

I Vanishing Primitives: An Introduction

1. The prologue to Leopold Senghor's *Anthologie de la Nouvelle Poésie Nègre et Malgache de Langue Française*, 1948.
2. *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967) was originally published as *Peau Noire, Masques Blancs* in 1952.
3. In addition to the Estatuto de Igualdade Racial (PL 3.198/200), the Lei de Cotas (PL 73/1999) reserves spaces in federal institutions of higher learning for blacks, indigenous and students from public schools.
4. Sérgio Costa, "A Construção Sociológica da Raça no Brasil," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, 24 (1) (2002): 45.
5. Civil Rights discourse has also been invoked by antiaffirmative action activists. Elio Gaspari quotes the authors of the manifesto against the Lei de Cotas and the Estatuto de Igualdade Racial, who takes Martin Luther King, Jr.'s, original statement that he drempt of living in a country where children would be judged by their character and not the color of their skin out of context (1963): "Our dream is that of Martin Luther King, who struggled to live in a nation where people are not judged by the color of their skin but by the content of their character." Elio Gaspari, *Observatório Latino Americano de Políticas Educacionais*, 16 Jul. 2006 (<http://www./pp-uerj.net/olped>).
6. Richard Fausett and Jeremy Jarvie, "Obama, Clinton Bring Their Stories to Selma," *Los Angeles Times*, 5 Mar. 2007.
7. Samuel Putnam translated this work into English as *The Masters and the Slaves* in 1946.
8. Sorkin states that "One thing the movie suggests is that the only way for us to overcome on this debilitating thing is simply—forgive the crudeness of language—for everybody to fuck everybody else... Warren spent many, many hours trying to convince me that that's what was actually happening, even showing me census data about it" (63).
9. Leopold Senghor, "Ce que l'homme noir apporte," Claude Nordey, *L'Homme de Couleur* (1939), quoted in Fanon, *Black Skin, White Masks* (1967, 123).
10. According to Armand de Quatrefages, whose work nineteenth-century Brazilian intellectuals followed closely, European man was inclined to seek

out the inferior races, “carrying them from one country to another” and mingling with them such that they “would be largely renovated with an infusion of white blood.” A. Quatrefages, “The Formation of the Mixed Human Races” (quoted in Azevedo, *Abolitionism*, 1995, 106).

11. Bourdieu and Wacquant accuse Michael Hanchard’s study of Brazil’s *movimento negro* of failing to deconstruct Freyrean Racial Democracy according to its own logic, replacing this national myth with the equally mythic idea that all societies are as “racist” as the United States (44). In “Política Transnacional Negra, Antiimperialismo e Etnocentrismo Para Pierre Bourdieu e Loïc Wacquant: Exemplos de Interpretação Equivocada” [*Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, 24 (1) 2002: 63–96], Hanchard counters Bourdieu and Wacquant with the argument that “black Brazilian ideas about identity and diaspora” are already in conflict with the “Freyrean and neo-Freyrean imaginary, as with the colonial and neocolonial imaginary of Lusotropicalism” (EAA, 81).
12. In an interview with Gilberto Gil aptly entitled “E Gil Falou (O que o Outro Gilberto Já Havia Falado Há Muito Tempo)” [And Gil Spoke (What the Other Gilberto Already Said a Long Time Ago)] Gil corroborates his long-time friend and colleague, Caetano Veloso, while reiterating Freyrean common sense, with his observation that “E a possibilidade de que se diminuem as diferenças no Brasil se dá pelo convívio que as diferenças tem hoje” [And the possibility that differences diminish in Brazil is due to the conviviality that differences have today].
13. In Romero’s preface to Nina Rodrigues’ *Africanos no Brasil*, written between 1890 and 1905 and published posthumously in 1932.
14. Freyre’s work instigated a series of Unesco studies in the early 1950s, but whereas Unesco’s researchers expected to encounter a paradigm for the resolution of racial conflict in the aftermath of the Nazi genocide, they found instead that race remained hotly contested in Brazil and that racial inequality had hardly been overcome. See Marcos Chor Maio, “Tempo Controverso: Gilberto Freyre e o Projeto Unesco,” *Tempo Social*, 11 (1) (1999): 111–36; “O Projeto Unesco e a Agenda das Ciências Sociais dos anos 40 e 50,” *Revista Brasileira de Ciências Sociais*, 14 (41) (1999): 141–58 and Thomas Skidmore, “Raízes de Gilberto Freyre,” *Gilberto Freyre em Quatro Tempos*, 2003, 62.

