community that was deeply connected to the trans-Atlantic slave trade and centered around the Brazilian merchant, Francisco Félix de Souza.[115] In fact, according to Castillo, de Souza actually consented to receive these

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[112] Verger, *Trade Relations*, 317.

[113] Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 27, 43.

[114] Verger, *Trade Relations*, 317–20; Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 27–28.

[115] The relationship between Brazil and the rulers along the Bight of Benin coast had deep roots, centered around the Atlantic slave trade. As a result of these relationships, a small number of formerly enslaved African and African-descended individuals settled in the region prior to the emigration wave of the late 1830s. These individuals became deeply involved in the slave trade themselves, as was the case with de Souza. In fact, according to Verger, it was actualy a freed African, João de Oliveira, who opened the trading port at Porto Novo in the eighteenth century. Further, these relationships involved regular diplomatic contact between Brazilian officials and the African rulers who regulated the trade; Verger lists at least seven official embassies, sent to Brazil between 1750 and 1812 by the kings of Dahomey and Onim (Lagos), to discuss commerce. Most of these envoys included at least one enslaved or freed Portuguese-speaking interpreter, some of whom had been enslaved in Brazil. See Verger, *Trade Relations*, Ch. 7; Ana Lucia Araujo, "Dahomey, Portugal and Bahia: King Adandozan and the Atlantic Slave Trade," *Slavery and Abolition* 33, no. 1 (2012): 1–19; Law and Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community," 320–21. On Lusophone community's involvement in Dahomey during the nineteenth century, see Milton Guran, *Agudás: os "brasileiros" do Benim* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Gama Filho, 1999); Law, "The Evolution of

emigrants from the Bahian government, and he provided returnees with plots of land to construct houses. Still, Ouidah was not the homeland of the majority of these returnees; as Castillo points out, "Rather than returning to their original homelands returnees tended to congregate in ports where the slave trade was in important economic activity" during this early emigration phase.[116]

The clandestine slave trade also dictated the second wave of migration during the 1840s, which involved mostly African-born males who were employed in various aspects of maritime commerce; these Africans worked as barbers, cooks, carpenters, and other employees on the ships involved in the illegal slave trade. Some of these individuals purchased their own captives along the Bight of Benin coast, either to become slaveowners themselves or to resell in an attempt to profit from slave trading on a small scale. They also resettled in West African port towns to work as middlemen between African and Brazilian slave merchants.[117] As previously discussed, the nature of the illegal trade changed its organization along the African coast; a smaller number of firms and individuals worked closely with African agents and slave dealers as the slave trade shifted to Brazil and Cuba during this period. Consequently, according to Mann, "The partnerships and joint stock enterprises that emerged…commonly sold shares small enough in value to open investment in the transatlantic slave trade to persons outside the economic elite, so that involvement in it trickled down to a much wider segment of the population."[118] These changes

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the Brazilian Community in Ouidah," *Slavery and Abolition* 22, no. 1 (2001): 3–21; Soummoni, "Afro-Brazilian Communities of Ouidah and Lagos in the 19th Century: A Comparative Perspective," in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora: A Comparative Perspective*, eds. Paul Lovejoy and David Trotman (London: Continuum, 2003), 181–94.

[116] Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 28. She points out that these early freed African emigrants also settled in Agoué, Porto Novo, Accra, and Lagos, although in small numbers.

[117] Castillo, 32.

[118] Mann, "The Illegal Slave Trade," 220.

prompted increased movement and interaction between merchants in Brazil with those who operated out of ports in West Africa; it also created economic opportunities for Africans who desired to return to the Bight of Benin. Thus, despite the fact that many members of the Lusophone community in West Africa during this period were Africans or people of African descent themselves, they were still involved in the clandestine trade.

These economic shifts, in addition to the continued discrimination of Africans and African-descended people in Bahia, set the stage for another phase of large-scale migration from the port of Salvador to West Africa after 1850. During the period of this study, more returnees chose Lagos as their place of settlement, as opposed to earlier emigration waves that funneled these freed Africans to more western ports in the Bight of Benin; in fact, by the 1860s, Lagos had become the most popular destination for African emigrants.[119] This shift occurred for a variety of reasons. As discussed in the first section, these emigrants' natal origins in Yorubaland prompted many of them to return to Lagos. Second, the regional conflicts that continued into the second half of the nineteenth century in West Africa put many of these Nagô emigrants in danger of capture, re-enslavement, or death if they encountered allies of the king of Dahomey, who was at war with Yoruba-speaking subgroups. Third, the economic inflation and instability that plagued other ports in the Bight of Benin served as a deciding factor. Indeed, the British naval patrol established periodic blockades around Ouidah and other ports to suppress the clandestine slave trade that continued into the 1850s. These blockades created a state of economic inflation in these locations that did not exist in Lagos.[120] Thus, Lagos became the dominant port to which African traders from the hinterland brought their goods, especially as commerce in the region shifted from the traffic in

[119] Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 36.

[120] Castillo, 35.

human beings to the "legitimate" trade in palm products. Across the Atlantic, many prospective emigrants had continued contact with previous waves of returnees, who made multiple trips between Salvador and West Africa; they likely heard about the economic opportunities in Lagos from these individuals.

Fourth, during Benjamin Campbell's time as British Consul, Brazilians who already lived in Lagos were encouraged to remain, and Campbell supported the arrival of additional returnees.[121] In fact, Campbell went to great lengths to protect Afro-Brazilian emigrants during the early years of British influence. First, he convinced King Dosunmu, Kosoko's successor, to lower and then remove the tax on immigrants. Second, he attempted to enforce punishments for ship captains who robbed returnees or sold them back into slavery. Finally, he vowed to protect them in exchange for their alliance with missionaries and British officials.[122] In fact, British support for African returnees from Brazil continued throughout the second half of the nineteenth century; multiple officials promoted emigration from Bahia to Lagos. For instance, Alfred Moloney, the Governor of Lagos from 1886 to 1891, proposed the establishment of a steamboat to facilitate Afro-Brazilian resettlement in the colony. Moloney viewed these potential settlers as an asset to the town's development, due to their experience as skilled craftsmen and agricultural workers. In 1890, the African Steamship Company and Lagos' Postmaster, G.W. Neville, launched the *Biafra* to carry these emigrants to the colony. However, the steamship failed; after making two voyages, the idea was abandoned in 1891.[123]

[121] Castillo, 35.

[122] Lindsay, "Brazilian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Lagos," 26–27.

[123] Lindsay, 42–43.

Finally, the British presence in the town after 1851 stimulated economic opportunities and political changes that attracted migrants. As Margaret Peil explains, "The security of British overlordship encouraged European and American traders to move to Lagos for trade. […] Anglican, Wesleyan and Catholic missionaries also arrived, as did Egba Christians expelled from Abeokuta in 1867, immigrants and refugees from the interior."[124] British involvement also led manumitted emigrants to view Lagos as the only port in the region in which they did not risk re-enslavement. In reality, the British did not meddle in the politics of local slavery during the early years of their influence; however, the risk of regional and Atlantic re-enslavement made British promises of protection in Lagos appealing to prospective settlers.

In this political climate, returnees from Brazil also hoped that Lagos would serve as a location to which they could remove themselves from the discrimination that they experienced in Bahia, where Africans were still treated as foreigners without rights in the mid-century.[125] Even after the enactment of anti-African laws in the late 1830s, the large-scale clandestine trade brought new enslaved Africans to Bahia and fueled a continuing unease among white elites. A propaganda campaign against Africans in the 1840s and 1850s, as well as a series of small-scale insurrections around the empire between 1850 and 1856, led to the arrests of a number of African freed people in Bahia.[126] Further, new occupational restrictions and taxes were put into place by the new president of Bahia, Francisco Gonçalves Martins, in the 1850s. Reis attributes the intensification of West African migration to these anti-African labor policies, which put many *ganhadores* out of

[124] Margaret Peil, *Lagos: The City is the People* (London: Belhaven Press, 1991), 7.

[125] Nishida discusses the reality that Africans would never be fully free in Brazil, based on their birthplace and political status as foreigners; see *Slavery and Identity*, 73–91. See also Cunha, *Negros, estrangeiros*, 137.

[126] Graden, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil*, 47–48.

work. He contends, "Such measures were designed to force Africans to work on plantations as dependent labourers or make them return en masse to Africa. Political pressure and the economic hardships of the difficult 1850s, including the terrible cholera epidemic of 1855, intensified the movement of freed slaves returning to Africa."[127]

Even Brazilian-born individuals of African descent experienced a series of restrictions during this period, despite the fact that they were citizens. For instance, as Barickman points out, manumitted *crioulos* who were male, at least twenty-five years old, and earned the minimum income required by the state could technically vote in the first round of Brazil's elections and be elected to municipal councils.[128] In reality, even the men who met these conditions were not allowed to vote because they were not *ingênuos*, or free-born individuals.[129] Brazilian-born *crioulos* were especially at a disadvantage in comparison to other Brazilian-born people of color, because of their skin color and first-generation status. As the direct descendants of African-born parents, *crioulos* occupied a unique niche in the social and cultural fabric of Brazil; Butler notes

[127] Reis, "'Revolution of the *Ganhadores*,'" 478. Francisco Gonçalves Martins became the president of Bahia in 1849, after serving as the Chief of Police during the Malê Revolt in 1835. Martins had advocated for deportation of Africans who participated in the 1835 plot; as president, he invoked Brazilians' lasting memory of the revolt in order to enact stricter policies toward *libertos*. While this memory influenced the Brazilian government's eventual decision to outlaw the country's participation in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, it also swayed much of the legislation, politics and discourse between 1848 and 1851, heightening and militarizing restrictions for freed Africans who lived and worked in Bahia. See also Hendrik Kraay, *Race, State, and Armed Forces in Independence-Era Brazil: Bahia, 1790s–1840s* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2001), 252–54.

[128] Barickman argues that these restrictions made these Brazilian-born individuals essentially second-class citizens. See, "Reading the 1835 Parish Censuses from Bahia: Citizenship, Kinship, Slavery, and Household in Early Nineteenth-Century Brazil," *The Americas* 59, no. 3 (2003): 299.

[129] Mamigonian explains that, in addition to experiencing voting restrictions, these men could not become deputies or senators; they also were restricted in their roles in the armed forces, and only the legitimate children of ex-slaves could become priests in the Catholic Church. See "To Be a Liberated African in Brazil: Labour and Citizenship in the Nineteenth Century" (PhD diss., University of Waterloo, 2002), 28.

that these Brazilian-born offspring of Africans served as an "intermediate group" in Bahia.[130] Further, Collins expounds, "In a society where darkness of skin colour was always and everywhere associated with slavery and hence marginality, it was difficult for freed Africans, and to a certain extent *crioulos*, to distance themselves from the stigma of slavery and the conditions of captivity, particularly if called upon to prove their freed or free status."[131] In addition, these first-generation children remained deeply connected to the languages, religious traditions, and social networks of their parents, fueling their difference and their desires to return to West Africa.[132]

Finally, Brazilian-born individuals emigrated to the African coast in greater numbers during the second half of the nineteenth century because of the heightened threat of re-enslavement in Brazil. The end of the trans-Atlantic slave trade caused the the prices of enslaved individuals to increase, and prompted the re-enslavement of African and African-descended people from northern provinces like Bahia as labor on the southern coffee-growing plantations.[133] As Sidney Chalhoub describes, "Slave owners…especially those of modest means, lured by the high prices

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[130] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, 54.

[131] Collins, "Black women, mobility, marriage and markets," 416.

[132] Indeed, for many Brazilian-born children with African parents, African (and specifically Nagô) identity shaped their social, cultural, and political activities and institutions, including their formation of Candomblé temples (*terreiros*), political parties, etc. See Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*; Dantas, *Nagô Grandma and White Papa*.

[133] As Stanley J. Stein's study of Vassouras county in Rio de Janeiro shows, males comprised 63 percent of the recently imported enslaved population between 1850 and 1859; this statistic decreased to 53 percent by 1872. Likewise, Klein finds that 67 percent of the enslaved people imported into Rio were males in 1852. He notes that the vast majority of these individuals were Brazilian-born, based on this population's training as skilled laborers and the aging status of enslaved Africans after 1850. Still, Klein emphasizes, the enslaved African-born population brought to Rio during the interprovincial trade was even more heavily male than their Brazilian-born counterparts. See Stein, *Vassouras, A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850–1900: The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Plantation Society* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1957), 77; Klein, "The Internal Slave Trade in Nineteenth-Century Brazil," 570–76. For the evolution of gender patterns among the enslaved population working on sugar plantations in the Recôncavo, see Barickman, "Persistence and Decline: Slave Labour and Sugar Production in the Bahian Reconcavo, 1850–1888," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 3 (1996): 602–603.

paid for slaves in the coffee-growing provinces, had been selling their labor force, condemning themselves to poverty. Furthermore, demand for labor was so high that a new "speculation" had developed—namely, reducing free people to slavery. The kidnapping and sale of free and freed black and *pardo* children to slave dealers had become commonplace; sometimes guardians of children of color sold them to slavery."[134]

Thus, based on continuing discrimination and fear of re-enslavement in Bahia, as well as new opportunities for economic and social mobility in Lagos, the majority of the individuals who left Brazil for port cities along the West African coast after 1850 did so on a voluntary basis. This voluntary movement altered migration patterns to West Africa, which is the subject of the chapter that follows. It also altered the demographics of the Africans who embarked from the port of Salvador. Indeed, while emigrants were primarily from Bahia in the 1830s, Salvador became a hub for return migration among freed Africans from various parts of Brazil (Table 1.2).[135] Beginning in the 1850s, prospective emigrants from other provinces traveled to the urban center, either to work until they accrued enough capital to purchase their passages, or to obtain passports prior to their embarkations from Salvador on ships bound for West Africa.

Voluntary emigrants had a much different "process of return" than deportees, who also continued to be sent from Brazil to West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, these voluntary travelers had to perform a series of actions before they could depart from Bahia. After these Africans and their descendants obtained their freedom, the next step in the

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[134] Sidney Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society (Brazil in the Nineteenth Century)," *International Review of Social History* 56, no. 3 (2011): 423. Other scholars have written about similar phenomena in other parts of Brazil; see Judy Bieber Freitas, "Slavery and Social Life: Attempts to Reduce Free People to Slavery in the Sertão Mineiro, Brazil, 1850–1871," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 26 (1994): 597–619, and; Marcus J.M. de Carvalho, *Liberdade: rotinas e rupturas do escravismo no Recife, 1822–1850* (Recife: Editora Universitária da UFPE, 1998), 242–53.

[135] Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 35.

"process of return" was to secure funds for their trans-Atlantic voyages. Prospective returnees needed capital to pay for their passports and passage. In fact, the police required proof that these individuals had secured spots on particular ships before they would issue passports; as such, these documents also possessed limited periods of validity that coincided with the departure dates of these vessels.[136] While some Africans had accrued enough wealth as *negros de ganho* in Bahia to fund their own voyages, others received financial aid from familial relations, patrons, ethnic associations, and spouses.[137] In this way, the interrelated ethnic, linguistic, and cultural networks that were shaped by the nineteenth-century Bight of Benin cycle played a crucial role in facilitating voluntary emigration during this period.

Table 1.2. Volume and trajectories of regional migrations made by prospective emigrants to Salvador, 1850–1890

Regional migrations of prospective emigrants to Salvador	Number of emigrants
Rio de Janeiro	245
Rio Grande do Sul	109
Recife	53
Pernambuco	24
Alagoas	18
Maceio	11
Pelotas	10
Sergipe	7
Porto Alegre	4
São Pedro do Sul	3
Nazareth	3
Santos	2

[136] Turner, "Les Brésiliens," 58.

[137] Lindsay gives an example of Emilio José Rodrigues, who traveled from Bahia to Lagos; in his will, he left his property to his wife, his godson, and two people who had been enslaved under him in Bahia. See "Brazilian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Lagos," 25; Turner, "Les Brésiliens," 67.

After accruing sufficient capital to purchase passports and passage, emigrants had to take additional steps to gain possession of these travel documents. Turner outlines this process, which involved prospective travelers proving their legitimacy in the eyes of the Brazilian state. First, Africans and *crioulos* had to substantiate their freed—as opposed to fugitive—status. Public notices, such as newspaper advertisements, were one avenue through which Africans announced their freed status and their intentions to emigrate.[138] Other documents also served as statements of legitimacy; applicants often submitted letters from former masters or baptismal certificates along with their passport requests. In most cases, Africans also presented their *cartas de liberdade*, which were entered into police records.

These supplemental materials allowed prospective emigrants to obtain passports; for the historian, they also provide crucial information about these individuals' trajectories, from their origins in West Africa, to their enslavements in Brazil, to their emancipations, and finally to their resettlements across the Atlantic. For instance, seventy-year-old Antonia Botelho, a liberated African, requested a passport to travel to Africa on 15 September 1868. Attached to her application is her *carta de liberdade* from 25 November 1860, which reveals that she was Nagô, and that her previous owner was José Botelho d'Araújo of Bahia. For her "good service" (and her payment of 400 *milréis*), Antonia received her freedom; her *carta* was signed by her ex-proprietor, along with five witnesses.[139] In another example, a liberated *crioula* named Angélica requested a passport to travel with her five-year-old son, Cândido, to the coast of Africa on 5 September 1873. To prove her legitimacy as a freed woman, as well as her free-born child's status as an *ingênuo*, she included

[138] Turner provides excellent examples of these newspaper advertisements, found in various nineteenth-century publications in Bahia; see "Les Brésiliens," 56.

[139] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Passaportes originais de Africanos livres para voltar para África e outros lugares, etc. (1867–1869), maço 6371, 15 September 1868; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1868–1870), maço 5902, 15 September 1868, p. 48, #293.

both her manumission letter and Cândido's baptismal certificate in her application. The police in Salvador granted them a passport; three weeks later, Angélica and her son left on the Portuguese ship, *Viajante*, for Lagos.[140] This practice of legitimation continued until 1888, with African- and Brazilian-born individuals presenting police with proof of their liberty to obtain Brazilian passports.

In this way, this chapter illuminates the lengthy and complex trajectories of freed African and African-descended people who sought to return to West Africa, as well as their motivations for doing so. For prospective emigrants, the "process of return" began with manumission. The urban nature of slavery in Salvador, as well as the large concentration of Yoruba-speaking individuals, provided increased opportunities for manumission. However, discriminatory legislation and perpetual poverty stifled the liberties of freed Africans and their Brazilian-born descendants. These inequities—as well as new opportunities across the Atlantic for freedom, economic and social mobility, and the prospect of reconnecting with African relations—led some individuals to pursue resettlement in West Africa. While the first wave of emigration in the late 1830s began with deportations of Yoruba-speaking people and Muslim Africans from various ethnic groups, many freed individuals voluntarily followed. By the 1850s, discrimination and the risks of re-enslavement for both African- and Brazilian-born freed people in Bahia—in addition to the opportunities that emerged with the end of the Atlantic slave trade and the British presence in

[140] Free status was inherited through the mother; therefore, since Angélica was free when her son was born, Cândido was baptized as a *crioulo livre*, or a free person of color. APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1873–1874), maço 5903, 5 September 1873; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 27 September 1873, Brigue, *Viajante*, Onim [Lagos]. According to A.B. Aderibigbe, the name Lagos first appears in the written record in the mid-1850s. Over time, it replaced the name Onim; see "Early History of Lagos to about 1850," in *Lagos: The Development of an African City*, ed. A.B. Aderibigbe (Lagos: Longman Nigeria, 1975), 15. See also Verger, "Notes on Some Documents in Which Lagos Is Referred to By the Name 'Onim' and Which Mention Relations Between Onim and Brazil," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 1, no. 4 (1959): 343–50.

Lagos—prompted another wave of emigration. Yet, even as these voluntary returnees purchased their passages to West Africa, Brazilian officials continued to control their lives; Africans had to legitimize their freed status before they could obtain Brazilian passports. For those who left after 1850, ethnic origins and shifting economic and political dynamics in West Africa reshaped patterns of return migration from western ports in the Bight of Benin, such as Ouidah, to Lagos. Yet, as this chapter demonstrates, for the small proportion of Africans who did purchase their freedom and passage back to West Africa, they often spent decades of their lives as enslaved and manumitted people in Brazil before they were able to return to their regions of origin.

CHAPTER 2

Those Who Returned: 1850–1900*

When Henriqueta do Couto Vianna arrived at the Salvador police station in 1854 to request a passport, she did so "on the order of her mother, Victoria do Couto Vianna."[141] Despite the fact that Henriqueta was a minor, Victoria did not plan to travel with her. On the one hand, Victoria's circumstances may have left her unable to care for the young girl, beyond purchasing her letter of manumission. On the other hand, perhaps Victoria believed that Henriqueta could live a better life as an emigrant in Africa than she could as a freed woman in Brazil. Yet, while further evidence is needed to understand why Victoria did not accompany her daughter to the African coast, both women appear only as a single-line entry in the archival record.

This chapter traces the geographical movement of Henriqueta and the other African and African-descended emigrants who left Bahia for West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, it examines the migratory flows, patterns, connections, and trajectories of these subjects using the Afro-Brazilian Returnee Database (ABRD). This database provides important quantitative details about the identities and demographics of those who undertook the "process of return." It extracts data from manumission letters, police records,

* Segments of this chapter appear in my forthcoming publication, "Apparitions of the Atlantic: Tracing Individuals Using Qualitative and Quantitative Data in the Afro-Brazilian Returnee Database (ABRD)," in *Encoding Enslaved.org: Slavery, Databases, and Digital Histories*, eds. Daryle Williams, Walter Hawthorne, and Dean Rehberger (Lansing: Michigan State University Press).

[141] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1852–1854), maço 5894, 17 January 1854. In the passport register in which Henriqueta appears, the scribe uses the phrase, "a mandado de sua mãe, Victoria do Couto Vianna," or "at the order/mandate of her mother, Victoria do Couto Vianna." Often, passports containing this phrase were issued to children, at the mandate of their mothers or fathers. This term was used in differing circumstances; while, in some cases, the parent had already traveled to the African coast, this phrase was also relevant in situations where the parent remained in Bahia.

passenger lists, newspaper announcements, and marriage and baptismal records from the state archives of Bahia between 1850 and 1890; the ABRD combines this demographic information with additional data collected from judicial records, probate registries, and land grants from the Lagos State High Court.[142] Finally, the database incorporates newspapers and colonial correspondences from the Nigerian National Archives in Ibadan, as well as Foreign Office records from the British National Archives. Taken together, the ABRD accounts for 3,619 emigrants found in various documents in Salvador; it combines these entries with 1,175 names of Afro-Brazilian returnees whom I find in Lagos. Through its incorporation of quantitative and qualitative sources across multiple Atlantic archives—and through its prioritization of 4,431 individuals as the central units of study—the ABRD exemplifies the flexibility required of databases that focus on enslaved and manumitted subjects.[143]

Of course, scholars who rely on databases face a unique set of issues in reconstructing the lives of enslaved and freed Africans; we must account for archival inconsistencies, manipulations, and omissions, while also grappling with seemingly incompatible quantifiable and qualitative data. Thus, this chapter begins with a discussion of the challenges that scholars of slavery face in database construction and utilization. The first section asks: What methodological and ethical issues do we face by applying quantitative methods to understand our subjects' lives? In this

[142] The Brazilian data only extends to 1890, instead of to 1900, due to research limitations. During my fieldwork in Salvador, the Republicano files for this final decade, which contained lists of entries and departures from the port, were being refurbished; I did not have access to them. I plan to address this shortcoming for my book manuscript; of course, this will change some of the calculations presented in this chapter.

[143] This notion of flexibility comes from Gwendolyn Midlo Hall's commentary on the uses of relational databases; she argues that digital tools must be designed to be malleable, in order to enable secondary scholars—those who utilize, but did not create, the databases—to ask new questions. See "Africa and Africans in the African Diaspora: The Uses of Relational Databases," *American Historical Review* 115, no. 1 (2010): 139.

context, what are the best practices for making claims based on data extracted from digital tools about enslaved and manumitted people? By conceptualizing my subjects as apparitional figures of the Atlantic, I address the ways that both those in power *and* these subaltern subjects themselves contributed to their liminal status in the archives. In turn, I argue that this liminality forms the basis for questions surrounding the ethics and praxis of database construction for historians of slavery.

This chapter then addresses these questions by introducing the ABRD itself. Through a discussion of its contents and methodologies, I argue that scholars who use digital tools to study enslaved and manumitted subjects can benefit from a top-down-bottom-up approach that prioritizes individuals as the primary units around which they construct their databases. This approach inherently disassembles the barriers between empires and blurs the boundaries between qualitative and quantitative data. By incorporating these considerations into both digital praxis and historiographical methodology, I contend that databases become working digital documents that allow scholars to paint more nuanced pictures of their historical subjects' experiences at both quotidian and defining moments in their lives.

The final section of this chapter employs the data gleaned from the ABRD, in order to illuminate who requested passports to travel to West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. In this way, this chapter provides new insights into the practicalities and demographic generalities of emigration for the Africans and their descendants who left Salvador for the West African coast. Using the ABRD, this section presents a more detailed picture of the migrational patterns among African-descended people in the Atlantic; it considers the importance of birthplace, gender, age, social status (enslaved, dependent, freed, or free), religion, and marital status to Africans' motivations and patterns of return.

Counting Apparitions: Archival Violence and the Role of Digital Humanities in Slavery and Subaltern Studies

On the difficulties of piecing together enslaved people's lives using archival records, Saidiya Hartman asks, "How does one write a story about an encounter with nothing?"[144] Many scholars have discussed the complexities surrounding the appearance of Africans and African-descended individuals in the written record. As apparitions in the archives of the Atlantic, these liminal figures appeared in written documents for brief moments. Further, as Laura Helton et al. have articulated, "The archive often records blackness only as an absence of human subjecthood, as when the enslaved enter the historical record as a number, a mark, or a notice of death."[145]

Of course, the "historical geography of enslavement" is characterized by inconsistencies, fabrications, and absences in its depictions of African and African-descended subjects.[146] White structures of domination—as well as Africans' comprehensions of the political and economic implications of exposing themselves within these institutional frameworks—influenced official documents. In turn, an understanding of these subaltern subjects as apparitions within the archive acknowledges the deliberate and performative assertions and omissions of both the white and nonwhite actors who contributed to the written record. Through the action of rendering these enslaved and manumitted Africans (in)visible—or through their own decisions to become (in)visible at particular moments—both parties shaped the archives of the Atlantic.

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[144] Saidiya Hartman, *Lose Your Mother: A Journey Along the Atlantic Slave Route* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2007), 16.

[145] Laura Helton, Justin Leroy, Max A. Mishler, Samantha Seely, and Shauna Sweeney, "The Question of Recovery: An Introduction" *Social Text* 33, no. 4 (2015): 5.

[146] Vincent Brown, "Mapping a Slave Revolt: Visualizing Spatial History through the Archives of Slavery," *Social Text* 33, no. 4 (2015): 134.

Thus, the documentary records produced as a result of the institution of slavery were inconsistent, inaccurate, and incomplete on every scalar level; for scholars who seek to create databases centered around enslaved and manumitted individuals, these absences prevent the compilation of exhaustive datasets. Even the most comprehensive of the databases focused on Atlantic slavery and the slave trade—*Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*—has not yet been able to recover records for every ship carrying human cargo; its extensive datasets, which incorporate approximately 36,000 voyages, account for two-thirds of the slave ship embarkations and disembarkations between 1514 and 1866.[147] The gaps within the *Voyages* database illuminate the ways in which omitted, destroyed, and clandestine documentation affect database construction and the historical analyses that emerge from digital tools.

This issue of incomplete data arises not only for historians tracking large-scale flows and patterns, but also for scholars using databases to trace enslaved and manumitted individuals. On a basic level, scriptural errors are a significant issue for data compilation. For instance, in the passenger records that trace my subjects' movement, the lists of African and African-descended individuals who left Salvador for Lagos were often incomplete; occasionally, particular individuals appeared on one record, but they were absent from corresponding documents. Of course, scholars of slavery often search for their subjects across multiple sources. Even so, we are perpetually aware of the likelihood that problematic archival information generates incomplete or inaccurate datasets within our digital tools.

The exclusion of enslaved and manumitted individuals from archival documents also results from intentional omissions by those in power. As part of their projects of domination, white scribes, slaveowners, and government officials used physical violence, redactions, dismissals, and

[147] Eltis, "Coverage of the Slave Trade," *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, 2018, *https://slavevoyages.org/voyage/about* (accessed July 12, 2019).

exclusions to shape the written record. Manipulation also played a significant role in archival silences. As Fuentes outlines in her study of enslaved women in eighteenth-century Barbados, official metanarratives, written by people in power, overshadowed the quotidian lives of subaltern subjects. At times, these narratives leave an archival trail that prioritizes the interests of the authors who produced them; in other instances, these records render enslaved individuals obsolete, based on the fact that their historical presence was not considered worthy of documentation.[148] Crucially, Fuentes points out that historians who mine the archives for records of the dispossessed often find that metanarratives are all that remains, thus shaping the historiography itself.

For those who trace the lives of subaltern subjects using digital tools, these archival omissions create absences within datasets, affecting the certainty with which we can analyze quantitative patterns; in Miki's words, "*The gaps remain.*"[149] In the context of the ABRD, silences emerge as a result of the historical prioritization of particular categories of returnees, ultimately contributing to the impossibility of complete datasets. For instance, in colonial records from Lagos, many of the manumitted African and African-descended emigrants who appear in probate and courtroom records were propertied elites, due to the ways in which their economic and political interests intersected with British policy. Thus, it is much easier to trace the "Brazilian" community's wealthy members than to follow the aging non-elite Africans, children, women, and subordinate dependents who returned to the burgeoning colony.

These same issues emerge in the ABRD's datasets based on Bahian passenger and passport records. For example, the prioritization of information about male household heads makes it difficult to trace the household dependents who traveled with them. The passport entry of João

[148] Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 5, 50–54.

[149] Yuko Miki, "In the Trail of the Ship: Narrating the Archives of Illegal Slavery," *Social Text* 37, no. 1 (2019): 95.

Luiz, a freed Nagô man, illuminates these issues in the context of database construction. The application states that, in 1852, João Luiz requested a passport to travel from Salvador to the African coast with his wife and his three minor children.[150] Since the police record does not provide the names of João Luiz's family members, it is impossible to discern the biological sex of his children for the datasets that analyze the number of male and female emigrants; the ABRD accounts for this omission with an "unknown sex" field entry, which allows these individuals to still be counted among those who returned. However, this lack of specificity makes it difficult to locate João Luiz's wife and children in West Africa.

Enslaved and freed individuals themselves also contributed to archival silences. In their encounters with those in power, Africans understood that they entered the written record as enslaved people, foreigners, fugitives, or colonial subjects; the ways in which they were categorized, named, and identified were largely out of their control. It is out of these problems of untranslatability, representation, and silencing that Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak concludes in her famous essay, "The subaltern cannot speak themselves."[151] However, marginalized subjects subverted and manipulated official documents through their strategic assertions into—and omissions from—the written record. In his study of African secrets in late-eighteenth-century Bahian courtroom testimonies, Greg L. Childs interprets the archival silences of these Africans as "conscious attempts on the part of black and nonwhite subjects to avoid what Derrida refers to as the 'violence of the archive.'"[152] Conversely, on the occasions when Africans asserted themselves

[150] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1850–1852), maço 5892, 17 January 1852.

[151] Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak, *A Critique of Postcolonial Reason: Toward a History of the Vanishing Present* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999), 273.

[152] Greg L. Childs, "Secret and Spectral: Torture and Secrecy in the Archives of Slave Conspiracies," *Social Text* 33, no. 4 (2015): 51.

into the written record, these acts served as strategic appropriations of the state apparatus itself. As Durba Ghosh argues, "Making oneself known to the colonial archive was a partial act of resistance," especially since these records were produced to restrict the autonomy of marginalized people.[153]

In my own work, Africans' silences blurred boundaries and presented contradictions that reinforced their apparitional status in Atlantic archives. In many cases, emigrants used these silences to increase their social and geographical mobility. For example, in an 1882 testimony from the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony, a freed African-born emigrant woman described an occasion in which she and her husband dressed a young *crioulo* in women's clothes to avoid his capture by the police; they took this boy with them on their voyage to Lagos.[154] The woman who appeared in court only revealed these details once they were safely across the Atlantic. Such strategic silences contribute to ambiguities within the ABRD, as particular African and African-descended individuals concealed or misrepresented various aspects of their identities in official documentation; indeed, even gender switching became a strategy through which these subjects gained geographical mobility and navigated restrictive—and restricted—landscapes.

In this way, when white and nonwhite manipulations of the archive are taken into account, that which Childs refers to as "a multifarious multiplication of the unknowable" occurs.[155] It is for

[153] Durba Ghosh, *Sex and the Family in Colonial India: The Making of Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006), 22.

[154] Lagos State High Court (hereafter, LSHC), Judge's Notebook of Civil Cases (hereafter, JNCC–Civil), *Manoel B. Moreira v. Constancia Maria do Rozario*, 31 October 1882, 101–102. Other scholars who have used these courtroom records, such as Mann and Lindsay, have included volume numbers in their citations. However, by the time I began my fieldwork on the top floor of the Lagos State High Court records tower, all of the notebooks had been reduced to single pages, strewn across the floor; I could not locate the volumes to which they belonged.

[155] Childs, "Secret and Spectral," 51.

these reasons that historians who engage with racialized populations and colonial subjects are skeptical of not only the archive, but also of computational and statistically based contributions to the historiography of Africans in the Atlantic world. To be sure, while databases and other technological tools serve as innovative ways to interpret archival fragments, digital history often reveals little to nothing about how these marginalized subjects lived, loved, resisted, worshipped, or died. Further, the quantification and (largely inaccurate) categorization of Africans served as racist tools of objectification and commodification for the slave ship captains, plantation owners, priests, judges, police officers, and government officials who contributed to the written record. For this reason, historians of slavery who employ databases for evidentiary support must grapple not only with the gaps in their datasets, but also with the ethics surrounding their utilization of quantitative methods to draw conclusions about racialized subjects.

Yet, while historians understand the archive as site of symbolic violence for enslaved and manumitted Africans, it is also a place of resistance for both subalterns and the scholars of slavery who write about them. As Jennifer L. Morgan explains, "Engagement with the archive is an opportunity to confront the exclusionary powers that position racialized subjects as outside the national project—the archive, then, is home to the counternarrative, or at least to its possibility."[156] It is precisely out of this "desire to rewrite the narrative" that the ABRD emerges as both a digital tool and a methodological exercise.[157] Through its top-down-bottom-up approach, the ABRD mitigates the practical and ethical issues that arise within databases involving enslaved and freed people of African descent. In other words, by including both large-scale data and qualitative entries

[156] Jennifer L. Morgan, "Archives and Histories of Racial Capitalism," *Social Text* 33, no. 4 (2015): 154.

[157] Jacques Derrida cautions us about this "desire," arguing that History is as much written by scholarly interpretation as it is by the primary sources, creating that which he terms a "fatal repetition." He explains, "The archivist produces more archive, and that is why the archive is never closed. It opens out of the future." See Derrida and Eric Prenowitz, "Archive Fever: A Freudian Impression," *Diacritics* 25, no. 2 (1995): 45.

based on African voices, this database answers Vincent Brown's call for creative historical scholarship that softens "a persistent tension between quantitative, interpretive, and artistic approaches."[158] Thus, the ABRD demonstrates how Atlantic historians of slavery can engage with the constraints of the archive in new ways to achieve greater understanding of our subjects' lives, while still maintaining the rigor required of our discipline. Creative narration and interpretation—derived from both digital tools and original documents—can reveal new historical relationships; this approach, Brown argues, should be "seen less as a technoscientific form of observation than as a rhetorical practice that can define, clarify, and advocate visions of the world that might otherwise go unarticulated."[159]

As such, the next section outlines the multi-scalar, trans-Atlantic and apparitional approach to digital praxis adopted by the ABRD. Through a discussion of its structure and datasets, I present the ABRD as a fluid digital tool that deconstructs historiographical understandings of discordant qualitative and quantitative data. I contend that even the incomplete and manipulated data that emerges from counting and categorizing subaltern subjects in archival documents reveals new patterns and presents additional avenues for research. By digitally linking quantitative and qualitative data—and by centering the database around African and African-descended individuals—the ABRD takes these omissions and manipulations into consideration; in turn, it reveals patterns of migration, narrative details, and connections between people on local, regional, and trans-Atlantic scales.

[158] Brown, "Mapping a Slave Revolt," 139.

[159] Brown makes this argument in relation to the use of historical cartographic sources; see "Mapping a Slave Revolt," 154–55.

The Afro-Brazilian Returnee Database (ABRD): Centering Qualitative and Quantitative Data Around the Individual

As previously outlined, the ABRD centers around 4,431 freed Africans and their descendants who departed from Salvador for the African coast between 1850 and 1900. On a macro-level, this database reveals changes in demographic and migratory patterns over time; it also provides new estimates regarding the volume of emigrants who left Bahia during this period. Previous scholars have counted the number of individuals who applied for passports in Salvador and departed for West Africa in the nineteenth century. Verger calculates that 2,144 Brazilian passports were given to African *libertos* going to West African ports from Bahia between 1835 and 1870; conversely, Turner, estimates that four thousand individuals emigrated during this period.[160] Manuela Carneiro da Cunha finds that approximately eight thousand returnees sailed for West Africa from northeastern Brazil between 1820 and 1899.[161] These large discrepancies have prompted Castillo to suggest "the need for a careful recount of the available passport records."[162] On a macro-level, then, the ABRD is an attempt to answer this call.[163]

On a meso-scale, the datasets within the ABRD can be grouped into fourteen categories; in its expanded form, the database includes eighty-four variables that make it possible to search

[160] Verger did not collect any data after the 1860s. Verger, *Trade Relations*, 563; Turner, "Les Brésiliens," 85.

[161] These studies have different temporal parameters than my own; however, the disparate estimates necessitate the call for a recount. See Cunha, "Introdução," in *Da senzala ao sobrado: arquitetura brasileira na Nigéria e na República Popular do Benim*, ed. Marianno Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Nobel/Edusp., 1985), 17. According to Cunha, 3,500 formerly enslaved individuals returned to West Africa between 1820 and 1850; 4,578 formerly enslaved people (3,000 Africans and 1,278 Brazilian-born individuals of African descent) emigrated between 1850 and 1899. See *Negros, estrangeiros*, 213; Strickrodt, "The Brazilian Diaspora to West Africa," 53.

[162] Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 35.

[163] Additional research is necessary to account for all of the Bahian and Lagosian documents that contain lists of returnees. I plan to incorporate these documents into the ABRD for the book project that emerges from this dissertation.

for various combinations of gender, age, ethnicity, occupation, birthplace (African- vs. Brazilian-born), marital status, social status (enslaved, subordinate dependent, freed, free), and religion. It also categorizes emigrants based on their dates and places of embarkation and disembarkation, those who made multiple trips across the Atlantic, and individuals who can be located in documents across various Atlantic archives. Indeed, out of the 4,431 African and African-descended people recorded in the ABRD, there is evidence that at least 507 of them made multiple voyages between Salvador and Lagos; this finding raises additional questions about the nature of trans-Atlantic travel for Africans and their descendants, including queries about their social and commercial networks and the importance of geographical mobility for freed individuals during this period.

Many of the ABRD's variables cannot be fully understood without the database's inclusion of qualitative data, such as those that measure kinship, mobility, and gender. Indeed, prioritizing individual emigrants as the organizing principle of the ABRD makes the database a working digital document for scholars interested in the movement of enslaved and freed people in the nineteenth-century Atlantic. In its current iteration, this structure allows for the incorporation of multiple primary documents under each individual collated in the ABRD, including their manumission records, baptismal certificates, correspondences and newspaper publications, land grants, passports, courtroom testimonies, wills, and death announcements. The ABRD also contains a subset of variables that record the relationships between individuals, in order to illuminate returnees' social, commercial, and kinship networks; by linking emigrants to their shipmates, former proprietors, business relations, consanguineous and fictive kinship ties, ethnic networks, and subordinate dependents, the database provides new insights into the importance of these relationships to Africans' motivations to return to Lagos and their continued Atlantic mobility after

resettlement. Much of this data is not quantifiable; still, this information is crucial to understanding the defining moments and events in the lives of these emigrants. Finally, this incorporation of qualitative and quantitative data allows scholars to reconstruct biographical histories of individual returnees and to trace patterns *across* these microhistories. Thus, by including both datasets and the documents behind them, the ABRD also confronts the practical and ethical issues surrounding the quantification of subaltern subjects. When it is possible, illuminating the voices, relationships, and mobilities of these African emigrants using qualitative data allows us to paint a more detailed picture of their individual and collective lives, as well as their assertions into both nineteenth-century Atlantic dynamics and the archive itself.

Finally, the ABRD's top-down-bottom-up approach presents countless possibilities for expansion and collaboration. With individuals serving as its primary structuring units, this database has the potential to be temporally and geographically expanded. With contributions by scholars around the Atlantic, the database might be developed to include freed African and African-descended people throughout the diaspora who "returned" to the continent during this period. In its expanded form, the ABRD also has the potential to link these emigrants to the African relatives that they left behind when they were forcibly enslaved across the Atlantic. To a certain extent, the current database already performs this function; for instance, through its inclusion of courtroom testimonies given by returned Africans in Lagos, it is possible to trace the lineages of certain individuals who speak about their families from the hinterland. However, the incorporation of additional primary documents from other scholars could, in some cases, further deconstruct the historiographical barrier between Africans' lives pre- and post-Middle Passage. Finally, the structure of the ABRD allows for linkages across databases. In this context, it is possible to connect the geographical movements of these emigrants to the trajectories of their families, friends, and

associates. On the one hand, these collaborations have the potential to illuminate new patterns regarding regional and intra-American trades; on the other hand, they could allow scholars to trace patterns of dispersal among entire African families, beginning with their initial captures in West Africa.

Thus, while historians have long utilized qualitative and quantitative data in their reconstructions of subaltern lives, the methodologies employed within the ABRD have important implications for digital platforms. Through its multi-scalar and apparitional approach to digital praxis and historiographical methodology, the ABRD attempts to balance quantifiable data with the "ghostly outline" of archival silences, power structures, and unknowable personhoods that defy categorization, and yet are deeply embedded within the written record and, subsequently, within the database itself.[164] While we as historians can never fully recover subaltern lives and experiences, prioritizing the individual transforms these databases into working digital documents; as flexible tools, these databases allow for new explorations and perspectives on particular historical moments for the African and African-descended individuals who appear and contribute to the written (and unwritten) record.

Those Who Returned: A Demographic Breakdown Using the Afro-Brazilian Returnee Database (ABRD)[165]

The remainder of this chapter employs the ABRD to analyze the patterns that emerge among the 3,619 African and African-descended individuals who requested passports and boarded

[164] Stephanie Smallwood, "The Politics of the Archive," *History of the Present: A Journal of Critical History* 6, no. 2 (2016): 127–28.

[165] Thank you to Henry Lovejoy for suggesting the title "Those Who Returned."

ships sailing from Salvador to West Africa between 1850 and 1890.[166] In Bahia, entries in passport registers and passenger lists often contained descriptive information about a prospective returnee's birthplace (African- versus Brazilian-born), gender, ethnicity, age, status (enslaved, freed, or free), and occupation; some entries also included an individual's racial classification (especially among Brazilian-born people of African descent), their dates and places of manumission, and their social connections to other travelers and members of Salvador's various African and and African-descended communities.[167] Using this information, the ABRD provides large-scale demographic data about the emigrant population. Further, the quantitative data and qualitative complexities presented in the ABRD reveal new insights regarding individual and collective interconnectivity, as well as social and geographical mobility, among the Afro-Brazilians who went to West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century.

