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Old Oyo Influences on the Transformation
of Lucumí Identity in Colonial Cuba

A dissertation submitted in partial satisfaction of the
requirements for the degree Doctor of Philosophy
in History

by

Henry B. Lovejoy

2012

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ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

Old Oyo Influences on the Transformation
of Lucumí Identity in Colonial Cuba

by

Henry B. Lovejoy

Doctor of Philosophy in History

University of California, Los Angeles, 2012

Professor Andrew Apter, Co-chair

Professor Robin Derby, Co-chair

This study examines the correlation between the expansion and collapse of the Oyo Empire, the ethnolinguistic configuration of the migration from the Bight of Benin to Cuba and transformations in the conceptual meaning of Lucumí. Much of the historiography assumes the coherence of Lucumí culture was the result of the “transculturation” or “creolization” of Oyo-centric socio-cultural repertoires in the first third of the nineteenth century, but undervalues symbolic idioms which had already consolidated in Cuba from earlier migrations largely due to Oyo expansionism. The central argument is that a smaller, but more diverse mixture of ethnolinguistic groups – directly or indirectly victimized by Oyo imperialism – established basic Lucumí socio-cultural paradigms in the mid-to-late eighteenth century which were then reinforced and transformed with the massive influx of Yoruba-speakers during Oyo’s collapse (c. 1817 – 1836). The two main objectives of this study are 1) to verify that an infusion of Oyo-centric cultural repertoires into pre-existing Lucumí socio-cultural paradigms coincided with

Oyo's collapse and a dramatic increase of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba; and 2) to demonstrate that by the early-1830s Lucumí cultures of resistance in the Atlantic World helped set in motion the ethnogenesis of a transnational "pan-Yoruba" identity. In order to demonstrate this significant transformation, which is at the root of modern-day practices and beliefs of the Afro-Cuban religion commonly known as Santería, this study incorporates theoretical approaches and methodologies deriving from a diverse array of academic disciplines, including: history, anthropology, sociology, ethnology, ethnomusicology and linguistics. Primary and secondary sources include a variety of published and unpublished written and oral data originating from West Africa, Europe, the Caribbean and the Americas. In particular, documented African names of people from the Bight of Benin can be used to evaluate the likely ethnolinguistic composition of the migration to Cuba; as well as the conceptual meaning of Lucumí between 1826 and 1840. A database of nearly 4,000 names (and their interpretations) has been included with this thesis as a supplementary file.

The dissertation of Henry B. Lovejoy is approved.

Edward A. Alpers

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University of California, Los Angeles

2012

Dedicated to Dad

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INTRODUCTION

The Lucumí in a Pan-Yoruba World

The Bight of Benin, formerly known as the Slave Coast, is demarcated between Aného (Little Popo) in modern-day Togo and the Lekki lagoon in Nigeria. It is about 250 km (155 miles) long and the hinterland is home to a number of diverse ethnolinguistic groups. The Yoruba are one of the largest in the region. They are currently in south-western Nigeria and the south-eastern République du Bénin. Yoruba-speaking peoples have not always identified themselves as one cohesive group, but into “sub-groups” often representative of kingdoms with unique dynastic traditions. Some of the major Yoruba sub-groups in the east include: Akoko, Bunu, Ekiti, Ijesa, Igbomina, Ijumu, Ikale, Ilaje, Ondo, Owe, Owo, Oworo and Yagba. Sub-groups in the central region are: Awori, Egba, Ife, Ijebu, Oyo and Owu; and in the west: Ana, Anago, Egbado, Idaisa, Isa, Manigri, Ketu, Ohori and Sabe.¹ As a language, Yoruba unites them together, but there are regional dialects representative of the sub-groups. Beyond “Yorubaland,” some other ethnolinguistic groups, pastoralists, kingdoms and caliphates include: Edo (Kingdom of Benin),² Jakun, Tiv, Nupe, Hausa, Fulani, Sokoto, Bariba, Mahi, Fon (Kingdom of Dahomey), Allada, Chamba, Kotokoli, Wangara, Aja, Ewe, Fante, Asante, among others.³

¹ Rev. Samuel Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas from the Earliest Times to the Beginning of the British Protectorate* (London: Routledge & Sons Limited, 1921), E. G. Parrinder, *The Story of Ketu: An Ancient Yoruba Kingdom*, I. A. Akinjogbin, ed., (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, [1956] 1967), J. F. A. Ajayi and Robert Sydney Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the 19th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964), Robert Sydney Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba* (London: Methuen, 1969), Robin Law, *The Oyo Empire, c.1600-c.1836* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1977) and Peter C. Lloyd, “The Political Development of Yoruba Kingdoms in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries,” *Royal Anthropological Institute Occasional Paper* 31 (1971): 1-55. Olatunji Ojo, email with author, 24 Aug. 2011.

² Located east of the Yoruba (in modern-day Nigeria), the Kingdom of Benin should not be confused with the country of Benin.

³ I. A. Akinjogbin, *Dahomey and its Neighbours* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1967) and Ivor Wilks, *Asante in the Nineteenth Century: The Structure and Evolution of Political Power* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1975] 1989).

From the mid-seventeenth until the early-nineteenth centuries Oyo was arguably the most dominant Yoruba-speaking kingdom. Its initial development is usually attributed to a strategic location of the capital city – Oyo Ile or Old Oyo and Katunga (Hausa) – along major trade routes close to the Niger and Moshi confluence. The capital was located nearly 250 km inland (see Map 1.1). The kingdom participated in the trans-savannah trade from Gonja northwards to the Hausa kingdoms, primarily in kola nuts, salt, textiles and slaves; and eventually firearms, alcohol, palm oil and iron products. By the later decades of the seventeenth century, Oyo began to export slaves to the coast using trade routes which necessitated the subjugation of certain Yoruba and non-Yoruba territories and kingdoms. Oyo’s sizeable military, with a powerful cavalry, facilitated its commercial expansion and imperial conquest. According to Robin Law, “the total area of the Oyo kingdom at its greatest extent [in c. 1780] cannot be calculated with any precision... It must, however, have been something of the order of 18,000 square miles” (or 46,620 km²).⁴ At its greatest extent, P.C. Lloyd has estimated Old Oyo had a population of over 50,000, while Law estimates the kingdom’s entire population was close to one million.⁵

At the turn of the nineteenth century, Oyo began to lose some of its tributaries at its periphery, yet its complete collapse stems from the Fulani-inspired *jihad* emanating from the Sokoto Caliphate which was founded in 1804-1808.⁶ This religious war, led by the Muslim cleric

⁴ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 81-90.

⁵ *Ibid.*, and Lloyd, “Political Development of Yoruba Kingdoms,” 13.

⁶ Tubman Institute, Manuscripts, Martin, B. G., “Fulani penetration and establishment in Ilorin,” (unpublished and undated draft), Tubman Institute, Manuscripts, Martin, B. G., “Muhammad Bello’s *Usul al-Siyasa*, a Muslim political tract from Northern Nigeria” (Two unpublished and undated drafts), I. A. Akinjogbin, “The Prelude to the Yoruba Civil Wars of the Nineteenth Century,” *Odu* 24, 46 (1965): 81-86, Saburi Biobaku, ed., *Sources of Yoruba History* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), 15-33, Law, *Oyo Empire*, M.A. Mabogunje and J. Omer-Cooper, *Owu in Yoruba History* (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, 1971), Robin Law, “The Career of Adele at Lagos and Badagry, c. 1807-c. 1837,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 9, 2 (1978): 35-60, Kolawole Balogun, *Government in the Old Oyo Empire* (Lagos: Africanus Publishers, 1985), Hakeem B. Harunah, “Lagos-Abeokuta Relations in 19th Century Yorubaland,” in *History of the Peoples of Lagos State*, ed. Ade Adefuye, et al, (Lagos: Lantern Books Literamed Limited, 1987), 195-196, Toyin Falola, ed., *Yoruba Historiography* (Madison: African Studies Program of Wisconsin-Madison, 1991), Toyin Falola and Robin Law, ed., *Warfare and Diplomacy in Precolonial Nigeria*

Usman dan Fodio, spread southward into Nupe territory by 1810 and then to Ilorin in 1817. The *jihād* was followed by a complex series of civil wars and shifting alliances among Oyo's tributaries and other non-tributary kingdoms, whether Yoruba or not. Due to the displacement of people, refugee settlements and war camps formed into new towns such as Abeokuta and Ibadan.⁷ Oyo's final collapse ended with the abandonment of the capital city in c. 1836. After, the Sokoto Caliphate frontiers extended as far as Ilorin (see Map 1.2).⁸ Ibadan replaced Old Oyo as the most dominant city state in Yorubaland after the defeat of Ilorin in the 1840s until British colonization in the late-nineteenth century.⁹

Between 1616 and 1863, nearly two million enslaved people were forced onto slave ships at the Bight of Benin and were taken to the Americas.¹⁰ Many were Yoruba-speakers and many were not. From east to west, some of the key ports of embarkation included: Little Popo (Aného), Grand Popo, Ouidah, Porto Novo, Badagry and Lagos (Onim). According to "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database" (henceforth "Voyages"), the hundreds of thousands of victims departing this region at different intervals primarily went to Brazil (about 600,000

(Madison: African Studies Program of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992), 'Biódún Adédiran, *The Frontier States of Western Yorubaland, c. 1600-1889* (Ibadan: University of Ibadan Press, 1994) and Olatunji Ojo, "Warfare, Slavery and the Transformation of Eastern Yorubaland c. 1820-1900" (PhD diss., York University, 2003).

⁷ Kola Folayan, "Egbado to 1832: The Birth of a Dilemma," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 4, 1 (1967): 15-33, P. C. Lloyd, A.L. Mabogunje and B. Awe, ed., *The City of Ibadan: A Symposium on its Structure and Development* (London: Cambridge University Press in association with the Institute of African Studies University of Ibadan, 1967), Bolanle Awe, "Militarism and Economic Developments in Nineteenth Century Yoruba Country: The Ibadan Example," *Journal of African History* 14, 1 (1973): 65-77, Saburi Biobaku, *The Egba and Their Neighbours, 1842-1872* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1973), and Toyin Falola, *The Political Economy of a Pre-Colonial African State: Ibadan, 1830-1900* (Ile-Ife: University of Ife Press, 1984).

⁸ Murray Last, *The Sokoto Caliphate* (Harlow: Longmans, 1967), Stephen Adebajji Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840-1893: Ibadan Expansion and the Rise of Ekitiparapo* (New York: Humanities Press, 1971), T. G. O. Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam among the Yoruba, 1841-1908* (New Jersey: Humanities Press, 1978), Ann O'Hear, *Power Relations in Nigeria: Ilorin Slaves and Their Successors* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 1997), J. D. Y. Peel, *Religious Encounter and the Making of the Yoruba* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000) and Paul E. Lovejoy, *Slavery, Commerce and Production in the Sokoto Caliphate of West Africa* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2005).

⁹ Toyin Falola, *Ibadan: Foundation Growth and Change* (Ibadan: Bookcraft, 2012).

¹⁰ David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010) and David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson and Herbert Klein, ed., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," accessed September, 2012. <http://www.slavevoyages.org>.

arrivals), St. Domingue (200,000), Cuba (111,000) and Jamaica (75,000). Due to British pressure to suppress the transatlantic trade after 1807, many went to Sierra Leone (50,000); and, around British emancipation in the 1830s, groups of those “recaptured” relocated from Sierra Leone, and a lesser extent Cuba, to other British Caribbean colonies, especially Trinidad and the Bahamas.¹¹ Government officials, slave traders and owners typically classified or identified the diversity of people from the Bight of Benin as “Nagô” and “Mina”¹² in Portuguese, French, British and Dutch colonies, as opposed to “Lucumí,” “Mina” and “Arará” in Spanish-speaking colonies, “Aku” in Sierra Leone, and even “Yarraba” in Trinidad.

The attempt to estimate how many enslaved Africans from the Bight of Benin were forcibly moved, including when and where they went, raises questions as to what the concept of “Yoruba” and other related ethnic designations, such as Lucumí, may have meant.¹³ “Yoruba” as an ethnolinguistic designation has been used by Muslim groups in West Africa since at least the sixteenth century. However, all the various Yoruba sub-groups did not necessarily call or see themselves as a cohesive group called “Yoruba,” until a “pan-Yoruba” consciousness began to take shape as ex-slaves began returning from the Americas from the mid-to-late nineteenth

¹¹ *Ibid.*, Robin Law, “Trade and Politics Behind the Slave Coast: The Lagoon Traffic and the Rise of Lagos, 1500-1800,” *Journal of African History* 24 (1983): 321-48, Robin Law, “Slave-Traders and Middlemen, Monopolists and Free-Traders: The Supply of Slaves for the Atlantic Trade in Dahomey, c.1715-c.1850,” *Journal of African History* 20 (1989): 45-68, Robin Law, “A Lagoonside Port on the Eighteenth Century Slave Coast: The Early History of Badagri,” *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 28 (1994): 35-59, Robin Law and Silke Strickrodt, *Ports of the Slave Trade (Bights of Benin and Biafra)* (Sterling: Center of Commonwealth Studies, 1999), Toyin Falola and Matt Childs, ed., *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), Robin Law, *Ouidah: The Social History of a West African Slaving ‘Port,’ 1727-1892* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2004), Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007) and Olatunji Ojo, “The Organization of the Atlantic Slave Trade in Yorubaland, ca.1777 to ca. 1856,” *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 41, 1 (2008): 77-100.

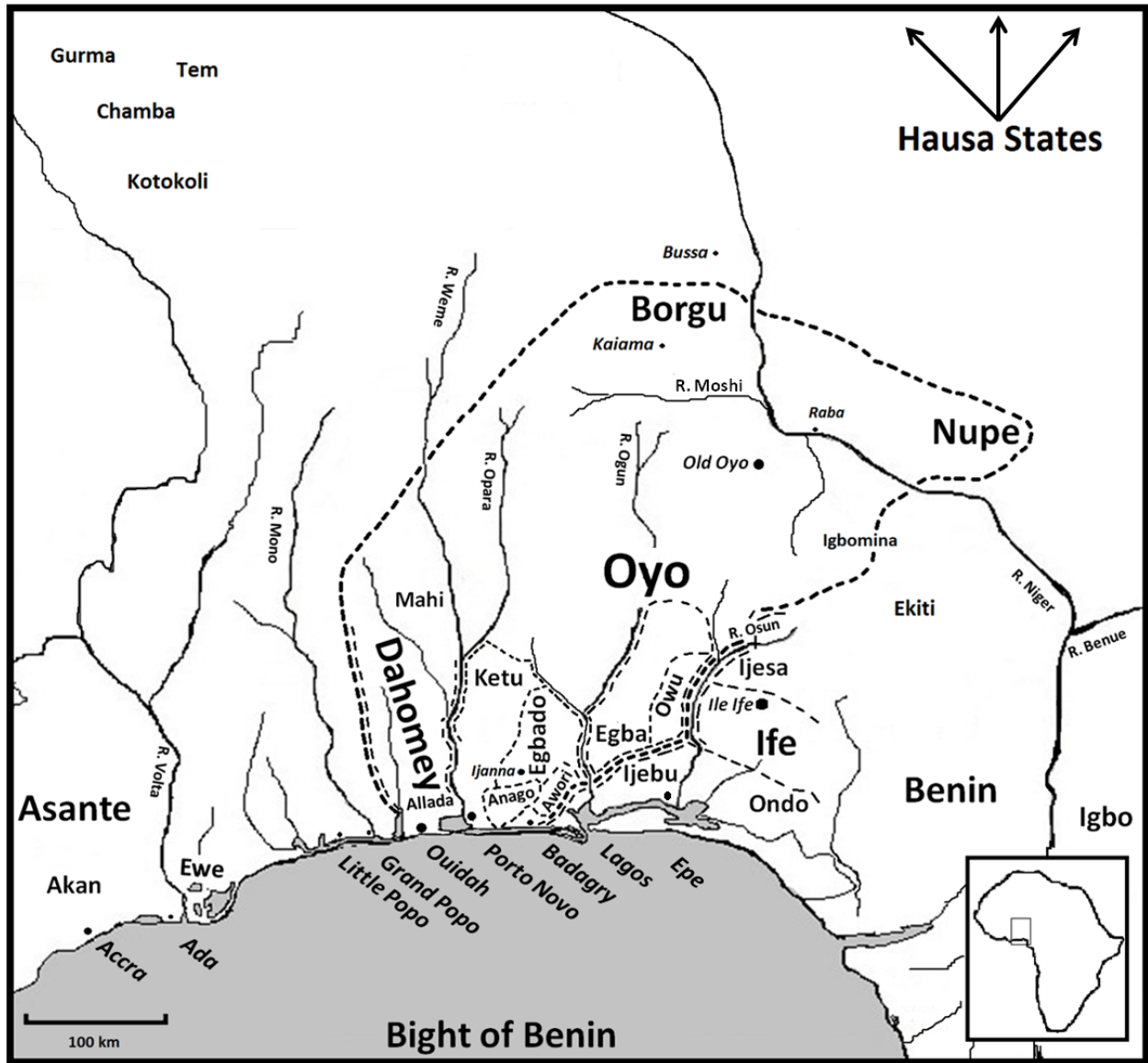
¹² Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies: A Comparison of St. Domingue and Cuba* (Baltimore, Johns Hopkins Press, 1971), Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, “African Ethnicities and the Meaning of ‘Mina,’” in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman (New York: Continuum, 2003), 65-81 and Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2005).

¹³ Paul E. Lovejoy, “The Yoruba Factor in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade,” in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 40.

century onward. This transnational identity encompasses all Yoruba sub-groups found in Nigeria and Benin; and elsewhere, especially in the Atlantic Basin, under the different nomenclatures, such as Lucumí, Nagô, Aku, Yarraba, etc... The difficulty of detecting people called “Yoruba” within documented references to “Lucumí” raises questions, not only to who came over and when, but also how enslaved Africans leaving the Bight of Benin identified themselves in the past, especially if they did not necessarily see themselves as a cohesive group, like they do now.

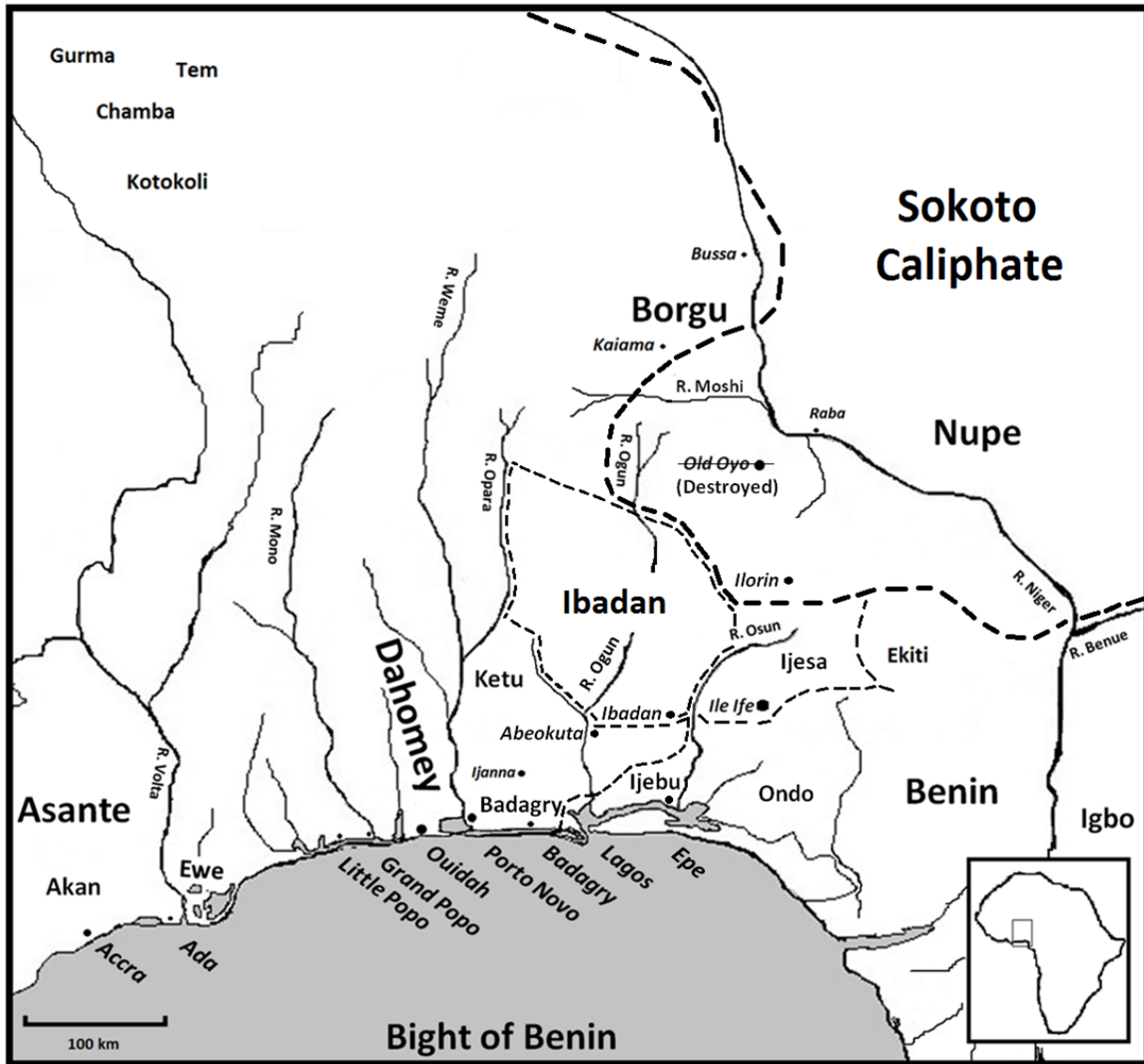
This dissertation focuses on the correlation between the rise and fall of Oyo, the migration from the Bight of Benin to Cuba and transformations in the conceptual meaning of Lucumí from the seventeenth until the mid-nineteenth centuries. The central argument is that a smaller, more heterogeneous group of enslaved Africans in the eighteenth century – directly or indirectly victimized by Oyo imperialism – established some Lucumí socio-cultural schemes, which were then reinforced and transformed with the massive influx of Yoruba-speakers during Oyo’s collapse. This study contributes to broader historiographical topics and debates associated with diverse forms of Yoruba cultures interconnected throughout the Atlantic World. These diasporic linkages are rooted in the cosmologies and ritualistic practices of *òrìsà* worship – a pantheon of deities central to Yoruba and Yoruba-based religions and spiritual belief. This study focuses on Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes related to the iconography of both Sango (the principal religious organization of Oyo) and the Catholic Santa Bárbara (patron saint of the artillery).

Map 1: Frontiers of the Kingdom of Oyo, c. 1790¹⁴



¹⁴ Map created by the author and Paul Lovejoy, June 2012.

Map 2: Frontiers of the Sokoto Caliphate and Ibadan, c. 1840¹⁵



¹⁵ *Ibid.*

Literature Review and Theoretical Issues

The heritage of Santería or La Religión Lucumí has been studied since the late-nineteenth century. At that time, police brutally persecuted Afro-Cubans for practicing *brujería* (witchcraft) and scholars of criminology, evolutionary anthropology and legal medicine considered the legacy of slavery on the shaping of Cuba as a modern nation.¹⁶ During the “Republican Era” (1902-1959), the “Afrocubanismo” movement emerged and Fernando Ortiz (and his colleagues, students and critics) began to aesthetically historicize Afro-Cuban religions and cultures. Much of that scholarship focused on *cabildos de nación* (mutual-aid societies), festivals, rituals and music.¹⁷ Meanwhile, the first generation of Afro-Americanists, including Nina Raymundo Rodrigues and W. E. B. Du Bois, recognized the denial of the history associated with the transatlantic slave trade on “New World Negro” cultures; and so began the search for African “origins.” The Yoruba became an immediate focus and even Du Bois, citing Leo Frobenius, was among the first to begin to emphasize the presence and dominance of Yoruba culture within a number of slave societies in the Americas, most especially Brazil and Cuba.¹⁸

By the early-1930s, Melville J. Herskovits was firmly arguing that “the cultures of Brazil and Cuba are principally Yoruban.”¹⁹ By 1936, Herskovits, Robert Redfield and Ralph Linton were assessing the implications of “acculturation,” which they defined as “those phenomena

¹⁶ D. José Trujillo y Monagas, *Los criminales en Cuba y el inspector Trujillo: Narración de los servicios, prestados en cuerpo de policía de La Habana* (Barcelona: F. Giró, 1882), Rafael Roche y Monteagudo, *Los policías y sus misterios* (Habana: Imprenta “La Prueba,” [1908] 1952) and Israel Castellanos, *La brujería y el ñañiguismo en Cuba desde el punto de vista médico-legal* (Habana: Lloredo y Compañía, 1916).

¹⁷ Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros brujos: Apuntes para un estudio de etnología criminal* (Miami: Ediciones Universal, [1906] 1973), Fernando Ortiz, *Los negros esclavos* (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, [1916] 1987) and Fernando Ortiz, *Los cabildos y la fiesta afrocubanos del Día de Reyes* (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, [1921] 1992). See also Mauricio A. Font and Alfonso W. Quiroz, ed., *Cuban Counterpoint: The Legacy of Fernando Ortiz* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2005).

¹⁸ Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, *L'animisme fétichiste de nègres de Bahia* (Bahia: Reis & Comp., 1900) and W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Negro* (New York: Henry Holt and Company, 1915). In reference to Yoruba culture, Du Bois was citing Leo Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa: Being an Account of the travels of the German Inner African Exploration Expedition in the Years 1910-1912...*, trans. Rudolf Blind, 2 vols. (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1913).

¹⁹ Melville J. Herskovits, “The New World Negro as an Anthropological Problem,” *Man* 31 (1931): 68.

which result when groups of individuals having different cultures come into continuous first-hand contact, with subsequent changes in the original cultural patterns of either or both groups.”²⁰ Herskovits combined ethnology and history in order “to recover the predominant regional and tribal origins of the New World Negroes [and] to establish the cultural base-lines from which the processes of change began.” He argued that syncretism and reinterpretation were principally psychological concepts meaning new and innovative cultures emerged from within older cultural frameworks or schemes.

Since the 1930s, Herskovits also accredited Arthur Ramos for creating the theory of “syncretism,” which describes “temporal parallels” of Christian theologies and African cosmologies.²¹ The Yoruba illustrated syncretism perfectly, and as the argument goes, they outwardly worshiped Catholicism (the religion of their masters), yet inwardly revered their African gods (*òrìsà*). Herskovits wrote that “Shango, identified with Santa Barbara both in Brazil and Cuba, is not represented in Haiti by his Dahomean counterpart, Xevioso; it is to be remarked, however, that in Dahomey itself, among those natives of the city of Abomey who are members of the Catholic Church, this same identification is made between Xevioso and Santa Barbara.”²² In the wake of these theoretical concepts, practitioners/scholars of La Religion Lucumí began making clear distinctions between two separate, yet intertwined, *òrìsà*-based

²⁰ Robert Redfield, Ralph Linton and Melville J. Herskovits, “Memorandum for the Study of Acculturation,” *American Anthropologist* 38, 1 (1936): 149. See also Melville J. Herskovits, “The Significance of the Study of Acculturation for Anthropology,” *American Anthropologist* 39, 2 (1937): 259-64, Melville J. Herskovits, *Acculturation: The Study of Culture Contact* (New York: J. J. Augustin, 1938) and Melville J. Herskovits, *Myth of the Negro Past* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1941).

²¹ Arthur Ramos, *As culturas negras no novo mundo* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilizagao Brasileira S. A. Editora, 1937), esp. Chap. 7 and 14 and Melville J. Herskovits, “African Gods and Catholic Saints in New World Negro Belief,” *American Anthropologist* 39 (1937): 635-643,

²² Herskovits, “African Gods and Catholic Saints,” 640-41. This article also shows that saint/*òrìsà* syncretizations were regional. He also showed for Brazil that Shango is equated to “Santa Barbara at Bahia; St. Michael the Archangel at Rio [de Janeiro]; St. Jerome (the husband of Santa Barbara) at Bahia; Santa Barbara in Cuba.”

socio-religious schemes, namely: La Regla de Ocha and La Regla de Ifá.²³ As the concept of “acculturation” and “syncretism” became mainstay in the field of anthropology, Ortiz coined the term “transculturation,” whereby he contemplated equally important “losses” or “disruptions” of cultural tendencies (described as processes of “deculturation;” i.e. the antonym of acculturation).²⁴ By the mid-twentieth century, colonial designations, such as Lucumí, had become entirely synonymous with Yoruba.²⁵

The 1970s was monumental for the study of the African Diaspora and formation of Afro-American cultures. Philip D. Curtin’s census (1969) attempted to quantify the entire transatlantic slave trade from Africa to the Americas, which demonstrated different migratory peaks and declines at different intervals during the era of the trade.²⁶ As quantifying the transatlantic slave trade became a major historical topic and field of research, Sydney W. Mintz and Richard Price began arguing that “cultural change is ruled by contingent factors and not necessarily by a logic based on numbers... [the slave trade census figures,] an essential starting point for Atlantic

²³ Rómulo Lachatañeré, *Manual de santería: El sistema de cultos “lucumis”* (Habana: Editorial Caribe, 1942) and Nicolás Valentín Angarica, *Manual de Orihaté: Religión Lucumi* (Havana: n.p., 1955?).

²⁴ Fernando Ortiz, *Contrapunteo cubano del tabaco y el azúcar (advertencia de sus contrastes agrarios, económicos, históricos y sociales, su etnografía y su transculturación)* (Habana: J. Montero, 1940), 98. Transculturation was not used by other scholars until it re-emerged in post-Revolutionary Cuban scholarship. See Manuel Moreno Fraginals, “Aportes Culturales y Deculturación,” in *África en América Latina*, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, 3rd ed. (México: Siglo XXI Editores, [1977] 1996), 13-33, Jutta Paul, “La santería como resultado del proceso de transculturación en Cuba,” *Sepárate Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional de José Martí* 3 (1981): 123-136, Diana Iznaga, *Transculturation en Fernando Ortiz* (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1989) and Fernando Coronil, “Transcultural Anthropology in the Américas (with an Accent): The Uses of Fernando Ortiz,” in *Cuban Counterpoints: The Legacy of Fernando Ortiz*, ed. Mauricio A. Font and Alfonso W. Quiroz (Lanham: Lexington Press, 2005), 139-56. It also began to be used in non-Cuban contexts and in English since the 1990s. For example see Silvia Spitta, *Between Two Waters: Narratives of Transculturation in Latin America* (Texas A&M University Press, 2006).

²⁵ William Bascom, “The Focus of Cuban Santería,” *Southwestern Journal of Anthropology* 6, 1 (1950): 64. Bascom was Herskovits’s student. He was most famous for his work on Ifá (*òrìsà* of divination) which he investigated in Nigeria in 1937-38. In 1948, he went to Matanzas to compare Yoruba cultures with Lucumí communities. He wrote, “The African elements of Santería are predominantly Yoruba, or Lucumí, as the Yoruba of Nigeria are called in Cuba.”

²⁶ Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: The University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

history, cannot be expected by itself to portray the complex dynamics of cultural change.”²⁷ They also cautioned scholars not to look for origins and make direct comparisons between African and Afro-American cultures, including the Yoruba and Yoruba-derived cultures in Cuba and Brazil. They argued against Herskovitsian “retentions” and “survivals” and stated that “an African cultural heritage, widely shared by the people imported into any new colony, will have to be defined in less concrete terms, by focusing more on values, and less on socio-cultural forms, and even by attempting to identify unconscious “grammatical” principles, which may underlie and shape behavioral response.”²⁸ They maintained that processes of “creolization” revolved around the systematic dimensions of encounter, purchase and transshipment of slaves, common languages, as well as economic and domestic life. These highly complex processes and principles, as the argument goes, crosses in and out of social groups and categories, such as: class, demography, social status, geographical settings, religious affiliations, language groups, as well as national and ethnic identities.²⁹

By the 1990s, a new direction emerged challenging the creolization model. It sought to employ the Atlantic Ocean as a single unit of study. Paul Gilroy’s conceptual understanding of the “Black Atlantic” describes discontinuous cultural exchanges among black populations and double consciousnesses within shared, transnational identities.³⁰ As an analytical concept, identity is full of contradictory meanings of particularistic claims because individuals actually

²⁷ Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, *An Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective* (Philadelphia: Institute for the Study of Human Issues, Inc., 1976).

²⁸ Sidney W. Mintz and Richard Price, *The Birth of African-American Culture: An Anthropological Perspective* (Boston: Beacon Press, [1976] 1992), 9-10.

²⁹ Sidney Mintz, “History and Anthropology: A Brief Reprise,” in *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies*, ed. Stanley Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese (New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1975), 477-494.

³⁰ Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1992).

hold multiple identity markers in which to establish singularity within large groups.³¹ Here the paradigm shifts from the dispersion of Africans from Africa and the creolization of cultures in the Americas, to one of circulation in the Atlantic Basin. In Gilroy's model, shared or common black identities began to shape cultures which transcended concepts of territorial boundaries. The concept of a pan-Yoruba identity, therefore, is transnational and one that encompasses and recognizes all creolized Yoruba-based cultures in the Atlantic World, whether in West Africa, Brazil, Cuba, Trinidad and the U. S. and anywhere else in the world *òrìsà* worship can be found.

The concept of a pan-Yoruba identity began to enter the scholarship when J. F. A. Ajayi argued that a renaissance of a "Yoruba" consciousness in Nigeria, which he described as "cultural nationalism," first emerged in the last decades of the nineteenth century.³² Pierre Verger, recognizing the history of Oyo's collapse in the nineteenth century, demonstrated the influence of Nagô returnees from Brazil arriving to Lagos since the 1830s; while Rodolfo Sarracino, and more recently Solimar Otero, examined similar cases from Cuba.³³ Later, Robin Law demonstrated that "Lucumí" and "Nagô" ethnonyms disguised the mixture of ethnolinguistic groups from the Bight of Benin in the Americas during the era of the transatlantic trade.³⁴ From the early-seventeenth century, however, Muslim groups as far away as Timbuktu may have used the Arabic بيري, which is literally "YRB,"³⁵ to refer to a people south of Borgu

³¹ Rogers Brubaker and Frederick Cooper, "Beyond 'Identity,'" *Theory and Society* 29, 1 (2000): 1-47.

³² J.F.A. Ajayi, "Nineteenth-Century Origins of Nigerian Nationalism," *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 2 (1961): 196-210.

³³ Pierre Fatoumbi Verger, "América Latina en África," in *África en América Latina*, ed. Manuel Moreno Fraginals, 3rd ed. (México: Siglo XXI Editores, [1977] 1996), 363-77, Rodolfo Sarracino, *Los que volvieron a África* (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1988) and Solimar Otero, *Afro-Cuban Diasporas in the Atlantic World* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2010).

³⁴ Robin Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: 'Lucumí' and 'Nagô' as Ethnonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 205-19.

³⁵ Arabic term identified by Yacine Daddi Addoun, email with author, Aug. 27 2012. In Arabic, the vowels are never written thus this word can technically be pronounced in a number of different ways and there is no way to verify if the vowels were "O, U, A," but it is likely.

and the Hausa States.³⁶ J. D. Y. Peel even used the term “inculturation” to refer to the influences of Islam, Christianity, European colonialism, modernization and globalization in “the formation of the Yoruba as a people.”³⁷ J. Lorland Matory has examined the gendering of power relations in the Oyo Empire and voluntary migrations of “Yoruba intellectuals” to Brazil in the late-nineteenth century.³⁸ Most recently, David Trotman has explored the socio-economic adjustments on the development of *òrìsà* worship in Trinidad.³⁹ Lastly, Olatunji Ojo has argued that Islam and Christianity should not overshadow *òrìsà* worship and Yoruba (as a language) in the formation of a pan-Yoruba identity.⁴⁰

Yoruba socio-religious schemes, around which Lucumí identity coalesces, relates to the significance of Andrew Apter’s revisionary model of syncretism “grounded in the dialectics of kingship.”⁴¹ His “ritual field theory” is useful for heuristic purposes because it makes a simplified distinction between Ife- and Oyo-centric dynastic traditions. These differences emphasize “the autonomy of Ife’s successor states vis-à-vis Oyo’s imperial interests.”⁴² He adds

³⁶ Tubman Institute, Manuscripts, Martin, B. G., Ahmad Baba, “Belief, Unbelief, and Slavery in Hausaland,” in *Nigerian Perspectives: An Historical Anthology*, trans. Thomas Hodgkin, 2nd ed. (Oxford: Oxford University Press, [1960] 1975), 155-56, Ahmad Baba, *Mi’rāj al-Su’ūd: Ahmad Baba’s Replies on Slavery*, ed. John Hunwick and Fatima Harrak (Rabat: University Mohammed V, Souissi Institute of African Studies, 2000) and John Hunwick, “Ahmad Baba on Slavery,” *Sudanic Africa*, 11 (2000): 131-139.

³⁷ Peel, *Religious Encounter*, 2 and Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*.

³⁸ J. Lorland Matory, *Sex and the Empire that Is No More: Gender and Politics of Metaphor in Oyo Yoruba Religion* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1994), J. Lorland Matory, “The English Professors of Brazil: On the Diasporic Roots of a Yoruba Nation,” *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 41, 1 (1999): 72-103 and J. Lorland Matory, *Black Atlantic Religion: Tradition, Transnationalism, and Matriarchy in the Afro-Brazilian Candomblé* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2005).

³⁹ David Trotman, “Reflections on the Children of Shango: An Essay on a History of Orisa Worship in Trinidad,” *Slavery and Abolition* 28, 2 (2007): 211-234. See also Maureen Warner-Lewis, *Trinidad Yoruba: From Mother Tongue to Memory* (Tuscaloosa: The University of Alabama Press, 1996).

⁴⁰ Olatunji Ojo, “‘Heepa’ (Hail) Òrìsà: The Òrìsà Factor in the Birth of Yoruba Identity,” *Journal of Religion in Africa* 39 (2009): 30-59.

⁴¹ Andrew Apter, “On African Origins: Creolization and Connaissance in Haitian Vodou,” *American Ethnologist* 29, 2 (2002): 238.

⁴² Andrew Apter, *Black Critics and Kings: The Hermeneutics of Power in Yoruba Society* (Chicago: Chicago University Press, 1992), 33, reprinted from Andrew Apter, “The Historiography of Yoruba Myth and Ritual,” *History in Africa* 14 (1987): 1-25. The “ritual field theory,” at least in terms of an Ife-centric ritual sphere, largely derives from Robin Horton’s six theses on the foundation and development of Ile-Ife as the spiritual center of all

that “the revisionary power of the syncretic religions derives from West African hermeneutical traditions which disseminated through the slave trade [and they] characterize West African religions, particularly Yoruba religion, which has had a long history of reconfiguring hegemony, documentable from the rise and fall of the Oyo empire (1600-1836).”⁴³

This thesis examines the thread of Oyo-centricism, especially that related to Sango worship, which was transported and transculturated into Lucumí culture. Largely based on oral traditions recorded in New Oyo in the late-nineteenth century, Samuel Johnson provided one of the first chronologies related to the origins of Oyo, its period of prosperity, “intertribal” wars and collapse of Oyo; and British colonization. Johnson wrote “Sango was the fourth King of the YORUBAS, and was deified by his friends after his death. Sango ruled over all the Yorubas including Benin, the Popos and Dahomey, for the Worship of him has continued in all these countries to this day.”⁴⁴ Thus, Sango is the principal religious organization of the former empire and characteristic of Oyo identity and culture.

By the 1960s, J. F. A. Ajayi and Robert S. Smith argued that the Owu Wars in the 1820s precipitated Oyo’s collapse; while Ajayi Kolawole Ajisafe examined the foundation of new towns as refugee settlements in the 1830s, such as Ibadan and Abeokuta.⁴⁵ Saburi Biobaku questioned what impact the Fulani-inspired *jihad* had on Oyo prior to the Owu Wars.⁴⁶ I. A. Akinjogbin demonstrated how Oyo began to lose some tributaries at its periphery in the late-

Yoruba and Benin dynasties. See Robin Horton, “Ancient Ife: A Reassessment,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 9, 4 (1979): 69-149.

⁴³ Andrew Apter, “Herskovits’s Heritage: Rethinking Syncretism in the African Diaspora,” *Diaspora: A Journal of Transnational Studies* 1, 3 (1991): 235-60.

⁴⁴ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*.

⁴⁵ J. F. A. Ajayi and Robert S. Smith, *Yoruba Warfare in the 19th Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1964) and Ajayi Kolawole Ajisafe, *The History of Abeokuta* (Abeokuta: Fola Bookshops, 1964).

⁴⁶ Biobaku, ed., *Sources of Yoruba History*.

eighteenth century; and examined the resistance of the Kingdom of Dahomey against Oyo.⁴⁷ Kola Folayan supported this position by including Egbado defiance to Oyo by the 1820s.⁴⁸

By the late-1960s, Robin Christopher Charles Law began making his assessment of the region and period.⁴⁹ Aribidesi Usman has epitomized how Law's book, *The Oyo Empire c. 1600-c. 1836*, "has continued to be a major historical source on the Yoruba Empire and the peripheral Yoruba societies. [It] has provided insights into the historical dynamics of early African states [and] the linkages of [Oyo] with the greater hinterland societies."⁵⁰ This book also informs us about Afro-American cultures, such as Santería. By 1977, Law meticulously assembled the available primary and secondary sources to map out the political, social, cultural and military administrations of Oyo from its foundation up through its disintegration. He effectively argued that the collapse began in 1817 and ended in c. 1836; thus "the crucial point should not be placed in the 1790s, but in the 1810s and 1820s."⁵¹ This thesis supports Law's chronology, which directly coincides with the major transformations in Lucumí culture, particularly the infusion of Oyo-centric cultural repertoires onto pre-existing socio-religious schemes which enslaved people from the Bight of Benin undoubtedly shaped during, and especially after, Oyo's imperial period.

The increase in demand for slave labor from all over Africa, especially in the nineteenth century, coincided with the "sugar revolution" in Cuba. Franklin Knight has argued the British occupation of Havana in 1762/1763 was "a tremendous stimulus for the Cuban economy," and by 1838, Cuba had changed "from an under-populated, underdeveloped settlement of small

⁴⁷ Akinjogbin, "The Prelude to the Yoruba Civil Wars," and *Ibid.*, *Dahomey and its Neighbours*.

⁴⁸ Folayan, "Egbado to 1832."

⁴⁹ Robin Law, "The Dynastic Chronology of Lagos," *Lagos Notes & Records* 2, 2 (1968): 46-54. Matt D. Childs and Toyin Falola, "Robin Law and African Historiography," in *The Changing Worlds of Atlantic Africa: Essays in Honor of Robin Law*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Durham:Carolina Academic Press, 2009), 1-30.

⁵⁰ Aribidesi Usman, "Empires and Their Peripheries: A Case of Oyo and the Northern Yoruba," in *The Changing Worlds of Atlantic Africa: Essays in Honor of Robin Law* ed. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Durham:Carolina Academic Press, 2009), 31.

⁵¹ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 307-08.

towns, cattle ranches and tobacco farms to a community of large plantations.”⁵² Laird W. Bergad has since argued that the transition to large-scale production began in the 1740s and Cuban slave society cannot be equated solely with sugar “as has often been the case in popular imagery.”⁵³

Regardless of when the agricultural revolution began, the largest waves of African immigrants to Cuba occurred during Oyo’s collapse. Social anthropologists postulated that “Yoruba superiority” in Brazil was due to a highly organized priesthood.⁵⁴ By the 1970s, Pierre Verger accredited their dominance to “the recent and massive arrival of this people” in the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ “Superiority” theories have been discredited due to cultural and demographic influences of other African ethnic groups in Afro-American cultures.⁵⁶ Furthermore, David Eltis has estimated the total volume of Yoruba departures from the Bight of Benin and has effectively shown that Yoruba culture has had a disproportionate impact on Afro-American cultures relative to their weight in the overall demography of the trade.⁵⁷

Currently, the “Voyages” database is the best resource for estimating departures and arrivals from Africa to the Americas. Accordingly, just over 800,000 slaves landed in Cuba between 1659 and 1866 (see Table 1). Over 400,000 people, or about half of the total Cuban diaspora, arrived to Cuba between 1816 and 1840.

⁵² Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970), 7 and 3.

⁵³ Laird W. Bergad, *The Comparative Histories of Slavery in Brazil, Cuba, and the United States* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 141-2 and Laird W. Bergad, Fe Iglesias Garcia and María del Carmen Barcia, *The Cuban Slave Market, 1790-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

⁵⁴ Raimundo Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia Editorial Nacional, 1932).

⁵⁵ Pierre Fatoumbi Verger, *Trade Relations between the Bight of Benin and Bahia from the 17th to the 19th Century*, trans. Evelyn Crawford (Ibadan: Ibadan University Press, [1968] 1976).

⁵⁶ Linda M. Heywood, ed., *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002) and Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

⁵⁷ David Eltis, “The Diaspora of Yoruba Speakers, 1650-1865: Dimensions and Implications,” in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 19-39.

Table 1: The “Voyages” Database: Estimated Arrivals to Cuba from Africa (by region and century), 1659-1866⁵⁸

Regions/Periods	1659-1700	1701-1800	1801-1866	Total
Upper Guinea Coast	0	14,631	116,957	131,590
Gold Coast	0	20,095	16,727	36,822
Bight of Benin	0	5,440	106,440	111,880
Bight of Biafra	336	21,492	180,862	202,691
West Central Africa	305	12,961	234,588	247,854
Southeast Africa	0	4,030	70,557	74,588
Total	641	78,651	726,132	805,424

People came from West Central Africa (31% of the total), the Bight of Biafra (24%), the Upper Guinea Coast (16%), Bight of Benin (14%), Southeast Africa (10%) and the Gold Coast (5%). *Nación* designations were used to identify seven major African “nations,” which have geographic associations to these broad regions. The seven *nación* typically found in Cuba are: Mandinga and Gangá (Upper Guinea Coast); Mina, Arará and Lucumí (Gold Coast and Bight of Benin); Carabali and Lucumí (Bight of Biafra); and, Congo (West Central and Southeast Africa).

Even the directors of “Voyages” recognize that the database’s “basic limitations” is that it does not contain the names of the millions of slaves carried to the Americas.⁵⁹ In 2002, G. Ugo Nwokeji and David Eltis tested a methodology whereby documented African names, based on language and meaning, could be used to determine likely origins.⁶⁰ This approach has further developed into *The African Origins Project*, which is soliciting volunteers online to interpret upwards of 100,000 documented names and other biographical information from registers of liberated Africans made in Sierra Leone and Cuba between 1808 and 1848.⁶¹ Paul Lovejoy has pointed out that scholars must recognize the importance of biographies because they are examples of how enslaved Africans “interpreted their lived experiences in terms of their personal

⁵⁸ Table estimates as per “Voyages.” I have elected to group the regions of Senegambia, Sierra Leone and Windward Coast into one region henceforth called the “Upper Guinea Coast.”

⁵⁹ “Voyages.”

⁶⁰ G. Ugo Nwokeji and David Eltis, “The Roots of the African Diaspora,” *History in Africa* 29 (2002): 365-79.

⁶¹ Suzanne Schwarz, “Extending the African Names Database: New Evidence from Sierra Leone,” *African Economic History* 38 (2010): 137-163 and David Eltis, Martin Halbert and Phil Misevich, ed., “The African Origins Project,” accessed September, 2012. <http://www.african-origins.org>.

histories, as anyone would, and in that sense the African side of the Atlantic continued to have meaning.”⁶² This study links together historical timelines, interpretation of African names and biographies of individuals related to the collapse of Oyo, the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba and the shifting meaning of Lucumí through the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Part of my analysis builds upon Ortiz and his recognition of the importance of *cabildos de nación* in the re-structuring and re-interpretation of African identities in the colonial context. The French ethnologist, Roger Bastide, maintained urban centers, and more importantly, “the *cabildo* incontestably forms the starting-point for the African *santería* of Cuba.”⁶³ Rafael L. López Valdés argued against Bastide in that modern-day Lucumí practices descend from independent “house-temples” of free Africans and Creoles of the late-nineteenth to early-twentieth centuries.⁶⁴ María del Carmen Barcia and Israel Moliner Castañeda’s have since collected the largest sample of documentation related to *cabildos* in Havana and Matanzas in the entire colonial period.⁶⁵ Carmen Barcia has clearly established that many *cabildo* leaders – such as Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, leader of an infamous Lucumí *Cabildo* in the nineteenth century – had also enlisted in the *Batallón de Morenos* (Black Militia). Jane Landers effectively argues that Atlantic Creoles, including Prieto, enlisted in the military and were on the front lines of European and American revolutions, slave revolts and international efforts to abolish slavery.⁶⁶

⁶² Paul E. Lovejoy, “The African Diaspora: Revisionist Interpretations of Ethnicity, Culture, and Religion under Slavery,” *Studies in the World History of Slavery, Abolition and Emancipation* 2, 1 (1997): no page numbers. Accessed November 2010. Available at www.2.h-net.msu.edu/~slavery/essays/esy9701love.html.

⁶³ Roger Bastide, *African Civilizations in the New World*, Peter Green trans., (New York: Harper and Row, Harper Torch Books, 1972), 95.

⁶⁴ Rafael L. López Valdés, *Componentes africanos en el etnos cubano* (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1985).

⁶⁵ Israel Moliner Castañeda, *Los Cabildos Afrocubanos en Matanzas* (Matanzas: Ediciones Matanzas, 2002) and María del Carmen Barcia, *Los Ilustres Apellidos: Negros en la Habana Colonial* (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Social, 2009).

⁶⁶ Jane Landers, *Atlantic Creoles in the Age of Revolution* (London: Harvard University Press, 2010).

George Brandon, John Mason, Stephen Palmié and Christine Ayorinde also recognize the importance of *cabildos* in the formation of Afro-Cuban cultures, but emphasize the voluntary migrations from Africa to Cuba in the late-nineteenth century as arguably the most influential in terms of the formation of Yoruba-based cultural repertoires into modern-day Ocha and Ifá beliefs and practices.⁶⁷ David H. Brown has effectively shown two divergent ritual fields within Lucumí culture in Cuba: “Ifá-centric” opposed to “Ocha-centric.”⁶⁸ While the reformation period of the late-nineteenth century is undoubtedly monumental in the solidification of Lucumí socio-cultural schemes, this study examines the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries whereby key elements of Lucumí identity and culture, which are still recognizable today, began to take shape. Nevertheless, people from the early-nineteenth century, such as Prieto, have not yet entered into the discussion related to the formation of Lucumí cultures in Cuba.

Scholars of New World slave societies have long paid close attention to cases of slave resistance not only in Cuba, but elsewhere in the Americas. Since at least the mid-to-late eighteenth century, maroon communities began to make formal peace treaties in Jamaica and Suriname.⁶⁹ Scholars have created different models related to patterns of slave resistance in the Americas. Eugene Genovese has argued that the French and Haitian revolutions influenced other

⁶⁷ John Mason, *Orin òrìsà: Songs for Selected Heads*, (Brooklyn: Yoruba Theological Archministry, 1992), George Brandon, *Santería from Africa to the New World: The Dead Sell Memories* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1993), Stephen Palmié, *Wizards and Scientists: Explorations in Afro-Cuban Modernity and Tradition* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), and Christine Ayorinde, *Afro-Cuban Religiosity, Revolution, and National Identity*, Stephen W. Angell and Anthony B. Pinn, ed., (Gainesville: Florida University Press, 2004).

⁶⁸ George Brandon E. “‘The Dead Sell Memories:’ An Anthropological Study of Santería in New York City” (PhD diss., Rutgers University, 1983 and David H. Brown, *Santería Enthroned: Art, Ritual, and Innovation in an Afro-Cuban Religion* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003), 19 and 118. These two divergent, yet intertwined, ritual fields in Lucumí culture are embodied in the religion’s male ritual specialists: the *babalawo* (Ifá) and the *oriaté* (Ocha).

⁶⁹ Richard Price, *To the Slay the Hydra: Dutch Colonial Perspectives on the Saramaka Wars* (Ann Arbor: Karoma Publishers, Inc., 1983), Wim Hoogbergen, *The Bon Maroon Wars in Suriname* (Leiden: E. J. Brill, 1990) and Kenneth Bilby, “Swearing by the Past, Swearing to the Future: Sacred Oaths, Alliances, and Treaties among the Guianese and Jamaican Maroons,” *Ethnohistory* 44, 4 (1997): 655-689

slave communities.⁷⁰ For example, the well-studied Aponte Rebellion of 1812 had clear ideological links to Haiti.⁷¹ According to Robert L. Paquette, *La Escalera Conspiracy in 1843 and 1844* was influenced by the abolitionist David Turnbull.⁷² As an alternative, Michael Craton has emphasized internal change within slave societies, especially the transition from an African-born to Creole slave population.⁷³ In the wake of the American and Haitian Revolutions, the Aponte Rebellion, Latin American independence movements and British abolitionism, fear and paranoia in Cuba among the colonial elite was common. This paradigm is arguably represented during the Ten Year's War and "gradual" move toward abolition when the Cuban-born population began replacing the African-born population.⁷⁴

David Patrick Geggus has critiqued both models, and has suggested that in some cases "slave resistance continued to express a diversity that seems closely linked to ethnic origins."⁷⁵ More recently, Manuel Barcia has organized a large sample of documented cases of slave resistance in Cuba. Using archival data from cases of slave uprisings in the 1820s through the 1840s, Barcia has demonstrated that "Most of them had a strong Lucumí presence." Barcia has

⁷⁰ Eugene D. Genovese, *From Rebellion to Revolution: Afro-American Slave Revolts in the Making of the Modern World* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1979) and Ada Ferrer, "Noticias de Haití en Cuba," *Revista de Indias* 63, 229 (2003): 675-94.

⁷¹ José Luciano Franco, *La conspiración de Aponte, 1812* (Habana: Editorial Ciencias Sociales, [1963] 2006), José Luciano Franco, *Las conspiraciones de 1810 y 1812* (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1977) and Matt D. Childs, *The 1812 Aponte Rebellion in Cuba and the Struggle Against Atlantic Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

⁷² Robert L. Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown: Wesleyan University Press, 1988).

⁷³ Michael Craton, *Testing the Chains: Resistance to Slavery in the British West Indies* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, [1982] 2009).

⁷⁴ Ada Ferrer, *Insurgent Cuba: Race, Nation, and Revolution, 1868-1898* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1999) and Rebecca Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2000), x.

⁷⁵ David Patrick Geggus, "Slavery, War, and Revolution in the Greater Caribbean, 1789-1815," in *A Turbulent Time: French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*, ed. David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 1-50 and David Patrick Geggus, "Slave Resistance in the Spanish Caribbean in the Mid-1790s," in *A Turbulent Time: French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*, ed. David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997), 131-155.

surveyed slave uprisings in Cuba between 1808 and 1848, including a dozen cases of Lucumí uprisings in this period. He locates them in relation to Oyo's collapse, and argues that "the overwhelming majority of slave revolts that occurred in Cuba during the Age of Revolutions were not induced or provoked by external factors."⁷⁶

In terms of slave resistance involving groups of Lucumí slaves, Juan Iduate analyzed one of the largest slave uprisings in Cuba's history (henceforth The Banes uprising of 1833).⁷⁷ It involved over 300 Lucumí slaves whose African names were documented in 1833. Iduate emphasized, following the trends of scholarship of the early-1980s, that the political climate in Cuba and the Caribbean, as well as the cholera epidemic, were the principal motivations in this case.⁷⁸ A conference in Havana in 1989 brought together scholars researching cases of slave resistance in the Caribbean. Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux examined a documented revolt involving a group of Lucumí slaves which took place in Havana in 1835 (henceforth The Havana disturbance of 1835). He argued that this uprising had the definite presence of Yoruba-based religion, most especially Obatalá, and links to The Malê uprising in Brazil in 1835 which involved over 500 enslaved Africans from the Bight of Benin in Salvador, Bahia.⁷⁹ These cases

⁷⁶ Manuel Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection: Domination and Resistance on Western Cuban Plantations, 1808-1848*, (Baton Rouge: Louisiana University Press, 2008), 46.

⁷⁷ Even though the written documentation and secondary literature refer to this uprising as "*La sublevación del cafetal Salvador, 1833*." I have decided to refer and rename it as the Banes uprising because 1) "Salvador" could cause some confusion alongside the 1835 Male Uprising in Salvador, Bahia; and 2) this uprising culminated with the destruction of a town west of Havana called Banes, located on the Banes River.

⁷⁸ Juan Iduate, "Noticias sobre sublevaciones y conspiraciones de esclavos: Cafetal Salvador, 1833," *Revista de la Biblioteca Nacional José Martí* 73, 24 (1982): 117-52. For information related to the cholera epidemic see Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984) and Adrián López Denis, "Disease and Society in Colonial Cuba, 1790-1840" (PhD diss., University of California, Los Angeles, 2007).

⁷⁹ Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, "Rebeliones, cimarronje y libertad en el Caribe," *Del Caribe* 6, 8 (1987): 72-79, Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, "Presencia Religiosa en las sublevaciones de esclavos," *Del Caribe* 6, 16-17 (1990): 101-105, João José Reis, *Rebelião escrava no Brasil: A história de levantar dos males* (São Paulo, Editora Brasiliense, 1986), João José Reis, *Death is a Festival: Funeral Rites and Rebellion in Nineteenth-Century Brazil*, trans. H. Sabrina Gledhill, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003) and João José Reis, *Domingos Sodré, um sacerdote africano: Escravidão, liberdade e candomblé na Bahia do século XIX* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008).

of Malê and Lucumí uprisings in Brazil and Cuba between 1833 and 1835 coincide directly with the final stages of Oyo's collapse by c. 1836. Consequently, they complement the documented evidence related to Lucumí *cabildos*.

By highlighting the demographic impact of Yoruba-speakers on the island, largely a result of Oyo's fall, it is possible to provide a chronological framework as to *when* transformations in the conceptual meaning of Lucumí occurred. This study of the ethnogenesis of Lucumí identity and culture contributes to historical, anthropological and sociological debates related to Yoruba historiography, which include: the rise and fall of Old Oyo, the demographic and ethnolinguistic composition of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba, and the shifting meanings of "Lucumí" within the generative schemes of a pan-Yoruba identity and culture.

Sources and Methodology

The primary sources used in this thesis include a variety of published and unpublished written and oral materials originating from West Africa, Europe, the Caribbean and the Americas. Yoruba-speaking people did not have orthography until British missionaries began to travel into the Bight of Benin hinterland in the 1840s.⁸⁰ Samuel Johnson's published traditions have therefore been used continuously as a valuable primary source because they are some of the earliest available. Johnson was born in Hastings, Sierra Leone, in the mid-nineteenth century. His parents would have been enslaved when Osogun was attacked by Oyo and the Fulani Muslims in 1821 and recaptured and taken to Sierra Leone in British anti-slaving efforts. Johnson eventually worked for the Church Missionary Society (CMS) and denounced *òrìsà* worship due to his Christian beliefs, but saw its value as cultural tradition, while documenting

⁸⁰ Samuel Ajayi Crowther, *A Dictionary of Yoruba* (London: C.M.S. Bookshop, 1843).

numerous rituals and festivals. He returned to what is now New Oyo in 1881 and he recorded the political, social and cultural traditions of his former countrymen.⁸¹ However, this foundational book has a complex textual history because it was lost by the CMS and reconstituted by his brother from notes. Its status as an “original” text and primary source is therefore questionable.

Oral sources related to Yoruba traditions are also abundant in Cuba. Through my initiations into a number of different houses of Santería and Palo Monte sorting through the different perspectives and variations of myths has been an ongoing challenge. Brown has demonstrated there are at least eleven *ramas* (lit. branches), but meaning the “African root” of major Ocha lineages dating back to the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries. Like in West Africa, each branch contains their own set of traditions, beliefs and practices. My Cuban informants were all from Havana and of the Pimienta and Efuche *ramas*. According to Brown, the Pimienta *rama*, meaning hot pepper, “is substantiated partly by the story that the feisty and shrewd Aurora Lamar owned a brothel and initiated a number of prostitutes.” The Efuche *rama* descends from an was “a Yoruba priestess of Ochosi who arrived to Cuba as a free migrant worker.”⁸² My contacts have been more than willing to share their oral histories with me and even direct me to people who might know, but it appears as if no one I have met, or read about, possesses ancestral knowledge of genealogical lists predating the 1830s. The earliest datable traditions, as far as my research could establish, were those recorded in the first half of the twentieth century by Fernando Ortiz in relation to the Cabildo Changó Tedún and the foundation of *bàtá* drums.

⁸¹ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*.. See Michel R. Doortmont, “The Invention of the Yorubas: Regional Pan-African Nationalism Versus Ethnic Provincialism,” in *Self-Assertion and Brokerage: Early Cultural Nationalism in West Africa*, ed. Paulo Fernando de Moraes Farias and Karin Barber (Birmingham: Centre of West African Studies, University of Birmingham, 1990), 101-08.

⁸² Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 99-101. In other traditions, the Pimienta *rama* is also linked to Apoto, José Pata de Palo and Igoró. According to Brown, these are “mnemonic figures within oral traditions, laconic references that locate two founders, their experiences, and their *rama* relationships in narrative space and time.

Ortiz's research into *bàtá* began in 1906 and continued through the 1950s when the data was published in his five volume encyclopedia on Afro-Cuban instruments.⁸³ *Bàtá* drums are a unique cultural artifact which has yielded a vision of Oyo socio-religious schemes symbolically interconnected across the Atlantic world.⁸⁴ Through a comparison of ethno-musicological data from West Africa and Cuba, this thesis forms a part of a larger body of scholarship related to "talking" *bàtá* drums and their modes of ritualistic transmission.⁸⁵

Both Spanish and Cuban archives house material on the Lucumí in Cuba from the early-eighteenth century onward, but essentially only in relation to *cabildos de nación* and ecclesiastical records, such as baptism, death and marriage certificates.⁸⁶ This evidence raises the

⁸³ Fernando Ortiz, *Los instrumentos de la música Afrocubana*, 2 vols., (Habana: Editorial Música Mundana Maqueda S.L. and Fundación Fernando Ortiz, [1952-1955] n. d.).

⁸⁴ Henry B. Lovejoy, "Drums of Sàngó: *Bàtá* Drums and the Symbolic Reestablishment of the Oyo Empire in Colonial Cuba, 1817-1867" (M.A. thesis, York University, 2006).

⁸⁵ Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, 204-27, Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 121, William Bascom, *Drums of the Yoruba of Nigeria*, CD liner notes, (Washington: Smithsonian Folkways Records, [1953] 1992), Laoye I. Timi de Ede, "Los Tambores Yoruba," *Actas del Folklore Bolétin Mensual del Centro de Estudios del Folklore* 1 (1961): 17-31, Darius L. Thieme, "A Descriptive Catalogue of Yoruba Musical Instruments" (PhD diss., The Catholic University of America, 1969), J.H. Kwabena Nketia, *The Music of Africa* (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1974), Akin Euba, *Yoruba Drumming: The Dundun Tradition* (Bayreuth: Bayreuth African Studies Series, 1990), Apter, *Critics and Kings*, Mason, *Orin Òrìsà*, Olavo A. Rodriguez, *Sacred Rhythms of Cuban Santería*, CD liner notes, (Washington: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 1995), Marcos Branda Lacerda, *Yoruba Drums from Benin, West Africa*, CD liner notes, (Washington: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 1996), Victoria Eli Rodriguez, ed., *Instrumentos de la Música Folclórico-Popular de Cuba*, 2 vols., (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1997), Maya Roy, *Cuban Music*, trans. Denise Asfar and Gabriel Asfar, (Princeton: Markus Weiner Publishers, [1998] 2002), Juan Bencomo, "Crafting These Sacred Bata Drums," in *Afro-Cuban Voices: On Race and Identity in Contemporary Cuba*, ed. Pedro Pérez Sarduy and Jean Stubbs (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 140-46, Miguel Ramos, "The Empire Beats On: Oyo, Bata Drums and Hegemony in Nineteenth-Century Cuba" (M.A. thesis, Florida International University, 2000), Morton Marks, *Rhythms and Songs for the Orishas: Havana, Cuba, ca. 1957*, CD liner notes, (Washington: Smithsonian Folkways Recordings, 2001), Katherine J. Hagedorn, *Divine Utterances: The Performance of Afro-Cuban Santería* (Washington: Smithsonian Institution Press, 2001), Chap 2 in Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, Ned Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music from the First Drums to the Mambo* (Chicago: Chicago Review Press, 2004), Michael D. Marcuzzi, "A Historical Study of the Ascendant Role of *Bàtá* Drumming in Cuban Òrìsà Worship" (PhD diss., York University, 2005), Norton F. Corrêa, *O batuque do Rio Grande do Sul: antropologia de uma religião afro-rio-grandense* (São Luis: CA, Cultura & Arte, 2006), Debra L. Klein, *Yorùbá Bàtá Goes Global: Artists, Culture Brokers, and Fans* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007), Henry B. Lovejoy, "Drums of Sàngó: *Bàtá* Drum and the Symbolic Re-establishment of the Oyo Empire in Colonial Cuba, c.1817-1836," in *Sàngó in Africa and the African Diaspora*, ed. Joel Tishken, Toyin Falola and Akintunde Akinyemi (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2009), 284-308 and Amanda Villepastour, *Ancient Text Messages of the Yoruba Bata Drum: Cracking the Code* (Farnham: Burlington and Ashgate, 2010).

