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Cape Verde and Its People: A Short History, Part I

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*Cape Verde Islands

Two booklets provide an overview of the history and folklore of Cape Verde, a group of islands lying 370 miles off the west coast of Africa. One booklet describes the history of the islands which were probably settled initially by Africans from the west coast of Africa. By the 15th century the islands were colonized by Portuguese and other Europeans. The language, Crioulo, is a mixture of Portuguese vocabulary and African grammar. Geographical position was the main reason for settlement of Cape Verde: located near the African coast, with good winds and currents, the islands were an ideal stopping place for ships sailing between North America and Africa and Europe and South America. Salt and hand-woven cloth were exported from the islands, and in the 15th and 16th centuries slave trade provided another basis for commercial activity. Cape Verdeans came to America in the 17th century as slaves, and in later years others immigrated to New England to work in cranberry bogs. Cape Verde became independent of Portuguese rule in 1975. One of its most serious problems is recurring drought and famine. The booklet of folk tales contains five stories with the same characters: a foolish man, a clever boy, and an equally clever wolf. The folk tales seem appropriate for intermediate or junior high reading level. (AV)
Cape Verde and its People: A Short History
TCHUBA means rain in Crioulo, the language of the Cape Verdean people. Throughout five centuries of Portuguese colonial rule in our drought ridden West African islands, our poets and song writers have used the word as a metaphor or symbol for "hope".

TCHUBA, the American Committee for Cape Verde, is an independent, non-profit, tax exempt organization. TCHUBA is engaged in the production of educational materials and programs for use in America as well as self-help development programs in the Republic of Cape Verde.

The leadership of TCHUBA is composed of Cape Verdeans, Cape Verdean-Americans, and other individuals who share our dedication to "life for Cape Verde" and to cultural pluralism in American life.

The City of Praia, capital of the Republic of Cape Verde.
CAPE VERDE AND ITS PEOPLE
A SHORT HISTORY

PART I

Written by: Raymond A. Almeida and Patricia Nyhan
Adapted from an Unpublished Manuscript by
Deirdre Meintel Machado

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The cover design is from a pano, a hand-woven Cape Verdean textile.

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PREFACE

Many New Englanders know that Cape Verdean sailors manned the Yankee whaling ships of the late 19th century and labored in the cranberry bogs and textile factories in the first part of this century. Few Americans know that the large-scale immigration to the United States which began over a century ago was just one step in a long and continuing history of contact between the American people and the people of Cape Verde. This book, which is Part I of a short history of the Cape Verdean people, is about that relationship -- you might call it the "Cape Verdean American Connection."
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The Republic of Cape Verde is a group of islands, or archipelago, lying 370 miles off the west coast of Africa. The Cape Verde Islands became an independent nation on July 5, 1975, after 500 years of Portuguese colonial rule.
1. WHO ARE THE CAPE VERDEAN PEOPLE?

Many Faces One People

The story of the Cape Verden people begins a long time ago — no one is exactly sure just how long ago. Some historians believe that the first people who lived on this string of small islands were Africans from the nearby coast of West Africa. No one really knows for sure.

In the 15th century Portuguese and other European adventurers, settlers and outcasts came to the islands and established small settlements. Portugal made Cape Verde a colony in 1456. The “Cape Verden people” was born after generations of contact between these first colonizers and the West African people they imported as slaves.

Within the confines of these isolated islands the population of Cape Verde developed as a multi-racial people, a people of many faces but one people. Most of these early colonists were European men who took wives from among the larger African slave population or from among the growing population of mestico people (mixed African and European). Today, few of the 275,000 people of Cape Verde are of either pure African or pure European origin. However, they all share the same unique culture — customs, folklore, music and literature. The Cape Verden language, Crioulo is also unique. Crioulo has its roots in several West African languages and Portuguese. Equally as important is the fact that Cape Verdeners share a common history of 500 years of colonial rule. Cape Verde did not become an independent nation until 1975.

Many Cape Verdeners celebrate the same religious feasts as the Portuguese, but their drumming, singing and dancing have deep roots in their African heritage. They grew corn, an import from the Americas (Brazil) using African methods but laid out their small fields using traditional Portuguese terrace farming practices. The people sometimes use a stone mill to grind corn the way Portuguese peasants once did, but they also use the mortar and pestle found throughout Africa.

Whether a Cape Verden appears black, white or of mixed racial background, he or she feels part of this culture. Even Cape Verdians living in immigrant communities in the U.S. and other countries can belong to the Cape Verden culture, as well as their new one.

Hunger and Poverty

The Cape Verde islands are small, poor and isolated. Except for the sailors who used to depend upon them for safe harbor and supplies, they have remained virtually unknown to outsiders. Even the severe droughts and famines which regularly occur in the islands haven’t attracted international attention. As one Cape Verden poet wrote, “The radio doesn’t broadcast it, the newspapers don’t mention it, no one telegrams”.

The Cape Verde Islands are part of the Sahelian zone of West Africa. “Sahel” is an Arabic word which means “coast” and refers to those nations which border on the southern “coast” of the Sahara Desert. For almost six months each year the prevailing winds in this region of the world blow in a southwesterly direction off the great desert. These dreaded winds bring on the parched earth, wind erosion and continual agricultural crises so characteristic of this region of the world. In the worst of times severe drought lasting many years has devasted the Cape Verden people with hunger, disease and death.

The following figures will give you an idea of the silent tragedy in which the people of Cape Verde live. It is interesting to note that these figures were developed by the colonial government.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of Famine</th>
<th>Total victims</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Between 1747 and 1900</td>
<td>58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Between 1900 and 1970</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

For a better conception of the importance of these figures we must try to appreciate them in light of the total population of the islands.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years of the Great Famines</th>
<th>Percentage of Total Population to Die of Drought Related Disease and Starvation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1773-76</td>
<td>50%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1830-33</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1863-66</td>
<td>40%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-03</td>
<td>25%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920-22</td>
<td>20%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940-43</td>
<td>15%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1946-48</td>
<td>35%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>*1967-76</td>
<td>No statistics available</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

During the 203 years between 1773-1976 the people of Cape Verde have endured more than half a century of famine. The number of victims of this scourge has been larger than the actual population of the islands. During the 20th century, Cape Verdians have already suffered 20 years of famine. During each of these years
of famine between 15% and 35% of the population has been lost.

