

*VEJA* AND BRAZILIAN RACE RELATIONS

THE *GAZETA DA TARDE* AND THE CASE OF TIRA-COURO

By

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## VEJA AND BRAZILIAN RACE RELATIONS

### **Introduction**

*Veja* magazine has been rather paradoxically called the “indispensable eye of Brazil”.<sup>1</sup> While it has remained a powerful example of popular literary culture in Brazil, the degree to which the magazine can be seen as representative of the changing social climate is questionable. This paper will examine the ways in which the content of *Veja*, advertisements are reflective of the tumultuous period between the 1970s and the 1990s. *Veja*, during this period, became the self-proclaimed mouthpiece for middle class Brazilians. Assuming this to be true, this paper will use *Veja* to examine changing middle class perceptions of race. Representations of Afro-Brazilians in the advertisements found in *Veja* reveal a nation stalled in a grueling process of re-evaluation and change. Examining race relations in advertising during these critical decades of economic chaos, social confusion indicate the ways in which Brazilians, particularly the middle class, are attempting to assert a new identity. Ironically their new identity, and the contradictions it evokes, demonstrates that past notions of race and class continue to inform how Brazilians see themselves even in the late twentieth century.

### **Origins of *Veja***

In the midst of the military dictatorship, the first edition of *Veja* weekly magazine was published September 11, 1968 by Editora Abril. Victor Civita was the founder of both the magazine and the publishing company (1907-1990). Civita’s son,

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<sup>1</sup> Nilton Hernandes, *A revista Veja e o discurso do emprego na globalização*, 197.

Roberto Civita, served as both the President of Editora Abril and the Editor of *Veja*.

According to Civita, the mission statement of the magazine is:

“To be the best and most respected magazine in Brazil. To be the leading Brazilian publication in every sense. Not only in terms of circulation, publicity, subscribers, quality and journalistic competence but also in its resolve to fix, reformulate, rethink and reform Brazil... We exist so our readers can better understand the world in which we live”.<sup>2</sup>

In complementary fashion, the mission statement of Editora Abril, “pledges to contribute to the diffusion of information, culture and entertainment for the progress of education, the improvement of the quality of life, development of free will and the strengthening of the democratic institutions of Brazil”.<sup>3</sup>

From 1968 until 1975, the name of the magazine was *Veja e leia*. After a brief stop in publication and re-structuring in 1975, the magazine was re-named simply *Veja*.

The mythology surrounding the naming of the magazine began with founder Victor Civita, who liked the popular Brazilian phrase, “Veja só...” and used it quite frequently.<sup>4</sup>

As a result, he felt that this would be a catchy name for the magazine. Additionally, it was envisioned as the Brazilian counter-part to *Time* or *Look* magazine in the United States. As such, using the Portuguese translation for *Look* (*Veja*) seemed appropriate. However, international copyright conflicts with *Look* magazine required the use of “e leia” up until *Look* magazine stopped being printed in 1975. The magazine grew into a household name and eventually became one of the most popular in the world.<sup>5</sup>

The first edition of *Veja* in 1968 sold 695,000 copies and was distributed throughout the entire country. Just months after the magazine began the military

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<sup>2</sup> Loraine Santos, “Email from *Veja* Staff”, 01/31/08.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid.

<sup>4</sup> Loraine Santos, “Email from *Veja* Staff”, 01/31/08.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid; The translation in English would be “Look here.”

government declared Acto Institucional No. 5 which subjected the publication, and all other publications, to government censorship. Shortly after, circulation fell to 500,000. The years between 1968 and 1972 were the most difficult, both economically and editorially, and circulation steadily declined. At the lowest point, *Veja* was only selling 40,000 copies.<sup>6</sup> As government restrictions eased, sales increased during the late 1970's and early 1980's. In the 1990's, circulation hit a record high of over a million copies. Currently, *Veja*'s circulation is over 1,200,000 and is listed as the fourth most-widely read weekly magazine in the world, preceded only by *Time*, *Newsweek*, and *U.S. News & World Report*. *Veja Rio* and *Veja São Paulo* began in the 1990's as localized, spin-off publications with great success in both regions.<sup>7</sup>

Public response to the magazine became increasingly favorable. In recent years, the magazine has received 8,000 correspondences each month from readers in various forms. Out of the total number of contacts, 7,400 were emails, 400 letters and 200 faxes. Additionally, a website for the magazine was started in 1997 and registers thousands of hits per day.<sup>8</sup> The success of *Veja* can be explained in several ways. It has the distinction of being the very first weekly magazine published in Brazil, which allowed for a wider range of coverage.<sup>9</sup> The structure of the magazine offered a balance between hard-line journalism, human-interest stories and enticing advertising. The diversity seen in *Veja* attracted a broader audience base, despite the fact that it was specifically intended for the

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<sup>6</sup> Ibid.

<sup>7</sup> *Veja* Online. "Leitores", (<http://www.veja.com.br>).

<sup>8</sup> Loraine Santos, "Email from *Veja* Staff", 01/31/08.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.

middle class “intelligentsia”.<sup>10</sup> Magazines published by Editora Abril prior to *Veja* were not able to achieve its level of popular appeal.

*Claudia*, launched in 1961, was a monthly targeted at a mainly female audience. It was a magazine focused on issues relating to the home, family and personal relationships. The gender-specific audience for *Claudia* and the limited range of topics it could address made the magazine seem too “soft” for many readers. While still in publication, it has enjoyed a steady but unexceptional level of success over the years.<sup>11</sup>

Where *Claudia* was too soft, *Realidade* was too hard. *Realidade* was a monthly news magazine started in 1960. The solidly news-oriented magazine was not popular with readers and was eventually discontinued in 1978. The strictly intellectual demographic that it was geared towards was not large enough to produce dramatic sales. Additionally, government censorship during the late 1960s was harder on well-established magazines like *Realidade*.<sup>12</sup> It was especially unpopular with government censors due to its interest in objective, investigative journalism during an era of political repression. Financially, the all-news format of *Realidade* left little room for fillers like advertising, which meant that the publication became less profitable over time.

*Veja*, as a brand new publication, was better able to adapt and re-invent itself to contend with the censors and please the public. The mixture of news items and editorials made substitution easier when the government banned items. After Brazil’s return to democracy, *Veja*’s contract with the U.S.-based, J. Walter Thompson advertising firm, a powerhouse in Brazilian publishing since the 1920s, ushered in a flood of glossy ads

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<sup>10</sup> Daniella Villalta, “O surgimento da revista *Veja* no contexto da modernização brasileira”, 13.

<sup>11</sup> *Ibid*, 3.

<sup>12</sup> *Ibid*.

featuring luxury products aimed at upwardly mobile readers<sup>13</sup>. The financial backing of the Thompson firm and the influence of U.S. style publications on *Veja* made it tremendously successful among the outward-looking middle and upper class elites. Despite its largely elite following, *Veja* achieved top sales due to the broad public appeal, which was the result of its glamorously foreign ads and its treatment of diverse topics.

Recent data suggests that the link between *Veja* and the middle class in Brazil can be demonstrated quantitatively. According to a recent study conducted by the magazine, 39% of their readers, the most of any category, are of the middle class and 53% are women. The majority of readers are in their twenties, possess a college degree and, by a slight margin (49%), they are single. A striking 56% of their total readership resides in the major urban centers of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro alone, with 58% from the Southeastern region in general.<sup>14</sup> Data on the race of *Veja* readership has not been made available.

Based on circulation data, it becomes clear that *Veja* magazine has the middle class as the majority of its readership. It is also interesting to note that urban areas harbor the largest percentage of subscribers. São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro are large centers of middle class culture, which again reinforces the class connection. High levels of educational achievement also indicate a strong middle class following. Aside from a statistical connection, many scholars have reflected on the correlation between middle class values and *Veja* magazine.

Brazilian journalist Élio Gaspari stated,

“...the publication was constantly perfecting itself, gaining

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<sup>13</sup> James Woodard, “Marketing Modernity: The J. Walter Thompson Company and North American Advertising in Brazil, 1929-1939.” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 82:2 (2002): 258.

