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“El cuerpo se va, A Alma Fica”:

The Archipelagic Identities of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde Through a Literary Lens

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Abstract

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Despite being colonized by different empires and currently experiencing differing political statuses, Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde share parallel historical and cultural experiences, most notably, their experience with colonization and the fact that they are both archipelagos. This project examines the way in which literature is fundamental to understanding Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde's creation of a national identity, and how literary works participate actively in this self-identification process. The string that thematically ties the four works I have chosen to analyze (Puerto Rico: *Usmaíl* and *Spiks* by Pedro Juan Soto; Cabo Verde: *Chiquinho* by Baltazar Lopes da Silva and *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* by Manuel Lopes) is how colonization and the fact that both nations are archipelagos impact the characters' sense of self. Scholars who work on questions of archipelagic studies have argued that colonization is the main cause of the issues that archipelagic nations like Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde experience, such as political dependence, blurred self-identity, and emigration. I'm interested in investigating how these issues are tackled in works of prose fiction in both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde. The four literary works I have selected allow for an analysis of themes that are key for the formation of national identity in the case of archipelagic nations (e.g., the self vs. the other, the inevitability of emigration, archipelagic hierarchies).

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surrounding this project and their feedback on how to shape the research were indispensable to me through this process. I am so thankful for their willingness to be part of my support system.

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Table of Contents

Awakening Identity

> *El Corazón que se queda también ha creído a veces que se va a morir, también ha estado a punto de apagar la vida e irse, pero luego, al escuchar su propio latido, ha mirado dentro de sí y ha visto las minúsculas flores que auguran que de alguna manera todavía hay frutos que dar, dulces o agrios, qué importa… (The Heart that stays has also believed at times that it was going to die, it has also been on the verge of extinguishing its life and leaving, but then, upon hearing its own heartbeat, it has looked inside itself and seen the tiny flowers that predict that somehow there are still fruits to bear, whether they be sweet or sour, what does it matter…[1])*
>
> — Magali García Ramis, "Los cerebros que se van y el corazón que se queda

As I sat in my twelfth-grade Spanish classroom reading Magali García Ramis's essay titled "Los cerebros que se van y el corazón que se queda", I questioned if the plans I had formulated for my academic future were ethical and moral. The author separates the Puerto Rican people into *Cerebros* (Brains) and *Corazones* (Hearts): the *Cerebros* represent those that choose to pursue a life outside of Puerto Rico due to the issues that plague the island, such as hurricanes, governmental instability, and job insecurity, while the *Corazones* are those who, against all odds, choose to stay in Puerto Rico because of a deep love and commitment for the homeland and deal with these issues every day. When I first read the essay it caused a deep cognitive dissonance in me because it was indirectly attacking what I had anticipated my journey to be. When my teacher asked the class to write down our reactions, mine read: "Pienso que el análisis de Magali García Ramis, aunque muy profundo y sabio, es un poco exclusivista y limitante … porque pienso que el amor por la patria no me debe limitar [en] querer tener experiencias diferentes en otras partes del mundo" ("I think that Magali García Ramis's analysis, although very deep and wise, is a bit exclusivist and limiting … because I think that love for my country should not limit me [in] wanting to have different experiences in other parts of the world" (Mercadé Lázaro). As shown in the quote, García Ramis's essay, to me at the time,

[1] All translations from Spanish and Portuguese are my own.

threatened the outlook I had on what my life would look like, and made me question if leaving my island behind to pursue higher education in the United States made me less connected to my birthplace.

During my third year in college, taking a course on Lusoafrican texts and cultures, my professor taught us about the common Cape Verdean phrase "O corpo vai, a alma fica" ("The body goes, the soul stays"). Immediately, I recognized the parallel with García Ramis's text that resonated so much with me four years before. Along with it, I started recognizing several other parallels between Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean literatures and cultures, such as their long history of colonization, their significant waves of emigration, and the climactic issues both nations experience regularly. Thanks to this, I became immersed in learning about both of these nations and discovering other ways in which these two countries are similar which led me to want to pursue this honors project.

Analyzing the archipelagic spaces[2] of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, unpacking the issues that both of these countries go through, and drawing connections between the two spaces became a significant source of intellectual curiosity to me during the confection of this investigation, which made me committed and passionate about how art represents the complex process of self-identification for both nations. Discovering the role of literature in helping these spaces build their national and self-identities is the primary focus of this project, which is done through the analysis of four works of prose fiction: *Usmaíl* (1959) and *Spiks* (1956) by Puerto Rican author Pedro Juan Soto, *Chiquinho* (1947) by Baltasar Lopes da Silva, and *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* (*The Victims of the East Wind*; 1960) by Manuel Lopes, both from Cabo Verde. These four works are being studied together for two main reasons. The first is because they are

[2] I use the term "spaces" throughout this paper in order to include the diasporic communities of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde in my discourse about self-identification.

contemporary with one another. Both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde experience periods of literature in the mid-twentieth century that serve to establish their own, unique identities, separate from the colonial powers that oppress them, the United States for Puerto Rico, and Portugal for Cabo Verde. In Puerto Rico, the mid-twentieth century is characterized by the rise of the nationalist sentiment in the island, which is met with strong opposition from the US government. This breeds a generation of authors that openly criticize the colonial grasp of the United States and how this dominance prevents Puerto Ricans from taking part in clear processes of self-identification. In Cabo Verde, the literary period of *Claridade*, which begins during the 1930s and spans the following decades, represents a period of establishing what is uniquely Cape Verdean, separating that from Portugal, and expressing the crude reality of life in Cabo Verde. Although this movement predates the Cape Verdean fight for independence, it begins to solidify a feeling of *caboverdianidade*[3], which then leads to clamor for the archipelago's independence from Portugal. Second, all of these works are fictional and written in prose. Both in Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, prose was the privileged genre in the literature of the mid-twentieth-century. The canonical works from both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde that are analyzed in this project reflect these literary tendencies and how the prose genres were used to shape the self identification of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans.

This project is structured into two chapters. The first chapter walks the reader through the historical background of both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, highlighting certain historical events that are important for understanding the cultivation of both of these spaces' self-identities in the face of colonial suppression. This historical narrative is followed by the theoretical framework of

[3] As described by scholar Maria Luísa Baptista, this term refers to "a existência simbiótica das diversas facetas referenciais subjacentes aos conceitos de telurismo, evasão, 'querer bipartido' e religiosidade, que confere à insularidade caboverdiana, de acordo com Manuel Lopes, a sua genuína identidade" ("the symbiotic existence of the various referential facets underlying the concepts of tellurism, evasion, 'bipartite wanting' and religiosity, which give Cape Verdean insularity, according to Manuel Lopes, its genuine identity"; qtd. in Vilela Viana Pereira da Costa 69).

the topics explored in the analyses of the primary sources —insularity and archipelagic studies, diaspora, and the arts as tools in nation-building—, which will help contextualize the narratives of the four literary works and build substantial arguments that support the thesis.

The second chapter consists of the literary analysis of the four works of fiction, which is centered around three main subtopics: the self vs. the other (the idea that colonization imposes itself in archipelagic spaces and complicates interpersonal relationships by establishing power imbalances), the inevitability of emigration (the probability that someone from an archipelagic space will have to emigrate from their homeland in the future), and archipelagic hierarchies (the dominance of one island above the other islands of an archipelago caused by the prioritization of the dominant island by the colonial power). Analyzing the primary sources through these three topics helps develop more nuanced arguments about the archipelagic experience and Puerto Ricans' and Cape Verdeans' struggles with self-identification. Additionally, this project serves as evidence as to how literature is not only a diffusion of sociocultural events, or an illustration, but rather an active agent in establishing the identities of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, which participates in the creation of the national and cultural belonging of these spaces.

The purpose of developing this project is twofold. First, on its own small scale, it contributes to a greater understanding of questions that lead to a reckoning of social justice to two spaces that have been historically underrepresented and oppressed by the colonial powers that governed them for more than 500 years in the case of Cabo Verde, or that continue to be subjugated in colonialism to this day, as is the case of Puerto Rico. The works of literature analyzed in this project are connected to questions of social justice for both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, so understanding how they are active participants in the formation of a national and self-identity helps bring light to the internal struggles that Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans

experience daily regarding how they see themselves. Through the examples in the literature, the project sheds light on the difficulties that have plagued both spaces throughout their histories and hopes to emphasize the persistence of these problems both in Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde. Secondly, this project builds a bridge in academia by connecting Hispanic and Lusophone histories, cultures, and literatures. Often, the barriers of discrepant languages and geographical locations can cause an avoidance to drawing connections between spaces that, otherwise, have more in common than one might believe. This research project serves as an example that these differences, albeit relevant, should not be obstacles from bringing two spaces together that share patterns of colonization that have shaped their identity. In a world where colonial global powers have continually attempted to squash the two nations being studied, the literary productions of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde bring these spaces to the forefront and raise the volume on the voices that so valiantly expressed their thoughts, feelings, and livelihoods during their time. Moreover, the works of literature being analyzed represent the voices of the periphery in the context of the colonial empires that dominated Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde for centuries. Studying the peripheral perspectives of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde further amplifies the lived experiences of communities oppressed by the tight grasp of colonialism. Perhaps more importantly, though, studying the peripheral voices of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde *together* contributes to a more complete understanding of peripheral spaces in colonial contexts, which often get erased by the overbearing influence of colonialism and its lasting legacies.

Chapter 1: Setting the Stage

Introduction

It is detrimental to extract works of literature from their historical contexts. Not only does it impair the reader from fully understanding what is being expressed, but it also potentially diminishes an understanding of the author's voice. Literary works reflect the time and space in which they were created. Because of this, these texts serve as tools to provide more nuance than a summary of historical events, for instance; they grant readers knowledge of facts and events, and also, and perhaps more importantly, they transmit the thoughts and emotions of the people that experience these events, whether they be positive or negative. Aside from this, there are theoretical aspects behind works of literature that expand their message within their historical context. Understanding the concepts, ideas, and systems being indirectly described in works of literature helps readers place these texts in their social contexts, as well as draw connections to other works that explore the same or similar ideas. When analyzing literature, understanding the nexus between the historical background and the theoretical framework behind the works builds a more holistic, interdisciplinary, and authentic approach to the stories being told.

The first chapter of this project provides a historical narrative of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, in which the periods that are most relevant to the building of a national identity are discussed. These moments in both of the countries' histories help provide context on the countries' experiences with resistance, self-identification, and survival. Aside from this the chapter also explains certain concepts that are important to the analyses of the primary sources, such as archipelagic studies, diaspora, and the importance of literature as a form of resistance and nation-building. Discussing these topics before diving into the analysis of primary sources will help fill the obvious gap between Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde: they were colonized by

different empires and are located almost 3,000 miles apart, but their experiences intersect in the fact that they are archipelagos oppressed by colonialism, which leads to common experiences discussed throughout this project.

Before beginning the historical narratives, it is important to acknowledge that the historical events highlighted for the section on Puerto Rican history very clearly support a strong nationalist sentiment, which fights against the abuse of the United States's colonialist regime against the archipelago. This perspective counteracts other historical narratives of Puerto Rico that project a more optimistic view of US colonization. In the context of this project, the nationalist view of the US's incursion in Puerto Rico aligns more robustly with the analyses conducted in Chapter 2, since the Puerto Rican literary works in this project actively work to fight against the US American influence in Puerto Rico. Thus, the following historical narrative serves to uphold the personal experiences that the characters of the works endure, doing so through a historical lens.

1.1 Historical Framework of Puerto Rico

1.1.1 The Birth of Puerto Rican Resistance

Puerto Rico is an archipelago that consists of the *Isla Grande* (Big Island), Vieques and Culebra —island-municipalities located to the east of the *Isla Grande*—, Mona, Desecheo, and other small islands and cays (Picó 22). The archipelago was sparsely populated by Indigenous peoples since before the 200th century B.C. The Taíno people, who populated the island immediately before the arrival of the Spanish, are the most influential in present-day Puerto Rico —or Boriquén, as this group referred to the island. This group of Indigenous people is the first example of Puerto Rican resistance against a foreign power, in this case, the Spanish Empire, marking the beginning of generations of resistors that continue to shape contemporary issues on the island. Historians know more about the Taíno people in Puerto Rico particularly because of rich archaeological evidence, such as ceramic pots and different kinds of weapons, and written accounts from Spanish conquistadors. The Taíno period (c. 1200 - 1500) is known for its organized, socially stratified labor system that gave rise to the establishment of clear specializations in different skills like agriculture, craftsmanship, hunting, and fishing, which is a clear contrast with the colonizer narrative of the Taínos as primitive and uncivilized.

The works of professor and researcher Francisco Moscoso serve to counteract the idealization of the Taíno lifestyle in certain academic spaces: the Taíno people engaged in hard and complicated labor structures involving strict organization, basing their lives on natural phenomena like the moon and wind patterns. The natural world created disruptions and problems in these communities; it was not uncommon for them to be met with a barrage of natural disasters and widespread disease, even pre-colonization (Picó 26). Their religious beliefs, which were organized and widely practiced, were also connected to the natural world. They recurred to

multiple deities in different situations, the two main ones being *Yuquiyú*, the benevolent god, and *Juracán*, the malevolent god, from which the word *hurricane* was derived. However, Taíno religion was not just based on these two deities; this construction is largely based on the conquistadors' attempt to analogize Taíno religion to their own Christian beliefs, to make the sixteenth-century readers of the Spanish texts about colonization that they had a natural predisposition toward Christianity, which would make submitting Taínos to forced labor "an injustice" (Picó 32). Furthermore, Taínos engaged in group celebrations known as *areytos*, in which they reminisced about their military prowess, recounting their battles through dancing and chanting, as well as rituals like the cojoba, in which the bohíque —the Taíno chaman– provided the cojoba plant which would be inhaled by the participants in an attempt to see the future. Taíno politics and society were organized hierarchically, including a working class, a military class, and the *cacique*, who was the leader of a Taíno community —a title not fully restricted to men (Picó 31). Although the social, economic, and religious organization of the Taíno people was evident upon the arrival of the Spanish, this was not enough to stop the colonizers from persisting in their efforts to dominate new territories, in this case, Puerto Rico.

Like many Indigenous cultures in the world, the Taínos, too, were threatened by the colonization of White colonizers. Foreign interest in Puerto Rico was fleeting across all of its colonial history; the incursions (and lack thereof) of the Spanish in Puerto Rico's political, economic, and social issues throughout its history often reflected neglect. In November of 1493, Christopher Columbus and his crew arrived in Boriquén for the first time (Brau 15), although he did not stay long and never returned (Picó 49-50). No significant incursions were made in Boriquén with Columbus in power, and, after his return to Spain and his incarceration, Juan Ponce de León, a Spanish explorer, was granted permission to conduct an expedition to Boriquén

in 1508. Upon his arrival, he and *cacique* Agüeybaná were able to communicate, and the *cacique* advised him to explore the northern coast of the island, where Ponce de León settled near the mouth of the Manatí River; shortly after, he moved eastward and established an area he called Caparra, where he was close to both the sea and areas where gold was abundant (Picó 51). The Spanish crown incentivized Spanish merchants to begin commerce with the port in San Juan Bautista —the name bestowed upon Boriquén by the Spanish colonizers— and from 1508 to 1520, San Juan Bautista saw an increase in the arrivals of Spanish colonizers, attracted both by commercial opportunities and by the gold found in the island. Taínos of the *naboria* (working) social class were often assigned to work under Spanish *encomenderos*[4]. The involvement of the Spanish colonizers with the Taíno people began to affect them negatively; not only was the labor different from what they had known, which made it difficult, but also Taínos were exposed to a plethora of foreign diseases that prompted the decline of the Taíno population in Boriquén. The Spanish colonization of Boriquén was shown to not be beneficial for the Taínos, which prompted a reaction from these original inhabitants of the island.

In 1511, the Taínos showed their resistance against the colonization and abuse of the Spanish through what is known as the *Grito de Coayuco* (Coayuco Uprising), in which several groups of Taínos across the island, led by *caciques* like Agüeybaná II and Guarionex, attacked Spanish settlements. The Spanish were caught by surprise by these attacks (Moscoso 12 - 13), but they did not take long to retaliate: they took refuge in Caparra, where they organized to burn several Taíno villages, imprison Taínos, and brand them in the forehead with an *F*, for King Ferdinand of Aragon. These attempts to respond to and squash Taíno resistance were slow to prevail, since Taínos reached out to other Indigenous groups in the eastern Caribbean to slow down Spanish dominion of the island; the uncertainty of the Spanish caused by the Taíno

[4] Colonizers who are assigned an area of land for them to work.

rebellions lasted up until the 1580s. This, in turn, caused a rapid decline in the Taíno population of Puerto Rico, some of them emigrating to nearby islands; by 1520, most of them were decimated by the conditions of their forced labor and colonization efforts (Picó 53). Puerto Rico's long history of emigration patterns has certainly affected how Puerto Ricans self-identify within the space of the Puerto Rican archipelago, as well as in diasporic spaces. The works of Pedro Juan Soto analyzed in Chapter 2, *Usmaíl* and *Spiks*, serve as examples of how emigration presents a struggle in the process of self-identification for Puerto Ricans, for example, through Usmaíl's goal of emigrating from the island-municipality of Vieques to San Juan in *Usmaíl*, and through the character of Fernanda's complicated relationship with the idea of emigrating from Puerto Rico to New York City in "La cautiva" ("The Captive"), a short story contained in the book *Spiks*.

1.1.2 Puerto Rico as an Afterthought: A Recurrent Pattern

After the initial economic glory of the colonization of Puerto Rico —mainly sustained by the sugar industry—, the Spanish Empire's interest in the island and its issues depleted. This, however, permitted Puerto Ricans to develop their own economic and land distribution systems. During the mid to late seventeenth century, Puerto Rico went through a period of depression, largely due to Spain becoming a weak global power, which led the Spanish to pull back the attention they once paid to Puerto Rico (Scarano, *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 243 - 244). This left Puerto Rico having to fend for itself, taking control of its economy. At this time, Puerto Rico could trade exclusively with Spain, a restriction that did not let Puerto Ricans take advantage of their production to the fullest extent; they had to find other ways to sustain themselves economically, overriding the trade laws. They recurred to contraband, which became rampant in Puerto Rico,

greatly surpassing the amount of commerce that was done legally (Figueroa 25). While Spain leaned toward an economy based on sugar, Puerto Ricans recurred to a cattle economy (for leather production), which is what was sought after by the foreign countries (like the Danish in St. Thomas and the Dutch in Curação) that engaged in contraband with Puerto Rico (Scarano, *Puerto Rico*, 1st. ed 211; 4th ed. 254). This gave way for Puerto Ricans to create their own system of land distribution, which, in turn, allowed for the establishment of Puerto Rico's municipalities: people with extensive patches of land would sell out pieces of terrain for others to raise their cattle on, a system known as "*hatos comuneros*" (255).

Spain's neglect also allowed for Puerto Rican identity to develop to a greater extent, since the Spanish government did not incur in Puerto Rico very frequently and Puerto Ricans were (unofficially) free to develop their own culture and ways of life. The Spanish elite (comprised of Spanish government and military officials) and the working and lower classes had two different perspectives on how to determine what was truly Puerto Rican, which gave rise to discussions about the strains between social classes, the perspectives that each had about the other, and how the different social spheres attempted to coexist as Puerto Ricans (narratives which persist throughout Puerto Rican history and are present in the works discussed in Chapter 2). This determination was largely marked by the separation between urban and rural Puerto Rico. After multiple foreign attacks, the capital city of San Juan was heavily fortified to make Puerto Rico more qualified to defend itself from such attacks. This caused the city to be isolated from the much larger countryside, which was thriving because of the cattle industry. This rapid rural growth made the Spanish elite feel threatened; they called the people in the countryside *jíbaros*, and two ideologies about them emerged on the island: the Spanish elite thought of them as informal, barbaric, primitive people, who were the complete opposite of civilized, while the

more liberal population of the urban sectors of the island —who opposed the Spanish elite politically and economically— thought of them as resilient, racially subversive, and a group that refused to be pawns of the Spanish Empire (Scarano, *Desear el jíbaro* 66). At the same time, Puerto Rico would see a rise in its cultural productions, with the rise of oral tradition that mixed Hispanic elements with the island's own culture, and paintings (most notably by José Campeche) that illustrated religious images and the Spanish elite (Scarano, *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 346 - 350), which exemplified how Puerto Rico began to formulate its own identity through artistic expression, which would become a powerful tool in resistance toward colonizing powers.

1.1.3 Puerto Rico Demands to Be Heard

Another wave of Puerto Rican self-identification and pride came at the beginning of the nineteenth century, when Spain was facing a political crisis and Puerto Ricans distrusted Spain, and believed that they were no longer fit to rule over the island. In an effort to dissipate these worries, Spain asked its colonies to choose a representative to advocate for them at the *Cortes de Cádiz*; Puerto Rico elected Ramón Power y Giralt to represent them in Spain in 1810. Nevertheless, one year later, other Spanish colonies like Venezuela would begin forming rebellions against the Spanish, demanding their independence, and would reach out to San Juan to form alliances —these requests were rejected by the Spanish elite in the capital, but supported by the *criollo*[5] revolutionaries. While Puerto Ricans on the island expressed their discontent with the Spanish, Ramón Power y Giralt would go to the *Cortes* with Puerto Ricans' best interest in

[5] As defined by scholar Astrid Cubano Iguina, *criollos* refers to "la minoría nativa, descendiente de españoles, de posición acomodada, culta y predominantemente blanca, aunque ni la ascendencia racial ligeramente mixta, ni la mengua del patrimonio familiar, necesariamente fueron motivo de exclusión" ("the native minority, descendants from Spanish people, well-off, cultured, and predominantly white, although neither their slightly mixed racial ancestry, nor their decline in family wealth, were necessarily a reason for exclusion"; 638). Additionally, this portion of the Puerto Rican population believed that they were supposed to rule over Puerto Rico, instead of the Spanish immigrants (638).

mind, while also supporting the Spanish elite that gave him the power to represent them in Spain. Although Ramón Power y Giralt is a contested figure in academia because of the duplicity of his representation of Puerto Rico, he allowed Puerto Rico to grow and concretize its political identity, and brought forth a subdued, but present Puerto Rican clamor for autonomy (Velez 83 - 87).

The *criollo* voices, however, did not reach their goal of independence from Spain; several factors contributed to the stifling of the insurrection in Puerto Rico. Independence sentiments were intentionally ignored by the Spanish, who quickly shuffled to keep revolutionary propaganda out of Puerto Rico after countries like Venezuela successfully organized uprisings. The rise of the rebellion in Puerto Rico was also threatened by the exuberant military presence on the island, who made it impossible for rebels to storm San Juan and make their voices heard. Furthermore, the *criollo* population did not share the same level of discontent that erupted the rebellion in Venezuela; in one way or another —whether that be to keep social status or to continue participating in the military—, maintaining a favorable relationship with Spain was more convenient for this sector of Puerto Rico's population (Scarano, *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 376 - 377).

1.1.4 Forging a Broader Identity: Africa's Impact on Puerto Rican Culture

Although Spain yielded to some of the Puerto Ricans' outcries with the *Real Cédula de Gracias* (Royal Decree of Graces) in 1815 —which paused commercial exclusivism with Spain for 15 years—, this period presented yet another opportunity for a more nuanced development of Puerto Rican identity. The change of pace in the Puerto Rican economy and society opened the doors for many foreign populations to come to the island to dabble in the sugar industry. One of

these immigrant groups did not come to Puerto Rico voluntarily, though. These were the African enslaved people brought to the island to do the forced manual labor that would make the sugar industry flourish. According to Fernando Picó, this group was "the most numerous and important for the economic growth of the country and for the development of [Puerto Rican] national culture" (156). Although Spain legislated that Puerto Rico could only import enslaved people from Britain, this law was ignored, since Puerto Rico saw a great increase in African enslaved people brought directly from Africa, an illegal act to which governors openly turned a blind eye. The decade from 1825 to 1835 saw a peak in the importation of African enslaved people, who arrived in Puerto Rico in abysmal conditions, and who were inhumanely treated throughout their lives (Scarano, *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 406 - 407). The African people of Puerto Rico were abused and objectified to further Spain's economic gain, which contributed to the racism that is still ingrained in Puerto Rico. For Jorge Duany, "African slaves became the backbone of the sugar industry in Puerto Rico, and the rest of the Caribbean" (*Puerto Rico*, 15); their influence on not just the economy, but also Puerto Rican art, music, dance, language, food, and traditions, which was born as a form of resistance of African enslaved people toward the abuse propitiated by the Spanish, is still an undeniable and integral part of Puerto Rican culture today. Just as the African population of Puerto Rico used art to resist the overcoming domination of an abusive colonizer, Pedro Juan Soto's works analyzed in Chapter 2 are evidence of how literature is used for this same purpose, and how literature actively participates in creating a sense of identity for Puerto Rico.