Overall, out of the 3,619 people who applied for passports and sailed to the coast of Africa between 1850 and 1890, 2,425 (67 percent) were listed as African-born.[168] While the vast majority

[166] As previously mentioned, many of the passport records and lists of ships entering and leaving the port of Salvador do not specify the origin or destination along the African coast. Still, it can be assumed that a large proportion of these individuals and ships sailed to and from Lagos; documentary evidence of these individuals in Lagos supports this theory. Further, I was only able to view records until 1890 during my resarch at the APEB; the passenger lists between 1890 and 1900 will be included in the datasets for the book manuscript that emerges from this dissertation.

[167] The dates and places of manumission occasionally appear in passport applications, if freed people presented their *cartas de liberdade* to the police as proof of legitimacy and the information was recorded. Likewise, some passport registries attached baptismal certificates, which provided information about individuals' godparents and the parishes in which they resided.

[168] Admittedly, these quantitative estimates fall short in various ways. Thus, I view the ABRD as both a digital baseline for the creation of a counter-historical narrative and a methodological intervention, rather than as absolute data. One of the most pressing issues is the lack of complete data sets; I could not locate any documents containing passport or passenger records for the year 1866, and I only located 17, 7, 12, 18, 17, and 1 passports for the years 1859 to 1864, respectively, despite the fact that previous scholars have written about entire groups of Africans leaving Bahia for Lagos during these years. I plan to do additional research to account for these documents for the book manuscript. Inconsistencies across documents also add to the uncertainty within these data sets. For instance, while some African emigrants appear across multiple documents, others are listed solely on passport registries; thus, I cannot prove that they actually

of these individuals (81 percent) were recorded simply as *Africanos* or *Africanas*, 276 (11 percent) of these emigrants were classified as being of the Mina "nation" (*nação*) and 191 people (8 percent) were identified as Nagôs.[169] Emigrants were also listed as Ussá (Hausa), Tapa, Gêge or Jêge (Ewe), Fulani, Cabinda, Angola, and Sierra Leonean, although these Africans made up only a small number of the returnee population (Table 2.1).[170]

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left Bahia for West Africa. Yet, as previously discussed, the extensive application process and the expense of the passport makes it likely that the majority of these individuals did make the voyage. This speculation is further supported by Africans' testimonies from the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony, in which they recalled their years of departure from Salvador. Despite the fact that these years fall within the parameters of this study, I have thus far been unable to locate some of these individuals in archival records from Bahia. For this reason, I have included *all* of the African and African-descended individuals who applied for passports and appear in the police records from the APEB, even if I do not possess documentary evidence that they boarded ships bound for West Africa.

[169] In Brazil, the term *nação*, or "nation," identified various groups of African-born individuals, regardless of their specific birthplace or ethnic group in their natal homelands. Nishida provides a useful explanation of the meaning of the term; she states, "'Nationalities' or 'nations' were divided into two categories. One was the name of the port from which the slaves were shipped; for example, 'Mina' was originally applied to a slave shipped from the Portuguese fort of Elmina on the Gold Coast (modern Ghana). This usage was extended, however, to mean anyone from West Africa in nineteenth-century Brazil. The other category was the ethnic or linguistic term linked to a much larger group. For example, 'Nagô' was broadly applied to all Yoruba-speaking peoples in Bahia." Likewise, Mariza de Carvalho Soares points out that these classifications by "nation" were flexible over time. She explains, "In the eighteenth century the term 'Mina' basically referred to Gbe-speaking peoples [including Ewe, Adja, and Fon], but during the nineteenth century the term also included Yoruba-speaking peoples, who by then were in the great majority." Reis and Mamigonian provide a different argument regarding the category "Mina." They contend that, while the rest of Brazil continued to call Yoruba slaves "Minas" in the nineteenth century, they increasingly came to be understood as a separate group in Bahia. During the nineteenth century, these individuals were regionally identified as Nagôs. Based on my findings, I suspect that many of the individuals identified in passenger lists and passport applications as "Minas" were actually Yoruba-speaking people; if so, the number of Yoruba emigrants was probably significantly higher than that for which the ABRD accounts. See Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 370–71; Soares, "From Gbe to Yoruba: Ethnic Change and the Mina Nation in Rio de Janeiro," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2004), 231; Reis and Mamigonian, "Nagô and Mina," 78.

[170] For many of the women who returned to West Africa during this period, their nationalities are obscured by their appearance under single passports issued to household heads, usually their husbands or partners by consensual union. While it is not possible to know for certain the birthplaces of these women, they were likely African-born, based on the prevalence of endogamous marriage patterns in Bahia. If we factor these underrepresented women into the total number of African returnees, African-born individuals account for approximately 71 percent of the emigrant population during this period.

Table 2.1. *Nações* of African emigrants in the ABRD, 1850–1890[171]

Nação	Number of emigrants
Africano/a	1954
Mina	276
Nagô	191
Ussá	6
Gêge	5
Tapa	3
Angola	2
Cabinda	2
Fulani	2
"de Serraleoa"	1
Canasinha(?)	1
Fuçá (?)	1

An analysis of Africans' classifications by nation within the ABRD reveals that these categories broadened in passport and passenger records over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century.[172] For instance, the referent "Nagô" appeared 191 times in these records

[171] This table includes six cross-listed individuals: six who are listed as both "Mina" and "Nagô," and one who is listed as both "Nagô" and "Gêge." As part of my database methodology, I chose to cross-list these individuals for two reasons: first, it is impossible to prioritize one over the other. Second, in the cases of those listed as "Nagô" and "Mina," these classifications may simply represent identifiers of varied specificity across multiple documents; just because an individual was a Yoruba-speaking person did not necessarily mean that he or she would not also be identified as having come from the "Mina nation." Even for the individual who was listed as both "Nagô" and "Gêge," these assigned labels could indicate ethnic origins (Oyo-Yoruba or Ewe-Fon, respectively), or they could refer to the geographical point of capture or purchase. In the latter case, both Yoruba- and Fon-speaking people were sold to the coast in large numbers from Dahomey during this period. These possibilities make it difficult to discern the intentions of the scribe and, perhaps, the liberated African, who may have identified himself as both, based on the various interpretations of these terms in the Brazilian context. In addition, 710 Africans were identified as *prêtos/as* ("blacks") in the passport applications and passport registries between 1850 and 1890. In other words, approximately 82 percent of the individuals who are recorded as *prêtos/as* in these documents were definitively African-born. This is not surprising, since Africans were also assigned racial designations; often, African-born people were interchangeably called *Africanos/as* and *prêtos/as*.

[172] Scholars have discussed the amalgamation of ethnic categories—and the construction of new identities through diasporic ethnogenesis—over the course of the nineteenth century. For the debate among historians of Yoruba-speaking people, see Biodun Adediran, "Yoruba Ethnic Groups or a Yoruba Ethnic Group? A Review of the Problem of Ethnic Identification," *Africa: Revista do centro do estudos africanos de USP* 7 (1984): 57–70; Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade," 205–19.

between 1850 and 1890; 141 of these references occurred between 1850 and 1857. From 1867 to 1875, the majority of African-born emigrants recorded as being of specific "nations" in these registries were listed under the more generalized category of "Mina." Between 1876 and 1890, 95 percent of African returnees were registered only as *Africanas* or *Africanos*. This ambiguity makes it difficult to discern the regional origins of the emigrants who sailed to African port cities like Lagos. Further, these overarching categories prevent me from drawing conclusions about whether these individuals were returning to their actual homelands or simply to the continent of their births.[173]

This trend toward increasingly broad categories of identity coincides with various demographic and cultural shifts occurring in Bahia during this period. First, as fewer newly-disembarked Africans (*negros novos* or *boçales*) entered the country as enslaved people after 1850, assigned ethnic designations became less important over time. Throughout much of the nineteenth century, ethnicity based on "nations" only applied to African-born individuals; Africans found ethnic solidarity within this concept of *nação* for the majority of the nineteenth century.[174] However, Butler explains, "As their numbers decreased, *nação* came broadly to mean Africa, although specific nationalities were recognized as secondary identifications."[175] These categories also became less widespread in their usage as the African population in Salvador was surpassed by Brazilian-born blacks, who had their own racial- and birth-based designations.[176]

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[173] As categories of identity imposed by others, the arbitrary nature of the *nações* themselves also obscures natal origins and makes it difficult to draw conclusions.

[174] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, 52.

[175] Butler, 54.

[176] It is important to note that these color- and birth-based designations were complex and, while they were created by the ship captains, slave traders, and white Portuguese and Brazilian owners and officials who controlled the written record, they were simultaneously and flexibly appropriated by Africans and their

In addition, the more generalized descriptor of *Africano/a* may have been employed for reasons having to do with the clandestine traffic in human beings, and the demographic shifts in the African population that resulted from it. During the illegal slave trade, the use of more generic terminology strategically obscured new arrivals from different ethnic groups, making it difficult to discern them from other Africans who had come to Brazil before 1850. Further, the decreasing heterogeneity among Salvador's African-born population may have contributed to the use of the term *Africano/a*; since most of the enslaved people who came to Bahia in the clandestine trade were Yoruba speakers, they may have been presumed to be Nagô during this period.[177] If so, the number of Yoruba-speaking people who returned to Lagos was probably significantly higher than the written record and the ABRD suggest. In this scenario, many of these emigrants were likely returning to their region of origin, a probability that courtroom testimonies in Lagos supports.

Regardless of ethnicity, the ABRD reveals that African-born individuals emigrated from Bahia at an increasing rate over the second half of the nineteenth century.[178] Indeed, out of the total number of individuals who departed for the African coast during this period, African-born

descendants. In the nineteenth century, African-born individuals were defined by "nation," but also according to their civil status (enslaved or freed), color (*prêtos/as*), and their level of acculturation (as previously mentioned, the term *boçal* referred to newly-arrived Africans, while the word *ladino* referenced those who had become familiar with Portuguese culture and language). African-descended people who were born in Brazil were also delineated based on birthplace, civil status (enslaved, freed, or free-born), and color. For children born in Brazil to African parents, the term *crioulo* not only identified their nationality and first-generation Brazilian standing, but it also referenced their color; as Butler has explained, the term *crioulo* "described the darkest blacks." Another term used to identify Brazilian-born people of African descent was the word *pardo*, a broad category that included sub-descriptors for various brown complexions. See Butler, 52.

[177] I am grateful to Lisa Earl Castillo for sharing these possibilities with me; personal communication, 19 June 2019.

[178] This data contradicts that of Cunha, who finds that the number of African returnees decreased after 1870; see *Negros, estrangeiros*, 214.

travelers rose from 62 percent in the 1850s to a peak of 79 percent in the 1880s (Table 2.2).[179] Predictably, this finding also correlates with an increase in the median age of prospective emigrants during this period. Between 1850 and 1890, there were 436 individuals (12 percent of the total number of returnees) over sixty years old who requested passports and traveled to the African coast.[180] The median age of emigrants leaving Bahia increased from 39.2 years in 1859 to 49.6 years in 1890. In 1889, the average age of these emigrants peaked, with returnees being 55.6 years of age on average; this year also had the highest percentage of African-born emigrants (84 percent).[181]

Table 2.2. Percentage of African- and Brazilian-born emigrants in the ABRD per decade, 1850–1890

Decade	% African-born	% Brazilian-born
1850	81.0	17.2
1851–60	61.7	32.9
1861–70	57.0	30.8
1871–80	66.1	28.0
1881–90	79.0	16.1

[179] While Turner and other scholars have noted that there were more African-born emigrants than Brazilian-born returnees, this study provides the first evidence of an increase in the percentage of African-born travelers over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century.

[180] My study defines "elderly" as sixty years of age or older, based on the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies' use of this definition during the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, I draw from the Saraiva-Cotegipe Law—also known as the Sexagenarian Law of 1885—which freed all Brazilian slaves at the age of sixty.

[181] These calculations closely resemble the estimates made by Turner, who found that the median age of passport applicants between 1850 and 1860 was approximately thirty-five, while it increased to almost fifty-five years old later in the century; see "Les Brésiliens," 68–70. However, unlike Turner, I found that the vast majority of passport applications only recorded the ages of the minors traveling with the applicant for the years 1850 to 1858. For instance, out of the 111 individuals who applied for passports in 1852, age is mentioned only eight times; all of these travelers were minors, except for a freed African woman named Ritta Venancia, who was forty years old. See APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1850–1852), maço 5892; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1852–1854), maço 5894, 25 August 1852.

These findings reveal the motivations of some of these freed Africans to return to the continent. To be sure, the rising percentage of aging African emigrants supports Turner's notion that many returnees sought to "retire" in their places of origin, a phrase that these prospective African emigrants used themselves when they announced their planned departures in local newspapers.[182] This wording also appears in some passport records, which state that these freed Africans "*querendo-se retirar para a Costa d'África.*" For example, the 1877 application of a manumitted Nagô woman named Constança states that she "wishes to retire to the African coast." Constança's *carta da liberdade* makes it possible to deduce that she was an elderly woman by the time she requested a passport; she obtained her manumission in 1841, but it was over thirty years before she voyaged to West Africa to live out her final days.[183]

The prominence of elderly Africans in the returnee population also illuminates their continued allegiances to their natal communities, even after decades in Brazil. Turner contends, "It is clear that these elderly former slaves…were willingly risking the dangers and suffering the rigors of the voyage to attain the satisfaction of the 'good end.'"[184] Some of these slaves were, indeed, at the end of their lives. Vinancio, a liberated African who applied for a passport to go to Lagos on 20 September 1869, is listed in police records as being "more than ninety years old."[185] According to the ABRD, there were two other nonagenarians, in addition to twelve octogenarians and sixty-nine septuagenarians, who made the journey during this period.

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[182] Turner, "Les Brésiliens," 67–68.

[183] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–1877), maço 5905, 15 March 1877; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Pedido de passaportes, passaporte de escravos, pedido de escravos, pedido de habilitação para obter passaporte, africanos livres, pedido de passaporte para Lagos na África etc. (1871–1889), maço 6376, 14 March 1877.

[184] Turner, "Les Brésiliens," 68.

[185] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1868–1870), maço 5902, 20 September 1869.

Yet, these aging Africans' desires to "retire" on their home continent also reflect social and political changes in Brazil. Following the cessation of the Atlantic slave trade, fewer young Africans entered the country, transforming the demographic makeup of the enslaved and freed population. While African-born individuals comprised the majority of Salvador's population in the first three decades of the nineteenth century, the percentage of *crioulos* steadily increased between 1830 and 1850. By 1871, Brazilian-born people of color outnumbered Africans in Salvador.[186] Further, as it became clear that slavery would end in Brazil, the Saraiva-Cotegipe Law—also known as the Sexagenarian Law of 1885—freed all enslaved people at the age of sixty.[187] While the percentage of African emigrants over sixty years of age ranged between 11 and 25 percent throughout most of the period, it jumped to 40 percent in 1890. Thus, the increasing number of Africans departing from Brazil during the second half of the nineteenth century may have reflected the changing laws, in addition to the vulnerability that Africans felt as they aged and became the minority. The continuing discrimination and impoverishment of African-born freed persons exacerbated their insecurities.

While Africans made up the vast majority of returnees, Brazilian-born individuals also departed for West Africa in fairly large numbers. Between 1850 and 1890, 966 African-descended emigrants appeared in passport applications and passenger registries; these individuals comprised approximately 27 percent of the total returnee population. Out of this subgroup of emigrants, 751 Brazilian-born people (78 percent) were identified as *crioulos*, or individuals born to African

[186] Nishida outlines these transformations in population and ethnic identity over the decades before abolition; see *Slavery and Identity*, 142.

[187] My study defines "elderly" as sixty years of age or older, based on the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies' use of this definition in the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, I draw from the Saraiva-Cotegipe Law.

parents.[188] There were other categories of Brazilian-born emigrants, although they comprised only a small number of this subgroup (Table 2.3).

Table 2.3. Terminology used in the ABRD for African-descended emigrants, 1850–1890

Terminology for Brazilian-born emigrants	Number of emigrants
Crioulo/a	781
Brasileiro/a	229
Pardo/a	48
Cabra	48
Prêto/a	39
Quasi-branco/a	3

Significantly, at the same time that the ratio of African-born travelers rose between 1850 and 1890, the percentage of Brazilian-born emigrants steadily declined, as Table 2.2 shows. Indeed, the percentage of Brazilian-born emigrants traveling to the African coast reached its peak (30 percent) in the 1850s, and then continued to decrease through the following decades. By the 1880s, Brazilian-born returnees comprised only 16 percent of travelers; in 1889, *crioulos* represented just 6 percent of the emigrants traveling to Africa. This inverse relationship between African- and Brazilian-born travelers reveals new insights regarding their disparate historical trajectories. Indeed, African-descended people became increasingly acculturated to Brazilian language, customs, and cultural forms. Further, Brazilian-born people of color were citizens. These differentiations—in addition to the evolution of class and social stratification into a racial hierarchy toward the end of the nineteenth century—prompted many Brazilian-born individuals of color to

[188] In terms of database methodology, many passport and passenger records explicitly identified these Brazilian-born returnees as *crioulos*; however, I also assigned this value to those whom I knew had African-born mothers and fathers. That being said, the term *crioulo* was also used as an overarching descriptor for any Brazilian-born individual of African descent.

distance themselves from Salvador's African population.[189] As Butler argues, "Rather than embrace African cultural heritage and collectives of people of African descent, many Afro-Brazilians took their first step toward social mobility by disassociating themselves from what was deprecatingly called *a creoulada*—the black masses. For most Afro-Brazilians, being African and/or black was synonymous with servitude, poverty, and barbarity."[190] These factors likely explain, in part, the decreasing number of Brazilian-born emigrants over the course of the second half of the century.

Still, there were a multitude of reasons for African-descended individuals to leave Brazil. Their treatment as second-class citizens, the threat of re-enslavement, and the African cultural affinities of many *crioulos* motivated them to resettle in West Africa, as previously discussed. However, the findings presented by the ABRD suggest that the greatest determining factor in these Brazilian-born emigrants' departures from Bahia was their relationships with the African travelers who went with them. Out of the 966 prospective Brazilian-born emigrants for whom I located passports, 586 individuals (approximately 61 percent) planned to cross the Atlantic with Africans; 426 (approximately 73 percent) of these Brazilian-born travelers went with African blood relatives. Most of these individuals traversed the Atlantic with one or both of their African-born parents; however, they also returned to West Africa with aunts and uncles, grandparents, and even African-born siblings. Further, as previously stated, 78 percent of all Brazilian-born emigrants were first-generation *crioulos*, illustrating the "intermediary" social and cultural space that they occupied.

[189] For literature on the shift from birthplace to race as a form of identification—not just by the Brazilian government, but also by African descendants themselves—see Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*; Sidney Chalhoub, "The Politics of Silence: Race and Citizenship in Nineteenth-Century Brazil," *Slavery and Abolition* 27, no. 1 (2006): 73–87; Nishida, "From Ethnicity to Race and Gender: Transformations of Black Lay Sodalities in Salvador, Brazil," *Journal of Social History* 32, no. 2 (1998): 329–348.

[190] Butler, *Freedoms Given, Freedoms Won*, 54.

The ages of these Brazilian-born returnees also explain their patterns of return. Out of 966 African-descended emigrants collated in the ABRD, 560 individuals (approximately 58 percent) were under the age of twenty-one, meaning that the Brazilian state viewed them as minors and dependents.[191] Seventy-seven percent of the Brazilian-born minors who left Bahia were accompanied by African travelers.[192] First-generation *crioulos* comprised 81 percent of the Brazilian-born minors located in passport and passenger records for this period; out of these individuals, 86 percent traveled with Africans. Thus, the relationship between age, social dependency, and first-generation status also accounts for the decreasing percentage of Brazilian-born emigrants over the course of second half of the nineteenth century; many *crioulo* children would have been minors in the early years of this period, and would have reached adulthood in the

[191] Out of these 560 Brazilian-born emigrants, 495 individuals were under the age of eighteen.

[192] I suspect that the percentage of Brazilian-born dependents who returned to West Africa with African-born *libertos* is actually much higher. On the one hand, only 1,671 out of the 3,619 passenger registries and passport records document age, meaning that the ages of over half of the returnees remain unknown. Considering that many dependents were listed under the passports of their household heads, it is likely that they were minors; however, because they did not have separate documents, there is no detailed information about them. In addition, clerical omissions lead me to believe that the number of Brazilian-born children who traveled with Africans is higher than the data from the ABRD suggests. These omissions impact both quantitative analyses and our understandings of individual emigrants' life trajectories and networks. For example, the ABRD records eleven children who appear to have traversed the Atlantic alone at under ten years of age, but who may have actually traveled with unrecorded chaperones. For instance, on 19 April 1876, Manoel, a three-year-old free-born *crioulo* (*crioulo livre*) was authorized by the Judge of Orphans to travel to West Africa on the *Alfrêdo*. While it appears in passport and passenger records as though he is traveling alone, he was likely accompanied by one of the freed Africans on the ship. Still, the documents do not disclose who accompanied him across the Atlantic. Overall, eighty-three youths traveled to West Africa with no mention of chaperones during this period, which may be explained, in part, by clerical errors.

On the other hand, some second-generation minors were accompanied by Brazilian-born chaperones, many of whom were their *crioula* mothers. In addition, some Brazilian-born minors emigrated to Africa by working for the ship captains who sailed there. If they were orphaned, perhaps they thought that they would have more security as African-descended minors in the British colony of Lagos than they would in Bahia, where their lack of familial connections and social networks put them at greater risk of kidnapping and enslavement in the southern, coffee-growing regions. See APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–1877), maço 5905, 11 April 1876; Republicano, Livro 53, Saídas dos passageiros (1877, Nov–1881, Dez), 19 April 1876, Potacho, *Alfrêdo*, Costa d'África.

later years. In other words, most *crioulos* traveled with African-born relations when they were still practically and legally dependent on their parents.

These findings are significant for two reasons. First, they suggest that adult *crioulos* often made the decision to remain in Brazil toward the end of the century, despite the African cultural influence of their parents. Second, these findings shed new light on the circumstances under which a large proportion of the Brazilian-born population emigrated to West Africa: they likely left Bahia as children, under the guardianship of African-born adults. In the case of those Brazilian-born children who settled in Lagos, then, their upbringing under British rule, their reintegration into a Yoruba cultural framework, and their trans-Atlantic networks shaped their identities and roles in the burgeoning colony and on their subsequent trips to Bahia, as the following chapters will demonstrate.

While age and birthplace both played significant roles in freed people's decisions to emigrate to West Africa, gender also influenced individuals' motivations and patterns of return. In Bahia, 2,038 individuals (56 percent) who sailed for the African coast from Salvador were male, while 1,552 individuals (43 percent) were female; in both cases, African-born individuals made up the majority of returnees.[193] In particular, African males emigrated from Salvador at the highest rate, comprising approximately 38 percent of the total returnee population and 67 percent of all male emigrants. In contrast, Brazilian-born males made up approximately 16 percent of the total number of returnees, and 28 percent of all males who sailed to West Africa (Table 2.4).

[193] It is important to note that there is a discrepancy between the total number of emigrants and the individuals who can be assigned a value for their biological sex within the ABRD. As previously mentioned, in some cases—specifically, when dependents are listed without names on the passport of their household head—it is impossible to discern their sex. Scriptural errors also make it difficult to discern the sex of particular individuals who are listed with contradictory names demographic information across documents.

Table 2.4. Totals and percentages of African- and Brazilian-born males and females in the ABRD who emigrated to West Africa, 1850–1890

Total African-born males	% African-born males	Total Brazilian-born males	% Brazilian-born males	Total African-born females	% African-born females	Total Brazilian-born females	% Brazilian-born females
1394	37.5	561	15.5	1016	28.3	377	10.7

As expected, African-born female emigrants represented the majority of the women and girls who returned to West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. Overall, African-born women comprised 28 percent of the returnee population, and 65 percent of female emigrants; Brazilian-born females made up only 11 percent of the total number of returnees, and 24 percent of the female population. In some years, more females actually returned to West Africa than males.[194] Especially in the early decades of this study, female emigrants left Bahia at approximately the same rate as their male counterparts (Table 2.5). Between 1851 and 1860, 51 percent of emigrants were males, while 48 percent were females. From 1861 to 1870, female travelers actually comprised a slightly higher percentage of the emigrant population than males: 50.4 percent and 48.9 percent, respectively.

Particular factors related to gender likely contributed to the rates at which emigrants left Bahia, as well as their motivations to resettle in West Africa. On the one hand, the higher percentage of African male emigrants overall may be a reflection of the demographics of the African-born community in Brazil; indeed, the majority of Africans imported to the country were

[194] While the ratios for the following years are close, the ABRD records that more females departed for the African coast from Bahia in 1852 (56 females, 53 males), 1854 (94 females, 92 males), 1856 (57 females, 56 males), 1858 (25 females, 19 males), 1860 (4 females, 3 males), 1863 (11 females, 6 males), 1865 (26 females, 22 males), 1869 (96 females, 75 males), 1887 (49 females, 48 males), and 1890 (34 females, 26 males).

males prior to 1850.[195] Further, the restrictions experienced by African men, particularly after the 1835 Malê revolt, likely increased their rates of departure. While anti-African legislation affected both men and women living in Salvador, these laws and practices were more severe for African males, due to their involvement in nineteenth-century resistance movements.[196] Evidence shows that, in the years following the Malê revolt, the Brazilian state primarily deported African men. Gendered, anti-African legislative measures continued to be put into place through the 1850s; these laws, and the sentiments that drove them, may have motivated more African males than females to seek emigration during this period.[197]

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[195] As Antonio Carreira's study of the Companhia do Grão Pará e Maranhão shows, out of 20,141 enslaved people transported from Africa to Brazil between the 1750s and the 1780s, 62 percent were males. However, there is some debate about the demographic data for Salvador during the second half of the nineteenth century. On the one hand, Reis finds that males comprised 60 percent of the city's African population in the 1850s. On the other hand, Nishida notes that the sex ratio in Salvador was nearly balanced, even though the majority of enslaved individuals imported to Brazil were males. She argues that the higher percentage of women in Salvador was a result of the "city's high demand for female domestic servants." See Carreira, *As companhias pombalinas de navegação, comércio e tráfico de escravos entre a costa Africana e o nordeste brasileiro* (Porto: Imprensa Portuguesa, 1969), 94–95; Reis, "Revolution of the *Ganhadores*," 458; Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 366–67. For a discussion of sex ratios among enslaved people who were regionally imported to Rio de Janeiro, see Klein, "The Internal Slave Trade in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: A Study of Slave Importations into Rio de Janeiro in 1852," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 51, no. 4 (1971): 571.

[196] Nishida points out that the proportion of women who participated in the Malê revolt was less than 10 percent. She suggests that the lack of female participants in Bahia's nineteenth-century rebellions may be a product of the divergent ways that African-born men and women in Salvador forged collective identities through their organization of labor. While women worked together on the street and created an identity based on gender, men worked in ethnically-specific groups that led them to forge ethnically-based identities. Still, despite the fact that mostly African men were deported for their participation in the Malê revolt, many women voluntarily emigrated in the mid- to late 1830s in response; see *Slavery and Identity*, 97.

[197] The Bahian government directed their discrimination toward Africans through occupational restrictions. For instance, in 1850, Francisco Gonçalves Martins, the president of Bahia, forbade Africans from working as *carregadores de saveiros*, or carriers on the *saveiro* boats that unloaded cargoes from larger ships anchored in the harbor; this profession was solely occupied by males. As a result, Nagô laborers led a conspiracy in 1853; Reis explains that the British consul in Salvador blamed this conspiracy on "the pressure of unemployment" caused by Martins' policies (478). Likewise, in 1857, Salvador officials enacted a municipal ordinance that required male *ganhadores* to pay 5,000 *réis* for work permits and registration numbers, which they had to wear around their necks; further, freed street workers had to have guarantors who took responsibility for their conduct. Reis points out, "These laws were restricted to male

Table 2.5. Gender totals and percentages of the emigrant population in the ABRD, 1850–1890

Decade	Total males per decade	Total females per decade	% males per decade	% females per decade
1850	42	14	0.75	0.25
1851–60	467	437	51.0	47.8
1861–70	305	314	48.9	50.4
1871-80	659	463	58.3	40.9
1881-90	565	324	63.2	36.2

Occupational roles also factored into African males' high rates of return during the second half of the nineteenth century.[198] Out of the 3,619 individuals who I found leaving Salvador for West Africa, the ABRD contains occupational data for 401 emigrants. Many scholars have written about the roles of gender, birthplace, and race on the types of work performed by people of color in Brazil; the ABRD highlights the continued importance of these factors for those who emigrated from Salvador to the African coast (Table 2.6).[199] Among African-born male returnees, wage-earners (*ganhadores*) and people involved in business of some sort (*negócios*) predominated; out of the 209 African men whose occupational data is available, 41 individuals (20 percent) were

ganhadores; the *ganhadeiras*…already paid a tax of 20,000 réis per year to pursue this occupation" (456). As a result, Reis continues, "In 1857, dozens of announcements were published in Bahia newspapers in which Africans informed their friends and customers of their decisions to leave the country" (479); see Reis, "'Revolution of the *Ganhadores*.'"

[198] For a comparative analysis of the occupations of enslaved men and women in nineteenth-century Salvador, see Maria José de Sousa Andrade, *A mão de obra escrava em Salvador, 1811–1860* (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1988), 129–30.

[199] Karasch, *Slave Life*, 185–213; Karasch, "From Porterage to Proprietorship: African Occupations in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850," in *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies*, eds. Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 369–93; Luis Carlos Soares, "Os escravos de ganho no Rio de Janeiro do século XIX," *Revista Brasileira de História* 8, no. 16 (1988): 111–12; Ana de Lourdes Ribeiro da Costa, "Espaços negros: 'cantos' e 'lojas' em Salvador no século XIX," *Caderno CRH* (Supplement 1991): 18–34; Cecília Moreira, "A mulher negra na Bahia no século XX" (MA thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1994), Ch. 2; Herbert S. Klein and Clotilde Andrade Paiva, "Freedmen in a Slave Economy: Minas Gerais in 1831," *Journal of Social History* 29, no. 4 (1996): 933–62.

listed as *ganhadores* and 127 individuals (61 percent) were entered into passport and passenger records as *negócios*.[200] In other words, 83 percent of the African males who emigrated to West Africa were involved in business and commerce.[201] These Africans' occupations as wage-earners on the streets of Salvador likely contributed to their abilities to purchase not only their freedom, but also their trans-Atlantic passages.

Gender also factored into the decisions of Brazilian-born males to leave Bahia for West Africa. Among the Brazilian-born males who traveled to the African coast, 50 percent were under the age of twenty-one; accordingly, approximately 51 percent of these individuals were accompanied by African-born chaperones. Many of these Brazilian-born males traversed the Atlantic with their African parents. For these individuals, their parents' occupations sometimes dictated their own once they arrived in Lagos; many Brazilian-born sons aided their African fathers with their business pursuits. For instance, an African-born *liberto* named Roque José Gonçalves traveled between Lagos and Brazil as a trans-Atlantic trader. Roque employed his son, Francisco Mario Fragas, in many of his business ventures; in 1878, when Roque was trading in Brazil, his son Francisco even represented him in the Lagos Supreme Court.[202]

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[200] In its ordinance of 1857, Salvador's City Council included *carregadores de cadeiras* under its definition of *ganhadores*. Reis explains, "The edict also added that the order would apply to 'those others who made "earning" their habitual profession,' which included virtually all blacks who worked for pay in the streets." Thus, if we define *ganhadores* under the parameters put into place by the mid-nineteenth-century Bahian government, the number of wage-earners is even higher; see "'Revolution of the *Ganhadores*,'" 456.

[201] The word *negócio*, or the phrase *de negócio*, appears in many passport records. It is a generic term for anyone involved in business of any sort. Many times, these passport applications specifically state that freed Africans came to request passports to return to the coast of Africa, "to try business" (*a tratar de negócio*). Likely, these individuals were small-scale traders in Bahia, who wanted to return to West Africa to create or expand business ventures across the Atlantic.

[202] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Roque José Gonsalves v. Luisia Rocque, Executrix of José Rocque deceased*, 15 October 1878.

Table 2.6. Occupations of African- and Brazilian-born emigrants in the ABRD, 1850–1890

Occupations of emigrants	African-born males	Brazilian-born males	African-born females	Brazilian-born females
Negócio (business)	127	8	85	2
Ganhador (wage-earner)	41	0	34	1
C*osinheiro* (cook)	8	1	0	2
Lavrador (farmer/sharecropper)	5	3	2	0
Pedreiro (bricklayer)	4	5	0	0
Remador de saveiro (rower)	4	0	0	0
Marítimo (maritime pursuits)	3	12	0	0
Carpinteiro (carpenter)	3	5	0	0
Carregador de cadeira (chair carrier)	2	0	0	0
Sapateiro (shoemaker)	2	1	0	0
Trabalhador (worker)	2	0	0	0
Operário (operator)	2	0	0	0
Ferreiro (blacksmith)	1	0	0	0
Alfaiate (tailor)	1	7	0	0
Calafate (caulker)	1	2	0	0
Tanoeiro (cooper)	1	2	0	0
Serviço (service)	1	1	2	0
Escravo/a (slave)	1	3	1	0
Costureira (seamstress)	0	0	1	5
Doméstica (domestic servant)	0	0	1	0
Lavadera (washerwoman)	0	0	2	0
Pintor (painter)	0	1	0	0
Artista (artist)	0	1	0	0
Panoeiro (panier)	0	1	0	0
Estirador (stretcher)	0	1	0	0
Totals	209	54	128	10

While the majority of Brazilian-born males emigrated with African relations, 41 percent traveled alone (Table 2.7). For these travelers, their occupational skills as artisans provided them with the geographical and social mobility they needed to leave Bahia. Klein points out that apprenticeships for enslaved artisans was a popular practice in Brazil, meaning that both Africans and Brazilian-born men of color received training in skilled trades. He argues, "Given this common training of slaves in artisan skills, the high wages and unusual freedom enjoyed by such slave

laborers, and their right to purchase their freedom, it was inevitable that large numbers of them would become freedmen. And as freedmen…[they] dominated almost all the skilled trades."[203] For the *crioulo* travelers who traversed the Atlantic alone, the high demand for these skills in Lagos presented opportunities for employment that likely motivated them to resettle; their trades also defined their economic and social trajectories in West Africa. By the 1880s and 1890s, the skilled labor done by members of the "Brazilian" community had become an important facet of Lagos' urban development. Not only did African- and Brazilian-born male emigrants build houses for the Lagosian elite, but they constructed public buildings for the British, as well.[204] As such, British officials viewed these artisans as crucial examples of progress for the region's indigenous population. In the late 1880s, Governor Moloney noted that the Brazilian community's "professional and vocational training made [them] admirable, valuable and necessary centers for the diffusion among their countrymen in Yorubaland of the enlightenment and civilization, which however cruelly acquired are notwithstanding theirs."[205] Further, as A.B. Laotan recounts, when Sir Henry McAllum became governor in the 1890s, he was so taken with the skill of Afro-Brazilian artisans that he began sending Nigerians to England for vocational training in 1897.[206]

Even Brazilian-born males who came to Lagos as children were apprenticed in artisanal trades in the colony, a practice that emerged out of a need for skilled workers during this period.

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[203] Klein, "The Colored Freedmen in Brazilian Slave Society," *Journal of Social History* 3, no. 1 (1969): 47.

[204] In addition to the Holy Cross Cathedral, skilled artisans from Lagos' "Brazilian" community built the Shitta Bey and Central Mosques. It is also worth mentioning that Afro-Brazilian structures were not unique to Lagos; their distinctly styled architectural projects appeared in port cities along the Bight of Benin coast, as Africans and their descendants emigrated from Bahia. For more literature on Afro-Brazilian architecture in Lagos, see Vlach, "The Brazilian House in Nigeria."

[205] Quoted in Michael J.C. Echuero, *Victorian Lagos*, 16.

[206] Laotan, *The Torch Bearers*, 7.

For instance, Quirino Barros dos Santos, a *crioulo* born in 1875 in Bahia, left from Salvador with his freed African parents as a minor. While growing up in Lagos, Quirino served as an apprentice to the famous mason, Lázaro Borges da Silva.[207] A 1919 newspaper article, published on Quirino's death, recalls that he first "served under his master," and then "freed from his apprenticeship became his own master."[208] With the capital that he accrued as a mason and bricklayer, Quirino started a successful business as a trader in Ibadan; he also married Lázaro's daughter, Theresa Omoyein da Silva.[209] In this way, these gendered occupational roles influenced both African- and Brazilian-born emigrants' abilities to leave Bahia, their choice of Lagos as a destination, and their access to social and economic capital in the burgeoning colony.

Table 2.7. Totals and percentages of African- and Brazilian-born males and females traveling alone in the ABRD, 1850–1890

Total African-born males traveling alone	% African-born males traveling alone	Total African-born females traveling alone	% African-born females traveling alone	Total Brazilian-born males traveling alone	% Brazilian-born males traveling alone	Total Brazilian-born females traveling alone	% Brazilian-born females traveling alone
1099	78.8	706	68.8	231	41.1	67	17.8

The relationship between gender, birthplace, and occupation also helps to explain women's motivations and capacities for emigration. The high rate of return for African women, in particular,

[207] Lázaro Borges da Silva, a free *crioulo*, left Salvador on 14 March 1871, at the age of twenty-one. In Lagos, he served as the master bricklayer and mason for the Cathedral Church of the Holy Cross from 1879 to 1883. APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Polícia minutas (1870–1873), maço 6091, 14 August 1871. See also Laotan, "Brazilian Influence on Lagos," 159.

[208] Nigerian National Archives—Ibadan (hereafter NAI), *The Lagos Weekly Record*, "Death of Mr. Q.B. Santos in Ibadan," 4 October 1919, 7.

[209] *The Lagos Weekly Record*, 30 May 1903, 6.

represents a demographic shift from the 1840s, when the small number emigrants who left Bahia for the African coast were predominantly men. As previously mentioned, African *ganhadeiras*' abilities to accrue capital for manumission and trans-Atlantic passage contributed to the large number of female emigrants in the second half of the nineteenth century. Indeed, out of the 128 African women for whom occupational data exists in the ABRD, 85 individuals (66 percent) were listed as *negócios*, and 34 individuals (27 percent) were recorded as *ganhadeiras*. In sum, 119 individuals (92 percent of female returnees for whom occupational data exists) crossed the Atlantic as businesswomen of some sort.

While I only possess occupational data for twenty African-born female emigrants in Lagos, it is certain that their involvement in trade and commerce continued in the colony. This data is self-reported, based on witness testimonies given by these women in the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony. Out of the twenty African-born females who declared their professions, eleven of them defined themselves as traders, five as "sellers," one as a merchant, one as a broker, and two as being "in business." Thus, the African women who left Bahia were savvy traders. They used their skills as *ganhadeiras* in Brazil to purchase their writs of manumission and their passages across the Atlantic; they continued to make a living in this way in Lagos.

For some of the African-born women who returned, their Yoruba and Brazilian connections and their business acumen allowed them to accumulate significant wealth. Indeed, some women became powerful traders and landowners in Lagos, challenging patrilineal authority, as Chapter 4 will demonstrate. For example, when an African returnee named Andreya Maria da Conceição came to Lagos, she established a successful business as a tobacco trader. In fact, she wielded enough influence among the other large merchants in the town that she was able to win an 1883 civil suit for the non-delivery of her product; the Supreme Court ruled that a prominent Afro-

Brazilian trader, Manoel Joaquim Sant Anna, would have to provide her with "25 good rolls of tobacco…of the same quality as her own."[210] Just two years later, Andreya expanded her business; in 1885 and 1886, she made two voyages to Bahia, presumably for business.[211] Andreya would have needed a significant amount of money to fund the shipment of large quantities of tobacco to Lagos.

Yet, for most African-born female returnees, their occupations as street hawkers and small-scale traders provided them with only meager sums for survival in the West African town. For instance, when Josefa Marcelina, a fifty-year-old freed African, returned to Lagos in 1877, she became a banana seller in the area of Oke Ite. In 1889, the aging woman was still hard at work; she appeared in court to defend the small amount of money in her possession, which had been stolen by thieves.[212] Another freed African woman, Felicidade, arrived in Lagos from Bahia in 1871. Soon after her disembarkation, she purchased a house in the Brazilian Quarter.[213] Felicidade must have spent the all of the money that she brought from Bahia on this real property; for the rest of her life, she fried bananas in her brother's plaza, in an attempt to eke out a living. Aside from

[210] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, Vol. 23, No. 5 (1882–1885), *Andreya Maria da Conceição v. Domingo Viegas*, 9–10 January 1883, 169–70, 176.

[211] APEB: Republicano, Livro 54, Saídas dos passageiros (1882, Jan–1886, Fev), 11 June 1885, Patacho, *Rápido*, Lagos/Mina; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1881–1885), maço 5909, 1 June 1885; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1885–1889), maço 5910, 2 September 1886; Republicano, Livro 55, Saídas dos passageiros (1886, Fev–1890, Set), 19 September 1886, Patacho, *Bomfim*, Lagos. Andrea Maria da Conceição made both of these voyages from Bahia to Lagos using a British passport, probably to protect her freedom, as will be discussed in Chapter 5.

[212] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–1877), maço 5905, 10 March 1877; APEB, Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 7 April 1877, Patacho, *Paraguassú*, Costa d'África; LSHC, JNCC–Criminal, *Regina v. Lawani Shoemo and Age*, 6 February 1889.

[213] The Brazilian Quarter, called "Popo Aguda" in Lagos, lies between Tinubu Square and Campos Square. It includes the major streets of Odunlami, Bamgbose, Tokunbo, Upper Kakawa, and Igboshere.

her property, Felicidade only possessed a few items of clothing and a single cooking pot when she died two years after her arrival in Lagos.[214]

Whether these African women became wealthy or merely subsisted in Lagos, it is clear that their business experience allowed them to be relatively independent on both sides of the Atlantic. In contrast, many of the Brazilian-born females who emigrated to West Africa were heavily reliant on their African relations for both their networks and their survival. Interestingly, although Brazilian-born females comprised almost 60 percent of the freed population of African descent in nineteenth-century Salvador, they were least likely to emigrate to West Africa, comprising just 11 percent of the returnee population.[215] Further, the vast majority of female emigrants of Brazilian birth traversed the Atlantic with African chaperones. In contrast to Brazilian-born males—41 percent of whom traveled alone—only 17.8 percent of Brazilian-born females sailed unaccompanied to West Africa. Out of the total number of Brazilian-born females who left Bahia, 69 percent went with African-born individuals, and 62 percent were under twenty-one years of age.

There are multiple factors that may explain the relatively low number of Brazilian-born females who emigrated to West Africa, as well as the high percentage of *crioula* minors being chaperoned by freed Africans. On the one hand, freed African women actually had more social and economic mobility than their *crioula* descendants in many ways. Despite the fact that owners were more likely to liberate enslaved Brazilian-born females, manumissions for *crioulas* were often conditional; many of these women were required to remain in dependent relationships with

[214] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Francisco Augustino v. Antonio Ariba*, 18 February 1879, 64–70.