During the last two centuries of Portuguese rule, the people of Cape Verde have had to face one year of total famine for every four years of their existence. This tragedy contradicts the so-called civilizing and Christianizing effort of Portuguese colonialism in Africa. During these years of intensive drought the population of Cape Verde, especially the poorest, have been deprived of even minimal standards of health and the nutrition necessary to survive.
2. THE FIRST CAPE VERDEANS

Legend

Where did the people of Cape Verde come from? If life was so difficult on these small barren islands, why did the Portuguese want to establish a permanent colony here? What kind of people developed in this isolated corner of the world? Why is the history of the Cape Verdean people of any interest to Americans? These are some of the important questions we will explore in this short history of the Cape Verdean people.

The earliest Cape Verdeans left only one clue, mysterious rock inscriptions on the island of São Nicolau. No one is really sure who put them there. One legend says that the Wolofs, an ethnic group from the coast of Guinea, West Africa, visited the islands before Europeans came to Cape Verde. The story has it that small groups of Wolof had taken refuge from their tribal enemies on the coast. If this was so they probably took advantage of the rich fishing grounds around Cape Verde. Early visitors may have come to the islands of Sal and Maio to gather salt. For many centuries "white gold", as salt was sometimes called in this part of the world, had been used as part of the currency for intertribal trade in West Africa. Even today Cape Verde has an active salt mining industry. Arabian sailors may have known about the Cape Verde Islands in early times, too. Whatever the true story of Cape Verde's earliest people is, the population must not have been large enough to prevent the next visitors from taking complete control.

Fact

Criminals, adventurers, a few nobles, Jews fleeing the persecution of the "Spanish Inquisition" and peasants escaping the poverty of Portugal's countryside were typical of the early Portuguese settlers. The dangers and difficulties of life in the Islands made it hard to attract settlers. Other Europeans also settled in the islands included small numbers of French, English, Italians, and Germans. These included pirates and ordinary seamen who had jumped ship, as well as traders and fortune-seekers. But the Europeans were soon outnumbered by the African slaves they imported.

As the demand for slave labor increased in the New World, the Islands became a "crossroads of the seas." Goods from the world over were exchanged for slaves along the coast of West Africa. In the 17th century alone the Cape Verdes were the first stop in the "middle passage" for at least some 28,000 Africans on their voyage to the New World. Many would not survive, few would ever return.
3. EUROPEANS COME TO THE CAPE VERDES

Antonio da Noli, Explorer

Just thirty-seven years before Columbus first came to America in 1492, another Italian reached the Cape Verde Islands. Both Antonio da Noli and Columbus were looking for something else, the riches of the Orient. Both men came from the city of Genoa, and both worked for European royalty. In their day, voyages to the Orient were made by way of the African coast.

When da Noli arrived, he claimed the Cape Verde Islands for Portugal because his expedition had been sponsored by a Portuguese prince, Henry the Navigator. He found five of the islands. Six years later a Portuguese named Diego Afonso reached the other five. What they found were two types of islands in the archipelago: the flat, sandy, dry ones (Sal, Boa Vista, Mind, Santa Luzia), and the more humid mountainous ones (São Vicente, São Nicolau, Brava, Santo Antão, Fogo and São Tiago). Most of them were formed from volcanoes about two hundred million years ago. The flat islands being more ancient than the mountainous ones. (One island, Fogo, still has a smoking volcano; it last erupted in 1957.)

First Colonists

Spaniards, Portuguese and Italians first settled in the largest island, São Tiago. Europe needed sugar. These European settlers hoped to become rich by growing sugar cane with the labor of the African slaves they brought with them. They knew that sugar from the Portuguese island of Madeira (discovered some years earlier) was already making colonists there wealthy. But São Tiago proved disappointing. Its dry and unpredictable climate made survival difficult. Since those early days, almost every generation has known famine in São Tiago. Sometimes as many as half of the population has died.

“Crossroads of the Seas”

Why were these islands settled, then? Their geographical position was the key. Located near the African coast, with good winds and currents, they were an ideal stopping point for ships sailing between North America and Africa and Europe and South America. Sailors could come in out of storms and take on food and water. On the other hand, the islands were fair game for pirates, including the well-known Englishman, Sir Francis Drake. The remains of many lookout towers used for spotting unfriendly vessels can still be seen.

4. SLAVERY AND THE DEVELOPMENT OF A CULTURE

Crioulo: a language for many purposes

Crioulo is the language of the Cape Verden people. When thinking about Crioulo it is important that we remember how the language developed and what role it played in the slave trade and the development of the Cape Verden people.

The Cape Verden Crioulo developed very early in the history of African and European interaction in the Islands. It served as a vehicle for inter-ethnic communication among the African slaves and very quickly became the lingua franca or the everyday language of the common people of the Islands. Slaves who were fluent in Crioulo and who had been baptised were called “ladinos.” In the coastal towns of São Tiago and Fogo they served as interpreters for the clergy, European settlers and slave merchants.

The “soul” of Cape Verde

The Crioulo language has borrowed much of its vocabulary from Portuguese. But its rhythm, intonation, its “inner feeling” and its grammar show distinctive African influences. The “soul” of the Cape Verden experience finds its only true expression in the language which developed in response to this early history of intense cultural confrontation between peoples and institutions of two very different worlds. Through Crioulo the Cape Verden people could escape momentarily from the hardships of life. It was the language of dance, poetry and song. The most important type of song was the morna. African slaves in Brazil shouted and danced to their samba. The same spectrum of joys, pains and hopes was expressed through the “Blues” and “Spirituals” by Africans in North America. The morna is a window into the soul of the Cape Verden experience. The Portuguese colonizer did not voice objection to the morna in the same way he did to the Butauche which was regarded
as more African in form with its more intense rhythmic body movements and drumming. A careful analysis of the themes and hopes expressed in many of the *mornas* and *batuque* reveals the intense feelings which the writers had about their human condition in colonial Cape Verde.

