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PAPERS

The mothers of future families: the magazine O Tico-Tico in the formation of Brazilian girls (1905-1925)¹

As mães de famílias futuras: a Revista o Tico-Tico e a formação das meninas brasileiras (1905-1925)

Las madres de las familias futuras: la revista O Tico-Tico y la formación de las niñas brasileñas (1905 – 1925)

Luciana Borges Patroclo
Pontifícia Universidade Católica do Rio de Janeiro (Brazil)

https://orcid.org/0000-0002-4787-0762

http://lattes.cnpq.br/4982044274411776

lupatroclo@yahoo.com.br

Abstract

This article analyzes the magazine *O Tico-Tico* in order to identify its female content. Its time frame, from 1905 to 1925, covers the early twenty years of magazine existing until February of 1962. The researched editions belong to digital collections of Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. Considered the first Brazilian illustrated children's magazine, its creations involved intellectuals who advocated that kind of journal should promote standards of behaviors. Among the representations that should be regulated were gender relations. The content of *O Tico-Tico* defends the perspective of a woman as an individual just devoted to maternity and to marriage. Elite groups had several concerns to strengthen the principles of bourgeois morality in which the boys were prepared to face the world of work and girls should receive the knowledge necessary to be a good housewife.

Keywords: O Tico-Tico, Children's Magazine, Gender Relations, Female Formation

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¹ English version by Luciana Borges Patroclo, and Cristiane Borges Patroclo. E-mail: lupatroclo@yahoo.com.br; crispatroclo@yahoo.com.br.

Resumo

O artigo aborda as representações femininas presentes em O Tico-Tico. O recorte temporal, 1905 a 1925, abrange os 20 anos iniciais de circulação do impresso existente até fevereiro de 1962. Os exemplares pesquisados pertencem ao acervo da Hemeroteca Digital da Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. Considerada a primeira revista ilustrada dedicada às crianças brasileiras, sua criação envolveu a ação de intelectuais que apostaram na imprensa não escolar como meio de difusão de conhecimentos e voltada à formação moral da infância. Entre as representações a serem normatizadas estavam às relações de gênero. Nas páginas de O Tico-Tico estavam imersas a perspectiva da mulher como alguém devotado à maternidade e ao casamento. Havia por parte das elites a preocupação em reforçar os princípios da moral burguesa na qual os meninos eram preparados desde cedo para enfrentar o mundo do trabalho e as meninas deveriam receber o conhecimento necessário para ser uma exímia rainha do lar.

Palavras-chave: O Tico-Tico, Impresso Infantil, Relações de Gênero, Formação Feminina.

Resumen

El artículo analiza las representaciones femeninas presentes en O Tico-Tico. El marco de tiempo, 1905-1925, abarca los primeros 20 años de su circulación existente hasta febrero de 1962. Los ejemplares estudiados pertenecen a la Hemeroteca Digital de la Fundação Biblioteca Nacional. Considerada como la primera revista ilustrada dedicada a los niños brasileños, su creación implicó la acción de los intelectuales que apuestan por la prensa no escolar como un medio de difusión de modelos de comportamiento. Entre las representaciones que deberían ser reguladas estaban las relaciones de género. En las páginas de O Tico-Tico se figura la perspectiva de la mujer como alguien dedicado a la maternidad y el matrimonio. Las élites tenían la preocupación de reforzar los principios de la moral burguesa en la que los niños deberían ser preparados para enfrentar el mundo del trabajo y las niñas deberían recibir los conocimientos necesarios para ser tornar una excelente ama de casa.

Palabras clave: O Tico-Tico, Revista para Niños, Relaciones de género, Formación Femenina

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Introduction

On October 11th of 1905, on Wednesday, started to be sold on Rio de Janeiro's street, till then Brazilian republic capital, the children magazine, O Tico - Tico. The weekly newspaper number one cover, about Publisher Sociedade Anonyma O Malho, has the title Impose who can² e presents different perspectives about the launching of publication. Composed of just for two comic strips, the first narrative describes an imaginative version about the creation of O Tico – Tico. A children group protest claims with the magazine newsroom, addressed in Ouvidor Street in downtown.

With the fist in the air, boys and girls turn to the character O Malho, icon symbol of the print office and the magazine with the same name, to make a lot of complaints. Scarred, O Malho asks the little demonstrators if that movement is a revolution: "The hope of this nation, what do you want?³. They answered: "- We want our magazine. Mr. Mallho, you are well-done and are very funny, but you a not enough!⁴" The second strip shows the children throwing their hats high. How would be the reason for such a mood change? The character O Malho agreed to content the children' wishes: "- Future homeland saviors and future family mothers, from now every Wednesday, ask your parents to buy O Tico-Tico"⁵ (p.1).

The use of expressions "pequenas esperanças da Pátria, Futuros salvadores da Pátria e mães de família futuras", awoke the following questions: How the children were noticed under Brazilian society at the beginning of twentieth century? What kind of patriotic contents was produced for *children? How were the gender relations at the begging of the Brazilian republican period?*

The creation of the referred publication involved the action of intellectuals the gambled on no scholar press as a way to publicize the knowledge to the formations of Brazilians children: Cardoso Júnior, Luis Bartolomeu de Souza e Silva, Manoel Bomfim e Renato de Castro. They had the purpose to supply the lack of the Brazilian national press, insistent in not publish magazines that privileged the expectations and needs of toddlers. How can be demonstrated in this small extract of the first editorial launched on O Tico - Tico: "This little newspaper (to use an inevitable argument) fills a gap. It is a newspaper intended to promote for children: reading, amusement, and distraction" (1905, s/p.).

Those intellectuals took the inspiration in french illustrated magazines, directed to boys and girls, and the North Americans comic books. Emphasizes the French press: Le Jeudi de La jeunesse (1902), La Jeunesse Illustrée (1903), Les Belles Images (1903), Le Petit Journal Illustré de La Jeunesse (1904) e La Semaine de Suzette (1905). Besides of the Buster Brown (1902), character created by Richard Felton Outcault and that was the role model for the Brazilian character *Chiquinho*, a little boy and image symbol of *O Tico - Tico* (ROSA, 2002).

The magazine process of development was associated with a consolidation of Brazilian children's literature effectively written by national's authors. According to Hansen (2007) was in the turn off the 19th century and the start of the twentieth century witch intellectuality imbued of this mission. In your early days in Brazil, this literary genre was bounded to scholar literature, "simplesmente destinados a fornecer leituras aos meninos nas escolas" (ARROYO, 1968, p.120). There was no content suitability to the age of lectures.

