

‘Genuinely Brazilian’: Race, Gender, and the Making of Guaraná Soda

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In 1949, Brazil’s popular weekly magazine *O Cruzeiro* devoted a photojournalistic spread to a beloved sweetheart: guaraná. (Manzon, 1949) The launch of a lower-priced, smaller-sized soda by the Companhia Antarctica Paulista ostensibly inspired Jean Manzon’s feature article. The photojournalist, however, aimed for much more in his unabashed boosterism of Antarctica’s guaraná beverage, the sworn rival of Coca-Cola since the latter’s introduction to Brazil in 1942. (Bauer, 2001; O’Brien, 1999) Manzon’s piece dutifully bestowed upon an emerging cultural icon a myth of origin and nationalist pedigree.

Roland Barthes, who famously proclaimed food as a process more than a thing, has noted that any object can pass from a closed, silent existence to symbolic appropriation by society, its cultural value deriving from a given historical situation. That guaraná soda — the derivative of a highly-caffeinated native Amazonian plant; product of Brazil’s first wave of import-substitution industrialization; populist marker of mass consumption; and rival to a Yankee juggernaut — would be ‘open to appropriation’ by Brazilian image-makers in the 1940s seems readily apparent. It was no accident that in 1945, Brazil’s presidential hopeful, Eurico Gaspar Dutra, trailed by reporters on his way to the polling booth (and photographed by Manzon), had made sure to stop first at his friend’s house to drink ‘a cold guaraná’ (Nasser, 1945). Of more immediate concern to me in understanding guaraná’s ‘opening to appropriation’ is Barthes’s observation regarding the role of bourgeois myth as ‘depoliticized speech’, ‘In passing from history to nature’, Barthes notes, myth ‘abolishes the complexity of human acts, it gives them the simplicity of essences, it does away with all dialectics, with any going back beyond what is immediately visible, it organizes a world which is without contradictions because it is without depth, a world wide open and wallowing in the evident, it establishes a blissful clarity: things appear to mean something by themselves’ (Barthes, 2013). Manzon’s celebration of guaraná soda as a hallmark of Brazilian industrial modernization and popular consumerism, mirroring that of contemporary advertising campaigns that are likewise examined herein, represents one such linear narrative. This paper seeks to analyse guaraná’s representations and the complex, hierarchical realms of race and gender that form the deeper backdrop to the soda’s early marketing and consumption. In this vein, I argue that the soft drink’s history serves to encapsulate the populist promises and ploys of Brazilian nationalist thought and economic development.

remain for the rest of his life. He soon found work as a director of photography and cinema for the Departamento de Imprensa e Propaganda, the official propaganda machine of the dictatorship of Getúlio Vargas (1937–1945). In 1943, he joined *O Cruzeiro*, dazzling readers with bold photojournalistic shoots covering the country’s celebrities and grand nationalistic endeavours and propelling robust sales of the magazine for years: from a circulation of 200,000 copies in the 1940s, the periodical would jump to a circulation of 550,000 copies during the following decade (‘O Cruzeiro’). Manzon’s article on Antarctica’s guaraná soda, replete with photographs of the modern assembly lines and carbonation systems in the company’s newly opened Rio de Janeiro factory, fit in this mould, praising the ‘miraculous’ growth of a domestic industry that delighted countless children, as well as the national treasury. Plotting the evolution of guaraná from indigenous beverage to medicinal painkiller to mass consumed thirst quencher, Manzon’s biography of the soda is unusual, even until today, in its choice of subject matter, albeit predictable in its narrative tropes.