[215] For nineteenth-century Salvador, Nishida finds that almost 60 percent of Brazilian-born, adult freed persons—and 70 percent of freed children of Brazilian birth—were females; see "Manumission and Ethnicity," 375. For an additional discussion of manumission rates in Salvador during this period, see Collins, "Black women, mobility, marriage and markets," 416.

their masters until these proprietors died.[216] This conditionality is reflected, in part, by the rates of Brazilian-born females who emigrated to West Africa as *crias* (enslaved children born in their master's homes), *criadas* (servants), and *agregadas* (conditionally freed people who lived with their ex-proprietors). Indeed, all of these relationships represented various forms of subordinate dependency to former masters who, for the purposes of this study, were all Africans or people of African descent themselves.[217]

Out of 62 individuals who emigrated to West Africa under relationships of social dependency, 31 were female, while 23 were male. These conditionally manumitted *crias*, *criadas*, and *agregadas* likely did not have any choice but to join their former owners when they departed for West Africa. Further, these social dynamics continued to be relevant in Lagos, where Yoruba and Brazilian notions of subordinate dependency influenced patterns of kinship, inheritance, patrilineality, and power in the burgeoning colony, which will be the subject of Chapter 3. Further, even for the Brazilian-born females of color who were adults, unconditionally manumitted, or born

[216] Even when young girls were conditionally manumitted, they were still required to remain enslaved until their masters or mistresses died, or until they were twenty-five years of age, at which point they were no longer considered minors. Collins, "Intimacy and Inequality: Manumission and Miscegenation in Nineteenth-Century Bahia (1830–1888)" (PhD diss., University of Nottingham, 2010), 70.

[217] A *cria* referred to an enslaved or freed individual of Brazilian birth, who was usually born to an enslaved African woman in their proprietor's household. Having known these children since birth, slave owners often had close relationships with their *crias* that resembled relations of fictive kinship, as will be discussed in Chapter 3. The term *criado* (servant) represented another form of social dependency, especially for the Brazilian-born females who worked as domestics. Likewise, the word *agregado* referred to an individual who held a subordinate social place in relation to the household head. Castillo explains, "The term *agregado* could refer to dependents in a broad sense, such as poor relations, but it was also frequently used to describe freed people who continued to live with their former masters." Often, however, these *agregados* were conditionally freed people who continued to live with their ex-proprietors. Nishida states, "In most cases of conditional unpaid manumissions, the owners obliged their ex-slaves to 'accompany and serve' them (or sometimes their spouses, children, or siblings) until the owners died. Those manumitted in this way, now called *agregados* (dependents in households), continued to work for their former owners the same as they had as slaves." In reality, all three forms of subordinate dependents often continued to occupy their masters' houses, even if they had obtained manumission. See Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 28; Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 385–86.

free, their common occupational roles as "quasi-slave domestic servants" made it difficult to achieve economic mobility.[218] These circumstances would have made it difficult for *crioulas* to leave their ex-masters' homes, let alone fund their passages across the Atlantic.

* * *

Thus, the ABRD sheds new light on the demographics of the emigrant population who left Bahia. These African and African-descended individuals undertook complex "processes of return" prior to their departures for West Africa that included various methods of obtaining manumission for themselves and their loved ones, accumulating capital, securing passports, and traversing the Atlantic. While African-born males made up the majority of the emigrant population, their female counterparts also traveled to West Africa in large numbers, often independently of men. As wage earners and street laborers in Salvador, these African-born returnees had relative economic and social independence; this ability to accrue capital allowed them to purchase their writs of manumission, passports, and passages; they also used their business skills to accumulate capital in Lagos. While some "retired" in their regions of origin, others—even aging returnees—used Lagos as a space to pursue business endeavors, reengage with Yoruba commercial and kinship networks, secure their freedom, and maintain their trans-Atlantic mobility.

The motivations of Brazilian-born emigrants often differed from those of their African counterparts. Most of these individuals were dependents, either based on their status as minors or on their obligatory relationships as *crias*, *criados*, or *agregados* under their ex-proprietors. This was especially true for *crioulas*, who were even more likely to travel with African-born parents, godparents, and former masters than their male counterparts, who had more occupational

[218] Nishida, *Slavery and Identity*, 160. Indeed, Nishida argues, "Unlike the case of African-born market women, Brazilian-born ex-slave women were unable to move much on the socioeconomic ladder on account of their financial resources."

opportunities as skilled artisans and traders in Lagos. In other words, networks based on commerce, kinship, and slavery explained return migration for a large proportion of the Brazilian-born population, as well as the African-born individuals with whom they traveled; these intertwined networks of kinship and slavery remained important for Africans when they left Bahia for Lagos, as the following chapter demonstrates.

CHAPTER 3

Casa and *Ilé*: Kinship and the Household in Return Migration

As I attempted to trace the thousands of African and African-descended individuals who left Bahia for West Africa, many of the same questions continued to arise: Where did they disembark along the ambiguous "*Costa d'África*" that is listed in so many passport registers? Was it possible to trace these individuals' relationships, which were forged around the Atlantic and defined by the circumstances of enslavement? Finally, how did these returnees—especially women, *crioulos*, children, and subordinate dependents—forge new lives in new lands?

In Henriqueta's case, I was able to answer these questions. Remarkably, five years after her departure from Salvador, Henriqueta do Couto Vianna appeared in an 1859 colonial correspondence between the Consul of Lagos, George Brand, and the Foreign Office.[219] With this document, I knew: *Henriqueta had landed in Lagos*. Her point of disembarkation was significant: she "returned" to the Yoruba-speaking region of her mother's birth. Brand's letter also revealed that Henriqueta did not travel alone. While archival records from Bahia contain no mention of the young girl traveling with a chaperone, this document clarified that Henriqueta traversed the Atlantic with her aunt. Brand's letter explains, "The sister of the mother, the aunt of the Girl, came and settled at Lagos in the year 1854—and, with the consent of her mother the aunt brought along with her the girl to this Place where she still resides."[220] Thus, Henriqueta was part of a matrifocal Nagô kinship network in Bahia, shaped under the conditions and currents of Brazilian slavery;

[219] George Brand served as Consul of Lagos from November 1859 to June 1860; see Smith, *The Lagos Consulate, 1851–1861* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1979), 99.

[220] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, 20 December 1859, Brand to Clarendon.

while these relationships defined her life in Salvador, they also dictated her "process of return" to Lagos.

This chapter examines the consanguineous and fictive kinship relationships that shaped patterns of return migration among freed Africans and their descendants during the second half of the nineteenth century. I contend that co-operating Yoruba and Brazilian conceptualizations of family and household defined kinship structures for many African and African-descended individuals in Bahia. Processes of warfare and enslavement in West Africa, as well as transformations in categories of kinship and slavery following Brazilian independence in 1822, created the conditions under which enslaved and freed Africans reconstituted familial and household structures in Bahia. I argue that these reformulated notions and structures of kinship also factored significantly into their reasons for—and patterns of—return to West Africa.

Along these lines, this chapter begins with a comparative analysis of that which I term the "parallel structures" of Yoruba and Brazilian kinship. I argue that these structures were inextricably intertwined with the institutions of slavery in both West Africa and Brazil. This chapter then outlines the importance of consanguineous and fictive familial ties in the "process of return," from slavery to resettlement on the continent. Finally, this chapter utilizes the ABRD to examine the patterns of kinship that shaped African and African-descended individuals' trans-Atlantic voyages.

Slavery and Kinship among African and African-Descended People in Nineteenth-Century Bahia

For enslaved and liberated Africans in Bahia, notions surrounding family and the household derived from that which I term "parallel structures" of West African and Brazilian kinship. This section analyzes the interwoven ways that Africans and their Brazilian-born

descendants understood and created kinship ties in Bahia. I contend that these individuals' kinship networks evolved out of a web of overlapping forces; social categories defined by both Yoruba and Brazilian institutions of slavery, transforming notions of the household, and flexible consanguineous and fictive kinship ties on both sides of the Atlantic shaped African relations and networks in Bahia.[221]

The fluidity of relationships that characterized nineteenth-century kinship structures in Brazil would have been familiar to many enslaved individuals, based on West Africa's long history of geographical movement, warfare, slavery, and intermarriage. Especially during the era of the Atlantic slave trade, James H. Sweet contends, many West Africans understood "family" as "a variable, moving target—a composite of ideas and understandings, determined by natal and corporate kinship, that structured sociability, especially in highly unstable societies."[222] For the Yoruba-speaking majority in Bahia, widespread patterns of displacement and enslavement that resulted from intraregional warfare meant that many individuals were separated from their natal kin long before they sailed for the Americas.

In fact, migration was a central component of Yoruba understandings and iterations of kinship prior to the nineteenth century. Andrew Apter avers that the cultural logic of geographical movement was central to Yoruba lineage and social organization at every level; indeed, it was embedded within the founding of the confederacy of Yoruba kingdoms themselves.[223] According

[221] Sweet points out that African categories of kinship and household contained an inherent flexibility to allow new and continued social connections; see "Defying Social Death: The Multiple Configurations of African Slave Family in the Atlantic World," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 70, no. 2 (2013): 257–58.

[222] Sweet, 257–58.

[223] Andrew Apter, "Yoruba Ethnogenesis from Within," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 55, no. 2 (2013): 356–87; Apter, *Oduduwa's Chain: Locations of Culture in the Yoruba Atlantic* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2018).

to Yoruba tradition, the children and grandchildren of the first King (*Ooni*) of Ile-Ife—the city of primordial origin for Yoruba-speaking people—broke off to form their own kingdoms. These kingdoms continued to recognize the authority of the town of Ife; as these descendants established new places of settlement, their status as migrants gave them legitimacy. Over the centuries, as chiefs, princes, and other powerful men separated to form their own kingdoms, this cultural logic was reconstituted to justify new sociopolitical groupings. In nineteenth-century Yorubaland, heightened displacement, social and political fissures, and the drastic reconfigurations of towns created many new communities of outsiders.

In this way, the permeability of group boundaries shaped Yoruba kinship structures, based on the understanding that migration and foreignness were integral to notions of belonging. Karin Barber's foundational study of Yoruba praise poetry (*oríkì orílẹ̀*) illuminates how this logic permeated discursive reproductions of lineages through invocations of foreign origins; she identifies praise poetry as a practice that allows towns and lineages to distinguish themselves in relation to strangers. Barber explains, "Whenever a group left its 'town of origin' and went to settle somewhere else, it needed to have an identity which its new fellow citizens would recognize."[224] Further, these discursive invocations of migration from other towns are central to Yoruba assertions of inclusion within a lineage. Barber observes, "*Oríkì orílẹ̀* are one of the principal means by which groups of people who regard themselves as *kin* recognise each other and assert their unity. But they do so in terms of a common town of origin, not, in the first instance, in terms of ancestry."[225] Hence, *oríkì orílẹ̀* serve as articulations of an individual's or a group's belonging,

[224] Karin Barber, *I Could Speak Until Tomorrow: Oriki, Women, and the Past in a Yoruba Town* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 1991), 151.

[225] Barber, 145.

legitimized in relation to those who are considered outsiders; in other words, praise poems express lineage membership through articulations of foreignness.

Apter advances this argument about the cultural logic of migration that is embedded within Yoruba kinship structures in his analysis of the Yoruba household, or *ilé*. He contends that this logic is embodied by the *ilé* itself; Apter explains, "The very 'origin' of *ilé* as a prior 'town' [*ìlú*]—the town of origin indicated by *oríkì orílẹ̀*—implies that the home or compound is a manifestation of the town….every *ilé* is a manifestation of *ìlú*, a microcosm, as it were, of the kingdom at large."[226] Thus, these "structuring structures" of Yoruba kinship are embodied in the dynamics of the Yoruba household; as is the case at the level of the town, membership within the *ilé* is reinforced—and, therefore, dependent on—the differentiation of its lineage from the "other" through the incorporation of unrelated individuals into family compounds.[227] For this reason, Apter maintains, "The core *ilé* must contain both agnates and non-agnates, or outsiders living at the very center of the compound."[228]

Within the Yoruba household, then, matrilateral kin, clients, and enslaved people became associated with its lineage. Over time, these outsiders could be incorporated into the lineage, as the phrase *ọ̀rẹ́dẹ́bí*—or, "friends become family"—suggests.[229] For this reason, relationships of fictive kinship were equally as important to the structure of the *ilé* as consanguineous ties. This modality of kinship permeated all aspects of the Yoruba worldview. Walter Hawthorne argues

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[226] Apter, "Yoruba Ethnogenesis from Within," 365.

[227] Pierre Bourdieu, *Outline of a Theory of Practice* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 1977), 72.

[228] Apter, "Yoruba Ethnogenesis from Within," 365.

[229] Apter, *Black Critics and Kings: The Hermeneutics of Power in Yoruba Society* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1992), 89.

that, outside of the compound, in places like clubs and occupational associations, even friendships were "expressed through the idiom of kinship, people stressing a shared relationship (be it real or fictive) to ancestors and, therefore, a sense that they belonged in the same place or group."[230] This same hermeneutic also reproduced itself in the religious context, which is evident in relations between the orisha, as well as relations between the orisha, their priestesses, and their practitioners.[231]

Across the Atlantic, Yoruba understandings of kinship also shaped African households, despite the challenges that enslaved individuals faced when cultivating familial networks in Brazil. Household structures varied based on location (rural or urban), social status (enslaved or freed), and gender. On the one hand, plantation slavery in the Recôncavo meant that family members, especially adult men and children, were often sold away from their households. Further, for those who were enslaved on plantations, marriage was often dictated by proprietors, rather than matrimony being determined by the interests of Africans themselves.[232] Enslaved and manumitted Africans also faced financial and political barriers in their attempts to legitimate their kinship ties through legal marriage and baptism.

On the other hand, the urban setting of Salvador presented Africans with different opportunities for household formation. Regardless of whether Africans were legally married or

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[230] Walter Hawthorne, "'Being now, as it were, one family': Shipmate bonding on the slave vessel *Emilia*, in Rio de Janeiro and throughout the Atlantic World," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 45, no. 1 (2008): 58.

[231] For an in-depth analysis of the importance of kinship to Yoruba ritual, religion, and authority in Yoruba society, see Apter, *Black Critics and Kings.* Matory also discusses kinship in orisha worship; see *Black Atlantic Religion*, Ch. 3; *Sex and the Empire That Is No More: Gender and the Politics of Metaphor in Oyo Yoruba Religion* (Oxford and New York: Berghahn Books, 2005 [1994]), Ch. 6.

[232] This is not to say that enslaved Africans did not formally marry. As Isabel Cristina Ferreira dos Reis points out, the census of 1872 reveals that about 20.5 percent of enslaved people in Bahia were married or widowed, making it the province with the highest rate of legitimate marriage among captives in Brazil; see "A Família Negra no Tempo da Escravidão: Bahia, 1850–1888" (PhD diss., Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2007), 87–88.

involved in consensual partnerships, ethnically endogamous marriage became a strategy through which people forged consanguineous and affinal kinship ties.[233] For instance, Nagô individuals usually chose partners from the same ethnic group, especially in nineteenth-century Salvador, where Yoruba-speaking people constituted the African majority.[234] Enslaved individuals' increased opportunities for self-purchase in the urban context also shaped family structures, since manumitted status was equated with increased rates of legal matrimony.[235] Still, even among the city's freed population, the majority of Africans did not marry. On the one hand, marriage was not common in general; less than 20 percent of all residents in Salvador—regardless of race and status—were legally married in 1850.[236] On the other hand, enslaved and freed Africans adapted

[233] I.C.F. dos Reis, 91. Historians have also studied the prevalence of formal marriages among Brazil's enslaved population, finding that formal marriages decreased after 1830. This pattern proves to be accurate in Bahia, as well; see Faria, "Família escrava e legitimidade," 113–31; Katherine Holt, "Marriage Choices in a Plantation Society: Bahia, Brazil," *International Review of Social History* 50, no. 13 (2005): 40. For more studies of African family structures in nineteenth-century Brazil, see Mattoso, *Família e sociedade na Bahia do século XIX* (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1988); Robert Slenes, *Na senzala, uma flor: esperanças e recordações da família escrava—Brasil Sudeste, século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Nova Fronteira, 1999); Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil*.

[234] Endogamous marriage—based on categories of race and ethnicity—was practiced by both the white and African populations in Salvador. According to Collins, miscegenation was greater among *crioulas*, in relationships of widespread concubinage and consensual unions. These endogamous patterns of matrimony are evident in Catholic Church and census records; see Collins, "Black women, mobility, marriage and markets," 419. Many other scholars have studied endogamy among enslaved and freed Africans in Brazil, including Linda Lewin, "Some Historical Implications of Kinship Organization for Family-based Politics in the Brazilian Northeast," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 21, no. 2 (1979): 262–92; Mattoso, "Slave, Free, and Freed Family Structures in Nineteenth-Century Salvador, Bahia," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 25, no. 1 (1988): 75–78; Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *Devotos da cor: Identidade étnica, religiosidade e escravidão no Rio de Janeiro, século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000), 125; Holt, "Marriage Choices in a Plantation Society"; Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: Culture, Identity, and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1830* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), Ch. 5.

[235] In her study of marriage in Iguape in Cachoeira in 1835, Holt finds that a greater number of emancipated Africans underwent consensual unions than did enslaved people, although most legal unions were reserved for the local elite; see "Marriage Choices in a Plantation Society," 31.

[236] Ana Amélia Vieira Nascimento, *Dez Freguesias da Cidade do Salvador* (Salvador: Fundação Cultural do Estado da Bahia, 1986), 72; Mattoso, *Bahia, Século XIX. Uma província no império* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1998), 157.

to their circumstances and formed affinal ties through consensual unions. These free unions served as the primary pattern of partnership among Africans, especially after 1850. Significantly, as Katia M. de Queirós Mattoso suggests, these consensual relationships were "a reaction against the assimilation of white cultural values, which insisted upon an ideal of 'legal' marriage."[237] Further, these free unions played important roles in the social and economic security of African individuals. For instance, Maria Inês Côrtes de Oliveira's study of wills and probate records reveals that the relational bonds of these arrangements were long-lasting. Further, she finds that a number of testators who made wills between 1851 and 1890 left their property and belongings to their free-union partners, illustrating the strength and importance of these bonds.[238]

Kinship ties between parents and their children served as the determining factor in household formation among enslaved and freed Africans in Bahia. Many African households were headed by women in Brazil, as was the case in most of Latin America and the Caribbean.[239] Indeed, David Lehman defines this matrifocal structure as "a kinship system based on a network of women

[237] Mattoso, "Slave, Free, and Freed Family Structures," 75–78. Like Mattoso, Oliveira argues that the cost of legal marriage would have been enough to deter most African couples; however, she asserts that, among freed people, "Being able to marry and not to marry became…another form of disruption and a reaction to the dominant culture in the way of its own cultural affirmation"; see Oliveira, *O liberto: o seu mundo e os outros* (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1988), 66–67; translation is my own.

[238] Oliveira, *O liberto*, 64. Nishida finds that the majority of Africans who had consensual unions did not cohabitate; however, the rate of cohabitation among Africans in consensual unions rose after mid-century. See Nishida, "Gender, Ethnicity, and Kinship in the Urban African Diaspora: Salvador, Brazil, 1808–1888" (PhD diss., Johns Hopkins University, 1991), 168–95.

[239] Mattoso and others have shown that female-headed households were highly prevalent in the impoverished, African-dominated parishes of nineteenth-century Salvador. This female-headed household structure permeated Afro-Brazilian ritual domains, as well; Candomblé temples, or *terreiros*, were predominantly founded and led by women. See Mattoso, *Família e Sociedade na Bahia*; A.H. Ferreira Filho, *Salvador das Mulheres. Condição Feminina e Cotidiano Popular na Belle Epoque Imperfeita* (Salvador: Mestrado de História/Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1994).

bound by relationships of dyadic exchange and by selective consanguineal relationships."[240] In many cases, these predominantly female households occupied alternative economic spheres from those controlled by men; these female-female relations became important among Brazilian emigrants in Lagos, as Chapter 4 will discuss.[241]

Enslaved and manumitted Africans also cultivated kinship and extended their households through the employment of fictive relationships. Africans in Bahia—especially members of the large Nagô population—were familiar with this reconstitution of fictive ties through practices and idioms of kinship, as this dissertation's discussion of relational networks within the *ilé* demonstrates. These understandings of kinship shaped enslaved Africans' relationships beginning on the Middle Passage. Scholars have examined the processes by which captive shipmates established fictive kinship ties that they maintained when they disembarked in the Americas.[242] In

[240] Raymond T. Smith first articulated the matrifocal kinship patterns present in much of Latin America and the Caribbean; see *The Negro Family in British Guiana: Family Structure and Social Status in the Villages* (London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, Ltd., 1956); Smith, *The Matrifocal Family: Power, Pluralism, and Politics* (New York and London: Routledge, 1996). For literature on female-led households in Bahia and larger Brazil, see Elizabeth Anne Kuznesof, "The Role of the Female-Headed Household in Brazilian Modernization: São Paulo 1765 to 1836," *Journal of Social History* 13, no. 4 (1980): 589–613; Kuznesof, "Sexual Politics, Race, and Bastard-Bearing in Nineteenth-Century Brazil: A Question of Culture or Power?" *Journal of Family History* 16 (1991): 241–60; Donald Ramos, "Single and Married Women in Vila Rica, Brazil, 1754–1838," *Journal of Family History* 16 (1991): 261–82; Dain Borges, *The Family in Bahia, Brazil, 1870–1945* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1992); Barickman, "Reading the 1835 Parish Censuses from Bahia"; Nishida, *Slavery and Identity;* Barickman and Martha Few, "Ana Paulinha de Queirós, Joaquina da Costa, and Their Neighbors: Free Women of Color as Household Heads in Rural Bahia (Brazil), 1835," in *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, eds. David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (Urbana and Chicago: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 169–201. For a summary of matrifocal households in Latin America and the Caribbean, see David Lehmann, "Female-Headed Households in Latin America and the Caribbean: Problems of Analysis and Conceptualization," in *Pour l'histoire du Brésil—Hommage à Katia de Queiros Mattoso*, eds. F. Crouzet and D. Rolland (Paris: Editions l'Harmattan, 2000), 21.

[241] Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, "Free Colored in a Slave Society: São Paulo and Minas Gerais in the Early Nineteenth Century," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 80, no. 4 (2000): 929.

[242] Sydney W. Mintz and Richard Price contend that fictive kinship bonds began between shipmates during the Middle Passage, and then continued on New World plantations. According to their model, "In widely scattered parts of Afro-America, the 'shipmate' relationship became a major principle of social organization and continued for decades or even centuries to shape ongoing social relations." In their discussion of

Brazil, Sweet contends that shipmates were called *malungos*, a Kimbundu term that was "associated with ancestral symbols of authority carried to sea to establish a new hierarchy of lineages in a given territory."[243] Along these lines, Walther Hawthorne describes the case of the *Emilia*, a vessel of enslaved Africans that was detained by anti-slave trade patrols. After years in Rio de Janeiro, these liberated Africans sailed to Lagos "as one family" in 1836.[244] For these individuals, their experiences of dislocation, violence, and forced migration led them to recreate kinship bonds and communities among the shipmates with whom they experienced these initial traumas.

In many cases, shipmates who shared the same language and culture connected with others from their West African ethnic groups in their New World destinations, as did the large number of Yoruba-speaking people in nineteenth-century Bahia. Thus, for enslaved and freed Nagôs, ethnicity remained an important category of identity in Brazil; idioms of consanguinity and the (re)production of familial relations became the primary way that members of ethnically-dictated networks formed blood and fictive kinship ties. As Reis points out, "The word *parente* (relative) was extended to include all members of the same ethnic group: Nagôs were said to be 'related' to other Nagôs, Jejes to other Jejes, and so forth. In this strange land, Africans invented the concept of ethnic relatives. In fact, the intensity with which slaves forged symbolic or fictive family ties

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Jamaica, they explained, "The bond could extend beyond the original shipmates themselves and interpenetrate with biological kin ties; shipmates were said to 'look upon each other's children mutually as their own,' and 'it was customary for children to call their parents' shipmates 'uncle' and 'aunt'"; see *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, 1992 [1976]), 43. Other scholarly works that discuss fictive kinship among shipmates include Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica* (London: McGibbon and Kee, 1967); Stephanie E. Smallwood, *Saltwater Slavery: A Middle Passage from Africa to American Diaspora* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 2007).

[243] Sweet, "Defying Social Death," 271.

[244] Hawthorne, "Shipmate bonding on the slave vessel *Emilia*," 53–77.

reveals the tremendous impact of slavery on men and women from societies based on complex kinship structures and ancestor worship."[245]

Ritual kinship also became an important avenue through which enslaved and manumitted individuals formed consanguineous and fictive bonds. Of particular relevance were the structures of fictive kinship that were institutionalized within the Roman Catholic Church, which resonated with many Africans in Bahia and allowed them to expand their social and religious networks. As Kevin Roberts explains, "The Catholic sacrament of baptism preserved the ever-more-important Yoruba tradition of fictive kin. With slaves playing active roles in the selection of godparents—and with some godparents serving as sponsors for numerous baptized slaves—the act of baptism and godparentage both enlarged the extended kin network and provided semiautonomy for some slaves."[246] In this way, relationships of god-parentage muddled the boundaries between kinship, class, and slavery, providing that which David Lehmann describes as "a para-kinship network" that could serve social and economic purposes.[247]

Candomblé houses, too, were important sites in which Africans in nineteenth-century Bahia established households through the reproduction of ethnic identity and kinship.[248] New

[245] Reis, *Death is a Festival*, 61.

[246] Kevin Roberts, "Yoruba Family, Gender, and Kinship Roles in New World Slavery," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, eds. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 253.

[247] Lehmann points out that not all of the purposes of these ritual kinship relationships benefited the godchild. He explains that, while these relationships could serve as foster arrangements, they could also become systems of "labor exchange, sharecropping contracts, or, where the status of the compadres [co-godparents] is unequal, patronage in economic relationships and access to benefits from the state machine"; see Lehmann, "Female-Headed Households in Latin America and the Caribbean," 5.

[248] Candomblé houses emerged, in part, out of the secular institution of lay sodalities. In Bahia, black lay brotherhoods served as important structures for the perpetuation of fictive kinship. As Reis outlines, "Confraternity brothers and sisters provided an alternative form of ritual kinship. The brotherhood 'family' was responsible for giving its members a place of communion and identity as well as help in times of need, providing support when striving for manumission, offering a means of protesting slaveowners' abuses, and,

lineage ties became embedded within each *terreiro*, or Candomblé temple, through the creation of that which Matory terms "initiatic families."[249] As such, the *terreiro* itself became a household unit through which Africans and their descendants reinscribed ritual kinship structures. In the same way that this hermeneutic reproduced itself in the context of orisha worship in Yorubaland, it also served as a formative principle for Africans in Bahia. Yoruba-speaking people adapted the structure of the *ilé*—in which lineage identities were formed through the town and the house, rather than through individual ancestors—to create kinship networks in Brazil.

Indeed, as Apter argues, by viewing the *ilé* and its connection to lineage dynamics as an "organizational mode" of generating new groups, it becomes possible to understand this Yoruba cultural modality as that which allowed for "the transpositions of 'house' and 'home' through which idioms of genealogical descent emerged" within the Candomblé *casa*.[250] Apter contends that Candomblé ritual kinship structures spatially and symbolically reinscribed Yoruba notions of kinship and genealogy; they also transposed the social patterns that resulted from enslavement. In other words, the hermeneutics of the *ilé* were reproduced within the structure of the *terreiro*, but with exceptions. One deviation had to do with the female leadership in Candomblé houses: these female "household heads" reproduced the matrifocal configurations of many African families in Brazil. Another exception, Apter avers, manifested in the ways in which the *terreiro*—as an inversion of the "Big House"— "reworked the racial ideologies of blood and stratification in the

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above all, celebrating dignified funeral rights." In turn, these sodalities, in their practice of fictive kinship, served as one avenue through which Africans formed new collective identities that combined African and Brazilian institutions and traditions. These notions of fictive kinship translated to the Candomblé *casas*. See Reis, *Death is a Festival*, 61–62; see also Mulvey, "Slave Confraternities in Brazil: Their Role in Colonial Society," *The Americas* 39, no. 1 (1982): 40.

[249] Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion,* 189.

[250] Apter, "Yoruba Ethnogenesis from Within," 382–83.

casa grande of the colonial sugar estates, transposing principles of kinship and descent from social to ritual domains."[251]

The inversion of the "Big House" within Candomblé ritual kinship structures also reflected the prioritization of the household in post-independence Brazil; indeed, after 1822, the slave-owning household became the primary unit for ordering society in the eyes of the state.[252] In fact, Barickman argues that even non-slave-owning households were organized as "hierarchical units characterised by relations of subordination."[253] In his examination of 1835 parish censuses from Bahia, Barickman contends that the adoption of the household as the basic unit of political organization was an attempt to maintain order through the creation of a qualitative hierarchy. During this period, categories of "birthplace," "occupation," and "household" were incorporated into official documents, such as wills and censuses; in this way, the state inherently equated individualism and kinship with the liberal notions of nationality and citizenship that were entrenched in early-nineteenth-century Brazilian political discourse. This documentary evidence about individuals and households was especially important in the period immediately after independence; as Barickman explains, "Individual-level data made it possible to distinguish citizens from non-citizens and to define locally the social boundaries of nationality in the still new and precariously established Empire of Brazil."[254] This emphasis on nationality focused on two

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[251] Apter, 82. Apter invokes the Casa Branca *terreiro*, which will be discussed later in this chapter, as an example of how Candomblé ritual kinship structures spatially and symbolically reinscribed Yoruba notions of kinship and genealogy, but with exceptions that derive from the experience of Brazilian slavery; see "Yoruba Ethnogenesis from Within," 377–82.

[252] Barickman, "Reading the 1835 Parish Censuses from Bahia," 305. Richard Graham makes a similar argument about Brazilian political organization, finding households and families to be the "basic units of the polity"; see R. Graham, *Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1990), 17.

[253] Barickman, "Reading the 1835 Parish Censuses from Bahia," 305.

[254] Barickman, 287–88.

groups: Portuguese- and African-born individuals, whose loyalties could not be trusted in the eyes of the state. In this way, Barickman expounds, "In Bahia, in the mid-1830s, the distinction between citizens and non-citizens held additional significance: it fit into a broader anti-African strategy to prevent slave rebellion."[255]

It was under these conditions that enslaved people and other dependents of African descent were increasingly incorporated into households using idioms of kinship.[256] In fact, even prior to Brazilian independence, certain subordinate dependents were incorporated into slave-owning households as fictive kin. Stuart B. Schwartz finds that, during the colonial period, proprietors who wrote letters of manumission for their *crias*—or, the enslaved children who had been born in their homes—employed phrases expressing familial affection. He explains, "The birth and upbringing of a slave child within the household, or as the documents often put it, 'in my bed,' or 'in my lap,' seem to be of great importance in stimulating the slaveowner's sense of responsibility and obligation toward the slave."[257] These expressions of affection represented a form of fictive kinship in the eyes of the master that Schwartz terms "surrogate paternity or maternity."[258] Likewise, in manumission records from Paraty, James Patrick Kiernan reports slave owners' use of idioms of kinship for these slave children; many letters contained the expression of affection,

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[255] Barickman, 289.

[256] Barickman does not find these terms used in the 1835 censuses he studies; on the contrary, he concludes that enslaved members of households were "kinless" in the eyes of the census-takers. However, especially later in the century, these categories of dependency were often expressed using idioms of kinship and terms of affective relation, as will be explained.

[257] Schwartz emphasizes that, in most cases, there is no evidence to support the possibility that these *crias* were the illegitimate children of their masters. Further, he finds that manumission records that use expressions of surrogate parentage appeared almost twice as frequently in documents written by mistresses and couples, when compared to letters composed by male slave owners. See "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil," 622.

[258] Schwartz, 621.

"*por ser cria de mim* (because they were raised by me or were raised as if they were my own)."[259] This corroboration suggests that these idioms of fictive kinship were deeply enmeshed with Brazilian understandings of master-slave relations.

These characterizations of enslaved and freed subordinate dependents as familial relations were even more pronounced in cases where proprietors were former slaves themselves. Indeed, some African *libertos* owned other Africans; this was especially true for Salvador in the nineteenth century, as more people obtained manumission.[260] In the first half of the nineteenth century, Reis contends, "It is quite likely that at least 40 percent of the free population, many of whom were poor as well, owned slaves. It was so common that all free persons probably aspired to own at least one."[261] Slave ownership among the African population in Salvador served various purposes. For freed Africans, it became a protective mechanism against widespread patterns of re-enslavement; owning enslaved dependents was a symbol of one's liberated status. Further, by participating in the Brazilian institution of slavery, these manumitted Africans accrued both economic and social

[259] James Patrick Kiernan, "Baptism and Manumission in Brazil: Paraty, 1789–1822," *Social Science History* 3, no. 1 (1978): 66.

[260] In her examination of nineteenth-century wills and testaments of African and mixed-race women in Salvador, Collins finds that "71 per cent of freed *Africanas* (42 out of 59), were slaveowners. Collectively, they owned 195 slaves: 79 women, 39 men, and 77 *crias*. On average, that is 4.6 slaves per *Africana*. Among *Brasileiras*, levels of slave-ownership were much lower. In total, 54 per cent [*sic*] or *Brasileiras* (13 out of 24), owned 35 slaves, an average of just under 3 slaves each. These comprised 13 women, 9 men, and 13 *crias*." In addition to her insight that African women were more prolific slaveowners than Brazilian-born *crioulas*, Collins also finds that most of the individuals who were enslaved under them were Africans themselves. She asserts, "Among *Africanas* those with the highest level of slave-ownership were married women who owned an average of 6.2 slaves each, whereas married *Brasileiras* owned an average of 2 slaves each. Even single and widowed *Africanas* owned on average more slaves than *Brasileiras*" (143). Collins concludes that married African women were able to enhance their economic and social mobility through the pooling of resources, which allowed them to accrue greater "wealth in people." See "Intimacy and Inequality," 142–50.

[261] Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil,* 13. Reis argues that this was the case not only for Salvador, but also throughout the Recôncavo. Oliveira contends that this percentage is even higher, and that 60 percent of *libertos* owned at least one slave; see *O liberto*, 36.

capital in a society that discriminated against them based on birth origins, class, and race. Asligul Berktay asserts, "Owning slaves often became a symbol of freedom, in positioning oneself in contradistinction to the unfree members of society. Within the context of social ascent through both the acquisition of freedom and that of higher living standards, slave ownership sometimes acquired even greater symbolic value for freed slaves in Bahian society than for those already privileged by place of origin or free status."[262]

Finally, the practice of slave ownership fit into the cultural milieu of a large proportion of the West Africans who lived in Brazil. Many individuals had participated in this institution in their natal homelands as household heads, enslaved people, or both at various points in their lives. In Bahia, the notion of "wealth in people" remained an important aspect of Africans' social mobility.[263] Even particular categories of Brazilian slavery resonated with similar structures in West Africa. For example, the category of *cria* resembled with Yoruba-speaking people's own understandings of enslaved individuals born into the household. In Yorubaland, these individuals,

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[262] Asligul Berktay, "From Freedom in Africa to Enslavement, and Once Again Freedom, in Brazil: Constructing the Lives of African *Libertos* in Nineteenth-Century Salvador da Bahia Through the Analysis of Post-Mortem Testaments" (PhD diss., Tulane University, 2014), 257. Similarly, Kathleen J. Higgins contends that African women's ownership of enslaved dependents was "the best proof to others that one was no longer a slave"; see *"Licentious Liberty" in a Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (University Park: The Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 83.

[263] Historians and anthropologists have described the importance of patron networks to notions of wealth in African societies. These patron-client relationships created opportunities and obligations for people to gain political and economic power. They were often referenced using idioms of kinship; see Warren d'Azevedo, "Common Principles and Variant Kinship Structures among the Gola of Western Liberia," *American Anthropologist* 64, no. 3 (1962): 504–20; Suzanne Meiers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977); Sara Berry, *Fathers Work for Their Sons: Accumulation, Mobility and Class Formation in an Extended Yoruba Community* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1985); Jane Guyer, "Wealth in People and Self Realization in Equatorial Africa," *Man* 28, no. 2 (1993): 243–65; and "Wealth in People, Wealth in Knowledge—Introduction," *Journal of African History* 36, no. 1 (1995): 83–90. For scholarship on "wealth in people" in the twentieth century, see Daniel Jordan Smith, "Ritual Killing, 419, and Fast Wealth: Inequality and the Popular Imagination in Southeastern Nigeria," *American Ethnologist* 28, no. 4 (2001): 808.

known as *àrótà*, were incorporated into the kinship structure of the compound and resided on the property "as members of the family."[264] However, unlike *crias*, these *àrótà* rarely became full lineage members within their lifetimes. The similarities and tensions surrounding Brazilian and Yoruba notions of enslaved birth, kinship, and the household became crucial to emigrants' interpretations of the relationship between subordinate dependency, family, and inheritance in Lagos, as Chapter 4 demonstrates.

There were also differences in slaveholding practices between white Brazilian households and those of freed African proprietors. In particular, the relationships between African owners and their enslaved dependents diverged from the master-slave dynamic in white households in crucial ways related to fictive kinship. In her analysis of freed Africans' post-mortem testaments in nineteenth-century Salvador, Berktay finds that African-born individuals often manumitted their enslaved dependents at death; this was especially true of their enslaved *crias*.[265] Among African proprietors, women freed their *crias* more often than men; these women used expressions of affection in their wills to refer to these dependents. As Berktay argues,

> Most of these freed African women had no children of their own, which is probably an important reason why they came to see these children born within their household as almost their own. […] From this perspective, *crias* could be seen to have filled an important void in the lives of freed African women. Having known these slave children since their infancy and having spent significant amounts of time living with them meant that significant levels of affection were developed on both sides. Often, these bonds would have come close to family ties, and would

[264] N.T. Brooke, "Some Legal Aspects of Land Tenure in Nigeria," *African Studies* 5, no. 4 (1946): 220. Olatunji Ojo explains that the term *àrótà* can also refer to "second or later generation or long-term slaves, products of affairs between slaves and freeborn or 'any person who has attached himself to the household of a chief'"; see "Slavery and Human Sacrifice in Yorubaland: Ondo, c. 1870–94," *Journal of African History* 46 (2005): 392.

[265] Many of the *libertos* who owned multiple enslaved individuals delayed the emancipation of select people, tagging their *alforria* payments as funds with which to pay off outstanding debts, compensate executors, and ensure proper funerals and burials. In this way, many *crias* were still treated as property, rather than kin; see Berktay, "From Freedom in Africa to Enslavement," 260–62.

> provide a clear reason why *crias* were almost always favored over others in decisions concerning the manumission of *libertos'* slaves.[266]

For the childless African women and couples who had affectionate ties to their *crias*, these Brazilian-born youths served many of the same functions as biological children. For instance, African proprietors sometimes left their property to their *crias* at their deaths; these owners also utilized their *crias*' Brazilian-born statuses to their advantage. Sandra Lauderdale Graham provides the example of Roza do Ó Freire, in order to outline the ways in which Africans employed structures of fictive kinship—which emerged out of the institution of Brazilian slavery—to gain social and economic capital. In the mid-nineteenth century, this enslaved African woman owned a house and six *crias*. Interestingly, Roza freed two of her Brazilian-born *crias* prior to her own manumission; she did so to buy this house and some land in their names. Indeed, since she was African-born—and, therefore, considered a foreigner—Roza had to rely on her freed, Brazilian-born "children" to purchase property for her. In turn, Roza do Ó Freire named her six *crias* as heirs in her will, and she left her property to these dependents when she died in 1863.[267]

This custom of naming *crias* as inheritors seems to be unique to African and African-descended slave owners; only in rare cases did a white proprietor name a *cria* as the legitimate heir of his or her estate, such as when a white master was the biological father of a mixed-race child and had no other offspring.[268] Thus, as the example of Roza do Ó Freire shows, these strategic

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[266] Berktay, 263.

[267] S.L. Graham, "Writing from the Margins: Brazilian Slaves and Written Culture," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 49, no. 3 (2007): 631.

[268] Schwartz provides an example of a Brazilian proprietor who fathered two children with an enslaved woman. He and his wife later freed the children, and named them as his legal heirs. Nonetheless, Schwartz explains, "While a great deal of attention has been given such sincere expressions of affection across the boundaries of color and legal status, these instances comprise only a tiny fraction of the total manumissions"; see "Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil," 621.

inheritance practices illuminate the complex intersections between slavery, race, social mobility, and fictive kinship for Africans in nineteenth-century Brazil. Further, these relationships that muddled the line between slavery and kinship served as a strategy of resistance for Africans in Bahia; they illuminate that which Mattoso identifies as Africans' "parallel hierarchies," which were "totally independent from White power."[269] When Africans left their property to their next of kin—even when their *crias* became inheritors—these individuals recirculated their hard-earned wealth within the African and African-descended community.

It is important to note that, at times, various categories of fictive kinship were intertwined for Africans and their subordinate dependents, illustrating the complex webs of knowledge and praxis through which they cultivated roots and forged routes in Brazil. The police record of a liberated African named João Gomes exemplifies these overlapping categories. Indeed, in 1852, João Gomes applied for a passport to cross the Atlantic with his family and subordinate dependents. The document indicates that his *cria*, a girl named Maria, was also his godchild; hence, João Gomes and Maria were bound through multiple fictive kinship structures for the rest of their lives.[270]

In this way, Africans created new relational networks in Bahia that drew from both African and Brazilian notions of kinship: they cultivated nuclear and extended families, raised Brazilian-born children, and forged relationships of fictive kinship that revolved around ethnicity, religion, and the institution of slavery. The remainder of this chapter seeks to trace the complex kinship networks of the African and African-descended individuals who emigrated to West Africa during

[269] Mattoso, "No Brasil escravista: relações sociais entre libertos e homens livres e entre libertos e escravos," in *Da revolução dos alfaiates à requeza dos baianos no século XIX: itinerário de uma historiadora*, eds. Arlette Soares and Rina Angulo (Salvador: Corrupio, 2004), 275; quoted in Berktay, "Constructing the Lives of African *Libertos* in Nineteenth-Century Salvador," 110.

[270] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1850–1852), maço 5892, 28 January 1852.

the second half of the nineteenth century. The following section employs the ABRD to provide a statistically informed analysis of the ways in which the consanguineous and fictive kinship relationships that Africans forged in Bahia shaped patterns of return migration. I contend that, in order to understand the dynamics of kinship among emigrants in Lagos, it is first necessary to examine the ways in which familial relationships factored into the process of return itself.

Kinship by the Numbers: Familial Networks and Return Migration

By examining the types of blood and fictive relationships that appear in Bahian passport and passenger registries, a picture emerges of the social and familial networks that defined emigrants' return journeys during the second half of the nineteenth century. Thus, this section draws from the ABRD, in order to highlight the persistent importance of these returnees' Brazilian kinship networks, even as they made the decision to depart for West Africa. In order to analyze the relationship between kinship and return migration, it is first important to understand the configuration of the archival records from which I derived this data, and the ways in which these documents both reveal and conceal relationships. In many cases, the very structure of these records reinforced the nineteenth-century Brazilian state's understanding of the household as the primary organizational unit of society. Single passports were typically issued to a household head; most entries listed women, children, and subordinate dependents by name or description under these family heads. However, in many instances, police records and passenger lists obscure kinship ties. Henriqueta's trans-Atlantic journey serves as a fitting example of the importance of the historian's craft in piecing together incomplete data across multiple documents, in order to uncover connections between individuals. Despite the fact that Henriqueta was a minor, her 1854 passport application did not state that her aunt planned to accompany her to Lagos; instead, the record

makes it appear as if she traveled alone. While five liberated African women applied for passports on the same day, it is not possible to decipher if any of them were the relative in question.[271] It is only from British colonial correspondences that we learn of the importance of kinship to Henriqueta's emancipation and emigration to West Africa, as the beginning of this chapter explains.

With these strengths and constraints in mind, this section analyzes the role of kinship in return migration. According to the database, out of the 3,619 freed Africans and their descendants who applied for passports and sailed for the African coast between 1850 and 1890, over one-third (39 percent) traveled with at least one other person who belonged to their social or familial network. Of course, these figures only account for the connections revealed by Bahian passenger lists and passport records; in reality, the percentage is probably much higher. The importance of social and kinship networks to these emigrants' return journeys to West Africa is especially evident in the data gleaned from the 1850s and 1860s. In the former decade, approximately 50 percent of all returnees traveled with a relation of some sort; this statistic increased to approximately 63 percent in the 1860s.[272] The ABRD also provides insight into the importance of relational networks for various sub-populations of emigrants. For instance, returnees' birthplaces affected the frequency with which they traveled with blood or fictive kin. Out of the 2,425 African-born emigrants recorded in the database, 643 individuals (approximately 27 percent) traversed the

[271] Further research is necessary to uncover the identity of the aunt who accompanied Henriqueta across the Atlantic. It is likely that Henriqueta's aunt is one of the returnees for whom I have a passport application in 1854; however, without her name—and without a record of her relationship to Henriqueta in the Bahian archival records—it is not yet possible to link the two women in Brazil.