**Crioulo-speaking middlemen from Cape Verde**

Crioulo-speaking traders became essential intermediaries between slavers and various African ethnic groups. The language was exported to the Guiné coast by these middlemen. Even today Crioulo is still understood by many different ethnic groups in coastal West Africa.

The first of these middlemen were white men who went out from Cape Verde to establish slave trading relationships in coastal waterways of Guiné. They were called *lançados* from the Portuguese word *lançar* which means to throw or send out. A *lancado* would take on certain African ways, learn the art of bartering and negotiating with different local chieftains. He took an African wife usually of the same ethnic group as the chieftain he sought as his protector. He usually tried to win his hosts' protection and friendship with offerings of gifts from the world beyond the Guiné Coast.

**Middlemen along the Guiné Coast**

African traders who left their village societies also set up slave trading relationships in the river commerce of the Guiné coast. These African slave traders were known as *tangomaus*. They took on certain Portuguese manners and dress and professed certain Christian beliefs. Eventually the *lançados* and their racially-mixed children and the *tangomaus* evolved into one single mulatto Afro-Portuguese trading class, speaking Crioulo and professing to be Christian even though they practiced much of the ritual religious customs of the area. They tended to think their Portuguese ancestry and cultural background made them superior to the Africans among whom they lived.

**Pano Cape Verdean Textile and the Slave Trade**

The Cape Verdean cloth trade was a central link between the islands and the Guiné slave trade. One modern historian views the *pano* as the symbol of the "Africanization of the Cape Verdes".
The pant, is still the prized possession of many women in Sãotiago.

...to work on the plantations of Cape Verde, though in later times they were traded to work in other Portuguese colonies or to other slave-holding countries. Originally, the right to operate slave trading was one of the privileges granted by the Portuguese king to favored colonists to make them want to settle in the Islands.

The vast majority of the Cape Verdean population in the 15th and 16th centuries was involved in some way in the slave trade. Cape Verdeans were involved with the buying of slaves as land owners or slave merchants in the business of re-selling slaves. Other Cape Verdeans labored as slaves to produce the cotton and textiles which were an important part of the currency for slave trading on the Guiné coast. Other Cape Verdeans were involved in outfitting passing ships on their way to the slave coast or preparing to set sail for the Spanish West Indies and the Americas with their human cargo.
During the first two centuries of Portuguese rule in Africa, the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe were the most heavily settled. Their land was divided among a few great Portuguese feudal lords. They produced (1) foodstuffs for domestic consumption as well as (2) crops and products for export: cotton, coffee, sugar cane, wine, cloth, and "urzella" (a lichen, a moss-like plant used to make dye); also bay salt, leather, amber and hides. Later this production declined because of the onset of continuing cycles of drought and famine as well as changes in Portuguese laws regulating trade in slaves.

The entire system of social, political, economic, and psychological relationships in colonial Cape Verde was so firmly rooted in the experience of the slave trade that generations would pass before any significant prospects for change emerged. It can be said that the slave trade was the "prime mover" in the historical and cultural development of the Cape Verdean people.

Assimilation

No comprehensive understanding of Portuguese colonialism is really possible without an appreciation of the relationship between assimilation and colonial control.

Assimilation is the process by which selected members of the colonized group were brought into the institutions and "the world view" of the ruling group.

Already in the fifteenth century, Cape Verdeans of mixed blood had been given some rights black Cape Verdeans didn't have, such as the right to trade in slaves on the African coast, and the right to inherit land. Assimilating themselves into the landowning population (becoming absorbed into their culture), some Cape Verdeans were able to improve their situation. However, only a very special few people of pure African origin ever owned land until the mid-1800's, some 400 years later. Another way to become assimilated was to marry into the landowning class.

Along the Guiné coast as well as in Angola and in Mozambique, the Portuguese colonial government established laws strictly defining the rights of persons of mixed blood which regulated their position in colonial society. Although these laws were never officially enacted in the colony of Cape Verde, a social system developed very early in the history of the islands. It was always better to have some European blood. It was generally better to be of mixed European and African parentage than it was to be born of African slave parents. Even so, as early as the 17th century, social status was not as rigidly determined in Cape Verde solely on the basis of skin color as was the case in other African colonies of Portugal.

One way of understanding the social system in colonial Cape Verde would be to say that a person only had a chance of "getting ahead" if he shared the values and beliefs of the Portuguese. The more an individual's values, beliefs and manner approximated those of the Portuguese, the more likely that individual was to get ahead in Cape Verdean society. The system was designed to produce people of mixed European and African backgrounds who, after having adopted a "more European world view," would act as the means for political and cultural control of the colony's population. Unlike most other areas colonized by European nations in Africa and in the "New World," men of color could have access to the best education available at the time. Those assimilated individuals who demonstrated the highest identification with the values and institutions of the Portuguese colonizer could even rise to the height of colonial government administration in the Islands or one of the other colonies of Portugal.

A Way Out of the System

What alternatives were open to those people in colonial Cape Verde who could not achieve the status of this very special class of assimilated individuals? For almost two centuries Cape Verdeans have been faced with the decision of whether to remain a Portuguese subject in a land continually afflicted by years of drought and human suffering or to try to emigrate to a new land with the hooe of making a new life. The decision was usually quite painful. Leaving meant saying "good bye" to loved ones, maybe forever. Leaving also meant new opportunities to work and earn enough money to enable the family left behind in the Islands to survive. The immigrant worker had to endure the pain of separation from his family and develop the skills to resist the discrimination he so often found in the "new country." If he was successful in creating this "new life," he could also change the social status of his family back in the Islands. The simple fact of life was that relatives who regularly received the support of responsible emigrant workers were able to eat better! The formula went something like this: those who ate better were always at least one step ahead of the suffering and hardships which continually befall those families who occupied the bottom of this complicated class system in colonial Cape Verde.