⁸⁶ For a summary of collections in Cuban archives refer to Louis A. Pérez, and Rebecca Scott, *The Archives of Cuba: Los Archivos de Cuba* (Pittsburgh: Pittsburgh University Press, 2009) and Landers and Mariza de Carvalho

question as to why oral traditions do not pre-date the 1830s. Although the data in these earlier records contain general information, such as the document's date, Christian names and *nación*, there are scarce traces of ethnographic data in early records in the form of *nación* sub-classifications, such as Lucumí Elló.⁸⁷ Essentially, these ethnonyms represent distorted colonial perceptions of more precise African ethnic groups, such as Oyo. The earliest documented sub-classifications are likely the only surviving evidence which provide a glimpse into which ethnic groups were absorbed into the transatlantic slave trade and how *cabildo* leaders and other individuals identified themselves in terms of their African origins. In order to analyze these colonial ethnonyms, I have cross-referencing their interpretations to comparable references of African ethnolinguistic groups found in eighteenth century travel journals originating from the Bight of Benin; and consulted with scholars of African history.

The documentation relevant to the internal Bight of Benin migration, especially pre-nineteenth century, originating from West Africa includes texts in Arabic. In relation, to Arabic sources in the Bight of Benin interior, I have relied on the secondary literature.⁸⁸ According to Law, (citing the earlier works of A. D. H. Bivar, M. Hiskett and Thomas Hodgkin), "The Islamic societies to the north of Oyo had a tradition of literacy in Arabic dating back over several

Soares, ed., "Ecclesiastical Sources and Historical Research on the African Diaspora in Brazil and Cuba," accessed in September, 2012. <http://www.sitemason.vanderbilt.edu/ecclesiasticsources>. In 2003, the National Endowment for the Humanities awarded Jane Landers of Vanderbilt University a grant to digitize baptism, death and marriage records for freepersons of color from records scattered among the numerous church archives. I was a research assistant on the 2003 digitization team.

⁸⁷ During several funded research trips to Cuba's national archive between 2007 and 2012, I actively tried to access eighteenth century *cabildo* records, but the archival staff was unable to locate them for me, simply stating that "these records have been misplaced." As a result, I have personally consulted with María del Carmen Barcia and Matt Childs, who have cited archival records involving Lucumí *cabildos*. Both of have assured me that the references and quotations they cited in their books are indeed accurate and trustworthy. See Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos* and Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*. Matt Childs, email with author, Jul. 9-12 2009. María del Carmen Barcia, interview with author, Mar. 14 2011.

⁸⁸ A. D. H. Bivar and M. Hiskett, "The Arabic Literature of Nigeria to 1804: A Provisional Account," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 25, 1 (1962): 104-148, John Hunwick, "A New Source for the Biography of Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukī (1556-1627)," *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27, 3 (1964): 568-93, Law, *Oyo Empire*, Biobaku, ed., *Sources of Yoruba History*, Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, Peel, *Religious Encounter*.

centuries, but the amount of material which they provide on Oyo is disappointingly meager.”⁸⁹ Beyond Arabic sources, Europeans traders were active in the trade south of Oyo territory since the late fifteenth century. Alonso de Sandoval in New Spain and Olfert Dapper in Holland provided some of the earliest known references to a hinterland kingdom or people called “Lucumis,” “Licomin,” “Ulkumi,” and other variants.⁹⁰ According to Law, “the unequivocal references to Oyo by name begin later, in the works of de Clodoré (1671) and Barbot (1688).”⁹¹

As the Oyo army overran the kingdom of Dahomey in the 1720s, there is much more material originating from the Bight of Benin. For example, Chevalier Des Marchais was a cartographer who traveled along the west coast of Africa, stopping at Ouidah, the West Indies and the northwest coast of South America. His original journal describes the slave trade at Ouidah in 1725, but clearly incorporates information collected on earlier visits back to 1704.⁹² According to Law, “the period of Oyo history best documented from Slave Coast sources is, roughly, c. 1770-90.” Archibald Dalziel’s observed the Kingdom of Dahomey in 1793.⁹³ The

⁸⁹ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 14, Muhammad Bello, *The rise of the Sokoto Fulani: being a paraphrase and in some parts a translation of the Infaku'l maisuri of Sultan Mohammed Bello*, E. L. Arnett, ed., (Kano: Kano Printing Dept., 1922) and Mohammed Bello, *Infâq al-Maysûr fî Târîkh at-Takrûr*, Bahija Chadli, ed., (Rabat: Mohammed V University, Publications of the Institute of African Studies, 1996) and Baba, *Mi'râj al-Su'ûd*.

⁹⁰ Alonso de Sandoval, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, Enriqueta Vila Vilar, ed., (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, [1627] 1987) and Olfert Dapper, *Naukeurige beschryvinge der Africaenische gewesten Egypten, Barbaryen, and Naukeurige beschrijvinge der Africaenische eylanden...* (Amsterdam: 1668).

⁹¹ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 16 n. 21 and 22. Accordingly, Jean de Clodoré, *Relation de ce qui s'est passé dans les Isles et Terre-ferme de l'Amérique* (Paris, 1671), iii. 557, 558. This reference was apparently based on information obtained from an ambassador of the coastal kingdom of Allada who visited France in 1670. Jean Barbot, *A description of the coasts of North and South Guinea; and of Ethiopia Inferior...* (London: 1732). He visited the Slave Coast in 1682, but his references to Oyo are in part, or in the entirety, borrowed from de Clodoré.

⁹² BNP, FF 24223, *Journal du voyage de Guinée et Cayenne*. See also Law, *Ouidah* and Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, “Borgu in the Atlantic Slave Trade,” *African Economic History* 27 (1999): 76-7. Des Marchais was a cartographer who traveled along the west coast of Africa, the West Indies and the northwest coast of South America between 1704 and 1727. His maps and manuscripts were published posthumously by Père J. B. Labat in Amsterdam in 1730-31. The original journal describes conditions in the specific year 1725, but clearly incorporates information collected on earlier visits to Ouidah, back to 1704. I was able to access digital copies of the original manuscript at The Harriet Tubman Institute, Toronto in 2011.

⁹³ Archibald Dalziel, *The History of Dahomey, An Inland Kingdom of Africa*, ed. John Fage (London: Frank Cass & Co., [1793] 1967).

problem with most of this eighteenth century material is that it relates to firsthand observations of the coast and not the hinterland.

Between 1825 and 1827, Hugh Clapperton, a Scottish explorer and diplomat, made two expeditions into the interior of West Africa in the nineteenth century.⁹⁴ Clapperton started at the coast of the Bight of Benin and went through Yoruba territories, Borgu, Nupe and Hausaland to Sokoto with the intention of following the Niger River to its delta in the Bight of Biafra. Clapperton died in Sokoto in April, 1827 and his servant, Richard Lander, finished the expedition and subsequently wrote his own account of the whole mission, which was partly based on Clapperton's notes and diaries. Although primarily interested in mapping out the Niger River, the significance of these diplomatic and commercial missions is a primary account of the changing relationships between European and African states in the early nineteenth century. By the 1840s and 1850s, firsthand narratives of ex-slaves began to be published, such as the biography of Mahommah G. Baquaqua from Borgu and Joseph Wright of the Egba.⁹⁵ These accounts relate the conditions of enslavement, which occurred after Oyo's collapse, but also describe trade routes to the coast.

In order to determine likely ethnolinguistic composition of this migration in this crucial period and assess the conceptual meaning of Lucumí, this study implements the new methodology related to the interpretation of documented African names.⁹⁶ I have compiled a

⁹⁴ Jamie Bruce Lockhart and Paul Lovejoy, ed., *Hugh Clapperton into the Interior of Africa: Records of the Second Expedition 1825-1827* (Leiden: Koninklijke Brill N.V., 2005). It was originally published as Hugh Clapperton, *Journal of a second expedition into the interior of Africa, from the Bight of Benin to Soccatoo.... To which is added, the journal of Richard Lander...* (London: J. Murray, 1829). See also Richard Lander and John Lander, *Journal of an Expedition to Explore the Course and Termination of the Niger; with a Narrative of a voyage down that river to its termination*, 3 vols. (London: John Murray, 1832).

⁹⁵ Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2001) and Philip D. Curtin, "Joseph Wright of the Egba," in *Africa Remembered: Narratives by West Africans from the Era of the Slave Trade*, ed. Philip D. Curtin (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1967), 318-20.

⁹⁶ Nwokeji and Eltis, "Roots of the African Diaspora."

collection of almost 4,000 names originating from the Bight of Benin and recorded in Cuba between 1826 and 1840, whereby each person was classified as Lucumí, Mina or Arará. These data are a large and representative sample of estimated inflows of over 40,000 people during those years. The majority of this names sample originates from the registers of liberated Africans recorded by the Anglo-Spanish Mixed Commission in Havana charged with prosecuting illegal slave traders.⁹⁷ These records are housed in British National Archives and the registries provide the following information for 10,391 victims of the trans-Atlantic slave trade:⁹⁸ ship's port and date of embarkation, African and Christian names, sex, age, height, *nación* (including sub-classifications), physical descriptions; and Christian names, *nación* and owners of the African-born translators used during the registration process.

The methodology of names interpretation is theoretically simple because, despite distorted colonial spelling and presumed pronunciation, a native Yoruba-speaker can easily identify Yoruba names from the sample. Through the course of the linguistic analysis of names, it became apparent that certain Yoruba names are sometimes regionally specific to particular sub-groups, such as Oyo or Ijebu, which highlights the diversity of Yoruba-speakers within the migration. This basic strategy becomes more complex because Yoruba were not the only

⁹⁷ NA, CO 313/56-62, The Registers of Liberated Africans from the Archives of the Havana Slave Trade Commission, 1824-1841. See also correspondences related to the trials in both CO 313 and FO 84 series, 1824 – 1841. For a more detailed methodological and statistical analysis of the entire dataset refer to Henry B. Lovejoy, “The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Transcription Methodology and Statistical Analysis,” *African Economic History* 38 (2010): 107-36. Beyond the registers, there is large amount of letters and correspondences between British consuls in Havana and authorities in London related to the establishment, function and policies of the Mixed Commission. Two British consuls of the Mixed Commission, David Turnbull and Richard Robert Madden, both wrote about the conditions of slavery and their accounts describe the ongoing struggle to suppress the transatlantic slave trade, the conditions of slavery in Cuba, British interests in the Caribbean and the corruption of colonial authorities in Cuba. David Turnbull, *Travels in the West: Cuba, with Notices of Porto Rico and the Slave Trade* (London: Longman, Orme, Brown, Greens and Longman, 1840) and Richard Robert Madden, *The island of Cuba: Its resources, progress, and prospects, considered in relation especially to the influence of its prosperity on the interests of the British West India Colonies* (London: C. Gilpin, 1849). See also NA, CO 313 and FO 84, for personal correspondences and drafts including Turnbull and Madden, plus many more British consuls.

⁹⁸ For the same total see Rosanne Marion Adderley, “New Negroes from Africa:” *Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

ethnolinguistic groups absorbed into the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba. As a result, Olatunji Ojo (Yoruba), Abubakar Babajo Sani (Hausa) and Umar Hussein (Dagomba) volunteered to interpret this sample independently from each other. Collectively, these names specialists are familiar with well over 20 dialects found in the Bight of Benin interior and could identify likely ethnolinguistic origins for about 85% of the sample. This database is included as a supplementary file. By using the names data between 1826 and 1840, it is theoretically possible to get a sense of the ethnolinguistic composition of Bight of Benin migration as well as a large sample of people who were classified as Lucumí (as well as Mina and Arar'a).

The shipping registers of liberated Africans also included 27 Lucumí sub-classifications, such as Ayó, Elló or Alló, which clearly represent a distorted spelling of Oyo. Other ethnonyms convey the presence of other Yoruba sub-groups such as Ijebu, Egba, among others and non-Yoruba ethnolinguistic groups, such as Hausa, Borgu, Chamba, among others. Further, there are plantation records which sometimes recorded similar Lucumí sub-classifications. López Valdés and Jesús Guanche have surveyed Lucumí sub-classifications, and by their count, there are well over one hundred and fifty Lucumí ethnonyms several of which can be grouped together, such as Ayó, Ayon, Elló or Alló which are all representative of Oyo.⁹⁹ The names data from the registers of liberated Africans establishes that some people with likely Akan, Ewe or Fante names were sometimes classified as Lucumí Elló, while many people with likely Yoruba names were also classified as Mina and Arará. This nineteenth century data illustrates how colonial authorities often mis-classified enslaved Africans. For this reason, the eighteenth century Lucumí ethnonyms are analyzed, as mentioned before, very tentatively because of the possible ethnic misunderstandings.

⁹⁹ Rafael L. López Valdés, *Africanos de Cuba* (San Juan: Centro de Estudios Avanzados de Puerto Rico y el Caribe y el Instituto de Cultura Puertorriqueña, 2002), 158. For similar lists see also Jesús Guanche, *Africanía y etnicidad en Cuba* (Havana: Editorial de ciencias Sociales, 2009), see appendices 1-19.

The Military Commission in Havana generally operated under the assumption that large conspiracies were being plotted to overthrow the colonial government and for fear that Cuba could turn into the next Haiti. When Francisco Dionisio Vives was given unlimited dictatorial powers as *Capitan General* from 1823 to 1832, he established the *Comisión Militar Ejecutiva y Permanente* in 1825. I was able to study over a dozen cases of Lucumí-inspired slave resistance. In many examples, the testimony of those under arrest was made via African-born interpreters. The Banes uprising of 1833 is perhaps the only example whereby the Military Commission recorded the African names of the participants, which can be used to identify likely origins.¹⁰⁰ In total, they recorded 225 Lucumí names, which Iduate first transcribed.¹⁰¹ Using the names data, it is possible to prove how dozens of Yoruba, most likely from a diversity of sub-groups, joined together to resist slavery.

Unpublished written sources demonstrate that Havana's prestigious Cabildo Lucumí Elló (Oyo), aka Santa Bárbara – led by Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, retired Second Sergeant of the Black Militia, between c. 1818 and c. 1835 – solidified major socio-cultural schemes still observed in modern-day *Santería* practices. Days after the 1835 Lucumí disturbance in Havana, Juan Nepomuceno Prieto was arrested on charges of conspiracy and authorities seized his private papers and various “religious items” from his home (which he candidly identified in his declaration during the trial). Appendices 2 and 3 are a transcription and translation of Prieto's arrest report and declaration.¹⁰² I have also located corroborating documentation, including muster rolls and hospital records, related to Prieto's life in the *Archivo General de las Indias* in Seville (see Chapter 3).

¹⁰⁰ ANC, EM 540/B, 1-198, Sublevacion de negros del cafetal Salvador, Aug. – Sept. 1833.

¹⁰¹ Iduate, “Salvador, 1833.”

¹⁰² ANC, CM 11/1, Sublevacion de Lucumi en Jesus Maria y Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, Jul. – Sept. 1835.

To supplement these archival records, this study also makes use of published letters from government officials, newspapers and travel journals. For example, the correspondences of *Capitán General* Miguel Tacon have some information related to the Havana Disturbance of 1835, which he communicated to his superiors in Spain. Tacon's letters have been published into a book and edited by Juan Pérez de la Riva.¹⁰³ There is also some information related to numerous slave uprisings in some of the colonial newspapers, such as *Diario de la Habana*, but that data briefly summarizes the far more detailed archival records.¹⁰⁴ At other times, the newspapers reported on fugitive slaves, some of whom were Lucumí. In terms of travel journals, I have generally relied on Louis A. Perez, Jr.'s book of excerpts of travel accounts of Cuba in the nineteenth century to locate any relevant material.¹⁰⁵ Perhaps the most significant of these travel accounts in Fredrika Bremer's account of the inner-workings of a Lucumí *cabildo de nación* written in 1851. Typically, the newspapers and travel accounts do not focus on African ethnicities and only refer in the most general sense to Lucumí and other *nación* designations.

Chapter Outline

The ethnogenesis of Lucumí identity in colonial Cuba cannot be understood without introducing the mythical foundation of Ife and the Oyo Empire.¹⁰⁶ Claims to Yoruba kingship overlap, but each kingdom differs due to myriad variations in ritualized dynastic traditions which differentiate from one Yoruba sub-group over another. The history of state formation among the Yoruba is associated with creation myths and the activities of Oduduwa, who fathered several

¹⁰³ Juan Pérez de la Riva, ed., *Correspondencia Reservada del Capitán General Don Miguel Tacon con el Gobierno de Madrid, 1834-1836* (Habana: Consejo Nacional de Cultura, 1963).

¹⁰⁴ AGI, SD 1753/5118, *Diario de la Habana*, 18 Sept. 1833. This edition of the colonial newspaper provides a summary of the Banes Uprising.

¹⁰⁵ For a long list of travel journals, including relevant excerpts related to slavery, see Louis A. Jr. Pérez, *Slaves, Sugar and Colonial Society: Travel Accounts of Cuba, 1801-1899* (Willington: Scholarly Resources Inc., 1992).

¹⁰⁶ Apter, *Black Critics and Kings*, 33-34.

princes who eventually left Ife to found their own kingdoms or Yoruba sub-groups. The importance of lineage claims to Oduduwa relate to a number of divergent dynastic traditions which differentiate Oyo from Ife; and Egba from Ijebu, etc.... Each sub-group therefore has its own set of royal traditions which differ depending on variations of other dynastic claims. The ritual field theory exemplifies (and simplifies) two opposing, but overlapping ritual fields among the numerous dynastic claims: Ife-centric, (i.e. sub-groups which opposed Oyo hegemony); and Oyo-centric, which is the focus of this study. In Chapter 1, I will outline the defining characteristics of an Oyo-centric ritual field, especially in relation to the mythical king Sango and some of his royal iconography.

Once the principal socio-religious schemes related to Oyo-centric ritual field are outlined and better defined, it is possible to consider which ethnolinguistic groups, whether Yoruba or not, were tributaries to Oyo; and hence what is meant by the Oyo Empire. An examination of seventeenth and eighteenth century terms from West Africa, such as “بري” (YRB), “Ulkami,” “J-oe,” “Ayoēs” and “Eyoēs” are not only references to Oyo from which “Yoruba” and “Lucumí” derive, but also representative of the diversity and interaction of people in the Bight of Benin hinterland. Details related to Oyo expansion demonstrate how Oyo were the principal supplier of slaves at the coast in the eighteenth century. An overview of the collapse of Oyo, such as the *jihad* in Ilorin in 1817, followed by the Owu Wars and Dahomey’s independence, relates to how Oyo stopped being the major suppliers of slaves on the coast by 1826. As the capital of Old Oyo was abandoned in c. 1836, and new Yoruba towns formed, Ibadan rose to power by the 1840s, all the while Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes were arriving to Cuba.

In Chapter 2, I will examine estimates for the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba. In total, an estimated 124,000 people embarked slave ships at the Bight of Benin for Cuba after 1674,

while about 111,000 arrived, suggesting the middle passage mortality rate was about 9%. Two major periods can be distinguished from these estimates: 1) 1701 and 1815; and 2) 1816 until 1866. I will also analyze a sample of documented African names in relation to “likely” ethnolinguistic origins and consider some of the methodological problems related to their interpretation. The sample of documented names in Cuba represents 3,883 individuals who arrived from the Bight of Benin. Each individual in this sample was also classified as Lucumí, Mina or Arará and the majority had additional *nación* sub-classifications (with over thirty in total).¹⁰⁷ This collection of documented names is a large and representative sample of 41,400 estimated arrivals from this region to Cuba between 1826 and 1840; and it coincides with the peak of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba and Oyo’s collapse. Before the statistics are presented, it is necessary to examine why African names were recorded in registers of liberated Africans and how they may be interpreted into broad ethnolinguistic groupings, such as Yoruba or Muslim. I will consider some of the problems related to interpreting the documented African names, and despite the problems, I will argue that upwards of 80%, if not more, of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba between 1826 and 1840 were associated with Oyo’s collapse.

Even though the migration from the Bight of Benin to Cuba prior to 1815 was significantly smaller in terms than after 1815, there was a smaller, but equally significant migration to Cuba, especially after the British occupation of Havana after 1762-1763. Thus by the end of the eighteenth century, there was a recognizable community of freepersons of color who could have identified as Lucumí because there were several *cabildos de nación* which formed within the old city walls of Havana. As the documentation shows, many *cabildo* leaders

¹⁰⁷ Sub-classifications include: Lucumí Elló, Lucumí Jabú or Lucumí Agusá. In this sample there were two males classified as Mandinga, a designation typically assigned to people leaving the Upper Guinea Coast. Nevertheless, these two males have been included because they left from the Bight of Benin and their *nación* sub-classification were “Fula” suggesting they might be Fulani.

were also ranked soldiers in the *Batallón de Morenos*. Roger Bastide has argued that “the *cabildo* forms the starting point for the African *santería* of Cuba.”¹⁰⁸ It is therefore necessary to define the socio-cultural functions and hierarchal structure of *cabildos* in relation to colonial legislature, the black militia and how these institutions are interpreted in the secondary literature.

In order to be able to evaluate the transformation of Lucumí identity in the nineteenth century, I will begin by assessing ethnographic data found in the documentation and secondary literature related to Lucumí *cabildos de nación* in Havana in the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries at Oyo’s greatest extent. There are references to various Lucumí sub-classifications in relation to the documentation on Lucumí *cabildos*. These sub-classifications, or ethnonyms, reflect colonial perceptions of more specific ethnolinguistic groups from the Bight of Benin interior. In this chapter, ten ethnonyms will be analyzed. They are: Amanga, Naga, Barbaes, Chaba, Banbara, Tembú, Ibanya, Allom, Llané and Elló. An examination of these ethnonyms establish that Lucumí *cabildos* organized around more heterogeneous groups of people, who were most likely absorbed into the transatlantic slave trade via Oyo and Dahomey trade networks. This evidence also demonstrates how some leaders and members of earlier documented Lucumí *cabildos* in Cuba were high ranking militiamen in Havana’s *Batallón de Morenos* and how they consolidated some core proto-Lucumí socio-cultural schemes which then were transformed as Oyo collapsed and the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba increased.

The transformation of Lucumí identity and culture took place in the crucial period during Oyo’s collapse and the increase in the number of people from the Bight of Benin in Cuba. I am arguing that in this crucial period the conceptual meaning of Lucumí underwent a significant transformation whereby Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes, most especially Changó worship,

¹⁰⁸ Bastide, *African Civilizations*, 95.

began to transculturate heavily into pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes. As established in the previous chapter, *cabildos de nación* and the *Batallón de Morenos* were two colonial institutions afforded to Africans and their descendants and the principal arenas of transculturation; and Lucumí included a diverse mixture of ethnolinguistic groups from the Bight of Benin interior. As a means to examine these processes and arenas, I will provide a biography of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto (c. 1773-c. 1835) who became a leader to the Cabildo Lucumí Elló between c. 1818 and c. 1835. Prieto is crucial to this argument because he was born in Africa, arrived to Cuba in the 1780s, obtained his freedom in the black militia and during his retirement became the leader of the *cabildo* during Oyo's collapse. Prieto's biography represents a bridge linking the transmission of knowledge between pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes that had been characteristic of Lucumí identity and culture in the late-eighteenth century.

By the early-1790s, Prieto had enlisted in the military, married María Camejo and was probably a member of an *intramuro* Lucumí *cabildo*. After the Aponte Rebellion of 1812, Prieto served in the First Company in Havana, which included a two year posting at Fort Pensacola, Florida. After his discharge, he returned to Havana, where he became involved in one of the most important *cabildos* of the nineteenth century. It was known by colonial authorities in 1835 as the Cabildo Lucumí Elló, which immediately relates to influences of Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes on Lucumí identity and culture. In Chapter 4, I will also examine the evidence related to the inner-workings of the Cabildo Lucumí Elló under Prieto's leadership. I will examine Prieto's descriptions of the religious objects and personal documents seized from his home. This evidence clearly proves how this *cabildo* was centered on the Santa Bárbara/Changó paradigm and had incorporated other non-Oyo socio-religious schemes, including Catholicism, and others from West Central Africa.

In addition, this documentary evidence from Prieto's *cabildo* is representative of the Cabildo Lucumí Changó Tedún, one of the most, if not the most, important Lucumí *cabildo* in the history of nineteenth century Havana. There are two sets of traditions related to Changó Tedún; one was recorded by Fernando Ortiz and the other by Lydia Cabrera. These traditions are some of the earliest datable Lucumí oral traditions ever to be recorded in Cuba. Ortiz's accounts relate to the replacement of "profane" or "unorthodox" *bàtá* drums the foundation of the "first sacred" set in Havana in the 1830s. Cabrera's account described how the Changó Tedún divided in the 1870s into two factions represented by the *viejos de nación* and *criollos*. These oral traditions have been confused, not only in relation to their historical contexts, but also within the historiography; thus their misrepresentation in the secondary literature requires clarification. I will argue that Ortiz's *bàtá* traditions describe processes of transculturation as pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes – as understood by Prieto – began to re-Africanize vis-à-vis the incorporation of more and more people from Oyo who brought Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes, such as *bàtá* traditions, to Cuba by 1835. In consideration of Cabrera's traditions, I suggest that by the 1860s, the meaning of Lucumí changed even further. As Cabrera's oral account illustrates, the transformative action that followed the ending of the slave trade ended in the 1860s was equally striking. As more and more people were being born in Cuba, the influence of the African-born population began to be replaced.

The transformation of the changing meanings of Lucumí identity in the 1830s involved the transculturation of Oyo-centric ritual fields into pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes. The majority of all new arrivals from Africa went to work on plantations in the first half of the nineteenth century, and hence the biggest impact of Oyo-centric ritual fields – heavily represented in written and oral traditions related to Lucumí *cabildos* in Havana in the 1820s and

1830s – must have also been present in the rural setting. The emergence and refashioning of Lucumí in the 1820s and 1830s revealed through cases of slave resistance involving African-born slaves from the Bight of Benin hinterland who were classified as Lucumí in Cuba. In Chapter 5, I will contextualize the changing meaning of Lucumí by examining the influence of the Haitian Revolution, the Aponte Rebellion, the establishment of the military commission in 1825, and Tacon's crackdown on freedmen from 1834 onward. In the 1830s and 1840s, authorities were uncovering, reporting on and prosecuting cases of suspected slave conspiracies and uprisings. They believed white *creoles* and freepersons of color, such as Prieto, were inciting slave revolts. In this chapter, I will outline the types of conspiracies colonial authorities were investigating in response to an increase in the number of slave uprisings.

Re-interpreting cases of slave resistance involving Lucumí slaves raises the questions: Were enslaved Africans aware of the political climate in Cuba and the Caribbean, and did new ideologies influence their motives to resist slavery?¹⁰⁹ And, in what ways, if any, did the political climate of West Africa, i.e., the *jihad* and Oyo's collapse, influence resistance among Yoruba-speaking slaves in Cuba? There were at least eighteen documented cases of slave uprisings involving groups of Lucumí slaves in the provinces of Havana and Matanzas in the first half of the nineteenth century. Special attention is paid to the Banes Uprising of 1833 (involving over 250 Lucumí slaves whose Yoruba names are known) and the disturbance in Havana in 1835 (culminating in Prieto's arrest). In both cases, it has been possible to ascertain the African names for most of the people involved, which reveals that the vast majority were Yoruba-speakers. The trial records from the 1830s and 1840s clearly describe Lucumí rituals, phrases and warfare,

¹⁰⁹ Ferrer, "Hatí en Cuba" and J. Scott, *The Common Wind*.

which exemplify how slaves classified as Lucumí were re-establishing idioms of kingship and power as they resisted slavery in Cuba.

This study will demonstrate how a major transformation in the conceptual meaning of Lucumí directly coincided with the expansion and collapse of the Oyo Empire and fluctuations in the slave trade from the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba. I will argue that a smaller, more ethnically diverse mixture of people established basic Lucumí socio-religious schemes by the late eighteenth century, prior to the arrival of Yoruba-speakers after 1816. As a result, Oyo-centric repertoires that emerged thereafter modified these pre-existing paradigms to form the foundation of Lucumí identity and culture still observed in modern-day Ocha and Ifá beliefs and practices. Oyo's collapse, the names data, the ethno-linguistic composition of the Bight of Benin migration, the Cabildo Lucumí Elló (aka Santa Bárbara, aka Changó Tedún) and Lucumí-inspired slave uprisings are all indicative of this significant transformation, especially as revealed in Lucumí-inspired slave resistance. I conclude that "Lucumí" had many different meanings that depended on many different contexts.

CHAPTER 1

Mythical Kings and Sango: The Rise and Fall of Oyo

The ethnogenesis of Lucumí identity in colonial Cuba cannot be understood without introducing the mythical foundation of Ife and the Oyo Empire.¹ Claims to Yoruba kingship overlap, but each kingdom differs due to myriad variations in ritualized dynastic traditions which differentiate one Yoruba sub-group from another. The history of state formation among the Yoruba is associated with creation myths and the activities of Oduduwa who fathered several princes that eventually left Ife to found their own kingdoms. The importance of each lineage's claim to Oduduwa relates to a number of divergent dynastic traditions which differentiate Oyo from Ife; and Egba from Ijebu, etc.... Each sub-group therefore has its own set of “legitimate” royal traditions which differ depending on variations of other dynastic claims. The ritual field theory exemplifies (and simplifies) two opposing, but overlapping ritual fields among the numerous dynastic claims: Ife-centric, (i.e. sub-groups which opposed Oyo hegemony); and Oyo-centric, which is the focus of this study. In this chapter, I will outline the defining characteristics of the Oyo-centric ritual field, especially in relation to the mythical king Sango and some of his royal iconography.

Once the principal socio-religious schemes related to the Oyo-centric ritual field are outlined and better defined, it is possible to consider which ethnolinguistic groups, whether Yoruba or not, were tributaries to Oyo; and hence what is meant by the Oyo Empire. An examination of seventeenth and eighteenth century terms from West Africa, such as “بري” (YRB), “Ulkami,” “J-oe,” “Ayoēs” and “Eyoēs” are not only designations for Oyo from which “Yoruba” and “Lucumí” derive, but also representative of the diversity and interaction of people

¹ Apter, *Black Critics and Kings*, 33-34.

in the Bight of Benin hinterland. Details related to Oyo expansion in the seventeenth century onward demonstrates that Oyo were the principal supplier of slaves at the coast by the mid-to-late eighteenth century. An overview of the events related to the collapse of Oyo, such as the *jihad* in Ilorin in 1817, followed by the Owu Wars and Dahomey's independence, relates to how Oyo stopped being the major suppliers of slaves on the coast by 1826. As the capital of Old Oyo was abandoned in c. 1836, and new Yoruba towns formed, Ibadan rose to power by the 1840s, all the while Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes were arriving to Cuba.

Mythical Kings and Oyo-Centric Ritual Fields

Based on the grammar of oral traditions, “traditional” myths of genesis explain that Olódùmarè, also called Olorun, is the high god and creator of *ase* (a life force or energy), which flows through everything.² Legends describe how in the beginning the world was uninhabitable and covered with water. Olódùmarè sent Oduduwa from heaven (*orun*) to sprinkle a handful of dirt onto this vast ocean planet. Oduduwa, as legend goes, put a rooster on top of the dirt and as it scratched the earth about, land spread outward from this spot, Ife was founded. Today, Oduduwa's central shrine is located to the northeast of Ife on Ora Hill. Such legends and myths have many variations. One migration myth simply relates how Oduduwa came from the direction of Egypt and founded Ife; another one says he comes from Mecca.³ In any case, Oduduwa is thought of as the creator of the habitable world, human beings and the underworld of spirits (*egungun*). He stands at the head of the entire line of *òrìsà*, having “given birth to:” Obatala, Ifa

² *Ase*, *Ache* or *Axé* is a difficult term to translate into English. As a concept of “vital energy” or “life-force.” It is much easier to compare with Asian principles, such as Vedantic *prana* and/or Chinese *chi* (*qi* or *ch'i*).

³ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 15-25, Ulli Beier, “The Historical and Psychological Significance of Yoruba Myths,” *Odu* 1 (1955): 17-25, Peter C. Lloyd, “Yoruba Myths—A Sociologist's Interpretation,” *Odu* 2 (1955): 20-28, Horton, “Ancient Ife,” Law, *Oyo Empire*, esp. Chapter 7, Ulli Beier, *Yoruba Myths* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980) and Toyin Falola and Ann Genova, ed. *Òrìsà: Yorùbá Gods and Spiritual Identity in Africa and the Diaspora* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2005).

(Orula), Ogun, Eleggua, Oshun, Yemaya, Oya, Osun, Sango, among many others. Each deity, among many others not listed here, has followers and religious groups dedicated to them. Sometimes they are associated with specific Yoruba sub-groups such as Oduduwa and Ife or Sango and Oyo.

Toyin Falola has argued that a common language and a shared dynastic heritage can be used to create a “Yoruba map.”⁴ He has raised the question, “Were the Yoruba conscious of their ethnicity and identity?” He has argued that

Territorial sovereignty and citizenship were not defined in a pan-Yoruba framework, since there were different autonomous groups and city-states. These states did not evolve into a loose political federation. The ruling classes in the different stages forged ties with one another, but certainly of a relation in which one of them assumed an overwhelming control over others... Every oba [king] was sovereign in his domain, and he, together with his chiefs and lineage representatives, constituted the leading members of the political class. The exception was when imperial control had been imposed, and the territorial became a vassal to another kingdom, as in the case of the Old Oyo empire that was able to dominate a number of other groups.⁵

Yoruba “kingdoms,” consisted of a town (*ilú*), such as Old Oyo, surrounded by a network of outlying farmlands, hamlets and villages, and by extension conquered territory. Each “king” (*oba*) had a palace in their respective cities, which were divided into wards or quarters (*adúgbò*). Each quarter was governed by a civil official, who ruled over a number of lineages (*idilè*). The lineages were governed by an elder (*bàálé*) and his council (*iwarefa*).⁶ The leaders of the subordinate towns were also called *baale* and they too were subject to their *oba*’s authority.

As urban centers grew into metropolitan capitals, complex states and confederacies formed which often incorporated smaller towns into their political and dynastic claims. Falola has argued that Yoruba “institutions of government were replicated in many areas, but the pattern of authority showed variation.” Sometimes smaller towns grew powerful enough to break

⁴ Toyin Falola, *The Power of African Cultures* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2003), 143.

⁵ Falola, *Power of African Cultures*, 143.

⁶ According to Apter, such a sketch provides an ideal type of political logic that is more complex on the ground, because political organization also includes sub-quarters, age-sets, and lineage segments, as well as subordinate towns and hamlets. See Apter, “On African Origins,” 235.

free to become independent. At other times, there were confederations of lineage heads.⁷ For example, Oyo represented empire and monarchy, Ife represented a centralized provincial administration, the Egba were a loose confederation of lineages and other states, such as Ekiti, Ijebu, Ondo, Owo and Awori, lacked centralized political administration.⁸ J. D. Y. Peel has described the political fields of each kingdom “as a system of relations between *ilú* as point sources of power, like a galaxy of stars of greater or lesser magnitude with shifting fields of gravitational pull between them.”⁹

Yoruba myths of foundation are politically motivated to favor local rulers because they uphold claims of political sovereignty within the dynastic idiom linked to the commemoration of local rulers and the worship of local *òrìsà*. An Ife-centric ritual field represents the recognition of Oduduwa, Obatala and Ifa at the core of Yoruba ethno-history. These socio-cultural schemes invoked a set of ritual values shared among all the Yoruba kingdoms, including Oyo. Oduduwa and Obatala can be considered avatars of the same *òrìsà*.¹⁰ The unblemished whiteness associated with both of these deities is symbolic of their wisdom, patience and ethical and ritual purity. On one hand, Oduduwa is the first born self-existent chief who created beings. On the other, Obatala is the god of creation, believed to have molded the first humans out of clay. Ifa, Orunmila, or Orula is the *òrìsà* of divination and revealed truth. He is said to have come to Ife from heaven and was present when the world was being formed. The central shrine, headed by the *Àràbá*, is located in Ife, from which secondary associations branched from Ife throughout the numerous kingdoms. Ifa is an oracle and closely linked to Obatala, who created the *odú*, the

⁷ Parrinder, *The Story of Ketu*, Smith, *Kingdoms of the Yoruba*, Robin Law, *Oyo Empire* and Lloyd, “Political Development of Yoruba Kingdoms.”

⁸ Falola, *Power of African Cultures*, 145-46.

⁹ Peel, *Religious Encounter*, 31.

¹⁰ E. Bolaji Idowu, *Olódùmarè: God in Yoruba Belief* (London: Longmans, 1962) and John Mason, *Orin òrìsà: Songs for Selected Heads* (Brooklyn: Yoruba Theological Archministry, 1992), 237-58.

highly coded literary corpus of divination. The *odú* verses are composed of 16 binary signs, the combination of which equal 256 chapters.¹¹ Reading the oracle was and is restricted to specialized Ifa priests, called *babalawo*. According to Andrew Apter, “The Ife-centric character of Ifa divination relates not to Ife’s hypothetical role as a political mediator, but to the ritually sanctified association between cosmological origins and Ifa’s “true” antirevisionist, “history” (*itàn*).” The *babalawo* insulated Ife-centric traditions, at least in principal, from outside political revision, and in theory, these “historical” claims opposed Oyo-centricism.¹²

The Yoruba kingdoms, which maintained their independence from Oyo rule, did so through their own set of ritual fields which traced their lineages directly to Oduduwa. In contrast, an Ife-centric ritual field describes, categorizes and simplifies other Yoruba kingdoms that would have opposed Oyo hegemony. Apter has used Ondo and Ilesha Kingdoms as examples, whereby the local founding myths trace their origins directly to Ife with no mention of Oyo. In contrast, an Oyo-centric ritual field clearly asserts that Ondo and Ilesha directly descended from Oyo lineages, suggesting these kingdoms were unequal in status and under Oyo control. Similar divergences exist between Oyo versions and founding myths of Ede, Egba, Ketu, Ijebu, and most likely every Yoruba town or kingdom who opposed the propaganda of Oyo-centric traditions, especially after the empire’s collapse. In consideration of these traditions alone, Apter has argued that “all Yoruba myths are to some extent politically motivated [and] there are no “original” versions with which “corrupt” variants can be compared.”¹³

¹¹ Judith Gleason, *A Recitation of Ifá, Oracle of the Yoruba* (New York: Grossman Publishers, 1973), Wande Abimbola, *Ifá: An Exposition of Ifá Literary Corpus* (Ibadan: Oxford University Press Nigeria, 1976), William Bascom, *Ifá Divination: Communication between Gods and Men in West Africa*, 2nd ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1991) and for a summary of the earlier reproduction of Ifá texts in Cuba see Henry B. Lovejoy, “The Proyecto Orunmila Texts of Osha-Ifá in Regla, Cuba.” *Studies in the History of the African Diaspora – Documents* 3 (2002): 1-3, see http://harriet.tubman1.yorku.ca/the_shadd_collection.

¹² Apter, *Black Critics and Kings*, Chapter 1.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 4-5.

In terms of Oyo-centric traditions, the migration myths explain how Oranyan, Oduduwa's youngest son, succeeded his father's title at Ife. Once he was sufficiently powerful there, Oranyan traveled north where he founded Old Oyo, the eventual political capital of Oyo. Reverend Samuel Johnson provided a list of thirty-five *Alààfin* (literally "owner of the palace") which came from the *Arokin* (official Oyo historians). As always, it starts with Oduduwa at Ife and Oranyan's founding of Old Oyo by, mythical reigns of Ajaka and Sango, up until much more factual ones from the seventeenth century onward.¹⁴ Robin Law has since shown through a comparison of the lists of Oyo's *Alààfin* that these genealogical lists differ even among Oyo-centric traditions.¹⁵

The *Alààfin* controlled a large political and ceremonial administration, located at Old Oyo, which consisted mainly of high-ranking Oyo lineages and royal slaves. The officials closest to the *Alààfin* were three eunuchs: the *Otun Iwefa*, who controlled the Sango religion, the *Ona Iwefa*, who heard and judged disputes between vassal kingdoms, and the *Osi Iwefa*, who was the *Alààfin*'s official representative in public. In all probability, palace slaves numbered several thousand, including: the master of the horse, the chief diviner, various lieutenants of the military, official historians, among many others. The secondary literature has described in detail Oyo's political, military and ceremonial functions during the kingdom's expansion through the imperial period. According to Law, the need to retain public confidence limited the *Alààfin*'s power and he was expected to take account of the advice of the *Basorun* and the other *Oyo Mesi*. They were the council advisory to the *Alààfin* composed of free-Oyo and the non-Oyo lineages who were representatives of vassal kingdoms.¹⁶

¹⁴ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 143-176.

¹⁵ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 44.

¹⁶ *Ibid.*, 84-5

“Royal guards,” as Saburi Biobaku has called them, served as diplomats, priests, messengers, cavaliers, royal bodyguards, tax collectors and wives to the *Aláàfin*.¹⁷ Female *ilari* were regarded as “wives of the king” (*ayaba*) and male *ilari*, based on oral sources, frequently cross dressed. Matory has argued that

Ritual manipulations of gender created a corps of male “wives” who were free to move around the country, at a time when many of the king’s female wives were, in principle, secluded. It may have been this very principle that *required* the creation and proliferation of male “wives.” The Oyo historical records preserves scattered but numerous references to gender transformation in the context of political activity...

Although wives were unable to usurp the throne, they presented a distinctive threat. An extensive Yoruba lore questions their trustworthiness and understands their loyalties to be inevitably divided. They favor their own children over other in the polygynous household... The king’s very own mother (a wife of the royal patrilineage) was put to death on the grounds that the monarch must be supreme in the land and owe obedience to no one.¹⁸

The *ilari* were personally selected by the *Aláàfin* and they “were often initiated priests of Sango, and those who were not regularly travelled with Sango priests in their entourage.”¹⁹ The titled eunuchs, *Otun Iwefa*, *Ona Iwefa*, and *Osi Iwefa* were all *ilari* of the highest “rank.”²⁰

Each Yoruba kingdom had its principal religious group, which usually revered one *òrìsà* more than others, i.e. Sango in Oyo (versus Obatala in Ife). According to Apter, “Political segmentation, not lineage organization, governed the variable bases for *òrìsà* cults and that political logic accounts for cult variation and change.”²¹ Building on the work of William Bascom and Karin Barber,²² Apter argues that

The ritual configuration of *òrìsà* cults within any kingdom represents its dominant relations of political segmentation, the patterns of which vary spatially, from one kingdom to another, and within kingdoms over time, accommodating (and on important occasions, precipitating) political fission, fusion, or the reranking of civil chiefs. The methodological implication of this politico-ritual complementarity – a very gross reduction of a complex

¹⁷ Saburi Biobaku, “An Historical Sketch of the Egba Traditional Authorities,” *Africa* 22, 1 (1952): 35-49.

¹⁸ Matory, *Sex and the Empire*, 8-13.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 104.

²⁰ Johnson, *The History of the Yoruba*, 104.

²¹ Apter, “On African Origins,” 235.

²² William Bascom, “The Sociological Role of the Yoruba Cult Group,” *American Anthropologist* 46, 1 (1944): 1-75 and Karin Barber, “How Man Makes God in West Africa: Yoruba Attitudes Toward the *Òrìsà*,” *Africa* 51, 3 (1981): 724-45.

dynamic – is that no two Yoruba kingdoms arrange their pantheon of òrìsà in the same way. The situation is further complicated by the fact that within kingdoms, the òrìsà cults of different town quarters organize their pantheons around their own principal deities, so that if, officially a civil chief pays ritual obeisance to the superior òrìsà of the town king, secretly, within the confines of his own quarter's cult, the chief and his followers recognize the hidden paramountcy of their òrìsà, around which their pantheon revolves...

The dominant misconception [is] that òrìsà cults in West Africa represent discrete deities, with one cult worshipping Sango, another Yemoja, a third Obatala, and so on. In fact, all òrìsà cults house clusters of deities that are represented by specific priests and priestesses, altars, and sacrifices, and are grafted onto an apical deity. Within these microarenas, the configuration of these clustered deities also shifts and changes in the status of their associated lineages and titled representatives and according to contesting claims from within. Under these conditions, no definitive list of deities is possible.²³

In summary, the power of Yoruba ritual should be understood concretely, as impure, transformative collective action which serves as a mode of political revaluation and revision.

Sango is the thunder-god and he is represented by red and white, lightning and fire. He carries a double-edged axe, which he hurls from the heavens. According to variations in oral traditions, Sango could have been the third, fourth or seventh *Alààfin*.²⁴ If Sango was indeed a living human being, genealogical lists at the very best locate his existence in the early-sixteenth century. Many important officers of Oyo's political administration and leaders of Oyo's tributaries were expected to show devotion to the òrìsà Sango as proof of their loyalty to the *Alààfin*. Supporters of Sango sent out the *Alààfin*'s representatives to supervise vassal kingdoms, and if necessary, overrule them. Sango was extraordinary for having elaborate rituals and iconography. For example, Sango priests carried *laba* (a beaded bag) which held spiritually charged materials necessary in rituals.²⁵ Otherwise, *bàtá* drums, which belong to Sango, are a unique trio of double-headed, hourglass shaped drums. They reproduce the tones of the Yoruba language and are used as a mnemonic device to facilitate memorizing and the transmission of Oyo-centric oral traditions.

²³ Apter, "Herskovits's Heritage," 248-49.

²⁴ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 48-9.

²⁵ Joan Wescott and Peter Morton-Williams, "The Symbolism and Ritual Context of the Yoruba *Laba Shango*," *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 92, 1 (1962): 23-37.

Coronation festivals were multi-day affairs in Old Oyo whereby Sango would have been heavily represented. According to Johnson's description of the "great festival" in New Oyo, coronation occurred three months after the late King's death. In ancient traditions, the ceremony, with various sacrifices (including human), took place in the *bara* (royal mausoleum). Johnson wrote, "The visit to the BARA then is for the purpose of receiving authority or permission from [the] deceased ancestors to wear the crown." Johnson described all Yoruba kings, including the *Alààfin*, wore beaded crowns and necklaces "reaching down to the knees." In the 1880s and 1890s, in Johnson's time at New Oyo, the placing of the "great crown" took place on the fifth day. The ceremony was not held at the mausoleum, but instead at Koso, Sango's principal shrine was located. Surrounded by his principal officers, wives and princes, the king-elect was dressed in royal robes (presumably in red and white, the colors of Sango). Five days later, the king-elect proceeds to the shrine of Oranyan to receive, what Johnson called, "the GREAT SWORD OR SWORD OF JUSTICE," which was brought from Ile Ife and illustrates the dynastic claim linked to Oduduwa. Johnson also adds that at the coronation the *Alààfin* "is not only crowned King with power over all, man and beast, but he is also consecrated a priest to the nation. His person, therefore, becomes sacred."²⁶ The *Alààfin* were considered to be the re-incarnation of Sango.

After the coronation, the king had a ritual restriction to the palace and only made public appearances during three annual festivals, when a procession through the city occurred. Recognition of the elders and past kings was always mandatory. There were many different types of objects which were symbols of kingship. For example, umbrellas were visible during a king's public appearances and generally carried by the female *ilari* (royal guards). Johnson described in detail how the king's favorite wife, called "the *Are-ori-ite*, holds a small silk parasol over his

²⁶ Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, 44-45, n. 1. Please note that crowns and beaded necklaces are common in Santería.

head from behind as a canopy.” The size and number of umbrellas were in direct proportion to the rank of the chief, suggesting the *Aláàfin*’s umbrellas would have been elaborate. Johnson also referred to a “distinct family of royal umbrella makers.” These parasols were adorned with “certain emblems indicative of rank.”²⁷

Yoruba ritual communication has a highly formalized mode of transmission. Annual festivals in West Africa often narrated in dramatized forms, using music and dance, the migration of people to new settlements, the tribulations of that migration and the struggles of obtaining hegemony in new spaces.²⁸ For example, the *itapa* festival (for the worship of Obatala) re-enacted the arrival of Oduduwa and the dispersal of his children from Ife. It dramatized how Oduduwa defeated Obatala in battle and exiled him from the *òrìsà* pantheon. Later, the vanquished Obatala was readmitted, which this festival also celebrates. In the past, the *itapa* would have drawn people in from all over Yorubaland, including representatives from Oyo and the Kingdom of Benin, to participate in the festival and pay tributes to Oduduwa and/or Obatala.²⁹ The more formalized the mode of transmission, the less likely myths will be revised by political pressures.³⁰ Music was used to summon the gods and spirits. It induced possession and could invoke peace or initiate war. It was used as a mnemonic device to remember oral traditions and genealogical lists. Johnson wrote that the musical instruments consist of “almost every description of fifes, trumpets and drums, of which the ivory Kakaki trumpets and Ogidigbo drum are peculiar to the sovereign.”³¹

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 52.

²⁸ Apter, “Herskovits’s Heritage,” 248-49.

²⁹ *Ibid.* and Henry B. Lovejoy, “The Transculturation of Yoruba Annual Festivals: The *Día de Reyes* in Colonial Cuba in the Nineteenth Century,” in *Carnival – Theory and Practice*, ed. Christopher Innes, Annabel Rutherford and Brigitte Bogar (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2012), 33-50.

³⁰ Lloyd, “Yoruba Myths,” Apter, *Black Critics and Kings*, *Ibid.*, “Herskovits’s Heritage, and *Ibid.*, “On African Origins.”

³¹ Johnson, *The History of the Yorubas*, 52.

The *Alààfin* was subject to a number of ritual restrictions including his confinement to the palace. He only made public appearances during three annual festivals. According to Johnson, the *bèrè* festival was the most important festival for three reasons: First, it marked the end of the agricultural year, when the harvest of *bèrè* grass occurred and fields were burned. This sacred grass was not only used to thatch the roofs of houses, it fed the royal horses and was used as a tributary payment. This festival called in leaders of the vassal kingdoms who traveled to the capital city in order to pay this tribute.³² On 22 February 1826, Hugh Clapperton was in the city of “Eyeo”, he observed how “It is the custom, during the time that the caboceers [officials] from the different towns remain on their visit to the king... ..their attendants were so numerous [‘horse & foot’ inserted in the margin] that every corner was filled with them and they kept drumming & singing all night.”³³ According to Apter, “the act of giving beere grass was a symbolic act of homage which added, both literally and figuratively, to the strength of the palace.”³⁴ Lastly, the festival marked either the anniversary of the *Alààfin*’s reign or the installation of a new *Alààfin*.

In terms of idioms of kinship, power and sovereignty, the *bèrè* festival not only represented the power of the *Alààfin*’s person as the symbolic embodiment of Sango, but also his authority over his subjects. Independent Yoruba kingdoms would not have paid tributes to the *Alààfin* during the *bèrè* festival, but almost certainly, along with Oyo and the Kingdom of Benin would have almost certainly sent representatives to Ife during the *itapa* festival. While Sango may have been associated with Oyo, Ife-centric beliefs had also long permeated Oyo politics, society and culture because Sango is a descendent of Oduduwa. For example, the Mogba was the *Alààfin*’s personal Ifa diviner demonstrating Ife-centric ritual fields permeated in Oyo’s political

³² Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 121 and S. O. Babayemi, “Bere Festival in Oyo,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 7, 1 (1973): 121-24.

³³ Bruce Lockhart and P. Lovejoy, *Hugh Clapperton*, 139.

³⁴ Apter, “Yoruba Myth and Ritual,” 8.

and culture arenas. However, Oyo could not establish a Sango-based religious organization in Ife. The lineage through Oduduwa, Oranyan and Sango were all ways vassal kingdoms acknowledged Oyo kingship and power. Even though Oyo grew to be more powerful than Ife, Ife has always been recognized as a foundational spiritual center.³⁵

The secrets of each religious organization and the repositioning of *òrìsà* had a way of mimicking hegemonic claims among Yoruba kingdoms. Based on Robert Farris Thompson's analytic concepts of "hot" and "cool,"³⁶ Apter states

Expressed in more dynamic terms, the political organization of Yoruba kingdoms highlights competitive fields of power that pit chiefs against each other in promoting their respective jurisdictions or unite them against the king, whose power can be checked by collective veto...

It is the ruptures, rebellions, and reconfigurations of these historic exceptions that illuminate the levels of realpolitik at play. In the most basic Yoruba ritual terms, transformative power versus reproductive authority are manifest in two basic categories or families of orisha, corresponding to "cool" and "hot." The cool "orisha *funfun*" (white deities), such as Yemoja, Oshun, Olokun, and Obatala, associated with water, cool rhythms, fertility and integration, are opposed to the hot, or warrior, deities, like Shango and Ogun, whose staccato rhythms and explosive choreographies invoke legendary associations with lightning, fire, war, demolition, differentiation, death, and even immolation... Any orisha can serve in both capacities, as hot and cool, reproductive and transformative. It is not the deity as such but the categorical opposition of their agentive attributes... Applied to local pantheons, even the coolest orisha can become hot or dangerous, with hidden deadly powers that are protected by secrecy and activated by its praises (*oriki*).³⁷

Within this model, *òrìsà* rituals served as a means to mobilize resistance and opposition; and provided collective empowerment over existing authoritative power.

Due to Oyo imperialism, powerful Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes, particularly those associated with Sango came to represent Oyo throughout most of West Africa. Apter has effectively argued that in Yoruba cosmology, "deep knowledge (*imo jinlè*) has no determinate content but rather safeguards a space for opposing hegemony.... If this is what has made West African religions powerful to local, colonial, and postcolonial hegemonies, it has also informed

³⁵ Horton, "Ancient Ife" and Apter, *Black Critics and Kings*, 33-4.

³⁶ Robert Farris Thompson, "The Sign of the Divine King," in *African Art and Leadership*, ed. Douglas Turner and Herbert M. Cole (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972), 227-60 and Robert Farris Thompson, "An Aesthetic of the Cool," *African Arts* 7 (1973): 40-43, 64-67, 89-91.

³⁷ Apter, "On African Origins," 236.

syncretic revisions of dominant hierarchies in the New World.” As the most powerful kingdom, other non-Oyo Yoruba could have grouped together all of Yoruba-speaking peoples into one, but many would have understood the politics at play between the numerous kingdoms and religions. At Oyo’s greatest extent in the 1780s, Oyo-centric traditions greatly influenced many Oduduwa-linked kingdoms. As the empire declined, Oyo-centric ritual field, which had gained much in terms of socio-ritualistic value, experienced a sudden transition as tributaries broke free from the ritualized grip Oyo had maintained for centuries and re-asserted their direct claim to Oduduwa and Ife. In this thesis, an Oyo-centric ritual-field conveys the often inseparable relationship and ritualized rankings of monarchy, military and society with Sango.

The Expansion of the Kingdom of Old Oyo, c. 1600-1816

Robin Law has defined Oyo’s imperial period from c. 1600 until 1816. Matory refers to this period, although without providing a timeframe, as the “Age of Sango,” which did not consist of complete overrule by the *Aláàfin*, but a period of “recurrent challenges [and] royal ritual strategies.”³⁸ According to Law, the subject kingdoms under Oyo rule at its greatest extent fell into the following three categories:

1. The area [that] ‘owed direct allegiance to the Alafin,’ and was subject to a relatively centralized administration from the capital. The Oyo Yoruba formed the core of this area, but it also came to include some of the Igbomina and Ekiti Yoruba to the east and some of the Ibadana, Owu, Egbado, Awori, and Anago Yoruba to the south.
2. The kingdoms whose dynasties were traditionally supposed to be descended from Oduduwa, the legendary king of Ile Ife, and over whom the *Alafin* claimed authority as the legitimate successor to Oduduwa’s kingship. Of these perhaps only the Egba were in any real sense subject to Oyo, but others (such as the Ijesa) were prepared to acknowledge loosely the suzerainty (or at least the senior status) of the *Alafin*.
3. States outside the Ife dynastic system, i.e. non-Yoruba speaking ethnic groups, which paid tribute to Oyo, such as Dahomey, Mahi, Borgu and Nupe.³⁹

³⁸ Matory, *Sex and the Empire*, 8-13.

³⁹ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 84-5

Beyond the limits of the Old Oyo Empire, for example, local founding myths trace the origins of kingdoms directly to the town of Ife, including, Benin, Ondo, Ijebu, Ijesa, among others. These kingdoms, among others, maintained their political independence from Oyo throughout the imperial period. There were, of course, other non-Yoruba speaking ethnic groups, such as the Hausa States, which held no allegiance to Oyo.

Oyo expansionism was largely attributed to its unique location in the fertile grassland of the Savanna, which facilitated agricultural production and easier transportation; thus a wider sphere of political and social interactions. The northern part of this region was a tsetse fly-free zone, which is important because it made breeding horses possible.⁴⁰ Oyo's cavalry was a major instrument of its imperial success and the iconography related to Sango would have been heavily represented therein. The principal war chiefs of the capital were the *Eso* (officers of the main field army) who recruited men from his personal retainers (many of whom were slaves of northern origin). This title was not hereditary, but earned by personal merit. The *Eso* were selected and came under the immediate authority of the *Oyo Mesi*. In Johnson's narrative, the *Basorun* (head of the *Oyo Mesi*) was in charge of the military forces of the capital. The *Alaàfin's* royal kinsmen were excluded from holding this military title – “lest they take the crown through martial force.”⁴¹ According to Law, “the Alafin was in a weak position *vis-à-vis* the *Oyo Mesi* [and] the balance of military power inside the capital lay in favour of the *Oyo Mesi*.”⁴²

Beside the military at the capital, there were also sizable provincial forces of the subordinate towns which could be called to bear arms with the Oyo army. The provincial armies

⁴⁰ Robin Law, “A West African Cavalry State: The Kingdom of Oyo,” *Journal of African History* 16, 1 (1975): 1-15 and Law, *Oyo Empire*, 184. The incidence of the tsetse fly, the vector of trypanosomiasis, over most of Yorubaland makes it difficult to maintain horses in health, and uneconomic to attempt local breeding. There are tsetse-free areas in northern Yorubaland, in the heart of the Oyo kingdom.

⁴¹ Matory, *Sex and the Empire*, 8-9.

⁴² Law, *Oyo Empire*, 200.

were under the command of the *oba* or *bale* of each town (or a war-chief appointed by them).

According to Law,

Beyond this, it appears that the principal rulers of the various *ekun* (provinces) of the Oyo kingdom, such as the *Onikoyi* of Ikoyi, the *Sabiganna* of Iganna in the Ekun Onko, each commanded the forces from the towns within his own *ekun*. The *Onikoyi* of Ikoyi, as the senior provincial ruler, was regarded as the commander-in-chief of the provincial army.⁴³

During the imperial period, a new system was imposed on the old military order. In the latter half of the seventeenth century, *Aláàfin* Ajagbo created the highest ranking military title. The *Aláàfin* reserved the right to select the *are ona kakamfo*, the highest military title of the provincial armies, which helped keep the balance of military power with the *Oyo Mesi* in check. The holder of this title was stationed in Ilorin, one of Oyo's most important provincial towns because the bulk of the provincial army was stationed there.⁴⁴

While Sango was certainly an important prop of royal power, it was not the only *òrìsà* worshipped in the city, let alone the entire kingdom. Many of the *Oyo Mesi* would have resided in separate quarters and revered some of the *òrìsà* other than Sango. In addition, there was also a Muslim quarter in Old Oyo and many Hausa slaves were cavalrymen.⁴⁵ Gbadamosi describes that by the early-eighteenth century, Muslims were “propagating Islam as far afield as Porto Novo and Dahomey.”⁴⁶ Peel has since cautioned scholars not to treat “traditional” religion, i.e.

òrìsà worship

as a purely indigenous cultural baseline, an entity wholly independent of Islam. Ifa divination, both in its form and procedures and in the traditions of its origins, shows traces of early Muslim influence. The adage seems to have an Oyo provenance, and certainly does not apply to the eastern and southeastern forest regions, where Islam only came with Oyo (or in parts of the far northeast, Nupe) migrants and was sometimes preceded by Christianity.⁴⁷

⁴³ *Ibid.*, 100 and 191.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*, 190.

⁴⁵ Sandra T. Barnes, *Africa's Ogun: Old World and New*, 2nd ed., (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, [1989] 1997) and Joseph M. Murphy and Mei-Mei Sanford, ed., *Osun Across the Waters: A Yoruba Goddess in Africa and the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2001).

⁴⁶ Gbadamosi, *The Growth of Islam*, 4.

⁴⁷ Peel, *Religious Encounters*, 187

Consequently, an Oyo-centric ritual field and Islam, at the least, had been undergoing processes of transculturation in the deep interior of the Bight of Benin. The history of Oyo, Nupe and Borgu were intertwined in part because of the exposed location of Oyo's capital in the extreme northern part of Yorubaland.⁴⁸ There was, for example, creation myths claiming Oduduwa migrated to Ife from Mecca.⁴⁹ Even Sango's mother, according to some Oyo-centric legends, was from Nupe and quite possibly Muslim.⁵⁰

Law has demonstrated that horses came from the Muslim states far to the north of Old Oyo.⁵¹ According to Fremont E. Besmer, "Horses, musicians, and gods: these are three of the essential elements of the Hausa cult of possession-trance... the image they have of themselves as mounts for the spirits which possess them."⁵² In *òrìsà*-based religious groups, spirit possession was common. In modern-day Cuban practices, when someone becomes possessed they were figuratively "mounted" (*montado*). It is not my intention to argue that the origin of *òrìsà* worship had any connection with Islam, which it might have; only that *òrìsà* worship and Islam were "transculturing" in West Africa *before* Europeans arrived at the coast and Christopher Columbus went to the Americas.

In the *Mi'râj al-Su'ûd*, Ahmad Baba (1556-1627) used بيري (YRB) as an acceptable ethnicity of people Muslims traders could buy and sell.⁵³ Thomas Hodgkin translated this passage from Baba's writings into English,

⁴⁸ Bruce Lockhart and P. Lovejoy, *Hugh Clapperton*, 45.

⁴⁹ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas* and Horton, "Ancient Ife."

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* and Law, *Oyo Empire*.

⁵¹ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 184 and Law, "A West African Cavalry State."

⁵² Fremont E. Besmer, *Horses, Musicians & Gods: The Hausa Cult of Possession-Trance* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1983), 1 and David W. Ames and Anthony King, *Glossary of Hausa Music and Its Social Contexts* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971).

⁵³ Baba, *Mi'râj al-Su'ûd*.

Whoever is taken prisoner in a state of unbelief may become someone's property, whoever he is, as opposed to those who have become Muslims of their own free will, such as the people of Kano, Bornu, Songhay, Katsina, Gobir and Mali and part of the people of Zaria; they are Muslims and may not be possessed at all. So also most of the Fulani, except that we have heard of a group of them beyond Jenne who are said to be unbelievers, though I do not know whether through apostasy or birth.

All those who are brought to you from the following groups are unbelievers and remain so to the present day: Mossi, Gurma, Busa, Borgu, Kotokoli, Yoruba, Tabango, and Bobo. There is nothing against your taking possession of them without further question.⁵⁴

At the time, Baba was in Timbuktu, which was connected by the Niger River to the capital of Old Oyo. The distance between the site of Old Oyo and Timbuktu are well over 1,000 miles (1600 km) apart.