[272] The lack of specificity within passport records during the 1880s makes it more difficult to discern relationships between emigrants, since they are often not noted on passenger lists. I suspect that the percentage of family members traveling together remained high throughout the second half of the nineteenth century.

Atlantic with relatives. In contrast, out of the 960 *crioulos* entered in the ABRD, 581 travelers (approximately 61 percent) were accompanied by another party during their voyages.

Gender also affected the frequency with which emigrants returned to West Africa alongside members of their social and kinship networks. Of the 2,043 males who emigrated from Bahia, 645 of them (approximately 32 percent) went with someone else. In contrast, fewer females sailed for Africa alone; out of 1,552 females, 723 individuals (approximately 47 percent) had at least one companion on the voyage. The higher rate of females traveling with at least one other person can be explained by a variety of factors. First, women traveled with small children more often than men, as will be discussed. Second, since many of these liberated African women made more money as *ganhadeiras* than their male counterparts, they may have had more capital to purchase passports and passage for their family members. It is also possible that these women traveled with others to protect themselves from sexual violence, kidnapping, and re-enslavement.

Finally, age determined the role of kinship in trans-Atlantic travel. The ABRD reveals that a large number of minors went to West Africa, and the vast majority of them did not travel alone. Out of 553 youths, 476 of these minors (86 percent) had chaperones on their voyages. These statistics correlate with the data regarding *crioulo* emigrants; many Brazilian-born kin traversed the Atlantic as minors under their African parents' charge. However, other youths were accompanied by African adults with whom they shared ties of fictive kinship. Thus, complex relationships of fictive kinship—formed in the context of Brazilian slavery—continued to be crucial for returnees as they embarked from the port of Salvador, as will be discussed.

Out of the returnees who traveled with others, 81 percent traversed the Atlantic with spouses or other members of their families. In particular, 29 percent of these individuals traveled with their husbands or wives as couples. The data extracted from the ABRD regarding marriage

correlates with scholars' findings regarding ethnically endogamous relationships in Bahia.[273] Indeed, police records reveal that the majority of couples who traveled to West Africa were married to people with the same ethnic designation. For instance, on 21 July 1856, a liberated Nagô named Francisco Rego applied for a passport to return to the "Costa da Mina" with his wife, Ritta Maria da Conceição; Ritta was also recorded as Nagô.[274]

Significantly, a systematic study of these passport applications and passenger lists also reveals that the vast majority of Africans who planned to emigrate had gone to the financial and legal trouble of being married in the Catholic Church. Indeed, the ABRD affirms that, out of 209 couples, terms that referred to legal spouses appeared in 185 entries.[275] In other words, approximately 89 percent of those who traversed the Atlantic with their partners found security through legal matrimony before they left. Freed Africans' use of legal records in Brazil serves as one possible explanation for this data, which considerably differs from the pattern of consensual unions that was prevalent in nineteenth-century Brazil. Mattoso suggests, "Africans were seen as foreigners…and consequently they took greater care to preserve their rights and those of their

[273] In the vast majority of entries, both the husband and the wife are listed as "*Africanos libertos*," perhaps supporting the notion of a consolidated "African" identity by the second half of the nineteenth century. However, some entries do provide more specific ethnic designations.

[274] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1854–1856), maço 5895, 21 July 1856.

[275] In Bahian passport and passenger records, female spouses often appeared under the entries of their male partners, regardless of whether the union was legal or consensual. In an entry that referenced a free union, common-law partners were sometimes listed solely by their names, with no titles to suggest legal marriage. In other instances, a female partner was termed a *companheira* (companion) or she was called an *amásia*. With respect to the latter, Mary Ann Mahoney points out the nuances of such a term in nineteenth-century Brazil when she states, "*Amásio* or *amásia*, the words for male or female concubine, were the legal terms that officials often used to describe consensual unions." In other words, the word equates with the notion of a common-law spouse. In the case of legal marriage, a woman could appear on her husband's passport application with the descriptors *casada*, *marida*, or *senhora*. However, the most common phrase in these police documents is *sua mulher*, which was also a term that denoted legal matrimony (Castillo, personal communication, December 2018). See Mahoney, introduction to *Crossroads of Freedom: Slavery and Post-Emancipation in Bahia, Brazil, 1870–1910*, by Walter Fraga, trans. by Mary Ann Mahoney (Durham: Duke University Press, 2016), xii.

companions and descendants. Thus, they were more eager to prepare legal documents."[276] This logic may have translated to African emigrants' marriage patterns; freed African-born individuals essentially purchased legal records of their affinal ties as proof of legitimacy.[277]

Consanguineal relationships proved to be particularly important to returnees, especially for parents and their offspring, as mentioned in Chapter 2. Indeed, 29 percent of those who sailed for West Africa with others did so with their biological children. Out of the Brazilian-born emigrants (both minors and adults) who accompanied their parents, 8 percent traveled with both their mother and their father as a nuclear family. For example, on 29 May 1876, a liberated African named Pedro Fernando da Cruz came from Recife to Salvador. He obtained a passport and, two weeks later, Pedro, his wife Luíza, and their son, João, sailed for the African coast.[278] In another instance, on 3 March 1877, a freed African named Francisco da Costa requested a passport for himself, his wife, and their three young daughters, all of whom were born free in Pernambuco. On 7 April, the family of five left on the *Paraguassú* for Lagos.[279]

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[276] Mattoso, "Slave, Free, and Freed Family Structures," 71–72.

[277] Further research is needed on this topic. Also, in some instances, scriptural inconsistencies across documents make it difficult to discern if couples who traveled together were legally married. For example, when Cosme Cypriano Barcellos, a liberated African, applied for a passport on 9 March 1883, the police record states that he planned to travel with his *amásia*, or his partner through a consensual union. However, when they boarded a Lagos-bound ship on 20 March, the passenger list describes his partner as "*sua mulher*," implying that they were legally married; see APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1881–1885), maço 5909, 9 March 1883; Republicano, Livro 54, Saídas dos passageiros (1882, Jan–1886, Fev), 20 March 1883, Hiate, *Africano*, Lagos.

[278] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–1877), maço 5905, 29 May 1876; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 10 de Junho de 1876, Brigue, *Sald^a Mar^o*, Costa d'África.

[279] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Pedido de Passaportes, Passaporte de escravos, Pedido de escravos, Pedido de habilitação para obter passaporte, africanos livres, Pedido de passaporte para Lagos na África etc. (1871–1889), maço 6376, 3 March 1877; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–1877), maço 5905, 3 March 1877; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 7 April 1877, Patacho, *Paraguassú*, Costa d'África.

The largest group of emigrants who traveled with kin were women who made the voyage with their children; out of the total number of Brazilian-born returnees who had chaperones when they traversed the Atlantic, 20 percent emigrated with just their mothers, while only 5 percent traveled with only their fathers. This statistic aligns with pervasiveness of matrifocal households in nineteenth-century Brazil. In other words, the African women who headed households often brought their young, Brazilian-born relations (especially females) with them; this explains the large number of *crioulas* who traveled with African-born mothers, godmothers, and former mistresses during the period. These findings illuminate the bond between African mothers and their kin, and the burden that these mothers faced in keeping their families together as they moved from slavery to freedom, and then from Brazil to West Africa. For instance, on 27 July 1869, Juliana Antônia Luíza Lisboa, a liberated African, applied for a passport to travel to the West African coast with her six *crioulo* children, all of whom were minors.[280] Despite the risks of trans-Atlantic travel and resettlement, Juliana would not leave her children behind.

The matrifocal household of a liberated African woman named Caetana also illuminates the lengths to which mothers went to obtain their children's freedom and travel as a family to West Africa. After having bought her liberty in 1871, Caetana spent the next three years saving money to pay for the manumission of her daughter, Joanna. On 28 June 1874, Caetana gave her ex-proprietor 800 *milréis*, and Joanna received her *carta de alforria*. Over the next two and a half years, Joanna had two children; all the while, the women saved their meagre earnings to pay for passage to Africa. Finally, on 1 March 1877, Caetana went to the police in Salvador, stating that she "wished to retire to the African coast." A week later, the matriarch boarded a British ship called

[280] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1868–1870), maço 5902, 27 July 1869. I suspect that, in certain cases, these women's "children" were actually their *crias*, although I have no evidence that this was the case for Juliana Antônia Luiza Lisboa.

the *Little Lizzie*, and returned to Lagos, bringing Joanna and her grandsons with her.[281] By the time the family disembarked in the West African port town in 1877, Caetana was fifty-eight years old; in her lifetime, she had been transported as human cargo to Brazil and experienced the horrors of slavery, but she had also created a kinship network across the Atlantic. In freedom, she wished to retire in her region of birth with her matrifocal extended household.

Still, the financial burden of emancipation and emigration limited most individuals from being able to fund their entire families' voyages to the African coast; only 4 percent of the returnees who traveled with others were able to bring their extended kin back with them, as Caetana did. In the instances in which these extended households traversed the Atlantic together, multigenerational family units often included an African-born household head and his or her Brazilian-born children and grandchildren. For instance, on 17 April 1865, a liberated African named Joaquim Ramos applied for a passport to travel with his wife, his two daughters, and his granddaughter to the African coast.[282] In another example, a sixty-seven-year-old liberated African, Pantaleão José da Costa, voyaged from Pernambuco to Salvador with his wife, his daughter, and his two young grandchildren. After obtaining a passport, Pantaleão and his family boarded the *Rápido* and set sail for Lagos on 28 September 1884.[283]

In some situations, women consented to have their African-born relatives bring their children back to West Africa without them, as Henriqueta do Couto Vianna's mother did. For

[281] APEB: Colonial, Polícia, Pedido de passaportes, Passaporte de escravos, Pedido de escravos, Pedido de habilitação para obter passaporte, africanos livres, Pedido de passaporte para Lagos na África etc. (1871–1889), 28 February 1877; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–1877), maço 5905, 1 March 1877; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 8 March 1877, Patacho, *Little Lizzie*, Costa d'África.

[282] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1864–1868), maço 5901, 17 April 1865.

[283] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1881–1885), maço 5909, 12 August 1884; Republicano, Livro 54, Saídas dos passageiros (1882, Jan–1886, Fev), 28 Setembro 1884, Patacho, *Rápido*, Lagos.

instance, on 21 August 1871, an eight-year-old *crioulo* named Eugênio applied for a passport to travel to the coast of Africa with his African-born grandparents, Benedicto and Esmeria, with the consent of his mother, a free *crioula* named Felicidade Amelina Barbosa.[284] In another instance, a liberated African woman named Benedicta left for West Africa in 1875 with her two-year-old grandson, Eusébio; she had obtained permission from her Brazilian-born daughter (Eusébio's mother), Maria Antônia do Espírito Santo.[285] In some cases, mothers gave consent for the fathers of their children to accompany their kin to West Africa. For instance, a liberated *crioula* named Francisca gave permission for her six-year-old son, Francisco, to travel with his father, a freed African named Jacinto.[286] Other familial relations served as guardians during Atlantic voyages, as well: aunts and uncles accompanied their nieces and nephews, and even older siblings chaperoned their younger brothers and sisters.

Of course, these mothers' decisions to remain in Brazil while their young children went to live in West Africa would not have been made lightly. However, there were a variety of factors that likely prompted these women to view trans-Atlantic migration as the best option for their children. African-born mothers may have sent their offspring to West Africa to reunite with blood relatives, or to avoid the risk of re-enslavement in Brazil. The prevalence of single-female-headed households also likely informed their decisions. Based on the information available in Bahian passport records, it is possible that some of these women were still enslaved. Even if they were

[284] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Polícia minutas (1870–1873), maço 6091, 17 August 1871.

[285] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1874–1875), maço 5904, 21 June 1875; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 8 August 1875, Brigue, *Viajante*, Costa d'África.

[286] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Polícia minutas (1870–1873), maço 6091, 14 August 1871. It was atypical for Africans to enter into unions with *crioulos*; see Mattoso, "Slave, Free, and Freed Family Structures," 77.

free or freed, these single-female households were associated with high levels of poverty.[287] The lack of financial or familial support may have left mothers with little choice, as work obligations made it difficult to care for their small children once their elderly family members left for Africa.[288] Finally, these mothers were likely aware of the opportunities in Lagos during this period. Some women sent their children to the West African town to become apprentices in trades, such as carpentry, masonry, tailoring, and so on; others consented for their children to go to the burgeoning colony for education.[289]

It was probably under these conditions that many enslaved and manumitted mothers also sent their *crioulo* children back to Africa with fictive familial relations, formed under the Brazilian institution of slavery. Indeed, fictive kinship networks continued to play an important role in the process of emigration from Bahia. Faith-based kinship, for instance, became a crucial category under which Brazilian-born minors returned to African port cities like Lagos. Indeed, out of the 553 youths who traversed the Atlantic between 1850 and 1890, approximately 5 percent were accompanied by church-sanctioned godparents. These minors' mothers often consented to these voyages. For example, on 10 January 1868, an *Africano liberto* named Ariano Meyer accompanied his twelve-year-old godson, Orídio, on orders from the child's mother, Eugênia Rosa.[290] In another instance from 1868, an eighty-year-old liberated African woman named Felicidade Maria da Conceição applied for a passport to travel to the coast of Africa with Felícia, her eight-year-old

[287] Collins, "Black women, mobility, marriage and markets," 427; Karasch, "Free Women of Color in Central Brazil, 1779–1832," in *Beyond Bondage: Free Women of Color in the Americas*, eds. David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 2004), 257.

[288] I am indebted to Lisa Earl Castillo for her insights on children traveling without their mothers.

[289] Castillo, "Entre memória, mito e história: viajantes transatlânticos da Casa Branca," in *Escravidão e suas sombras*, eds. João José Reis and Elciene Azevedo (Salvador: EDUFBA, 2012), 94.

[290] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1864–1868), maço 5901, 10 January 1868.

goddaughter.[291] Felícia's mother, Maria de Sant Anna, put her trust in the elderly woman, perhaps with the notion that she would join her kin at a later date; eight years later, a fifty-year-old Maria de Sant Anna applied for a passport and left for Africa.[292]

The faith-based kinship networks formed in Candomblé houses were equally important to trans-Atlantic mobility, although these relationships are more difficult to trace. Many scholars have discussed the nineteenth- and twentieth-century connections that Candomblé priests and practitioners had with Lagos.[293] However, as Castillo has pointed out, these ties often relied on fictive kinship structures within the *terreiros*, which facilitated young practitioners' voyages to the West African port town. Castillo provides the 1872 example of five *crioulo* children who traveled with a liberated African named Eduardo Américo de Souza, who I also locate in the passenger and passport records in Salvador. She finds that Eduardo was most likely linked to the famous Casa Branca temple through ethnic and socioreligious networks; some of these children and their mothers were probably members of this Candomblé house because of their enslavement under its founder.[294] The mothers who consented for their children to travel with Eduardo likely hoped that

[291] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1864–1868), maço 5901, 1 February 1868.

[292] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–77), maço 5905, 15 January 1876; Colonial, Polícia, Relação de Entrada e Saída dos Passageiros (1851–1876), 20 January 1876, Brigue, Portuguez, *Travador*, Costa d'África.

[293] Apter, "Herskovits' Heritage: Rethinking Syncretism in the African Diaspora," *Diaspora* 1 (1991): 235–60; Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil," 72–103; Parés, "The Birth of Yoruba Hegemony," 135–59; Parés, *The Formation of Candomblé: Vodun History and Ritual in Brazil*, trans. Richard Vernon with author (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2013 [2006]); Castillo, "Entre memória, mito e história."

[294] Roger Bastide, *The African Religions of Brazil*, 165; Verger, "Primeiros Terreiros de Candomblé," in *Iconografia dos Deuses Africanos no Candomblé da Bahia*, eds. Carybe, Pierre Verger, and Waldeloir Rego (São Paulo: Editora Raizes Artes Graficas, 1980); Matory, "Afro-Atlantic Culture: On the Live Dialogue Between Africa and the Americas," in *Africana: The Encyclopedia of the African and African American Experience*, eds. Henry Louis Gates, Jr. and Kwame Anthony Appiah (New York: Basic/Civitas, 1999), 36–44; Vivaldo da Costa Lima, *A família de santo nos candomblés jeje-nagôs da Bahia: um estudo de*

their kin would benefit from Lagos' opportunities for social mobility; Castillo explains, "The parents and mothers who sent their children with Eduardo Américo…in the early 1870s probably wanted them to work as apprentices. They also had the hope that they would enroll in schools."[295] In this way, the relationship between Eduardo Américo de Souza and the *crioulo* children he accompanied to Lagos emerged out of overlapping structures of fictive kinship, based on a complex web of ethnic and religious networks created under the conditions of slavery. As this example illustrates, these fictive familial structures shaped emigration patterns for the African and African-descended people who left for Lagos.

In addition to faith-based kinship, adoption and guardianship served as meaningful fictive relationships for returnees. Many of these relationships developed out of the process of gradual emancipation after 1850. In some instances, African-born freed people applied for passports for themselves and their adopted children, whose parents had either passed away or were unable to provide care for reasons that remain unspecified in Bahian passport and passenger records. However, the *Juiz de Órfãos*, or the Justice of Orphans, had the last word in the departures of many children who traveled with guardians or adoptive parents across the Atlantic. Indeed, the *Juiz de Órfãos* had been in existence since the colonial era. According to Erica M. Windler, "Its initial purpose was to protect the inheritance rights of orphans and to appoint them with legal guardians.

relações intergrupais (Salvador: Corrupio, 2003); Castillo and Parés, "Marcelina da Silva," 1–28; Castillo, "Entre memória, mito e história," 65–110.

[295] Castillo, "Entre memória, mito e história," 90–97; quotes on 94. Castillo notes that, while some of these Afro-Brazilian youths did not permanently remain in Lagos, others married and started families in West Africa. Further, the understanding of these networks as manifestations of fictive kinship relationships is confirmed by the fact that Eduardo Américo served as godfather to one of these youth's sons in Lagos. This network revolving around Eduardo Américo and his ties to Casa Branca temple also illustrates the complexities of religious fictive kinship structures for emigrants who went to Lagos; see Castillo, 97.

It was also responsible for placing poor orphans and abandoned children in homes where they could work until they reached the age of majority."[296]

After the first decades of the nineteenth century, the *Juiz de Órfãos* also became an important tool for keeping track of Africans in the country.[297] Beginning in 1831, the Justice of Orphans was put in charge of *Africanos livres*, or the enslaved Africans who were illegally brought into Brazil between 1821 and 1856, and were quickly emancipated by the Anglo-Brazilian Mixed Commission Court or Navy Auditors.[298] The institution was responsible for assigning these free Africans guardians (*tutores)*; the *Africanos livres* then worked for these guardians in governmental or private capacities for an established number of years. Through this system, the Justice of Orphans ensured that these free Africans participated in the system of captive labor. As Miki explains, "They [these Africans] were obliged to await eventual full freedom under the 'tutelage' of individuals or the state in the form of service or public works projects for what could amount to several decades. The *emancipados* were administered by the Justice of Orphans in a legal category

[296] Erica M. Windler, "Madame Durocher's Performance: Cross-Dressing, Midwifery, and Authority in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro, Brazil," in *Gender, Sexuality, and Power in Latin America Since Independence*, eds. William E. French and Katherine Elaine Bliss (Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc., 2007), 69–70.

[297] For more scholarship on the Justice of Orphans as an institution in Brazil, see Mamigonian, "To Be a Liberated African in Brazil"; Maria Aparecida C.R. Papali, *Escravos, libertos, e órfãos: a construção da liberdade em Taubaté (1871–1895)* (São Paulo: Annablune: Fapesp, 2003); Papali, "Ingênuos e órfãos pobres: a utilização do trabalho infantile no final da escravidão," *Estudos Ibero-Americanos* 33, no. 1 (2007): 149–59.

[298] There are a large number of scholarly works about these *Africanos livres*; see Afonso Bandeira Florence, "Nem escravos, nem libertos: os 'africanos livres' na Bahia," *Cadernos do CEAS* 121 (1989): 58–69; Mamigonian, the "To Be a Liberated African in Brazil"; Jennifer Nelson, "Apprentices of Freedom: Atlantic Histories of the *Africanos Livres* in Mid-Nineteenth Century Rio de Janeiro," *Itinerario* 39, no. 2 (2015): 349–69; Mamigonian, *Africanos livres: a abolição do tráfico de escravos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2017).

shared by recently emancipated Indians, under the premise that neither group was capable of responsible judgment."[299]

The passage of the Lei do Ventre Livre, or the Law of the Free Womb, further expanded the role of the *Juiz de Órfãos*.[300] Enacted on 28 September 1871, this law freed all children subsequently born to enslaved women; it also rendered proprietors responsible for the care of all free-born children (*ingênuos*) under eight years of age.[301] Both supporters and opponents of the Free Womb Law used the social unit of the family to debate their position. As Martha Abreu explains, "In every argument, for or against the law, the same persistent rationale appeared: the protection of the slave family and its inclusion in slaveowners' policies of domination."[302] On the one hand, many planters argued that free-born children would flee the conditions of slave labor; elites worried that "it would be hard to cultivate [*ingênuos*'] adult character" without either these children's parents or the influence of the moral and productive slave-owning household.[303] On the other hand, proponents of the law argued that *ingênuos* would be bound to their enslaved families; in turn, enslaved adults and their free children would be more productive, due to the value placed

[299] Miki, *Frontiers of Citizenship: A Black and Indigenous History of Postcolonial Brazil* (New York and Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018), 232.

[300] Timothy Joel Coates, "Exiles and Orphans: Forced and State Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire" (PhD diss., University of Minnesota, 1993); Joan Meznar, "Orphans and the Transition from Slave to Free Labor in Northeast Brazil: The Case of Campina Grande, 1850–1888," *Journal of Social History* 27, no. 3 (1994): 499–515.

[301] Once an *ingênuo* reached the age of eight, the mother's master could choose to use their services until they turned twenty-one years old, or the proprietor could give the child over to the state. Essentially, this option to "care" for an *ingênuo* child until the age of twenty-one meant that the child remained in a position of extended slavery.

[302] Martha Abreu, "Slave Mothers and Freed Children: Emancipation and Female Space in Debates on the 'Free Womb' Law, Rio de Janeiro, 1871," *Journal of Latin American Studies* 28, no. 3 (1996): 576.

[303] *Diário*, 19 and 15 September, 1871; quoted in Abreu, "Slave Mothers and Freed Children," 578.

on the intact family. They suggested that these *ingênuos* would become an important contributing force for Brazil's economic prosperity.

Despite subsidies for slaveholders, the law was largely ineffective. Many *ingênuos* continued to work as enslaved people on the plantations on which they were born, but with a marked increase in these children's mortality rates; they were also more frequently abandoned to charity and state institutions.[304] As Sidney Chalhoub points out,

> The Law of 1871 divided the free offspring of bondswomen into two categories: on the one hand, there were those who would remain under the authority of the mothers' masters; on the other hand, there were those who would turn to government control, either because masters abandoned them or because they decided to opt for indemnification when the children became eight years old. Regarding the latter category, the Law of 1871 and its regulations established that the government had to found institutions to receive and care for these children. If it were not possible to place all children in government institutions, officers known as 'justices of the orphans' would appoint citizens to act as guardians to a number of them.[305]

In this way, guardianship (*tutoria*) took on new dimensions following the passage of the Free Womb Law; these transformations directly resulted from changes in the institution of slavery, causing this iteration of fictive kinship to be dictated by the Brazilian state. Under the new law, guardians (*tutores*) assigned by the Justice of Orphans monitored these free-born children's behavior, in order to teach them to be productive members of society as Brazil moved toward the end of slavery.[306]

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[304] Abreu, "Slave Mothers and Freed Children," 569.

[305] Chalhoub, "The politics of silence," 81–82.

[306] Despite the inefficacy of the 1871 law, it began the process of gradual emancipation in Brazil. The Justice of Orphans also assigned guardians to adults, in order to maintain moral authority on plantations. For children, these guardians were obligated to provide a basic education and religious instruction; see Chalboub, "The politics of silence," 82.

The Justice of Orphans features prominently in cases of children crossing the Atlantic after 1871. In fact, 8 percent of the children who sailed for West Africa following the passage of the Free Womb Law did so "*com autorização do Dr. Juiz de Órfãos,*" or "with the authorization of the Justice of Orphans." While some minors received consent from the justices to travel alone, the majority were accompanied by their appointed guardians.[307] In certain instances, the state assigned blood relatives to be these free-born children's custodians. For example, on 19 April 1876, two brothers named Francisco de Salles and Manoel, who were twelve and three years old, respectively, sailed for Lagos on the *Alfrêdo*. Their passport applications specify that their father, Antônio, was their guardian after the passage of the 1871 law; hence, the Justice of Orphans was required to authorize their trans-Atlantic trip.[308]

In most cases, however, these guardian-*ingênuo* relationships did not designate consanguineous relatives as *tutores*. Yet, blood relations still looked after their kin, even when they were not assigned to be their guardians. Such was the case for Martinho, a *crioulo* minor from Salvador, who ended up under the care of the Justice of Orphans following the death of his mother. On 27 January 1879, the police put him under the tutelage of a Bahian ship captain, Marcolino José Dias, who applied for a passport for himself and his charge to travel to the coast of Africa. Yet, the police record notes that Martinho's grandmother, a liberated Nagô, also boarded the ship.

[307] Further research is necessary to determine whether *ingênuos* who appear to be traveling alone actually had undocumented connections to one or more adults on the ships that took them to Africa. Another possibility is that these particular *ingênuos* were in the charge of state or charitable institutions, and simply did not have guardians assigned to them; in this scenario, they would have been a group of true, orphaned youths traveling to African port cities like Lagos.

[308] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–1877), maço 5905, 11 April 1876; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 19 April 1876, Potacho, *Alfrêdo*, Costa d'África.

In other words, his grandmother returned to West Africa to accompany her kin, even though she did not have guardianship according to the Brazilian state.[309]

As more free-born children entered the care of the Justice of Orphans after the passage of the Free Womb Law, existing structures of fictive kinship also became important sources of guardians. Many godparents served as *tutores*, creating fictive familial connections that were sanctioned by both church and state. These relationships remained relevant to guardians who emigrated to West Africa and brought these children with them. For example, on 19 September 1872, a liberated African named Joaquim Pereira received authorization from the Justice of Orphans to take Theodoro, his young godson and also his dependent, to the coast of Africa.[310] Likewise, a *crioulo* child named Leopoldo Alberto dos Santos left for Lagos on 28 April 1875 with his freed African-born godfather and guardian, Miguel Biye; again, their passage was granted by the justices.[311]

Bahian passport and passenger records illuminate the complex and overlapping nature of the relationships between guardians and *ingênuos* in relation to kinship and slavery. For instance, on 4 July 1875, a young, free-born *crioulo* named Antônio Joaquim da Conceição boarded the *Nerio* and set sail for the African coast with his "adoptive mother," a liberated African named Maria da Conceição. Maria received authorization from the Justice of Orphans, illustrating the processes by which guardianship became intertwined with fictive kinship.[312] As Antônio

[309] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Passaporte certidão (1878–1879), maço 6378, 27 January 1879.

[310] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Polícia minutas (1870–1873), maço 6091, 19 September 1872.

[311] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1874–1875), maço 5904, 14 April 1875; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 28 April 1875, Barca, *Hersilia*, Costa d'África.

[312] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1874–1875), maço 5904, 11 June 1875; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 4 July 1876, Patacho, *Nerio*, Costa d'África.

Joaquim's guardian, Maria became his "adoptive mother" in the eyes of the Brazilian state. Thus, the *Juiz de Órfãos* aided in the state's project of social control over Africans and their descendants during the era of gradual emancipation; in this role, the justices also created new scenarios for fictive kinship. These relationships shaped the social networks of Africans and their descendants on both sides of the Atlantic.

Still other categories of subordinate dependency, formulated under the Brazilian institution of slavery, are also crucial to understanding the role of fictive kinship in emigrants' patterns of return migration. Indeed, the relationship between subordinate dependency and kinship can be seen in the passport applications of the liberated Africans who brought their enslaved and manumitted dependents with them to West Africa. In passport records, Africans traveled with four categories of subordinate dependents. These categories, discussed in Chapter 2, included: *escravos* (enslaved people), *crias* (enslaved children born in their masters' houses), *criados* (servants), and *agregados* (conditionally freed people who lived with their ex-proprietors). Often, these relationships were complex and relied on idioms of kinship embedded within the structure of the household. For instance, as outlined in the previous section, *crias* often had that which Berktay characterizes as "close, affectionate, and sometimes almost parental, relationships" with their African masters.[313] Similarly, *agregados*, who continued to live with their former masters under a system of conditional manumission, were often incorporated in the household.[314]

In many cases, the boundaries between slavery and fictive kinship became obsolete for emigrants. Women and couples with no children of their own who traveled with their *crias* often

[313] Berktay, "From Freedom in Africa to Enslavement," 82.

[314] Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 28. Castillo points out that some of the travelers to Africa from Bahia brought their entire households, "consisting of blood kin, *agregados*, and slaves."

considered these minors to be kin; these *crias* could care for them as they aged and protect their estates when they died. This rationale may have contributed to the decisions of couples like Joaquim Moreira and Suzana Joaquina Theodora, liberated Africans who emigrated in 1852 with no blood kin; instead, they brought a young girl, who they listed as their freed *cria* in their passport application.[315] Further, especially among the childless African women who returned to West Africa, their decisions to bring their *crias* may have reflected their affectionate relationships with these dependents. Perhaps this was the case with Sofia Carolina, a liberated African who requested a passport on 24 March 1857; she planned to traverse the Atlantic with her *cria*, a liberated Brazilian-born minor named Maria.[316]

In fact, the ABRD reveals that 2 percent of liberated African returnees applied for passports and traversed the Atlantic with *crias, agregados*, or other subordinates between 1850 and 1879. Sixty-seven percent of these dependents were children, the majority of whom were Brazilian-born youths traveling with African-born women or couples.[317] However, I suspect that this percentage is much higher for the second half of the nineteenth century; many passenger and passport records do not specify the relationship between minors and the Africans with whom they traveled, making it difficult to discern whether these youths were consanguineous or fictive kin or *crias*. Of course, this lack of specificity within these records results from contemporary practices of documentation

[315] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1850–1852), maço 5892, 28 January 1852.

[316] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1842–1857), maço 5896, 24 March 1857. Evidence leads me to believe that some of the *filhos* and *filhas* (sons and daughters) listed on passport applications and passenger lists were actually *crias*.

[317] There is no data for the 1880s regarding subordinate dependents who emigrated with their African proprietors or ex-matsers. I suspect that this percentage is much higher, but I only included the entries that specifically list these relationships. According to data collected in the ABRD, 22 percent of these subordinate dependents traveled with male household heads, 33 percent traveled with female household heads, and 45 percent traveled with married couples.

and scriptural errors. Yet, I contend that these ambiguities also illuminate the blurred boundaries between slavery and kinship for African emigrants themselves.

* * *

In sum, after enslaved Africans were forcibly removed from their natal kinship networks, they forged new affinal, consanguineous, and fictive relationships during the Middle Passage and in the Americas. In Salvador, urban slavery presented unique opportunities for self-purchase and, subsequently, the cultivation of kinship networks. Freed African and African-descended individuals in Bahia drew from both African and Brazilian understandings and institutions of kinship to form relational ties through marriage, offspring, godparantage, slave ownership, and other forms of social dependency. For those who emigrated to West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century, the relationships that they cultivated in Brazil often impacted their patterns of return. As the next chapter shows, these salient ties remained relevant when African emigrants and their descendants disembarked in Lagos. Indeed, these parallel structures of extended and fictive kinship took center stage in the burgeoning colony, blurring the boundaries between family and slavery, prioritizing matrilines, and challenging patrilineal authority.

CHAPTER 4

Creating Family "By the Sweat of Her Face": Kinship, Slavery, and Social Mobility in Lagos

In early 1854, Henriqueta stepped off of the ship that had embarked from Salvador for the West African coast. She had "returned" to Lagos, the Yoruba-speaking region of her mother's birth; however, she did so without her mother. Nonetheless, the young girl had her Yoruba-speaking aunt to help her navigate life in Lagos. Like many returnees in the port town, her aunt probably reconnected with members of her Yoruba social and kinship networks, and she likely incorporated her Brazilian-born charge into these circles. The pair also engaged with the "Brazilian" community in Lagos, many of whom lived in the Brazilian Quarter by the 1860s; Henriqueta's aunt may have even known some of these emigrants from Bahia. Further, both the young girl and her aunt would have had to acquaint themselves with the economic, political, legal, and social conditions and currents of the town under the British, whose involvement in Lagos increased during this period. Still, Henriqueta's emigration to Lagos without Victoria, her mother, meant that her kinship ties spanned across empires and oceans. Her understandings of family were shaped by the complex networks, diverse experiences, and varying worldviews that accompanied forced and voluntary migration, enslavement, and being a person of African descent in the Atlantic world.

In this way, Henriqueta's trans-Atlantic familial network provides a microhistorical glimpse into the ways that kinship functioned for emigrants in Lagos. Indeed, Chapter 3 explored how African and African-descended people forged kinship ties in the slaveholding society of Brazil; it examined the ways in which these relationships shaped patterns of return among the freed individuals who emigrated to West Africa during the second half of the nineteenth century. In turn,

this chapter focuses on the Lagosian iterations of these multigenerational, trans-Atlantic kinship networks. Using probate records and witness testimonies extracted from civil and criminal cases from the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony, I argue that the consanguineous and fictive kinship ties that returnees forged on both sides of the Atlantic continued to be important to their lives, livelihoods, and projects of self-fashioning in the West African port town. Indeed, African- and Brazilian-born emigrants strategically invoked and cultivated their trans-Atlantic kinship relationships, many of which were defined by both Yoruba and Brazilian systems of slavery and understandings of the household. Through their employment of parallel conceptualizations and structures of kinship, returnees created opportunities for social mobility in Lagos, where Yoruba cultural, commercial, and kinship networks intersected with British economic, legal, and political institutions. As such, I assert that the lasting legacies of slavery and trans-Atlantic kinship remapped the geographical and social dynamics of the town as a whole.

This chapter begins by analyzing the ways in which Brazilian conceptualizations of the household and trans-Atlantic familial networks shaped emigrants' kinship and household structures in Lagos during the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, this first section outlines the multilayered kinship networks among the returnee community in Lagos, especially with respect to matrifocal families and the roles of subordinate dependents as fictive kin. Further, I demonstrate how this port town—as the epicenter of resettlement for both regionally displaced Yoruba-speaking people and various formerly enslaved emigrant groups—served as a unique catalytic node for the reconstitution of kinship across diverse communities of people, based largely on the trans-Atlantic relational networks of the returnees themselves.

The second section of this chapter draws from my analysis of Yoruba and Brazilian households as the primary organizational units for both societies. In particular, it focuses on the

local dynamics of two returnee households, both of which were forged in the context of Atlantic slavery. This microhistorical approach illuminates the ways in which members of these trans-Atlantic familial networks—including women, children, and subordinate dependents—employed parallel kinship structures to gain social mobility in Lagos Colony. Further, I argue that these returnees' interpretations of matrifocal households and the incorporation of subordinate dependents into familial structures forced Lagos' diverse residents to grapple with Atlantic kinship networks in local contexts. In turn, these interactions between relations who occupied different social and geographical spaces in the town—and their interpretations of their consanguineous and fictive kinship networks—ultimately shaped colonial policy, muddled categories of kinship and slavery, and challenged patrilineal authority in Lagos.

Parallel Kinship Structures among Emigrants in Lagos

While many enslaved people forged networks of consanguineous and fictive kin in the Americas, these relationships did not replace the African relatives that they forcibly left behind when they were enslaved. For the vast majority of Africans throughout the New World, these natal kinship bonds were lost forever. Yet, some of the African-born emigrants who left for Lagos were able to reunite with their African relations. Indeed, Lagos served as a site of convergence for Africans on regional and Atlantic scales. As previously discussed, new economic and social opportunities—as well as hopes of avoiding re-enslavement under British protection—prompted freed individuals from Brazil and Cuba, as well as Saros (liberated Yoruba-speaking emigrants from Sierra Leone), to relocate to the town. The ongoing intraregional wars also brought a large number of refugees from the interior. At times, this meant that relatives who had been separated for decades met again in Lagos. Many of the Brazilian emigrants who sailed to the port town during

the second half of the nineteenth century also brought their consanguineous and fictive kin from Brazil, as Chapter 3 demonstrates. Thus, in this diverse West African town, the Brazilian households that these Africans forged became enmeshed with the blood and fictive Yoruba networks into which they were reabsorbed.

Among the "Brazilian" emigrant community, the dynamics that defined African households in Bahia remained intact in Lagos in a variety of ways. For instance, many returnees who resettled with their spouses and children reestablished their Brazilian households in the West African port town. Such was the case for sixty-five-year-old Guilherme Requião. On 23 June 1888, this liberated African traveled to Lagos with Maria Lopes, his freed African-born partner by consensual union, and their adult Bahian-born son, Thomé Joaquim Alves Lopes.[318] When they landed in Lagos, they stayed with an acquaintance until they were able to buy a house on Igboshere Street, in the Brazilian Quarter (Figure 4.1).[319]

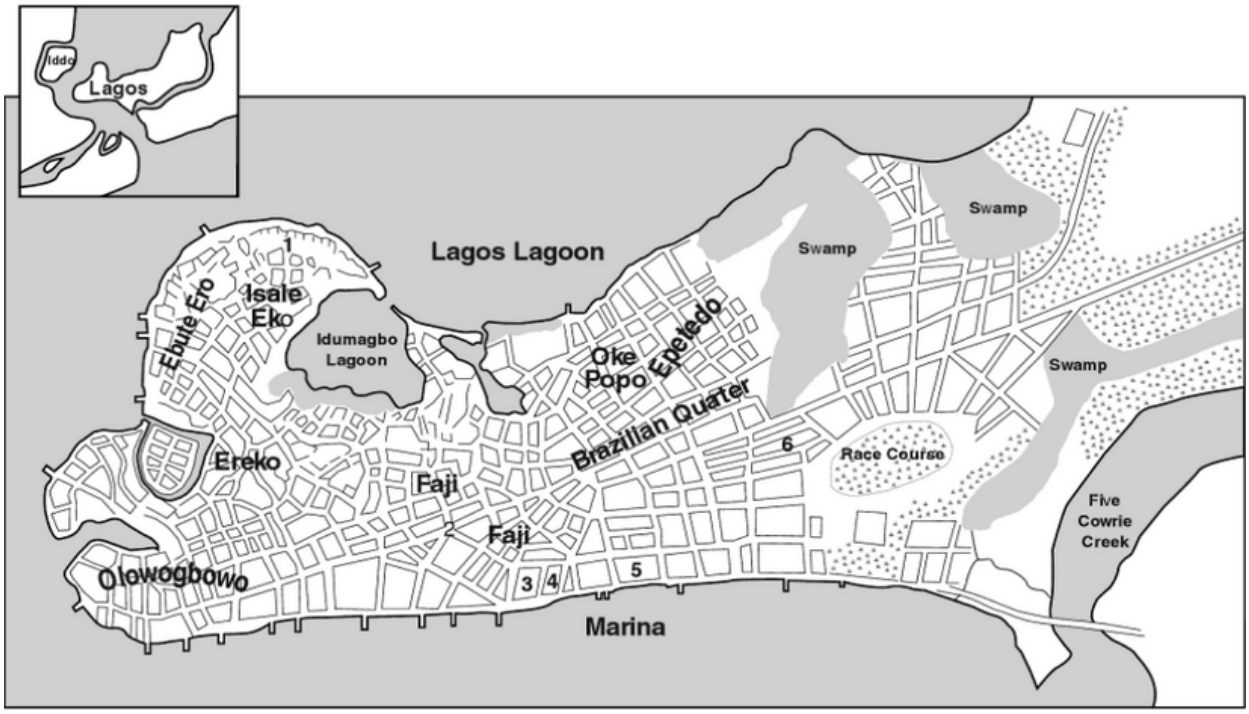
Others reproduced Brazilian kinship structures after they resettled in Lagos. Indeed, endogamous marriage, based on shared ethnic identities, shaped African patterns of affinal kinship in Bahia; likewise, many members of the emigrant community pursued endogamous relationships—defined by their new identities as "Brazilians"—in Lagos.[320] Insular marriages within the returnee community were common, especially among wealthy Brazilian-born individuals. For instance, Fortunata Marinho, a liberated *crioula* from Bahia, emigrated to Lagos

[318] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1885–1889), maço 5910, 23 May 1888; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Pedidos de passaportes, guia para ir para o Asilo de Mendicidade, baixa de guia, visto em passaporte, relatório de seção de passaporte, etc. (1883/1889), maço 6381, 23 May 1888; Republicano, Livro 55, Saídas dos passageiros (1886, Fev–1890, Set), 23 June 1888, Barca, *Cecilia*, Lagos.

[319] LSHC, JNCC–Criminal, File 170, *Rex v. Raymond Gaspar da Silva, David Akerele, and Oje*, 9 January 1905, 234.

[320] In contrast, Yoruba marriage patterns were strictly exogamous from a lineage perspective.

with her Nagô parents and her siblings at the age of fifteen.[321] In 1882, she married Marcos Augusto José Cardoso, a *crioulo* emigrant and skilled carpenter, who built the first Catholic church in Nigeria in 1880.[322] In other words, in order to extended their social and commercial networks across "Brazilian" households in Lagos, emigrant families employed a form of ethnic endogamy that was based on foreignness.



KEY
1. *Ọba's* Palace, 2. Tinubu Square, 3. Church Missionary Society, 4. Government House, 5. Wesleyan Mission, 6. Housa Barracks

Figure 4.1. Town of Lagos
Source: Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 250.

[321] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Passaporte Certidão (1878–1879), maço 6378, 10 January 1879; Republicano, Livro 53, Saídas dos passageiros (1877, Nov–1881, Dez), 31 March 1879, Barca, *Margaritha*, Lagos.

[322] Turner, "Some Contacts of Brazilian Ex-Slaves with Nigeria," 60–62.

Brazilian relationships of fictive kinship also remained relevant in the West African port town. For instance, when a Yoruba-speaking emigrant named Francisco da Costa arrived in Lagos, he lodged with another emigrant, Cypriano Antônio Augusto, and his daughter, Dorothea Ribeiro.[323] It is likely that the friends knew each other well in Bahia, as is evidenced by the fact that Francisco was Dorothea's godfather.[324] This relationship of fictive kinship molded these migrants' lives in Lagos; after Francisco purchased property in the town, Dorothea rented one of his houses. Further, despite the fact that Francisco had a son and a wife, his goddaughter was the only relation present when Francisco died in 1879. He named Dorothea as the executrix of his will, and she inherited half of his property when he passed.[325] This relationship of fictive kinship—derived in the Roman Catholic context of godparentage that was pervasive in Brazilian society—remained an integral part of Francisco's familial network and shaped his life (and his death) in Lagos. Further, when Francisco died, he was buried in the town's "Mahommedan" cemetery. Thus, as a practitioner of Islam, godparentage had little to do with religious sacrament for Francisco; rather, it represented a kinship bond that he forged during his time in Bahia, which he then utilized in the local context of Lagos to expand his relational networks.[326]

[323] Cypriano Antônio Augusto, a Nagô man enslaved in Bahia, bought his freedom in 1844; ten years later, in 1854, he left for Lagos in the company of his manumitted Brazilian-born daughter, Dorothea Ribeiro. See Andrade and Mann, BD, Alforrias, Livro 279, 10 February 1844; APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1852–1854), maço 5894, 21 January 1854.

