Introduction

The Complexities of Disguise: Machado de Assis and His Contemporary Moment

Vanessa K. Valdés and Earl E. Fitz

Joaquim Maria Machado de Assis (1839–1908) is even today regarded as Brazil's greatest writer. Along with his compatriots, Clarice Lispector and João Guimarães Rosa, Machado stands as a pillar of modern Brazilian literature. Yet even in Brazil he has remained a cypher in ways his compatriots do not. A great deal of what is contested about Machado has to do with race broadly and with Blackness specifically. Not surprisingly, this is also true for the growing legions of his admirers outside of Brazil. For those who do not read Portuguese, and who may not know the culture from which he arises, this confusion over how he is to be read may be attributed to the fact that much of his writing remains untranslated. Indeed, with a few exceptions, only his novels and stories have been re-created in other languages, leaving his abundant work in other genres, his "crônicas," literary criticism, theater, and poetry left to live on only in its original tongue. It is for this reason that his prose is the subject of this study. Yet even for a lusophone audience, Machado presents some complicating factors. He is enthusiastically lauded as a distinguished writer and intellectual and yet he is also said by many to be one whose lived realities as a man of African heritage are often ignored or minimized. In the United States, where the reception of Machado is the focus on this book, to speak and write about Machado de Assis is to come to grips with Brazil's own relationship with

its vast population of Afro-descendants and its history of freedom and enslavement, of marginalization and erasure.

There is the reality of the sheer number of Africans trafficked to Brazil; as Calvin Baker writes: "More than a third of all Africans removed from their homeland from the early 1500s to the mid-1800s—more than 4 million people—were transported to Brazil," the claiming of which, by the Portuguese, dates from 1500 (98). This explains why today "Nigeria is the only country with a larger Black population than Brazil, and in the body of African American culture stretching from Harlem to Rio, the state of Bahia," in northeastern Brazil, "might be fairly viewed as its spiritual heart. Perhaps the heart of the entire Black world" (Baker, "No Novel," 98). It also explains why, already in the seventeenth century, the Jesuit priest Antônio Vieira could declare, of his beloved Brazil, that it had "the body of America and the soul of Africa" (quoted in Burns, 55). For North Americans who wish to understand Machado de Assis, it behooves them to know more about Brazil.

As a nation, for almost the last century Brazil has boasted an identity made up of "mixed-blood people," and for being an American culture in which miscegenation, cultural as well as biological, "was never a crime or a sin" (Ribeiro 321).[1] This is in contrast to the United States, which—while it boasts in its ideology of being a nation of immigrants, has continually struggled to acknowledge a history of miscegenation—indeed, has grappled with the inclusion of the histories of all groups that have contributed to the development of this country.[2] In Brazil, there has never been anything like the "one-drop rule" or any legal prohibition on interracial marriage, as there was in the United States until 1967 and the Loving v. Virginia Supreme Court decision.

This is not to imply that interracial marriage between white and Black populations in Brazil have somehow eased racial discrimination or strict racial hierarchies; rather, it is to highlight that a national ideology about racial mixture has provided an environment in Brazil that is more amenable to interracial marriage than in the United States.[3] All to say that when we discuss the racial status of a Brazilian writer, artist, intellectual, or political leader, we are engaging an issue of great complexity. We cannot assume that what we know about racism as it is known and practiced in the United States can be applied to Brazil. To do so is to ignore the details of each country's complex and nuanced histories. To be discussed as a Black writer in Brazil involves issues of slavery and oppression, yes, but also a wealth of cultural nuances that have made it difficult for many a

US reader to comprehend and appreciate. Still, these must be understood, for Brazil offers the would-be inter-Americanist an exceptional perspective from which to consider the hemispheric American experience.