While people from Oyo were enslaved by Muslims and transported north across the Sahara, Muslim may have traded people from Oyo at the coast as well.⁵⁵ The French captain Chevalier Des Marchais reported that, in the 1720s, Muslim traders called "Mallais" (Male) were bringing slaves from the interior for sale at Ouidah.⁵⁶ Paul E. Lovejoy and Robin Law state

The term "Male" means merely "Muslim" generically in Fon, the language of Dahomey (and also in Yoruba), and has no particular ethnic connotation. The Muslims who traded in Porto-Novo from the late eighteenth century, according to local tradition, were Yoruba; and in Brazil in the nineteenth century the term "Male" was applied to Muslims who originated for the most part from Yorubaland, Nupe, Hausaland, and Borno. But the "Male" who came to Ouidah in the early eighteenth century could well have had distinct origins.⁵⁷

P. Lovejoy has also argued that some of "the Muslim traders who brought slaves to Ouidah were Wangara, or Dendi, from Borgu."⁵⁸ According to Ivor Wilks, since the eleventh century the Wangara were "Malians who specialized in the management of long-distance commerce," which "extended from Gambia to the Hausa states."⁵⁹ This evidence illustrates the ethnic diversity of traders at Ouidah since the early-eighteenth century. It also suggests that the people they sold to

⁵⁴ Ahmad Baba, "Belief, Unbelief, and Slavery in Hausaland," 156.

⁵⁵ Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 3rd ed., (New York: Cambridge University Press, [1983] 2012).

⁵⁶ BNP, FF 24223, *Journal du voyage*.

⁵⁷ Law and P. Lovejoy, "Borgu," 76.

⁵⁸ Paul E. Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1980), 34.

⁵⁹ Ivor Wilks, *Forests of Gold: Essays on the Akan and the Kingdom of Asante* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 1993), 2-4.

the Europeans at the coast could have included anyone between Gambia and Hausa, including Oyo and other non-Yoruba ethnolinguistic groups such as those in Borgu.⁶⁰

Samuel Ajayi Crowther reported in 1844:

All the Mohamedans learn to understand and speak the Hausa language and through it the Koran is explained and interpreted in their mosques throughout Yoruba [country]. So that from Lagos, Badagry, and Porto Novo, and upwards to the Niger where Mohamedans are found, the Hausa is spoken by them.⁶¹

P. Lovejoy has effectively argued that the “use of Hausa reflected not only the extent of Muslim commerce but also the relative ease of communication between the interior and the coast.”⁶²

By the time the Fulani *jihad* had spread into Nupe, Usman Dan Fodio (d. 1817), as P. Lovejoy has argued, encouraged Muslim “slaves to escape or otherwise assert their Islamic identities.”⁶³ Muhammad Bello (1781-1837), son of the first Caliph of Sokoto was still using Baba’s spelling of بيري. As Peel has argued, Islamic (and later-on Christian) “inculturations” into Yoruba history and culture is case and point about how designations, such as “Oyo,” cannot be “pure” ethnolinguistic categories. Apter has stated

[There] is a general historiographical tendency to see Yoruba gods like Ogun (of war and iron) and Ifa (of divination) recorded in Dahomey as Gu and Fa, suggesting a regional Yoruba diaspora to the west. But one equally finds the Yoruba trickster Eshu referred to as Eshu-Elegbra as far east as the Ekiti region of Yorubaland, suggesting a complementary infusion of Fon deities into Yoruba pantheons.⁶⁴

The trickster epitomizes shared cultural identities among various socio-religious schemes which extend beyond Africa. Henry Louis Gates Jr. has compared Esu-Elegbara (the Fon/Yoruba messenger god) and the “Signifying Monkey” (a recurrent character in African-American literary

⁶⁰ John Kofi Fynn, *Asante and Its Neighbours, 1700-1807* (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1971), Wilks, *Forests of Gold* and, Kwasi Konadu, *The Akan Diaspora in the Americas* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

⁶¹ Cited in Mahdi Adamu, *The Hausa Factor in West African History* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press, 1978), 129.

⁶² P. Lovejoy, “The Bello-Clapperton Exchange,” 221.

⁶³ Paul E. Lovejoy, “The Bello-Clapperton Exchange: The Sokoto Jihad and the Transatlantic Slave Trade,” in *The Desert Shore: Literatures of the Sahel*, ed. Christopher Wise (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2001), 207.

⁶⁴ Apter, “Herskovtis’s Heritage,” 244.

traditions). He has argued that this deity “serves as a figure for the nature and function of interpretation and double-voiced utterances... [He] connects the grammar of divination with its rhetorical structures [and the] Fon call Legba the divine linguist, he who speaks all languages.”⁶⁵ In terms of African socio-religious schemes, this trickster god is symbolic and representative of all the plausible and numerous transculturations of African cultures in Africa, whether Fon, Yoruba or Islamic, and *then* their later Christianized re-interpretations in the Americas.

Alonso de Sandoval (1576-1652), discussed different *castas* (breeds) of African slaves arriving from the island of São Tomé to New Granada. He described, “Inland from the Ardas are the Lucumis, an important and numerous people. After this comes the Vini kingdom.” By this time, Oyo’s dominating presence along the war torn Bight of Benin coastline was felt and “Lucumis” in the Americas could have meant “Oyo” (with Ardra referring to Allada and Vini to the Kingdom of Benin). According to Sandoval, slaves that came to the Americas via São Tomé arrived “with a legitimate baptism.” Later-on in his treatise, he added that came directly from the mainland were “usually not baptized.” Baptism records, housed in church archives, show how thousands of enslaved Africans (and their children) were becoming nominally Christians throughout the colonial period.

Yoruba-speaking people, including Oyo, were actively involved in the transatlantic slave trade since the early-sixteenth century. Olfert Dapper (1635-1689) – having never traveled to Africa and relying on records from the Dutch West India Company from the mid-seventeenth century⁶⁶ – published in 1668 a clear reference to Oyo and an early variation of Lucumí. In a translation from Dutch to English by John Ogilby, Dapper described:

⁶⁵ Henry Louis Gates Jr., *The Signifying Monkey: A Theory of African-American Literary Criticism* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1988), xxi and 6-7.

⁶⁶ The original records Dapper used cannot be found at the *Nationaal Archief Nederland* even though archivists and historians have made extensive searches.

The Kingdom of ULKAMI, or ULKUMA

Ulkami, or *Ulkuma*, a mighty Country, spreads eastward of *Arder* between that and *Bynyn*, to the North-East.

From hence they send many slaves, partly taken in the Wars; and partly made such as punishment for their offences, to Little Arder, and there sold to the *Portuguese* to be transported to the *West-Indies*.⁶⁷

In his descriptions of West Africa in 1678 and 1672, Jean Barbot wrote “That remote inland nation, which I suppose to be Oyeo or Ulkami, strikes such a terror at Ardra [Allada], and all adjacent countries, that they can scarce hear them mentioned without trembling.”⁶⁸ The Cuban *nación* designation Arará derives from “Ardra” which referred to the Kingdom of Allada located just north of Ouidah. “Bynyn” refers to the Kingdom of Benin (not the modern-day country), which is connected to Ife through dynastic claims to Ife.

The origins of the term Ulkami, i.e. Lucumí, according to William Bascom, stems from an Ijesa greeting “*oluku-mi!*” meaning “my friend!”⁶⁹ Peter Morton-Williams has suggested that it may be a word of Gun origin (Ewe), but considers that “Ulkami is beyond doubt Oyo.”⁷⁰

According to Law,

“Lucumi” has commonly been believed (by myself among others) to refer to Oyo, which was probably already the most powerful of the Yoruba states in the seventeenth century, this now seems to be doubtful. No European source explicitly equates the two: the French trader Barbot in the early eighteenth century, although often cited as so doing, in fact merely juxtaposes the two names (referring to “the Oyeo *and* Ulkami”) – and in any case, he derived these two names from two separate earlier sources which he conflated, rather than from his own experience.⁷¹

Since the seventeenth century, documented references to “Lucumí” recorded in Dutch, English, French and Spanish originally had meanings associated with Oyo.

⁶⁷ Cited from John Ogilby, *Africa: Being an accurate description of the regions of Ægypt, Barbary, Lybia, and Billedulgerid, the land of Negroes...* (London: Printed by Tho. Johnson for the author ..., 1670), 469.

⁶⁸ Barbot, *North and South Guinea*, 352. Originally written in French, *Description des Côtes d’Affrique* was completed in 1688 and published posthumously (with editorial revisions) in 1732.⁶⁸ Barbot drew from previous published accounts, including Dapper. See also Peter Morton-Williams, “The Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic Trade, 1670-1830,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3, 1 (1964): 25-45 and Robin Law, “Ethnicity and the Slave Trade.”

⁶⁹ William Bascom, “Yoruba Acculturation in Cuba,” *Mémoires de L’institut Français D’Afrique Noire* 27 (1953): 163-67.

⁷⁰ Peter Morton-Williams, “The Oyo Yoruba and the Atlantic trade, 1670-1830,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 3, 1 (1964): 26-27.

⁷¹ Law, “Ethnicity and the Slave Trade,” 211.

William Snelgrave, a British slave and ivory trader, provided an early-eighteenth reference to Oyo. He wrote in 1705, “The Kingdom of *J-oe*; which lies toward the North-East, beyond a great and famous Lake, which is the Fountain of several large Rivers, that empty themselves into the Bay of *Guinea*.”⁷² Snelgrave also described how the “King of *J-oe*, under the Command of a General [and] a great Army of Horse” conquered the “Kingdom of *Ardra*” (citing Bosman) and the “Kingdom of *Dahomè*.”⁷³ Following his service as a surgeon during the Seven Year’s War (1756-1763), Archibald Dalziel (1740-1811) went to Africa to work for the Company of Merchants to Africa at Anomabu on the Gold Coast. By 1767, he was director of the British fort at Ouidah. Within three years he started his own firm, made voyages to the West Indies and eventually went bankrupt. *The History of Dahomey*, which makes references to Snelgrave and other earlier accounts, is mostly a pro-slave trade tract.

In terms of Dahomey, the focus of his account, he wrote on a beautiful map of the region, “KINGDOM OF DAHOMEY *Whose King* Guadja Trudo [Agaja in 1724], Conquered the Kingdoms of Ardrah and Whydah.” In addition to Oyo, there are references to the “KINGDOM OF BENIN,” “Kingdom of Lagos which is tributary to Benin,” “Ardah or Alladah a great Town with a Palace,” “MAHEES [Mahi]” and “TAPPA’S [Nupe] supposed to be the IN-TAS [Nupe].”⁷⁴ Dalziel described, “From Whydah beach to Abomey, which is perhaps the most beaten track, by Europeans, of any in Africa,” which he estimated was about, “200 miles” inland.⁷⁵ Dalziel’s account also included a map of the Bight of Benin to “AYOES or EYOES perhaps GAGOES a warlike people” who he differentiated from the “JABOO,” probably

⁷² William Bosman, *New and Accurate Description of the Gold Coast of Guinea* (London: 1705), 397; c.f. Law, *Oyo Empire*, 184. Bosman was a Dutch West India Company employee stationed at Elmina in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries.

⁷³ William Snelgrave, *A New Account of Some Parts of Guinea* (London, 1734), 55-56.

⁷⁴ See folded map by title page, Dalziel, *The History of Dahomey*, (no page number).

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, xi-xii.

refereeing to Ijebu. Dalziel wrote, “Though the Dahomans possibly exaggerate, the Eyeos are certainly a very populous, warlike, and powerful nation.”⁷⁶

Oyo territory at its greatest extent was a large swath of land that would have been difficult to oversee, especially in consideration of the multiple and singular identities associated with Islam, the infinite *òrìsà* religious groups among the many Yoruba city-states, hamlets, towns, wards, lineages and family compounds. Various other *òrìsà* religious groups, including those that opposed Oyo-centric values, would have been in a constant state of re-invention, especially as Oyo hegemony was reaching its peak. According to Law, there was a constant shift of power between the *Oyo Mesi* and *Aláàfin* at the capital, which

culminated in the usurpation of effective power by Basorun Gaha from 1754 to 1774. It is probable the armed forces played a crucial role in determining the course and outcome of these troubles.

As has been seen above, the main military forces of the capital itself (the *Eso* and their retainers) came under the immediate authority of the *Basorun* and other *Oyo Mesi*. This control of the principal strength of the metropolitan army, it may be suggested, helps to explain the success of the *Oyo Mesi* throughout the eighteenth century in compelling unpopular *Alafin* to commit suicide, since in the last resort the *Oyo Mesi* could enforce their will by force of arms.⁷⁷

Gaha was responsible for the rejection and suicides of several *Aláàfin* including: Onisile, Labisi, Awonbioju and Agboluaje. He was also reported to collect all royal revenues and he compensated the *Aláàfin* with “ten heads of cowries (equivalent to about 10 dollars) per day.” *Aláàfin* Abiodun organized Gaha’s overthrow with the aid of the provincial armies under the *Are Ona Kakamfo* Oyabi of Ajase.⁷⁸

By the 1770s, Oyo was reported to be the source of most of the slaves sold at the coast.⁷⁹ Many of slaves sold by Oyo traders probably came from Oyo’s periphery of expansion and could have been Yoruba-speakers and non-Yoruba too. The Egbado, Egba, Awori, Ketu and Dahomey

⁷⁶ *Ibid.*, 72

⁷⁷ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 199.

⁷⁸ *Ibid.*, 80-82.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

– all vassals to Oyo – were located in between the capital of Old Oyo and access to Badagry, Porto Novo and Ouidah at the coast. By the late-eighteenth century, there were many disputes for control over these ports. In 1782, Dahomey, allied with Porto Novo, attacked and destroyed Ekpè and then Badagry in 1784, with Oyo permission and encouragement. After, Dahomey raided Porto Novo in 1787, 1791 and 1804. Dahomey pressure on Badagry and Porto Novo, however, was ineffective in the long run, to the extent that it drove the trade of Oyo further east to Lagos, which was beyond the effective reach of Dahomey military operations.⁸⁰ At this time, slaves arriving to the coast from Oyo were still more likely to be of northern origin originating from the trans-savannah trade and sold to middlemen traders closer to the coast.⁸¹

Prior to the 1810s, Ouidah was the principal port of embarkation until Lagos took over. Based on these slave-trading trends most embarkations at the Bight of Benin in the eighteenth century were centered at Ouidah and slaves were arriving there most likely from the western periphery of the Oyo Empire and funneled into the trade via Oyo and Dahomey trading networks. Slaves generally arrived at Ouidah overland from Abomey, via Allada, Tori and Savi, a journey of more than 100 kilometers. But some slaves arrived in Ouidah from the east, such as Oyo and other places, brought part of the way by land or canoe to the lagoon-side ports of Abomey-Calavi or Jakin. In the later decades of the seventeenth century, Oyo began to export slaves to the coast using trade routes which necessitated the subjugation of other Yoruba and non-Yoruba territories, such as Egba, Egbado, Dahomey, Porto Novo, among others. Some of the trade from Oyo went through Ouidah because Abomey-Calavi on the western shore of Lake Nakoué served as a frontier market for the purchase of slaves from Oyo traders, even though Oyo would have preferred to take their slaves to eastern ports beyond Dahomey jurisdiction.

⁸⁰ Law, “A Lagoonside Port” and Law, “Trade and Politics Behind the Slave Coast.”

⁸¹ Law, *Oyo Empire*, see Chapter 10.

The Collapse of Old Oyo, c. 1817 – c. 1836

Some scholars have attributed the period of the beginning of the empire's decline when the *Aláàfin* Awole was overthrown in c. 1796, which subsequently led to an interregnum period.⁸² Meanwhile, Oyo's power at its periphery, which was in constant flux, began to deteriorate slightly in the last decades of the eighteenth century. By implication, slaves from Borgu and other places in the neighboring interior were brought to Porto-Novo via Oyo.⁸³ Law has argued that the internal crisis at Oyo's periphery did very little to affect the inner workings of the political administration because the *Oyo Mesi* and *Basorun* maintained control of the capital city and military. The internal crisis coincided with the Dahomey kings, Agonglo (1789-1797) and Abandozan (1797-1818), who sporadically paid tributes to Oyo at this time. Aside from their ongoing attacks on Porto Novo, they avoided any open confrontation into Egbado territory; hence Oyo.⁸⁴ Meanwhile, the Egbado began to assert more independence from Oyo around this time probably due to their increased importance as middlemen traders.⁸⁵ The view that Oyo's collapse began in the late-eighteenth century overlooks how Oyo re-stabilized after the installation of *Aláàfin* Majotu in c. 1802, who was succeeded by Amodo (c.1830/1—1833/4) and Oluewu (c. 1833/4-1835/6), when Oyo was in serious decline. Further, the overall growth of the transatlantic slave trade from the Bight of Benin would have increased the economic importance of Oyo's trade networks.⁸⁶

The *jihad* had overthrown the Hausa states by 1808 and spread into Nupe by 1810. It reached Ilorin in 1817, where Majotu's government was no longer firmly in control of the

⁸² Akinjogbin, "Prelude to the Yoruba Civil Wars," Folayan, "Egbado to 1832" and Akinjogbin, *Dahomey and Its Neighbours*.

⁸³ Law and P. Lovejoy, "Borgu," 78.

⁸⁴ Law, *Ouidah* and Edna G. Bay, *Wives of the Leopard: Gender, Politics, and Culture in the Kingdom of Dahomey* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 1998).

⁸⁵ Akinjogbin, "Prelude to the Yoruba Civil Wars."

⁸⁶ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 261-77.

military stationed at Ilorin, under the leadership of Afonja, who held *are ona kakamfo*, Oyo's highest military title. According to Jamie Bruce Lockhart and P. Lovejoy, Afonja had ambitions of dominating the state and he "embarked on a campaign to increase his independence." Due to ritual restrictions of the *Alààfin* and his confinement to his palace, Majotu could not engage in war directly and had to rely on the cavalry "which relied on slave soldiers, many of whom were at least nominally Muslims and who responded to the call for *jihad* then issuing from Sokoto and Gwandu and currently tearing apart Nupe." The collapse of Oyo can therefore be "attributed to a constitutional crisis, which ultimately pitted Ilorin against the capital, and resulting in the disintegration of central authority."⁸⁷ Muslims in Ilorin staged a *coup d'état* in 1817, resulting in the death of the Fulani cleric, Amiri Salih, and the killing of Afonja by Salih's son, Sulayman.⁸⁸ In c. 1823, Ilorin, once under Oyo rule, became an emirate within the Sokoto Caliphate.

In the first decade of the nineteenth century, trade at the coast began to shift eastward as Lagos began to overtake Ouidah to become the principal port of embarkation in the Bight of Benin.⁸⁹ By 1807, Dahomey raids in Porto Novo had forced Oyo traders to sell their slaves to Ife merchants in the market town of Apomu on the western border of the Ife kingdom. In the 1810s, Ijebu responded by slave raiding the Apomu area, from which Oyo traders were probably victims. As a result, the leading provincial rulers, Adegun, the *Onikoyi* of Ikoyi, and Toyeye, the Baale of Ogbomoso, sent a request to Akijobi, the *Olowu* of Owu, to suppress the slave raiding in the area. This action provoked a war with Ife in which Owu were victorious in c. 1812. Akijobi subjected a number of western Ife towns, including Apomu, where Ijebu traders took

⁸⁷ Bruce Lockhart and P. Lovejoy, *Hugh Clapperton*, 40-45.

⁸⁸ H.O. Danmole, "Samuel Johnson and the History of Ilorin," in *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch: Samuel Johnson and the Yoruba People*, ed. Toyin Falola (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993), 139-49 and Ann O'Hear, "Samuel Johnson and the Dramatis Personae of Early Nineteenth-Century Ilorin," in *Pioneer, Patriot and Patriarch: Samuel Johnson and the Yoruba People*, ed. Toyin Falola (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1993), 151-61.

⁸⁹ Mann, *Lagos*.

slaves to Ikosi and Ikorudu located on the northern side of the lagoon at Lagos where they were sold to Europeans traders.

In 1812, Muhammad Bello referred to بيري in reference to Oyo. E. L. Arnett translated, “The people from Yorubaland catch slaves from our land and sell them to the Christians so we are told. I mention this to stop people selling Moslem slaves to them, because of those who buy them. Harm will result from this.”⁹⁰ Bello also described the region as

an extensive province containing rivers, forests, sands, and mountains, as also a great many wonderful and extraordinary things.... By the side of this province there is an anchorage or harbour for the ships of the Christians, who used to go there and purchase slaves. These slaves were exported from our country, and sold to the people of Yarba, who resold them to the Christians.⁹¹

This quote indicates that Oyo were an intermediary trading group who had dealings with Muslim groups in the north and Europeans along the coast. When compared to Islam and other non-Oyo ritual fields, Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes – i.e. thunder axes, *laba* bags, *bàtá* drums, *ilari*; and maybe even the colors red and white – likely stood out with Europeans on the coast.

Between c. 1818 and c. 1822, the Owu Wars was the result of the loss of Oyo power due to the *jihad*, the dependency of Oyo traders on the market at Apomu, and also the rise of Lagos. During the Owu wars, an Ife and Ijebu alliance shifted the military balance against Owu, whom they defeated in battle at exactly the same the *jihad* erupted in Ilorin. Thereafter the Ife and Ijebu coalition began a protracted war against the city of Owu that lasted for four to five years. The allied armies formed a war camp not far from Owu and laid siege to the city, which was captured and destroyed in c. 1822. While scholars have debated the start and length of the Owu Wars,⁹² there was little Oyo could do to assist *Olowu* Akijobi since the continuing depredations of the

⁹⁰ Bello, *The Rise of the Sokoto Fulani*, 16.

⁹¹ Cited as Denham, Clapperton, and Oudney, *Narrative*, trans. A. Salame, vol. 2, 454; c.f. P. Lovejoy, “The Bello-Clapperton Exchange,” 206.

⁹² Mabogunje and Omer-Cooper, *Owu in Yoruba History*, Philip Curtin, “Joseph Wright of the Egba” and Biobaku, *The Egba*, 12-14. These historians have argued the Owu war began as early as c. 1818 or c. 1820 and ended in c. 1825 or c. 1827. Law has argued the war began in c.1818 and ended in c.1822.

Fulani bands preoccupied Oyo's central government. The Owu Wars was also the first time firearms were being used in the Bight of Benin interior, which the Ijebu had acquired via European traders.⁹³ By 1819, Lagos was almost entirely dependent upon Ikosi and Ikorodu for its supply of slaves and many coming directly from the Muslim uprising at Ilorin.⁹⁴

In addition to the *jihad* and Owu Wars, Dahomey asserted its independence from Oyo. In c. 1818, King Gezo ascended the Dahomey throne, and in seeking to revive the slave trade from the interior, his political "platform" was "independence from Oyo."⁹⁵ At this time, Gezo mounted a successful campaign into Mahi country and openly attacked the Egbado town of Ijanna, both of which had been under Oyo rule. Dahomey continued to expand into southwestern Yorubaland and struggled for the possession of the Egbado, Awori and Remo areas. The revival of the middleman trade was compromised by the outbreak of war between Dahomey and Oyo in 1823, which led to a partial obstruction of the trade. After Dahomey's victory, which ended the payment of tribute to Oyo, the supply of slaves generated by Dahomey increased due to a series of successful campaigns waged by Gezo into Mahi and Yoruba territory to the immediate north and northwest. Hugh Clapperton was told in 1826 in "Eyeo" that Oyo still had claims to Dahomey, Mahi, Porto Novo and Badagry, but in fact only Badagry was still under Oyo control.⁹⁶ According to Bruce Lockhart and P. Lovejoy, Oyo was no longer the principal player in the transatlantic slave trade, but instead, "many of its citizens were being enslaved and ending up as victims of the trade."⁹⁷

⁹³ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 206-8, Ajayi and Smith, *Yoruba Warfare*, Ajisafe, *History of Abeokuta*, 49, Biobaku, *The Egba*, 13 and Akinjogbin, "Prelude to the Yoruba Civil Wars," 43-46.

⁹⁴ Law, *Oyo Empire*.

⁹⁵ Robin Law, "The Oyo-Dahomey Wars, 1726-1823," in *Warfare and Diplomacy in Precolonial Nigeria*, ed. Toyin Falola and Robin Law (Madison: African Studies Program University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992), 18.

⁹⁶ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 274-5.

⁹⁷ Bruce Lockhart and P. Lovejoy, *Hugh Clapperton*, 42.

Oyo attempted to retain control over part of Egba territory in the 1820s, but the greater part was never brought back under Oyo rule. After the fall of Owu, the coalition armies turned westward against the Egba towns. First, they systematically captured and destroyed Ikija, then Igbore, Imo, Igbein, Ikereku, Itoku, Oba, and Erunwon. The Egba were thus reduced to a series of small groups of refugees and dispersed bands of warriors who managed to establish a war camp in Ipara in Ijebu territory. By 1829, the attack then spread through the other Egba Alake towns and the Egba war camp at Ipara moved northward toward Ibadan, in the Gbagura province.⁹⁸ In c. 1829, Ibadan was founded as a war camp for the allied armies of Ife and Ijebu, as well as Oyo, Owu and Egba refugees. Ibadan supplied Ijebu with slaves in exchange for European goods.⁹⁹ As a result, most Egba refugees had scattered toward the west, away from the region of violence. Under the leadership of Sodeke, Egba units of the Ibadan coalition quarreled with the other leaders and withdrew. Many of these displaced people settled at Abeokuta, which was founded as a refugee settlement in c. 1831 at a fortified hill site near the Ogun River. In c. 1832, the Egba and Ijebu fought what was known as Owiwi War over who would control the trade routes along the Ogun River to the coast. Owiwi was the name of a creek, located about 100 miles south of Abeokuta, where the battle took place. The King of Ilaro and all the Egbado people, with the exception of Ibara, Ilewo and Isaga helped the Ijebu army. In this case, the Egba were victorious due to their strategic position at Abeokuta.

The situation at Lagos, which became the main port for embarkation for Cuba, was confused in this period. The future king of Lagos, named Adele, was in exile at the port of

⁹⁸ Biobaku, *The Egba*, 14-15 and Law, *Oyo Empire*, 275-6.

⁹⁹ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 206-8, Ajisafe, *Abeokuta*, 49, Biobaku, *Egba*, 13, Toyin Falola, "Warfare and Trade Relations Between Ibadan and the Ijebu in the Nineteenth Century," in *Warfare and Diplomacy in Precolonial Nigeria*, ed. Toyin Falola and Robin Law (Madison: African Studies Program University of Wisconsin-Madison, 1992), 26.

Badagry and he formed a loose alliance with the Egba at Abeokuta.¹⁰⁰ Oyo rule, from south to north, appears to have been reduced to a handful of trading towns, mostly in the west, except with respect to Adele's Badagry, who was at best an ally and not a dependency. Adele's establishment at Badagry precipitated a realignment of political alliances in the coastal region. According to oral traditions, Adele had openly declared war against the Ijebu, who were partly responsible for his banishment from Lagos. Adele is recorded to have assisted the Egba by sending firearms and gunpowder up the Ogun River. There was an existing alignment of Lagos (Osinlokun and Idewu) with Ibadan and Ijebu,¹⁰¹ and an alliance of Dahomey and Porto Novo with Lagos against Badagry. Later Adele led an army in support of the Egba during the Egbado campaigns and the capture of the towns Ilobi and Igbeji. The conquest of these towns secured communications between Abeokuta and Badagry.¹⁰² Sodeke, the leading chief at Abeokuta, rewarded Adele for his assistance by sending him 300 slaves, while Adele is said to have honored Sodeke by visiting Abeokuta personally.¹⁰³ In c. 1835, the Egba inflicted a decisive defeat on Ibadan (who was at this time allied with Ijaye) in the Arakonga War.¹⁰⁴

In c. 1836, the capital city of Oyo and much of the district around it had been deserted and destroyed; thereby marking the official end of the collapse. In the aftermath, a working alliance was set up among the displaced Oyo at Ago Oja, which eventually became known as New Oyo. The son of *Aláàfin* Abiodun, named Atiba, who had once professed Islam at Ilorin, secured enough support from Oyo's surviving senior chiefs and warriors to be recognized as *Aláàfin*. Atiba and his successors recreated as much as they could of the former political

¹⁰⁰ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 247 and Biobaku, *The Egba*, 12-13.

¹⁰¹ Harunah, "Lagos-Abeokuta Relations," 195-196.

¹⁰² Ajisafe, *Abeokuta*, 38-39.

¹⁰³ Law, "Adele at Lagos and Badagry," 35-60.

¹⁰⁴ Ajayi and Smith, *Yoruba Warfare*, 163.

administration. Recognizing the new centers of power, Atiba conferred high Oyo titles on the principal warlords: Oluyole of Ibadan was made *Basorun*, and Kurunmi of Ijaye held the title, *are ona kakamfo*. In the vacuum left by Old Oyo's collapse, Ibadan, though founded mainly with Oyo, Owu and Egba refugees, was a community with a very different social character with a diverse mixture of people, including Ijebu, Ife, Egba and Oyo. According to Toyin Falola, the settlement, due to its diverse population, could not "duplicate the old Oyo system of government [and the] reign of Basorun Oluyole from about the mid-1830s until to 1847 pressed it further home that a powerful military leader was in control."¹⁰⁵

In c. 1838, Ibadan checked the southward advance of Ilorin at Oshogbo, in Ijesa territory. A few years later, Ibadan attempted to establish its regional hegemony in Ekiti territory.¹⁰⁶ By this time the Fulani threat had lessened, after their defeat by Ibadan at Oshogbo in c. 1840 (by which time Christian missionaries began penetrating the interior).¹⁰⁷ In the early 1840s, Sodeke invited Christian missionaries to Abeokuta, while Egba succeeded in defending themselves against Ibadan's advances around 1851. By c. 1854, all of Ekiti passed under Ibadan's control, which was subsequently drawn into the Batedo War against their former allies, the Ijaye, while Ilorin contested all Ibadan expansion. In 1859, *Alààfin* Atiba died and was succeeded by his son Adelu. In 1861, Lagos was annexed by the British and by then the Ijaye Wars of 1860-1862 were full swing. The dominant struggle thereafter was between Ibadan and Abeokuta, which was transformed from a contest between the Ibadan and their kinsmen, the Ijaye, into one between Ibadan and Ijaye's allies, the Egba of Abeokuta.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰⁵ Falola, *Ibadan, 1830-1900*, 23.

¹⁰⁶ Stephen Adebajji Akintoye, *Revolution and Power Politics in Yorubaland, 1840-189: Ibadan Expansion and the Rise of Ekitiparapo* (New York: Humanities Press, 1971).

¹⁰⁷ Law, *Oyo Empire*, 261-77. An alternative interpretation for the collapse of Oyo also relates to the conflict between *Oyo Mesi* council of chiefs, which arguably undermined the *Alààfin*'s control.

¹⁰⁸ Ajayi and Smith, *Yoruba Warfare*.

Summary and Conclusion

The history of the Oyo Empire establishes the boundaries of Oyo-centric ritual fields that underlay Oyo socio-religious schemes in Cuba, especially those related to kingship and power, and in particular the *òrìsà* Sango. The Oyo connection establishes the political context in which these ritual fields operated. Oyo-centric ritual fields were re-enforced in Cuba during the height of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba, whereby they came to dominate the Lucumí landscape. During Oyo's period of expansion, the interaction of Oyo with non-Oyo, including Muslims and non-Yoruba groups to the north, suggests that Oyo socio-religious schemes had been transculturating in West Africa with other Yoruba and non-Yoruba ethnolinguistic groups *before* crossing the Atlantic. These "transculturations" are reflected in the dynastic links to Oduduwa and in the intermediary roles played by Muslim traders and traveling Muslim clerics in the north. Similarly, other Yoruba sub-groups in the south, such as Egbado, Egba, Ife and Ijebu, and non-Yoruba ethnolinguistic groups including Dahomey, have to be distinguished from the Oyo-centric tendencies of many of those who came from the Bight of Benin. In the eighteenth century Oyo supplied most of the slaves to the coast, yet there were Muslim traders, such as Wangara, trading at Ouidah since the early-eighteenth century. People from Oyo were enslaved and sent across the Atlantic as well, but they do not stand out as dominant faction before the early 1820s. By the time the *jihād* had reached Ilorin and the constitutional crisis with the *are ona kakamfo* that ensued, compounded by the Owu wars and Dahomey's assertion of independence, Oyo was no longer the major supplier of slaves. Instead, by 1826 people from Oyo were prominent among those being enslaved, and this lasted through the 1840s.

CHAPTER 2

The Ethnolinguistic Configuration of the Bight of Benin Migration to Cuba, 1701-1866

According to the “Voyages” database, over three quarters of a million slaves arrived in Cuba from all of Africa between 1659 and 1866. Over half of that total arrived between 1816 and 1840. As Table 1 in the Introduction establishes, people came from West Central Africa (31% of the total), the Bight of Biafra (24%), the Upper Guinea Coast (16%), Bight of Benin (14%), Southeast Africa (10%) and the Gold Coast (5%).¹ Ignoring the fluxes, periods, ports, peaks and declines, these proportions suggest that for every fifty African-born people on the island, seven would have been from the Bight of Benin. In this chapter, I will examine the estimates for the migration from the Bight of Benin to Cuba. In total, an estimated 124,000 people embarked on slave ships for Cuba at the Bight of Benin after 1701, while about 111,000 arrived, suggesting the middle passage mortality rate was about 9 or 10%. Two major periods can be distinguished from these estimates: 1) 1701 to 1815; and 2) 1816 until 1866. As can be seen in the graph, the pre-1815 Bight of Benin migration was substantially smaller than post-1815 migration. An estimated 5,500 people (5%) arrived between 1700 and 1815 with the peak (over 4,000 people) occurring between 1786 and 1796, toward the end of Oyo’s imperial period. Meanwhile, over 90% of the migration happened after the *jihad* reached Ilorin in 1817. The largest migratory increase from the Bight of Benin to Cuba coincided with Oyo’s collapse between 1817 and 1836.

One of the basic limitations of “Voyages” is that it cannot convey ethnolinguistic origins. In this chapter, I will analyze a sample of documented African names to help address this problem. The thesis sample totals 3,995 names.² It includes 3,663 names of people found aboard

¹ “Voyages.”

² This database has been attached to thesis as a supplementary file.

eleven ships arriving from (Little) Popo, Ouidah or Lagos.³ The sample also includes 102 people classified as Lucumí who left from River Brass, Bonny and Calabar in the Bight of Biafra.⁴ Each individual in this sample was also classified as Lucumí, Mina or Arará, and the majority had additional *nación* sub-classifications (which total over thirty).⁵ The sample also includes 235 African names – 221 Lucumí, 10 Gangá and 4 Mina – related to trial of the Banes uprising of 1833.⁶ If the Gangá names from the Banes uprising and the 102 Lucumí leaving the Bight of Biafra are excluded, the sample from the Bight of Benin represents 3,883 individuals. This collection of documented names is a large and representative sample of 41,400 estimated arrivals from this region to Cuba between 1826 and 1840; and it coincides with the peak of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba and Oyo’s collapse. Before the statistics are presented, it is necessary to examine why names were recorded in registers of liberated Africans and how they may be interpreted into broad ethnolinguistic groupings, such as Yoruba or Muslim. In this chapter, I will consider some of the problems related to interpreting the documented names. Despite the problems, I will argue that upwards of 80%, if not more, of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba between 1826 and 1840 were associated with Oyo’s collapse.

³ ANC, CO 313/56-62, “Registers of Liberated Africans, 1824-1826. There are twelve ships from the Bight of Benin, they are listed here (with “Voyages” ID number): *Orestes* (557), *Mágico* (2374), *Firme* (756), *Voladora* (776), *Indagadora* (1250), *Negríto* (1266), *Manuelita* (1298), *Rosa* (1307), *Julita* (1361), *Tita* (1383), *Ricomar* (1462) and *Sierra del Pilar* (1856). The four ships from the Bight of Biafra (with ID number): *Santiago* (960), *Emilio* (963), *Joaquina* (1295) and *Maria* (1355). For transcription methodology and statistical analysis of the entire 10,391 sample refer to H. Lovejoy, “Registers of Liberated Africans.”

⁴ People leaving the Bight of Biafra were typically classified as Carabali, but the sample of Carabali names from the registers is 2,417. Even though Yoruba names can most likely be identified within this sample, the focus is on Lucumí identity, not Carabali. Due to time constraints related to the completion of this thesis, the sample of Carabali names will not be addressed at this time.

⁵ Sub-classifications include: Lucumí Elló, Lucumí Jabú or Lucumí Agusá. In this sample there were two males classified as Mandinga, a designation typically assigned to people leaving the Upper Guinea Coast. Nevertheless, these two males have been included because they left from the Bight of Benin and their *nación* sub-classification were “Fula” suggesting they might be Fulani.

⁶ ANC, EM 540/B, 173-77, “Relacion de los Negros... de la Finca San Salvador, 27 Ago. 1833.” This section of the *legajo* includes the biggest list of documented African names. Other names, especially of those who died in the uprising, were mentioned in the various testimonies. The names data shows that the Lucumí and Mina involved in this uprising probably arrived from the Bight of Benin, while the Gangá from the Upper Guinea Coast.

The Bight of Benin Migration to Cuba, 1701-1866

Quantifying the transatlantic slave trade to the Americas has been an ongoing challenge from W.E.B. DuBois through Philip Curtin's 1969 census and beyond.⁷ With the construction of "Voyages," it has become easier to estimate the coastal embarkation regions of people sent into diaspora. In recent years, historians have begun to collaborate on single exportation regions with single destinations in the Americas to flesh out in detail socio-cultural interconnections. Toyin Falola and Matt Childs's edited volume, *The Yoruba Diaspora*, has focused on the Yoruba contingent from the Bight of Benin and their subsequent migration to key places in the Americas – as represented by the individual chapters on Brazil, Cuba, Haiti, the British Caribbean and elsewhere in the Americas. However, "Voyages" is far from perfect because it is not possible to generate estimates for any migration to Cuba prior to 1651. Until the eighteenth century, Curtin described Cuba as "a backwater of the Spanish empire;"⁸ thus, the 1659 start date is likely attributed to the lack of shipping records prior to the agricultural revolution.

The coastal geography of the Bight of Benin is mainly beach with high surf and a series of lagoons behind the coast. There are no places ships can moor. European traders depended on African trading organizations and networks to transport merchandise through the surf by canoe. Slaves therefore spent variable amounts of time in custody, either before their sale to Europeans or while awaiting favorable weather conditions for embarkation. The importance of the lagoon system proved essential for the transfer of slaves and other commodities from the African hinterland to the coast and vice versa; and hence middlemen traders were found among many ethnolinguistic groups and kingdoms near the coast.⁹ Although it is difficult to generalize precise

⁷ Dubois, *The Negro*.

⁸ Curtin, *A Census*, 30-31.

⁹ Law, "Slave-Traders and Middlemen."

conditions, people were kept at slave depots near the coast or on the lagoons before being transferred across the lagoons to the ships by canoe. People of different ethnic backgrounds were lumped together and many were branded before boarding the slave ships.¹⁰ The middle passage across the Atlantic was a horrendous experience. Once the slaves were transferred to the ship, their clothes were often stripped and many remained naked. They were kept in horrid conditions below deck and often chained together. They typically had two meals and water rations per day and were brought on deck for exercise once a day. These conditions were typical, not only to keep the captives as healthy as possible, but also to avoid revolts which were a constant threat.¹¹ Jerome S. Handler has argued that some slaves were able to smuggle some material culture onto slave ships, such as pipes, jewelry, beads, musical instruments and gaming material.¹² On average, the voyage from the Bight of Benin to Cuba took four to six weeks.

Table 2.1 and Graph 2.1 illustrate estimates from “Voyages” for the Bight of Benin to Cuba in five-year intervals between 1701 and 1866. According to “Voyages,” there were only two ships that are recorded to have arrived to Cuba from the Bight of Benin between 1701 and 1785. The first was the French ship, *Généreuse*, arriving from Ouidah on 31 August 1718.¹³ The other was the British ship, *Meredith*, which made stops at Little Popo and then Porto Novo in 1764.¹⁴

¹⁰ NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Negrato*, Ouidah, 5 Jan. 1833. According to the physical descriptions, most everybody on board was branded with an “O” on the shoulder blades.

¹¹ Robert W. Harms, *The Diligent: A Voyage through the Worlds of the Slave Trade* (New York: Basic Books, 2002) and Marcus Rediker, *The Slave Ship: A Human History* (New York: Viking, 2007).

¹² Jerome S. Handler, “The Middle Passage and the Material Culture of Captive Africans,” *Slavery & Abolition* 30, 1 (2009): 1-26. This article has implications related to what David Brown calls “Stories of Diaspora.” As legend has it, the leader of the Cabildo Lucumí Nuestra Señora de Regla, named Adechina Remegio Herrera, apparently “swallowed his Ifá’ (*se tragó su Ifá*), which he carried in his belly, defecated in the belly of the slave ship, and later reconsecrated in Cuba. ‘His Ifá’ refers to the sacred nut kernels of the West African oil palm.” Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 77.

¹³ “Voyages,” ID#: 30096. The crossing took 255 days with more than 150 people on board.

¹⁴ “Voyages,” ID#: 17111.

Table 2.1: The “Voyages” Database: Estimated Arrivals to Cuba from the Bight of Benin (in 5-year intervals), 1701-1866¹⁵

Years	Individuals	Years	Individuals
1701-1705	0	1786-1790	1,939
1706-1710	0	1791-1795	2,440
1711-1715	0	1796-1800	70
1716-1720	175	1801-1805	148
1721-1725	0	1806-1810	0
1726-1730	0	1811-1815	160
1731-1735	0	1816-1820	8,131
1736-1740	0	1821-1825	12,790
1741-1745	0	1826-1830	8,170
1746-1750	0	1831-1835	17,959
1751-1755	0	1836-1840	15,496
1756-1760	0	1841-1845	16,700
1761-1765	617	1846-1850	355
1766-1770	0	1851-1855	5,170
1771-1775	0	1856-1860	10,994
1776-1780	0	1861-1865	10,089
1781-1785	0	1865-1866	0
1701-1770	792	1771-1866	110,611

Graph 2.1: The “Voyages” Database: Estimated Arrivals to Cuba from the Bight of Benin (in 10-year intervals), 1700-1866¹⁶



¹⁵ “Voyages.”

¹⁶ *Ibid.*

Knight has argued the British occupation of Havana in 1762/1763 was “a tremendous stimulus for the Cuban economy.”¹⁷ Between 1761 and 1765, it is estimated in “Voyages” that over 7,000 people arrived in Cuba from all of Africa, represented by: the Bight of Biafra (46%), West Central Africa (33%), Upper Guinea Coast (10%), Bight of Benin (9%) and the Gold Coast (2%). Between 1786 and 1795, almost 35,000 people arrived from Africa including: Gold Coast (29%), Bight of Biafra (25%), West Central Africa (14%), Bight of Benin (13%), Southeast Africa (11%) and the Upper Guinea Coast (8%). Between 1796 and 1815, there were almost no arrivals in Cuba from the Bight of Benin with only 378 tabulated, yet over 100,000 arrived from elsewhere in Africa. According to “Voyages,” the British accounted for almost 80% of the trade from the Bight of Benin to Cuba from 1659 until 1815. The United States, Spain and France began to participate especially as trade diverted from St. Domingue after 1791. The Portuguese/Brazilian and Dutch always seemed to maintain a small level of involvement.

Arguably, the pre-1815 estimates for the Bight of Benin are too low. According to “Voyages,” fewer than 12,000 people landed in Cuba from all of Africa between 1659 and 1780. Baron Von Humbolt, who observed slavery and the slave trade in Cuba in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries, thought that the enslaved and free colored population in 1774-1775 included 75,000 people.¹⁸ Kenneth Kiple has argued that Humbolt’s estimate “should be accepted cautiously.”¹⁹ Kiple also estimates that about 25% of newly arrived Africans passed away in the first few years largely because of amoebic dysentery, malnutrition and adjustments to plantation life, euphemistically called “seasoning.”²⁰ According to Kiple, infant mortality rates

¹⁷ Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 7.

¹⁸ Alexander von Humboldt, *The Island of Cuba: A political Essay* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, [1856] 2001).

¹⁹ Kenneth F. Kiple, *Blacks in Colonial Cuba, 1774-1899* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1976).

²⁰ Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 64.

were “in the 50 percentile range and it would seem that child mortality on some plantations may have once again halved the survivors.” Infant deaths were from tetanus/tetany, infantile beriberi, low birth weight, weaning malnutrition (lack of protein) and infectious diseases, such as whooping cough or diphtheria.²¹ Mortality rates were probably higher during the Asiatic cholera epidemic which is estimated to have killed about 8% of the slave population in 1833 alone.²²

Largely based on records from Cuba, Gloria García has more recently estimated that there were over 57,000 arrivals between 1760 and 1790 at the ports of Havana and Santiago de Cuba only;²³ the “Voyages” estimate is 34,000 less. Humbolt also estimated there were 119,000 arrivals from all of Africa between 1774 and 1807;²⁴ the “Voyages” estimate is 20,000 less. It is entirely possible that there were many more arrivals from the Bight of Benin to Cuba in the eighteenth century, especially after the British occupation of Havana in 1762/1763.

The “Voyages” estimates reveal how trade from the Bight of Benin to Cuba declined between 1796 and 1815. Again, this decline was probably not to the extent shown in Graph 1.1 whereby it completely bottomed out. Given the high volume of trade from the Bight of Benin at this time, slaves must have been arriving directly in greater and greater numbers. Especially after 1763, there was more likely a gradual increase in trade from the Bight of Benin to Cuba instead

²¹ *Ibid.*, 117-34.

²² AGI, SD 1305/88, Resumen general que manifiesta los cadavers colericos sepultados en los cementarios de esta ciudad y sus extramuros. Y en las poblaciones de esta Isla, desde el 25 de Febrero hasta el 30 de Septiembre de [1833] and Ramon de la Sagra, *Tablas necrologicas del cholera-morbus en la ciudad de la Habana y sus arrabalaes* (Habana: 1833). In and around Havana in 1833, cholera killed almost 19,000 blacks and over 4,000 whites. According to Kiple, “In the Caribbean, cholera was thought of as a ‘black man’s disease.’ However, malnutrition “would have made blacks prone to gastric hypoacidic (low gastric acid) condition, and consequently would not only have enhanced their chances of contracting cholera, but also would have increased their likelihood of their dying from it.” Kiple, *Biological History*, 146-8. In his informative history of the seven cholera pandemics that have hit the continent since 1817, Myron Echenberg shows that cholera originated spread from South Asia into east Africa; and the disease probably arrived to Cuba from southeast Africa. See Myron Echenberg, *Africa in the Time of Cholera: A History of Pandemics from 1817 to the Present* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

²³ Gloria García, “El mercado de fuerza de trabajo en Cuba: El comercio esclavista (1760-1790),” in *La Esclavitud en Cuba* (Habana: Editorial Academia, 1986), 136.

²⁴ Humboldt, *The Island of Cuba*, 136-45.

of the dramatic spike after 1815. As a final consideration, many French planters from St. Domingue relocated elsewhere in the Americas after the Haitian Revolution, including the eastern tip of Cuba. Unknown numbers of people from the Bight of Benin interior could have arrived to Cuba indirectly from Africa via other islands and colonies.²⁵

On average, according to “Voyages,” there were 12,000 people leaving the Bight of Benin for the Americas *per year* between 1701 until 1815. Ouidah was the principal port of embarkation in the Bight of Benin in this period. Dahomey allied with Porto Novo to attack Ekpè and Badagry in the early-1780s, and then to turn its back on Porto Novo in 1787; thus anyone in the Bight of Benin hinterland absorbed into the diversity of trade networks could have arrived to Cuba prior to 1790. From the 1790s onward, trade from the Slave Coast began to decline after a combination of interrelated factors, such as the Haitian Revolution, the European wars of 1793-1815 and post-British abolition of the transatlantic trade in 1807. By 1797, the French had completely abandoned their slave fort at Ouidah. Law explains that the British took “the majority of exports in the late eighteenth century, but [their involvement declined] in importance after 1800.”²⁶ The Haitian Revolution favored the growth of the Cuban economy and prompted the rapid expansion of the agricultural sector on the island. Up until 1789, St. Domingue had the most highly profitable plantation economy in the New World and in a matter of years it was completely destroyed.

As Cuba began to replace St. Domingue in the production of sugar, its greater participation in international markets brought ideas of economic and political reform, such as the liberalization of the transatlantic slave trade and privatization of land ownership. Until the late-eighteenth century, Spain awarded contracts (*asiento*) to other European powers to transport

²⁵ José Luciano Franco, *Comercio clandestino de esclavos*, 2nd ed., (Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, [1980] 1996).

²⁶ Law, *Ouidah*, 126.

slaves to their New World colonies and the crown haphazardly granted out land to Spanish colonialists. The *asiento* was a contract awarded to other European slave trading companies to sell slaves in Spanish colonies.²⁷ For thirty years after the signing of the Treaty of Utrecht in 1713, Great Britain was given the sole right to trade slaves in Spanish colonies. In 1750, the Spanish bought the *asiento* back from the British.²⁸ As British trade decreased, it was replaced by a Spanish/Cuban merchant class. A royal *cédula* from Spain in 1789 allowed foreigners, Spaniards and Cuban-born *creoles* to sell slaves at specified ports, including Havana. Three years later, a new concession allowed ships to sail directly to and from Africa. By 1798, the free trade was extended throughout the Spanish Caribbean.²⁹ In addition, the *Sociedad Económica de Amigos del País* received its royal sanction and a royal *cédula* of 1800 broke up the hereditary pattern of owning land. Other royal decrees in 1815 and 1816 gave landowners the right to parcel, sell, sublet and use that land without government intervention. As a result, Crown land became fast selling real estate and a wealthy Cuban-born planter class emerged.³⁰

After the British passed an act to abolish the transatlantic trade in 1807, slave trading patterns in West Africa began to shift. The British navy started intercepting slave ships from their newly-established navy base at Freetown, Sierra Leone. In 1812, the British abandoned their fort at Ouidah, and by 1820, their forts at Cape Coast and Elmina Castle were also closed down.³¹ Thereafter, trade increased from the Bights of Benin and Biafra. Between 1781 and

²⁷ Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 8-9.

²⁸ See "Peace of Utrecht," in *A collection of treaties, alliances, and conventions, relating to the security, commerce, and navigation of the British dominions, made since His Majesty's happy accession to the crown* (London: S. Buckley, 1717) and Hubert H. S. Aimes, *History of Slavery in Cuba, 1511-1868* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1907).

²⁹ *Real cédula por la que Su Majestad concede libertad para el comercio de negros con las islas de Cuba, Sto. Domingo, Puerto Rico, y provincial de Caracas a los españoles y extranjeros* (Madrid: Imprensa Nacional, 1789).

³⁰ Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *El ingenio* (Habana: UNESCO, 1964), 8 and Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 15-17.

³¹ David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987).

1810, arrivals from the Gold Coast constituted 25% of the trade to Cuba. After 1811, trade from the Gold Coast represented about 1% of the total trade.³²

The “Voyages” estimate demonstrates that arrivals from the Bight of Benin after 1816 were unparalleled when compared with the previous long century.³³ After 1815 until the trade ended, the major players in the transatlantic slave trade were Spain/Cuba (89%), France (9%), United States (1%) and Portugal/Brazil (1%). Remarkably, over 70% of the Bight of Benin migration took place between 1816 and 1845 (79,000 or 2,700/year) and the highest levels was between 1830 and 1835. By the 1820s, Cuba was the second leading destination for enslaved Africans in the Americas, after Brazil. After c. 1816, Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes presumably re-enforced those that had already begun to transculturate in Cuba due to the earlier, albeit smaller, migrations. By 1825, the major wars had ended with the bulk of the Oyo, Egba and Owu towns abandoned. While warfare and skirmishes occurred after 1825, the slight decline between 1826 and 1830 relates to the increased presence of British naval patrols as well as the formation of new towns such as Abeokuta and Ibadan. Ouidah’s position of dominance was progressively eroded, principally through the development of Lagos, which had already accounted for more shipments than Ouidah in the 1820s.

By the early-1830s, the trade from the Bight of Benin to Cuba reached a ten year plateau in the aftermath of the abandonment of Old Oyo. According to estimates of the overall migration to Cuba between 1816 and 1845, the “crucial period,” for every fifty people born in Africa arriving to the island, about seven would have boarded slave ships at the Bight of Benin. Presumably, the majority would have been involved with Oyo’s collapse. Even though the

³² David Eltis, “The Slave Trade in Nineteenth-Century Nigeria,” in *Studies in the Nineteenth Century Economic History of Nigeria*, ed. Toyin Falola and Ann O’Hear (Madison: African Studies Program, University of Wisconsin, 1998), 85-96.

³³ “Voyages” and Bergad, *Comparative Histories*.

transatlantic trade to Cuba technically was “illegal” after the signing of the 1817 Anti-Slave Trade Treaty, a contraband trade developed from elsewhere, including the Caribbean, such as Puerto Rico.³⁴ The “illegal” trade could therefore increase the number of estimated arrivals to Cuba after 1815.

Censuses of Cuba’s overall population were taken in 1827 and 1841. In the earlier census, the total population of the island was approximately 170,000 inhabitants – 56% were white, 18% were free colored and 26% were slaves, whether born in Africa or in Cuba. By 1841, the total population of the island increased dramatically to over 700,000 people – 45% were white, 15% were free colored and 40% were slaves. The major difference between the two censuses was that by 1841 the colored population, both free and enslaved, exceeded the total white population by about 82,000 inhabitants.³⁵ These estimates do not convey how many people arrived from Africa. In terms of their percentage in the entire island, people from the Bight of Benin could not have represented more than 5% of the island’s population at any point in time.

Between 1846 and 1850, the migration from Africa to Cuba plunged. Compared with nearly 140,000 arrivals in the previous ten years, there were fewer than 15,000 arrivals from Africa in this five year period (only 355 from the Bight of Benin). This sharp decrease could be the result of new agricultural technology, such as steam powered mills and the building of the railroad, but it more likely relates to the passing “The Law for the Abolition and Repression of the Slave Trade.”³⁶ For the first time, a Spanish law in Cuba outlined the detection, confiscation and destruction of any slave vessel. It also imposed harsh fines, imprisonment and even exile of the captains and crews found guilty of such crimes. Protests against the Spanish law of 1845

³⁴ Joseph C. Dorsey, *Slave Traffic in the Age of Abolition: Puerto Rico, West Africa, and the Non-Hispanic Caribbean, 1815-1859* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

³⁵ Kiple, *Blacks in Colonial Cuba*, 39-58.

³⁶ AHN, Ultramar 8040, La ley penal contra los traficantes en esclavos, 28 Feb. 1845.”

demanded the replenishment of the diminishing African labor force. The ninth article therein provided a loophole for the Cuban traders “to obey but not execute” the law. The immediate impact of the law – notwithstanding the ninth article – created general panic among the planters. *La Escalera* Conspiracy of 1844 would have also contributed to those beliefs.³⁷

Between 1850 and the mid-1860s, arrivals from the Bight of Benin peaked again as over 26,000 slaves arrived to Cuba. In the 1850s, the transatlantic slave trade to Brazil was gradually abolished while Cuba continued to import slaves from Africa. In West Africa, Ibadan, Ijaye and Ilorin were at war; and Dahomey continued to attack Abeokuta. The former Oyo Empire was long gone by the 1850s and 60s and the politics had to respond to the ending of the transatlantic slave trade, which concluded, after a decade of consular rule, by the British annexation of Lagos in 1861 and the Ijaye wars of 1860-1862. The trade was officially brought to an end in 1866.

The Documents of African Names and Methods of Interpretation

In 2002, G. Ugo Nwokeji and David Eltis pioneered a methodology whereby they analyzed documented African names as a means to “provide a solid basis for identifying ethnicity.”³⁸ Their research has since developed into *The African Origins Project*, which is a collection of nearly 100,000 documented names written down mainly in Freetown, Sierra Leone. Currently, this project is looking for hundreds of volunteers, who are native-speakers of a broad array of African languages, to help identify likely ethnolinguistic origins of each name. The methodology is theoretically simple and it can also be applied to European names. For example, “John” and “Juan” can be distinguished into ethnolinguistic groupings, such as “English” and “Spanish,” especially if the first boarded a ship at Liverpool and the second at Cadiz. The same

³⁷ See Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 139-41.

³⁸ Nwokeji and Eltis, “Roots of the African Diaspora,” 368.

technique applies to Africa names, and once the results are totaled and transferred onto overall estimates of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba, it is theoretically possible to estimate the likely ethnolinguistic configuration of the migration. Since this sample includes anyone classified as Lucumí, Mina and Arará, an assessment of these designations (and their sub-classifications) vis-à-vis ethnolinguistic groupings such as Yoruba, is equally possible.

The Anglo-Spanish Mixed Commission was established in Havana as a result of growing British pressure to suppress the transatlantic trade. Based out of Jamaica, the British navy began to patrol the waters around Cuba in the 1810s.³⁹ By 1815, Spain and Great Britain signed their first Anti-Slave Trade Treaty. It was quickly revised in 1817 and later amended in 1835.⁴⁰ Article II from the “Regulations for the Mixed Commissions” stated that each side chose their own judge and prosecutor. A chronological listing of their replacements, both permanent and temporary, are too numerous to list here.⁴¹ Jointly, they decided upon the cases without appeal. They were sworn in by the *Capitán General* of Cuba “to judge fairly and faithfully [and] to have no preference either for the claimants or the captors.”⁴² On 12 November, 1819, the first judge was Henry Theo Kilbie, an Irish lawyer, who wrote to Viscount *Castlereagh*, the Secretary of Foreign Affairs in London, that “The Mixed Commission was declared open.”⁴³

The trial could take several months, Article I of the rules stipulated that “within the space of twenty days” the courts had to decide on the legality of the capture of the ship. As per the 1817 revisions, British patrols had no jurisdiction south of the equator and arrests could be made

³⁹ For suppression of the transatlantic slave trade see Eltis, *Economic Growth*.

⁴⁰ “Treaty between His Britannic Majesty and His Catholic Majesty, for preventing Their Subjects from engaging in any illicit Traffic in Slaves, Sept. 23, 1817,” (Madrid: 1817). Copy of this treaty and the annexed regulations accessible via www.pdavis.nl/Treaty_1817.htm, (accessed May, 2010).

⁴¹ Luis Martínez-Fernández, *Fighting Slavery in the Caribbean: The Life and Times of a British Family in Nineteenth-Century Havana* (Armonk: M.E. Sharpe, 1998).

⁴² In “Anti-Slave Trade Treaty, 1817.”

⁴³ NA, CO 313/9, Letter No. 2, 12 Nov. 1819.

only if slaves were found on board. The final sentence was not supposed to take more than two months, even “on account of the absence of witnesses, or for want of other proofs.” However, the commissioners could, “at their discretion” grant a delay “not exceeding four months.”⁴⁴ It took five years for the court to get the first conviction due to loopholes in the regulations, corruption, bureaucratic inefficiencies and a lack of financial resources. A court-appointed secretary or registrar was responsible for the production of the registers.

On 7 August 1827, Conde de Villanueva (judge) swore in Juan Francisco Cascales (secretary) before the *Capitán General* Francisco Dionisio Vives, “to act with fidelity in all the affairs which may belong to his charge.”⁴⁵ Cascales signed, dated and certified at least thirty registers between 1828 and 1836, meaning he compiled more than half of the thesis sample of documented names. His career began as a lawyer in the *Real Audiencia* in the province of Puerto Principe and later became a consultant for the *Real Consulado de la Habana*.⁴⁶ The other registers for the years 1824-1826 and 1837-1841 were only partially dated and left unsigned. For some unknown reason, there do not appear to be any surviving registers from Cuba in 1827 and 1831. Based on information in the “Voyages” database, and other archival records, the years of each of the unsigned registers is known because the name of ship was provided.

The main function of the registers related to the international legal proceedings and accountability of liberating enslaved Africans. They also had functions related to the bounties per person collected by the British captains and crew. They proved how many people were on board a ship; hence, the amount of money owed. Kilbie wrote in a letter to London on 13 August 1825,

Sir, the British Vessels of War, which capture Slave Ships, by Act of Parliament are entitled to a Bounty from their Government of ten pounds Sterling for each Slave found on board. To make good the claim for this Bounty, the production of certain documents is necessary. And

⁴⁴ In “Anti-Slave Trade Treaty, 1817.”

⁴⁵ In “The Anti-Slave Trade Treaty, 1817.”

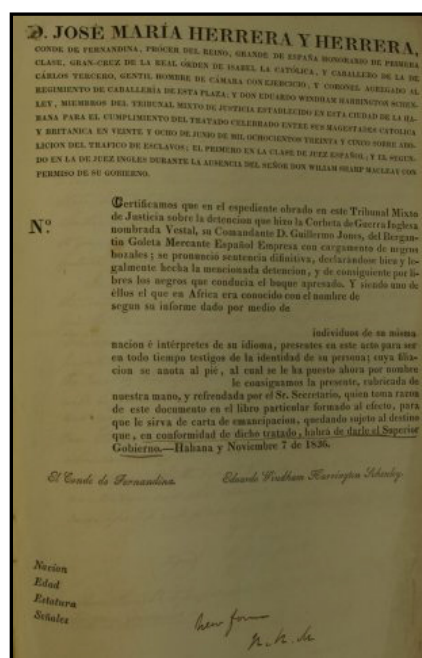
⁴⁶ AGI, UM 82/88, Relación de los meritos y servicios del Licenciado Don Francisco Cascales, 18 Jul. 1831.

among others a Receipt of Certificate from the person who receives the slaves from the captured vessel.⁴⁷

This letter was written in relation to the first successful conviction of the *Relâmpago* in 1824. Kilbie was requesting a Receipt of Certificate for the 150 people found on board. Without this receipt, Lieutenant Francis Liardet could not get paid.

Aside from British interests, Article VII of the regulations states that liberated Africans (or *emancipados*) shall be “employed as servants or free laborers.”⁴⁸ Apprenticeships lasted ten years, but that was often extended unjustly; and many were simply re-sold. Once “liberated,” *emancipados* were given a “certificate of emancipation” from the Mixed Commission to be carried on their person (see Figure 2.1).

Fig. 2.1: Blank Certificate of Emancipation (1836)⁴⁹



This blank, printed certificate was made specifically for the slave ship *Empresa* arriving to Cuba from Luanda on 11 November 1836 from Luanda with a “cargo” of 407 “negros bozales.”

⁴⁷ AGI, PC 2110, The British Vessels of War, 13 Aug. 1825.

⁴⁸ “The Anti-Slave Trade Treaty, 1817.”

⁴⁹ NA, CO 313/27, Para que le sirva carta de emancipación (blank fields and undated).

After British Emancipation in 1834 and the 1835 treaty amendments, *Capitán General* Miguel Tacón implemented a new policy whereby *emancipados* were forbidden from touching Cuban soil in fear they would spread British abolitionist propaganda. Based on the 1835 amendments, a new position in the Court of Mixed Commission was created and it was called the “Superintendent of Liberated Africans.”⁵⁰ During the trial, the British used a condemned slave ship, called the *Romney*, to house the captives. It was anchored and guarded in the Bay of Havana.⁵¹ If “liberated” they were sent to serve apprenticeships in a British colony, such as Trinidad, the Bahamas or Jamaica.⁵² Between 1824 and 1866, Knight estimated the Mixed Commission condemned 107 slave ships and liberated 26,026 people. In 1855, James F. Crawford estimated that nearly 4,000 *emancipados* had been re-sold in a system of fraud involving many high officials on both sides of the Mixed Commission.⁵³

Lorenzo Clarke, an *emancipado*, provided a firsthand description of becoming “liberated.” Clarke and his wife, Maria Rosalia Garcia, and their two boys and girl, named José, Roche and Isabel were on the way back to Lagos in 1854. In Southampton, England, Clarke and his wife provided depositions related to their experiences in Cuba (their complete depositions are

⁵⁰ Richard Robert Madden was the first to hold the position. For Madden’s official correspondences and personal letters related to emancipation in Jamaica, Superintendent of Liberated Africans in Cuba, *La Amistad* trial in the U.S. and settlements of liberated Africans in Sierra Leone refer to NA, FO 72 and 84; and CO, 313. His personal archives are found at RIA, M 24/N, 1 and M 24/O, 5-16. After a review of these data, it should be noted that Madden did not provide specific details related to people from the Bight of Benin and he does not specifically refer to “Lucumí.”

⁵¹ See various records from NA, FO 84 and CO 313 in Archives of the Havana Slave Trade Commission from 1835 onward and Rosanne Marion Adderley, *“New Negroes From Africa:” Slave Trade Abolition and Free African Settlement in the Nineteenth-Century Caribbean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2006).

⁵² For example, the *Indagadora* went to Trinidad in 1832, the *Antonica* went to the Bahamas in 1838 and the *Caridad Cubana* went to Jamaica in 1839. See *Ibid.* There were also some attempts to send people to Sierra Leone, but this strategy seems to have been a failure. A more detailed analysis of exactly where these people ended up is still required.