> Boys and the girls suffer, from an early age, since they barely learn how to articulate of vowels and consonants; they are obligated to read, for example, whole songs of The Lusíadas, or memorizing them. (...) (Loc.cit.).

³ In Portuguese: – que é que querem, afinal de contas, ó pequenas esperanças da Pátria?.

² In Portuguese: *Manda quem póde*

⁴ In Portuguese: – Queremos um jornal exclusivamente para nós. Você seu Malho, é muito bem feito, é muito divertido, mas não nos basta!

⁵ In Portuguese: – Futuros salvadores da Pátria e mães de família futuras, d'aqui em diante ás quartas – feiras, exigi de vossos paes O Tico - Tico.

⁶ In Portuguese: Este jornalzinho (para empregar uma chapa inevitável) vem preencher uma lacuna. E' um jornal que se destina exclusivamente á leitura, ao prazer, á distração das crianças.

⁷In Portuguese: Daí tanto menino e tanta menina sofrer, desde tenra idade, mal saídos da perfeita articulação de vogais e consoantes, ao ter que ler, por exemplo, cantos inteiros de Os Lusíadas, ou decorá-los mesmos.

Throughout the 19th century, children's literature published in the country was merely translations of foreign books used by the general public. For example: The Thousand and One Nights (1882), Robison Crusoé (1885), Gulliver's travel (1888) e The Adventures of Barão Munchausen (1891). Also, a lot of these books was sold in Brazil with no age rating e, for this reason, the publishers used marketing them like publications for toddlers (SILVA, 2010).

Become emphasize that this movement made was part of a huge context about political and socio-cultural transformations witch consequences were the end of Monarch and the Proclamation of the Brazilian Republic in 1889. The republican's elites defended that a new social order needs to be consolidated, in which the social vices must be overcome on behalf of modern society and focused on European conducts and values.

One of the most visibility consequences of this new scene was the Rio de Janeiro, till republican capital, downtown modernization. Named Bota - Abaixo (Knock it down), the reform led by Major Pereira Passos (1902 – 1906) that immersed a Republic Capital in a cosmopolite visage. The narrow streets and the colonial architecture were replaced by urban buildings and wide streets like Central Avenue (1904). People began to circulate by tram. The Municipal Theater inauguration meant the creation of an excellent place for Classical culture. Women walked along trough the downtown area dressed conservative clothes, gloves, and large hats. Clothing better suited to European temperatures than Rio's climate. The appropriation of these social behaviors should be compared to a kind of social contract aimed at maintaining collective discipline (SEVCENKO, 2006).

In agreement with the perspective of a new beginning, the child was identified as the main character. After being the target of moral, educational and civic actions, the infant must be able to break the establish ties with a stained past by social problems like the illiteracy. For Camara (2010), the political and intellectual sectors of the country started to spread the idea that a spirit of patriotism should be created inside the Brazilian child heart. This perspective contributed to the consolidation of the bourgeois concept of childhood. According to the new family structure, children have gained the status of a most special family member (PERROT, 2009).

The preference for developing a publication along the lines of illustrated magazines, rather than the book format, was bounded by to the process of modernization of the Brazilian press (HANSEN, Op.cit). As well, the founding - intellectuals of O Tico-Tico had newspapers and magazines as their main job. The use of conception intelligence is linked to the category elaborated by Sirinelli (2003) about the intellectual creators and cultural mediators. Into this group have been: journalists, writers, and high school teachers. They are characterized by enjoying the press as an instance of sociability. Newsrooms and editorial boards of magazines are places for sharing worldviews. "In conclusion, a magazine is, first of all, a place of intellectual fermentation and affective relationship, at the same time nursery and space of sociability" (p.249). Gomes (2009) describes Brazilian intellectuals of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries as "professionals of symbolics goods, essentials to the legitimation of modern politicals regimes⁹" (p.26). Sevcenko (2003) states that Brazilian intellectuality found in the press, especially the illustrated magazines, its main means for the circulation of an idea of modernity and civility:

> The refined finish and simple literary treatment of the raw material tend to turn the reading of this kind of text something compulsory or its daily consumption by the literate groups of the city. This "new journalism," with its mundane magazines intensely illustrated, which is its most refined product, becomes the urban bourgeoisie new trend, meaning its reading, in

⁸ In Portuguese: Em suma, uma revista é antes de tudo um lugar de fermentação intelectual e de relação afetiva, ao mesmo tempo viveiro e espaço de sociabilidade (...).

⁹ In Portuguese: "profissionais de produção de bens simbólicos, essenciais à legitimação de regimes políticos modernos".

all its forms, a sign of posh in an atmosphere of regeneration. This scenario created as an "urban public opinion, anxious by the judgment and orientation of intellectuality that worked in the newsrooms" (p.119).

According to Sodré (1999) and Luca (2008), the small printers lose space for journalistic companies. The insertion of "Modern mechanical composition machines, zinc cliches, and ever fasterrotating have allowed publications to use color illustrations and photographs. In addition to increasing and faster printing of copies" (Ibidem., p.1). This new printing model was presented to O Tico – Tico readers, through the coloring pages and the presence of photos that were sent by their public.

Although O Tico-Tico has been a magazine targeted for all the children, a careful reading of its editions indicates the existence of the contents focused just for boys and just for girls. The Brazilian elites were concerned to reinforce into the childhood the bourgeois moral values which defended that boys should be prepared for the labor world and the girls should be prepared to be a good wife. A consequence of a social environment target by some conservative and sexist characteristics that classified female gender as to representations of fragility and submission. However, it should be emphasized that these speeches were ambiguous because it was the women who had the responsibility to provide the moral education necessary for the development of good citizens.

In the pages of O Tico-Tico, especially in the early years of the publication, circulated a discourse that the boy's moral instruction should be emphasized, not the feminine formation. However, for the magazine to fulfill its mission, publishers needed to be concerned about the girls' needs.

Even O Tico-Tico had its format inspired by several children's publications, in this article is privileged the magazine La Semaine de Suzette. The Brazilian magazine reproduced some of its contents from the French publication¹². Launched by Gautier-Languereau Publishing House, *Suzette's* Semaine went on sale on February 2 of 1905. Aimed at girls aged 8 to 14 who belonged to bourgeois families, its purpose was to promote the moral and religious formation. The magazine editions were constituted by handicraft, games, contests, illustrated narratives, plays, cooking recipes, sewing activities (COUDEREC, 2005). At O Tico-Tico the bourgeois girls and women should be beautiful, kind, submissive and have domestic skills. Because of this image was created specific sections about themes considered eminently feminine, such as fashion and household care.

