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Situating Lagosian, Caribbean, and Latin American Diasporas

The Brazilians began to arrive in Lagos and in Ouidah at the end of the eighteenth century. . . . They maintained, on the Guinea Coast, Brazilian traditions: patriarchal organization of the family, architecture of homes, devotion to the cult of Senhor do Bonfim, celebrations, dances, and until recently, the Portuguese language. Were the Cubans able to make their mark with the Brazilians?

—Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia*, 30

But they [did] come when my mother [was] alive. They [did] come from [the Cuban] embassy. And, when they walked into here—they were here, in the compound . . . at the lodge, that time my mother [was] alive. That summer they were here, she had seen them—and my mother [was] so happy. So happy that she, she wept! I remember. Ah-ha . . . that's life.

—Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King,
granddaughter of Aguda Hilario Campos

Pérez de la Riva answers his own question about the Cuban presence in Lagos, Nigeria, in the negative, citing a lack of "evidence of Cuban culture" in Lagos.¹ However, as seen in the work of Cuban historian Rodolfo Sarracino and from my own interviews with Aguda of Cuban heritage there is evidence of Cuban contributions to the culture of the Aguda in Lagos.² Indeed, the very name of Campos Square, where the Cuban Lodge is located, shows that an entire area in Lagos is named after a Cuban repatriate.³ Though Brazilian cultural aspects tend to dominate some visible forms of Aguda social performance (like the Boa masquerade held in Lagos every year), the emergence of the Aguda community as a whole represents a unique synthesis of many social and cultural diasporic groups. For example, among the immigrant groups themselves, intermixing occurred between Saro and Aguda repatriates, through marriage and business alliances, at various points of entry into this part of the Afro-Atlantic diaspora.

Yet dissecting the Aguda's cultural mélange into different, "always" separable parts is an artificial exercise. The community works because of its ability to create new combinations and alliances based on commonalities and differences. As we will see below, community leaders like Chief Bamgboshe Martins and Mrs. Ola Vincent share a sense of history, place, and experience in Lagos, although the former is of Brazilian and the latter of Cuban extraction within the Aguda community.

The main difference between Cuban and Brazilian Aguda, from Pérez de la Riva's perspective, is the socioeconomic status of Brazilian Aguda. Although he does speak to the cultural legacies Brazilians brought with them to Lagos in the opening quote above, he tends to focus on the status and prestige displayed by their visible success.⁴ These conclusions are not strange, because up until the present study, scholars have tended to focus mainly on the Brazilian side of the Aguda population. Historians and cultural critics argue that the Brazilian returnees were people of money, with a long history of transnational interaction and trade between Lagos and Bahia.⁵ The Brazilian side of the Lagosian–Latin American diaspora managed adroitly the admixture of wealth, prestige, high-status religious culture (for example, becoming *babalawo*), and skilled craftsmanship (becoming masons, architects), on both the Lagosian and Bahian sides of the Atlantic. The movement of this kind of cultural capital shaped in its process the places for the stopping posts of this diaspora, such as the hotel, Casa Da Silva on Queen's Terrace owned by Anthony Da Silva in Southampton, England, which housed Havana Lagosians Lorenzo Clarke and Martin Marino on their way back to Lagos.⁶

Pérez de la Riva still characterizes the repatriates as Afrolatinos. Both Cubans and Brazilians of Yoruba origin returned to Africa with a history of socialization and acculturation from their Latin American homes. Pérez de la Riva dates the beginning of the return in the late eighteenth century rather than the nineteenth century, which agrees with the findings of recent research about populations in the Bight of Benin.⁷ The dates for the return of Cubans reflected in Pérez de la Riva's work and my own, 1830 to the 1860s, pose questions about the length of time and depth of contact between Afro-Cuban communities and the Bight of Benin.⁸ Mainly, the social settings for these transatlantic voyages existed in diasporic contexts: Havana, Bahia, and Lagos. These milieus represented centers that shaped the ways that Afrolatinos came into their own in their new homes.

The lives of the Aguda break in mid-sentence in a long historical conversation between diasporas. The agency and innovation of *emancipados* and slaves in Havana in the nineteenth century created communities that moved through the cracks of the diasporic routes created by transatlantic slavery. Their alternate histories resituate the idea of the Atlantic world in profound ways. Social forces like slavery and colonialism impacted the lives of people and limited

the choices open to them in creating their worlds and their communities.⁹ Yet another look at how these choices were employed by the Havana Lagosians and the Aguda shows that people always had ways of re-creating their communities and also of expressing and recapturing their community histories. These folk and grassroots understandings of people's pasts usually highlight the ways in which these communities resisted, reformed, and resituated the terms of their own existence against what seemed impossible odds.

In this particular context, grassroots exchanges of communication had a conduit in individuals and communities that were instrumental in developing a sense of pan-Yoruba national identity and cultural innovation in Cuba, Brazil, and Nigeria. The alliances between these individuals and communities represented a form of agency and cross-dialogue in the African diaspora based on alternative discourses of identity. For example, the creolization and cross-fertilization of what were recognized to be Yoruba religious language and ritual contexts within an American context allowed for new modes of being "Yoruba." The religious cultures of both Santería and Candomblé allowed for conversations that included Native American, Asian, and other African ethnic groups, like those from the Congo, into a "Yoruba" worldview. This worldview was already expansive in Africa, but it also grew in different and particular ways of expression according to changing contexts in Latin America, as it did in Africa. What was unique, perhaps, about the Latin American versions of "Yoruba-ness" was their special connection to the national cultures of Cuba and Brazil, in which they represented "authentic" African folk and folklore.¹⁰ These discourses of identity were not necessarily attached to tropes of resistance to or compliance with European hegemony in people's reimagination of their Yoruba identities. Rather, the cultural work of Latin American Yoruba identity formation highlighted the multifaceted nature of the communities' worldviews. Diasporic sensibilities were used in discourses that helped communities to reorient and reinvent themselves by using memory and a remembered shared past. It is important to investigate how these Afrolatino communities imagine and perform their shared past, as Africans and as Afrolatinos, since these populations have a profound effect on the way Africa, the Caribbean, and Latin America are currently located in the global imagination.

Memory, History, and the Imagination

This chapter deals with the ways in which the members of the Campos family remember their shared history and the role that the idea of Cuba plays in creating their identity in relation to other Yoruba in Lagos. Throughout my work, I have used the idea of the imagination, understood as a kind of social and individual work, in different registers—as transnational, transatlantic,

