

Between disputes and negotiations: the historical construction of the cocoa region from the newspaper Gazeta de Ilhéos (1901-1904)

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Abstract: This article aims to analyze the process of constructing the historical narrative of the cocoa region from political and ideological disputes between the elite groups of the city of Ilhéus-BA in the early twentieth century. For a better understanding of this dispute process, use as a main source the newspaper change and permanence. In this sense, we are interested in how these groups use the press not only as a diffuser of ideas and ideals, but also as an important political objective of opposition. of their opinions and dispute of spaces of power. Therefore, understand a discursive strategy linked in this press, despite the attempt to construct a speech of impartiality.

Keywords: Power Relationships; Press, I'm going to go Islets Gazette; Cacao region.

Introduction

This article is the result of the master's thesis where the power relations existing among the cocoa elites in the city of Ilhéus-Ba at the beginning of the 20th century, a period of intense political and economic changes due to the rise of plantations and the values attributed abroad to cocoa, were analyzed. In this sense, we investigated the foundations that led to the consolidation of these elites and how they used strategies, in addition to violence in order to legitimize the discourses inherent to the interests of local political factions.

In addition to economic issues, disputes over the multiplicity of political and social interests generated divisions among the main segments of elites. Therefore, as a strategy for the construction, as well as legitimation of a discourse, the local press was one of the main means used by the colonels beyond violence. Based on this principle, it was possible to verify the importance exercised by the press, acting as interlocutor of the groups and their interests,

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even if it sought to maintain the discourse of impartiality and representative of the interests of the population.

In this context, the local press began to gain a preponderance, composing an important tool of convincing, as well as of legitimation. Thus, we will seek throughout this article, to list two electoral processes that occurred in the municipality of Ilhéus, which were characterized as moments of political instability, not only in the vicinity of the elections, but during the interval between the two elections, seeking to understand how the personistic faction used the press as the propagator of their discourses.

The Gazeta of Ilhéos: between convergences and disruptions

The relations between the local political groups were mainly based between conflicts and political instability, however, what is intended to draw attention here is to the fact that at times it was possible to perceive that when the interests conflow, i.e. when the benefits obtained were distributed to both factions, *Adamists/Personists*¹, there was a momentary articulation and appeasement between the two, including being able to perceive mutual support or silencing.

The foundation of the *Gazeta de Ilhéos* was one of these examples. Launched the first edition on March 31, 1901, it was the *Property of an Anonymous Association*, however its circulation occurred since March 16. According to the newspaper's statute, "The share capital is twenty-five contos de réis, 25:000\$000, divided into 250 shares of 100\$000 each, consisting of the *Gazeta de Ilhéos* sheet, depending on the amount that is depending on the evaluation that will take hold at the General Assembly of installation".²

In this context, it is possible to notice that *Gazeta* was not initially composed of members of only one faction. Even, soon after the inauguration, at the meeting of the Ilheense Municipal Council, he decided that the intendency to draw up a contract with the *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, for the publication of the expedients of the council and the intendency, by paying an amount of a tale and two hundred thousand réis annually, making it the *Official Organ of the Intendency*.

¹ Throughout the late 19th and early 20th centuries, the cocoa region was divided between two political factions of a personalist nature: *adamistas*, whose main boss was Domingos Adami Sá and who had their origins referred to a traditionalist elite and the *Pessoist*, which had as chief Antônio Pessoa da Costa e Silva and who were linked to the so-called *new-rich*, due to the fact that they constituted their fortunes from the expansion of cocoa plantations.

² *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, March 31, 1901 - no. 01. Pg. 01.