The reason for developing a study on O Tico-Tico's contribution to the formation of girls is consonant with Perrot's (1989) perspective, in which historiographic production relegated a female trajectory as "faint shadows" (p.9). In the twentieth century, there were several questions about the role of women in society. For Scott (2012), these narratives were focused on the perspective of highlighting female participation in the historical process. Initially, the researches approached women biographies. These studies used to be centered on the category: heroines. This political perspective has become the target of criticals. There was an objection about the existence of a universal category to classify all the women since the historiography recognized that an individual has multiple identities: social, ethnic, cultural, sexual, and religious, among other categories.

The definition of gender begun to delineate studies on male and female relationship. Aspects of physical and biological overcame through social construction. As Almeida (2007)

¹⁰ In Portuguese: O acabamento mais apurado e o tratamento literário simples da matéria tendem a tornar obrigatório o seu consumo cotidiano pelas camadas alfabetizadas da cidade. Esse "novo jornalismo", de par com as revistas mundanas, intensamente ilustradas e que são o seu produto mais refinado, tornam-se mesmo a coqueluche da nova burguesia urbana, significando o seu consumo, sob todas as formas, um sinal de bom-tom sob a atmosfera da Regeneração. Cria-se assim uma opinião pública urbana, sequiosa do juízo e da orientação dos homens de letras que preenchiam as redações.

¹¹ In Portuguese: Máquinas modernas de composição mecânica, clichês de zinco, rotativas cada vez mais velozes" permitiram às publicações utilizarem ilustrações coloridas e fotografias. Além de aumentar e tornar mais rápida a impressão dos exemplares.

¹² The narratives of Bécassine were translated and published in O Tico-Tico with the title: Aventuras de uma empregada (Adventures of a maid). The story is about a young peasant who lives in the Brittany region. Bécassine was the most famous character in La Semaine de Suzette. In Brazil, the character was named Narcissa, but in other editions she was also named Felismina (LUYTEN, 2005; CAGNIN, 2005; SANTOS, 2012).

remind, such relations are not characterized by impartiality, as they are flexible and immersed in power struggles. Pinsky (2014) advert that gender constructions are characterized by complementarity because changes in women's status are reflected in the male gender either:

> When we refer to gender, we discuss about a cultural construction which is observed and meant as sexual difference, in other words, the manners how societies understand, for example, what is "being a man" and "being a woman", and what is "masculine" and "feminine¹³" (p.1).

This extract reinforces the fact of physical and biological aspects were replaced by a social construction. The article theme covers the initial 20 years of circulation of O Tico-Tico, which lasted until February 1962. The period between 1905 and 1925 was privileged, as it was consolidated as the moment of the structuring of the first spaces of the magazine considered eminently feminine as: Secção para meninas (Section for girls), Section for our readers (Secção para nossas leitoras), Costumes for our readers (Figurinos para nossas leitoras) and For our readers (Para nossas leitoras).

O Tico-Tico and the defense of mothers of future families

On September 16th of 1905, an announcement was published in the revue O Malho regarding the launch of O Tico-Tico, in which it was presented the rules to participate in the magazine's first contest entitled What does the boy want to be? (O que é que o menino quer ser?). According to the instructions, just male children up to 12 years old could send them solutions. They should use in their texts the title What I want to be, and discuss the following aspects: which profession they would like to have and point the reasons and motives for choosing a certain profession. The winner would be paid with a prize of 100\$000 réis. The conditions assumed:

> The answers will be short and will not exceed more than one page: those who broke this rule will be disqualified. Replies must be sent to our office until day 30th of the current month and have to include the true signature and pieces of information about the age, and the address. Of course, parents, teachers, or anyone else do not give any kind of writing help in these responses. For example, if someone prepares or amends the boy's narrative, this would be a distortion of the contest proposal and would perpetrate an act of falsity that could result in a bad influence on the child's moral formation. They need to respond in agreement with their spirit and wishes. The first virtue of this contest should be: If the boy knows, from an early age, what he will wants to be, he must reveal his vocation, courage, and values. The boy will keep his grown-up dreams. In the contest ends, which we hope that the boys choose should be in according to the most desired professional. We will be able to identify how it is gonna be Brazil's future and predict if this new generation, that has been pointing, will have the capacities of leading this great country to the tomorrow and make our dream bright come true. As you can see, this is a very interesting contest ¹⁴(p.40).

¹³ In Portuguese: Quando falamos em gênero, estamos falando da construção cultural que é percebida e pensada como diferenca sexual, ou seja, das maneiras como as sociedades entendem, por exemplo, o que é "ser homem" e "ser mulher", e o que é "masculino" e "feminino".

¹⁴ In Portuguese: As respostas serão curtas, não podendo occupar mais que uma página de papel almasso: as que excederem uma pagina de papel almasso não serão acceitas. As respostas devem ser enviadas a nosso escriptorio até o 30 do mez corrente, e devem trazer as verdadeiras assignaturas dos respectivos autores, a idade e o logar onde moram. É claro que nem os pais, professores ou quaesquer outras pessoas devem intervir nessas respostas, pois quem, por exemplo, preparasse ou emendasse a resposta dum menino não só desvirtuaria o intuito do concurso como praticaria um acto de falsidade que por si só, influiria pessimamente na moral do menino. Deixem os meninos

About the contest, female preclusion was linked to the view that women should only be concerned with marriage and home administration. Thus, they could not send answers to future professions. As stated at the text published at O Malho edition in September 23th of 1905, about this contest: "The fair sex is not hurt, or sad, or has bad behavior. For fair sex, like a blooming flower, we will have more contests¹⁵" (p.13). At O Tico-Tico edition in March 28th of 1906, was published the result of Contest No. 28 - An Underwater Ride (Concurso n.28 - Um passeio de baixo d'água). In the puzzle-like activity, the children had to cut out the drawn parts and create the images of a fish and a frog. The winners would win prizes of 10\$000. Because of its ease, the publication received numerous letters with the correct solution:

> In the draw among those who sent the exact solution the girls outwitted the boys this time. Luck chose the girls, but surely the little strong sex is love enough to not get angry about it 16 (p.16).