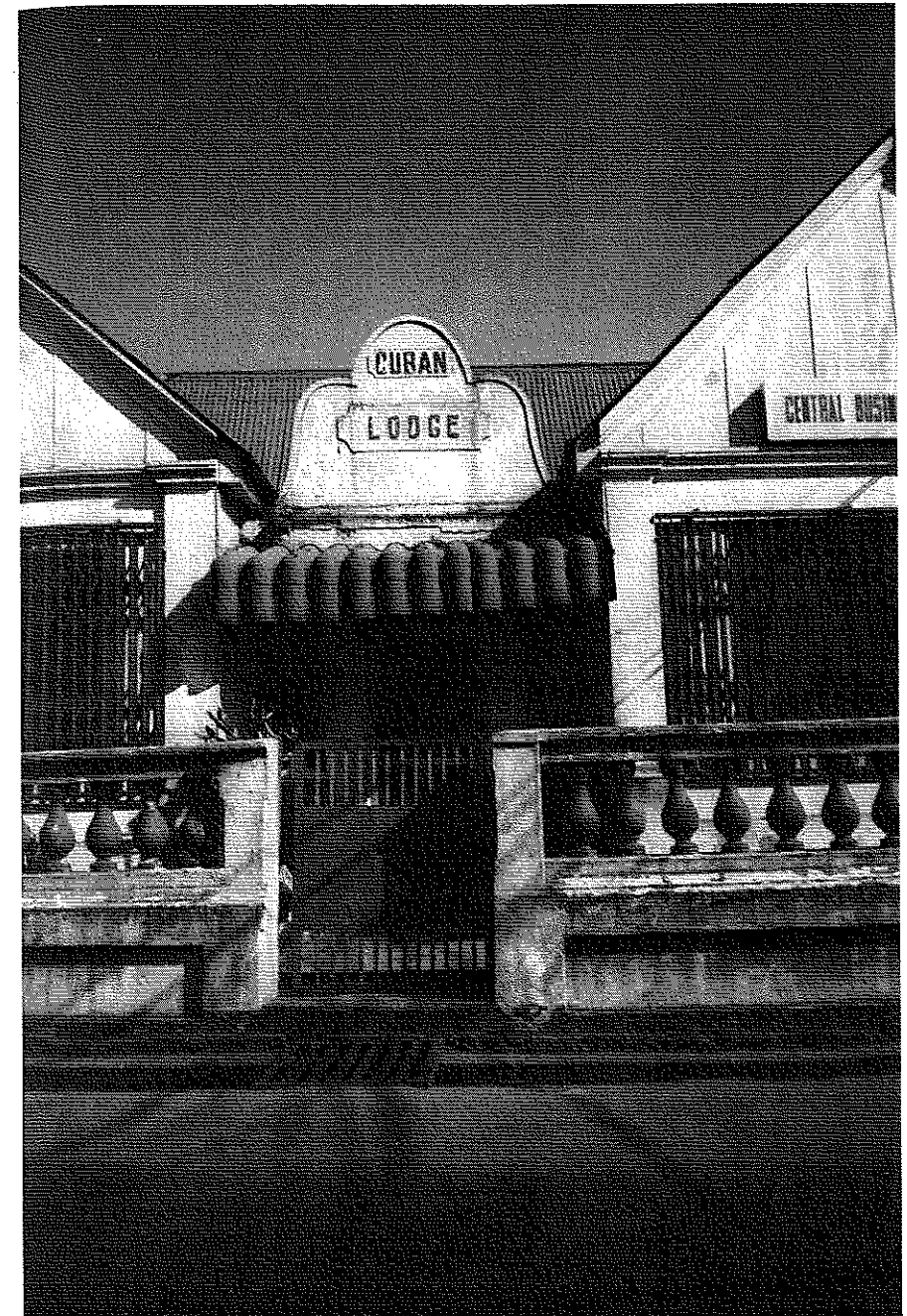


Figure 1. The Cuban Lodge, Campos Square, Lagos, 1999, photograph by author

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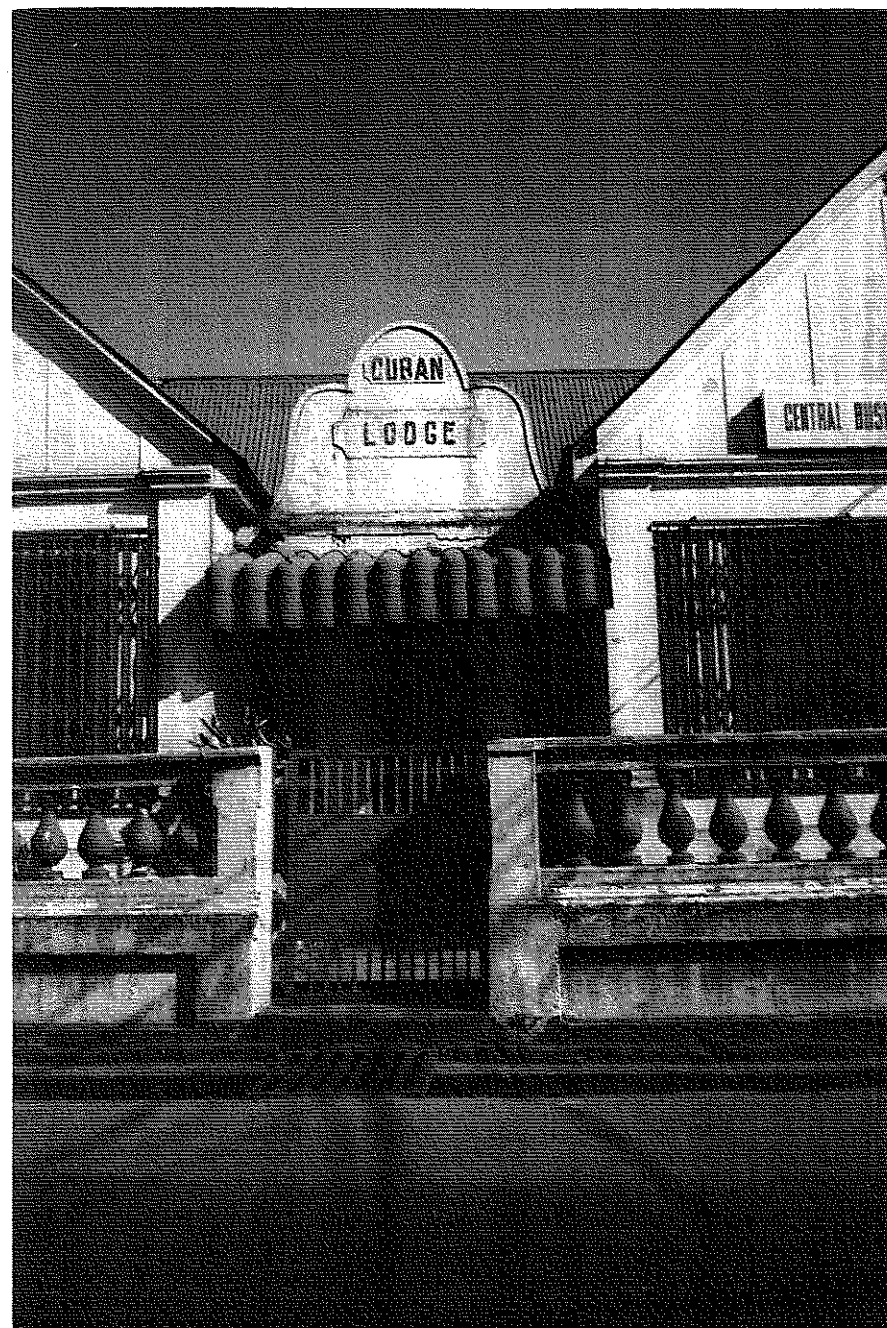


Figure 1. The Cuban Lodge, Campos Square, Lagos, 1999, photograph by author

national, local, and global.¹¹ At the root of the relationship between history and memory is the role of the imagination in the range of ways in which we recollect the past. Scholars dealing with history and the philosophy of history have grappled with the problem of memory, time, and narration.¹² But perhaps it is Paul Ricoeur who gets to the fundamental aspects of this dilemma in terms of the way in which history, memory, and the imagination are temporally conceptualized in Occidental philosophy.¹³

Ricoeur locates the source of distrust of memory in both Plato and Aristotle, and this distrust is at the heart of the Western historian's struggle in working with the past in the present. The rhetorical issue is the presence of the absent, and the present representation of an absent thing, which is the problematic of memory because it is located, in Plato, according to Ricoeur, in the imagination.¹⁴ For Aristotle, again following Ricoeur's interpretation, the representation of a thing formerly perceived has as its problem the issue of the image within the act of remembering, and this is partly the historian's dilemma with regard to memory and the past. This dilemma with regard to the imagination for the historian is apparent on the microlevel of "reading" the archive, and on the macrolevel of narrating that history through writing that requires on some level the use of the imagination. Imagination is a cognitive tool that is necessary for recollecting and re-creating the past, because in the end, writing the past is based on rhetorical reimagining. The moment or event has to be reconstructed because it belongs to the past. As Ricoeur puts it, "Historiography itself, let us already say, will not succeed in setting aside the continually derided and continually reasserted conviction that the final referent of memory remains the past, whatever the pastness of the past may signify."¹⁵ Yet both the image of the past and the act of recollection of the past are held to be suspect in Western philosophical thought. In thinking about the remembered history of the Aguda, represented by the Campos family's experiences presented below, we have a combination of registers, scales, notions of memory, the past, and history that represent Occidental, Yoruba, and Caribbean dilemmas of "pastness."¹⁶

Ricoeur finds that for Plato memories are ordered in an aesthetic that includes misremembering and fantasy.¹⁷ It is important for us to consider this here, in thinking about communities like the Aguda as engaging in tropic kinds of remembrance. As Johannes Fabian has explored in a range of ways, this kind of remembering can be done with a certain amount of play and satire in the process of creating history from the "ground up."¹⁸ Thus, there is an acknowledgment on the part of Afro-creolized communities like the Aguda that their tropic register may contradict official paradigms of history. What is important for these communities, then, are the kinds of memory that form a viable context for sustaining the community through the work of the social imagination in "remembering" the past (or present). This necessarily includes certain kinds of forgetting or misimprinting of the images of memory that

Plato found central to the act of remembering the past.¹⁹ Thus, the memories of the Aguda that we will discuss below illustrate a kind of communal work that incorporates, denies, and resituates understood notions of the past in terms of transatlantic identity and the transatlantic diaspora. This forces us to ask questions such as whose past, whose history, whose memory, whose notion of time are being used to understand the relationship between remembering and the past. My work with the Aguda and with Afro-Cuban religious culture forces me to say that a combination of registers and scales is at work when communities reconstruct their past.

This brief consideration of some of the core dilemmas with regard to the relationship of memory to the imagination and its implications for the reconstruction of history shows us only one set of ways in which to consider the rebuilding of the past. Indeed, the notion of the past can be constructed in multiple ways even within the Occidental discourse.²⁰ Tied to the way in which the imagination can render any reproduction is the notion of aesthetics and how these aesthetics order the meaning of such renderings. These renderings can be "read" in multiple ways that are also governed by aesthetics. The question of whose aesthetics mirrors the question of whose past.

This is especially so for the intersecting aesthetic planes of the artist who creates an art object and for the audience when the artist and the audience come from different epistemological and cultural frameworks. Art historian Rowland Abiodun is concerned with precisely this dilemma in looking at Yoruba notions of aesthetics and a "quotidian" art criticism that develops from these aesthetics.²¹ The historical reconstruction of the meaning of certain ritual art objects, like the sacred rattle, the *iroke*, found in Ifa divination, by academic art historians clashes with or ignores the important work of cultural deconstruction carried out by ritual leaders like *babalawo* in analyzing and using the art.²² Abiodun critiques the academic art historian's arrogance in assuming that his/her "universalizing" epistemologies and aesthetics are neutral in order to control the "disciplinary discourse" and the meaning that is exported to the world about art objects like the *iroke*.²³ However, aesthetics that merge, clash, or coexist in tension are often played out within the material culture itself, creating pieces that come from a "hybrid" worldview.²⁴

Narratives, like material culture, have a life that circulates outside the intention and perspectives of their producers.²⁵ In the realms of popular culture and "traditional culture" from African perspectives, we see overlap, invention, and play that are both self-conscious and unintended as work on popular theater and public ritual discusses.²⁶ The narratives about family memories that the Cuban Aguda related to me during my ethnographic fieldwork display this kind of complicated discourse. Their recollections reflect a field of reference that allows them to perform within an aesthetic of identity-play that encompasses Cuban-ness and Yoruba-ness in shifting ways. On a larger scale, the interplay between Occidental, African, and Caribbean

aesthetics in their reflections and memories mirrors the struggle over the "meaning" of the cultural history of the Aguda for the outside world. The work of the folklorist here is to use these narrative performances to insert a quotidian historical framework into the larger meaning of the history of the Aguda that necessarily explores an understanding of the community's significance on its own terms.²⁷

This search for significance is especially so in terms of the artistry and play of oral literature, or orature, that people use in telling their own historical narratives in Africa.²⁸ The very languages used to express the narratives found within a community are themselves used and constructed in a self-reflexive manner that is subject to critique by the community at large. That is, the person speaking about important subjects, like community history, is expected to speak well and within an aesthetic code that gives respect and authority to those who do so.²⁹ What we see in the case of my Aguda collaborators in reconstructing their family history with performances of their narrative of memory is a "competence" that demonstrates their authority in the community as a whole.³⁰ In other words, their ability to speak well and adeptly carries the weight of their own personal pride and prestige and that of the community.