<sup>14</sup> Loraine Santos, “Email from *Veja* Staff”, 01/31/08.

momentum and guaranteeing a permanent space on the newsstands as well as in the minds of the Brazilian middle class, which chose it as the herald of the intelligentsia of the country. It offered the possibility to acquire each week a piece of modernity...and a new perspective of observing and interpreting the facts, as yet a novelty in Brazilian journalism”.<sup>15</sup>

Bernardo Kucinski, noted Brazilian political scientist and former journalist, considers the magazine an intimate part of middle class life. He asserted that,

“*Veja*, in reality, forms part of the reading habits of the Brazilian middle class. The illustrated weekly magazines fulfill in Brazil an important need...especially among the middle classes who don’t buy a daily paper. In contrast to newspapers, magazines form...in their readers...a strong tie of loyalty. In their functioning and the determination of their future production they act as factories of an ideology attributed to the middle classes, including in the reinforcement of their prejudices...”<sup>16</sup>

Examples of middle class prejudices within the pages of *Veja* are numerous; however, this paper will only focus on prejudicial representations of Afro-Brazilians in advertising. As the middle class contended with social and economic changes, it began searching for a new identity. *Veja* offered its readers a pleasant and comfortable vision of middle class life, often in contrast to the disorder of contemporary Brazil. Dissecting this idealistic world becomes rather complex as the question of race is interjected. Was *Veja* fabricating a foreign-inspired, racist paradise or reflecting a historically accurate perception of the Brazilian reality? It is to these middle class prejudices that this paper will now turn.

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<sup>15</sup> Alberto Dines, *100 anos que fizeram história*, 92.

<sup>16</sup> Bernardo Kucinski. “Síndrome da Antena Parabólica”. *A ética no jornalismo brasileiro*, 23.



## Race and the Media in Brazil

In recent years, Brazil has encountered a renewed and intensified struggle to clarify its identity as a nation. In many ways, this struggle has revolved around the question of race. Glaring inequalities among races within Brazil have consistently added a lingering question mark to the end of all assertions of it being a “racial democracy”.<sup>17</sup> The latent and subtle nature of Brazilian racism has made it both a tantalizing challenge and a frustrating anomaly for scholars. One way in which researchers have attempted to penetrate the ‘black curtain’ is through the study of popular media. Media offers a unique window into the consciousness of a nation by utilizing the language of images.<sup>18</sup> It enables an analysis of what is projected out and, to a certain degree, what is being internalized. Through a specific examination of race as it appears in the Brazilian media, one can approximate which racial concepts are acceptable, correct and even pleasing to the general public.

Previous research conducted on the Brazilian media has been fragmented in nature. Many studies are focused on the general, theoretical power of the media within a Brazilian context without a specific theme.<sup>19</sup> Theoretical works that describe the nature of discrimination and racism pervasive in Brazilian life are also numerous.<sup>20</sup> Until very recently, the analysis of the ways in which specific ethnic groups were portrayed in the media was largely ignored. Maria Amelia Bernardes Mamede’s study of the image of Northeasterners and Cecilia McCallum’s study of native Brazilians in *Veja* are part of

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<sup>17</sup> Freyre, Gilberto. XV.

<sup>18</sup> *Imprensa e poder*, 96.

<sup>19</sup> *Imprensa e poder*. 6.

<sup>20</sup> See Carlos Hasenbalg, *Discriminação e Desigualdades Raciais no Brasil*; Edward Telles, *Race in Another America: The Significance of Skin Color in Brazil*; or Thomas Skidmore, *Black into White: Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought*.

this new trend.<sup>21 22</sup> Flavio Carrança also provides a broad overview on images of blacks, black women, native Brazilians and other minority groups in the world of Brazilian journalism.<sup>23</sup> These authors, however, are part of a distinct minority group that looks at the influence of print media.

The majority of new studies related to the media involve imagery seen on Brazilian television.<sup>24</sup> Hasenbalg and Silvia conducted a landmark study that found that the number of times black Brazilians appeared in television commercials was less than 3% in 1983.<sup>25</sup> Similarly, the *Folha de São Paulo* found that blacks only appeared in 17.8% of the television commercials appearing in 1995. Furthermore, blacks played a main character in only 10.3% out of those commercials.<sup>26</sup> Other studies of Afro-Brazilians on television such as Rial and Couceiro de Lima have found similar trends of generalized exclusion. This preference for studying the effects of television can be explained in two ways. Primarily, the popular preference for visual over print media is seen to be indicative of its greater influence. The power of television reaches across both geographic and socio-economic boundaries. I would argue that, *Veja* in particular, as the most popular form of print media in Brazil, also exerts a broad appeal. Furthermore, by studying the imagery contained in *Veja*, one can access the impact of imagery as well as the written word on popular conceptions of race.

The theoretical tie that appears to bind each of these studies of media and representations of minorities, specifically black Brazilians, is that of invisibility. The

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<sup>21</sup> Mamede, 211.

<sup>22</sup> McCallum, 19.

<sup>23</sup> Carranca, 20.

<sup>24</sup> Porto, 281.

<sup>25</sup> Hasenbalg and Silva, 186.

<sup>26</sup> *Folha de São Paulo*, Oct. 14, 1995.

exclusion suffered by Afro-Brazilians in the media is clearly inconsistent with a nation claiming that roughly half of its population is of African descent.<sup>27</sup> Under-representation is damaging in its own right but the images that are seen of Afro-Brazilians are consistent with historic stereotypes. These images reinforce the idea that blacks play both an inferior and a limited role in Brazilian society.<sup>28</sup>

This paper is both a continuation and an extrapolation of previous scholarship on representations of race in the Brazilian media. While Rial and Couceiro de Lima focus on representations of minorities in print media, neither examines the specific case of Afro-Brazilians. Both the Hasenbalg and Silva and the *Folha de São Paulo* studies examined representations of blackness however, depictions were limited to television media.

Research examining media projections of prejudice are often broader and more theoretical in nature. In light of the extensive, though fragmentary, scholarship that has been done in this field, this study offers a unique combination of factors. It combines the vast field of media studies with booming research on Afro-Brazilians and provides an original perspective on print journalism in Brazil. As a result, new connections between all three areas are established. These connections become clear as one analyzes the imagery within the contents of *Veja* in light of the magazine's historical context.

### **Advertising, Imagery and Brazil's Evolving Identity**

The changes observed in *Veja* are, in many ways, indicative of the dynamic social changes occurring within Brazil during the period between the 1970s and 1990s. Each decade provides visual proof of middle class Brazilians' gradual re-conceptualization of

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<sup>27</sup> Hasenbalg and Silva, 187.

<sup>28</sup> Couceiro de Lima, 58.

race, as well as a re-definition of broader themes of national identity. These changes are not strictly linear, however. Many racial stereotypes linger up until the turn of the century, often alongside images that appear contradictory. The conflicting, regressing, and yet continually shifting imaginings of Afro-Brazilians in *Veja* offers its audience a clear projection of middle class attempts to reconcile color as an integral part of the newly-defined national identity and the struggle of Afro-Brazilians to achieve accurate representation in the media.

In 1976, as the threat of censorship was lifted from *Veja*, the editorial staff was free to question, for the first time really, what the face of the magazine would be. It is at this point that analysis of the imagery and overall message rendered by the magazine becomes truly germane. Launched in 1968 in the midst of dramatic upheaval in Brazil, *Veja* had continually operated in an atmosphere colored by politics and tempered by personal interest. Throughout the late 1970's, *Veja* appeared to be stumbling toward the consolidation of a distinct public image. Noticeably absent from this public image was the presence of Afro-Brazilians. The occasional depiction of Afro-Brazilians during this period can be characterized as deeply entrenched in stereotype while the general position was one of complete invisibility.

In a 1979, black and white advertisement for the Embratel Telex-tex fax machine, consumers are told that this machine is so easy to use that it's as "simple as the lyrics of a samba".<sup>29</sup> While the fax machine dominates the foreground of the ad, in the background a samba group appears to be playing. Four Afro-Brazilian musicians are seen in the ad however, none of their faces are clearly distinguishable. All four are wearing identical outfits and their only distinction lies in which instrument they are playing. Users of this

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<sup>29</sup> *Veja*, June/July/August, 1979.

machine are encouraged that the rhythm of their business will follow the same “cadence as a good batucada”.<sup>30</sup>