2 Poetry and the Plantation:

Jorge de Lima’s White Authorship in a Caribbean Perspective

1. Lima’s early work, published in the 1910s and 1920s, is influenced by Parnassianism and symbolism. His Modernist phase, commencing with the publication of *Poemas*, in 1927, is divided into two principal genres: his northeastern regionalist poetry, centering on plantation themes, and his religious poetry, published following his conversion to Catholicism, in 1935. Lima is also the author of numerous novels, essays, and collections of children’s poetry. See Antonio Candido, *Presença da Literatura Brasileira*, and Carlos Povina Cavalcanti, *Vida e Obra de Jorge de Lima*.
2. Luis Carbonell, “Las Voces del Siglo: Estampas Luis Carbonell, el Acuarelista de la Poesía Antillana” (2006).

3. For a discussion of authorial race in Francophone *Negritude*, see Belinda Jack, *Negritude and Literary Criticism* (1996), especially chapter 2. See also Vera Kutzinski's study of Hispanophone Caribbean *poesía negra* and *poesía mulata* in *Sugar's Secrets: Race and Eroticism in Cuban Poetics* (1993).
4. While the rest of the poems I discuss belong to Lima's *Poemas Negros* (1947), "Essa Negra Fulô" is collected with *Novos Poemas* (1929) and was first published in 1928.
5. See Hilda Llorens, "Fugitive Blackness," 2005.
6. Julio Marzan, "The Poetry and Anitpoetry of Luis Palés Matos: From Canciones to Tuntunes." *Callaloo*, 18 (2) (Spring 1995): 506–523.
7. This is a translation from the original Portuguese version of Perreira's text, since the English version, also published in 18 (4) of *Callaloo*, does not contain the entire quotation.
8. Guillén also spent time in São Paulo with José Correia Leite, a founding member of the Frente Negra Brasileira, the first black political party, formed in São Paulo in 1931. See Hanchard, "Política Transnacional Negra" (2002): 79.
9. This poem was originally published in the *Saturday Review of Literature*, 29 Jan. 1927, 547.
10. In Orde Combs, *Is Massa Day Dead?* (1974).
11. Palmares (1600–95) had over 20,000 inhabitants at its height (15 percent of the Brazilian population at the time).
12. In Brookshaw, *Race and Color in Brazilian Literature* (1986), 19.

3 White Man in the Tropics: Authorship and Atmospheric Blackness in Gilberto Freyre

1. People of European and Indigenous descent or "Europeanized" Indian.
2. While in his preface to the *Poemas Negros*, Freyre centers his critique on United States' black writers, in an article published in the magazine, "Cultura" ("Aspectos da Influência Africana no Brasil") (Oct./Dec. 1976), he derides Leopold Senghor's *Negritude* on similar grounds of inauthentic black authorship. For a discussion of this article, see Brookshaw, *Race and Color in Brazilian Literature*, 1986, 280.
3. The Novo Michaelis Dictionary defines *jenipapo* as (1) a fruit used by Indigenous Brazilians to blacken their faces and (2) the dark spot on the lower back of children, taken as the sign of "mixed blood."
4. The mass of Nosso Senhor do Bonfim is connected to the traditions of Benin, and practiced principally in Salvador da Bahia.
5. In *Vida, Forma e Cor* (1962) Freyre describes Lima's poetic articulations in comparably messianic terms. Not only does he situate Lima as the author of the "democratizing" plot of "Essa Negra Fulô," but claims that his paradigm of northeastern plantation relations proffers a solution for "o futuro...da América... (e) das relações entre os povos" [the future... of America... (and) relations between peoples] (344).
6. For further discussion, see Gomes de Almeida, *A Tradição Regionalista no Romance Brasileiro* (1999).