1.1.5 The Need for Autonomy

Even today, Puerto Ricans have never yet seen a period of independence, but they did actively seek it during the second half of the nineteenth century. As stated on "El Grito de Lares de Puerto Rico," "[n]ingún movimiento político anterior había tenido una movilización popular semejante, y menos en condiciones espontáneas" ("no previous political movement had had such mass mobilization, and especially in spontaneous conditions"; Comité Amigos de Puerto Rico-México 17). On September 23, 1868, independentist revolutionaries on the island led a group of workers and enslaved people in the *Grito de Lares* (Lares Uprising); they stormed the town of Lares with firearms, arrested Spanish leaders and merchants, instituted the Republic of Puerto Rico, and established a provisional governing body. This new government freed all enslaved people that participated in the insurrection and decreed that every Puerto Rican was obligated to join the rebels, before embarking on a second journey to storm another town, San Sebastián. Spanish authorities quickly heard of the insurrection and, when the rebels arrived at San Sebastián to storm it, they were met with their first defeat, a decisive one. Morale declined within the group of insurrectionists and the momentum of the rebellion reduced, which gave the Spanish authorities time to strike back, engulfing the mountainous center of the island and taking hundreds of rebels prisoner, a lot of them perishing. Nonetheless, academic Rodríguez Cruz details that even when this revolutionary movement in Puerto Rico did not succeed in establishing a lasting republic, it was the birth of the independence movement that has been active through the invasion and colonization of the United States, and even until the present day (72).

1.1.6 A New Colonizer

Puerto Ricans' motivation to gain independence from Spain was short-lived, since another colonizer would come into the picture just 30 years later; the United States. The US's invasion of Puerto Rico was particular because the US did not need to establish a colonial empire to grow as a global power; instead, they needed to institute naval bases in strategic locations, and this was what they did with Puerto Rico (Ayala 31). This is comparable to how Cabo Verde was used by Portugal as a centerpoint for the trade of enslaved people due to its strategic location in the Atlantic, which will be discussed in the next section of this chapter. Additionally, Pedro Juan Soto's novel *Usmaíl*, analyzed in Chapter 2, discusses how the particularities of the US's incursions in the island-municipality of Vieques for the purpose of inaugurating a naval base affected not only *viequenses*'[6] livelihoods, but the way in which they identified with their nation.

The US's recent victories in the Pacific only exacerbated the imperialist sentiment in the country and, simultaneously, stifled the voices of US American anti-imperialists who questioned their country's morality[7]. As the Spanish-American War (April - August 1898) began because of territorial battles between the US, Cuba, and Spain, clamor for the colonization of Puerto Rico became more clangorous: President McKinley ordered the US Army, led by Nelson Miles, to invade Puerto Rico and immediately hoist the flag of the United States. According to César Ayala, at the time, "la invasión fue vista por la mayoría como una ruptura positiva con el pasado" ("the invasion was seen by most as a positive break with the past" 32). Most of the negative appraisal of the US's incursion of Puerto Rico comes from analyses conducted retrospectively by scholars, taking into consideration the obvious negative effects of the colonization of Puerto Rico.

[6] The people of Vieques.

[7] The US, which was supposed to represent the epitome of democracy, was contradicting itself by having colonies, in the eyes of anti-imperialists.

The Spanish-American War ended in August of 1898, with an already weakened Spain losing its remaining colonial territories to the United States. This monumental usurpation of power was not consulted with the colonies in any way, stifling any political and economic advancements that were in progress and causing more, unexpected problems. This was the case of Puerto Rico, which was on its way to establishing its first autonomous legislative body and was plagued by health and general well-being issues after the US invasion. Spain had finally granted Puerto Ricans the power to hold an autonomous government in March of 1898, but this was rapidly derogated in July of that same year after the US invasion. This meant the institution of a US military government, which failed to institute new governmental organs democratically, causing great discontent within the Puerto Rican population. The independentist revolutionaries were now fighting against their old Spanish colonizers who remained in Puerto Rico *and* the new US government order, who considered them seditious out of fear that this sentiment would become a general Puerto Rican movement (González-Cruz 9). Aside from this, the Puerto Rican economy, which was now sustained by coffee, tobacco, and sugar production, declined because of US colonization; while the Puerto Rican landowners and merchants assumed that they would be allowed to trade freely with the United States, Puerto Rican exports were not immediately permitted in the US (Scarano; *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 564). This represents a substantial setback for Puerto Rico, which was already gaining its footing in the efforts to become independent from Spain, and now had to deal with a new colonizer who would not only impose their political, economic, and social policies but would also force their language and culture upon Puerto Rico.

The economic crisis was then aggravated by an issue that still threatens Puerto Rico to this day: natural phenomena. In August of 1899, hurricane San Ciriaco caused chaos and destruction on the island, paralyzing all agricultural productions. The passing of this hurricane

caused a debacle: rain poured for 28 hours straight, gusts of wind reached strengths of more than 100 miles per hour, and about 3,400 lives were lost because of cataclysmic floods. US first responders could not get to those afflicted because of the blockages in the roads to get to the mountainous center of the island, which saw the most damage from San Ciriaco (Scarano; *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 566). The passage of this hurricane would also cause a great exodus of Puerto Ricans from the island, principally to Hawaii, where cheap manual labor was needed to work in plantations (Picó 257). This continues to be an issue for the island, with natural disasters like this still wreaking havoc in Puerto Rico. The works of Soto discussed in Chapter 2, *Usmaíl* and *Spiks*, speak to the struggles of the Puerto Rican people with natural phenomena such as hurricanes, and the government's inefficiency in providing aid for the affected communities. Puerto Rico's experiences with natural phenomena also creates a parallel to the experience of Cabo Verde, which struggles with a continuous cycle of intense droughts followed by torrential rainstorms, and this prevents them from sustaining themselves economically and socially. The literary analyses conducted in Chapter 2 help understand how the tribulations of coping with natural phenomena affect both Puerto Ricans' and Cape Verdeans' self-identity.

The colonial state of Puerto Rico under the United States was solidified when, in 1900, the Foraker Act was ratified, which instituted several statutes about what the Puerto Rican colonial government would look like, and is clear evidence of how, since the beginning, the US colonial regime in Puerto Rico has attempted to stifle Puerto Rican identity and dominate the island for lucrative gain.

Firstly, it would make people born in Puerto Rico after 1898 nominal citizens of the United States, that is, they would be recognized as citizens, but did not enjoy any particular rights because of that citizenship, such as having representation in the US's Congress (Scarano;

Puerto Rico, 1st ed. 572). Moreover, the US would restrict Puerto Rican commerce by charging tariffs on international commercial exchanges. The Foraker Act would also establish a three-branch government in Puerto Rico; however, the President of the United States would appoint the governor and other important officials, and the US Congress had the power to confirm or annul legislation approved by the Puerto Rican law-making bodies, which, in practice, did not give Puerto Rico any type of political or legislative freedoms (574). Aside from this, during the period in which the Foraker Act was enforced, the Republican Party of the United States clamored for the "Americanization" of Puerto Rico, a process that, through "economic and institutional modernization," would interest powerful US American business sectors (Cabán 177). This caused a rise in US investments in Puerto Rico, specifically in the sugar and tobacco industries, which helped the island revitalize after a long period of decadence under Spain (Scarano, *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 585, 590). This process also meant the implementation of a system of instruction in Puerto Rico, which, although it brought an organized and accessible education system to the island, furthered the effort to "Americanize" the Puerto Rican population (607). The Foraker Act was largely opposed, causing influential Puerto Ricans to organize into the *Partido Unión* (Union Party), which sought to replace this Act with one that would allow Puerto Ricans active participation in their government. The United States responded by implementing the Jones Act in 1917, which granted US citizenship to all Puerto Ricans and improved the legislature so that Puerto Ricans could elect their legislators, among other reforms; however, the governor would still be appointed by the US President, and cabinet members would be appointed by the US Senate (Picó 268). This is clear evidence of how the US wanted to stifle the Puerto Rican people's clamor for representation by granting them a title that was ultimately useless, since the rights given to Puerto Ricans were superseded by

policies that blocked Puerto Ricans from actually having any power in the process of making decisions that affected them. The US made Puerto Ricans into second-class citizens of the country to avoid any type of opposition from their newly-acquired colony. The Jones Act also meant that, since the United States had just entered World War I, selective service would be implemented (269), and many Puerto Ricans would have to fight for a country that wasn't theirs. This contributed to the "Americanization" of Puerto Rico, by imposing patriotic idealizations about the US on Puerto Ricans, especially those who were forced to serve in the military, which had a great impact on the loss and even rejection of purely Puerto Rican culture. Through the Jones Act, it is clear how the United States, from the beginning, manipulated their power over Puerto Rico to use their new colony to their advantage, completely neglecting any political, social, and even moral considerations about how the policies might affect Puerto Ricans. This blatant attempt at strengthening the US's global power at the expense of Puerto Ricans is the first of many, which are exemplified in Pedro Juan Soto's works, analyzed in Chapter 2, especially through the character of Chefa in *Usmaíl*, a woman from Vieques who is taken advantage of by Mr. Adams, an American assigned to work in the island-municipality.

1.1.7 The Power of Unity, the Injustice of Subjugation

Another period of strong Puerto Rican self-identification and pride would arise a decade later when the United States's Great Depression also caused economic and social dismay in Puerto Rico (exacerbated, also, by the passage of another hurricane, San Felipe). The United States, in collaboration with the Puerto Rican government, instituted two programs to help ameliorate the poor socioeconomic conditions that Puerto Ricans were confronting: the Puerto Rico Emergency Relief Administration (PRERA; 1933) and its later iteration, the Puerto Rico

Reconstruction Administration (PRRA; 1935), which were seen by Puerto Ricans as inconsequential (Scarano; *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 678, 681). This period was the peak of animosity between the US government and the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party, led by Pedro Albizu Campos, which fervently sought the independence of Puerto Rico. This led to violent confrontations between nationalists and US authorities, and a widespread persecution of nationalist leaders, who were imprisoned and sent to jail in the United States (Power 131). One of these confrontations happened in the town of Río Piedras, where the University of Puerto Rico is located. In October of 1935, five nationalist students were shot outside of the University by policemen; four of them died. There was no investigation into what is known as the *Matanza de Río Piedras* (Río Piedras Massacre), and the policemen responsible were not reprimanded but promoted (Scarano; *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 694). This was not the only example of violence being employed to silence Puerto Rican nationalist ideals, mostly targeting the Puerto Rican, educated youth. Suppression of Puerto Rican independence ideals came to an all-time high in the late 1940s and 1950s, when the *Ley de la Mordaza*, or Gag Law, was ratified in 1948. This law prohibited owning a Puerto Rican flag, being openly in favor of independence for Puerto Rico, and forming groups with like opinions about independence, all with the purpose of "Americanizing" Puerto Rico (Rangel 3).

1.1.8 The Occupation of Vieques: Displacement, Racism, and Disease

Around this time, the US government began to establish military bases on the island-municipalities of Vieques and Culebra, the former being the victim of most of these incursions. In 1941, Congress passed a bill allowing the United States military to appropriate large areas of land in Vieques which would be used to situate these bases. The western part of the

island, in which most of the sugarcane production was underway, was expropriated by the US Navy, and its inhabitants were displaced to the center and east of the island, most of which was later also taken over by US military bases. In just two years, over 21,000 of the 33,000 acres of Vieques were invaded by the US Navy. The inhabitants of these areas did not receive fair compensation for their displacement, many of them being exiled to areas designated by the US government for the displaced communities of Vieques to live in, but with the caveat of having to "sign a contract recognizing that they could be ordered to vacate "Navy property" on short notice" (Santana 39). The US also planned to flatten the land of Vieques to build underground bunkers and storage space for weapons, which would have stunted the potential for agricultural economic growth on the island. This effort was opposed by many, but the opposition sentiment was largely quieted by the fear of being targeted by the government, strong support for the Allied Powers (of which the US was part) during World War II, and the fact that the presence of the US Navy base in Vieques was providing job opportunities for *viequenses*. After World War II concluded —at a time when *viequenses* expected their lands to be returned, and when the US had leased acres of land to the Puerto Rican government for agricultural production—, the Navy announced that they would stay in Vieques in 1947, and take over 4,000 extra acres of the island (40). Lasting for 56 more years after that, the US occupation of Vieques proved to be incredibly detrimental to the people of the island, as described in Pedro Juan Soto's *Usmaíl*.

The US occupation of Vieques exacerbated many racial issues between *viequenses* and US Americans. An example of this is when, in 1948, the Navy held its first war games in which all branches of the US military participated. This consisted of simulating warfare to prepare US troops for combat, teaching them strategy, weaponry skills, etc. In this particular event, the US military simulated battles between US troops and the Puerto Rican National Guard who were

defending their territory. The troops who were on the US team were referred to as the "Blues" and were given English names, while those who were on the team representing Puerto Ricans were known as the "Blacks" and were given Spanish names (40). This reveals the racial and social impact that US colonization had on Puerto Rico; not only did US Americans categorize all Puerto Ricans as Black and therefore, racially different, but they also established a racial hierarchy in which the White US Americans would militarily and socially dominate Puerto Ricans. Aside from this, the simulations of war conducted in Vieques also condemned the island to a future of distress and disease. The US military occupation of Vieques meant that weapons of war were detonated and burnt without the proper permits, which would release toxic biological, chemical, and nuclear substances such as uranium and glass fibers, which would go on to affect the health of *viequenses* (40 - 41). Vieques has a higher mortality rate than the island of Puerto Rico because of the remnants of military explosives that were recklessly depleted throughout the island, many *viequenses* ingesting them through water, causing them to suffer from cancer, kidney, skin, reproductive, and heart disease, among other illnesses (42). The first organized protest against the naval base in Vieques took place in 1971, beginning a fight that lasted until 2003. Throughout that time, this movement caught the attention of political and religious figures from Puerto Rico, the United States, and the world: Rubén Berríos[8], Roberto González Nieves[9], and even the Dalai Lama voiced their opinions on the matter. In 2001, despite heavy military opposition, President George W. Bush ordered that the voice of Puerto Ricans would decide the future of the naval base; after an island-wide plebiscite, 70% voted for the closure of the base, which led to its abandonment in 2003 (Scarano, *Puerto Rico*, 4th ed. 673 - 676). However, today, the US government is yet to complete a thorough cleaning of the remnants of the base, which

[8] One of the most important figures of the *Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño* (Puerto Rican Independence Party).

[9] Archbishop of San Juan.

continue to plague *viequenses*. These and other problems surrounding the livelihoods of *viequenses*, such as the social impact of Americans living within the Puerto Rican population, the goal of emigrating to the *Isla Grande* and even to the US, and how *viequenses* view themselves as inferior to the rest of Puerto Ricans, are reflected in Pedro Juan Soto's novel *Usmaíl*, which will be discussed in Chapter 2.

1.1.9 It's Time to Go: Puerto Ricans Forced to Abandon the Island

While the fight continued on the island, many Puerto Ricans had to abandon their home after World War II when job opportunities rapidly increased in the United States. The majority of these emigration patterns led to New York City, where the Bronx and Brooklyn saw a broad development of Puerto Rican neighborhoods. The state of New Jersey, as well as the cities of Chicago, Philadelphia, and Cleveland, saw a great number of Puerto Rican immigrants. Puerto Ricans in the United States confronted many problems, especially with their living situations: the conditions of their homes (heating systems, pipes, and roofs) were not optimal. On top of this, they faced enormous prejudice and discrimination for their physical appearances, their accents, etc. (Picó 290 - 293). This reflects how the colonizing power of the United States affected Puerto Rico, which left Puerto Rico without the resources needed to provide its people with a proper living, which forced them to emigrate to the US. The Puerto Rican diasporic space of New York City is particularly explored through Pedro Juan Soto's *Spiks*, which analyzes the struggles of Puerto Ricans who emigrate to New York City and how this emigration presents issues of self-identification and the incorrect perception that the US means freedom and opportunity for Puerto Ricans.

1.1.10 Political Stalemate: Yesterday's and Today's Plight

The colonial political status of Puerto Rico was solidified in 1952 with the ratification of the *Constitución del Estado Libre Asociado de Puerto Rico* (Constitution of the Free-Associated State of Puerto Rico) (ELA), a document that, according to Luis Muñoz Marín (first elected governor of Puerto Rico and founder of the *Partido Popular Democrático* [Popular Democratic Party] [PPD]) would end Puerto Rico's colonial status. This vision, however, was opposed by both independentists and those who supported statehood: the former argued that Puerto Ricans still depended on the approval of the United States, so nothing had changed, and the latter argued that this Constitution did not guarantee a permanent union to the United States (Scarano; *Puerto Rico*, 1st ed. 733). Still today, this debate is the main political stalemate between the three main parties in Puerto Rico: the *Partido Independentista Puertorriqueño* (PIP), who supports Puerto Rico's full independence from the United States; the *Partido Popular Democrático* (PPD), who sustain that the status quo (ELA) should be maintained; and the *Partido Nuevo Progresista* (New Progressive Party) (PNP), who want to see Puerto Rico become the United States's 51st state.

The Puerto Rican experience has proved characterized by issues like political misrepresentation, economic instability, and general neglect by the archipelago's colonizers. Natural phenomena, the occupation of Vieques, and the suppression of nationalist ideals are only a few of the struggles that exacerbate the already tumultuous events that Puerto Ricans go through because of their colonial status. The next section of this chapter presents a historical landscape of Cabo Verde, which includes many parallels to the history and culture of Puerto Rico. The common threads that tie these two nations together consist of their relationships to migration, the neglect propitiated against them by their colonizers, complex processes of self-identification in the context of colonialism, and the strategic use of these spaces in a way

that is advantageous to the colonial powers that dominate them. Understanding these parallels is helpful to unpack these patterns in the works discussed in Chapter 2.

1.2 Historical Framework of Cabo Verde

1.2.1 The Portuguese Plant Their Flag

Cabo Verde also serves as a case study to be able to analyze the concept of archipelagic studies and its different aspects, such as the quality of life imposed by colonization that forces many islanders to leave their homeland. This archipelago consists of ten islands (Santo Antão, São Vicente, Santa Luzia, São Nicolau, Sal, Boa Vista —the Barlavento islands—, Maio, Santiago, Fogo, and Brava —the Sotavento islands—), the largest being Santiago and the smallest being Santa Luzia, which are located to the west of the African continent, in the northern Atlantic ocean. Its geographic location conditions Cabo Verde to an arid climate. Because of this, the country, which relies on agriculture as its main economic industry, is subjected to periods of crisis caused by droughts, which, in turn, makes a sustainable economy in the archipelago near impossible, leading to social issues such as poverty and famine (Do Amaral 1). Aside from this, Cabo Verde doesn't have any particular minerals of economic value, which prevents Cabo Verde from relying on other types of industries to sustain itself economically. A characteristic frequently connected to Cape Verdean identity is the concept of the contrasting absence of rain and the abundance of the ocean that surrounds Cabo Verde. The fervent need for rainwater for crops to grow and the economy to flourish is often squashed, and islanders see themselves obligated to cross the ocean water that surrounds them to get them somewhere where they can live a full life. Understanding these perspectives is crucial to analyzing Cabo Verde's history, and the developments that have led to what the archipelago is today.

The islands of Cabo Verde were uninhabited until the Portuguese discovered them in the 1450s. The year 1460 marks the beginning of Portuguese colonization and settlement in Cabo Verde, when António da Noli was named captain of the island of Santiago (Lobban 16). Two

years later, Cabo Verde began to receive an influx of structures, ideas, and immigrants from Portugal: a feudal system, farmers from the Algarve region, and people who were imprisoned under the Portuguese Inquisition, the last of these which, from the beginning, established the colony of Cabo Verde as a place where the Portuguese empire could dispose of the unwanted, foreshadowing the neglect and general disinterest toward the archipelago that Portugal would demonstrate in the future. The largest population on the islands was of African enslaved people. Under this system, the White colonizers were enabled to assert their power over Black bodies, which caused widespread miscegenation in the archipelago. The enslaved people were assigned to work in sugar and cotton plantations; there was a preference for enslaved people who were skilled in the production of cotton, which contributed to the production of *panos* (cloths) which served as currency in the traffic of enslaved people (17).

1.2.2 Cabo Verde: The Chess Piece of Portugal

Early in its colonization period, the Portuguese crown decided to use Cabo Verde as a pawn in the traffic of enslaved people, and the empire did not see much potential in the islands they were colonizing. In the fifteenth century, Cabo Verde was established as a "regional command center" (Lobban 18) for Portugal, which academics have argued was the intention of the Portuguese all along. Monteiro argues that the Cape Verdean islands were not particularly attractive to Portuguese settlers for several reasons, some of them being the geographic distance from Portugal, and the lack of incentives to promote settlers' transfer to the archipelago. The intentions of the Portuguese crown were always to make Cabo Verde a center point for their navigation efforts and did not expect much socioeconomic growth from the archipelago.

Essentially, Cabo Verde represented the strong Portuguese fervor for imperialism and expansionism (17 - 18).

The people of Cabo Verde quickly felt Portugal's lax interest in the archipelago when the crown passed the *Carta Régia* (Royal Charter) of 1466, in which migration to the Cape Verdean islands was incentivized by the Portuguese crown, allowing free trade of enslaved people and other resources, followed by its later iteration just six years later, which struck down these benefits because the government was using too much money. Soon after, the Portuguese crown established monopolies on certain industries, like ivory, to maintain control of the African coast. Additionally, historical records show how the Portuguese attempted to form trade relations with the Wolof and Senegambian people —where the enslaved people of Cabo Verde were forcibly brought from—, but these relations quickly soured out of fear of being outsmarted commercially (Lobban 17). Monteiro argues that these incentives being revoked so quickly after the fact makes it even more clear that the intentions of the Portuguese were never to provide the settlers with a place that had the potential for self-subsistence, but to turn Cabo Verde into merely a pawn for the Crown. This quickly caused discontent among the people of Cabo Verde, who now felt trapped in an unlivable environment in which they were expected to not only survive but thrive socioeconomically without the tools to do so (19 - 20).

1.2.3 Cape Verdeans Demand to Be Heard

As Cabo Verde solidified its economy and government in the sixteenth century, Cape Verdeans also faced many challenges. Not only were they highly susceptible to foreign attacks at the hands of Portugal's European enemies and received virtually no military support from Portugal[10], but they also faced periods of drought and famine, given the climate conditions due to

[10] Portugal was already militarily weak because of its incursions in Morocco.

Cabo Verde's location (Lobban 21). Furthermore, the social structures being established in Cabo Verde proved to be detrimental; the focus of the Portuguese crown throughout the colonization of Cabo Verde was White men. Due to the discontent that the people on the islands now felt toward Portugal, they began wanting to distance themselves from the Portuguese crown, while simultaneously establishing governmental structures in Cabo Verde that represented them —and only them, as they were the minority. Additionally, a large population of *vizinhos negros* (free Black people) began to emerge and sought governmental representation, which was then prohibited by the Portuguese crown in 1517. In response to this, the Black and biracial population in Cabo Verde petitioned Portugal to allow them to be part of the *Câmara* (Congress), which led to a rising number of non-White settlers dominating various aspects of Cape Verdean society and economy, such as in commercial and ecclesiastical positions (Monteiro 22 - 23).