Until the 1920s, Manzon noted, guaraná was unknown as a refreshment to most Brazilians. Only a handful of connoisseurs of ‘the customs of our Indians’ knew that the Maués Indians near the Amazon’s Tapajós river transformed the caffeine-rich seeds of the guaraná plant into hardened rolls which they rasped with the dried tongue of a sturgeon-like fish into water-filled gourds. But few could ‘do like the Indian’, drinking the bitter-tasting beverage, until two Brazilian scientists, Luiz Pereira Barreto and Pedro Batista de Andrade, commissioned by the soda industries, created the extract formulas for guaraná soda. No longer would guaraná solely be ministered as libation for the listless yokel or as liquid aspirin for the urban migraine sufferer, Manzon exulted; rather a new ‘delicious and healthy’ drink had been created to hydrate and chill the legions of Brazilians battling ‘the rigors of our climate’, Slaking the nation’s thirst, Antarctica’s very brand name, Guaraná Champagne, represented the fusion of ‘indigenous flavour’ with European cosmopolitanism (in a company whose name evoked the earth’s coldest planet). With considerable prescience, he predicted that Guaraná Antarctica would soon be consumed nationwide from north to south, from the wealthiest to the humblest neighbourhoods and households in Brazil, on land, sea, and air. ‘Throughout this immense Brazil, wherever there is someone who is thirsty’, there will be Guaraná Antarctica, ‘the greatest defender of the national soda industry, the bulwark that

Jean Manzon, a French photojournalist, fled his homeland in 1940 at the age of twenty-five for Brazil, where he would

held off the competitors who sought to dominate the Brazilian consumer market' (Manzon, 1949).

In tracking guaraná's rise to national fame, Manzon was correct: prior to the advent of the namesake sodas that emerged in the first decades of the twentieth century, the plant was far better known in the Amazonian and Central-Western states as a household product than in the emerging southern and coastal metropolises where guaraná would soon become a staple in the restaurants, bars, kiosks, and kitchens of urbanites. Travel accounts reveal that the guaraná trade between Amazonas and the western state of Mato Grosso date back to at least the early nineteenth century, notwithstanding the treacherous routes and indigenous attacks that traders on the Madeira and Tapajós rivers faced to bring the drug to market. (Spix and Martius, 1938) Although caffeine was not identified until 1819 by German chemist Friedlieb Runge — with guaraná subsequently revealed to have the highest content of caffeine of any plant — consumers in Mato Grosso's capital, Cuiabá, paid exorbitant prices for a drug/drink touted as a cure-all for diarrhoea, headache, narcolepsy, and impotence (Keller, 1875).

Manzon, however, incorrectly restricted outsiders' historical knowledge of the drug to a handful of ethnographers; in fact, nineteenth-century medical and pharmaceutical publications reveal that Brazilian doctors and caregivers outside the Amazon and Midwestern regions were apprised of the drug, which had also been the object of research by chemists and pharmacists. Guaraná also featured prominently in many patent medicines marketed to urban consumers, offering a drug name recognition that the soda companies exploited in their early advertisement campaigns. A 1936 advertisement for 'Iofoscal', an alcohol-free tonic containing iodine, phosphorus, calcium, kola and guaraná, for example, was pitched to 'the man who works in the office, and expends his energies in the exercise of his profession; the lady who, aside from her natural conditions, has on her shoulders the responsibilities of home and childcare; and even the children, during different stages of youth, growth, study, and bone formation', ('Iofoscal', 1936) Moreover, while Manzon accurately described 'traditional' indigenous methods of production and consumption of guaraná, he omitted reference to the plant's deep historical, social, and cosmological importance for the Maués, for whom it served as a myth of origin and source of ritual exchange. (Nunes Pereira, 1954) The stimulant had also ceased to be an exclusively indigenous foodstuff since at least the nineteenth century; guaraná was produced, traded, and consumed by non-indigenous populations, even if the 'rods' ('bastões') manufactured by the Maués Indians — the first to domesticate the plant and invent a method to preserve its seeds' therapeutic qualities through pulverizing, kneading, and smoking — was particularly savoured by the drink's connoisseurs. But then again, Manzon was less interested in conducting a detailed historical or ethnographic study of guaraná than telling a particular

story about Brazilian modernization, one that would confirm readers' biases and swell nationalist pride — as well as boost the sales of a company that may have recruited him to assist in public relations. This was a story, after all, for middle-class readers grappling with rising consumerism and the growing flood of U.S. goods and mass media in post-war Brazil (Tota, 2010). This was the triumph of factory over field. This was a story of indigenous peoples and flora, wellsprings of Brazilian identity, 'improved' and sanitized by national science. This was the essence of Brazil's racial-cultural fusion — the nation's touted 'racial democracy' — in a bottle: Native flavours diluted, recoloured, and elevated into 'champagne'.