Due to the conditions presented by the first edition of the newspaper, there was no possibility to observe the names of all the members who made up the group of shareholders and the quota obtained by each one. However, what can be observed is that Dr. João Alves Pereira França (District Court) and Major João Fróes Dias de Figueiredo had the highest quotas, respectively, 35 (3:500\$) and 21 (2:100\$) and the rest of the shareholders held quotas between 5 and 10 shares. In relation to the administrative composition, the statute pointed out that "the company will be governed by two Directors elected for five years and quae, one will exercise the functions of President, and the other to Cash. Those who have an absolute majority in the first ballot, an absolute majority in the second shall be considered elected to these positions."³

After the elections, Dr. João Alves Pedreira França was elected to the board positions as President, João Fróes Dias de Figueiredo as Director of Box, and occupying the Fiscal Commission, Lieutenant Colonel Ramiro assumed the position Idelfonso de Araújo Castro, Major Rodolpho Mello Vieira and Major Alfredo Navarro de Amorim and for the position of Managed, was appointed Laudelino Pimentel. In this way, the board ended up being composed of members of both groups, demonstrating that, although there were disputes over the conquest of local power, at certain times, there were negotiations or even truce between the political factions. About the Gazeta program, *Jornal da Bahia* (SSA), reported;

"Guarding complete impartiality in the passionate lucta by parties", whose sad and often bloody clashes have both delayed and discredited Islets, its gazeta, intelligently worded, declares, as its "firm and unwavering purpose, work incessantly by moral and material progress" d'aquella "good and generous land, not sparing for this efforts and sacrifices" [...] Applauses to the *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, by this civilizing and patriotic cry.⁴

In this context, the emergence of the Gazeta was initially based on exercising this civilizing and *patriotic* cry pointed out by the Journal of Bahia and replicated by the Gazeta de Ilhéos. Although throughout the First Republic the ideals of modernization and civility have gained strength, it is worth noting that this was not a new discourse. As Rinaldo Leite points out, "civilization corresponded to having some social concerns, the need for an order (public

³ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, March 31, 1901 - no. 01. Pg. 01.

⁴ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, May 16, 1901 – No. 13. Pg. 01.

and social), having life in the city standardized, distinguishing itself by taste and elegant practices, making improvements in the landscape and having good infrastructure services". (LEITE, 1996, p. 43) According to a note published in the Gazette, the journal also aimed;

Electoral truth will be the constant object of our preoccupations [...] we want the government moralized, respecting the rights of all, and the moderate and sensible oppositions, *fighting electoral fraud, which is in fact the cause of the dominance of the oligarchies formed in the States of Brazil*, and that of the afflicted situation, never seen, of the plantation, of the commercio, of the commodity classes and of all those who live from their work. (Emphasis added)⁵

When we analyze the electoral processes in the political context of the First Republic, it is possible to realize that the city of Ilhéus was directly linked to the system of fraudulent practices. The institution of federalism and consequently the autonomy of states and municipalities in place of monarchical centralism, strengthened by the Policy of states established in the government of Campos Sales (1898-1902) further favored the hegemony of local political groups, especially those linked to situationism.

In this perspective, Gustavo Falcón points out that the new republican system would be rigged for two reasons: the first was in the inability to form a party of national expression, given the diversity of the interests of the different state oligarchies, and the second in the fragility of what would be his greatest achievement, in this case the universal vote, which was reduced, as Falcón points out, to a gross democratic caricature. As a consequence of both reasons, the author understands that;

The ancient artificiality of Bahian expression in imperial ministries, where state elites enjoyed broad privileges without having material bases to secure such a position, was now replaced at the state level by ephemeral political parties, voters and personalists, whose primary function was to ensure access to power to local oligarchies and assign representative basis to the Republic, at the federal level. (FALCON, 1983, p. 26-27)

⁵ Gazeta de Ilhéus, Ilhéus, March 20, 1902 – No. 90. Pg. 01-02.

However, the fact that it is opposed to the government and consequently did not have "privilege" to compose the governing plate, could not be a crucial factor for a defeat, at least with regard to the number of votes. However, it is also important to stress that the candidate elected by the "popular vote" could not always take office, or even when he was sworn in, he would be guaranteed. These instabilities around electoral processes were directly linked to power relations, based mainly on colonelrelations and the interdependencies that local elites and state oligarchies had. As the Gazette discusses;

Today... who is encouraged to plead an election against the government? Applicants are imposed on municipal councils, children of fraud, with which do not correspond, and the régulos, in possession of the password, manufacture in house, shamefully, the Minutes, giving fictitious results, which cause disgust to the very ones who receive the degrading diploma.⁶

Thus, in a context of fraud, maneuvers and conflicts, the elections and the construction of the discourses that were established at the heart of the Ilheense politics, especially in the dispute between *the Adamists* and *Personists*, for the conquest of a localhegemony, had in the control of municipal politics and in the expansion of influences, both political and economic, a common interest.