The Cuban Aguda in Lagos

The only major historical work about the Campos family and the Cuban Lodge in Lagos was written by Cuban historian Rodolfo Sarracino.³¹ Sarracino's work brings to light the various migrations back to Africa from Afro-Cubans of Yoruba ancestry that occurred as a *voluntary* process after 1844.³² That is, Sarracino agrees with Pérez de la Riva's assertion about the repatriates to Lagos not being part of the forced expulsions that occurred in Cuba after La Escalera.³³ Where Sarracino moves away from Pérez de la Riva is in his findings of Cubans "leaving their cultural mark on the west [African] coast."³⁴ Sarracino dedicates one chapter of *Los que volvieron a Africa* to the Campos family in Lagos and Mantanzas, documenting their bicoastal nature through their letters and photographs. His work laid the preliminary foundations for my fieldwork conducted in Lagos among the descendants of Hilario Campos.

My fieldwork with Campos's granddaughters, Mrs. Catherine Aderemi Gooding-King and Mrs. Ola Vincent, revealed the imaginative and tropic aspects of diasporic remembering and history making that were not considered by Sarracino. I believe that my focus on folkloristics and transatlantic legacies yielded unique kinds of questions and answers that dealt primarily with the intersection between memory and oral history. The four major areas my consultants emphasized were the following: (1) the remembering

of cultural markers, like Spanish-language retention in childhood at the Cuban Lodge; (2) the erection of tombstones commemorating the Cuban ancestry of the Campos family at Ikoyi Cemetery; (3) the extent of cultural admixture among other kinds of repatriates with the Campos family and with the Aguda in Lagos; and (4) evidence of creolized *orisha* traditions and folk Catholicism among Aguda returnees.

The fieldwork with Mrs. Gooding-King was conducted in Lagos, Nigeria, at the Cuban Lodge, 40 Ogunlami Street, Campos Square, in 1999 and again in 2001.³⁵ My conversations with Mrs. Ola Vincent took place in her home on Victoria Island in Lagos in 2001. My role in speaking to the sisters was that of a young researcher, also of Cuban background, who wanted to learn about their family in particular. They were generous in answering my questions and in leading me toward areas of importance that would otherwise have been difficult for an outsider to perceive. For example, they both stressed to me the importance of commemorating the Cuban heritage of their grandfather in the form of a tombstone, a memorial piece of public culture, which the family went to some expense to create shortly before my second visit to Lagos. I will discuss this in more detail later. But the point I want to make here is that as a folklorist engaged in re-creating aspects of their family oral history, I saw the sisters as collaborators in many respects and deferred to their authority over how to impart their narratives of home and community.³⁶ This created a situation in which I was shifting modes of perspective and analysis, as most ethnographers engaged in some kind of reflexive fieldwork try to do.³⁷ I believe that where we all met, in thinking about Cuba as an idea, a distant emblem that informed all three of our identities but was unattainable in many ways, was a place of intersection mirroring a transnational imaginary about the island that can be found across time and diaspora.³⁸ Below is the outline of the remembered family history of Hilario Campos obtained from my interviews.

According to Vincent, Hilario Campos's father was born in Lagos and was taken to Cuba as a slave. Roman Hilario Campos was born in Matanzas, Cuba, in 1878 and died in Lagos on December 14, 1941. While in Cuba, six children were born to the family. Two of the Campos sisters, Serafina Akitoyi and Johanna Cicelia Munis, who were born in Cuba, also returned to Lagos. They both stayed at or near the Cuban Lodge during the childhood of the Gooding sisters. Mrs. Anastasia Gooding, the mother of Mrs. Gooding-King and Mrs. Vincent, was born in Lagos on October 5, 1907, and died on April 19, 1994, at eighty-seven years of age. Mrs. Vincent and Mrs. Gooding-King remember growing up in the Cuban Lodge among Spanish-speaking family members. The language spoken at home gave them a sense of cultural distinctness that they speak about with pride and nostalgia.

From my interviews with Mrs. Ola Vincent, it appears that Hilario Campos returned to Lagos via London, like many of the other returnees from Cuba.

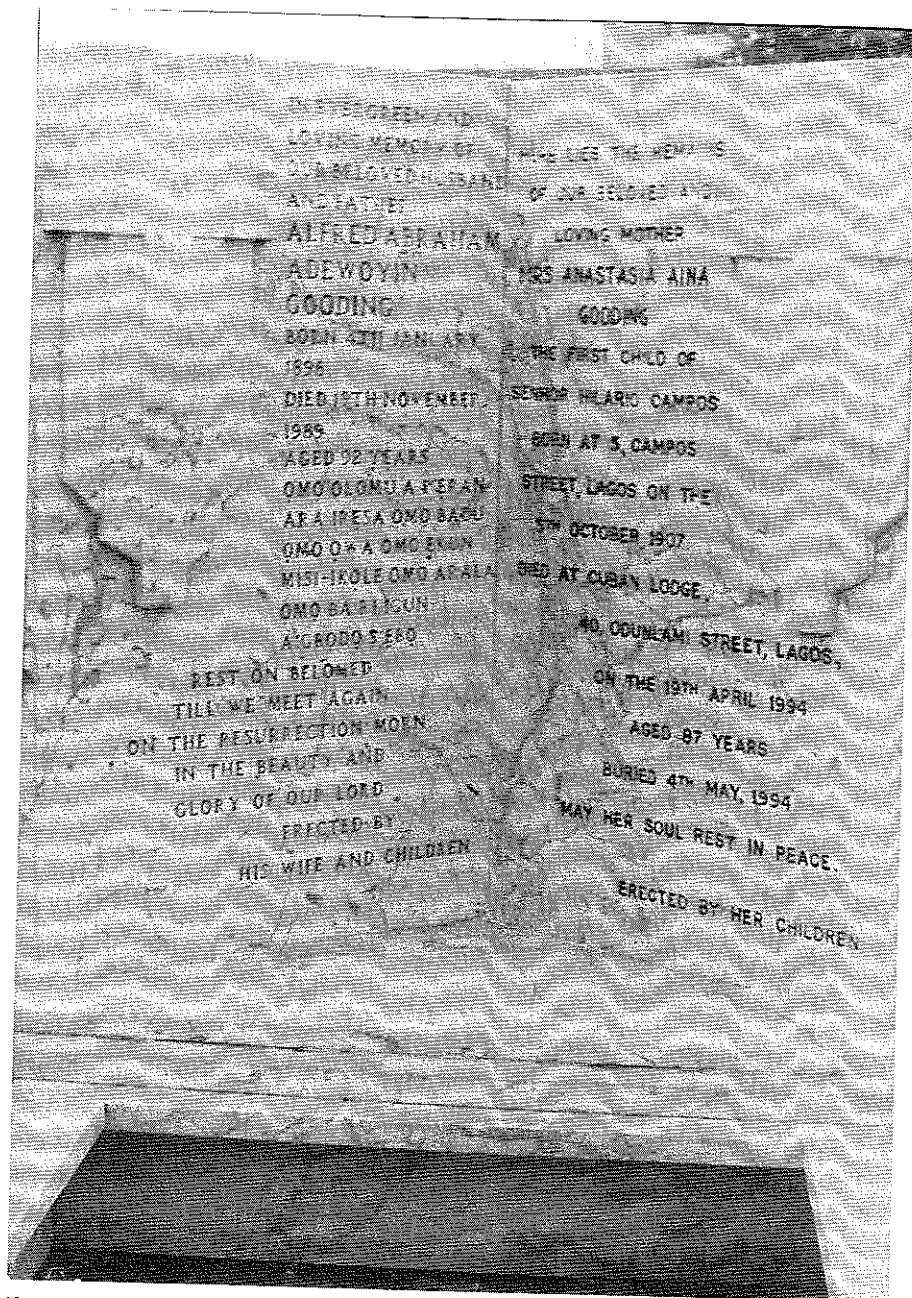


Figure 2. Grave of Mrs. Anastasia Gooding, Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos



Figure 3. Grave of Hilario Campos and Johana Cicelia Munis, Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos

Recalling the Casa Da Silva in Southampton mentioned earlier, we see that there was an organized set of routes that families utilized to return to Africa. These routes are remembered as significant details of the Campos family history as other friends and family members met and stayed in London during their travels.³⁹ Thus, London seems to have been an important point of convergence for returnees. The most significant aspect to keep in mind here, however, was the multifaceted nature of the travels home. In the retelling of their grandfather's journey, the sisters reaffirmed for me that in remembering a diasporic legacy all the stops along the road are important.⁴⁰

Cuban Cultural Markers among the Aguda

One of the most striking aspects missing from both Sarracino's and Pérez de la Riva's considerations of the Cuban Aguda in Lagos is the notion of cyclical cultural flows, especially in terms of religious identity, in their unique Atlantic context.⁴¹ Neither historian really delves into the ways in which Cuban Aguda negotiated their multiple and shifting identities, as families and as a subgroup within a larger heterogeneous community of Lagos, by using creolized "Yoruba" sensibilities from abroad. That is, the cultural tools that both the Brazilian and the Cuban Aguda shared in Lagos reflect a larger set of transatlantic symbols that communicate power and prestige across borders. These symbols of prestige often call upon the important imagery of traditional religion that still legitimates political power among the Yoruba today.⁴²

Consequently, many of my conversations with Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King and Mrs. Ola Vincent revolved especially around their perception of their Cuban ancestry. The best answers came as a result of focusing on how they remembered their difference from, and similarity to, other "Yoruba" living around them in Lagos. Not unsurprisingly, the admixture already found among Lagosian ethnic Yoruba, in terms of their origin elsewhere in "Yorubaland," created a template for understanding their own place among mixed migrant populations.