1.2.4 Power at the Expense of Humanity

Cabo Verde's geographic location in the Atlantic Ocean allowed it to play an important role in the traffic of enslaved African people across the Atlantic, which surpassed the scale of other European countries' incursions in this industry. However, this did not stop the people of Cabo Verde from rejecting the traditional structures of social stratification in a slaveholding society. The large presence of African enslaved people in the islands meant that this population was classified due to certain criteria. In terms of labor, enslaved people were categorized as commercial slaves[11], labor slaves[12], and domestic slaves[13]. Furthermore, enslaved people in Cabo Verde were also classified due to their origins: *escravos bocais* (muzzle slaves) were those born in Africa, *escravos naturais* (natural slaves) were those born in Cabo Verde, and *escravos de*

[11] Enslaved people being sold to other markets.
[12] Worked in plantations.
[13] Worked in the home.

confissão (confession slaves) were "civilized" enslaved people (24). This organization reflected Cabo Verde's reliance on the traffic of enslaved people to maintain the economic system that Portugal needed to maintain their power. However, attacks by pirates and corsairs during the sixteenth century threatened this social structure, forcing enslaved people and their owners to find refuge from these attacks together. Cabo Verde's recovery from these invasions meant that social stratification was not as important as the solidarity that existed interpersonally, in that the urban spaces created defense strategies that benefitted Cabo Verde as a whole, and not just the more privileged social classes. Additionally, religion played an important role in the blurred racial stratification of Cabo Verde, since a large quantity of enslaved people were freed —granted *cartas de alforria* (letters of manumission)— because of the slaveowners' egotistical motivation to gain the atonement of their souls (and not because of an abolitionist sentiment). Many slaveowners who had children with enslaved women granted them freedom, since they did not want their children to become enslaved (Monteiro 24 - 25). This shows how this abusive, imposed system became pervasive in Cabo Verde because of Portugal's colonization, not only becoming ingrained in Cabo Verde's politics and economy but also in Cabo Verde's culture and society.

Regardless of how the Cape Verdean people experienced their society under the institution of slavery, the Portuguese did not task themselves with understanding the society that they were impacting, and instead, focused on maximizing the exploitation of these people. In 1625, the capital of Cabo Verde was moved from Ribeira Grande to Praia, a more protected and secure city, with the sole purpose of allowing more slave ships to enter the coast of Cabo Verde more safely. It was also convenient for representatives of the Crown who collected taxes on enslaved people and other resources, which was the main income of the Portuguese Crown

(Lobban 25 - 26). In general, the trade of enslaved people in Cabo Verde fluctuated throughout its history. However, the turn of the seventeenth century signified a boom in this industry throughout the Atlantic market. More than 1,600 enslaved people per year were forced to come to Cabo Verde, some of whom were then sent to the Americas (28), particularly to Brazil, making Cabo Verde a hub for the traffic of enslaved people, its influence expanding globally, and the economic benefits of this industry continuing to maximize for Portugal.

1.2.5 A Growing Population in Cabo Verde

In the late eighteenth century, the government of Portugal instituted a trading monopoly called the *Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão* (General Company of Grão Pará and Maranhão) to incite the socioeconomic growth of these two Brazilian states through the importation of enslaved people from Cabo Verde. This *Companhia* dominated the Cape Verdean economy, spanning several industries, which also benefited other countries. Brazil's economy grew because of the *Companhia*, causing a boom in several of its export industries, and the United States started forcing large numbers of enslaved people to come from Cabo Verde. The *Companhia* made it so Cabo Verde played a role in the economies of North America and Portugal. Eventually, Cabo Verde became a depot for ships transporting enslaved people, which made their journeys shorter and less arduous. With the *Companhia*'s end in 1778, the *Sociedade Exclusiva de Comércio de Cabo Verde* (Exclusive Commercial Society of Cabo Verde) was instated, which only lasted until 1786. Owning enslaved people was not widespread; only the wealthiest Cape Verdeans and those who were part of the nobility were able to afford to partake in the traffic of enslaved people. This institution in Cabo Verde led to the rapid growth of a Crioulo population, composed of the illegitimate children of the White Portuguese who engaged

in abusive relationships with enslaved people. This miscigenation contributed to the creation of a uniquely Cape Verdean identity.

Although Portugal promoted the idea of Lusotropicalism[14] among its colonies, the broad racial miscegenation that happened in Cabo Verde is not attributed to this principle, but rather to the racial composition of the islands. There was a very small number of White people in Cabo Verde, who engaged in forced sexual relationships with enslaved women, producing a large population of biracial children. The large population of enslaved people in Cabo Verde also represented a threat to the White population, who feared that the Black population would be able to defeat them in a revolution. Because of this, the population of biracial children became a tool for social allyship between the White and Black populations. Regardless, the Portuguese still tried to maintain their political and economic power through their whiteness by promoting marriages between Europeans and trying to extinguish the biracial population by promoting the immigration of more White people to Cabo Verde. This did not prevent the biracial population from continuing to grow and organize; a biracial elite emerged which threatened the power of the Portuguese elite on the islands (Rego 28). The convergence of these two opposing powers in the Cape Verdean archipelago contributed to the formation of a Cape Verdean racial identity by establishing the power of the Black and biracial population who began to threaten the White domination of Cape Verdean politics, economy, and society.

1.2.6 The United States as a Lifeline

Globally, during the nineteenth century, the institution of slavery was in decline, with many countries like England and France prohibiting the trade of enslaved people. Since this was

[14] Proposed that the Portuguese were "good colonizers" and that they treated their colonies better than other European countries.

Cabo Verde's main source of income, as well as for other of Portugal's colonies, the Portuguese government did not see this as a positive development. With the rise of industrialism, the need for forced manual labor was decreasing in the newly industrialized European countries (e.g., England, France, Belgium…), and many of the people who were already enslaved were being freed by their owners. During this time, though, much of Cabo Verde's slave trade economy was sustained by the United States, where, although many states were abolishing slavery, slave ships were still docking. While the United States served as an "economic lifeline" (Lobban 35) for Cabo Verde[15], the archipelago also contributed to the US economy by aiding it in its rise as a maritime power, as Cabo Verde was the US's first claim in the African coast. US Americans also sailed to Cabo Verde to recruit crew members for the sealing and whaling industries. By the mid-nineteenth century, the slave trade was still in great decline because of the rise of commerce in other "legitimate" industries, but the African-US slave trade was still ongoing. In 1869, after anti-slavery squadrons from the US were sent to Cabo Verde to police the trading of enslaved people that was taking place, Portugal abolished slavery in all of its colonial holdings (36 - 40).

1.2.7 An Empire Against its Colonizer

Although the official end of slavery as an institution in 1869 brought on a great economic crisis for Cabo Verde since this was its main industry throughout its history, its abolition also meant the introduction of new industries to the Cape Verdean economic landscape. New systems like sharecropping and tenant farming replaced the slave plantations, and the *contratados* (contractors) system was the new modality of manual labor, which involved the Portuguese empire offering Cape Verdeans to "voluntarily" emigrate to São Tomé e Príncipe (another

[15] Brazil lost its monopoly on the Cape Verdean traffic of enslaved people with the end of the *Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão* in 1778.

Lusoafrican colony) to make more money and escape the agricultural (and thus economic) instability of Cabo Verde. The *contratados* system, however, was just another form of slavery disguised behind the idea that it was voluntary, but ended with the forced displacement and subsequent forced labor of Cape Verdeans in São Tomé e Príncipe (Berthet 221). With the rise of steam power in the mid-1800s, the industries of coal and oil bunkering began to emerge in Mindelo (on the island of São Vicente), which became an official city because of its deepwater port. Mindelo soon became an important point for Cape Verdean exportation, which is still true today. As the end of Cabo Verde's colonial status neared, the rise of Mindelo as a commercial influence was one of the ways in which Cabo Verde found self-sustenance, which led to the establishment of an industry in the archipelago that did not necessarily rely on its unstable climate, which was the issue that agriculture presented.

During this time, Cabo Verde also continued to develop a sentiment of self-identification as a unique group of people separate from their Portuguese colonizers. This happened because of the rise of independence ideals, along with a new idea of pan-African unity (Lobban 42). In 1910, the Bragança monarchy in Portugal was overthrown, and the Republican government of Portugal was instated one year later. In Cabo Verde, these developments fueled a sense of sympathy in its people, many of whom wanted a similar event to happen in the archipelago. However, this hope was short-lived, as António de Oliveira Salazar staged a coup against the Portuguese Republic in 1926, which began the dictatorship known as the *Estado Novo* (New State). This period in Portuguese history was characterized by the repression of civil liberties, with the *Polícia Internacional e de Defesa do Estado* (International and State Defense Police; PIDE) being the body that enforced these abuses. The rise of the Portuguese Communist Party, whose main goal was to reinstate democracy and, with it, the human rights of the Portuguese

people, presented a threat to the government of the *Estado Novo*, but an opportunity to the African intellectuals that came to Portugal to receive a formal education, who were "doubly limited by both fascism and colonialism" (Lobban 43). In Cabo Verde specifically, the precarious climate conditions left the archipelago almost completely dependent on Portugal. Aside from this, the abuse of fascism was seen firsthand in Cape Verdean prisons, as opposers of the *Estado Novo* from all over the Portuguese empire were captured and sent to the islands during the 1930s.

The rising concept of pan-Africanism during this time led to several nationalist liberation movements across the African continent. Cabo Verde also saw a surge in these ideals, but the possibility of changing the status quo was stunted by their immersion in colonialism. While the *Estado Novo* advocated for the concept of their African colonies as authentically Portuguese, Cabo Verde leaned more towards an African mentality, rather than aligning with their colonizer. As more and more African territories became independent during the mid-twentieth century, Cape Verdean intellectuals in Portugal started to consume the texts of figures like Marx and Lenin. In the rest of the African colonies, nationalist leaders that aligned with these ideals became known: Eduardo Mondlane, founder of the *Frente de Libertação de Moçambique* (Liberation Front of Mozambique; FRELIMO), and Agostinho Neto, founder of the *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (Popular Movement for the Liberation of Angola; MPLA). Amílcar Cabral, a Cape Verdean born in Guiné-Bissau, frequently joined them in Lisbon to discuss how they could band together to end both Portuguese fascism and colonialism. In 1956, the *Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde* (African Party for the Independence of Guiné and Cabo Verde; PAIGC) was founded by Cabral, and started to cautiously align with the Soviet Union to get ahold of weapons. At first, the founders of the PAIGC believed that their fight would be short-lived and quickly successful, but the Portuguese

were not willing to let them go so swiftly (89). However, since the beginning, the purpose of the PAIGC was to liberate Cabo Verde and Guiné-Bissau and to integrate both of these territories, since they had been linked through most of their histories.

1.2.8 The Era of the Claridosos

While the political climate in Cabo Verde and the rest of the Lusoafrican colonies became increasingly tumultuous, a period of self-identification and cultural development began in Cabo Verde in 1936, when the *Claridade* (*Clarity*) magazine was founded. As described by one of its authors, Manuel Lopes (his novel *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* will be analyzed in Chapter 2), *Claridade* contained "raw material that stimulated [Cape Verdeans'] cultural independence," and its purpose was to "plant [their] feet on the ground, think Cabo Verde, feel Cabo Verde" (Laban 83 - 84). In other words, this literary endeavor worked to understand and express what it meant to be Cape Verdean, considering factors, like insularity, that affect the communities that lived in the archipelago. In the eyes of the *claridosos*[16], the trials and tribulations that came with being Cape Verdean and living in the islands, such as climate conditions and low economic development, were ameliorated by the understanding of oneself as Cape Verdean and taking pride in the nation's *caboverdianidade*. Aside from this, the *Claridade* movement did not seek to establish its own literary aesthetics to differentiate itself from others, but Cape Verdean identity itself and by itself would be the factor that disseminated this way of thinking in the islands (Vilela Viana Pereira da Costa 75). This movement established, for the first time, a purely Cape Verdean literary identity, which had not developed as quickly and effectively as other areas such as music, dance, and cuisine (78). Through prose and poetry alike, *claridosos* embraced and

[16] Term used to refer to the authors of the movement.

valued their Cape Verdean identity without ignoring or rejecting the hardships that being Cape Verdean entailed, but rather expressing them and spreading a message that was uniquely theirs.

The literature of the *claridosos* discussed and analyzed themes that were undeniably part of the Cape Verdean culture and experience; one of these being emigration. Manuel Lopes (*Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*) and Baltasar Lopes da Silva (*Chiquinho*), authors whose works will be discussed in Chapter 2, deconstructed what it was like for Cape Verdeans to lose the hope of thriving in their homeland and having to abandon it in search of a better living. In *Chiquinho*, Lopes da Silva told the story of a child from São Nicolau who left his island to study in São Vicente, and who grew up feeling trapped in the Cape Verdean archipelago, hoping to be able to showcase what he learned in other frontiers, outside of the islands. On the other hand, Lopes, in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, unpacked the life a family man whose unrelenting hope of successfully growing crops was destroyed by the ruthless *lestada* (eastern winds), which forced him to search for better opportunities elsewhere. This grim picture was common in the work of *claridosos*; they did not seek to idealize or belittle the Cape Verdean experience but rather to present an accurate, unique picture of what this meant —in many cases, it meant fleeing.

Another important contribution of the *claridosos* was the incorporation of the Cape Verdean Creole language into their works, which was the main language spoken in the islands but had never been formally written down. This reaffirmed the purpose of the *Claridade* movement, as the language itself was a strong symbol of *caboverdianidade* and its use represented an identity that attempted to deviate from the influences of Portuguese colonization. This is not to say, however, that the Portuguese language did not influence the creation of Cape Verdean Creole, since it contributed more than 90% of the lexical bases of Creole words (Madeira 80), but the fact that the use of this language overpowered the use of Portuguese in

Cabo Verde represented a resistance to the colonizer worldview, reflected the neglect of the Portuguese empire in not taking the steps to teach Portuguese in their colony, and provided Cape Verdeans with a unique system of communication that identified them outside of what is Portuguese. For some of the *claridosos*, as was the case with poet Eugênio Tavares, it was important to feature Creole in their literary contributions, since it solidified the purpose of creating literature that was purely Cape Verdean and that reflected inherent characteristics of living in the islands. Speaking about Cabo Verde in its native, predominant language gets across the message of resistance and national pride in a more authentic way, one that only writing in Portuguese would have failed to explore to its full potential. Aside from this, although the *claridosos* did not position themselves in favor of Cape Verdean independence (Medeiros 26), the movement to establish a purely Cape Verdean cultural identity is certainly a precursor to the clamor for autonomy from Portugal that would arise in the 1960s.

1.3 Theoretical Framework

1.3.1 Insularity to Archipelagic Studies: An Evolved Field

1.3.1.1 It's the Island's Fault (?)

To discuss how the historical and current experiences of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans encompass their identities due to their realities as archipelagos, it is important to understand archipelagic studies as a concept and a field of study. Analyzing the concept of archipelagos and the ways that scholars have thought about them provides structure and organization within which to center the analyses of the literary works of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde conducted in Chapter 2. In particular, how does colonialism target archipelagic spaces in their expansionist endeavors? How does the incursion of colonial powers in archipelagic spaces lead them to particular outcomes? The field of archipelagic studies has certainly evolved throughout its history, which has made it so that varying views of islands have been debated. More antiquated views about archipelagic studies do not consider archipelagos as a whole and focus on arguing how the island space is conditioned to precarious outcomes, rather than considering colonialism as the cause of these issues. An example of early views of islands is C.G. Clarke in an article titled "Insularity and Identity in the Caribbean."According to Clarke, an island's predisposition to being colonized starts at an island's size; the smaller the island, the more likely that it will depend on similar kinds of social, political, and economic structures: "Smallness has condemned the islands to a history of tutelage and, in some cases, to microscopic versions of political dependence" (8). On the other hand, for Clarke, the smallness of these islands gives way to a more cultivated feeling of place, in which social differences are mitigated by how contained people are spatially (9). From Clarke's perspective, the reader can extract that,

according to them, a sense of interpersonal relatedness is more tangible in a smaller space (like an island) than somewhere broader.

The cases of both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde question this idea since both countries are archipelagos and not just one small island. Puerto Rico is composed of one bigger island and two smaller island-municipalities: Vieques and Culebra. Although both Vieques and Culebra are theoretically equal to the other 76 municipalities on the mainland, an unequal power dynamic exists between the mainland and Vieques and Culebra. Both the local and federal governments often overlook Vieques and Culebra, stripping them of their rights (such as with the establishment of the US Navy in Vieques), and allocating fewer resources to these islands. Cabo Verde's case is different since the country is an archipelago composed of ten islands, all varying in size (Santiago, the largest, is 383 square miles, while Santa Luzia, the smallest is 14 square miles). The combined area of all the islands is 1,557 square miles, which is still significantly smaller than Puerto Rico (3,435 square miles). However, the political, economic, and social issues that these archipelagos face throughout their histories are a byproduct of the colonial domination of these islands, rather than just the islands' size. Contrary to what Clarke posits, an island's size is not a direct predetermination of its colonial status; colonialism and the legacies if this structure is the root cause of the problems Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde face, an issue discussed in Chapter 2. For example, both in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* and *Usmaíl*, since the beginning of the novels, it is evident how the inefficiency of the colonial governments in the respective archipelagos affect the daily lives of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans. In *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, the neglect of the Portuguese government causes Cape Verdeans to suffer through the adverse climate conditions that prevent them from succeeding and, in many cases, surviving; in *Usmaíl*, the character of Mr. Adams, an American, partakes in a sexual

relationship with Chefa, a Black *viequense*, which represents a clear power imbalance and results in the abandonment of a pregnant Chefa.

1.3.1.2 Changing the Focus

In 1989, Antonio Benítez Rojo, in his book *La isla que se repite* (*The Repeating Island*), details how, at the time, a more global analysis of archipelagos was avoided because of the various obstacles like instability, isolation, and cultural complexity, which islands were believed to endure. Benítez Rojo explains how these factors were instead overshadowed by a perspective much like the one Columbus approached the Caribbean with: "la intención de aplicar "acá" los métodos y los dogmas de "allá" ("the intention of applying "here" the methods and dogmas of "there"; ii). Benítez Rojo proceeds to argue that the avoidance of tackling archipelagic spaces given the obstacles they face is not invaluable, though; it is an initial reading of archipelagos that should be subsequently replaced with a second, more holistic perspective that analyzes the nuances that occur in archipelagic spaces and make it different from other spaces (like emigration, the movement between islands, diasporic communities…). Additionally, Benítez Rojo relates insularity with the scientific theory of chaos, which states that within processes that involve incongruence, disorganization, and, often, disaster —which happen to characterize islands according to Benítez—, there is regularity and dynamism that is repeated amongst cases (ii - iii). This supports the idea that the issues experienced by Puerto Rico or Cabo Verde are not necessarily unique to these spaces or the respective regions of the Caribbean and the African Atlantic, but that they are likely to be a commonality throughout archipelagos globally.

1.3.1.3 Colonialism: The Common Denominator

Through the attempt to join most if not all islands within the umbrella of insularity and insular identity, one common characteristic becomes immediately salient among them: a history of colonialism. European colonization has taken advantage of the location, resources, and strategy of archipelagos like Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde to exploit them for their economic gain. Puerto Rico was known by Spain as the "key" of the Caribbean because of its strategic geographic location commercially and militarily and, similarly, Cabo Verde was seen by Portugal as a center point between West Africa and America for the trade of enslaved people. Analyses concerning islands around the world involve a comparative approach: investigating how archipelagos that share histories, cultures, and languages are similar or different in terms of their experiences (Leinius 23). This approach is usually restricted to spaces that share the same colonizer, to exclude any confounding variables that might prevent an accurate comparison from being made. However, connecting this to Benítez Rojo's theories about the study of islands, not limiting this comparison to only islands that have the same colonial histories (i.e. comparing only Puerto Rico, Cuba, and the Philippines because they were colonized by Spain) extends the discussion to a broader understanding of archipelagic spaces and supports a global perspective on archipelagos, and the experiences of the people that live in them.

1.3.1.4 The Struggle of Merging Identities

Other scholars in the past have theorized that people from archipelagic spaces think in a different, unique way that shapes the way they act and interact with their islands. Fidel Sepúlveda Llanos, in 2017, details his perspective on the concept of insularity and how that defines the thinking of someone from an island:

> La insularidad es una percepción de la precariedad del ser de lo propio y la duda acerca de la factibilidad de dejar de ser lo que se es e ingresar a lo otro, ingresar en sí lo otro. La insularidad es una duda metódica acerca de la capacidad del metabolismo de asimilar armónicamente lo extraño y de la capacidad de adaptación, sin negación, de la propia peculiaridad a lo extraño (Insularity is a perception of the precarity about one's own being and doubting how feasible it is to stop being what one is and becoming the other, and introducing the other into oneself. Insularity is a systematic doubt about metabolism's ability to harmoniously assimilate the foreign, its ability to adapt without denying one's own unique peculiarity; Sepúlveda Llanos 277).

In Sepúlveda Llanos's view, insularity involves a blurred sense of self-identity, which is continuously influenced —and threatened— by outside sources. Furthermore, insularity also covers a sense of doubt about the human process of self-identification; for an islander, this requires pondering in creating the self in a sea of penetrating ideas, social standards, and cultural contexts. The second aspect of Sepúlveda Llanos's view on insularity is the metabolism's harmonious assimilation of "lo extraño" ("the foreign") and how it embraces the peculiarity of this foreignness, which ends up being the *modus operandi* of an islander. In this last sentence, two factors about the author's word choice are particularly interesting. Firstly, the author argues that an islander's metabolism is what processes "the foreign." The fact that he uses this biological system to explain insularity suggests that islanders' ability to integrate "the foreign" into their psyche is somehow innate and automatic, inherent in island identities. This interpretation, however, is problematic, since it suggests that the islander is inherently submissive to a colonizing power, that the islander is made to endure the costs of colonialism, and that the islander is destined to endure the oppression that often accompanies colonization. In

Chapter 2, the idea of destiny and how it relates to the experience of islands will be discussed using literary examples. Secondly, the author uses the concept of "assimilation" —and not "acceptance"— to explain the integration of these outside influences into an islander's mindset. This leads to the interpretation that insularity and insular identity formation involve a degree of force, of obligation, to adapt to external powers and influences. The use of biological concepts to explain this cultural phenomenon proposes the idea that islanders are predisposed to these processes; they shape the concept and development of insularity and insular identity. Although this is just one of the many definitions of insularity, it demonstrates how insularity not only affects an islander's way of life but also their way of thinking, which impacts the potential of developing a life in their homeland.

1.3.1.5 Islands as Obstacles to Success

The concepts of insularity and insular identity become salient in literature, especially in texts that discuss the difficulty of self-identifying with the insular space. One of the most renowned and canonical Puerto Rican texts about insularity, *Insularismo* (1934), by Antonio S. Pedreira, starts its discussions with this idea. Pedreira describes the attempts to form a defined Puerto Rican identity in the first chapter, saying that it's "como … definir un conjunto de seres que todavía no ha podido delinear a gusto su vida colectiva" ("like defining a group of beings that has not yet been able to outline their collective life to taste"; 21 - 22). Pedreira's pessimistic view of Puerto Rico and its trajectory, however, in itself suggests a way forward for Puerto Rico to find meaning in discordance. Pedreira uses Rodó's idea of paradoxical optimism[17] to support the idea that pessimism about a particular situation leads to introspection and conscious change; optimism does not lead to the same visceral motivation to change the status quo (22). This

[17] Rodó details that this concept is the way discontent motivates people to renovate their existence.

sentiment is reflected in various moments of Puerto Rican history—in the period of interest, the surge of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party is an example of the need for social change in a dark time for the island, where the United States had just come out of the Great Depression and Puerto Rico was being neglected because of the socioeconomic weakness of the country. The fact that events similar to this have been repeated since the inception of Puerto Rican history supports Pedreira's ideas of pessimism as a driving force for social change.