Manzon's 'depoliticized speech', to reference Barthes, was marked less by denial than by simplification, purification, and naturalization. Brazilian soda companies, relying on scientific experimentation and technological inputs, *had* developed methods to mechanically extract guaraná's mix of caffeine, theobromine, and tannins directly from its dried seeds (bypassing the labour-intensive process of pounding, moulding and smoking), transform the product into syrup and pasteurize it. Tellingly, export statistics from the state of Amazonas, the sole producer of guaraná for the first half of the twentieth century, show a marked division between the ongoing trade in loaves (*guaraná em bastão*) to Mato Grosso and the rising sale of dried seeds (*guaraná em rama*) to soda factories in São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro. Through carbonation, sweeteners, and additives, the soda companies had also reinvented the taste of 'guaraná' for southern consumers (although non-Indians had long before added sugar to cut the bitterness of the beverage). Over time they transformed a term once more familiar to urbanites as a medicine into a cooling refreshment.

The soda's popularization, of course, was owed ultimately not only to scientific and technological advances, including the industrial manufacture of ice and the spread of refrigeration, which allowed for the drink's preferential chilling. And it derived not only from large-scale production and improvement in distribution that reduced the cost for customers. Nor, as historians and anthropologists of drugs and alcohol have long noted, can the psychoactive properties of such substances fully explain their appeal. (Schivelbusch, 1993; Goodman, Lovejoy and Sherratt, 2007; Norton, 2008) Rather, the social practices and meanings attached to stimulants (by medical professionals, lawmakers, religious leaders, advertisers, and consumers) are critical to their reception and reinvention. (Courtwright, 2009) In this vein, the cultural messages linked to guaraná, reflecting and impelling transformations underway in industrializing Brazil, resonated with consumers beholding rapid social change. These anxieties and aspirations were filtered and fuelled by Brazil's advertising industry, which had been transformed since the late 1920s by the opening of branch offices of U.S. agencies as well as the expansion of national firms.

(McCann, 2004; Woodard, 2002) A 1952 article from the trade journal *Publicidade e Negócios* on advertising's 'psychological foundations' sheds light on how admen viewed their repertoire: human needs, the author noted, could be boiled down (in alphabetical order in the original Portuguese) to ambition, appetite, physical activity, beauty, curiosity, social approval, psychological evasion, sexual attraction, safety, health, comfort, economy, conformism, cultural refinement and self-affirmation (Carvalho, 1952). In the early print advertisements for guaraná sodas, such messages were deeply gendered and racialized.

Given women's traditional role in the domestic sphere, it is no surprise that the soda's pitch directly targeted women, albeit with implications more generative and contradictory than static conceptualizations of gender norms would suggest. Joana Monteleone's study of nineteenth- and early twentieth-century São Paulo elucidates the importance of new culinary practices and cultural pastimes, such as the spread of cafés and confectioneries, in opening up public spaces for 'respectable' women, where sweetened beverages enabled an alternative medium for sociability than that of the bar or saloon. (Monteleone, 2016) Thus, an early ad for Guaraná Espumante from 1921, featuring the drawing of a young woman staring wistfully at the night-time sky (the moon suggestively penetrated by the soda bottle), was dedicated to the 'sentimental girls, contemplators of star-lit nights, for whom the best stimulus is 'Guaraná Espumante, that is light as foam, quintessentially aromatic, and delicious as the ambrosia of the gods' (Figure 1). As an octogenarian, Anilda Antonio do Nascimento recounted in 1980 how a dose of guaraná soda — and serendipity — had enabled one such encounter with Brazil's soon-to-be radio singer Francisco Alves. As a fourteen-year-old working as a domestic servant in a household in downtown Rio de Janeiro — at a time when men still wore 'shiny top hats' — Anilda went one hot Saturday afternoon for a guaraná soda at a neighbourhood bar. A young man approached her, coyly asking why he had not been invited for a drink. Anilda obliged, offering him a glass of guaraná, 'because the gallant young man was elegant, handsome and very polite'. The choice of beverage presumably blunted the young woman's forwardness, just as it had provided seeming cover for her entry into the bar. (An ad for Antarctica 'Malt' Beer from 1921 found it necessary to underscore that it was 'appropriate for ladies', Figure 2). After drinking their sodas, Alves picked up the bill, and the two left the bar to walk around the neighbourhood (Crisculo, 1980). The couple wed one year later in 1916, although the marriage lasted just thirteen years, when Alves's career as radio crooner 'Chico Viola' began to take off. How countless other flirtations in Brazil may have sparkled with the aid of the soda are unrecoverable for the historian as they are unforgettable for their protagonists.