One Yoruba concept that may be useful is the notion of *gbe asa*, carrying culture from one place to another. This is a notion that can apply to people keeping their customs after movement to Lagos both from the Nigerian hinterland and from across the Atlantic. Customs may be acquired, changed, and readjusted in the Lagosian milieu. However, the recognition of certain attributes as "belonging" to a particular culture is a significant way in which communities reassemble what is understood as a shifting paradigm. One of the main "markers" that allowed the sisters to speak about this kind of cultural and social differentiation was the Spanish language use surrounding them during their childhood. The following interview excerpts, first from



Figure 4. Mrs. Ola Vincent, granddaughter of Hilario Campos, at the grave of her aunt and grandfather, Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos

Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King and then from Mrs. Ola Vincent, provide good examples of this process:

Solimar Otero: Did they, did they speak Spanish?

Aderemi Gooding-King: Oh yes they did! . . . Yes, with my mom. When they speak in the Yoruba language, they only know a little, little [Yoruba]. . . . [Hilario Campos spoke Spanish] Together with the sister, with his sister.

Mrs. Ola Vincent: But, when we were small, we don't know that we belong to any foreign country, we know of Lagos. . . . So it was when we are, you know, growing gradually, that then we know that our great-grandfather is from Cuba, from Brazil, from Sierra Leone, from this, from that. . . . You know, my own grandfather, Hilario Campos. His sister, Mrs. Akitoyi, Serafina. So, they used to speak in Spanish. . . . But we don't know much about this. And, since we are young we don't know that it's going to be of good or benefit to us. . . .

Solimar Otero: And, would they know what they are saying? Did, did your mother know Spanish?

Mrs. Ola Vincent: Little.

Solimar Otero: She would *hear* it though.

Lola Bamgboshe Martins: Of course, she could *hear* it.⁴³

There are several observations to be made from the sisters' and Bamgboshe Martins's responses above. One thing that is clear is that Hilario Campos spoke Spanish in the presence of Mrs. Ola Vincent and Mrs. Gooding-King to their mother, but mainly to their great-aunts, Serafina and Cicelia. All three of the elders of the Campos family were born in Cuba and came to Lagos in the late nineteenth century. After establishing the Cuban Lodge, Hilario and his sisters used the lodge as a family home and a workshop. The use of Spanish within the lodge was an important familial activity that made an impression on the sisters. Though neither one of them retained a knowledge of Spanish, they certainly were aware of the fact that it belonged to them in unique ways that made their family distinct from others. They knew there was something different, "foreign" Mrs. Ola Vincent called it, about their background. And they knew that something was operating all around them, creating a backdrop to their childhood. That these two sisters have held on to the notion of a Cuban Aguda ancestry (we see this in the pride shown in the erection of the gravestones at Ikoyi Cemetery) well into their sixties and seventies shows that though they did not acquire Spanish, they did not forget it as a significant marker of their own family's difference and identity.

Mrs. Ola Vincent's comments also specifically indicate that this difference included an admixture in her memory. When she says, "So it was when we are, you know, growing gradually, that then we know that our great-grandfather is

from Cuba, from Brazil, from Sierra Leone, from this, from that," we see that she remembers an international diasporic admixture that provided the household context of her childhood. Her acceptance of the confluence of cultures and languages in the Campos homestead reveals the family's tolerance of others. It is also important to keep in mind that though this particular family was unique in its Cuban-ness, such a diversity of ethnicity, language, and religion in Lagosian households was not unusual. Rather, the Aguda added their own brand of admixture to a larger urban pool of conglomerate communities. These can especially be seen in the Popo, or neighborhood enclaves that roughly marked the location of ethnic, occupational, and class-related settlements of diverse groups in metropolitan Lagos. In reimagining Mrs. Ola Vincent's childhood at the Cuban Lodge as part of this larger, densely heterogeneous context, we perhaps come closer to understanding how cultural differentiation thrived through the change and admixture found in the application of "diasporic sensibilities" by this transatlantic Afro-Cuban/Yoruba family.

Another very interesting identity marker that the Campos example illustrates is the sense of African, specifically Lagosian, identity also developed by the family while in Cuba. Though born in Cuba, Hilario, Serafina, and Cicelia were brought to Cuba because the family obviously felt a strong connection to their Yoruba background, like Havana's Lagosians, and thus repatriated to Lagos. We see that this occurred in a second-generation context, with the experience of the homeland being relegated to the remembered culture of the childhood home. This process occurred in the cross-diasporic context of both Havana and Lagos for the Campos family.

Hilario Campos was a young man with limited Yoruba language skills when he settled in Lagos. He must have acquired a strong association with his African identity in Cuba that fueled his desire to come back home. We must also remember that Hilario's father was taken to Cuba as a slave, and that perhaps this explains the depth of the association with Yoruba culture, and home as Africa, that persisted within the family. Of particular interest here are Mrs. Vincent's comments about what she remembers her grandfather saying about his African ancestry:

Solimar Otero: Do you think that Hilario Campos and your great-grandfather felt the sense of being Lagosian [while in Cuba]?

Mrs. Ola Vincent: Lagosian, yes, yes. Yes. . . . [It's] *not that I think so! They said it!*—and what we are trying to do now is to find out [more information about the family] from Cuba, you know. And I don't know how we can do that. [emphasis added]⁴⁴

Here we find that Mrs. Vincent recalls a very strong sense of association with Yoruba culture, and with Lagos in particular, on the part of her grandfather, Hilario Campos. Of interest also is the way Mrs. Vincent associates

the nostalgia her grandfather may have felt for Lagos while in Cuba with her own family's search for its Cuban connections. We see a parallel situation, in that neither Hilario Campos nor Mrs. Ola Vincent were actually born in the homelands with which they seek to reconnect. It is in the milieu of family history, personal folk narratives, and borrowed memory that desires for connecting across diasporas emerge and are nurtured. In the historical context of the Atlantic world in the nineteenth century, this sense of a bicoastal family history fueled the very real search for reconnections, the building of new associations, and the commemoration of the past for both the Aguda and the Afrolatinos across the Atlantic.⁴⁵ In looking at the pride and detail that went into the erection of the newer gravestones for the Campos family (see below), we see the family's need to mark their distinct history as Aguda and their unique past in the context of the larger Lagosian public sphere. Here, distinctness works to relocate the space and place of the Campos family within larger social networks. The markers serve as a sort of shared community property.

In exploring the transatlantic ramifications of this kind of social imagination, and the type of work such remembering makes possible, one would have to imagine a similar sense of difference and cultural amalgamation provided the larger social backdrop of Cuba's African communities that emerged in the nineteenth century. Again, in recalling the cacophony of African ethnicities, even distinct Yoruba communities, that existed in Cuba, we see that a similar heterogeneous sense of admixture must have created the context for the formation of distinct subgroups on the island. As already mentioned, these emerging Afrocubano identities were marked by the establishment of Black associations and *cabildos* in Cuba, and particularly in Havana. Similarly, there was the thrust toward nation building in reassembling a diverse set of communities in the name of a loosely unified Cuban and Yoruba identity. Multiple nationalisms were carried by the same groups (such as the Campos family), since these associations were incorporative and fluid in nature. The shift in frames of reference—for example, the shift to being Cuban in Lagos from being Lagosian in Cuba—reveals one way in which this diasporic community managed the wide range of identities it laid claim to.

Such processes operate over time, as in the Campos family's nostalgia and imagining of distant homelands being carried across generations. This kind of longing is a particular sort of recuperation of memory that is not necessarily owned by any one individual but by a community as a whole. It would be difficult to pinpoint one set of origins of such romantic associations with place and memory. However, we can locate the pattern of association that was redeveloped across the different temporal and geographic sites of this branch of the Aguda diaspora. In my second set of interviews with Mrs. Gooding-King, at the Cuban Lodge in 2001, despite her advanced age, she expressed a desire to "return home" to Cuba—a place that obviously

operated in her imagination as a historical beacon of sorts. In the following excerpt from my interviews, she indicates her desire to go to Cuba after receiving a visit from a delegation from the Cuban Embassy:

Mrs. Gooding-King: They [the Cuban delegation] come here to visit me. Telling me how everybody over there [in Cuba] wants to see me. Bringing [a] present to me. Telling me that I should come back *home* in time. To come and enjoy the land over there. . . . Yes, back home. Over there with my children.⁴⁶