Cabo Verde shows a similar historical pattern that also backs the ideas postulated by Antonio S. Pedreira. Nearing the mid-twentieth century, during which Portugal was going through the *Estado Novo* dictatorship, a group of Cape Verdean writers educated in Lisbon founded the *Claridade* magazine, in which they started developing literary texts that expressed distinctive aspects of Cape Verdean identity, such as famine, droughts, and emigration (Sapega 160). This literary movement, which happened during the late 1930s and 1940s, helped create a sense of uniquely Cape Verdean culture, known as *caboverdianidade*. This movement shows the mindset of paradoxical optimism since the expression of Cape Verdean sentiments through literature helped ameliorate the precarious situations that Cabo Verde was going through regarding their relationship to Portugal —and on their own—, and it also gives a voice to a group of people who, in the grand scheme of the Portuguese Empire, were largely silenced by the ineffectiveness of the Portuguese in meeting Cape Verdeans' socioeconomic needs, and just looking at the colony as a pawn in the institution of slavery. Aside from this, the later surge of the PAIGC (*Partido Africano para a Independência da Guiné e Cabo Verde* / African Party for the Independence of Guinea and Cabo Verde) in the 1950s also reflects how Cape Verdeans take their futures into their own hands and fight for the political, economic, and social autonomy of Cabo Verde. The colonialist incursion into archipelagic spaces forces the people in them to take

action in these endeavors when the colonizing powers end up demonstrating their neglect and disinterest, which exemplifies the breaking away from assimilation and dependence.

To deconstruct the experiences of archipelagic spaces and analyze how they complicate the process of self-identification for Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans, it is critical to recognize the outside influences that caused the perfect storm of the islander's experience. For Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, the most obvious of these influences is colonialism, which still affects both countries and their position in the world, as well as in the way that Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans' lives evolve. The neglect and greed that characterized the Portuguese colonization of Cabo Verde left the archipelago economically underdeveloped in industries outside of the traffic of enslaved people, predisposing the archipelago to economic shortcomings once they gained their independence from the Portuguese. In the case of Puerto Rico, the colonization of Spain was also characterized by neglect, while the current occupation of the United States on the island demonstrates a drastic power dynamic in which the US has shown little regard for the wellbeing of Puerto Ricans when developing their political and economic strategies, as was the case of the occupation of Vieques by the US Navy. The outside influence that shapes the lives of an islander leads to little to no potential development on the islands, which brings about intense repercussions, such as having to abandon the islands.

1.3.1.6 Much More Than Just An Island

Scholar Yolanda Martínez-San Miguel, however, provides a different perspective as to how to study islands, which is through an archipelago-centered view, rather than just focusing on individual islands. Martínez-San Miguel states that "much is to be gained from such single-island-oriented works as Antonio S. Pedreira's reflections on Puerto Rico in his 1934 book

Insularismo" (156), but that studies about islands (Caribbean studies in the context of her article) should lean more towards envisioning the archipelago as a whole, and how the archipelagic space acts as a unit in creating colonial regions, rather than focusing the solitary island, which does not consider the inter-island analyses necessary to understand archipelagos fully. Martínez-San Miguel also argues that the analysis of archipelagos should not be separated from their relationships to colonialism. She coined the term "extended colonialism" to discuss how archipelagos throughout history have gone through particularly long periods of colonial control, which characterizes both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde. Additionally, she argues that these archipelagic spaces have "atypical relationships with sovereignty and nationalism" (157), which are a direct cause of the colonial dominance that shackled them (or still shackles them) for centuries (157). Martinez-San Miguel's more modern, global view in analyzing archipelagic spaces supports the analyses being proposed through this project: ones that use literature to relate Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde's histories of colonialism to their outcomes as archipelagos, and how these outcomes affect their experiences in self-identifying with the islands they are from. Although the older perspectives about studying islands will help inform the way island spaces are discussed in the literary works, which were written around the same time as the conception of the ideas of "insularity" discussed in this section, Martínez-San Miguel's viewpoints will structure how the narratives in the texts are discussed and analyzed in the second chapter.

The primary sources will serve as a connection between the island nations of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, relating them in terms of their shared experiences politically, economically, and socially. Analyzing these spaces as archipelagos structures the discussions about these texts, specifically delving into how colonialism and its legacies shapes the experiences and self-identities of the characters in the four works:: *Chiquinho* (Baltazar Lopes da Silva) and *Os*

Flagelados do Vento Leste (Manuel Lopes) for Cabo Verde; *Usmaíl* and *Spiks* (Pedro Juan Soto) for Puerto Rico. The analysis of the archipelago as a character who plays a role in telling the narratives of these four prose texts will be the center around which the political, economic, and social outcomes of both nations will be discussed, and how these outcomes have consequences for Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean islanders. The analysis of these spaces as archipelagos will be the tool used to bridge the gap between Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, two nations colonized by different empires, who experience different histories, who speak different languages, and who are separated geographically in a significant way, but whose islanders' lived experiences are congruent.

1.3.2 Diaspora

1.3.2.1 Puerto Rico Without Puerto Ricans, Cabo Verde Without Cape Verdeans

One of the most direct consequences of archipelagic identity is the mostly inevitable conclusion of having to emigrate. This is not a modern phenomenon, since it has been happening both in Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde since their colonial histories, both of the countries experiencing waves of emigration because of harsh living conditions in the islands and attractive employment industries in other countries. This has caused, for both countries, a larger amount of nationals to live outside their home country than the countries' populations. According to the Pew Research Center, in 2021, 5.8 million people of Puerto Rican origin resided in the United States, 1.6 million of them Puerto Rican-born. This is at a time when Puerto Rico's population was at 3.3 million (2021 Census), which indicates that the number of Puerto Ricans that live outside of the island is almost double that of the island's population. On the other hand, Cabo Verde, according to the International Organization for Migration (IOM) had a population of

556,000 people as of 2020, and it is estimated that about 700,000 Cape Verdeans live outside of the islands. The largest populations of diasporic Cape Verdeans are found in the United States and Portugal, with smaller populations found in Spain, Italy, the Netherlands, France, Angola, Brazil, and other countries (Carling 19). This indicates that the influence of Puerto Rico's and Cabo Verde's respective colonial powers in the archipelagos' cultures is immense and that the developing cultures of these countries outside of their geographic limits must be heavily considered to understand if and to what extent archipelagic culture happens within the archipelago's geographic bounds.

1.3.2.2 Who Am I Here? Who Am I There?

Immigration patterns from both of these countries to the United States were very nuanced. On the one hand, Cape Verdeans who first emigrated to the US during the mid-twentieth century identified themselves as Portuguese, coinciding with the strong attempts from the Portuguese government to keep their African colonies. However, met with the strong segregation system that was happening in the US at the time, the identity formation of Cape Verdean Americans was immediately linked to issues of racial discrimination (Halter 40 - 41). This differs, though, from the case of the Azores which, at first glance, would conflict with this argument, since it is a separate landmass that is part of Portugal, as Cabo Verde once was before its independence. However, these cases are different because of the racial composition of the population of the Azores versus that of Cabo Verde: both spaces have immense Portuguese influence, but the Azores is made up of mostly White individuals, while Cabo Verde's population is majority Black and biracial (Medeiros 26). Although the political and social climate has now made the US a more accepting environment for the Cape Verdean-American community, there

have also been issues within the community. Halter explains this by saying that "the legacy of both colonialism and creolisation has continued to divide the population over conceptions of race, colour and ethnicity" (41). This has plagued the process of identity formation with questions and doubts about how the individual experience of the Cape Verdean emigrant reflects a diasporic history and general experience. Upon arriving in the United States, people of African descent go through a process of racialization —defined as the process by which a group that did not necessarily identify with a certain race is inserted in an environment where they are supposed to align themselves with a certain racial category— which usually yields one of three results: identifying themselves with their national identity, identifying with both their African and US nationalities, or aligning with the US's conceptions of race (Black or African American). Many Cape Verdeans however, choose not to align with any of these categories, and rather identify as Portuguese (which, in the context of the US, is generally equivalent to White) to avoid the racial discrimination that being Black in the US entails (Sanchez 54 - 55), before facing the harsh reality that this self-identification will not shield Black Cape Verdeans from racial stigmatization. Aside from this, Cape Verdeans self-identifying as Portuguese creates even more dissonance when considering that most Cape Verdeans do not even know how to speak Portuguese, but rather Cape Verdean Creole. This is evidence of the effects of colonialism on island nations, and how the effects of colonial sociocultural repressions are still present in how Cape Verdeans behave and perceive themselves in the diaspora.

1.3.2.3 The Politics of Language

Puerto Rico's political situation has exacerbated the formation of a diasporic cultural identity; since these people are not physically on the island, Puerto Rican nationalists (who do

not support a political affiliation with the US) do not feel that Puerto Ricans in the diaspora should be included in its definition of the Puerto Rican nation due to their geographic, cultural, and linguistic distance (Duany; *Nation on the Move* 16). For nationalist Puerto Ricans, this distance suggests assimilation into US culture, which is the influence that nationalists are attempting to combat. Aside from this, since Puerto Rico and the US have political ties, the diasporic Puerto Rican often goes back and forth from the United States to the island, which reinforces a hybrid identity caused by what Duany calls a circular migration (19). "Contemporary Puerto Rican migration is best approached as a transient and bipendular flow, rather than as a permanent, irrevocable, one-way decision" (20). In this case, the nationalist's strict separation of Puerto Rican/American, which repudiates what is not uniquely Puerto Rican, is effectively blurred, similar to how many Cape Verdeans insist on identifying as Portuguese when, from the point of view of the US, they would be considered Black regardless. This implies that Puerto Rican cultural identity, like for Cabo Verde, both on the island and on the US mainland, holds nuance. Duany explains that this presents a need for "functional bilingualism"[18] to communicate on both sides of the migration process, and it also blurs the lines of how Puerto Ricans think about nationality and citizenship since these people can identify with both Puerto Rican and US American identity and have continuous contact with both. At a time when the status of Puerto Rico concerning the United States is one of the main political issues surrounding the island, the presence of US American influences and ideals is highly controversial among those who favor Puerto Rico as an independent nation. However, even before this conflict (which dates back to the mid-twentieth century), the influence of the United States on all aspects of Puerto Rican life has been criticized and questioned, not only by people on the island but also in the mainland US. Thus, diasporic Puerto Rican identity still reflects authentically Puerto Rican

[18] Proficiency in multiple languages in different contexts.

sentiments but is relegated to a less important level by many nationalist Puerto Ricans on the island since the diaspora does not experience the difficulties of living in Puerto Rico or even speak the same language in many cases, which are vital aspects of understanding the island, its history, and its identity.

The presence of diasporic identities for both Cabo Verde and Puerto Rico is certainly undeniable and the validity of those diasporic experiences is highly debated. While they represent the identity of the home country in another geographic and political space, they are distanced from the unique and complex conditions that characterize life on an island. The existence of diasporic communities is important in considering how islands develop in a global context, and how their identities live on even outside an island's geographic boundaries. In Chapter 2, the concept of diaspora will be explored through the primary sources for this project. Through these literary works, the looming possibility of emigration from Cabo Verde and Puerto Rico will be studied, as well as the trade of ideas and influences from native communities to diasporic communities, and vice versa. Understanding diaspora through a literary lens will help contextualize the study of archipelagos, and will provide examples of how issues arise and develop in archipelagic nations, often leading to emigration and integration into diasporic communities.

1.3.3 The Arts As Tools in Building a Nation

This project is focused on how four works of prose fiction (*Chiquinho*, *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, *Usmaíl*, and *Spiks*) explore the difficulties and nuances of life in the island nations of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, and how these factors are congruent across not only these two archipelagos, but archipelagos globally based on the concept and study of insularity/archipelagic

studies. The arts in general are powerful tools through which artists can explore moments in history from the perspective of the people living in it, rather than from the perspective of the people in power, which most historical records favor. In expressing the intricate joys and despairs of life on an island, the arts end up building an imagined community within which islanders can identify and relate to one another. Consequently, the arts also serve the purpose of mobilizing the masses toward political, economic, and social outcomes, which unite the people in creating a nation that serves the individuals living in it. Through a literary analysis of *Chiquinho*, *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, *Usmaíl*, and *Spiks*, we can reach an understanding of how these texts function to create the national identities of both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, highlighting both the pride and the tribulations of being part of these nations.

1.3.3.1 Echoing Voices: Representing Identity in Art

Analyzing a nation and its nuances through the arts is a powerful way to take into consideration the diverse voices that express their motivations, opinions, and emotions through any type of artistic outlet. Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde are both immensely rich examples of how this can be achieved through music, art, and literature, with many themes important to the study of insularity being repeated through the artistic histories of both countries. Magali García Ramis, Puerto Rican author, expresses the dilemma that Puerto Ricans face when considering emigrating from the island in her essay "*Los cerebros que se van y el corazón que se queda*" ("The Brains That Leave, and the Heart That Stays"). In the text, she separates Puerto Rico into two identities: the *Cerebros* (the Brains), who are forced to leave the island to pursue better opportunities in the US, and the *Corazón* (the Heart), who chooses to stay and push through the complexities of living in Puerto Rico. García Ramis writes about the *Cerebros*: "Todos tienen algo roto, por eso

se van; si no es el cristal del carro, es el matrimonio. Los Cerebros se mudan por muchas razones pero todas tienen que ver con la falta de algo" ("They all have something that is broken, that is why they leave; if it isn't their car's windshield, it's their marriage. The Brains move for many reasons, but they all have to do with the absence of something" 14). The author reaches the climax of the narrative when she says that "...un ritmo acompasado … anuncia que somos todos individuales Cerebros, pero que todos somos un sólo Corazón, el Corazón que se queda" ("a compassed rhythm … announces that we are all individual Brains, but that we are all only one Heart, the Heart that stays" 19). This essay reflects the dichotomy of the diasporic Puerto Rican identity; rationally, Puerto Ricans leave the island because of an economic need, but sentimentally, the heart of Puerto Ricans always stays on the island, yearning for the warmth and comfort that home represents for them, waiting for the day that they might be able to return. In this essay, García Ramis uses her artistic platform and power to discuss the Puerto Rican (and islander) experience in a way that is not idealized, but that reflects the reality of discerning between reason and emotion when deciding to stay or leave the homeland.

Cape Verdean art also represents these ideas, an iconic example of this being the song *Sodade* by Cesária Évora (written by Armando Zeferino Soares in the 1950s), released on her 1992 album *Miss Perfumado*. In the song, she, too, expresses how Cape Verdeans are forced to flee the archipelago against their emotional wishes, driven by the social issues that plague Cabo Verde, such as famine, poverty, and drought. More specifically, Évora comments on a period in Cape Verdean history after the abolition of slavery, in which the Portuguese government offered Cape Verdeans opportunities to emigrate to São Tomé and Príncipe, another Lusoafrican colony, to escape the crude conditions of Cabo Verde and be able to make money, which turned out to be a system almost identical to the institution of slavery, but disguised behind the notion that it was

a “voluntary” emigration (Berthet 221). In the song, Évora sings “Quem mostra bo esse caminho longe / esse caminho pa São Tomé?” (Who shows you that distant path / that path to São Tomé?”; Soares), introducing the theme of the song: the forced displacement of Cape Verdeans to São Tomé. The chorus of the song, “Sodade, sodade, sodade, dess nha terra São Nicolau” (“Longing, longing, longing, for my land São Nicolau”; Soares), reflects the poetic voice’s sadness and feelings of longing toward the homeland that they left behind. Like in García Ramis’s example, the poem by Soares projects a sense of hope that one day the poetic voice might be able to return home: “Si bo 'screve' me / 'M tá 'screve be / Si bo 'squece me / 'M tá 'squece be / Até dia / Qui bo voltà” (“If you write to me / I will write to you / If you forget me / I will forget you / Until the day / That you return”; Soares). Aside from this, the fact that this verse is written in Cape Verdean Creole emphasizes the fact that this piece of poetry showcases the ideals of *caboverdianidade* that were established by the *claridosos* in the 1930s, which contributed to the creation of a national cultural identity that this piece continues to exalt and represent.

1.3.3.2 Literature: The Knot that Ties the Common Threads

For this analysis, literature will be the tool used to understand how Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde are related historically and culturally through the concept of archipelagic studies. Understanding the role of literature in building a nation starts by acknowledging literature as not only an art but also as a social institution. A national literature is created from the combination of the social institutions of a nation such as its government, economic structures, etc., and the individuals’ psychology which shapes how they behave in their native setting. Literature serves as a conduit for the social institutions that shape a nation to collectively create an identity that

represents this nation culturally (Moreira da Rocha 69). Luiz Carlos Moreira da Rocha, based at the University of Viçosa, argues that the role of national literature in building a nation through its social institutions happens when the nation achieves independence (69). However, both the cases of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde are evidence that this process starts even before reaching independence. On the one hand, the period of Cape Verdean literature being discussed in this project, the *Claridade* movement, took place more than thirty years before Cabo Verde gained its independence from Portugal, and the movement did not even seek to achieve independence of the archipelago, but to establish a Cape Verdean cultural identity that was conceptually and thematically separate from Portugal, discussing themes unique to the Cape Verdean experience (famine, poverty, emigration…) (Medeiros 26). On the other hand, Puerto Rico has been a colonized space since the Spanish colonization in 1493 and through the invasion of the United States in 1898. Nevertheless, Puerto Rico has developed its national literature that, like the *Claridade* movement, expresses the grievances of the Puerto Rican nation, and is thematically unique from Spanish and US American literature. Thus, although Moreira da Rocha's argument of literature as a social institution with a role in nation-building is valid and important, Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde prove that nations do not necessarily need to reach independence for the process of nation-building through literature to take place. Rather, the creation of national literature is an integral precursor in both Puerto Rico's and Cabo Verde's movements for independence from their colonizers.

Chapter 2: Exploring Self-Identity: The Justice in Resistance

The previously discussed historical and theoretical contexts serve as a relevant background for the arguments being explored in this chapter. Four primary literary sources (two from Puerto Rico and two from Cabo Verde) serve to better analyze the plight of self-identification for archipelagic nations and their inhabitants and act as evidence for our case studies of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde. For Puerto Rico, the literary works selected are *Usmaíl* (1959) —a novel about the social implications of the US Navy's occupation of the island-municipality of Vieques, which also functions as a broader commentary on colonialism— and *Spiks* (1956) —a collection of short stories written about the Puerto Rican diasporic experience in New York— both written by Pedro Juan Soto (1928 - 2002). In the case of Cabo Verde, the two selected works are *Chiquinho* (1947), by Baltasar Lopes da Silva —a novel centered around the youth of a boy named Chiquinho, who is surrounded by the complicated political and social status of Cabo Verde—, and *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* (1960) by Manuel Lopes —a novel about the impact of the extreme climate conditions of the Cape Verdean archipelago, which lead to grim, often sordid outcomes.

Pedro Juan Soto focuses his works on the colonial status of Puerto Rico and how this affects the archipelago's society and culture. The works written by Soto tackle a plethora of themes that describe the Puerto Rican experience during the nearly 130 years of US occupation of the archipelago: "race, nationalism, empire, migration and ethnicity … identity, cultural imperialism, the role of language in the imperial process as well as political and economic domination" (Simpson 14). The creation of both *Usmaíl* and *Spiks*, as well as the events narrated in both works, coincide with historical events that have marked the movement of Puerto Rican resistance against the United States, such as the US Navy's occupation of the island-municipality

of Vieques (1941), and the surge of revolts of the Puerto Rican Nationalist Party against the United States (1950). As opposed to choosing two different authors for the analysis of Puerto Rican insular identity (as with the analysis of Cape Verdean prose fiction), both works are by the same author. Additionally, one of them is a novel, while the other is a collection of short stories. This choice is not arbitrary; both *Usmaíl* and *Spiks* are iconic, canonical works of fiction that have played a part in cementing the uniquely Puerto Rican cultural imaginary, and I do not think it wise to discard one of them just to forcibly find another work by a different author that would fit the research. These stories and characters provide the most interesting and convincing parallels with the literary works from Cabo Verde, so it was important for me to analyze them together and compare how identity-seeking presents itself in the four works, regardless of authorship and format.

In the case of Cabo Verde, both *Chiquinho* and *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* are part of the literary period known as *Claridade*, which began in 1936. This movement preceded the clamor for the independence of Portugal's African colonies and focused mainly on establishing a uniquely Cape Verdean identity, that categorically separated itself from the cultural and colonial influences of Portugal. This is not to say that these texts did not explore issues relating to Portuguese colonialism, but they did so in a way that established these issues as problems particular to what it means to be Cape Verdean, not merely as part of Lusophone culture in general. Manuel Lopes (author of *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*) and Baltasar Lopes da Silva (author of *Chiquinho*) both write during the *Claridade* period (1936-1960) important period for Cape Verdean self-identification, and shed light on the unique and ongoing struggles that form part of Cabo Verde's cultural identity, such as climate issues, racial issues, poverty, illiteracy, and emigration.

These four works of prose fiction, although from two different contexts geographically, historically, and culturally, share many common themes because they were written on and about islands. According to the field of archipelagic studies discussed in the previous chapter, colonialism and its legacies are the cause of the specific negative outcomes that archipelagos like Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde struggle with, like political dependence, a blurred sense of self-identity, and emigration. The three themes discussed in this chapter (the self vs. the other, the inevitability of emigration, and archipelagic hierarchies) are the pillars supporting my argument that archipelagos experience a specific complex process of self-identification because of their geography. The first, the self vs. the other, not only includes the struggles between the islander and the dominant forces that determine their outcomes but also the dichotomy of the self that lives in the archipelago and the projected self in the diaspora, which does not always come to fruition. The inevitability of emigration refers to the looming probability of an islander having to abandon their homeland because of its unjust and crushing political and socioeconomic conditions. The last theme discussed, archipelagic hierarchies, refers to the unequal power dynamic that exists between islands of the same archipelago, exemplified between Puerto Rico and Vieques, as well as with São Vicente and Santiago (and the rest of Cabo Verde). These common themes allow us to dissect and deconstruct the narratives of the primary sources and apply the struggles of archipelagic identities to works of fiction that represent the actual experiences of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans.

2.1 The Self vs. The Other

The conflict between the self and the other is one that severely complicates interpersonal relationships and, perhaps more importantly, the self-perception of those from colonial, archipelagic spaces. In the context of this project and based on the literary works, this subtopic encompasses (1) the differences between the people from archipelagic spaces and the people that come from the colonizer nation, and (2) the difference in how someone from an archipelagic space perceives themself in their native space, versus how their life would be outside of it. Both of these components will help explore how the literary works present the struggles of self-identification in a space where the colonizer not only asserts their dominance at a political and economic level but also at an interpersonal level.

2.1.1 Who Am I?: The Self in a Colonial Setting

Life under a colonial regime can be quite overwhelming; the works of literature explored in this project reflect the feeling of conforming to an identity that is not one's own but has been imposed on all aspects of life while not wanting to let go of the culture that has made one who one is. When, on top of that, the fact that this is happening in an island context is considered, where particular factors like political and economic instability are prevalent, the struggle to self-identify becomes doubly complex. The islander self is threatened by the presence of the other, which forcibly influences how the islander finds comfort and identity in the limbo of colonialism. This otherness presents itself in many contexts, whether that be through racial differences between the self and the other, a language barrier, difference in social class, etc., but always functions as a way to subjugate the islander in their environment, where they are supposed to feel comfort. The works of prose fiction for both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde

showcase the struggle between the self and the other in a variety of contexts, and examples from the texts serve as evidence for the argument that Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde share parallels because of their archipelagic structures.

One of the most notable examples of the struggle of the self vs. the other throughout the works analyzed is the power dynamics between the colonizer and the people of the colonized territory. The character of Mr. Adams in Pedro Juan Soto's *Usmaíl* is an excellent example of this blatant abuse of power. Mr. Adams, a US American official assigned to represent the United States in the island-municipality of Vieques, notoriously takes advantage of Puerto Rican women, especially Black women in the case of the novel. He strings Chefa (the protagonist of the first part of the novel) along, telling her "[v]eremos" ("we'll see"; Soto, *Usmaíl* 55) whenever she would allude to them having an official relationship. Eventually, Mr. Adams impregnates Chefa and deserts Vieques altogether, leaving her desperate for news about the father of her child. Chefa later dies at birth, and her biracial son, Usmaíl, is left to be raised by Nana Luisa, an older woman from Chefa's village. How Mr. Adams treats Chefa as a sexual object until she no longer serves him, and this being a common occurrence for Mr. Adams with other Puerto Rican women, is a clear example of the battle between the Puerto Rican self vs. the US American other. The skewed power dynamic between Chefa and Mr. Adams makes their relationship doomed from the start, and Chefa's unwanted pregnancy further cements the vile disinterest that Mr. Adams holds for Chefa for her being Black, Puerto Rican, and a woman, that disinterest showcased in the following passage, which describes Mr. Adams's reaction to Chefa delivering the news that she is pregnant:

> Aquella rápida mueca, aquel momentáneo gesto de disgusto que ella vio en su rostro, no había sido más que el impacto emocional de algunas frustraciones recordadas en las citas

> pasadas: la prisa, la excesiva cautela, la incomodidad física en el automóvil… (That quick grimace, that momentary expression of disgust that she saw on his face, had been nothing more than the emotional impact of some frustrations remembered in past dates: the rush, the excessive caution, the physical discomfort in the car…; Soto, *Usmaíl* 55)

Mr. Adams does not care about Chefa or the baby, he just cares about the inconveniences that led to Chefa becoming pregnant.

