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## LUSOPHONE AFRICAN POETRY: AT HOME AND IN THE DIASPORA\*

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When the subject in question is the Lusophone African Literature, one has to bear in mind that there are expatriate people who have moved from their countries and settled in other African countries or even beyond, like Europe and the Americas. For the purpose of illustration one may remember that here in the United States there are colonies of Capeverdeans scattered around the country. The same fact is true of people from other African territories. The consequense is that this dispersion from the homeland provokes unity among them when they are in foreign lands where they start a new life. Considering that nobody forgets his people and country when he is lonely, far from home, it is obvious that homesickness takes place and a way to exteriorize their feelings is through poetry (and Literature in general, of course). On the other hand, there is another aspect which is very important and ought to be focused on: the ideas the person expatriated may espouse through his work.

Based on this statement I am going to point out some aspects of the exiled African writers as they are reflected in their Literature. Some are praised and some are denounced in this Literature written by/for African

people from the Portuguese speaking countries.

First of all, there are those writers who denounce the problems and sufferings of their people as created by the power politics. All these and more are reflected in their poetry. One may say they seek spiritual contentment through exile in their own work; in their written word as a form of escapism. In Marxist parlance it is what is called alienation.

<sup>\*</sup> Paper read in the Tenth Annual African Literature Association Conference, University of Maryland Baltimore County, USA, April 1984.

Sometimes they look for refuge in things that bring only good memories, as Alda do Espírito Santo (from São Tomé e Príncipe), for instance in her poem "Descendo o bairro" she remembers her childhood, saying:

Eu vou trazer para o palco da vida pedaços da minha gente,<sup>1</sup>

"Avó Mariana" is another representative example of the image of the past, her past. Alda do Espírito Santo —who was imprisoned by the P.I.D.E. for political activities— denounces the wretched life of her fellowmen as in "No mesmo lado da canoa":

É assim que eu falo, Meu irmão contratado numa roça de café<sup>2</sup>

The "contratado" motif is as important element in the Lusophone African Literature because of it affected thousands of people, disrupting their lives, separating husband from wife, parent from children. The poetry of Mozambique reflects similar concerns as it lyrically records the effect of migratory labour in South African mines.

The contract system appears in other works, like in Francisco José

Tenreiro, from São Tomé e Príncipe:

Na beira do caminho Sinhá Carlota está pitando no seu cachimbo.

Veio do Sul numa leva de contratados. Teve filhos negros

Teve filhos mestiços.3

Also in "Canção do Ilhéu" by Tomaz Medeiros one sees the person exiled in his own poetry<sup>4</sup>. He puts a view of a past hope in his poetry:

Aquela criança que trago comigo, Pulsando comigo na dança das veias, Pulsando comigo nos ais que se apagam,

1 Manuel Ferreira, No reino de Caliban-II (Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1976), p. 454.

Ferreira, Caliban II, p. 457.

3 Alfredo Margarido, Poetas de S. Tomé e Príncipe (Lisboa Antologia da Casa dos Estudantes, 1963), p. 48.

After he studied in Lisbon, Tomaz Medeiros went to study in USSR and he had prepared one essay about the evolution of the poetry in S. Tomé. But until now I have not heard anything about its publication.

Pulsando comigo, comigo pulsando,
Aquela criança que trago comigo,
Pulsando comigo na feira de Ponto,
Caminhos que vão perdidos no mar,
Horizontes fechados perdidos no mar,
Perdidos no mar, perdidos no mar,
Aquela criança que trago comigo,
Não pára, Candinha,
Não pára jamais. 5

These writers had used their literary vein to sink in the feelings of their people and denounce their sufferings or talk about the good things they felt in their islands. That is the case, for example, of Jorge Barbosa<sup>6</sup> in his book *Ambiente* (1941): he brings the image of the sea in the poem "Irmão" where he exalts the Capeverdeans who used to go in the whaling ships trying to find a better way of life in America through migration:<sup>7</sup>

Cruzaste Mares
na aventura da pesca da baleia,
nessas viagens para a América
de onde às vezes os navios não voltam mais.8

Pedro Corsino Azevedo, also from Cape Verde, left in his poem "Terra-Longe" the profound feelings of one exiled in a hospital in Portugal in the last days of his life, dying of tuberculosis:

Caraffelia, and Chris

Aqui, perdido, distante das realidades que apenas sonhei, cansado pela febre do mais-além, suponho minha mãe a embalar-me, eu, pequenino, zangado pelo sono que não vinha.