[324] It is important to note that, through Dorothea and her family, Francisco da Costa gained an even more extended kinship network. Dorothea established relationships with her West African relatives when she returned with her Nagô father, despite the fact that she had been born in Brazil. Indeed, when Dorothea arrived in Lagos, she met and became a close relation of her cousin, Selina Cole, who was a Saro emigrant.

[325] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, unidentified court case, 27 December 1888. In other words, according to Yoruba custom, Dorothea and Francisco's son divided the peoperty, as if they were both blood kin of the deceased.

[326] The presence of Catholicism in Lagos, especially among the Brazilian emigrant community, made the practice of godparentage commonplace for returnees in the port town.

As was the case with Francisco da Costa, African kinship structures that emerged in the context of Brazilian slavery also commingled with indigenous customs. For instance, while some returnees maintained Brazilian patterns of endogamous marriage, other emigrants incorporated both Yoruba and Brazilian cultural and religious traditions. Indeed, some male returnees took additional wives when they came to Lagos. Such was the case for an Ilesha man named Militão Antônio, who had been in a consensual union with an Ijesha woman named Maria Benedicta when they lived as freed people in Brazil.[327] Upon their return to Lagos, Militão Antônio married four other wives. In this way, ethnically endogamous marriage patterns that were prevalent in Bahia combined with the polygynous practices that characterized many Yoruba households. This was the case even among emigrants who professed to be Roman Catholics, as Militão Antônio and Maria Benedicta did. Still, female returnees found avenues through which to secure their own matrilines in these polygynous arrangements. In Maria Benedicta's case, she purchased a house of her own, outside of her husband's control.

This amalgamation of Brazilian and Yoruba practices and worldviews—and their effects on returnees' household structures and dynamics—stemmed from the transatlanticism of the emigrants themselves. These largely African-born returnees were intimately familiar with both systems. Further, for the emigrants who connected the Yoruba and Brazilian branches of their families when they settled in Lagos, their complex kinship networks reconstituted their lineages. An examination of the kinship relationships of a freed emigrant named Ojo Ladile illuminates

[327] Ilesha is the capital of the state of Ijesha in Yorubaland. However, Maria Benedicta herself made this distinction about her husband's natal origins in relation to her own when she testified in the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony. See LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Isaac B. Byass v. Obe Dawudu and Maria Benedicta alias Adekumbi*, 17 April 1900, 287.

these returnees' multilayered familial networks.[328] When Ojo Ladile returned to Lagos in the 1860s, he reconnected with his Egbado relatives who had been dispersed throughout West Africa during the Yoruba regional wars; in the colony, his natal ties commingled with the family that he had forged in Brazil.[329] An 1879 civil case from the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony outlines Ladile's relationships, revealing the importance of both Yoruba and Brazilian—as well as consanguineous and fictive—kin to these emigrants, who strategically shaped their familial networks in the local context of Lagos.

Witness testimonies reveal Ojo Ladile's trajectory from enslavement to freedom, and from his forced departure to his voluntary return; they also describe the processes of amalgamation between the trans-regional and trans-Atlantic branches of his kinship networks. In this particular case, Ladile's cousin (from his father's lineage), a Saro settler named Robert Palmer, recounted their compelling story of reunification. Palmer testified that he and Ladile had both been born in the Yoruba-speaking town of Ijanna.[330] He explained, "War came and broke the country, and the Dahomians caught me, and I was sold then rescued and taken to Sierra Leone from whence I came to Lagos." Palmer testified that his cousin, Ojo Ladile, had been captured at the same time; however, he escaped the Dahomeans and returned to their "ruined town." Yet, during the next raid on Ijanna, Ladile was enslaved once again; this time, he was shipped to Brazil.

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[328] Ojo Ladile was known as Felipe Simões Coimbra in Brazil; he also used the Anglicized version of his name, Philip Simon, in Lagos.

[329] The Egbado are a Yoruba-speaking subgroup that lives in southwestern Nigeria.

[330] Ijanna was a Yoruba-speaking town and small kingdom in the interior. It was founded by Oyo in the eighteenth century with the purpose of securing trade routes. See Kọla Fọlayan, "Ẹgbado to 1832: The Birth of a Dilemma," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, no. 1 (1967): 15–33; J.S. Eades, *The Yoruba Today* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 13.

By the time Ojo Ladile returned to West Africa in 1867, Palmer had also relocated from Freetown to Lagos. After they resettled in the port city, the two men began to rebuild their networks, which had been ruptured by war and the forced migrations that followed. They identified Ladile's "brother" named Popoola, who still lived in the interior; they also made contact with Palmer's older brother, Laside, with whom he shared the same father.[331] Laside had resided with Ojo Ladile in Ijanna, prior to his enslavement; he explained to the court that he escaped to Porto Novo when Palmer and Ladile were captured. When Ojo Ladile emigrated from Bahia, Laside recalled, "He sent to Porto Novo for me and I came down to Lagos. We were all glad to see each other, and recognized ourselves."[332] Thus, upon his return, Ladile reconnected with members of his family who, after their own displacements, had also assumed various identities. His network consisted of Yoruba relatives whom he had left behind, as well as Saro cousins; they all converged in Lagos, where they occupied different social and geographical spaces in the town.[333]

In addition to his ties to the Yoruba and Saro communities, Ojo Ladile possessed an extensive network of real and fictive kin that he had forged in Brazil. Indeed, when he left Bahia

[331] Palmer's reference that Popoola was Ojo Ladile's "brother" raises the question of blood versus fictive kinship. On the one hand, Popoola may have been Ladile's consanguineous relative; on the other hand, Palmer may have been employing an idiom of fictive kinship based on the Yoruba notion of age groups. Indeed, Yoruba individuals of the same generation often employed these idioms to emphasize social hierarchies within a larger community that was not related by blood. For a discussion of "horizontal" relationships and the age-grade organizational schema of Yoruba idioms of kinship (for both consanguineous relationships and those between friends, companions, and co-worshippers) in nineteenth-century Yorubaland, see Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba*, 55–59.

[332] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, Vol. II (1878–1880), *Estate of Phillip Simon alias Ojo Ladile deceased*, 19 and 23 June 1879, 114–17.

[333] Mann writes about Ojo Ladile in her chapter, "A Tale of Slavery and Beyond in a British Colonial Court Record: West Africa and Brazil," in *African Voices on Slavery and the Slave Trade*, eds. Alice Bellagamba, Sandra E. Greene, and Martin A. Klein (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 378–86. Ojo Ladile is also one of the subjects of her forthcoming book, *Transatlantic Lives: Slavery and Freedom in West Africa and Brazil*. Lindsay also references this case study in the context of returnee family ties; see "Brazilian Immigrants in Nineteenth-Century Lagos," 28.

in 1867, Ladile brought his wife and two young children, whose mothers remained on the other side of the Atlantic. Mann's research regarding these Brazilian-born children—who claimed that Ladile was their father when they testified in the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony—reveals that they were actually the enslaved subjects of Ladile and his wife in Bahia.[334] Thus, Ladile also forged fictive ties through his participation in the Brazilian institution of slavery; these relationships of kinship and social dependency maintained their blurry boundaries in Lagos, which is the subject of the next section.

Further, following the death of his wife in Lagos, the widower found companionship with another African-born emigrant, who returned on the same ship as the family. All of these consanguineous and fictive relations from Brazil and Yorubaland became acquainted with each other in Lagos. In this way, Ojo Ladile's familial networks extended throughout West Africa, and across the Atlantic to Brazil. Even the ocean itself was a place to forge kinship connections, as is evidenced by the consensual relationship that he developed with his former shipmate, years after their disembarkation in Lagos. When Ladile arrived in the port town, he reconstituted his relationships within the local context; he connected the consanguineous and fictive familial ties that he forged in Bahia to the Yoruba relatives with whom he reunited, in order to create an extended kinship network in Lagos.

Ojo Ladile was one of many returnees who possessed these multilayered Yoruba and Brazilian familial networks. At times, these emigrants interpreted their trans-Atlantic relationships within a Brazilian cultural framework; at other times, they viewed these familial ties—both those forged in Bahia and those which they possessed in West Africa—from the perspective of Yoruba

[334] Mann, "Court Records, Legal Narratives, and Historical Silencing in the Study of Transatlantic Slave Biographies," forthcoming, discussed in Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 39.

custom. Such was the case for a freed, Yoruba-speaking returnee named Felicidade, whose kinship network extended from West Africa to Brazil and then back to Lagos. As her complex relationships reveal, she drew from both Yoruba and Brazilian conceptualizations of kinship to extend her familial networks on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, prior to Felicidade's departure from Bahia, she sent word to family members in Lagos that she would be arriving. In November 1871, when she stepped off the ship in the burgeoning colony, she was met at the harbor by Benedicto Antônio de Brito, a member of another returnee family from Brazil. The young man escorted Felicidade to the Customs House, where he helped her retrieve the belongings that she brought from Bahia. He then took the new emigrant to the house of his father, Antônio Ariba, where she stayed until she had the funds to purchase her own property in Lagos.

Remarkably, Felicidade had known Antônio in Brazil, but she had *also* known him in West Africa, prior to their enslavement. As she established herself in Lagos, Felicidade reunited with several other individuals with whom she and Antônio had also been acquainted, both before their initial captures and then in Brazil; one of these relations explained in an 1879 courtroom testimony that they were all "of the same tribe" within Yorubaland. Interestingly, not all of these emigrants had been enslaved in the same location in Brazil. While Felicidade resided in Bahia, Antônio lived in Pernambuco, approximately eight hundred kilometers away. This suggests that enslaved and freed Africans communicated and maintained connections with members of their natal Yoruba networks on regional and trans-Atlantic scales, not only once they returned to Lagos, but also while they lived as enslaved and then freed people in Brazil.[335]

Further, the language used by these returnees reveals that both blood and fictive familial ties continued to shape Africans' networks on both sides of the Atlantic. Indeed, in the same 1879

[335] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Francisco Augustino v. Antonio Ariba*, 18 February 1879, 64–70.

civil case, these emigrants repeatedly employed idioms of kinship to express their ethnic affiliations. Antônio and the other members of his household identified Felicidade as his "sister." In fact, it is unclear whether the woman was actually Antônio Ariba's sister, or whether he referred to her as such because they were part of the same age group, or generation, within their ethnic and social network; Antônio may have invoked idioms of kinship to describe their equal status in society. In addition, when Felicidade died in 1873, Antônio settled her debts and organized her burial, both of which were considered to be familial duties according to Yoruba custom. In this way, Antônio's identification of Felicidade as his "sister" in multiple Atlantic locales reveals the importance of Yoruba notions of blood and fictive kinship to emigrants' cultivation of familial networks; in this way, Yoruba categories and idioms of kinship continued to define Africans' relationships when they lived in Brazil, and then also when they returned to Lagos.

The examples of Ojo Ladile and Felicidade illuminate the complex kinship networks of the African-born emigrants who resided in Lagos. After they resettled in the West African port town, these freed African returnees often maintained their connections to the family members that they left in Brazil; they also continued to have relationships with their consanguineous and fictive relations who had accompanied them to the port town. Further, they extended their relational networks through marriages to members of both the "Brazilian" community in Lagos and the indigenous Yoruba-speaking population. Finally, these returnees also reengaged with the relatives from whom they had been separated during their initial enslavements. Thus, Lagos became a unique node on the Atlantic circuit for the reunification and reconstitution of kinship networks among African and African-descended people. For the freed Africans who returned from Brazil, this West African port town served as a space in which emigrants' familial ties—based on regional roots—converged with kinship relations forged vis-à-vis Atlantic routes.

This diversity and flexibility presented emigrants with multiple identity possibilities and idiomatic frameworks with which to forge spaces of social mobility in Lagos. In the case of female emigrants, many women maintained and expanded their matrifocal households, which were established in the context of Brazilian slavery. In many ways, these households stood in contrast to Yoruba patrilineal kinship structures. Indeed, among the Yoruba, a lineage was defined under a male elder, and his male offspring led polygynous households (ideally, depending on their levels of wealth).[336] However, women still shaped traditional Yoruba lineages and households in significant ways. Apter identifies that women, as mothers, served as "the nodal points through which lineage segmentation occur[ed]…through their very position as outsiders who reproduce the lineage itself."[337] Further, polygynous compounds were, arguably, groupings of matrifocal households, since Yoruba co-wives were responsible for providing for their own children. Thus, many women worked as traders, a practice that mirrored their occupations as *ganhadeiras* in Salvador. Apter points out, "Successful market women could become far wealthier and more influential than their husbands…undermining male authority in the household, and luring sons away from their patrilines with promises of maternal inheritance."[338]

These threats to patrilineal authority would have been especially relevant in the mid-nineteenth century, with the shift to the trade in palm products. Traditionally, palm oil and palm

[336] The number of polygynous households increased in nineteenth-century Yorubaland, as labor demands for the commercial production of agricultural products increased. A large body of literature exists about Yoruba kinship structures. It includes: William B. Schwab, "Kinship and Lineage among the Yoruba," *Africa* 25, no. 4 (1955): 352–74; Lloyd, "Agnatic and Cognatic Descent Among the Yoruba," *Man* 1, no. 4 (1966): 484–500. Further, in *Fathers Work for Their Sons*, Berry offers an analysis of more contemporary translations of Yoruba understandings of kinship.

[337] Apter, "The Blood of Mothers: Women, Money, and Markets in Yoruba-Atlantic Perspective," *The Journal of African American History* 98, no. 1 (2013): 76.

[338] Apter, 76.

kernel preparation were considered women's work. Though men became more involved as the "legitimate" commerce gained traction, women's prior experience likely placed them at an advantage at first; they were able to capitalize on the new economic opportunities that arose during this period.[339] Yet, as Yoruba women gained financial independence, male authorities deployed practical and ritual institutions as strategies of social control.[340] Further, women theoretically gained new legal avenues through which to redefine their relationships and societal positions in the town after the British established their presence in Lagos in the 1850s. Yet, British influence also imposed new forms of dependence. In Mann's study of marriage among Lagosian elites, she finds that Victorian ideals of virtue—which were embodied within the institution of Christian marriage—promoted women's dependence on their husbands. On the one hand, female Christian elites were expected to defer to their husbands and forego their roles as petty street traders. On the other hand, men were given legal entitlement to control their wives through accusations of infidelity; husbands also found ways to sidestep their wives' rights to property. It was not until around the turn of the century that these women began to actively seek to regain their economic autonomy. As Mann explains, "Ironically, the emphasis in Christian marriage on a close companionate relationship and a novel division of labor produced antagonisms that drove spouses apart and cast them back upon the Yoruba tradition of separate conjugal relationships and roles."[341]

These assertions of female autonomy and women's threats to patrilineal authority were challenged much earlier by "Brazilian" emigrant women, many of whom maintained the matrifocal households that they had established in Bahia. As previously discussed, African-born women who

[339] Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 194–95; Shields, "Palm Oil and Power," 73–74.

[340] Shields discusses the role of the Oro and Egungun cults in subjugating women and enslaved people in nineteenth-century Yorubaland; see "Palm Oil and Power," Chapter 5.

[341] Mann, *Marrying Well*, 118.

returned from Brazil continued to work independently as traders in Lagos; some also ensured their financial security by purchasing property. In fact, the partial records of Dosunmu's land grants from 1858 to 1860 suggest that independent female emigrants bought more property than the African women who comprised the Christian elite; whereas only one Saro woman was granted land during this period, four female members of the "Brazilian" community accrued property.[342] As Mann explains, "Only women who themselves headed households ordinarily had the opportunity to apply for crown grants in their own names."[343] Thus, these women likely did not enter into relationships of dependency through marriage at all; rather, they asserted themselves as household heads in Lagos.

Archival records from both Bahia and Lagos illuminate the structure of female-headed households among the freed emigrant community; they also shed light on the ways these households functioned in Lagos on both familial and societal levels. As discussed in Chapter 2, the majority of the Brazilian-born women and children who emigrated to West Africa did so with African-born women; while many of these *crioulas* traveled with their African mothers, they also made the voyage with aunts, godmothers, and guardians. Regardless of relation, this pattern of female-female migration mirrored the matrifocal household structures that were prominent in Brazil. In certain cases, these female-female consanguineous and fictive kinship networks functioned to pass wealth between women. For instance, on 27 November 1893, a freed woman named Esperança, who was known as Oshun in Lagos, died at her residence on Tokunboh Street. In her will, she requested that her friends—all of whom were Yoruba-speaking returnees—sell her house, in order to pay for her funeral, testamentary expenses, and debts; Esperança detailed that

[342] Partial records of Dosunmu's Land Grants (24 March 1858–12 June 1860), which Dosunmu granted between 1853 and 1861. I am grateful to Kristin Mann for generously sharing these records with me.

[343] Mann, "Women, Landed Property, and the Accumulation of Wealth," 692–93.

any additional money should be given to her goddaughter, Anastacia (known as Adebambi in Lagos), who identified herself in court as Esperança's niece.[344] In this way, Esperança ensured that her fictive kin became her inheritor.

These female-run, multigenerational, and extended households also shaped many Afro-Brazilian women's social and commercial networks in Lagos. Many Brazilian-born daughters remained with their African mothers until they married, or until their mothers died. For example, in one extended female household, an African-born returnee named Maria da Patrosina made enough money as a laundress to own her own house on Bamgboshe Street, in the heart of the Brazilian Quarter. She lived there with her four grown daughters, as well as an elderly emigrant named Maria Francisca.[345] In another instance, a female returnee named Balbina da Conceição lived in her mother's residence at Oke Popo. Balbina, who was a laundress, had an eighteen-year-old daughter named Isabella Agostinha, who also resided in the house. In an 1889 courtroom testimony, Balbina noted, "My daughter works for me and is fed and clothed by me."[346] Her statement underscores the ways in which female-headed households served as alternative economic and social spheres for the African- and Brazilian-born women who emigrated to the burgeoning colony.

Finally, matrifocal households shaped inheritance patterns for the Brazilian-born youths who grew up in Lagos. The establishment of multigenerational, female-led emigrant households recentered both male and female descendants into maternal kinship lines (*ọmọìyá*) when they

[344] LSHC, Civil Record Book, *File for Estate of Esperança alias Oshun*, 1894, 382.

[345] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Maria da Patrosina v. Johannes Schuback and Sons*, 19 March 1895, 53.

[346] LSHC, JNCC–Criminal, *Regina v. Samuel alias Owolewa*, 3–5 April 1889, 229–51.

settled in the West African town.[347] These matrilines also had rhizomes that connected various communities of emigrants within the colony, creating deep female-female kinship structures in Lagos. For instance, in approximately 1866, a woman named Hannah Justina returned to Lagos with her three children, Maria Francesca (known as Adedoyin in Lagos), Antônio Emilio da Costa, and Rosa Munis.[348] Hannah Justina and her mother, an Owe woman named Helena Theresa (known as Olupogunu in Lagos), had been enslaved in Brazil.[349] Once they arrived in Lagos, Hannah Justina and her children reconnected with Olupogunu's *ọmọìyá*—or her sister by the same mother—within a week of their arrival (Figure 4.2). This aunt, Helena Abreo Roach, had been enslaved in both Brazil and Cuba, but she had accrued a large amount of property in Lagos when she returned.[350] After the family reunited, Hannah Justina's three children lived with their aunt until they reached adulthood. Following Helena Roach's death, Hannah Justina and her kin took Catholic Church officials to court over rights to their aunt's house. The judge ruled in in their favor, and this extended consanguineal family inherited Helena Roach's landed property.

This ruling was significant for two reasons. First, it represents a remarkable inversion of power, in which a formerly enslaved woman won rights to property against the powerful, transnational institution of the Catholic Church. Second, this ruling represents a transposition of

[347] *Ọmọìyá* is a Yoruba term used to describe the children who are born to the same mother. This is an important designation for polygynous households, since it is the most specific unit of kinship. This status as an *ọmọìyá* has implications for inheritance and lineage titles, as this chapter will discuss.

[348] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Isodore Klaus v. Hannah Justina, Rosa Munis, and Antonio da Costa* (Rayner), 18 July 1901.

[349] The Owe were a Yoruba subgroup from northeastern Yorubaland; see Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba*, 50; Lloyd, "The Traditional Political System of the Yoruba," *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 10, no. 4 (1954): 368–70; Ade Obayemi, "The Sokoto Jihad and the 'O-Kun' Yoruba: A Review," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 9, no. 2 (1978): 61–87.

[350] Helena Abreu Roach owned one piece of undeveloped land and two houses: one on Ajele Street, and one on Odunlami Street. In both houses, she rented rooms to family members and others.

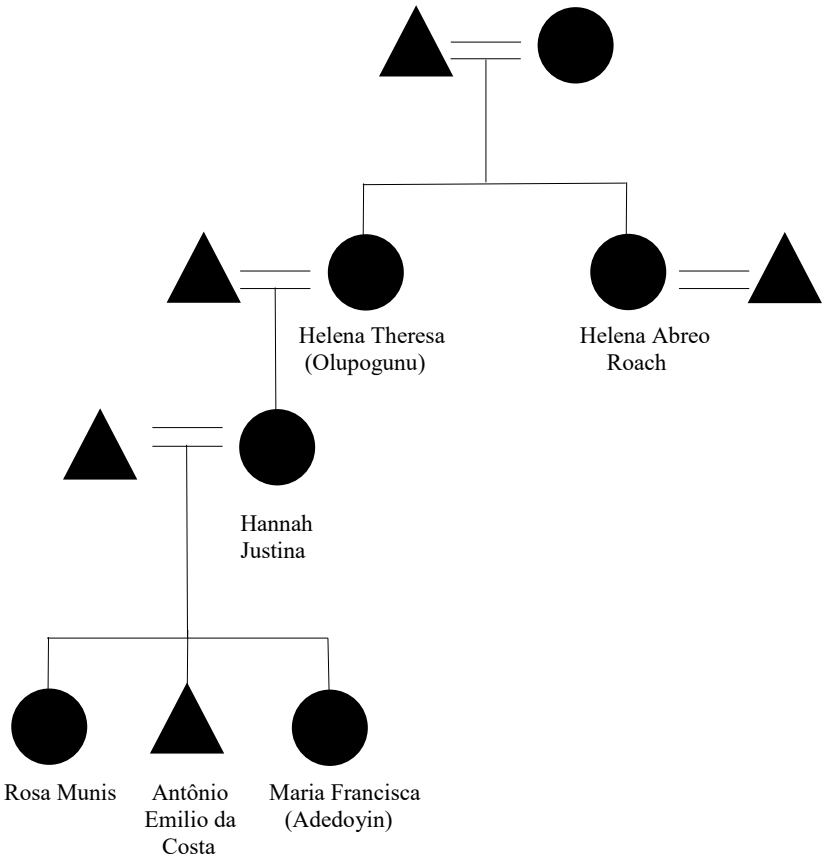

Figure 4.2. Extended kin of Helena Abreo Roach

gendered Yoruba customs of inheritance into matrilineal structures of descent. Thus, Hannah Justina's rights to Helena Roach's house indicate another inversion of power that was sanctioned in colonial court. Indeed, Yoruba custom dictates that individuals are categorized according to their membership in a patrilineage or a cognatic descent group; secondarily, they are also placed within a matriline, characterized by birth to a common mother. When a male household head dies, his eldest son succeeds him, assuming his status and particular rights in his father's house (which becomes a family house after his father's death). However, if a male household head dies before his children reach adulthood—or if he is childless, as was Helena Roach—the status of the household head goes to his junior brother in his matriline, based on their births to the same

mother.[351] By invoking her mother's status as Helena Roach's *ọmọìyá,* or her sister by a shared mother, Hannah Justina strategically laid claim to the property through an inversion of patrilineal customs of inheritance, based on matrilineal categories of descent. In this way, Hannah Justina reconstituted traditional Yoruba understandings of kinship and inheritance within the framework of their trans-Atlantic, multigenerational, and matrifocal household; further, she guaranteed that wealth would be passed to both her male and female children—as Helena Roach's collateral kin—through their matriline.

As the case of Helena Abreo Roach's household shows, through their constructions of matrifocal households and their defense of these kinship structures in British court, female emigrants presented new challenges to patrilineal authority in Lagos, as the next section will further demonstrate. Thus, the remainder of this chapter examines the ways in which returnees employed both Brazilian and Yoruba understandings and iterations of the household, in order to forge divergent spaces of wealth accumulation, inheritance, and socioeconomic mobility in the colony.

The Continuing Relevance of Atlantic Slavery to Kinship Networks and Social Mobility in Lagos: Microhistorical Insights

With the variable ideologies of blood and fictive filiation in mind, it is possible to examine emigrants' parallel understandings of kinship. As follows, this section focuses on the Atlantic dimensions of kinship in two returnee households, in order to illuminate the complex and variant roles of blood and fictive kinship for returnees. I contend that returnees' employment of parallel Yoruba and Brazilian structures of kinship shaped their projects of self-fashioning, notions of

[351] Lloyd, "Some Notes on the Yoruba Rules of Succession and on 'Family Property,'" *Journal of African Law* 3, no. 1 (1959): 7–32.

freedom, and attempts to maximize their opportunities for economic and social mobility and their associated forms of capital in Lagos.

In particular, these case studies illuminate the conditions under which the blurry line between consanguineous and fictive bonds became the most significant factor in inheritance disputes in the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony. In these debates, emigrants had to reconcile their Yoruba and Brazilian understandings of familial relationships with British notions of "legitimate" kinship and its role in colonial authority. In this way, a trans-Atlantic analysis of returnee households—as political, social, and relational units—allows for an investigation of the intersections between familial ties, slavery, migration, land ownership, gender, and belonging among resettled Africans and their descendants.

Finally, these case studies demonstrate the particular importance of parallel kinship structures to women and subordinate dependents. I argue that these groups employed their interpretations of matrifocal households and kinship relationships derived from slavery to accrue wealth through fictive matrilines and assertions of freedom. Thus, the relationship between kinship and slavery in Brazil did not disappear for Afro-Brazilian returnees under the institutions and ideologies of the British colony; rather, this connection was crucial for these liberated African emigrants and their descendants as they negotiated their positions among the Brazilian, Yoruba, and British communities in Lagos.

The Household of Bonifácio Moreira: Trans-Atlantic Marriage, Kinship and Slavery on Trial in Lagos

On 19 November 1869, a liberated African by the name of Bonifácio Moreira went to the police station in Salvador to apply for a passport. On the application record, the police noted that he wished to bring his wife, Constança Maria do Rosário, also a freed African. In addition,

Bonifácio planned to travel with three *crioulo* youths. In order to prove their legitimacy as emancipated people, he presented the police with manumission records for everyone in his party.[352] By the time the family returned to West Africa in 1869, Bonifácio was more than sixty years old. Although he had likely spent a large portion of his life as an enslaved and then a freed person in Brazil, he now wished to retire to the West African region of his birth with the members of the household that he forged in Bahia.

By cross-referencing names in the ABRD, it is possible to locate Bonifácio in Lagos, where he, his wife, and one of these *crioulo* children appear in an 1882 Judge's Notebook of Civil Cases from the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony. Witness testimonies piece together the remainder of Bonifácio's life, following his repatriation to Lagos. After returning in 1869, the aging man bought a house, where he lived with Constança and the three *crioulo* children with whom he traversed the Atlantic. Over the next decade, Bonifácio renounced Catholicism; he and Constança were remarried in the mosque, where he also married two other Yoruba wives. Around 1878, Constança became ill. Bonifácio sold all of his property except for his house, in order to pay for his wife's passage to Pernambuco, Brazil, where she still had relatives who planned to care for her.[353] On 6 November 1880, while Constança was in Pernambuco, Bonifácio died. Having sold everything—even his furniture—to pay for his wife's trip across the Atlantic, he died with next to nothing. His eldest *crioulo* child, Manoel Bonifácio Moreira, cared for him before his death;

[352] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1868–1870), maço 5902, 19 November 1869.

[353] I was able to locate Constança Maria do Rosário in shipping records from Salvador; she voyaged to Pernambuco on 14 January 1880. Passenger lists indicate that she traveled on business, which suggests that perhaps she was not sick, as she had claimed in her testimony. Constança may have used illness as a reason to leave her marriage and return to her kin across the Atlantic; specifically, she had a son who lived in Pernambuco. This raises questions about whether Constança had her own trans-Atlantic matrifocal network that she intended to maintain, even though she returned to Lagos with her husband. APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1879–1881), maço 5907, 12 January 1880; Republicano, Livro 53, Saídas dos passageiros (1877, Nov–1881, Dez), Vapor, *Ceará*, Portos do Norte, 14 January 1880.

Manoel also paid for Bonifácio's Muslim funeral, and the repairs on his only remaining piece of property, his house. After Bonifácio died, Manoel sent a letter to Constança in Pernambuco to inform her of her husband's demise, at which point she returned to Lagos.

The 1882 court case, then, was part of a civil dispute between Manoel and Constança over Bonifácio's house, its repairs, and his funeral expenses. The testimonies given by the surviving members of Bonifácio's household reveal the important connections between Atlantic slavery and kinship for African and African-descended emigrants as they navigated the local landscape of Lagos. In the battle over property and expenses that ensued upon Constança's return, the two parties strategically invoked local Yoruba and Muslim customs, Brazilian kinship structures, and colonial law.

Indeed, when Constança heard of her husband's death, she sailed for Lagos to gain possession of the house. In order to assert her own rights to the property in the British courtroom, the widow claimed that Manoel was not, in fact, Bonifácio's son; rather, her courtroom description depicts the young man as a *cria*, or an enslaved or freed child born in a proprietor's house. In her testimony, Constança recounted that she and her husband had returned with Manoel, his brother, and his sister. She explained, "[We] came over together from Bahia to Lagos. At that time I was my husband's only wife….[The] Plaintiff's [Manoel's] mother is Calorinda. She has never been in Lagos. Calorinda lived with us until we came to Lagos, and she bore the plaintiff and other children in our house, and she only lately redeemed herself. […] Calorinda was never married to my husband. Then we only allowed one wife in Bahia. I have no children living to my husband. My husband has no children living to his other Lagos wives." Constança continued, "Plaintiff [Manoel] is not my husband's son. Calorinda had 10 children in Bahia in our house. Plaintiff was the eldest of these 10 children. Plaintiff was conceived in our house. […] I swear that my husband

had nothing to do with the conception of the plaintiff. The 10 children had three fathers but none of them were my husband's. These 10 children had been born before we came to Lagos. […] Plaintiff has been as our son since he was baptized. We used to call plaintiff our first-born son."[354]

In his counter-testimony, Manoel acknowledged that Constança was not his mother. However, he adamantly insisted that Bonifácio was his biological father. Despite the fact that Manoel had been born in Brazil, he was well-versed in both local customs and colonial law. In essence, his strategy for maintaining control of Bonifácio's house was to legitimize his position as the eldest son and rightful heir according to Yoruba custom, while discrediting Constança's marriage to his father according to British statutes. Manoel mentioned in court that he first tried to utilize indigenous law; he stated that he had gone to local Yoruba elders at the start of his conflict with Constança, who granted him the land as Bonifácio's eldest and only surviving son. He claimed that Constança had ignored the elders' ruling; she strategically filed the case with the colonial police instead. Further, Manoel testified that he paid for his father's expenses after his death. In this way, he invoked Yoruba custom, in which wives were supposed to pay the debts left by their husbands; by suggesting that Constança did not do her duty and pay the expenses incurred in Bonifácio's death, Manoel cast doubt about her status as a wife.[355].

When testifying in the Supreme Court, both Constança and Manoel also asserted their own interpretations of colonial marriage and inheritance laws. As Mann has pointed out, "Spouses did not inherit from one another, according to Yoruba custom. However, colonial marriage ordinances gave couples who married in church rights to each other's real and personal property; Christian

[354] As Nishida points out, "Brazilian-born slaves also had the advantage of being manumitted by their owners out of feelings of paternalism and affection. Some newborn and child slaves were baptized as *forros* [freed people] to express the owner's gratitude to the slave mother." Constança may have been referencing these processes; see "Manumission and Ethnicity," 386.

[355] Mann, "A Tale of Slavery and Beyond in a British Colonial Court Record," 383.

wives sometimes inherited land and houses from their husbands."[356] On the one hand, Constança covered her bases; her testimony highlighted her *two* legal marriages—a Catholic ceremony in Brazil and a Muslim ceremony in Lagos—in order to increase her chances of a favorable judgment. On the other hand, Manoel attempted to delegitimize the sanctity of Constança's marriage, claiming that Constança and Bonifácio had split prior to his death. He explained, "When the defendant left Lagos for Bahia she had a row with my father. […] My father's other two wives had also left him before his death."

Thus, both parties invoked kinship—in both local and trans-Atlantic contexts—to assert their claims to Bonifácio's property in Lagos. Ultimately, the assessors of the Supreme Court ruled that "the house be divided between the parties." Evidence from the APEB reveals that Constança made another trip from Salvador to Pernambuco on 14 July 1883, and then went to Rio de Janeiro three weeks later; her appearance on these passenger lists indicates that, without any blood kin in the burgeoning colony, she may not have seen any reason to stay in Lagos after the conclusion of the court case (and perhaps she would never have returned in 1882 if Bonifácio had not died).[357]

Passport registries from the Bahian archives also provide no firm conclusion regarding the family's household structure; in Bonifácio's request to return to Lagos, the three *crioulos* are described as *beneficiados*, or "beneficiaries." This term does not appear in any of the thousands of other passport requests that I sifted through in the state archives of Bahia, and it is a generic category of relation. However, by suggesting that Manoel was a *cria*, or a child born in Bonifácio's household to an enslaved woman, Constança drew on fictive kinship structures from the Brazilian context of slavery. While Manoel would have been a viable successor with this subordinate

[356] Mann, "Women, Landed Property, and the Accumulation of Wealth," 693.

[357] APEB, Republicano, Livro 53, Saídas dos passageiros (1877, Nov–1881, Dez), 4 July 1883, Vapor, *Bahia*, Portos do Norte; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1881–1885), maço 5909, 11 August 1883.

dependent status in Brazil, Constança invoked this social category in Lagos in an attempt to falsify his claim to inheritance under British colonial law.

In this way, the life and death of Bonifácio Moreira illuminates the intersections between Brazilian idioms of kinship, trans-Atlantic slavery, British law, and Yoruba custom for returnees as they attempted to negotiate their rights in Lagos during the second half of the nineteenth century. Most importantly, Bonifácio's story of multigenerational emigration illustrates that, despite these returnees' reengagement with Yoruba networks and their understandings of British legislation and institutions, the legacy of Atlantic slavery still remained an important aspect of their identities and their capacities for social mobility in Lagos.

Maria Florinda alias Ewushu: Parallel Categories of Brazilian and Yoruba Slavery and Kinship in a Matrifocal Returnee Household

In 1843, Maria Florinda emigrated from Brazil to Lagos with her husband, Antônio Mario, and a young child, Maria Mariquinha. As an enslaved woman and then a master in both Brazil and West Africa, much of Maria Florinda's identity was defined by slavery. Indeed, Ewushu—as Maria Florinda was named at birth in the Egba town of Imo—was torn from her family during the Yoruba wars.[358] While little is known about her actual capture, primary evidence reveals that she fled from Imo to Abeokuta; she was probably taken as a slave to the port of Onim in 1829.[359] Once at the coast, Ewushu forcibly boarded a slave ship bound for Brazil.

[358] Imo is a Yoruba-speaking town in Egba territory.

[359] Further research is necessary to be certain of the date and port of embarkation for Ewushu's trans-Atlantic voyage into slavery. However, there are two clues that point to her departure occurring in Onim in 1829. First, as S.O. Biobaku points out, the Ijebu slave-hunting raids in Egba territory reached the towns of Igbore, Imo, and Igbein around 1828 or early 1829, where counter-offensives were unsuccessful; the vulnerable populations of Imo would have been captured by the Ijebu around this date and sold at the port of Onim. However, those Egbas who escaped the raids that plagued the territory between 1823 and 1829 took refuge in farming village in the southwestern corner of Egbaland, near Olumo rock; this new town

Ewushu's path from enslavement to freedom across the Atlantic remains obscured; however, she obtained manumission in a relatively short period of time.[360] As a *liberta* in Brazil, Ewushu purchased an enslaved woman, who bore a child in her home and then died seven days later. It was this child—named Maria Mariquinha—who accompanied Ewushu when she repatriated to West Africa. Ewushu either felt familial affection toward this young girl, or she understood that the child could serve as "wealth in people" in Lagos. Either way, it is clear that Ewushu returned to West Africa after accruing significant capital in Brazil. Soon after she landed in Lagos in 1843, Ewushu built a house and she purchased four enslaved people.[361] Ewushu was

became known as Abeokuta, meaning "under the rock." Witness testimony from an 1892 civil case in Lagos confirms Ewushu's presence at Abeokuta with her sister, prior to both of them being captured. This trajectory and timeline is further supported by tracing the fragmented history of Ewushu's sister, Ewushi, who was likely enslaved at the same time. As will be discussed, the British Navy intercepted the ship carrying Ewushi and rerouted the vessel to Sierra Leone. Thus, it is possible to trace Ewushi in the *Voyages* database, where two entries for females named "Awooshee" appear. While it is unclear which "Awooshee" is Ewushu's sister, both entries are for young girls (eight and fifteen years old, respectively) being carried on vessels bound for Havana and Brazil, respectively; the two ships left from Onim in early 1829 and disembarked in Freetown; see *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, Voyage ID 3016, ID 15955; Voyage ID 2396, ID 16844, https://slavevoyages.org. See also Biobaku, "An Historical Sketch of Egba Traditional Authorities," *Africa: The Journal of the International African Institute* 22, no. 1 (1952): 42–43; Ojo, "Amazing Struggle: Dasalu, Global Yoruba Networks, and the Fight Against Slavery, 1851–1856," *Atlantic Studies* 12, no. 1 (2015): 6–7.

[360] If Ewushu was, in fact, sent to Brazil as a slave in 1829 and she returned to Lagos in 1843, she gained manumission in a maximum of fourteen years.

[361] Ewushu's emigration to West Africa during the 1840s was unusual. As Castillo points out, most of the freed Africans who left Brazil and crossed the Atlantic during this decade were men involved in the slave trade. In addition, significantly fewer *libertos* received passports during the 1840s than in the late 1830s. Finally, Castillo contends that, while freed Africans made up more than half of all travelers to Africa between 1835 and 1837, they comprised less than 20 percent of travelers in the 1840s. It was also unusual that Ewushu was able to buy a piece of land. In 1843, Ewushu would have returned to a small settlement of "Brazilians" in Lagos, which was established around 1840. As Law points out, King Kosoko (1845–1851) plundered this community during his reign, until around 1847 when he sent a senior chief, Oshodi Tapa, to Brazil to assure prospective emigrants that they would be safe in Lagos. Most of the returnees in the port town by 1843 were self-emancipated Africans who had come from Brazil; specifically, the majority were originally from Yoruba-speaking subgroups, and a large proportion of them were Egba, like Ewushu. As Mann points out, when Brazilian emigrants received land grants from the king (and later from the colonial government), they began to privatize and commercialize their property, a practice that differed from customary, collective land tenure. While very few women acquired property independently of male household heads, courtroom testimony from Ewushu's relatives reveals that she did, in fact, have a land

also deeply connected to the "Brazilian" community in Lagos; she lived among other emigrants on Bamgboshe Street, and she also arranged for Maria Mariquinha to live with three different male emigrants over the course of her lifetime.[362]

Despite the fact that Ewushu possessed "wealth in people" and property based on her time in Brazil, she had not forgotten about her Imo identity or the natal relations from whom she was taken decades earlier. When she arrived in the West African port town, Ewushu again began to go by her Yoruba name among her close contacts, while continuing to employ her Portuguese name for official purposes.[363] She also reconnected with some of her consanguineous relatives from Imo. This story of reunification illuminates the ways in which Ewushu's Egba origins and her experiences as an enslaved person in Brazil continued to shape her identity throughout her lifetime. Ten years after Ewushu arrived in Lagos, she met her sister, Ewushi, who had also been enslaved.[364] Ewushu's fate differed from that of her sister; the British Navy's Anti-Slavery Squadron had intercepted the ship carrying Ewushi, and she was resettled in Sierra Leone.

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grant under her name. Since Ewushu's name does not appear in the partial records that remain of Dosunmu's land grants given between 1853–61, it is possible that she was one of the few individuals who received land, either from Kosoko or from Dosunmu early in his reign, despite the fact that she was a woman. See Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 33–34; Law, "Yoruba Liberated Slaves Who Returned to West Africa," 355–56; Mann, "Women, Landed Property, and the Accumulation of Wealth," 692–93.

[362] Maria Mariquinha never actually married any of these men; she spent her lifetime being a social dependent, attached to various households.

[363] Ewushu's strategic use of her various names illustrates the multiple ways that she understood and fashioned herself in the burgeoning colony. Olatunji Ojo emphasizes that returnees' use of different names in different situations "reflect[s] the diversity of…[their] experiences in slavery, shifting identities, and the complexities of the Yoruba factor in the Atlantic slave trade." See "Amazing Struggle," 5.

[364] According to witness testimony from an 1892 civil case in the Supreme Court of Lagos Colony, they were sisters by the same father, Osholufe; see LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Maria Mariquinha v. David Williams*, 1 March 1892, 434–41.

In 1853, Ewushi returned to Lagos with her husband and her son, David Williams; her son was present when the two sisters reunited for the first time in almost a quarter of a century. In an 1892 courtroom testimony, Williams recounted the moment, stating, "I remember the meeting between my mother [Ewushi] and [my aunt] Ewushu. They embraced and wept together. They related the stories of the troubles they had passed through in captivity. I saw Ewushu constantly after that."[365] Williams' testimony illuminates the ways that the trauma of enslavement and separation from kin continued to impact Ewushu and others who returned to Lagos. It also sheds light on the important role that Yoruba and Brazilian blood and fictive relations played in the lives of formerly enslaved emigrants in Lagos. Indeed, from the time of the sisters' reunion in 1853 until Ewushi's death ten years later, they saw each other often. Ewushi's children also continued to visit their aunt, and Williams even rebuilt Ewushu's house after it burned in the 1877 Hotonu Fire.[366] Yet, despite her reestablished connections with her blood relatives, Ewushu did not abandon the fictive kinship ties that she established in Brazil, as can be seen in her lifelong relationship with Maria Mariquinha, her formerly enslaved dependent who became her kin in Lagos (Figure 4.3).

In this way, Ewushu's life had been characterized by a series of remarkable accomplishments that illuminate her social and geographical mobility and her trans-Atlantic networks; after being separated from her Egba family and enslaved across the Atlantic, Ewushu bought her freedom, emigrated to Lagos, reunited with her Imo relatives, and accrued wealth in

[365] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Maria Mariquinha v. David Williams*, February 9, 1892, 386–88. Interestingly, Ewushi and her family lived in Olowogbowo, a neighborhood in the southeastern corner of Lagos Island that was occupied by Sierra Leonean emigrants. Ewushu, on the other hand, lived on Bamgboshe Street in the Brazilian Quarter. In this way, the lasting legacy of enslavement and displacement on emigrants' notions of self and their social networks in Lagos is spatially represented in the disparate locations of the sisters' properties. Further, the movement of Ewushu and Ewushi between the two quarters illustrates the ways that kinship muddled segregated boundaries in the colony.