The legacy of Mr. Adams's abuse lives on through Usmaíl's name, which is chosen by Chefa in a state of delirium while waiting for any kind of correspondence from Mr. Adams. Victor C. Simpson, in *Colonialism and Narrative in Puerto Rico*, argues that Usmaíl's name represents the internal presence of Mr. Adams in Usmaíl, and, thus, the influence of US colonialism. Simpson states that the name "is a label which contributes to [Usmaíl's] sense of inferiority and ties him to the oppressive American, or white, power from which, after his initial naive admiration, he desperately wants to distance himself" (47). Simpson's analysis of Usmaíl's name as the legacy of Mr. Adams's abuse in Vieques supports the events explored throughout the novel, which cause Usmaíl to feel less than and oppressed by a system that is stacked against him because of the colonial influences of the US Americans in the island.

Senhor Miguel Alves, a secondary character in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, mimics the dynamics described between Mr. Adams and Chefa, but in a different context, not necessarily about race. The character of Miguel Alves represents the colonialist mindset that White people have claim over the lands of the colonized nation, a view that has survived from the years of exploration to the events of these works to today. Alves also plays into the abuse of power noted with Mr. Adams and Chefa in *Usmaíl*. In *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, Miguel Alves visits José da Cruz's (the protagonist) home, where he and his family work on the land owned by Nhô[19]

[19] *Nhô* is Cape Verdean creole for *senhor*, which means "mister."

Jaime Álvaro, in order to decide if he would like to buy it from Álvaro. José da Cruz perceives Miguel Alves as a man with good intentions, while his wife doubts about his motives. These discrepant opinions present a comment on gender roles in the novel, with Zepa attempting to be careful around expressing her opinion to her husband, who would ultimately be the decision maker: "Zepa falava com humildade, com medo de que José da Cruz não gostasse de a ver meter a colher num assunto que não era de sua conta" ("Zepa spoke with humility, afraid that José da Cruz would not like to see her dig into a matter that was none of her business"; Manuel Lopes 76).

Miguel Alves's discourse foreshadows that his true motives are not as they seem when he says that he is not like other landowners, and that he is willing to help their situation by creating a contract in which both parties agree to certain terms, framing this as his commitment to "honesty" (Manuel Lopes 75). Later in the novel, the narrative's focus is turned back to Miguel Alves, this time away from José da Cruz and his family, and talks freely about Cabo Verde's situation, and shows a clear privileged mindset that is a stark contrast to the reality of Cape Verdeans in the novel. The narrator details how Alves believes that "[o]s homens podiam evitar [as misérias deste mundo]. Fingir que não há sofrimentos no mundo, fingir que a vida não é o que é…" ("men could avoid [the miseries of this world]. Pretend that there is no suffering in the world, pretend that life is not what it is…"; 197), and that impoverished, malnourished Cape Verdeans that he encounters are "[uma] brutal intromissão" ("a brutal intromission"; 197). In terms of this project, Miguel Alves is categorized as the other because, although not explicitly described as racially different from José da Cruz, his internal monologue reveals that he has the socioeconomic status to invest in plots of land in order to benefit monetarily from them, something that, if the sale of José da Cruz's land were to happen, would subjugate José da Cruz

to Miguel Alves's power: "...vigiando os quatro homens que trabalhavam uns rencões da pequena propriedade de regadio que ele adquirira recentemente" ("...watching the four men who worked a few corners of the small irrigation property he had recently acquired"; Manuel Lopes, 195).

The development of Miguel Alves trying to show some mercy to José da Cruz and his family, who were clearly of lower socioeconomic status, to blatantly describing how poverty and suffering are direct intrusions to the endeavors of his privileged life, is a clear indicator of the power imbalance that exists between José da Cruz and his family, who represent Cape Verdeans, and Alves, who represents the other. Although a racial difference between Miguel Alves and José da Cruz is inferred but not directly stated, this example compares to the case of Mr. Adams and Chefa in *Usmaíl* and solidifies the claim that self vs. other struggles are prevalent in archipelagic spaces that have been invaded and colonized by outside forces. The imperial mindset causes these dynamics to be imposed onto archipelagic communities, which work to negatively impact their self-worth, augment their sense of inferiority as islanders, and internalize it as part of who they are.

Scholar Antônio Cândido Franco views *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* as a novel in which the reality of the characters is "sem contradições de maior entre si, sem divisões acentuadas e, sobretudo, sem abismos de situação e classe social" ("without major contradictions between them, without sharp divisions and, above all, without wide disparities in situation and social class"; qtd. in Monteiro 90). This perspective is contradicted by the previous example from the text since Miguel Alves represents an antagonism toward the main characters of the novel through his personification of the Portuguese colonialism of Cabo Verde. Although Alves might not be depicted as a direct antagonist of José da Cruz and his family, Alves's intentions regarding

José da Cruz's land and his remarks regarding the poor people of Cabo Verde cement him as an antagonist toward the wellbeing of the Cape Verdean archipelago, which suffers from famine, poverty, and even death, but receives no aid from its colonizer.

The literary works from Cabo Verde and Puerto Rico also feature examples in which race is the clear driving factor for the differences between self and other. In *Usmaíl*, the physical description of Usmaíl functions to establish early on in the novel the survival of Usmaíl's African heritage despite having a White father. Throughout his life, Usmaíl struggles with who he is, expressing disgust and rejection toward his African heritage throughout the whole novel. To set up the conflicts that arise because of this reality, Pedro Juan Soto, in *Usmaíl*, from the very beginning of the protagonist's life, the narrator describes his physical features, which reveal his biracial identity:

> No había más que asomarse a sus ojillos para ver cómo maduraban aquellos hicacos negros en leche. No había más que fijarse en la piel —¡levadura fresca!— para darse cuenta de que se inflaba en los labios y se desparramaba fuera del molde de la nariz buscando las formas exactas, ya que no el color. (You just had to look into his little eyes to see how those black *hicacos* matured in milk. You only had to look at his skin —fresh yeast!— to realize that it puffed up on the lips and spread out of the mold of the nose looking for the exact shapes, if not the color; Soto, *Usmaíl* 84)

This passage describes how, although Usmaíl's skin is lighter because of the miscegenation that happened between Mr. Adams and Chefa, his African features, like his dark eyes, wide nose, and thick lips are present, representing his defunct mother's heritage. The passage also suggests how inextricable the self and the other seem to be for *Usmaíl*, who carries both Black and White

features with him wherever he goes, representing both his mother and the man who took advantage of her.

Usmaíl's racial difference from the other really comes to the forefront at the very end of the novel. How Soto wraps up his ironclad critique of US colonialism in Puerto Rico solidifies Usmaíl's internalization of his subjugation to the "other," and failure in trying to be as well-respected as the White Americans around him in San Juan. After getting into a bar fight, Usmaíl gets arrested and, when asked his name, he does not reply with Usmaíl, since this name reminds him of his disgusting and perverse (in his opinion) lineage, but, instead, replies with "Negro" (Black). This in and of itself suggests an internalization of the parts of himself that he most hated, and signifies the sense of defeat of never getting to be as good as the other. Usmaíl does not accept his Blackness, but rather is forced to internalize it by the colonial environment that he lives in. The protagonist's claiming of the word *negro* (black) as his name evokes a feeling of defeat in that, because of his Blackness, he will never get to reach the success he always yearned for. Furthermore, the novel ends with Usmaíl in his jail cell, contemplating the events that had brought him there, and with the narrator stating: "El aire era ahora asfixiante y negro, como de horno. Aire negro para un hombre que, a pesar de todo, se llamaba Negro" ("The air was now black and asphyxiating, like in an oven. Black air for a man who, after all, was named *Negro*"; Soto, *Usmaíl* 316).

The symbolism that the narrator uses to reflect Usmaíl's sense of defeat is captured by the visual imagery presented. The image of the black, hot, asphyxiating air leads the reader to visualize an intense, all-encompassing pressure that crushes Usmaíl as he internalizes the stereotypes that are assigned to him by the social implications of Puerto Rico's colonial structure. The black air is presented as unbreathable, but Usmaíl is forced to now coexist with this air; the

basic biological need of respiration is metaphorically being taken away from him, as were the human rights that he could not ascribe to because of his Blackness. The representation of Usmaíl's precarious end through the reality that closes in on him and compresses him projects the effects of US colonialism that relegate him to second-class citizenship in all aspects of life, even through his name and basic human needs.

The internalization of the stereotypes assigned to a colonized group by the colonizer nation is discussed in Frantz Fanon's essay "On National Culture," included in the book *The Wretched of the Earth*. Fanon analyzes the ways in which colonialism brainwashes the colonized groups of people to believe the inferiority assigned to them by colonial powers, and to accept them as normal. Fanon states that colonized spaces hold a "...wretchedness, … self-hatred, abdication and denial" (82) that is ascribed to them by the systems that oppress them, and that he wishes to dismantle in order to "renew contact with [these] people's oldest, inner essence" (82) and detach them from the ideas that placed them at an inferior level. The author's perspectives reflect the argument of literature being an active participant in creating a self-identity for the people of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde. Through literature, the feelings of inferiority experienced by Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans because of the colonial structures that oppress them are explored and deconstructed, leading to a more nuanced and layered definition of what it means to be from both of these nations, and not just subscribing to the narratives that promoted the colonial subjugation of these communities.

This compelling and hard-hitting ending establishes two conclusions. First, it suggests that Usmaíl is finally encompassed by his Blackness, which he ran from his whole life, but proved to be inescapable, and, in reality, defined his whole life and how he ended up. Second, and perhaps most important, the last sentence emphasizes how his Blackness is his only defining

factor, no matter how biracial he actually was, or how much he tried to be like the US Americans. Usmaíl wanting to be called by the name *Negro* in jail symbolizes a final acceptance and defeat of his perception of race being the factor that decides the outcome of his life, and that of Puerto Ricans in general who, no matter their race, are historically considered less than by the colonial discourse of the United States's presence in Puerto Rico.

In *Colonialism and Narrative in Puerto Rico*, Simpson highlights how one of Pedro Juan Soto's intentions when writing Usmaíl was to project the racial disparities that exist in Puerto Rico, where many do not believe these differences exist (50). Simpson argues that Usmaíl's relationship with the word "negro" changes throughout his life, which Simpson describes as an "identity crisis" because of this racial component. He details that "[Usmaíl's crisis] is the kind of personal crisis that is not uncommon in societies where one race or group is considered superior" (50), which is the thread that underlies the racial factors that play a role in the development of characters like Usmaíl and Chiquinho. Pedro Juan Soto actively and purposefully writing about racial issues in *Usmaíl* solidifies the claim that literature helps create a sense of self-identity for Puerto Ricans, and that literature plays an active role in creating a Puerto Rican cultural imaginary, as with Cabo Verde.

A similar feeling of otherness happens in *Chiquinho*, with the character of José Lima, who emigrates from Cabo Verde to the US and comes back to visit the Cape Verdean islands. Through this character, the reader learns how emigrating from Cabo Verde to the US does not always bring the success that it is believed to. The narrator describes Lima's experiences in the US when he first arrived, but one line is strikingly worded, describing the isolation that José Lima feels as a foreign Black man in the United States: "[o] humilhante da sua condição de *portuguese black man* contactando a alegria triunfal de conhecer novos mundos" ("[the]

humiliating part of his *Portuguese Black man* condition making contact with the triumphant joy of getting to know a new world"; Baltasar Lopes da Silva 204). This quote lets the reader know that, although the character of José Lima is getting to live the "American dream" by emigrating from the Cape Verdean islands and working hard in the US, he still feels like his race is debilitating to him and his stance in this new environment. The use of the word "humilhante" (humiliating) to describe his feelings in the diaspora communicates Lima's feeling of separateness and judgment when approaching life in the United States as a Cape Verdean Black man. Additionally, as described in Chapter 1, the process of self-identification of the Cape Verdean diaspora in the United States is complex, particularly because of the labeling of Cape Verdean people as "Black" when they do not necessarily align with this description. This adds another layer of intricacy to the description of José Lima's experience, since his identification as a *Portuguese* Black man also separates him from the rest of the population of the US since he does not want to be boxed into a certain label. The struggle between the self and the other is palpable, since Lima is among the people who would be described as the other, seemingly succeeding at creating a new life for himself outside of Cabo Verde, but failing at feeling identified with his new community.

In "Baltazar Lopes: Cape Verdean Pioneer," Norman Araujo comments on Lopes da Silva's intentional inclusion of the topic of forced emigration into *Chiquinho*, and contrasts it with *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*. Araujo argues that, while *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* presents nature as a dramatic actor for the outcomes of the characters, *Chiquinho* "substitutes for this effect a laconic account of the gradually worsening conditions which eventually force the story's hero, Chiquinho, to leave the islands" (165). In other words, Araujo is arguing that rather than nature being the main character in *Chiquinho* as it is in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*,

Chiquinho focuses more on the protagonist's reactions to the issues that surround his *caboverdianidade*, one of them being the people around him who emigrate, which leads him to consider emigrating himself and eventually doing so.

This feeling of not belonging is also tactfully described in *Usmaíl*; Usmaíl does not even realize the levels at which he has been outcast by the other through his sense of self. When Usmaíl achieves his dream of leaving Vieques behind and starting a new life in San Juan, the capital of Puerto Rico, Usmaíl does not even realize how different he is from the US Americans he wants to be like, and this is evidenced in the following passage:

> Pensó entonces en la vida de tiburón que habría de darse en San Juan: dinero, mujeres, dinero, ropas, dinero, paz, dinero… Trabajaría en cualquier cosa. Con suerte, podría conseguir trabajo hasta en el Club Náutico …: un lugar donde los tipos ricos guardaban sus botes, se emborrachaban y un buen día se antojaban de salir a pasear o a pescar en la embarcación que tanto les costaba mantener en buenas formas. Él podría hacerse cargo de un yate. Claro que podría". ("He then thought about the shark's life that he would have in San Juan: money, women, money, clothes, money, peace, money... He would get any job. With luck, he could even get a job at the Yacht Club...: a place where rich guys kept their boats, got drunk and one day they decided to go out for a stroll or to go fishing on the boat that took so much trouble to keep in good shape. He could take care of a yacht. Of course he could; Soto, *Usmaíl* 291)

After years on end of Usmaíl wanting to start over in San Juan and be as wealthy and respected as the US Americans, in his mind, Usmaíl settles for a job at the Yacht Club, serving the Americans, serving the other, subjugated to them once more, as he has been his whole life. This allows us to explore the idea that archipelagic spaces experience certain precarious outcomes

because of the effects of colonialism and the legacies of this system: in this case, through the character of Usmaíl, Pedro Juan Soto criticizes the fact that, no matter how hard a Puerto Rican might try to reach the social status of a US American in Puerto Rico, this will be impossible. Additionally, Soto suggests that this impossibility is ingrained into the psyche of a Puerto Rican, with Usmaíl not even realizing that what he sees as the "success" he always dreamed of is still a clear example of colonial subjugation, which coincides with the theories of the field of archipelagic studies discussed in Chapter 1, which propose that islanders are inherently conditioned to think in a way in which suppression is commonplace.

2.1.2 Who Could I Be?: Perceptions of Life Outside the Archipelago

Interestingly, the discourse surrounding the struggle between the self and the other in the four primary sources is not single-layered. An important and captivating analysis can be conducted into how the self that still lives in an archipelagic space pictures themselves outside of these spaces, in most cases, as part of the other. Exploring this facet of the self vs other struggle is informative in that it provides a view of how the islander sees themselves and how they perceive their space to act in favor or against them, and, additionally, a view of how the islander perceives other spaces, in a lot of cases, the colonizers' space, to which they recur to live a fuller life.

Chiquinho is a prime example of the internal perceptions of the islanders about their own spaces and about the spaces they have been colonized by. The character of Chiquinho's uncle represents the systemic, widespread perspective in Cabo Verde that emigration is necessary to succeed in life and that staying in Cabo Verde will not breed opportunities, not even survival, in many cases. In the novel, Chiquinho applies for a job as a teacher in Cabo Verde. His uncle responds that this job, for a young man like Chiquinho in his prime, would be suicide (Baltasar Lopes da Silva 231). Chiquinho argues that he would not want to stay unemployed and be a charity case for the people around him, to which his uncle responds: "Larga tudo isto! Vai para a Guiné, para Angola, para o Brasil, para o diabo! Mas não fiques aqui… Só conseguirás cair no grogue…" (Forget all that! Go to Guiné, to Angola, to Brazil, to the devil! But do not stay here… You'll only fall into *grogue*…"; 231).

Chiquinho's uncle suggests that staying in Cabo Verde will only bring despair to Chiquinho, specifically alcoholism (*grogue* is a type of alcoholic drink). The uncle perceives a pessimism around his homeland that encapsulates them in an endless destiny of stagnation and

failure, a curse that can only be unbroken by emigrating. Interestingly enough, although the majority of the novel focuses on emigration to the US, here, Chiquinho's uncle only mentions other Lusophone countries as possible emigration destinations for Chiquinho: Guiné-Bissau, Angola, and Brazil. This conveys to the reader the kind of desperation that lives inside Chiquinho's uncle's head to be able to live a better life outside of Cabo Verde. He does not care whatsoever where Chiquinho goes, but he must get out of Cabo Verde any chance he gets. This point is further solidified by suggesting that Chiquinho moves "to the devil," which is an obvious attempt to say "go anywhere." This case furthers the idea that, more often than not, the islander self views its "other" counterpart as superior; the possibilities that await outside of the archipelago are categorically more promising than those inside it. This is further supported by the fact that, later in the novel, Chiquinho finally gets the opportunity to go to the US. The chapter in which this event is introduced begins with the line "[o] mar também era meu caminho" ("[the] sea was my path also"; 261), symbolizing that this path was taken by so many others before him and that it, too, was his destiny, after all. The sense of defeatedness that this quote emanates communicates how Cape Verdeans see themselves in their own space in comparison to outside of it: their only way of progressing is outside of the Cape Verdean archipelago.

In "Lugares étnicos e maravilhosos do imaginário cabo-verdiano (em *Chiquinho*, de Baltasar Lopes)" by Alberto de Carvalho, the author argues that *Chiquinho* differs from other works of the *Claridade* movement because it diverts the focus of the work to not reflect death as the only and main consequence of the issues that surround life in Cabo Verde. For Chiquinho, this principal consequence is emigration, which is a theme touched upon throughout the novel and is something that Chiquinho experiences by the end of the novel. Thus, De Carvalho states:

> …na intencionalidade do texto e na interpretação que a ela se ajusta a falta das chuvas e as suas consequencias de mortandade constituem também outras coisas, como se referiu em mais de um lugar, devendo agora ser tomadas, como sequência catastrofica (falta de chuvas, seca, mortes), na função de causa radicalmente necessária (mas não suficiente) para a consequente partida contrariada da personagem. (...in the intentionality of the text and in the interpretation that goes with it, the lack of rain and its deathly consequences also constitute other things, as mentioned in more than one place, and must now be taken, as a catastrophic sequence (lack of rain, drought, deaths), as a radically necessary (but not sufficient) cause for the character's consequent departure; De Carvalho 184)

This view cements *Chiquinho* as a pioneer novel in that it highlights the process by which emigration slowly but surely becomes a reality for the main character, even though he tries to resist it throughout his life.

A similar situation of not feeling like Cabo Verde breeds the most successful outcomes is found in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, with the character of Leandro, whose nomadic life exemplifies his feeling of not belonging because of the conditions of life in Cabo Verde. Leandro, the oldest of José da Cruz's children, was exiled from his home for recurring to crime during Cabo Verde's time of crisis due to famine and poverty, and the Portuguese government's unwillingness to instate preventative systems. The narrator describes Leandro's thoughts as he lived a nomadic lifestyle around the island of Santo Antão:

> Este mundo não fora para quem se agarrava demasiado aos hábitos da vida, para quem criava amor às suas coisas. Era por isso que ele tinha sobrevivido. … É o destino de quem anda de noite; daqueles para quem não importa este ou aquele lugar. Destino feio, mas destino de quem quer salvar a pele. (This world was not made for those who clung

> too much to the habits of life, for those who grew to love their things. That was why he had survived. … It is the fate of those who roam at night; of those for whom this or that place doesn't matter. An ugly fate, but the fate of those who want to save themselves; Manuel Lopes 180)

Although the narration does not refer specifically to emigration from Cabo Verde to another country, it explains the pragmatic way of thinking and of seeing the self of the character of Leandro, which might be generalized to the people of Cabo Verde. Leandro finds comfort in that he does not get attached to one place or his material possessions. However comforting it might be for Leandro, this projects a very pessimistic view of what it is like to try to survive in Cabo Verde. This example adds to the argument of the islander's sense of self in the archipelago vs. outside of it because it reflects how colonialism has hardwired islanders to be in constant movement, to not attach to one place, and to always feel like the grass is greener on the other side of the fence. For Leandro, though, each destination brings similar feelings of hopelessness and despair, so he keeps moving from one place to the next, symbolizing that this self-perception of not being comfortable in one place is never-ending; and that the destination might not bring the expected hope and success.

The feeling of not meeting the expectations when the islander self finally becomes part of the other is featured in Pedro Juan Soto's anthology of short stories, *Spiks*. The character Fernanda in the story "La cautiva" feels trapped by her mother in Puerto Rico and, even as she emigrates to New York, her internal monologue lets the reader know that this transition will not bring her the freedom she wants. In the story, Fernanda is at the airport with her mother, waiting for her flight to emigrate from Puerto Rico to New York. Although she is leaving without her mother to live with her older brother in New York, a place that seems to promise success and lux

for Puerto Ricans, for Fernanda, the overprotection of her mother does not let her even picture her life away from her mother in New York. When Fernanda questions if her mother does not trust that she will board the plane when her mother leaves, Fernanda says "Quieres estar segura, ¿ah? Pero ¿Qué más necesitah? Tú mihma l'ehcribihte a Julio diciéndole que yo iba trabajar" ("You wanna make sure, huh? What else do ya need? You yourself said you wrote to Julio tellin' him I was gonna work"; Soto, *Spiks* 21), to which the mother responds "Y a vivir con elloh, Fernanda. Que no se ti olvide. Ya mi ocuparé yo di averiguar si tú te has ido a vivir sola" ("And to live with 'em, Fernanda. Don't ya forget it. I'll make sure to find out if ya go out and live alone" 21).

This dialogue reflects the fact that Fernanda sees herself trapped in both situations, in Puerto Rico, and New York, by the firm grasp of her overprotective mother. Contrary to the perception that Puerto Ricans might have about New York or the United States in general, that it will bring opportunities for success to them and their families, Fernanda already predicts that her life in New York will be just as overwhelming as her life in Puerto Rico, no matter how far she is from her mother. The battle between self and other in this case presents itself as a lose-lose situation, in which Fernanda does not see a way out of her mother's figurative imprisonment. Later in the story, Fernanda's mother confirms the argument that Puerto Ricans generally visualize themselves outside of Puerto Rico as more prosperous when she says to her daughter: "Yo lo único que no quiero eh verte aquí en Puerto Rico, hahta que to vuelva ehtar bien" ("The only thing I don't want is seein' ya here in Puerto Rico, 'til everythin' goes back to bein' okay"; 22). Fernanda's mother, as previously discussed with Chiquinho's uncle in the context of Cabo Verde, does not see any benefit in staying in Puerto Rico and sees any other option outside of it as more positive, even if for Fernanda it would still be a burden. Here, the self rejects its

development in its homeland, with the hopes for success outside of the archipelago, in this case in New York, greatly outweighing the projected outcomes in Puerto Rico.