⁵³ AHN, UM 3554, Estado de las expediciones de negros bozales capturados en las costas de la isla de Cuba, (undated) and AHN, Estado, Esclavitud, 8048, Crawford to Clarendon, June 1, 1855; c.f. Knight, *Slave Society*, 29. Most of these individuals were not registered, or if they were, the documentation has not survived.

in Appendix 1).⁵⁴ Clarke declared he was from Lagos and made “prisoner in war,” arrived from “Lagos in the brig *Negríto*,” until he was unloaded and kept in the barracks in the *Alameda* near the lighthouse during what would have been the trial. Clarke described how “names were entered into a book.” Clarke then compares his twelve year “apprenticeship” to slavery building “public roads for the local Government,” who then “sold” him to an American railroad engineer, named Clarke.⁵⁵ The commission’s secretary, Cascales, signed the register for the *Negríto* on 5 January, 1832 and captive #185, aka Lorenzo (no last name), was “Ocusono” from the *nación* Lucumí Ayó. He was listed as twenty-two and stood five feet four inches tall. He had “the mark of P.V. above his right nipple and had a large scar on the side of his right leg.”⁵⁶

In 2010, Apter, Falola and Ademola Omobewaji Dasyilva all agreed – independently from each other of course – that Ocusono is most likely a Yoruba name.⁵⁷ Falola specified, “It sounds like an Ijebu or Egba name.”⁵⁸ Dasyilva has since elaborated

The right spelling is Òkúsonò (dots under both “Os” in “sono”). Oku/Iku = Death; Ono (Ijebu dialect)/ona (standard Yoruba) = adornment. The name’s meaning is 1) Death has brought about adornment/beauty; and 2) Death has created beauty. This name is given to a child in a situation where a family has experienced a deep sense of loss through the death of a loved one, but despite the loss the family witnessed an unprecedented progress.

It is the spelling of the name that gives the ethnic dimension away. Oku is largely Ijebu prefix to names, i.e. Oku-badejo, Oku-banjo, Oku-niyi or Okusanwo. They are peculiarly Ijebu prefixes to names. It is also the Ijebu that spells 'san' as 'son.' No other sub Yoruba ethnic group does that. You could however, for reasons of proximity and transculturation, find Oku prefix names in Egba too; thus, nothing stops it from being an Egba name.⁵⁹

⁵⁴ “Cuban Slaves in England,” *The Anti-Slavery Reporter* 2, 10 (London: Peter Jones Bolton, 1854): 234-9. Refer to this collection of depositions at http://www.desclasificacion.org/pdf/Cuban_Slaves.pdf, (accessed in 2012). See also Sarracino, *Los que volvieron a África*.

⁵⁵ Zanetti and García, *Sugar and Railroads*.

⁵⁶ A Christian name was listed in the register. NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Negríto*, Lorenzo, aka Ocusono (#185), varón, Ouidah, 5 Ene. 1833. It should be noted that there were two Lorenzo’s aboard this ship. NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Negríto*, Lorenzo Justiniano, aka Lobandé (#209), varón, Ouidah, 5 Ene. 1833. Based on this individual’s full Christian name, which included Justiniano, I have elected to use the simple Lorenzo primarily because the African name has more specific identifying characteristics. Ojo interpreted “Lobandé” as Lubande which is a common Yoruba name.

⁵⁷ Andrew Apter, emails with author, Jun. 2010.

⁵⁸ Toyin Falola, email with author, 11 Jun. 2010.

⁵⁹ Ademola Omobewaji Dasyilva, email with author, 24-27 Jun. 2010.

The Egba and Ijebu were involved in the Owiwi Creek War in 1832, but Òkúsonò (or Òkúsoná) does not describe which side he was on or if he was involved. Clarke claimed he was from Lagos, an independent kingdom from both the Ijebu and Egba.

The names specialists are Dr. Olatunji Ojo (Yoruba),⁶⁰ Dr. Abubakar Babajo Sani (Hausa)⁶¹ and Umar Hussein (Dagomba).⁶² Ojo was born in Ibadan, but he mainly grew up in Omu-Ekiti. His dialect is “a mixture of Oyo, Ijesa, Yagba and Ekiti.” Ojo studied the Oyo-based standard through college level. He lived in Ibadan, Lagos and Owerri (where he learnt some Igbo). Ojo has been working on the development of *The Africans Origins Project* and is currently Associate Professor of History at Brock University, Canada. Sani, who is head of the Department of History, Umaru Musa Yar’adua University, Nigeria, speaks Hausa, Arabic, a little Kanuri and some Yoruba. He was born in Katsina and has traveled throughout Nigeria on the national field hockey team, as well as a university professor. Hussein was born in northern Ghana, but his father is Hausa. He speaks Dagbani, Hausa, Ga, Asante, Mamprusi, Fante, a little Ewe and understands, but is not fluent in Ga Adangbe. Currently, he is a psychology student at York University. Independently from one another, they could identify almost 85% of the sample; they all thought “Ocusono” was Yoruba, and Ojo agreed that it was Egba/Ijebu.

Nwokeji and Eltis have argued, “The ethnic basis of many of the names is recognizable, and makes it possible to identify broad ethnic groupings, and in some cases, sub-groupings.”⁶³ Johnson made similar observations when he noted names “peculiar” to the royal family of Oyo, but none were represented in the registers. Cascales wrote the male name “Changuladí.”⁶⁴

⁶⁰ Olatunji Ojo, interpretation of African names with author, April 8 – October 24, 2011.

⁶¹ Abubakar Babajo Sani, interpretation of African names with author, July 10 – October 10, 2011.

⁶² Umar Hussein, interpretation of African names with author, September 10 – September 20, 2011.

⁶³ Nowkeji and Eltis, “African Roots,” 368.

⁶⁴ NA, CO 313/60, Registro *Julita*, Changuladí (#217), varón, Lucumí Ayó, Ouidah, 23 Feb. 1835.

Agreeing with Ojo, Apter wrote, “This name likely breaks down into *Sango ni ade* meaning, “Sango has a crown.” This name commemorates the *Aláàfin*’s ruling line.”⁶⁵ Having arrived from Ouidah in 1835, this man might have identified with Oyo. Johnson has also shown that some Yoruba names “are compounded with fetish names showing the deity worshipped in the family;”⁶⁶ thus this man may not necessarily *be* from Oyo, but rather someone from a family of Sango devotees. Since there is a stronger reason to argue that “Changuladí” is more Oyo-centric than not, it would appear as if Yoruba names, and hence individuals, can be grouped into Oyo- and Ife-centric categories. However, it is not always possible because where does a name like “Ocusono” fit into an Oyo- and Ife-centric scheme? Simply put, it does not.

Still, there is something to be said about the name game because the Yoruba (like most world cultures) have ritualized traditions associated with naming practices. Even Johnson dedicated a chapter to Yoruba names and he described

The naming of a child is an important affair amongst the Yorubas; it is always attended with some ceremonies. These of course differ somewhat, amongst the different tribes.

The naming usually takes place on the 9th day of birth if a male, or on the 7th if a female; if they happen to be twins of both sexes, it will be on the 8th day. Moslem children of either sex are invariably named on the 8th day.

It is on that day the child is for the first time brought out of the room, hence the term applied to this event *Ko omo jade* (bringing out the child). The mother also is supposed to be in the lying-in room up to that day.

The ceremony is thus performed: – The principal members of the family and friends having assembled early in the morning of the day, the child and its mother being brought out of the chamber, a jugful of water is tossed up to the roof (all Yoruba houses being low-roofed), and the baby in the arms of the nurse or an elderly female member of the family, is brought under the eaves to catch the spray, the baby yells, and the relatives shout for joy. The child is now named by the parents and elderly members of the family, and festivities follow; with presents, however trifling, for the baby from everyone interested in him...

In some cases there is also the offering of sacrifice and consultation of the household oracle on the child's behalf.⁶⁷

Johnson provided four typologies of names: *àmútorunwá* (lit. name brought from heaven), *àbíso* (name given during the naming ceremony), *abiku* (born to die) and *oriki* (cognomen or

⁶⁵ Thesis comments Apter, Aug. 2012.

⁶⁶ Johnson, *Yorubas*, 83.

⁶⁷ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 77.

attributive name). Johnson, and later Karin Barber, examined the function of *orile*, which is not a name, but a system used in Yoruba naming practices to denote the family origin or lineage.⁶⁸

Yoruba naming practices are described in the proverb, *Ilé ni à n wò kí a tó so omo ní orúko*, which Johnson translated as, “The state of the house must first be considered before naming a child.”⁶⁹ F. Niyi Akinnaso examined the sociolinguistic basis of traditional Yoruba names and their transmission of cultural knowledge. He defines the proverb as, “The condition of the home determines a child’s name.” His “home context principle” has shown how socio-cultural and grammatical principles are integrated into the construction of Yoruba personal names and how knowledge can be retrieved from their linguistic forms.⁷⁰ According to Apter’s take on the same proverb, “The house precedes the child, who is born ‘out’ of it.”⁷¹ This definition expresses how social contexts in which a child is born determine personal names.

According to Johnson, “names compounded with Ifa are very common amongst the Ijesas which shows that they are devoted Ifa worshippers.”⁷² Among the registers, Ojo identified the female name “Yferunke”⁷³ from Ouidah in 1834 as Ifarounke or Ifaronke; and “Afanemoni”⁷⁴ and “Ifaremý,”⁷⁵ both from Lagos in 1839, as Ifanimoni and Ifaremi respectively. However, Ojo

⁶⁸ Modupe Oduyoye, *Yoruba Names: Their Structure & Meaning* (London: Karnak House, 1987). Karin Barber, *I could Speak Until Tomorrow: Oriki, Women and the Past in a Yoruba Town* (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press for the International African Institute, 1991).

⁶⁹ Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 81.

⁷⁰ F. Niyi Akinnaso, “The Sociolinguistic Basis of Yoruba Personal Names,” *Anthropological Linguistics* 22, 7 (1980): 275-304; F. Niyi Akinnaso, “On the Syntax and Semantic of Nominal Compounds in Yoruba Personal Names,” *Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Meeting of the Berkley Linguistic Society* 1, 12 (1981): no page numbers. Accessed September, 2012. <http://www.linguistic.berkeley.edu/bls/> and F. Niyi Akinnaso, “Traditional Yoruba Names and the Transmission of Cultural Knowledge,” *Names* 31 (1983): 139-58.

⁷¹ Thesis comments from Andrew Apter, Aug 2012.

⁷² *Ibid.*

⁷³ NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Rosa*, Yferunke (#241), hembra, Lucumí (no sub-classification), Ouidah, 10 Feb. 1834.

⁷⁴ NA, CO 313/62, Registro *Sierra del Pilar*, Afanemoní (#85), varón, Lucumí (no sub-classification), Lagos, (no day/month) 1839.

⁷⁵ *Ibid.*, Ifaremý (#158), hembra, Lucumí (no sub-classification), Lagos, 1839.

disagrees with Johnson because he considered all three of these names to be “common.” Apter has since agreed, after reading this, because “names with ‘Ifa’ are very widespread in Yorubaland.”⁷⁶ African names therefore might have denoted different ethnicity at different periods in time among different sub-groups, kingdoms, towns, wards and lineages. Further, names can just as easily transculturate between cultures and languages.

In many cases, the transcription, presumed pronunciation and interpretation corresponded exactly to the colonial spelling. For example, there were over a dozen cases of Abayomi, a common Yoruba name. It was documented as “Abayomi”⁷⁷ or “Aballomi”⁷⁸ (Spanish “LL” as a “Y” sound). In other cases, the distorted colonial spellings, mis-transcriptions and presumed pronunciations can all compound and contribute to more and more plausible mistakes and misinterpretations. This means several specialists are required to check and double-check the interpretations, which is exactly what *The African Origins Project* is set up to do. For example, Ojo interpreted the female name “Achacú”⁷⁹ as Osaku because “Asaku” is not a female Yoruba name. Meanwhile, a Fon-speaking specialist, who is notably absent from this analysis, might have a second and more convincing opinion which might trump Ojo’s assessment or make it multiethnic. But in a secret test related to this specific example, both Babajo and Hussein exclaimed, “This name is definitely Yoruba!” In other cases, the distortions are more complex. There were also many examples whereby the three specialists provided different interpretations for the same name. In these cases, a “multiethnic” category, i.e. for names that are used in a variety of languages, was deemed necessary.

⁷⁶ Thesis comments from Apter, Aug. 2012.

⁷⁷ NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Rosa*, Abayomí (register #66), hembra (female), Lucumí Ecumachó, Lagos, 31 Dic. 1833.

⁷⁸ NA, CO 313/56, Registro *Orestes*, Aballomí (#162), varón (male), Lucumí Ayó, Ouidah, 20 Abr. 1824.

⁷⁹ NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Negrato*, Achacú (#413), hembra, Lucumí Ayó, Ouidah, 5 Ene. 1833.

In terms of Yoruba sub-groups, Ojo identified names which “belonged” to Oyo, Ijebu, Egba, Egbado, Awori, Ife, Ondo, Ijesha, Yagba and Ikale. Some of his classifications include more than one group, such as Ife-Ijebu-Ondo, Ijebu-Egba and Oyo-Egba. He did not mention all the Yoruba sub-groups mentioned in the introduction, such as Ketu. In my bewilderment, however, Ojo simply “knew where a name came from” and I began to test his own results for accuracy. Reviewing groups of names Ojo had previously interpreted, he was convincing in some cases, but at other times he provided completely different interpretations from the day before.⁸⁰ If Ojo sometimes contradicted himself, then how would more Yoruba-speakers interpret each name? Most likely, their interpretations, which could identify Yoruba names in general, would more often than not result in heated debates over sub-group origins. Regardless, other names clearly have more identifying characteristics. The name Òkúsonò is case and point because Falola, Dasylva, Ojo and Apter have all agreed that it is likely Ijebu/Egba.

Both Babajo and Hussein, two “non-native” Yoruba speakers, confirmed that “Ocusono” was a Yoruba name, but they could say if it was Ijebu, Egba or Oyo. In fact, they recognized many Yoruba names, but they were not once able to provide a colorful array of Yoruba sub-groups like Ojo was able to do. What they lacked in knowledge of Yoruba names, they made up for in other ways. Babajo identified Muslim, Hausa, Nupe, traditional Nupe, Kanuri, traditional Kanuri, Kare Kare, Mandara, Fulani, Yola, Borno and Bolewa; and also combinations between the two, such as Muslim-Yoruba, names which are common in both among Yoruba- and Hausa-speakers. Further, common Muslim names, such as Muhammad, do not denote necessarily denote origins, rather likely religious affiliation. In the registers, variations included “Mama,”⁸¹

⁸⁰ I equate his own contradictions in terms of “unique” family names in Scottish and Irish cultures. Cameron and O’Brien certainly have their suspicious “origins,” but what about Campbell which is a common name throughout the United Kingdom?

⁸¹ NA, CO 313/60, Registro *Julita*, Mama (#217), varón, Lucumí Ayó, Ouidah, 23 Feb. 1835.

“Momo,”⁸² “Mahoma”⁸³ and “Majama.”⁸⁴ But does every Muhammad have to be a devout Muslim? Were there no atheists back then? Religion is sometimes a personal choice.

In rare cases, Hausa names can determine social status. Two males leaving on the ships *Santiago* at the River Brass in 1830 and the *Joaquina* from Bonny in 1833 had the name “Dangana,”⁸⁵ which is a Hausa name only given to slaves. Otherwise, Babajo identified “traditional names,” such as “Boreano”⁸⁶ leaving Lagos in 1832, which Babajo explained was likely the non-Muslim Fulani name Bariano. Or in 1839, the male name “Lidí”⁸⁷ from Lagos which is most likely Liadi a “traditional” Hausa name. The question becomes: how do we classify these “traditional” names? I had to make a decision and I grouped them together with “Muslims” because they are likely from the northern region, or Central Sudan.

Hussein was able to identify Ewe, Fante, Asante, Ga, Gurushii and Idoma names. Asante-Ewe-Fante names included Koffi/Koffie,⁸⁸ Kwame⁸⁹ and Kojo Pra.⁹⁰ A male name from Popo in 1828, “Cumuyá,”⁹¹ was most likely the Asante name Kumewu, meaning “town where the tree did not grow.” Another female was documented as “Acuále,”⁹² which is almost certainly the Ga name Akuale. Name borrowing is common and Hussein explained that Asante pronounce a common name as Kojo, whereas Ewe-Fante say Kujo, or, Asante and Fante use Keweku, while

⁸² NA, CO 313/58, Registro *Indagadora*, Momo (#109), varón, Lucumí Ayó, Lagos, 16 Jul. 1832.

⁸³ NA, CO 313/62, Registro *Sierra del Pilar*, Mahoma (#51), varón, Lucumí (no sub-classification), Lagos, (no day/month) 1839.

⁸⁴ NA, CO 313/57, Registro *Santiago*, Majama (#90), varón, Lucumí Agusá, River Brass, 28 Mayo 1830.

⁸⁵ NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Joaquina*, Dangana (#307), varón, Lucumí Tapá, Bonny, 3 Dic. 1830.

⁸⁶ NA, CO 313/58, Registro *Indagadora*, Boreano (#26), varón, Lucumí Ayó, Lagos, 16 Jul. 1832.

⁸⁷ NA, CO 313/62, Registro *Sierra del Pilar*, Lidí (#57), varón, Lucumí (no sub-classification), Lagos, (no day/month) 1839.

⁸⁸ NA, CO 313/57, Registro *Firme*, Cofi (#53), varón, Mina (no sub-classification), Popo, 23 Dic. 1828.

⁸⁹ *Ibid.*, Quame (#62), varón, Mina (no sub-classification), Popo, 23 Dic. 1828.

⁹⁰ *Ibid.*, Colló Prá (#4), varón, Mina (no sub-classification), Popo, 23 Dic. 1828.

⁹¹ *Ibid.*, Cumuyá (#352), varón, Mina Popó, Popo, 23 Dic. 1828.

⁹² NA, CO 313/61, Registro *Ricomar*, Acuále (#102), varón, Lucumí (no sub-classification), Ouidah, 15 Mar. 1836.

Ewe-speakers say Kwaku. The pronunciation can determine more precise ethnolinguistic origins. Differences in spelling might suggest such a difference. Those distinctions, like most of the name, must be assessed by qualified linguists.

As for the ten individuals classified as Gangá in the Banes uprising of 1833, they clearly came from the Upper Guinea Coast from the Gallinas/Sherbro region in what today would be southern Sierra Leone. Philip Misevich, co-director of the *African Origins Project*, helped locate specialists to interpret the ten Gangá names, which indicate that some of these individuals were most likely Vai or Mende. He emailed, “Mende names, I should note, are free form, such that a Mende person can be named for or after just about anything, so such a name would not be unheard of.” In the same email he wrote, “Duaru: this is almost certainly a Vai name, commonly written as ‘Duwalu’ or ‘Dualu.’ For Mende and indeed most Mande languages, including Vai, ‘R’ and ‘L’ are allophonic.” As another test, I included the Yoruba name “Odumfa”⁹³ from the Bight of Benin and Misevich wrote, “I would have guessed Yoruba on this, but I am sure Ojo would have picked it up.”⁹⁴ Ojo interpreted it as the Yoruba name Odunfa.

While none of these specialists know how to speak Fon, they were all able to identify Fon names and other names from the Niger Delta Region, including Igbo, Edo, Igala and Orobo. Ojo and Babajo could also identify a small group of names from Nigeria’s modern-day “Middle Belt,” including: Tiv, Jukun and Bassa. This study, due to time constraints, was unable to procure more specialists to help identify the several hundred names Ojo, Babajo and Hussein could not collectively identify. It is noteworthy that names from the Tem language family or Gurma cluster of people, such as Chamba or Kotokoli, are not mentioned.⁹⁵

⁹³ ANC, EM 540/B, 176, Sublevacion de negros del cafetal Salvador, Aug. – Sept. 1833.

⁹⁴ Philip Misevich, email with author, 20 Jul. 2011.

⁹⁵ In time, *The African Origins Project* will undoubtedly alter the statistics of this thesis, especially when over 26,000 names from the Bight of Benin will be interpreted and added to the sample used in this thesis. Nevertheless,

The Ethnolinguistic Composition of the Bight of Benin Migration, 1826-1840

The identification of the broad *nación* classifications has been a contentious point of debate among scholars of slavery. Eltis states, “The best definition of the broad country terms such as “Lucumí” that fill the court records is geographic.”⁹⁶ However, the court records indicate that these terms were also thought of as colonial perceptions of broad African language families. On one occasion, Cascales wrote in the *nación* ledger that an individual was “Lucumí even though he does not know anything except the Mina language,”⁹⁷ which indicates that the *nación* designations were considered to be languages too. Childs and Falola have argued that Yoruba identity became more inclusive in the Americas especially when Yoruba-speakers encountered the diversity of other ethnolinguistic groups from Africa. They have stated that Yoruba experiences in the Americas made their cultural harmony “stand out in sharp relief against other Africans they encountered in the New World... whereas in Africa, differences tied to religion, political culture and customs were more likely to emphasize their disparities.”⁹⁸ Even though they were a minority in Cuba, people from the Bight of Benin became all the more aware of their shared cultural elements – particularly those centered on *òrìsà* worship and the common “Lucumí” language.

The names data, much like the *nación* sub-classifications, prove that an extremely diverse mixture of people was involved in the Bight of Benin migrations. Tables 2.2, 2.3 and 2.4 are the distribution of the interpreted African names in terms of Lucumí, Mina and Arará. The main

the records used in this thesis have special relevance to Cuban history since the registers of liberated Africans were made in Cuba.

⁹⁶ Eltis, “Diaspora of Yoruba Speakers,” 20.

⁹⁷ NA, CO 313/57, Registro *Firme*, Cuame (#53), varón, “Lucumí q. no sabe sino el idioma Mina,” Popo, 23 Dic. 1828.

⁹⁸ Matt D. Childs and Toyin Falola, “The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World: Methodology and Research,” in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World*, ed. Toyin Falola and Matt D. Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 1-14.

groupings decided upon by the interpreters and this author includes: Yoruba, Akan-Fante, Muslim, Edo-Delta Region, Fon, multiethnic, unidentified and other. There was recognition among the interpreters and myself that these groupings are anachronistic, especially if, for example the Yoruba did not signify a cohesive group in the 1820s and the differences among Muslims living in Oyo versus those involved in the *jihad*. As much as the names tell us, the groupings are meant to establish to some degree the ethnolinguistic configuration of a sample of people classified as Lucumí (Mina and Arará). Accordingly, the vast majority of the sample had likely Yoruba names and Yoruba-speakers were all classified as Mina, Arará and Lucumí; however, there was a clear preponderance that more Yoruba-speakers would have been classified as Lucumí.

Tables 2.5 and 2.6 relate to the “multiethnic names” and names “not yet identified.” Nearly 11% of the sample had “multiethnic” names which are common across a broad number of ethnolinguistic groups. For example, the male and female “Yáo,”⁹⁹ or alternatively as “Llao,”¹⁰⁰ was documented in the registers and found on a number of different ships leaving Popo, Ouidah and Lagos. Ojo, Babajo and Hussein collectively interpreted Iyawo (female Yoruba), Ya'u (Muslim) and Yao (Ewe and Fante); hence a Yoruba-Muslim-Ewe-Fante grouping. Still, more than half of all the multiethnic names “sounded Yoruba.” Ojo has explained that when a name “sounded Yoruba,” it could be an uncommon name from the past which are no longer used in the present. Since all multiethnic names could be Yoruba, I estimate that three out of every four people classified as Lucumí in Cuba between 1826 and 1840 were Yoruba-speakers; in terms of Arará, about 20% Yoruba and Mina around 10%.

⁹⁹ NA, CO 313/57, Registro *Firme*, Yáo (#55, #114, #341), varones, Mina Popó, Popo, 23 Dic. 1828.

¹⁰⁰ NA, CO 313/57, Registro *Voladora*, Llao (#62 and #72), varones, Mina Popó, Popo, 1 Jul. 1829.

Table 2.2: Distribution of Lucumí by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Individuals	Percent
Yoruba	2,067	68.6
Multiethnic	323	10.7
Fon	86	2.9
Muslim	83	2.8
Edo-Delta Region	72	2.4
Akan-Fante	64	2.1
Other	17	0.6
Not Yet Identified	301	10.0
Total	3,013	

Table 2.3: Distribution of Mina by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Individuals	Percent
Akan-Fante	341	49.5
Multiethnic	61	8.9
Yoruba	55	8.0
Fon	30	4.4
Edo-Delta Region	20	2.9
Muslim	15	2.2
Other	2	0.3
Not Yet Identified	165	23.9
Total	689	

Table 2.4: Distribution of Arará by Ethnicity

Ethnicity	Individuals	Percent
Yoruba General	67	23.8
Possible Yoruba	49	17.4
Fon	41	14.6
Akan-Fante	24	8.5
Edo-Delta Region	12	4.3
Muslim	4	1.4
Senegambia	3	1.1
Not yet identified	81	28.8
Total	281	

Table 2.5: Distribution of Multiethnic Names

Possible Ethnicity	Individuals
Sounds Yoruba	198
Yoruba-Muslim	65
Yoruba-Edo-Delta Region	56
Yoruba-Fon-Edo-Delta Region	34
Yoruba-Muslim-Akan- Ewe	26
Yoruba-Fon	23
Yoruba-Other	16
Yoruba-Hausa	8
Yoruba-Ewe-Fon	8
Total	434

Table 2.6: Distribution of Unidentifiable Names by Port of Embarkation

Port	Not Yet Identified	Port Totals	Percent
Popo	236	986	23.9
Ouidah	188	1,891	9.9
Lagos	66	781	8.5
Bight of Biafra	41	102	40.2
Banes Uprising	16	225	7.1
Total	547	3,985	

About 14% of the sample included unidentifiable names, which could be a result of distorted spelling, poor transcription/pronunciation or because some names belonged to ethnolinguistic groups that the three specialists were not as familiar with, such as Tem names. The distribution of unidentifiable African names differs depending on the ports in question. Based on the variety of languages spoken by the interpreters, over 90% of the names originating from Ouidah and Lagos could be identified, while over 20% of the names for people leaving Popo could not. Upwards of 40% of the 102 names originating from the ports in the Bight of Biafra were equally problematic. Table 2.6 represents the unidentifiable names and grouped according to ports of embarkation. The specialists could identify more names of people leaving Ouidah and Lagos versus Popo and ports in the Bight of Biafra.

To obtain estimates of the Yoruba migration, Eltis relied upon the *nación* designations and sub-classifications of 3,663 individuals arriving from the Bight of Benin recorded in the registers of liberated Africans. Based on these data, Eltis has argued that these records are a large and representative sample of the largest peak of the migration from the Bight of Benin to the Americas during the period associated with the collapse of Oyo. The sub-classifications reflect colonial perceptions of African ethnolinguistic groups and some examples include: Lucumí Elló, Lucumí Eba, Lucumí Llabu, Lucumí Jausa, Mina Janti and Arará Magin, among others. His “tentative identification” of these terms reasonably determined that “Elló” could have meant Oyo, Eba/Egba, Llabu/Ijebu, Jausa/Hausa, Janti/Fante and Magin/Mahi. In total, these records contain twenty-nine different Lucumí sub-classifications, two Mina ones and two Arará ones.¹⁰¹ The names data also show hundreds of examples that might be a Yoruba name, but they were classified as Arará or a Lucumí with an Igbo name.

¹⁰¹ For a complete list of all the *nación* sub-classifications refer to H. Lovejoy, “Registers of Liberated Africans,” 127-33.

Eltis reasoned that there is no known bias regarding this sample because “there appears no particular reason why the British navy should have captured more slaves of one ethnicity than another.”¹⁰² Eltis counted and grouped the *nación* sub-classifications into plausible groups based into broad geographical regions, such as east, west and north. These broad regions do not consider the historical context in relation to Oyo’s collapse after 1826. Accordingly, Eltis concluded, albeit tentatively, that “62.5 percent of all departures from the Bight of Benin to the Americas were Yoruba, which totals 101,750 [out of 162,800] or 7,200 per year.”¹⁰³ However, these overall estimates of the migration from the Bight of Benin have changed in more recent years. Currently in 2012, the estimates in “Voyages” of the departures from the overall Bight of Benin migration between 1826 and 1840 total just over 100,000, which is a substantial decrease of over 60,000 since the publication of *The Yoruba Diaspora* in 2001.

In *The Yoruba Diaspora*, Eltis has estimated slave departures from the Bight of Benin port by port by quarter century. Even though he used outdated estimates which were too high, it is still possible to obtain the percentages of people leaving each port in this region between 1826 and 1850. For example, the proportion of people leaving ports between Great and Little Popo (henceforth Popo) was about 4% of the total trade, compared to Lagos which reflected upwards of 60% of the trade at this time. The ports in between Ouidah and Lagos, such as Offra/Jakin, Porto Novo and Badagry relate to British anti-slaving patrols in the 1820s, which forced Antonio Felix de Souza to extend his networks to the west of Ouidah. By the 1830s, de Souza and Adele, in exile at Badagry, were known to have had some loose trade agreements. For the purpose of this study, Ouidah’s total represents roughly 35% of trade from the region.

¹⁰² Eltis, “Diaspora of Yoruba Speakers,” 20.

¹⁰³ *Ibid.* To estimate the total migration from the Bight of Benin to the Americas, Eltis used the same sample of ships leaving the Bight of Benin from ANC, CO 313 56-62.

Table 2.7 reflects estimates of arrivals to Cuba from the Bight of Benin (1826-1840) according to the related percentages: Popo (5%), Ouidah (35%) and Lagos (60%). Tables 2.8, 2.9 and 2.10 reflect the distribution of the sample of names from the Bight of Benin on a port by port basis. These tables demonstrate that different percentages of ethnolinguistic groups left from different ports. The highest percentage of people leaving Popo was Akan-Ewe, not Yoruba, but the volume of trade from this port was roughly 4% which is much smaller than Ouidah and Lagos combined. In terms of the names originating from Ouidah and Lagos, approximately 67% and 72% respectively have likely Yoruba origins. Based on the probability that some, if not most, of the “multiethnic” names could be Yoruba, adjustments were made so that upwards of 75% of all Ouidah departures and 80% of all Lagos departures were likely Yoruba-speakers.

By applying ratios of the broad ethnic groupings to total estimates from the Bight of Benin on a port by port basis should provide a very reasonable estimate of the ethnolinguistic configuration of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba. Table 2.11 reflects the tentative estimate of the ethnolinguistic composition of the migration from the Bight of Benin to Cuba between 1826 and 1840. Based on these data, I very tentatively estimate that 75% of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba during these fifteen was composed of Yoruba-speakers. Likewise, “Muslims” could have represented about 5% of the trade. In consideration of the Bight of Benin interior, these estimates suggest that over 80%, perhaps as high as 85%, of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba in this period was directly related to the wars associated with Oyo’s collapse. People classified as Lucumí were also found in registers of liberated Africans for the *Santiago* leaving from the River Brass, the *Joaquina* and *María* leaving from Bonny in 1833 and 1835; and the *Emilio* from New Calabar in 1830.¹⁰⁴

¹⁰⁴ “Voyages” ID#: 960 (*Santiago*), 1295 (*Joaquina*), 1355 (*María*) and 960 (*Emilio*).

Table 2.7: Estimated Arrivals to Cuba from Ports in the Bight of Benin (in thousands and 5-year periods), 1826-1840¹⁰⁵

Port	1826-1830	1831-1835	1836-1840	Totals
Popo	0.4	0.7	0.6	1.7
Ouidah	2.8	6.1	5.2	14.1
Lagos	5.0	11.0	9.6	25.6
Totals	8.2	17.8	15.4	41.4

Table 2.8: Distribution of African Names by Ethnicity from Popo

Ethnicity	Individuals	Percent
Akan-Ewe	364	36.9
Yoruba	151	15.3
Multiethnic	117	12.0
Fon	45	4.6
Muslim	34	3.4
Edo-Delta Region	32	3.2
Other	6	0.6
Unidentified	235	23.9
Total	984	

Table 2.9: Distribution of African Names by Ethnicity from Ouidah

Ethnicity	Individuals	Percent
Yoruba	1,270	67.2
Multiethnic	201	10.6
Fon	91	4.8
Akan-Ewe	61	3.2
Muslim	35	1.9
Edo-Delta Region	33	1.7
Other	10	0.5
Unidentified	190	10.0
Total	1,891	

Table 2.10: Distribution of African Names by Ethnicity from Lagos

Ethnicity	Individuals	Percent
Yoruba	580	74.3
Multiethnic	70	9.0
Muslim	23	2.9
Fon	21	2.7
Edo-Delta Region	15	1.9
East of the Niger	6	0.8
Unidentified	66	8.5
Total	781	

Table 2.11: Distribution of Estimated Arrivals to Cuba from the Bight of Benin by Ethnolinguistic Groups (in thousands), 1826-1840

Ethnicity	Departures	Arrivals	Percent
Yoruba	34.2	31.2	75
Muslim	2.2	2.1	5
Akan-Ewe	1.8	1.7	4
Edo	1.3	1.1	3
Fon	1.3	1.1	3
Gbe	1.3	1.1	3
Mahi-Gurma	1.3	1.1	3
East of Niger River	1.1	1.0	2
Delta Region	1.1	1.0	2
Total	45.6	41.4	

¹⁰⁵ Percentages for port by port departures approximated from Eltis, "Diaspora of Yoruba Speakers."

From among the trial records related to the capture and “liberation” of everyone on board, it would appear these four ships sailed directly from the principal port of slave purchase in the Bight of Biafra. Combined these four ships totaled 945 individuals, the majority of whom were classified as Carabali. In total, there were 2,514 individuals originating from the Bight of Biafra and registered in Cuba. I only examined 102 individuals from this region because they were classified as Lucumí. The names data for this select group shows that twenty-six individuals had likely Yoruba names and another nine were Muslim. This evidence is a strong indication that there might be other Yoruba names in the Bight of Biafra sample, but more importantly, that Yoruba were being funneled into the transatlantic trade via the Niger Delta. Until all the documented names from the Bight of Biafra sample are interpreted it cannot be estimated what percentage left from this region.

The major drawback to the “names game” is that first and foremost the “numbers game” is imprecise. Estimates of the Bight of Benin migration have fluctuated since 1969 and even within the life of “The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database.” A determination of the different proportions of departures on a port by port basis is necessary to consider, but more sketchy to calculate. Differences between Eltis’s estimates of 62.5% and the estimates in Table 2.11 reflect these ongoing challenges to historicizing the Yoruba Diaspora. The ethnolinguistic groupings, such as Yoruba and Muslim, are intelligible, but sorted by the people interpreting the names (myself included). The “multiethnic” names and names “not yet identified” create margins of error and the different interpretations, from volunteers of different linguistic backgrounds, and personal experiences and opinions will, on each new assessment, yield slightly different results. Assuming that more interpretations increase the accuracy of results, so will they, I fear, increase the “multiethnic” grouping; thus, compounding the margin of error.

After all, personal names, such as “Ocusono” or “Clarke,” can never tell us how this person chose to identify him or herself. Names do not convey place of birth, the precise conditions of their enslavement, political allegiances and/or religious beliefs. Hypothetically, some individuals could have had a Yoruba name, yet devotedly worship Islam, just like some individuals with Hausa names could have belonged to an *òrìsà* religious organization. However, the *jihad* suggests the more likely scenario, those who worshipped Islam stayed and those who did not were enslaved. The transatlantic crossing and slavery in the New World could have done wonders in terms of shaping and changing anyone’s belief. For these reasons, I am not entirely convinced (at this point in time) that documented Africans names provide accurate representations of Yoruba “sub-groups,” which might in turn be equated with the religious beliefs of *òrìsà* groups such as “Oyo” and “Sango,” even if names like “Changuladí” tempt otherwise. By the way, the use of “Changu” in documented names is some of the earliest references to Sango I have come across in all my research in both Cuba and Africa.

In that there are no guarantees someone’s name can indentify “origins,” other groups represented in the estimate of the ethnolinguistic configuration of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba, 1826-1849, include: Yoruba, Muslim, Akan-Ewe, Fon, (which are linguistically similar), Gbe and Edo. Mahi and the Gurma cluster are likely represented in the migration s. Ojo and Babajo identified Tiv, Jukun and Igala names, which they classified into “Middle Belt,” which is not an early-nineteenth century group. For this reason, I created “East of the Niger River” in order to represent those groups in the migration in some way. The same was done for the Delta Region, which includes ethnolinguistic groups such as Igbo, Ekpe or Ibibio.

Table 2.12: Distribution of Yoruba Names

Ethnicity	Individuals
Common Yoruba	1,658
Oyo	208
Egba	91
Ijebu	78
Ijebu-Egba	57
Oyo-Egba	29
Ife	17
Ijebu-Ondo-Egba	14
Ife-Ondo	10
Ijebu-Ijesa	7
Ondo	5
Egba-Egbado	3
Ijebu-Ondo	3
Oyo-Awori	2
Awori	1
Ikale	1
Ife-Ijebu	1
Ife-Ijesa	1
Ijesa	1
Yagba	1
Total	2,188

Table 2.13: Distribution of Muslim Names

Ethnicity	Individuals
Muslim-Yoruba ¹⁰⁶	104
Hausa	59
Common Muslim	13
Hausa-Kanuri-Nupe	7
Hausa-Nupe	7
Kanuri	3
Fulani-Hausa	2
Fulani	2
Nupe	2
Hausa-Kanuri	2
Kare Kare-Kanuri-Mandara	2
Kare Kare-Borno-Bolewa	1
Nupe Traditional	1
Fulani-Yola	1
Total	206

Table 2.14: Distribution of Akan-Ewe-Fante Names

Ethnicity	Individuals
Fante	103
Asante-Fante	97
Asante	59
Asante-Ewe-Fante	48
Ewe	48
Ewe-Fante	32
Ga	21
Ewe-Fon	12
Fante-Ga	4
Gurushii	1
Fante-Ewe	1
Ewe-Fante-Fon	1
Asante-Ewe	1
Idoma	1
Total	429

¹⁰⁶ Clearly this total could be added to Table 2.12.

Table 2.11 is a representation of the Bight of Benin migration which coincides to the historical context of the Bight of Benin hinterland between 1826 and 1840. The presentation of the “likely” ethnolinguistic groups and sub-groups must therefore be considered in terms of the use of “Yoruba” to refer to a “people.” Table 2.12 illustrates the distribution of Ojo’s interpretation of Yoruba names by Yoruba sub-groups. This table illustrates that just over 75% of likely Yoruba names are nondescript, meaning they are common among numerous sub-groups. Table 2.13 is a distribution of names that Babajo interpreted to be Muslims and “likely” individuals of northern origins, i.e. the Central Sudan. Table 2.14 represent Hussein’s interpretation of names related to Akan-Ewe groups closer to Ghana and Little Popo.

These three tables indicate that the migration from the Bight of Benin was ethnically and linguistically diverse. The majority had “likely” Yoruba names and other groups were multiethnic such as Yoruba-Muslim, or like Ocusono, Egba-Ijebu. Combined they identified over thirty different “sub-groups,” not much different than the “over thirty” Lucumí, Mina and Arará *nación* sub-classifications documented in the registers of liberated Africans from the Havana Slave Trade Commission. I conclude in this application of the numbers and names games that it is helpful to see how people were “likely” misclassified because about three quarters of all Lucumí were probably Yoruba-speakers, yet Yoruba-speakers could have just as easily been Mina or Arará. Based on the sub-classifications, Eltis’s estimated 62.5% were Yoruba-speakers and I estimated 75%, which come to represent the parameters of the ethnolinguistic configuration of the migration from the Bight of Benin to Cuba between 1826 and 1840.

A combination of both the names data and the colonial ethnonyms helps provide an excellent idea as to what the Oyo-centric representation was like among Yoruba-speakers in Cuba, and more specifically *emancipados* classified as Lucumí. The Lucumí sub-classifications

most represented in the sample of names were variations on Oyo, including Elló, Ayó, Aylló and Eyó. The entire sample of Lucumí names from the registers was 2,728, and 1,235 were classified as Lucumí “Oyo,” which represents over 45% of the sample of Lucumí names. A consideration of Law’s description of which Yoruba and non-Yoruba kingdoms and sub-groups were tributary, whether nominally or not, to Oyo, suggests the Oyo-centric overall representation of Oyo should be higher. In terms of the distribution of “Yoruba” names (Table 2.12), over 75% of the sample had common Yoruba names, such as Abayomi. In total, Ojo identified 531 “Yoruba” names denoting more specific sub-groups or combinations of sub-groups. Of those 531 names, about 40% were classified by Ojo as Oyo names, such as “Changuladí.” When the Yoruba sub-groups that remained tributary to Oyo are taken into account, the total could have been higher.

Summary and Conclusion

The estimates from the “Voyages” database for the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba has been divided into two periods: pre- and post-1815. Even though the estimates from “Voyages” are too low for the earlier period and the pre-*jihad* migration to Cuba – when Oyo were the principal supplier of slaves at the coast – indicates that diverse groups of people from the Bight of Benin interior were arriving in Cuba. After 1817, when the number of people from the Bight of Benin attained unprecedented numbers, Oyo were no longer the principal supplier of slaves at the coast. The registers of liberated Africans – most especially as documented in the use of African names and in the *nación* sub-classifications – have enabled estimates of the ethnolinguistic composition of the migration between 1826 and 1840. The thesis sample of nearly 4,000 documented names for people classified as Lucumí, Mina and Arará is representative of an estimated 41,400 arrivals during those fifteen years. Based on the

interpretation of names and *nación* sub-classifications, it has been possible to show that probably 80% of the people identified in Cuba as Lucumí in this crucial period were involved in the wars associated with Oyo's collapse. More importantly, the combination of the names analysis and the use of ethnonyms demonstrate that upwards of half of this migration likely identified with an Oyo-centric ritual field, as reflected in importance of Sango in this period. Nevertheless, the post-1815 migration overshadowed the earlier and smaller migration; thus an analysis of what Lucumí meant in Cuba in the eighteenth century has demonstrated that some of the pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes transformed after 1815.

CHAPTER 3

Lucumí *Cabildos de Nación* in Havana, c. 1728 – 1810

As established in the previous chapter, the migration from the Bight of Benin to Cuba prior to 1815 was significantly smaller in terms of the peak years of arrivals during Oyo's collapse after 1817. Nevertheless, there was a smaller, but equally significant migration to Cuba, especially after the British occupation of Havana for ten months in 1762-1763. Thus by the end of the eighteenth century, there was a recognizable community of freepersons of color who could have identified as Lucumí because there were several *cabildos de nación* which formed within the old city walls of Havana. As the documentation shows, many *cabildo* leaders were also ranked soldiers in the *Batallón de Morenos*. Roger Bastide has argued that “the *cabildo* incontestably forms the starting-point for the African *santería* of Cuba.”¹ It is therefore necessary to define the socio-cultural functions and hierarchal structure of *cabildos* in relation to colonial legislature, the black militia and definitions in the secondary literature.

In order to be able to evaluate the transformation of Lucumí identity in the nineteenth century, I will begin by assessing ethnographic data found in the documentation and secondary literature related to Lucumí *cabildos de nación* in Havana at Oyo's greatest extent. There are references to various Lucumí sub-classifications in relation to the documentation on Lucumí *cabildos*. These sub-classifications, or ethnonyms, reflect colonial perceptions of more specific ethnolinguistic groups from the Bight of Benin interior. In this chapter, ten ethnonyms will be analyzed. They are: Amanga, Naga, Barbaes, Chaba, Banbara, Tembú, Ibanya, Allom, Llané and Elló. An examination of these ethnonyms establish that Lucumí *cabildos* organized around more heterogeneous groups of people, who were most likely absorbed into the transatlantic slave trade

¹ Bastide, *African Civilizations*, 95.

via Oyo and Dahomey trade networks. This evidence demonstrates how some leaders and members of the earliest documented Lucumí *cabildos* in Cuba were high ranking militiamen in Havana's *Batallón de Morenos* and how they consolidated some core proto-Lucumí socio-cultural schemes which were then transformed as Oyo collapsed and the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba increased after 1815.

Castas, Cabildos, Cofradías and the Batallón de Morenos Libres

In Cuba, the identification of *castas* was a way to racially stratify the Cuban population. In the colonial period, Spanish *peninsulares*, i.e. white people born in Spain, were at the top of this racial hierarchy. At the bottom were *bozales*, a term referring to “raw,” that is, non-Spanish speaking or African-born slaves. Scarifications were a blaring reminder of place of birth. *Ladinos* referred to slaves born in Africa but could speak some Spanish, which they learned after some time on the island. It could also refer to any black person who spoke Spanish. Newly arriving Africans, whether they could speak Spanish or not, were called *negros de nación*, which generally referred to their birth in Africa within one of the major *nación*. *Criollo* referred to anyone born in Cuba and was only slightly higher up on the *castas* scale. Other tags were added to clarify the *criollos*, such as *blanco* (white), *pardo* (mixed-race) and *moreno* (black). Once that was understood, *pardo* and *moreno* basically meant “mulato” and “black,” terms which more likely referred to free persons of color. In the right context, however, *pardos* and *morenos* could refer to slaves as well. The term *emancipados* emerged after the establishment of the Anglo-Spanish Court of Mixed Commission in 1818 and was assigned to people emancipated in British anti-slaving efforts.² *Emancipados* were labeled as such, but they could have also been

² Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*.

considered *bozales* and *negros* because they were born in Africa, and they probably spoke little to no Spanish.³ The colonial *castas* were based on racial categories, and their meanings shifted from person to person, depending on place and period.

Cuban slave society was divided into urban and rural populations. Field slaves generally lived in crowded *barracones* and worked long hours, especially during the *zafra* (harvest), which was around Christmas, New Year's and the colonial holiday, *Día de Reyes* (January 6). The majority of African arrivals ended up on the plantations, especially once the Cuban agricultural sector truly began to change. Average life expectancy on the plantations was less than seven years, and there were a far greater proportion of males than females. Before the agricultural revolution, most African slaves likely ended up in urban centers, especially Havana. Knight wrote that urban slaves lived a "world apart" from rural slaves. They worked as coachmen, carpenters, dressmakers, gardeners, musicians, domestics, wet nurses, or they were hired out by their masters for other similar duties. Not only did they have longer life expectancies and access to certain legal protection, but they also had greater mobility and liberty in social and sexual activities, including potential membership in the *cabildos de nación* and *cofradías de morenos*. Slaves sometimes had the opportunity to interact with free persons of color and buy their freedom through the self-purchase *coartación* system or service in the *Batallón de Morenos*.

Battalions of *pardos* and *morenos* were first formed at the beginning of the seventeenth century.⁴ Many urban slaves enlisted in the Black Militia, which promised freedom after twenty years.⁵ By 1700, four *moreno* companies in Havana totaled about 1,200 men.⁶ Military

³ Hall, *Social Control in Slave Plantation Societies*.

⁴ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 139.

⁵ Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 64-8.

⁶ Herbert S. Klein, "The Colored Militia of Cuba," *Caribbean Studies* 6, 2 (Jul., 1966): 17 and Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, *Los Batallones de Pardos y Morenos Libres* (Habana: Editorial Arte y Literatura, 1976), 21-22.

regulations for the garrison of Havana in 1719 stipulated that 80% of the military had to be Spanish-born, which was unrealistic given the island's rapidly growing creole, free and enslaved populations, especially from the 1790s onward. The British occupation of Havana in 1762-1763 demonstrated that a larger military was required to defend, what Allan J. Kuethe has called, "the most important strongpoint in the Americas."⁷ By this time, Cuba's garrison had about 4,000 men, which was the largest army in any of the other Caribbean colonies relative to their populations.⁸ The intermingling of different cultures among the barracks and ranks was a perfect arena for processes of transculturation.

People enlisted in the Black Militia as a way to become free, but in doing so, they gained entry into Cuban slave society. By the late-eighteenth century, the *pardo* and *moreno* units were granted the *fuero militar*, a set of privileges, which included access to military courts, labor levies, exemptions from certain taxes, access to civil courts, the right to own property and the right to bear arms.⁹ These rights extended into retirement and veteran, freepersons of color created a unique position within the *castas* of Cuban slave society because they were in relative positions of power. These rights were a rare and sanctified privilege, which they often used to distance themselves from slaves and perhaps even their own African heritage.¹⁰

⁷ Given its location, Havana dominated the exit routes from the Caribbean, was the gateway to Mexico and served as the point of entry or departure for much of the American trade. Its magnificent bay was, therefore, heavily fortified, and the city was in 1719, as it would be in 1763, the first to benefit from the latest thinking in Bourbon military reform. Allan J. Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815: Crown, Military, and Society* (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1986), 5 and 140-44.

⁸ Klein, "The Colored Militia of Cuba," Deschamps Chapeaux, *Los Batallones* and Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815*.

⁹ For *fuero militar* rights refer to "Sobre preemencias de oficiales y soldados milicianos, 16 Sep. 1708" and "Reglamento para las milicias y infantería y caballería de la isla de Cuba, 19 Ene. 1769;" c.f. Richard Konetzke, *Colección de documentos para la historia de la formación social en Hispanoamérica*, vol. 3 (Madrid: Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas, 1953-62), 80 and 351-58. See also Childs, *Aponte Rebellion* and Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*.

¹⁰ Lyle N. McAlister, *The "Fuero Militar" in New Spain, 1764-1800* (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1957), Allan J. Kuethe, *Military Reform and Society in New Granada, 1773-1808* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1978), 8-27, 38-39, Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815*, María Elena Díaz, *The Virgin King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Cuba in Colonial Cuba, 1670-1780* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2000), Joseph P.

By 1770, more than three thousand men of color had joined Cuba's militia, and they constituted more than one-fourth of the island's armed forces. According to Jane Landers,

An analysis of the 1776 census data for Havana shows that two-thirds of all free men of color between the ages of fifteen and fifty belonged to militias, and in this corporate society, wives, children, and household dependents thereby gained the privileges associated with military service. Expanded military service thus directly contributed to the rise of a free and propertied black elite in Havana and Matanzas and allowed many slaves to achieve emancipation.¹¹

Sometimes muster rolls of the militia included the *procedencia* (origins) for some of its *moreno* officers, most of whom had been born in Cuba or the other Spanish colonies.¹² In 1774, Capitan Domingo del Triunfo of the Güines division of the Black Militia was Congo.¹³ By 1813, "José del Oyo" was a grenadier in Havana's second company and was stationed in St Agustin, Florida.¹⁴ These two examples demonstrate how African-born people could become ranked officials in the military and that people from Oyo might have been enlisted prior to 1817.

Christianity and the colonial Cuban military were inseparable. The patron saint of the *Batallón de Morenos Libres de la Habana* was Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.¹⁵ Landers has called her "the black virgin" because in Cuban Catholic iconography she is depicted wearing black clothes.¹⁶ Since the time there were not any *moreno* artillery units, Santa Bárbara, who became important in terms of Changó worship in Cuba, was the patron saint of the artillery.¹⁷

Sánchez, "African Freedmen and the Fuero Militar: A Historical Overview of Pardo and Moreno Militiamen in the Late Spanish Empire," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 3 (1994): 165–184, Olga Portuondo Zúñiga, *Entre esclavos y libres de Cuba colonial* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 2003), Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*, 83, Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, Landers, *Atlantic Creoles* and David Sartorius, "Limits of Loyalty: Race and the Public Sphere in Cienfuegos, Cuba, 1850-1898" (PhD diss., University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, 2003).

¹¹ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 140-42.

¹² A collection of muster rolls of *Batallones de Pardos* and *Morenos* from 1745-1820 are published in Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 435-82.

¹³ AGI, SD 2093, Libreta de servicios del Batallón de Morenos de la Habana, 1774.

¹⁴ AGI, PC 352, Batallones de Morenos Libres de La Habana en San Agustín de La Florida, 6 Mar. 1813; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 471.

¹⁵ Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 61 n. 56.

¹⁶ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 171.

¹⁷ For a larger discussion on Santa Bárbara refer to Chapter 4. More research is required on groups dedicated to Catholic saints, especially those dedicated to Santa Bárbara, in eighteenth century Havana. See Eduardo Torres-

Fig. 3.1: Sketch of Sergeant's Uniform for the *Batallón de Morenos* (1827)¹⁸



Clothing was an important marker of the titles and ranks in the Spanish world. Black units paid particular attention to the design of their uniforms, especially in terms of the selection of colors, boots, hats, and even buttons. According to Deschamps Chapeaux, the *moreno* units from Havana in the eighteenth century wore a red waistcoat with blue lapel and collar, white buttons, red tie, white pants, black cap, and short black boots.¹⁹ By 1827, the colors of the waistcoat (blue) and lapel/collar (red) were inverted (Figure 3.1).

Cuevas and Edelberto Leiva Lajara, *Historia de las Iglesias Católica en Cuba: Las Iglesias en las patrias de los criollos (1516-1789)* (Habana: Ediciones Boloña, Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2008) and Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*, trans. Jerry D. Metz, (Durham: Duke University Press, 2011).

This topic relates to an emerging body of scholarship related to African Catholics in major American urban centers, such as Rio de Janeiro. See

¹⁸ ANC, CM 5/7, Para descubrir varias reuniones secretas que había en la casa del Sargento 1º Graduado del Batallón de Morenos..., 1827. Please note there is no mention of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto in this *legajo*.

¹⁹ Deschamps Chapeaux, *Los Batallones*, 43.

Enlisted men could have also been involved with *cabildos de nación* and *cofradías de pardos y morenos*. *Cabildos de nación*, loosely translated as a mutual-aid society, was a colonial phrase unique to Cuba and did not exist elsewhere in the Americas. In other colonies such institutions existed too, albeit with different names which included *cofradías* or *hermandades* (*irmandades* in Brazil).

One of the earliest known *cabildos de nación* in Cuba was Mandinga Zape (1568). This *cabildo* had two patron saints, Humilidad y Paciencia and Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, the patron saint of the Black Militia.²⁰ “Mande” or in Spanish colonial terms Mandingo, is a heading of one of the major branches of the large Niger-Congo language grouping that covers much of the western Sudan of West Africa and are associated with the medieval Mali Empire. Today they make up significant parts of the population of Senegal, Mali, The Gambia, Guinea-Bissau, Guinea, Burkina Faso, and parts of northwestern Ghana. The rise of Mali from a small chiefdom to an expansive empire under the leadership of the legendary hero Sunjata is at the root of many Mande traditions.²¹ There is also evidence of a *cofradía de pardos y morenos* in 1585, which was also under the tutelage of the Espíritu Santo de Humilidad y Paciencia; and in 1598, another *cofradía de morenos* which was also dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Remedios.²² Otherwise, references in the seventeenth century only re-surface with a *cofradía de morenos* under Espíritu

²⁰ José Martín Félix de Arrate, *Llave del Nuevo Mundo. Antemural de las Indias Occidentales. La Habana descripta: Noticia de su fundación, aumentos y estados*, (Havana: Comisión Nacional Cubana de la UNESCO, 1964), 173, Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 425 and Rafael L. López Valdés, *Pardos y morenos, esclavos y libres en Cuba y sus instituciones en el Caribe Hispano* (San Juan, Puerto Rico, 2007), 171–283.

²¹ Walter Rodney, *A History of the Guinea Coast*, John D. Hargreaves and George Shepperson, eds., (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970), Cornelius C. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and the Guianas, 1680-1791* (Assen: Van Gorcum & Company, 1985), Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400-1900* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2003) and Edna L. Fields-Black, “Untangling the Many Roots of West African Mangrove Rice Farming: Rice Technology in the Rio Nunez Region, Earliest to c.1800,” *The Journal of African History* 49, 1 (2008): 1-22.

²² Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 48.

Santo (1620) and a *cofradía de pardos y morenos* under Nuestra Señora de la Consolación de la Cinta de San Agustín y Santa Mónica (1685).²³

The colonial documentation demonstrates that between the sixteenth and the last decade of the eighteenth centuries there was no clear distinction between *cabildos de nación* and *cofradías*. First and foremost they were church institutions. In their early beginnings, both were located in the urban centers close to the church that sanctioned them and it was necessary to declare a patron saint. General meetings generally took place within the church's space.²⁴ While *cofradías* certainly were important in the development of Afro-Cuban cultures, this thesis focuses on *cabildos de nación* in Havana because many were organized around the *nación* Lucumí. In addition, little evidence related to *cabildos de nación* from the eighteenth century from other urban centers, such as Matanzas or Santiago de Cuba, seems to have survived.

Because of the Haitian Revolution and slave uprisings, there was a constant fear among ship captains, government officials, military personal and plantation owners, overseers and perhaps even among slaves themselves. María del Carmen Barcia argues that a “precise demarcation” between *cabildos de nación* and *cofradías de morenos* took place between after c. 1790 and 1803.²⁵ The main reason was effective banishment of the *cabildos* from the churches directly in response to the Haitian Revolution. A 1792 edict gave all *cabildos* one year to relocate outside of Havana's city walls (*intramuro*).²⁶ The abrupt and immediate separation of *cabildos* from the physical space of the Catholic Church meant Africans and their descendents established new “spaces” in Havana's *barrios extramuros* (outside the city walls). Landers

²³ Carmen Barcia also lists a *cabildo* Arará Magino in 1691, but the actually existence of this institution is much more debatable because the names of the leaders were identical to the ones documented in 1840. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 420.

²⁴ Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*.

²⁵ Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 51.

²⁶ For a complete map of Lucumí *Cabildos de Nación* in Havana from c. 1728 until 1910 refer to Appendix 1.

argues that *cofradías* “more closely approximated accepted Catholic practice and... rather than dressing in African costumes and parading on stilts through the streets of Havana, the brothers of these *cofradías* would march images of their patron saints through the streets on their special feast days, as Catholics did across the Iberian empires.”²⁷ Carmen Barcia has added, this expulsion “did not happen so brusquely in cities, such as Matanzas and Santiago de Cuba, even though attempts were made.”²⁸

In 1755, the public notaries Don Rafael de Velazco, Don Joseph de Hermosilla and Don Miguel Bucardo surveyed Havana’s *cabildos*. Their affidavit demonstrates that Havana had a highly organized network of twenty-one *cabildos*. The data in the survey included *nación*, locations and patron saint. By the mid-eighteenth century, all *cabildos* were located within the old city walls. In total, there were five Carabali *cabildos*, five Congo, three Mina, two Lucumí, two Arará, two Gangá, one Mandinga and one Papoes. The locations of these *cabildos* were close to one another. For example, two Congo, two Gangá; a Carabali, Arará and Lucumí *cabildo* were all situated in *la Sabana*, an area centered on the Calle Bayona, near Calle Merced and Compostela. Another grouping consisted of two Mina, a Carabali and Arará *cabildo* which were located close to each other on Calle Monserrate. Each *cabildo* from the 1755 survey was devoted to a different Catholic Saint.²⁹

Esteban Pichardo, who described *cabildos* in 1836, observed that there was a “reunion of *Negros* and *Negros bozales*... and each *nación* has its *Cabildo*.” Pichardo depicted them as “a type of society of pure diversion and aid” and even referred to them as a *corporación*

²⁷ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 148.

²⁸ Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 51.

²⁹ AGI, SD 515/51, Inventario de los cabildos, 1755. “Papoes” could refer to either Grand or Little Popo, ports in the Bight of Benin.

(corporation).³⁰ Nevertheless, contemporary accounts, such as this one, are not very helpful in fleshing out the social functions of these societies, especially in the eighteenth century. Fernando Ortiz expanded upon Pichardo definition by using colonial legislature, *cabildo* registers and other mid-nineteenth century observations. He showed how the origins of *cabildos* in Cuba derived from similar institutions which had existed in the Iberian Peninsula since the thirteenth century.³¹ Ortiz referred to the legislature from Spain and how it related to the governing rules of *cabildos* in Cuba. For example, an early provision enacted in Valladolid mandated in 1544 “that Negro slaves shall not work on Sundays and holidays.”³² This provision was not included in either the *Recopilaciones de Leyes* of 1681 or 1791 or *Las Siete Partidas* of 1789. These two late-eighteenth century codes of law were expected to be maintained in every Spanish colony throughout the Americas and included clauses related to the treatment of slaves.³³

Ortiz’s definition of *cabildos* is the most frequently cited in the secondary literature, but it has since been expanded upon due to more thorough research into these institutions. Most definitions in the secondary literature relate to nineteenth century *cabildos*. Deschamps Chapeaux defined *cabildos* as “a grouping of *negros africanos* belonging to the same “*nación*” or “tribe” of which its purpose was mutual aid, in cases of illness or death, to maintain the culture of their distant and lost homeland through the practice of their own religion, language,

³⁰ Esteban Pichardo, *Diccionario provincial casi-razonado de voces y frases cubanas*, 3rd ed., (Habana: Imprenta la Antilla, 1862), 37. It was originally published in 1836.

³¹ Ortiz, *Los cabildos y la fiesta* and Isidoro Moreno, *La Antigua hermandad de los negros de Sevilla, Etnicidad, poder y sociedad en 600 años de historia* (Sevilla: Universidad de Sevilla y Junta de Andalucía-Consejería de Cultura, 1997).

³² “Ley 150 Que los Negros no Trabajen los Dias de Fiesta y Guarden la Fiesta como los Cristianos, 1544;” c.f. Konetzke, *Colección de documentos*, vol. 1, 231.

³³ *Recopilación de las leyes de los reynos de las Indias* (Madrid: 1681 and 1791), *Las siete partidas del sabio rey Don Alonso el Nono* (Madrid: Oficina de B. Cano, 1789), Elsa V. Goveia, “The West Indian Slave Laws of the 18th Century,” in *Chapters in Caribbean History* (Barbados: Caribbean University Press, 1970), 7-54, Alan Watson, *Slave Law in the Americas* (Athens and London: The University of Georgia Press, 1989) and Manuel Lucena Salmoral, *Los códigos negros de la América Española* (Universidad de Alcalá, Ediciones UNESCO, 1996).

song and music.”³⁴ These colonial institutions also helped many slaves buy their freedom through the *coartación* system of self-purchase, which is why they are often referred to as mutual-aid societies. Lopez Valdés wrote that they “displayed an ambivalent character. On one hand, they functioned to preserve, in different degrees, African traditions. On the other hand, they encouraged the separation of “*naciones*” and conflicts between them.”³⁵ As Franco and Childs have shown, referring to the Aponte rebellion of 1812, they were also centers where resistance was organized because Salvador Ternero, one of the conspirators, was the leader of the *cabildo* Mina Guagüi.³⁶ Scott defines *cabildos* as “nominally Christian groups with strong African content... They could provide an outlet for energy and a means of self-expression that might undercut potential resistance; at the same time they isolated Africans from other sectors of society.” R. Scott also provided an example of one *cabildo*, whereby a police inspector in 1881 referred to Congo *cabildos* having a “constitution,” which “resembled that of a state.”³⁷

While these definitions of *cabildos* from the secondary literature relate to the nineteenth century, *cabildos* in the eighteenth century might have had a very different social character. They were socio-religious institutions, but they had much more supervision close to the church and within the city walls. It is more likely that before *cabildos* were expelled outside the walls, these institutions were much more Christian than the constitutional “mini-states” of the late-nineteenth century. Their relationship with the *Batallón de Morenos* suggests that earlier-on they may have been recruitment agencies as well. Both institutions had different officials who held specific titles, positions and functions. There was a leader and other subordinate positions, while slaves

³⁴ Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, *La Habana de intra- y extramuros y los cabildos de nacion* (Habana: Comisión de Activistas de Historia del Regional 10 de Octubre, 1972), 19.

³⁵ López Valdés, *Componentes Africanos*, 188-9.

³⁶ Franco, *Conspiraciones de 1810 y 1812* and Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*.

³⁷ Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba*, 265-66.

(who were sometimes bought by the leaders) were usually at the bottom of the institutional hierarchy. Members chose and elected the high-ranking officials of these institutions, such as administrators, treasurers and deputies. Members, especially high ranking ones, were therefore almost always free persons of color, many of whom served in Havana's *Batallón de Morenos*. Most of the titles in *cofradías* related to military positions, such as *capitán* (captain), *tenientes* and *subtenientes* (lieutenants and sub-lieutenants) and *deputados* (deputies). Other times, the leader was called *mayordomo*, which translates as "administrator," but more likely relates to the way it was used on plantations to mean "overseer."