In following up with Mrs. Gooding-King about the meaning of these comments it was clear that she was making connections to a past that she had come to own as hers. The real familial ties, the memories of growing up different in Lagos in the Cuban Lodge, and the reassertion of these ties to Cuba by visits from a Cuban delegation and researchers like myself are all factors that contributed to her vision of Cuba as a sort of primordial home. In diasporic communities like that of the Aguda in Lagos, different modalities of the notion of home often operate in confluence with each other. The fact that Mrs. Gooding-King layered her notions of home, in terms of both temporality and place, reaffirms the tenacity of this process. It is ironic, yet fitting, that Mrs. Gooding-King indicated her desire for a reunion with the descendants of the Campos family in Cuba while sitting in the living room of the Cuban Lodge, located in Campos Square, in Lagos, Nigeria. In an extension of many kinds of cultural congruencies, Mrs. Gooding-King's wishes provided yet another instance in which remembering and dreaming work together to bring two ends of a diaspora together conceptually. Though this process of association relies heavily on the social imagination, there are also concrete markers of commemoration of the cultural heritage of the Cuban Aguda. In the next section we look at the gravestones placed by the Campos family in Ikoyi Cemetery, which constituted a kind of public historical record that contextualized and solidified the conceptual processes described above for the family, and for other Lagosian Aguda as well.⁴⁷

Cuban Aguda Public History: Ikoyi Cemetery

One major component of the Campos family's remembered history that was emphasized to me was the burial sites of relatives in Ikoyi Cemetery. Hilario Campos, J. Cicelia Munis, and Anastasia Gooding are all buried here. Campos and Munis share a gravesite, and the history of their journey from Cuba to Lagos is inscribed on the tombstones.⁴⁸ The grave of Mrs. Anastasia Gooding, the mother of Mrs. Ola Vincent and Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King, also bears a long and telling marker commemorating her life history in relation to the extended family. In visiting the site with Mrs. Vincent, she recalled

the family's effort to make their history public in this manner. Upon taking a photo, I remember Mrs. Vincent's proud pose next to the marker of her grandfather and great-aunt. Her demeanor clearly indicated the deep sense of connection she feels with this part of her family's history. The graves' open, lengthy display of the Cuban background of the relatives buried there reveal that the Campos family sees its Aguda heritage as an important part, not only of the family's past but of Lagosian public history as a whole.

Another significant aspect of the graves is their location. Ikoyi is a part of Lagos where people of relatively high status live. The location of the graves in this area indicates a high-status association for the Aguda in the Lagosian social world. The use of Holy Cross Cathedral for the funeral services of these relatives also indicates a high level of social status for the family. The cathedral is located on Campos Square and its congregation consists of people in relatively good social and economic positions.⁴⁹ Though Mrs. Gooding-King and Mrs. Vincent are both Anglicans—due to the religious affiliation of their father, a Saro—they openly displayed pride in their family's association with the Catholic cathedral and its congregation. Indeed, Mrs. Anastasia Gooding remained a Catholic all her life, even after marrying a Saro. Cultural and religious mixing was a frequent component of the high-status repatriate families that helped to build "modern" Lagos, both literally and socially.⁵⁰ We will now look at how cultural mixing between the repatriate Aguda, both of Cuban and Brazilian origin, and the Sierra Leonean Saros figured in the Campos family. Social status and prestige are highly important markers of identity formation for all of these interrelated communities.

Cultural Mixing between the Aguda and the Saros

Intermarriage between Brazilian and Cuban Aguda was commonplace in Lagos. Adding to this admixture of repatriate families is the incorporation of Saro returnees into families like the Campos family. The mother of Mrs. Vincent and Mrs. Gooding-King married a Saro, Mr. Gooding, after being raised in the Cuban Lodge. His own family compound was at Itabalogun⁵¹—in the Saro area of Lagos.

The intermixing of Sierra Leonean and repatriate Cuban culture created a unique atmosphere at the Cuban Lodge. Besides being a living space, the lodge served as an artisans' workshop, run by Hilario Campos's son-in-law, Mr. Gooding. The workshop attracted a range of people as buyers and operated in different genres—such as *ese*, Yoruba traditional sculpture, and batik cloth. This kind of activity made the lodge a high-profile meeting space where the Campos family felt compelled to set an example and shine. Mrs. Gooding-King remembers the approach of her family toward the more public aspects of her home at the Cuban Lodge:

And, they [her mother and grandfather] are careful of how they dress. Particularly, they were very clean. They didn't stop, [they were] really very hard-working people. . . . The building was used for living here. . . . And we have a little shop, [a] workshop. He [Mrs. Gooding-King's father] applied himself in art. Second, [in] batik. In African sculpture, *ese*. My father sold to *oyinbo*, mostly, batik.⁵²

Mrs. Gooding-King echoes the sentiments earlier expressed by Olusí with regard to the way the Aguda were perceived. They both emphasize a kind of work ethic that seemed to characterize the community. The international flavor of the Cuban Lodge provided an appropriate stage for the group's representation of itself to outsiders. Along with other kinds of Yoruba artists and visitors, art aficionados interested in traditional Yoruba artwork, particularly the European *oyinbo*, came into contact with the Campos family here in their home. One could imagine the environment of Mrs. Gooding-King's and Mrs. Vincent's childhood as filled with an array of languages and cultures. It is also important to note that at the Campos's workshop, it was repatriate Saros and Aguda who were representing Yoruba culture through traditional art genres in a context of diasporic production. Other workshops and vernacular spaces of art and architectural production were commonly associated with Aguda of both Cuban and Brazilian extraction.⁵³

One question that remains is how the process of cultural mixing between Brazilian and Cuban Aguda occurred in Lagos. What would be the most appropriate way to grasp the multifaceted and geographically dispersed spaces of this copenetration? Previous literature on the subject suggests that the process must have occurred on various diasporic fronts—in Southampton, Havana, and Lagos.⁵⁴ Looking at the Campos family as a prominent example of this process within the context of the larger Lagosian Aguda community, we find that over the years the Brazilian and Cuban subsections of repatriates have indeed merged in multiple ways. Selective association by both parties has allowed for the emergence of an identifiable, collective Aguda community that embodies them both. The display of cultural customs and public performances are the sites of cultural production that most obviously articulate this emergence. Of particular note are the Boa, Christmas, and Easter masquerades performed by the Aguda community as a whole. As Mrs. Gooding-King indicates, "Masquerades, yes . . . well, they would celebrate here, at Christmas time and Easter time . . . dressing [up in] the different types. And dancing—from Cuba, and Brazil, yeah—yes, samba. There are many. They are in a group."⁵⁵

Gooding-King's statements that "There are many" and that "They are in a group" illustrate the points made above about the complementary processes of differentiation and emergence in Aguda public performances in Lagos. The focus on dress, dance, and the different kinds of performances

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offered at the masquerades shows that these acts are culturally dense with ethnic coding. The redistribution of difference here is particularly managed by familial lineages.

For example, the family of Mr. Lola Bamgboshe Martins represents one of the oldest lineages of the Brazilian Aguda (not to mention the Nago Yoruba in Bahia, Brazil), responsible for conducting Aguda masquerades in Lagos.⁵⁶ It was clear that the position of Lola Martins as a "torch bearer" of diasporic traditions, on both sides of the Atlantic, was recognized as an important leadership role for *both* Cuban and Brazilian Aguda. He held the important traditional titles of Baba Egungun and Ajolojo Egungun of Lagos, indicating that he was the patriarch of the Egungun masquerades of Lagos. Indeed, Gooding-King remarked enthusiastically to me that Lola Martins was "her brother"—a term of endearment that indicated both respect and a deeply felt connection to the Bamgboshe family. Her role, as a Campos, paralleled that of Mr. Bamgboshe Martins, in that they both represented the living descendants of two of the most important poles of the Cuban and Brazilian historical legacy of the Aguda in Lagos. The Cuban and Brazilian Aguda have socially bolstered each other in ways that have recognized and respected the cultural diversity and unique contributions of their different diasporic origins in Latin America. One major adhesive readily apparent in this process was the respect for Yoruba traditional religion displayed in Cuba and Brazil in the late nineteenth century and used as a means to create different kinds of national communities in these diasporas. In the section below, we discuss the Latin American traditions of Candomblé and Santería as major means by which the Brazilian and Cuban Aguda have recognized in each other a mutual understanding of a unique kind of Yoruba and also Afrolatino identity.

Religion among the Aguda and Other Lagosians

My grandfather [Hilario Campos] is in Ifa; they worshipped Ifa. . . . For Ifa, an Ifa priest. He did worship Ifa—He wore the, the white cloth.⁵⁷

—Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King,
personal interview, August 7, 1999, Lagos

As discussed above in regard to the Campos and Bamgboshe families, being "transatlantic" was an important part of their diasporic identity as Aguda living in Lagos. For Cuban and Brazilian Yoruba, their pan-diasporic identity increased and deepened their adeptness at boundary play. Religious culture is one realm of daily existence where this kind of play flourishes.