According to Priore (2003), the expressions Fair Sex (Bello Sexo) and Fragile Sex (Sexo Frágil) were invented by scientific thinking to consolidate the inferiority parameters of the female body. Subsequently, such adjectives broke the barriers of medical textbooks and emerged as categories in the social world:

> Determined by male society thoughts, the evocation of female's body images and identity, by different authors reflected only subordination: femle's bodies were smaller, their bones small, their flesh soft and spongy, their character weak¹⁷ (p.177).

Sidney Chalhoub (2001) research the main feature of the influence of scientific knowledge in the definition of men's and women's sexual roles, which were based on the bourgeois view of Rio de Janeiro's elites in the early twentieth century. Chalhoub cites Jurandir Freire Costa's study of the theses presented at the Rio de Janeiro's and Bahia's Medical Schools in the 19th century. Costa researched narratives on sexual differences centered on the analysis of anatomical characteristics. Academic papers aimed to understand how each sex handled their feelings. Because of their physical fragility, women were described as delicate and docile. Men were characterized as virile individuals:

> Considered a creature naturally weak, female characteristics as sensitivity, sweetness, passivity, and submission were identified as the woman's mainly virtues. (...) In contrast, man's qualities become characterized by physical brawn and moral strength. Dominated by the virility, the man loves less than the woman, and his interest was directed forward to the sensual desire. The man was rude, rational, authoritarian and hard¹⁸ (p.178).

responder inteiramente em conformidade com seu espírito e aspirações. A primeira virtude deste concurso estará nisso: desde logo o menino, dizer o que deseja ser, e pela maneira por que o disser, revelará suas tendencias, seu animo, seu valor. Desde logo o menino retratará o homem que guarde em si. E ao fim deste concurso, a que esperamos que concorram conforme as profissões mais desejadas, já nós poderemos calcular o que será o Brasil de amanhã, já poderemos prever si essa nova geração que ahi vem apontando terá a seiva e os ideais capazes de conduzirem esta grande patria ao futuro que sonhamos brilhante. Como vêem, trata-se de um concurso interessantíssimo.

- 15 In Portuguese: O pequenino bello sexo que não se magôe nem vá agora ficar maguado ou fazer pirraça. Para esse bello sexo, ainda em botão, abriremos muitos concursos depois.
- ¹⁶ In Portuguese: No sorteio entre os que mandaram solução exacta as meninas desta vez passaram a perna nos meninos. A sorte escolheu-as a ellas, mas por certo o pequeno sexo forte é sufficientemente amavel para não se zangar
- ¹⁷ In Portuguese: Cristalizada pela forma de pensar de uma sociedade masculina, a evocação de imagens do corpo e da identidade feminina, na pluma de diferentes autores, refletia apenas subordinação: ele era menor, os ossos pequenos, as carnes moles e esponjosas, o caráter débil.

¹⁸In Portuguese: Criatura fraca por natureza, as principais virtudes femininas passam a ser a sensibilidade, a doçura, a passividade e a submissão. (...) O homem ao contrário, caracterizava-se pelo vigor físico e pela

The story The women's enemy (O inimigo das mulheres), published in the edition of June 30th of 1909, raises questions about women's social value. The narrative describes the offenses granted by the boy named Lulu against his sister. Systematically, the boy boasts of the supposed superiority of man over woman. Lulu only becomes aware of the value of women when he gets hurt and needs care and attention. His sister readily bandages him and Lulu tells her that at that moment he had understood which tasks a woman was suited for.

The female model present in the pages of O Tico-Tico is consonant with La Semaine de Suzette. Representations and discourses about the feminine gender of the french magazine were similar to those found in the Brazilian magazine. According to Couderec (Op. Cit.), the contents aimed at girls' education should emphasize the importance of the family. Men and women's roles had to be specifically identified and presented. In order to facilitate the reader's understanding about the importance of good manners, the characters were divided in two distinct groups: the first withn the good and honest girls and the second had the ones considered weak and able to committe all sorts of inadequate things. O Tico-Tico clearly followed these patterns. As noted by Vergueiro (Op. Cit.):

> The concern about girls shaping presented in *O Tico-Tico* is by the aegis of the dominant view in that time about women role in Brazilian society, that is, family environment bulwark, responsible for the children education, and housework¹⁹ (p.177).

The contents published in O Tico-Tico had as references the representations based on the women definition as someone devoted to motherhood, marriage, and home. Other female models were also present on the pages of the children's magazine, but there was a concern to fight them through advice, stories and moralizing speeches²⁰. Nuclear family valorization resulted in the institution of the "happy family" category (CAMPOS, 2009, p.9). This model required mothers and fathers to fulfill the idealized requirements of "affective, healthy, beautiful, educated, and chaste wives, perfect companions for an idealized, hard-working, dedicated husband with austere habits, at last" (Ibid., P. 90). In line with such thinking, Maluf and Mott (2006) state: "The architecture of the happy home has trapped men and women within a strictly normative framework"²¹ (p.382).

Pages devoted to sweet readers

The reading of examples from O Tico-Tico allows to identify the presence of content considered eminently feminine. What were these subjects? Beauty, cosmetics, elegance, fashion, maternity, health, handicrafts and housekeeping. Some of these themes are easily demarcated as if the magazine had contents produced only for girls: Secção para meninas, Moda para nossas leitoras, Figurinos para nossas leitoras and Para nossas leitoras. In such context were formulated some questions: Why set feminine specifics contents? Would there be differentiation among the subjects that every child should know and those that only the female gender should know? Why these themes were considered feminine? Why this kind of information was so important to girl readers?

força moral. Dominado pela sua virilidade, o homem amava menos que a mulher e seu interesse estava mais voltado para o gozo puramente sensual. O homem era mais seco, racional, autoritário e duro.

¹⁹ In Portuguese: A preocupação com a formação das meninas em O Tico-Tico em coerência sob a égide da visão dominante da época sobre o papel da mulher na sociedade brasileira, ou seja, a de baluarte do ambiente familiar, responsável pela educação das crianças e pelas tarefas domésticas.

²⁰ Among these female characters, Faustina stands out. Created in 1910 by illustrator Alfredo Storni, she was married to Zé Macaco. Faustina went through stranges and vexatious situations for not wanting to follow the established patterns of mother and wife (PATROCLO, 2015; ROSA, Op.cit.).

²¹ The original version in Portuguese: A arquitetura do lar feliz aprisionou homens e mulheres dentro de uma moldura estritamente normativa.