Most of the documentation describes *cabildo* leaders as *capatáz* (foreman). Otherwise, some of the first-hand observations (especially in the nineteenth century) refer to the leaders as *rey* (king). There could be, and often were, numerous *capataces* representing one *cabildo*, but whether there were could be more than one *rey* or *reina* is not clear. According to Carmen Barcia, the *cabildo* kings not only had considerable power and respect from their subordinates, but also "they were accredited as being ambassador of their African *nación* in front of the *Capitán General*."³⁸ Some of the other high-ranking position included, *caja de ahorros* (treasurer), *mayordomo* (administrator/overseer) and *deputados* (deputies). The *reina* (queen) or *matrona* (matron) had a responsibility in nominating the new leader. She could also be "guardian of all the *cabildo*'s objects... which she must keep clean and protected."³⁹

Although separated by the early nineteenth century, *cabildos* and *cofradías* shared many defining characteristics and membership frequently could and did overlap. Like the militias, these institutions were, according to Landers, "another form of corporate organization that promoted social cohesion, reinforced extended family networks, and recognized leadership

³⁸ Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 84-92.

³⁹ *Ibid.*, 92-5.

generated from within the black community. Public displays of religiosity and of civic organization by the adherents confirmed black claims to Christian brotherhood and membership in the larger Spanish community.” Many *cofradías* were organized around certain professions such as carpentry or masonry.⁴⁰

A significant development occurred in 1823 when the colonial government permitted *cabildos* to march with flags.⁴¹ This provision was expanded upon in the *Reglamentos de Esclavos* (comparable to the French *Code Noir*), from Puerto Rico (1826) and Cuba (1842). To summarize the articles therein, slave dances with drums could be permitted on holidays; meetings could only be held on Sundays and important holidays; and, *negros* required special permission to have marches with flags and native costumes. Such marches could only be held twice a year, and during the daylight hours.⁴² Based on these particular articles, Ortiz then identified the annual *Día de Reyes* festival on Jan. 6 in which *cabildos* paraded openly and “freely” inside Havana’s city walls. This colonial festival was close to the Cuban harvest. In Oyo-centric terms, this festival could have used this occasion to re-enact the *bèrè* festival in Oyo; in Ife-centric terms, the *Itapa* festival. The inauguration of the *Día de Reyes* in Cuba is not known, but its abrupt end in 1885 can be attributed to a governmental decree on 19 December 1884 prohibiting, due to public safety, the involvement of *cabildos*.⁴³

⁴⁰ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 145 and 148.

⁴¹ Judith Bettelheim, *Cuban Festivals: A Century of Afro-Cuban Culture* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001).

⁴² “Capítulo 2: Artículos 1 and 3” and “Capítulo 7: Artículos 1-4;” c.f. Sylvia Zavala Trías, trans. “Reglamento de Esclavos de 1826,” accessed Sep. 2012, <http://freepages.genealogy.rootsweb.ancestry.com/~poncepr/reglamento.html> and “Artículos 51, 87 and 88” in *Bando de gobernación y policía de las isla de Cuba espedido por Excmo. Sr. D. Gerónimo Valdés, Gobernador y Capitán General* (Habana: Imp. Del Gobierno, 1842).

⁴³ H. Lovejoy, “Yoruba Annual Festivals.”

Lucumí *Cabildos de Nación: Intramuro to Extramuro, c. 1728-1810*

Carmen Barcia has amassed and organized chronologically into appendices according to *nación*, 109 official and dated registers for 32 Carabali, 26 Congo, 17 Arará, 14 Lucumí, 6 Mina, 6 Mandinga and 8 Gangá *cabildos* from the sixteenth until the first decade of the twentieth centuries. She has also provided similar lists of the *cofradías de morenos y pardos* from 1598 until 1910 and effectively shown that many nineteenth century institutions were a continuation of earlier ones. These appendices include leader names, lists of select members, locations, official institutional titles, affiliated parishes and patron saints whenever documented.⁴⁴ Moliner Castañeda's book provides similar lists for all the documented *cabildos* in Matanzas according to *nación*. He used sources from the provincial archives which only seem to surface after 1816. He also provides, whenever possible, the leaders names, addresses and festivals each house officially held in relation to the patron saint of the *cabildos*.⁴⁵ Rafael García Grasa has examined *cabildos de nación* in Camagüey. His study did not provide any citations, but it demonstrates that the documentation only begins to surface in those provincial archives after the mid-nineteenth century. This short study provided very little analysis and evidence related to these organizations beyond what is mentioned in the records.⁴⁶ Moreover, *cabildos* were present in other urban centers, such as Santiago de Cuba, Puerto Principe and Pinar del Rio, among others.⁴⁷

⁴⁴ Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*.

⁴⁵ Moliner Castañeda, *Cabildos en Matanzas*. Unfortunately due to renovations occurring in the archives after a collapsing roof during my research trip in 2011, I was unable to gain access to these records. His book contains very little analysis and no citations from where he obtained his data, especially those related to the *nación* sub-classifications, which he apparently obtained from personal interviews he conducted from local informants.

⁴⁶ Rafael García Grasa, "Apuntes sobre los cabildo africanos en Camagüey," in *Simposio nacional sobre la cultura popular tradicional cubana* (Camagüey: Camagüey, 1981), no page numbers.

⁴⁷ These may relate to other Afro-Cuban traditions in the eastern part, which were entirely different from the west. See Julynne E. Dobson, *Sacred Spaces and Religious Traditions in Oriente Cuba* (Albuquerque: University of Mexico Press, 2008).

This chapter sub-section focuses on Lucumí *cabildos* from inside to outside Havana's city walls. As the most important urban center on the island, the surviving documentation from the eighteenth century is comparatively richer when compared with that for the other cities and towns in the same period. In fact in Havana, there is significant ethnographic data found in the documentation which can be used to assess what the term Lucumí might have meant in the eighteenth century. The series of ethnonyms or *nación* sub-classifications related to Lucumí *cabildos* from the eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries under analysis in this chapter are Amanga, Nagas, Barbaes, Chabas, Banbaras, Tembú (Fembú), Ibanya, Allom, Llané and Elló.⁴⁸

An early reference to a Lucumí *cabildo* appears in the work of López Valdés, who claims the information came from archival sources without providing a citation for the original archival record.⁴⁹ López Valdés states that Fernando de Acosta founded the Cabildo Lucumí Amanga in 1728, but the tutelary saint is not mentioned. López Valdés claims that the location for the c. 1728 reference is not known, but in 1778, the same *cabildo* was located on the Calle de Plazuela del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje and sanctioned by the Santo Ángel church. López Valdés argued that "Amanga" probably referred to the Anang, which is an Ibibio sub-group of the Cross River region in the Bight of Biafra.⁵⁰

More reliable references for two Lucumí *cabildos* are in the 1755 survey of Havana's *intramuro cabildos*. One was located in *La Sabana cabildo* network and the other near the Santa Catalina Church (four blocks from Santo Ángel church). Dividing the *intramuro* city into two wards, north and south, the former *cabildo* was in the northeast and the later in the southeast side

⁴⁸ See Appendix 2 for a chronological list and map of thirty-two documented Lucumí *cabildos de nación* in Havana from c. 1728 until 1910. Instead of providing several maps throughout the thesis, one master map accompanies Appendix 1.

⁴⁹ Neither Carmen Barcia nor I have been able to find the original reference to this record in either Spanish or Cuban archives, and even though this evidence is unverified, its existence cannot be discredited altogether.

⁵⁰ López Valdés, *Africanos de Cuba*, 95-96.

of a walled city (see map in Appendix 2). This survey contains very little ethnographic data beyond tutelary saints. The first Lucumí *cabildo*, located in *la Sabana* network, was devoted to Nuestra Señora de las Nieves (Our Lady of the Snows or Saint Mary Major). The other Lucumí *cabildo* that was near Santa Catalina Church was dedicated to Nuestra Señora de los Rosarios.

In modern-day Ocha and Ifá practices, Nuestra Señora de las Nieves is equated with Yemaya-Okuté, who is an obscure avatar of Yemaya and aptly requires cold sacrifices, such as ice.⁵¹ This syncretic association before the major peak of Yoruba arrivals to Cuba from the Bight of Benin in the nineteenth century does not lend itself to a clear-cut chronological sequence of events related to the transculturation of Yoruba culture in Cuba. More obviously, La Virgen de Regla is more closely associated with Yemaya.⁵² The deep theological concepts within modern-day “Lucumí” religion and belief, especially in relation to the multiple *caminos* (lit. “paths,” but meaning avatars), such as Yemaya-Okuté, given to the more popular and powerful *òrìsà* in the Cuban pantheon, almost certainly began to develop, as Brown has demonstrated, on a much more profound level from the late-nineteenth century.⁵³ Lydia Cabrera studied Yemayá’s *caminos*,⁵⁴ from which Natalia Bolívar Aróstegui has compiled resourceful lists of the names for the various *caminos* or avatars of major *orisa*. Bolívar Aróstegui lists nineteen *caminos* for Yemaya, yet she lists well-over one hundred for the “signifying” trickster, Eleggua-Eshu.⁵⁵ As these lists make clear, the possibilities of transculturation were present in Africa and then in Cuba in infinite variety, even before the nineteenth century.

⁵¹ Oriaté Ismael Villa, Pimienta *rama*, interview with author, 10 Dec. 2011.

⁵² Elizabeth Perez, “The Virgin in the Mirror: Reading Images of a Black Madonna through the Lens of Afro-Cuban Women’s Experiences,” *The Journal of African American History* 95, 2 (2010): 202-228.

⁵³ Oriaté Ismael Villa, Pimienta *rama*, interview with author, 10 Dec., 2011.

⁵⁴ Lydia Cabrera, *Yemayá y Ochún. Kariochas, Iyalochas y Olorichas* (Madrid: Edición C. R., 1974).

⁵⁵ Natalia Bolívar Aróstegui, *Los Orishas en Cuba* (Habana: Ediciones Unión, Unión de Escritores y Artistas de Cuba, 1990).

In some Lucumí traditions, Nuestra Señora de los Rosarios has syncretized with Dáda-Bañani.⁵⁶ However, Natalia Bolívar Aróstegui claims that “Dadá (Obañeñe) syncretized with San Ramón Nonnato.”⁵⁷ In modern-day practice, Dáda-Bañani is Sango’s sister and she is said to live above Sango during the initiation of *santeros* in the Regla de Ocha. According to Brown, she sits above the *pilón* or *trono* (hour-glass or mortar shaped “throne” upon which the initiate sits). Dáda-Bañani is physically and spiritually represented by a crown, formed by an inverted half calabash the diameter of the head and adorned with beads and cowrie shells. The crown symbolizes the braids of Dáda’s hair, which represent “wealth.”⁵⁸ Today, Dáda-Bañani represents the crown, which sits on the heads of all Ocha *iyawo* during their initiations and symbolic of *ilari* head shaving and scaring/painting practices. It is also suggestive of the formation of a proto-Lucumí socio-religious schemes whereby Nuestra Señora de los Rosario, as a *jicara* crown, sits above all kings.

By the 1780s, there were references to at least two Lucumí *cabildos*. It is not known whether or not there may have been more, and there may have been others which were not official. It is also unclear if these later references are a continuation of the *cabildos* from 1755. Matt Childs has cited a document which describes how a dispute surfaced within the Lucumí *cabildo* in the 1780s between the diverse ethnicities. According to Childs,

one member recalled that “the *cabildo* was erected by the Lucumí nations, specifically the Nangas and Barbaes,” but also included members of the Chabas and Bambaras... Near the end of the eighteenth century, however, with the increase of slaves from the Yoruba region, the society divided into separate *cabildos* represented by the Nangas and Barbaes in one house and the Chabas and Bambaras in another.⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 305 and interviews with *oriaté* Ismael Villa, Pimienta *rama*, Santiago de Vegas, 4 Dec. 2011 and Ernesto Valdés Jané, dir. Proyecto Orunmila, Efucho *rama*, Regla, Habana, Jan. 2012.

⁵⁷ Bolívar Aróstegui, *Orishas en Cuba*, 114-15.

⁵⁸ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 194-195.

⁵⁹ ANC, EC 147/1, Nangas/Barbaes and Chambas/Bambaras, 1780s; c.f. Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*, 105 and 239 n. 172 and Blandine Wetohossou, “Las migraciones Africanas y Afro-Cubanos entre la llamada Costa de los Esclavos y Cuba, 1850-1886” (PhD diss., Universidad de Costa Rica, 2007), 172 n. 60. No citation for this document in Carmen Barcia, *Ilustre Apellidos*.

Based on this reference from a secondary source, none of the names of the leaders or their locations are known or were noted by Childs when he accessed this record. These four ethnonyms demonstrate that late-eighteenth century Lucumí *cabildos* included a diverse mixture of ethnolinguistic groups from the Bight of Benin interior.

The use of the term “Nangas” is rather odd in the Cuban context because it almost certainly refers to Nagô. Generally speaking, this ethnonym was used in Portuguese, French, Dutch and English colonies for Yoruba. Nagô only began to surface in the documentation from both West Africa and the Americas in the 1720s. According to Curtin, “‘Nago’ originally referred to a sub-group of the [southwestern] Yoruba, but it gradually stretched to include any Yoruba-speaking people – and perhaps any sent to the coast by Oyo.”⁶⁰ The Anago are one small Yoruba sub-group in the Ipokia/Itakete area to the southwest of Egbado, near Badagry; hence, Nagô initially specifically referred to this sub-group. Law has pointed out that “it has been suggested (and often repeated) that Nagô is a Fon coinage, originating in an insulting nickname given by them to their Yoruba neighbors,” but that is doubtful because it probably represents “a feedback of Brazilian usage.”⁶¹ Moreover, In the Cuban context, “Nangas” (much like all the shifting meanings of Lucumí) could have therefore referred to the diverse array of ethnolinguistic groups from the Bight of Benin, the Yoruba in general, the Anago-Yoruba sub-group or people enslaved by Oyo in particular. However, the rare use of this term in Cuba is most likely attributed to its rising popularity among Brazilian/Portuguese traders.

According to Law, “Nagô represented the Yoruba in general and teaming up with the Bariba fits a pattern seen since Sandoval. This Yoruba/Bariba paradigm might reflect bilinguality

⁶⁰ Curtin, *A Census*, 186-87.

⁶¹ Law, “‘Lucumí’ and ‘Nago’ as Ethnonyms,” 212.

between neighbors in Africa; or maybe this grouping was geographical rather than linguistic.”⁶² In addition, this fusion could have also happened in Cuba and not just in Africa. “Barbaes” most likely refers to the Bariba from the territory of Borgu. These are two names given to the people and region located north of the Moshi River and to the west of Nupe and the Niger River. “Bariba” is the name used by the Yoruba and the Fon of Dahomey to the south. In the early seventeenth century, the Timbuktu jurist and scholar Ahmad Baba included Borgu and Bussa (along with Yoruba, Kotokoli, Gurma, and other ethnic groups) in a list of non-Muslim peoples whom it was legitimate to enslave.⁶³ Sandoval wrote, in comparison to “the Lucumis’ markings [which] are very similar to those of the Ardas... the Lucumis Barbas have no markings but a pierce in their left nostril.”⁶⁴ Borgu were a source of slaves for internal West African, trans-Saharan and transatlantic markets.

The Wangara, who were Muslim merchants living in Borgu among the Bariba, were middlemen in Oyo’s trade in kola nuts and gold from the middle Volta basin to the Central Sudan, with salt, textiles, leather, livestock and slaves from Hausaland and Borno in return. Warfare was probably the main reason for the enslavement of many different people in the region, either in external aggression from Oyo or sold by Bariba or Wangara traders due to intra-Borgu conflicts. They could have also been enslaved through internal judicial or other non-military mechanisms. Dahomey oral traditions confirm that there was a Borgu element in Abomey, the capital of Dahomey, but these people are said to have been captives, not traders, taken in a war against the “Baribas” during the reign of King Tegbesu of Dahomey (1740-1774). In c. 1783, Oyo was at war with its northern neighbor, Kaiama, the Borgu state under its king

⁶² Robin Law, emails with author, 5-7 Mar. 2012.

⁶³ Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, emails with author, 5-7 Mar. 2012 and J. O. Hunwick, “A New Source for the Biography of Aḥmad Bābā al-Tinbukṭī (1556-1627),” *Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies* 27, 3 (1964): 568-93.

⁶⁴ Sandoval, *Treatise on Slavery*, 48.

Sabi Agba, which Law and P. Lovejoy have argued, “evidently implies that earlier either Bariba captives taken by Oyo were sold into the trade, or supplies of slaves from further inland passed to the coast through Borgu.”⁶⁵

In the second division of the Lucumí *cabildo*, according to Childs, “Chabas” almost certainly refers to Chamba. Sandoval differentiates among “Lucumis lands” by describing physical characteristics, including scarifications, tattoos, piercing and body painting.

Lucumis Chabas paint their entire bodies, and in the middle of their foreheads they paint an oval with two squares on either side of it. From the corner of their mouths, two lines extend to their ears. On each side of their heads are six lines, three that cross their neck to the ears and three more crossing their cheeks to each temple. The Caravalis also have very distinct markings, but I cannot describe all of them here because there are so many different Caravali nations, languages, and castes.⁶⁶

Much like most African cultures from the Bight of Benin hinterland, people from the Gurma cluster practiced scarification as well. Chamba traditions could have also influenced proto-Lucumí cultures. Sandoval thought scarifications and other body markings, such as tattoos, could be used as a means to identify “the different Lucumí lands.” He described the scarification for “Lucumis” (without an additional *nación* sub-classification) as

[Three] long deep lines: one encircling the length of the forehead to the nose and two on the temples. Some have another six lines on each side of the face, three that meet at the mouth and another three that arc from the brows to the nose.⁶⁷

It is impossible to know from this description whether or not scarifications represented Oyo traditions and whether Lucumí, in this context, refers specifically to Oyo or Yoruba in general.

In the Lucumí *cabildo* divisions in the 1780s, the Chambas were grouped together with the “Bambaras,” which at first glance might seem to refer to the Bambara, i.e., Bamana, of Mali.

⁶⁵ Law and P. Lovejoy, “Borgu,” 70 and 78.

⁶⁶ Sandoval, *Treatise on Slavery*, 48.

⁶⁷ Sandoval, *Treatise on Slavery*, 48.

According to Law, “The pairing of Chamba and Bambara, as non-neighboring and linguistically unrelated peoples is much odder.”⁶⁸ P. Lovejoy adds to the dilemma by stating

The problem with “Bambara” meaning Bambara is geographic distance. Bambara are in Mali, west of the Niger River and modern Bamako. Segou and Kaarta were the main states of the Bambara, which were militaristic and anti-Muslim. Bambara is also a generic term in the Senegambia region which refers to non-Muslims, and therefore these people were enslaveable. “Mandinga” is generally more closely associated with Muslims from Senegambia in the Americas, but in Cuba “Mandinga” probably included Bambara. Today, Bambara is a main language, which is mutually intelligible with Malinke and Juula/Dyula, which are spoken in modern-day Burkina Faso, but in this area the language is more likely to be called Wangara.”⁶⁹

Thus, it is highly unlikely that a Lucumí *cabildo* in the late-eighteenth century included Bambara members from the Senegambia region. If it did refer to Bambara, then the meaning of “Lucumí” would have meant anyone from West Africa, not just people from the Bight of Benin.

“Bambara” could refer to Muslims from Borgu who were known as Wangara, however. In the 1820s, Hugh Clapperton, en route to Sokoto from Badagry, arrived in Borgu via Oyo. He traveled through the eastern Borgu kingdoms of Kaiama, Wawa and Bussa. A member of Clapperton’s party, Thomas Dickson, took a more westerly route into the interior from Ouidah in the 1820s, whereby he traveled north through Dahomey. Dickson reached a place called “Shar” (presumably the Tsa people north of Dahomey), from where he intended to proceed to “Barbar,” which Lovejoy and Law have also interpreted as Bariba/Borgu.⁷⁰ Returning to the mysterious Lucumí *cabildo* from c. 1728, López Valdés’s argued that the ethnonym Amanga meant the Ibibio sub-group, Anang. However, authorities typically classified people leaving the Bight of Biafra as Carabali, not Lucumí. I argue, while leaving it open to future interpretation, that “Amanga” in c. 1728 and “Bambara” from the 1780s could both refer to Wangara – the Muslim community of Borgu that had representatives at Ouidah. If indeed this is the case, this

⁶⁸ Robin Law, emails with author, 5-7 Mar. 2012.

⁶⁹ Paul Lovejoy, emails with author, 5-7 Mar. 2012.

⁷⁰ Law and Lovejoy, “Borgu,” 70 n. 10.

identification could have been over 50 years old. In any case, these two terms do not appear to have any other connotation associated with Yoruba.

If the Nagô/Bariba and Chamba/Wangara identification is correct, then it would appear that people classified as Lucumí in Cuba in the 1780s represented a very diverse mixture of people. Three out of the four ethnonyms reflect non-Muslim groups whom Ahmad Baba had declared enslaveable; while Wangara are a most likely the Muslim (“Mallais”) traders Snelgrave reported trading at Ouidah in the 1720s. These two *cabildos* also reflect the ethnolinguistic diversity that was possible among Lucumí *cabildos* and that both Yoruba and non-Yoruba and Muslims and non-Muslims were at least in principal part both Lucumí. Further, this ethnographic evidence from the eighteenth century demonstrates that Yoruba-speakers had been arriving to Cuba prior to the 1780s. Last, these divisions also suggest that complex slave trading networks involving Oyo, Dahomey and Wangara merchants resulted in the arrival of a diverse mixture of people, including Chamba and Bariba.

There is evidence for two Lucumí *cabildos* in the late-eighteenth century.⁷¹ This evidence does not clearly establish that *cabildos* were the same two *cabildos* documented from 1755 or even the same one from 1780. In one Lucumí *cabildo* in 1783, the *capataces* were Isidro de Cárdenas and Antonio Aparicio. Members included José A. Ribero, Domingo Echevarria, Joseph Aguilar and Joseph María Santalla. A comparison of names in 1783 with those from another document dated 1788 demonstrates that Isidro de Cárdenas was *capatáz* for at least five years, while Joseph Aguilar replaced Antonio Aparicio as *capatáz* before 1788. The members in the later record were Antonio Pérez, Agustín Zaisa and Joseph Antonio Rivero. According to Carmen Barcia, the leaders were “*milicianos capataces*,” indicating that they were likely

⁷¹ ANC, EV 105/20394, Antonio Pimienta Lucumi Tembú, 1783 and Isidro de Cárdenas, 1788 and ANC, EG 277/5, Isidro de Cárdenas, 1783 and Cabildo Lucumi, Calle Jesus Maria, 1790; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417. The second of these two separate documents was also cited in Wetohossou, “Las migraciones Africanas,” 172 n. 60.

militiamen in the *Batallón de Morenos*, but none of these names appears in muster rolls from the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, probably because they did not list anyone without rank. In 1790, this *cabildo* was located on the Calle Jesús María within the *intramuros*.⁷² This street is in the immediate vicinity of *la Sabana* network documented in the 1755 *cabildo* survey, which suggests this Lucumí *cabildo*, in the southern part of the city, had been a legally inscribed institution for more than three decades.

Another Lucumí *cabildo* can be traced to the mysterious Cabildo Lucumí Amanga. One document dated c. 1783 includes the names for the *cabildo*'s co-founders from earlier in the century, Fernando Acosta, and Miguel María de Jesús Valdés, and the founding *matrona* was María Esperanza de Céspedes.⁷³ The record from the 1780s places one untitled Lucumí *cabildo* on Calle Villegas inside the city walls. López Valdés claimed the earlier *cabildo* was on the Calle de Plazuela del Santo Cristo del Buen Viaje, so its approximate location was in the northern part of the *intramuros* (Map 5 in Appendix 2). In the late-eighteenth century, the *capataces* were Antonio Pimienta Lucumí Tembú, Nicolás Palomino and Pedro Infanzón (no sub-classifications for the latter two), while the *matronas* were María Loreto Torres Lucumí Ibanya and Dolores Martínez Lucumí Allom. Some of the male leaders were affiliated with Havana's *Batallón de Morenos*. Muster rolls from 1761 list a Second Lieutenant Nicolás Palomino, who had survived the British occupation of Havana and might have been a member of one of the Lucumí *cabildos* in 1755.⁷⁴ Another muster roll for the *Compañía de Morenos Zapadores* from 1782 includes Corporal Pedro Infanzón.⁷⁵ Higher social, military and spiritual

⁷² ANC, EV 105/20394, Isidro de Cárdenas, 1788 and ANC, EG 277/5, Isidro de Cárdenas, 1783 and Cabildo Lucumí, Calle Jesús María, 1790; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417.

⁷³ ANC, EV 105/20394, Antonio Pimienta Lucumí Tembú, 1783.

⁷⁴ AGI, SD 2093, Batallón de Milicias Morenos Libres, 28 Dec., 1761. Second Lieutenant Nicolás Palomino appears therein.

⁷⁵ AGI, PC, 1368A, Compañía de Morenos Zapadores, 10 Dec., 1782. Corporal Pedro Infanzón appears therein.

rankings in Cuba, much like in Africa, reflected divisions among freedmen and slaves. Much like the royal slaves of El Cobre, It is highly possible that the leaders in the military and Lucumí *cabildos* considered themselves superior to *negros bozales*.⁷⁶

In terms of the ethnonyms from these sources, Antonio Pimienta's Lucumí sub-classification "Fembú" (as transcribed by Carmen Barcia) does not correspond to any ethnic group located in the Bight of Benin hinterland. Since capital "Fs" and "Ts" found in eighteenth century documentation are often difficult to differentiate, it is likely that term is "Tembú." According to Robin Law, "'Fembú' almost certainly does not refer to any ethnolinguistic groups found in the Bight of Benin interior and 'Tembú' does not suggest anything Yoruba."⁷⁷ According to De Marchais in the 1720s, slaves brought to Ouidah by Muslim traders included the "Quiamba" and "Tebou," among others. Philip Curtin argued that "'Quiamba,' 'Thiamba' and 'Tiamba' were associated with Chamba or Tchamba, or the broader Gurma cluster of people, which also includes Basair, Konkomba and Moba. 'Tiamba' and related terms were used on the Gold Coast and probably indicated trade via Gonja. 'Kotokoli' and more rarely, 'Nimbo,' referred to the Tem cluster of people."⁷⁸ According to Law and P. Lovejoy, "'Quiamba' evidently represents Chamba, the name of a group in the interior northwest of Dahomey, but often applied generically to those speaking languages of the Gur family to which they belong, but 'Tebou' [is] not readily identifiable."⁷⁹ P. Lovejoy has also demonstrated elsewhere that "Tiamba" was mentioned on plantations in the Americas as early as 1756, and repeatedly from 1760 onward."⁸⁰ R. Richard and G. Debien have demonstrated that "Kotokoli"

⁷⁶ Díaz, *Royal Slaves of El Cobre*.

⁷⁷ Robin Law, email with author, 7 Mar. 2012.

⁷⁸ Curtin, *A Census*, 187.

⁷⁹ Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, emails with author, 5-7 Mar. 2012.

⁸⁰ Paul E. Lovejoy, *Caravans of Kola: The Hausa Kola Trade, 1700-1900* (Zaria: Ahmadu Bello University Press Ltd., 1980), 47 n. 22;

or “Cotocoli” were included in plantation reports from 1769 onward.⁸¹ The Kotokoli emigrated from what is now Burkina Faso into the Sokode region during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries and formed a confederation of Gurma chiefdoms.⁸²

María Loreto Torres Lucumí Ibanya was one of the *matronas* in this late-eighteenth Lucumí *cabildo*. According to Robin Law, “Ibanya” could refer to Igbona, or more correctly, Igbonon, which is a short form for Igbomina, a Yoruba sub-group located east of Ilorin and south of Nupe.⁸³ By the 1780s, some of the Igbomina were tributaries to Oyo.⁸⁴ “Ibanya” could also refer to Ijanna which is an Egbado town located much closer to the coast than the Igbomina. In the published journal of the Lander brothers in the 1830s, they report that the king of Bussa had some time earlier sent a messenger to “a town near Jenna [Ijanna], in Yariba [Yoruba].”⁸⁵ In any case, it would seem as if María Loreto Torres was a Yoruba-speaker originating from the periphery of the Oyo Empire at its greatest extent.

Dolores Martínez Lucumí Allom was also a *matrona* in the same *cabildo*. Des Marchais listed “Ayois” separately among the nationalities of slaves exported through Ouidah, which meant Oyo. According to Law, “‘Ayonu’ is common among Fon-speakers to refer to Oyo. The Fon suffix ‘-nu’ means people” and adds that variations of Oyo occur, such as “‘Ailliot’ is common spelling of Oyo in French sources.”⁸⁶ The French suffix “-ot,” as in Huguenots, could also refer to a people. In other nineteenth century documentation, the ethnonyms “Ello,” “Allo,”

⁸¹ R. Richard and G. Debien, “Les origines des esclaves des Antilles,” *Bulletin de l'IFAN* 24, 1 (1963): 5 and 24; and G. Debien, “Les origines des esclaves des Antilles,” *Bulletin de l'IFAN* 25, 3 (1963): 259.

⁸² *Ibid.* and Jean-Claude Froelich and Pierre Alexandre, “Histoire traditionnelle des Kotokoli et des Bi-Tchambi du Nord-Togo,” *Bulletin de l'IFAN* 22, 1 (1960): 230, Jean-Claude Froelich, Pierre Alexandre and Robert Cornevin, *Les populations du Nord-Togo* (Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1963), 14.

⁸³ Robin Law, email with author, 5-7 Mar. 2012.

⁸⁴ Law, *Oyo Empire*, E. Krapf-Askari, *The Social Organization of the Owe*, vol. 2 (Ibadan: African Notes, Institute of African Studies, 1965), 9-12 and Ade Obayemi, “The Sokoto Jihad and the ‘O-Kun’ Yoruba: A Review,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 9, 2 (1978): 61.

⁸⁵ Lander and Lander, *Journal of an Expedition*, vol. 1, 345; c.f. Law and P. Lovejoy, “Borgu,” 72-3.

⁸⁶ Law, email with author, 5 Mar. 2012.

“Ayo,” and other variants are repeatedly mentioned in primary sources and clearly refer to Oyo. “Allom” is one of the earliest references to Oyo from Cuba in both primary and secondary sources to have survived.

It is likely this *cabildo* involved a Tem-speaking man and two Yoruba-speaking women (possible from two different Yoruba sub-groups). However, it is not entirely clear where this heterogeneous trio fits into the Nagô/Bariba and Chamba/Wangara *cabildo* division. This *cabildo* could therefore represent a third Lucumí institution in Havana. In any case, the *capatáz*, Pimienta, and *matronas*, Torres and Martínez represent a diversity of ethnolinguistic groups among these Lucumí and hence epitomize the processes of transculturation within one Lucumí *cabildo* in the late-eighteenth century.

There is little ethnographic data to be found in the documentation related to Lucumí *cabildos* during this transitional period when the *cabildos de nación* were forced outside the city walls between the 1790s and the 1810s. In 1805, Feliciano del Rey was *capatáz* of the Cabildo Lucumí Nuestra Señora de Regla, the saint equated with Yemayá.⁸⁷ Unfortunately, this source does not contain any information related to its location or if this saint meant “Yemayá” at this time, although it is likely. There also does not appear to be a clear connection between Feliciano de Rey and any of the eighteenth century Lucumí *cabildos*. His name was not listed in any muster rolls in the period around 1805.

Between 1807 and 1810, members of the Cabildo Lucumí Llané were involved in a civil trial. The ethnonym “Llané” is ambiguous. It could very well refer to a distortion of “Ayonu” or Oyo. It is equally possible that it refers to Ijanna once again. This trial involved a dispute in which the leaders, Juan Nepomuceno Montiel and Rafael Aristeguy, accused two members,

⁸⁷ ANC, EG 123/15, Cabildo Lucumi Nuestra Señora de Regla, 1805; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417

Agustín Zaiza and Antonio Ribero, of stealing 500 pesos from the *cabildo*'s treasury to buy a slave. Agustín Zaisa and Joseph Antonio Rivero were members of this *cabildo* in 1788, and may have been members or leaders of the eighteenth century Lucumí *cabildo* led by Isidro de Cárdenas and Joseph Antonio Aguilar. *Cabildo* members took advantage of the few rights afforded to them, most probably through the *fuero militar*. Clearly, they were in a high enough social position as “elite” freepersons of color that they were able to buy slaves and bring their internal disputes to the civil courts. This case also indicates the clear social differences between freedmen of color and slaves. By 1810, nothing had been settled in this dispute and the case simply trailed off while Aponte's conspiracy became the main focus of the colonial courts.⁸⁸

Summary and Conclusion

Documented reference to Lucumí *cabildos* between c. 1728 and 1810 proves that there were at least two Lucumí *cabildos* inside Havana's city walls by 1755 and perhaps others by the 1790s. Because of the Haitian Revolution, colonial authorities expelled all *cabildos de nación* from inside the walls and thereby separated them from the physical space of the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, more and more African-born people were being drafted into the military as fear of revolution spread throughout the Americas, and these people were inevitably attracted to the *cabildos* as a means of establishing their identities and obtaining their freedom. As is clear from this discussion, the meaning of “Lucumí” did not have a clear-cut definition and changed over time. Whether or not “Lucumí” was used in the seventeenth century to refer specifically to Oyo or to Yoruba in general is unclear. According to Law, no source from West Africa or the Americas explicitly equates Lucumí with Oyo. Its continued use in Cuba must therefore

⁸⁸ ANC, EC 64/6, Juan Nepomuceno Montiel y Rafael Aristeguy como apoderados de la nación Lucumí Llané contra Agustín Zaiza y Antonio Ribero sobre la estación hicieron de la caja de esta nación, 1807-1810.

represent a survival within the diaspora rather than being directly associated with the Ijesha salutation “*oluku mi*” (my friend).⁸⁹ As has been demonstrated, Lucumí referred to many ethnolinguistic groups besides the Yoruba sub-groups, including Bariba, Nupe, and others as far away as the Gurma cluster. This collection of ethnonyms indicates that the meaning of Lucumí in the late-eighteenth century included a mixture of people from the Bight of Benin.

⁸⁹ Law, “Lucumí’ and ‘Nago’ as Ethnonyms.”

CHAPTER 4

Retired Second Sergeant Juan Nepomuceno Prieto and the Cabildo Lucumí Elló, c. 1818-1835

The transformation of Lucumí identity and culture took place in the crucial period during Oyo's collapse and the increase in the number of people from the Bight of Benin in Cuba. I am arguing that in this crucial period the conceptual meaning of Lucumí underwent a significant transformation whereby Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes, most especially Changó worship, began to transculturate heavily into pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes. As established in the previous chapter, *cabildos de nación* and the *Batallón de Morenos* were two colonial institutions afforded to Africans and their descendants and the principal arenas of transculturation; and Lucumí included a diverse mixture of ethnolinguistic groups from the Bight of Benin interior. As a means to examine these processes and arenas, I will provide a biography of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto (c. 1773-c. 1835). Prieto is crucial to this argument because he was born in Africa, arrived to Cuba in the 1780s, obtained his freedom in the black militia and during his retirement became the leader of a Lucumí *cabildo* from c. 1818-1835. Prieto's biography represents a bridge linking the transmission of knowledge between pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes that had been characteristic of Lucumí identity and culture in the late-eighteenth century.

By the early-1790s, Prieto had enlisted in the military, married María Camejo and was probably a member of an *intramuro* Lucumí *cabildo*. After the Aponte Rebellion of 1812, Prieto served in the First Company in Havana, which included a two year posting at Fort Pensacola, Florida. After his discharge, he returned to Havana, where he became involved in one of the most important *cabildos* of the nineteenth century. It was known by colonial authorities in 1835

as the Cabildo Lucumí Elló, which immediately relates to influences of Oyo-centric socio-religious on Lucumí identity and culture. In this chapter, I will also examine the evidence related to the inner-workings of the Cabildo Lucumí Elló under Prieto's leadership. As outlined in the Introduction, Prieto was arrested in 1835 in relation to a disturbance involving more than twenty Lucumí *emancipados* from the slave ships *Negríto*. This disturbance will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5, but in this chapter, I will examine the evidence related to Prieto's descriptions of the religious objects and personal documents seized from his home. The written evidence clearly proves how this *cabildo* was centered on the Santa Bárbara/Changó paradigm but had also incorporated other non-Oyo socio-religious schemes, including Catholicism, and perhaps some ideas from West Central Africa.

This documentary evidence related to Prieto's *cabildo* is representative of the Cabildo Lucumí Changó Tedún, one of the most, if not the most, important Lucumí *cabildo* in the history of nineteenth century Havana. There are two sets of traditions related to Changó Tedún; one was recorded by Fernando Ortiz and the other by Lydia Cabrera. These traditions are some of the earliest datable Lucumí oral traditions ever to be recorded in Cuba. Ortiz's accounts relate to the replacement of "profane" or "unorthodox" *bàtá* drums by the "first sacred" set in Havana in the 1830s. Cabrera's account described how the Changó Tedún divided in the 1870s into two factions represented by the *viejos de nación* and *criollos*. These oral traditions have been confused, not only in relation to their historical contexts, but also within the historiography; thus their misrepresentation in the secondary literature requires clarification. I will argue that Ortiz's *bàtá* traditions describe processes of transculturation as pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes – as understood by Prieto – began to re-Africanize vis-à-vis the incorporation of more and more people from Oyo who brought Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes, such as *bàtá*

traditions, to Cuba by 1835. In consideration of Cabrera's traditions, I argue that by the 1860s, the meaning of Lucumí changed even further. As Cabrera's oral account illustrates, the transformative action that followed the ending of the slave trade ended in the 1860s was equally striking. As more and more people were being born in Cuba, the influence of the African-born population began to be replaced.

Biographical Overview of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto (c. 1773 - c. 1835)

Prieto's life can be pieced together because of the surviving documentation from his trial in 1835 and his military record. The information shows that the life of this important and well-documented leader of the Cabildo Lucumí Elló reflects military influences on the formation of Afro-Cuban cultures. The *cabildo's* archives which include Prieto's personal documents have survived and are scattered among the trial records from the 1830s, as well as records of twenty Lucumí *emancipados* who were involved in the disturbances of the 1830s and who had earlier been liberated by the Anglo-Spanish Court of Mixed Commission.¹ As is clear from the documentation, Prieto's *cabildo* was a socio-religious organization centered on an Oyo-centric ritual field. *Nación* sub-classifications, much like those explored in the previous chapters, often denoted more specific ethnolinguistic groups. By the nineteenth century, Oyo was heavily represented in the registers of liberated Africans as Elló, Alló, Eyó, among other variations, which clearly demonstrates how the identification as Lucumí was changing. Details on Prieto's personal and professional life stem from his last will, signed by the public notary Manuel Fornari, and a declaration he made to colonial authorities when he was arrested on 14 July 1835. On 10 October 1834, Prieto solicited a copy of his original will that was first made in 1832.²

¹ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles* and Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*.

² ANC, CM 11/1, Sublevacion y Prieto, 1835, 331-332v, Testamento de Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, 10 Oct. 1834.

Unfortunately, this surviving copy (of a copy) is in terrible condition and, aside from rips and tears, large sections are covered in “transparent” tape which has faded into an illegible translucent yellow. A complete transcription has been next to impossible, although through much deliberation it has been possible to extract several key excerpts.³

Much of the information on Prieto’s life comes from documentation that was seized when Prieto was arrested in 1835. He was arrested because there was a disturbance near his house on Sunday, 12 July involving Lucumí *emancipados* from the liberated slave ship *Negríto*, which was the same ship that Lorenzo Clarke, aka Òkúsonò, was on (see Chapter 2 and Appendix 1). This disturbance will be discussed in much more detail in the following chapter. Here is only important to note that on 18 July 1835, Prieto was made to give a declaration to the prosecutor Juan Bautista Velasquez and the Secretary of the *Comisión Militar* Lorenzo Batanas in relation to the Lucumí disturbance. This declaration and arrest report state the accusations made against Prieto, include details related to his life and descriptions of the religious items found in his home. His declaration confirmed that he identified as “Lucumí,” that he was *capatáz* of the Cabildo Lucumí Elló, and more importantly, that he maintained shrines dedicated to Changó.

It is not known exactly where Prieto was born. It was written in his will (and confirmed in his declaration) that he was a “native of Africa from the Lucumí *nación*.” His declaration states that he came “in the period of Sr. Gálvez Governor of this City, being a *muchachon*.” Bernardo de Gálvez (b. 1746) became governor of Havana for several months from 1784 until May, 1785, after which he replaced his father as *Capitán General* of New Spain in Veracruz,

³ ANC, CM 11/1, Sublevacion y Prieto, 1835. For Prieto’s arrest report see fol. 211-211v. For his declaration see fol. 220v-225v Testamento de Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, 10 Oct. 1834, see fol. 220v-225v. The approximate location of Prieto’s *cabildo* is in Map 5 in Appendix 2.

Mexico until his death in 1786.⁴ “*Muchachon*” makes use of the superlative for *muchacho* (boy) to mean “large boy.” Assuming Prieto arrived when he said he did in 1784-1785 and was about eleven years-old at the time, his date of birth could be c. 1773. He therefore could have been in his mid-to-late sixties at his arrest.

It is impossible to determine his ethnolinguistic origins because his place of birth, date of departure/arrival, port of embarkation, name of slave ship and his African name are not known. Later in life, Prieto identified with Lucumí and so it is highly likely, but not entirely certain, that he boarded a slave ship somewhere along the Bight of Benin. “In the period of Sr. Gálvez,” estimates from “*Voyages*” show that there were no arrivals from the Bight of Benin to Cuba between 1771 and 1785, but these figures are arguably underrepresented after the British occupation of Havana in the 1760s (see Chapter 2). Meanwhile, over 4,000 people from the Bight of Benin are estimated to have arrived to Cuba in the decade after 1786. At Oyo’s greatest extent, the busiest port was Ouidah and Oyo were the main suppliers of slaves at the coast.⁵

The evidence related to Lucumí *cabildos de nación* in the eighteenth century included Yoruba-speakers (such as Igbomina and Oyo), Chamba, Bariba and Muslim groups such as Wangara (Chapter 3). It is not known exactly where Prieto landed or if he came to the island directly because he could have arrived on a ship that stopped at various places along the African coast, or indeed via São Tomé. There was also the ever present inter-Caribbean contraband trade. In all likelihood Prieto arrived at Havana because that is where most slaves went and he was a member in Havana’s *Batallón de Morenos*. In addition, Havana was his primary residence after his retirement. There is no evidence showing who bought and re-named him Juan Nepomuceno

⁴ Gálvez was a Spanish military official whose military expeditions culminated in the recapture of Fort Pensacola, Florida in 1781, marking the moment Spain reclaimed Florida the British (who took the territory from the Spanish during the Seven Years War).

⁵ “*Voyages*.”

and even less is known about the last name Prieto. There is no evidence to suggest he ever worked on a plantation or was a domestic slave after his supposed arrival.

Prieto declared to the court that he was *Católica Apostólica de Roma* suggesting he was probably baptized in the immediate years after his arrival. In terms of his personal life, the will establishes that Prieto and Maria Camejo were “Christian husband and wife” and were married at the Santa Madre Church. There is no clear-cut indication of when or where Camejo was born, when she arrived to Cuba and other specific details related to her life. The will describes how Camejo, like Prieto, was a “native of Africa” from the “Lucumí nation.” According to Landers, marriages and baptisms “extended kin networks between the baptized and his or her godparents, and between the parents and godparents.”⁶ The will states that Prieto and Camejo had been married for “about thirty-five or forty years,” which suggests they wed sometime in the early-to-mid-1790s. They claimed they were “without any capital.” Being married by the church was also another indication of a higher social status.⁷

There does not appear to be any other archival data in the “Ecclesiastical Sources” database related to Prieto or Camejo’s baptism, marriage or deaths.⁸ Based on approximate birth and arrival dates, as well as his titles as Second Sergeant and future *capatáz*, it is highly likely that Prieto and Camejo were members of a Lucumí *cabildo* from at least the 1790s onward. Even though there is no clear documented evidence proving their earlier membership, many leaders of

⁶ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 42.

⁷ Verena Stolke, *Marriage, Class, and Colour in Nineteenth-Century Cuba: A Study of Racial Attitudes and Sexual Values in a Slave Society*, 2nd ed., (Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press, [1989] 1974), Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los A. Meriñi Fuentes, *Esclavitud, familia y parroquia en Cuba: Otra mirada desde la microhistoria* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 2008) and María del Carmen Barcia Zequeira, *La otra familia: Parientes, redes y descendencia de los esclavos en Cuba* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 2009).

⁸ Landers, et al., “Ecclesiastical Sources.”

the late-eighteenth century Lucumí *cabildos* were certainly affiliated with the *Batallón de Morenos*, which further suggests “mutual-aid societies” were recruitment offices or agencies.⁹

Havana was not the only city in Cuba at the time to have *moreno* units, but Prieto was probably stationed in the capital for most of his military career. Typical duties in the late-eighteenth and early-nineteenth centuries included patrolling between, or stationed at, the various garrisons, castles and forts located around the city on all sides of the bay (see Map of Havana in Appendix 2). In addition, *moreno* militiamen in Havana were used to control the enslaved populations. According to Childs,

The mulatto and black battalions guarded the slave ships docked in Havana’s harbor that arrived from other ports of the Americas and Africa. The militia companies escorted the human cargo from the ships, standing guard while prospective buyers inspected slaves... Militiamen of African ancestry played a vital role in the defense of slavery by hunting down runaways, conquering maroon communities called *palenques* [maroon communities], and denouncing rebellions. In the 1790s, colonial officials raised a new concern regarding the capture of runaways and the destruction of *palenques* as a result of the dramatic increase in the slave population and the insurrection in Haiti.¹⁰

Freepersons of color – whether *pardo* or *moreno* – were forming a small, but significant minority of the growing Cuban population. More importantly, freedmen not only had certain status accoutrements that caused them to be distanced from slavery, but they were also thrown into positions of power whereby they were charged with controlling the slave population. These duties would have also created large divisions between the freeperson of color and enslaved populations. Atlantic Creoles, like Prieto who spent more time in Cuba than Africa or Florida, clearly had a higher social status than the *negros de nación* or *bozales*. Prieto was an elite free person of color, with rank, who was fully aware of the privileges the *fuero militar* afforded him.

Prieto was most likely arrested because it was known that he was the leader of a *cabildo* and his elite status. The colonial authorities lived in fear that the Cuban-born population was

⁹ More research is required to determine if eighteenth century *cabildos* were recruitment offices.

¹⁰ Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*, 87-8.

constantly conspiring to overthrow the colonial regime. The Aponte Rebellion is a perfect example whereby ideologies from Haiti influenced a major insurrection which sought to make Cuba independent from Spain. According to Geggus, the Cuban colonial government, “worried as much by white liberals as by nonwhite dissidents, attempted to keep news of the French and Haitian revolutions out of the colony.” However, refugees arrived from St. Domingue and many brought their slaves with them and by the mid-1790s, slaves, white colonists, or French prisoners of war were spreading rumors of revolution, which all proved groundless.¹¹ In c. 1818, he was renting a house with his wife in Jesús Maria and organizing annual Santa Bárbara processions annually until his arrest in 1835.

Prieto exemplifies how this paranoia resulted in accusations related to conspiracies. In the hundreds of pages of documented testimonies related to the Lucumí disturbance on Sunday, 12 July 1835, Prieto’s name was not mentioned until those directly involved had been already been sentenced to death. In the arrest report, the first time his name surfaces in the *legajo*, Captain Manuel de Moya alleged that “various neighbors suspected the *negro* Juan Nepomuceno Prieto *capataz* of the *nacion* Lucumi Elló had had participation in the conspiracy of the *negros* the afternoon of the twelfth.”¹² During the trial, the *Comisión Militar* directly questioned Prieto about his position related to the Lucumí disturbance. Prieto declared that he had no involvement whatsoever “neither as a witness nor as a Criminal.”¹³ It is impossible to know if he was lying or telling the truth because Moya claimed he spoke with several witnesses who claimed to see a rowdy group leaving Prieto’s house just before the civil unrest had started. Moya wrote that “Prieto is reputed as involved at some other time in a conspiracy movement against the *blancos*,

¹¹ Geggus, “Slavery, War, and Revolution,” 133.

¹² ANC, CM 11/1, 211, Capitanía Pedáneo de Jesús Maria, 14 Jul. 1835. The date in this quote is in reference to the Havana disturbance which took place on Sunday July 12, 1835. It will be examined in more detail in Chapter 5.

¹³ *Ibid.*, 223.

the year of 1812 which demarcates the C. of Aponte” (emphasis in original).¹⁴ Implicating Prieto in the Aponte Rebellion is representative of the colonial government’s incriminatory attitudes toward freepersons of color.

Before 1812, Prieto and Aponte could have interacted because they were both enlisted in Havana’s *Batallón de Morenos*. Prieto was First Corporal in the First Company and Aponte was Captain in the Second Company. Militiamen had other professions as well and many were members of the numerous *cofradías* and *cabildos*, the latter of which were relocated outside the city walls. Aponte was a member of a confraternity established in 1800 by the guild of carpenters. The brothers were devoted to St. Joseph, the carpenter, and called themselves the “slaves of our Glorious Patron the Patriarch St. Joseph, and of Jesus, and of his Sainted Mother.”¹⁵ It is not known what profession Prieto may have had, but Knight has shown that freemen “virtually dominated such occupations as cab-driving, cooking, washing and music,”¹⁶ as well as a number of other domestic services and trades, such as carpentry, stevedores and masonry.¹⁷ Aponte also had direct involvement with *cabildo* leaders, such as Salvador Ternero leader of the Cabildo Mina Guagüi, which suggests he could have been involved with other *cabildos* too. Early in the morning of 9 April 1812, Aponte, Ternero, Juan Barbier, Tiburcio Peñalver, Juan Bautista Lisundia, Clemente Chacón and Estanislao Aguilar were all executed by hanging.¹⁸ Alluding to Aponte, the prosecutor asked Prieto where he had been in each of the months in 1812. Prieto likely saw their decapitated heads displayed around the *extramuro* neighborhoods, declaring that “he stayed in Habana until the twenty-sixth of June.”

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 211.

¹⁵ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 148 and Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*.

¹⁶ Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 96.

¹⁷ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles* and Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 120.

On 26 June 1812, shortly after Aponte, Prieto claimed that, as First Corporal, he was “put onboard the Brig of the S. M. Juan Francisco de Borjas, just like his Company, in order to serve as reinforcement at the Panzacola Garrison.” From the mid-1790s onwards, troops from Cuba’s large army began to be transferred out of Cuba to reinforce other Spanish colonies, especially Santo Domingo, Florida and Louisiana. Evidence from Florida corroborate Prieto’s claim of being stationed at Pensacola (see Appendix 5 for a complete list of soldiers serving in Pensacola with Prieto). On 28 June 1812, Antonio Ramón Romanillos wrote, “Yesterday the Brig of War the Borjas led by Colonel D. Mauricio de Zúñiga left from this Port to go to Panzacola [...] in order to take charge of the Command of that Plaza: various officials were on this brig belonging to the auxiliary units and squads; and a company of *Moreno* Militias to increase the garrison.”¹⁹

The First, Second and Artillery companies in Pensacola, Florida totaled 180 infantry and 47 artillerymen. Monthly muster rolls from Pensacola between 13 January and August 5 1814 list a First Corporal Juan Prieto in the First Company of Havana’s *Batallón de Morenos*.²⁰ According to Kuethe, “For the *pardo* and *moreno* infantry, a separate white command and staff group functioned alongside the black command group. The top veteran official was an adjutant major with the title of subinspector, who was most often a sergeant in the regular army.”²¹ In Florida, Prieto had a relatively high ranking among the soldiers in his company and before he retired he was promoted. Prieto was in Florida during the War of 1812 and was involved in the events that erupted in the Lower South – a vast territory of North America stretching from

¹⁹ ANC, FL 21/83, El Intendente da cuenta de haber salido de la Habana al de Pensacola las tropas auxiliares, 28 Jun. 1812.

²⁰ AGI, PC 256B, Primera Compañía de Morenos de la Habana, 1814. First Corporal Juan Prieto name appears therein between Jan. 13 and Aug. 5. See Appendix 5 for a list of this First, Second and Artillery Companies stationed at Pensacola, on Jan. 13, 1814. It should be noted that muster rolls could not be located in Spanish archives from 1811 through 1812. There do not appear to be any surviving muster rolls from Pensacola between 1812 and 1813 in either Spanish or Cuban archives. Prieto’s name does not appear in the muster rolls after Aug., 1814.

²¹ Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815*, 43.

Florida through the lower Mississippi Valley to Texas. This region was inhabited by large and diverse native populations, including Creeks, Seminoles, Choctaws, and Cherokees, to name only the largest groups; as well as a number of large maroon settlements.

Around the beginning of the nineteenth century, France, Britain, Spain, and the United States all had interests in Florida and the coast of the Gulf of Mexico. According to Landers, the U.S. government's long-term policy at this time was "to end British influence in the region, push the Creeks, Seminoles, and maroons out of their settlements in western and central Florida, and eventually to drive out the Spaniards as well."²² During what has been called "The Other War of 1812," Georgian "Patriots," led by Governor George Mathews, intended to deliver East Florida to the United States, as their compatriots had done with Baton Rouge during the Louisiana Purchase in 1810. This action was authorized by President James Madison and his advisers, Secretary of State James Monroe and former president Thomas Jefferson. As George Mathews seized Amelia Island and began occupying forts and plantations in Spanish territory in northern Florida, Cuba's Captain General sent several companies from Havana to help defend east Florida against the Patriots; and other companies to Pensacola to boost their defenses there.²³

In June 1812, Prieto arrived with Pensacola's governor, Mauricio de Zúñiga and was directly involved in the growing conflicts between Spain and the U.S., especially in relation to the Creek War and the Negro Fort at Prospect Bluff. Before the British evacuated the Lower South with the signing of the Treaty of Ghent in December 1814, Colonel Edward Nicholls and Captain George Woodbine established a small but well-armed fort at Prospect Bluff, on the Apalachicola River. Nicholls was a self-appointed British agent to the Creek or Red Stick

²² Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 120.

²³ Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Frontier* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954) and James G. Cusick, *The Other War of 1812: The Patriot War and the American Invasion of Spanish Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2003).

Nation. The fort was garrisoned with a large number of runaway slaves from Pensacola, Mobile, St. Augustine and Georgia. In West Florida, to the north of Pensacola, Americans under the command of General Andrew Jackson waged a series of pitched battles against the Red Sticks, in what is known as the Creek War of 1813-1814. The so-called “Negro Fort” lay within Spanish territory about sixty miles north of Pensacola. Maroons from the fort constantly raided Spanish plantations around Pensacola and protecting Spanish interests was probably his primary duty. Spanish slave-owners, like the Americans, feared they would continue to lose slaves to Prospect Bluff. They also worried that other maroon settlements would become another obstacle to maintain control of the region around Pensacola.²⁴ In May 1814, Prieto was admitted to the hospital for undisclosed injuries.²⁵ Perhaps he obtained a battle scar, which always commands a certain level of respect.

Military records from Pensacola, signed by Antonio Cabárras, show that First Corporal Juan Prieto, among nine others, set sail for Havana on 8 September 1814.²⁶ Consequently, Prieto was in Florida for just over two years (not four as he claimed) between 28 June 1812 and 8 September 1814. By the time Prieto retired from the military, Prieto had been living in Cuba for thirty years, if not more. This was almost three times longer than his early-childhood in Africa. He had been baptized and married as a Christian. He had also earned his freedom via his military service which groomed him to be a good leader and educated him in terms of his rights as a retired black soldier. His military experience also provided him with an excellent understanding of political climate in the Caribbean as Prieto’s reference to Gálvez, Aponte and Pensacola demonstrate. The American Revolution, Haiti, Aponte, among a number of other events in the

²⁴ See Chapter 3 in Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*.

²⁵ AGI, PC 250, Hospital Militar Compañía de Morenos de la Habana, 31 May 1814.

²⁶ AGI, PC 256B, Batallón de Morenos: Lista de los Individuos se embarcaron para la Habana en la Corbeta de la Real Armada la Diana, 8 Sept. 1814.

Caribbean and the Americas, as well as news and ideas from West Africa, were constantly circulating topics of conversation and shaping opinions.²⁷ For example, Prieto must have heard the dramatic news about the “miracle shot” that destroyed the Negro Fort before the United States of America took all of Florida from Spain.²⁸ It is possible to “imagine” how this might affect one’s belief during the Age of Sango. As Prieto received his last military promotion, probably for merit, he led the Cabildo Lucumí Elló from c. 1818 – c. 1835.

In numerous documents from the archives, Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, signing his own name, frequently used the full title “*Sargento 2º retirado del Batallón de Morenos.*” It is highly likely Prieto was adequately literate and he must have had an impressive understanding of Cuban slave society and the political climate in the Caribbean. It is possible that both *cabildos* and the military provided Spanish language training to new recruits. During his interrogation in 1835, the prosecutor inquired whether Prieto had ever been arrested before, whereby he declared “never,” claiming to have served in the military for “twenty-four years.” He must have retired shortly before he became *capatáz* of the Cabildo Lucumí Elló in c. 1818, suggesting he would have enlisted right around the same time he married his wife, which would have been during the Haitian Revolution. Black militiamen, who had faithfully served for more than twenty years,

²⁷ Julius S. Scott, *The Common Wind: Currents of Afro-American Communication in the Era of the Haitian Revolution* (n.p., 1986).

²⁸ C.f. John D. Milligan, “Slave Rebelliousness and the Florida Maroon,” *Prologue, The Journal of the National Archives* 6 (1974): 11, Ruth Anna Fisher, “The Surrender of Pensacola as Told by the British Source,” *The American Historical Review* 54, 2 (1949): 326-329, Kenneth Wiggins Porter, “Negroes and the Seminole War, 1817-1818,” *The Journal of Negro History* 36, 3 (1951): 249-80, J. Leitch Wright, Jr., “A Note on the First Seminole War As Seen by the Indians, Negroes, and Their British Advisors,” *Journal of Southern History* 34 (1968): 565–575, Chapter 15 in William Coker, *Indian Traders of the Southeastern Spanish Borderlands: Pantón, Leslie & Company and John Forbes & Company, 1783-1847* (Pensacola: University of West Florida Press, 1986), James W. Covington, “The Negro Fort,” *Gulf Coast Historical Review* 5 (1990): 72–91, Joel Martin, *Sacred Revolt: The Muskogees’ Struggle for a New World* (Boston : Beacon Press, 1991), Kathryn E. Holland Braund, *Deerskins and Duffels: The Creek Indian Trade with Anglo-Americans, 1683–1815* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1993), Gregory Evans Dowd, *A Spirited Resistance: The North American Indian Struggle for Unity, 1745–1815* (Baltimore, Md. : Johns Hopkins University Press, 1993), 185–190 and Nathaniel Millett, “Defining Freedom in the Atlantic Borderlands of the Revolutionary Southeast,” *Early American Studies: An Interdisciplinary Journal* 5, 2 (2007): 367–394 and Chapter 3 in Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*.

could request retirement and continue to receive a small pension after being discharged. They also continued to receive all the civil privileges and rights associated with the *fuero militar*.

By 1832, Maria Camejo was “gravely ill” and by the time Prieto gave his declaration in 1835, he was of “widowed status.” She probably passed away in c. 1832-1833 when the cholera epidemic was at its worst in Havana. According to statistics of cholera related deaths in Prieto’s neighborhood of Jesús María in March and April of that year, there were 1,196 total deaths and 756 were black.²⁹ The will states that Prieto and Camejo “do not have any heirs,” but who knows how monogamous Prieto was. With the appointment of *Capitan General* Tacón in 1834, the island’s government was intent of controlling the Cuban-born population. Freepersons of color, such as Prieto, were obvious targets of distrust which likely led to arrest in 1835. Prieto also complained that he had been sick “for a period of seven years, as the result of some fistulas in both passages.” Fistulas are painful, open sores that generally affect the gastrointestinal and urinary tracts. Prieto’s fistulas very well could have been the result of complications related to his age and cholera, a disease which decimated Havana’s population in 1833. Due to his age, deteriorating physical health, – not least to mention a number of prohibited weapons and non-Christian religious items found in his possession at the time of his arrest in relation to the accusation of his involvement with Aponte Rebellion of 1812 and the Lucumí disturbance of 1835 – it is most likely that he died or was executed shortly after his testimony. In the event of his release, which the documentation does not disclose, it is also safe to assume that nothing was returned to Prieto because his personal documents are currently housed in the national archives.

²⁹ See statistics for Jesús María in AGI, SD 1305, Sagra, *Tablas necrologicas del cholera-morbus*.

Cabildo Lucumí Elló, aka Santa Bárbara, aka Bronces, aka Changó Tedún

On the basis of materials in Prieto's personal papers, which have survived and were included in the *legajo* related to the 1835 Lucumí disturbance, it is clear that Prieto's primary residence was on Gloria Street in a district of Jesús María formerly known as *El Manglar* (The Mangrove Swamp). In 1812, when Prieto went to Florida, the population of Jesús María was over 14,000 people and growing. Nearly 75% of the population were either *pardo* or *negro* with roughly half being free persons of color and the other half slaves.³⁰ According to Carmen Barcia's study on *cabildos*, there were several non-Lucumí *cabildos* located nearby in the same neighborhood and on the same street. Gloria Street, which still exists today, begins at Egido and is about fifteen blocks long. Inside the walls, the same street is called Jesús María. In Prieto's time, the street ended at a bridge which crossed a creek emptying out into the Bay of Havana near the Castillo Atarés. This former castle not only defended the inner bay in case of foreign attack, but it also maintained social order in the predominately black neighborhood of Jesús María. Captain Moya would most likely have been stationed there. The bridge had two names, Puente de Chavez and Puente Padre Armenteros, and Prieto, residing near a swamp, surely lived close to the bridge further away from the city walls. This bridge, which no longer exists, probably went over a water source not much bigger than a creek. It used to be located in the immediate vicinity of the northwest corner of Havana's largest market, known as *Cuatro Caminos* (Four Corners). The bridge was also the main site where the Lucumí disturbance in 1835 occurred. According to various references to Lucumí *cabildo*'s from Prieto until 1910, it would appear the *cabildo* was located on Gloria Street near San Nicolás, Indio and Florida streets (see Map 5 in Appendix 1).

³⁰ AGI, PC 1866A, Resumen General de los Moradores que comprende el barrio de Jesus Maria en el año de 1812.

Prieto did not always live on Gloria Street. In early-1818, a rental agreement shows Prieto had rented, for three *pesos* and two *reales*, a house on the Calle Esperanza, which runs parallel to Gloria Street, one a block away.³¹ According to Kuethe, “the veteran lieutenants, sergeants, corporals, and drummers were expected to live in the district of their companies.”³² On 9 May 1818, Prieto relocated to Gloria Street, which served as his primary residence and the *cabildo*’s headquarters thereafter. In what seems to be a receipt of purchase, D. José Lósenos Rodríguez confirmed that “M. Guerrero sold Juan Prieto a house in the neighborhood of Jesús María for 200 pesos,” but a street name was not provided.³³ Nevertheless, the original will from 1832 states that Prieto and Camejo had purchased a house from Juan Aruca on Gloria Street. They also claimed in the 1832 to have lived on Gloria Street for “fourteen years” or since 1818.

In late-1827, a fire ravaged the neighborhood of Jesús María and Prieto lost his home. A receipt shows that Prieto rented a house on the Calle Chamorro on 1 January 1828 for an unknown period of time. In 1832, Prieto and Camejo still had an outstanding debt for two years (five pesos/year) to D. Domingo de Rivas, who, according to the will, helped rebuild their house. Since at least 1828, a receipt also shows Prieto was paying five *pesos* per year in rent to Domingo de Rivas for a *terreno* (piece of land) adjacent to his house. The same receipt shows the *terreno* measured “seven *varas* in the front and thirty in the back.”³⁴ In 1801, one *vara* (rod or pole) was anywhere between usually between 32 and 43 inches (about 80 to 108 centimeters). Prieto’s backyard was large enough to host many of the *cabildo*’s functions, as it clearly did. In this period, these sums of money were quite large for a freeman, suggesting how Prieto was among the elite of freepersons of color in Havana.

³¹ ANC, CM 11/1, 276.

³² Kuethe, *Cuba, 1753-1815*, 43.

³³ *Ibid.*, 279.

³⁴ *Ibid.*, 226.