Victor C. Simpson discusses how *Spiks* presents a duality in the Puerto Rican experience on the island versus outside of it in his book *Colonialism and Narrative in Puerto Rico*. He states that, overall, "*Spiks*…paints a picture of Puerto Ricans struggling to survive in a hostile environment," and that "the problem of marginalization experienced by the Puerto Rican emigrant is also part of the reality of the Puerto Rican in his own country" (96). This is a direct reflection of the events described in the short story "La cautiva," since Fernanda wants to escape the tight grasp of her mother that keeps her from being free in her homeland of Puerto Rico, but is met with the reality that she has to emigrate to New York, where she will be away from her lover and indirectly controlled by her mother since she will be living with her older brother. Simpson's viewpoint on Soto's work sets up the arguments made previously, that colonialism establishes an inferior sense of self for Puerto Ricans, which causes them to look outward for opportunities for success, which only leads to more marginalization and defeat.

"Garabatos" ("Scribbles"), another of Soto's short stories included in *Spiks*, further unpacks the unrealistic expectations that Puerto Ricans hold about what life could be like in the US, deromanticizing the iconic image of a "white Christmas." In the short story, Rosendo and Graciela are a couple that emigrated from Puerto Rico to New York City, who now live in a basement surrounded by misery and instability (Soto, *Spiks* 31). Rosendo is unemployed and focused on his hobby of creating paintings, while Graciela deals with the frustration of dealing with her children in dire conditions without the support of her husband. The story takes place around Christmas, revealed by Graciela demanding that Rosendo get toys for their children, and him refusing to cooperate. As this unfolds, Rosendo looks out the only window they had in the

basement, and the narrator uses visual imagery to deconstruct the idealization of life in the US as a Puerto Rican immigrant:

> Toda la nieve caída tres días antes estaba sucia. Los automóviles habían aplastado y ennegrecido la del asfalto. La de las aceras había sido hollada y orinada por hombres y perros. Los días eran más fríos ahora porque la nieve estaba allí, hostilmente presente, envilecida, acomodada en la miseria. Desprovista de toda la inocencia que trajo el primer día. (All the snow that had fallen three days before was now dirty. The cars had crushed and blackened the asphalt. The snow on the sidewalks had been trampled and urinated on by both men and dogs. The days were colder now because the snow was there, hostilely present, debased, settled in misery. Stripped of all the innocence that it brought on the first day; Soto, *Spiks* 35)

The descriptions of the once white, pure snow tarnished and corrupted by the asphalt of the city, the urine of the men and dogs, and the crushing steps of the people of New York, are a direct representation of the Rosendo and Graciela's expectations, crushed by the crude reality that meet them in the city they migrated to. The narrator uses the word "inocencia" ("innocence") referring to the snow, to reflect how Rosendo and Graciela lose the innocence with which they enter their life in New York, believing that it would bring greater success than a life in Puerto Rico. Instead, this innocence is "stripped" from them, signifying that the realization of how hard life in the US would actually be was not a slow, paced process, but rather that they were bombarded by it. The exploration of the disillusionment of Rosendo and Graciela in "Garabatos" is a reflection of the challenges met by Puerto Ricans who emigrate to the United States, but also a representation of how Puerto Ricans struggle to find who they are in a space that they perceived as welcoming, but was not so upon their arrival. The deception felt by

Rosendo and Graciela, which in itself brings about feelings of frustration, stress, and anger, represents the complex self-identification processes that Puerto Ricans go through when presented with the idea of emigration, which does not always breed the success that it seems to promise.

The debate of self vs. other in archipelagic literature proves to be nuanced in the various ways in which it can present itself in these works. However, both the Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean canonical works in this investigation exemplify this internal struggle of how islanders see themselves in an environment invaded by the White other who is undoubtedly wealthier, more powerful, and a dominant force over the people of these archipelagos. Analyzing how these dynamics play out in literature from Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde helps support the argument that self-identification for these archipelagic communities is complex and layers in ways that are not seen in other spaces, like in the colonizing spaces of the United States and Portugal. The influences of these colonizers and their personifications in the novel, like with Mr. Adams in *Usmaíl* and Miguel Alves in *Chiquinho*, show the irrefutably different states of mind in which colonizers operate in comparison to their colonized, less socially, economically, and politically dominant counterparts. The debilitating presence of colonizing influences in both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde brings about pressure to find opportunities elsewhere, outside of the archipelagic space. The inevitability of emigration will be discussed in the next section of Chapter 2.

2.2 Inevitability of Emigration

Me voy a tomar café al lugar de siempre,
Comienzo a hablar de mi pueblo desde mi silla
Y una mujer se vira y dice de frente:
"¿Quién eres tú para hablar desde la otra orilla?"
¿Acaso pierdes derecho al cruzar frontera?
¿Te vuelves el extrangero donde caminas?
Se creen que la patria es solo donde te quedas
Y no que anda con la gente toda la vida.
(I go get coffee where I usually do,
In my seat, I start talking about my land
And a woman turns and says to my face:
"Who are you to talk if you're at the other coast?"
Do you lose your right when you cross the barrier?
Do you turn into a foreigner wherever you go?
They think that your homeland is merely where you stay,
And not that it stays with you your whole life.)

—Kany García, "Mundo inventado"

This 2019 song by Puerto Rican singer-songwriter Kany García explores common themes that people who migrate from one country to another experience, such as judgment from others, discomfort with new environments, and the conviction of representing their homeland in spaces outside of it. Day after day, Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans confront the probability of having to emigrate and face these hardships, since colonialism and its legacies have caused both archipelagos to struggle socioeconomically, which in turn impairs the people of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde from sustaining themselves. The second section of this chapter unpacks how the four literary works expose the inevitable reality of having to emigrate for both Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans. Throughout this section, I will be presenting examples from the primary sources that detail both the causes of these emigration patterns and the strength of attachment that people from archipelagic spaces feel to their birthplace. The passages will serve as examples of how nuanced the idea of emigration is for the characters, which extends to Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans as a whole. By analyzing this topic through its presence in the primary sources, we will

be able to unpack how the process of self-identification for Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans becomes more complex with the prospect of having to leave their homelands behind.

2.2.1 Driving Forces: Causes of Emigration

Both Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans are not emigrating from their homeland on a whim; people from both of these archipelagos are escaping conditions that promulgate a stagnation of their progress, whether that be because of hurricanes, torrential rain, or earthquakes, it is important to note that these natural phenomena themselves are not what is directly causing the exodus of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans from their homes. The roles of the respective governments of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, whether that be colonial or local, are mediating forces that explain the causal relationship between natural phenomena and mass emigration from Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde. The periods explored through the works of literature being analyzed are characterized by a dejection of both the US and Portuguese governments to help their colonial holdings through any of the tragedies that both so frequently confronted, which are explored in the novels and stories being discussed. Although the examples presented in this subsection represent the catalysts for the emigration of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans, it is integral to keep front-of-mind that the principal cause of the exodus of these archipelagic communities is the colonial governments' neglect.

Manuel Lopes, Baltasar Lopes da Silva, and Pedro Juan Soto all discuss the misery faced by the Cape Verdean and Puerto Rican people during the events of their respective texts. In *Chiquinho*, the concern and hopelessness caused by the lack of resources are explicitly described in the following quote, which establishes the conditions that Cape Verdeans face every day, causing them to emigrate more frequently: "Pela cara que levava, o ano seria de fome. Eu devia

andar pelos meus catorze anos, e não me lembrava de ver tanta miséria estampada na cara de todo o mundo. Sempre havia falta" ("By the looks of it, it would be a year of hunger. I must have been around fourteen years old, and I didn't remember seeing so much misery on everyone's faces. There was always a lack of something"; Baltasar Lopes da Silva 96). The statement that the first-person narrator makes is paradoxical: he has never seen so much misery, but, at the same time, there was always something lacking in Cabo Verde. The first part of this statement establishes how the suffering of his community impacts 14-year-old Chiquinho, who is starting to learn about the extent to which Cape Verdeans struggle with their current situation. However, the second part of the statement expresses a kind of settlement, an agreeableness, to the situation that he and close others are experiencing. Saying that "[s]empre havia falta" (96) can be interpreted as establishing an emotional detachment from the suffering of Cape Verdeans; Chiquinho saying to himself that this extreme form of suffering is commonplace creates a sense of separateness from the emotional trauma that the suffering entails. The reader might infer that this emotional separation allows Chiquinho to finally accept that he has to emigrate, as he does at the end of the novel. Consequently, the reader might also problematize the fact that Cape Verdeans had to go through these struggles under the rule of a powerful empire such as Portugal. The "faults" that Chiquinho mentions in the quote are due to the unwillingness of the Portuguese government to provide food and other resources to their colony, which could not rely on its agriculture.

Scholar Brady Smith, in "Other Atlantics: Cape Verde, Chiquinho, and the Black Atlantic World," discusses how the depiction of Cabo Verde throughout Chiquinho's early life informs how the people of Cabo Verde see their land. Smith explains that "[t]he Cape Verde of [Chiquinho's] youthful memories is…one marked by deprivation and loss, the whole community

appearing…as bound in solidarity to a land that refuses to return all the toil they invest in it" (254), which reflects the process Chiquinho undergoes throughout the novel, which consists of seeing the world around him and reacting to it; the ultimate reaction being his emigration toward the end of the novel. Smith talks about the people of Cabo Verde as a community that succumbs to the destiny that the land sets for them, which is reminiscent of the twentieth-century ideas of how to study islands and reflects the types of narratives that came out of the *Claridade* period. The feeling that Cape Verdeans are destined to the conditions of their land impacts how Cape Verdeans see themselves in relation to their land, as reflected in the novel, and drives them to take extraordinary measures such as emigration.

Usmaíl also presents a lack of resources in Puerto Rico, which in this case, particularly affects the development of the children in the island-municipality of Vieques. The narrator describes how the teacher at Usmaí's school has a disease called filariasis, which is transmitted through a mosquito bite. The narrator explains how the children in Usmaíl's first-grade classroom, would get distracted by the teacher's extremely swollen leg because of the illness, which would impede their learning. However, the narrator pivots to mentioning other aspects of the classroom that affect the learning experience of these children, such as the fact that so many students are packed into one small, hot classroom, that more than one student has to sit at one desk, and that parents and caregivers would interrupt class to have their kids attend to house chores when needed, like milking their cows (Soto, *Usmaíl* 111). What is particularly interesting is that the narrator goes on this tangent of describing the experience of the students in the classroom after saying that the students were at a disadvantage because of the teacher's disease.

Not only describing how the teacher's filariasis affected the kids but also describing so many other aspects of the classroom situation that stunt the progress of the students right after

stating that the problem was the teacher's filariasis leads to the inference that the author wants to reflect the negative aspects of the classroom as parts of the disease. The word choice and order for this passage can be interpreted as trying to establish that Vieques is diseased and that the struggles of *viequenses* are symptoms of the inherent disease of the island. Historically and theoretically, this view aligns with a more pessimistic view of archipelagos as described by Pedreira in *Insularismo*. However, applying a more modern approach to the study of archipelagos, the reader can conclude that, like in the case with *Chiquinho*, these struggles are not necessarily an inherent part of being an island, but perhaps more importantly a direct byproduct of the neglect of the US government to take care of *viequenses*, while simultaneously causing them even more harm by displacing them through the expansion of the US naval base in the island. This, in turn, leads to the emigration of Puerto Ricans from Vieques and Puerto Rico altogether, in search of better educational opportunities, or better success in general, just as Chiquinho does in *Chiquinho*, and as Usmaíl dreams to do in *Usmaíl*.

The description of *viequenses* displaced from their homes and lands as a consequence of the occupation of the US Navy also helps paint a picture of the dire conditions that force Puerto Ricans to emigrate. The narrator describes these people as "desahuciados" ("evicted") and says:

> Los desahuciados eran quienes menos hablaban. Se les veía andar de un lado a otro con la boca entreabierta, como si las narices no bastaran para respirar el aire cada vez más malsano. *El andar parecía ser para ellos, por lo menos, un escape del apretujamiento compartido en los ranchos improvisados para alojarles después de la expropiación de sus propiedades. Porque, aunque la construcción de la Base se hallara detenida, los terrenos de los civiles seguían yéndoseles de las manos.* Y las reses se movían de un pastizal a otro para rumiar entre la yerba que en poco tiempo desaparecería por completo,

> dejando la costra dura y agrietada del barro. (The evicted were the ones who spoke the least. *They could be seen walking from one side to the other with their mouths half open, as if their noses were not enough to breathe the increasingly unhealthy air. Walking seemed to be for them, at least, an escape from the cramped conditions shared in the improvised ranches that housed them after the expropriation of their properties.* Because, although the construction of the Base was paused, the civilians' land continued to be slipping through their fingers. And the cattle moved from one pasture to another to chew their cud among the grass that shortly would completely disappear, leaving behind the hard, cracked crust of the mud; emphasis added; Soto, *Usmaíl* 128-9)

This passage details how the appropriation of *viequenses*' land would cause the people of Vieques to be at a loss for food and other resources that would keep them alive and healthy. The most important part of this passage, which literally describes the stagnation of Puerto Ricans because of the colonial influence of the US, and symbolically describes the inevitability of emigration for Puerto Ricans, is the statement "El andar parecía ser para ellos, por lo menos, un escape del apretujamiento compartido en los ranchos improvisados para alojarles después de la expropiación de sus propiedades" (128). The image of *viequenses* walking aimlessly in a state of delirium because of the trauma inflicted by the US's colonial rule is a direct reflection of the journey that Puerto Ricans take to leave the island and find success elsewhere, impacted by a sense of hopelessness and powerlessness. The subsequent description of the cramped living conditions that *viequenses* had to experience to survive after being displaced also parallels the reasons why Puerto Ricans emigrate: to escape from the emotional clutter and instability that is perpetrated by the colonial system imposed by the US. The image of a once lively community, corrupted and turned robotic by the abuse of US colonialism, slowly pacing the barren land of

Vieques mirrors how many Puerto Ricans are forced to sulk toward the continental US in search of better opportunities.

A similar, more extreme event is described in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, where Jó, one of José da Cruz's sons, dies of hunger because of the droughts and famine of Cabo Verde (Manuel Lopes 132). With this example, the author uses emigration as a metaphor for death, which crudely expresses the finality and seriousness of emigration. The narrator then describes Jó's passing in a very tactful way: "...o Jó que foi pra terra do salvamento, o Jó que foi pra nunca mais voltar, o Jó que não quis saber da família, que largou a família pra trás, o Jó que os deixou…" ("...Jó who went to the land of salvation, Jó who went away never to return, Jó who didn't care about his family, who left his family behind, the Jó who left them…"; 133). How the author chose to present Jó's death is interesting because the descriptions are somewhat ambiguous, suggesting that Jó had some kind of agency and "decided" to leave his family behind. This leads the reader to infer that the image of Jó's death and the description of this event is a parallel for the inevitable emigration of Cape Verdeans to escape the social evils that plague Cabo Verde, whether they were out of the people's control, or a reaction of the people to traumatic events like drought and famine. Describing Jó's untimely passing as a journey to another land from which he will not return, and blaming him for leaving his family behind is a representation of the tough decisions that Cape Verdeans face in the dilemma of staying or emigrating. The mere (or not mere at all) fact that the author chose the word "terra" ("land") to describe where Jó was going is evidence for this symbolic representation of Cape Verdean emigration. Furthermore, the comparison of emigration to death is striking but represents the pessimism associated with the act of archipelagic communities "giving up" on themselves and

their homeland and upending their lives to start over somewhere that provides them with more resources, but that is not home and will never provide a sense of belonging.

In "A *Claridade* e a Assunção da Realidade Cabo-Verdiana: *Os Flagelados Do Vento Leste*, do Claridoso Manuel Lopes, Entre a Ficção e a Realidade do Arquipélago," Adilson Emanuel Vieira Varela Monteiro comments that according to Manuel Lopes, the state of misery and desperation in Cabo Verde described in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste* resembles that experienced in Japan when the United States bombed Hiroshima during World War II, with one subtle difference: "[p]ara Lopes, a diferença residia no facto de a Bomba atómica ter sido fruto de um poder destrutivo do homem sobre a passividade da Natureza, e a estiagem em Cabo Verde ter vindo das forças da natureza que agia sobre a passividade do homem do ilhéu" ("for Lopes, the difference lay in the fact that the atomic bomb was the result of man's destructive power over the passivity of Nature, and the drought in Cabo Verde came from the forces of nature that acted on the passivity of man on the island"; Monteiro 88). This reflects the perspectives that the *claridosos* had about Cabo Verde, which align with the points of view about how to study islands discussed in Chapter 1. For Lopes, the calamities brought upon the people of Cabo Verde are attributed to the passive nature of Cape Verdeans when faced with the natural phenomena that affect their livelihoods. This perspective also leads the reader to make connections between Lopes's opinions and what he wrote in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, which is shown by the many deaths described in the novel and the "passive" inaction of the people of Cabo Verde, since the neglect of the Portuguese government leaves them with no other options.

Aside from delving into the catalysts of emigration for Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans, *Usmaíl,* and *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, particularly, do an amazing job at representing how these events, tied with the neglect of the US and Portuguese governments, corrupt the people of

Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde to the point that they would do anything to survive. This is briefly explored in *Usmaíl* through the character of Nana Luisa, the woman who raises Usmaíl, who earns money as a healer using natural, plant-based methods. At one point in the novel, Nana Luisa is critiquing how her assistant handles his job. Nana Luisa states: "—No ties que creer en na. [...] Yo no te pido eso, porque yo misma sé que eso es pura vaina. Pero, nene, hay que darles por donde a ellos les gusta pa poder comer" ("You don't have to believe in nothin'. I'm not askin' for that 'cause I myself know that that's all bullshit. But, kid, we have to give it to 'em where they like it so we get to eat"; Soto 110). This passage shows how Nana Luisa has been negatively influenced by a colonial system that forces Puerto Ricans to survive in any way possible. To her, tricking people into believing in the legitimacy of her services does not present any ethical concerns because the end, which is having food to eat, greatly outweighs the means. This example reflects how Puerto Ricans become so influenced by the colonial abuse of the US that they have to develop strategies to defend themselves and survive in the systemic colonial structure, or else they will fall behind, which in the context of *Usmaíl*, means starving to death.

The creation of illusions, like the previous example of Nana Luisa pretending to know about herbal medicine to make money, is discussed as a staple in the works of Pedro Juan Soto in Phyllis Boring's "Escape from Reality in the Fiction of Pedro Juan Soto." Boring states:

> In spite of the emphasis on cruelty and misfortune and of the hopelessness of many of the situations presented, there is in the narrative works of Soto a strong undercurrent of illusion, linking him with that mainstream of Hispanic literature that has traditionally shown the relationship of illusion and reality in the human condition. (Boring 288)

Soto's inclusion of illusion as a theme in his works, in *Usmaíl* in particular, is a reflection of the illusions that Puerto Ricans, like Nana Luisa, have to keep up to survive in the precarious

conditions of Puerto Rico. He also does this throughout his book of short stories, *Spiks*, by critiquing the unmet expectations of Puerto Ricans who emigrate to the US, in stories such as "La cautiva," "Garabatos," and "Ausencia." Using illusions as a thematic focus in his works sheds light on how Puerto Ricans are forced to emigrate because of precarious living conditions on the island, but go on to face equal (or even worse) conditions when in the US.

Os Flagelados do Vento Leste presents the problem of resorting to crime in the event of poverty and suffering much more extensively through the character of Leandro, José da Cruz's eldest son, who was disowned by his father. Leandro recurred to a life of crime, which included robbery, battery, and murder, to subsist in the crises of droughts, famine, and poverty in Cabo Verde. The narrator describes Leandro's lifestyle and social standing:

> Enquanto a vida corria torto para os outros, e a seca assolava a ilha de ponta a ponta, enquanto os lares se desmantelavam e poucos povoados escapavam aos efeitos da miséria que grassava como uma epidemia, Leandro vivia na calma do seu governo e do seu "trabalho", gozava, sem remorsos nem inquietações, duma prosperidade que nunca sonhara nos anos de fartura e bem-estar geral. (While life was going crookedly for others, and drought was ravaging the island from end to end, while homes were falling apart and few villages escaped the effects of the misery that was raging like an epidemic, Leandro lived in the calm of his government and his "work," he enjoyed, without remorse or concern, a prosperity that he had never dreamed of in the years of abundance and general well-being; Manuel Lopes 161)

This description of how Leandro carries himself in such a dire time for Cabo Verde exlplores how corrupted the character was by the system that governed his life and surroundings. His happy-go-lucky lifestyle, in which he enjoyed more success, resources, and well-being than

when Cabo Verde flourished, shows absolutely no remorse for the brutal crimes that he commits to reaching his level of stability. Leandro takes advantage of less capable people, such as the elderly, to sustain his own life and, in context, ostentatious lifestyle, which mirrors how the Portuguese government historically took advantage of the Cape Verdean archipelago for their benefit, without providing any assistance to the people they were directly affecting. Both of these examples (Nana Luisa in *Usmaíl* and Leandro in *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*) represent the effects of systemic oppression of the US and Portugal's colonial holdings, which inflict harm on their people to the point of them doing anything to ensure their survival, with no guilt whatsoever. The creation of crime because of this oppression, as described in both novels, is a catalyst for people to emigrate from their homelands of Puerto Rico or Cabo Verde, since this is yet another social evil created by the colonialist regimes of the US and Portugal. Relegating Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans to a lesser echelon of social power and influence has significant effects on how these people carry their lives, which is a direct precursor to the mass emigration of these archipelagic communities to more resourceful places, which strip away their sense of home, belonging, and self.

2.2.2 Home Sweet Home (?): Attachment (Or Lack Thereof) to Archipelagic Spaces

The rich cultures of the Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean archipelagic spaces differ greatly from the colder, more individualized social environment that the people from Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde encounter in the diaspora of the United States, Portugal, or others. Leaving the homeland behind has a tremendous impact on the self-identity of people from archipelagic spaces because it places them in the colonizers' space, in which no matter how hard they try, they will never fully belong. The attachment that Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans feel to their homelands dictates the attitudes that these people will have when deserting the archipelagos in search of a better life outside of them. Additionally, the events described in the four literary works and discussed in this section will serve as evidence for the inevitable nature of emigration for these archipelagic spaces due to the conditions brought upon them by the colonialist regimes of the United States and Portugal.

The character of Nhô João in *Chiquinho* holds esteem for his homeland of Cabo Verde, but, at the same time, reveres the ocean for being how he has gathered enough resources to sustain himself and his family. This perception of his land, in turn, represents how, at the end of the day, the emotional bond between islander and island can be broken by the seductive siren call of what is beyond the ocean. The narrator details Nhô João's relationship to the sea:

> Nhô João não era capaz de falar sem meter o mar nas suas conversas. Tinha-lhe um amor quase supersticioso, Abaixava a cabeça e dizia, de braços estendidos em direção ao mar: —Não tenho brincadeira com aquele tanque grande—. E explicava que quase tudo o que tinha comprara com as soldadas ganhas do mar. (Nhô João could not speak without bringing up the sea. He had an almost superstitious love for it. He lowered his head and said, with his arms outstretched toward the sea: —I cannot joke around with that big

> tank—. And he explained that almost everything he had he bought through the gains of the sea; Baltasar Lopes da Silva 72)

Nhô João's relationship with the sea almost parallels a religious relationship with a deity. To the sea, Nhô João owes his success, so he adores it with a certain distance and respect, supported by the use of the word "supersticioso" to describe his love for the sea. Viewing the sea as a gateway to wealth and success and feeling indebted to it as one would to a deity supports the idea that the attachment of an islander to an island is only valid as long as the opportunities outside of the archipelago are not more promising, and thus, that emigration is inevitable, since colonialism and its legacies have created precarious conditions for these spaces in which success and wealth are not the reality for the majority of the population. The case of Nhô João explores how the inevitability of emigration negatively affects how the islander identifies, rejecting the archipelagic space in favor of what is beyond it, supporting the argument that the imminence of emigration holds back the islander from fully self-identifying with their archipelagic nationality, in this case, Cabo Verde.