In O Tico-Tico, the female sections were understood as demands for girls' audiences. The section O Tico - Tico's Cage (Gaiola d' O Tico-Tico) of 13th November of 1907, published the answer for five girls that requested the creation by the magazine of some feminine spaces:

> Your suggestion is very acceptable, although we did not correctly understand your idea in the first letter. We thought up that you wished a section for girls with handmade activities, etc. As you explained now, it's even more interesting. We are willing to satisfy you but wait a minute. It needs to imagine and prepare the drawings... In any case, be aware because soon we will publish the story, Mariquinha Sleeper²² (p.12).

At the answering, the publishers quoted that the magazine would issue a story intituled Mariquinha Sleeper (Mariquinha Dorminhoca). No search found the edition in which the narrative was published. However, it appears that the contributors and the writers of O Tico-Tico were attentive to the wishes of her readers. In the magazine, the process of selecting and choosing the themes addressed in these spaces was a reflection of the women's press and the manuals for girls and women in circulation since the 19th century. According to Luca (2013):

> This kind of press is specifically aimed for women, although it was not always written by women. It is a sort of journalistic production that is not directed by the need for hard news, the raw material of excellence of journalism. The opposed of the female press that orbits around perennial themes, which is not dependent on the event speed. Fashion, beauty, home, cooking or childcare are part of a circular approach connected to a circular nature, and contacted to seasons: after all, recipes, recommendations, winter, and summer advice can be used in subsequent years, since always turned and presented as the last word about the theme²³ (p.448).

Buitoni (2009) identifies that the female press may initially be perceived as something smaller or marked by passivity, but "It is more ideologized than the press dedicated to the general audience. Under the guise of neutrality, the women's papers publish very strong contents²⁴" (p.21). Its happens in reason of the dispute for the legitimation of certain female representations. On the one hand, the conservative in which women must be the home queen. On the other, the conception that females should devote themselves to intellectual activities rather than domestic gifts. The fact is that O Tico-Tico classified certain themes as appropriate to the feminine taste, shows that the print had the objective of validating a set of rules and behaviors to be internalized by its readers.

Secção das Meninas: learning the domestic practices

O Tico-Tico, of May 15 of 1907, published its first section for female readers. Called Distractions for girls (Distracções para meninas), wich contents refer to handmade home

²² In Portuguese: A sua ideia é muito razoável, mas não a tinhamos comprehendido bem na primeira carta. Imaginávamos que desejavam uma secção para meninas com trabalhos, etc. Mas como explicaram agora, ainda é mais interessante. Estamos dispostos a satisfazel-as, mas esperem um pouco. E' preciso imaginar e preparar os desenhos. Em todo caso fiquem já sabendo que brevemente publicaremos a historia Mariquinha dorminhoca.

²³ In Portuguese: Essa imprensa particulariza-se por dirigir-se para o público feminino, ainda que nem sempre tenha sido produzida por mulheres. Trata-se de um tipo de produção jornalística que não é movida pela necessidade de registrar o fato novidadeiro do dia anterior, matéria-prima por excelência do jornalismo. Pelo contrário, a imprensa feminina orbita em torno de temas perenes, não submetidos à premência do tempo curto do acontecimento. Moda, beleza, casa, culinária ou cuidado com os filhos comportam uma abordagem circular, ligada à natureza circular, ligada å natureza e às estações do ano: afinal, receitas, recomendações, conselhos indicados para o inverno e o verão podem ser retomados em anos subsequentes, desde que revertidos de ar de atualidade e apresentados como a última palavra no assunto.

²⁴ The original version in Portuguese: É mais ideologizada que a imprensa dedicada ao público em geral. Sob a aparência de neutralidade, a imprensa feminina veicula conteúdos muito fortes.

decoration. It highlights the use of the word Distraccões (Distractions), as synonymous of something fool or as a hobby, to denominate a female section. The feminine activities were considered something lesser than others?

The text warns readers about to avoid waste any time trying to make beautiful adornments with guidelines. To ease the task, the magazine chose to teach girls how to create beautiful ornaments just using scissors and paper. This was the only localized edition of Distractions for girls (Distracções para meninas).

On the July 31 issue of the same year, the inaugural edition of the Section for girls (Secção para meninas), a space for handicrafts. It was not yet a regular section. It was published regularly from 1909 to 1919. After this period, its editions became rarely until 1921, when it was replaced by Feminine Gifts (Prendas Femininas) and Girls Section (Secção de meninas).

The section was inspired by the Nous habillons Bleuette (We dress Bleuette) section of La Semaine de Suzette. In the French magazine, the readers learned the gifts of home to take care of the Bleuette doll. The first issue brings the story O nascimento de Bleuette (The birth of Bleuette) (COUDEREC, Op.cit.). The character is still successful.

There are several websites dedicated to the doll, and an exhibition was also held in her honor at the Dolls Museum in Paris. In the Brazilian press, the Secção para Meninas can be considered a children's handbook for future housewife. They taught girls how to embroider collars, crochet stitches, sew doll clothes, create table decorations and make gifts without spending a lot of money. When they grow up, the girls who had followed all the advice would be good wives. Emphasizing the perspective in which:

> The informative articles aimed at women highlight issues as domestic activities. Meanwhile, for boys the majority of themes focus, in the construction of toy airplanes and miscellaneous objects, often use rudimentary knowledge of carpentry or locksmithing arts as devoted to women - as in the assembly of Section for girls, published between 1911 and 1919 - focused on sewing, embroidery and bristles, ways of arranging dinner and even the same correct way to fold a napkin²⁵ (VERGUEIRO, Op.cit., p.178).

It assumed that girls had a natural propensity for this kind of activity. In a counseling speech, the text reinforces the stereotype of a woman as a subject whose social function was restricted to marriage and caring home. Enjoying leisure could result in a lonely future or a bad marriage. The knowledge of the domestic skills was considered an important aspect for man proposes marriage to a woman. On December 29 of 1909, the issue of Secção para Meninas approached the theme of female utilitarian Education as can be observed in the quote from How girls can be useful in a home (Como as meninas se podem tornar úteis numa casa):

> Sometimes, girls spend whole days on silly amusements to pass the time, even there are certain simple home services to do. When there is no little brother to care for and cuddle or a doll to wear, girls can have fun folding an outfit, and cleaning the furniture. An opportunity to arouse the desire to work. No matter how rich as it can be, that girl will be far inferior to the poor woman, who never walked down an avenue and doesn't know what is a car, that cook, take care of her clothes, and tidy up the house. Idleness is the worst of all addictions, and girls should avoid it - as much as they can. Is essential for girls to get crochet, embroidery and, how to do all the adorns of