Orisha traditions, in both Brazil and Cuba, are cultural milieus in which Yoruba-ness is repeatedly enunciated.⁵⁸ As already mentioned, Bamgboshe Martins asserted to me that Brazilian-ness, and Candomblé practices especially, operated as another means to express Yoruba cultural ties in both Brazil and Nigeria.⁵⁹ The semiotic language of *orisha* worship works as an idiom for Afrolatino, especially Cuban and Brazilian, nationality and identity in both contemporary and historical contexts that characterize the fluctuating worlds of these diasporic populations.⁶⁰

The quotidian element of *orisha* observance, as a public culture and a civil religion, has found its way back to Lagos in Brazilian and Cuban forms. Afrolatino communities left traces of their observances of *orisha* traditions in Cuba, Brazil, and Nigeria in the form of *orisha* and Catholic devotion, civic art, and personal histories. One interesting example comes from an 1859 report by the Protestant missionaries of the CMS, in which Henry Townsend remarked upon the affinities in terms of liturgical models between the Catholicism exhibited by Afrolatino returnees and *orisha* worship.⁶¹ Townsend even goes so far as to ask: "Who could be surprised that white [Catholic] slave-traders at Lagos should consult Ifa before sending their ships to sea?"⁶² Small examples of this sort reflect the CMS's distaste for both the slave trade and Catholicism. Regardless of what CMS missionaries thought, however, the Aguda communities carried their diasporic religious sensibilities, which included vernacular Afrolatino religions that married *orisha* worship with Catholicism, with them as they returned to Africa.⁶³ Indeed, between 1859 and 1863, the population of Brazilian and Cuban Catholics in Lagos rose significantly, almost doubling the numbers in Catholic congregations around the city.⁶⁴

The increase has several explanations. The first is that 1859 is the year the Sociétés des Missions Africaines (SMA), founded in Lyons, France, attempted to bring Catholicism to West Africa via Sierra Leone.⁶⁵ The SMA's efforts were later aided by the returning Aguda in Lagos, and by 1863 the Aguda had established a connection with Father Francisco Borghero, a Roman Catholic priest, and created a parish in Lagos that was specifically recognized by Rome.⁶⁶ This parish later became the foundation of a Lagosian archdiocese. However, the numerical increase of Catholics was also proportionally related to the ongoing settlement of Catholic Brazilian and Cuban repatriates to the Popo Aguda area in particular.⁶⁷ Another significant factor that later added visibility to the growing number of new Catholics in the city was the building and design of the Holy Cross proto-cathedral on Campos Square in 1879–83 by Lazaro Borges da Silva and Francisco Nobre, two Aguda architects.⁶⁸ Ultimately, it is important that we see the Aguda's connection to the religious traditions they brought back with them, which included Catholicism, Islam, and *orisha* worship, as setting the necessary foundation for the establishment of official cultural institutions in Lagos.⁶⁹

My conversations with Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King affirmed similar sentiments of flexibility in relation to religious and ethnic identity. Participation in forms of religious culture coded as Yoruba, Brazilian, and Cuban was and is all a part of being Aguda in Lagos. Strategies of differentiation and affiliation allowed for an Aguda version of identity that is both unique and consistent with other flexible West African tropes of identification. Yet, even within this flexible discourse, there are instances of contradiction, ambiguity, and convergence between Catholic and *orisha* traditions. This kind of layered discourse about religion is particularly Caribbean and Brazilian in its mode of code switching. Compare, for example, the statements made below about the Campos family's religious affiliation by Mrs. Gooding-King and Mrs. Vincent:

Mrs. Ola Vincent: Yes, Hilario Campos was a Catholic. [At] Holy Cross, Holy Cross, yes, Lagos, the Catholic Mission.

Solimar Otero: The cathedral, right? And was your mother still a Catholic?

Mrs. Ola Vincent: Anyways, she was married to my father. My father is a Protestant. . . . But my mother never goes to the Anglican Church. . . . She said, "I am a Catholic, and I am not going to leave my church." . . . So, "But you children, you have to go with your father"—[but]—she died a Catholic!

Aderemi Gooding-King: They do it. Really they do worship on the island. Even the—the *orishas*—at this, at this Catholic church—all the saints here, they have meaning. . . . Oooo!! But they won't tell you. Unless the Cubans and the Brazilians they tell you all the signs. . . . ah-ha, about the [*orisha*], they won't say it, they won't. . . . The same thing with their preacher. Wherever they have their preacher it won't last. He is doing it, but he won't show it . . . openly. . . . They just don't—they just stand there by the Bible. Just bring the Bible into everything—bring it out into everything! Oh God! Those people! They don't have pride, *because my parents are from Cuba—they kept it up, that's how they know it*. And all these things they forbid their children, oh—they're not doing their job, it gets lost! . . . They're taking [traditions] away from their children. They begin losing respect for this land, and it's all lies. [emphasis added]

Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King: They *do* believe in the *orishas*. They do believe. Very well. Even all the saints in the Catholic church [are related to the *orishas*].⁷⁰

These three excerpts were taken from my ethnographic interviews with Mrs. Ola Vincent, and Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King. Both sisters claimed to be of the Anglican Protestant persuasion, but they were also very interested in *orisha* worship in Nigeria, and especially in Cuba. What emerges from the sisters' statements is a similarity in dilemmas about religious identity in Cuba and in Nigeria that allow for a level of code switching and concealment about faith in traditional Yoruba religion. (However, code switching occurs in many

Afro-Atlantic religious cultures besides Yoruba-derived traditions.⁷¹) Though highly respected members of traditional worship groups, like *babalawo*, do not hide their allegiance to the *orisha*, other community members sometimes do. Or better stated, they selectively choose the audiences and contexts where they reveal such beliefs and practices.

Also, both Mrs. Vincent and Mrs. Gooding-King associated Catholic religion with their family, and Mrs. Gooding-King especially saw a connection between the Catholic saints and the *orisha*. She indicated to me that the saints all "had meaning" associated with *orisha* worship. It is also interesting here that Hilario Campos was identified as solely Catholic by Vincent, but that Gooding-King identified her grandfather as both a Catholic and an Ifa priest, a *babalawo*. This kind of comfort with code switching between Catholicism and *orisha* traditions may only be found in the creolized traditions of Santería and Candomblé, in which this merging provides a way of enunciating sustained multiple identities. Culturally incorporative perspectives like those found in transatlantic *orisha* traditions rearticulate themselves here in a manner that comes full circle—as in the case of the Campos family. The religious cultures found in Lagos, Bahia, and Havana shared the diasporic sensibilities of transatlantic *orisha* worship in terms of establishing complicated and fluid alliances across disparate social terrains.

For example, like many practitioners of Santería in Cuba and Candomblé in Brazil, some Aguda preferred to keep their religious affiliation to certain *orisha* private. This legacy of caution toward one's religion is another legacy brought over from the diaspora, as many Afro-Cubans and Afro-Brazilians were forced to worship in private or accept Catholicism outwardly. In a sense, Gooding-King's critique of this behavior becomes a push to organize traditional Yoruba religion in such a way as to make it public, known, and revisable. It is clear that for Mrs. Gooding-King, there was no problem with being a Christian and then offering a passionate critique of the Western Christians' colonizing of Yoruba traditional religion. Not surprisingly, her comments regarding the lack of respect for traditional Yoruba religion relate to a kind of Yoruba nationalism that has its historical roots in the Afrolatino diaspora. This kind of shift in religious allegiance can occur due to the overall recognition of Yoruba traditional religion as a sort of organizing civil religion.⁷²

However, in paradigms of secret and open praxis, a restricted lens always appears in the expression of religious culture in terms of who performs their faith openly in public. By looking at places where binaries have merged, that is, at "syncretized" religious practices, we come closer to understanding the *lived* realities of Aguda religious associations and legacies. It is here, at the moment of dual recognition, that the religious world can open up and show how vernacular religions like Santería, Candomblé and traditional *orisha*

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worship have become a basis for the existence of a "Yoruba" group identity on three continents.

Considering the diverse nature of ethnic groups that make up the Yoruba, one can see how the Aguda have come to represent another unique group of Yoruba who were incidentally from the Caribbean and Latin American diaspora. Like other ethnic Yoruba, like Ijebu or Egba Yoruba living in Lagos, for instance, the Aguda arrived in the city with their own unique history of dispersal and resettlement from multiple "Yoruba" diasporas. This diverse and layered diasporic type of community formation is completely consistent with recognized tropes of how "Yoruba-ness" is constructed as an ethnic identity and later reidentified within broader social contexts.⁷³

The paradigm of home/diaspora has a nostalgic aspect that utilizes the language of travel, loss, and gain. It is interesting that both the Aguda and the Havana Lagosians identified with a nostalgia for home in a manner that allowed them to make their mark in their new homes by being identified with the distinctness of "being" from somewhere else.⁷⁴ These communities became important parts of defining the cosmopolitan nature of Havana and Lagos. In a way, these two cities are sites of the imagination that serve each other well as destinations, in that they reaffirm what they promise to do for one another. These promises, and also memories, operated within the social imagination through the allegories and religious performances discussed above.

For the Lucumí in Cuba, the Nago in Brazil, and the Aguda in Nigeria and Benin, public forms of display, like the Boa masquerade, were recreated to celebrate the negotiation of a range of particular localities, identities, and origins that acknowledged influences from specific home and diasporic sources.⁷⁵ These were all mixed *de cierta manera*, in a certain creolized manner that contains familiar hybrids as models, as sources of inspiration, for future play and invention.⁷⁶ For the Aguda under investigation here, their Cuban heritage provided creolized forms of culture that served as models of performance that could be carried to Lagos. For example, Hilario Campos's participation in Santería, as a *babalawo* trained in Cuba performing this identity among the Aguda of Lagos, created a space for recognizing a familiar, yet unique, way of understanding a Yoruba from Cuba.

Since Yoruba culture so deeply influenced Cuban national identity, this kind of performance behaved as a mirror of sorts, in which the Cubans and the Yoruba in nineteenth-century Lagos found a piece of themselves reflected due to this shared mythological and religious cultural context.⁷⁷ In chapter 5, we return to Cuba and the creation of an Afro-Cuban identity in the island's public sphere in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. We will find that the transatlantic memory that informed the embrace of Cuba by the Aguda has another manifestation in the way that Cubans imagined themselves as Africans.

5

Creating Afrocubanos

Public Cultures in a
Circum-Atlantic Perspective

El rayo surca, sangriento,
El lóbreo nubarrón:
Echa el barco, ciento a
ciento,
Los negros por el portón.

Blood-red lightning cleaves
The murky overcast:
A ship disgorges, by the
hundreds,
Blacks through the hatches.

El viento, fiero, quebraba
Los almácigos copudos;
Andaba la hilera, andaba,
De los esclavos desnudos.

The raging winds laid low
The copious mastic trees;
And rows of naked slaves
Walked onward, onward.

El temporal sacudía
Los barracones henchidos:
Una madre con su cría
Pasaba, dando alaridos.