7. The decline of the northeast dates from the final decades of the seventeenth century, with the emergence of the Antilles as the world's primary sugar producer. That decline is exacerbated by the transference of human and material resources to the Central-West of Brazil in the eighteenth century, first for the exploration of gold and minerals and then, by the late nineteenth century, for coffee production in the Paraíba Valley region. The northeastern recession is cultural as well as economic: while in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the northeast is the epicenter for intellectual and artistic production, by the eighteenth century, it is replaced by the Brazilian Center-South. For a discussion of the trajectory of the northeastern sugar economy and its relation to regionalismo, see Gomes de Almeida, *A Tradição Regionalista no Romance Brasileiro*, 161–263.
8. Freyre defends Lima's *Poemas Negros* according to the same rationale he employs in the "Manifesto Regionalista" [Regionalist Manifesto] (1952), where he claims that "Talvez não haja região no Brasil que exceda o nordeste em riqueza de tradições ilustres e em nitidez de caráter" [There is perhaps no region in Brazil that exceeds the northeast in the richness of illustrious traditions or clarity of character] (52) and that those traditions should be defended against the "novidades estrangeiras" [foreign novelties] that "o Rio ou São Paulo consagram como 'elegante' e como 'moderno'" [Rio or São Paulo consecrate as "elegant" or "modern"] (51).
9. Jorge de Souza Araújo is Professor of Literature at the Universidade Estadual de Feira de Santana. In addition to *Jorge de Lima e o Idioma Poético Afro-Nordestino*, he is the author of *Os Becos do Homem* (1982) and *Perfil do Leitor Colonial* (1999).
10. Felinto is the author of *As Mulheres de Tijucopapo* (1982), *O Lago Encantado de Grongonzo* (1987), *Postcard* (1991), and *Imagens de América* (1994). She was also a staff writer for the literary and cultural supplements of the "Folha de São Paulo" until 2003. In addition to reflecting a mainstream inclination to defend Freyre from foreign criticism, it is interesting to consider the connection between Felinto's investment in Freyre and the fact that she began her career as a neoregionalist writer with strong ties to the northeastern writer, Graciliano Ramos.
11. Upon receiving an honorary doctorate from the University of Las Villas in 1959, this is Che's entreaty to the "proprietors of the University" (and implicitly the Cuban national community itself) (Retamar, 45).

4 Joaquim Nabuco: Abolitionism, Erasure, and the Slave's Narrative

1. In the context of this chapter, it is unfortunately not possible to undertake a full reading of all the photographs, much less the song lyrics, contained in this fascinating pamphlet, many of which feature blacks in chains in various poses set against a seascape.
2. See Dain Borges for a discussion of slavery's memory in Brazil in relation to late nineteenth-century social history ("Intellectuals and the Forgetting of Slavery in Brazil," *Annals of Scholarship*, 1996).