²⁵ In Portuguese: As matérias informativas voltadas para mulheres destacavam as atividades domésticas. Enquanto, para os meninos essas matérias em sua maioria enfocavam a construção de aviões de brinquedos e objetos diversos, muitas vezes envolvendo conhecimentos rudimentares nas artes da marcenaria ou serralheria, as dedicadas às mulheres - como as que compuseram a Seção para Meninas, publicada entre 1911 e 1919 -, centravam-se em trabalhos de costura, bordados e cerzidos, maneiras de arrumar a mesma de jantar e até mesmo a forma correta de dobrar um guardanapo.

their clothes because if they cannot buy it, they will make them easily. In the past, beauty wasn't the main reason for a man to propose marriage. It was most important that the woman has the best qualities to be a housewife. If the girls observed old pictures and photographs, they will identify that even the women peasants - with no idea about what was an avenue or a car - they were always well-dressed, because they knew how to stitch the own clothes, and took care of the main home services. Work, and make your mother glad and, make all who will know you happy too²⁶ (p.6).

The wife devoted to the family should also have notions and knowledge about home decoration. From the nineteenth century, the house was not exclusive to the family living, because it became also as the "appearance place (bourgeois appearance)²⁷" (MALTA, 2014, p.10). The female sex was the main customer of behavior handbooks. The manuals pages were filled with the lessons of good manners, correct body postures and "posh descriptions, sociabilty, costumes, cristian education, good manners and etiquette²⁸" (CECCHIN; CUNHA, 2007, p.6). In the beginning, this kind of literature was restricted for the private space of the home, but progressively it's broke this border, due to the use of this publication as didactic materials at the female schools. The differentiation of education by gender and the perspective that boys' instruction was more intellectualized than the scholar learning offered to girls was present in the editions of Section for girls.

A PAPER COMPASS

Another day, in a previous edition, it was taught how to create some cardboard tools to replace a square, a ruler, etc. Often, to perform needlework or toys, it is necessary to have squares, rulers, compasses ... Now, rarely a girl has this kind of object, so she is forced to borrow them and, unintentionally breaking them. It is best not to ask²⁹ (07/04/1909, p.19).

HOW TO DECAL A DRAWING

Girls often struggle with great difficulty to do certain works because they do not have the necessary tools. Boys have drawing tools, special gadgets, everything is arranged to facilitate their studies, which are generally more serious and important than the girl's class. For this reason, our little girl's

²⁶ In Portuguese: A's vezes, as meninas tem perdido dias inteiros, em diversões sem importância, para passar o tempo e, no entanto, existem em casa certos servicos leves, nos quaes poderiam empregar esse tempo com maior vantagem, acostumando-se a serem donas de casa. Quando não houver um irmão pequenino para cuidar e cobrir de carinhos, ou uma boneca para vestir, as meninas poderão divertir-se dobrando a roupa, limpando os torneados dos moveis, emfim, fazendo esses pequenos serviços que muito ajudam, despertando ao mesmo tempo a vontade de trabalhar, pois uma moça, por mais rica que seja, será muito inferior á pobresinha da rua que saiba cozer o seu vestido, cuidar de suas roupas e dos arranjos da casa. A ociosidade é mãi de todos os vicios, diz o dictado, e as meninas devem evital-a quanto puderem. (...) A's meninas cabem o crochet, a marca, os bordados, emfim, todos os paramentos do seu vestuário, que muitas vezes deixam de possuir, por não poderem comprar. E, no entanto, com grande facilidade os poderiam fazer. Antigamente não se procurava ver se uma moça era feia ou bonita, mas sim, se era prendada, se era uma boa dona de casa. E as meninas podem vêr em quadros e photographias que, muitas vezes, uma camponeza rude, sem ter uma idéa do que fosse uma avenida, um automóvel, sabia vestir-se e confeccionar os seus vestuários, sabia cuidar dos principaes serviços de uma casa, que, quasi sempre em nossos dias, e com os nossos empregados, deixam muito a desejar. Trabalhem, pois, e verão como se tornarão queridas de suas mamais e de todos aquelles que as conhecerem.

²⁷ In Portuguese: espaço de aparência (aparência burguesa).

²⁸ In Portuguese: descrições do bom-tom, relações em sociedade, costumes, educação religiosa, as boas maneiras e a

²⁹ In Portuguese: UM COMPASSO DE PAPEL

Já no outro dia, em um numero passado, ensinamos a arranjar com papel cartão apparelhos capazes de substituir um esquadro, uma regua, etc. Muitas vezes para fazer trabalhos de agulha ou brinquedos d'esses que temos ensinado a fazer, têm-se a necessidade de esquadros, réguas, compassos... Ora, raramente uma menina possue d'esses objectos, por isso é forçada a pedil-os emprestados e, sem querer quebral-os. O melhor é não pedir.

friends, lacking the necessary resources, are often deprived of doing delicates drawings scribble, which achievement depends mainly on easier qualities to find in girls than in boys like patience, care, and zeal³⁰ (05/05/1909, p.16).

The readers did not have a compass to measure because the object was not part of their school material. They haven't geometry classes. A sign of differentiation in educational background was in the fact that girls did not have a compass but should have a cooking apron. "All girls must have an apron, because its censurable do work home wearing the dress that you will wear to go out, without dirtying it with dust and stains³¹" (p.5). This advice or warning, titled *How to make an* apron (Como fazer um avental), was published at Section for girls on April 19 of 1911. The domestic apron is described as an indispensable item for little girls who want to learn about the world of handicrafts and housekeeping.

The number of curriculum disciplines offered to girls, either in professional education or in regular education was different from those studied by boys. Handicraft classes should provide the enhancement of an inherent gift for women. Thus, "(...) it aimed to prepare them for the manual execution of a wide variety of products, understood as artistic ability and intellectual competence³²" (RODRIGUES, 2008, p.73). In Louro (2009) perspective, the school was an institution that had an ambiguous speech. The strategic themes approached in O Tico-Tico emphasized that girls should have guidance about domestic knowledge, in a way to avoiding afterward mistakes.

Fashionable Readers: stylish girls and women

For Freyre (2009) fashion means

(...) use, habit, or fashion style generally accepted, which is variable in time resulting from a certain taste, idea, whim, or influence from the environment. Transient use that regulates how to dress, wear, comb, etc. Apparel art and technique. Way, feature. Will, fantasy, whim. Aria, song, a fad. Typical folklore song. A social or cultural phenomenon, more or less coercive, which consists of periodic style, and which vitality comes from the need to conquer or maintain a determined social position for some time³³ (p.28).