During the first decades of the twentieth century, soda also found its boosters in elite and middle class Brazilian



Figure 1. Source: *A Cigarra* 8, 165 (1921).

women who spearheaded a growing temperance movement, joined by male physicians and politicians. (Venâncio and Carneiro, 2005) Soda served as an alternative to alcohol, whose overconsumption by men purportedly led to the ruin of the household, waste in the workplace, and degeneration of the national stock. With its analeptic qualities, guaraná seemed particularly suited to the rigors of factory and office and the ascendant bourgeois values of individualism, diligence and regimentation. Soda offered



Figure 2. Source: *A Cigarra* 12, 225 (1924).



Figure 3. Source: *O Cruzeiro* (19 May, 1945), 26.

women new venues for entry into the sphere of formal politics, transposing 'traditional' moralizing roles as tamers of masculine excess onto the public arena. In this sense, sodas were more than a drink: they were symbol and support for the 'modern' woman in Brazil. As writer Rachel de Queiroz penned in the aftermath of World War II, contrasting the labour-intensive preparation of traditional foods and festivities for the São João holiday in her northeastern state of Ceará with the goings-on in Rio de Janeiro: 'Women in Rio want guaraná and the men want beer. There's no green corn to roast in the bonfire; they don't play games with a basin or with egg whites to discover which girl will get married. Girls in 1946 don't believe anymore in these idiocies and don't wait at home to get married. They are the ones that go out finding a husband and they are only happy when they can stand up for themselves' (Queiroz, 1946).

Industrial commodities transformed the household increasingly from a site of production to one of consumption, while mass-produced goods democratized consumerism, reconfiguring boundaries of class and gender. (Besse, 1996) Pressured to enhance household efficiency, family hygiene, partner satisfaction, and personal appearance, women were instructed to find their fix in sodas. Bombarded by an emergent welfare state's language of public health, elite and middle-class mothers turned to the fizzy stimulant (and patent medicines galore) to ensure their children's physical well-being and emotional

contentment. (Owensby, 1999) As a 1945 advertisement for Guaraná Antarctica featuring a young white girl with hair braided, and eyes bulging in anticipation of the soda asserted: 'Do you want to guess a child's wish? Offer them Guaraná Champagne. Nothing will please them more than a good soda. And the only soda that is delicious and good for them is Guaraná Champagne' (Figure 3). Defying straitlaced behaviour, the 'modern' woman's sexual daring was heralded in a poem published in *O Cruzeiro* in 1945, accompanied by a drawing of two women in bathing suits, which read: 'A swimming pool of twenty meters/ Girls even shorter/ In bathing suits even smaller/ tanning their bodies [English in original]....Coca-Cola, guaraná have crazy lives/ their bottles' poor, simple necks/ kiss the sexiest mouths' (Figure 4). On the other hand, in self-fashioning through consumption, women faced censure and self-doubt in challenging social boundaries. As journalist Helena Sangirardi noted in her 'Home Sweet Home' column in 1948: 'Many of my female friends and acquaintances think it strange that I don't smoke and don't venture past my innocent guaraná in terms of drinks. I know that many of them think I'm 'outmoded', entirely *old fashioned* [English in original] for this reason. But I know many ladies ('senhoras') who smoke two packs of cigarettes a day and drink several cocktails afterwards without even thinking about the fact that they still have nineteenth-century ideas', Besides, she added, smoking and drinking



Figure 4. Source *O Cruzeiro* (3 November, 1945), 22.

were more harmful to women than men due to their 'constitution and hormones', (Sangirardi, 1948) Indeed, all the while, amidst and because of social change, normative literature insisted that although women enjoyed newfound educational and professional opportunities in Brazil, endowing them with greater 'sum of responsibilities', they should never transgress their 'natural' duties, retreating instead to the 'anonymity of a supportive wife and devoted mother, every time the world demands such a role from her' (Teresa, 1947).