Terra-longe tem gente-gentio,
gente-gentio come gente.

5 Ferreira, Caliban II, pp. 478-79.

6 Jorge Barbosa had already broken with the traditional models of the poetry in Archipelago (1935), starting, then, the Modern Capeverdean poetry.

7 There is a very relevant movement of migration shown in poetry as well as in novels and short-stories written by many authors, as Manuel Lopes, Baltasar Lopes, Manuel Ferreira, Gabriel Mariano, José Aureliano Gonçalves, Luís Romano and many others. This theme is a recurrent in all Capaverdean Literature.

8 Manuel Ferreira, No reino de Caliban I (Lisboa: Seara Nova, 1975), p. 91

terra-longe! terra-longe!...

- Oh mãe que me embalaste!
- Oh meu querer bipartido!9

Especially in the years before the Independence of the ex-portuguese colonies, many African had tried to free themselves from Portugal and the result was a political work of fiction and poetry in which this group of people acted through their written word; they used the writings as a weapon against their ideological oponents. Some of them wrote during the process to reach Independence. In this group I would like to mention the names of Pepetela, Uanhenga Xitu, Mário António, Luandino Vieira, Agostinho Neto - in Angola.

In Cape Verde, among others, there is the wellknown poet Ovídio Martins who became totally deaf in consequence of the miserable sufferings undergone as a political prisoner; the author of Caminhada acurately pointed out, in 1962, in Lisbon, in the poem "O único impossível":

Mordaças

A um Poeta? Não me façam rir!... Experimentem primeiro Deixar de respirar Ou rimar... mordaças Com Liberdade. 10

or like he emphasized in 1973, close to Independence; when Ovídio was in Amesterdan:

> Nosso amor de liberdade e de justiça Será contemplado e o nosso povo terá direito ao pão 11

Also in Mozambique the writers claim for Independence, as Rui Knopfli who in a strong way declares himself one African when he "expresses his bipolarity of European and African" as Manuel Ferreira very acurately penned down12. Knopfli writes:

> Europeu, me dizem. mas africano sou.

- 9 Ferreira, Caliban I, pp. 119-20.
- 10 Ferreira, Caliban I, p. 187. 11 Ferreira, Caliban I, p. 187.
- 12 Manuel Ferreira, Literaturas africanas de expressão portugesa, II (Venda Nova-
  - -Amadora, Portugal: Instituto de Cultura Portuguesa, 1977), p. 86.

volve a Pulsa-me o coração lao ritmo dolente maja máis de mana mulhoras de desta lua e deste quebranto. Trago no sangue uma amplidão 11ago no sangue uma ampudao de coordenadas geográficaas e mar Índico. 13

Some of them exalt Mother-Africa in their poetry like Armando Guebuza in "Mãe África":

elle me eme elle elle me eme elle Oh, Mãe África de negros de ébano ting of sticorrendo, caindo ao somedo chigubol4 and chias a factor English of the first of the fir

ware to recommend the second of second territorial to the province of the contract of the cont or Noêmia de Sousa, considered by the critic one of the best poets of Mozambique, talking about the migratory movement of their people:

Somos fugitivas de todos os bairros de zinco e caniço Fugitivas das Munhuanas e dos Xipamaninas, viemos do outro lado da cidade com nossos olhos espantados,/nosas almas trancadas, nossos corpos submissos e escancarados. 15

capital policies and source that you do not be not been also as the second of the As well as José Craveirinha in a loud voice of protest, personifies his color through the coal in "Grito Negro", saying:

> Eu sou carvão! E tu arrancas-me brutalmente do chão e fazes-me tua mina, patrão. 16

In Guiné-Bissau too, there are people using poetry as a strong weapon. For instance, in a very peculiar way, José Carlos Schwarz writes his poems in criolo. In one, for example, he poeticises about a child crying in front of the battle:

Quê qui minino na tchora I dur na si curpo Ouê qui minino na tchora I sangui qui cansa odja.17

- 13 João Alves das Neves, Poetas e contistas africanos de expressão portuguesa (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1963), p. 61.
- Mário de Andrade, O canto armado (Lisboa: Sá da Costa, 1979), p. 71.
- Neves. Poetas e contistas, p. 59.
- Mário de Andrade, Na noite grávida de punhais, 34 ed. (Praia, Cabo Verde: Instituto Caboverdeano do Livro, 1980), p. 180. 17 Andrade, Canto armado, p. 125.