As reported by Souza (1987), fashion is an element of integration and, at the same time, of social distinction. With an emphasis on the last decades of the nineteenth century, it became common for Brazilian female press to dedicate pages to the reproduction of models published in French magazines. Republican elites' speeches included a new way to behave and dress. To be part of this show, it was necessary to know how to choose the correct costume. Priore (Op.cit.) emphasizes

As meninas lutam geralmente com grande difficuldade para fazer certos trabalhos porque não dispõem dos instrumentos necessários. Os meninos têm instrumentos de desenho, apparelhos especiaes, tudo lhes é fornecido para facilitar os seus estudos, que em geral são mais serios e importantes, do que os das meninas. Mas o que acontece é que as nossas amiguinhas, não dispondo dos recursos necessarios, ficam muitas vezes privadas de rabiscar certos trabalhos delicados, que dependem, principalmente, de paciencia, cuidado e zelo, qualidades mais faceis de encontrar nas meninas, do que nos meninos.

³⁰ In Portuguese: COMO SE DECALCA UM DESENHO

³¹ In Portuguese: Toda a menina que se preza deve possuir um avental, pois seria censurável trabalhar nos arranjos de casa com o vestido com que vai sahir, sem abrigal-o contra a poeira e nodoas.

³² In Portuguese: (...) tinha o objetivo de prepará-las para a execução manual de uma grande variedade de produtos, compreendia como habilidade artística e competência intelectual.

³³ In Portuguese: (...) uso, hábito ou estilo geralmente aceito, variável no tempo e resultante de um determinado gosto, ideia, capricho, ou influências do meio. Uso passageiro que regula a forma de vestir, calçar, pentear etc. Arte e técnica de vestuário. Maneira, feição. Vontade, fantasia, capricho. Ária, cantiga, modinha. Canção típica do folclore. Fenômeno social ou cultural, mais ou menos coercitivo, que consiste na periódica de estilo, e cuja vitalidade provém da necessidade de conquistar ou manter, por algum tempo, determinada posição social.

fashion symbolic and differentiator character. Represents a code for approach or separation between certain groups that make up the same society:

> Act of differentiation, the dressing up was an act of meaning. It manifested, in symbolic terms or by convention, at the same time or separately, an essence, a tradition, an appanage, an inheritance, a caste, a language, a social and geographical provenance, and an economic role. Clothing made hierarchies visible, according to a code guaranteed and perpetuated by society. In the construction of appearance, the elites have always sought to distance themselves from the popular classes. Not only by the use of expensive fabrics and materials but by the lack of comfort that would lead to less hierarchical behavior³⁴ (p.205-206).

The vestments can be considered a kind of identification protocol. Together, well-done hairstyles, make-up choices, and certain accessories use to create a fashion language. Being welldressed is also related to the fact that women, especially the riches, started to attend to spaces outside the home more frequently. The urban reforms that took place in the city of Rio de Janeiro created new spaces and public places that were also occupied by females. The first section in O Tico-Tico dedicated to readers clothing was the Section of our readers: modern outfits (Secão de nossas leitoras: figurinos modernos). Conforming to its opening text on June 9th of 1915, the release was a request from the female audience:

> To satisfy the constants requests of our kind readers, we will offer in this section, clothes design and sewing lessons. Beyond this, we will indicate the best suggestions about colors, clothing, fabrics, shoes, and other fashions vestment indications. We hope our little friends keeping write to us; pointing about which ones they need more explanations. We will be such a pleasure to satisfy your asks³⁵ (p.7).

The sections are not limited to presenting the latest fashion releases; they constitute an iconographic manual of female behavior. Through the images in circulation, female readers were aware of the prerequisites needed to be included in the standard required by society:

> The records of the "real" elegance are property, harmony, and simplicity. A dress or hat with useless and complicated ornaments cannot be charming; they may contain beautiful details, but together they are unfashioned. This is the first aspect that refers to simplicity and teaches that ornaments and garnishes should be used according to the dress style and their utility. The second, which refers to property, means understand that a dress, a hat or a pair of shoes that look great on certain occasions are nonsense on others. For example, a silk dress adorned with satin and glass beads, and an opulent feathers hat are inappropriate if a girl uses

³⁴ In Portuguese: Ato de diferenciação, vestir-se era, em essência, um ato de significação. Manifestava, em termos simbólicos ou por convenção, ao mesmo tempo ou separadamente, uma essência, uma tradição, um apanágio, uma herança, uma casta, uma linguagem, uma proveniência social e geográfica, um papel econômico. Em resumo, a roupa tornava visíveis as hierarquias, segundo um código garantido e perenizado pela sociedade. Na elaboração da aparência, as classes dominantes procuravam, desde sempre, distanciar-se das classes populares. Não só pelo uso de tecidos e materiais prestigiosos, mas pela falta de conforto que levaria a um comportamento menos hierático.

³⁵ In Portuguese: Para satisfazer os constantes pedidos de nossas leitoras, daremos de hoje em deante, nesta secção, figurinos e licções de costura a nossas gentis leitoras. Além d'isso, daremos indicação sobre as cores, figurinos, tecidos, sapatos e demais artigos de vestuário mais em moda. Esperamos que nossas amiguinhas continuem a nos escrever, indicando os pontos sobre os quaes mais precisam de esclarecimento. E teremos muito prazer em satisfazer os seus pedidos.

this outfit to go for a morning ride, shopping, or a picnic. It is the same as going to prom using a dress and a hat. Each clothing has to be dressed up according to the appropriate time and place. For harmony, it necessary for keeping all apparel items in agreement with each other. In this case, a linen dress cannot match with a satin blouse, adorned with silk. On the other hand, a satin skirt cannot be adorned with linen embroidery. A dress doesn't accept an apparatus hat, either low-heeled shoes. There are many other ways where elegance manifests by common sense. Nothing is more inadequate than use jewel in the morning, with a linen dress or sketch; nothing is less elegant than a single girl wearing an opulent ornament. These rules are not fashion news; they are hard principles, which must always be observed. Next issue, we will have more news³⁶ (FOR OUR READERS, 22/03/1916, s/p.).

In the context of O Tico-Tico, it is imperative to cite De Pueris Instituendis of Erasmus of Rotterdam. Published in 1530, it was described by Elias (1994) as a work belonging to the transition process between the medieval society and the consolidation of the Absolutist State. The social structure was changed, and as a consequence, mores and behavior also modified. For Revel (1991) the publication had as a singular character, the fact of being targeted to children's readers:

> Pois, símbolo da simplicidade e da inocência evangélicas, a criança que ainda não foi pervertida pela vida social está aberta a todos os aprendizados e ao mesmo tempo encarna uma espécie de transparência elementar: não sabe esconder nada do que ela e^{37} (p.174).