Although this control is already under the control of the Adamist faction at the time of the change of the Empire to the Republic, relations beyond the municipality provided this group with the support of the state government, which was configured as an important tool for the conservation of power in the region. As Ribeiro understands, the factions incorporated into the parties of the Empire had as their main characteristic the personalism embodied by their leaders, a practice that was maintained during the First Republic, hence their local denominations derive from the names of the local chiefs, in the case of the region of Ilhéus (RIBEIRO, 2005, p. 41).

Therefore, we are interested in perceiving how the personistic faction began to use the press in order to counter this political hegemony, not only as a diffuser of ideas and ideals, but as an important political opposition party, thus composing a another strategy of the political game besides violence, focused on the dissemination of its opinions and the

⁶ Gazeta de Ilhéus, Ilhéus, October 30, 1902 - S/Nº. Pg. 01.

dispute of spaces of power. It is necessary, therefore, to understand the discursive strategy linked in this press, despite the notorious attempt to construct a discourse of impartiality. According to the editorial, the following:

The future city of Ilhéos, one of the captains of our vast and opulent southern area, now has, and with the above name, an advertising body, designed to provide you with the best services [...] Your article-programma is of patriotic promises, which we wish and hope to see satisfied. *Guarding complete impartiality in the passionate fight of the parties (emphasis added)* – whose sad and often bloody clashes have both delayed and discredited Islets, their Gazzete, intelligently drafted, declares, as its firm and unwavering purpose, to work unceasingly by the moral and material progress of good and generous land, sparing for this efforts and sacrifices (*Jornal de Notícias*).⁷

The production of the press and its representation within the political field is an important way of exercising a relative symbolic power. In this sense, having the possession of an instrument that would enable a broader dissemination of ideas, such as a newspaper, although most of the local population was not literate, would make it possible not only to ensure, but also to accumulate its power. As Pierre Bourdieu points out, what is at stake is the power to appropriate, if not all the symbolic advantages associated with the possession of a legitimate identity, that is, capable of being publicly and officially affirmed and recognized (BOURDIEU, 2007, p. 125).

When we think about the field of political discourse, as Paula Vanessa Paz Ribeiro understands, it is necessary to perceive the existence of several mechanisms of persuasion and conviction that arise in the act of arguing. Rhetoric is found among these mechanisms, composing the art of elucidating and persuading the adherence of readers, and symbolic and ideological strategies are applied rationally by the speaker, under an intention to sensitize and convince that their arguments are made up worthy of trust and truthfulness. (RIBEIRO, 2014, p. 23)

The 1899 elections: the importance of relations beyond municipalities

⁷ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéos, May 16, 1901 – No. 13. Pg. 01.

After two consecutive defeats to the position of state deputy in the 1890s, the personists managed to reach the main position in the municipality of Ilheense – the intendency. Thus, on November 12, 1899, Colonel Antônio Pessoa da Costa e Silva welcomed the intendant of Ilhéus, taking office in January 1900 with the members of the elected municipal council, also composed of members of his political group. According to the *Gazeta de Islets*:

No one had heard about a freer election, more disputed than this, in which they won the personists, fighting with unanimous tables contrary, placed in the worst places, designated by the municipal council, whose president was Mr. Domingos Adami. The verification of powers was carried out, without the slightest protest, and as well as the investigation, taking office on the 1st of January 1900, our editor-in-chief, of the position of intendant, five counselors of his partiality, two Adamists, and the elected justices of peace of both groups, among the quoes Lieutenant Colonel Jose Carlos Adami, 1st justice of the peace of the new Castello. The investigation took place in a placid manner, without the slightest complaint, composing the joint mostly supporters of Adami.⁸