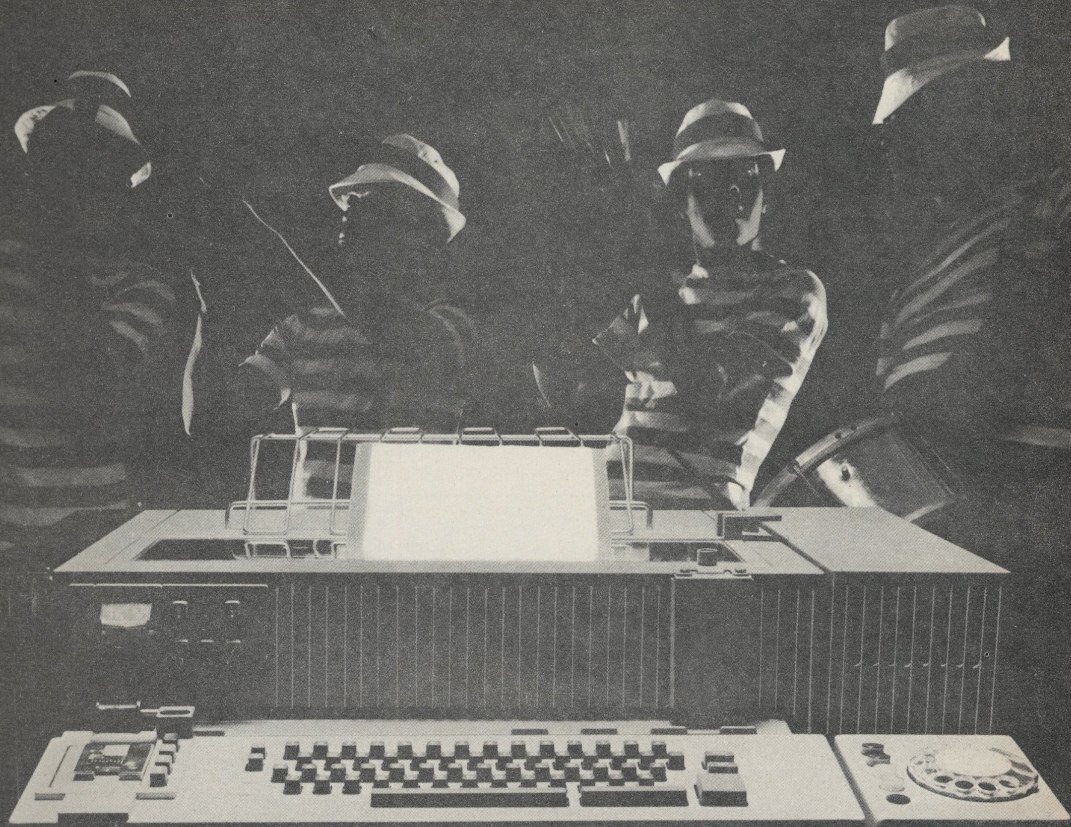
The shadowed, blurry figures of the samba musicians in this ad typify the way in which Afro-Brazilians were seen throughout this period of *Veja*'s publication. Images of Afro-Brazilians were virtually non-existent during this decade but, when they do appear, they stray very little from stereotypical roles and themes. One theme used repeatedly, as seen in this ad, is that of “entertainer”. Both the occupation of the men in the ad and their position in the image project a peripheral place in society. Giving further credence to this concept is the occasional reference to black Brazilians in sports (i.e. Pele), crime or *favela* poverty. The pervasive silence that marks Afro-Brazilian representation during this period is only broken by this kind of stereotypical and marginal imagery. The message clearly being conveyed is that of a middle class that has no need or interest in black Brazil.

Between the late 1970's and the late 1980's, major shifts had taken place in Brazilian society while only gradual change in middle class perceptions of that evolution are obvious within the pages of *Veja*. The frequency with which black figures were seen in advertising had increased thematically however, their role in society had only expanded incrementally. Lingering stereotypes of Afro-Brazilians as entertainers,

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<sup>30</sup> Ibid.

# O Samba do Telex-tex.



Recebe mensagens. Envia mensagens. Registra mensagens. Perfura fita. Elimina dúvidas. Desfaz mal-entendidos. Consulta. Confirma. Avisa. Recebe avisos. Vai. Volta. Economiza, economiza, economiza, economiza, economiza.

É nesse ritmo que o telex internacional ajuda você a fazer a maior economia na sua empresa. E a lucrar muito mais. Porque ele evita as despesas e os atrasos desnecessários causados pelos problemas de comunicação.

O telex internacional é a maneira mais rápida e segura que existe para você enviar mensagens por escrito para qualquer parte do mundo. É tão simples que até parece letra de samba. Todos os códigos dos países estão no Guia Brasil Telex. E se você quiser mais informações é só chamar o número 915 – Informações Internacionais. Depois, você faz a sua ligação imediatamente. Sem perder o compasso.

Quando você usa o telex internacional a sua empresa trabalha assim: na cadência de uma boa batucada. E você resolve negócios com rapidez, segurança e economia.

No ritmo do telex-tex.



**EMBRATEL**  
Empresa do Sistema TELEBRÁS

IMAGE 1

athletes, criminals and impoverished were now supplemented with ads depicting blacks working. Invariably, the jobs seen in the ads were blue-collar, industrial or manual labor however, middle class readers had now come to see black Brazilians as workers—contributors to society. As such, they were also quickly perceived to be an as yet untapped consumer market. It could be said that their inclusion in ads became both natural and necessary to inspire consumption.

A 1986 Bosch ad for industrial tools provides an example of this new view of Afro-Brazilians. Fourteen smiling workers in uniform are seen holding up their tools under the broad headline “Captains of Industry”.<sup>31</sup> The text included in the ad touts the quality and importance of the tools and stresses that Bosch is constructing “the future”.<sup>32</sup> Despite being the minority within this ad, the inclusion of an Afro-Brazilian worker indicates that critical changes are occurring in middle class society. The strategic parallel of the insertion of racial diversity and the symbolism as a tool for constructing the future betray the underlying attitudes that brought about this sudden modification. Black Brazilians are not yet valuable as individuals, hence their presence within an all-white group. They are, however, becoming an integral part of the wage-earning masses. They are a group worthy of recognition as a tool for nation building, though they are not yet seen as capable of asserting influence within that nation. Perhaps most importantly, they are perceived by the middle class as part of a small minority within the general population, although demographic data offers an opposing view.<sup>33</sup>

Another *Veja* ad that offers further, though contrived, evidence of social change is promoting a program called PROTEC and encouraging students to take exams for this

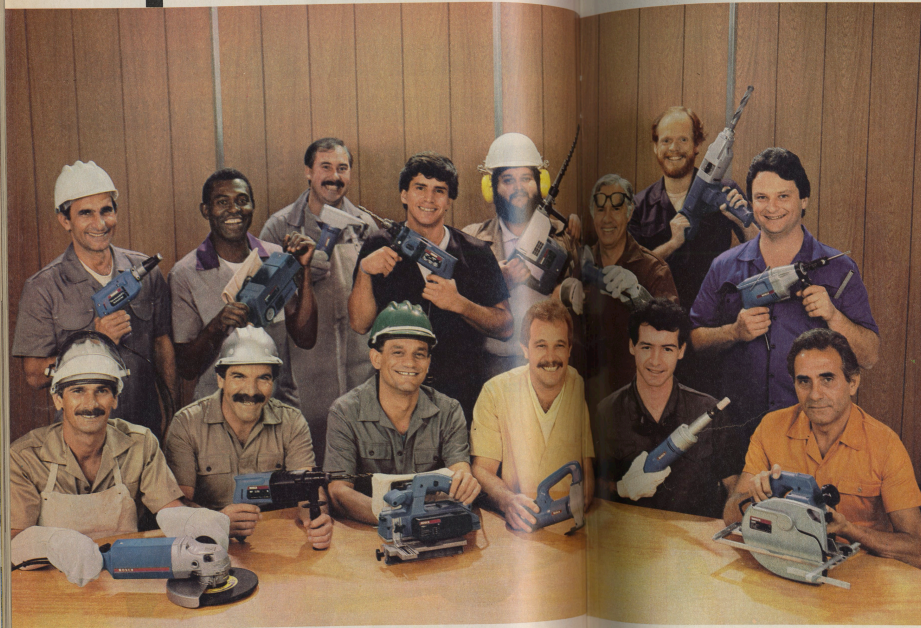
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<sup>31</sup> *Veja*, June/July/August 1986.

<sup>32</sup> *Veja*, June/July/August 1986.

<sup>33</sup> IBGE, 1990.

# Capitães da indústria.



A indústria movimenta a economia do país. Máquinas movimentam as indústrias.

Mas, na realidade, são as ferramentas que comandam, mantêm e impulsionam todo o processo produtivo.

Garantindo essa importante retaguarda está a Bosch: fabricante da maior e mais diversificada linha de ferramentas elétricas industriais do Brasil.

Elas participam ativamente da produção da grande maioria dos artigos, quando não das próprias máquinas responsáveis por essa produção.

Especialização continuará sendo a palavra de ordem para novas conquistas. A marca registrada da Bosch, presente tanto na fixação de um ganchinho anônimo na construção civil como nos mais audaciosos projetos da indústria naval.

Assim é a Bosch. Uma autêntica fábrica de soluções, construindo o futuro em forma de ferramentas.



1. Parafusadeira 1414 - 2. Lixadeira de Cinta 1270 - 3. Tesoura 1504 - 4. Furadeira 1125 - 5. Martelo 11206 - 6. Esmaltadeira 1338 - 7. Furadeira 1121 - 8. Rosqueadeira 1461 - 9. Esmaltadeira 1322 - 10. Martelo 12110 - 11. Plana 1590 - 12. Serra Toco Toco 1277 - 13. Retificadora 1205 - 14. Serra Circular 1557.