First, race is taught and understood differently in the United States and in Brazil, in great part because the narratives regarding the founding of our nations differ, in spite of the shared histories of colonization led by the kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula. Brazil, founded as a Portuguese colony in 1500, is only slightly older than the United States; Portuguese settlers raped and maimed first the Indigenous populations and, within the first four decades of its founding, trafficked enslaved Africans across the Atlantic Ocean. While the standard telling of United States history begins with British settlement and the establishment of the Thirteen Colonies, Spanish settlement on the land that would become the United States was occurring at the same time as the establishment of Brazil. Having established Ayiti-Kiskeya-Bohio (renamed La Española, i.e., Hispaniola) as their base in the hemisphere, Spaniards—including those of African descent, free and enslaved, would go on to seize the lands of Boriken (Puerto Rico) in 1508; Xaymaca (Jamaica) in 1509; Cubanascnan (Cuba) in 1511; and the lands of the Apalachi, Timucua, Ais, Tocobaga, and Calusa peoples (Florida) in 1513.[4] In 1526, Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón attempted to found a town, San Miguel de Guadalupe, in Sapelo Sound, along the eastern coastline between what is now South Carolina and Georgia. It failed, in part due to attacks from the Indigenous peoples there and an uprising by the enslaved Africans trafficked as part of the expedition. As Jane Landers notes, "the escaped Africans took up residence among the Guale, becoming the first maroons in what is today the United States, as many of their counterparts were already doing in Hispaniola, Puerto Rico, Jamaica, Cuba, and Mexico" (13). Two years later, in 1528, there was another attempt at settlement of what had already been named La Florida: Pánfilo de Narváez led hundreds of Europeans and Africans, landing near what is today Tampa Bay. It too failed. In 1565, the Spanish had success with the establishment of St. Augustine, Florida: free and enslaved Africans accompanied Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in this endeavor. Iberian settlement on this land has not yet entered our textbooks, and there remains a great need for work on Afro-Indigenous histories, particularly in this early colonial period.[5] While the 1619 Project has done a great deal to center African contributions to the development of the United States from the seventeenth century forward, there remains a reticence to embrace a history that challenges the English colonization project with which we

are more familiar in the United States—one that may resemble histories of the rest of the continent.

This is to underscore that the histories of the Americas are rich and nuanced; students and scholars in the United States must remain cognizant, when studying Brazil, that it is not the same as Spanish America either. In large part, this is because, in the late fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, Portugal was different than Spain (Seed 100–48, 149–78). All these contrasts, including those that relate to race, religion, and social interaction, were brought to America where they produced substantially different cultures. On the question of race, for example, Brazilian anthropologist Gilberto Freyre pointed out almost ninety years ago that "a consciousness of race . . . was practically non-existent in the cosmopolitan and plastic-minded Portuguese," who, in contrast to the Spaniards (who had embraced an ideology of purity, in blood, religion, and thought), had long cultivated more harmonious relations with the Muslims and the Jews (3; see also Herring, 87–88; and Skidmore, 345–62). As the sixteenth century wore on, Brazil, thanks to Portugal's overseas trading network, also benefited from being part of a global commercial system. The social, political, and economic "formation of Brazil," Portugal's New World colony, "went forward without the colonizers being concerned with racial unity or racial purity" (Freyre 40). But, though in the main true, this assessment, too, is more complex than it might first appear to be.

A controversial figure, Freyre was interested in comparing Brazil's development to that of Spanish America, English America, and French America. He spent many years in the United States, first at Baylor University and then, for his doctoral studies, at Columbia, where he studied with Franz Boas. Freyre was shocked at the virulence and sadism of US racists. In 1933 and *The Masters and the Slaves*, he wrote that "the Portuguese, in addition to being less ardent in their orthodoxy than the Spaniards and less narrow than the English in their color prejudices and Christian morality," produced in Brazil a culture that was distinctive in the Americas (81; see also 185). Famously, he concluded: "Hybrid from the beginning, Brazilian society is, of all those in the Americas, the one most harmoniously constituted so far as racial relations are concerned" (82; see also 85). This assessment has been challenged in recent decades.[6] Still, what stands as hard fact is this: in terms of its racial history, Brazil is different than the United States. It is far from perfect, and it has never truly been the racial democracy that many have wished it were. Nonetheless, as far as race in the Americas is concerned, Brazil its own specific case,

and this must be understood, especially by those who would undertake comparative studies of Brazil, its hemispheric neighbors, and its artists.