The *cabildo*'s archive demonstrates that Prieto was an impressive and well-organized *capatáz*. He was posting bonds, interceding in work agreements, holding money and making *coartación* payments. He not only arranged for the delivery, postpartum care, and Christian baptism of children, but he also planned funerals and paid for burials.³⁵ It is likely the principal function of Prieto's *cabildo* was a funeral service or burial society. In one example in 1827, Prieto was able to organize a wake "with the husband, children and friends of the deceased María del Rosario Torres."³⁶ He persuaded authorities with a "greasing of silver." In another example, he hosted a service for María Regla de Cárdenas, whereby he paid for "a bottle of arrowroot, 12 [bottles] of *aguardiente*, 4 vials of ginger, 12 bottles of dry wine, 6 [bottles] of *aguardiente* from the Island, 3 cheeses and other various effects."³⁷ The two last names, Torres and Cárdenas, indicate yet another tentative connection to the Lucumí *cabildos* from the late-eighteenth century. María Loreta Torres (Lucumí Ibanya) was a former *matrona* of one *cabildo*, while Isidro Cárdenas was *capatáz* of the other, which means Prieto could have respected both Lucumí *cabildos* from the late-eighteenth century. But whether the funerals Prieto hosted were for those former leaders' families is inconclusive. Nevertheless, these funeral services were very important if Prieto had held on to the receipts and paid bribes to the authorities. By 1827, authorities had prohibited *cabildo* funeral processions among the *pardo*, *moreno* and *negro* populations.³⁸

The patron saint of Prieto's *cabildo* was decisively Santa Bárbara. Her festival day is on Dec. 4. Prieto had copies of the following image of Santa Bárbara (Image 4.1). Saint Bárbara's hagiographical discourse is extensive. Harry F. Williams has provided an excellent assessment of this saint's mythology through the ages

³⁵ For more descriptions see Chapter 4 in Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*. Reis, *Death is a Festival*.

³⁶ ANC, EV 250/18; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 186.

³⁷ *Ibid.*

³⁸ Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 186.

Fig. 4.1: Santa Bárbara³⁹



LONG HONORED in the Greek, Latin, Russian, and Syriac churches, Saint Barbara was the patron of armories, artillerymen, gunsmiths, carpenters, masons, miners; she was invoked against storms, thunderbolts, sudden death, and final impenitence...

If her historical basis is scant, her legendary life is quite otherwise, for manuscripts appear in Greek, Latin, Syrian, and Romance languages recounting her life and martyrdom, miracles performed through her intercession, exempla emphasizing her power and glory... Conquistadores in the New World named towns after her almost as freely as inhabitants of the Old World so designated churches.

Main features of St. Barbara's *Passio* are quickly told. She was the only daughter of the pagan Dioscorus [who might have lived near Nicomedia, now Izmit in present day Turkey]. To protect her beauty from the eyes of men and to preserve her from evil, her father built a tower where she lived apart from the world. Many men unsuccessfully sought her hand in marriage.

Before beginning a journey, Dioscorus ordered the construction of a magnificent bath for his daughter. On his return, he learned that she had destroyed his idols and changed the plans from two to three windows in order to symbolize the Holy Trinity.

He drew his sword to kill her. The floor broke away beneath her and carried her miraculously to a mountain peak where two shepherds guarded their flocks. Dioscorus pursued his daughter and learned of her whereabouts from the second shepherd. The last was punished by being turned to stone and his sheep into locusts.

The cruel father seized Barbara and dragged her back to the city. [She was handed] over to the prefect Martianus, she [was] tortured to make her recant. At night the Lord appeared, comforted her, and healed her wounds. The next day she endured more suffering: [her] sides torn open, wounds lacerated, head battered, breasts cut off, paraded naked through the streets. Finally she is decapitated by her own father. As punishment, fire from heaven consumed him utterly. A certain Valentin buried the saint at whose tomb many miracles took place.⁴⁰

³⁹ ANC, CM 11/1, (loose folios and more than a dozen copies).

⁴⁰ Harry F. Williams, "Old French Lives of Saint Barbara," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 119, 2 (1975): 156-57.

As Prieto's interpretation of Santa Bárbara and the conflation with Sango makes clear, culture is constantly in the process of reinventing and redefining itself vis-à-vis processes of transculturation, juxtapositions, imagination and creativity. It is quite simple to inculturate *òrìsà* mythology into Santa Bárbara's myth. For example, the tower and mountains could certainly represent Oduduwa or Obatala; hence the "origins" of kingship. The image of the sword could reflect the Sword of Justice brought to Old Oyo from Ife during the *Aláàfin*'s coronation. Santa Bárbara, Sango and the *Aláàfin* come to represent transformative action and collective re-action centered on the central theme of resistance, articulated in a universal grammar which describes a reversal of authority, the "hot" must be "cooled." They are simple transgressions of humanity which require ritualized knowledge to keep everything in check.

Although the reasons are not known, Captain General Francisco Dionisio Vives granted Prieto a license to host Santa Bárbara dances and diversions in his home at least since 1824. However, the fire of 1827 destroyed the *cabildo*'s original license, and on 7 November 1828, Prieto sought help to write a letter to the bishop of Havana requesting a new license (the letter is clearly not in his writing and refers to Prieto in the third person). Therein, he did not represent himself as *capatáz* of the *cabildo*, but chose to use his full military title, "Retired Second Sergeant of the *Batallón de Morenos*." This document states that "it has been nine consecutive years" since he devotedly held "a festival on the day of Santa Barbara, patron of his house," demonstrating he had held a license since at least 1819. Six receipts between 1824 and 1834 show Prieto had paid six *pesos* and four *reales* to host Santa Bárbara festivals on 4 December. This festival license "granted 40 days of indulgence to the faithful who make prayers before [her] image."⁴¹ If Prieto was awarded forty days to celebrate Santa Bárbara, the festival would

⁴¹ Letter is cited in Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 184-85.

have continued through Christmas, the New Year and the most widely remembered and well-documented colonial holiday, the *Día de Reyes*, held on 6 January. This letter also describes how on the eve of the festival they celebrated “a mass containing music” and everything was paid for “at his cost.” The letter to the bishop also describes how the procession started at Prieto’s house and went to the auxiliary church of Jesús María.

Colonial holidays could have had special meaning for people of Yoruba descent in Cuba because they are comparable to annual festivals in Yorubaland.⁴² It was an annual festival commemorating “kings,” much like the *bèrè* festival in Oyo. In Oyo, the *bèrè* festival marked the anniversary of the *Alààfin*’s reign or when a new *Alààfin* was installed. It was also one of three days he made a public appearance and the day when the subject kingdoms sent a representative to the capital of Oyo to pay tributes in the form of *bèrè* grass. The grass was used to thatch roofs and feed the royal cavalry. The *bèrè* festival was described by Hugh Clapperton, a British diplomat who was in the capital “Eyeo” on 22 February 1826. He observed a number of people arriving to pay their annual visit to the king, and the custom of officials from the different towns to act in what he called plays or pantomimes.⁴³ In terms of idioms of kinship, power and sovereignty, the *bèrè* festival represented the power of the king’s person as the symbolic embodiment of Sango instead of the authority of the *Alààfin* over his subjects.⁴⁴

Prieto’s letter to the bishop also describes during these festivals how this Lucumí *cabildo* represented itself with a *bandera* (flag) that had a “decent painting” of Santa Bárbara “in a golden frame and carried on a pole.”⁴⁵ This description almost certainly refers to the often cited

⁴² Elizabeth Perez, “The Virgin in the Mirror: Reading Images of a Black Madonna Through the Lens of Afro-Cuban Women’s Experiences,” *Journal of African American History* 95, 2 (2010): 202-228.

⁴³ Bruce Lockhart and P. Lovejoy, *Hugh Clapperton*, 160.

⁴⁴ H. Lovejoy, “Annual Yoruba Festivals.”

⁴⁵ ANC, CM 11/1, Sublevacion y Prieto, 1835; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 184.

banner displayed in *La Casa de África* museum in Havana. It reads in gold embroidery, LA SOCIEDAD DE SOCORROS MUTUOS DE SANTA BARBARA, AÑO 1820 (The mutual aid society of Santa Bárbara, 1820). Brown has provided an excellent picture and description of the Lucumí *bandera* in *Santería Enthroned*. He has written,

The red silk banner – red being the principal color of Santa Bárbara – probably also included the saint’s image in its circular central field, the border of which is embellished with floral, and other organic decorative motifs... [which] might be doubly read as the zigzag iconography of lightening associated with Changó. The banners of the *cabildos de nación* played with the iconography of apical worldly and spiritual authority, particularly through their use of such royal representations as royal coats of arms, headgear, and the iconography of the societies’ spiritual patrons. In doing so, they inscribed messages of both overt and covert allegiance... It is thus not surprising that *cabildo banderas* could inscribe political messages during the public, liminal, and even potentially dangerous moment of carnival, when massive numbers of enslaved and minority populations filled the streets. In the first half of the nineteenth century, among the blacks and the white Creole owning class, Santo Domingo was not forgotten.⁴⁶

This infamous banner, which has often been connected to the Cabildo Lucumí Changó Tedún, very likely belonged to Juan Nepomuceno Prieto himself. The banner could have been a symbol of Oyo hegemony, much like the large umbrellas made for the *Aláàfin* in Oyo.

During processes of transculturation, Fernando Ortiz argued that the dress and accessories of the colored population in these processions were “taken” and “borrowed” from Iberian and colonial institutions of monarchy, military and the slave owning classes. He added that *cabildo* kings came out on the Day of Kings in “long military coats, starched shirts, enormous ties, flamboyant double-peaked hats, gold braid and loud, wide sashes across the chest, decorations, swords on the belt, great staffs with silver points – a symbol of authority... all of these adornments.”⁴⁷ As depicted in Victor Patricio Landaluze’s 1878 painting of the Day of Kings festival, the queens wore “puff-shouldered, flowing gowns with petticoats, jewelry, and large umbrellas.”⁴⁸ Being a retired officer, Prieto would have had these adornments and the

⁴⁶ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 37-38.

⁴⁷ Ortiz, *Los cabildos y la fiesta*, 6-9; c.f. Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 39 and Judith Bettelheim, *Cuban Festivals: A Century of Afro-Cuban Culture* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001).

⁴⁸ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 40.

finances to purchase clothes for his wife. Clearly there was a major difference between annual festivals in West African and those from Cuba. Regardless, a comparison of these festivals shared common elements, which reflect complex processes of transculturation.

Santa Bárbara was the most revered in the *cabildo*, but Prieto kept formerly printed images dedicated to a number of other saints. They included: Nuestra Señora de los Remedios, Nuestra Señora del Carmen and Nuestra Señora de Monserrate (Fig. 4.2, 4.3 and 4.4).⁴⁹

Fig. 4.2: Nuestra Señora de los Remedios

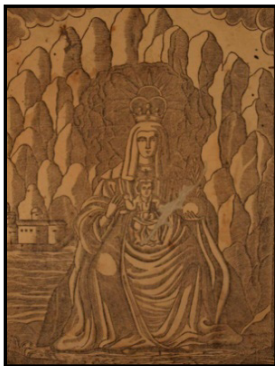


Fig. 4.3: Nuestra Señora del Carmen



Fig. 4.4: Nuestra Señora de Monserrate



All saint images were printed at the Boloña Press located on Obrapia Street in the *intramuros*. Brown lists of twenty *orisa*/saints pairings or and their festival days. Nuestra Señora del Carmen is associated with Naná Burukú, meanwhile he does list Monserrate.⁵⁰ Bolívar Aróstegui lists over fifty *orisa*/saint pairings (not including all the *caminos*, but providing many regional variations between different parts of the island). In Havana, Nuestra Señora del Carmen goes with Oyá Iyansá and Monseratte goes with Yewá.⁵¹ Naná Burukú lives in the cemetery and Yewá lives between the tombs and corpses. Oyá lives at the gates of cemeteries and carries souls from the earth to the underworld. According to Bolívar Aróstegui, “Oyá always accompanies

⁴⁹ Loose pages and multiple copies of these images scattered throughout ANC, CM, 11/1, Sublevacion y Prieto, 1835.

⁵⁰ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 305.

⁵¹ Bolívar Aróstegui, *Los Orishas en Cuba*, 136 and 127.

Changó into every battle... [She is a] major òrìsà, and one of Changó's lovers, owner of lightening, storms and in general the winds."⁵² She is the goddess of tornados and hurricanes. Among the pre-Colombian Taínos in the Caribbean, "'huracán' was the name of powerful demon given to periodic displays of destructive fury."⁵³ In Prieto's lifetime, he could have experienced over twenty hurricanes of varying magnitudes;⁵⁴ thus epitomizing the combined fury of Oyá and Changó. According to Brown, Oyá could either be Nuestra Señora de Candelaria or Nuestra Señora de Santa Teresa.⁵⁵ While it is not known with any certainty what the pairings of these three saints were like in Prieto's time, based on these combinations the relationship to death, cemeteries and funerals relates to the function of *cabildo*'s as colonial funeral homes.

The iconographic representations of multiple saints found in the *cabildo*'s archive demonstrate that Santa Bárbara was a front, masking what was really going on behind the scenes. Prieto had other religious beliefs because authorities confiscated and described a number of religious items found in his home. In the arrest report, Captain Manuel de Moya described

I went into [Prieto's] home and I saw at different points in it a countless number of dolls and trinkets symbolic of his *brujería* [witchcraft]: a staff with different adornments, a small [doll] with a mirror in the belly and various other [dolls] stuck in the ground; and in the patio there was a *cadavera* [corpse or skull] of a man covered with a *jícara* [open-faced calabash] and also planted below it a *cazuela* [cauldron] which contained many bones, forthwith were present an elephant's tusk which depicts a face and another item which forms a cat-o-nine-tails with strands of silk and a twisted wooden handle, two liters of gunpowder and one more packet with bullets, a rifle, and a saber; and other various things that would be difficult to relate.⁵⁶

During Prieto's interrogation before the military commission, Prieto was made to identify the items that Moya seized from his home. Amazingly, he was not shy in revealing additional meanings associated with his ritualistic objects and spirituality, even though he must have known

⁵² *Ibid.*, 123.

⁵³ Louis A. Pérez Jr., *Winds of Change: Hurricanes & The Transformation of Nineteenth-Century Cuba* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2001), 17.

⁵⁴ Sherry Johnson, *Climate and Catastrophe in Cuba and the Atlantic world in the Age of Revolution* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011).

⁵⁵ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 305.

⁵⁶ ANC, CM 11/1, 224.

that his descriptions were self-incriminating. Most of the objects Prieto described were almost always attached with the phrases “for his orations” or “prayers for his health.”

Prieto’s declaration provides the most comprehensible evidence pertaining to his Lucumí religious beliefs of proto-Lucumí socio-religious schemes. Prieto declared

The biggest doll, which has a sediment of blood on its chest from a Pigeon and other animals, is called Changó which is the same as saying King, or Santa Barbara, who they venerate like God. Likewise, a very small wooden doll with a mirror in its belly, which was installed with a machine, and some garnishments of kidney beans, signifies it is the large doll’s son, which the children play and dance with... A vessel with shaving utensils... A stick, with a silk cat-o-nine-tails, is called Opachangó signifying that it is the scepter of the King... A piece of elephant tusk with two faces engraved in it serves as a small bell to call to God: Two pieces of iron rods, with adornments of the same metal, are used for lightning rods. (Underlines for emphasis appear in the original document).⁵⁷

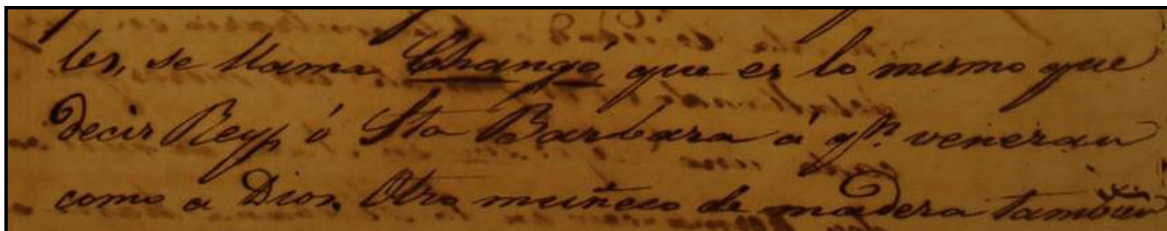
Changó’s iconography, such as the thunder axe, hour-glass shaped mortars and *bàtá* drums, are some of the unmistakable evidence of Oyo culture transplanted across the Atlantic in Cuba. The “Opachangó,” or scepter, symbolically represents African iconography of royalty and is commonly used in rituals, which were occurring due to the documented sediment of blood on the Changó shrine. It probably represents Sango’s thunder-axe. According to William Bascom’s observations of Cuban Santería, “the foundations of their form of worship are the stones, the blood, and the herbs [...] While Catholicism is outwardly embraced, it is inwardly rejected; and the stones, the blood, and the herbs have become, perhaps unconsciously, a rallying point for the defense of the African religious tradition.”⁵⁸ Rocks, an important element in *òrìsà* worship, were not taken from Prieto’s house probably because colonial authorities did not understand or take into account their spiritual value.

Image 4.5 is a sample of the documentation related to Prieto which includes the reference to Changó and Santa Bárbara.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 224v-225.

⁵⁸ Bascom, “Focus of Cuban Santería,” 66.

Image 4.5: Evidence of Changó in Prieto's Declaration (1835)



In Spanish, the quote is, “se llama Changó que es lo mismo que decir Rey, ó Sta. Bárbara á que veneran como a Dios.”⁵⁹

“The small wooden doll with a mirror in the belly,” or “the son of the large doll,” hence Changó/Santa Bárbara, has been more difficult to identify. In fact, every one of my informants in Cuba (and thesis advisers) seems to think this reference refers to *nkisi* dolls from West Central Africa. Landers has also argued it might be a *nkisi*.⁶⁰ In Palo Monte, human bones are called *nfumbe* (dead one), practices as they are the fundamental in the building of *nganga* or *prendas*, which are housed in iron *cazuelas* or cauldrons. The presence of various bones in a *cazuela* in Prieto’s *cabildo* could be representative of Palo craft.⁶¹ Palo Monte is associated with Congo-based practices deriving from Bantu-speaking groups in West Central African. It would seem more likely that these practices were occurring in Congo *cabildos*, not Lucumí, even if it is possible that a lateral syncretism of Lucumí and Congo deities, such as Changó and Siete Rayos (seven lightning bolts). Mirrors are commonly used to peer into the metaphysical world of spirits.⁶² Todd Ramón Ochoa wrote, “The illicit markets that thrive in the cemeteries of Havana are worthy of in-depth, complex study.... The guards and diggers sell skulls and other bones.... Prices vary slightly from *nfumbe* to *nfumbe*, but three hundred Cuban pesos has remained a

⁵⁹ ANC, CM 11/1, 225v.

⁶⁰ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 150.

⁶¹ See Ochoa, *Society of the Dead: Quita Manaquita and Palo Praise in Cuba* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010), 160-1.

⁶² Jean Comaroff and John L. Comaroff, *Of Revelation and Revolution* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, [1991] 1997).

steady price for over 20 years.... In 1997, there was a dragnet in the various Guanabacoa cemeteries that led to the arrest of a network of grave diggers, guards, and administrators. It was revealed that more than forty nfumbe were taken from one Guanabacoa cemetery in that year alone.”⁶³ During the cholera epidemic, human bones were in great supply.

In consideration that the small doll, and brother to Changó, might not be a *nkisi*, Ernesto Valdés Jané, director of *Proyecto Orunmila*, considers this reference to be Ibeyi because this doll is “the son of the larger one.” Ibeyi are twin son and daughter of Changó and Ochun (even though Yemayá is believed to have created them). They are the patron *òrìsà* of children.⁶⁴ This explanation does not logically make much sense because twins come in pairs. In addition, Ibeyi do not have a mirror embedded in the stomach. Joaquín Segara Echevarría, an *oriaté* of more than forty years, claims this is a reference to Ochosi, who syncretized with San Norberto and is a warrior *òrìsà*, the symbol of law, justice and sustenance. In Cuba, they consider Ochosi to be associated with Ketu, a Yoruba kingdom in between Oyo and Dahomey. According to legend, he is the son of Changó and lives inside Ogún’s iron *cazuela* (cauldron). Ochosi and Ogún are brothers, while the former is represented by the bow and arrow. According to Echevarría, Ochosi sometimes has mirrors on the front and back of his head.⁶⁵ Accordingly, Ochosi seems a much more likely candidate than the Ibeyi twins, but the practices in Prieto’s time could have been completely different, especially since this reference has caused debates among modern-day Ocha and Ifá practitioners, especially since practices could have been very different in the 1830s.⁶⁶

⁶³ See Todd Ramón Ochoa, *Society of the Dead*, 160-1 and *Tata Nganga Briyumbia* Alexander L. Ramirez, interviews, *misas* and *rayamientos* with author, March, 2012.

⁶⁴ Ernesto Valdés Jané, director of Proyecto Orunmila, Efuche *rama*, interviews with author, 12 Mar. 2011.

⁶⁵ *Oriaté* Joaquín Segara Echevarría, Pimienta *rama*, interview with author, 13 April, 2012.

⁶⁶ Wyatt MacGaffey, *Kongo Political Culture: The Conceptual Challenge of the Particular* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2000).

Besides the objects which exclusively relate to Changó, Prieto identified a human *cadavera* buried in his back yard “is used to pray to the *muertos*.” In modern Spanish, the word for “*cadáver*” means “cadaver,” while “*calavera*” means skull. In this context, “*cadevera*” most likely refers to “skeletal remains,” but it could just as easily mean “skull.” “*Muertos*” translates as “dead,” but this word is used interchangeably with *egún* or spirits of the dead. Among many African belief systems and virtually all the Afro-Cuban religions, bones, most especially human bones, are spiritually charged ritual objects of the highest degree. All major rituals of *Santería* and Palo Monte must begin by respecting the ancestral spirits. It is possible for *casa-templos* to have the skeletal remains of their ancestors buried in the *terrenos* of their houses. When I visited the *casa-templo* Orichaoko in the neighborhood of Parraga, Havana, Enrique Villalba, the head *babalawo*, proudly showed me where the remains of his ancestor were buried.⁶⁷ This body and other bones probably related to *egún* ceremonies. Prieto had a *terreno* with skeletal remains buried inside. Again, this relates to the function of this *cabildo* as a burial society.

Prieto also had “a *cadavera* of a *chivo* and several other bones,” which Moya found in a *cazuela* underneath the human bones. A *chivo* is a young male goat and the preferred meal of *egun*, as well as Changó (even though this is not exclusive to either or the only animal they “eat”). A common ritual in Ocha practices is to give a goat to the earth for *egún* (*dar un chivo a la tierra para los muertos*). In this ceremony, a grave is dug and a young male goat is sacrificed, its blood spilled into the grave and corpse buried in the ground. During a number of incantations to the *muertos*, everyone present must clean themselves with and throw various food items, such as beans, fish, eggs, grains, etc..., into the pit on top of the goat’s corpse. Afterwards, everyone

⁶⁷ Enrique Villalba, head *babalawo* at the *casa-templo* Orichaoko in the neighborhood of Parraga, Havana, interview with author, 30 March, 2011.

present takes turns putting shovels of dirt until the grave is filled.⁶⁸ Moya described that the goat bones were buried beneath the corpse, so perhaps the ceremony in this context fed the ground a goat and then laid the body, whoever it was, to rest.

In a purely Oyo-centric context, it is possible that the buried bones also represent *egún* worship, even if the cauldron has more associations with Palo Monte. Most modern-day practitioners of Ocha and/or Ifa also partake in Palo craft. Most *babalaos* in Cuba have ritualized restriction whereby these Ifa priests are not allowed to be in possession. The cauldron could also represent Ogún, the god of iron and war, but as Changó's mortal enemy, this seems less likely.⁶⁹ Returning to the images of saints and plausible *òrìsà* associations, all three *òrìsà*, Oyá, Yewá and Naná Burukú live in the cemetery, at the gates, on the grounds and in the ground. At Prieto's arrest, a human body was buried in *terreno*. While it is not known who was buried in Prieto's *terreno*, there is distinct possibility that it could have been Prieto's wife, María Camejo. She died around the time the cholera epidemic was at its worst. Most people were dumped in mass graves outside of the city and perhaps authorities enforced the funeral procession prohibitions with greater care. But, nothing would be more disrespectful to *egún* than an improper burial and almost entirely unacceptable if she was the wife of the king. In this *terreno*, there were also "a large number of dolls in the shape of *palitroques* [stick figures] which are driven into the ground." I have never seen this practice in Cuba and none of my informants have heard of this custom, but given the large number of deaths in 1833 due to cholera, it is possible that each of the "stick figures" might have represented Prieto's deceased friends and *cabildo* members who did not receive a proper burial at the worst of cholera.

⁶⁸ Ana Clara Tamayo, Pimienta *rama*, interviews and rituals with author, Oct. 2011 – May 2012.

⁶⁹ The tensions between Sango and Ogun are well documented in Matory, *Sex and The Empire* and Sandra T. Barnes, *Africa's Ogun: Old World and New* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1989).

From among the objects listed, Prieto identified more musical instruments, including an engraved elephant tusk, made into a bell, which was “used to call to God.” Ivory is usually a material associated with Oduduwa and Obatalá. So, perhaps these ivory bells recognize, as all the sub-groups do, that Oduduwa is the founder of monarchy and the king of all kings. They could be an *iroke Ifa*, the ivory tapper or bell that calls Orunmila for divination. Other items, which symbolically represent Oduduwa and Obatalá, included a “stick with a white tail, adorned with various ribbons and beads has no other importance other than praying for the health of every christian... and is also useful to dance with.” Royal fly whisks (Lucumí *iruké*; Spanish *rabo*) generally accompany the iconography of Obatalá (white). Changó’s dance wand is the thunder axe, which is most likely the Opachangó scepter or staff described above. According to Brown, “as extensions of the hand, they serve to invoke, and activate the *orichas*’ potential for transformative action in the phenomenal world and a momentary snapshot of the process of transculturation.”⁷⁰

***Bàtá* Drums and the Cabildo Lucumí Changó Tedún⁷¹**

There are few Lucumí traditions, if any, that describe specific and datable events in the eighteenth century. One of earliest datable traditions was recorded by Fernando Ortiz in relation to a Cabildo Lucumí Changó Tedún from “the 1830s.” Ortiz’s account relays a story about the construction, consecration and history of *bàtá* drums in Cuba. As argued elsewhere, *bàtá* drums have yielded a vision of Oyo-centric socio-religious schemes symbolically interconnected across the Atlantic World. The combination of comparable oral data related to the drums in West Africa and Cuba, the collapse of Oyo during the peak in the transatlantic slave trade to Cuba clearly

⁷⁰ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 184-5.

⁷¹ I have elected to use Ortiz’s spelling of Changó Tedún.

demonstrate the symbolic re-establishment of Oyo politics, society and culture via the continued use and oral traditions associated with *bàtá*.⁷² In West Africa and Cuba, *bàtá* drums are easily identifiable because they are a trio of double-headed, hourglass-shaped instruments, which are said to belong to Sango. In light of the evidence on Prieto, Ortiz's oral traditions related to *bàtá* drums require yet another (re)interpretation. In order to begin to examine those traditions, it is necessary to clarify how these traditions have been misrepresented time and time again by scholars in the secondary literature. To complicate matters, they are sometimes confused with Lydia Cabrera's traditions related to a second or third Cabildo Lucumí "Changó Terddún" in the 1870s. As a result, both sets of Cuban oral traditions need to be positioned side by side in their proper historiographical contexts and in relation to the Cabildo Lucumí Elló.

Palmié has used Ortiz's oral account on the "sacred institution" of *bàtá* in Cuba to flesh out processes of "culture building" in relation to the ritualized bodies of technical, herbal and musical knowledge, which are recreated and disseminated through lineages of *bàtá* drummers. Ortiz's published account has hugely influenced those traditions.⁷³ According to Brown, *bàtá* drum traditions exemplify the reconstitution of "Lucumí religious knowledge in a pluralistic setting of exchange and intercommunication."⁷⁴ Their physical construction must adhere to a strict set of measurements in relation to the size each of the small, medium and large drums that constitute each set. Inside consecrated sets, there must be spiritually charged materials which

⁷² Frobenius, *The Voice of Africa*, 204-27, Johnson, *History of the Yorubas*, 121, Bascom, *Drums of the Yoruba*, Timi de Ede, "Los Tambores Yoruba," Thieme, "Yoruba Musical Instruments," Euba, *Yoruba Drumming*, Apter, *Critics and Kings*, Mason, *Orin Òrìsà*, Rodriguez, *Sacred Rhythms*, Lacerda, *Yoruba Drums from Benin*, Rodriguez, *Música Folclórico-Popular de Cuba*, Roy, *Cuban Music*, Bencomo, "Sacred Bata Drums," Marks, *Songs for the Orishas*, Hagedorn, *Divine Utterances*, Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, Sublette, *Cuba and Its Music*, Marcuzzi, "Bàtá Drumming in Cuban Òrìsà Worship," Corrêa, *O batuque do Rio Grande do Sul*, Klein, *Yorùbá Bātá Goes Global*, H. Lovejoy, "Drums of Sàngó" and Villepastour, *Ancient Text Messages*.

⁷³ Stephen Palmié, "Ethnogenic Processes and Cultural Transformations in Afro-American Slave Populations," in *Slavery in the Americas*, ed. Wolfgang Binder (Würzburg: Königshausen and Neumann, 1993), 339-40.

⁷⁴ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 62-64.

represent the physical embodiment of Ayan, the *òrìsà* of drumming. When they are played together they are “talking drums” which reproduce the tones of the Yoruba language via complex polyrhythms. Beyond their socio-religious functions in Lucumí culture, they have also had a huge impact on Lucumí historiography.

Changó Tedún has been misrepresented in the secondary literature. Franco argued in 1963 that Aponte was *capatáz* of the famous Cabildo “Shangó-Tedum.”⁷⁵ For more than thirty years, a number of historians have treated this unsubstantiated notion as historical fact.⁷⁶ By the late-1990s, Aponte was, in Geggus’s words, “a Shango priest,”⁷⁷ and a year later, Philip Howard argued that the *capatáz* Aponte “was [also] a member of the secret society of Yorubaland, the Ogboni.”⁷⁸ More recently, scholars have largely debunked these earlier assumptions. Palmié has weighed in on the relationship between Aponte and the famous Lucumí *cabildo*. He wrote

As Franco tells us – again on the basis of anything *but* documentary evidence – Aponte, not just thought of himself as a lucumí (whatever that may have meant in early-nineteenth-century Cuba), but was also a priest of Changó, the imperial deity of Oyo whose cult, not only had traveled in the wake of this Yoruba polity’s military expansion across large parts of Yorubaland and Dahomey, but seems to have taken root in the New World no later than the second half of the eighteenth century.⁷⁹

In his in-depth analysis on the Aponte Rebellion, Matt Childs also criticized Franco’s connection between Aponte and Changó Tedún. He argued that

If Aponte was a member of the *cabildo* Chango-Tedum or any other *cabildo* for that matter, it never entered the court record during his more than twenty hours of testimony... Further, neither Aponte’s name nor the *cabildo* Chango-Tedum could be found among the *cabildo* records detailing more than fifty societies that operated at the time of the rebellion... Nonetheless, this does not mean that Aponte had no knowledge of or associations with *cabildos*.⁸⁰

⁷⁵ Franco, *Conspiración de Aponte*, 25 and Franco, *Conspiraciones de 1810 y 1812*, 13. This *cabildo* is famous because of oral traditions recorded by Ortiz and Cabrera in the early-to-mid twentieth century. Those oral traditions are presented and discussed in much more detail in Chapter 5. They relate to the consecration of *bátá* drums.

⁷⁶ Examples include Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood*, 123-25, Geggus, “Slavery, War, and Revolution,” 15, Hall, *Slavery and African Ethnicities*, and Philip A. Howard, *Changing History: Afro-Cuban Cabildos and Societies of Color in the Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998), 73-78.

⁷⁷ Geggus, “Slavery, War, and Revolution,” 15.

⁷⁸ Howard, *Changing History*, 73-4.

⁷⁹ Palmié, *Wizards and Scientists*, 90.

⁸⁰ Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*, 144-45.

Franco's assumption is therefore a misrepresentation of historical fact because he did not use written evidence to confirm Aponte was either Lucumí or a *capatáz*. Carmen Barcia has also recognized Franco's confusion. She has argued that Franco made this mistake because Aponte lived on Calle Jesús Peregrino, which was the same street name Cabrera recorded an oral tradition related to the 1870s.⁸¹ Her traditions, along with Ortiz's, will be presented momentarily.

Jan Vansina argues that historians cannot accept oral traditions as a source on their own and that they should always be corroborated, if available, with other documents from the same time period.⁸² In Cuba's national archives, there are at least three documented examples of Lucumí *cabildos* in Havana in the first third of the nineteenth century. They were the Cabildo Lucumí Nuestra Señora de Regla (1805), Lucumí Llané (1810) and Lucumí Elló (1818-1835).⁸³ Of these three documented references, Prieto's *cabildo* is the most likely candidate. While Aponte was probably never the leader of Changó Tedún, Prieto may have well been. Ortiz's traditions coincide directly to the documentation on Prieto, Cabildo Lucumí Elló and Changó shrines. However, it cannot be known with any certainty if Changó Tedún and Lucumí Elló were the one and the same, even if the interplay between Sango and Oyo is highly suggestive. Further, *bátá* were not explicitly described in Prieto's declaration, even though he identified "a patch of male goat leather [which] is used in his Drumming functions." Based on this evidence, the inner-workings of Cabildo Lucumí Elló were representative of Changó Tedún in the 1820s and 1830s.

Based on such mistakes, it is highly questionable that Aponte was a member of the Ogboni religious organization. Howard made his assumption because he probably linked Sango to Oyo, and then he presumed, based on Morton-Williams, that the Ogboni was instrumental in

⁸¹ Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 189 n. 34.

⁸² Jan Vansina, *La Tradition Orale et la Methode Historique* (Tervuren: Musée Royal de l'Afrique Centrale, 1961), 5.

⁸³ ANC, EG 123/15, Nuestra Señora de Regla, 1805, ANC, EC 64/6, Lucumí Llané, 1807-1810 and ANC, CM 11/1, Sublevacion y Prieto, 1835.

the selection of the *Alààfin* in Old Oyo.⁸⁴ Long before Howard published his book, J. A. Atanda overtly criticized Morton-Williams when he wrote in the opening paragraph of an article entitled, “The Yoruba Ogboni Cult: Did It Exist in Old Oyo?”

The role assigned to the Ogboni cult in the government of the Old Oyo Empire is an erroneous one. And the error itself arises from the mistaken notion that the Ogboni cult existed in Old Oyo. Both errors have, of course, resulted primarily from the fact that Peter Morton-Williams did not put his research on Ogboni in Oyo in proper time perspective. There is no doubt that the role of the Ogboni cult as described in his article was what operated in Oyo (i.e., New Oyo as different from Old Oyo) where Morton-Williams did his research. New Oyo was founded in the nineteenth century after the collapse of the Old Oyo Empire and the destruction of its capital, Old Oyo. But since Peter Morton-Williams did not attempt to trace the origin of this cult, it has been assumed by many that what he discovered and discussed about the Ogboni in New Oyo was also true of Old Oyo.⁸⁵

Atanda argues that the Ogboni “had its origin in Ile-Ife [thus Ife-centric] at a very early date in the history or the evolution of the Yoruba people.” It was initially influential among the Ijebu, where it was called Osugbo, and some of the kingdoms of the Egba confederacy.⁸⁶ Thus, the Ogboni/Osugbo religious group in 1812, prior to Oyo’s collapse most likely centered on an Ife-centric cultural repertoire, not one associated with Sango religious groups in Old Oyo. But by 1812, people from all over the Bight of Benin hinterland had been arriving for more than a century suggesting Ogboni had been in Cuba since the eighteenth century, along with Egba and Ijebu, not just Oyo. While it is not known whether or not Aponte worshipped the *òrìsà* and was a member of Ogboni, which Landers cautiously assesses that he “may have well been.”⁸⁷

The evidence shows Prieto held onto a number of different types of religious beliefs and practices which included the Changó/Santa Bárbara paradigm, animal sacrifices and possibly a *nkisi* doll. Such details prove Lucumí *cabildos* had already transculturated into a uniquely Afro-

⁸⁴ Peter Morton-Williams, “The Yoruba Ogboni Cult in Oyo,” *Africa: Journal of the International Africa Institute* 30, 4 (1960): 362-74.

⁸⁵ J.A. Atanda, “The Yoruba Ogboni Cult: Did It Exist in Old Oyo?,” *Journal of the Historical Society of Nigeria* 6, 4 (1973): 365-72.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*, 368.

⁸⁷ Landers, *Atlantic Creoles*, 148.

Cuban, Santería-esque system of belief. His practices and traditions originate from a lineage of Lucumí *cabildos de nación* and militiamen in eighteenth century Cuba. These traditions probably did not adhere to the Oyo socio-religious schemes found in West Africa. As the *jihād* reached Ilorin in 1817, tens of thousands of Oyo came to Cuba especially after 1826. Now that the historical and historiographical contexts are established, it is now possible to present the oral accounts as recorded by 1) Ortiz and 2) Cabrera.

In his research on Cuban *bàtá* drums, Ortiz referred to Changó Tedún six times and its patron saint was Santa Bárbara.⁸⁸ As David H. Brown has demonstrated Changó Tedún appears to represent “a corruption of the Yoruba *oríkì* (praise name) *Sàngó ti edun*, meaning, “‘Changó becomes the thunderstone,’ i.e., the celts that this òrìsà is thought to hurl from the sky when lightning strikes the earth.”⁸⁹ These stones are taken to be congealed materializations of where his lightning struck and thus a tentative connection to Sango devotion. Ortiz described this *cabildo* as *antiguo* (old), *prestigioso* (prestigious), *popular* (popular) and *rico* (wealthy), which shows it has been remembered with a certain level of distinction. As an alternative title, Ortiz also called it the Lucumí Cabildo Alakisá, which he translated as “*ripiao*” (slovenly) and “*basura*” (dirty). In *A Dictionary of the Yorùbá Language* (2007), “*Alákisà*” translates as “ragged” or “a ragged person.” Ortiz’s primary informant was Miguel Somodevilla, who was, in the late-1940s, the “oldest and most senior” *olúbatá* (master *bàtá* drummer). He obtained his knowledge from his elder Adofó, who consecrated at least four sets and passed away “in the Republican era in 1946.”⁹⁰ The first set was made for a Lucumí *cabildo* called Majugua in Unión

⁸⁸ Ortiz, “Los tambores bимembranófonos: Los Batá,” in *Instrumentos de la Música*, vol. 2, 172-233.

⁸⁹ David H. Brown, “Garden in the Machine: Afro-Cuban Sacred Art and Performance in Urban New Jersey and New York” (PhD diss., Yale University, 1989), 20 n. 16.

⁹⁰ Ortiz, “Los Batá,” 223-24.

de Reyes, which was the set Somodevilla inherited. Presumably, Ortiz knew Adofó as well and could have introduced them to Cabrera who was his sister in law.

In relation to the most widely remembered Lucumí Cabildo and *bátá* drums, Ortiz recorded the following account

In Cuba the *batá* sounded for the first time in a Havana Lucumí *cabildo* named Alakisá on Egido Street. *Alakisá* means “slovenly” or “dirty” [*ripiao* or *basura*]. In the first third of the past century a Lucumí named Añabi arrived as a slave in Cuba, where he was known as Ño Juan *el Cojo* [the Cripple]. It is said that in his homeland he was a *babalao*, *olosáin*, and *oni-ilú* [Ifá diviner, herbalist, and master of the *batá* drums]. Shortly after arriving in Cuba and being taken to work on a sugar plantation, a cart full of cane fractured his leg and he was transferred to a slave hospital in Regla. There, for the first time in Cuba, he heard with emotion the religious rhythms of the Lucumí music. There also he met an old slave like himself, named Atandá, aka Ño Filomeno García, an *olúbatá* [master drummer] with whom Añabi had had dealings in Africa. Both of them went to the Alakisá and knew immediately that the drums being played there were not orthodox, they were profane [*judíos*], and that no set of consecrated *ilú* [*batá de fundamento*] existed in Cuba. In about 1830, the African *onilú* Añabi thus hooked up with Atandá, who had been an *agbégui* or sculptor in Africa and who, in Cuba had acquired a reputation for the idols he carved – they were remembered as being “very beautiful.” Atandá also knew how to build drums, and the two friends constructed and consecrated a set of the hourglass-shaped *batá* drums. They “baptized” them with the name Añabí, which meant “born from Aña” (the drum spirit). Thus, they consecrated to Aña the first true set of sacred *batá* in Cuba. To Ño Filomeno Garcia or Atandá and Ño Juan or Añabí is attributed the founding of a Lucumí *cabildo* in Regla, the Cabildo of Yemayá, along with the great African born *babalao* Ño Remigio [Herrera, aka Adechina], father of late octogenarian and popular *santera* Pepa, or Echubí, who, although blind, crippled, and almost an invalid, had continued directing the *cabildo* [until after her death in 1947]. For this Regla *cabildo*, Añabí and Atandá made and consecrated a second set of *batá*, which they named Atandá.⁹¹

As they stand on their own, these traditions certainly do not relate to Aponte prior to 1812, but around the time Prieto identified a Changó shrine in 1835. These traditions describe an important moment in Lucumí history when “the first true set of sacred *batá* in Cuba” replaced the “profane” or “unorthodox” sets. Perhaps the consecration of *bátá* in the 1830s is an example of

⁹¹ Original Spanish text in Ortiz, “Los Batá,” 221-22 and English translation from Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 64. Most, if not all, *bátá* drummers are well aware of the history of Atandá and Añabí. They probably obtained this common knowledge by reading Ortiz firsthand or hearing about it through someone who had. Most drummers I talked to could not remember specific details and they almost always deferred to Ortiz. He explained that Atandá apparently built four other *bátá* sets (apparently without the help of Añabí). One set Atandá made was for the Cabildo Lucumí Nuestra Señora de Regla (Yemayá), led by Adechina Ño Remigio Herrera (d. 1905). It was located in the neighborhood of Regla and rose to popularity as late as the 1860s and 1870s. It is currently on display in the *Casa de Africa* in Havana; memorialized as an important cultural artifact representing the transmission of cultural knowledge related to the history of Oyo and the transatlantic slave trade from the Bight of Benin to Cuba. Two other sets were made in and around the city of Matanzas; another went to Guanabacoa and the last to Cienfuegos. At least by the 1950s, the Guanabacoa and Cienfuegos sets had disappeared, while the two sets from Matanzas are probably still in use.

transformative action and the transfer of power as the Lucumí *cabildos* re-Africanized due to Oyo's collapse and the heavy increase in an Oyo migration to Cuba between 1826 and 1835.

In a final consideration, Cabrera's oral traditions related to the Lucumí Cabildo "Changó Terddún" probably do not refer to Prieto's *cabildo* at all. Like Ortiz, Cabrera called it "grand," "the *cabildo* of Santa Bárbara," and how it was "still remembered with pride." Cabrera had three informants who claimed to have direct affiliation to the former leaders of the *cabildo*. They claimed to have observed this *cabildo* during their youth because some of their African-born parents had apparently held high-ranking positions within the *cabildo*'s organizational structure.

The first of Cabrera's contacts was Teresa M., a priestess of Yemayá. Her "secret Lucumi name was Omí-Tomí" and she proudly claimed part-Lucumí ancestry and the daughter of a Mina Popó woman who was "considered lucumis."⁹² Cabrera knew her because she was a reputable seamstress for her mother and grandmother as well as other "old and opulent families in Havana." According to Cabrera, she was "known among the "crème" of the colonial days in the festivals of the famous Cabildo Chango Terddún and the Old Ocha houses" of Havana, including El Palenque in the suburb of Marianao in west Havana. El Palenque was founded by Perfecto and Gumersindo and is one of the major *ramas* (branches) of Ocha worship in Cuba. Cabrera's second informant was Calixta Morales, aka Oddedeí, who "everybody recognized as the greatest, most valuable *llamadora de santos* [invoker of the saints]." Cabrera described Oddedeí as an "aristocrat" of "pure Lucumí lineage (*orilé lucumí*)," whose mother had been "rendered honors as *la reina* [queen] of the Cabildo Santa Bárbara."⁹³ Like Omí Tomí, Oddedeí was in her late-seventies or early-eighties in the 1950s, suggesting that her mother was *reina* sometime in the mid-to-late eighteenth century, well after the first set of *bátá* had been consecrated.

⁹² Cabrera, *El Monte*, 34 and 35 n. 3.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 36.

Cabrera's third informant, and by the most important here, was José de Calazán Herrera, alias *el Moro* (the Moor). His African name was Bangoché. Cabrera described him as her "old instructor" and he died in the early-1950s. Cabrera frequently described him as *oculto* (hidden), writing that she "could never penetrate any of his secrets [and he] traveled the whole island."⁹⁴ He was both a *mayombero* (Tata Nganga) and *santero*, *hijo* (son) of Oba Koso. Cabrera's account, which intermittingly quotes Bangoché, appears as a footnote in *El Monte*.

We will mention Changó Terddún – the *cabildo* of Santa Bárbara – because it is still remembered with pride. According to Calazán, one of its founders was his father, ta Román, who was known among his countrymen as the prince Latikuá Achika Laticú. It was a grand *cabildo*, "until the *criollos* [young, Cuban-born] went into the Changó Terddún, and they made two factions: that of the *criollos*, who wanted to promise and boast of being progressive, and that of the *viejos de nación, intransigentes* [old African-born die-hards]. The *chéveres petimetres* [cool dudes] started calling the old guys the *arakisas los onirirá...*" – people who are careless and dirty. Thereafter, in and around the 70s, the Changó Terddún occupied a house on Jesús Peregrino Street, and soon after, in Jesús María – Gloria [Street] between Indio and Florida. "Then it was called a *cabildo*." The pale shadow of the Santa Bárbara *cabildo* exists or existed for a little while in Pogolotti, "even though Changó said he was not from Pogolotti."⁹⁵

Bangoché's memory of Changó Terddún was from his youth around the Ten Years War (1868-78) and probably does not describe the *cabildo* Ortiz described from the 1830s. By the 1870s, the transatlantic slave trade to Cuba stopped and a Cuban-born population was quickly replacing the African-born population; thus the progressive creoles were replacing the *viejos de nación*, who by now must have been those who consecrated the first *bàtà de fundamento*.

There is more evidence, this time from the turn of the twentieth century, which point directly to Prieto's *cabildo*. In the constitutional-like *reglamentos* of the Cabildo Africano Lucumí from 1910, Article II reads, "Since 1820, the standard maintains and guarantees that the image of 'Santa Bárbara' as the religious faith of the African Lucumí cult."⁹⁶ This is

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 31.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 33 n. 2.

⁹⁶ AH, 228/1, Artículo II, Reglamentos del Cabildo Africano Lucumí, 25 Apr. 1910; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417. "Artículo II: El estandarte que desde el año 1820 mantiene y garantiza a la imagen de 'Santa Bárbara' como fe religiosa del culto africano Lucumí."

immediately reminiscent of the Lucumí flag, which stated, LA SOCIEDAD DE SOCORROS MUTUOS DE SANTA BARBARA, AÑO 1820. Most recently, Brown has argued that

Cabildo Africano Lucumí/Sociedad de Santa Bárbara of 1900, which was a legally inscribed and voluntary association. He argues that this *cabildo* “was a key, if not the key, institutional hub and cultural repository for the Lucumí religion in Havana, if not all of Cuba during this period. This status would be greatly reinforced by confirmation that the Cabildo Africano Lucumí/Sociedad de Santa Bárbara was none other than the twentieth-century reincarnation of the great Changó Tedún, the most widely remembered and important Lucumí *cabildo* in Cuba’s history.”⁹⁷

As Carmen Barcia argues in a footnote, this *cabildo* “probably” refers to Prieto’s *cabildo*, which was in itself a reincarnation of eighteenth century *cabildos* which probably dissolved after Prieto. Aside from this tentative documented link related to Cabildo Africano Lucumí/Sociedad de Santa Bárbara, at the root of many late-nineteenth century *ramas*, *bàtá* drums were consecrated in the Cabildo Lucumí Changó Tedún in the 1830s.

Summary and Conclusion

The biography of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto establishes the bridge that links the eighteenth century with the nineteenth century, and thereby also provides background for understanding the twentieth century socio-religious schemes related to Lucumí culture in Cuba. Prieto’s home, which served as the *cabildo* headquarters, was located on Calle Gloria in *El Manglar* in the neighborhood of Jesús María. After his arrest and the search of his home and the seizure of his possessions, Prieto was made to identify the Changó shrines that reflect the Oyo-centric cosmology, which he candidly declared was the same as Santa Bárbara, the patron saint of the artillery. The evidence from the *cabildo*’s archives shows that Prieto had arranged funerals and

⁹⁷ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 70. Accordingly, “Cabildo Africano Lucumí, as suggested, claimed interlocking membership with other important Lucumí institutions: Adechina Remigio Herrera’s Cabildo de la Virgen de Regla/Yemayá, Silvestre Erice’s Sociedad de Protección Mutua Santa Rita de Casia y San Lázaro, known commonly as the Cabildo de Papá Silvestre, as well as Havana’s principal Ifá houses of [Eulogio Rodríguez] Tata Gaitán, Esteban Quiñones, Bonifacio Valdés, Pedro Pérez, and Bernabé Menocal, and the Ocha houses of Ña Caridad Argudín, Ña Margarita Armenteros, Ña Belén González, and, it seems the great Palenque village of Gumersindo and his “twin” Perfecto.”

baptisms and even the purchase of Lucumí slaves (see Appendix 2). He also was licensed to host annual Santa Bárbara festivals and processions, which sometimes lasted more than forty days. The abundance of such detailed evidence establishes that Prieto was the leader of Changó Tedún. The consecration of *bátá*, following Ortiz's tradition, reflected a transfer of power as those coming from Oyo helped to "re-Africanize" the Lucumí community during the height of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba.

CHAPTER 5

Lucumí Resistance to Cuban Slave Society, 1825-1844

The transformation of the changing meanings of Lucumí identity in the 1830s involved the transculturation of Oyo-centric ritual fields into pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes. The majority of all new arrivals from Africa went to work on plantations in the first half of the nineteenth century, and hence the biggest impact of Oyo-centric ritual fields – heavily represented in written and oral traditions related to Lucumí *cabildos* in Havana in the 1820s and 1830s – must have also been present in the rural setting. The emergence and refashioning of Lucumí in the 1830s is revealed through cases of slave resistance involving African-born slaves from the Bight of Benin hinterland who were classified as Lucumí in Cuba. In this chapter, I will contextualize the changing meaning of Lucumí by examining the influence of the Haitian Revolution, the Aponte Rebellion, the establishment of the military commission in 1825, and Tacon's crackdown on freedmen from 1834 onward. In the 1830s and 1840s, authorities were uncovering, reporting on and prosecuting cases of suspected slave conspiracies and uprisings. They believed white *creoles* and freepersons of color, such as Prieto, were inciting slave revolts. In this chapter, I will outline the types of conspiracies colonial authorities were investigating in response to an increase in the number of slave uprisings.

Re-interpreting cases of slave resistance involving Lucumí slaves raises the questions: Were enslaved Africans aware of the political climate in Cuba and the Caribbean, and did new ideologies influence their motives to resist slavery?¹ And, in what ways, if any, did the political climate of West Africa, i.e., the *jihad* and Oyo's collapse, influence resistance among Yoruba-speaking slaves in Cuba? There were at least eighteen documented cases of slave uprisings

¹ Ferrer, "Hatí en Cuba" and J. Scott, *The Common Wind*.

involving groups of Lucumí slaves in the provinces of Havana and Matanzas in the first half of the nineteenth century. Special attention is paid to the Banes uprising of 1833 and the disturbance in Havana in 1835 culminating in Prieto's arrest. In both cases, it has been possible to ascertain the African names for most of the people involved, which reveals that the vast majority were Yoruba-speakers. The trial records from the 1830s and 1840s clearly describe Lucumí rituals, phrases and warfare, which exemplify how slaves classified as Lucumí were re-establishing idioms of kingship and power as they resisted slavery in Cuba.

Conspiracy and Rebellion in Cuba during the Age of Revolution

The reason why Cuba remained faithful to the King of Spain in the early nineteenth century is the subject of much historical research and debate. The American, French and Haitian Revolutions; as well as the Napoleonic Wars precipitated the struggle for independence in mainland Spanish America, yet Cuba remained a colony. In 1811, the United Provinces of Venezuela declared independence, and in the same year, José San Martín and Simón Bolívar set out to expel Spain from the New World. By 1824, Spanish rule was overthrown in the North, Central and South American mainland. The tension between Spanish *peninsulares* and *criollos*, which was characteristic of the independence movements elsewhere, was less apparent in Cuba. Spanish nationals and Cuban Creoles, hostile to each other in many ways, were united because they had a mutual economic interest in the profitability of the plantation economy and maintaining social order. The continued flow of slave labor into the island helped keep the powerful merchant and slave-holding class loyal to Spain.² Nevertheless, royal policies accentuated differences between the two *castas*, which facilitated slave resistance.

² *Ibid.*, 15.

In Cuba, there was an independence movement as early as 1809.³ Its proponents sought equal rights for Creole planters and *peninsulares*. They believed independence was only possible by inciting slave revolts, made possible with promises of emancipation and freedom. The Aponte rebellion of 1812 was the culmination of this struggle to redefine the Spanish presence in Cuba. As has been well documented and discussed in the previous chapter, Aponte was influenced by ideas stemming from Haiti.⁴ As Childs has demonstrated, the eastern part of the island was an integral part of the island-wide conspiracy for independence. Aponte network exemplifies how rural and urban areas were linked into one coherent and integrated system of production with extensive trade routes, communication networks and familial ties.⁵ While material conditions undoubtedly differed between rural and urban areas, news traveled among slave owners and slaves about the political climate in Cuba and events in the rest of the Atlantic World.

Colonial authorities charged that many conspiracies were devised off the island and that foreigners regularly infiltrated Cuban society to incite rebellions and slave revolts. The response was severe punishment and repression. From 1823 to 1832, Francisco Dionisio Vives was appointed *Capitan General* with unlimited dictatorial powers. As independence was secured in the Spanish mainland and Florida was taken by the United States of America, many refugees loyal to Spain moved to Cuba, which reinforced loyalty to Spain. In 1825, Vives suspended the colonial courts and established the *Comisión Militar Ejecutiva y Permanente*, which had sweeping powers.⁶ This court began imprisoning, exiling and executing people suspected of being involved in any sort of crime which overtly disrupted social order. Spies and informants

³ Philip Foner, *A History of Cuba and its Relations with the United States*, Vol. 1, (New York: International Publishers, 1962), 89. See also Antón L. Allahar, "The Cuban Sugar Planters (1790-1820): The Most Solid and Brilliant Bourgeois Class in All of Latin America," *The Americas* 41, 1 (1984): 37-57.

⁴ Franco, *Conspiraciones de 1810 y 1812* and Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*.

⁵ Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*, 187.

⁶ Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 88-9, Foner, *A History of Cuba*, 89 and Antón L. Allahar, "The Cuban Sugar Planters."

penetrated all ranks of society and reported on suspected conspiracies. Vives censored the press and forbade the possession of liberal literature and political tracts of any nature, especially material written in French. Commerce, travel, social affairs and even the most personal activities were placed under the scrutiny of the military. By the end of Vives term, over 40,000 Spanish troops were stationed in Cuba to police and guard the island. As a result of the repression, hundreds of people fled the island to escape death or imprisonment.⁷

In 1818, however, the Anglo-Spanish Court of Mixed Commission opened which affected slave trading patterns in Cuba. The volume of trade at Havana and Matanzas declined as British Navy patrols made it more difficult to unload at Cuba's biggest ports. The colonial elite and planter classes constantly schemed against British attempts to investigate cases of illegal trading. The island's shoreline is long and contains innumerable bays, coves and inlets, which served as covert places for slave ships to moor. Smuggling slaves paid dividends to both traders and planters because the payment of taxes and duties was avoided and transportation costs inland were less. In 1835, Spain ratified the 1817 Anti-Slave Trade Treaty, which only changed the character of the trade without greatly reducing it. Ships were no longer openly outfitted in Cuban ports and now many Spanish and Cuban traders sailed under American and Portuguese flags. The so-called "illegal slave trade" to Cuba continued well into the early-1860s.⁸ It is so far not known exactly how many people were involved in the inter-Caribbean/Americas trade to Cuba and how many were descendants of people from the Bight of Benin. Nonetheless, it is clear that tens of thousands of slaves arrived from the Bight of Benin in the nineteenth century alone, and as examined in Chapter 2, upwards of 80% of that migration (or 33,000 people) between 1826 and 1840 were involved in the wars associated with Oyo's collapse.

⁷ *Ibid.*

⁸ José Luciano Franco, *Comercio clandestino de esclavos* (Habana: Ciencias Sociales, [1980] 1996).

While there is no statistical evidence illustrating the proportional distribution of newly-arrived slaves between rural and urban areas, it can be safely assumed that during the agricultural revolution the majority of all those arriving from Africa went to the rural sector. Based on 1827 and 1846 census data related to agricultural production, Laird Bergad has argued that one third of the total slave population most likely ended up working on sugar *ingenios*, one third on coffee plantations, and another third on tobacco or other small-scale crop farms, cattle-ranches, mines and in the transport of goods to the cities.⁹ According to Timothy R. Buckner,

It could be argued that sugar is the most important crop in world history... Unlike other crops in the Old World, the demand for sugar rarely, if ever, lapsed. Moreover, when combined with other products such as tea, coffee, or cocoa, its value only increased. Like tobacco, sugar is addictive and thus, by its nature, drove its own expansion... Demand for sugar, and the profits that created that demand, massively increased the volume of the Atlantic slave trade.¹⁰

According to Louis A. Pérez, citing an 1862 Cuban statistical study, “more than 80% of [the African slaves] brought in between 1840 and 1860... ended up working on the plantations of the interior.”¹¹ The majority of the slave population was located in the western provinces, with the countryside around Havana, Matanzas and Las Villas accounting for the highest density.¹²

Due to the rapid growth of the enslaved population, combined with authoritarian paranoia, it is probably no surprise that the number of reported cases of slave resistance in Cuba increased dramatically after 1825. The historiography has generally focused on ways the political climate in Cuba and the Caribbean influenced slave resistance. Certainly prosecutors had to be sure resistance was not linked to some greater cause. In most circumstances, it is difficult to establish external influences linked to Haiti. However, many court records describe personal vendettas of a group of slaves upon their master. In 1827, slaves from the coffee plantation *El*

⁹ Bergad, *Comparative Histories*.

¹⁰ Timothy R. Buckner, “The Slave Trade’s Apex in the Eighteenth century,” in *The Atlantic World, 1450-2000*, ed. Toyin Falola and Kevin D. Roberts (Bloomington: Indiana World Press, 2008), 102-3.

¹¹ Louis A. Pérez, *Cuba: Between Reform and Revolution* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988), 98.

¹² Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 94. He has shown that by 1870, the west outnumber the east by about 6:1.

Carmen attempted to ambush their white *mayoral* after he brutally whipped a young Congo slave without reason. On 22 October 1827, Simón Mina, Celedonia Mandinga, and Ventura Congo pretended that a slave had jumped into a well to commit suicide. Their plan was to push the *mayoral* down the well when he went to investigate. The *mayoral* must have sensed the danger because he decided to ignore their calls for help.¹³ In this case, the actions of the slaves appear to be some sort of personal vendetta against their conditions of enslavement. Manuel Barcia has argued that in this case, as with most cases, the motives were not related to external factors, such as Haiti or Aponte. Through an analysis of several documented cases of slave resistance, Barcia has effectively shown that the primary motives were personal vendettas by slaves against their masters.¹⁴ This example also demonstrates that many slave uprisings did not involve people classified as Lucumí. After all, people arriving from the Bight of Benin were a minority in Cuba.

Between 1827 and 1830, there were relatively few other cases of slave resistance, probably because the *Comisión Militar* was dedicating most of its resources towards suppressing the *Gran Legión del Aguila Negra* (The Grand Legion of the Black Eagle). It started as a secret society in 1827 by a group of Cuban exiles living in Mexico and Colombia. Within a year it had branches in Havana, Guanajay, Remedios, and other parts of the island. Authorities never learned who the real leaders were or how extensive the movement was, but they believed these exiles were planning a revolution.¹⁵ Very little research has been conducted on the Black Eagle conspiracy, so it is debatable whether or not this trial was based purely on elitist paranoia or if a complex conspiracy had existed. This example demonstrates how the colonial government was paranoid and that some conspiracies involved the Cuban-born planter class, who were attempting

¹³ ANC, ME 223/F, Sublevacion de esclavos del cafetal *El Carmen*, 22 Oct. 1827; c.i. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 36 n 48.

¹⁴ Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 25-48.

¹⁵ Foner, *A History of Cuba*.

to incite slave revolts. As new efforts emerged to achieve political reforms within the existing framework of Spanish control, colonial authorities charged that many conspiracies were conceived abroad. They actively sought out foreign agents who infiltrated the island to overthrow the government by recruiting creoles and inciting slave revolts.¹⁶ Cuban-born creoles were more often than not the initiators having adopted revolutionary ideologies from elsewhere.

Cuban authorities feared British abolitionist ideologies because of emancipation in 1834. Officials openly complained to Spain of the British *emancipado* program and other aspects of the Anti-Slave Trade Treaty of 1817. They claimed British ideas excited the slave population and endangered public order. In 1833, Queen Isabel II began her reign and she appointed Miguel Tacón as *Capitán General* in 1834. With his arrival, the policy of toleration toward the Creole, planter class came to an abrupt end. Even though his predecessors, Vives and Mariano Ricafort (1832-1834), were not known for their liberalism, they had sought support from the wealthy Creole planter class. They believed that by working together they could avoid a revolution. Tacón's four years of rule were marked by suppression of all reform sentiments, whether economic, political or social. He no longer allowed *emancipados* to set foot on Cuban soil, and as a result, many "re-captives" were moved from Cuba to British colonies in the Caribbean, such as Trinidad, the Bahamas, Jamaica and British Honduras (now Belize). Even though his tenure was brief, Tacón's hard-line policies essentially remained intact until the Ten Years' War.¹⁷

By the mid-1830s, Cuba had become the world's leading producer of sugar, and there was still an abundance of fertile, un-worked land of inestimable value.¹⁸ Construction on the

¹⁶ Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 88-9, Foner, *History of Cuba*, 89 and Antón L. Allahar, "The Cuban Sugar Planters."

¹⁷ Scott, *Slave Emancipation in Cuba*.

¹⁸ Oscar Zanetti and Alejandro García, *Sugar and Railroads: A Cuban History, 1837-1959* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998). The capital to found the railroad principally came from England, and as the railroad industry grew, so did American interests.

Güines to Havana railway line began in 1834, which further opened lines of communication between the urban and rural sectors. The first railroad to be built in Latin America, it was completed in 1838 and was 51 miles long. The railroads also led to the deforestation of the island because of the need for fuel. The steam engine began transforming sugar production, and by 1840, no one could predict when, but most realized, steam technologies would eventually replace slave labor.¹⁹ In 1842 a new slave code was issued, but it resembled the 1789 slave code in the various provisions about how to provide for the care of slaves. The modest differences included how to monitor recreational activities, such as drumming, and added provisions for greater controls over the movement of slaves between plantations. Any individual could now detain a slave who did not have a proper license. Also, any slave discovering or reporting a conspiracy was promised freedom and a reward.²⁰ Effectively, the new code did little to prevent more slave uprisings and conspiracies.

In January 1844, a conspiracy that was known as *La Escalera (The Ladder)* was discovered, and was thought to be “provoking some of the bloodiest scenes in the history of Cuba.”²¹ For over three years, secret meetings took place and were attended by free blacks, slaves and white Cubans. Although the conspiracy never got beyond the planning stages, the insurrection was to start in Matanzas and spread through the plantations and ultimately end in the capital. The purpose was to establish a republic in which slavery would be abolished. Once the plot was discovered, the Military Commission condemned 78 people to death, sent over 1,200 others to prison and exiled another several hundred people.²² As part of their punishment, hundreds of slaves were tied to ladders and brutally whipped. It is very likely given the size of

¹⁹ Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba*, 18.

²⁰ *Ibid*, 20.

²¹ Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 42.

²² Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood* and Carmen Barcia and Barcia, “La conspiracion de La Escalera.”

this conspiracy that the Lucumí-uprisings were related to *La Escalera* or influenced by similar ideas. There seems to be basis to substantiate Hugh Thomas's contention that *La Escalera* grew out of "an elaborate conspiracy in Matanzas, [which] organized the *cabildos* and drum dances of the sugar estates, the 'king' and 'queen' of the weekly dance being the agents of conspiracy."²³

Lucumí and Slave Resistance in Western Cuba, 1825-1843

Cases of slave resistance involving Lucumí slaves were well documented, especially in the 1830s. The majority of these records stem from reported cases documented by the military commission. Others are mentioned in personal correspondences by British consuls, Spanish officials and colonial newspapers. As established in Chapter 2, about 75% of people classified as Lucumí in Cuba at this time were likely Yoruba-speakers. Even so, there was still a 25% chance they were not. It is therefore impossible to know much about ethnolinguistic origins based on the designation "Lucumí." The names data alone, however, does not tell us enough, unless it is supplemented by complementary forms of data. Furthermore, non-Yoruba speaking peoples from West Africa were assimilated into the Lucumí ethnonym in Cuba, which demonstrates how Yoruba idioms mobilized larger multi-ethnic sodalities. In most documented cases, the evidence does not contain many ethnographic details beyond the *nación* designation, except for the Banes uprising of 1833 and the Havana disturbance of 1835. Both events will be analyzed on an individual case basis in the following sub-sections. It is argued that the increase in the number of reported cases of slave uprisings involving Lucumí relates to the ethnogenesis of Lucumí identity within a culture of resistance to slavery and the colonial regime.

²³ Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom* (New York: Harper, 1971), 205.

Map 3 plots the locations of eighteen documented cases of slave resistance in western Cuba involving Lucumí-slaves, almost all of which occurred between 1832 and 1844.

**Map 3: Documented Cases of Slave Resistance
Involving Groups of Lucumí in Western Cuba, 1825-1843²⁴**



No.	Location	Date	No.	Location	Date
1	Guamacaro	1825 (June)	9	Macuriges	1839 (May)
2	Güira de Melena	1832 (Sept.)	10	Güines	1840 (June)
3	Banes	1833 (Aug.)	11	City of Havana	1841 (Oct.)
4	Banes	1834 (Aug.)	-	Unknown Location	1842 (July)
5	City of Havana	1835 (July)	12	Guamacaro	1843 (Mar.)
6	Santa Ana	1835 (July)	13	Guamacaro	1843 (June)
7	City of Havana	1836 (????)	14	Sabanilla del Encomedor	1843 (Jul.)
-	Unknown Location	1837 (June)	15	Sabanilla del Encomedor	1843 (Nov.)
8	Güines	1837 (Sept.)	16	Matanzas (La Escalera)	1844 (Jan.)

This map illustrates a major cluster in Matanzas in a region of sugar plantations to the southwest of the provincial capital. Guamacaro is located in a highly-productive sugar plantation region. Santa Ana is located just a few miles to the west and Sabanilla del Encomedor to the southeast (and Macuriges south of that). *La Escalera* was in the same region. Otherwise, Güira de Melena is located to the south of Banes and west of Güines. Two other uprisings took place a year apart near the town of Banes west of Havana. There were two documented cases around Güines in

²⁴ Map by Henry B. Lovejoy, 2011.

1837 and 1840, just before and after the completion of the railroad in 1838, which suggests many uprisings may be linked, either through inspiration, or as part of a larger conspiracy.

The Guamacaro uprising of 1825 did not involve large groups of Lucumí, but it is worth examining nonetheless. According to Manuel Barcia, this was the biggest, documented slave uprisings in Cuba in the 1820s. On June 15th 1825, more than 200 Carabali slaves rebelled against their masters and overseers near the village of Guamacaro.²⁵ They were defeated because they were outnumbered by the well-armed colonial militia sent in to suppress the revolt. The leaders, Pablo Gangá, Federico Carabali and Lorenzo Lucumí, had organized the revolt over a period of several months. Pablo Gangá, from somewhere along the upper Guinea coast, was the apparent mastermind. He was a coach driver, suggesting mobility between urban and rural spaces. Pablo Federico Carabali was described as a sorcerer and the chief religious figure among the rebels, most of whom were likely from the Bight of Biafra. Even though Lorenzo was classified as Lucumí, he was reported to have commanded a large group of Carabali slaves once the revolt began.²⁶ Neither Lorenzo's true ethnic identity nor port of embarkation is known and he may very well have been from the Niger Delta. According to the interpretation of the names data from the registers of liberated Africans, several people from the Edo-Delta Region had been classified as Lucumí. Or he may have introduced a Lucumí symbolic repertoire that was effective in mobilizing the Carabali contingent, in which case the movement was Lucumí-inspired even if people classified as Lucumí were a minority in the revolt.

Before the courts had learned about *La Escalera* conspiracy, several large- and small-scale Lucumí-inspired uprisings and disturbances took place around Guamacaro. In July 1835,

²⁵ ANC, ME 713/B, Bozen Mandinga Moro, Guamacaro, 1825-1830 and *ibid.*, CM 43/1, Teniente Andrés Máximo Oliver, Guamacaro, 27 Jun. 1825; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 35 n. 40-43 and Manuel Barcia, "La sublevación de esclavos de 1825 en Guamacaro" (M.A. thesis, Universidad de Habana, 2000), 33-41. He has assessed many slave uprisings documented in Cuba involving whichever *nación*, not just Lucumí.

²⁶ Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 35.

fourteen Lucumí slaves at the sugar mill *La Magdalena* in the Santa Ana jurisdiction were made to work after arriving to Cuba just three days earlier. The next morning two had committed suicide and the *mayoral* made the remainder look at the bodies of their dead companions. Domingo Lucumí testified, “Seeing this, I told the remaining slaves that since our friends had died, we should die too, and therefore we attacked the *blancos* with our machetes.”²⁷ Barcia has effectively argued that the *mayoral* “ignored the origin of the slaves and the small amount of time they had been given to adapt to plantation life, and these two weighty mistakes provoked a collective act of resistance that involved both a rebellion and suicides.”²⁸ I would add that given the apparent motives and the span of more than a decade after Guamacaro suggests, this 1835 rebellion was not related to the earlier one from 1825, even though both were near Guamacaro.

In May 1839, a group of nine Lucumí slaves caused some disturbance on the sugar mill *La Conchita*, in Macuriges, Matanzas. The records describe how they were singing a song in protest. Cleto Lucumí testified that the song was “[We] do not see father anymore, [We] do not see mother anymore.”²⁹ When the *mayoral* tried to stop the singing, some of those protesting were killed. This case arguably reflects another example of Lucumí slaves fighting against their conditions of enslavement. In this case, they were using music as a form of resistance.

In March 1843, an uprising began on the sugar plantation named *Alcancía*, which was located in the immediate vicinity of Santa Ana, Guamacaro and Sabanilla del Encomedor. Joseph T. Crawford, a British consular in Cuba, described the events to the Earl of Aberdeen in London, “insurrection broke out amongst the Negroes. They were all of the Lucumie nation and are famed for being the most hardy of the Africans, warlike in their own country and the most hardworking

²⁷ ANC, ME 232/Z, Esclavos Lucumí del ingenio La Magdalena, Jul. 1835; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 78 n 34.

²⁸ Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 78.

²⁹ ANC, CM 133/2, Deposition de Cleto Lucumí del ingenio *La Conchita*, Macuriges, 17 Mayo 1839; c.f. *ibid*, 118 n. 71.

here.”³⁰ The rebels set fire to buildings on some neighboring plantations, damaged the railroad works between Júcaro and Matanzas and killed at least five whites before being defeated by the colonial militia.³¹ According to Crawford, around 450 slaves perished, either by being executed or committing suicide. The number of African casualties was exceptionally high and was probably related to the crackdown prior to *La Escalera*.

In the spring-summer of 1843, two revolts led by Lucumí slaves transpired on the sugar estates of *Santa Rosa* and *La Majagua*. Both were owned by Domingo Aldama, one of the richest men in Cuba at this time. These plantations were situated in the jurisdiction of Sabanilla del Encomedor, southeast of Guamacaro. By June, there were other disturbances at the *Ácana* and *Concepción* plantations. It spread into the town of Guamacaro, which was once again the stage for a rebellion of more than three hundred slaves from the sugar mill *Flor de Cuba*. Many, if not most were Lucumí, but other *nación* groups participated as well.³² On 5 November 1843, around Sabanilla del Encomedor again, slaves from the sugar plantations *Triunvirato* and *Ácana* revolted. In this case, more than three hundred slaves, most of them Lucumí, were involved. It escalated until the governor of Matanzas sent soldiers to repress the revolt. In the end, 54 Lucumí were killed and 67 were captured.³³ These cases all took place in a matter of months and shortly before the start of the repression of *La Escalera*.

Evidence from each uprising on a case by case basis shows some uprisings were inspired by earlier-ones and could have been part of a much larger movement or plan. One of the leaders

³⁰ NA, FO 72/634, Joseph T. Crawford to the Earl of Aberdeen, Havana, 18 Apr. 1843; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 40 n. 71 and 72.

³¹ Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 40, John G. Wurdermann, *Notas Sobre Cuba* (Habana: Letras Cubanas, 1989), 272-73, Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood*, 177-78 and Daniel Martínez García, “La sublevación de la Alcancia: su rehabilitación histórico en el proceso conspirativo que concluye en La Escalera (1844),” *Rábida* 19 (2000): 199-204.

³² See also Wurdermann, *Notas Sobre Cuba*, 271-72, Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood*, 209-15.

³³ *Diario de la Habana*, 1-2; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 41 n. 75. See also María del Carmen Barcia and Manuel Barcia, “La conspiración de La Escalera: el precio de una traición,” *Catauro* 2, 3 (2001): 199-204.

in the *Alcancía* uprising was a Mandinga slave named Bozen. He testified that, “a long time ago... he was told about a war in [Guamacaro] against the blacks, many of whom were hanged in the docks of the city [of Matanzas].”³⁴ This example shows how the Carabali uprising of 1825 was remembered among the enslaved population two decades later. Evidence suggests that the Guamacaro revolt of 1825 had long-lasting effects in the region and influenced the events of January 1844. Pablo Gangá, possibly the same man who was punished in 1825, was eventually sentenced to death and hanged for his participation as a leader in *La Escalera*.³⁵

The second cluster of Lucumí-inspired uprisings took place in the province of Havana. In September 1832, one began at the sugar mill *Purísima Concepción* near Güira de Melena in the southern part of the province of Havana. Manuel Lucumí led 17 Lucumí slaves in an attack against their *mayoral*. They escaped from the plantation but were apprehended before reaching the mountains. During their trial, a white overseer identified several participants and described how their escape was entirely planned in “their language.”³⁶ In this case, it is not known with any certainty whether they were Yoruba-speakers, even if the probability is great.

When cholera struck in January 1833, authorities, slave owners, and overseers took all sorts of precautions to isolate the enslaved population from the epidemic. *Cholera morbus* had a reputation of being a disease of blacks because slaves died in far greater numbers than whites, probably due to dirty water and poor living conditions.³⁷ According to Juan Iduate, Francisco

³⁴ *Ibid* and cited in Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 35.

³⁵ Paquette, *Sugar Is Made with Blood*, 209–15. See María del Carmen Barcia and Manuel Barcia, “La conspiración de La Escalera: el precio de una traición,” *Catauro* 2:3 (2001): 199–204.

³⁶ Most “Lucumí-inspired” uprisings were cited in Barcia and most were inaccessible during my research trips to Cuba. ANC, ME 570/S, Esclavos del ingenio *Purísima Concepción*, Güira de Melena, Sept. 1832; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 36 n. 50.

³⁷ Virginia Himmelsteib King, *Another Dimension to the African Diaspora: Diet, Disease, and Racism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 147–57, Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave*, 135 and 146–48, Kiple, “Cholera and Race in the Caribbean,” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 17, 1 (1985): 157–77, Adrián López Denis, “Higiene pública contra higiene privada: cólera, limpieza y poder en La Habana colonial,” *Estudios Interdisciplinarios de América Latina y el Caribe* 14, 1 (2003): 11–34.

Santiago Aguirre, owner of the coffee plantation *Salvador*, decided to give his slaves the best possible treatment in order to protect them from the disease. He bought a boatload of healthy Lucumí slaves and quarantined them on his plantation immediately after purchase. He testified that he fed them well, gave them adequate clothing and even reduced their working hours. However, this apparent generosity prompted perhaps one of the biggest slave uprisings in the history of the island. In August 1833, over 340 slaves, the majority Lucumí, burned several plantations and eventually occupied the small town of Banes some eighty kilometers west of Havana.³⁸ Over 200 male African names were recorded and their interpretation shows that over 70% had names of likely Yoruba origin. This case will be examined in more detail momentarily.

In August, one year later, a minor Lucumí disturbance occurred on a sugar mill named *San Juan de Macastá*, which is in the immediate vicinity of Banes. A group of Lucumí rebelled, probably because they were being overworked. The *mayoral* testified that the slaves attempted to kill him and that they had all communicated in “Lucumí.” Tomás Lucumí, who was a *contramayoral* and led the rebels, declared via a translator, that the *mayoral* had reduced their rations and the slaves were not allowed enough time to cultivate their *conucos* (gardens).³⁹ The trial proceedings make no connection to the large-scale uprising which had occurred near the town of Banes just one year prior, even though it took place in the same month as the large-scale one of 1833. Indeed most Lucumí-inspired uprisings occurred during the summer months. Sometimes the leaders of revolts had some position of power on the plantation, such as *contramayoral*. This position suggests that these people, if they were indeed born in Africa, had not spent a considerable amount of time on the island. Fighting for the right to cultivate gardens

³⁸ ANC, EM 540/B, 1-198, Sublevacion de negros del cafetal Salvador, Aug. – Sept. 1833; c.i. Iduarte, “Cafetal Salvador, 1833” and Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*.

³⁹ ANC, ME 451/F, Esclavos del ingenio *San Juan de Macastá*, Aug. 1834; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection* 37-38 n. 57-59.

can be viewed as an active protest against the institution of slavery.⁴⁰ However, it is still not known what Lucumí meant in this context because very little is known about the participants.

In July 1835, there was a disturbance involving Yoruba-speaking slaves in the city of Havana, which culminated in the arrest of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto (Chapter 4). In this case, a group of more than twenty Lucumí, all dressed in white, were arrested near the Puente de Chávez, several blocks from the headquarters of the Cabildo Lucumí Elló. This disturbance was probably only a religious procession. It appears that Prieto, *capatáz* of a highly-organized Lucumí *cabildo* centered on Oyo-centric beliefs and practices, was wrongly implicated due to his relative position of power. This disturbance will be examined in more detail below. In 1836, some Lucumí slaves, protesting long hours, stopped working at a saw mill located in the neighborhood of El Cerro, Havana.⁴¹ This again appears to be an isolated case with a personal vendetta and not many more details are provided.

On 8 October 1841, nineteen Lucumí slaves who had recently arrived were working in Havana for Domingo Aldama. In this case, the Lucumí refused to work, and probably in fear of their punishment, they armed themselves with sticks and rocks. The militia from one of Havana's many garrisons was called in to end the strike. The militia showed no mercy, killing six slaves and wounding seven others. Aldama, the wealthy slave owner whose slaves would revolt in Matanzas in May of 1843 (see above), testified how his men had tried to persuade the slaves to surrender. With the help of an interpreter, two survivors, Nicolás and Pastor Lucumí, testified they could not understand a single word said by the whites and had misunderstood the entire situation.⁴² Learning Spanish was not necessarily taught to plantation slaves.

⁴⁰ Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985).

⁴¹ ANC, ME 731/A, Don Echarte, 1836; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 39 n. 68.

⁴² ANC, GSC, 940/33154, Deposition de Domingo Aldama, Havana, Oct. 1841; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 39 n. 69.

Two more Lucumí-inspired uprisings near the town of Güines in 1837 and 1840. In September 1837, 25 Lucumí slaves barricaded themselves in a house on the sugar mill *San Pablo*. Armed with machetes, one was killed in the ensuing violence. Two others managed to escape, but they decided to commit suicide and hung themselves in a forest nearby.⁴³ On 12 June 1840, ten Lucumí slaves escaped from the sugar mill *Banco* and attacked and wounded Lieutenant Inocencio López Gavilán. Three died, one was wounded and the rest ran away.⁴⁴ It is not known what happened to this group of Lucumí, although they may have joined a maroon community in the countryside, known as *palenques* (maroon communities). *Cimarrones* (maroons) were a constant worry and an unknown number of *palenques* had formed, mostly in the eastern region or in the mountains of Pinar del Rio.⁴⁵ I have not found any evidence alluding to *palenques* involving large Lucumí communities in either the eighteenth century.⁴⁶ By the nineteenth century, the government and slave owners commissioned *cazadores*, or bounty hunters, to capture runaway slaves and disband the *palenques*.⁴⁷ In this period, there is plenty of evidence involving Lucumí *cimarrones*. Most, if not all, reflect individual efforts at escaping slavery or one-line advertisements posted by the master in colonial newspapers.

There are two Lucumí-inspired uprisings in 1837 and 1842 whose locations were not documented. Both revolts presumably happened in the provinces of Havana or Matanzas. The first took place on *La Sonora* plantation and the later on *La Arratía*. On 18 June 1837, the

⁴³ ANC, ME 1193/H, Esclavos del ingenio *San Pablo*, Catalina de Güines, 14 Oct. 1837; c.f. Barcia, Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 39 n. 65.

⁴⁴ ANC, GSC 939/33130, San Nicolás, 15 Jun. 1840; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 39 n. 67.

⁴⁵ José Luciano Franco, *Los palenques de los negros cimarrones* (Habana: Colección Historia, 1973) and Gabino La Rosa Corzo, *Los palenque del oriente de Cuba: Resistencia y acoso* (Habana: Editorial Academia, 1991).

⁴⁶ Not to be confused with the Lucumí *casa templo* 'El Palenque' in the early-twentieth century as discussed by Brown, *Santería Enthroned*. Barcia does not mention, or allude to, a Lucumí-based *palenque* in his chapter on Maroonage in *Seeds of Insurrection*.

⁴⁷ Margarita Dalton, "Los Depósitos de Cimarrones en el Siglo XIX," *Etnología y folklore* 3 (1967): 5-30 and Gabino La Rosa and Mirtha T. González, *Cazadores de esclavos: Diarios* (Habana: Fundación Fernando Ortiz, 2004).

mayoral at the sugar mill *La Sonora* was particularly violent. During the trial, Fermín Lucumí stated that the conspirators had planned to rebel because “five moons ago, the *mayoral* had broken a slave’s head open.” As more Lucumí joined in attacking the white overseers of the plantation, others testified how the mob began chanting. One witness testified that the leader, Esteban Lucumí, had called to his companions in his language, “Companions, do not run away. What can the whites do against us? Let’s fight them.” Although the rebellious slaves did not kill anyone, several slaves, including Esteban, were executed by firing squad in La Punta fortress. Surprisingly, the attorneys appointed to defend them argued that in their countries of origin, no one knew “the laws and considerations that men should observe in [their] society.” In this case, the captured slaves swore an oath to their own “Lucumí God” before testifying.⁴⁸ It is not known which god this referred to as it could have meant Sango, or perhaps even Allah.

In July 1842, forty-two Lucumí slaves from the sugar mill *La Arratía* beat up their *mayoral* and other white employees of the plantation with rocks and sticks. They also burned down the plantation’s main buildings and briefly took control of the estate. Five of the leaders of this revolt were captured and executed soon after. The proceedings were against 26 Lucumí, 11 Arará, 4 Mina and 1 Congo.⁴⁹ It is not known where these Lucumí came from, but it was presumably from the Bight of Benin. The chronological organization of documented cases Lucumí-inspired slave uprisings raises the question as to whether or not some of these uprisings were linked together. As Map 3 illustrates, several uprisings involving Lucumí occurred in the province of Matanzas in the late-1830s and early-1840s. They might be connected to *La Escalera*. However, the evidence also suggests that many, if not most, uprisings were not related to a larger but isolated events usually the result of personal vendettas of slave against the master.

⁴⁸ ANC, ME 1178/B, Ingenio *La Sonora*, Jun. 1837; all quotations c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 38 n. 61-64.

⁴⁹ ANC, CM. 28/1, Esclavos del ingenio *La Arratia*, Jul. 1842; c.f. Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*, 39 n. 70.

The Banes Uprising of 1833

Of all the cases of slave resistance involving Lucumí slaves, according to Barcia, the Banes uprising is by far the largest and probably the best documented.⁵⁰ The official *legajo* is over 250 pages-long and contains testimonies of military officials, witnesses, and via Lucumí interpreters, some of the slaves involved. Reading through these pages, the bias of the court was apparent in that there was no doubt that most of the accused leaders, if they had not already died, were going to be executed even before the trial began. To expedite the trial, the court conceded using and recording both the Christian and African names of most of the rebellious slaves involved. Using these names, it is possible to prove that the majority of people involved had Yoruba names; thus proving that the majority were Yoruba. As a result, it is possible to examine the ritualized contexts of the uprising as described by witnesses, some of them Lucumí, in terms of *òrìsà* worship and Oyo-centric ritual fields, idioms of kingship, cavalry and Sango. As previously mentioned, the plantation owner, Francisco Santiago Aguirre, took precautions to protect his labor force from cholera. Aguirre also testified that he was in Havana tending to his sick mother at the start of the uprising. He claimed he had 375 slaves residing on his plantation. The trial records refer to only 346 people: 256 were adult males, 14 individuals were suspected of running away and there were about 76 women and children. Of this total, 265 were classified as Lucumí, 13 were Gangá, 7 Mina and one Mandinga, while 60 women and children did not have a *nación* designation assigned to them because only their female Christian names were documented by the authorities. In total, there were

Only 235 male African names were documented in the trial proceedings, 221 were Lucumí, 10 were Gangá and four were Mina. These names reveal the likely ethnic composition

⁵⁰ Barcia, *Seeds of Insurrection*.

of the African-born slaves involved in the uprising. In terms of their interpretation, and factoring in that some of the multiethnic names, over 70% had likely Yoruba origins (see Table 5.1). Of the 37 multiethnic names, 13 were likely Yoruba, while 19 were from the Yoruba-Edo-Delta Region and five were Muslim Yoruba. Of the unidentifiable names that could not be identified, there were 12 Lucumí and four Mina names. According to Misevich, all 10 documented Gangá names were probably Mende.⁵¹

Ojo was able to identify 162 Yoruba names, and 67 can be attributed to more specific sub-groups, which suggest a diversity of Yoruba-speaking people from a number of different groups. Table 5.1 is the distribution of African names according to likely ethnolinguistic origins.

Table 5.1: Distribution of African Names for People Involved in the Banes Uprising

Ethnicity	Individuals	Percent
Yoruba	162	68.9
Multiethnic	37	15.7
Mende	10	4.3
Edo-Delta Region	7	3.1
Muslim	2	0.8
Akan-Ewe	1	0.4
Not Yet Identified	16	6.8
Total	235	

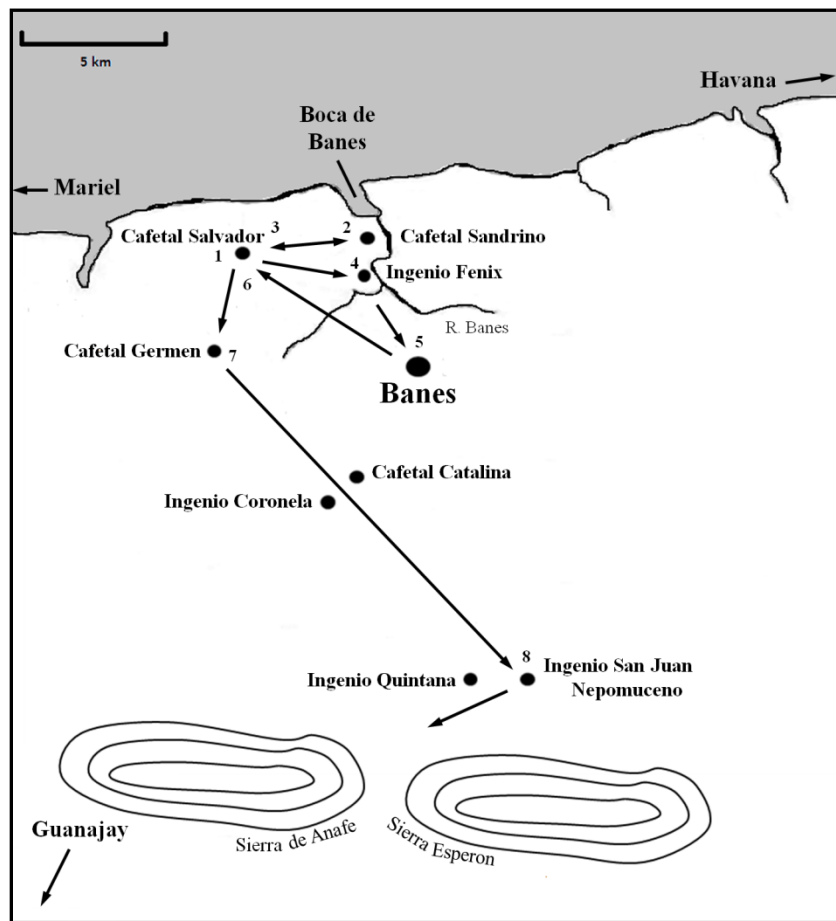
For a discussion of the various categories, refer to Chapter 2. By including the multiethnic names which could be Yoruba, well over 70% of the people involved in the Banes uprising probably had Yoruba names. The name of the ship, port of embarkation, date of arrival, and place of disembarkation were not documented. Based on the analysis from the registers of liberated Africans, these people also must have left from Ouidah, Lagos or somewhere in between.

In all probability, the people involved in the Banes uprising were probably unloaded at the *Boca de Banes*, which is a few kilometers from his plantation (see Map 4). The town of Banes was founded on a creek, also named Banes, which turns into a small-sized river leading to

⁵¹ Philip Misevich, email with author, 20 Jul. 2011.

a deep inlet called the *Boca de Banes* (Mouth of Banes), which is located just over eighty kilometers to the west of Havana. It should not be confused with the Banes near Holguin in eastern Cuba. Even today, the region mainly produces sugar and coffee, especially near some hills less than 25 kilometers south of the inlet. On the other side of the Sierra de Anafe and Esperon, is the town of Guanajay, which was where the colonial militia's closest provincial garrison was located.

Map 4: The Banes Uprising of 1833



The Banes uprising started on Aguirre's *cafetal*, *Salvador*, and once it was overrun, the uprising swept through the region. Next the rebels burned the *cafetales* *Sandrino*, before returning to *Salvador*. After that, they went to the *ingenio* *Fenix* and continued to Banes, burning several of the town's buildings to the ground. Then they returned to *Salvador* (and possibly the

coast) before looting and burning other neighboring plantations in the direction of Sierras de Anafe and Esperon, the only hills and cliffs in the region. In addition to the destruction in Banes, five sugar and three coffee plantations were destroyed.

Before they reached higher ground, the militia arrived from Guanajay, and the uprising was suppressed during a bloody battle. The main leader was known as Fierabrás Lucumí and his official title on the plantation was *contramayoral de los bozales*. Even though he died before providing a testimony, many people knew his African name which was recorded as Edú. Olatunji Ojo states “that Edú is common among the Ijebu, while Edún is used among the Egba.”⁵² Apter has also pointed out that *edun ara* is a term for Sango’s thunder celts, as in Changó Tedún.

In terms of the motives for the uprising, Antonio Lucumí, alias Elluvi (likely Yoruba), testified how the leaders who had been living on the plantation had a plan beforehand, “but could not implement it because there had been so few slaves on the estate.”⁵³ Several of those people who had organized the uprising had been on the plantation before Aguirre had bought a boatload of Lucumí slaves. José Mina (no alias) testified against the uprising, claiming the main objective was “to kill all the whites because nobody wanted to be a slave anymore.” His testimony reflects how Banes was planned among the slaves of the plantation in direct response to their enslavement. According to the testimony of Hermenegildo Lucumí, alias Olló (probably Ojo, common Yoruba name), testified via an interpreter that the situation “was just as bad here as it was in Guinea.” Understandably, Yoruba-speaking people viewed Cuban slave society as an extension of the violence in West Africa, but this quote also indicates the political awareness that this individual had in regards to slave societies in West Africa with the Caribbean.

⁵² Olatunji Ojo, email with author, 4 Jun. 2011.

⁵³ ANC, EM 540/B, 173-77, “Relacion de los Negros... de la Finca San Salvador, 27 Ago. 1833.” This section of the *legajo* includes the biggest list of documented African names. Other names, especially of those who died in the uprising, were mentioned in the various testimonies.

Eusebio Lucumí, alias Odumfa (a common Yoruba name), testified that the leaders threatened to kill anyone who refused to join the revolt. After the trial, Eusebio was sentenced to death for his participation. While ethnic co-operation was apparent among people from the Bight of Benin, not everyone enslaved on the plantation joined the rebellion. Social stratification occurred on the plantation, especially among groups of slaves of different backgrounds. Most, if not all, the Mende-speakers did not participate and many testified against the various Lucumí leaders. Another slave who escaped, Eusebio Congo, declared that the “Lucumís were beating their drums, singing, and dancing.” In yet another case, Nicolás Mina, aka Ajari (Yoruba/Muslim name), claimed to have rung a bell raising the alarm in the area and when they tried to stop him he fled and hid in the bushes. If this name was “Ajayi,” which Ojo interpreted it to be, suggests that not all Yoruba-speakers joined together. After, he claimed he stole a horse and rode it to the neighboring *cafetal Sandrino*, whereby “he relinquished the horse and a sword, and warned the white Christians about the uprising next door.” Where he acquired the skill to ride is unknown, but it could have just as easily been in West Africa or in Cuba.

Several people testified that at about 10 o’clock at night on Tuesday 13 August, armed with a shotgun, the leader of the uprising began singing and waking up all the *bozales* in the slave barracks on the *cafetal*. The leaders looted the estate house, including six muskets with a little powder as a mob armed themselves with machetes, sticks, rocks and whatever else they could find. Afterwards, Edú Lucumí reportedly climbed on a horse and burned the house to the ground. As the white overseers lost control of the plantation and scattered in different directions to raise alarm, the remaining horses were distributed among the leaders. The first use of firearms in Yorubaland began during the Owu Wars in the early-1820s.⁵⁴ Edú had most likely acquired

⁵⁴ Law, *Oyo Empire*.

military knowledge in West Africa because he was able to lead a battalion-sized group of people. In total, nine *blancos* were killed and another nine injured. They were mostly armed militiamen dispatched from Guanajay and other plantation overseers and owners in the area.⁵⁵

Gonzalo Mandinga declared that beside Fierabrás Lucumí, the other leaders were Joaquín Lucumí and Luís Lucumí (no aliases), both of whom were *ladinos* and black *contramayorales* – African-born people who had been on the island long enough to learn some Spanish and obtain relative positions of power on the plantation. Both died in the uprising from gunshot wounds. Not much is known about Joaquín Lucumí who was seen riding on horseback and carrying an open umbrella. The prerogative of riding a horse with an umbrella was reserved for Yoruba kings; thus this umbrella on horseback was a potent symbol of sovereignty, especially in Oyo. Luís Lucumí was described as the religious leader of the uprising. After the looting of the estate house, he wore a woman’s dress, hat and also carried a parasol. The cross-dressing might relate to *ilari* (royal Oyo bodyguards initiated by Sango priests), which relates to Matory’s argument related to “gender transformation in the context of political activity” (see Chapter 1).

Francisco Guiterrés, a slave driver from the *cafetal Santa Catarina*, witnessed

one of the leaders, with his colorful string of peacock feathers with something from an animal and in his hands and a doll; this same King was carrying a machete for cutting cane... they started singing and dancing with three drums and various *fututos* (horns) making a circle around the King and his Queen; then they brought in some chickens and started to kill the birds and eat them raw; then, the King climbed on a horse and set fire to the estate house.⁵⁶

What exactly it was that they were doing remains unknown, but possessed priests and priestesses in most Yoruba religious groups can bite off the heads of live birds. Based on this evidence, it seems as if they were definitely sacrificing animals to the *òrìsà* in a state of possession and asking for protection perhaps due to the uprising about to take place.

⁵⁵ ANC, EM 540/B, 173-77, “Relacion de los Negros... de la Finca San Salvador, 27 Ago. 1833.”

⁵⁶ ANC, ME 540/B, 84, Testimonio de Francisco Guiterrés, Ago. 1833.

Colonial authorities recorded some small words and phrases in Yoruba. Several people testified that people, led by Fierabrás Lucumí, began shouting the words “Ho-bé.”⁵⁷ In modern-Yoruba, the word *obe* means “knife.” However, the documentation described this word as a Lucumí chant to call people together for a meeting. Apter has argued that this documented word very may well be “*Ofe!*” which is an expression that is used when the calabash of *ase* is lifted onto a priestesses head. *Ofe* could also refer to the medicine placed into a calabash.⁵⁸ He also has translated this small phrase as a chant when the calabash “at the very moment of actual contact” touches the priestess’s head. José Mina (same as above) testified that during the ritual, Fierabrás Lucumí was shouting “*orí ore osé,*”⁵⁹ which Apter believes means “rise up without mishap,” which could be in reference to the presentation of a calabash to a priest or priestess. In modern Yoruba, a common phrase is “*ori re ase*” meaning, “your head is good” as in “your destiny is great.”⁶⁰ These Yoruba phrases illustrate how the rebels were seeking protection from the *òrìsà* in ritualized sacrifice during the uprising.

In total, 66 people died from wounds sustained in the battles and eight were sentenced to death, having their heads displayed on spikes among the plantations in the vicinity of Banes. The remainder were punished severely and sent back to the plantation, *Salvador*.⁶¹ By September, 1833, the slaves from Banes were on the front page of the *Diario de la Habana* in order to serve as a reminder of what could happen if control of the slave population on a plantation was not maintained. This uprising also exemplifies what could happen when a large group of slaves were put together because clearly this diverse mixture of Yoruba sub-groups set aside their differences

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*, 12, Testimonio de Diego Barreiro Mayordomo, Ago. 1833.

⁵⁸ See also Apter, *Black Critics & Kings*, 135 (lines 3 and 4) and 105. Apter also wrote me personally saying that there is also “a chance that ‘Hobe!’ is a chant that the messenger for the babalawos voices, while ringing his bell, to call a meeting of the diviners. I have a dim memory of this from the field and need to consult my field notes.”

⁵⁹ *Ibid.*, 24, Declaracion del Esclavo José Mina, Ago. 1833.

⁶⁰ Andrew Apter and Olatunji Ojo, emails with author, Feb. 2010.

⁶¹ ANC, ME 540/B, 76-114, Sumario del Comandante de Armas de Guanajay, Habana, Ago. 1833.

and united together in this moment. At other times, individuals and groups made personal choices, perhaps deciding not to participate. Although their reasons for making that choice may not be known with any certainty, cross-cultural differences might have been a motivating factor.

The Havana Disturbance of 1835

As stated in Chapter 3, the documentation related to the Havana disturbance of 1835 is housed in Cuba's National Archives under *Comisión Militar* 11/1. The file also includes all the documentation related to Juan Nepomuceno Prieto and the archives of the Cabildo Lucumí Elló. Although this Yoruba-based disturbance in Jesús María was much smaller than the Banes uprising of 1833, it still reflects the changing meaning of Lucumí identity. On Sunday July, 12th, 1835, a half dozen Lucumí *ladinos* joined over a dozen “*bozales* belonging to the Brig *Negrito*.” The *Negrito* was liberated by the British and was the same ship that Lorenzo Clarke, aka Ocusono, was on (Chapter 2). This group of Lucumí *ladinos* and *emancipados* were accused of arming themselves and killing white people near the Puente de Chávez. This bridge was the heart of *El Manglar*, Jesús María. It was located no more than a few blocks from the Cabildo Lucumí Elló (see Chapter 4 and Map 5 in Appendix 1). As they proceeded to the other side of the bridge, intending to go up Calle Omoa, the police force, led by Captain Manuel de Moya, stopped the procession and arrested everyone involved. One white person was severely injured and four black people died. One document in the trial related to the disturbance listed fourteen Christian names of “Lucumy” *emancipados* from the slave ship *Negrito*; thus, it has been possible to cross-reference Christian names with African ones in that register.⁶²

⁶² ANC, CM 11/1, 35, Lista de diez y nueve Emancipados... Bozales pertenecientes al Berg. Negrito, Habana, 12 Jul. 1835.

The arrival of the slave ship *Negríto* was registered in Havana on 22 April 1833, just four months before the Banes uprising and two years prior to the Havana disturbance. It came from Lagos and had a total of 477 people on board; 367 were male and 110 were female. Of those people listed on board the *Negríto*, 431 were classified as Lucumí Ayó, two were Lucumí Dagñame (Dahomey?), 40 were Arará and four were Mina Popó.⁶³ An interpretation of the names demonstrates that 73% of the people aboard had likely Yoruba names.

Of the 14 names in the Havana document, there are 24 possibilities in the registers due to the repetition of Christian names, and six cannot be identified with any precision. In the registers, Christian names were often repeated, and it is therefore impossible to distinguish everyone involved. For example, the common name “Luis” was assigned to six different people aboard the *Negríto* alone. By eliminating children below the age of twelve, these names all correspond to likely common Yoruba names, except for Prudencio, alias Idogu, which is likely multiethnic because it could be Yoruba or from the Niger Delta region. Of the fourteen names, eight are possible to identify because there was only one match per name in the register and all of them have likely Yoruba origins. There was only one name which can be linked to more specific Yoruba sub-groups. In the registry of the *Negríto*, the African name for the slave called Leandro was Edún. In the Banes uprising, the leaders name was Edú. According to Ojo, Edú is used among the Ijebu and Edún is used among the Egba, so perhaps differences in names among Yoruba sub-groups was evident in the colonial documentation.⁶⁴ Still, *edun ara* refers to Sango’s thunder celts, as in Changó Tedún, so these rebel leaders might have had closer associations to Oyo in this period.

⁶³ NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Negríto*, Ouidah, 5 Ene. 1833.

⁶⁴ Olatunji Ojo, email with author, 4 Jun. 2011.

According to the testimonies of eye-witnesses, the crowd of Lucumí *emancipados* was said to have caused an uproar in the streets of Jesús María. According to the *criollo*, José de los Santos Sotomayor, the Lucumí rebels were shouting, in the Lucumí language, “Havana mine, kill whites, white woman mine.”⁶⁵ Many people, who were white, testified that the accused were robbing houses, were armed with machetes, trying to rape and kill all the white people. They also suggested that two dozen people were attempting to seize all of Havana. Such allegations implied that the people involved in the disturbance were already considered guilty before the trial. Three days after the uprising, the head prosecutor, Juan Bautista Velázquez, wrote in his sentencing report how the *criollos* D. Pedro Abreu, D. Narciso Diaz, D. Domingo Henríquez, the *pardo* Francisco Fajardo and the *negro* Andrés Campos testified that Hermenegildo Jáuregui had been hosting “gatherings of all classes in his house” (*reunions de todo clase en su casa*). The court determined that the “true leader” was the *negro* Jáuregui. His co-conspirators were Andrés Campos, Juan de Mata Gonzales, Agustín Lucumí, Clemente Dávila and Fernando Lucumí and they were all sentenced to death by firing squad, which was carried out on 16 July, two days after Prieto was arrested and two days before he gave his declaration. Much like Aponte, they all had their heads displayed around the city on spikes to serve as a reminder.⁶⁶

Trials were quick, and due to obvious prejudices found in any slave society, most people who testified against these Lucumí *ladinos* and *emancipados* were white. D. Pedro Abreu, who was involved in sugar and tobacco, described how Jáuregui was dressed in white and was carrying a white tail and a *garrote* (stick or club), while he led a group of *emancipados* who were also dressed in white.⁶⁷ Everyone who was accused of being involved in the disturbance who

⁶⁵ ANC, CM 11/1, 40, Testimonio de José de los Santos Sotomayor, Habana, 14 Jul. 1835. As cited in the the original text “Habana mía, mata blancos, muger blanca mía.”

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, 175-77, Sumario por D. Juan Bautista Velázquez Caballero de la Comisión Militar, Habana, 15 Jul. 1835.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, 33v-34, Testimonio de D. Pedro Abreu, Habana, 14 Jul. 1835.

testified denied any and all involvement in short answers. Most importantly, not one witness, whether white or black, mentioned Juan Nepomuceno Prieto's name, or the *cabildo* with which he was associated in their testimonies. Nonetheless, he was arrested two days after, and Prieto was questioned as to whether or not "seventeen, or eighteen *negros Lucumies* left his house dressed entirely in white russian shirt and trouser, everyone the same."⁶⁸ Like everyone else, Prieto denied knowing anything about what happened, but he easily could have been lying. From the items seized from the Cabildo Lucumí Elló, Prieto identified "a stick with a white tail, adorned with various ribbons and beads has no other importance other than praying for the health of every Christian. And the stick with the white tail is also useful to dance with." However, it is not known if this was the same one described in the Sunday procession.

It would appear as if the day of the week was a factor in the Havana disturbance. Sundays were considered days of rest, and most free people of color people were allowed to play drums and dance in the streets during daylight hours. It was also the day *cabildos* could have meetings and gatherings. Antonio Diaz claimed that on that Sunday he went to a plaza in Jesús María to play music because someone from his nation had recently died. Meanwhile, two dozen Lucumí, all dressed in white, were near the Puente de Chávez and on Calle Omoa. Deschamps Chapeaux argues that Hermenegildo Lucumí's white attire, white goat's tail flywhisk and staff are all iconographic symbols of Obatalá because white is the color of this *òrìsà*.⁶⁹ Based on this evidence alone, it is impossible to confirm the relationship with Obatalá because any *santero* or *olorisa* dresses in festival whites called *aso-àlà* (ritual purity).⁷⁰ Dressing in white relates to modern-day practices as *iyabo* (*santero* initiates) are required to wear white for an entire year

⁶⁸ Refer to Appendix 3 of this thesis. The reference to "Russian" in this context is odd, but most likely refers to the baggy trousers and shirts Russian dancers use.

⁶⁹ Deschamps Chapeaux, "Presencia Religiosa en las sublevaciones de esclavos."

⁷⁰ Andrew Apter, thesis comments, Aug. 2012.

after their multi-day initiation ceremony. However, the white goat-tail flywhisk relate to the Sunday procession, and according to Brown, white *iruké* (fly whisks) generally accompany the iconography of Obatalá.⁷¹

Despite Prieto's arrest two-days after the fact, the question arises as to whether or not he was involved and whether or not he had conspired to organize this procession. None of the testimonies describe the rowdy Lucumí of the disturbance with firearms and were seen only with machetes, sticks and stones. Captain Moya's accusations certainly claim that he had, but the circumstances and various weaknesses in the prosecution's case against Prieto suggest otherwise. Moya claimed that several neighbors saw the group of Lucumí leaving Prieto's house *before* it started. The arrest report shows Moya seized a number of weapons, including a saber, gunpowder, bullets and a musket, from the home. If Prieto had organized this disturbance, then surely these weapons would have been used during that time, and not easily found in his house.

During his day in court, Prieto seemed to have nothing to hide as he candidly identified the religious items seized from his home, which he must have known was self-incriminating. According to his declaration (see Appendix 4), he openly claimed that the musket that was found belonged to a "Frenchman named Monsieur Toré." How Prieto actually obtained the musket was not described in the documentation, but even knowing Frenchmen on the island during Tacón's term was again self-incriminating. Many French planters had immigrated to Cuba after the Haitian Revolution, and Prieto was clearly not afraid to incriminate himself. Yet, given the fear and paranoia it seems more likely the courts began presuming his guilt because he was an elite freeperson of color; thus, the court forged evidence. For example, Moya confiscated a number of weapons from Prieto's home (see Appendix 3) and he wrote in his arrest report that he had

⁷¹ Brown, *Santería Enthroned*.

seized a single saber from Prieto's home and a rifle. As Prieto identified all the items and weapons seized from his home, he could suddenly not recognize or identify the *four* sabers during his trial. The secretary wrote, "neither does he recognize them, nor does he know who they belong to." Sabers were symbols of the military and anyone with rank, such as a retired Second Sergeant, was required to purchase one. Sabers were also symbols of prestige that marked militiamen from the enslaved population. Prieto most likely had a saber due to his rank.

To corroborate Prieto's testimony related to the sabers, Antonio Diaz Carabali Papa, who was arrested with Prieto, provided an alternative explanation. He was made to provide a declaration and he identified all four sabers, saying that they "belong to the Cabildo of his *nación* and they maintain the *capatáz*' power... ..their use is by the Sentinels who arrange them beside the corpse of the King, Queen and all the other officials of the Cabildo." Antonio Diaz also described how the four sabers were locked up in the Cabildo Carabali Papa and "he doesn't know how they could have gotten them out."⁷² Based on this testimony, it would appear Captain Moya had searched both a Carabali and Lucumí *cabildo*. It is therefore most likely colonial authorities implicated Prieto, the Cabildo Lucumí Elló and the Cabildo Carabali Papa in a larger conspiracy, when one did not necessarily exist. It also seems that Carabali *cabildos*, in the early-nineteenth century were also burial societies.

On July 24, 1835, *Capitán General* Miguel Tacon reported to Spain that the Havana disturbance was caused by people who were "all from the Lucumí nation."⁷³ Much like Deschamps Chapeaux, Juan Pérez de la Riva has argued that the disturbance "did not have an insurrectional character."⁷⁴ Despite the prejudicial descriptions, it is more likely that there was

⁷² See ANC, CM 11/1, 236v-237, Declaracion del moreno Antonio Diaz, Habana, 14 Jul. 1835.

⁷³ "No. 18, Al Ministerio de Estado, Capitán General Miguel Tacon, 24 Jul. 1835" in Pérez de la Riva, ed., *Correspondencia Reservada*, 174-76.

⁷⁴ See Pérez de la Riva, *Correspondencia Reservada*, 174 n. 90.

not an uprising or conspiracy at all, but rather a religious or ritual procession. The events could illustrate a group of Yoruba-speakers in a procession, dressed in ritual whites and with or without the intent to cause civil unrest. Suddenly, everything spiraled out of control until those involved, among others, were killed, executed or imprisoned. It is possible that the Lucumí mob intended to cause a disturbance and went to the *cabildo* headquarters on Calle Gloria in search of weapons. If that was the case, then Prieto clearly did not cooperate, because when he was arrested the weapons were still in his home and no one had witnessed their use during the disturbance. If the group of *emancipados* did not even go to the house, as Prieto claimed, then he was implicated and found guilty only because he was leader of Cabildo Lucumí Elló.

Returning to Ortiz's oral traditions related to *bàtá* drums (Chapter 4), I have suggested that the consecration of the "first sacred" set in Cuba reflects a "re-Africanization" of pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes. By 1835, tens of thousands of people from the Bight of Benin, the majority from Oyo, had arrived to Cuba in the previous two decades and Changó iconography could have appealed to those who remained in Havana, and especially those "liberated" by the Anglo-Spanish Court of Mixed Commission. However, Prieto's *cabildo*, which was a burial society, social club, religious group and perhaps a recruitment agency for the Black Militia, largely derived from the traditions of Havana's Lucumí *cabildos* from the eighteenth century. Those traditions probably seemed "profane" and "unorthodox" to Yoruba-speakers arriving from Oyo and other places in Yorubaland in the 1820s and 1830s; thus people from Oyo re-Africanized some of the pre-existing Lucumí traditions in Cuba, such as *bàtá*. Meanwhile, some of the earlier socio-religious schemes from the mid-to-late eighteenth century were too powerful and paradigms, such as Santa Bárbara/Changó, became a mainstay unique to Lucumí culture.

The replacement of the “profane” and “unorthodox” *bàtá* drums – or the older order with the new – coincides with Prieto’s arrest and the end of his leadership. This transfer of power within the Lucumí community in Havana was largely the result of a religious procession carried out predominately by a group of Lucumí *ladinos* and *emancipados*, who were probably all technically freepersons of color, much like Prieto who was higher in social class. By 1835, Prieto commanded the respect of many as a retired Second Sergeant and *capatáz* of a large and prestigious socio-religious institution centered on pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes, i.e. Changó/Santa Bárbara, relevant to the practices of today.

Summary and Conclusion

An increase in the number of conspiracies and rebellions in Cuba between 1825 and 1844 establishes how fear and paranoia ran deep among the colonial elite. The Banes uprising of 1833 can be considered a defining moment in the transformation of Lucumí culture in Cuba. It showed that “Lucumí” slaves, who were predominately Yoruba-speakers, united together to resist slavery. They had been sent to Cuba from the wars associated with Oyo’s collapse, and many of the participants had arrived to Cuba in the 1820s and early-1830s. With respect to the Havana disturbance of 1835, it is hard to know for certain what was transpiring that day. At the same time, a group of Lucumí *emancipados*, many of whom had arrived to Cuba from Lagos in December 1832, had begun to conduct ritualized processions in the neighborhood of Jesús María dressed in clothes that symbolized ritual purity. Unintentionally, perhaps, the repression that followed this procession resulted in further changes to Lucumí identity as Cabildo Lucumí Elló was disbanded and the opportunity was now present for a new order to establish itself.

Conclusion

This study has demonstrated how a major transformation in the conceptual meaning of Lucumí directly coincided with the expansion and collapse of the Oyo Empire and fluctuations in the slave trade from the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba. I have argued that a smaller, more ethnically diverse mixture of people established basic Lucumí socio-religious schemes by the late eighteenth century, prior to the arrival of Yoruba-speakers after 1816. As a result, Oyo-centric repertoires that emerged thereafter modified these pre-existing paradigms to form the foundation of Lucumí identity and culture still observed in modern-day Ocha and Ifá beliefs and practices. Oyo's collapse, the names data, the ethnolinguistic composition of the Bight of Benin migration, the Cabildo Lucumí Elló (aka Santa Bárbara, aka Changó Tedún) and Lucumí-inspired slave uprisings are all indicative of this significant transformation, especially as revealed in Lucumí-inspired slave resistance. I conclude that "Lucumí" had many different meanings that depended on many different contexts.

The use of the term "Lucumí" in Africa in the seventeenth century was not the same as in Cuba in the eighteenth century, and certainly different from its meaning after c. 1817. Sometimes along the African coast, "Lucumí" specifically referred to Oyo, but by the early-eighteenth century there were direct references to the Kingdom of "J-oe," that is Oyo specifically. In the Caribbean context, Lucumí was associated with the diversity of ethnolinguistic groups from the interior of the Bight of Benin. Yet, Lucumí also referred to a language, apparently what we now know as Yoruba. This confusion was recognized by colonial authorities since Lucumí sub-classifications were used to make further distinctions in relation to ethnolinguistic identities. These compound ethnonyms were especially common when Oyo was at its greatest extent and reflect regional and ethnic distinctions. During the years associated with Oyo's collapse after

1817, there were twenty-seven different Lucumí sub-classifications used in the registers of liberated Africans, the majority of which related to Yoruba sub-groups. The interpretation of documented African names, including those that can be classified into sub-groups, such as Òkúsonò (Ijebu/Egba), confirms that there were a diversity of Yoruba sub-groups and non-Yoruba ethnolinguistic groups that were referred to as Lucumí. In other words, the conceptual meaning of Lucumí was constantly changing in colonial Cuba. As this thesis has demonstrated, there was a tension in Cuban slave society that was reflected in the status of “Lucumí” as a nominal suffix indicating sub-classifications for people and an indication of a broader Afro-Cuban identity and culture, which had been taking shape since at least the mid-eighteenth century, if not earlier.

The history of the Oyo Empire establishes the boundaries of Oyo-centric ritual fields that underlay Oyo socio-religious schemes in Cuba, especially those related to kingship and power, and in particular the *òrìsà* Sango. The Oyo connection establishes the political context in which these ritual fields operated. Oyo-centric ritual fields were re-enforced in Cuba during the height of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba, whereby they came to dominate the Lucumí landscape. During Oyo’s period of expansion, the interaction of Oyo with non-Oyo, including Muslims and non-Yoruba groups to the north, suggests that Oyo socio-religious schemes had been transculturating in West Africa with other Yoruba and non-Yoruba ethnolinguistic groups *before* crossing the Atlantic. These “transculturations” are reflected in the dynastic links to Oduduwa and in the intermediary roles played by Muslim traders and traveling Muslim clerics in the north. Similarly, other Yoruba sub-groups in the south, such as Egbado, Egba, Ife and Ijebu, and non-Yoruba ethnolinguistic groups including Dahomey, have to be distinguished from the Oyo-centric tendencies of many of those who came from the Bight of Benin. In the eighteenth century

Oyo supplied most of the slaves to the coast, yet there were Muslim traders, such as Wangara, trading at Ouidah since the early-eighteenth century. People from Oyo were enslaved and sent across the Atlantic as well, but they do not stand out as dominant faction before the early-1820s. By the time the *jihād* had reached Ilorin, Oyo was no longer the major supplier of slaves. Between 1826 and 1840, Oyo people were prominent among those being enslaved.

The estimates from “Voyages” for the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba has been divided into two periods: pre- and post-1815. Estimates from “Voyages” are too low for the pre-*jihād* migration to Cuba when smaller more diverse groups of people from the Bight of Benin interior landed in Cuba. After 1817, the number of people from the Bight of Benin increased in unprecedented numbers. The registers of liberated Africans – most especially as documented in the use of African names and in the *nación* sub-classifications – have enabled estimates of the ethnolinguistic composition of the migration between 1826 and 1840. The thesis sample of nearly 4,000 documented names for people classified as Lucumí, Mina and Arará is representative of an estimated 41,400 arrivals during those fifteen years. Based on the interpretation of names and *nación* sub-classifications, it has been possible to show that probably 80% of the people identified in Cuba as Lucumí in this crucial period were involved in the wars associated with Oyo’s collapse. More importantly, the combination of the names analysis and the use of ethnonyms demonstrate that upwards of half of this migration likely identified with an Oyo-centric ritual field, as reflected in importance of Sango in this period. Nevertheless, the post-1815 migration overshadowed the earlier and smaller migration; thus an analysis of what Lucumí meant in Cuba in the eighteenth century has demonstrated that some of the pre-existing Lucumí socio-religious schemes transformed after 1815.

Documented references to Lucumí *cabildos* between c. 1728 and 1810 proves that there were at least two Lucumí *cabildos* inside Havana's city walls by 1755 and perhaps others by the 1790s. Because of the Haitian Revolution, colonial authorities expelled all *cabildos de nación* from inside the walls and thereby separated them from the physical space of the Catholic Church. Meanwhile, more and more African-born people were being drafted into the military as fear of revolution spread throughout the Americas, and these people were inevitably attracted to the *cabildos* as a means of establishing their identities and obtaining their freedom. As is clear from this discussion, the meaning of "Lucumí" did not have a clear-cut definition and changed over time. Whether or not "Lucumí" was used in the seventeenth century to refer specifically to Oyo or to Yoruba in general is unclear. According to Law, no source from West Africa or the Americas explicitly equates Lucumí with Oyo. Its continued use in Cuba must therefore represent a survival within the diaspora rather than being directly associated with the Ijesha salutation "*oluku mi*" (my friend).¹ As has been demonstrated, Lucumí referred to many ethnolinguistic groups besides the Yoruba sub-groups, including Bariba, Nupe, and others as far away as the Gurma cluster. This collection of ethnonyms indicates that the meaning of Lucumí in the late-eighteenth century included a mixture of people from the Bight of Benin.

The biography of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto establishes the bridge that links the eighteenth century with the nineteenth century, and thereby also provides background for understanding the twentieth century socio-religious schemes related to Lucumí culture in Cuba. Prieto's home, which served as the *cabildo* headquarters, was located on Calle Gloria in *El Manglar* in the neighborhood of Jesús María. After his arrest and the search of his home and the seizure of his possessions, Prieto was made to identify the Changó shrines that reflect the Oyo-centric

¹ Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade."

cosmology, which he candidly declared was the same as Santa Bárbara, the patron saint of the artillery. The evidence from the *cabildo*'s archives shows that Prieto had as arranged funerals and baptisms and even the purchase of Lucumí slaves (see Appendix 2). He also was licensed to host annual Santa Bárbara festivals and processions, which sometimes lasted more than forty days. The abundance of such detailed evidence establishes that Prieto was the leader of Changó Tedún. The consecration of *bàtá*, following Ortiz's tradition, reflected a transfer of power as those coming from Oyo helped to "re-Africanize" the Lucumí community during the height of the Bight of Benin migration to Cuba.

An increase in the number of conspiracies and rebellions in Cuba between 1825 and 1844 establishes how fear and paranoia ran deep among the colonial elite. The Banes uprising of 1833 can be considered a defining moment in the transformation of Lucumí culture in Cuba. It showed that "Lucumí" slaves, who were predominately Yoruba-speakers, united together to resist slavery. They had been sent to Cuba from the wars associated with Oyo's collapse, and many of the participants had arrived to Cuba in the 1820s and early-1830s. With respect to the Havana disturbance of 1835, it is hard to know for certain what was transpiring that day. At the same time, a group of Lucumí *emancipados*, many of whom had arrived to Cuba from Lagos in December 1832, had begun to conduct ritualized processions in the neighborhood of Jesús María dressed in clothes that symbolized ritual purity. Unintentionally, perhaps, the repression that followed this procession resulted in further changes to Lucumí identity as Cabildo Lucumí Elló was disbanded and the opportunity was now present for a new order to establish itself.

The documented references to Lucumí *cabildos* from c. 1728 to 1910 have been assembled into a database and accompanying map (see Appendix 2). The earliest reference, which comes from the secondary literature, makes no clear-cut reference to Yoruba-based

cultures. By 1755, there were two Lucumí *cabildos*, one likely in the northern half of the walled city and the other in *La Sabana* in the southern half of the *intramuros*. Neither of the patron saints associated with these *cabildos* are connected with modern-day *òrìsà* syncretizations. The two Lucumí *cabildos* from the 1780s appear to have been organized along ethnic lines. Neither was associated with Oyo-centric cultural repertoires but did reflect eighteenth century notions of Lucumí culture and identity. Around 1792, Isidro de Cárdenas' Lucumí *cabildo* on Calle Jesús María, presumably associated with the Nagô/Bariba division, was expelled from the inner city and apparently relocated onto Calle Gloria, which is Calle Jesús María outside the city walls.

Prieto was on the margins of major political events in colonial Cuba (i.e., the Aponte uprising, the Banes uprising and the Havana disturbance). As a literate free person of color, Prieto seems to have had an excellent understanding of the changing political climate throughout the Atlantic World during the Age of Revolutions. Regardless, Prieto's life epitomizes the link between the late-eighteenth century Lucumí *cabildos*, Black Militia, and Santa Bárbara/Changó syncretization. Prieto acquired leadership skills in the Black Militia before he became a *cabildo capatáz*. Santa Bárbara was probably the patron saint of the artillery *before* she became associated with the Lucumí as the tutelary saint of the Cabildo known as Changó Tedún. Prieto's leadership was important in the acquisition of the festival licenses, and from 1820, his *cabildo* banner was to be seen on the streets. Its appearance from this time is evidence that the Santa Bárbara/Changó syncretization had already become a mainstay in Cuba by the time the *jihad* reached Ilorin in c. 1817. Prieto's *cabildo* emerged in the period which coincided with Oyo's collapse and the largest migratory movement to Cuba from the Bight of Benin. As I have demonstrated, major Lucumí socio-cultural paradigms had consolidated by the same time that the *cabildos* were expelled from the city and relocated in the neighborhood of Jesús María.

This trajectory for Lucumí ethnogenesis and the dynamics of creolization, which were played out in the neighbourhood of Jesús Maria, relate to processes of “transculturation.” Prieto claimed that his *cabildo* interacted with a diverse array of people, including, “*blancos, negros y mulatos,*” which suggests Prieto influenced, and was influenced, by a number of other African and European socio-cultural beliefs and practices. Besides Shango worship, Prieto was also into other forms of religious activity, related to *òrìsà* worship, the recognition of Catholic Saints, the military and the existence of numerous spirits (*egún* or *muertos*). His reliance on herbalism, rituals and drums in what must have been a complex system of beliefs and practices further demonstrates dynamic leadership. Eltis has argued that Yoruba culture has had a disproportionate impact on Afro-American cultures, which this thesis confirms. My attempt to address that issue relates to the migratory patterns and the arrival of people identifying with Oyo after 1815. The cohesiveness of a Yoruba diaspora during a period of intense warfare in the Bight of Benin hinterland arose from a unique chain of events unmatched by other West African migratory patterns at this time. Leaders, such as Prieto, were indisputably at the center of at the foundation of many Lucumí socio-cultural paradigms, which were rooted and re-enforced by Oyo-centric ritual fields. However, the Oyo impact went beyond sheer numbers and migratory patterns because leadership was important.

Long after Prieto’s name disappeared from memory and only survived in the archival records, Lucumí *cabildos* dedicated to Santa Bárbara continued to thrive and diversify. Appendix 2 includes documented references to Lucumí *cabildos* after 1835 until the early-twentieth century. Bangoché José de Calazán Herrera’s oral account, as recorded by Lydia Cabrera and presented in Chapter 4, seems to exemplify other transitions as Cuban-born Lucumí descendants began to replace their African-born forefathers and freeborn Yoruba-speakers from Africa

voluntarily migrated to Cuba in the late-nineteenth century. The period when the Cuban-born population began replacing the African-born population is a crucial stage in any discussion of cultural or linguistic creolization, and may embrace crucial shifts in the principles (e.g. religious affiliation as opposed to strict genealogical descent) governing Lucumí identification. More research into this period, also from a Lucumí perspective is still required.

Most references to Lucumí *cabildos* after 1835 revolve around the Calle Gloria. Although a precise address for Prieto's home is unknown, some of the later references mention other streets that intersect with it (i.e. Calles Indio, Florida and San Nicolás). These geographically references point to a two block area in the neighborhood of Jesús María just five blocks to where the Puente de Chávez used to be. I am suggesting that this area in this neighborhood was most likely the epicenter of Lucumí socio-religious schemes in Havana, and most likely all of Cuba, in one of the most transformative periods in Lucumí history. After Prieto's *cabildo* disbanded, it probably went underground until Fredrika Bremer describes a Sunday gathering at the *cabildo* "Santa Barbara de la nacion Lucumí Alagua."² By the 1870s, the Cabildo Lucumí Changó Tedún moved from Calle Jesús Peregrino *back* to Calle Gloria.

By the late-nineteenth century, the Cabildo Africano Lucumí, aka Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos bajo la advocación de Santa Bárbara (Mutual Aid Society under the avocation of Santa Bárbara) was still a legally inscribed institution. It had a set of governing rules and regulations and María del Carmen Barcia has established its direct heritage to Prieto's Cabildo Lucumí Elló. The second article of the institution's *reglamento* from 25 April 1910, states "the standard [of the *cabildo*], since the year 1820, maintains and guarantees the image of 'Santa Bárbara' as the

² Frederika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World: Impressions of America*, trans. Mary Howitt (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1853). Also cited in Brown, *Santería Enthroned*. It can be noted that the Yoruba word "*alàgbá*" translates as "elder" or "chief of *egungun* worship," which relates to the *cabildo*'s function as a burial society.

religious faith of the African Lucumí cult.”³ According to David H. Brown, “The organization was a key, if not the key, institutional hub and cultural repository for the Lucumí religion in Havana, if not all of Cuba [in the first decade of the twentieth century]. This status would be greatly reinforced by confirmation that the Cabildo Africano Lucumí/Sociedad de Santa Bárbara was none other than the twentieth-century reincarnation of the great Changó Tedún, the most widely remembered and important Lucumí *cabildo* in Cuba’s history.” Brown has also shown that the Cabildo Africano Lucumí claimed interlocking membership with important Ocha and Ifá *casa templos* (house temples) in Havana which symbolize some of the major *ramas* (branches) of Lucumí culture.⁴ I have concluded that most of the documentation points directly to Prieto’s *cabildo*, and at the very least, the Cabildo Lucumí Elló is representative of Changó Tedún, which underwent a re-Africanization of *bàtá* traditions in the 1830s. It is no coincidence that Prieto was arrested in 1835 and a new order of Changó Tedún probably emerged.

The ethnic diversity of Yoruba-based *cabildos* in Havana through the rest of the nineteenth century also becomes more apparent in other written sources after 1835. In 1843, there is a reference to the Cabildo Lucumí Yesá (Ijesa) dedicated to Nuestra Señora de la Merced (Obatalá), which suggests this institution organized around Ife-centric cultural repertoires. Adechina Ño Remigio Herrera’s Cabildo Lucumí Nuestra Señora de Regla (Yemayá) emerged in the 1860s across the bay in the municipality of Regla. Yet, the relationship between Adechina, Atandá Filomeno Garcia, and possibly Prieto, bridges the gap between Prieto’s generation and the Cabildo Africano Lucumí. Also of note is a single reference in 1862 to the Cabildo Lucumí

³ Cited in Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417. See ANC, *Audencia de La Habana*, 228/1, fol. 403-409.