The description of Usmaíl's desertion from Vieques also projects a vision of better outcomes outside of the island, but through the negative connotation of the ocean, depicting it as a barrier or an obstacle:

> Y el mar olía a musgo, a pozo sucio, a bacinilla llena de orina. Pero él se iba y no volvería más… … Cuando zarparon, cuando dieron la espalda a la aldea aplastada como rana solitaria en un hoyo, encendió un cigarrillo para hacer creer a quien le mirara con demasiado detenimiento que aquella humedad en los ojos la había producido la maldita ceniza. (And the sea smelled like moss, like a dirty well, like a chamber pot full of urine. But he was leaving to never return... ... When they set sail, when they turned their backs

> on the village, crushed like a lonely frog in a hole, he lit a cigarette to make anyone who looked too closely believe that the moisture in his eyes had been caused by the damn smoke; Soto, *Usmaíl* 288)

The narrator presents the olfactory image of the ocean. This unseen, but felt, characteristic of the ocean is a direct comparison to Usmaíl's aversive attitude toward the body of water that surrounds his island and separates him from his dreams and goals of success and wealth. The narrator goes on to describe the village that Usmaíl leaves behind, using visual imagery of the damage created by the colonial systems imposed in Vieques, to evoke in the reader not only Usmaíl's negative perception of Vieques, but also the pity that Usmaíl does not want to admit he is feeling, but which the narrator implies in the last sentence of the passage. The closing sentence of the passage maintains Usmaíl's usual cynical, almost threatening tone, reflecting that Usmaíl is above feeling emotions and that emotions are a sign of weakness. However, the admission that Usmaíl is indeed crying because he is leaving the land that has raised him is powerful and noteworthy in this passage, and in the general analysis of the novel.

This scene is important because it contradicts and questions what the narrator has established throughout the whole novel, especially during Usmaíl's adolescence and young adulthood: that Usmaíl hates Vieques and the conditions that have led to him being who he is. Therefore, how do we then consolidate this attitude with the fact that Usmaíl cries as he sails away from Vieques, never to return? The reader can deduce that both of these perspectives about Vieques are housed in the same individual not because the narrator contradicts himself, but because Usmaíl can separate his personal experiences from the political and social precedents that have caused precariousness on his island, at least subconsciously. It is interesting to display Usmaíl's sadness at a moment when the reader believes Usmaíl is finally reaching his lifelong

goals, but this solidifies the argument that emigration is inevitable for Puerto Ricans, *viequenses*, in this case. This is because, although Usmaíl holds resentment towards his ancestry, he recognizes that the colonial systems imposed on Puerto Rico are the cause of his inability to succeed or be happy on his island and that it is not inherently the island that causes this. Although *Usmaíl* explores the pessimism associated with insular perspectives of the time, which express an aversion toward the island condition, through the character of Usmaíl, the author places at least some of the blame on the US colonial system that oppressed *viquenses* and Puerto Ricans in general. Furthermore, the dichotomy that Usmaíl presents in this passage also speaks to the argument that self-identification is more challenging for archipelagic spaces because Usmaíl, although certain of his convictions throughout most of the novel, crumbles in the event of him having to carry out extensive measures to get the opportunity to live more fully.

Soto's short story "La cautiva," included in *Spiks*, also presents the emotional effects of emigrating from the archipelagic space of Puerto Rico, questioning the belief that emigrating to the US brings more positive outcomes for Puerto Ricans. Throughout the story, Fernanda (the main character) is waiting with her mother until it comes time for Fernanda to get on her flight to New York. Fernanda is avoidant of her mother because she is searching to see if her lover showed up to wave her goodbye from a distance since he cannot show up in front of her mother. At the end of the story, when she is already on the plane, she finally sees him from the window, looking at the plane, knowing she is in it, but not waving goodbye. Fernanda's inner monologue tells the reader that all she wants is for him to wave, but that never comes. The story ends with: "El avión giró por completo, corrió sobre la pista y despegó. Entonces ella comenzó a reír sin ganas, sin fuerzas. Y el llanto le vino luego" ("The plane turned completely, drove onto the

runway, and took off. Then she began to laugh without enthusiasm, without strength. And then came the crying"; Soto, *Spiks* 26).

"La cautiva" challenges the idea that the United States brings freedom to Puerto Ricans to emigrate and questions the idea of the "American Dream." Soto critiques this through Fernanda's mother who, as discussed in the previous section, plans to remain micromanaging Fernanda regardless of their physical distance. Additionally, the character of Fernanda's lover, although the reader never learns anything directly from him, helps bridge the gap between this passage and the topic of the effects of the inevitability of emigration. Fernanda's lover is the physical representation of her freedom in Puerto Rico. Regardless of her mother's overprotection, the mischief that went on between Fernanda and her lover was the outlet through which Fernanda broke away from the chains of her mother and explored her independence and defiance. When Fernanda seeks out a goodbye from her lover at the airport, she is looking for reassurance that what they had was real and that she would be missed. The lover's refusal to show any kind of affection toward her in the story represents to Fernanda how the only bit of freedom that she had in Puerto Rico is now over, and that, although she is approaching life in the US and away from her mother, her future feels more restrictive than her past.

This example shows how the inevitability of emigration has mental and emotional effects for Puerto Ricans, since many believe that they will be achieving the wealth and success that they have always wanted, but, deep down, they are losing a significant part of their identity in emigrating. The idea of self-identification for Puerto Ricans gets lost in translation when it comes time to emigrate because expectations of what is on the other side are usually not met, and they end up losing more than they gain. This supports the argument that the inevitability of

emigration is debilitating to people from archipelagic spaces because of the challenges that it poses to getting a clear read on their self-identity.

Os Flagelados do Vento Leste presents the plight of emigrating in a much darker, somber context, presenting the loss of everything that the protagonist holds dear as the catalyst for finally emigrating. In this novel, José da Cruz's three children and wife, Zepa, die of hunger due to the drought and subsequent famine in Cabo Verde. When Zepa dies, José da Cruz talks to her deceased wife: "Agora sim. Foi-se tudo. Já nada tenho que fazer aqui. Agora vou-me embora. Agora vou-me embora… Levaste o resto. Não fica mais nada. Agora, vou-me embora de verdade. Agora sim" ("It's time. Everything is gone. I have nothing to do here anymore. It's time to go. It's time to go... You took everything else. There's nothing left. It's really time to go. It's time"; Manuel Lopes 149). Before this tragedy, José da Cruz had refused to give up on surviving in his home, against the wishes of his wife. However, as he experiences the death of every single one of the members of his immediate family, he sees nothing else tying him to his land and decides that it is time to find somewhere else on the island of Santo Antão that would help him survive the crisis Cabo Verde was experiencing.

José da Cruz shows a previously undying attachment to his land, which kept him tied to it. The suffering caused by the drought and consequential neglect of the Portuguese government forces him to abandon the land he fought for for so long. As José da Cruz mentions in the passage, everything that tied him to the land is now gone, and it is truly time for him to move on. It is also interesting for the reader to note how the author emphasizes José da Cruz's decision by including "de verdade." The inclusion of this phrase in José da Cruz's short monologue makes the reader infer that he had not been truly present in his environment for a while because of the dire conditions he and his family had been experiencing. Although he stays physically because of

his attachment to his land, the agony that he experiences has made him mentally detached from his land for a long time. This short, but impactful passage supports the argument that emigration is truly an idea that is always looming in the mind of a person from an archipelago. José da Cruz's resistance to emigration is defeated by the hurt and suffering that happens to him and his family, which forces him to finally succumb to the inevitability of emigration. This passage also reflects José da Cruz's difficulty to self-identify with his land and with the archipelagic space in general because, although he resists emigration for so long, the probability that he would have to emigrate is always around him, whether that be through the figure of his wife or in his thoughts that pressured him to persist. This looming probability makes his undying hope that he can succeed in his land, very feeble, which is evident as he loses each member of his family one by one, which leads him to emigrate.

The personification of the forces of nature that affect the daily lives of Cape Verdeans, as José da Cruz does when he says "you took everything else" (Manuel Lopes 149) is common among the writers of the *Claridade* movement, as described by David Brookshaw in *The Postcolonial Literature of Lusophone Africa*. He also mentions that this is a contrast to Batlasar Lopes da Silva's work in *Chiquinho*. Brookshaw describes how "the literary images, the evocation of telluric forces as being participants and indeed determining factors in the dramas suffered by the characters, in their struggles against drought… give[s] [*Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*] an epic quality" (183). These presentations of the natural phenomena that drive Cape Verdeans to emigrate make them more personal and intimate since they present the main characters of the novel as though they are battling with a physical antagonist who will not relent or show mercy. This narrative technique typical of the *claridosos* artistically points toward the

islands themselves as the agents that cause Cape Verdeans to be displaced from their homelands, when this is a byproduct of the brutal neglect of the Portuguese empire.

In another of the short stories included in *Spiks*, called "Dios en Harlem" ("God in Harlem"), Soto unpacks how Puerto Ricans in the diaspora feel connections to their homeland when living outside of it. This short story is centered around Nena, a pregnant Puerto Rican woman living in Harlem who deals with issues such as her religious identity, men objectifying her, and the additional financial hardships caused by her pregnancy. Throughout the short story, the narrator details Nena's discussed for the city of Harlem, even referring to it as a "perrera" ("dog pound"; Soto, *Spiks* 88). Interestingly, however, the narrator expresses Nena's different opinions about the city depending on the season: "Le gustaba en verano, cuando podía verla salpicada de verde. Pero no en otoño: no en este encierro gris y frío y oloroso a agua sucia. No cuando parecía ser el interior de una vieja tina de aluminio" ("She liked it in summer, when she could see it splashed with green. But not in autumn: not in this gray and cold confinement that reeks of dirty water. Not when it looked like the inside of an old aluminum tub"; Soto, *Spiks* 88).

It can be inferred that the times when Nena enjoys Harlem are when the city is most reminiscent of Puerto Rico, which is in the summer, when the trees are full of their green foliage. However, the narrator describes Harlem in autumn as a gray, fetid "confinement." This reflects Nena's need to conserve her attachment to her homeland, a thirst that is quenched by the summer in Harlem, but is further intensified by the stark contrast of Harlem in autumn with the environments she misses from Puerto Rico. This seemingly simple, visual example from "Dios en Harlem" reflects both the nostalgia Puerto Ricans feel for their homeland when in the diaspora, and the difficulty to acclimate to the sharply contrasting life that New York presents for Puerto Ricans. This complicates self-identification for Puerto Ricans in the diaspora, making

them feel uncomfortable in both spaces that do not provide the stability and peace they need to survive.

As sad as it may sound, the four literary works discussed in this project show evidence for the argument that emigration is an integral part of the cultural imaginaries of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans, whether that be through the looming probability of emigration, or through the actual act of emigrating within an island in the archipelago, from one island to another, or from the archipelago to the colonizing space. This section is not to say that Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans are bound to emigrate because of their archipelagic geography and that surviving in both of these archipelagos is impossible, but that the colonial interventions in both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde have set up a significantly more challenging lifestyle for the people of these spaces, which leads them to emigrate in large amounts. This phenomenon is one that undoubtedly complicates the self-identification of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans because it makes it more difficult to form tight bonds with their homeland thanks to the possibility that they might have to abandon it. Furthermore, the emigration of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans extends the archipelago to other places with the creation of diasporic communities outside of the islands, which in itself presents a plight of self-identity for these diasporas.

2.3 Archipelagic Hierarchies

The power dynamics that surround the colonized island nations of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde during the mid-twentieth century are incredibly nuanced: not only is there an obvious power imbalance between colonizer and colony, but there is also a power struggle between the islands within the same archipelago. In the case of Puerto Rico, the *Isla Grande* is the largest territory and contains 76 of Puerto Rico's 78 municipalities. The island-municipalities of Vieques and Culebra, located only six and 20 miles from the east coast of the island, respectively, are theoretically equal to the other 76 municipalities, but their physical separation from the island has made them more prone to neglect from both the federal and national governments, issues evident in Pedro Juan Soto's literary works, which will be discussed. Cabo Verde goes through a similar struggle with the economic imbalance among its ten islands. The island of Santiago houses Cabo Verde's political capital, Praia; however, as discussed in Chapter 1, the city of Mindelo starts to gain commercial power during the mid-nineteenth century, causing the island of São Vicente (where Mindelo is located) to be the most potent economic center for the archipelago. As shown in the novels *Chiquinho* and *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, this leads to the relative[20] neglect of the other islands of the Cape Verdean archipelago, in these cases, São Nicolau and Santo Antão, respectively. This section is divided into two subsections: the first explores the political, economic, and social differences that are evidence for these archipelagic hierarchies, while the second discusses how the characters in the literary works see these hierarchies play out in their lives. The primary sources will serve as support for the argument that archipelagic hierarchies are common among Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, even with their

[20] The use of the word "relative" in this context and future instances functions to establish that the islands that are "dominant" in these arguments were also heavily neglected by the colonial powers of Portugal and the United States. Adding "relative" to the sentence clears up that the arguments being made are not that the more powerful islands of the archipelago are any less subjugated to the colonial structures imposed onto the archipelagos.

different, but parallel histories and cultures, and that this unequal reality makes it so people from these archipelagic spaces are more challenged in establishing a common self-identity.

2.3.1 Dominant Island vs. Archipelago

Usmaíl (1959) by Pedro Juan Soto is a prime example of the subjugation of the island-municipality of Vieques at the hands of the colonial influence of the United States. The initial descriptions of this relationship in the novel present the striking, but real difference between the islands of Vieques and the *Isla Grande*. From the beginning of the novel, the narrator lays out this dynamic:

> ...mientras unos se hallaban aquí, en Vieques, en medio de la desesperanza y la desesperación, otros se hallaban al otro lado del canal, en Puerto Rico, disfrutando de los ríos y la verdura y los picachos, olvidados de la islita que Dios no deseó hacer (...while some found themselves here, in Vieques, in the middle of the hopelessness and the desperation, others found themselves at the other side of the canal, in Puerto Rico, enjoying the rivers and the vegetation and the peaks, forgetting about the little island that God didn't wish to make; Soto, *Usmaíl* 16)

This quote introduces this dichotomic struggle between the *Isla Grande* and Vieques; it is worth conducting a close reading because of its word choice and tone, which set the bar for the narratives presented through the novel. Firstly, the narrator calls the *Isla Grande* Puerto Rico; although the big island of the Puerto Rican archipelago can indeed be referred to as Puerto Rico, alluding to the main island as *Isla Grande* reflects the narrator's sense of separation and lack of belonging. Vieques is as much a municipality as any of the 76 municipalities on the *Isla Grande*, but the physical isolation leads to reduced attention to *viequenses*, which, in turn, leads to

viequenses' detachment and discomfort from identifying with the nation as a whole. Resorting to identifying with their island-municipality more than with their nation suggests that they are more connected to the specific struggles of being from Vieques (such as the displacement, racism, and US influence detailed throughout *Usmaíl*) that the average Puerto Rican would not understand or identify with.

It is also worth noting that, when describing Vieques, the narrator of *Usmaíl* uses only two adjectives, *desesperanza* (hopelessness) and *desesperación* (desperation), both of which represent deep emotions that reflect the dire reality of life in Vieques. This creates a heavy contrast with how Puerto Ricans of the *Isla Grande* are described —"...disfrutando de los ríos y la verdura y los picachos…" (16)— since these words describe the physical scenery of the *Isla Grande*. This exhibits *viequenses'* superficial perception of the *Isla Grande*: evidently, Vieques has its rivers, vegetation, and mountains, but the emotional baggage of the struggles of Vieques makes its people think that people in the *Isla Grande* have it better than them and often wish they could move there (like the protagonist of the novel), without considering that the *Isla Grande* has its own set of very real struggles and issues. In terms of grammar, the differences between these descriptions are also apparent: the description of the *Isla Grande* is a run-on sentence, repeating the conjunction *and* and omitting altogether the use of commas. This gives the reader the perception that the narrator could continue incessantly listing the blessings of the *Isla Grande*, whereas Vieques is limited to two very profound adjectives.

The last portion of the quote is perhaps the most captivating because of its deep, emotional imagery. The narrator continues to say that didn't even mean to create the little island that is Vieques (16). This quote resorts to religious imagery of Catholicism, the religion that most Puerto Ricans practice, to reflect how small and insignificant *viequenses* feel because of the

government's continuous neglect and disinterest toward the island and its people. This quote adds a new layer to the low self-worth of *viequenses*. It suggests that not even God was concerned with the state of the Vieques and its people since he didn't even mean to create it. This last section helps drive home the idea that there is no hope for Vieques: if not even God is willing to save them, no one is. This passage establishes a power imbalance between Vieques and the *Isla Grande* that causes a self-identification struggle for Puerto Ricans. The reader can infer from the passage that it is harder for *viequenses* to reconcile the Puerto Rican identity, since their island is treated in much lower regard by the US colonial system.

The author of the novel, Pedro Juan Soto, as quoted by Edna Acosta-Belén in "Literature And Ideology in the Works of the Puerto Rican Generation of 1950," regards his work as a testament to the hybridity of the Puerto Rican (165). In the case of Usmaíl, we can interpret this quote in two ways. The first is the more obvious interpretation of Usmaíl as an example of the racial mixing that characterizes Puerto Rico thanks to its colonization, which is evident in his ancestry and physical features, as discussed previously. However, the author can also be referencing the present argument, that Puerto Rican identity is much more nuanced because of the plurality of islands that compose the archipelago, Vieques being the prime example of this cultural and identity hybridity in the novel. By knowing that Soto actively and purposefully pursues to expose and discuss these complicated relationships in his works, we can argue that the plight of self-identification with Puerto Ricanness is complicated for *viequenses*, who are stuck in a social and emotional limbo of feeling like not belonging in their land, as seen throughout *Usmaíl*.

The archipelagic hierarchies of Cabo Verde are also a latent element in *Chiquinho*, in which the narrator presents this power imbalance between islands fairly early in the novel. In the

case of Cabo Verde, this imbalance is protagonized by the island of São Vicente, where the city of Mindelo is located. As discussed in Chapter 1, São Vicente rose to be the most powerful city in the archipelago during the mid-nineteenth century due to the arrival of steam power. The reader is introduced to this imbalance through the character of Chico Zepa, who dreamed of leaving Cabo Verde, but stayed back because he fell in love (Batlasar Lopes da Silva 63). Chico Zepa would tell the children of Caleijão, the village where Chinho grew up, about his experiences, and Chiquinho mentions that he would say: "—Quem não saiu daqui não sabe o que é mundo. Eu não fico. Dou um salto em S. Vicente e embarco fugido em qualquer vapor…" ("Whoever doesn't get out of here doesn't know what the world is. I wouldn't stay. I'd jump over to S. Vicente and run off on any steamboat…"; Baltasar Lopes da Silva 64). The reader can infer various pieces of information. The first is that steamboats would lead to the United States, since, as discussed in Chapter 1, the whaling industry in the eastern US was attractive to emigrating Cape Verdeans in the twentieth century. The second, and most important for this section, is that Chico Zepa would first go to São Vicente before sailing off to the US because São Vicente is the only island that offers that type of connection to the outside world. This passage tells the reader that none of the other nine Cape Verdean islands (including São Nicolau, where Chiquinho is from) have access to transportation outside Cabo Verde.

Mindelo, in São Vicente, the economic center of the Cape Verdean islands, is far more resourceful economically and socially than the rest of the islands. This debilitates Cape Verdeans' efforts to self-identify because it weakens the bonds that someone from São Nicolau, for example, might have with their island. After all, as depicted in *Chiquinho*, the people of São Nicolau cannot rely on their island to provide them with the necessary resources to survive and succeed.

Not only do these archipelagos have an island that is more dominant than the others, but the inhabitants of these islands are also aware of this fact, which impacts the way they think of themselves and their islands. In *Usmaíl*, Vieques's perceived inferiority relative to the *Isla Grande* presents itself through the underestimation of their nationalist voice that clamors against the colonial abuse perpetrated by the United States. In the second chapter of the second section of *Usmaíl*, the narrator details how the nationalists' motivation to fight against US colonialism has now turned to shrugs and sighs of frustration. One of the reasons adjudicated to the nationalists' sense of uselessness is the physical distance of Vieques from the *Isla Grande*, which is where most of the large manifestations happened: "...consideraban que Vieques era demasiado lejos de aquello, aunque vivieran nacionalistas allí, para poder alterar con sus voces el curso de los acontecimientos" ("...they considered that Vieques was too far away, even if there were nationalists living there, to be able to change the course of the events"; Soto, *Usmaíl* 91).

This speaks to the ways in which scholars thought about insular identity at the time, attributing the effects of the colonial legacy to an inherent predisposition of the islander's way of thinking: although Vieques has the nationalist population to fight against the abuse of their people (which was evidenced later in Puerto Rican history when the US naval base in Vieques was closed down in 2003), their perception of subordination to not only their US American colonizers but to their compatriots in the *Isla Grande*, prevented them from taking up arms against the US invaders that caused them to be displaced from their homes and submitted to a life of poverty. This caused *viequenses* to struggle with a sense of hopelessness and incompetence, as detailed in the novel from Nana Luisa's (the woman who raised Usmaíl after his mother died) point of view: "De vez en cuando, soltaba todavía alguna palabra brusca en contra de los americanos, se lamentaba de los abusos, pero terminaba por aceptar que nada

cambiaría" ("Once in a while she would still utter some dirty word against the Americans, she lamented the abuse, but ended up accepting that nothing would change"; Soto, *Usmaíl* 91). This serves as evidence to argue that the self-identification of *viequenses* is indeed more complicated than that of the general Puerto Rican because they consider that the space they live in lacks the reach and influence that the rest of the archipelago holds, due to the systemic oppression by the United States.

In the case of Cabo Verde, *Chiquinho* also serves as evidence for how Cape Verdeans outside of São Vicente perceive themselves as inferior because of the archipelagic hierarchies conditioned by the colonial structures of the Portuguese empire, visualized by Chico Zepa's physical illness. Much later in the novel, Chiquinho, again, reflects on Chico Zepa, and how he never made it out of Cabo Verde though he always strived to. The passage symbolically establishes this hierarchical relationship between São Vicente and São Nicolau:

> Bem Chico Zepa nos tinha pregado a sua rebeldia. Ele próprio não deu o exemplo. Nunca mais se meteu num veleiro para embarcar fugido em S. Vicente, a bordo de um vapor de trânsito. Teve de aguentar o pesado, no rabo da enxada, como os outros, embora refilando sempre. Mas aguentou. E agora estava com a perna manca, devido a ferida ruim que não sarou bem, por causa das doenças-do-mundo. (Chico Zepa had preached his rebellion to us over and over. He himself did not lead by example. He never boarded the steamboat to escape to S. Vicente. He had to put up with the heavy lifting, like everyone else, though he was always complaining. But he held on. And now he had a bum leg, due to a bad wound that didn't heal well, because of world-diseases; Baltasar Lopes da Silva 223-4)

This passage describes how Chico Zepa had to stay back in São Nicolau, where he was dealing with difficulties with the use of his leg. This disease he is experiencing is described as a "ferida

ruim que não sarou bem, por causa das doenças-do-mundo" (Baltasar Lopes da Silva 224), which, paired with the section of the passage that describes Chico Zepa's inability to emigrate to São Vicente, establishes a dichotomy between São Vicente and the "doença" that causes him to stay in São Nicolau. This dual image leads the reader to infer that the narrator, Chiquinho himself, is comparing São Nicolau to the disease that afflicts Chico Zepa. Just like his bum leg, the conditions of São Nicolau prevent Chico Zepa from reaching his goal of getting to São Vicente. Comparing the island of São Nicolau to the diseases of the world, as described in the passage, projects a vision of stagnation and suffering of São Nicolau, which holds its inhabitants back from succeeding in life and feeling whole. Like in the case of Vieques and *Usmaíl*, the perceived inferiority of inhabitants of non-dominant islands in an archipelago is evident, which increases the separation between these islands and the "main" island of the archipelagos. This, in turn, hinders a process of self-identification for the people of São Nicolau, who feel that their island is a source of hurt and suffering and that it is not able to provide them with the resources they need to reach their goals.