A singular writer, Machado challenged during his lifetime—and continues to challenge even today—thinking about the genius and intellect of African peoples and their descendants by successfully engaging in what Eduardo de Assis Duarte names as a "poética da dissimulação," a poetics of dissimulation.[7] For readers here in the United States, the question of how Machado should be interpreted offers an unexpected parallel to the controversy here, arising some sixty years ago, that swirled around Ralph Ellison, whom critic Irving Howe accused in a 1963 *Dissent* article of failing to be militant enough about racism and racial injustice here in the States (see Howe). Ellison's response, that the artist's first responsibility was to their art and not to a cause, no matter how just it might be, was one that Machado might well have embraced. He, too, wished to be known as an artist, one who was free to write however he liked about whatever he chose.

Peoples of African descent throughout the Americas have historically needed to conceal their true selves in order to survive a heterosexist white supremacist patriarchal environment intent on their destruction.[8] In this, Machado de Assis is no different. In his most well-known essay "The Negro Digs Up His Past" (1925), Arturo Alfonso Schomburg, renowned bibliophile and student of the global Black experience, observes: "by virtue of their being regarded as something 'exceptional,' even by friends and well-wishers, Negroes of attainment and genius have been unfairly disassociated from the group, and group credit lost accordingly."[9] Essays by Regina Castro McGowan and Paulo Dutra within this volume address the intentional divorce of Machado from the context in which he and his contemporaries—Africans and their descendants, free and enslaved—lived and died during his lifetime. Niyi Afolabi comes to terms with Machado's own agency in this process; indeed, for Machado, a man of considerable intellectual ability, he assessed the situation in which he lived and made decisions that facilitated the rise of his fortunes in Rio society. Machado de Assis lived in the city of Rio de Janeiro for the entirety of his life; in the course of his existence, from 1839 to 1908, Rio was first the capital of the Empire of Brazil (1822–1889) and then, following the abolishment of the monarchy, the capital of the Republic of the United States of Brazil (1889–1930). While students of politics and history may be concerned with the implications of the changing political structures of the country on its capital city, for the purposes of this book it is critical to know that

undergirding those structures was the enslavement of African peoples. As Mary C. Karasch writes in her groundbreaking study *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (1987), "in the first half of the nineteenth century, slavery in Rio was at its height. Neither before 1808 nor after 1850 would slaves, especially African slaves, so dominate the life of the city. [. . .] Further, no other city in the Americas even approached Rio's slave population in 1849. [. . .] Thus, the years from 1808 to 1850 were the most important period in the history of slavery in Rio, and Rio had the largest urban slave population in the Americas."[10] Celso Thomas Castilho writes: "The port of entry for the overwhelming majority of African slaves arriving in Brazil in the nineteenth century, Rio's population doubled from the 1820s to the 1850s, reaching just over 200,000 in 1849; of these almost 40 percent, or an estimated 78,000 people, were enslaved. This was a staggering number: Rio's slave population exceeded the combined slave population in the ten largest cities of the US South."[11] Brazil was the largest slaveholding society in the Americas: it was the last country in the Americas to end the enslavement of Africans and their descendants, in 1888, and its capital city, in which Machado de Assis lived, was at the center of this endeavor.

Machado himself was born free: in the short entry for Machado de Assis in his *Dicionário Literário Afro-Brasileiro* (2007), Nei Lopes highlights that the writer was the great-grandson of a freed Black couple and the son of a mulatto father and an Azorean woman who was raised, from the age of ten, by his father and his Black stepmother.[12] Yet he was a man of visible African ancestry, as Castro McGowan analyzes in her essay, and the laws that governed populations of enslaved, freed, and free Black peoples were more similar than not. In her examination of the nightly curfew implemented in Rio from the 1820s until the 1870s, Amy Chazkel points out: "Though people of color in nineteenth-century Rio faced the indignities of racial animosity and a constant threat of illegal enslavement or re-enslavement, all residents, including those of African descent, generally enjoyed a customary right to move about the city by day. After dark, simply circulating or assembling in the streets became a crime, and the night vested the newly professionalized police with emergency powers."[13] In a straightforward manner, the author calls attention to the pervasive menace of enslavement for those who were legally free; while everyone was allowed to move in the daytime hours, at night, from the perspective of the police and other municipal authorities, the distinction between freed and enslaved blurred.[14]