As patriarchy was restructured in Brazil amidst conflicting roles for women in a rapidly urbanizing society, there was guaraná in women's and family magazines, cook books and etiquette manuals: touted by columnists and advertisers as the key to hosting a successful dinner, throwing a child's birthday party, staying healthy, active and cool, following the lifestyles of the rich and famous, and providing other tips to the elusive quest for happiness. Manzon's 'mythology' of Guaraná Antarctica, of course, pedalled rather than deconstructed such gendered norms. In fact, the only 'visible' presence of women in the article is the photograph of female assembly line workers, glossed by the author in terms of the technological efficiency and hygienic safety of the factory rather than the women's pay and working conditions or their subjective understandings of industrial labour. That is because the article on guaraná soda was an ode to the masculinist logic of industrial science and production and the naturalized realm of female consumption.

That modernity also had a colour in Brazil, rooted in São Paulo and Brazil's southern regions, where European immigration between 1880 and 1930 was heaviest, was another subliminal message in Manzon's essay. (Weinstein, 2015; Dávila, 2003) The journalist did not mention Antarctica's establishment as a brewery by German immigrants in the 1880s but heralding the industry's future conquest of remote frontiers served a similar 'civilizing' tale: the integration of national markets and modernization of cultural pastimes under *paulista* command. Europeans and their descendants in Brazil, of course, owed their awareness of guaraná's utility to the Maués's domestication of the plant, manufacture of the drug, and knowledge of its bioactive properties; but with nineteenth-century advances in chemistry and pharmacology, such indigenous mastery of the natural world had been disparaged by scientists as 'traditional' or 'empiricist', Manzon's rendering of guaraná's reinvention as a triumph of Western science over indigenous custom in this sense was old hat in the annals of European colonialism and Latin American nationalism. (Whitt, 2009) Nevertheless, Brazil's language of racial democracy, a self-congratulatory fable of national exceptionalism, disavowed the flexing of white supremacist muscle. In fact, the caption to a 1960s magazine photo that showed the young son of President João Goulart sharing a guaraná soda with a black playmate touted the exchange as proof of

the absence of racism in Brazil ('João o anfitrião', 1962). Rather, the making of 'modern' Brazil, narratively plotted as the process of integrating discrete racial groups, with each bearing essentialized cultural traits, would culminate in the eclipse of its non-white populations.

The early branding and advertising of guaraná sodas tells similar stories of racial stereotyping and hierarchy. While the interrelated phenomena of political and literary indigenism in Latin America have been extensively analysed, its commercial iterations have been less studied. (Ramos, 1998; Garfield, 2001, Devine Guzmán, 2013) Imagery of indigenous peoples featured prominently in the early guaraná soda companies' product logos, advertising campaigns and promotional literature — just as they did for goods ranging from dyes ('Corante Guarany') biscuits ('Aymoré'), perfumes ('Marajoara') that claimed indigenous names or icons, or even the radio stations (Tupi) that announced them. From the 1920s to the 1940s, images of Indians as preternaturally healthy, proudly independent, sexually inviting, unerringly traditional, and authentically national, peppered guaraná soda ads in Brazilian magazines; for a few *cruzeiros*, the soda's drinkers were promised a dose of vigour, enchantment, freedom, or patriotism. Confined largely to rural subsistence economies and systems of debt peonage, indigenous peoples, were not, of course, the targeted consumers of such 'ethnic advertising'. These advertisements reflected the imaginaries of urban product marketers and the primarily white, middle and upper classes that they sought to engage, much as had been the case for other forms of nineteenth- and twentieth-century indigenism in Latin America. In fact, the people most commonly showcased in the soda's print advertising campaigns in *O Cruzeiro* between the 1920s and the 1970s were white — reflecting advertisers' presumption of the racial profile of their readers and consumers, their conflation of modernity with whiteness, and complicity in the perpetuation of Brazilian racial inequalities. Yet to attract urban buyers to a product with which many may have been unfamiliar or unpersuaded, guaraná's commercial advertisers also adapted longstanding cultural tropes of native peoples in Brazil and the Americas. Indians were featured as the foundations or foils for the 'modern' nation, reflecting efforts by advertisers and city dwellers to adjust (to) the social changes marking urban, industrial life. In addressing such images, Barthes is once again instructive here in affirming the bourgeoisie's inability to 'imagine the Other', resorting instead to blindness, denial, exoticism, or transformation unto themselves: 'The Other becomes a pure object, a spectacle, a clown' (Barthes, 2013).