In another poem he lyricises the child as his father was taken away by the oppressor:

Dispus que é lebal ku tchur di minino sim ninguim Dispus que é lebal Cansera panti pa tudo alma Mininos mininos Bo para tchora<sup>18</sup>

And in São Tomé, Carlos Espírito Santo was born in 1952; he had political activity after the April 25 as a member of the MLSTP. He worked in the Ministery of Information and Popular Culture in São Tomé where he had the opportunity of spreading his ideological point of view. After this, he moved to Portugal to study at the University of Lisbon. His poems were published in a book form with the title *Poesia do Colonialismo*<sup>19</sup>. The poems are a testimony of one period in the Literature of São Tomé e Príncipe when the voice of the poets was silenced by the forces of the Colonialism. They make part of its History as the publishers of his book say in the introduction of it.

In his poems one sees since the picture and memories of when he was a boy of seven years old emphasizing that he knew also the work of his ancestors and his own, because even as a child he had to work hard as if he was slave:

Sou moleque
há sete anos nascido
não conheço senão o trabalho
dos meus avós
herdei tamanha riqueza
de madrugada me levanto
para entregar meu corpo à escrava labuta
quando o patrão
desce à sua bonita cidade
eu moleque
caminho correndo<sup>20</sup>

The fast pace of his life —a kind of running— is reflected by absence of punctuation along the whole poem, which ends with an advertisement:

18 Andrade, Canto armado, p. 123.

20 Espírito Santo, Poesia do colonialismo, p. 24.

"Mas cuidado Patrão", because the poet is ready to fight against that repression.

The exile is shown at different levels in Carlos Espírito Santo's poetry. One was this mentioned above where he looks behind him, he goes back to his childhood, as well as in the poem he remembers the battle which took place in Batepá, in 1953, one year before he was born. He says in "Criminosos de Batepá":

Criminosos de Batepá
Verdugos de 53
Enlutastes a minha terra
Vós sanguinários de 3 de fevereiro
Massacrastes o meu povo
A História sedenta de vingança ébria pela fúria dos séculos
Assanha-se em desafio contra vós infames
Pela Paz e Justiça do Povo de S. Tomé e Príncipe.<sup>21</sup>

Another level occurs when Carlos Espírito Santo talks about people coming from other Portuguese speaking African countries in search of better life, and finding desillusion only. One may point out especially two of them. The first one is that encountered in "Filho de contrato" symbolizing the Cape Verdean who goes to S. Tomé e Príncipe in search of job as 'contratado':

ele sonha

Com S. Vicente de Cabo-Verde
berço terra natal!
terra de contrato
terra de trabalho duro

In similar fashion he describes the Mozambican who receives strokes of the whip from the foreman because he had to rest a little in order to recover the strength to continue the hard work. One more time, Carlos Espírito Santo ends the poem with one advertisement, but in this case it is a questeion: "Até quando Patrão?"<sup>23</sup>.

Carlos Espírito Santo, Poesia do Colonialismo (Lisboa: África Editora, 1978).

<sup>21</sup> Espírito Santo, Poesia do colonialismo, p. 38.

<sup>22</sup> Espírito Santo, Poesia do colonialismo, pp. 63-68.

<sup>23</sup> Espírito Santo, Poesia do Colonialismo, p. 21 / Lande Maria III

And in this way, with the last illustrations, one focus exile within Africa, but in another country such Cape-erd and Mozambique, both to S.

Tomé e Príncipe in the two Santo's poems mentioned above.

Migration is a common fact as, for example, the Capeverdeans going to Guiné-Bissau, as happened with the writers Artur Augusto, Terencio Anahory and Fausto Duarte. Guiné-Bissau inspired some of them to produce their writings, such is the case especially of Fausto Duarte, who although he returned to Cape Verde, he continued to write about Guiné-Bissau.