Chazkel later notes: "A person of African descent became a presumed slave and public enemy abroad in the city streets, who posed a potential

danger to society that eclipsed his or her rights. Each night at sundown, the law allowed for its own suspension, and police held the power to decide—ironically just as visual perception became more difficult—who deserved to be arrested, searched, and flogged."[15] In an environment in which Black peoples were more susceptible to violence simply because of their skin, it was they who were thought to pose a danger to this society. As Alejandro de la Fuente and Ariela Gross observe about three sites of enslavement in the Americas, "it was not a society's recognition of slaves' humanity, nor its racial fluidity, that marked the differences among Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana. It was how successfully the elites of that society drew connections between blackness and enslavement, on the one hand, and whiteness, freedom, and citizenship, on the other.[16] While their study focuses on those specific geographies, it is not incongruent to expand and apply their astute observation to the entirety of the hemisphere in which the enslavement of African peoples and their descendants flourished, particularly in the nation that held then and that continues to hold now the largest population of peoples of African descent.

Returning for a moment to the poetics of dissimulation, for many, Machado's choice to evade a more obvious anti-racist stance is untenable. In his text *Literatura Negro-Brasileira* (2010), Cuti names Maria Firmina dos Reis (1822–1917); Luís Gama (1830–1882); João da Cruz e Sousa (1861–1898); and Afonso Henriques de Lima Barreto (1881–1922) as precursors of the literary movement in which he himself would later flourish as part of Quilombhoje, namely one in which a collective Black consciousness was expressed in Brazil. He makes no mention of Machado, who was their contemporary. Moving from the nineteenth century into the twentieth, Paulina Alberto notes that while there was a small group of writers of color who celebrated cultural practices rooted in Africa in the 1910s and 1920s, "many other upwardly mobile men of color, . . . , like the famous mulatto novelist Machado de Assis, quietly disavowed their African heritage."[17] This is her sole mention of Machado in a study dedicated to Black intellectuals of the twentieth century. His dissimulation worked perhaps too well: while he is held as a subject of genius, that talent is seen to have done little to affect the lives of millions with whom he shared a heritage.

It may be useful for our readers to contrast the experiences of Machado with those of his also talented contemporary, Lima Barreto. On the question of how central these two Brazilian writers make the subject of race in their work, they could hardly be more different. If, for Machado, race and its related issues were often subdued and muted, for his much

younger but more militant younger contemporary, they were paramount. They were also aggressively presented, and in a way that would seem familiar to students and scholars accustomed to working with Black writing here in the United States. As Lamonte Aidoo and Daniel F. Silva put it, "Lima Barreto was particularly, if not unfairly, critical of" Machado, who as "a fellow mixed-race writer," in the judgment of Barreto, did not "overtly and consistently" address "issues of racial disenfranchisement in his fiction."[18] This conflict, too, may be not entirely unfamiliar to readers here in the United States. If we liken Lima Barreto to Richard Wright, then Machado reminds us of Ralph Ellison. But Machado is also like James Baldwin, who contended that racism and the myth of white supremacy hurt not only Black Americans but white ones as well. This is a point the Brazilian master makes in his 1904 novel *Esau and Jacob*. There, a character (the liberal Paulo), avers that "abolition is the dawn of liberty, we await the sun: the black emancipated, it remains to emancipate the white" (91). Machado's grand vision, one can reasonably conclude, is to free all of us from the desire to enslave and exploit others.