The use of exotica to market stimulants in early modern Europe — given the origins of chocolate and tobacco among Native Americans; tea among the Chinese; and the Muslim role in the introduction of coffee — has been detailed by scholars (Schivelbusch, 1993). The marketing strategies of Guaraná Espumante Zanotta, a São Paulo-



Figure 5. Source: *A Cigarra* 8, 154 (15 February, 1921).

based predecessor and competitor of Antarctica, exemplifies similar strategies of indigenous fetishization. The company's very logo featured a bare-breasted indigenous woman and its advertisement texts often revolved around their 'encounters' with white males. Perhaps unsurprisingly, given the advertising industry's affinity for 'fables of abundance', reminiscent of the allure of Carnavalesque indulgence, Brazil's pre-Lenten Bacchanalia often served as a thematic backdrop. (Lears, 1994) In one advertisement touting Guaraná Espumante for the 1921 Carnival, which featured a white male harlequin and a bare-breasted indigenous woman (holding guaraná berries), the consumer was coached: 'He Doesn't Suffer nor Sniffle / the Carnavalesque Pierrot/ Ever Since He Ran Away/ And Abandoned Columbine/ And Lives at Ease/ with the Beautiful Representative/ of Guaraná Espumante/ Who is a *bugre* [a popular, pejorative term for indigenous peoples in Brazil, literally 'bugger'] from Amazonia' (Figure 5). Here, Guaraná Espumante showcases the sexual availability of indigenous women for white men, reminiscent of São Paulo's celebration of the military and carnal conquests of colonial-era bandeirantes whose 'exploration' of the backlands and subjugation of native peoples had given rise to the city and the expansion of the Brazilian frontier. (Weinstein, 2015) The rejection of the European literary muse, Columbine, for a semi-nude indigene echoes the bawdy, subversive spirit of Carnival

whose essence is purportedly contained in the beverage. A similarly irreverent style marked an advertisement from 1924 paying homage to São Paulo's patron saint. The drawing featured St. Paul being tempted by a bottle of guaraná proffered by a topless indigenous woman in a headdress and a Lacta chocolate bar from a chicly dressed white woman (both products were manufactured by Zanotta) with the caption: 'There's no pleasure that swells as much this saint, there's none' (Figure 6). The ad's differential allocation of feminine garb, signalling greater sexual license towards indigenous women, may have been designed to encourage soda consumption by men.

In the context of rising nationalism in the 1920s, the soda's marketers also upheld the drink's indigenous roots as a badge of Brazilian superiority. A rhymed advertisement for Guaraná Espumante, featuring the standard semi-nude native woman, this time offering a glass of a guaraná soda to a distinguished European gentleman in suit jacket and top hat, read: 'I come to offer you, sir, as a souvenir/ a fine, delicious beverage/ which has even been praised by [Brazilian statesman] Ruy Barbosa/ Drunk in Brazil, better, much better/ than the vermouths of Italy and the cognacs of France. Remember dear *touriste* its name by heart/ and spread it among the elegant people of your country: Guaraná! Guaraná! Guaraná Espumante!'



Figure 6. Source: *A Cigarra* 12, 224 (1924).



Figure 7. Source: Dalmir Reis Jr., *Guaraná Espumante* (1921).

(Figure 7). With its allusion to European gastronomy, the advertisement again suggests the product's highbrow target market in Brazil and the continent's centrality as cultural frame of reference for elites.