Winning the elections, composing the opposition, ended up in some way promoting a possible counter-hegemony in relation to the groups linked to the Adamists. Through the *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, the personists stated that "the elections took place in a quiet and well-contested manner, taking place with enthusiasm and freedom by the local political parties, and having the guarantee of a legitimacy conferred by Luis Viana (1896-1900)".⁹

After the establishment of the Republic, the municipality of Ilhéus, which in the period comprised the 6th electoral college of the state, was divided internally into four electoral districts: 1st - City, 2nd - Itahype, 3rd - Waterfall of Itabuna and 4th - Castello Novo, and the zones of the Itahype and Castello Novo were politically the domain of the Adamist group, while Cachoeira de Itabuna had a greater connection with the personistic group (RIBEIRO, 2001, p. 91).

⁸ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, August 23, 1903. S/No. Pg. 01.

⁹ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, August 21, 1902 - no. 134. Pg. 01-02.

However, in the elections of 1899, according to the personists, in the 1st and 2nd district the political forces remained balanced, but in the 3rd and 4th, precisely the most populous, Colonel Pessoa took almost all of the electorate, having in the locality of Olivença, later annexed to Ilhéus, obtained all the votes.¹⁰ In this sense, we can see that although the groups maintain a high degree of influence in certain localities, the electorate was not passive and obedient, being able to alternate between groups.

However, in order to be elected, the candidate needed to have the calculation of his votes recognized in several instances, depending on the position held (JANOTTI, 1992. p. 38). According to Eul Soo Pang, three commissions were organized to promote the elections: the first was a registration committee, responsible for the enlistment board, the second an executive electoral commission responsible for the board or electoral table and the third, a the calculation committee that was responsible for counting votes, the three of which were formed by the district judge, of direct appointment of the governor, a municipal judge, who was elected by the municipalities, and members chosen from among the local electorate. Once the votes were counted, a certificate was issued to the candidates, attesting to the number of votes obtained (PANG, 1979, p. 34).

When two parties claimed to have won the elections, a process was filed in the Senate, which was responsible for the Verification Commission, and had the role of interfering in the outcome of the disputed elections. It is clear that the opinions issued by such a body possibly did not have an impartiality, not least because it was essential to purge undesirable candidates to the interests of the state and federal government, sworn in those groups that had a connection with the state or federation.

Thus, even though the elections in several regions presented duplicates of votes, fraud and even armed conflicts, as presented in the report produced by the governor and directed to *the General Assembly of the State*, in 1900, at the end of the term, there was no reference to the elections that took place in the municipality. What can we assume that, despite the conflicts between the two groups before the electoral process, the inauguration of Colonel Antônio Pessoa, as well as the members of the council linked to the personists and Adamists occurred, until then, within a possible legitimacy.¹¹

¹⁰ Journal of Ilhéus, Ilhéus, January 12, 1913 - no. 27. Pg. 01.

¹¹ Report of the Governor for the Legislative Assembly, Salvador, II of 1900.

However, the election of Severino dos Santos Vieira as governor of the state in 1900 and later the break with former Governor Luis Viana, due to political differences, ended up directly influencing the political conjuncture of the city of Ilhéus, which consequently would undergo major changes. The cocoa region constituted an important pole of economic ascension in Bahia, so having a political ally in the region could be a strategy for the wishes of the new governor, who had strong allies in the Adamists group.

In this context, on August 22, 1900, by decree of the Senate, the Elections of the Ilheense seleenses were annulled, placing the personistic group once again in the condition of local opposition and enabling the return of the Adamist group back to control of local politics. As the *Gazeta de Islet* narrates;

It was on August 22, 1900, that the Bahian Senate, by a majority of two or three votes, represented by Mr. Augusto França, Father Cupertino de L Austrician De Carvalho, Francisco Moniz and other puppets, of order of the illustrious governor of the state, annulled the elections that in this municipality had Log on November 12, 1899, those that, in the state, did not make themselves the penalty, with the exception of those of Maracás and some parochias of the capital.¹²

While in the other municipalities that had the election canceled, new elections were scheduled, the same was not true in the case of Ilhéus. According to the justification presented by the governor for not having yet scheduled the new elections, he said the same thing that after the annulment at the end of August, there was a profound change of order in the region and some more serious attacks. As the report points out;

Annulled by decision of the Senate, pursuant to the laws in force, the elections to which on November 12, 1889 took place for intendant and member of the municipal council in the municipalities of Lençóes, Maracás, Prado and Conde, were also realised in the best order and in the days respectively designated the new elections, with elected officials and municipal councils already sworn in. For the election of the municipality of

¹² *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, August 21, 1902 – No. 134. Pg. 02.