The last three decades have seen a serious reconsideration of Machado de Assis's relationship with slavery in particular and with Blackness more broadly. This current volume, born of the turmoil of the summer of 2020 and the global reckonings about race and colonization, is an addition to these conversations. In her 2002 article "Machado: três momentos negros," Gizêlda Melo do Nascimento examines the representation of the Afro-Brazilian characters in his novels *Iaiá Garcia* (1878), *Memórias póstumas de Brás Cubas* (1881), and *Dom Casmurro* (1899). Sidney Chalhoub analyzes the years Machado spends as a government official within the Ministry of Agriculture in his *Machado de Assis, Historiador* (2003). There, underscoring that this work was centered on the politics of slavery on the country's lands, specifically the application of the Law of the Free Womb of 1871, Chalhoub argues that we see glimpses of his official life in four of Machado's novels: those already previously mentioned, and *Helena* (1876).

Eduardo de Assis Duarte built on this research with his anthology *Machado de Assis Afrodescendente* (2007): there he gathers poems, crônicas, theater criticism, short stories, and excerpts from nine of Machado's novels, all of which reveal that Machado had been dealing with slavery in his work, for decades, in fact, only he was doing so in his particular manner (i.e., ironically), employing a voice that mimicked bourgeois ideals of the times.[19] 2007 also saw Duarte's ideas translated into English with his article "Machado de Assis's African Descent"; he has since continued

to publish on this subject in English. The following year saw commemorations of the centennial of Machado's death; among the events that took place in 2008 was *Machado de Assis e a escravidão*, a colloquium at the University of Hamburg in Germany examining his relationship with slavery. Edited by Gustavo Bernardo, Joachim Michael, and Markus Schäffauer, the resulting volume includes essays such as "Machado de Assis e o século negro" ["Machado de Assis and the Black Century"]; "A desconstrução de estereótipos na obra de Machado de Assis: a questão da escravidão" ["The Deconstruction of Stereotypes in the Work of Machado de Assis: The Question of Slavery"]; and "A vida literaria de Machado de Assis e o negro em seu tempo" ["The Literary Life of Machado de Assis and the Black Man in His Time"]. Duarte continued this work of reconsidering Machado within the realm of Black literature in Brazil by coediting a four-volume critical anthology called *Literatura e afrodescendência no Brasil: antologia crítica* (2011) with Maria Nazareth Soares; in the first volume, they identify Machado de Assis as a precursor to a fuller Black consciousness of the twentieth and twenty-first centuries.

In 2012, G. Reginald Daniel published *Machado de Assis: Multiracial Identity and the Brazilian Novelist*; there he argues that Machado deals with a personal sense of racial ambiguity by attempting to universalize it in his literature. Lamonte Aidoo and Daniel F. Silva edited *Emerging Dialogues on Machado de Assis* (2016), which features essays by Sidney Chalhoub and G. Reginald Daniel. In 2018, New London Librarium published a bilingual edition of Machado's crônicas; written under the pseudonym of Bons Dias (Good Days), these chronicles appeared from April 5, 1888, until August 29, 1889, in the newspaper *Gazeta de Notícias*. Here we see the narrative voice's take on the abolition of enslavement and later the monarchy, as well as the establishment of the republic of Brazil. Our hope with this volume is to contribute to these reconsiderations of Machado by meaningfully expanding the conversation to include considerations about the reception of his work as a writer of African descent.

With "Machado De Assis in Brazil, the United States, and Greater America: A Writer, a Black Writer, Or . . . A Genius, Our Literary Pelé?," Earl E. Fitz offers an introduction to Machado de Assis's biography, to the nuanced strategies Machado employed in the works that most explicitly include references to the Afro-Brazilian population, and to the reception of his work particularly in the United States. Regina Castro McGowan lays bare how Machado's photographic image was manipulated through the years, facilitating a visual whitewashing of his appearance, in "Black, Then

White, Then Black Again: Brazil's Racial Politics and the Changing Face of Machado de Assis." Paulo Dutra focuses on one of the works featured in Fitz's essay in his " 'Father against Mother': Race and/in the Reception of the Works of Machado de Assis," presenting a comprehensive review of the short story itself so as to reveal the different interpretations possible when the protagonist is assigned a racial category.