[366] In January 1877, a large fire, spread by Harmattan winds, burned over one-third of Lagos' buildings, including more than one-thousand houses; see Lindsay, *Atlantic Bonds*, 171.

land and people as both a *liberta* in Brazil and as a female returnee in West Africa. Following her return, Ewushu lived as an independent woman for many years; she procured her own house on Bamgboshe Street, where she resided with Maria Mariquinha, her enslaved dependents, and their wives. Further, she maintained a steady profit from tenants living in her compound and from her farm at Ebute Metta.[367]

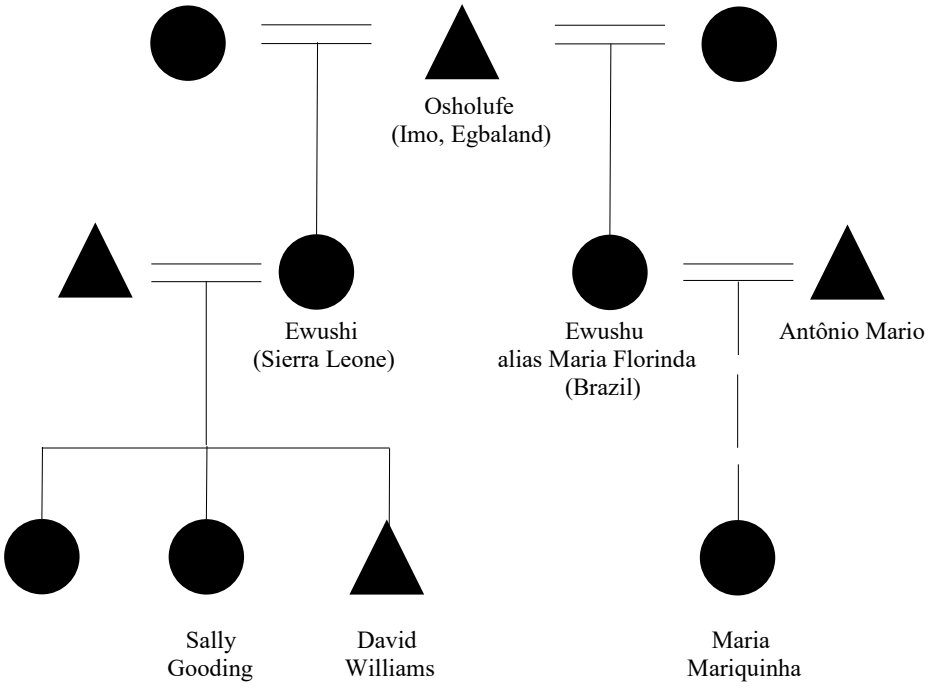

Figure 4.3. Extended kin of Ewushu alias Maria Florinda

Yet, in a devastating turn of events, Ewushu's compound was robbed in 1869. This incident forced her to become a trader on the streets of Lagos to support her household. Ewushu's lack of

[367] Owning and renting property was an important aspect of accruing wealth and political power in Lagos during the period. A rental market developed in the second half of the nineteenth century, and landowners rented plots or houses within their compounds to Europeans and wealthy Africans. Even for non-elites, Mann explains, "Persons who owned but a single modest house could make much smaller sums by renting the whole or part of it to less affluent tenants"; see "Women, Landed Property, and the Accumulation of Wealth," 695. See also Sandra T. Barnes, *Patrons and Power: Creating a Political Community in Metropolitan Lagos* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1986), 47–96.

capital may have also motivated her to manumit the enslaved women in her possession; all of them purchased their freedom around this time.[368] Gradually, Ewushu became more and more destitute. Both Maria Mariquinha and David Williams gave the elderly woman money and goods to sustain her toward the end of her life. By the time Ewushu fell ill in July of 1891, she had so little income that she attempted to sell a portion of her land to an official from the Church Missionary Society; in preparation for her death, Ewushu needed the money from this transaction to pay for her funeral. In her final days, the elderly woman was unable to speak; on 11 November 1891, Ewushu died in her home, after returning to Lagos nearly fifty years earlier. Maria Mariquinha recounted that, at the time of Ewushu's death, "the big house [was] a ruin."[369]

On the day Ewushu died, her various blood and fictive relations surrounded her bedside. On the one hand, their presence illuminates the importance of kinship ties from both sides of the Atlantic to emigrants like Ewushu. However, in her death, the muddled bonds that emerged out of slavery and trans-Atlantic migration created tensions among the relations that she left behind. A series of civil suits between those who claimed to be Ewushu's real and fictive kin tell of the freed woman's fate, and demonstrate the impact of these emigrants' trans-Atlantic kinship networks on their lives and legacies in colonial Lagos. In January 1892, soon after Ewushu's death, Maria Mariquinha asked the British colonial court to grant her administration of Ewushu's personal estate

[368] Despite the fact that Ewushu allowed the enslaved women in her possession to buy their freedom after the robbery, she maintained ownership over the enslaved men in her household. At this point, she relocated these men to her farm at Ebute Metta (she traded the agricultural goods produced on her land). This decision to move the men to the farm may have been a strategy with which Ewushu attempted to protect her remaining possessions during a time when land was becoming an increasingly scarce resource. This scarcity grew out of changes in land tenure philosophy and praxis during the early colonial period; Mann explains, "As the value of land increased and competition for it grew, landowners sometimes deliberately placed slaves or strangers on property they could not occupy themselves to prevent others from encroaching on it." See *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 237.

[369] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *David Williams Heir at Law of Maria Florinda alias Eurishu [sic] deceased v. Maria Mariquinha, Sumonu and Giwa*, 1 March 1892, 434–41.

"as the adopted daughter and next of kin."[370] The defendant, David Williams, also purported to be Ewushu's rightful heir as her nephew. Over the next three months, categories of kinship—based on Brazilian slavery, Yoruba tradition, and British law—became the basis of the inheritance debate.

For Williams and Maria Mariquinha, the dispute boiled down to the importance of blood in notions of kinship. Indeed, in their testimonies, both parties claimed to have fulfilled the successive obligations expected of them under Yoruba custom: the plaintiff and the defendant both asserted that they provided Ewushu with financial assistance during her years of hardship, they made regular visits to greet her, and they performed familial duties during her illness and at the time of her death.[371] Both parties also stated that the other had a history of quarrelling with Ewushu, in order to suggest that estranged relations with the deceased should be considered by the court.[372]

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[370] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Maria Mariquinha v. David Williams*, 9 February 1892, 386–88. According to Yoruba tradition, final rites took place forty days after death. Allocation of property did not occur until this period concluded. The January civil suit seems to fit with this time frame, suggesting that Ewushu's blood and fictive kin followed Yoruba customary law when filing their claims to her inheritance.

[371] Maria Mariquinha claimed that she sat with Ewushu for the twelve days leading up to her death, and that her own illness prevented her from helping to wash the body. Ewushu's niece and nephew gave statements that contradicted the plaintiff's testimony. Williams argued that, when he and his sister arrived, Maria Mariquinha said that she had purposefully left the body; he stated, "Plaintiff said the body was in the same position as at the time of death and they would not touch it till we who were the owners of the dead came. My sisters then laid her out." In Yoruba tradition, when someone dies, the relatives of the deceased wash the body and place it on a mat on the ground; for a description on body preparation at the time of death, see Richard Edward Dennett, *Nigerian Studies: Or, The Religious and Political System of the Yoruba* (London: Macmillan and Co., Limited, 1910), 30–32; Margaret Thompson Drewal, *Yoruba Ritual: Performers, Play, Agency* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1992), 39–42.

[372] In Yoruba culture, it was expected that kin and non-kin be respectful to the household head. In his suggestion that Maria Mariquinha no longer lived with Ewushu because she had not acted in a subordinate manner, Williams referenced this common understanding. Mann explains, "It was widely acknowledged that non-kin who resided in the dwellings of others could be turned out for refusing to show respect for the head of the household or its other senior members, repeatedly failing to support family religious or lifecycle ceremonies, causing trouble inside the household, or violating basic social norms. When a household head wanted to eject a slave…one of the most common ways of doing so was to argue that the individual had disregarded a fundamental standard of good behavior." However, Maria Mariquinha dispelled this accusation by arguing that she had done her duties. She claimed that she had acted morally, and chose to

Maria Mariquinha admitted that she did, in fact, have disagreements with Ewushu at times; perhaps this acknowledgement supported her claim as an adopted her daughter, rather than emphasizing her status as a subordinate dependent. In more contradictory testimony, both the plaintiff and the defendant claimed that Ewushu told them that they should "take charge of the rest of the house," and they accused the other of unlawfully withholding the land grant for the property.[373] Finally, both individuals purported that Ewushu asked them to help her with her land sale to the CMS official.[374]

Beyond these claims to rightful inheritance, Maria Mariquinha and Williams addressed the issue of cognatic succession in more direct terms. In the testimonies given by Williams and his sister, Sally Gooding, descent from a common male figure—Ewushu's father, Osholufe—served as important proof of consanguinity. Idioms of kinship also became assertions of familial relation and entitlement in the courtroom trial. On the one hand, Williams claimed that Ewushu introduced him to "all her slaves and friends…as her younger brother." In her counter-testimony, Maria Mariquinha raised the question about the defendant's use of kinship terms to claim blood relations, retorting, "Ewushu used to call all Egbas Aburru because they were the same tribe."[375] On the other hand, the plaintiff used similar language to talk about the deceased. Maria Mariquinha

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leave the compound when Ewushu needed the space for additional tenants; see *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 250–51.

[373] LSHC, JNCC–Civil *David Williams Heir at Law of Maria Florinda alias Eurishu [sic] deceased v. Maria Mariquinha, Sumonu and Giwa*, 1 March 1892, 434–41.

[374] Williams claimed that he always helped Ewushu with issues she had with her tenants.

[375] LSHC, JNCC–Civil *David Williams Heir at Law of Maria Florinda alias Eurishu [sic] deceased v. Maria Mariquinha, Sumonu and Giwa*, 1 March 1892, 434–41. Ewushu's use of the term "Aburru" refers to the Yoruba word *àbúrò,* which translates to a junior sibling, based on birth order. In this way, Maria Mariquinha raised doubt about David Williams' consanguineous ties to Ewushu by strategically employing parallel kinship structures. On the one hand, Maria Mariquinha suggested that the term *àbúrò* referred to the Yoruba practice of invoking idioms of kinship to reference horizontal age groups. On the other hand, she employed Brazilian notions of fictive kinship, based on shared ethnicity.

admitted, "I am not related to the deceased by blood"; however, she still referred to her adoptive mother as "Iya Ewushu," thus suggesting that the woman was a senior kin relation.[376]

Ultimately, then, this civil suit was a debate over whether a consanguineous relation or an adopted daughter and *cria* who resided in Ewushu's household held more weight as a rightful heir. However, the litigants' differing understandings of the connection between slavery and kinship in relation to "legitimate" succession added to the complexity of this case. In this way, the testimonies surrounding Maria Mariquinha's status as Ewushu's former enslaved dependent illuminate the legacy of the Atlantic slave trade on returnees' lives, identities, and social mobility in the burgeoning colony.

The statements of both litigants demonstrate that they were aware of the association between slavery and kinship that manifested through the Yoruba institution of *àrótà* and the Brazilian master-*cria* relationship. In both cases, an enslaved child, born in the house of her African master, would have been incorporated into the household using idioms of kinship. Yet, an *àrótà*'s rights to property potentially would have differed from those of a *cria*. As this chapter demonstrates, Maria Mariquinha—as an *àrótà*—would not have been a full lineage member; thus, she typically would not have had the same right to Ewushu's property as a blood relative. By emphasizing Maria Mariquinha's status as his aunt's former slave, Williams' testimony drew from these intertwined Yoruba notions of slavery, kinship, and inheritance.[377] The litigant's statements

[376] In Yoruba, *ìyá* means mother. Although she was born in Brazil, Maria Mariquinha drew from Yoruba kinship terminology in her use of this term. Despite the fact that she was not Ewushu's consanguineous relative, Maria Mariquinha strategically employed idioms of kinship to invoke the equal importance of her fictive familial relationship to those defined by blood.

[377] The lack of specificity with respect to Yoruba terminology within the Judge's Notebooks is problematic for historians. Mann explains, "What survives from the courtroom testimony was filtered through the mind of the judge making the notes, who…listened for facts and arguments that he deemed relevant to the case and shaped what he wrote accordingly. That the judges' notes were written in English also presents challenges, because much of the testimony was given in Yoruba or another African language and had to be

repeatedly mentioned Maria Mariquinha's status as a subordinate dependent in Ewushu's household; he even told the judge that his aunt introduced Maria Mariquinha to him when she was a young girl as "the first slave she bought."[378]

In fact, Williams' portrayal of the litigant as an *àrótà* would have had quite an impact on the colonial court during this period. Based on their desire to facilitate a smooth transition into a systematic colonial administration, judges considered local practices when making decisions in the Supreme Court, which was established in 1876.[379] Mann points out that legal opinions regarding Yoruba laws and customs developed over time, based on judges' collaborations with senior males from the community who advised them.[380] Often, these designated assessors were wealthy elders and chiefs; thus, the strategic interpretations of Yoruba-speaking elites heavily influenced colonial officials' understandings of local practices, including those involving land tenure and inheritance. As private ownership of land in and around Lagos became more

translated…by the court interpreter, usually a Saro officer…While the judges occasionally included Yoruba terms such as *ẹrú* and *àrótà* in their notes, they more commonly employed English translations, losing much specificity in the process." Thus, it is necessary to consider the possibility that Williams did, in fact, use more precise terminology regarding Maria Mariquinha's slave status, and that the references were more explicit than the courtroom documents make them appear. The same can also be suggested for Maria Mariquinha's testimony; see Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 281.

[378] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Maria Mariquinha v. David Williams*, 9 February 1892, 386–88. By referring to Maria Mariquinha as an enslaved person who was purchased, rather than born in the household, Williams raised further doubt about her status as an *àrótà*. Rather, he strategically suggested that she was simply an *ẹrú*, or an enslaved individual bought at the marketplace. The implication was that, as a traded slave, Maria Mariquinha was even further removed from the lineage, and could not be incorporated into Ewushu's household as kin. For literature on the distinction between *ẹrú* and *àrótà* in early colonial Lagos, see Ojo, "Slavery and Human Sacrifice in Yorubaland," 379–404; Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 225–27.

[379] As Mann explains, "The ordinance that established the Supreme Court explicitly stated that nothing in the legislation should deprive 'natives' of the benefit of their own 'law and custom,' unless specific practices were 'repugnant to natural justice, equity, and good conscience' or incompatible with local statute." For this reason, Supreme Court judges often ruled cases involving locals "according to what they understood to be native law and custom"; see *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 279.

[380] Mann, 279–80.

competitive, the town's wealthy residents sought to secure their holdings for themselves and their kin.[381] It was in this atmosphere that changes in land tenure under the new colonial government made *àrótàs*' aspirations of complete incorporation into a household lineage less attainable. Indeed, Mann explains, "Elders and chiefs who advised the early colonial government about local customs claimed that neither *ẹrú* nor *àrótà* enjoyed ownership rights in the land and houses that they occupied, even if they had built the houses themselves."[382] By the 1890s—the decade in which Maria Mariquinha and Williams went to trial—these local elites had influenced the precedents that shaped British judges' interpretations of native law; Mann finds that, by this period, the court had determined that "it would recognize only limited rights of *ẹrú* and *àrótà* in landed property to which they had acquired access through their owners."[383]

In contrast, Maria Mariquinha's testimonial approach suggests that she understood her status as a subordinate dependent through a complex lens that took into account parallel Yoruba and Brazilian frameworks surrounding slavery, kinship, and legitimacy within the household. On the one hand, the woman's claims that she fulfilled her kinship obligations and maintained good behavior as a member of the household resonated with an *àrótà*'s aspirations for lineage incorporation.[384] Further, according to Lovejoy, the ideal conditions for slaves to be assimilated

[381] By the second half of the nineteenth century, the market for real estate caused land prices to increase; according to Mann, it was at this point that land acquired commercial value. These developments led to heightened competition, as land became increasingly scarce and expensive; see "Women, Landed Property, and the Accumulation of Wealth," 689.

[382] Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 244.

[383] Mann, 272.

[384] With these claims regarding her good behavior, Maria Mariquinha sought to secure her residency within the compound, regardless of whether the judge deemed her to be the next of kin. As Mann explains, even though local elites advised colonial officials against granting *àrótà* land ownership rights, they also emphasized that, "like strangers, slaves should not be driven off of land or out of housing they inhabited so long as they were well behaved." Thus, perhaps Maria Mariquinha's emphasis on her moral behavior was an effort to cover her bases, if the judge denied her rights to inheritance; see Mann, 244.

within families included three provisions: "if they were raised from childhood, married to free people, or born into the society."[385] Aside from her Brazilian birth, Maria Mariquinha met the other qualifications.

However, the remainder of the litigant's statement was inconsistent with that given by an *àrótà*. In her examination of enslaved individuals' courtroom testimonies in Lagos, Mann argues that subordinate dependents who sought complete incorporation into their owners' families would have been "loath…[to] publicly avow their slave origin" in colonial court.[386] Maria Mariquinha, on the other hand, made straightforward assertions about her slave origins. Indeed, it was she who testified that she had been born in Ewushu's house in Brazil to an enslaved mother; in other words, Maria Mariquinha understood herself not as a Yoruba *àrótà*, but as a Brazilian *cria*. In these terms, her status as a subordinate dependent—born in the Brazilian household of her childless African mistress—would have made her a viable heir in Bahia.

With these considerations in mind, it is necessary to closely examine Maria Mariquinha's counter-testimony, which concluded the courtroom trial. During her final statement, the woman's conflation of slavery and kinship took a provocative turn that reflects the importance of Brazilian slavery to her understandings of freedom, legitimacy, and entitlement in the Atlantic world. Indeed, Maria Mariquinha asserted, "She [Ewushu] treated me as her daughter. I say that because she took care of me and when I was old enough gave me to a man. She would have done the same to a slave. […] I swore I was the adopted daughter of Ewushu because she became possessed of me by the sweat of her face."

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[385] P. Lovejoy, "Indigenous African Slavery [with Commentary]," *Historical Reflections/Réflexions Historiques* 6, no. 1 (1979): 32.

[386] Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 272.

In this way, Maria Mariquinha asserted her notion of the relationship between fictive kinship, slavery, and what made an individual "deserving" of freed status and inheritance; her articulation of these connections illuminates the extent to which similar trans-Atlantic legal statuses of enslaved and manumitted subordinate dependents could and could not be forged together in various locales. Indeed, Maria Mariquinha's testimony invoked Ewushu's experiences of enslavement to assert her own legitimacy and freed status in Lagos. She contended that since Ewushu accrued her subordinate dependent "by the sweat of her face," it was only right that her mistress' *former* property should inherit her *landed* property. In fact, from Maria Mariquinha's perspective, it was their trans-Atlantic connection through Brazilian slavery that made her Ewushu's property, kin, and free rightful heir all at once.

In the end, the Supreme Court judge ruled that Williams, as Ewushu's consanguineous nephew, should have administration over the estate of the deceased. Further, the colonial court gave Williams the right to eject Maria Mariquinha from the house if he wished. This ruling suggests three possible scenarios, in terms of how the judge understood Maria Mariquinha in relation to Ewushu. Since slaves and their descendants were entitled to remain on the properties of their masters as long as they were well-mannered, the judge either determined that Maria Mariquinha had behaved immorally enough to warrant ejection, or he viewed her as neither an *àrótà* nor as an adopted daughter. Perhaps he perceived Maria Mariquinha the way she identified herself: as a former *cria*. In this case, the judge may have determined that she had no rights under the British and Yoruba legal systems that defined the Supreme Court of Lagos during the early colonial period. Finally, the rising trend of entrepreneurial women consolidating property through matrifocal households, like Ewushu—and, by fictive affiliation, Maria Mariquinha—threatened

patrilineal authority. The judge's decision could have represented a backlash against this trend, which was significantly fueled by Brazilian returnee women themselves.

The debates over inheritance among members of Ewushu's household provide a glimpse into a case of a formerly enslaved Afro-Brazilian woman using the colonial judicial system to justify her own ideas about labor, slavery, and kinship. In her testimony, Maria Mariquinha asserted an alternative understanding of the role of trans-Atlantic slavery in her entitlement to—and as—property in Lagos. In particular, she equated the "sweat" of slave labor with the "blood" of kinship in Brazil; through Ewushu's physical trauma and toil, she bought her freedom and then her property: the enslaved individuals who lived in her household. Almost sixty years later, the litigant argued that, through her former mistress' physical labor as a slave and a *liberta* in Brazil, she bore both property and kin in the figure of Maria Mariquinha. As far as Maria Mariquinha was concerned, trans-Atlantic emigration and resettlement in the burgeoning colony only solidified their kinship relationship.

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Thus, the legacy of Brazilian slavery and its effects on the ways in which returnees understood consanguineous and fictive familial relations continued to impact emigrants in Lagos. As an urban node on the Atlantic circuit, the colony allowed for the intersections of multiple idioms by which returnees managed their circulation between Brazilian, Yoruba, and British societies, all of which presented them with different identity possibilities and opportunities to assert their freed status. This was especially true for women and social dependents, who sought to redefine their social standings. These individuals employed parallel kinship structures that blurred boundaries between their statuses as enslaved people and kin. In this way, by tracing the journeys of returnees and their households, it is possible to understand the complexities of kinship for the emigrants who

settled in Lagos. Further, this chapter's analysis of returnee kinship networks illuminates the ways in which their reputations, social mobility, and notions of self remained intertwined in the local, present context of Lagos, as well as the multigenerational, trans-Atlantic past-present of Brazilian slavery, freedom, and geographical migration.

CHAPTER 5

"Certificates of Freedom": British Passports, Atlantic Mobility, and Meanings of Liberty in Lagos and Brazil

In her short sixteen years, Henriqueta transitioned from slavery to freedom; she also traversed the Atlantic, sailing from Salvador and settling in Lagos. Inevitably, her worldview was shaped by her relationships and experiences in Brazil, West Africa, and the interstices of the ocean that connected these nodes. However, despite her manumitted status and her emigration to West Africa, the complexities of being a freed person of African descent in the slaveholding Atlantic world continued to dictate her life. For Henriqueta, these trans-Atlantic dynamics intersected in Lagos in 1859, almost six years after her arrival.

In December of that year, Henriqueta's aunt appeared before George Brand, the British Consul in Lagos. She appealed for his assistance regarding a series of letters received by the prominent members of the town's "Brazilian" community. These correspondences requested that Henriqueta return to Bahia; as Brand explained to the Foreign Office, "Letters had been written setting forth that the Girl's [Henriqueta's] mother wished her to [return to Salvador]…[and] that Senhor Vianna's friends here had by promises gained the Girl's consent to return."[387] On the one hand, the Brazilian elites—who sent three separate deputations to Consul Brand, in order to pressure him to surrender Henriqueta's Brazilian passport—claimed that the girl's mother, Victoria, had written the letters.[388] On the other hand, Henriqueta's aunt believed—and Brand's

[387] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859.

[388] Consul Brand explained in a letter to the Foreign Office, "It appears to have been the custom with these Emigrants as well as with Emigrants from Cuba on their arrival here to deposit their [Brazilian and Cuban] Passports for safe keeping in this Consulate." This practice is implied in Brand's description of Henriqueta's situation, in which he explained to the Lord Clarendon that Brazilian elites in Lagos asked him to surrender

examination of the letters confirmed—that her former master, Senhor Vianna, had actually been the author. Brand reported, "[Henriqueta's aunt was] asking me to prevent her [niece's] departure to what would be a second slavery, if not a more degrading condition at least, until such time as she should have the means of communicating with the Girl's mother and ascertaining her wishes."[389]

As Brand's detailed account of this incident reveals, the threat of "second slavery" always loomed for African and African-descended people in the Atlantic world. This chapter examines the avenues through which the manumitted individuals who emigrated to Lagos secured, maintained, and envisioned their hard-fought liberty during the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, it asks: How did Africans and African-descended people themselves define freedom? Consequently, how did they protect and assert their liberty in Brazil, West Africa, and the indeterminate space of the Atlantic Ocean? Finally, what role did Lagos play in African returnees' projects of self-fashioning, based on their own non-binary interpretations of their freed status?

With a view to answer these queries, this chapter begins with an examination of the uncertainty of liberty at every stage of these individuals' journeys from Bahia to Lagos. In the first section, I argue that these emigrants' repeated assertions of their manumitted status were a symptom of the precarious nature of freedom itself in Brazil, West Africa, and the interstices of

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the girl's Brazilian passport to them, so that she could return to Bahia; in other words, her Brazilian travel documents were housed at the Consulate. While Brand claimed that this practice was "for [the passports'] safe keeping," it also gave the British government some level of control over the movement of African returnees. Radhika Viyas Mongia provides an important analysis of state regulation of migration and the development of the passport in the colonial era; see TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859; Mongia, "Race, Nationality, Mobility: A History of the Passport," *Public Culture* 11, no. 3 (1999): 527–55.

[389] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859.

the Atlantic. As such, I contend that it becomes possible to reconceptualize Africans' own understandings of liberty by examining this connection between the fragility of freedom and emancipated individuals' repeated performances of their status.

The second section of this chapter demonstrates the importance of geographical mobility to emigrants' notions and assertions of freedom during the last decades of Atlantic slavery. I argue that returnees' abilities to reimagine this relationship between freedom and mobility emerged out of a unique syncretism between various social, economic, and political actors and processes at play during this period, both in Lagos and throughout the Atlantic world. In particular, I examine the practice of issuing British passports to Afro-Brazilian emigrants, which originated with the British Consulate in Lagos. I argue that returnees utilized these passports, in order to protect their freedom as they navigated the social and geographical terrain of being African travelers in the nineteenth-century. For this reason, Lagos served as a crucial node on the Atlantic circuit for those seeking to secure their liberty and maintain their mobility.

The final section of this chapter probes the ways in which these Africans' possessions of British passports prompted imperial debates surrounding the meaning of liberty for the increasing number of free and freed people in the Atlantic world. Along these lines, the assertions of these Afro-Brazilian travelers into various imperial geographies produced political contention over whose definitions of freedom would prevail on both national and international scales. I contend that these Africans' procurements of British passports in Lagos, and their subsequent geographical movement, compelled British and Brazilian officials to understand liberty as an Atlantic status, rather than a national one. As such, I argue that the mobility and freed status that emigrants asserted using British passports illuminate the ways in which variable degrees of liberty were not established in Lagos or Bahia alone, but were dependent on variable degrees of freedom within an

Atlantic nexus. In other words, these individuals' freed status in one node on the Atlantic circuit affected their status in others. Thus, I contend that these African travelers' strategic assertions of liberty and mobility altered understandings of what it meant to be free in national and international contexts during the age of abolition.

The Precariousness of Freedom: The Risk of Re-Enslavement for African and African-Descended People in the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World

As the request of Henriqueta's aunt makes clear, freedom was precarious for African and African-descended people in the nineteenth-century Atlantic. While the factors that contributed to this threat evolved based on location and time frame, the geographical movement of Africans—both on the continent and throughout the Diaspora—continually put them at risk of capture or recapture. In the context of liberated Africans in the Atlantic, a vast literature examines the lived experiences of these individuals as they navigated the ambiguous boundaries between captivity and freedom in their slave-holding worlds.[390] However, little has been written about the precarious

[390] Solomon Northrup's account of his kidnapping and enslavement as an adult serves as an important primary source that addresses the precarious nature of freedom for people of African descent; see *Twelve Years a Slave: The Narrative of Solomon Northrup, A Citizen of New York, Kidnapped in Washington City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853* (Auburn, NY: Derby and Miller, 1853). Scholarship regarding precarious freedom for people of African descent includes: Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom: Louisiana and Cuba after Slavery* (Cambridge, MA and London: The Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2005); Michael L. Nicholls, "'The squint of freedom': African-American Freedom Suits in Post-Revolutionary Virginia," *Slavery and Abolition* 20, no. 2 (1999): 47–62; Erica Armstrong Dunbar, *A Fragile Freedom: African American Women and Emancipation in the Antebellum City* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 2008); John F. Campbell, "How Free is Free? The Limits of Manumission for Enslaved Africans in Eighteenth-Century British West Indian Sugar Society," in *Paths to Freedom: Manumission in the Atlantic World*, eds. Rosemary Brana-Shute and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 143–60; Mamigonian, "Conflicts Over the Meanings of Freedom: The Liberated Africans' Struggle for Emancipation in Brazil, 1840s–1860s," in *Paths to Freedom: Manumission in the Atlantic World*, eds. Rosemary Brana-Shute and Randy J. Sparks (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 2009), 235–64; Scott, "Paper Thin: Freedom and Re-Enslavement in the Diaspora of the Haitian Revolution," *Law and History Review* 29, no. 4 (2011): 1061–87; Scott and Jean M. Hébrard, *Freedom Papers: An Atlantic Odyssey in the Age of Emancipation* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Rosanne Marion Adderley, "'A Most Useful and Valuable People?' Cultural, Moral, and Practical Dilemmas in the Use of Liberated African Labour in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean," in *From Slavery*

nature of liberty for freed people in West Africa itself, or the connectivity of liberty across different Atlantic geographies.[391] Thus, this section probes the precariousness of liberty and its relationship to mobility on both sides of the Atlantic. It begins with an examination of the uncertain state of freedom for manumitted Africans and their descendants in Brazil, followed by a discussion of the ways in which this insecurity continued in West Africa for repatriates and indigenous people alike. I contend that this population of emigrants reveals the ways in which freedom crossed geographical and imperial lines within an Atlantic nexus.

In Brazil, the categories of "enslaved" and "freed" were not binary in the nineteenth century. For Africans and their descendants, multiple factors affected their status as free or freed people. As previously discussed, African-born freed people faced economic and political limitations, which increased as white fears of insurrection grew over the first half of the nineteenth century; decades later, restrictive voting requirements limited the political rights of Brazilian-born people of African descent, as well. Conditional manumissions, which were common among both the African and African-descended populations, also contributed to the tenuous nature of liberty in Brazil. These arrangements meant that "liberated" individuals still had specific obligations

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to Emancipation in the Atlantic World, eds. Sylvia R. Frey and Betty Wood (London and New York: Routledge, 2013), 59–80; Graham T. Nessler, *An Islandwide Struggle for Freedom: Revolution, Emancipation, and Reenslavement in Hispaniola, 1789–1809* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2016).

[391] Abosede George articulated the importance of the precariousness of the road for West Africans in her paper, "The Performance of Freedom in Bight of Benin," given for the Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora Conference, 7 November 2019. The historiography surrounding the connectivity of liberty focuses primarily on the role of the Haitian Revolution and its ramifications in the wider Atlantic; see C.L.R. James, *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the Santo Domingo Revolution* (New York: Random House, 1963); David Geggus, ed., *The Impact of the Haitian Revolution in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2001); Laurent Dubois, *Avengers of the New World: The Story of the Haitian Revolution* (Harvard: Harvard University Press, 2004); Dubois, *A Colony of Citizens: Revolution and Slave Emancipation in the French Caribbean, 1787–1804* (Chapel Hill and London: The University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Ada Ferrer, *Freedom's Mirror: Cuba and Haiti in the Age of Revolution* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014).

toward their former masters; they often required a period of continued service for an established amount of time (usually seven years), or until the ex-proprietor's death. This path to manumission—as opposed to unconditional liberty or freedom by self-purchase—affected both the degree of autonomy experienced by formerly enslaved individuals and their relationships with their ex-proprietors.[392] Indeed, as Sidney Chalhoub articulates, "Manumissions requiring a condition to be fulfilled by freed persons represented a considerable percentage of freedoms granted whatever the historical source analyzed, thus launching freed people on to murky terrain between slavery and freedom, to be shaped by a process of negotiation and conflict with their masters or patrons."[393]

These factors also influenced the likelihood that free and freed Africans and their descendants would be re-enslaved in Brazil. On the one hand, Africans who obtained manumission through self-purchase probably possessed more autonomy and, therefore, greater security against their former masters' attempts to reclaim them as property. On the other hand, individuals with both conditional and unconditional manumission still had obligations to their ex-proprietors, rendering their freedom more precarious. In some instances, former masters revoked the *cartas de alforria* of freed people, on the grounds that these individuals had not fulfilled the obligations

[392] Manumission by self-purchase is discussed at length in Chapter 1. Unconditional, or gratuitous, manumission occurred when masters gave enslaved individuals their freedom with no obligations attached, other than these ex-proprietors' rights to expressions of respect and gratitude. When masters granted gratuitous manumission, it was usually either to children as part of their baptismal rights, or they wrote the unconditional freedom of enslaved individuals into their wills. Further, as Martha Abreu argues, the passage of the Law of the Free Womb in 1871 became another avenue through which enslaved women—through the liberation of their wombs, as the law put it—guaranteed unconditional manumission for their future children. For scholarship on gratuitous liberty in nineteenth-century Brazil, see Mattoso, "A propósito de cartas de alforria na Bahia, 1779–1850," *Anais de História* 4 (1974): 23–52; Kiernan, "Baptism and Manumission in Brazil," 56–71; Abreu, "Slave Mothers and Freed Children," 567–80; Douglas Cole Libby and Afonso de Alencastro Graça Filho, "Notarized and Baptismal Manumissions in the Parish of São José do Rio das Mortes, Minas Gerais (c. 1750–1850)," *The Americas* 66, no. 2 (2009): 211–40.

[393] Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society," 417.

required of them; ex-owners often credited these revocations to the ingratitude of their manumitted dependents.[394] Under these circumstances, many African and African-descended individuals, whose liberties were in peril, defended their freedom in Brazilian courts; Chalhoub explains, "It seems that often times freed people filed petitions to 'maintain the possession' of their freedom to create a paper trail of their condition."[395]

Regardless, no person of African descent in Brazil was immune to re-enslavement. Especially after Brazil signed the 1831 treaty with Great Britain, which rendered the Atlantic slave trade illegal, the probability of re-enslavement continued to increase throughout most of the nineteenth century; indeed, as Collins emphasizes, "Although re-enslavement of Africans was particularly widespread during the phase of illegal slave trading (1831–1850), from 1850 onwards all *libertos* and freed people of colour were vulnerable to the threat of re-enslavement."[396] In addition to the increased prevalence of slave dealing throughout this period, the state itself tightened its control over Brazil's largest labor source as the free and freed population grew. The lucrative nature of coffee production in the southern region made it advantageous for the government to enforce new legislative measures and sanction legal ambiguities that favored slavery and slave owners.[397] For instance, Brazilian officials' intentional failure to require "proof of slave property" meant that, according to Chalhoub, "illegal enslavement became a greater threat

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[394] Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society," 418–420; Keila Grinberg, *Liberata, a lei da ambiguidade: as ações de liberdade da Corte de Apelação do Rio de Janeiro no século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Relume Dumará, 1994); Hebe M. Mattos de Castro, *Das cores do silêncio: os significados da liberdade no sudeste escravista—Brasil, século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1995), 200; Grinberg, "Senhores sem escravos: a propósito das ações de escravidão no Brasil imperial," in *Repensando o Brasil do Oitocentos*, eds. José Murilo de Carvalho and Lúcia Maria Bastos Pereira das Neves (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2009), 415–35.

[395] Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society," 420.

[396] Collins, "Black women, mobility, marriage and markets," 430.

[397] Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society," 415.

to free and freed people of color in general—both African- and Brazilian-born."[398] Finally, manumitted individuals could be arrested on suspicion of being fugitives; this possibility, and its strategic use by Brazilian officials who benefited from maintaining slavery, also shaped the experiences of liberty for Africans and their descendants in nineteenth-century Brazil.[399]

Many of the freed individuals who emigrated to the African coast did so, in part, to allay these risks of re-enslavement; however, they soon discovered that their liberty continued to be precarious, both on their return voyages and as settlers in West Africa. Indeed, during their trans-Atlantic journeys, African and African-descended travelers entered a hyper-precarious, liminal state, in which they were dislodged from the personal and imperial networks of which they were a part in Bahia. In the interstitial space of the Atlantic, emigrants had no choice but to entrust their lives to ship captains and supercargoes. At times, the vessels' greedy merchants and masters betrayed these passengers, taking advantage of the indeterminate status of African and African-descended returnees for their own financial gains.

An infamous incident that occurred on a Portuguese brig, *General Rego*, foregrounds the precarious position of African travelers.[400] In 1855, forty self-emancipated individuals boarded this ship in Salvador. While they had contracted the *General Rego* to take them to Lagos, the captain landed at Ouidah instead. As Henry F. Howard, the British Minister of Portugal, explained to the Earl of Clarendon, this captain's decision to disembark his passengers at Ouidah was a reflection of the supercargoes' desires to "dispose of their passenger fittings at places where they

[398] Chalhoub, 427.

[399] Chalhoub, 433–34.

[400] By June of 1856, the *General Rego* was renamed the *Africano*, which continued to take emigrants from Bahia to West Africa throughout the second half of the nineteenth century; see *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons*, Vol. 44, Mr. Howard to the Earl of Clarendon, Slave Trade No. 331, 8 May 1856, 295–96.

can be used in slave-vessels."[401] Benjamin Campbell, the Consul of Lagos from 1853 to 1859, related the fate of these emigrants to the Foreign Office; he wrote, "These unfortunate people were forced on shore at Whydah, where they were first plundered of their property, and, on account of their being Egbas, were subsequently sent up to the King of Dahomey, who put to death all the adults retaining the children as slaves."[402]

Another "breach of faith," as Campbell called incident, happened aboard the *Emília*. The Portuguese schooner departed from Bahia in 1855, carrying approximately fifteen self-emancipated Africans across the Atlantic. Despite the fact that the captain had agreed to sail to Lagos, he instead landed at Agoué, a small Dahomean-controlled port town to the West. Harry Johnson, a Sierra Leonean trader who happened to disembark in the town at the same time, recognized that these emigrants were at risk of re-enslavement; he gave them passage to Lagos on his vessel. Nonetheless, their property was retained onboard the *Emília*; they landed in Lagos with their lives, and nothing more.[403]

Other forms of confinement also placed emigrants into slave-like conditions during their return journeys. For instance, on 13 April 1898, the *Alliança* left Bahia for Lagos. However, due to a disease outbreak on the ship, the British government stopped the vessel in the harbor. Without an official quarantine ordinance, the returnees sat aboard the *Alliança*, unable to set foot on land

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[401] *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons*, Vol. 44, Mr. Howard to the Earl of Clarendon, Slave Trade No. 375, 5 October 1856, 324.

[402] TNA, FO 84/1002, Slave Trade No. 3, Campbell to Clarendon, 21 January 1856. Yoruba territorial conflicts with the Dahomean kingdom continued throughout much of the nineteenth century; Egbas, in particular, had a protracted and recent history of warfare with Dahomey, based on both states' desires to control the Egbado region and the trade between Abeokuta and the coast. See Biobaku, *The Egba and Their Neighbours, 1842–1872* (London: Oxford University Press, 1957); Augustus A. Adeyinka, "King Gezo of Dahomey, 1818–1858: A Reassessment of a West African Monarch in the Nineteenth Century," *African Studies Review* 17, no. 3 (1974): 541–48; Harry A. Gailey, *Lugard and the Abeokuta Uprising: The Demise of Egba Independence* (London and New York: Routledge, 2013 [1982]), 9–11.

[403] TNA, FO 84/1002, Slave Trade No. 3, Campbell to Clarendon, 21 January 1856.

for four months. Advocates from the town's emigrant community wrote to the *Lagos Weekly Record* to complain about the British response to the outbreak; one article retorted,

> The unfortunate passengers, who are aged repatriates, have been confined in the narrow and uncongenial limits of a sailing ship's berth for a period of four months; and what is more although the ship has now been lying on the road-stead for over six weeks, no arrangements have been made to relieve or minimize the difficulties of the situation and the ship and passengers are both in exactly the same position in which they were when the vessel first arrived in the harbor. […] Unless something is done, and done speedily in the case of the unfortunates on board the ship 'Allianca,' the authorities cannot escape the opprobrium which attaches to the inhumane treatment which has been meted out to our fellow countrymen returning from exile.[404]

Such conditions—in which formerly enslaved Africans were forcibly confined aboard a vessel that carried them across the Atlantic—would certainly have been traumatically reminiscent of the Middle Passage journeys that these elderly repatriates had undergone decades before. At the least, it was a far cry from the vision of freedom that compelled them to emigrate to Lagos.

Even for those returnees who landed in the West African port town without issue, their lack of embeddedness within the local community put them at risk of re-enslavement. Especially at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, emigrants lacked protection under King Kosoko of Lagos (1845–1851). In a letter to the Foreign Office, Consul Campbell related the dangers faced by the 130 Brazilian families that resided in Lagos before 1853; he recounted, "During Kosoko's reign, these people [self-emancipated Africans from Brazil] on their arrival at Lagos were plundered by him; and in some instances, when attempting to evade or resist his forcible extortions, they were unmercifully butchered. […] Shortly after the expulsion of Kosoko in August last, a deputation of leading men amongst them waited on me, and laid before me the extreme painfulness of their position; their children being torn from them and sold into slavery;

[404] *Lagos Weekly Record*, "The Proposed Quarantine Ordinance," 12 January 1899.

and the spoliation of any little property acquired by their industry."[405] The fact that these returnees appealed to Campbell, as opposed to engaging with indigenous institutions or relocating to their nascent homes in the interior, illuminates the social and political isolation of at least some of the African emigrants who repatriated from Brazil.

Even after Kosoko's removal, re-enslavement continued to be an issue. On the one hand, since British officials in the town did not consider it their obligation to address domestic slavery or the regional slave trade, the possibility that emigrants could be kept in servitude or be re-enslaved remained. Between 1851 and the annexation of Lagos ten years later, the British were just beginning to establish their political presence; as Mann explains, "Britain regarded the kingdom as foreign soil under the political authority of the *oba*. The treaty that Akitoye signed with Beecroft and Bruce in 1852 said nothing about domestic slavery or the internal slave trade, and in keeping with British policy that in the absence of specific agreements it had no right to interfere with slavery on foreign soil, neither consuls nor naval officers were supposed to intervene in relations between owners and slaves."[406] In fact, during this decade, even self-manumitted individuals who ran away from their masters did not find a safe haven in Lagos; as Mann describes, "The *oba* and chiefs were known to seize runaways and either return them to their owners or claim them as their own."[407] For emigrants from Brazil and Cuba, this passive approach toward local

[405] TNA, FO 84/920, Slave Trade No. 28, Campbell to Clarendon, 28 December 1853; reproduced in Sir William M.N. Geary, *Nigeria Under British Rule* (New York: Routledge, 2013 [London: Frank Cass & Co., Ltd., 1927]), 41.

[406] Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 141–42.

[407] Mann, 144. The term *ọba* refers to the Yoruba king of Lagos. In 1843, it became illegal for British subjects to deal in or own enslaved people. However, as Mann points out in her study of slavery in Lagos, prior to the late 1850s, consuls and missionaries rarely intervened in issues of domestic slavery that did not involve British citizens. Further, Campbell promoted the notion that local slavery was comparatively benign, and that the expansion of the legitimate trade in palm products would eventually undermine domestic slavery. See Mann, 142–45.

slavery meant that they could not rely on British officials or policies to protect them from re-enslavement, as they had hoped; members of the "Brazilian" community also could not depend on the British to help them obtain manumission if they were re-enslaved during the earliest years of colonial influence.[408]

On the other hand, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century, the precariousness of liberty for "Brazilian" residents of Lagos was further exacerbated when these individuals attempted to travel outside of the burgeoning colony.[409] The danger of being "on the road" limited returnees' freedom of movement on both regional and Atlantic scales. In the Bight of Benin, regional movement put travelers at risk of kidnapping, robbery, and re-enslavement. Ongoing regional conflicts made it treacherous to travel to the interior; along the coast and in the hinterland, Kosoko remained a threat to the East, while Dahomey and the revived slave trade out of Ouidah presented a danger to the West. For example, in 1859, Wesleyan missionary Edward Bickersteth reported to the Lagos Consulate that, after attempting to travel to Abeokuta for trade, "four carriers and one Brazilian head man…are missing."[410] In their journey to purchase palm oil in the interior, Bickersteth wrote, these Lagos residents had been intercepted by "Igbein people who took the

[408] As non-British-born subjects, this passive approach to local slavery also applied to African-born emigrants from Brazil, Cuba, and Sierra Leone who lived in Lagos. In fact, in 1857, Consul Campbell wrote to the Foreign Office, explaining that many Sierra Leoneans in Lagos owned other Africans for "wealth in people." Campbell reflected, "It appears to be a feeling of pride and self importance which induces the African to become the possessor and Lord of his fellow creatures—Excepting the Sierra Leone people who are employed by the Missionary Societies,…and some of the younger creoles who are striving to keep themselves in a respectable position, all the Sierra Leone emigrants are holders of slaves; some of those who left the Colony ten and twelve years since are considerable holders of slaves on their farms at Abeokuta." See TNA, FO 84/1031, Slave Trade No. 18, Campbell to Clarendon, 2 July 1857.