Scholar Russell G. Hamilton notes how the differences between the islands of Cabo Verde in *Chiquinho*, though, have to do with the presence of African culture. In *Voices from an Empire*, Hamilton discusses how the crudeness surrounding the discourse of slavery in *Chiquinho* is diluted by the wider presence of White people on the island of São Nicolau, where Chiquinho is born. Hamilton states: "[b]ecause the slave lived cheek by jowl with whites in a nonlatifundium society on the Island of São Nicolau, his acculturation and integration came more rapidly and completely than that of his counterpart on the Island of Santiago" (321). Hamilton mentions that Chiquinho is considered lucky to have "good" hair and his family assigned certain benevolence to the institution of slavery, saying that enslaved people were treated fairly well

when the truth is that this narrative is imposed by the large presence of the White oppressor in the island (321). This separate viewpoint about the topic of archipelagic hierarchies adds nuance to the argument since it establishes that not only do separate islands in the archipelago experience different political and economic circumstances, but that the social factor is also important to consider, given the discrepant experiences of Cape Verdeans in such a racially mixed space. Additionally, Hamilton's view also provides another inter-island difference, this time between São Nicolau and Santiago, showing how the theme of archipelagic hierarchies is certainly not limited to a competition between São Vicente and the rest of the islands.

Usmaíl also compellingly cements the existence of an archipelagic hierarchy between Vieques and the *Isla Grande* through the extended metaphor represented by the protagonist, Usmaíl. He, throughout the text, represents a personification of the island of Vieques, and his beliefs and actions reflect the inferiority felt by Vieques in comparison to the *Isla Grande*. In presenting Usmaíl as a personification of Vieques, Pedro Juan Soto makes the island the main character of the novel, supporting the argument of the time that a pessimistic view on insularity was the theoretical construct that drove the events and experiences explored in the novel and the real lives of *viequenses* and Puerto Ricans. One example of the extended metaphor of Usmaíl and Vieques can be seen in Usmaíl's emotional growth. Although he does not directly recognize it early on, Vieques's stagnation because of the occupation of the US Navy has forced him to grow up quicker to deal with the implications of living in Vieques. The narrator emphasizes Usmaíl's early emotional maturation when Nana Luisa reveals to the protagonist that, although she raised him, she is not his grandmother, as Usmaíl had believed until that moment. The narrator describes Usmaíl's reaction to this revelation:

> ...Usmaíl siguió muy tranquilo en su silla, con la mirada fija en ella, con una quietud de adulto que la hirió absurdamente. (...Usmaíl stayed sitting down calmly in his chair, staring at her, with an adult stillness that hurt her absurdly.; Soto, *Usmaíl* 136)

As described in the quote, Nana Luisa expected some kind of outburst, an emotional volatility that is common with children, especially when hearing this type of news. However, all she got was a blank stare, which is compared to that of an adult by the narrator. The emotional maturation shown by Usmaíl at this moment and throughout the novel reflects the survival instinct of Vieques to get ahead of the struggles of life on the island, which differs from that of the *Isla Grande*, which is perceived by *viequenses* as a more proliferate and warm space. Usmaíl further represents this metaphor with Vieques when he befriends a group of Puerto Rican veterans that corrupts what is left of his innocence. We see this when Usmaíl starts exploring his body through masturbation at a very young age to appease his new "friends," who poke fun at him for being awkward around women and similar social situations. Usmaíl blames himself for his delayed social and sexual development, when it is totally normal for a child his age to not be familiar with these types of interactions:

> Lo abochornaron bastante, pero él comprendió que la culpa era suya y que debía enmendar, si no su curiosidad, por lo menos la forma de satisfacerla. ("They really embarrassed him, but he understood that he was at fault and that he should amend, if not his curiosity, at least his way of quenching it.; Soto, *Usmaíl* 150)

This group of veterans continues being a bad influence on Usmaíl throughout his development, making him act like their personal servant and forcing him to drink alcohol at an early age (152 - 3, 172).

The evidence from the text that serves as a bookend for the argument that Usmaíl is the personification of Vieques is when Usmaíl fantasizes about achieving his dream of emigrating to the *Isla Grande*. The narration that describes this fantasy completely repudiates the idea of Vieques and any ties that Usmaíl has to the island and reflects his wishes of finally living a full life with his much older partner, Cisa, in the *Isla Grande*:

> Su tierra estaba maldita. Su nombre era otra maldición. Su madre había sido una puta asquerosa. Nada podía hacer por la tierra, aunque quisiera, pero debía hacer algo por su nombre. Cambiárselo. Adoptar cualquier otro. Ir a San Juan a cambiárselo, para ver si así lograba olvidar la tortura de Vieques, de Nana Luisa, y la suya propia. [Se] llevaría a [Cisa] con él, y acaso, de una vez, dieran ambos con algún con algún rincón en Puerto Rico donde poder vivir en paz. (His land was cursed. His name was another curse. His mother had been a disgusting whore. He could not do anything about the land, although he wanted to, but he had to do something about his name. Change it. Adopt any other one. Go to San Juan to change it, to see if that way he could forget about the torture of Vieques, of Nana Luisa, and of himself. He would take [Cisa] with him, and maybe, once and for all, they would both find some corner in Puerto Rico where they could live in peace. (Soto, *Usmaíl* 258 - 9)

This quote reflects his hate toward the past that conditioned him to his current life, in which he misinterprets his mother's role in bringing him into the world, his frustration with the current state of Vieques by saying that the land is cursed, and his adoration of what is across the water, the island of Puerto Rico that would provide him with the privileged life that he always wanted. The most important symbol across the novel, his name, is what he hates the most because this is the piece that will forever connect him to his and his mother's past. The *Isla Grande* will not

only provide a better quality of life, but also the final disconnection of Usmaíl from the parts of himself that he despises. As soon as Usmaíl steps foot on Vieques, he feels that he has laid eyes on his salvation, what he had wanted most, a new place in which he could become someone, someone who was not Usmaíl or even *viequense*.

The narrator describes the municipality of Fajardo, the easternmost town in Puerto Rico, when Usmaíl finally finally arrives:

> El sol, que ya no arde sobre uno en Vieques, arde menos. Hay caminos hacia el sur, el norte, el este y el oeste, y en todas esas direcciones puede uno viajar, lejos de la pesadilla de la isla al otro lado del canal. Uno atrae miradas de admiración si viste bien —de blanco, preferiblemente, de blanco y rojo— y camina con cierto aire de importancia y tiene en el bolsillo algunos dólares. (The sun, that doesn't burn over oneself in Vieques, burns less. There are roads to the south, the north, the east, and the west, and one can travel in all of those directions, far from the nightmare of the island at the other side of the canal. One attracts looks of admiration if one dresses well —in white, preferably, in white and red— and walks with a certain air of importance and has a couple of dollars in one's pocket; Soto, *Usmaíl* 289)

The image of the burning sun is an interesting one: rather than the sun burning just in Vieques, but not in the *Isla Grande*, it burns in both of the islands, more in Vieques than the other. This symbolism exemplifies the proposed argument of archipelagic hierarchies: conditions are indeed difficult on both sides of the water, but the conditions in Vieques are unavoidably more dire. This also further suggests Usmaíl's understanding and support for the superiority of the *Isla Grande*, the image of a sun that burns less symbolizing a more bearable way of life. Aside from this, upon his first moments in the *Isla Grande*, he proves his predictions that the *Isla Grande* would be a

better place to escalate his social status. He notices how people get admiring glances if they dress well and walk with confidence, suggesting that Usmaíl believes that these are the things he needs to do to achieve a higher social standing, and not necessarily hard work and dedication which were not a possibility for him in Vieques and do not appear to be his goal now that he is in the *Isla Grande*. At the end of the day, the things he seeks to achieve in the *Isla Grande* never come to fruition just because of who he is —*viequense* and Black—, the aspects of himself that he most loathed. Usmaíl represents the island of Vieques throughout the novel in that the political, social, and economic conditions of the island will never allow it to feel like a legitimate part of Puerto Rico even though it is an official municipality, exactly how Usmaíl feels like an outsider in his own Puerto Ricanness because he is *viequense*, and does not get to fit in in the *Isla Grande* even if all he wants in life is to escape there.

2.3.2 The Goal Across the Water

Another important aspect of the argument of archipelagic hierarchies is the ideas held by islanders about what life would be like on the more dominant island of the archipelago. In *Chiquinho*, this perception is shown when Chiquinho arrives in São Vicente for the first time to receive a formal education. He stays with Nha Cidália, Chiquinho's relative, and one of her sons, Andrezinho, wants to show Chiquinho the city. When Nha Cidália hears this, she responds: "—Vais mostrar o que? Falas de cidade, parece que isto é qualquer coisa de encher a boca. Miséria, Chiquinho, miséria é que vês por onde andares. Esta terra não está capaz…" ("—What are you going to show him? You talk about the city like it's nothing. Misery, Chiquinho, you see misery wherever you go. This land is not apt…"; Baltasar Lopes da Silva 110). The reader will quickly realize that this passage contradicts what they had learned about São Vicente: that it would provide him with a good education, and new opportunities, and would be the gateway for emigrating from Cabo Verde. However, this passage is evidence that everything is not as it seems; São Vicente is the economic center of Cabo Verde only because the wealth it produces benefits Portugal, but, according to the passage, the people of São Vicente experience similar struggles to the ones Chiquinho sees in São Nicolau. This shows how the perceived superiority of São Vicente is idealized by the people who suffer in São Nicolau, and this comes as a response to the sensationalization drawn by the Portuguese empire, who extract resources from São Vicente. This serves as evidence to argue that these archipelagic hierarchies exist mostly because of the colonizers' benefiting (or not) from the resources of one island more than the others, which strains Cape Verdeans' sense of self-identity when their islands do not meet the standards of São Vicente.

The character of Usmaíl is a clear example of the idealization of Puerto Rico, and this is presented metaphorically early in Usmaíl's life, when he discusses his aspirations for his future, which, because of his race, social status, and because he is from Vieques, he will never achieve:

> —¡Cuando yo sia grande … vua tener dos carros nuevos! … —¡Y yo…, yo —decía Usmaíl, buscando por todos lados un antojo especial e impresionante—, yo una carretera de aquí al cielo, con muchas curvas y cuestas pa correr en mis dos carros nuevos! (—When I grow up, I'm gonna have two new cars! … —And I want…, I want — Usmaíl said, looking everywhere for some special and impressive craving—, I want a highway that goes from here to the sky, with a bunch of curves and hills to ride in my two new cars! (Soto, *Usmaíl* 124-125)

This quote reveals the incongruence that exists in Usmaíl's life: he aspires to achieve economic success and to be able to figuratively reach the sky, as he says in the quote, while, at the same time, he is surrounded by poverty, suppression, and struggle, living in an island that does not offer the opportunities for success that Usmaíl yearns for since childhood. Usmaíl's yearning helps him to establish the goal of emigrating to the *Isla Grande*, specifically the capital city of San Juan, and to, little by little, diminish his perception of Vieques until he reaches hatred. This passage shows how his goal of reaching success and wealth is an idealization due to his conditions of poverty, and that his later goal of moving to San Juan feeds off of his idealization of whatever is better or different from what he experiences. This stunts the process of self-identity for Usmaíl, since he establishes an emotional disconnect from Vieques and wants to detach from the strings that tie him to the island.

Usmaíl also expresses his disdain for Vieques and his admiration for what is waiting for him in the *Isla Grande* when he is finally contemplating leaving Vieques realistically, and not

just fantasizing about it. He speaks to Nana Luisa in his mind and says: "[y]o también tengo una deuda contigo, Nana Luisa [...]. Y la pienso pagar haciéndome el mejor hombre que pueda. Pero lejos de aquí, no entre esta infamia. Voy en busca de paz, a la Isla Grande. Paz y trabajo decente" ("I'm indebted to you, Nana Luisa [...]. And I plan to pay you back by becoming the best man I can. But far away from here, do among this infamy. I'm leaving in search of peace, to the *Isla Grande*. Peace and decent work" Soto, *Usmaíl* 286). It is interesting how, for Usmaíl, peace and a decent job are the only two goals he has for his new life in San Juan, which both are needs that most humans strive to meet throughout their lives. This leads the reader to infer that these two qualities that are integral to human development cannot be provided to Usmaíl by his home, Vieques, and that he expects to achieve those upon his emigration to San Juan. This passage also leans into the pessimistic view of islands that characterizes this moment in time in Puerto Rico, where the insular spaces of Puerto Rico are considered to breed misery and constrict those who inhabit them.

For both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, the power inequality among the islands of the archipelagos characterizes how Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans connect with their national identity. As evidenced in the literary works, identifying with the general label of "Puerto Rican" or "Cape Verdean" is more complicated than just being born in these archipelagos; being born in islands like Vieques, São Nicolau or Santo Antão promotes a sense of insufficiency in the plight of self-identification, since the colonial status of these archipelagos in the mid-twentieth century conditions these non-dominant islands from reaching the same goals as the "main" islands, which, in turn, presents issues like lack of resources to the inhabitants of the peripheral islands. Islanders from the peripheral islands feel a sense of distrust toward their island because it cannot provide its inhabitants with enough resources to flourish, without directly relating it to the root

cause of colonization. When people from the peripheral islands emigrate, they often do not find the wonders that they imagined would be abundant in the dominant island, as is the case with Usmaíl and Chiquinho, which further cements the point that the US's and Portugal's colonization of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, respectively, is the root cause of the archipelagic power imbalances that directly affect the inhabitants of these spaces.

2.4 The Convergence of Three Themes (Conclusion to Chapter 2)

Whether that be by dissecting Usmaíl's inner racial struggles, by delving into Chiquinho's battle between staying in Cabo Verde or emigrating, by analysing José da Cruz's insistence on staying in a place that was torturing him and his family, or by discussing how New York City was the true villain of the stories in *Spiks*, exploring and reflecting upon the narratives of the four works provides a holistic representation of what it means to be Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean. Delving into all four works of fiction by unpacking how each reflects the struggles of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans within the three areas discussed permits the reader to tie the works together and understand why they are studied in unison in this investigation. Additionally, although it is true that many more common themes are present among the works, the three themes that are discussed are the aspects that most represent not only Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean self-identity in general, but, more specifically, how these identities are shaped by colonialism, its legacies, and the fact that the spaces are archipelagos. Conducting these analyses and drawing these connections through the scope of literature leads to an understanding of how this art medium actively participates in the creation of a national identity for both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde, and a complex self-identity for the people of these two nations.

Encore: How the Story Lives On

Unraveling the individual stories presented in the four literary works reveals a collective voice that echoes throughout the works and beyond: the clamor of the peripheral voices of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde that, through literature, reclaim their national and self-identities. This project has brought to the forefront how Cabo Verde and Puerto Rico share common cultural and historical nuances that connect them, and how the literature of both of these archipelagic spaces reflects the struggles concerning their sense of self-identification, brought upon by their colonization and the legacies that these structures leave. The works of Pedro Juan Soto, Manuel Lopes, and Baltasar Lopes da Silva —*Usmaíl*, *Spiks*, *Os Flagelados do Vento Leste*, and *Chiquinho*— expose the intimate thoughts and life experiences of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans whose lives are squandered by the colonial regimes of Spain, the US and Portugal, respectively, who eat away at the livelihoods of the people in these archipelagic spaces. Consequently, the characters in the texts contemplate emigrating from their homelands, and some even end up doing so, reflecting the lack of resources and optimal conditions that cause people from these spaces to not be able to create a full life for themselves in the place they were born and raised in.

Analyzing four works of prose fiction written within the timeframe of the mid-twentieth century (1947-1960) permits the scope of the research to be focused on a period in which both Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde claim to invert a narrative historically represented both nations as inferior and subjugated. This time period, characterized by a need to describe what is inherently Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean, is the epitome of the use of literature to create a clear self-identity for both nations, and works exceptionally well to dissect this issues through an archipelagic lens, as is done in this investigation.

The subtopics used to compare the narratives of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde in this project gave way to a structured analysis of the literary works. First, the analysis of the self vs. the other in both Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean literature provided evidence from the texts that commented on how people from these archipelagos feel and are treated as subordinate compared to their colonizers. This subordination results in a complicated process of self-identification for the people in these archipelagos, whose own culture and livelihood are questioned and attacked by the presence and influence of the colonizing nation. Additionally, the distress caused by the invasion of archipelagic nations by colonizing influences skew the perceptions that islanders have of themselves and create a (sometimes) erroneous idea of what their lives would be like outside of their birthplace. Referring back to Fanon's text "On National Culture," the author states that "Reclaiming the past does not only rehabilitate or justify the promise of a national culture. It triggers a change of fundamental importance in the colonized's psycho-affective equilibrium" (82). The first subtopic of this literary analysis delves into this "reclaiming," since the discussion of the issues of self vs. other experienced by Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans serves to affect how islanders think of themselves, and therefore, break away from the sense of inferiority propitiated by the colonial systems imposed onto them.

The second subtopic delved into how colonization causes emigration to be an ingrained possible and probable outcome for people from Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde. The primary sources detailed the factors and issues that cause islanders to consider emigrating, and that drive them to do so in the end, which are mostly influenced by their colonial status. Aside from this, the second subsection highlights how the attachment of the Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans in the texts to their land is complicated by how their colonial status has subjected them to a more trampled life, and how this then influences their motivations to emigrate. This subtopic

highlights how self-identifying with an archipelagic birthplace gets complicated by the perception that the land cannot provide for the success and survival of the people living in it.

Lastly, the third subtopic discusses an interesting commonality between Cabo Verde and Puerto Rico evidenced in the texts, which is the hierarchies that are formed between islands, caused by the prioritization of one island over the others by the colonial power. This imbalance, in turn, causes the dominant island to have more successful political, economic, and social outcomes, while the rest of the islands are severely lacking in resources, as is the case with Vieques, São Nicolau, and Santo Antão in the texts. Archipelagic hierarchies tie into the prospect of emigration, since the characters in the literary works either contemplate leaving or leave their island to seek better opportunities in the dominant island of the archipelagic nation. The self-identification processes of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans become convoluted due to the hierarchies produced by colonialism and its legacies; for the characters, identifying with Puerto Rico or Cabo Verde as a whole is difficult when the island they are from is subjugated and relegated to a lesser, unimportant plane.

Investigating the topic of self-identification for Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde is essential in several ways. These countries have been historically underrepresented and subordinated because of their colonial[21] status, and exposing how their livelihoods are caused and affected by colonialism, effects which have continued to the present, contributes to better understanding of questions that take back control of the creation of social justice for these nations. The painful wounds of colonialism and its legacies are obvious in the four primary sources, and they reflect the issues that affect the development of these countries still to this day. Additionally, analyzing the role of literature in reclaiming the sense of identity of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans that is convoluted by colonialism is integral to understanding how these nations have resisted the

[21] Or postcolonial, in the case of Cabo Verde, presently

invasion of the culture of the "other." Cultural productions continue to be important in granting Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans the power to reclaim their sense of identity in a time where the uniqueness of their own culture is threatened by the colonizer's influences. In the case of Puerto Rico, for example, the struggles of Vieques and the profound disservices committed against *viequenses* at the hands of the US continue to be exposed, most recently by film director Glorimar Marrero in her most recent production, *La pecera* (*The Fishbowl*). This 2023 film follows the character of Noelia (played by Isel Rodríguez), who is a native *viequense* living in San Juan diagnosed with cancer as an effect of the contamination of Vieques after the war simulations of the US naval base. Noelia refuses treatment and returns to Vieques, where she encounters first-hand the effects of Vieques's relegation by the local and federal governments, including lack of access to medication and health services, the remaining contaminated areas of Vieques, *viequenses*'s inclination to risk their lives to rid the island of the ammunition left by the US Navy, and the anticipation of the hurricanes that ravaged Puerto Rico in 2017, Irma and Maria. With this film, Noelia's physical suffering evokes Vieques's suffering at the hands of the US; Noelia's body serves as a metaphor for Vieques, bringing the struggles of Puerto Rican colonialism to a wider, global audience, and continuing the conversation on the lasting effects of colonialism in Puerto Rico.

For Cabo Verde, the singer-songwriter Mayra Andrade is also a prime example of continuing to celebrate Cape Verdean culture and bringing forth the themes that have characterized Cape Verdean cultural productions. Andrade, like a lot of Lusoafrican musicians, is based in Lisbon, Portugal, making her a representative of the diasporic voices of Cabo Verde. As Timothy Sieber notes in the article "Popular Music and Cultural Identity in the Cape Verdean Post-Colonial Diaspora," "it is generally recognized that the diaspora is leading to widening of

the market for Cape Verdean music, including recordings and musicians" (18), which raises the volume on Cape Verdean artists like Andrade to keep discussing the topics relevant to Cabo Verde, even post-independence. Her song "Ilha de Santiago" ("Island of Santiago") gives visibility to Cabo Verde's society through a more global scope, highlighting cultural references relevant to the archipelago. One of the verses reads: "Na Ilha de Santiago / Tem Caetaninho, tem Codé, Nhu Arique / cu Ano Nobo Nha Bibinha lá di fundo Curral de Baxo" ("In the island of Santiago / You have Caetaninho, Codé, Nhu Arique / with Ano Nobo Nha Bibinha in the background Curral de Baxo"; Andrade), which mentions several artists and public figures from the island of Santiago. In this song, Andrade simultaneously celebrates how Cabo Verde produces immense amounts of talent and emphasizes her distance from Cabo Verde, a topic that has been relevant in Cape Verdean music historically because of the mass emigration of its people. The listener might draw connections to Cesária Évora's "Sodade" (discussed in Chapter 1), which also deals with the complications of emigration for the Cape Verdean people, this parallel highlighting the applicability of these same themes across historical periods. As noted by Eurídice Furtado Monteiro in "Crioulidade, Colonialidade e Género: As Representações De Cabo Verde," "tem sido revelado que o arquipélago cabo-verdiano vivenciou uma experiência histórica peculiar que teria influenciado decisivamente o processo de construção da identidade individual e coletiva" ("it has been revealed that the Cape Verdean archipelago experienced a peculiar historical experience that decisively influenced the process of building individual and collective identity"; Monteiro 985), which is evidenced in the cultural productions that continue to come out of the islands, with Mayra Andrade as an example.

Analyzing how literature plays a part in creating a self-identity for Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans sparks questions about if other artforms can have the same or similar functions.

Although this falls out of the scope of this research, the examples previously mentioned of film and music could be further analyzed and unpacked to determine how these art methods also participate in discussing the complex self-identification of Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde. Additionally, delving into more contemporary works of prose fiction from both nations would also be an interesting research route to take on, since the lasting effects of colonialism can still be seen in both Puerto Rico, who is currently still experiencing the colonial rule of the US, and Cape Verde, who still suffers from the socioeconomic conditions described in the novels discussed.

Lastly, but certainly not least, it is important to mention that this project fills a gap between historical, cultural, and literary analysis of the Hispanic and Lusophone world, two fields that are not often paired together. The common denominator of Iberian colonialism connects these two perspectives of the building of the world as we know it today, which caused the colonies of both the Spanish and the Portuguese empires to have very similar experiences. Although the Puerto Rican works explored focus on the effects of US colonialism on the archipelago, the colonial pattern in Puerto Rico has existed for longer, as discussed in Chapter 1, with the lasting legacies of the Spanish empire, whose neglect caused Puerto Ricans to resist and rebel several times throughout history. Rather than shying away from comparing the Hispanic and Lusophone worlds for reasons like language differences, or historical discrepancies, cultivating analyses that connect them contributes greatly to the development of more open, globalized perspectives about the experiences that groups of people have gone through and still go through today. Widening the scope of cultural and literary analyses to not be limited by language gives way to the understanding and validation of the otherwise specific and unique experiences that Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans, in this case, endure. Establishing that the

complicated and nuanced self-identification processes of Puerto Ricans and Cape Verdeans are, in fact, relatable to one another, can help foster a perspective that reclaims issues whose exploration and discussion could help bring social justice to the people of these two countries. Puerto Rico and Cabo Verde are indeed connected in that both have been historically underserved, but what is most resonating and powerful is both countries' rich cultures and societies. Puerto Rican and Cape Verdean cultural productions beautifully harbor their entangled sense of self-identity and bring forward the voices of these archipelagic communities that, although 2,865 miles apart, seem to sing in harmony.

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