Niyi Afolabi takes up this thread of Machado's ambiguous presentation and its legacies with his essay "Raimundo the Obscure: Enslavement, Abolition, and the Problematics of 'Uncle Tom' Agency in Machado's *Iaiá Garcia*." He also explores his own relationship with the work of Brazil's preeminent writer over the course of his career. In "Machado de Assis and the Color of Brazilian Literature in the United States," Benjamin Legg provides insight into the reception of Brazilian literature as a corpus within the US market and the US academy. Daniel F. Silva continues this thread with his essay, "Black Writer, White Letters?: Machado's Racialized Reception of Identity and Aesthetics." There he speaks to what he names as problematic Eurocentric paradigms of literary reception and analyzes how the processes of canonization and translation contribute to an inability to see, read, and assess Machado's work clearly. David Mittelman considers Machado's tenuous hold on both the periphery and the center of Brazilian letters by comparing other authors who also occupy seemingly precarious spaces in "Outsiders on the Inside and Insiders on the Outside: Narrating Race and Identity in Machado de Assis, Milton Hatoum, and Jeferson Tenório."

Finally, in the afterword, we (the coeditors of this collection) speak frankly about the genesis of this study, the historical context of its creation, the place Machado de Assis occupies in each of our lives, and our hopes for our work. For both of us, it is critical that our readers get a sense of the reasoning behind this scholarship: *Machado de Assis, Blackness, and the Americas* is in conversation with our own historical moment as well as with the realities of Black life in the Americas over the course of the last two centuries. Our study was conceived during the time of the COVID epidemic, the murder of George Floyd, the Black Lives Matter movement, and an ugly rise in anti-Black, anti-Asian, anti-gay, antisemitic, and anti-democracy sentiment in the United States. His texts can teach us a great deal about these fraught issues. But we also know that, in the long run, Machado's reception here in the United States, in the rest of the Americas, and in the world will depend, more than anything else, on his brilliance as a visionary writer, even as this brilliance is perceived through the lenses of translation and social consciousness.

Notes

1. Prior to the public embrace of miscegenation, Brazil, like other countries in South America, implemented a policy of *branqueamento* (whitening), which saw concerted efforts to increase the population with an influx of white European immigrants; see Skidmore (1990) and Andrews 117–51.

2. The recent fights against the instruction of critical race theory and the Advanced Placement courses in African American Studies in Florida, as well as the elimination of offices of Diversity, Equity, and Inclusion in public universities in Florida, North Carolina, South Dakota, Texas, and Tennesee, as of July 2023, are but the most recent manifestations of white supremacist resistance against the work of ethnic studies. For a stunning critique of the US penchant to distance itself from the "spectral weight of plantation sexual violence and miscegenation" (1), see Isfahani-Hammond. Interestingly enough, it was the affirmative action policies of the United States that inspired similar policies in Brazil, leading to greatly increased access to higher education by Afro-Brazilians; for more, see Johnson and Heringer.

3. For more on the complexities of interracial marriage in Brazil, see Telles and Esteve.

4. For more on the utilization of the name "Kiskeya" by Haitians and Dominicans both, see Saint Jean; for more on the Spanish exploration of these lands, see Landers and Sued-Badillo.

5. For more recent publications that recontextualize hemispheric American history and the contributions of Indigenous and African peoples, see Reséndez and Proenza-Coles; for more recent narratives emphasizing the contributions of these populations to US history, see Mays, Fischer, and Blackhawk.

6. For critiques of Freyre, see Isfahani-Hammond 35–49 and Afolabi (2021) 17–35.

7. Assis Duarte 16.

8. Within an African American context, it is the awareness of the necessity of this dissemblance that lies that at the heart of W. E. B. Du Bois's notion of double consciousness, as explained in his critical text, *The Souls of Black Folk* (1903). Houston A. Baker identifies the mask as a "space of habitation [. . .] for that deep-seated denial of the indisputable humanity of inhabitants of and descendants from the continent of Africa. And it is, first and foremost, the mastery of the minstrel mask by blacks that constitute a primary move in Afro-American discursive modernism" (17).