The children's manual is a compilation of notions of good manners and misbehaviors along a certain historical period. By reading it, it is possible to understand which attitudes should be followed and which ones should be rejected, either in the private space or in social relations besides home:

> In fact, in a few dozen pages, this manual unites observations and advice to be learned by children, focusing on the main aspects of society's lifestyle. It deals with posture, social behaviors (in the church, at the table, on a meeting, at kidding), and, finally, about lying down³⁸ (Ibidem.,p.172).

³⁶ In Portuguese: Os records da "verdadeira" elegancia são propriedade, a harmonia e a simplicidade. Um vestido ou chapéu com ornatos inultimente complicados não podem ser bonitos; podem conter detalhes lindos, mas em conjunto são desagradáveis. Esse é o primeiro ponto que se refere á simplicidade e ensina que os enfeites e guarnições devem se justificar pelo caracter do vestido ou utilidade... O segundo, que se refere á propriedade, é o de compreender que um vestido, um chapéu ou uns sapatos, que ficam muito bem em certas occasiões, são disparates em outras occasiões. Por exemplo, por bello que seja um vestido de sêda, ornado com setim e vidrilhos, e um chapéu de plumas opulentas denunciam máo gosto se uma moça usa d'elles para sahir pela manhã, fazendo compras, ou se fôr com elles a um "pic-nic". Isso é um disparate tamanho como ir a uma recepção, á noite, com um vestido tailleur e um chapéu canotier. Cada cousa deve ser usada em logar e hora apropriados. Quanto a harmonia á harmonia, ella consiste em pôr todos os attributos do vestuario em accôrdo um com outro. Por exemplo, um vestido de linho não se pode combinar com uma blusa de cetim, ornada com rendas de sêda. Em compensação, uma saia de setim não se pode ornar com bordados de linho. Um vestido tailleur não admite chapéu de apparato, nem sapatos de entrada baixa. E há muitos outros pontos em que a elegancia sem manifesta pelo bom senso. Nada mais impróprio do que usar joias pela manhã, com um vestido de linho ou drap; nada menos elegante do que uma moca solteira usar joias opulentas. Essas cousas não são novidades da moda, são princípios fixos, que se devem observar sempre. De novidades, fallaremos no próximo

³⁷ In Portuguese: As a symbol the evangelical simplicity, and an innocence, the child that was not perverted by social life is prepared for all the learning and at the same time is embodies a kind of elementary transparency: don't hide who is it.

³⁸ In Portuguese: De fato, em algumas dezenas de páginas esse manual reúne com vaga ordem observações e conselhos para uso das crianças, abordando as principais circunstâncias da vida em sociedade. Assim, trata da

The formation of new habits and mores is inserted in a pedagogical dimension. Fashion section of O Tico-Tico, female figures wear elegant blouses and dresses, and boast chic hairstyles. The images, from girls or women, presented as the standard of beauty: white skin and a slim body. They display serene facial expressions, a restrained smile, and candid look. The arms, hands and legs are always placed in delicate gestures. As stated by Revel (Op.cit.)

> For us, the psychological reading of the eye is an elemental commonplace. However, all movements, all body postures, clothing itself can be the subject of a similar reading. Gestures are signs and can be organized into a language; they are exposed to interpretation and allow for moral, psychological and social recognition of the person. There is no intimacy that they do not reveal³⁹(p.173).

Beyond of well-dressing, these spaces highlight an indispensable female feature: elegance. Being elegant also came to be seen as a way of "distinction. an aesthetic distinction of elegance" "distinção estética da elegância" was instituted (SOUZA, Op.cit., p.134). As demonstrate by Revel (Op. Cit.) and Elias (1994), civility manuals address the control of pulsations, gestures, and feelings to define a standard citizen model. In O Tico-Tico, the delicacy and femininity are stimulated characteristics. The reflex of a model in it women are beautiful and fragile as a piece of porcelain. Regarding young women and mothers, reinforcing that the way a woman dresses can indicate the possibility of a good marriage or a sign of the husband's prosperity. In the words of Higionnet (1991): "The femininity is in part a question of appearance 40" (p.298). For girls, a learning to be gained from childhood. As for young women and mothers, stressing that the way a woman dresses can symbolize the possibility of a good marriage or a sign of her husband's prosperity.

Concluding considerations

O Tico-Tico is composed of comics, characters, and sections that, through fun and child's play, intended to help shape behaviors and social roles in line with a social project based on the reformist desire of Brazilian elites. Among the instances to be standardized, one can point to gender relations. The elites were concerned to reinforce the social model in which men had to be prepared for the working world.

From a different perspective that O Tico-Tico focused its attention only on boy's instruction, the magazine was also dedicated to training Brazilian girls. The elites were concerned to reinforce the social model in which men had to be prepared for the working world. In the same way, women would learn about housework and housekeeping.

A reflex of a social environment marked by strong conservative and sexist traits that linked female gender to representations of fragility and submission. Concern for the readers centered on the fact that girls would be the mothers of future families that would raise the nation's future leaders.

O Tico-Tico issues prioritized girls' and readers' instruction. One can question the construction of the female gender conveyed in their examples, but not the presence of silences about women. The magazine based its contents on the dichotomy between the Strong sex (Sexo forte) and the Fair sex (Bello sexo). A model based on girls' submission to boys was advocated. Girls must be beautiful, kind, predictive, and well-behaved. Not by chance, specific sections have been created for girls reading about the latest fashion trends and how to make beautiful embroidery. Mastery in these subjects was considered an important skill to win a potential good husband and make a great marriage.

postura, dos comportamentos sociáveis (na igreja, à mesa, por ocasião de um encontro, nas brincadeiras) e, por fim, do deitar-se.

³⁹ In Portuguese: A leitura psicológica do olhar constitui para nós um lugar-comum elementar. Porém, todos os movimentos, todas as posturas corporais, a própria roupa podem ser objeto de uma leitura semelhante. Os gestos são signos e podem organizar-se numa linguagem; expõem-se à interpretação e permitem um reconhecimento moral, psicológico e social da pessoa. Não há intimidade que não revelem.

⁴⁰ In Portuguese: A feminilidade é em parte uma questão de aparências.

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