Today there are hundreds of thousands of Cape Verdean immigrants scattered in communities throughout the world. The largest of these communities is in the United States. How did this long history of contact between American and Cape Verde develop?
5. YANKEES ARRIVE

1600's and "Triangular Trade"

Americans and Cape Verdeans probably first met each other in 1643. That year a vessel arrived in Boston carrying wine, sugar, salt and tobacco from the Barbados, West Indies. The event was recorded in the journal of Jonathan Winthrop, a well-known Massachusetts colonist. Slaves from the Cape Verden island of Maio had been exchanged for the goods. This was the first example of "triangular commerce", which became important for the development of New England. The term "triangular" refers to the route taken by the Yankee trading ships. From Boston, New Bedford, Bristol, Nantucket and other New England ports, the small vessels sailed to England to trade their American goods or to the African coast (with sometimes a stop in the Cape Verdes). Then they went to the West Indies before heading home. The route connecting the three ports formed a triangle.

When ships stopped in the Cape Verdes, it was usually to buy African slaves. The island of Sao Tome had the largest slave market. Most of the slaves would be traded for goods in the Caribbean, where the Yankees got "bills of exchange" to buy manufactured goods in England. They also traded slaves for molasses (needed to make rum, an important trade good), cloth, iron and other things to later exchange for more slaves.

Smugglers

When the U.S. outlawed the slave trade in 1809, the Yankees found another reason to stop at Sao Tome. There they could find corrupt officials to assist in their smuggling. Some traders disguised their vessels as whalers; others sailed under flags of nations less opposed to slavery, such as Spain or Portugal. In Sao Tome, officials could be persuaded to arrange fake ship sales so that the vessels could fly the Portuguese flag.

Portugal passed a law in 1858 requiring that slavery be totally abolished in all of her colonies by 1878. Slaves were formally freed in 1869, but with a "special status" and most continued to work for their former masters until April 1878, when abolition was complete.
6. SALT BRINGS MORE SHIPS

Huge Salt Deposits

Slaving was not the only interest Yankees had in the Cape Verdes. Another attraction was the vast salt deposits on some of the islands — “enough to fill a thousand ships,” in the words of an early Portuguese visitor. Maio, Sal and Boa Vista, the salt islands, are virtually at sea level. These dry, sandy islands were less important for agriculture than for herding. In times of drought they became deserts. But their salt beds caught the eye of Americans, British and other foreigners. Salt was used as a seasoning, a food preservative, especially for drying fish and meats, and ballast for sailing vessels.

Salt beds could be dug with relatively little effort. Since these flat beds were below sea level they would fill up as the tide rose. The waters would then be trapped in the salt flats (salinas) with a wall of dirt or a simple dam before the tides began to recede. The hot drying air slowly evaporated the water leaving behind the much sought after sea salt.

Maio was the center of the salt trade until about 1850. Lying only nine miles from Santa Igna, Maio was in easy reach for ships coming for supplies and repairs. Another salt island, Boa Vista, was not a good stopping place, treacherous rocks and shallows made land landing difficult. The island was incorrectly placed on early maps, and to make matters worse, something in its geological composition causes compass needles near Boa Vista to malfunction. Shipwrecks were so common (over 100 in the nineteenth century) that Islanders made a successful business out of collecting debris washed ashore. Sal (whose name means “salt” in Portuguese) drew most of the salt trade after 1850, when better extraction methods were developed. A nearby port, Mindelo on São Vicente, began to grow at this time which helped develop trade at Sal.

7. HIDES FOR THE YANKEES

Livestock Trade

During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, live animals from S. Vicente and S. Nicolau were part of the Yankee “triangular commerce”. The Portuguese tried to regulate this livestock trade to favor their own monopolies — a policy called “protectionism”. Americans were interested in a Cape Verdean mule, known for its strength and small size. The king of Portugal outlawed the sale of livestock to foreigners in 1721, but enforcing this proved difficult. The Americans took advantage of the confusing wording of his decree and carried away enough female animals to continue breeding in the New World.
Trade in cattle hides and goatskins lasted a longer time. During the drought of 1792-3, 30,000 hides were sent to North America.27 Most of them were probably from Boa Vista, whose size (239.3 square miles) is suited to raising livestock if there is enough rain.

Goats: A Blessing and a Curse

Goatskins probably came from all the islands. When there is sufficient rain, this hardy animal is found throughout the archipelago, where it is both a blessing and a curse. Its protein, in the form of cheese, milk and meat, is cheaper than cattle’s or pigs’. However, if they are left untended, they destroy ground plants quickly and cause soil erosion.

America was the most important market for goatskins during the nineteenth century. The trade was profitable: buyers could sell the skins in Boston for triple what they paid in the Cape Verdes.28 Drought in the islands was always “good news” for the Yankee goat hide traders. Thousands of animals had to be slaughtered before they died of starvation and consequently the selling prices were lowered by the islanders.

8. ISLANDERS BUY FROM AMERICANS

Tobacco Becomes Popular

Trade between the Cape Verdes and the U.S. was not a one-way affair. Before heavy emigration to the U.S. began, Americans goods were well-known in the Islands. During the War of 1812, the British stopped the Americans from entering the Cape Verdean ports, and Islanders missed the American tobacco which had become popular. By 1820 trade with the Americans got going again and manufactured goods from the U.S. were valued even over Portuguese goods.