9. Schomburg 232.

10. Karasch xxi.

11. Castilho 89. In his accompanying note, Castilho writes: "For Rio, the estimate was 78,855 in 1849, and the ten US cities together were estimated at 76,944." He then cites Frank 47 and Goldin 52–53.

12. Lopes 98.

13. Chazkel 111.

14. Sidney Chalhoub notes: "Historians' traditional focus on ways of obtaining freedom in nineteenth-century Brazil must be balanced by further attention to the experience of freedom for this ever-growing contingent of ex-slaves and their descendants. In addition to the widespread practice of illegal enslavement, there existed several legally sanctioned situations—such as conditional manumissions and revocation of freedoms—that often made the boundaries between slavery and freedom uncertain" (409).

15. Chalhoub 116.

16. de la Fuente and Gross 5.

17. Alberto 85.

18. Aidoo and Silva 3.

19. *Machado de Assis Afrodescendente* has been republished twice more since 2007, with its most recent edition published in 2020.

Works Cited

Afolabi, Niyi. *Identities in Flux: Race, Migration, and Citizenship in Brazil*. SUNY Press, 2021.

Aidoo, Lamonte, and Daniel F. Silva, eds. *Emerging Dialogues on Machado de Assis*. Springer, 2016.

———. "Introduction." *Lima Barreto: New Critical Perspectives*. Lexington, 2014, 1–8.

Alberto, Paulina L. *Terms of Inclusion: Black Intellectuals in Twentieth-Century Brazil*. University of North Carolina Press, 2011.

Andrews, George Reid. *Afro-Latin America, 1800–2000*. Oxford University Press, 2004.

Baker, Calvin. "'No Novel About Any Black Woman Could Ever Be the Same After This.'" *The Atlantic*, Sept. 2020, 90–98.

Baker, Houston A. *Modernism and the Harlem Renaissance*. University of Chicago Press, 1987.

Bernardo, Gustavo, Joachim Michael, and Markus Schäffauer, eds. *Machado de Assis e a escravidão / Machado de Assis und die sklaverei*. Annablume, 2010.

Blackhawk, Ned. *The Rediscovery of America: Native Peoples and the Unmaking of U.S. History*. Yale University Press, 2023.

Burns, E. Bradford. *A History of Brazil*. 2nd ed., Columbia University Press, 1980.

Castilho, Celso Thomas. "The Press and Brazilian Narratives of Uncle Tom's Cabin: Slavery and the Public Sphere in Rio de Janeiro, ca. 1855." *The Americas*, vol. 76, no. 1, 2019, 77–106.

Chalhoub, Sidney. "The Precariousness of Freedom in a Slave Society (Brazil in the Nineteenth Century." *International Review of Social History*, vol. 56, no. 3, 2011, 405–39.

———. *Machado de Assis, Historiador*. Companhia das Letras, 2003.

Chazkel, Amy. "Toward a History of Rights in the City at Night: Making and Breaking the Nightly Curfew in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro." *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, vol. 62, no. 1, 2020, 106–34.

Cuti. *Literatura Negro-Brasileira*. Selo Negro, 2010.

Daniel, G. Reginald. *Machado de Assis: Multiracial Identity and the Brazilian Novelist*. Penn State University Press, 2012.

de la Fuente, Alejandro, and Ariela J. Gross. *Becoming Free, Becoming Black: Race, Freedom, and Law in Cuba, Virginia, and Louisiana*. Cambridge University Press, 2020.

Duarte, Eduardo de Assis. "Memórias póstumas da Escravidão." *Machado de Assis e a escravidão / Machado de Assis und die sklaverei*, Gustavo Bernardo, Joachim Michael, and Markus Schäffauer, eds. Annablume, 2010, 11–26.

———. *Machado de Assis Afrodescendente*. 2007. 3rd ed, Malê, 2020.

———. "Machado de Assis's African Descent." Translated by Thomas Stovicek. *Lusophone African and Afro-Brazilian Literatures*, special issue of *Research in African Literatures*, vol. 38, no. 1, 2007, 134–51.