The tempest shook
The swollen barracks;
A mother with her babe
Passed by, screaming.

Rojo, como en el desierto,
Salió el sol al horizonte:
Y alumbraró un esclavo
muerto,
Colgado a un seibo del monte.

Red as a desert sun,
The sun rose on the horizon:
And shone upon a dead slave,
Hanging on a mountain ceiba.

Un niño lo vio: tembló
De pasión por los que gimen:
¡Y, al pie del muerto, juró
And, at the dead man's feet,

A small boy witnessed it:
He trembled for the groaning
men;

vowed
To cleanse that crime with his
life!

—José Martí, "Versos Sencillos XXX"

56. Howard, *Changing History*, 73–99; Ortiz, *Los cabildos y la fiesta del Día de los Reyes*; and Childs, "The Defects of Being a Black Creole," 209–45.

57. Laotan, "Brazilian Influence on Lagos," 156–65; Laotan, *The Torch Bearers*; and Matthew Kukah, interview, August 9, 1999, Cuban Lodge, Campos Square, Lagos, Nigeria.

58. This is a Brazilian masquerade of a bull, *boa*, figurine in an annual Lagosian carnival. The *carretas*, or masques, are brought out with the bull figurine and with Brazilian dance, song, and cuisine every year in Lagos. The activities are distinctly Bahian in origin, noting a cross-diasporic origin.

59. "Mother of the Orisha," a priestess of Yoruba traditional deities, or *orisha*. In this case, the *iyalocha* comes from the Brazilian Candomblé tradition, and her title would be *mae de Santo*. In Santería, the Cuban component of *orisha* worship in the diaspora, we could call a person of this rank an *iyalocha*. The parallels occur because the structure of *orisha* worship thrives in multiple contexts.

60. Gooding-King, interview, August 7, 1999, Cuban Lodge, Campos Square, Lagos, Nigeria.

61. Bamgboshe Martins, "Legacy and Brazil," 15; and interviews with Bamgboshe Martins, August 11, 1999 and April 23, 2001, Campos Square, Lagos, Nigeria.

62. Yai, "The Identity, Contributions, and Ideology of the Aguda," 82.

63. See author's website, <http://www.lsu.edu/faculty/solimar/>, for figure J—Grave of Cuban Aguda Mrs. Anastasia Gooding, Hilario Campos's daughter, Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos; and figure K—Grave of Cuban Aguda brother and sister, Hilario Campos and Johana Cicelia Munis, Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos, 2001, photographs by author.

64. See Landes, *The City of Women*, 42; Ramos, *O Folk-Lore Negro do Brasil*; and Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 46–47.

65. Peel, "The Pastor and the *Babalawo*" 338–69; Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 38–71; and Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil," 72–103.

66. Olusí's own pronunciation of *oosa*.

67. Olusí, interview, April 21, 2001, Isolako, Lagos, Nigeria; emphasis in original.

68. Olupona, "Orisa Osun," 46–67.

69. Ibid., 48–49.

70. See author's website, <http://www.lsu.edu/faculty/solimar/>, for the following: figure B—Omoba Prince T. Olusí and Solimar Otero, Ile Omoba Olusí, Lagos, 2001; figure C—Child devotee of Olokun preparing for the Eyo masquerade, Lagos, 2001; figure D—Chief Lola Bamgboshe Martins, *olowo* of the Songo Egungun and prominent member of the Bamgboshe family, Lagos, March 2001; figure E—the Bamgboshe Martins House, Lagos, 2001; figure F—Bamgboshe Egungun shrine, Lagos, 2001 (all photographs by author).

Chapter 4

1. Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia*, 30–31.

2. Sarracino, *Los Que Volvieron a Africa*, 47–64.

3. Sarracino, "Back to Africa," 67–76, esp. 71.

4. Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia*, 30–33, esp. 32.

5. Yai, "The Identity, Contributions, and Ideology of the Aguda," 73–76; Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 38–72, 73–114; Matory, "The English Professors of Brazil," 72–103; Verger, "Nigeria, Brazil, and Cuba," 113–23; and Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 32, 92–97, 248–49, 360 n. 56.

6. *Lloyd's Register* (London: Lloyd's Register Group, 1843); *Southampton Street Directory* (Southampton: Southampton City Council, 1847–1857). Special Collections Library, Southampton City Council, Southampton, UK.

7. Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 92–97, 248–49; Law, "The Evolution of the Brazilian Community in Ouidah," 22–41; Bay, "Protection, Political Exile, and the Atlantic Slave-Trade," 42–60; and Yai, "The Identity, Contributions, and Ideology of the Aguda," 72–82.

8. Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia*, 34–35; Otero, "A Tale of Two Cities," 79–124; and Otero, "Dreaming the Barrio," 31–52.

9. Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia*, 34–38. See Alejandro De la Fuente, *Havana and the Atlantic in the Sixteenth Century*, 43–50, for an example of how slavery shaped the city of Havana in complicated ways as early as in the sixteenth century.

10. Ortiz, "Los cabildos Afrocubanos," 54–63; Cabrera, *El Monte Igbo Finda Ewe Orisha*; Cabrera, "Religious Syncretism in Cuba," 84–94; Jorge Castellanos and Isabella Castellanos, *Cultura Afrocubana*, vol. 1; Otero, "Iku and Cuban Nationhood," 116–31; Do Nascimento, "The African Experience in Brazil," 97–118; Verger, "Nigeria, Brazil, and Cuba," 113–23; Landes, *The City of Women*; and Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 73–114.

11. Otero, "Barrio, Bodega, and Botanica Aesthetics," 173–94. I am influenced by the ways in which the following use and critique the idea of the imaginary as an influential and portable social and civic process: Appadurai, *Modernity at Large*, 31–50, 52–61, 195; Appadurai "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination," 1–20; Flores, *From Bomba to Hip Hop*, 191–203, 227–28; and Saldivar, *The Borderlands of Culture*, 12, 38–39, 59–62, 239, 436–37.

12. Hegel, *The Philosophy of History*, 1–110; Le Goff, *History and Memory*, 86, 120–21, 128–30, 116–98, 199–216.

13. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 5–55.

14. Ibid., 7.

15. Ibid.

16. Hallen, *The Good, the Bad, and the Beautiful*, 49, 65–67, 133–34; and Ortiz, *Contrapunteo Cubano del Tabaco y el Azúcar*, 3–102.

17. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 10–13.

18. Fabian, *Remembering the Present*, 253, 274–75, 311.

19. Ricoeur, *Memory, History, Forgetting*, 13.

20. Ibid., 22–23; 96–102.

21. Abiodun, "Riding the Horse of Praise," 182–92.

22. For a discursive model of a similar kind of Yoruba "literary" criticism in relation to oral literature, see Barber, "Quotation and the Constitution of Yoruba Oral Texts," 1–17.

23. Abiodun, "Riding the Horse of Praise," 183.

24. Nuttall, "Introduction: Rethinking Beauty," 6–29; Vogel, "Future Traditions," 94–113; and Blier, "Art Systems and Semiotics," 7–18.

25. Appadurai, "Introduction: Commodities and the Politics of Value," 3–63; and Burke, *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women*, 166–216.

26. Barber, *The Generation of Plays*, 1–17, 306–47; and Ranger, "The Invention of Tradition in Colonial Africa," 211–62.

27. Abrahams, *Everyday Life*, 96–126, 127–48, 217–60; Bauman and Briggs, "Poetics and Performances," 59–88; and Glassie, *Passing the Time in Ballymenone*, 35–94, 602–8, 669–714.

28. Finnegan, *The Oral and Beyond*; Barber, "Quotation and the Constitution of Yoruba Oral Texts," 1–17; and Ngũgĩ wa Thiong'o, *Moving the Centre*.

29. Yankah, *Speaking for the Chief*, 6–24, 107–26; and Barber, "Polyvocality and Individual Talent," 151–60.

30. Hymes, "Breakthrough into Performance," 79–141.

31. Sarracino also notes that Campos was a carpenter, and provides details of family connections in Mantanzas, Cuba. He also speaks of Munis's husband, Andrés Muniz, born in Cuba, who came to Lagos in the nineteenth century with Campos, returned to Matanzas in 1914, and died in Cuba 1944. See *Los Que Volvieron a Africa*, 52–55, 130–31.

32. *Ibid.*, 47–50, 51–52, 54–62.

33. *Ibid.*, 47–50; and Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia*, 27–33, esp. 30.

34. Sarracino, *Los Que Volvieron a Africa*, 47–48.

35. See author's website, <http://www.lsu.edu/faculty/solimar/>, for figure G—Hilario Campos, Afro-Cuban repatriate to Lagos. Campos, who was born in Cuba in 1878, became the founder of the Cuban Lodge and Campos Square in Lagos, Nigeria.

36. Briggs, "Metadiscursive Practices and Scholarly Authority in Folkloristics," 387–434.

37. Behar, "Going to Cuba," 136–60.

38. Otero, "Spirit Possession, Havana, and the Night," 45–74; and Ponte, "Las lágrimas en el congre," 43–49.

39. Mrs. Ola Vincent, interview, April 25, 2001, Victoria Island, Lagos, Nigeria.

40. See Otero, "Iku and Cuban Nationhood," 116–31; Otero, "A Tale of Two Cities," 79–124; "Dreaming the Barrio," 31–52.

41. Sarracino, *Los Que Volvieron a Africa*, 47–64, 130–31; and Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia*, 27–35.

42. See Olusí's discussion of Lagosian *oba*-ship in chapter 2 and 3. Also see Olupona's use of the notion of "civil religion" in "Orisa Osun," 46–67.