Whaling ships brought American goods regularly, when they stopped for supplies and to take on extra “hands.” From their New England ports, the whalers carried merchandise for ballast as far as the Cape Verdes. There goods were sold on arrival, or given to Islanders to sell before the ship’s return the following year. The Americans supplied wood, furniture, clothing, dishes and foodstuffs between 1820 and 1840. By then emigrants were already leaving Brava and Fogo bound for America. Lopes da Lima, a Portuguese observer of the day, commented that he hoped for the day when “these two islands will return to being Portuguese colonies.”29

Yankees’ Fair Deal

American products were regarded as “generally good, and the prices very reasonable,” wrote Simão Barros, a Cape Verdean writer of this century. Americans were viewed as the whole fairer in trade with Cape Verdians than the Portuguese or the British.30 The assistance provided by American officials, merchants and seamen during the famine of 1830—33 would be long remembered by the Islanders. During this particular period of drought one out of every three Cape Verdians died as a direct result of the famine. The Portuguese colonial government and the British shipping companies did nothing to prevent over 30,000 people from starving to death.

The American help was greatly appreciated. Fund-raising campaigns were held throughout New England and the American consul in Praia (the capital) donated much of his own food supplies and wrote his countrymen for help. A sea captain who had traded in the Islands was able to persuade the U.S. Congress to send eleven ships loaded with emergency provisions.31 Even Lopes da Lima admitted that the Americans won “the eternal gratitude of the populace.” An American visiting the Islands ten years later found that Cape Verdians had not forgotten his country’s assistance: “Men speak of it with quivering lips and faltering voice . . . women, with streaming eyes, invoke blessings on that foreign land that fed their children.”

9. PORTUGAL CRACKS DOWN

Trade Regulations

On July 5, 1844, Portugal decreed trade regulations that ended up seriously damaging the Islands’ already struggling economy and trade with Americans. Portugal was just recovering from civil wars and wanted to regain control over the economy of the Islands. She was very afraid of foreign competition.

The new regulations governing trade forbade Cape Verdians from importing many goods, including cloth and shoes. Exhorbitant import duties were levied on other goods. Any non-Portuguese goods entering the Islands were supposed to be transported on Portuguese vessels. Cape Verdean ports were as good as closed to foreign trade in the eyes of the law. Portugal started buying more goods from Brazil (another of its colonies) than Cape Verde, so commerce in coffee (from Fogo), hides, and aguardents (grog) drastically declined. Boa Vista’s port, Sal Rey, was a sad sight, with thousands of hides left rotting in the sun.
Portuguese Monopolies

This kind of treatment was nothing new for Cape Verdians. As we have seen, similar laws had cut down legal trade during the eighteenth century, when the archipelago was given over to monopolist companies from Portugal. These companies controlled imports and exports and even named government officials. Earlier in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Portuguese monopolists had control of much of the commerce, especially the slave trade.

For the Cape Verdans, the regulations of 1844 were the first of many misfortunes affecting trade with the U.S. The years 1845-6 were poor harvests; the 1860's brought serious drought. The whalers picked up more and more crew members. As New England's own rural poor people went to work in the textile mills of Massachusetts and Rhode Island towns -- so Cape Verdean emigration increased.

Trade with the U.S. was dealt another serious blow with the outbreak of Civil War in America. Yankee shipping in the area of the Islands declined throughout this period until the Portuguese restrictions were moderated in 1871. Throughout the latter third of the 19th century American and Cape Verdean contact was virtually limited to those islands with the largest established immigrant communities in the U.S. -- Brava and Povo. Gradually this commerce declined until it involved little more than the trade which immigrants were able to develop themselves.

10. U.S. CHASES SLAVERS

"Africa Squadron"

In 1842 the U.S. and Great Britain established special naval units called "Africa Squadrons" to enforce the anti-slaving laws of each country. Their task was to chase and capture illegal slave ships.

The first Africa Squadron for the U.S. was commanded by Commodore Mathew Perry (who later went on to Japan to establish trade and diplomatic relations for the United States). Perry had sailed the West Africa coast and came to appreciate the advantages of the Cape Verdes. So he made his Squadron headquarters in São Tiago. He liked the Islands for their location and climate. Americans had little resistance to the tropical fever on the African coast and found the drier climate of the Cape Verdes safer. Even so, a number of men contracted fatal illnesses while on patrol, and special cemeteries were set aside for them in Praia and Mindelo.

The Africa Squadron brought a different kind of American to the Islands, for its officers were gentlemen of New England's upper class. Several wrote about their stay. One of these writers, Horatio Bridges, had been so moved by descriptions of the famine in the 1830's that he asked his friend Nathaniel Hawthorne (the American author) to help him write the memoirs of his Isand trip in 1842.

Bridges found much vegetation and good harvests in São Tiago, and called the people "a genial and pleasant-tempered race." His view of São Tiago was different, though; there slaves were still being sold "by the pound." He called the Cape Verdean involved in the slave trade "intemperate, dissolute and vile," and the Portuguese "little better." Bridges was prejudiced against that Island from the time he arrived. Since there was no dock in Praia in those days, he had to be carried from ship to shore on a laborer's shoulders. On that memorable occasion, a sudden wave knocked his bearer over, and Bridges was drenched.

Everywhere he went, Bridges found Americans. At Mindelo, the four vessels in port were all Yankee vessels. Elsewhere he saw ships from Salem, Boston, Providence and other New England ports, coming for goatskins, hides and salt. In the remote village of Paul on Santo Antão he discovered an old Yankee grandfather clock, whose owner turned out to be an American whaleman who jumped ship.

Charles Thomas, a chaplain in the Africa Squadron, visited the Islands in 1855. Much had changed since Bridges' visit. Because of the Portuguese trade restrictions, commerce had slowed. Once again drought had made the Cape Verdes a desolate land. In Maio starving workers loaded salt, "only enough to buy corn to keep body and soul together," Thomas wrote. Boa Vista was "almost a desert" where cattle "with sad faces and tears in their eyes walk so solemnly in cudless rumination over grassless fields."
Like most other emigrants who came to the United States, Cape Verdeans came in search of their share of the “American promise.” Those who left were usually desperate and had little to lose. In the eyes of Cape Verdean upper classes, America was still a barbaric place: they didn’t think the trip was worth the risks. Those who were able to get an advanced education within the Portuguese colonial world usually remained in the islands or worked in their profession in Portugal, Angola, or one of the other colonies.