3. Beginning in 2003, the Brazilian government has promoted a campaign to abolish “slave labor,” utilizing images of chained black hands and black hands behind bars, and text referring to the perpetuation of slavocratic labor relations “more than 115 years after the ratification of the Lei Áurea.”
4. William L. Andrews, “The Novelization of Voice in Early African American Narrative,” 23–24.
5. *Ibid.*, 24.
6. An earlier version of this analysis of *O Abolicionismo* appeared in *Hispania*, 85(3) (2002): 466–75.
7. Nabuco served intermittently as deputy of the state of Pernambuco during much of the 1880s (Nogueira, *Joaquim Nabuco*, 1987, 84) and founded the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society in 1880 (Conrad, 151). He also worked as a foreign correspondent and held a number of diplomatic positions, most significantly that of ambassador to the United States in 1905.
8. While a discussion of the correspondence between Nabuco and Machado de Assis is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is interesting to consider the disparate “profiles” of these two figures. Whereas Nabuco, a descendent of the northeastern landowning elite, is heralded for his charitable identification with blacks, Machado’s mixed African/ European ancestry has elicited a heated and ongoing debate about the authenticity of his “black representations.” As demonstrated in chapter 5, Freyre insists upon Machado’s alienation from the interests of his “brothers in captivity” (“Reinterpretando José de Alencar,” 1962, 115). In *The Three Sad Races* (1983), David Haberly cites Joaquim Nabuco’s characterization of Machado as “a classical Greek statesman” (89). In *Race and Color in Brazilian Literature* (1986), David Brookshaw also refers to Nabuco’s characterization of Machado as “Greek rather than . . . mulatto” (57). Ultimately, it is Nabuco’s characterization of Machado—as an “exemplary black”—which typifies interpretations of his character. For further discussion of representations of Machado’s racial identity in the context of the Brazilian canon, see Zila Bernd, *Introdução à Literatura Negra* [Introduction to Black Literature] (1988) and Kabengele Mununga, *Negritude: Usos e Sentidos* [Negritude: Uses and Meanings] (1986).
9. I have only named a few of the scholars who heroize Nabuco. For further examples, see Robert Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery* (1972) and *World of Sorrow* (1986) and Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White* (1974). Though in David Haberly’s “Abolitionism in Brazil: Anti-Slavery and Anti-Slave” (1972), he does not mention *O Abolicionismo*, his discussion of the stereotypes of violent and immoral slaves in abolitionist novels is an exception to the usual reluctance to acknowledge racism in Brazilian abolitionist discourse.
10. For a discussion of Brazilian abolitionists’ anxiety about miscegenation, see Azevedo, *Abolitionism*, 1995, 106. For an analysis of the perceived correlation between miscegenation and the debilitation of white character, see Haberly, “Abolitionism in Brazil: Anti-Slavery and Anti-Slave,” 1972, 32.
11. Though the scarcity of statistics makes it difficult to ascertain Brazil’s racial demography in 1883, Celia Azevedo contends that by 1888 Brazil’s population was comprised of more than 2,500,00 people of African descent by

- comparison with slightly more than 1,000,000 people of European descent (*Abolitionism*, 1995, 63). For further discussion, see Ricardo Salles, *Nostalgia Imperial* [Imperial Nostalgia] (35).
12. Nabuco's anxiety about the effects of miscegenation is further illuminated by his disclaimer, at another moment in *O Abolicionismo*, that if blacks were permitted to engage in sexual relations with whites, it was only "em escala muito pequena" [on a very small scale] (157). He also dismisses "rumors" of white, or partially white, enslavement, contending that even if such occurrences were verified, "não tiram à escravidão brasileira o caráter de puramente africana. Os escravos são os próprios africanos importados, ou os seus descendentes" [they do not negate the purely African character of Brazilian slavery. The slaves are the Africans themselves or their descendants] (108). At yet another moment, Nabuco laments that in Brazil, unlike the United States south, the "privilege" of slave ownership was extended "indiscriminately" to both whites and blacks (158).
 13. This figure of speech was common in abolitionist imaginings of Brazil as a single master/ slave body from which the free worker must be extracted, as in the following description which appeared in "Cidade do Rio," 57 (25 Nov. 1887): "The servant issue has reached this point: to save everything, or to lose everything. To save everything means to colonize the freedman, that is, to gradually extract the free worker from the enslaved one by means of discipline and wages; to lose everything means to let the slave learn the path to freedom by means of the irresistible effects of propoganda" (Azevedo, *Abolitionism*, 1995, 15).
 14. Nabuco's regretful account of Brazilians' debilitating Africanization by contrast with whites in the northern United States reinterprets a common perception among Brazilian slaveholders that slavery degraded Brazilian whites more than it did U.S. southerners, for whom "The ubiquitous presence of the blacks equalized... whites, drawing them into a common space, which opposed them, as a group, to the subordinated race" (Bosi, *Dialética*, 1992, 211).
 15. See Bosi, *Dialética*, 1992, 197, 237.
 16. While Celia Azevedo, observes that Brazilian abolitionists perceived heterogeneous classes of masters and slaves as wielding an imbalanced society (*Abolitionism*, 1995, 9), she concludes that abolitionism sought to eliminate the differences between masters and slaves and create a more egalitarian polity. She disavows Nabuco's appeal to *enhance* those differences, emphasizing instead his desire to encourage "the continuation of the amalgamation between (the) races without the oppressive relation of master and slave, and the subsequent conflicts between them" (107).
 17. In 1808, the Portuguese Crown relocated to Brazil. In 1815, it elevated Brazil to the status of co-kingdom. Following its return from Rio de Janeiro to Lisbon in 1821, and a brief period during which Brazil was the seat of the Portuguese Empire, it became an Independent Monarchy in 1822 (See Eul-Soo Pang, *In Pursuit of Honor and Power*, 1988).
 18. At another moment in *O Abolicionismo*, Nabuco stresses that abolitionists do not invite the slaves to join in the struggle for abolition (71) and claims that such an invitation would be tantamount to inciting them to riot (72). At