Duarte, Eduardo de Assis, and Maria Nazareth Soares. *Literatura e afrodescendência no Brasil: antologia crítica*. 4 vols. Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2011.

Du Bois, W. E. B. *The Souls of Black Folk*. 1903. *The Norton Anthology of African American Literature*, Henry Louis Gates Jr. and Nellie Y. McKay, eds. Norton, 1997, 613–740.

Fischer, David Hackett. *African Founders: How Enslaved People Expanded American Ideals*. Simon and Schuster, 2022.

Frank, Zephyr. *Dutra's World: Wealth and Family in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro*. University of New Mexico Press, 2004.

Freyre, Gilberto. *The Masters and the Slaves: A Study in the Development of Brazilian Civilization*. 2nd English-language ed., translated by Samuel Putnam, Alfred A. Knopf, 1971.

Goldin, Claudia. *Urban Slavery in the American South, 1820–1860: A Quantitative History*. University of Chicago Press, 1976.

Herring, Hubert. *A History of Latin America: From the Beginnings to the Present*. 2nd ed., rev., Alfred A. Knopf, 1961.

Howe, Irving. "Black Boys and Native Sons." *Dissent*, autumn 1963, 353–68.

Isfahani-Hammond, Alexandra. "Introduction: Who Were the Masters in the Americas?" *The Masters and the Slaves: Plantation Relations and Mestizaje in American Imaginaries*. Edited by Alexandra Isfahani-Hammond, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 1–17.

———. "Writing Brazilian Culture." *The Masters and the Slaves: Plantation Relations and Mestizaje in American Imaginaries*. Edited by Alexandra Isfahani-Hammond, Palgrave Macmillan, 2005, 35–49.

Johnson, Ollie, III, and Rosana Heringer, eds. *Race, Politics, and Education in Brazil: Affirmative Action in Higher Education*. Palgrave Macmillan, 2015.

Karasch, Mary C. *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850*. Princeton University Press, 1987.

Landers, Jane. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. University of Illinois Press, 1999.

Lopes, Nei. *Dicionário Literário Afro-Brasileiro.* Pallas, 2007.

Machado de Assis, Joaquim Maria. *Esau and Jacob*. Translated and with an introduction by Helen Caldwell, University of California Press, 1966.

Mays, Kyle T. *An Afro-Indigenous History of the United States*. Beacon, 2021.

Nascimento, Gizêlda Melo de. "Machado: três momentos negros." *Terra Roxa e Outras Terras*, vol. 2, 2002.

Proenza-Coles, Christina. *American Founders: How People of African Descent Established Freedom in the New World*. NewSouth, 2019.

Reséndez, Andrés. *The Other Slavery: The Uncovered Story of Indian Enslavement in America*. Mariner, 2016.

Ribeiro, Darcy. *The Brazilian People: The Formation and Meaning of Brazil*. Translated by Gregory Rabassa, University Press of Florida, 2000.

Saint Jean, Albert. "Kiskeya Is a Term That Belongs to Both Dominicans and Haitians." *Remezcla*, 14 March 2018, https://remezcla.com/features/culture/kiskeya-for-short/.

Schomburg, Arturo A. "The Negro Digs Up His Past." 1925. *The New Negro*. Alain Locke, ed., Atheneum, 1992.

Seed, Patricia. *Ceremonies of Possession in Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492–1640*. Cambridge University Press, 1995.

Skidmore, Thomas E. "The Essay: Architects of Brazilian National Identity." *Cambridge History of Latin American Literature*. Vol. 3, Roberto González Echevarría, ed., Cambridge University Press, 1996, 345–62.

———. "Racial Ideas and Social Policy in Brazil, 1870–1940." *The Idea of Race in Latin America, 1870–1940.* Richard Graham, ed., 1990. University of Texas Press, 2006, 7–36.

Sued-Badillo, Jalil, ed. *General History of the Caribbean*. Vol. 1, Autochthonous Societies, UNESCO Publishing / Macmillan, 2003.

Telles, Edward, and Albert Esteve. "Racial Intermarriage in the Americas." *Sociological Science*, vol. 6, 2019, 293–320.