Once a Cape Verdean peasant left the islands aboard a sailing schooner bound for the United States, his status was immediately altered. The people back home would call him ‘mercado’ (American). Islanders did not always understand the difficulties of life in the shanties surrounding the cold and damp cranberry bogs of Wareham, Massachusetts. The reality of a 12 hour per day/six day work shift in a New Bedford textile mill or in the sub-basement of a rope factory was difficult to describe in terms which an Islander could understand. The kind of discrimination which Cape Verdean workers encountered on their long struggle to get jobs on the docks and in the factories of Providence, Rhode Island was a part of the American reality which differed from the dream the people back home held onto. All the folks back home saw were the periodic letters with a dollar bill neatly tucked inside or the oil drums which the schooners would bring jammed packed with food, clothing and at least one photograph of their well-dressed “American” relatives in New England.

Poor ex-slaves and descendants of slaves wound up owning property in the U.S. and the poor Islanders back home were much impressed. That kind of change meant a lot in the small societies of the archipelago. This history of interaction with America would have a profound impact on local historical development especially in Brava and Fogo.

A Story of Common People

The first Cape Verdean arrived in America long before the whaling ships brought “deck hands” to our shores. He probably came as a slave. He may have been sold by an owner who could not feed him (which happened during the famines). Or, he may have sold himself into slavery during one of the droughts in order to get fed. He may have been a freeman kidnapped by a Yankee trader, as once happened to a Cape Verdean weaver who eventually ended up in Maryland. (This case came to court and the kidnapper had to return the weaver to the Islands at his own expense.37) We shall probably never know his name. The main actors in our story are “common people”; few of them left any records. It was these nameless seamen, slaves, immigrants, and traders who made Cape Verdeans and Americans part of each other’s histories.

Cape Verde became an independent nation on July 5, 1975. The long movement towards liberation from foreign rule has signaled the dawn of a new era in the history of the people of these islands. Many people who had never even heard of Cape Verde just a few years ago now have found new interest in this young country. The islands’ geographic location gives them strategic military and economic importance so the world’s major powers will watch their political life with interest. There is another reason why the Cape Verde Islands would be of interest to Americans; many of the islanders who fled poverty and starvation found a home in the U.S. Today there are some 300,000 Cape Verdean-Americans, mainly in New England. (California, New York, Pennsylvania and Ohio also have Cape Verdean communities.)

Cape Verde will emerge from centuries of suffering and colonial neglect. The era of independence presents the Islanders as well as Cape Verdeans around the world with the first opportunity to join hands and work for a strong and free Cape Verde.

As Americans move past the celebration of two hundred years of independence, we hope to learn more about the contributions of such “common people” to our history. And as the Republic of Cape Verde enters her new era of independence, it is time to begin discovering the history of these people. It is a history of unknown and “invisible” people who have survived the exploitation of the more powerful for hundreds of years. There is much to be discovered.


3. Reference is being made to the markings and animal drawings on the so-called “Rocha Escrita” of S. Nicolau. Similar inscriptions have been discovered on the Island of S. Tiago. Serious scholarly research concerning the origins of the inscriptions has yet to be done.


7. Ibid., p. 176.


12. Ibid., p. 212.

13. Ibid., p. 212.


15. Ibid., p. 220.


17. Ibid., p. 26-27


27. Ibid., p. 240.


33. Ibid.

34. For a description of Perry’s visit to the Cape Verde Islands see the following: Samuel Eliot Morrison, The United States Africa Squadron, and the Cape Verde Islands in Portugal and Brazil in Transition, edited by Raymond S. Sayers, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1968, pp. 145-148.


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Folk Tales
of the
Cape Verdaean People

Translated from Crioulo
(the language of the Cape Verdaean people)
by: The Cape Verdaean Educators Collaborative

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A view of the rugged interior regions of Saotiago.
CAPE VERDE

ABOUT THE PLACE:

The Cape Verde Islands are situated in the Atlantic Ocean about 370 miles off the coast of West Africa. This group of ten small islands bear the name of Verde because they are located close to Cap Vert in Senegal. The name of this tiny country does not paint a true picture of what Cape Verde usually looks like. In this part of the world the hot drying winds which blow off the Sahara Desert cause continuous cycles of drought. The rainy season is very unpredictable. If a little rain falls in July, August and September then there will be food and Cape Verde will really turn green. If it doesn’t rain until September or October the seed the farmers have planted will have already died. If too much rain comes at any one time, all of the seed and the precious fertile top soil will be washed down the mountain sides to the sea. Some times it doesn’t rain for many years at a time. In these periods of drought the people suffer greatly from food shortages, hunger and disease.

The total land area is just a little bit larger than the state of Rhode Island. Most of the islands were formed many millions of years ago by volcanic activity. Even today there is still an active volcano on the island of Fogo. Most of Cape Verde is a rugged mountainous country with many isolated valleys.
Every day there is work to start the day by pounding separated from each kernel and boiled into the Verdean people. The ryth and pestle (Pillo) can be found in the countryside in Cape Verde.
ABOUT THE PEOPLE:

Cape Verdeans are a multi-racial people. A people of many faces but one people. A people linked by a common language, Crioulo, and a common culture, the Cape Verdean culture. A people tied together in a common history of colonial oppression and constant struggle to survive the hardships of life in Cape Verde.

Portuguese explorers first came to the islands around the year 1456. Soon after their arrival they began to take people from the nearby coast of West Africa and keep them as slaves to work the barren land of Cape Verde. Some of these African captives would be sold to slave merchants and shipped to plantations in the "New World". Because of the remoteness of the islands and the difficulties of transportation and communication, a population of mixed European and African racial backgrounds developed.