the same time, many of Brazil's prominent abolitionists were of African descent, including André Rebouças and José do Patrocínio.

19. Reis' study is theoretically engaged with a body of revisionist historicism which emphasizes slaves' autonomous upheavals in the last decades of slavery and their impact on abolition. This emphasis departs from canonical historiography, which insists that slaves played little or no part in abolition and that it resulted from inevitable societal changes like industrialization (Azevedo, *Abolitionism*, 1995, xxiv).
20. The containment constituted by Nabuco's tract resonates with a further type of obliteration—the periodic state-ordered burning of official documents pertaining to slavery and the slave trade, most notably two years after abolition, in 1890.
21. For a discussion of this unexecuted mandate, see Conrad, 22.
22. Though Celia Azevedo insists upon Brazilian abolitionism's secular rather than Christian tradition (*Abolitionism*, 45–46), there is a sense in which Nabuco's characterization of Pedro II's mandate as an “originary” decree situates him as a quasi divine figure. Indeed, many of Nabuco's references to the emperor are prophetic and reflect positivists' “mystical” characterization of progress as “implemented thanks to the manifestation of certain ‘inevitable laws’” (Nogueira, *Desventuras*, 1984, 21).
23. On 13 May 1888, Brazil became the last country in the Americas to abolish slavery. As in most of Latin America, abolition was quickly followed by the transition to Republican rule (16 Nov. 1889). Brazil is unique in that it shifted from Independent monarchy, rather than colony, to Republic.
24. These comments echo those of the later, “conservative” phase of his *Um Estadista do Império* (1896), a history of the Second Empire emphasizing the role played by his father. As Richard Graham notes, “When he praised a mulatto politician it was because he belonged to the white race ‘pela inteligência, pela consciência moral, pela intuição juridical’” [for his intelligence, moral consciousness and juridical intuition] (77). In contrast, Nabuco writes that Francisco Solano Lopez, dictator of Paraguay, had the moral qualities “de um déspota de nascença, de um semicivilizado em quem o instinto do índio a miúdo fazia explosão” [of a despot by birth, of a semi-civilized being in whom the Indian's instinct often produced an explosion] (446) (“Joaquim Nabuco, Conservative Historian,” 1980, 8).
25. An earlier version of this essay was published in Freyre's *Joaquim Nabuco* (1948).
26. Also like his apology for Lima, Freyre's emphasis upon Nabuco's seigniorial status confers his black inheritance as symbolic rather than genetic. Freyre further establishes his unblemished genealogy on the basis of his descent from the Pais Barretos and Andradas (15, 24). While not a member of the original aristocracy, Francisco Pais Barreto was appointed Marquês of Recife by Pedro I in 1824 (Pang, 77). The Andradas brothers—José Bonifácio, Martim Francisco, and Antônio Carlos—were a political family from Santos, São Paulo to whom Pedro I and Pedro II repeatedly offered titles of nobility (Pang, 55–56).