Ilhéos, whose previous was also canceled, I have not yet designated day for the reasons that I will give.¹³

Despite the postponement of the new elections, according to the report, it was necessary to displace the bachelor José Pereira de Almeida, appointed by the decree of September 6, 1900, as regional delegate of the southern regions of the state, to supplant the protests of the population and restore order. According to the version of the personists, the regional delegate sent by governor Severino Vieira, had moved to the municipality with *carte blanche*, only in order to sustain the *Adamis and et reliqua*.¹⁴

In this way, the police officers, who were responsible for the appointment of the block inspectors, were also linked to the Adamists, thus appointing Jorge Sá as deputy prosecutor, Estácio Sá as the first alternate judge of law, the captain Eusebius Benevides as state collector and Victor Sá for collector's registrar.¹⁵ With so many appointments linked to the Adamis, under the influence of Governor Severino Vieira, the personistic group could hardly get the appeals against the Senate's decision to have a positive opinion. In this perspective, the Gazette protests;

On May 28, Dr. Severino Vieira took over the state government, and in July he appeared in the Senate a derisory appeal, a dirty paper, with false assignments, against the elections here held on November 12, 1899, an appeal that, against the devices constitutional, against electoral law and that of the municipal organization, was provided, order, said the senators, the exmo. mr. governor of the state.¹⁶

Although both groups went on to claim victory in the elections, the Adamist group's extensive links with the governor would facilitate political maneuvering for a victory in this power play. With the deposition of Antônio Pessoa of the intendency, the paths for the return of the Adamist group to the main positions of the region had become a concrete possibility. With no date set for the new elections, they returned to the positions of intendant,

¹³ Report of the Governor for the Legislative Assembly, Salvador, 11 October 1901 – Pg. 11.

¹⁴ The term was often used in the *Gazeta de Ilhéos* to derogatorily refer to colonels Ernesto Sá and Domingos Adamis.

¹⁵ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, January 1, 1903 - S/Nº. Pg. 01-02.

¹⁶ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, August 21, 1902 - no. 134. Pg. 02.

Ernesto de Sá Bitencourt Câmara and mayor, Domingos Adami de Sá, from September 14, 1900, after a personistic government of approximately eight Months.

The annulment by the Senate of the elections ilheenses and the departure of Antônio Pessoa from the position of intendant had repercussions even in the *Jornal do Brasil* (RJ), with a note elucidating not only the annulment, but questioning the fact that the appeal was presented a few months after the elections and Pessoa's inauguration to the Senate. Also, according to the note, Colonel Pessoa intended to plead the elections that would be held again.¹⁷

Despite filing an appeal against the annulment of the elections, once again, the personistic group had returned to the opposition at both the municipal and state levels, which represented the greatest harm that could happen to a political leader or group in the period, because in the words of Carone, in this system wrapped in privileges, being of opposition would considerably reduce the possibility of gaining new spaces and achieving power through the process (CARONE, 1973, p. 301). However, although by legal means the personists were unable to return to power, the construction of the opposition through the press would make it possible to criticize, denounce the situation and praise their own group to the detriment of the other. As noted in the following note;

At the end of July 1900, the intendant Antônio Pessoa, for the capital, opposed the appeal-farse, brought by Adami and guaranteed by Severino, where he remained until September 3, and no longer stepped in the house of the chamber, ordering his employees to deliver the file, all the books and papers that were perhaps in their possession, to the former members of the council, when they presented themselves, since the state senate annulled the municipal elections.¹⁸

Soon after the annulment, the construction of the discourse of the personistic group, began to be architected under the idea that the Municipality had suffered a political coup, being corroborated by the political maneuvers made by the governor of the state. The propaganda of the achievements of Pessoa's short government in the trend became a constant in the gazeta's publications over the following years, always pointing between the

¹⁷ *Jornal do Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro, August 24, 1900 - no. 236. Pg. 01.