For 500 years Cape Verde was a colony of Portugal. In order to escape the hardships of life during times of severe drought many people emigrated to other Portuguese colonies in Africa or Portugal. Cape Verdeans have been emigrating to America for over 150 years. The first large numbers of people came to New England as crewman aboard whaling ships. Later Cape Verdeans came to America as contract laborers to work in the cranberry bogs of southeastern Massachusetts or the textile mills and shoe factories of New England. Today, Cape Verdeans still come to America and to other immigrant communities throughout Europe to make new lives for the families they bring with them and to help build a strong nation for the families they have left behind in the islands.

On July 5, 1975, Cape Verde became an independent country. Independence did not come easy. The people of Guinea-Bissau and Cape Verde fought against the Portuguese colonial Government for 13 years before total independence was finally won. Cape Verdean immigrant communities here in America and around the world are joining hands to build a future of hope for the people of their island homeland.
Once there was a man who thought he could tell the biggest and best lies in the whole world. "I'll show everybody," he said. "If I find anyone who can tell bigger lies than me, I'll give him my cow." And so he set out on the long dusty mountain road to the village...the old man, his old cow and a bag of the biggest lies in the whole world.

At every step along the way his neighbors tried to tell better lies than the old man. By the time it was dark, no one had won the old man's cow.
Late that night the man came to a hut at the bottom of a cliff. He woke up a little boy who was sleeping inside. “My pipe needs a light,” he said. “Please give me a light from your fire.”

The boy only answered by stirring the fire. Finally the man got tired of waiting. He asked, “Menin (little boy), what are you doing?”

“I’m dividing today’s fire from yesterday’s and day before yesterday’s. Then I’ll give you some,” the boy said.

The man didn’t understand. “Menin, give me some water,” he said. “All right,” the boy said. He began to shake some water up and down in a bottle.

The man asked, “Why don’t you just give me a cup of water?”

“Well, I’m dividing today’s water from yesterday’s—to give you fresh water.”

The man couldn’t understand! What a strange boy this is, thought the old man.

“Menin, where’s your mother?” he asked.

“She’s gone to the king’s palace to sew it up with her needle and thread. It was torn last night.”

“What! cried the man. “Well, where is your father?”

“He’s gone to the river to get some water in a flowerpot with a hole in it. He’s going to water his garden.”

“Really?” said the man. He couldn’t understand this little boy with all the answers. (He thought, “I’ll test him.”) “Menin,” he asked, “Did you hear? A child was born last night with seven arms, seven legs and seven necks.”

The boy quickly answered. “Senhor, I’m not sure, but I think I found something of that baby’s. This morning I went to the river for water. There I found a dress with seven sleeves and seven collars.”
“Really?” said the man. “Well, did you hear? A donkey took a trip into the sky last week.”

“Senhor, I’m not sure... when I went to the river last week I heard thunder. When I looked up, I saw a saddle falling out of the sky. It must be that donkey’s.”

(“I’ll test him again,” thought the man.) He asked the boy, “Menin, did you hear? The river caught fire last week.”

“Senhor,” said the boy, “I’m not sure... but last week we caught a lot of fish burnt on just one side. The fire in the river cooked them, I guess.”

The man couldn’t think of any more lies. “My dear Menin,” he cried, “take my cow. You are the smartest liar of all!”
REPUBLIC OF CAPE VERDE

LUZIA

SÃO NICOLAU

BOA VISTA

SÃO TIAGO

PRAIA

MAIO
PART 2: STEALING THE ROAD

On his way home from the boy's hut, the man saw Nho Lobo, the wolf. Nho Lobo was lying in the sun, dreaming about food. (The lazy wolf was always dreaming about food.) Nho Lobo woke up and said, "Senhor, you look so sad. What's the matter?"

The man answered, "I lost my cow. I thought I was the best liar in the world, but a little boy told better lies and won my cow. Now I don't know how to get my cow back."

(Nho Lobo thought, "I'd like that cow for my dinner. I'll tell this man I will help him. But then I'll trick him and take his cow.")

"Come with me! Nho Lobo said to the man. "I'll get her back for you."

"No, I don't trust you," said the man. "You will trick me."

"Don't worry," said Nho Lobo "I have seven bags full of lies here. If I open one of them, the lies will cover the town."

"All right," said the man. "Let's go!"

Soon the little boy heard a noise outside his hut. He looked out and saw Nho Lobo and the man. "Nho Lobo is coming to take my cow," he said to himself. "What can I do?" He thought for a moment. Then he called to the man, "Where are the seven wolves you said you'd bring? You're only bringing one. Well, bring him in. We'll tie him up and kill him."

"What!" cried Nho Lobo. "Kill me! That's why you brought me here! Well, you'll never catch me!" And off he ran.

"Ha, ha--I tricked you, Nho Lobo. You won't get my cow now!" said the boy.
“Senhor, why are you standing there?” the boy asked the man. “Don’t you know Nho Lobo is going to steal the road and put it in his pocket? How will you get home then?”

“What!” cried the man. He ran to catch Nho Lobo before he stole the road.

Nho Lobo hid on the side of a mountain. The man passed him, but didn’t see him. He was running so fast, he fell off the cliff and broke his leg.
PART 3: THE EVIL EYE

Three days later the little boy went to the mountain to get some hay for his cow. Nho Lobo was still there. He was a hungry wolf, after three days with no food. When he saw the boy he said to himself, “Nho Lobo, today you’ll have a good dinner.”

Suddenly, the boy saw Nho Lobo. He quickly put his head down and looked sad.

“Menin,” asked Nho Lobo, “Why are you sad? Don’t you have any mother?”

“No,” answered the boy. “My mother is dead.”

“Why did she die?”

“She died because I looked at her with my evil eye,” said the boy.

“And your father?”

“He is dead, too.”

“Why did he die?”

“I looked at him, too,” said the boy. (He was still looking down.) “Everybody I look at dies.”