Like other sodas, guaraná was first pitched as a health tonic, and some brands, such as Guaraná Jesus, had been developed by pharmacists (similar to the origins of Coca-Cola or Dr. Pepper in the United States.) Akin to the patent medicines with which they initially jostled for consumers, guaraná sodas solicited physicians to vouch for their efficacy. In the 1920s, Dr. Soares Hungria praised Guaraná Espumante's 'tonic qualities on the human organism', Physicians Estrellita Luz and Plinio Gomilde hailed Guaraná Espumante as an inestimable accessory in the crusade against alcoholism. But Guaraná Espumante's most prominent backing came from Luiz Pereira Barreto, a renowned surgeon and professor of medicine from São Paulo who had devised guaraná's formula for soda use in

1905, and whom Manzon hailed as the populariser (and modernizer) of the Amazonian good. Espumante's label, which bore the physician's signature, offered his glowing assessment of the beverage's qualities as 'Aperitive, Diuretic, Neuro-Muscular, Strengthening and Regularizing the Heart for its Indispensable Functions in the Good Functioning of the Intestines. Rejuvenates the elderly', In this context, early promotional material for guaraná soft drinks also spotlighted indigenous peoples' vigour. Next to Espumante's bare-breasted icon, for example, the label excerpted Pereira Barreto's original article from 1907 (republished and cited by many) that hailed guaraná as a secret to longevity: 'No stomach no matter how delicate rejects it. Taken regularly, there will be no candidate for old age who will not immediately feel its beneficial effects. It prevents arteriosclerosis. Whoever has sound judgment, here is my advice: Follow the *bugre*' (Figure 8). An ardent positivist committed to the modernization of Brazilian medical and agricultural science, Pereira Barreto viewed indigenous peoples as relics of humanity's earlier 'fetishtic' mentality, redeemable through the laws of science and good government (Barros, 1967). At the same time, his unflagging nationalism located in indigenous people an icon of Brazilian authenticity. Guaraná Espumante, in this sense, had adapted more than one of Pereira Barreto's formulas.

The last guaraná soda print advertisement featuring an indigenous image that I located in *O Cruzeiro* and *A Cigarra* for the period spanning from the 1920s to 1970s appeared during World War II. A November 1944 magazine advertisement for Guaraná Champagne Antarctica ('first-rate ingredients, absolute hygiene, and technical perfection') contained a drawing of an indigenous man with a feather in his hair with the heading 'Acquire the vitality of an Indian', Consumers of the soda were reassured that 'The reason for the fortitude ('Resistência') of the Indians lies in their food, above all the insuperable attributes of guaraná, source of health, energy and vigour, at the reach of all in this delicious drink' (Figure 9). Although among indigenous peoples guaraná was consumed primarily by the Maués (and cultivated as

well by their neighbours, the Mundurucu), the advertisement transformed the drink into a pan-indigenous elixir. The admen's objectives, of course, were not ethnographic realism. Antarctica, facing a sudden challenge from Coca-Cola since its entry into Brazil two years earlier, concertedly burnished its nationalistic credentials to tarnish its rival. But the publicity campaign also suggests how advertisers were attuned to the general political climate in Brazil. In April 1944,



Figure 8. Source: Dalmir Reis Jr. *Curiosidade: como surgiu o guaraná.*



Figure 9. Source: *O Cruzeiro* (25 November, 1944), 59.



Figure 10. Source: *O Cruzeiro* (1 May, 1943): 15.

the Vargas regime promulgated the 'Day of the Indian', part of a Pan-American indigenist trend showcasing the contribution of native peoples to national cultures and the benevolence of state integrationist policies. The advertisement also appeared in the geopolitical context of the Vargas regime's 'March to the West', an official government campaign of frontier colonization that romanticized indigenous integration as a veneer for land grabbing (Garfield, 2001).

It is worth noting that in the previous year, Guaraná Antarctica's advertisers opted for a seemingly contrasting message. The 1943 May Day advertisement featured a drawing of an Antarctica factory with faceless figures on an industrial landscape scurrying to and fro. The text, accompanied by a crude rendering of a production graph, proclaimed that 'every day consumption grows', due to the 'unequaled qualities of the healthy and refreshing drink'. The advertisement also reminded readers that 'guaraná, a Brazilian product originating in the jungles of Amazonia, is spreading patriotically throughout national territory' (Figure 10). Yet both Guaraná Antarctica advertisements, in fact, drew from the same cultural substrate of developmental nationalism. In this sense, whether the advertisement image of the valiant indigene served to inspire work or whimsy for the consumer, it was tied to the increasingly regimented tempos of urban, industrial life.