¹⁸ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, May 3, 1903 - no. 202. Pg. 02.

lines of the complaints against the government and opposing, that when the personists were in control of municipal policy things had occurred differently, claiming that "Antônio Pessoa only cared about the public good, and during eight months of government, performing the role of intendante, did more than *Adamis et-reliqua* in about nine years, from 1890 to 1889."¹⁹

Thus, the ideas of transparency of public accounts, the process of modernization and hygienization and even real estate speculation began to be praised, relating to the development aroused by the economic expansion that the city began to live, these became constant themes in the imaginary built around the personistic government. On the achievements of the deposed government, the *Gazeta de Ilhéus* points out that;

There were prompts a butcher shop luxury and well built, a fountain, two dots in the streets Dr. Reginaldo Mello and Dr. Baptista de Souza, in progress the work of the municipal building, was pedestrian and the street Conselheiro Saraiva, there was a bridge in Itabuna Waterfall, it was clear the canal of the Itahype, Pennsylvania, roads were opened everywhere, a fountain was bought, commissioned in Europe, to be collocada in the square of the Municipal Council, forested Ruy Barbosa square, the dogs and the cemetery, the sign plan of the city, the population was registered, the sewage service was well-used, and many other public works absorbed the attention of the local government.²⁰

It is important to question the extent to which the city experienced this process of modernization and economic changes pointed out by the personists, and in the eight months of Colonel Antônio Pessoa in the intendancy, the same had the state government as opposition. The need for investments and the release of resources sometimes depended on the relations maintained with state policy, because as Carone ponders, in the game of power relations, those who would have access to government benefits would be the supporters of the situation. At a time when employment and income opportunities were scarce, the State was one of the few sources of investment (CARONE, 1973. p. 255).

In the perception of Vitor Nunes Leal, the weakness of the financial power of the municipalities to meet their needs was one of the reasons that made the colonels dependent

¹⁹ *Gazeta de Ilhéus*, Ilhéus, May 3, 1903 - no. 202. Pg. 02.

²⁰ *Gazeta de Ilhéus*, Ilhéus, August 23, 1903 - no. 234. Pg. 01.

on the State. Without this aid made available by the State, which enabled the colonels to carry out works seen for the benefit of the local populations, aiming at the conquest of political support, the collapse of several potentates in the region would probably occur. On the other hand, the State, because it had to manage the application of resources, which were insufficient for all municipalities, tended to prioritize those that were part of the web based on colonelism. Thus, the colonelstructure was, in short, intrinsically linked to the government (LEAL, 1975, p. 45).

In other words, this "pseudo-autonomy" of the municipalities, ensured by Article 68 of the 1891 constitution²¹, was inseparable from a power dynamic that crossed local boundaries, maintaining relationships of interests, sometimes conflicting or coincidental, with the state government. In this context, despite the Republic and the implementation of a federalist have enabled a strengthening of the large state and municipal oligarchies, we still have the presence of the state as subterfuge or even legitimizing for local political practices.

As we can see in the Ilheense political context, the alliance of adamists with Severino Vieira allowed not only the return of the group to the control of local government, but its influence on appointments to public office, favoring the Sá family, either in effective positions or elective appointment, which demonstrates the importance of these coalitions.²² As the *Gazeta de Ilhéos* denounces;

It is named almost a month 1st alternate of the judge of law, in this term, the s. captain Estacio de Sá Bittencourt Câmara, brother of the deputy public prosecutor Jorge Sá Bittencourt Câmara, son of Colonel Ernesto Sá B. Camara there was two years in the illegal exercise and clandestino municipal intendant, whose quadriennio concluded in 1899, cousin of Lieutenant Colonel Domingos Adami de Sá, pseudo chairman of the council and official political chief, cousin of the registrar of the estadual collectoria, Victor de Mello Sá and already recognized by the fiscal of collectors as fraudster of state rents, in the character of collector, a position

²¹ According to the Constitution of 1891, states will organize themselves in a form that ensures the autonomy of municipalities, in all respects to their peculiar interest – Constitution of the Republic of the United States of Brazil, decreed and promulgated by the National Constituent Congress, on 02/24/1891, Pg. 17.