[409] These threats to travelers' liberty applied to *all* self-emancipated and free Africans in the region, including emigrants from Brazil.

[410] TNA, FO 84/1088, Mr. Edward Bickersteth to Acting Consul Edward F. Lodder, 25 July 1859.

loads and caught the men."[411] In another instance, the threat of recapture came from liberated emigrants themselves. Also in 1859, a group of indigenous individuals who were enslaved in Lagos attempted to desert their owners by joining a British expedition to Rabba. Campbell explained to the Foreign Office, "The owners of these slaves some of them self emancipated Emigrants from the Brazils furious at the loss of their slaves hid themselves about four miles on the road to Abeokuta and having borrowed some muskets…they…fired. […] The most annual occurrence created great excitement throughout the town of Lagos and among the self emancipated Africans from Brazil in particular—they being the principal losers of slaves on this occasion."[412]

Even the wealthiest members of the "Brazilian" community were vulnerable to re-enslavement. For instance, one of the daughters of a prominent emigrant, Antônio Martins, was enslaved twice when she tried to leave the town. Antônio, one of the early repatriates to the region, owned vast swathes of land in Lagos and Abeokuta by the 1850s; he also possessed over five hundred enslaved individuals when he died in 1857. In addition, Antônio had a friendly relationship with Consul Campbell. Still, neither his wealth in property and people nor his political

[411] Egba refugees of the Yoruba-Fulani wars settled in Abeokuta around 1830, and representatives from differing villages formed independent townships within the city-state; thus, according to Earl Williams, "Abeokuta…became a city of at least 150 separate townships, each governing itself with its own chiefs and elders." Williams explains, "Each administered its own justice and protected its own interest, which could frequently be at variance with the interest of other townships." These dynamics were further complicated by the Saros, who established a missionary presence in the city in the late 1830s; in the 1850s, they attempted to penetrate traditional trading systems, in order to become the middlemen between the interior and the coast. The township of Igbein, in particular, was problematic for the other Egba sub-communities, especially those who allied with the British. Traditionally, Igbein people had communicated exclusively with coastal people in their commercial endeavors; subsequently, in Abeokuta, they asserted this control by collecting tolls at the town's gates. Further, the alliance between Kosoko and the Igbein was particularly strong; since the 1840s, Kosoko had been urging his Egba allies to keep the British interests out of the interior. Thus, this alliance created further tensions among the Igbein and other Egba sub-communities, CMS officials, Saro emigrants, and various interest groups, such as Brazilian traders. See Williams, "The Egba at Abeokuta: Acculturation and Political Change, 1830–1870," *The Journal of African History* 10, no. 1 (1969): 118, 124; J.D.Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington and Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2000), 133.

[412] TNA, FO 84/1115, Slave Trade No. 6, Campbell to Malmesbury, 31 March 1859.

relationships could protect his daughter from enslavement in the region. After she was captured near Porto Novo, Antônio's eldest son, Pedro Pancho Martins, purchased her freedom in 1862. A short time later, the girl again left Lagos, in an attempt to avoid her responsibilities at the church school in which she was enrolled; she was soon caught and resold into slavery. Again, she escaped her captors and fled back to Lagos.[413]

Thus, even after these returnees disembarked in West Africa, they were faced with the reality that freedom was accompanied by social and geographical limitations. While African and African-descended individuals left Brazil for Lagos as both an expression of their hard-earned freed status and as a strategy of securing lifelong liberty, they faced threats to their freedom at every step of their journeys. As the above examples illustrate, freed people were vulnerable to re-enslavement not only in the slaveholding societies of the Americas, but also on their return voyages and in West Africa.

In this context, the next section explores the ways that freed individuals who emigrated from Brazil to Lagos strategically asserted their liberty during the second half of the nineteenth century. In particular, it examines African emigrants' use of British passports as "certificates of freedom." It argues that, through their acquisition of these passports, African and African-descended individuals guarded their liberty as they maintained their mobility. Further, as the next section will show, the fact that this practice was unique to Lagos at the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century made the burgeoning, West African town a crucial space for African and African-descended emigrants to "give durable meaning to their freedom" during this period.[414]

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[413] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Edward Martins v. Pedro Pancho Martins*, 28 and 31 January 1878.

[414] Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, 1.

"Certificates of Freedom": British Passports as Assertions of Liberty among African and African-Descended Emigrants

In his attempt to prevent Henriqueta from returning to a "second slavery" in Bahia, the newly appointed Consul Brand wrote to the Foreign Office to inquire about the legality of issuing a British passport to the girl. In doing so, Brand followed the precedent of his predecessor, Consul Campbell, who began to issue British passports to emancipated emigrants as early as 1856.[415] In a letter to the Lord Clarendon in June 1856, Campbell explained that he initially provided these passports to Brazilian emigrants, in order to ensure their safe passage to their places of birth in the interior. This letter reflects Campbell's understanding of the hyper-precarious state that travelers entered when on the road; indeed, these individuals took on an indeterminate status in the interstitial gaps that existed between their spaces of belonging.[416] In reference to that which he called "my Passports," Campbell reported, "I now learn that some Hausa and Naffi [?] people, self emancipated emigrants from the Brazils, who some months since applied to me for passports stating that they were proceeding to Illorin, have actually reached their homes in safety, and, having sent word to their countrymen living here, and who have been waiting some years for an opportunity to return to their homes, to obtain passports from me, and, to venture to reach those countries."[417]

[415] Verger found that this practice of issuing British passports began in 1858; however, evidence from Foreign Office records suggests that Campbell was granting these passports to individuals who wished to travel to the interior by 1856. He was having them printed in Sierra Leone, and then issuing them in Lagos. See TNA, FO 84/1002, Slave Trade No. 34, Campbell to Clarendon, 29 November 1856; Verger, *Trade Relations*, 549.

[416] George, "The Performance of Freedom in Bight of Benin," paper for the Association for the Study of the Worldwide African Diaspora Conference, 7 November 2019.

[417] TNA, FO 84/1002, Slave Trade No. 18, Campbell to Clarendon, 14 June 1856.

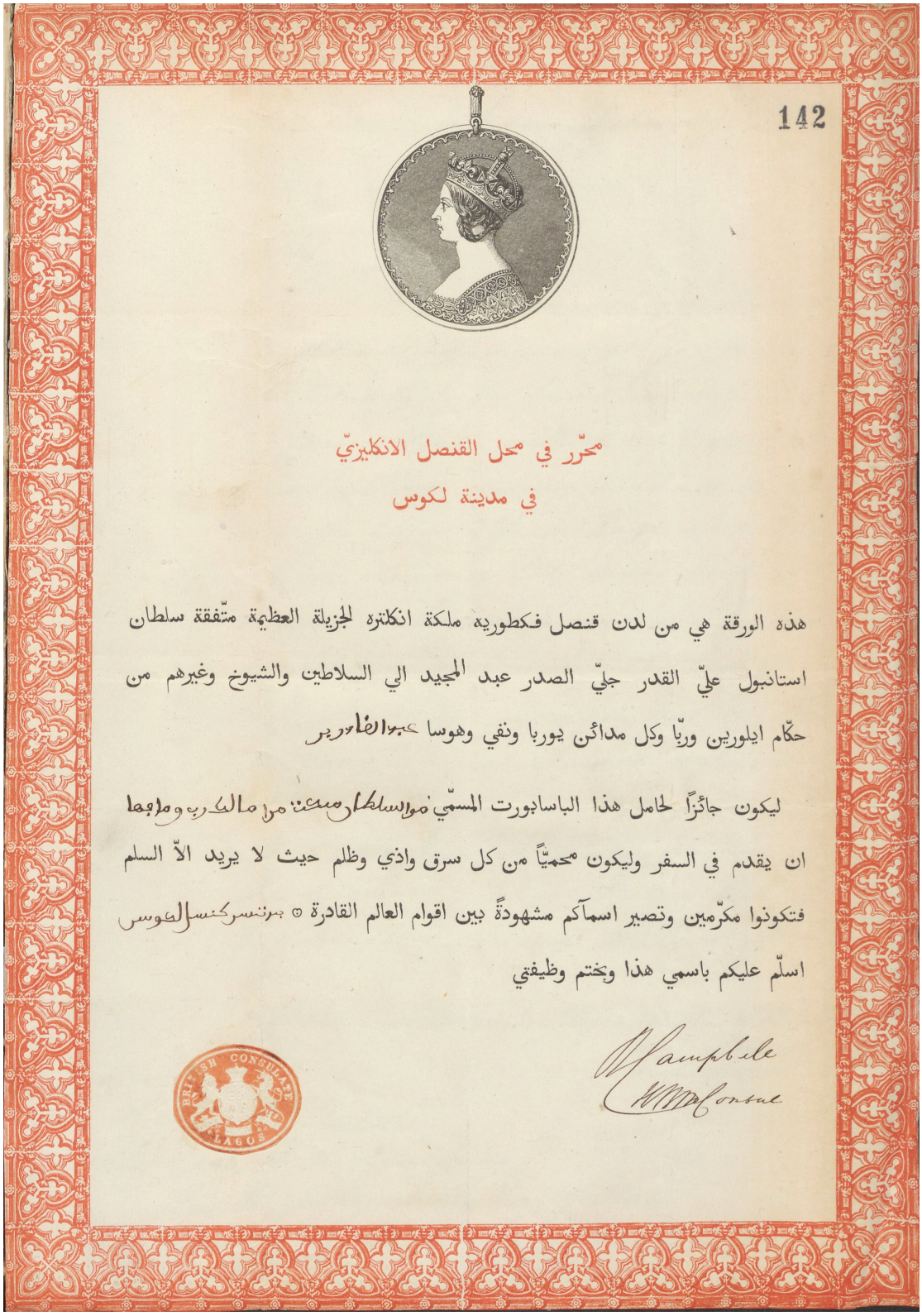
By early 1859, Campbell extended this practice to other regional traders who sought to expand commercial routes for legitimate products. For these travelers and the African emigrants who came from Muslim areas of northern Yorubaland and beyond, Consul Campbell issued British passports printed in Arabic. On a diplomatic trip to Epe, Campbell advertised these passports to the Muslim traders he encountered when visiting King Kosoko. The Consul explained to the Foreign Office,

> I pointed out to them [the Muslim traders] the great advantage of persons being able to travel about the country with safety to their persons and security to their property, that I had been in the habit of furnishing persons proceeding from the coast to the interior with passports printed in English, which, having been respected by the Chiefs of Mahometan Countries I had caused some to be printed in the Arabic character which could be read by many Mahometans, and I begged of them in their journeyings in the interior to request of the rulers of the countries they may pass through to give protection to the bearers of these passports; this they promised me to do, and requested I would send them some Passports to take up with them. I have since done so.[418]

Thus, Campbell intended for his passports to serve as a form of protection for Brazilian and Cuban emigrants who wished to reunite with their families in the interior, as well as indigenous traders and travelers who engaged in regional commerce. Still, it is unclear how often interior rulers and traders honored them.

Of course, Campbell had personal and professional motives for issuing British passports to non-British-born subjects in Lagos. In addition to creating an alliance with the growing community of emigrants in the town, the Consul believed that increasing African returnees' regional mobility would promote the legitimate commerce in palm products and push British penetration past the

[418] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 6, Campbell to Malmesbury, 4 March 1859. Alcione Meira Amos also discusses the consulate's strategy of drafting Arabic versions of British passports for emigrants who wished to travel into the interior; see *Os que voltaram: A história dos retornados afro-brasileiros na África Ocidental no século XIX* (Belo Horizonte: Tradição Planalto, 2007), 92.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محرّر في محل القنصل الانكليزيّ
في مدينة لكوس

هذه الورقة هي من لدن قنصل فكطوريه ملكة انكلتره الجزيلة العظمة متّفقة سلطان استانبول عليّ القدر جليّ الصدر عبد المجيد الي السلاطين والشيوخ وغيرهم من حكّام ايلورين وربّا وكل مدائن يوربا ونفي وهوسا عبد القادر

ليكون جائزاً لحامل هذا الباسابورت المسمّي موالسلطان مسعن من ممالك ربو وملوها ان يقدم في السفر وليكون محميّاً من كل سرق واذي وظلم حيث لا يريد الاّ السلم فتكونوا مكرّمين وتصير اسماكم مشهودةً بين اقوام العالم القادرة ۞ جرنسر كنسل لكوس

اسلّم عليكم باسمي هذا وبختم وظيفتي

Campbell
Consul

BRITISH CONSULATE LAGOS

Figure 5.1. British passport issued in Arabic
Source: TNA, FO 2/28, Slave Trade No. 2, Enclosure in Letter from Consul Campbell to the Foreign Office, Items 85 and 86, 4 February 1859. I thank Kristin Mann for pointing me to this document.

coast. Further, Campbell's strategy of furnishing these emigrants with British passports was part of his interventionist agenda toward abolition that he temporarily adopted in the late 1850s.[419] Indeed, during this decade, the continuing regional wars and the active slave trade increased the likelihood that African-born emigrants, travelers, and self-liberated individuals would be re-enslaved; at this point, emancipated people who wished to journey to the interior were at even higher risk of recapture. Mann explains that this was particularly relevant for the returnee population, "especially so long as facial scarification, language, dress, or other distinguishing features set them apart as strangers and probable slaves."[420] Finally, in the 1850s and 1860s, recapture outside of Lagos still carried the threat of sale into Atlantic slavery. This agenda, in addition to his investment in promoting British commerce in the region, likely led Campbell to extend the practice of issuing British passports to all Africans who wished to travel to the interior.[421] It is also in this context that, in the second half of the 1850s, the Consul of Lagos began

[419] By the end of the 1850s, British officials (including Campbell) became more aggressive in their efforts to oppose local slavery and the regional slave trade. This interventionist tactic was only temporary. Mann argues that the 1861 annexation—and the question of how Lagos could absorb the large influx of self-liberated Africans who fled to the colony from the hinterland and neighboring towns—caused officials to abandon this approach, out of fear of opposition from local authorities and big men. On a local level, the British had to balance the 1833 Abolition of Slavery Bill—which declared that slavery was unlawful in British colonial possessions around the world—and the practicalities of maintaining good relations with the chiefs in the region. Thus, even after annexation, the British did little to control slavery among non-British-born residents in Lagos. It was not until 1874 that the British issued a Gold Coast ordinance abolishing slave dealing in the colony; however, even this ordinance did not significantly affect local slavery, although some fugitives found new economic and social opportunities in Lagos. See Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 142–45, 184–85.

[420] Mann, 144.

[421] In this way, Campbell's issuance of British passports was a state-building activity, on both local and Atlantic scales. Indeed, as Aristide Zolberg and John Torpey argue, state-building (and state-destroying) activities, such as the implementation of documentary systems that legitimize human movement, should be central to studies of (im)migration patterns. See Zolberg, "International Migration Policies in a Changing World System," in *Human Migration: Patterns and Policies*, eds. William McNeill and Ruth Adams (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1978), 241–86; Zolberg, "The Formation of New States as a Refugee-Generating Process," *Annals of the American Academy of Social and Political Science* 467 (May 1983): 24–38; Torpey, "Coming and Going: On the State Monopolization of the Legitimate 'Means of

furnishing those emigrants who sought to travel back to Brazil (and also to Cuba) with British passports, as well.[422]

Yet, by the time Henriqueta's case came before British authorities at the end of 1859, Campbell had died, leaving the newly appointed Consul Brand unsure of how to proceed in offering protection to the young girl.[423] On the one hand, Brand was determined to withhold *any* travel documents—either Henriqueta's Brazilian passport, of which the Consulate had possession, or a British passport—until he discerned whether the girl's mother actually wished for her to return to Salvador. On the other hand, in anticipation of having to "save" Henriqueta from a "second slavery," Brand requested Lord Clarendon's opinion on continuing Campbell's practice of issuing British passports. He admitted, "There seems to be no authority in the General Instructions, for Consuls giving Passports to any person who is not a British Subject…The circumstances of this place are, however, exceptional, and it has grown into a custom."[424]

In fact, this practice of granting passports to non-British subjects at Lagos was unprecedented within the British Empire, especially since notions and procedures surrounding

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Movement,'" *Sociological Theory* 16 (1998): 239–59; Mark B. Salter, *Rights of Passage: The Passport in International Relations* (Boulder and London: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2003).

[422] The earliest Brazilian documentation that I have yet to find, in which an African-born individual presented a British passport to local authorities, is the travel request of Ricardo Máximo da Rosa in 1868. In his company was an eight-year-old Brazilian-born girl named Sofia Garcia, whose separate passport request states that Rosa would deliver her to her grandmother, Maria Antonia Garcia, when they reached the African coast. Perhaps Rosa was related to the girl and her grandmother, or he was entrusted to care for the child because of the additional security that his British passport gave him. Further, his possession of a British passport suggests that he had made the Atlantic journey before; his knowledge of the voyage, and of the African coast, may have also contributed to the family's decision to place Sofia in his care; see APEB, Polícia do Porto, RP (1868–1870), maço 5902, 24 November 1868.

[423] Campbell died after a short bout with dysentery on 17 April 1859. His successor, Brand, only held the position of Consul for six months; in June 1860, he also succumbed to dysentery. For a comprehensive history of the Lagos Consulate and the succession of its leadership during this decade, see R.S. Smith, "The Lagos Consulate, 1851–1861: An Outline," *The Journal of African History* 15, no. 3 (1974): 393–416.

[424] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859.

passports did not even begin to be standardized until the third decade of the nineteenth century.[425] While British passports existed as early as 1710, they served primarily as diplomatic documents through the 1840s; during this period, according to Martin Anderson, "Passports were for internal travel or for Britons to enter or leave Britain."[426] By the 1850s, British passports were issued by the Foreign Office; however, they were uncommon, due to the fact that they were too expensive for most travelers to obtain.[427]

It was precisely during the years that Campbell began issuing British passports to African and African-descended people in Lagos that regulations became more defined in the metropole. Throughout the 1850s, various reforms democratized passports as travel documents among British citizens; in April 1858, the Foreign Office published the new changes to passport procedures in the newspaper. In his analysis of this publication, Anderson explains, "The regulations…opened obtaining a passport to 'any British subject who shall produce…a certificate of his identity, signed

[425] Notions and procedures surrounding passports were not fully standardized until 1914, when the Great War ended the era in which people could cross borders with a relative amount of fluidity. In England, the Aliens Restriction Act granted the government increased power during times of war to restrict aliens from entering the United Kingdom. While this legislation did not explicitly include passport requirements, it inevitably prioritized documentary evidence of travelers' nationalities. See John Torpey, "Passports and the Development of Immigration Controls in the North Atlantic World During the Long Nineteenth Century," in *Migration Control in the North Atlantic World: The Evolution of State Practices in Europe and the United States from the French Revolution to the Inter-War Period*, eds. Andreas Fahrmeir, Olivier Faron, and Patrick Weil (New York and Oxford: Berghahn Books, 2003), 84–85. On the lack of standardization of the passport system, see also Torpey, "Coming and Going," 239–59; Kenneth Diplock, "Passports and Protection in International Law," *Transactions of the Grotius Society* 32 (1946): 49.

[426] Martin Anderson, "Tourism and the Development of the Modern British Passport, 1814–1858," *Journal of British Studies* 49, no. 2 (2010): 262.

[427] The majority of individuals who obtained passports used them to travel to the European continent. On 22 February 1851, the Foreign Office adopted reforms that decreased the cost of a British passport from £2 7s 6d. to 7s 6d. Prior to this date, the passport fee at the Foreign Office was prohibitive for most travelers; many British subjects obtained passport *visés* issued by foreign ministers in London instead. Until the 1860s, these *visés* were all that was required of British travelers to continental Europe, and foreign ministers granted these documents free of charge; see Marjorie Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain* (Hampshire and New York: Palgrave, 2001), 25.

by any mayor, magistrate, justice of the peace, religion, physician, surgeon, solicitor, or notary resident in the United Kingdom.' The British passport was thus transformed into a national document of individual identity for all Britons."[428] By the year 1858, then, passports became documents that equated British citizens "as having particular rights by reason of their national identity."[429] In sum, in the mid-nineteenth century, the lower price of passports increased their prevalence, while the definition of who qualified for a British passport narrowed; as Marjorie Morgan clarifies, "British passports were issued only to British-born subjects, Ionians, or such foreigners as had become naturalized either by Act of Parliament or by a Certificate of Naturalization."[430]

As a result, British consuls throughout the Empire rarely questioned the stipulations surrounding the issuance of passports during this period. In my research, I have found only one other correspondence that appears in the Foreign Office records for the 1850s, which raises the possibility of a British passport being used for a formerly enslaved person residing in the colonies. In 1859—the same year that Consul Brand debated over whether to issue a passport to Henriqueta in Lagos—the British Governor of Malta, John Gaspard Le Marchant, inquired about the legality of giving a British passport to a manumitted man who lived on the island. In his letter to Edward Bulwer-Lytton, the Secretary of State for the Colonies, he explained, "A black slave who was brought down to Malta in 1844 from Alexandria…and who was consequently set free and afterwards christened by the name of Guiseppe Fenech has applied for a British Passport in order to go to Rome. As I have no power to grant Passports except to British Subjects, may I request that

[428] Anderson, "Tourism and the Development of the Modern British Passport," 281–82.

[429] Anderson, 282.

[430] Morgan, *National Identities and Travel in Victorian Britain*, 26.

you will favor me with your instructions on the subject."[431] Colonial officials were unsure how to reply, and Le Marchant's inquiry proceeded up the governmental ranks in London. Lytton transmitted a copy of the letter to the Earl of Malmesbury, James Howard Harris, who served as the Foreign Secretary in 1858 and 1859. Lytton raised the question of "whether by the naturalization of Guiseppe Fenech at Malta the difficulty at present existing in granting him a Passport would not be surmounted."[432] The Earl of Malmesbury sent a vague response, in which he suggested that Lytton inquire as to whether Governor Le Marchant could "under the circumstances…grant a Passport to Guiseppe Fenech without naturalization."[433]

Thus far, I have not been able to determine the fate of Fenech within the historical record. However, even if he did receive a British passport, the conversation between colonial officials reveals that this practice was not only uncommon in 1859, but it was seemingly unprecedented in the eyes of most British agents, both in London and abroad. Indeed, officials were unsure how to legally utilize British passports as freedom documents for manumitted Africans who needed security against re-enslavement during their endeavors around the Atlantic.

Such was not the case in Lagos. In fact, African residents in the town were definitively distinguished as non-British subjects, even after the settlement's 1861 annexation. The first governor of Lagos Colony, Henry Stanhope Freeman (1862–1865) made this distinction clear in an 1863 report to the Foreign Office, in which he referred to the African population in the

[431] TNA, FO 84/1093, Slave Trade No. 17, Sir J. Gaspard Le Marchant to Sir E. Bulwer-Lytton, 22 January 1859.

[432] TNA, FO 84/1093, Slave Trade No. 17, Merivale to Fitzgerald, 8 March 1859. At the time, Herman Merivale, a civil servant and historian, served as the Permanent Under-Secretary for the colonies, in which capacity he worked under Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton. William Robert Seymour Vesey-FitzGerald, who went by Seymour FitzGerald, served as Under-Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs in 1858 and 1859; he worked under the Foreign Secretary during this period.

[433] TNA, FO 84/1093, Slave Trade No. 17, Fitzgerald to Merivale, 16 March 1859.

settlement as "Lagos subjects on British Territory."[434] Further, the British passports themselves, as they were drafted by Campbell, remained entirely devoid of any acknowledgement of citizenship or subjecthood. The passport stated, "Permission is given to [Name of Person] an African of Free Condition to proceed from this place to [Declaration] in the [Name of Vessel &c.]. All Kings and Potentates at amity with Her Britannic Majesty are requested to allow the said [Name of Person] to proceed to his destination without let or hindrance" (Figure 5.2).[435] Finally, even at the moment when Brand wrote to the Earl of Clarendon about Henriqueta, he acknowledged that he was inquiring about issuing a British passport to "a person who is not a British Subject."[436]

It was in reference to these ambiguities—as well as the unprecedented nature of providing British passports to Africans within locales occupied by the Empire—that Consul Brand asked the Foreign Office how he should proceed with Henriqueta's case. Before responding to Brand's letter, officials in London debated among themselves about the legality and legitimacy of consuls granting British passports to Henriqueta and other non-British subjects. One official reflected, "The passports [issued by Consul Campbell]...enabled many hundreds of liberated Africans to return to their homes in the interior of Africa…Mr. Campbell received several letters from Native Chiefs very large distances in the interior thanking him for having enabled their relatives who had been carried away into Slavery to return home."[437] Another London official retorted, "I concur…in

[434] TNA, FO 84/1201, Memorandum by Gov. Freeman, 10 June 1863, "Affairs of Lagos, Badagry, and Palma. Claims of merchants for losses in consequence of the bombardment of Epé," 192.

[435] TNA, FO 84/1088, Enclosure in Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859, "Form of Passport Given to the Africans."

[436] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 19, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859.

[437] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, Enclosure in Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 30 December 1859.

so far as the general merits are concerned, but I doubt whether this form of Passport is justifiable."[438] A third official suggested, "I think that altho' the practice of giving Passports to persons not British subjects is singular, and could not be allowed under ordinary circumstances, Mr. Brand may continue to act as he has hitherto done."[439]

Ultimately, the Foreign Office acknowledged the "exceptional" circumstances at play in Lagos and authorized Brand's request to continue issuing British passports.[440] Indeed, as one official wrote, "Whatever…may be the Law of the case as regards to the Consul to issue these Passports the practice of doing so has been productive of good results, and with regard to those liberated Africans who return occasionally to the Brazils or Cuba, the possession by them of a Passport from a British Consul is a *Certificate of their freedom* and would enable our Consuls to protect them in any difficulties they might get into."[441] Thus, with Lord Clarendon's permission, British administrators confirmed that Henriqueta should be able to protect herself from a "second slavery." Further evidence is necessary to know whether Consul Brand issued Henriqueta a British passport; as it stood in his letter, he planned to confirm with Victoria, the girl's mother in Salvador, before he made a final decision on the matter.[442] However, Brand sent away the Brazilian traders

[438] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, Enclosure in Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 13 February 1860.

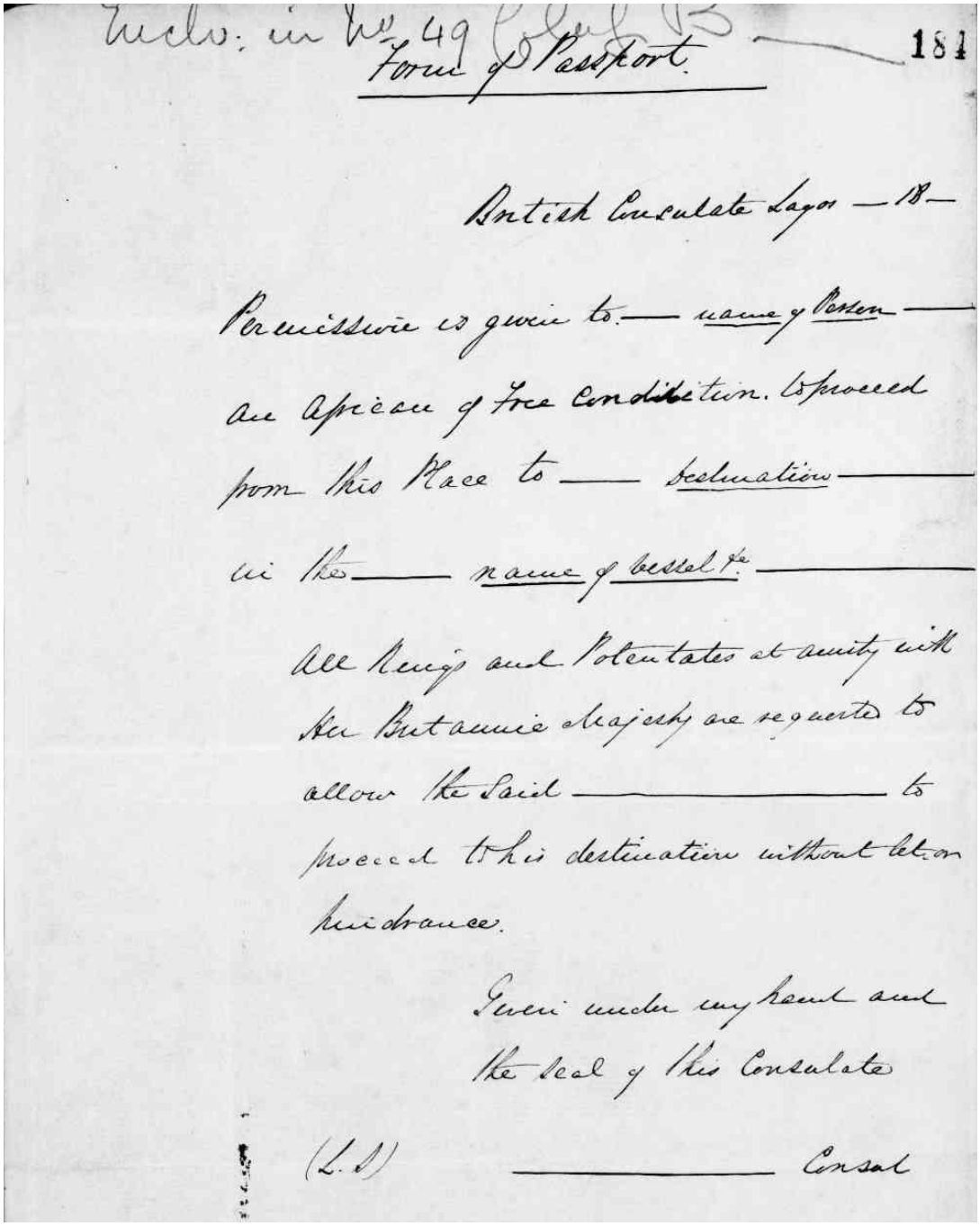
[439] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, Enclosure in Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859.

[440] TNA, FO 84/1114, Slave Trade No. 13, Foreign Office to Consul Brand, 17 March 1860.

[441] TNA, FO 84/1088, Slave Trade No. 10, Enclosure in Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 30 December 1859. My emphasis.

[442] During Brand's time as the Consul of Lagos, he kept a register of British passports granted to non-British subjects. It is unclear how long this register was maintained, and I have yet to locate the document itself, if it is still in existence; see TNA, FO 84/1115, Slave Trade No. 22, Brand to Russell, 24 April 1860.

who advocated Henriqueta's her return to her former master; the delegation left with a "grumbling admission that what…[Brand] proposed…would be complied with."[443]



Form of Passport. 181

British Consulate Lagos —18—

Permission is given to — name of Person —
an African of Free condition. to proceed
from this Place to — destination —
in the — name of vessel &c —

All Kings and Potentates at amity with
Her Britannic Majesty are requested to
allow the said — to
proceed to his destination without let or
hindrance.

Given under my hand and
the seal of this Consulate

(L.S.) — Consul

Figure 5.2. Form of British Passport Issued by the British Consulate at Lagos
Source: TNA, FO 84/1088, Enclosure in Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859, "Form of Passport Given to the Africans," 184.

[443] TNA, FO 84/1099, Slave Trade No. 10, Brand to Clarendon, 20 December 1859.

Regardless of the outcome, the correspondence between Brand and the Foreign Office regarding the possibility of penning a British passport for Henriqueta ensured that Campbell's practice of giving these "certificates of freedom" to Brazilian and Cuban emigrants would continue. Over the following decades, the possession of a British passport provided hundreds of manumitted Africans with a loophole through which they could travel across the Atlantic, in order to maintain their social ties or pursue commercial endeavors in Brazil. In fact, out of the 3,619 Africans and their descendants for whom the ABRD accounts, 421 of them—or approximately 12 percent—possessed British passports.[444] However, when this number is considered in relation to the 541 emigrants whom the ABRD traces traversing the Atlantic multiple times, the percentage of African and African-descended returnees who secured British passports increases to approximately 57 percent. In other words, over half of the "Brazilian" individuals who made multiple journeys between Lagos and Bahia obtained British passports, in order to protect their freedom in the wider Atlantic.

These calculations support the notion that emigrants' visions of freedom were inextricably linked to their mobility. Despite the hyper-precarious state that accompanied regional and oceanic travel, African emigrants from Brazil continued to venture into the hinterland and across the

[444] This does not include individuals who are listed on a single passport under a familial head. As David Sartorius points out for nineteenth-century Cuban passports, household dependents were always covered under the passports of male household heads. He explains, "Women almost never received their own passports if they were traveling with their husbands or fathers." However, as this chapter makes clear, both scenarios were true for women who received British passports. While many women traveled under the passports of male household heads, at least some married women received their own passports. Further, based on the inconsistency of the archival records in Bahia and the lack of available records about passports issued by the Consulate of Lagos, I am certain that this number is significantly higher than what I can discern from the passport requests and passenger lists. See Sartorius, "Finding Order, Inspiration and José Martí in the *Libros de Pasaportes*," *Hemisphere* 27 (2018): 12. Sartorius is currently writing about passports, the materiality and politics of migration and documentation, and mobility for people of African descent in Cuba; see also Sartorius, "Paper Trails," *English Language Notes* 56, no. 2 (2018): 25–27.

Atlantic to maintain their social and commercial relationships. Along these lines, many of the individuals who traveled to Lagos did so strategically, in order to obtain British passports. Using these "certificates of freedom," they attempted to secure their manumitted status without surrendering their mobility, which was crucial to these returnees' understandings of liberty itself.

This prioritization of geographical movement as an important assertion of freed status can be seen in the various ways that manumitted African and African-descended emigrants employed British passports during this period. In some cases, the manumitted African returnees who obtained these passports continued to reside in Lagos, but made multiple trips to Brazil. For example, in 1861, a liberated "Mina" named Júlio Thomas da Costa Ramos applied for a passport for himself, his wife, and their three children to travel to the African coast, after he sailed from Rio de Janeiro to Bahia two months earlier.[445] The family settled in Lagos, where Júlio was known as Sulemanu Lemonu, suggesting that he was a practitioner of Islam.[446] While Júlio maintained his Lagos residence for the remainder of his life, evidence shows that he made multiple trips back to Brazil before his death around 1890. While I have not yet located the records that indicate the date on which Júlio received a British passport, he did have one by the time he came to Salvador in 1873.[447] The liberated African traveler made additional voyages to Bahia in 1878 and 1884.[448] In both cases,

[445] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1860–1861), maço 5899, 30 January 1861, #2086.

[446] LSHC, Chief Registrar's Minutebook of Civil Cases (hereafter, CRMCC), *Estate of Julio Thomas Ramos da Costa alias Sulemanu Lemonu, deceased*, File 96, No. 5, 1890, 288.

[447] Evidence indicates that Júlio Thomas da Costa Ramos had been to Brazil at least one other time between his initial emigration and his possession of a British passport. In 1867, he requested a passport to travel again from Rio de Janeiro to Salvador, and then to the coast of Africa. However, by the time he departed from Bahia on the *Viajante* in 1873, the brig's passenger list recorded him as "Ingleza," indicating that he possessed a British passport by the time he made his second visit to Brazil following his emigration. APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1864–1868), maço 5901, 6 November 1867; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 27 September 1873, Brigue, *Viajante*, Costa d'África.

[448] Júlio sailed to Salvador from Lagos on the *Legeiro* on 20 December 1878. He departed again for West Africa on 31 May 1879; the police records indicate that he possessed a British passport. The liberated

evidence shows that he went to Rio de Janeiro from Salvador, probably to engage in business.[449] At around seventy years of age, in January 1885, Júlio sailed to his Lagos home for the last time. In this way, Júlio's possession of a British passport allowed him to maintain his trans-Atlantic social and commercial connections after he emigrated to West Africa, with less risk of re-enslavement during his travels.

As the statistics from the ABRD show, Júlio's multiple Atlantic voyages were not an archival anomaly; many liberated Africans used their British passports as "certificates of freedom" to engage with their networks in Brazil and Lagos. While 77 percent (361 individuals) of these travelers were men, women comprised a significant 23 percent (105 individuals) of the people who obtained British passports in Lagos, in order to continue crossing the Atlantic. For instance, a liberated African businesswoman named Amelia Joanna first sailed to Lagos on the *Alfrêdo* in 1876. In 1879, she returned to Bahia in possession of a British passport, with which she sailed to Rio de Janeiro to engage with her commercial networks there. Later that year, she again departed for Lagos; she made one more trip to West Africa in 1881.[450]

African entered the port of Salvador again on 17 August 1884, and he left for Lagos using a British passport on 25 January 1885. See APEB: Republicano, Livro 2, Entrada de passageiros (1873, Jul–1879, Fev), 20 December 1878, Brigue, *Legeiro*, Lagos; Republicano, Livro 4, Entradas de passageiros (1883, Nov–1888, Jan), 17 August 1884, Patacho, *Cincora*, Lagos; Republicano, Livro 53, Saídas de passageiros (1877, Nov–1881, Dez), 31 May 1879; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1879–1881), maço 5907, 23 May 1879; Republicano, Livro 54, Saídas de passageiros (1882, Jan–1886, Fev), 25 January 1885; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1881–1885), maço 5909, 15 January 1885.

[449] APEB: Republicano, Livro 53, Saídas de passageiros (1877, Nov–1881, Dez), 5 February 1879, Vapor, *Girende*, Rio da Prata e escalas; Republicano, Livro 54, Saídas dos passageiros (1882, Jan–1886, Fev), 4 October 1884.

[450] APEB: Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 19 April 1876, Patacho, *Alfrêdo*, Costa d'África; Republicano, Livro 53, Saídas dos passageiros (1877, Nov–1881, Dez), 5 February 1879, Vapor, *Girende*, Rio da Prata e escalas; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1879–1881), maço 5907, 23 May 1879; Republicano, Livro 53, Saídas dos passageiros (1877, Nov–1881, Dez), 10 February 1881, Brigue, *Ligeiro*, Lagos.

In addition to gender, birthplace also factored into these emigrants' decisions and abilities to obtain British passports. Out of the 421 individuals who utilized these travel documents to travel to Bahia, approximately 77 percent (360 individuals) were born in Africa.[451] This calculation reveals the dangers of Atlantic travel for Africans in particular; it also illuminates the ways in which African-born individuals attempted to protect themselves in places where they lacked citizenship rights. Finally, Lagos consuls' abolitionist and expansionist sentiments may have contributed to Africans' predominance as British passport holders. Indeed, as part of their project of penetration into the interior, colonial officials were more likely to furnish Africans who had relatives in the hinterland with travel documents, due to the potential that they might communicate the good intentions of the new coastal power to their Yoruba connections. Thus, freed African-born emigrants' preexisting regional networks likely facilitated these individuals' capacities to maintain their trans-Atlantic ties—perhaps to a greater extent than their Brazilian-born offspring, who emigrated with them—because of their access to British passports.

The most illuminating evidence regarding the relationship between mobility and freedom—and the centrality of Lagos in shaping Atlantic understandings of liberty during this

[451] In some cases, the lack of consistency and specificity across passport registers and passenger lists from Bahia make it difficult to discern whether the African-born individuals who possessed British passports had been enslaved in Brazil, were descendants of freed African emigrants, or were local residents of Lagos, who either worked for Brazilian merchants or sought to expand their own commercial networks by trying their hands in the markets of Salvador and Rio. For instance, a sixteen-year-old, African-born individual named José Dahú left Bahia on 19 April 1876; he returned to Brazil on 11 November of the same year with a British passport. As an African-born minor, it is possible that he was actually born in Lagos, and he was granted a passport there (APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Lista de entrada e saída de passageiros [1876], maço 5959-3, 11 November 1876; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros [1873, Jul–1877, Nov], 19 April 1876, Patacho, *Alfrêdo*, Costa d'África).

Along these lines, an African traveler named Faladé entered the port of Salvador with a British passport in April 1888; in June of the same year, he returned to Lagos. Without further evidence, it is impossible to know if he had ever been enslaved in Brazil, or if he had appealed to the British Consul in Lagos to issue him a passport for his protection as he traversed the Atlantic (APEB: Republicano, Livro 5, Entradas de passageiros [1888, Jan–1889, Jul], 14 April 1888, Patacho, *Ericurense*, Lagos; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP [1885–1889], maço 5910, 4 June 1888, 264; Republicano, Livro 55, Saída de passageiros (1886, Fev–1890, Set), 23 June 1888, Barca, *Cecilia*, Lagos).

period—emerges out of the passenger lists located in the state archives of Bahia. These port records highlight the instances in which individuals—and, at times, groups of manumitted Africans—briefly went to Lagos, returning almost immediately to Bahia in the possession of British passports. For instance, a liberated African woman named Joaquina Maria sailed to Lagos on 3 April 1875; passenger lists from Salvador show that she returned in November of the same year with a British passport.[452] In another case, a freed African named Mathias da Costa—who was known by the name Brimah across the Atlantic—traveled on a passport from Alagoas to Lagos via Salvador on 28 September 1884. Approximately one year later, on 30 December 1885, Mathias arrived in Bahia on the *Bomfim*. While this passenger list does not mention his British passport, his next trip to Lagos on 28 April 1886 reveals that he was, in fact, in possession of one; the passport records for that year record Mathias da Costa as a liberated African, "*com passaporte Inglez*."[453] In a final example, an African woman named Joaquina Cerqueira left for Lagos on 23 June 1888; she returned to Bahia on 19 November of the same year. She had in her possession a British passport, which she used only a few days later to voyage to Pelotas.[454]

This pattern of travel—in which liberated African and African-descended individuals went to Lagos specifically to obtain passports before quickly returning to Bahia—was also replicated

[452] Some of the records list Joaquina Maria as a female, while others refer to this liberated African as "Joaquim Maria." Such scriptural errors further complicate the collation of individuals according to gender, place of birth, and other categories in the ABRD. However, corroborative evidence leads me to believe that this is the same person. See APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1874–1875), maço 5904; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Lista de entrada e saída de passageiros (1876), maço 5959-3; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov).

[453] APEB: Republicano, Livro 4, Entradas de passageiros (1883, Fev–1888, Jan), 30 December 1885, Patacho, *Bomfim,* Lagos; Republicano, Livro 55, Saídas dos passageiros (1886, Fev–1890, Set), 28 April 1886, Palhabote, *Africano*, Lagos; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1885–1889), maço 5910, 15 April 1886.