⁴ See Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 70. Accordingly, Cabildo Africano Lucumí claimed “interlocking membership with other important Lucumí institutions: Adechina Remigio Herrera’s Cabildo de la Virgen de Regla/Yemayá, Silvestre Erice’s Sociedad de Protección Mutua Santa Rita de Casia y San Lázaro, known commonly as the Cabildo de Papá Silvestre, as well as Havana’s principal Ifá houses of Eulogio Rodríguez Tata Gaitán, Esteban Quiñones, Bonifacio Valdés, Pedro Pérez, and Bernabé Menocal, and the Ocha houses of Ña Caridad Argudín, Ña Margarita Armenteros, Ña Belén González, and, it seems the great Palenque village of Gumersindo and his “twin” Perfecto.

Efon which most likely refers the Efon-Alaye to the west of Ibadan and northeast of Abeokuta.⁵ Traces of the distinction between Oyo-centric and Ife-centric beliefs and practices still linger in the division of Lucumí culture in the Regla de Ocha and Regla de Ifá. The Ife-centric and Oyo-centric opposition with the emergence of Regla de Ocha and Regal de Ifá – two different orders – warrants further exploration. Based on the results of this thesis, the changing bases of ethnic identification in Cuba, particularly as the last generation of African-born “Yoruba” are replaced by island born *creoles* (free and slave) who align with Lucumí will require more analysis.

The broader implications of this study relate to the influences of Lucumí culture on the formation of a transnational, pan-Yoruba identity. No other story exemplifies this transatlantic, cross-cultural interconnection than Lorenzo Clarke. His deposition was recorded in England and published under the sanction of The British Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in 1854. Clarke declared that he was “made a prisoner in war... [and] was brought [to Cuba] from Lagos in the brig *Negrito*” which was the ship registered by the Court of Mixed Commission and associated with the Havana disturbance of 1835. Clarke described the registration process and “their names were entered into a book.” Cross-referencing Christian and African names in the *Negrito*’s register shows his birth name was Òkúsonò (see Chapter 2). As an *emancipado*, Clarke described his ten-years of indentured servitude working on the public roads for the colonial government. After, he was re-sold into slavery and made to lay track on the Havana-Güines railway line. At the time his deposition was taken, Clarke had paid money to the British Consul for his and his family’s passage back to Africa, but “was informed he must first go through London, and that he would be sent on from there... Wished to return to [Lagos] to his relations. Knows he shall find some there, because he has heard of them quite recently through some new slaves, who have

⁵ Capone, Stefania. *La quête de l’Afrique dans le candomblé : Pouvoir et tradition au Brésil* (Paris: Karthala, 1999).

been brought from the same place.” The Òkúsonò story clearly illustrates the back-and-forth transmission of knowledge among Yoruba-speaking communities throughout the Atlantic World in the first-half of the nineteenth century.

As freed slaves, such as Òkúsonò, began to return to Africa, they carried with them news of the Americas back to Africa suggesting people in Africa may have even heard about Haiti, Aponte, Prieto, the Banes Uprising and other major event involving Yoruba-speaking people in Cuba. I have not fully explored the relationship between the Banes uprising, the Lucumí procession in Havana and events in Brazil, such as the Male uprising in 1835. I hypothesize that a pan-Yoruba identity began to materialize during the pan-Yoruba wars throughout the Atlantic World in the early-to-mid 1830s. I suspect at this point that this pattern of resistance found in Brazil, Cuba Trinidad and Sierra Leone will be representative of the formation of a pan-Yoruba identity in the Black Atlantic World.

APPENDIX 1

Depositions of Lorenzo Clarke and Maria Rosalia Garcia¹

CUBAN SLAVES IN ENGLAND

The Anti-Slavery Reporter

On the 1st of July *ultimo* the *African Steam Navigation Company's* new ship, the *Candace*, sailed from Plymouth for the west coast of Africa. Amongst her passengers were twenty-three self-emancipated slaves, namely, eleven men, eight women, and four children, who had been brought from Havannah to Southampton, on the 7th of June, by the West-India Mail Steamer, the *Avon*. In consequence of private information we had received from Havannah, we were all the look-out for these unfortunates, who, on their arrival at Southampton, were kindly received by our excellent friend, Mr. Joseph Clark, and through his humane exertions at once provided for. They were in a most pitiable condition, being very scantily attired, and had suffered much from cold and wet, having been compelled to lie on the deck during the voyage, though they had paid for steerage berths. Their allowance of food was also very short, and they were indebted, several times during the voyage, to the humanity of the passengers for the means of appeasing the cravings of nature. Some difficulty was at first experienced in procuring suitable lodgings for so large a number of destitute persons, but their deplorable condition having excited the sympathy of Mr. and Madame Silva, the proprietors of *Silva's Family Hotel*, Queen's Terrace, they kindly received them, and appropriated four attics to their use. Mr. and Madame Silva having resided some years at Havannah, were therefore able to communicate freely with them. Mr. Silva

¹ Copied from *The Anti Slavery Reporter*, 10 (Oct. 2, 1854), 234-39. This journal was under the sanction of the British and foreign anti-slavery society.

subsequently recognised one of the party as having been employed on the railway works on which Mr. Silva himself was engaged in the capacity of civil engineer.

The narrative of these parties will be found extremely interesting. It throws considerable light on the condition of the slave population in Cuba, and exhibits the operation of the Spanish slave-law, which is altogether more humane than that of the United States. It will be seen, that under it the slaves have certain rights, which they can assert, and that their individuality as human beings is not obliterated, as in America, by their being also regarded as chattels. Their right to demand a change of masters, to manumit themselves on payment of a certain sum, fixed by the Government, to pay that amount either down or by instalments, and the privileges which they are entitled to in the latter case, appear to us to be worthy of notice, and go to show, that if the slave population were not constantly recruited by new importations, and by the natural increase of the slave population, Slavery in Cuba must die out within a given time, dependent upon the extent to which the slaves availed themselves of their rights, and upon their ability to do so. The narratives we are about to submit will, we think, establish this fact, and probably throw a new light on one of the principal causes of the continuance of the slave-trade.

None of these self-manumitted negroes could speak English, but all of them conversed fluently in Spanish. They appeared to have little idea of religion, though they had all been baptized in the Roman-Catholic faith, as the Spanish law prescribes. The husbands and wives had never been married according to any Christian right, but had chosen one another in Slavery, and seemed to regard their voluntary union as binding. None of them can read or write. That they should be able to do so was not, of course, to be expected.

They preferred going to Lagos rather than to Liberia or Sierra Leone, and were very fearful lest the ship in which they were going out to Africa should be captured, and they be forced again

into Slavery. The women are very modest, and the men well-behaved. Most of them, when not animated by talking, have that woe-begone look which nothing but the suffering and degradation of Slavery can cause.

DEPOSITIONS OF THE CUBAN SLAVES

LORENZO CLARKE: age from 35 to 38. Has been about twenty-two years in Cuba. Tacon was Captain-General. Is a native of Lagos, and was made prisoner in a war between the native chiefs. Was brought from Lagos in the brig *Negrigo*,² with 560 more, of whom many were women. The latter were separated from the men. There was much sickness on board, and twenty-two died. They were very much crowded between decks, and had scarcely room to lie, sit, or stand. During the voyage the lads and women were allowed to come on deck, but the adult males were kept in close confinement below. About a fortnight before they got to Cuba, an English man of war pursued and captured the *Negrigo*. There was firing for quite an hour and a half before the capture was effected. As soon as the cruiser hove in sight, the lads that were on deck were driven below, and the hatches were battened down. One lad resisted, and tried to get up the hatch, but one of the crew chopped his hand off above the wrist with a hatchet, as he grasped the side of the hatchway. As soon as the *Negrigo* was taken, her captain and crew were shifted on board the man of war, and a portion of the crew of the latter took charge of the prize: On the arrival of the vessel at Havannah; the slaves were taken to the government barracoons on the Alameda, near the *Morro*. Here they remained twenty-two days, until their strength was recruited. They were then divided into two lots, one half being conducted to the *Consulado del Cerro*, the other to the *Consulado del Lucillo*. Deponent was taken to the former. Their names

² NA, CO 313/59, Registro *Negrigo*, Lorenzo, aka Ocusono (#135), varón, Ouidah, 5 Ene. 1833. The corresponding African name was Òkúsonò, which is of likely Ijebu origins (see Chapter 4).

were entered in a book, and deponent was set to work on the public roads for the local Government. Was told that at the end of ten years he would be entitled to his freedom as an *Emancipado*. He worked on these roads, and then on the Havannah and Gueines railway for twelve years. There was an American employed on these same works, in the capacity of assistant engineer. His name was Clarke. Deponent became his servant, and therefore adopted his name. He saved a little money and put it into the lottery. He drew a prize of three hundred dollars, which sum he handed over to Clarke to save for him. Learnt, sometime after, that Clarke was preparing to return to America. Asked him for the three hundred dollars. Clarke refused to give them up. Deponent then made a complaint to Don Antonio Escovedo, Secretary of the Railway Company, who advised him to tell the Captain-General. Deponent did so, and was referred by the Captain-General to the Syndic. The latter took his case in hand, compelled Clarke to give up the money, which was at once transferred to deponent. The Syndic questioned deponent, informed him that he was entitled to his freedom as an *Emancipado*, and his free papers were given to him. Deponent then went to work on his own account, as a porter, on the wharfs and quays. Has a wife and three children, two boys and a girl. The boys are named José and Roche, the girl Isabel. They have all come over with him. He paid four hundred and twenty-five dollars for their passage and his own. Paid the money to the British Consul, and told him he wanted to go back to Lagos. Was informed he must first go to London, and that he would be sent on from there. Has some money left now, but not much. Was earning a good living in Cuba, but did not want to stay. Wished to return to Africa to his relations. Knows he shall find some there, because he has heard of them quite recently through some new slaves, who have been brought from the same place.

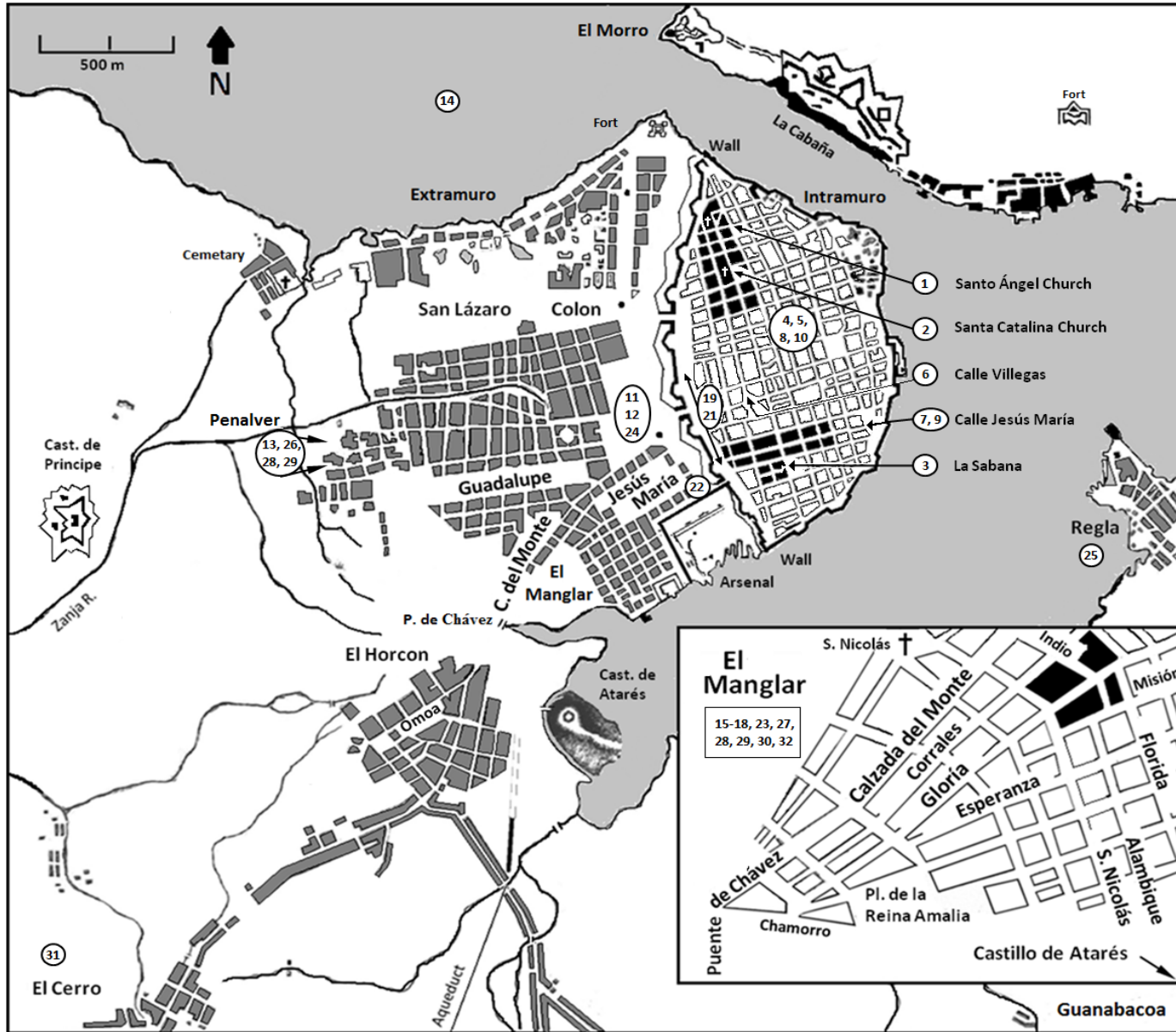
MARIA ROSALIA GARCIA, wife of LORENZO CLARKE: is about 30 years of age. Native of Lagos, and was taken from there on board the *Negrato*, when about eight years old. Was sold from the government barracoons to one Dolorez Garcia, whose name she took. This person was an embroideress. Government, however, demanded back deponent, and placed her at the *Beneficienza*, where she remained eight or nine days. Was taken from there by one Don Francisco la Moneda, a shoemaker, who hired her out to work, she paying him two dollars and a quarter a week. Deponent used to work as a laundress. At the end of four years she paid him sixty-eight dollars for her liberty, and procured her papers as an *Emancipado*. Has been face about ten or eleven years. Is not married to Clarke as white people are, but he is her husband.

APPENDIX 2

Documented Lucumí Cabildos in Havana, c. 1728 – 1910

This appendix is a chronological list of thirty-two documented references to Lucumí *cabildos* in Havana between 1728 and 1910. Each reference one has been assigned a number which corresponds to the Appendix 1 Map (see below). Please be advised all citations and notes for each documented *Lucumí cabildo* appears after the map and spreadsheet. Each number on the map reflects the relevant information related to separate references to Lucumí *cabildos* in the city, including: date, approximate location, more specific address details, patron saint and Lucumí ethnonyms or sub-classifications. My interpretation of these ethnonyms in terms of their plausible African ethnohistoric appears in the adjacent column. Whenever possible I have included the names of *capataces*, *matronas* and other members. Names in bold print represent Lucumí individuals whose names appear on separate occasion in separate records in relation to either Lucumí *cabildos* or muster rolls of the *Batallón de Morenos*.

Map 5: Documented Lucumí *Cabildos de Nación* in Havana, c. 1728-1910



No.	Date	Location	Address	Saint	Ethnonyms	Interpretation	Capataces	Matronas	Members	Black Militia
1	c. 1728	Intramuro (North)	Near Iglesia Santo Ángel		Amanga	Wangara?	Fernando de Acosta			
2	1755	Intramuro (North)	Near Iglesia Santa Catalina	N.S. del Rosario						
3	1755	Intramuro (South)	<i>La Sabana</i>	N.S. de las Nieves						
4	1780s	Intramuro			Chabas Bambaras	Chamba Wangara?				
5	1780s	Intramuro			Nangas Barbaes	Nagô Bariba (Borgu)				
6	1783	Intramuro (North)	Calle Villegas	N.S. de los Remedios	Tembú Ibanya Allom	Chamba or Tem Igbon or Ijanna Oyo	Antonio Pimienta (Tembú); Nicolás Palomino; Pedro Infanzón	Dolores Martínez (Allom); María Loreto Torres (Ibanya)	Fundadores: Fernando Acosta; Miguel Valdés; María de Jesús Valdés; María Esperanza de Céspedes	Second Lieutenant Nicolás Palomino (1761); Corporal Pedro Infanzón (1782)
7	1783	Intramuro (South)	Calle Jesús María?	N.S. de los Remedios			Isidro de Cárdenas; Alberto Aparicio		José A. Ribero; Domingo Echevarría; Joseph Aguilar; Joseph María Santalla	<i>Milicianos capataces</i>
8	c. 1783-4	Havana							Juan Nepomuceno Prieto (born c. 1773) arrives to Cuba as a large boy (<i>muchachon</i>)	
9	1790	Intramuro (South)	Calle Jesús María	N.S. de los Remedios			Isidro de Cárdenas; Joseph Antonio Aguilar		Antonio Pérez; Agustín Zaisa; Joseph Antonio Rivero	<i>Milicianos capataces</i>
10	c. 1792-94	Havana		N.S. de los Remedios						Juan Nepomuceno Prieto enlists and marries María Camejo
11	1805	<i>Extramuro?</i>		N.S. de Regla			Feliciano del Rey			
12	1807-10	<i>Extramuro?</i>			Llané	Ijanna or Oyo?	Juan Nepomuceno Montiel; Rafael Aristeguy		Agustín Zaiza; Antonio Ribero	
13	Jan.- Mar., 1812	Penalver?	Calle Jesús Peregrino?	Santa Bárbara?	Chango Tedum?	<i>Șàngó ti edun</i> (Changó who is like the thunderstone)	José Antonio Aponte?			Second Company - Captain José Antonio Aponte
14	Jun., 1812 - Sep., 1814	Florida	Fort Pensacola	N.S. de los Remedios						First Company - First Corporal Juan Prieto

15	1818	<i>El Manglar</i>	Calle Esperanza	N.S. de los Remedios				Juan Nepomuceno Prieto	María Camejo	First Company - Retired Second Sergeant	
16	May, 1818	<i>El Manglar</i>	Calle Gloria near <i>Puente de Chávez</i>	N.S. de los Remedios and Santa Bárbara	Elló Bronces	Oyo Bronze or cannon		Juan Nepomuceno Prieto	María Camejo	Repudro and Pedro Pablo Lucumí (purchased in 1819); María del Rosario Torres and María Regla de Cárdenas (funerals in 1827); José Agustín Ventura Hernández, Juan Nepomuceno de Porto, Yosef Rafael Manuel, Agustín Veracruz Hernández; José González and Dolores Gallado (purchased b/n 1826-33)	Retired Second Sergeant
17	1820	<i>El Manglar</i>	San Nicolás #302	Santa Bárbara							
18	1828	<i>El Manglar</i>	Calle Chamorro #1 (temporary house due to fire on Calle Gloria)	N.S. de los Remedios; Santa Bárbara; N.S. del Carmen; N.S. de Monserrate	Elló Bronces	Oyo Bronze or cannon		Juan Nepomuceno Prieto	María Camejo	Retired Second Sergeant	
19	1830s	<i>Intramuro?</i>	Calle Egido	Santa Bárbara	Changó Tedún Alakisá Añabi Atandá	<i>Şàngó ti edun</i> Ragged Yoruba name Oyo name				Añabi Ño Juan El Cojo (the Cripple); Atandá Ño Filomeno García	
20	July, 1835	<i>El Manglar</i>	Calle Gloria near Puente de Chávez	N.S. de los Remedios; Santa Bárbara; N.S. del Carmen; N.S. de Monserrate	Elló Bronces	Oyo Bronze or Cannon		Juan Nepomuceno Prieto		Isidro García ; María Guillerma García ; Paula García ; Séptimo Lucumí; Francisco Bandereo Lucumí; Francisca Lucumí	Retired Second Sergeant
21	1843	<i>Intramuro?</i>	Calle Monserrate #49	Santa Bárbara	Bragurá	Alagua? (See no. 24 below)					
22	1852	Jesús María	Moved from Calle Misión #27 to Calle Cienfuegos #7	N.S. de la Merced	Yesa	Ijesha		Antonio Miereles			
23	1852	<i>El Manglar</i>	Moved from Calle Gloria to Calle de Corrales #159	Nuestra Señora de Regla	Elló	Oyo		Lorenzo Torres		Adechina Ño Remegio Herrera?	

24	1853	<i>Extramuro</i>		Santa Bárbara	Alagua	<i>Alàgba</i> (an elder) <i>Alàgbā</i> (chief of egungun worship)		
25	1860s-1905	Regla		Nuestra Señora de Regla	Adechina	Yoruba name	Adechina Ño Remegio Herrera (c. 1811-27 - Jan. 27, 1905)	Añabi Ño Juan el Cojo [the Cripple]; Atandá Ño Filomeno García; Echu Bí Pepa Josefa Herrera
26	1862	Penalver	Calle Marqués Gonzalez #41		Efon		Martín Aróstegui; Casimiro Valdés; Federico Gómez	Belén Castro; Juana Espinosa; Manuela Fernández
27	1868	<i>El Manglar?</i>		Santa Bárbara	Ayones	Oyo	Fernando Navaz	
28	1870s	Penalver to <i>El Manglar</i>	Moved from Calle Jesús Peregrino to Calle Gloria (b/n Calle Indio and Calle Florida)	Santa Bárbara	Changó Terddún (<i>Ciollo</i>)	<i>Şàngó ti edun</i> (Cuban-born)	Ta Román de Calazán Hererra	Bangoché José de Calazán Hererra; Oddedeí Calixta Morales; Omí-Tomí Teresa M.
29	1870s	Penalver to <i>El Manglar</i>	Moved from Calle Jesús Peregrino to Calle Gloria (b/n Calle Indio and Calle Florida)	Santa Bárbara	Changó Terddún (<i>Viejo de nación</i>)	<i>Şàngó ti edun</i> (African-born)	Ta Román de Calazán Hererra	Bangoché José de Calazán Hererra; Oddedeí Calixta Morales; Omí-Tomí Teresa M.
30	1891	<i>El Manglar?</i>		Santa Bárbara	Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos bajo la advocación de Santa Bárbara	Mutual Aid Society under the advocacy of Santa Bárbara	Joaquín Cadiz	
31	1902	El Cerro		Santa Rita de Casia y San Lázaro			Papá Sivestre Erice (c. 1830-1915)	
32	1910	<i>El Manglar?</i>		Santa Bárbara	Sociedad de Socorros Mutuos bajo la advocación de Santa Bárbara	Mutual Aid Society under the advocacy of Santa Bárbara	Presidente: Isidro Sandrina; Vicepresidente: Telesforo Allón; Secretario: Francisco Guerra Estévez; Tesorero: Bernabé Menocal	Key Members include: Eulogio Rodríguez; Silvestre Erice; Caridad Argudín; Belén González

Notes

1. Rafael L. López Valdés, *Africanos de Cuba*, 189.
2. AGI, SD, 515/51, Inventario de cabildos, 1755. Includes references for 21 *cabildos* located within the city walls.
3. *Ibid.* Several *cabildos* were located in *La Sabana*.
4. ANC, EC 147/1, 147/1, Nangas/Barbaes and Chabas/Bambaras, 1780s; c.f. Childs, *Aponte Rebellion*, 105 and 239 n. 172 and Blandine Wetohossou, “Las migraciones Africanas,” 172 n. 60. No citation for this document in Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*.
5. *Ibid.*
6. ANC, EV 105/20394, Antonio Pimienta Lucumi Tembú, 1783 and Isidro de Cárdenas, 1788; and ANC, EG 277/5, 277/5, Isidrio de Cárdenas, 1783 and Cabildo Lucumi, Calle Jesus Maria, 1790; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417. The second of these two separate documents was also cited in Wetohossou, “Las migraciones Africanas,” 172 n. 60. For muster rolls see: AGI, SD 2093, Batallón de Milicias Morenos Libres, 28 Dic. 1761 (Second Lieutenant Nicolás Palomino appears therein) and AGI, SD 1368A, Compañía de Morenos Zapadores, 10 Dic. 1782.
7. ANC, EG 277/5, Isidrio de Cárdenas, 1783 and Cabildo Lucumi, Calle Jesus Maria, 1790; cited in Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417.
8. Approximate date of arrival deduced from ANC, CM 11/1, 220v-225v, Declaracion del Negro Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, 18 Jul. 1835.
9. ANC, EV 105/20394, Antonio Pimienta Lucumi Tembú, 1783 and Isidro de Cárdenas, 1788; cited in Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417.
10. Approximate date of arrival deduced from ANC, CM 11/1, 220v-225v, Declaracion del Negro Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, 18 Jul. 1835.
11. ANC, EG 123/15, Nuestra Señora de Regla, 1805.
12. ANC, ECO 64/6, Lucumí Llané, 1807-1810.
13. The incorrect assumption that Aponte was leader of the Lucumí Cabildo Chango Teddum originates from Franco, *La conspiración de Aponte*, 25, Franco, *Las conspiraciones de 1810 y 1812*, 13. It was re-enforced by Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood*, 123-25 and Howard, *Changing History*, 73-78.
14. ANC, F 21/83, El Intendente da cuenta de haber salido de la Habana al de Pensacola las tropas auxiliares, 28 Jun. 1812. AGI, PC 256B, Primera Compañía de Morenos de la Habana, 1814. First Corporal Juan Prieto name appears therein between Jan. 13 and Aug. 5. See Appendix 4 for a list of this First, Second and Artillery Companies stationed at Pensacola, on Jan. 13, 1814. It should be noted that muster rolls could not be located in Spanish archives from 1811 through 1812. AGI, PC 250, Hospital Militar Compañía de Morenos de la Habana, 31 May 1814. First Corporal Juan Prieto was hospitalized for undisclosed injuries when he was stationed in Florida. AGI, PC 256B, Batallon de Morenos: Lista de los Individuos se embarcaron para la Habana en la Corbeta de la Real Armada la Diana, 8 Sept. 1814.
15. ANC, CM, 11/1, Sublevacion y Juan Prieto, Jul. 1835 and ANC, EVer 250/18, Funerarios de Maria del Rosario Torres y María Regla de Cárdenas, 1827; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 186.
16. *Ibid.*
17. See note 32 below. ANC, AH, 228/1, Articulo II, Reglamentos del Cabildo Africano Lucumi, 25 Apr. 1910. The second article “El estandarte que desde el año 1820 mantiene y garantiza a la imagen de ‘Santa Bárbara’ como fe religiosa del culto africano lucumí” (Since 1820, the standard maintains and guarantees that the image of ‘Santa Bárbara’ as the religious faith of the African Lucumí cult); c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417.
18. ANC, CM, 11/1, Sublevacion y Juan Prieto, Jul. 1835 and ANC, EVer 250/18, Funerarios de Maria del Rosario Torres y María Regla de Cárdenas, 1827; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 186.

19. Original Spanish text in Ortiz, “Los Batá,” 221-22. Ortiz’ informant, Miguel Somodevilla, was the “oldest and most senior” master *bátá* drummer in the late-1940s. He obtained his knowledge from his elder Adofó who could have directly learned *bátá* traditions from Atandá Ño Filomeno García. Presumably, Ortiz knew both Somodevilla and Adofó because the later passed away in his eighties in 1946.
20. ANC, CM, 11/1 fol. 232-234 and other loose folios.
21. ANC, GSC 1677/83995, Lucumí Bragurá Santa Barbara, 1843.
22. *Ibid.*, Lucumí Yesa Nuestra Señora de la Merced, 1852.
23. *Ibid.*, Lucumí Elló Nuestra Señora de Regla, 1852.
24. Frederika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World*, 380-81.
25. According to David H. Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 64 n. 3. “One “Remegio Lucumí” was baptized in 1833 by the parochial church of Nueva Paz, according to his certificate of baptism... This suggests that this individual, bearing the African name Adechina (in Spanish, "Remegio Herrera," taking the surname of his master), arrived in Cuba about 1830. In Regla's census, Ño Remegio Herrera is listed as seventy years old, which puts his birth at 1811; his 1891 marriage certificate lists his age as seventy-five years, which puts his birth at 1816. By these numbers, he would have been twenty-two (by the 1881 document) or seventeen (by the 1891 document) in 1833, the year of his baptism (baptism, marriage, and census documents were kindly shared... by Pedro Cosme Baños, director of the Regla Museum, 1992-94). A death record in the Regla Parish archives shows Filomeno García of the nación Lucumí died of a “cerebral hemorrhage” at the age of seventy-seven on Aug 27, 1876.” See *Iglesia Parroquial de Regla, Libro de Defunciones de Pardos y Morenos, 1866-1886*, Libro 5, fol. 110, no. 833 in Landers, et al., *Ecclesiastical Sources*.
26. ANC, *Gobierno Superior Civil*, 1677/83997, Cabildo Lucumí Efon, 1862.
27. *Ibid.*, 1677/84010, Cabildo Lucumí Ayones Santa Bárbara, 1868.
28. Cabrera, *El Monte*, 34 and 35 n. 3. Cabrera's informant was José de Calazán Herrera, alias *El Moro* (the Moor) and he provided the most descriptive oral account in relation to the division of the Lucumí Cabildo “Changó Terddún.”
29. *Ibid.*
30. ANC, AH, 228/1, fol. 403-409; According to Ortiz, there were *reglamentos* from 1891, 1905, 1909 and 1912, but his collection does not contain actual copies; c.f. Carmen Barcia, *Ilustres Apellidos*, 417.
31. Cited in Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 81.
32. See note 17 above. ANC, AH, 228/1, Artículo II, Reglamentos del Cabildo Africano Lucumí, 25 Apr. 1910. According to Brown, *Santería Enthroned*, 70. “The Cabildo African Lucumí/Sociedad de Santa Bárbara of 1900 was a legally inscribed, voluntary association with a patron saint... The organization was a key, if not the key, institutional hub and cultural repository for the Lucumí religion in Havana, if not all of Cuba during this period. This status would be greatly reinforced by confirmation that the Cabildo Africano Lucumí/Sociedad de Santa Bárbara was none other than the twentieth-century reincarnation of the great Changó Tedún, the most widely remembered and important Lucumí cabildo in Cuba’s history. In any event, Cabildo Africano Lucumí, as suggested, claimed interlocking membership with other important Lucumí institutions: Adechina Remigio Herrera’s Cabildo de la Virgen de Regla/Yemayá, Silvestre Erice’s Sociedad de Protección Mutua Santa Rita de Casia y San Lázaro, known commonly as the Cabildo de Papá Silvestre, as well as Havana’s principal Ifá houses of [Eulogio Rodríguez] Tata Gaitán, Esteban Quiñones, Bonifacio Valdés, Pedro Pérez, and Bernabé Menocal, and the Ocha houses of Ña Caridad Argudín, Ña Margarita Armenteros, Ña Belén González, and, it seems the great Palenque village of Gumersindo and his “twin” Perfecto.”

APPENDIX 3

The Arrest Report and Declaration of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, July 14, 1835

On Sunday, July 12, 1835, a group of less than thirty Lucumí slaves were arrested in the neighborhood of Jesús María in Havana, Cuba. Just four days later, most of those involved were imprisoned and the leaders were executed by firing squad having their heads displayed on spikes in and around the city. In consequence of this disturbance, which resembled something more of a religious procession gone wrong than an uprising, the capatáz (leader) of the Cabildo Lucumí Elló, retired Second Sergeant Juan Nepomuceno Prieto (c.1773-c.1835), was charged with conspiracy to stage a revolt. Between c. 1818 and c. 1835, Prieto was the leader of the most widely remembered Lucumí cabildo de nación (mutual aid society) in Havana, if not all of Cuba. It is known in Afro-Cuban oral traditions as the Cabildo Changó Tedún.¹ Given his relative position in the Lucumí community and former service in the Black Militia, colonial authorities attempted not only to connect Prieto to the 1835 disturbance, but also the infamous Aponte Rebellion of 1812 – an island-wide revolt stemming from ideologies of freedom linked to the Haitian Revolution.

The original records related to this case are housed in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba and can be located at Comisión Militar (CM) 11/1. This legajo contains well over 400 pages with about two thirds of it relating to the trial, sentencing and punishment of Lucumí directly involved in the civil unrest on Sunday July 12. Two days later, Prieto was arrested and his home, which also served as the cabildo's headquarters, was searched. Manuel de Moya, Captain of Police in the Jesús María Township, seized several religious items, weapons and a stack of documents in what amounts to the cabildo's archive; about one third of the same legajo. On July 18, Prieto was

¹ This appendix is also published as Henry B. Lovejoy, "The Arrest Report and Declaration of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto, c.1818-1835," *Studies in the History of the African Diaspora – Documents* 20 (2012): 1-18. See http://harriet.tubman1.yorku.ca/the_shadd_collection.

made to testify before the court in relation to his alleged organization of the Lucumí disturbance of 1835 and his whereabouts in 1812. In addition, he was made to identify the weapons and religious items confiscated from home, which he did candidly. Captain Moya's Arrest Report of July 14 is found in folios 211-211v and Prieto's declaration in 220v-225v. The following is a Spanish transcription and English translation of both records.²

Capitania Pedaneo de Jesus Maria

Hab.^a 14 de Julio de 1835: Para este oficio al fiscal de la Comicion militar Cap.ⁿ D. Juan B.^{ta} Velasquez p.^a q.^e se una a la causa q.^e está formando y haga la correspondiente averiguacion acerca de lo q.^e en el se espresa –

Escmo. Sr.

Habiéndome manifestado varios vecinos q. sospecharon el negro Juan Nepomuceno Prieto capataz de la nacion Lucumi Elló habia tenido participio en la conspiracion de los negros la tarde del doce del corr.^e y q. en ella vieron salir de la casa de Prieto poco antes de estallar aquella de diez y nueve á veinte negros de nacion Lucumi vestidos de limpios q. á poco rato resultó la ocurrencia ya citada, y q. hay q. asegura q. entre los negros q. resultaron heridos uno de ellos era precisam^{te} de los q. salieron de la casa de su capataz y al soldado de mi custodia Simon Valdez un negro de los presos q. se hicieron al dia doce q. le apodan Faro dijo q. habia salido matando blancos por q. lo previno su capataz; asi mismo la preponderancia q. alcanzaba sobre los de su clase, Juan Nepomuceno con mas q. no faltan que digan q. Prieto está reputado como

² For the most part, the documents are in very good condition, but there are places, especially around the margins, where many words are illegible. I have tried to replicate, as best as possible, the original documents, both in terms of transcription and translation, although I have added some punctuation in the translation for purposes of clarity. All underlined passages for emphasis appear in the original records.

comprendido otro vez en causa de conspiracion contra los blancos el año de 1812 q. se demarca C. de Aponte; sellando las sospechas de la ocurrencia de este dia que cinco negros que salieron de la casa de Prieto luego que vieron á mi ten.^{te} D. José Barranco huyeron despavoridos ignorando la causa con cuya noticia pasé a la morada de aquel y vi en distintos puntos de ella un sin número de muñecos y trastos simbólicos de sus brujerías, un sugeto como de una vara con distintos atavios, otro pequeño con espejo en la barriga y otros varios sostenidos en el suelo; y en el patio la cadavera de un hombre cubierta con una jícara y bajo de ella sembrada tamb.ⁿ una casuela q. contenia muchos huesos, seguidamente se hallaron un colmillo de elefante q. figura un rostro y otra q. forma una disciplina con ramales de ceda y cabo de madera torneado, dos litros de pólvora y un paquete mas con balas, una escopeta, y un sable y otras varias cosas que seria dificultoso referir: Advertiendo que al tiempo de hacerse inspeccion en la casa y cuando Prieto resistiendo dijo indignado que conforme le hacian á él haria con nosotros y por estas razones lo conduje para la disposición de V.E. en unión de la China q. lo asistia y tres negros que estaban en su casa p.^r si pudieran estos contribuir al esclarecim.^{to} de los hechos que se quieren inquirir y acompaño los papeles que se hallaron en la casa de Prieto y los demas efectos de brujería con q. tenia ceducidos los incautos que de él se fiaban la pólvora, balas, escopeta y sable q. fueron hallados en la supracitada casa: todo lo cual pongo en el superior conocimiento de V.E. Jesus M.^a y Julio 14 de 1835.

Escmo. Sr.

Man. de Moya

Captaincy of the Jesus Maria Township

Hab.^a July 14 of 1835: To the office of the prosecutor Cap.ⁿ D. Juan B^a Velasquez of the military Commission in regards to the developing cause and corresponding inquiry with regards to that which is expressed herein –

Most Excellent Sir,

Various neighbors have expressed to me that they suspected the *negro* Juan Nepomuceno Prieto *capataz* of the *nacion Lucumi Elló* had had participation in the conspiracy of the *negros* the afternoon of the twelfth of the current month; and who in it they saw leaving Prieto's house, shortly before the revolt broke out, about nineteen or twenty cleanly dressed *negros* of the *nacion Lucumi*. And a short while afterwards, the already mentioned occurrence took place. And there is someone who asserts that from among the *negros* who were wounded, one of them in particular was among those who left their *capataz'* house; and by the soldier in my custody, Simon Valdez, he said that a *negro*, from among those arrested who assembled on the twelfth day, who they nickname Faro, had gone out killing *blancos* because his *capataz* influenced it; likewise the preponderance that Juan Nepomuceno gained over those from his class. With more who are not in short supply who say that Prieto is reputed as being involved at some other time in a conspiracy movement against the *blancos* in the year of 1812, which demarcates the *C. of Aponte*.³ Sealing the suspicions about the occurrence on this day, five *negros* left Prieto's house as soon as they saw my lieutenant D. José Barranco and they fled terrified not knowing the cause. With this information I went into his home and I saw in it, at different points, a countless number of *muñecos*⁴ and trinkets symbolic of his *brujería*.⁵ One object was like that of a staff with

³ The "C." refers to "conspiracy."

⁴ "*Muñecos*" translates as "dolls."

different adornments, another small one with [a] mirror in the belly and various others propped in the ground. And in the patio there was a man's *cadavera*⁶ covered with a *jícara*⁷ and also planted below it a cauldron which contained many bones. Forthwith were present an elephant's tusk which depicts a face and another which forms a *disciplina*⁸ with strands of silk and a twisted wooden handle: Two liters of gunpowder and one more packet with bullets, a musket, and a saber and other various things that would be difficult to relate. Observing that at the time of making inspection of the house, and when Prieto resisted, he said indignantly, just as they themselves were doing to him he would do to us. And for this reason I transported him to the disposition of Your Excellency in union with *la China*, who cares for him, and three *negros*⁹ that were in his house – in case these people could contribute to the clarification of the facts that they themselves [the court] wanted to investigate. And I enclose the papers that were in Prieto's house and extra articles of *brujeria* with which he has tempted the gullible. Pay attention to him with the gunpowder, bullets, musket and saber that were found in the aforementioned house: All of which I put in the superior knowledge of Your Excellency. Jesus M.^a and July 14 of 1835.

Most Excellent Sir

Man. de Moya

⁵ “*Brujería*” translates as “witchcraft” or “sorcery.”

⁶ “*Cadáver*” means “cadaver,” and “*calavera*” means skull. Most likely “*cadavera*,” which appears to be a cross between the two words, most likely translates as “skeletal remains.”

⁷ *Jicaras* are open-faced calabashes often used to hold sacrifices.

⁸ “*Disciplina*” translates as “discipline,” and also “cat-o-nine tails.”

⁹ Moya is referring to four people who were arrested with Prieto. The same *legajo* contains three additional declarations for the *negra criolla* Maria Guillerma Garcia, the *negro Lucumí* Anselmo Rodrigues and the *negro* Carabali Papá Antonio Diaz. See ANC, CM 11/1, 232-237v. The use of the term “*La China*” in this context is very odd and translates as “female ‘Chinese’ person.” In the entire *legajo*, there is no other mention of such a person. In all likelihood, and as far as I can tell, Moya might be referring to Maria Guillerma Garcia, who was Prieto's personal nurse “who cares for him.”

APPENDIX 4

The Declaration of Juan Nepomuceno Prieto,

This appendix contains a transcription and translation of Prieto's declaration as recorded by the *Comisión Militar*. Prieto was implicated in the Lucumí Disturbance in Havana on July, 12th, 1835. For more detail refer to introduction to Appendix 3. All underlines for emphasis appear in the original. Its reference is ANC, CM 11/1, 220v-225v.¹

Declaracion del Negro Juan Nepomuceno Prieto

En la plaza de la Habana á los diez y ocho días de Julio de mil ochocientos treinta y cinco compareció ante el Sr. Fiscal y presente Secretario el moreno libre Juan Nepomuceno Prieto de nacion Lucumí, C.A.R. de estado viudo, que la edad no puede fijarla sino diciendo: que vino en la época del Sr. Galvez Gobernador de esta Ciudad, siendo muchachon, Sarg.^{to} Segundo retirado del Batallon de Morenos Leales de esta Ciudad, y domiciliado en esta –

Preg^{do} Por que causa está preso, en que parage, con que armas y que juez lo aprehendió. Dijo: Que ignora la causa de su prision que fué aprehendido hallandose en su casa y en la cama enfermo hace el espacio de siete años, de resultas de unas fistolas que tiene entre ambas vias, por consiguiente sin arma alguna, y que fué presa por el Cap.ⁿ de Jesus Maria D. Manuel Moya –

Preg^{do} Si conoce á D. Juan Fernandez vecino de Guadalupe y natural de esta Isla, a D. Jose Feria tambien natural de esta Isla, y vecino de Jesus Maria, y a D. Secundino Fernandez natural de la Habana domiciliado en la misma, y de ejercicio armero: en este caso declare si tiene ó no

¹ This appendix is also published as H. Lovejoy, "Juan Nepomuceno Prieto."

amistad con ellos, si ha tenido algun disgusto u algun otro motivo que pueda haber ocasionado le tengan odio ó mala voluntad al declarante. Dijo: Que no conoce á los sugetos Q. quienes se le pregunta, y de consiguiente ignora todo lo demas de la pregunta –

Preg^{do} En que parage vive, si la casa que habita es de su propiedad, ó de alquiler y en este caso cuanto le gana, y quien es su dueño, si vive solo u acompañado. Dijo: Que vive en el barrio de Jesus Maria, al inmediación del Puente del Padre Armenteros, en una casa de su propiedad y que lo acompaña la negra criolla Maria Guillerma Garcia, la que es casada con el negro criollo Dionisio Agüero, y del que está separada hace algunos años, y la que asiste al declarante en su enfermedad: que esta M.^a Guillerma es la unica persona que vive en la casa –

Preg^{do} Que personas, bien sean blancas, ó de color concurren á la casa del declarante designandolas con sus nombres y apellidos, y las que diariamente ó con mas frecuencia lo hagan espresando el fin de sus visitas. Dijo: Que á su casa concurren blancos, mulatos, y negros de todos secos, con el fin de consultarle enfermedades para lo que conoce algunos específicos en llerva, no pudiendo decir el nombre ni apellido de las que lo solicitan, pues estas solo vienen á su negocio, le consultan la enfermedad, el declarante les dá su remedio y no se informa de su nombre ni apellido –

Preg^{do} Si el Domingo doce del corriente no estuvieron en su casa algunas personas a consultarle enfermedades diciendo si eran blancos ó negros y a que numero ascendía los que concurrieron. Dijo: Que el citado dia Domingo no hubo en su casa persona alguna estraña que viniese a consultarle enfermedades, ni tampoco á visitarle escepto el negro Juan esclavo de D. Aniceto Armenteros que como ahijado del que declara vino a verlo como enfermo, y le trajo un poco de raspadura el cual permanecía en la casa del que está relatando en el momento de oírse la bulla

que ocasionaron los amotinados del dia doce Q. lo que el esponente le previno que se fuese para la casa de su amo derecho –

Preg^{do} Si en la citada tarde del Domingo doce, salieron de su casa diez y siete, ó diez y ocho negros Lucumies vestidos todos de camisa y calzon de rusia blancos, todos iguales, siendo como las tres de la tarde, manifestando si eran sus ahijados, y si habian venido a verlo como enfermo. Dijo: Que es incierto lo que contiene la pregunta, pues el referido Domingo no ha estado en su casa mas que el negro Juan Armentero, como podrá decirlos el vecindario, pues en aquel dia estaba bastante malo de la fistola –

Preg^{do} Como supo el declarante que había bulla, y si llegó a comprehender la causa q. la motivaba. Dijo: Que la noticia se le participó la negra Guillerma diciendole, que en la calle gritaban que los negros emancipados se habian lebandado por lo que dispuso que cerrasen las puertas –

Preg^{do} Si ha sabido que los negros que han ocasionado los desordenes del Domingo doce hallan sido invitados para perpetrarlos Q. alguna persona, declarando quien es está bien sea blanca ó de color y si sabe tambien el punto donde se han reunido para tratar de la sublevacion, que persona hizo cabeza, y a que se aspiraba. Dijo: Que ignora cuanto se le pregunta –

Preg^{do} Si conoce los negros Lucumies Hermenegildo Jauregui de condicion libre y de bastante edad, Agustin, José Clemente Dabila, Andres Campos, Fernando, Juan de Mata Gonzales criollo de la Habana, y a Tomas Rodriguez Lucumi. Dijo: Que por ninguno de los que se le pregunta conoce –

Preg^{do} Si en otra ocasion ha estado preso, o comprendido en alguna causa. Dijo: Que nunca ha estado preso, ni se le ha Seguido causa como los comprueba con los veinte y cuatro años que le ha servido a S. M. –

Preg^{do} Si en el año de mil ochocientos doce se encontraba en esta Ciudad ó de lo contrario en que parage detallando si es posible los meses que estaba en cada uno. Dijo: Que en el año de mil ochocientos doce permaneció en la Habana hasta el veinte y seis de Junio, que fue embarcado como Cabo primero del Batallon de Morenos en el Bergantin de S. M. Juan Francisco de Borjas como igualmente su Compañia para servir de refuerzo a la Guarnicion de Panzacola, donde permaneció el tpo. de cuatro años –

Preg^{do} Si en la causa que se siguió en esta Plaza contra el negro Aponte y correos, sobre conspiracion tiene ministrada en ella alguna declaracion y si recuerda el particular a que se contrajo, debiendo: tener presente que la sitada causa le dió principio á ella el año de mil ochocientos doce. Dijo: Que ni como testigo ni como Réo, ha declarado en dha. causa –

Preg^{do} Con que fin, y para que uso, tiene en su casa una porcion de muñecos, y otros mil [sic], como asi mismo una cadavera de cuerpo humano, y otra de un chivo. Dijo: Que una pieza q. se encuentra con unos muñecos, varios colgajos y un parche de cuero de Chivo que sirve para Tambor en sus funciones: Una muñeca de trapo con una bolsita colgada p.^r dentro que encierra medio, sirve para hacer oraciones por su salud: Que el muñeco mas grande y que tiene un deposito en el pecho de sangre de Pichones y otros animales, se llama Changó que es el mismo que decir Rey, ó Sta Barbara á q.ⁿ veneran como a Dios. Otro muñeco de madera también chiquitico y metido con una maquina con un espejo en la barriga y unas guarniciones de frijoles colorados significan ser hijo del muneco grande con el que juegan y bailan los muchachos. Un

pedazo de barro el q. sirve tambien para oraciones. Otro pedazo de guiro con un pedazo de pellejo y medio dentro tambien sirve para sus oraciones: Que la cadavera humana que se encuentra sirva para rezar los muertos. Un guiro con una porción de plumas como erizo, tambien sirve para sus oraciones. Una visija con avíos de afeitar perteneciente a Juan [Mardoc, Mardox or Mardos]: Una porción de papeles los cuales empaquetaron para examinarlos a su tiempo: Un palo con una disciplina de seda llamado Opachangó que significa el cetro del Rey. Una cadavera de Chivo y otros varios huesos que sirven para sus oraciones. Una porcion de muñecos en figura de palitroque los q. sirven clavados en el suelo tambien p.^r oraciones: Que de la otra porción de [sic] huesos y otras cosas que hay sirven para sus rezos sengun al uso de la tierra. Un pedazo de colmillo de elefante con dos caras grabadas sirve de campanilla p.^r llamar a Dios: Dos pedazos de varas de hierro con adornos del mismo metal sirven de pararrayos: Una escopeta que dice no ser suya q. pertenece a un Frances llamado M.^r [Toré or José], el cual se fué al monte hace [sic] unos cuatro años, y se la dejó. Que todo lo que se le ha encontrado en su casa y se le pone de manifiesto, como asimismo el saco de polvora, paquete de cartuchos embalados, y tres cartuchos mas sueltos tambien embalados, y un palo con un rabo blanco, adornado de varias cintas y cuentas no tiene otro significado que el rogar p.^r la salud de todos los cristianos. Que el palo de rabo blanco sirve tambien para bailar, advirtiendo que la polvora y cartuchos se la dió el mismo M.^r [Toré], ignorando el parage donde se retiró este hombre. Que los cuatro sables con puño de madera y sin baina que se le ponen de manifiesto ni los conoce, ni sabe à q.ⁿ pertenecen –

Preg^{do} Si la negra Guillerma García trabaja en las mismas oraciones y con los mismos muñecos que se le ponen de manifiesto. Dijo: Que no entiende nada de eso –

En este estado dispuso el Sr. Fiscal suspender esta actuacion p.^a continuarla cuando fuere necesario se le leyó esta su declaracion y manifestó estar conforme, y que se afirma y ratifica en todo su contenido sin tener que añadir ni quitar: y firmó con el Sr. fiscal y el presente Secretario

—

Juan B.^{ta} Velasquez

Lorenzo Batanas

Juan N Prieto

Declaration of the *Negro* Juan Nepomuceno Prieto

Appearing before the Public Prosecutor and present Secretary in the plaza of Havana on the eighteenth day of July of one thousand eight hundred and thirty-five: The *moreno* Juan Nepomuceno Prieto of the *nación* Lucumí, C.A.R.,² widowed status, of an age that could not be established apart from saying that he came in the period of Sr. Gálvez Governor of this city,³ being a *muchachon*,⁴ retired Second Sgt. of the *Batallon de Morenos Leales* of this city and domiciled herein —

Ask^{ed} For what reason is he arrested, in what place, with what weapons and what judge [i.e. authority] captured him. He said: That he does not know the reason for his imprisonment and was captured being in his house and in bed ill as he has been for a period of seven years, as the result of some fistulas that he has between both passages, consequently without any weapon, and that he was arrested by the Cap.ⁿ of Jesus Maria D. Manuel Moya.

² “C.A.R.” stands for *Católico Apostólico Romano*.

³ In reference to Bernardo de Gálvez y Madrid (1746-1786), Governor of Havana for less than a year between 1784 and May, 1785. He subsequently became Viceroy of Nueva España in Veracruz.

⁴ *Muchachon* makes use of the superlative for *muchacho* (boy), which suggests he was a large boy.

Ask^{ed} Whether he knows D. Juan Fernandez, resident of Guadalupe and native of this Island, D. José Fera also native of this Island and resident of Jesus Maria, and D. Secundino Fernandez native of Habana domiciled in the same, and of the gunsmith practice:⁵ in this case, declare whether he has friendships with them or not, whether he has had some disagreement or some other motive that has caused them to have hatred towards him or a bad disposition toward the deponent. He said: That he does not know the people that you ask him about, and consequently he does not know anymore about the question –

Ask^{ed} In what place does he live, whether the house he inhabits is of his property, or for rent, and in this case how much does that person earn from him, and who is its owner; whether he lives alone or accompanied. He said: That he lives in the neighborhood of Jesus Maria, in the proximity of the *Padre Armenteros* bridge in a house of his own property.⁶ And the *negra* María Guillerma García lives with him, the one who is married to the *negro criollo* Dionisio Agüero [but] who is separated from him for several years. And the one who cares for the deponent in his illness. And this M.^a Guillerma is the only person who lives in the house –

Ask^{ed} What persons, either being *blancos*, or *de color* gather at the deponent's house expressing the purpose of their visits, providing them with their names and last names; and the ones who gather daily or with more frequency. He said: That *blancos*, *mulatos*, and *negros* of all sexes gather at his house with the purpose of consultations about illnesses because of what he knows about some specifics in herbs. He could neither say the [first] name nor last name of those who request [advice] from him, because these people only come to his business, they consult him

⁵ These people are witnesses who testified against Prieto.

⁶ It is also known as *Puente de Chávez*.

about an illness, the deponent gives them his remedy and he does not ask about their [first] name nor last name –

Ask^{ed} Whether on the Sunday the twelfth of the current month were there not some people in his house to consult him about illnesses saying whether they were *negro* or *blanco* and how many people did it go up to. He said: That on the mentioned Sunday he neither had in his house any strange person who might have come to consult him about illnesses, nor to visit him except for the *negro* Juan slave of D. Aniceto Armenteros, who is his *ahijado*.⁷ And he declares [that] this person came to see him as an invalid and [that] he brought him some *raspadura*.⁸ He, who he is reporting on, stayed at the house at the moment of hearing the racket that the rioters caused on the twelfth day. At which point, the deponent advised [the *negro* Juan] that he should go straight to his master's house –

Ask^{ed} Whether on the mentioned Sunday the twelfth, seventeen or eighteen *negros Lucumies* left his house dressed entirely in white Russian shirts and trousers, everyone the same, being about three in the afternoon, declaring they were his *ahijados*, and whether they had come to see him as an invalid. He said: That it is uncertain of the thing which the question asks, because on the referred Sunday no one else had been to his house but the *negro* of Juan Armentero, as the neighbourhood will be able to confirm, because on that day he was pretty bad from the fistula –

Ask^{ed} How the deponent knew that there was racket, and whether he managed to understand the reason that motivated it. He said: That the *negra* Guillerma shared the news with him saying to

⁷ “*Ahijado*” translates as “godson.”

⁸ *Raspadura* is the brown sugar that gets stuck on the bottom of sugar pans at the sugar mills. The Spanish verb *raspar* means “to scrape” or “to scrape off.”

him that people were shouting in the street when the *negros emancipados* had rebelled, whereby they prepared to close the doors –

Ask^{ed} Whether he has known the *negros* who caused the disorder of Sunday the twelfth, [whether] they have been encouraged to perpetuate those disorders, declaring who it is [that encouraged them,] either being *blanco* or *de color*, and whether he knows the point where they assembled to plan the revolt, what person was chief, and what was he aspiring for. He said: That he does not know anything he is asked about –

Ask^{ed} Whether he knows the *negros Lucumies* Hermenegildo Jaurgui of free status and rather aged, Agustin, José Clemente Dabila, Andres Campos, Fernando, Juan de Mata Gonzales *criollo* from Habana, and Tomas Rodriguez Lucumí.⁹ He said: That he does not know anyone of them who is asked about –

Ask^{ed} Whether he has been arrested on another occasion, or included in any cause. He said: Thathe has never been arrested, nor has he followed any cause which he demonstrates with twenty-four years of service in the S.M. [*Servicio Militar* (Military Service)] –

Ask^{ed} If, in the year of one thousand eight hundred and twelve, he was present in this city, or to the contrary, detailing in which place, if it is possible, [and] where he was in each of the months. He said: Thatin the year of one thousand eight hundred and twelve, he stayed in Havana until the twenty-sixth of June, when as first Corporal of the *Batallon de Morenos* he was sent aboard the Brig S. M. Juan Francisco de Borjas along with his Company in order to serve with

⁹ The people listed here are the names of the leaders involved in the uprising of July 12.

reinforcements for the Panzacola [Pensacola] Garrison, where he stayed for the period of four years –

Ask^{ed} Whether in the cause that ensued in this Plaza against the *negro* Aponte and associates, about this conspiracy, has he ever provided about it some declaration and whether he remembers the particulars to which it caught on, having to bear in mind the mentioned cause had its beginning in the year one thousand eight hundred and twelve. He said: That neither as a witness nor as a criminal, has he acknowledged in sd. cause –

Ask^{ed} With what purpose, and for what use, does he have in his house a large number of *muñecos*, and another thousand [sic], as well as a human *cadavera*, and another from a young male goat.

He said: That a medium piece, which is found with some dolls, various rags and a patch of male goat leather, is used in his drumming functions: A *muñeca de trapo* with a little bag hung on the inside that encloses the middle, is used to make orations for your health.¹⁰ And the biggest doll, which has sediments of blood from a Pigeon and other animals on its chest, is called *Changó*, which is the same as saying King, or Saint Barbara, who they venerate like God. Likewise another very small wooden doll, with a mirror in the belly which was put in with a machine and some garnishments of kidney beans, signifies it is the son of the large doll with which the boys play and dance. A piece of earthenware is also used for orations. And the human *cadavera*,

¹⁰ *Muñeca de trapo* usually translates as “rag doll.” However, the secretary in this unique example chose to the use a female gender specific “*muñeca*” instead of “*muñeco*” in all other usages. The female “*muñeca*” usually means “doll,” but it can also translate as muslin bag or polishing bag. “*Trapo*” is defined as rag or tatter. The original Spanish also says there is a little bag or pouch hanging on the inside and perhaps enclosed in the middle, which suggests that in this case it is not a doll, but indeed some sort of bag with a little pouch containing some ritual objects. It should also be noted that *muñeca* can also be used to describe a ball of rags soaked in a liquid used to bath and refresh the mouth and other parts of the body. Since Prieto had fistulas and knowledge of herbs, this object could have been used to treat his sores and the little pouch found in the middle would have been filled with herbs.

which is found, is used to pray to *los muertos*.¹¹ A *güiro*,¹² with a portion of feathers that looks like a burr, is also used in his orations. A vessel with shaving utensils belongs to Juan [illegible: Mardoc, Mardox or Mardos?]. A portion of papers, which were wrapped, will be examined in due time. A stick with a silk *disciplina* is called *Opachangó* signifying that it is the sceptre of the King. A *cadavera* of a young male goat, and several other bones, are used in his orations. A large number of dolls in the shape of *palitroques*,¹³ which are driven into the ground, are also used in orations. And of the other large number of [illegible word] bones and other things, that are there, are used in his prayers according to the custom of [their] region. A piece of elephant tusk with two faces engraved in it serves as a small bell to call to God. Two pieces of iron rod, with adornments of the same metal, are used for lightning rods. A musket, which he says is not his, belongs to a Frenchman called Monsieur [illegible name], who went to the [illegible word] mountain some four years ago and left it behind. And everything that has been in his house and is displayed to him: likewise the sack of gunpowder, pack of wrapped up cartridges, and three more loose cartridges that are also wrapped up. And a stick with a white tail, adorned with various ribbons and beads has no other importance other than praying for the health of every Christian. And the stick with the white tail is also useful to dance with. Noting that the same Monsieur [illegible name] gave him the gunpowder and cartridges, not knowing the place where this man went to. And the four sabers with a wooden handle and no scabbard, which are displayed to him, neither does he recognize them, nor does he know who they belong to –

¹¹ “*Los Muertos*” translates as the dead, but it can also mean “spirits.”

¹² A “*Güiro*” is a musical instrument made from a large calabash with small objects inside and covered in a beaded net on the outside.

¹³ “*Palitroques*” translates as “small, roughly carved sticks.”

Ask^{ed} Whether the *negra* Guillerma García works on the same orations and with the same dolls which they have showed him. He said: That she does not understand any of that.

In this state the Public Prosecutor prepared to suspend this proceeding in order to continue until it is deemed necessary. Reading out his declaration, which was revealed to be in order and was confirmed and ratified of all of its contents without having to add or remove anything; and he signed it along with the Public Prosecutor and the present Secretary –

Juan B.^{ta} Velasquez

Lorenzo Batanas

Juan N Prieto

APPENDIX 5

Muster Rolls of the Black Militia from Havana

Stationed at Pensacola, Florida, Jan. 13, 1814¹

1^a Compañía de Morenos de la Habana

Clases	Nombres		
Sargento 2 ^o	Felipe Carballo	Leon Monzon	
Tambor	Espiritu Santo Aquiro		
Cabo 1 ^o	Juan Prieto	Leocadio Diaz	Pablo Pacheco
	Antonio Villaseca	Nicolas Olaris	Blas Arango
Cabo 2 ^o	Matias Santa Cruz	Manuel Martinez	Facundo Ramirez
	Bartolo Galvez	Manuel Cabrera	
Soldado	Justo Alvares	Jose Infante	Jose Gonzalez
	Florentino de Flores	Jose Allovín	Antonino Caballero
	Justo Rodriguez	Benito Medirra	Juan Facenda
	Joaquin Pallardo	Pablo Fernandez	Andres Chavarria
	Jose Perez	Tomas Hernandez	Pedro Fagle
	Pedro Menocal	Jose Fernandez	Balentin Penalver
	Patricio del Pilar	Angel Santa Cruz	Dionisio Godoy
	Jose Roque	Pedro Hernandez	Andres Basan
	Jose Almentero	Marcelo Castillo	Belen Bovadilla
	Jose Lisundia	Jose Moya	Miguel Luz
	Alexo de Soto	Facundo Banyas	Claudio Miralles
	Jose de los Rios	Bartasal Aguiar	Francisco Pimienta
	Eucebio Infanzon	Jose Fiallo	Felipe Gonzales
	Francisco Alcalde	Jose Mandeo	Isidoro Franco
	Jose Ramos	Mariano Quinonez	Jose de la Paz
	Manuel Duante	Balentin Belozo	Pablo Blanquisal
	Manuel Moreno	Carlos Gamarra	Jose Castellon
	Juan Quiroga	Juan Martinez	Luis Penalvea
	Francisco Minan	Francisco Noriega	Jose del Pezo
	Jose Arostegui	Manuel Aguilar	Ramon Miranda
Jose Heredia	Simon Zequeira	Isidoro Castillo	
Marcos Mirando	Pablo de la Cruz	Juan Martinez	
Eduardo Caydo	Isidoro Hernandez	Jose Uguarte	
Julian Barreto	Brifido Ricardo	Juan Castro	
Total: 91		Firmado por Jose Agüero	

¹ AGI, PC 256B, 1a Compañía de Morenos de la Habana, 2a Compañía de Morenos de la Habana and Cuerpo de Artillería Nacional Compañía de Morenos Milicianos de la Habana, 13 Ene. 1814.

2ª Compañía de Morenos de la Habana

Clases	Nombres		
Sargento 1º	Pedro Gonzalez		
Sargento 2º	Agustin Alvares	Vizente Fernandes	
Tambor	Jose Oliva		
Cabo 1º	Benito Rivera Patricio Almenteros	Ancelmo Pacheco Mariano Pinelo	Cipriham Hernandez
Cabo 2º	Luciano Xaquez Crispin del Rey	Jose Maria de la Paz Ciriaco Barrio	Estevan Herrera
Soldado	Jose Caballevo Jose Penalver Estevan Morales Patricio Basquez Gilln famozon Francisco Pulgaron Celestino Aguiar Jose Bastia Jose Gonzales 2º Jose Caniego Jose Morefon Merchor del Rey Bartolo Polva Bernardo Borrás Mauricio Burato Antonio Santa Cruz Pedro Basconcelo Jose Gonzales 2o Pedro Duarte Dionicio Basquez Crispin Escobar Juan Berman Leonardo Corral Juan Diaz Mateo Moya	Luis Guillermo Juan Alvares Cecilio Mesa Jose Rodriguez Jose Rivera Francisco Basquez Jose Oliva Ignacio Morales Andres Santa Cruz Jose Martinez Francisco Hernandez Jose Trabiero Pedro Manrique Jose Pomares Valeriano de Saya Eusebio Castillo Jose Gonzales 1º Jose del Pezo Pablo Baliente Jose Maria Herrera Bernardo Peres Bonifacio Povea Dionicio Almentero Francisco Gavia Miguel Roque	Jose Penaloza Pablo Rivero Mateo Zavsa Canuto Peres Nicolas Berroa Blas Povea Jose Catalad Leocadio Herrera Jose Figuena Celestino Arango Jose Maria Cepero Rafael Chavarria Bernave Chizino Francisco Diaz Jose Herrera Gregorio Castilla Jose del Rey Abraham Estrada Juan Bulino Jose Garvez Gregorio Campilla Ramon Mamiq Francisco Penalver Juan Heredia Jose Prados
Total: 89		Firmado por Pedro Gonzalez	

Cuerpo de Artillería Nacional Compañía de Morenos Milicianos de la Habana

Clases	Nombres		
Cabo 1º	Santiago Blanco		
Soldado	Jose Ribero Jose Santo Domingo Jose del Rey Manuel de Jesus Rivera Jose Aleman Felipe Castilla	Juan Quisitana Jose de Urrutia Clemente Ramirez Francisco Morales Jose Maria Menendes	Jose Isquierdo Felix Marrero Cayetano Bergarra Vicente Marrero Francisco de la Cruz
Total: 47		Firmado por Francisco Palmes	

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