43. Mr. Lola Bamgboshe Martins assisted me in this interview. As a prominent Aguda of Brazilian origin, he has been central in providing leadership for the repatriate community as a whole. The word choice, "hearing" Spanish, comes directly from the Yoruba concept of linguistic performance. A person *gbo*—hears—a language correctly rather than solely "speaking" it. This frame of reference is a significant one to keep in mind in terms of how performance and speech operate in Yoruba contexts. Mrs. Gooding-King interview, August 7, 1999, Cuban Lodge, Campos Square, Lagos, Nigeria. Mrs. Ola Vincent, interview, April 25, 2001, Victoria Island, Lagos, Nigeria.

44. Mrs. Ola Vincent, *ibid.* Emphasis added.

45. See Matory, "The Coast Revisited."

46. Mrs. Gooding-King does not mean, literally, her own "children" here. She is talking about the generations of relatives born after her father's arrival in Lagos in the late nineteenth century. Mrs. Gooding-King interview, August 15, 1999, Cuban Lodge, Campos Square, Lagos, Nigeria.

47. See also author's website, <http://www.lsu.edu/faculty/solimar/>, for figure H—The Cuban Lodge, Campos Square, Lagos, 1999; and figure I—Mrs. Catherine Aderemi Gooding-King and neighbors inside of the Cuban Lodge, Lagos, 1999 (photographs by author).

48. See also author's website, <http://www.lsu.edu/faculty/solimar/>, for figure J—Grave of Cuban Aguda Mrs. Anastasia Gooding, Hilario Campos's daughter, Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos; figure K—Grave of Cuban Aguda brother and sister, Hilario Campos and Johana Cicelia Munis, Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos; and figure L—Mrs. Ola Vincent, granddaughter of Hilario Campos, Ikoyi Cemetery, Lagos (all 2001, photographs by author).

49. Former Secretary General of the Catholic Bishops Secretariat, Matthew Hassan Kukah, personal communication, August 9, 1999, Campos Square, Lagos, Nigeria.

50. See Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 247, 360; Laotan, "Brazilian Influence on Lagos," 156–165; Laotan, *The Torch Bearers*; Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 38–114; and Matory, "The Coast Revisited."

51. This location is nearby Isaleko, in close proximity to Prince Olusí's jurisdiction.

52. *Oyinbo* is a Yoruba slang term that refers to European/American foreigners. Mrs. Gooding-King, interview, April 15, 2001, Cuban Lodge, Lagos, Nigeria.

53. Laotan, *The Torch Bearers*, and Laotan, "Brazilian Influence on Lagos," 156–65.

54. Verger, "Nigeria, Brazil, and Cuba," 113–23; Juan Pérez de la Riva, *Documentos para la historia de las gentes sin historia*, 30–38; and Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 115–48.

55. Gooding-King, interview, August 7, 1999, Cuban Lodge, Lagos, Nigeria.

56. During the interviews I conducted with Mr. Lola Bamgboshe Martins, August 11, 1999, Campos Square, Lagos, Nigeria, he indicated to me that his grandfather was the most important *babalawo*, or Ifa divination priest, in Saldaor (Bahia), Brazil, in the late nineteenth century. This information is corroborated by several sources, one inspired by Matory's own work with Lola Martins: see "The English Professors of Brazil," 72–103.

57. In both Cuba and Nigeria, one sign of a *babalawo* like other orisha priests, is the wearing of white garments. Complete attire in white may be reserved for special rituals, or may be worn every day by high-status individuals.

58. Yai, "The Identity, Contributions, and Ideology of the Aguda," 75–77; David Hilary Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, esp. 113–64; and Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion*, 73–115.

59. Bamgboshe Martins, personal communication, April 2001, Lagos, Nigeria.

60. Otero, "Iku and Cuban Nationhood," 116–31; and Yai, "Les 'Aguda' (Afró-Brésiliens) du Golfe du Bénin," 275–84.

61. Townsend, quoted in Smith, *The Lagos Consulate*, 1851–1861, 82.

62. *Ibid.*

63. Yai, "The Identity, Contributions, and Ideology of the Aguda," 72-82; and Yai, "Les 'Aguda' (Afro-Brésiliens) du Golfe du Bénin," 275-84.
64. Smith, *The Lagos Consulate*, 1851-1861, 38-41, 80-82.
65. Ogundipe, "A Brief History of the Archdiocese of Lagos and the Beginnings of the Catholic Church in Nigeria," 38.
66. Ibid.
67. Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba*, 135; and Smith, *The Lagos Consulate*, 1851-1861, 39-40, 82.
68. Laotan, "Brazilian Influence on Lagos," 156-65; and Picton, "Keeping the Faith," 205.
69. For more on Islam in Lagos among the Brazilian Aguda, especially in regard to the city's architecture, see *ibid.*
70. Mrs. Ola Vincent, interview, April 25, 2001, Victoria Island, Lagos, Nigeria; Mrs. Aderemi Gooding-King, interview, August 7, 1999, Cuban Lodge, Lagos, Nigeria; and Gooding-King, interview, April 15, 2001, Cuban Lodge, Lagos, Nigeria.
71. See, for example, the ways that Congo and Yoruba code switching occurs in Cuban Palo traditions as discussed by Cabrera in *Reglas de Congo*, 147.
72. See Olupona, "Orisa Osun," 46-67; and Olusí interview, April 21, 2001, Isaleku, Lagos, Nigeria. See also Olusí interview excerpts, chapter 3 of this volume.
73. Peel, "The Cultural Work of Yoruba Ethnogenesis," 65-75; and Yai, "In Praise of Metonymy," 107-15.
74. Robin Cohen and Vertovek, "Introduction: Conceiving Cosmopolitanism," 1-25.
75. Ortiz, *Los cabildos y la fiesta del Día de los Reyes*; Verger, "Trance and Convention in Nago-Yoruba Spirit Mediumship," 50-66; Laotan, "Brazilian Influence on Lagos," 156-65; and Laotan, *The Torch Bearers*.
76. Benítez Rojo, *La Isla Que Se Repite El Caribe*, 1-29, 43-47; Amselle, *Mestizo Logistics*, 117-64; Abiodun, "An African (?) Art History," 37-47; and Margaret Thompson Drewal, "Dancing for Ogun in Yorubaland and in Brazil," 199-234.
77. Smart, "The Importance of Diasporas," 288-97; and Otero, "Dreaming the Barrio," 31-52.

Chapter 5

1. In *José Martí: Major Poems*, 86-87. The translation provided here is Elinor Randall's authorized translation from the bilingual edition of the book.
2. On these two critical moments for the inscription of African identity, see these texts: Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*; Aline Helg, *Our Rightful Share*; and Rebecca F. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*.
3. Here I take Appadurai's notions of the "research imagination" and "public culture" to heart in reexamining the Cuban landscape in the development and reproduction of a national literature through public discourse. For more on public culture as understood in this manner, see Appadurai, "Grassroots Globalization and the Research Imagination," 1-20.

4. See Christine Ayorinde, *Afro-Cuban Religiosity, Revolution, and National Identity*, 7-24.
5. See Cabrera, *Yemayá y Ochún*, 17-18.
6. For Afro-Cubans, see Childs, "The Defects of Being a Black Creole," 209-45; also, for creolization theory, see Abrahams, "Questions of Criollian Contagion," 73-87.
7. Childs, "The Defects of Being a Black Creole," 209-45.
8. Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 2-21, 55-90; Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba*, 15-42, 70-92, 112-40; Robin D. Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 13-40, 114-65; and Christine Ayorinde, *Afro-Cuban Religiosity, Revolution, and National Identity*, 7-69.
9. Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 147-50.
10. See Hellwig, "The African American Press and United States Involvement in Cuba, 1902-1912," 70-84; and Mirabal, "Telling Silences and Making Community," 49-69; both pieces are in *Between Race and Empire*, ed. Brock and Castañeda Fuertes. Also see Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, 253-69.
11. See Moore, *Nationalizing Blackness*, 114-65; and Ayorinde, *Afro-Cuban Religiosity, Revolution, and National Identity*, 7-69.
12. For a classic discussion of this dilemma, see Sarduy and Stubbs, "Introduction: The Rite of Social Communion," in *Afrocuba*, 3-26. For a more personal reinvestigation of the topic, see Sarduy, "Writing from Babylon," in Behar and Suárez, *The Portable Island*, 153-60.
13. There has been a recent resurgence of discussions of the elusive nature of Cuba the place and Cuban-ness the identity. See the edited volume by Behar and Suárez, *The Portable Island*.
14. Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, 74-75, 94-128, 253-72.
15. Childs, "The Defects of Being a Black Creole," 209-45.
16. Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, 88; and Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 107.
17. Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, 2-5.
18. Abrahams, *Everyday Life*, 127-48; and Abrahams, "Questions of Criollian Contagion," 73-87.
19. For examples of women creating, writing, and explaining Caribbean culture, see Otero, "Region: The Caribbean," in *Encyclopedia of Women's Folklore and Folklife*, 528-31.
20. Childs, "The Defects of Being a Black Creole," 209-45.
21. Ibid.
22. Usman, "The Nineteenth-Century Black Atlantic," 114-34; and Childs, "The Defects of Being a Black Creole," 209-45.
23. Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, 229-45; and Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 142-59.
24. Ibid.
25. Rebecca J. Scott, *Degrees of Freedom*, 227.
26. Ibid., 230; and Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 132-35, 144-46.
27. Childs, "The Defects of Being a Black Creole," 209-45; and Helg, *Our Rightful Share*, 48-53, 176-77.
28. See Buck-Morss, *Hegel, History, and Universal History*, 119-51.
29. Deschamps Chapeaux, *Los Cimarrones Urbanos*, 15, 27-30; and Childs, "The Defects of Being a Black Creole," 209-45.