Figure 11. Source: *O Cruzeiro* 25 (16 June, 1970), 2.



Figure 12. Source: *O Cruzeiro* (26 April, 1952), 85.

During the post-war period, indigenous peoples largely disappeared from guaraná soda print ads, much as government policy championed their cultural assimilation. As marketers definitively shifted guaraná soda from the field of medicine to leisure, recourse to the fabled Indian warrior or healer proved obsolete. Advertisers had found ‘cooler’ images to convey to an expanding youth population their tried-and-true message of health, sex, vitality, fantasy, and non-conformism in a bottle. Typically, they were a bit subtler than a June 1970 Guaraná Brahma advertisement featuring an ejaculatory bottleneck that invited the drinker to ‘Set free the forces of nature.... This is authentic. It still has the savage in its soul. Pure and faithful to its origins. In other words, a savage. On opening the cap, you will free all of these instincts. Set free a Guaraná Brahma the minute you feel thirsty. And appreciate the results’ (Figure 11). Instead, print advertisements more often featured young, athletic, white figures — couples in bathing suits, tennis players, surfers, and he-men (to convey that ‘real’ men should drink soda) — with declarations of independence to ‘be yourself’ and ‘you are what you drink’ (Figure 12). Still, in launching a new product, such as Guaraná Antarctica Ice, in the summer of 2007, advertisers resorted to the buffoonish Indian for humour: in the television advertisement, an overwrought rain dance performed by ‘native’ Amazonian warriors leads to snowfall in the rainforest (‘AmBev Lança’, 2007).

That Brazilian soda advertisements presumed and perpetuated the normativity of the white consumer was not lost on social critics. In a 1951 article, the black actor Grande Otelo slammed the advertising industry for its unwillingness to fashion Afro-Brazilians as modern consumers. ‘You never see in a Brazilian ad a black woman opening a refrigerator, drinking a soda, or dressed in a beautiful bathing suit. Or a black man and his children in a beautiful automobile’, Grande Otelo bewailed. ‘Doesn’t the black have the right to have a house, buy furniture?’ he asked. ‘Black men, women, and boys want the same as whites’, he added, ‘and if sometimes they don’t buy or don’t use things it is because they are not moved by the ads’, (Grande Otelo, 1951) In the following edition of the advertising journal, a letter to the editor dismissed Grande Otelo’s suggestion as ‘nice but unrealistic’ since ‘the minute a talc powder, soda, or automobile showed black consumers, they would be branded ‘products for blacks’ and boycotted...’ (Goes, 1951).

Integral to the rise of mass media and consumption in twentieth-century Brazil, guaraná sodas accounted by 2013 for over a quarter of the nation’s annual \$43 billion carbonated beverage sales. That same year, Guaraná Antarctica claimed 10 million fans on Facebook. (Ad Age, 2013) The omnipresence of guaraná soda across Brazil confirms Eric Hobsbawm’s observation regarding ‘stars and cans’, the pervasive images from mass entertainment and mass consumption that have accompanied the residents of Western nations and the urban centres of the developing world since the 1960s (Hobsbawm, 1996). In charting guaraná’s rise, I have sought to pass from nature to history, tracing the roots of gender and race that served to ground an icon of Brazilian pop culture and national development. Amidst the potential levelling and homogenization afforded by mass consumption, guaraná’s amenability to naturalizing social hierarchies suggests that the product’s origins may be ‘genuinely Brazilian’ in more ways than its Amazonian heritage.

In demystifying an object, the mythologist, nevertheless faces many challenges, as Barthes notes. Historical deconstruction risks the disappearance of the very object of study, while critical distance from a myth’s consumers may obscure its representation of ‘the humanity of those who, having nothing, have borrowed it’. Thus, he exhorts, we must strive for ‘a reconciliation between reality and men, between description and explanation, between object and knowledge’, (Barthes, 2013)

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