“What!” shouted Nho Lobo. “And are you looking at me now with your evil eye?”
"Not yet, but I’m going to soon!" cried the boy.
Nho Lobo left in a hurry, running backwards to keep an eye on the boy. He ran fast to the side of the mountain. He was afraid. He heard the boy shout, “In a minute I’m going to look at you. I’ve almost found you!”

Nho Lobo jumped up. He jumped so high, he fell off the mountain backwards. And that was the end of Nho Lobo.
The little boy turned around and walked home. He was very happy. He still had his cow, and he knew he could tell the biggest lies in the world. He had fooled the old man and outsmarted Nho Lobo.
PART 4: A NEW ENDING TO AN OLD STORY*

"If you don't want to be Nho Lobo, don't dress in his skin!"
"Si bu ca cre ser Nho Lobo, ca bu bisti se pele!"

---a popular Cape Verdean saying

The next day the old man went to town to tell the people what had happened to him. He told them that he always had thought he could tell the biggest lies in the world. Then he told them about the little boy who had tricked him with even bigger lies. The old man was very sad that he had been beaten by a little boy.

*Part 4 was written by a Cape Verdean-American as a new ending to this folk tale. The other three parts were told; like most folk tales, the people themselves (or folk) created them and passed them on by word of mouth.
When the man had finished his story, an old wise woman whispered in his ear so no one else could hear:

"The little boy is a bigger liar than you, but he is young. We hope he will not grow up to be as big a fool as you."

Poor man! He believed the lies of Nho Lobo and the clever little boy. Poor little boy! He does not yet know what the wise old woman knows:

"If you do not want to be Nho Lobo, don't put on his skin!"
Mandioca is a staple food in Cape Verde and in many other countries in West Africa. A "staple" is a food which the majority of the people depend upon for most of what they eat. In the Caribbean and Central America it is known as manioc or yuca. The mandioca plant has large edible roots. The dark brown skins of these roots hide the starchy white vegetable which has the consistency of a yam or sweet potato. Mandioca is easy to plant. Just cut a piece of a shoot from a young mandioca plant and stick it in the ground. If the rains come on time and you keep Nho Lobo out of your garden you'll have plenty of mandioca in a few months.
Nho Lobo was a lazy wolf. And greedy, too—he ate everything he could find. But his nephew Tubinho was different; he was a worker.

One day they planted mandioca together. Tubinho worked hard, digging the soil and planting the mandioca shoots. But by the end of the day, his uncle had eaten up all the new shoots. Poor Tubinho had to plant some more.

A few days later, Nho Lobo saw Tubinho’s plants growing high. He went to his nephew and said, “I’m hungry. I wish I had some of that mandioca.” Tubinho told him it wasn’t ready to eat. But the wolf answered, “Then give me something else to eat. But I’d really like that mandioca.” Nho Lobo begged and begged. Finally Tubinho pulled up a plant and gave it to him.

Nho Lobo loved the plant, but he didn’t love work. He made a plan to take all the mandioca away from Tubinho.

“You don’t have to work here any more,” he told his nephew. “I’ll do the work and give you some plants when they are ready.” But he tricked Tubinho, he ate all the mandioca himself in one day.
Two days later, Tubinho passed by Nho Lobo’s house. In his hand he had two long ropes made from carapata he had cut. When Nho Lobo saw him he asked, "What are you going to do with all that rope?" Tubinho pointed to a black cloud in the sky.

"Well, what is it?" asked Nho Lobo.

"A big storm is coming," said Tubinho. "It’s going to kill everything that isn’t tied."

"Sell me some rope," said Nho Lobo.

"I can’t sell this rope," said Tubinho "I need to tie myself to a tree so the storm won’t get me." He started to tie himself.

"Tie me first!" cried Nho Lobo. So Tubinho tied him to a fig-tree. He knotted the two ropes together. Then he walked away and left his uncle there.

*Carapata is a rugged plant that grows wild everywhere on the rocky mountain slopes of Cape Verde. Cape Verdeans pull the strong white fibers from the green pointed leaves of the carapata plant. After the fibers are dried in the sun they can be used to make strong rope or twine. Some people even make floor mats, pocket books and many other household items from the fiber of the carapate plant.
A few days later, a monkey came to the fig-tree. He started to eat some figs. Nho Lobo was still tied there. "Throw me a fig, monkey!" he shouted. "I'm so hungry."

The monkey threw a fig into the wolf's mouth. Soon Nho Lobo was crying again. "Untie me, Monkey," he begged.

"No, I'm not going to untie you. I can't trust you," said the monkey.

"I'll give you my land if you let me go," said Nho Lobo.

"No," answered the monkey. "I don't trust you."

"Please, Monkey! I'll give you my land and everything on it!" cried Nho Lobo. But the monkey said no. Four more times he begged. Finally, the monkey felt sorry for Nho Lobo and untied him.
When Nho Lobo got free, he suddenly grabbed the monkey’s tail and pulled hard.

“What are you doing?” cried the monkey.

“Just trying to wake up my hand,” said Nho Lobo. “It fell asleep when I was tied up.”

The monkey screamed, “Nho Lobo, let me go! Please let me go! I’ve been so good to you!”

But Nho Lobo laughed and said, “No, I’m not going to let you go. I’m going to kill you and eat you—now!” Tubinho was close by on a hill and heard their noise. He called, “Oh Nho Lobo, do you know the best way to eat the monkey?”

“No, how?” asked Nho Lobo.

“Tie his feet together and throw him up in the air,” said Tubinho. “He’ll fall down into your mouth, and that way you won’t lose even a hair.”

“Tubinho you’re a smart boy! That’s the way to do it,” said Nho Lobo. So he took the monkey and threw him high in the air. The monkey fell down and ran away. He found Tubinho and said, “Thank you, you saved me from Nho Lobo.”
And Nho Lobo stood there all day with his mouth open...waiting.