Amostra parcial do amplo programa de Ferramentas Elétricas Industriais Bosch.

 **BOSCH**  
Nosso produto é tecnologia.

IMAGE 2



# O QUADRO DA EDUCAÇÃO NO BRASIL ESTÁ MUDANDO. CONFIRA AS PROVAS.

## PROVA DE CONHECIMENTOS GERAIS. O QUE É PROTEC?

PROTEC é o Programa de Expansão e Melhoria do Ensino Técnico, que está sendo implantado pelo Ministério da Educação.

Para o seu conhecimento, a Escola Técnica no Brasil teve início em 1910, quando o então Presidente Nilo Peçanha criou o Liceu de Artes e Ofícios.

De lá para cá, pouco se fez. E, hoje, as Escolas Técnicas atendem apenas 15% da demanda.

Mas, agora, isso vai mudar.



Entre os principais objetivos do PROTEC, estão a interiorização do ensino profissionalizante; a expansão e melhoria do ensino de 2º grau; a diversificação das habilitações profissionais, de acordo com as necessidades e ofertas do mercado de trabalho; o atendimento a todas as Unidades da Federação, além da garantia de novas alternativas de formação nesse nível de ensino, evitando estrangulamentos no acesso ao ensino superior.

Pronto. Você já conhece um pouco do PROTEC. Vamos à próxima prova.

## PROVA DE MATEMÁTICA. O PROTEC EM NÚMEROS.

Em sua fase inicial, o PROTEC está instalando novas Escolas Técnicas Industriais e Agro-técnicas de 2º grau e Agrícolas de 1º grau, bem como melhorando e expandindo as escolas já existentes, num total de 200 estabelecimentos de ensino.

Tudo isso visa à formação de 35.000 profissionais de nível de 2º grau e à pré-qualificação de 1º grau para o meio rural, a cada ano.

Os números do PROTEC são grandiosos. As Escolas Agrícolas de 1º grau, por exemplo, oferecerão 17.760 vagas, sendo que cada escola poderá atender 240 alunos em regime de semi-internato ou internato.

As Escolas Industriais e Agro-técnicas, por sua vez, oferecerão um total de 41.342 vagas, em regime de internato ou de 3 turnos.

Quando estiverem com sua capacidade máxima de atendimento, as escolas poderão preparar cerca de 80.000 alunos.

Números significativos, importantes. Mas, passemos à prova seguinte.

## PROVA DE GEOGRAFIA. QUAL A ÁREA DE ABRANGÊNCIA DO PROTEC?

A área de atuação do PROTEC é extensa. Ou seja, ela atinge todas as regiões do País, de norte a sul, de leste a oeste.

Mas, acima de tudo, ele tem como meta a interiorização do ensino profissionalizante.

No caso das Escolas Agrícolas, o PROTEC visa a implantar a metodologia do Sistema Escola-Fazenda, adotado nas Escolas Agrotécnicas Federais.

Quanto às escolas de 2º grau, são inúmeras as habilitações oferecidas: Agropecuária, Floresta, Agricultura Irrigada, Mecanização Agrícola, Eletrotécnica, Processamento de Dados, Edificações, Mecânica, Informática Industrial, Eletro-nica, Eletromecânica, Química, Mineração, Hotelaria, Curtimento, Telecomunicação, Refrigeração/Ar-condicionado, Agrimensura, Tecnologia de Alimentos, Enfermagem, Pesca e Construção Naval.

Um programa que atende às necessidades reais do mercado de trabalho de cada região. E que integra a escola ao sistema produtivo, gerando novos empregos, através da absorção da mão-de-obra especializada recém-formada pelas escolas.

E tome prova.

## PROVA DE HISTÓRIA. O QUE MUDA NO BRASIL COM A IMPLANTAÇÃO DO PROTEC?

Muda muita coisa. E para o melhor. Com o PROTEC, surgem novas opções pro-

fissionais para milhares de brasileiros que, através dos cursos oferecidos, podem se especializar nas mais diversas áreas técnicas.

Resumindo, o PROTEC cria oportunidades para as pessoas exercerem profissões dignas e valorizadas nos vários mercados de trabalho regionais.

E o programa já nasce com perspectivas de um grande crescimento futuro (o MEC possui quase duas mil solicitações de escolas).

Isso prova que o PROTEC está no caminho certo. E que, com a sua participação, através do empresário, das associações municipais de educação, associações comunitárias, fundações e outras entidades, será, sem dúvida, um sucesso.

Pode anotar: o PROTEC vai entrar para a história do ensino no Brasil.

## PROVA DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS. QUAIS OS PRINCIPAIS BENEFÍCIOS DO PROTEC?



Se você chegou até aqui, já sabe de cor os benefícios do PROTEC.

Mas, vale a pena repetir: promover a expansão e melhoria do ensino de 2º grau; ajustar a oferta desse nível de ensino às exigências de um

mercado de trabalho em processo de expansão; garantir novas alternativas de formação profissional, evitando estrangulamentos no acesso ao ensino superior;

interiorizar o ensino profissionalizante; atender a todas as Unidades da Federação e, principalmente, criar condições para que milhares de brasileiros e brasileiras tenham um futuro melhor.

PROTEC. Uma lição de vida.

**MINISTÉRIO DA EDUCAÇÃO**

GOVERNO JOSÉ SARNEY  
TUDO PELO SOCIAL



IMAGE 3

program, which are administered by the Brazilian Ministry of Education.<sup>34</sup> Seated at a table studying are five well-dressed young men with their materials spread in all directions, as if working intensely; one of those young men is Afro-Brazilian. At first glance, the ad appears to be a shining example of equality, opportunity and inclusion for black Brazilian youth. Further analysis reveals evidence of a governmental hesitation in the portrayal of such a “racially democratic” scene. Each student at the table has an arm toward the center of the table, either using an educational tool like a calculator or simply gesturing, as if enmeshed in a conversation. The student who appears Afro-Brazilian is the only one with a closed, non-participant body language. Additionally, the PROTEC program and the exams promoted in the ad are for a system of technical schools. The strategic placement of a clean-cut Afro-Brazilian student in a technical school ad projects the idea that this level of education is appropriate for this group.

The greatest shift in the appearance of Afro-Brazilians in *Veja* falls in the decade between the 1980’s and 1990’s. This dramatic change parallels the violent economic turmoil Brazil underwent at the time with inflation reaching an all-time high. It was also a period of significant social transformation. In 1988, the centennial of the abolition of slavery in Brazil and the inauguration of a new constitution, issues of race and national identity came to the forefront. Extensive dialogue regarding the contemporary situation of Afro-Brazilians was scrutinized, drawing fairly negative conclusions with regard to equity and opportunity. Paired with this, as Brazil entered the final decade of the twentieth century, the number of ads featuring Afro-Brazilians increased dramatically. Moreover, marketers began to feature black Brazilians as the sole figure in ads for popular, mainstream products. Nonetheless, this growing level of integration into the

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<sup>34</sup> *Veja*, June/July/August 1986.

popular imagery of the nation was still plagued by glaring limitations and omissions.

In commemoration of the recent success of the Plano Real in stabilizing the economy, the Central Bank of Brazil created an ad in 1996 featuring the face of an Afro-Brazilian boy on a one-dollar bill. Under the image a banner reads, “The Real. More than just money. A Brazilian project.”<sup>35</sup> The placement of a black Brazilian on the national currency, which had traditionally been reserved for historically important figures, portrays both a growing level of acceptance for this group and lingering doubts.

This Central Bank ad appears to offer an unprecedented vision of diversity for Brazilian national identity. By linking an anonymous, Afro-Brazilian child with one of the most recognizable symbols of unity, the national currency, the *Veja* editorial staff and their middle class readers were displaying a new version of the “face” of Brazil. The choice of a black child for the “face” of this ad also admits some reservations; possibly indicating an innocence, inexperience, naiveté and helplessness that, if applied to the child’s racial identification generally, mitigates the potentially progressive impact of this advertisement. In possible support of this interpretation is the reference to a “Brazilian project” within the context of the ad, which could indicate middle class intentions to fix, aid, support or rectify the situation of Afro-Brazilians in light of the recent economic stabilization. As seen in the past, this attitude supports the long-established stereotype of Afro-Brazilians as impoverished and perennially requiring assistance.

As Brazil and *Veja* approached the end of the twentieth century in relative economic and social stability, questions of race and national identity continued to plague both the editorial staff and their middle class Brazilian audience. Ironically, it is during this period in the magazine’s long history of publication that it seems utterly perplexed as

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<sup>35</sup> *Veja*, June/July/August 1996.