Another peculiar exile in another African Portuguese-speaking country is the case of Angolans such as Agostinho Mendes de Carvalho, which native names is Uanhenga Xitu — in the way he signs his books. He way put in the famous prison in Tarrafal (in the island of Santiago, Cape Verde) where he received a sentence of ten years. There he wrote his fiction based in his childhood in order to avoid what was happening at that moment. There he passed a bad time, in which besides short-stories and other novels, wrote three times Mestre Tamoda - and all these times he saw its destruction by the hands of the oppressor. I am going to quote some poems he wrote while he was there, but they were published only recently in his last book: Os sobreviventes da máquina colonial depoem...:

Ai, prendeste-me Ai, prendeste-me
Porque gritei viva Angola Quando um dia voltar Terei na cabeça uma grinalda de mussequenha Na mão direita rabo de leão Na mão esquerda rabo de onça Nos pés alparcatas de pele de elefante E andarei pela rua gritando Liberdade, Liberdade E.,,e... Com todo folego gritarei bem alto: Viva Angola.

That is the poem that open the mentioned book; let us quote some parts of the poem that closes it:

em that closes it:

Eu também queria deitar uma lágrima
no óbito da mamanhi XIKA
e, na hora de sair o caixão, dizer:

NDAI Uôôô... Mas, mas não posso ...... Eu também queria pôr Kisumbe na mão, Eu também queria vestir-me de Kahididi com grinalda de musekenha na cabeca com ervas de mulambuiji à tiracolo cruzando o peito e as costas, com as mãos em leque e em movimento de mágoa, didilando a mamanhi XIKA. Mas, mas não posso. 24

There are also the African who settle in other countries outside the African Continent. In the exile outside of Africa, I will go back a little further in the last century to point out Antonia Gertrudes Pusich with her book: Elegia à memória das infelizes vítimas assassinadas por Francisco de Mattos; na noute de 25 de junho de 1844 5.

It is important to keep in mind some African writers -blacks and mulattoes— who went to Portugal and registered their own protest through poetry &/or fiction. Once there, they had the chance of spreading their ideas as they came in contact with other intellectuals. They discovered a

common link: isolation, and consequently, the desire to escape.

This escapism, most of the times, is derived from their exile in another country where they felt homesickness. One may say that some poets tried to exile themselves in their own loneliness such as Onésimo Silveira who was born in Cape Verde, going later on to S. Tomé e Príncipe, and from there to Portugal, finally he returned to Cape Verde. Exiled and linked to the PAIGC he lived in France, China and Sweden. Whatever he is, he claims for freedom through fight:

Atrás dos ferros da prisão É preciso levantar os braços algemados Contra a prepotência! Atrás dos ferros da prisão É preciso afogar a noite em gritos de luz Para a voz, de todos os homens!26

Away from the motherland, these men might observe their people in two aspects: because they were out, and sensitively, because they belonged to the same group, and so they felt the same anxieties as their people.

24 Published in Lisbon, by Edições 70, 1980, pp. 31 and 124-25. Besides these two poems, there are two more along the novel Os sobreviventes da máquina colonial depõem; one is on pages 48-49; the another one-written in his native language, Bantu on page 50.

21 The Capeverdean Gertrudes' book was published in 1844 in Lisbon. Cf. Manuel Ferreira, Literaturas africanas de expressão portuguesa I (Venda Nova-

Amadora, Portugal, 1977), p. 13.

26 Onésimo Silveira, Hora Grande (Nova Lisboa, Angola: Publicações Bailundo, 1962), p. 41. It is said by Manuel Ferreira that Onésimo Silveira is living now in Sweden. Cf. Caliban I, pp. 187-88.

Living far from home, sometimes they can act more effectivily because they will be able to denounce the iniquities which they could not do before Independence. Now, even exiled, they work for benefit of the countries they love. They may feel proud in spreading their literature through their work published or only passed among them or even only heard from their mouths. They work in different places sharing their own lives. Considering that in very small countries like the islands of S. Tomé e Príncipe, they are too few to have any profound effect on ther countries, or in the words of Preto-Rodas, about S. Tomé e Príncipe:

The present social structure is unmistakably colonial: the 60,000 inhabitants include a small number of Portuguese speaking whites and a mass of blacks and mulattoes who speak either popular Creole dialect called Forro or the native tongues of their African homelands.27

There are exiled people since the beginning of the dicovery of S. Tomé e Príncipe, whose first inhabitants "were a motley group of exiles, traders, and recent, if unwilling, converts from Judaism"28. After this, the slaves were many, and nowadays —besides those mentioned above— there are also black workers from the African Continent.