27. Whereas it justified the interests of the old oligarchical elite under the guise of “reformation” (Salles, 36), it was specifically southeasterners whose authority was sustained by that transition (35).
28. Though São Paulo had been the stronghold of proslavery sentiment (Borges, 45), the *Paulistas* ultimately perceived that the transition to “free labor” was inevitable and that their management of the final step of abolition would leave them in control of the government (Skidmore, 16–17).
29. In addition to Freyre’s, there are two other prefaces to *O Abolicionismo*, one by Graça Aranha, the author of *Canaã* (1902) and a principal participant in the “Semana de Arte Moderna” (*Modern Art Week*, 1922), and another by Gilberto Amado, an important Modernist poet, essayist and novelist. Amado’s preface briefly describes the impact of a speech delivered by Nabuco when Amado was a University student. Whereas a discussion of Aranha’s preface (1928) is beyond the scope of this chapter, it is important to note that it reflects many of the motifs of Freyre’s: he justifies Nabuco on the basis of his experience as a boy-master, describing his absorption of black spirit as “...magia posta no berço da criança pela resignação e doçura dos escravos!” [...magic placed in the child’s crib by the resignation and sweetness of the slaves!] (32). Aranha’s division of Nabuco’s black sentimental “formation” and white intellectual education also reflects Brazilian intellectuals’ “developmental” interpretation of arianism: for Aranha, Nabuco’s abolitionist spirit is a seed planted in his “inconsciente infantil” [infantile unconscious] that took years to bear fruit, until its “magnífica revelação” [magnificent revelation] (32). He also claims that his maturation culminates with his ten year diplomatic sojourn in Europe and the United States, following which he returns to assume his due function as the “inspirador e o maravilhoso intérprete” [inspirer and the marvelous interpreter] (35) of black Brazilians.

5 From the Plantation Manor to the Sociologist’s Study: Democracy, Lusotropicalism, and the Scene of Writing

1. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar (1889–1970) was dictator of the Portuguese Republic from 1932 to 1968, and founder and leader of the Estado Novo, the authoritarian right-wing regime that controlled Portugal from 1933 to 1974. For Salazar, Portugal’s international relevance depended on its colonies. In addition to Brazil, the Portuguese Empire consisted, in Africa, of Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, Angola, Ceuta, Cabinda, Mozambique, and Portuguese Guinea; in India, of Goa, Damão, and Diu; in China, of Macau; and in southeast Asia, of Portuguese Timor. In 1961, the Indian Army forcibly annexed the Indian territories and from the 1960s on, Portugal responded to struggles for independence in Africa, leading to the independence of the African colonies beginning with Guinea in 1961 and ending with Cape Verde, Angola, and Mozambique in 1975.

For Omar Ribeiro Thomaz, *Lusotropicalismo* begins to emerge in Freyre’s thought in the late 1930s. It is anticipated in his lamentation of

socioeconomic and racial changes in Brazilian society in *Sobrados e Mocambos* (1951–52), and evolves in the course of his travels to Portugal and its colonies in 1951 and 1952. As the result of these voyages, Freyre concludes that, in Africa, there are many “little Brazils” in gestation. He identifies the same qualities—most importantly, the cordiality of white/black relations—which prove the constancy of Portuguese character. Freyre’s remarks about colonial relations in Africa gave confidence to Salazar and his supporters, who proceeded to request four hundred more years to give completion to their project, which they termed the construction of “new Brazils.” Thomaz describes the propaganda that was inspired by Freyre’s observations: “From the 1950s on, official Portuguese publications began to print photographs showing whites and blacks fraternizing in schools, restaurants and hospitals. The exoticism of the African costumes was transformed into a regional folklore that would only further aggrandize Portuguese society. They were, after all, authentic Portuguese. Freyre’s lusotropicalism attempted, ultimately, to overcome dilemmas and contradictions that accompanied the formation of the great colonial empires.” (http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fol/brasil500/zumbi_34.htm).