**REAL. MAIS QUE UMA MOEDA. UM PROJETO PARA O BRASIL.**

Este mês, o Real completa dois anos. Só por ter controlado a inflação, que vem se mantendo perto de 1% ao mês, o brasileiro já teria motivos de sobra para comemorar esse aniversário. No entanto, o mais importante não é o que o Real conseguiu diminuir, é o que ele conseguiu aumentar.

O consumo de alimentos de uma forma geral aumentou 30%. O consumo de massas aumentou 16%, o de bolachas e biscoitos aumentou 30%, o de polpa de tomate aumentou 19%, o de iogurtes aumentou 89%, o de feijão aumentou 87%, o de carne aumentou 96%, o de frango aumentou 80% e o de ovos aumentou 82%.

Com o Real, 35 milhões de brasileiros entraram para o mercado de consumo. Com moeda forte e econômica estável, o que aumentou também foi a confiança do brasileiro, a possibilidade de planejar a longo prazo, de ter um projeto de vida com a segurança de poder realizar. Porque, quando os brasileiros realizam seus sonhos, o Brasil realiza o seu compromisso maior: ser uma nação mais justa. Em dois anos, o Real melhorou a vida de muita gente. Agora é caminhar para a frente. O governo sabe disso. E o povo brasileiro também.

**BRASIL**  
GOVERNO FEDERAL

**BANCO CENTRAL DO BRASIL**  
BANCA DE ADMINISTRAÇÃO E FISCALIZAÇÃO

IMAGE 4

Gravador de CD é Philips. O CD com a sua cara.

Acabamos com o troca-troca de CDs e com o pula-pula de faixas. Chegou o Gravador de CD 570 da Philips. O aparelho ideal para você gravar e ouvir seus CDs com resultados surpreendentes. Ele reproduz músicas de áudio digital tipo CD-R e CD-RW, possui controle remoto, além de ser compatível com todos os aparelhos de som com entrada e saída de áudio. De agora em diante, todas as músicas do seu CD vão ser as preferidas.

PHILIPS  
**PHILIPS**  
*Let's make things better.*

www.philips.com.br

IMAGE 5

**Maçã brasileira.**

*Você nem imagina do que ela é capaz.*



[www.maca-brasileira.com.br](http://www.maca-brasileira.com.br)  
VISITE O SITE E PARTICIPE!

**Maçã brasileira.** Ajuda a digestão e modera o apetite. Evita o colesterol, a formação de cálculos e o câncer digestivo. Tem sais minerais e vitaminas. Previne alergias, impurezas do sangue e irritações físicas. **Maçã brasileira.** Tem sabor único. **Gala ou Fuji,** é suculenta e apetitosa. Agrada a todos, crianças e adultos. **Maçã brasileira.** Disponível o ano todo. Fácil de ser encontrada, fácil de ser conservada. Vai com você a qualquer lugar.

**Maçã Brasileira. Saúde e sabor todo dia.**



ABPM

IMAGE 6

to how to move forward into a new era. This identity crisis manifests itself as a schizophrenic struggle between the pages of *Veja* to reconcile traditionally held stereotypes of black Brazilians and their growing significance as consumers, readers and citizens.

A defiant-looking black woman with a shaved head is featured in a 2000 Phillip's ad for CD burning equipment. The caption reads, "The CD with your face" as discs appear to be flying haphazardly around her. The choice of a black female for this ad is unusual, as is her sexual, yet androgynous, appearance. Contrasted with this is an ad for Brazilian apples, also published in 2000. In similar fashion, the apple ad features a black female as its point of focus. The woman in this ad is posed to bite into a shiny, red apple while flashing a coquettish smile to the camera. Amid the obvious mixture of blatant sexuality and classic Biblical references, this image bears none of the strength and independence projected in the previous ad. Furthermore, the caption above the woman in the apple ad reads, "You can't even imagine what she is capable of."<sup>36</sup> This double-entendre, paired with a sexualized image of an Afro-Brazilian woman, seems odd and out-dated when compared to the Phillips ad. The conflicting representations of black women by the publication reflect a middle class that has yet to reconcile progress and diversity to tradition and stereotypes, even as late as the turn of the century.

## **Conclusion**

Throughout the period between the 1970s and 1990s, the depictions of Afro-Brazilians in *Veja* underwent a noticeable transformation. This change over time can be categorized roughly by decade. In the period between the late 1970's and 1980's people

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<sup>36</sup> *Veja*, June/July/August 2000.

of color were basically invisible. When they do appear, they are faceless and relegated to the periphery, which corresponds to middle class attitudes toward race at the time. The 1980's see a slight increase in the inclusion of black figures in advertisements. These figures are, however, most often represented as a blue-collar worker, which correlates to their perceived utility by a middle class audience during a period of economic flux. Following this, during the 1990's, a dramatic increase in both frequency and diversity is seen in advertising.

This shift parallels a renewed interest in race and persistent inequalities as Brazil commemorated the abolishment of slavery and the construction of a new federal constitution. It is not surprising then that, at the turn of the century, imagery related to blackness in *Veja* advertising exhibits limitations and glaring contradictions. These contradictions indicate that the magazine, although reflecting a middle class mentality in flux, remained slightly behind the rapid pace of social change. The magazine's inability to accurately, fairly and fully represent Afro-Brazilian identity can be seen even today. Similarly, Brazil as a nation has yet to effectively recognize and address the vast racial inequalities that plague its citizenry. Despite its inability to keep pace with the rapidly shifting social climate of the country, *Veja* does offer its readers a glimpse into the complex, and often contradictory, nature of Brazilian race relations.



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## THE *GAZETA DA TARDE* AND THE CASE OF TIRA-COURO

### **Introduction**

The *Gazeta da Tarde* reported that in the early morning of Christmas Day 1883, a woman was murdered on the Monte Verde plantation of Domingos Gonçalves de Faria, located in the São Fidelis province of the state of Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. The authorities found her body a few days later, already in an advanced stage of decomposition. Her eyes and tongue had been removed, she had been skinned and her upper torso was badly burned by boiling water. Several holes had been drilled into her skull and her brain had begun to seep out. Stab marks and mutilation were evident on multiple regions of her body, including her genitals. She had been left to die, exposed to the elements and drenched in her own blood. She had also been pregnant at the time but the fetus, with the use of a knife and a long staff, had been forcibly aborted and thrown out for the vultures. When the body was finally identified, it was discovered that her name was Maria (escrava Maria).<sup>37</sup>

Maria was a slave on the Monte Verde plantation and also, allegedly, her master's lover. For this reason, the police and the press labeled it a "crime of passion"—alleging Maria had an intimate connection with her owner and also with a neighboring man, which quickly became an explosive love-triangle.<sup>38</sup> As a result, while drunk one day on jealousy and a substantial amount of alcohol, Domingos Gonçalves de Faria brutally murdered the slave Maria. The press latched onto the story and published it quickly,

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<sup>37</sup> *Gazeta da Tarde*. Rio de Janeiro, (January 24, 1884).

<sup>38</sup> *A Sentinela*. Rio de Janeiro, (January 10, 1884).

sparking national outrage at such a “barbarous” act.<sup>39</sup> They even went so far as to give Faria the ominous nickname “Tira-Couro” (The Skinner) for the unusual manner in which he killed Maria. The name stuck and was repeatedly used in both official and unofficial references to the plantation owner.<sup>40</sup> Local, national and abolitionist newspapers all used the graphic and oddly-timed homicide to make a statement about the hotly-debated issue of slavery. Whether for, against or indifferent to the plight of Maria, all seemed to agree that this event was charged with significance.

### **Abolition, Transition and Media in Brazil**

This account of the cruel murder of a slave in the state of Rio de Janeiro is shocking not only for its brutality, but also for its context. The story was printed in *A Gazeta da Tarde*, an abolitionist newspaper, in January of 1884.<sup>41</sup> Two months after its publication, in March of 1884, Ceará became the first state in Brazil to emancipate its slaves.<sup>42</sup> Roughly two years prior to this publication, in 1881, Brazil was celebrating the ten-year anniversary of the passing of the Free Womb Law that decreed that all children born of slave mothers would become free.<sup>43</sup> The years 1883-1886 marked a significant point in the history of abolition in Brazil. The movement was gaining momentum, making gains and mobilizing popular support. In stark contrast, publications like *A Gazeta da Tarde* were printing news of heinous crimes committed against slaves and freedmen. This paradox is indicative of larger issues that will form the basis of this paper.

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<sup>39</sup> *Gazeta da Tarde*. (March 8, 1884).

<sup>40</sup> PP collection, APERJ.

<sup>41</sup> *Ibid*.