These facts reflect a contrast from the point of view in some poets as, for instance, Caetano Costa Alegre and Francisco José Tenreiro. The first one invokes the beauty of the black girls of his country, as in "A Negra":

Negra gentil, carvão mimoso e lindo Donde o diamante sai, Filha do sol, estrela requeimada, Pelo calor do Pai.29

While Costa Alegre claims his 'negrismo' as in a poem where he discuss the question of color:

> A minha côr é negra indica luto e pena; ........

A tua raça é branca Tu és cheia de graça

....... Todo eu sou um defeito, Sucumbo sem esperanças, .........

(Washington D. C.: Three Continent Press, 1981), pp. 119-117.

from the Europe Europe a luz divina, from the Europe Europ Em que se quebram vagas!...30

Francisco Tenreiro exalts the black color in a view of 'negritude', as in the long and very expressive poem "Mãos". Then, these two exiled poets in Portugal sang the isolation and their color in two different and opposite views. While Caetano Costa Alegre presents contrasts<sup>31</sup>, as he calls one of his poems: "Contraste". Francisco José Tenreiro shows that pigmentation is nothing in "Canção do Mestico". But both poets - Caetano and Francisco — knew how painful is to stay far from home. For instance, it belongs to Caetano these marvelous verses, showing the sufferings of one exiled:

> A! que diga o exilado, o forasteiro, Se pode ser o riso companheiro De quem vive tão longe da família!32

and Francisco wrote a poem full of synesthesias with a strong chromatism in its verses talking about homesickness:

Caminhos trilhados na Europa de coração em África. Saudades longas de palmeiras vermelhas verdes amarelas tons fortes da paleta cubista que o Sol sensual pintou na paisagem; saudade sentida de coração em África ao atravessar estes campos do trigo sem bocas das ruas sem alegria com casas cariadas pela metralha míope da Europa e da América da Europa trilhada por mim Negro de coração em África.33

The action of these people as political activists allowed them to work in different levels, developing and spreading concepts about their fellowmen and making their countries better known to the world through their literary and political writings. Francisco Tenreiro, for example, as a deputy for his country in the Portuguese National Assembly has dedicated his poetry to the African man and his world, while he traveled through Europe and South America.

30 Ferreira, Caliban II, pp. 430-31.

<sup>27</sup> Petro-Rodas "Cape Verde and S. Tomé e Prícipe - A search for Ethnic Identity". In Donald Burness, Critical Perspectives in Lusophone African Literature

Preto-Rodas, Cape Verde, p. 129. 29 Ferreira, Caliban II, p. 428.

<sup>31</sup> It is curious that the contrast in Caetano Costa Alegre starts in his owo name-"Alegre", meaning "Happy", because in fact, he did not have anything connected with happiness in his life. 32 Ferreira, Caliban II, p. 433.
33 Ferreira, Caliban II, p. 443-44.

Also from S. Tomé e Príncipe there is the poetess Maria Manuela Margarido, living and working in France and so spreading the customs and culture of her motherland among her acquaintances. Maria Manuela Margarido is a committed poetess who also writes good poetry. She talks about her island in "Memória da Ilha do Príncipe". About anxiety for liberty she expresses her feelings "Sòcòpé". In the poem "Roça", Margarido uses the dawn to express this anxiety:

> A noite sangra no mato, ferida por uma aguda lança de cólera. A madrugada sangra de outro modo: e o sino da alvorada que desperta o terreiro. É o feitor que começa a destinar as tarefas para mais um dia de trabalho.

E sonhas na distância uma vida mais livre, cue o teu gesto há-de realizar.34

Her poetry is rich in images and in themes: migration also gets a place in Manuela Margarido's poem "Serviçais"; as well as the protest against the invader in "Vós que ocupais a nossa terra". In the latter poem, she condemmes the white settlers who grabbed huge chunk of land, leaving the indigenous people landless:

> Derrubam as árvores fruta-pão para que passemos fome e vigiam as estradas receando a fuga do cacau.35

From Cape Verde the poet Corsino Fortes, as an ambassador in Europe, had the opportunity of spreading the feelings of his people, especially through his book of poems, Pão & Fonema. Let us illustrate with verses of the poem "Emigrante":

> Todas as tardes o poente dobra o teu polegar sobre a ilha E do poente ao polegar

34 Margarido, Poetas de S. Tome, pp. 81-82. 31 Margarido, Poetas de S. Tome, p. 84.

Cresce Commence of the Commenc

um progresso de pedra morta

Que a Península

Ainda bebe colônia Pela taca da colônia

Todo o sangue do teu corpo peregrino al a general que en las

Ouem não soube Ouem não sabe Emigrante and the second secon

Oue toda a partida É potência na morte E todo o regresso É infância que soletra<sup>36</sup>

The image of 'blood running' that appears in the first lines is a recurrent in "Terra a terra"32.