2. An earlier version of this analysis of “Como e Porque Escrevi *Casa-Grande e Senzala*” and “Reinterpretando José de Alencar” appears in Isfahani-Hammond, *The Masters and the Slaves*, 2005, 35–49.
3. Pallares-Burke suggests that Freyre’s sympathy with the KKK derives also from its resistance to the “Jewish cosmopolitanism” Freyre despised (316). In his notebook in 1921, he writes that “tradições literárias e consciência nacional” [literary traditions and national conscience] were running the risk of disappearing and that the KKK responded to this threat, now attributed to Jewish cosmopolitanism, the “enemy of good literature, of healthy art” (317).
4. As Pallares-Burke demonstrates, Freyre extrapolated this theory from Alfred Zimmern, who argued that, unlike modern slavery, which functioned solely through coercion, in the Greek system slaves were able to accumulate wealth and buy their freedom, rights that served as a counterbalance to conflict and exploitation (*The Greek Commonwealth*, 1914). Though Zimmern theorized master/slave equilibrium in ancient Greece in contradistinction to plantation slavery in the Americas, Freyre took Zimmern out of context, applying his theories about the Greek system to Brazil (Pallares-Burke, 358).
5. As Pallares-Burke notes, the intensity of Freyre’s experience in Oxford is partly related to his sexual awakening. He is struck by the openness of homosexual relationships and writes in detail about the attractive men he observes (120–126). In “Identity, Race, Gender and Modernity in the Origins of Gilberto Freyre’s *Oeuvre*” (1995), Jeffrey Needell comments that “identifying with seigniorial heterosexuality toward women of color . . . allowed him to resolve ambiguities in his own sexual orientation.” Later in his career, Freyre identifies quintessentially English qualities in Brazil. In the preface to the second edition of *Inglêses no Brasil* (1977), first published in 1948, Freyre writes that the equilibrium of antagonisms is an originally British trait that is taken to new heights in Brazil (424). In *Ordem e Progresso* (1959), he compares the Brazilian monarchy to its British counterpart, likening Dom Pedro II to “uma Rainha Vitória

- de barbas brancas e de calças pretas” [a queen Victoria with a white beard and black pants] a phrase he had used previously in 1922 (Pallares-Burke, 427).
6. Bilden’s ideas were published in “Brazil, Laboratory of Civilization,” *The Nation*, New York, 128 (3315) (1929): 71–74.
 7. See *Sobrados e Mucambos*, especially 132, 168, and 368. For a discussion of the “unfortunate” ramifications of the bourgeois family structure that emerged as the result of abolition and industrialization, see 130–33 and 156.
 8. Without naming it as such, Pallares-Burke refers to an element of Boas’ thought that must have informed Freyre’s erasure of his servant/informant. Reacting to prohibitions against “intermarriage” in the United States, Boas advocated interracial unions as the single means to overcoming racism. For Boas, racial discrimination would end only when blackness was diluted to the point that it was no longer recognizable, just as anti-Semitism would only disappear with the disappearance of the last vestige of Jewishness (*The Problem of the American Negro*, 1921, 325). Freyre’s conceptualization of black “reality” that is disjoined from black sociohistoricity and incorporated by whites perverts Boas’ call for distinguishing hereditary from non-hereditary traits (*Anthropology and Modern Life*, 1929, 342), rereading his advocacy for blurring the lines between black and white as a call for the disappearance of (physically) recognizable blackness.
 9. Freyre describes the hardship he experiences while writing *Casa-Grande e Senzala* at a number of other points in this essay: he repeats that he suffers from hunger (134), refers to his low salary (131, 132, 134) and to being harassed by the police (134). Freyre also emphasizes his impoverishment in exile in Africa and Europe following the Revolution of 1930 and immediately preceding his return to Brazil to write *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (131). In addition to underscoring his assimilation of elite and subjugated perspectives, Freyre calls attention to his discomfort during this period to obscure his affiliation with the Pernambucan oligarchy that prompted his exile. Freyre further relates that his family’s house was sacked and burned in the Revolution of 1930 (130).
 10. *Pastoris* and *bumbas-meu-boi* are popular northeastern folkloric dramatizations performed out-of-doors.
 11. Freyre’s claim that his text incorporates female and “effeminate” perspectives resonates with his description of Portuguese bisexuality in *Casa-Grande e Senzala*. In addition to racial indeterminacy, he identifies this trait as further grounds for the “flexibility” of the Portuguese and, by extension, for their capacity for cultural assimilation (5–6). Feminizing the Portuguese as penetrated and well as penetrating, Freyre obscures the sexual exploitation of colonized and enslaved peoples. By feminizing his authorial perspective, he effaces his signiorial point of view. Still, as in his depiction of Portuguese bisexuality, Freyre insists that his text’s inclusion of feminine and effeminate points of view does not undermine its essential masculinity. He claims that, whereas his writing is tempered by forays into “feminine literature” that could be called “pequenos amores dos chamados