<sup>42</sup> David T. Haberly, "Abolitionism in Brazil: Anti-Slavery and Anti-Slave." *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Winter, 1972): 32.

<sup>43</sup> *Ibid*.

This paper will argue that 1883-1886 marks a pivotal transition period in Brazilian slavery that is rife with contrasts, as seen through the articles from the *A Gazeta da Tarde* abolitionist newspaper. The primary focus of interest will be the treatment of and crimes against slaves as seen through news articles printed during this period. The text of these articles will be examined for bias and the motivations for expounding upon gruesome crimes in print will also be questioned. Additionally, this paper will seek to place the articles printed in *A Gazeta da Tarde* within the context of Brazil's abolitionist movement and the intensification of their struggle to achieve emancipation during these years.

The influence that the institution of slavery has had on the development of Brazil cannot be understated. The literature on Brazilian slavery and race relations is both varied and contradictory. Some authors have promoted the image of a slave-holding Brazil in rather innocuous terms. Most famously, Gilberto Freyre's publication of *The Masters and the Slaves* in 1933 painted a picture of a racially harmonized Brazil<sup>44</sup>. According to Freyre, Brazil was a unique nation of mixed race ancestry and, as a result of this, no racial tensions were created; the adoption of positive traits from each race was manifested in a new "Brazilian" race.<sup>45</sup>

In reaction to Freyre, Frank Tannenbaum's 1947 book, *Slave and Citizen*, explored the differences between Anglo and Iberian slave systems<sup>46</sup>. Tannenbaum rationalized that the Portuguese slave system offered a more permissive and humane alternative to that of the English system in North America on the grounds of legal and

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<sup>44</sup> Gilberto Freyre, *The Masters and the Slaves* (Los Angeles, University of California Press, 1986), 278.

<sup>45</sup> Stuart B. Schwartz, *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels, Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1992), 2.

<sup>46</sup> Frank Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (New York, Knopf, 1946), 51.

religious tradition.<sup>47</sup> Scholarship on Brazilian history has since taken a different approach. In the latter half of the twentieth century, works like *Neither Black Nor White* by Carl Degler sought to dispel the idea that slavery was somehow less destructive in the Brazilian context.<sup>48</sup> In conjunction, authors of the “São Paulo School” during the 1950s and 1960s examined the ways in which slavery shaped politics, economics and society in Brazil over time; their conclusions confirmed that the impact of slavery was greater and more negative than had been believed in the past.<sup>49</sup>

Examination of abolitionist rhetoric is an important component in understanding the larger trajectory of the history of slavery and its influence on Brazil. During the period immediately leading up to emancipation, the character of abolitionist literature underwent profound changes. Throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century, abolitionist propaganda in Brazil remained distinct from its North American counterpart for a sheer lack of variety. While there was a proliferation of North American abolitionist literature available worldwide, Brazil’s abolitionist movement remained limited in its productivity. Furthermore, post-1850 abolitionism in Brazil has been described as,

“...defined by two powerful forces: by the pull of the past—the influence of the nation’s literary tradition, the nature of previous antislavery arguments, and, above all, the inborn prejudices all... Brazilians shared; and by the realities of the present—the need to reach an audience overwhelmingly hostile or apathetic, taking advantage of their new concern about their slaves... Central to Abolitionist literature was a total and irrevocable confusion of two separate entities—the institution of slavery and the individual slave...”<sup>50</sup>

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<sup>47</sup> Ibid, 3.

<sup>48</sup> Ibid.

<sup>49</sup> Ibid, 4.

<sup>50</sup> David T. Haberly, "Abolitionism in Brazil: Anti-Slavery and Anti-Slave." *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol. 9, No. 2 (Winter, 1972): 33.

Within this context, the abolitionist literature of Brazil, and the movement itself, were in a constant state of flux. Appeasing and counter-balancing pressure from foreign abolitionist groups (i.e. the United States and Great Britain) was paired with a desire to address the unique circumstances that slavery in Brazil embodied. In most cases, however, Brazilian abolitionist writings mirrored foreign concepts of the slave, placing them into the caricatures such as the “Noble Slave”, “Faithful Slave” or “Pitiful Slave”.<sup>51</sup> Based on evidence from popular news media of the day, such as *A Gazeta da Tarde*, the idea of the “Pitiful Slave” appears to be the most common and the most persuasive image.

The 1880s were a decade in which Brazil underwent several major changes. Most importantly, it was a decade that ended with the national emancipation of slavery in 1888. In the years leading up to this point, there was an intensification of abolitionist pressure, rhetoric and, consequently, anti-abolitionist politics. On March 25, 1884, with the passage of Ceará's emancipation legislation, other provinces began to feel the pressure to follow-suit. Amazonas and Rio Grande do Sul quickly fell to the pressure later that year.<sup>52</sup> The printed media across the country, the abolitionist press in particular, circulated the story heavily. This increased attention on abolition served to polarize popular opinion regarding the institution of slavery.<sup>53</sup>

As abolition became a formidable political position, anti-abolitionist reactionaries became more vocal in their opposition. After 1884, politicians, *fazendeiros*, and other public figures adopted strategies aimed at the hindrance of the abolition movement.

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<sup>51</sup> Ibid.

<sup>52</sup> Robert Conrad, *Children of God's Fire* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1983), 458.

<sup>53</sup> Celso T. Castilho, "Abolition Matters: The Politics of Anti-Slavery in Pernambuco, Brazil, 1869-1888" (Ph.D. diss., University of California-Berkeley, 2008), 92.



Those who had, in the past, "resisted the end of slavery conveniently masked their conservative position by rendering themselves as 'abolitionists who protected the law' ".<sup>54</sup> When the law was no longer so clearly on their side, politicians like Ermiro Coutinho and Martinho Campos actively campaigned against legislation that would establish place limitations on or establish a termination date for slavery.<sup>55</sup> Of additional concern to figures like Coutinho and Campos were the parliamentary election held in December of 1884 . The result of which was the placement of several anti-slavery politicians into office. The potential power of these politicians over future slavery laws was severely troubling for self-proclaimed "slaveocrats".<sup>56</sup>

At the same time, national figures in the abolitionist movement like Joaquim Nabuco and Jose do Patrocínio were making great strides. Nabuco, as a member of the Chamber of Deputies, introduced a bill that set the end of slavery in the year 1890. Campos, also a member, was able to manipulate his fellow deputies into effectively blocking the bill before it was voted on; however, the precedent had been set for discussion of a definitive end to slavery.<sup>57</sup>

The number of abolitionist societies was growing all over the country and anti-slavery propaganda was becoming more widespread.<sup>58</sup> Nabuco founded the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society and began publishing the first abolitionist monthly newsletter called *O Abolicionista*.<sup>59</sup> Satirist and virulent abolitionist, Angelo Agostini began publishing

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<sup>54</sup> Ibid, 48.

<sup>55</sup> Ibid, 43.

<sup>56</sup> Ibid, 122.

<sup>57</sup> Ibid, 44.

<sup>58</sup> David T. Haberly, "Abolitionism in Brazil: Anti-Slavery and Anti-Slave." *Luso-Brazilian Review*, Vol.9, No. 2 (Winter, 1972): 31.

<sup>59</sup> Ricardo Luiz de Souza. "Nabuco, Reboucas, Patrocinio: monarquismo e abolicionismo". *Impulso*, Vol. 17, no. 43 (Maio/Ago. 2006): 34.

cartoons in *A Revista Ilustrada*, a politically-charged, abolitionist journal.<sup>60</sup> Andre Rebouças, a mulatto engineer and writer, published over 120 articles in abolitionist publications such as *Folha Nova*, *Novo Mundo* and *A Gazeta da Tarde*.<sup>61</sup>

*A Gazeta da Tarde* emerged as the first abolitionist publication in Brazil and quickly became the preeminent standard for all others to follow.<sup>62</sup> It was founded in 1880 by José Ferreira de Menezes, a mulatto writer. Little is known about the life of Menezes, except that he was the child of slaves, a fervent abolitionist, and managed to gain enough education and money to start a news publication.<sup>63</sup> The newspaper was based in Rio de Janeiro, the epicenter of Brazilian governance and also an area with a thriving anti-slavery movement. Menezes, personally, was an avid supporter of the abolitionist movement abroad, particularly in the United States. He "hailed the American Civil War as a decisive turning point in the world's struggle against slavery as well as civilization's triumph over barbarism".<sup>64</sup> His intention was that *A Gazeta* would be used to promote the abolitionist cause on all levels of society and that it would focus on the plight of the slave within Brazil.

Upon the sudden death of Menezes in 1881, his abolitionist colleague José do Patrocínio purchased and took over editorship of the newspaper. Patrocínio, also a mulatto, ran the magazine and also included his own writing in the newspaper until he

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<sup>60</sup> Marcus Wood, "Creative Confusions: Angelo Agostini, Brazilian Slavery and the Rhetoric of Freedom." *Patterns of Prejudice*, 41(3-4), 2007: 250.