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Another Capeverdean linked to the Diplomatic life and who divulgates a lot his country is the essayist, writer and poet Luís Romano who lives part of the time in Cape Verde, and part of the time in Brazil. In Brazil he founded the periodical Morabeza in which he publishes the works written by African writers, including himself. There is one peculiarity in his Morabeza: besides literary work written in Portuguese, he also publishes in the African language, the Creole. Let us illustrate with one of his poems, "TÊ LÔG":

> Tê lôg tè lòg terra d'nhes gente ess' mar de Crist' quê nhe camim Mundo já cabá ne mei d'ar quente paciença d'pôve já tch'gá na fim .....

> Tê lôg tê lôg 'cès tud' tê lôg Dês companhá tuď fial cristôm Q'ônd tchuva đá 'cês mandá tch'mam' pâ'm' bem sem'nhá um p'lar de tchôm38: "Malanca NAV for the state of long consequences;

A curious fact about the African Continent is that it has not only given the world a host of exiles, but that it has also received some. An example of this is the Portuguese Tomás António Gonzaga who went to Brazil in the XVIII century as a judge. Later on he was involved in the "Inconfidência Mineira" and, consequently, he was sentenced to exile in Mozambique where he wrote the second part of his famous book of poems: Liras.

38 Ferreira, Caliban I, p. 303.

<sup>36</sup> Corsino Fortes, Pão & Fonema (Lisboa: Sa da Costa, 1980), pp. 39-41.

<sup>37.</sup> The poem is on page 49 in Pão & Fonema. . (Obto. policymborta)

I would like to finish my presentation by recalling one poet already focused: Francisco José Tenreiro, who in the poem "Negro de todo o mundo" summarizes the experience of Lusophone black diaspora<sup>39</sup>

> O som do gong ficou gritando no ar que o negro tinha perdido Harlem! Harlem!

América!

nas ruas de Harlem os negros trocam a vida por navalhas!

América!

nas ruas de Harlem o sangue de negros e de brancos está formando xadrez.

Harlem!

Bairro negro! Ring da vida! Os poetas de Cabo Verde estão cantando... Cantando os homens perdidos na pesca da baleia. Cantando os homens perdido em aventuras da vida espalhados por todo o mundo!

Em Lisboa? Na América? No Rio? Sabe-se lá!

Escuta

É a morna... Voz nostálgica do caboverdeano chamando por seus irmãos! Nos terrenos do fumo os negros estão cantando. Nos arranha-céus de New-York os brancos macaqueando. Nos terrenos de Virgínia os negros estão dançando. No show-boat do Mississipi

os brancos macaqueando. Ah!

> Nos estados do sul os negros estão cantando

A tua voz escurinha está cantando

nos palcos de Paris.

Folies-Bergères!

Londres-Paris-Madrid na mala de viagem...

> Só as canções longas que está soluçando dizem da nossa tristeza e melancolia!

Se fosses branco terias a pele queimada das caldeiras dos navios que te levam a aventura!

Se fosses branco terias os pulmões cheios de carvão descarregado no cais de Liverpool!

> Se fosses branco at the country of the whole is the will quando jogas a vida por um copo de whisky terias o teu retrato no jornal!

mphinallippin of six of six

Na cidade da Baía estão sacudindo os músculos.

Na cidade da Baía y e aga fil y e y la garrécado dando la del cidade os negros (s. 1900 para la prima de la laboración de la la composa de la comita estão fazendo macumba.

Oraxilá! Oraxilá!

leurs (L. Cidade branca da Baía en el como esta en el como el Trezentas e tantas igrejas! Baía.... - 1 grand and analy a comit of a soft of the file

is complete thing the Negra. Bem negra! and the approve the manifest and Cidade de Pai de Santo Oraxilá! Oraxilá!40

40 Margarido, Poetas de S. Tomé, pp. 13-54 Patricipant de la constitución

the first of the second of the

Representative points of view about Black Diaspora are presented by Elisa Larkin Nascimento in her book Pan Africanism and South America (Buffalo: Afrodiaspora, 1980).