contra a natureza” [small love affairs of the so-called unnatural variety] (141–42), his perspective is like that of other “bisexual writers” (George Santayana, Bertrand Russell, Gilberto Amado), none of whom “perdeu o sexo literário masculino de ensaísta-pensador, ao adotar excepcional, mas sempre potentemente, formas convencionalmente consideradas femininas de arte ou de expressão literária” [lost their masculine literary sex as essayist-thinkers upon adopting exceptional, but always potent, forms of artistic or literary expression which are conventionally considered feminine] (142).

12. José Martiniano de Alencar (1829–77) was born into a wealthy and politically influential family from the northeastern state of Ceará. His father was a prominent politician who played a key role in bringing Emperor Dom Pedro II to the throne in 1840. In addition to his status as Brazil’s foremost romanticist writer, Alencar also had an active role both in politics and in the court life of Dom Pedro II.
13. Though Freyre does not discuss Alencar in “Como e Porque...,” its title is an adaptation of Alencar’s autobiography, *Como e Porque Sou Romancista* [How and Why I am a Novelist] (1893).
14. In addition to Lima Barreto and Machado, Freyre claims that Aluísio Azevedo attempts to “discolor” himself through writing (125). Barreto and Azevedo are nineteenth-century novelists of African/European ancestry who, like Machado, satirize the ideological idiosyncrasies of the Brazilian elite. Barreto’s best known work is *O Triste Fim de Policarpo Quaresma* (1911). Azevedo’s most important works are *O Cortiço* (1890) and *O Mulato* (1881).
15. Benzaquem refers to p. 218 of the 1933 edition of *Casa-Grande e Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro: Maia & Shmidt).
16. In the late nineteenth century, Brazilian literary critics began to identify thematic and stylistic characteristics that differentiated Brazilian literature from its European counterparts. These characteristics were first articulated in Silvio Romero’s *História da Literatura Brasileira* (1888). For Romero, attention to the tropical landscape was a principal standard for the production of authentic national literature. In addition to the tropical landscape, Romero identifies the representation of “the diverse races and their process of miscegenation” as a distinguishing characteristic of authentic national literary production” (See Bosí, *História Concisa da Literatura Brasileira*, 1994, 249). Despite the resonance of Freyre’s discussion with Romero’s insistence upon the centrality of nature, Romero insisted that romanticism and Indianism were outmoded literary genres. For a discussion of Romero’s influence on Freyre, see Ventura, 60–68. For more on his analysis of Machado, see Ventura, 96 and 98–100.
17. In “Reinterpretando José de Alencar,” Freyre insists that Alencar’s concentration on the landscape does not connote a lack of belonging in, or avoidance of, the *casa-grande*, for it is precisely his legitimate claim to this site that confers his ability to represent the external atmosphere and, by extension, to assimilate subaltern identity (123).

18. This exclusion resonates with Silvio Romero's claim that the proof of Machado's literary failure is that he had no disciples: "The most obvious proof of the negativity of his *oeuvre* is that it had no followers, it did not nor could it have disciples; since he did not invent anything nor reproduce a single idea" (Ventura, 98). Machado's inability to wield an impact on future writers reflects theorizations of *mestiço* sterility applied to literary productivity. Romero identifies Machado not only as part of a dying "breed" but situates his mixed-race descent as disabling him from articulating ideas that would be remembered in the future. Though Romero argues that the representation of "the races and their process of miscegenation" is key to authentically Brazilian literature, he insists that Machado, due to his mixed-race descent, is unable to depict them (*Machado de Assis. Estudo Comparativo de Literatura Brasileira*, 1897).
19. "Um Viajante Tropicalista pelas Terras d'Além Mar" [A Tropicalist Voyager Overseas], *Folha Online*, http://www1.folha.uol.com.br/fol/brasil500/zumbi_34.htm.

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