<sup>61</sup> Dorothy B. Porter, "The Negro in the Brazilian Abolition Movement." *The Journal of Negro History*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Jan. 1952): 67.

<sup>62</sup> Nelson Werneck Sodré, *História da imprensa no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1966), 234.

<sup>63</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>64</sup> David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford, England: Oxford University, 2006), 323.

became editor of *Cidade do Rio* in 1887.<sup>65</sup> Ideologically, Patrocínio identified more with abolitionists like Menezes more than his famous contemporary, Nabuco, who was white, elitist and a self-proclaimed Anglophile.<sup>66</sup>

There was both a class and a racial divide between these two men, despite their championing the same cause and this was reflected in their approach to the burgeoning abolitionist movement. Nabuco, as a politician and an elite, white male, believed that legal reform was the key to ending slavery. Patrocínio, on the other hand, felt that "...abolition will not come from Parliament but, rather, from the public square; it will have as its rewards the clarity of peace instead of the red banners of combat".<sup>67</sup>

Under Patrocínio's directorship, the *Gazeta da Tarde* doubled its circulation within a few years. During this period, *A Gazeta* featured articles from prominent abolitionist writers like Luis de Andrade, Julio de Lemos, Gonzaga Duque Estrada, Campos Porto, Leite Ribeiro Dias da Cruz, and the illustrations of Agostini as well.<sup>68</sup> As its popularity grew, the *Gazeta* became associated with the most intellectually diverse, cutting-edge, hard-line abolitionist propaganda in the country.

The pages of *A Gazeta* included news items, advertisements, poetry, serial prose and editorial essays, among other things. Although the content revolved around anti-slavery propaganda, other issues of the day can be observed as well such as military movements, economic shifts, agriculture and even foreign affairs.<sup>69</sup> During the tumultuous political shift and polarization that occurred after 1884, the abolitionist media

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<sup>65</sup> Ricardo Luiz de Souza, "Nabuco, Reboucas, Patrocínio: monarquismo e abolicionismo." *Impulso*, Vol. 17, no. 43 (Maio/Ago. 2006): 41.

<sup>66</sup> Jose Patrocínio, *Campanha Abolicionist, Coletanea de Artigos*. (Rio de Janeiro: Fundacao Biblioteca Nacional, 1996), 41.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid.

<sup>68</sup> Clovis Moura, *Dicionario da Escravidao Negra no Brasil* (Sao Paulo: Editora da Universidade de Sao Paulo, 2004), 172.

<sup>69</sup> *A Gazeta da Tarde* (Rio de Janeiro), 8 March, 1884.

was noticeably affected, and *A Gazeta da Tarde* was no exception. Despite the content of the *A Gazeta* remaining diverse throughout the period from 1883-1886, the tone of the newspaper underwent a significant shift. Stringent, graphic propaganda characterized the period prior to 1884 and the intention was to shock the readership. Post-1884, the content of the *Gazeta* was been purged of its radical tone and the writing became more abstract and rhetorical in nature.

Seymour Drescher would argue that this shift in tone can be explained by Brazil's transition from "continental" to "Anglo" abolitionism. As Drescher contends, Brazil's process of abolition was divided between these two forms but no distinct periodization is given. Drescher simply states that the 1880s, through increased pressure from Great Britain, witnessed an increased tendency for "Anglo" abolitionism. A broader range of civic participants, increasingly graphic rhetoric and a more volatile movement, characterizes Anglo-American abolitionism in general. The shifting character of *A Gazeta da Tarde* and the graphic story of Maria's murder appear to support Drescher's thesis.<sup>70</sup>

The story of the slave Maria that was brutally murdered and horribly disfigured is the best example of the kind of journalism that characterized *A Gazeta da Tarde* during the pre-1884 period. The article was featured in a running section entitled "Scenas da Escravidão" ("Scenes of Slavery") that detailed injustices committed against slaves or recently freedmen. There is no indication of who wrote this article however, it could possibly be the work of Patrocínio himself. It clearly mirrors the moral outrage felt by Patrocínio against the institution of slavery that such an act could occur and go

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<sup>70</sup> Seymour Drescher, "Brazilian Abolition in Comparative Perspective." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 68:3 (1988): 441.

unpunished. Moreover, it is a piece that demonstrates his distinct preoccupation with the plight of the slave as an individual, as evidenced by the explicit focus on the body.

### **Analysis of a Murder**

The details of Maria's death are valuable in understanding the process of abolition within Brazil. In particular, media portrayal of slave life played an influential role in bolstering public opinion against the institution during its final years. A principal argument made against slavery by the abolitionist press was that its violent practices were barbaric and uncivilized for a nation looking to modernize.<sup>71</sup> This would explain the popularity of Maria's graphic case. However, when compared with testimony available concerning Maria's death, the *Gazeta* apparently traversed the boundaries of journalism and entered into propaganda.

Following the discovery of Maria's body on the Monte Verde plantation, the Brazilian press printed and reprinted the story for days—adding, embellishing and quite often exaggerating the evidence. Local government officials, however, seemed determined to not let such a gruesome case interrupt their Christmas holiday. The date on the first official correspondence for the investigation was dated January 15, 1884, nearly a month after the news broke.<sup>72</sup> It was not until March of the same year that police began searching for Domingos Gonçalves de Faria and constructed physical profiles of both the killer and his victim. Faria was described as,

“50 years old, more or less...a white man...with white hair and a red face— indicating his habitual drinking problem...rather portly...going bald...average height...[and] missing several teeth, especially in the front...”<sup>73</sup>

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<sup>71</sup> Robert Conrad, *Children of God's Fire* (Princeton, N.J: Princeton University Press, 1983), 460.

<sup>72</sup> PP collection, APERJ.

<sup>73</sup> Ibid.

While Maria was seen as a “marvel” of a woman, thin, very light brown, and with a very fine face. The physical descriptions seem to lend themselves to the construction of a stereotypical abolitionist scenario in which a beautiful and innocent slave woman is at the mercy of her ugly, evil master. Whether their physical attributes are accurate or slightly exaggerated is not known for sure; there are not sketches or other renderings of them to be found. However, the almost literal repetition of their described appearance throughout the case file would seem to indicate that these details are in fact accurate; ironically, the *Gazeta* never utilized the physical description of Maria and Faria within their account of the murder.

Once authorities had an understanding of the man they were pursuing, they began to organize the police force to apprehend him. Unfortunately, within the more than three month lapse between his crime and the mobilization of an official investigation, Faria had fled. Initially, he went to stay with relatives within the same province of São Fidelis. Later, he crossed the state line and ran to neighboring Minas Gerais, where he also apparently had some family connections. Investigation documents dated 1886 indicate that Faria was finally located in Minas Gerais. However, by crossing the state line, Faria, probably knowingly, further impeded his capture. The Chief of Police and the Governor of the State corresponded extensively on the problem of obtaining permission to extradite a criminal from another jurisdiction, though seemingly to no avail.<sup>74</sup> There is evidence to indicate that the Faria family was well entrenched in the local elite and, probably for this reason, local officials were initially hesitant to pursue the case fully.<sup>75</sup>

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<sup>74</sup> PP collection, APERJ.

<sup>75</sup> Maria Lucia Resende Chaves Teixeira., *Familia Escrava e Riqueza na Comarca do Rio das Mortes* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2007).

Some of the final documents on the case from March 1888 are still describing the intent to capture and imprison Faria, which indicates that he was still not actually in their possession.<sup>76</sup> It is unknown whether or not Domingos Gonçalves de Faria was ever forcibly detained or taken to prison for the murder of his slave Maria. However, it is reasonable to assume that, due to the excessively slow progress of the investigation and the apparent political and social connections utilized by Faria for escape and refuge, he remained a free man. Although justice was not served in this particular case, the development of the investigation surrounding the Monte Verde murder offers a surprising amount of insight into Brazilian society and politics during the pre-Emancipation period of the late 19<sup>th</sup> century—particularly through the analysis of witness testimonies.

Eight witnesses were subpoenaed and their statements taken in relation to the murder of slave Maria. Four of those witnesses were living and working on the Monte Verde plantation and some were the property of Faria himself. Of the remaining four, three were white property owners from surrounding plantations and the other was Faria's wife. Each witness testimony is revealing both for the details included and those quite obviously omitted. Additionally, in comparison with the newspaper descriptions of the crime, the details repeatedly given by the witnesses are vastly different. The discrepancies between the many versions of the crime unfolding and its cause are telling; they allude to the many ways this crime was viewed and interpreted by those involved—depending on their social, political and economic position in Brazil.