[454] APEB: Republicano, Livro 5, Entradas de passageiros (1888, Jan–1889), 19 November 1888, Barca, *Cecilia*, Lagos; Republicano, Livro 55, Saída de passageiros (1886, Fev–1890, Set), 23 June 1888, Barca, *Cecilia*, Lagos; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1885–1889), maço 5910, 26 November 1888.

by entire groups of travelers. For instance, on 19 April 1876, fifty-two aging Africans and their Brazilian-born children embarked for Lagos on the *Alfrêdo*. Only seven months later, in November of that same year, fifteen of these same individuals again boarded the *Alfrêdo* and sailed for Bahia. Out of the forty-five passengers on board, the thirty-two freed Africans who had been enslaved in Brazil all possessed British passports. Thus, the fifteen travelers who sailed to Lagos on the *Alfrêdo* just seven months prior reentered the port of Salvador in possession of these documents.[455] Another instance occurred in 1877, just one year after the *Alfrêdo* brought African passengers to Bahia with British passports. On 7 April, sixty-seven African and African-descended individuals boarded the *Paraguassú* and sailed for Lagos. On 6 August, the *Paraguassú* returned to Bahia with sixteen Africans on board, all of whom sought to do business in Brazil; at least six of these passengers had been on the ship's voyage to Lagos just four months earlier. Most significantly, all sixteen of the Africans on the *Paraguassú* entered the port of Salvador in possession of British passports.[456]

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[455] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Lista de entrada e saída de passageiros (1876), maço 5959-3; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 19 April 1876, Potacho, *Alfrêdo*, Costa d'África. It appears that at least some of these individuals possessed British passports prior to this voyage. For instance, Bastião Barra, a liberated African on both voyages of the *Alfrêdo*, had a British passport when he traveled to Lagos in 1873; see APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1873–1874), maço 5903, 14 January 1874.

Interestingly, the group of people who voyaged to Lagos and back in 1876 included Justa Marcelina da Silva, a liberated African, who traveled with her Brazilian-born daughter, Francisca. As Castillo's detailed work on the Casa Branca Candomblé house reveals, Justa had recently purchased her manumission from her mistress, Marcellina da Silva (Obatossi), the head of the *terreiro*. On their journey to and from Lagos, the freed woman and her daughter also joined Eliseu do Bomfim, another member of this religious community. Castillo's analysis of these individuals highlights one of the reasons that Africans obtained British passports, in an attempt to maintain their mobility among networks of orixa priests, priestesses, and practitioners. Castillo also points out the phenomenon of Africans traveling to Lagos specifically to obtain passports, in relation to the *Alfrêdo*. See "Entre memória, mito e história," 65–110; "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 37.

[456] APEB: Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 7 April 1877; Republicano, Livro 2, Entrada de passageiros (1873, Jul–1879, Fev), 6 August 1877. While these particular sources do not specify that these Africans re-entered the port of Salvador with British passports, Wlamyra Albuquerque, who has written extensively about the *Paraguassú*, finds that all of them possessed these documents; see *O jogo da dissimulação: Abolição e cidadania negra no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009), 52.

As these examples of manumitted Africans obtaining British passports in West Africa show, these emigrants' understandings of freedom were inextricably linked to their social and geographical mobility. Despite the risks of re-enslavement, these freed individuals prioritized regional and trans-Atlantic movement as an assertion of their liberated status. In this context, Lagos became a crucial node of freedom on the Atlantic circuit during the second half of the nineteenth century. Through the consulate's practice of issuing British passports to manumitted emigrants from Brazil, African travelers obtained "certificates of freedom," which they employed to increase their mobility on both regional and Atlantic scales.

At the same time, these findings reveal that freedom itself was a commodity. After buying their writs of manumission from their Brazilian proprietors, Africans had to repeatedly repurchase their liberty as they moved across social and geographical registers. In both Bahia and Lagos, formerly enslaved Africans and their descendants maintained their freedom through their physical possession of it in documentary form. Indeed, as Chalhoub outlines, manumitted individuals in Brazil created "a paper trail of their condition," in order to "maintain the possession" of their freedom when their former masters attempted to reenslave them.[457] Likewise, for freed emigrants in Lagos, liberty continued to be commodified in the form of British passports. In an 1856 letter to the Foreign Office, Campbell explained, "These [passports] I issue to natives gratis, to…the other Emigrants, five strings of cowries, about 3^d value, are charged."[458]

In this way, this analysis of manumitted people's strategic assertions of liberty contributes to scholars' understandings of how formerly enslaved Africans conceptualized and performed their

[457] Chalhoub, "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society," 420.

[458] TNA, FO 84/1002, Slave Trade No. 34, Campbell to Clarendon, 29 November 1856. For an explanation of the coexisting monetary systems of dollars and cowries during the nineteenth century, see A.G. Hopkins, "The Currency Revolution in South-West Nigeria in the Late Nineteenth Century," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3, no. 3 (1966): 471–83.

freedom during the second half of the nineteenth century. However, it also allows for a reconsideration of the ways that liberty functioned as an Atlantic status. Further, I contend that these manumitted Africans' interpretations of what it meant to be free influenced—and were influenced by—national and international understandings of liberty at a pivotal moment in the history of Atlantic slavery. Thus, the final section of this chapter explores these emigrants' employment of British passports as objective manifestations of their conceptualizations of liberty, mobility, and nationhood. I argue that these Africans' strategic use of these "certificates of freedom" prompted trans-imperial debates about the meanings of liberty, and whose iterations of freedom would prevail. By asserting their transatlanticism, through tropes and documents that signified their foreignness and their freedom, these Africans protected their liberty and exercised their mobility; in turn, their assertions altered imperial understandings of freedom throughout the Atlantic.

"To be considered as real travelers": Manumitted Africans, British Passports, and Trans-Imperial Debates about the Meanings of Freedom

Through their geographical movement between Bahia and Lagos, African and African-descended emigrants fashioned themselves as true Atlantic travelers. At the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, even Brazilian authorities recognized these individuals as such; in an 1857 letter to the British Consul in Rio de Janeiro, P. Campbell Scarlett, the Viscount of Manguarape wrote, "Those Africans who, after having been slaves, free themselves by legal means, and retire to their native land…[are] to be considered as *real travelers* who, quite voluntarily, and without the intervention of the Authority, leave the Empire."[459]

[459] TNA, FO 84/1051, Enclosure to Slave Trade No. 1, Viscount of Maranguipe [*sic*] to Mr. P. Campbell Scarlett, "Respecting the ill treatment of Africans returning home on board the 'General Rego' and 'Emilia.' Brazilian Government declines to interfere," 22 December 1857. My emphasis.

Yet, it was precisely this mode of self-fashioning that threatened Brazilian officials just over a decade later, as the number of freed Africans who traveled between Lagos and Bahia using British passports dramatically increased in the 1870s. Indeed, in the 1860s, port records identify only a handful of Africans entering Salvador with British passports. However, the ABRD reveals that at least 183 individuals registered their "*passaportes inglezes*" with the Salvador port police in the 1870s; in the 1880s, 284 African and African-descended people arrived in Bahia with British passports.[460]

As outlined in the previous section, many of these individuals employed these documents to protect their liberty while traveling within the West African interior and across the Atlantic to Bahia. However, evidence reveals that a significant number of individuals used these "certificates of freedom" to travel extensively within Brazil, as well. Indeed, I was able to locate regional travel requests for 42 percent of the freed African and African-descended people who possessed British passports in the 1870s. For the 1880s, the ABRD finds that 49 percent of the liberated individuals who requested regional passports traveled "*com passaporte inglez*" ("with a British passport").

For most of these travelers, regional journeys accompanied trans-Atlantic voyages to and from Lagos. Emigrants usually sailed from the West African port town and disembarked in Salvador; they then went to the port police to request passage to other parts of Brazil, and presented their British passports as their travel documents. Frequently, these individuals did not remain in Salvador for long, suggesting that they came to Brazil with a clear purpose to do business or to visit family outside of Bahia. For example, on 6 March 1888, a liberated African named Gibrillo

[460] Port records that document the disembarkations of liberated Africans in Salvador often did not state the type of passports that they carried. Rather, they simply referred to them as "*Africanos*"; at times, these documents also recorded their freed status. Thus, I suspect that the total number of people who arrived at the port of Salvador in possession of British passports was significantly higher for all three of these decades.

Antônio Miranda da Silva entered the port of Salvador from Lagos; on 20 March, he left for Rio de Janeiro with the British passport that he had obtained in Lagos.[461] In another instance, on 20 March 1883, a freed African named Rafael Francisco Antônio Affonso, who initially came from Rio Grande do Sul to Salvador, departed on the *Africano* for Lagos. He returned to Bahia just over one year later on 27 April 1884. On 1 May, he presented his British passport from the Lagos Consulate to the police, in order to request permission to travel back to Rio Grande do Sul.[462] The fact that Rafael intended to return to the Brazilian province from which he originally departed suggests that he sought to connect with his familial and business ties there; in his trans-Atlantic and regional journeys between his networks of belonging, Rafael relied on a British passport to protect his freedom and mobility.[463]

As the number of individuals with British passports drastically increased in the 1870s, Brazilian officials took issue with this intersection between national and international travel among freed Africans. Prior to the availability of these passports, the movement of manumitted Africans within Brazil was both limited and heavily regulated. While all interprovincial travelers were required to procure passports, legislation passed in November 1831 made local travel by ship

[461] APEB: Republicano, Livro 5, Entradas de passageiros (1888, Jan–1889, Jul), 6 March 1888, Patacho, *Bomfim*, Lagos; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1885–1889), maço 5910, 20 March 1888, 244.

[462] Rio Grande do Sul was one of the more common provinces to which freed Africans in possession of British passports traveled; however, the majority of the regional requests made by these individuals was for voyages to Rio de Janeiro. African emigrants with British passports also sailed to various cities in Pernambuco, Alagoas, São Paulo, and Aracajú. For more information on local travel among emancipated Africans with British passports, see Christiane Santos de Jesus, "Em defesa da liberdade: As experiências de um africano liberto entre Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, e Lagos (1860–1880)" (PhD diss., UFBA, 2015), 61–66.

[463] APEB: Republicano, Livro 54, Saídas de passageiros (1882, Jan–1886, Fev); Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1881–1885), maço 5909; Republicano, Livro 4, Entradas de passageiros (1883, Nov–1888, Jan), 27 April 1884, Hiate, *Africano*, Lagos. Rafael Francisco Antônio Affonso departed again for Lagos on 23 June 1888; see APEB, Republicano, Livro 55, Saída de passageiros (1886, Fev–1890, Set), 23 Junho 1888, Barca, *Cecilia*, Lagos. There is yet another record of him traveling to Lagos on 25 May 1890; see APEB, Republicano, Livro 55, Saída de passageiros (1886, Fev–1890, Set), Patacho, *Bomfim*, Lagos.

especially risky for Africans; indeed, even while enslaved individuals illegally entered the country at astounding rates, this law banned free or freed Africans from entering Brazil.[464] In other words, non-enslaved Africans who attempted to disembark on Brazilian soil had no legal rights. In this context, Castillo explains, "[Even] Africans who traveled to other provinces by sea—the most common means—ran the risk of not being allowed reentry into Brazil."[465] A second law, passed in 1835, further limited Africans' abilities to move freely; this law included the clause that called for the deportation of all manumitted Africans in the country, as discussed in Chapter 1. To be sure, these legislative measures clarified the position of the Brazilian government regarding its view of formerly enslaved Africans; as the chief of police in Bahia articulated, Brazil saw these free and freed Africans as "the subjects of nations with which Brazil is not bound by any treaty." Thus, the police chief continued, "When they fall under suspicion or prove themselves to be dangerous they may be expelled with no injustice whatsoever."[466]

Under these laws, the deportation of Africans continued throughout the nineteenth century; in the latter part of this period, this practice became an important legal instrument with which Bahian officials removed Africans from the country, in an attempt to decrease the large population of freed individuals in Brazil.[467] Albuquerque explains, "The comings and goings of former African slaves were abundantly recorded by officials from the ports of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro.

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[464] This law was actually an extension of the treaty signed with Great Britain in 1826, in which Brazil agreed to end its participation in the Atlantic slave trade.

[465] Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 37.

[466] Francisco Souza Martins to the Ministry of Justice, 14 February 1835; quoted in Castillo, "Mapping the Nineteenth-Century Brazilian Returnee Movement," 27; Cunha, *Negros estrangeiros*, 100.

[467] As Fraga explains, "In the nineteenth century, deportation was the main instrument of the Bahian authorities to get rid of foreigners, especially Africans." See Walter Fraga Filho, *Mendigos, moleques e vadios na Bahia do século XIX* (São Paulo/Salvador: Hucitec/EDUFBa, 1995), 91; quoted in Albuquerque, *O jogo da dissimulação*, 50.

In Bahia, the re-exportation of Africans without any administrative disruption was commonplace."[468] For African-born freed people who wished to travel within Brazil, then, British passports became an important strategy of mobility during this period. Through their affiliations with a nation to whom Brazil *was* bound by treaty, freed Africans sought to protect their liberty and their freedom of movement on both regional and Atlantic scales.

Still, these Africans' connections to Great Britain were complex, based on the relationship between the two nations. Over much of the nineteenth century, Brazil repeatedly resisted British diplomatic and commercial pressures, which threatened the recently independent state. Indeed, in addition to Great Britain's ideological and political mission to force Brazil to conform with abolitionist policies, British officials and merchants aggressively asserted themselves into the commercial markets and economic endeavors of the country. In her examination of the complex dynamics between the two imperial powers, Albuquerque details the ways in which English officials attempted to impose their own economic agenda in Brazil. After 1831, British naval ships increased their patrols in Brazilian waters under abolitionist pretenses regarding the cessation of the Atlantic slave trade; the dwindling commerce in human labor heightened the demand for goods that British merchants provided. As the power of these merchants grew in the second half of the nineteenth century, the long-time Consul at Bahia, John Morgan, coerced the Brazilian government into lowering the import tax on English-made products.[469] In fact, Morgan was especially emphatic

[468] Albuquerque, *O jogo da dissimulação*, 50.

[469] In exchange for British merchants granting easy lines of credit to Brazilian customers, English-made goods were taxed 15 percent, as opposed to the 24 percent that other foreign-made products were forced to pay; see Albuquerque, 61.

about advancing the Queen's interests in Brazil, particularly with respect to advocating for the rights and advantages of British merchants who resided in Bahia.[470]

It was these ideological and economic motivations that prompted Morgan to advocate for freed Africans who wished to proceed between Lagos and Bahia using British passports. The Consul identified the transatlanticism of these African and African-descended travelers as an asset to British interests in Brazil. After all, many of these individuals were transnational traders; even those members of the emigrant community whose purpose in returning to Bahia was to connect with family members or religious contacts likely arrived with West African products to sell in Brazil. Arguably, then, out of all of the people traveling with British documents and residing in Her Majesty's territories, these "returnees" would have had the most knowledge of how to do business in both places.

At the same time, continued communication and movement among these trans-Atlantic travelers meant that both prospective returnees and those who had already emigrated to West Africa would have known about the support offered by the British Consulate in Lagos; likewise, these freed individuals were also aware of the growing alliance between the emigrant community and the British Consulate in Bahia. In fact, emigrants residing in Lagos may have even encountered a few freed Africans who *received* their passports from Consul John Morgan in Bahia. Indeed, in one instance recalled by Castillo, a self-emancipated African and his wife, Clemente Medeiros and

[470] Albuquerque has been the most definitive source that I have found on the importance of John Morgan in shaping Brazilian policy toward British merchants and the economic endeavors of the British Crown in Brazil during the nineteenth century; see Albuquerque, Chapter 1. Morgan also pressured Bahian officials regarding the construction of a railroad that would connect the Bahian hinterland to the coast; Morgan envisioned that this railway would provide British merchants with better access to the interior's gold and silver, encourage companies based in England to establish mines along the route, and give them a monopoly over the transport of these goods; see John Morgan, *The Paraguassú Steam Tram-Road, in the Province of Bahia, Empire of Brazil* (London: Smith, Elder, 1866).

Ritta Ribeiro, obtained passports from the British Consulate in Salvador in late 1859; when they requested passage to Rio Grande do Sul, the police arrested them, in response to that which they perceived as Morgan overstepping his bounds.[471]

This practice, in which the English Consul at Bahia also began issuing British passports, seems to be an extension of the same undertaking in Lagos. During the months following the 1856 incidents of the *General Rego* and the *Emilia*, in which freed emigrants were not landed in Lagos as promised, Campbell hoped that the consuls in Brazil would take action in these vessels' embarkation ports. In the correspondences between Campbell, the Foreign Office, Brazilian officials, and British consuls in Brazil, it became clear that Brazil did not intend to participate in the prevention of future incidents. For instance, the Viscount of Manguarape responded to a letter by Consul Scarlett, making it clear that the Brazilian government felt no obligation to come to the aid of self-manumitted Africans; the Viscount explained that, since these Africans had "freed themselves by legal means, and…voluntarily…leave the Empire, the Imperial Government, not knowing them, and they not being under the guardianship of a Brazilian authority, considers itself exempted from the duty."[472]

In light of the insistence by Brazilian officials that their nation was not responsible for the well-being of self-emancipated African travelers, it is possible that the British Consulate in Bahia

[471] Castillo, "Entre memória, mito e história," 77. In my own research, it appears that when these individuals requested permission to travel both nationally and internationally, the police at Bahia specified that they had received their passports at the British Consulate; port records noted that these individuals were "with a passport given by the Consul of England" ("*com passaporte dado pelo Consul de Inglaterra*"). Since most records simply indicated that Africans traveling with British passports requested to set sail "*com passaporte Inglez*," my suspicion is that the entries that mention the British Consul refer specifically to British passports issued by the British Consulate in Bahia. Thus far, in all of the passport requests that I have examined in the ABRD, I have found only three entries that include this specification.

[472] TNA, FO 84/1051, Enclosure to Slave Trade No. 1, Viscount Maranguipe [sic] to Mr. P. Campbell Scarlett, "Respecting the ill treatment of Africans returning home on board the 'General Rego' and 'Emilia.' Brazilian Government declines to interfere," 22 December 1857.

began issuing passports to freed people a few years later. Thus, the practice of granting British passports to technically non-British subjects—in this case, liberated African travelers—illuminates the ways that this closed circuit between Lagos and Brazil ultimately influenced imperial understandings of, and approaches to, freedom and mobility among African and African-descended people in the nineteenth-century Atlantic.

Thus, despite these consulates' self-serving commercial and ideological motivations for offering British passports, manumitted African-born individuals who wished to partake in both regional and trans-Atlantic travel went to great lengths to get them. For freed Africans who could not make the voyage to Lagos, the British Consulate in Bahia became a place to obtain British passports, in order to pursue regional commerce with less risk of re-enslavement. Further, evidence suggests that, among the emigrants who came from other West African ports to Bahia, some first traveled to Lagos to procure passports. For instance, Felicidade Sant Anna Grillo, a liberated African emigrant, left for the African coast on 22 November 1872. She returned to Salvador from Ouidah on 27 June 1873. However, before her departure, she went to Lagos, where she obtained a British passport; she then used this document from the Lagos Consulate to travel to Rio de Janeiro soon after her arrival in Brazil on 16 July 1873.[473]

On a few occasions, travelers obtained multiple foreign passports, which they subsequently presented to Brazilian authorities on their arrival in Salvador.[474] For instance, by the time that

[473] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Polícia minutas (1870–1873), maço 6091; Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 22 November 1872; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, Relação de entrada e saída dos passageiros (1851–1876), maço 3181-1, 27 June 1873, Patacho, *Eugenio*, Ajuda to Bahia; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1873–1874), maço 5903, 16 July 1873; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1881–1885), maço 5909, 1 May 1882.

[474] While many emigrants from Brazil settled in Ouidah, Porto Novo, and other coastal towns during the first half of the nineteenth century, it was not common for them to return to Bahia under French passports. However, these individuals did exist. In 1875, seven liberated Africans entered the port of Bahia with French passports, and one individual disembarked in Bahia in 1876 in possession of a French passport.

Miguel Bia, a liberated African, made his third voyage to Lagos in 1880, he had traveled within Brazil using both French and British passports that he had acquired during his previous stays in West Africa.[475] It is likely that freed Africans were aware of the heightened mobility that these passports could provide them in the context of Brazil's restrictive policies surrounding their geographical circulation. By obtaining multiple passports in West Africa, these individuals fashioned themselves as foreign travelers within Brazil; at the same time, through their lack of allegiance to any particular imperial power, they positioned themselves as true Atlantic travelers, outside of national identities.

In all of these circumstances, freed African travelers pitted one empire's legislation and documentation against another's, maximizing their mobility and asserting their liberty. The fact that the passports given to manumitted African travelers did not state that these individuals were British subjects (or even that they were under British protection) gave them the flexibility to achieve recognition or subvert categorization at specific moments and in particular locations; thus, using nationalist documentation, these Africans strategically fashioned their multilectical identities in ways that operated both within and outside of categories of belonging and foreignness, fixity and movement, and marginality and rootedness.

At the same time, while these documents were meant to serve as strategies with which these subjects protected their freedom and mobility, their ambiguity sometimes exacerbated the

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These are the only records that I have found of freed Africans entering Salvador with French passports from West Africa. See APEB: Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov); Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1874–1875), maço 5904; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1875–1877), maço 5905.

[475] APEB: Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1874–1875), maço 5904, 24 April 1875; Republicano, Livro 3, Entrada de passageiros (1879, Fev–1883, Nov), 22 September 1879, Patacho, *Garibaldi*, Lagos; Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1879–1881), maço 5907. By the time that Miguel Bia left for Lagos in 1880, Brazilian port records identified him as "*naturalizado Inglez,*" or an individual who had been naturalized. While the meaning of this term is not clear, I suspect that this was another phrase with which Brazilian scribes recorded Africans' possessions of British passports; it may have also referred to returnees who had permanently resided in Lagos for quite some time.

vulnerability of these travelers. Indeed, many freed African emigrants who attempted to disembark in Salvador with British passports were met with repudiation by Brazilian authorities. As previously discussed, government officials had always been resistant to British encroachments within the newly independent nation; they became more emphatically unforgiving of Africans traveling with British passports as their numbers increased in the 1870s. During this decade, Brazilian officials prevented a number of freed Africans in possession of British passports from landing in the port of Salvador. For instance, Christiane Santos de Jesus details the journey of an emancipated African named Lúcio José Maria de Souza who, after years of enslavement in Bahia, traveled to Lagos in May of 1870 to see his mother. When he returned to Salvador in March of 1871 and presented his British travel document to customs officers, they prevented him from landing and placed him under arrest; the police claimed that he violated the 1831 law, which rendered freed Africans' disembarkations in Brazil illegal. Remarkably, using his connections in Salvador and Rio de Janeiro—where he lived and had a family—Lúcio José drafted a letter that was received by Consul Morgan in Bahia; of course, it was his possession of a British passport that made his appeal relevant to Morgan. In this correspondence, he asserted that as a freed person who possessed property and family in Brazil, he should be "guaranteed freedom of transit and residence in the Empire." Lúcio José continued, "Can a decree be enforced that for the liberated African closes the ports of Brazil and repels him?"[476]

As Jesus recounts, Morgan sent a telegram to the Provincial President of Bahia, the Baron of São Lourenço, on the same day that he received the letter from Lúcio José. In his communication, he asked the Baron to clear the liberated African man and allow him to disembark in Salvador. He wrote, "The liberated African…has deemed himself entitled to claim the

[476] Quoted in Jesus, "Em defesa da liberdade," 36. Jesus frames her dissertation around the life and travels of Lúcio José Maria de Souza.

Consulate's intervention in relation to him […]. I think it is my duty not to refuse his request, since he bases it on the fact that he is here, brought by passport, which in the name of Her British Majesty was granted to him by the governor of the colony in Lagos." In response, the Baron submitted a correspondence that stated, "That referenced African can stay on land."[477] Thus, Lúcio José employed both his Brazilian familial ties and his intra-imperial connectivity—through his possession of a British passport—as part of his strategy of freedom and Atlantic mobility; his access to both local and transnational networks became especially important when he was at risk of losing these rights.

In Lúcio José's particular case, Brazilian officials complied with his requests, in conjunction with those made by his British allies. However, in other instances, these officials asserted their own notions of liberty in relation to freed Africans' mobility, both within the empire and in the larger Atlantic circuit. Such was the case for the manumitted Africans aboard the *Paraguassú*, one of the ships mentioned in the previous section, which carried a large group of freed people back and forth between Bahia and Lagos in 1877. Indeed, this incident illuminates the ways in which the regional and trans-Atlantic travel of self-emancipated Africans with British passports prompted intra-imperial power struggles over the rights of Africans to freedom and mobility.

When the *Paraguassú* arrived from Lagos on 6 August 1877, carrying sixteen self-emancipated Africans in possession of British passports, the police stopped them from disembarking in Salvador. Six of these individuals had departed from Bahia only four months earlier; this rapid turnaround suggests that they had sailed to Lagos *specifically* to obtain these documents. Further, these Africans were listed as *comerciantes*, or individuals involved in

[477] Jesus, 83.

commerce; they likely procured British passports in order to pursue their regional and Atlantic commercial interests with less risk of re-enslavement.[478] For two months, the fate of these Africans remained in limbo, while they awaited a decision about whether they would be permitted to set foot on Brazilian soil, or if they would be deported back to Lagos.

The delay was caused by a diplomatic debate between the British Consulate and the Brazilian government. Indeed, after Consul Morgan was informed that these travelers possessed British passports, he quickly took action. Morgan wrote a letter to the provincial president, Henrique Pereira Lucena, in which he emphasized that these individuals were authorized by colonial authorities in Lagos to travel.[479] Of course, Morgan likely viewed these *comerciantes* as potential contributors to the British coffer, due to their engagement in Brazilian trade. Further, he understood that many of the British merchants in both Lagos and Bahia depended on freed African emigrants as their trans-Atlantic agents; these individuals traveled between the West Africa and Brazil, conducting business for their firms. Thus, through Morgan's advocacy for these sixteen Africans, he also publicly asserted his support for the British merchants who resided in Bahia. In a political context, Morgan's argument that these Africans should be allowed to remain in Brazil fit with the British expansionist ideology of the nineteenth century; using nationalist and abolitionist rhetoric, Morgan asserted that the international policies enforced by the British Empire should take precedence over Brazilian national laws.

It was precisely this political and economic encroachment by British officials in Bahia that contributed to Brazilian authorities' final decision about the Africans on board the *Paraguassú.* In

[478] Castillo points out that the voyage between Salvador and Lagos typically lasted between twenty-one and forty days. Thus, the six individuals who left for Lagos in April and returned to Bahia in August would have been disembarked in the British colony for just eight weeks, approximately. See "Entre memória, mita e história," 75.

[479] Albuquerque, *O jogo da dissimulação*, 64.

her analysis of this incident, Albuquerque argues that the decision to send these freed Africans back to Lagos stemmed from both Brazil's resentment toward British attitudes of superiority and racist policies that sought to prevent African immigration, especially as international pressures to end slavery increased. Brazilian officials justified their decision under the laws of 1831 and 1835; regarding the document that relayed the decision of Brazilian authorities, Albuquerque explains, "The text was emphatic: there could be no doubt about the 'absolute prohibition of persons of color, whether free or freed, to immigrate to Brazil.'" She continues, "The English consul was informed that 'above them were the laws of the country.' […] Disregarding English pretensions and Bahian concerns, much more attention was paid to the consequences of unwanted immigration from Africans."[480] Thus, the *Paraguassú* incident illuminates the ways in which the discourse surrounding the meaning of African freedom was deeply intertwined with imperial power struggles, debates over the abolition of slavery, and the racist attitudes toward citizenship and belonging for Africans in the Atlantic.

Yet, manumitted Africans themselves were also central to shaping what it meant to be free on national and international scales; through assertions of their own understandings of liberty in the Atlantic world, these individuals repeatedly challenged imperial officials to reconsider policy, praxis, and ideology. In particular, despite risks to their freedom and imperial attempts to limit their mobility, manumitted African travelers performed their liberty through their continued Atlantic movement. It is in this context that the lives and geographical trajectories of two of the Africans aboard the *Paraguassú*—Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro—illuminate the ways that these individuals fashioned themselves as freed, Atlantic travelers through relentless assertions of their mobility.

[480] Albuquerque, 78.

Previously, this chapter recounted the 1859 arrests of this freed African couple, after they attempted to travel to Rio Grande do Sul from Bahia with British passports. Eighteen years later, these same individuals were among the sixteen Africans detained on the *Paraguassú* when it landed in Salvador; thus, Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro had traveled to Lagos, despite their prior detainments for exercising their regional mobility.[481] On 11 September 1877, Brazilian officials decreed that all Africans aboard the ship would be deported back to the British colony; however, Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro remained in Brazil. When the couple next appeared in Bahian police records on 8 November 1877, they were again in possession of British passports; however, this time they received permission from the chief of police to travel from Salvador to Rio de Janeiro.[482] In her research on this case, Jesus finds that the British passports that these Africans presented to travel to Rio differed from those in their possession when they attempted to disembark in Salvador after traveling to Lagos a few months before. In fact, Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro had obtained new British passports from Consul Morgan during their stay in Bahia.[483] Perhaps this act of issuing a *third* set of British passports to the couple was Morgan's retort to the Brazilian government, who had dismissed his request that the Africans aboard the *Paraguassú* should be given the same rights as British subjects while in the country.[484]

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[481] Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro traveled to Lagos on 28 April 1875. See APEB, Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 28 April 1875, Barca, *Hersília*, Costa d'Africa.

[482] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1877–1879), maço 5906.

[483] APEB, Colonial, Correspondência da Polícia do Porto (1877), maço 6426, in Jesus, "Em defesa da liberdade," 65.

[484] Of course, much of the deliberations between Morgan and the Brazilian government were less about the fate of the Africans aboard the *Paraguassú* themselves, and more about whose viewpoint toward liberated Africans would prevail in the country. In fact, it was not only Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro who were not deported immediately; Albuquerque points out that particular individuals who had been aboard this ship remained in Bahia for years. They likely carried out whatever business they had come to pursue, "with the provincial government's collusion and the protection of the British consul"; see *O jogo da dissimulação*, 78.

Although the chief of police granted Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro permission to travel, he limited their trip to no more than twenty days, at which point he required that they return to Bahia. However, these self-emancipated Africans continued to assert their freedom through their disregard for Brazilian officials' attempts to restrict their mobility. Jesus relates a letter, written by the ex-master of the *Paraguassú* to the chief of police, in which he explains that Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro intended to use their British passports to travel not only to Rio de Janeiro, but to Rio Grande do Sul, as well; the latter had been their original destination when they were arrested in 1859. The former ship master asked the police chief to take appropriate action, in order to prevent the couple from escaping deportation.[485] While the immediate fate of these freed Africans has not yet been uncovered, they did appear in Bahian passport registries almost ten years later; listed as businesspeople, Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro traveled to Lagos in February 1886, and then returned again to Salvador in December.[486] Thus, even though the Brazilian government had resisted these individuals' freedom of movement on multiple occasions, Clemente Medeiros and Ritta Ribeiro continued to risk their liberty, in order to experience freedom to its fullest.

As the Atlantic trajectory of this couple illustrates, emancipated African travelers shaped national and international conceptualizations of freedom over the course of the second half of the nineteenth century. The persistent regional and trans-Atlantic movement of these individuals—despite the potential perils of re-enslavement and detainment—illuminates the importance of mobility to Africans' understandings of what it meant to be free. Using their British passports,

[485] APEB, Colonial, Correspondência da Polícia do Porto (1877), maço 6426, quoted in Jesus, "Em defesa da liberdade," 65.

[486] APEB: Republicano, Livro 54, Saídas de passageiros (1882, Jan–1886, Fev); Republicano, Livro 4, Entradas de passageiros (1883, Nov–1888, Jan).

Afro-Brazilian emigrants protected their liberty while expanding their mobility. With these passports, returnees rekindled their relationships with family members whom they had forcibly left behind in the towns and villages beyond the port of Lagos; they also obtained British passports to safely travel around Brazil and to make multiple journeys across the Atlantic. Thus, the strategic pursuit of these "certificates of freedom" among African and African-descended emigrants to Lagos altered their status beyond the burgeoning colony. Thus, Lagos served as a beacon of freedom for these liberated Africans; it was a place where they could take measures to protect their liberty as they traveled throughout the Atlantic. Indeed, through their abilities to obtain British passports in Lagos (a practice that was also extended to the British Consulate at Bahia), these freed Africans were able to defend themselves against imperial definitions of liberty that conflicted with their own. Rather than being at the periphery, then, Lagos—and the African and African-descended individuals who traveled there—became central to British policy and imperial debates regarding the rights of freed people during the final decades of Atlantic slavery.

EPILOGUE

After Henriqueta appeared in Consul Brand's correspondence with the Foreign Office in 1859, the young girl again vanished from the written record. I diligently searched for her in colonial documents from Lagos and London, and then in Bahian lists of passengers who entered and departed from the port of Salvador after 1859. I hoped to unearth whether Henriqueta had been able to protect herself from a "second slavery," but she did not appear in any of these sources. However, I eventually found an answer in an unexpected location. While leafing through police records in the state archives of Bahia, I read one entry from 6 June 1874, exactly twenty years after Henriqueta emigrated to Lagos. On this date, two minors—a brother and a sister—appeared before the Salvador police to request passports to travel to West Africa. They did so "on the order of their mother, Henriqueta do Couto Vianna."[487] Eufrazia Ferreira, Henriqueta's sixteen-year-old daughter, was described as "*natural de Africa*" (meaning that she was African-born); Pacífico Jorge Ferreira, Henriqueta's thirteen-year-old son, was listed as a *crioulo* from Bahia.[488] A week later, the two siblings boarded a ship called the *Téjo* and embarked for Lagos.

Of course, as Miki reminds us, "*The gaps remain*."[489] Did Henriqueta "return" to Bahia with a British passport? If so, did she reunite with her Nagô mother, Victoria, who spent her life

[487] APEB, Colonial, Polícia do Porto, RP (1873–1874), maço 5903, 6 June 1874, 339, #923, #924.

[488] In the passenger lists that recorded the siblings' actual departure from Salvador, both Eufrazia and Pacífico were identified as having been born in Africa. However, based on the fact that the passport register identifies the Brazilian province of Pacifico's birth, I suspect that the passenger list is inaccurate. Further, many of the scribes who penned these passenger lists recorded large swathes of travelers as having the same nationality and/or birthplace when, in reality, there was variance among these shipmates; see APEB, Republicano, Livro 52, Saídas dos passageiros (1873, Jul–1877, Nov), 14 June 1874, Escuna, *Téjo*, Costa d'África.

[489] Miki, "Narrating the Archives of Illegal Slavery," 95.

working to give her child the liberty, mobility, and African family from which she was robbed at the point of her enslavement in Yorubaland? Why did Henriqueta insist that her own children emigrate to Lagos?

The answers to these questions have yet to be unearthed. In fact, it is not even clear from the written record whether Eufrazia and Pacífico met their mother in the burgeoning British colony, or whether she had returned to Bahia for good. However, if Henriqueta's children were, indeed, born three years apart on opposite sides of the Atlantic, it suggests that she did return to Salvador from Lagos. In this scenario, the fact that she brought her African-born daughter with her—and then birthed a free-born son in Bahia, prior to the Free Womb Law of 1871—implies that Henriqueta maintained both her liberty and her mobility, seemingly unafraid of returning to a "second slavery" in Brazil. Further, regardless of whether Henriqueta herself made multiple trips across the Atlantic or whether she remained in West Africa, her children were able to travel freely between Bahia and Lagos. In other words, the trans-Atlantic voyages made by Eufrazia and Pacífico illuminate the multi-sited, multi-generational components of the mobility and liberty for which Henriqueta fought twenty years earlier in Lagos, and for which Victoria had struggled before her in Salvador.

Finally, the freedom and the geographical mobility that Henriqueta secured for her children also cultivated their social mobility. Indeed, while Henriqueta worked as a seamstress on both sides of the Atlantic, her son Pacífico became a trader and a merchant in Lagos. As a young woman, Henriqueta resisted the "Brazilian" elites in Lagos who tried to force her into a "second slavery" in Salvador; thirty years later, Pacífico moved socially and professionally among

Lagosian elites, as Supreme Court documents regarding his relationships with Afro-Brazilian merchants reveal.[490]

In this way, the trajectory of Henriqueta do Couto Vianna—which extended beyond national borders, concrete categorizations, and the duration of her lifetime—illuminates the nexus between mobility, freedom, and kinship for African and African-descended people in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world. This dissertation examines this nexus through its investigation of the process of manumission and return migration, the demographics of the freed Africans and their descendants who traveled to West Africa, their parallel structures of multi-sited, multigenerational kinship, and their strategies and assertions of freedom on both sides of the Atlantic. I argue that returnees used the social mobility that they gained in Lagos—from British passports, property ownership, and trans-Atlantic (often matrifocal) households—to attain social and geographical mobility on both regional and Atlantic scales. Further, this nexus was constituted in Lagos, which served as a unique freedom node for the "Brazilian" emigrants who traveled there; through the geographical and social mobility that they accessed in Lagos, these subjects asserted their identities as freed transnational travelers in the Atlantic during the final decades of Brazilian slavery and the first years of colonial rule in West Africa. As such, these individuals shaped imperial policies and debates surrounding notions of liberty for freed African and African-descended people in Lagos, Brazil, and the wider Atlantic world.

Thus, this dissertation also illuminates the ways in which African emigrants conceptualized the Atlantic itself. For these individuals, the Atlantic became an interstitial space in which they, as migrants and travelers, strategically orchestrated their social, political, religious, and economic networks. It became a space in which they lived, loved, and asserted their own understandings of

[490] LSHC, JNCC–Civil, *Colonial Secretary v. Manoel J. Ferreira*, 4 June 1883.

what it meant to be free. In fact, for these liberated African and African-descended individuals, the Atlantic served as an arena in which they cultivated freedom that spanned across geographical borders and generations. These individuals understood mobility as a crucial expression of this multi-sited, multi-generational freedom, and Lagos stood at the epicenter.

Finally, in addition to revealing the processes that shaped Afro-Brazilian emigrants' networks, mobilities, and understandings of liberty, this dissertation complicates scholars' notions of return migration itself. For enslaved and manumitted Africans throughout the Americas, revenants of their natal homelands continued to shape their identities and ideologies. Dreams and discourses of return—fueled by its impossibility for the vast majority of African and African-descended people—infused ritual praxis, individual and collective identity formation, modes of resistance, and transnational political movements in the New World. In addition, the notion of a return to the African homeland became deeply intertwined with symbolic conceptualizations of freedom from enslavement and, later, from continued oppression based on race. In this way, for many people of African descent, the "teleology of origin/return" shaped aspects of diasporic consciousness itself.[491]

The relevance of this notion of an African homeland to the history—and the present—of African-descended communities throughout the Diaspora makes the reverse passage of thousands of freed Africans from Brazil to Lagos especially compelling. Indeed, it represents an early, large-scale project of return migration; as such, it serves as an important historical moment for scholars of slavery, who seek to understand the symbolic and physical connections between Africa and the development of African cultures and identities in the Diaspora. However, this early emigration

[491] Clifford, *Routes*, 250; quoted in Patterson and Kelley, "Unfinished Migrations," 15. However, as Clifford, Patterson, and Kelley argue, the elements that define diaspora are prioritized according to particular historical contexts.

scheme also raises questions about the nature of return itself. Specifically, what did it mean for freed African and African-descended people to return to the continent *in their lifetimes*, during the era of Atlantic slavery? What does this early wave of return migration reveal about the "place" of formerly enslaved Africans who repatriated to their lands of origin? How did these individuals' experiences of Atlantic slavery shape their lives following their returns?

Discourses surrounding return migration have historically idealized African homelands as spaces of freedom and belonging; however, as this dissertation reveals, the actual dynamics of liberty and identity in West Africa were more complex for the manumitted individuals who returned to Lagos from Bahia. While the economic and political currents of Lagos created opportunities for freedom and social mobility, they also produced societal fissures to which these emigrants were particularly vulnerable. Indeed, the transatlanticism of this population—established under the conditions of Atlantic slavery—reconstituted their worldviews, identity possibilities, and networks; it was this transatlanticism, as an identity possibility and a practice, that set these "Brazilians" apart from the other African populations in the town. Their repatriations to Lagos, then, represented a return-with-a-difference on every level.[492]

While these differences afforded returnees opportunities for social mobility at times, they also produced vulnerabilities; the adversities faced by the Afro-Brazilians who resettled in the West African town are equally crucial to understanding both the lives of the Afro-Brazilians who emigrated to Lagos and the realities of return migration itself. In fact, as I sifted through courtroom records in the dusty attic of the Lagos State High Court, I was struck by the continued misfortunes of these formerly enslaved Africans following their returns. Indeed, the dysfunctions of the

[492] Scholars, such as Saidiya Hartman, have reflected on the impossibility of return after ancestral experiences of Atlantic slavery. She explains, "The disappointment is that there is no going back to a former condition. Loss remakes you. Re-turn is as much about the world to which you no longer belong as it is about the one in which you have yet to make a home." See *Lose Your Mother*, 100.

burgeoning colony meant that many emigrants who sought to retire in freedom were met with local violence in Lagos; as foreigners, members of the "Brazilian" community were especially at risk for robbery, which ran rampant in the town. Further, multiple stories emerge in archival records of repatriated individuals who reunited with their natal relatives in Lagos after years of forced separation, only to fall terminally ill, have fatal accidents, feud with kin over property ownership, or be murdered after their arrivals. Still other emigrants managed to fund their entire families' writs of manumission and passages to West Africa, only to have their children—whom they had hoped to give a better life in their homelands—robbed, raped, slandered, or impoverished. In some cases, these brutalities were committed by fellow members of the emigrant community in Lagos, raising questions about the ways in which practical experiences and "palimpsest memories" of violence during slavery became apparitions themselves for the returnees who spent much of their lives as chattel.[493]

As Fuentes points out in her study of the violent acts done to enslaved women in Barbados, reading through these atrocities in the archival record "obliterates the possibility of objectivity"; at the same time, it humanizes these otherwise dehumanizing acts and archives in ways that assign new depth and meaning to freed Africans' lived experiences of return.[494] Thus, while this dissertation has emphasized patterns of African "agency" and emigrants' assertions of mobility, liberty, and alternative kinship networks, individual stories of loss, death, and violence among the

[493] In her work among the Temne-speaking people of Sierra Leone, Rosalind Shaw argues that layered historical experiences are embodied as "forgotten history" in contemporary ritual and practical life. She contends that the sedimentation of these "palimpsest memories" from multiple historical periods (the Atlantic slave trade, the exploitative colonial period, and the postcolonial civil war) are incorporated into current understandings of—and reactions to—present-day processes of extraction and societal rupture. See *Memories of the Slave Trade: Ritual and Historical Imagination in Sierra Leone* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2002), 9, 15.

[494] Fuentes, *Dispossessed Lives*, 147.

returnee population's most subaltern members are equally important to our understanding of these Africans' lives. Indeed, we must bear witness to individual narratives, such as that of Asia da Costa, the nine-year-old daughter of emigrants, who was raped by another returnee when she went to buy bread; Asia's tortured father lovingly nurtured her through three nights of fever following the incident, after unknowlingly sending her to this perpetrator in the first place.[495] We also must bear witness to young women like Maria Mariquinha, who shifted between relationships of dependency her entire life before losing her rights to own—or to even reside in—the house of her former mistress-turned-adoptive-mother. Finally, we must consider the violence that caused Henriqueta do Couto Vianna to be separated from her mother, and then left her fighting in Lagos to save herself from a "second slavery" in Bahia. It is only through the incorporation of both stories of success and incidents of brutality that we can understand return migration as a manifestation of the lengths to which these freed Africans went to secure freedom for themselves and their children, and the ways in which their "freedom dreams" did not always reconcile with reality.[496]

Thus, this dissertation provides historical context for contemporary processes that continue to shape meanings of freedom, relationships, and the connections between Africa and the African Diaspora for people of African descent. In this way, this study is a history of how African and African-descended people grappled with the meaning of a homeland in the context of slavery and Atlantic dispersion. It is also a history of how Africans and their descendants individually and collectively fought for their liberty and autonomy, even after they had been freed.

[495] LSHC, JNCC–Criminal, *Regina v. Maximilian Pedro alias Bankole*, 16 November 1888, 137.

[496] Kelley, *Freedom Dreams: The Black Radical Imagination* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2002).

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