The first witness, Dona Dias Pereira, was a married, white female and neighbor to Faria. She testified that she was at his home the evening of December 27, 1883 because

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<sup>76</sup> Ibid.

he called her to examine a female slave that was “not feeling well”.<sup>77</sup> She obliged and, upon arrival at the infirmary, was shown Maria’s dead body by Faria’s wife. She noticed fractures in Maria’s skull as well as marks on her face, neck and arms. Faria’s wife told her that the slave Maria had had an abortion prior to her death. As they inspected the body, Faria himself arrived and asked his wife about the status of the slave girl’s health. She replied that she was dead and he responded with,

“We are lost. From now on, you will say that it was me who did it and I will say it was you. Today you are no longer my wife and I am no longer your husband. I will find a son who can take charge of my destiny”.<sup>78</sup>

Following this brief conversation, Dona Pereira states that she returned home and, a few hours after, there was a knock on her door. It was Faria and he said he was looking for his wife who had left home and not returned. After waiting there a while, he left. Dona Pereira’s two sons, João and Arthur, also testified and added that, upon learning that Maria was dead, Faria asked them what to do with the body. João suggested the public cemetery. Faria responded that he would rather simply dump her in the woods somewhere to avoid any questions.<sup>79</sup>

Maria de Castro Lima, a forty-six year old woman and the wife of Faria, told a rather different version of events. She claimed that on Christmas Day her husband, arriving home in an agitated and rather drunken state, went straight to the kitchen with the intent to punish Maria for something a neighbor supposedly told Faria she had done. He took her to the whipping post and began to whip her. She wouldn’t be obedient so he beat her with the whip. After her beating, Maria de Castro Lima claimed she went to the

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<sup>77</sup> PP collection, APERJ.

<sup>78</sup> Ibid.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid.



slave's quarters to treat Maria's wounds. The next few days saw her condition worsen until she died on the 27<sup>th</sup>. The day before her death, she suffered a miscarriage as a result of the abuse.<sup>80</sup>

Several critical pieces of information are uncovered through these four testimonies. One is that the chronology published by the *Gazeta* is incorrect. Maria was beaten on Christmas Day but did not die until the 27<sup>th</sup>. Her body was not discovered but, rather, she remained in her normal quarters and the moment of her passing was known. Evidence provided here also corroborates the existence of marks on her body and the skull fractures, however no mutilations were seen. Additionally, an offhanded and euphemistic tone is used when referring to Maria's condition. She "had" an abortion instead of suffering a miscarriage and she was "not feeling" well, as opposed to struggling for life.

The standout piece within these testimonies is the quote allegedly taken from Faria when learning of Maria's death. While it may seem like an odd and almost melodramatic reaction, the explanation could lie in two things. During this period, those who continued to rely on slave labor paid a high cost. After the end of the slave trade, demand outweighed supply and costs skyrocketed. In that economic environment, to lose a slave—by natural or unnatural purposes—was a severe financial loss.<sup>81</sup> Perhaps Faria's exclamation was the sound of regret; not for the loss of an innocent life, but for the destruction of a major investment. Once dead, as João and Arthur heard first-hand, Faria felt that Maria was not even worth the trouble of burying.

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<sup>80</sup> Ibid.

<sup>81</sup> Zeyphr Frank. *Dutra's World* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2004), 34.

A second possible component in explaining the quote involves the Brazilian legal system. Based on Roman slave law, Brazilian slaves were given access to some rights and privileges. Namely, their basic needs were to be provided, they were to be evangelized and, if abused, their owners could face legal ramifications. Evidence of this respect for the legal personhood of slaves in Brazil is evident in this case; both in the fact that an official investigation was opened for the death of a slave and that the testimony of slaves was taken and used against their owner. This would explain why, following Maria's death, Faria fled. Although these guidelines were in place, many slave holders went unpunished or found ways around the law, such as fleeing or tapping into their local connections to power and patronage to ensure impunity. Faria, in this case, was able to do both rather successfully.

The testimony of the slaves and free laborers on the Monte Verde plantation are also important for analyzing Maria's death. Izabel, a thirty-eight year old slave on the Monte Verde plantation, was also present on the day of Maria's death. Different from Faria's wife, Izabel claimed that Faria, in a jealous rage, came home on Christmas Day and began whipping Maria. She resisted by grabbing the whip so he began beating her with it. According to Izabel, Faria routinely mistreated Maria out of jealousy and had no doubt that her death was a direct result of the abuses she suffered on Christmas Day. This sentiment is echoed by Tia another female slave on the Monte Verde plantation; she also added that Faria tied Maria to the whipping post by her neck. During their struggle and as he beat her, Tia remarked that she was screaming for him to "believe her".<sup>82</sup> Tia also confirmed that Dona Maria de Castro Lima treated the slave Maria following her punishment and through her miscarriage.

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<sup>82</sup> PP collection, APERJ.

Luiz Ferreira da Silva, a free laborer on the Monte Verde plantation, corroborated the testimony of the two women and noted that Faria threatened to do the same to him if he dared to attribute Maria's death to anything other than the miscarriage.<sup>83</sup> Another free laborer, Estevão Anuncio from Minas, was not present at the time but stated with certainty that he had seen Maria brutally beaten on numerous occasions by Faria. He also said that the abuse was due to Faria's jealousy surrounding her relationship with Benedicto, a fellow free laborer, who had previously been expelled from the plantation.<sup>84</sup>

A closer examination of the eight statements taken during the investigation of slave Maria's death illuminates both the inclusion of critical information and also several strategic omissions. While it is unknown exactly what questions were asked of the eight witnesses, they each seemed to be responding to a generalized inquiry and each one chose to emphasize very different points in the narration. Through their combined recollections, it is discovered that the version of events published by the *Gazeta da Tarde* was almost completely falsified. According to the official report of the medical examiner, Maria died of asphyxiation and acute brain hemorrhaging. Her body was badly bruised and beaten but there were no signs of mutilation, burning, stabbing or skinning. It is also discovered that her unborn child was not cut from her body and fed to vultures but lost as the result of a miscarriage, induced by extreme physical abuse. While her skull had been fractured in several places, these were caused by blunt trauma, not a drill.<sup>85</sup>

Another embellishment that quickly comes to light is that of the passionate love-triangle pointed to by the press as the underlying cause of Faria's cold-blooded, murderous rage. While Maria was involved in a relationship, it was only with one man--

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<sup>83</sup> Ibid.

<sup>84</sup> Ibid.

<sup>85</sup> PP collection, APERJ.

a free, black laborer on the plantation, not a neighboring slave owner. More than likely, her sexual involvement with Faria, if any, was not consensual. It is not known who was the father of Maria's unborn child and none of the witnesses ventured a guess. Faria himself is a possible answer; both scenarios, being the father or not, offer a potential motive for Maria's murder.

## **Conclusion**

For historians, the death of slave Maria offers a glimpse at the complex social fabric of late 19<sup>th</sup> century Brazil. The date of her death, 1883, offers proof that the Brazilian transition into emancipation was not peaceful. It was a period of painful adjustment, both for slaves and their owners. Both anti-slavery activists and pro-slavery *fazendeiros* were willing, at all costs, to secure their political position. Though Brazil did not have a civil war like that of the United States, there was a considerable amount of civil unrest and, as this case study demonstrates, lives were sacrificed in the process. Furthermore, this case reveals that the Brazilian infrastructure, simultaneously based on clientelist relationships and written law, was in crisis. The country had reached a critical period in which it was attempting to transition into a modern, unified nation while still reliant on the "uncivilized" mechanisms of the past. Similar to the conclusion of the murder investigation, Brazil had stumbled into an uncomfortable new era with unresolved questions of identity and a weak sense of social justice.

Through examination of the death of slave Maria as seen in the *Gazeta da Tarde*, a greater understanding of the nature of Brazilian slavery, the mythology surrounding its innocuous nature and its eventual destruction can be garnered. Additionally, Brazil's

political and economic transition into abolition also forms a critical backdrop to this tragic account. In particular, the shifting nature of Brazilian political abolition is demonstrated through the coverage of *A Gazeta*, which supports the Drescher thesis on “continental” versus “Anglo-American” systems.

Media coverage of this case offers a unique window into public opinion and political manipulation concerning Brazilian abolition. The use of propaganda to further the abolitionist campaign and achieve “civilized” progress is evident in *A Gazeta*’s almost complete fabrication of the circumstances surrounding the death of *escrava* Maria. Furthermore, the correspondences of several public officials concerning the case and the ultimate fate of Faria bring to light the gaping holes existing within the Brazilian legal system. Within this shocking murder case, tensions between the strong ties of historic patronage and the push toward a modern future are clearly and extraordinarily illuminated.

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