²² The policy of the States or Policy of the Governors implemented in the management of Campos Sales, ended up partly shifting the intra-oligarchic conflicts from the national complex to the state level, developing an even greater force in the oligarchic relations in its locality, thus being fundamental for the maintenance of these oligarchies the links with the state and federal governments. Cf. VISCARDI, Claudia Maria Ribeiro (The theatre of the oligarchies: a review of the "milk coffee policy". Belo Horizonte: C/ Arte, 2001.

he held for about four years, until 1898 [...] In addition to this is Mr. Estacio brother of Mr. Jorge Sá, deputy district attorney, with whom he cannot serve; son of the intendant [...] In a few months were appointed members of this family to the positions of sub-commissario of almada, registrar of the state collectoria and 1st alternate of the judge of law, and so even the government has declared by the official body that it has not yet decided by any of the political groups in Islets.²³

Two years after the annulment of the elections, there had been no other election, and the appointments of individuals linked to the Adamist faction grew rapidly, strengthening and consolidating their permanence in control of municipal politics. The support of the state government allowed the nominations to the main positions, such as those of chief of police and positions related to the judiciary in the municipality, provided the continuity of the domain, sometimes exercised with the use of oppression and coercion to the opposition, while acting partially, demonstrating a certain complacency (LEAL, 1975, p. 47).

1903 and 1904: changes and permanencies

Within this context of conflicts, the new electoral process for intendant, municipal councillors and justices of the peace began, after the annulment of the elections of 1899 in August 1900 by the state senate. Although the elections were only held on November 8, 1903, all the game of articulations and denunciations, months before, began to compose the pages of the journal, however, now with an open opposition speech.

After the internal divergences in the Gazette, favoring the installation of the personistic group in charge of the editorial, it was not long before the breach of the contract for the publication of the expedients of the council and the intendency for the period. Before the elections, the ties that no longer held or inhibited the speech of opposition to the Adamist group and governor Severino Vieira become more constant and direct in the pages of the Gazette.

On the other hand, the Adamist group, through the Newspaper *A Lucta*, founded in 1902, under the main articulation of João Mangabeira, Rui Penalva and Celerino Dantas became the Official Organ of the *Municipality*, responsible for the official publications of the intendency and the municipal council. In this way, both periodicals began to engage in

²³ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus, September 21, 1902 – S/N. Pg. 01.

political and ideological clashes linked to denunciations and accusations from their respective political groups, which became constant. We can see these clashes by analyzing the criticisms constantly made by the *Gazeta to Lucta* publications.

It was the political opponents of our editor-in-chief, captained by a bachelor vena! And infamous, who keep rented to serve as mentor, guaranteed and assisted by the police commissario, which is now cabling voters, by the Waterfall of Itabuna, in the company of the head of the group rioting and looting at dead hours of the night, and in the occasion in which it had to arise *A Lucta*, sheet of the pseudo municipal council and the gatunos who live at the expense of the municipality, with the thought of avoiding the publication of the acts referring to the municipal election.²⁴

The *looting at dead hours*, referenced by the editor of the matter, alludes to the invasion that occurred in the early hours of September 23, 1903 to the building where the *Gazeta* operated. According to news published on October 11, 1903, entitled *Depredation*, in the impossibility of completely destroying the machine that ran the newspaper, due to the size and possibly the need for great effort, were only unscrewed from the machine three pieces that communicate with the rollers, which would make it impossible to operate the key, finally, taking them with them the thieves, who entered the bottom of the house and broke the lock of the respective door.²⁵

Soon after the event, Colonel Manoel Misael Tavares, one of *gazeta's* shareholders and an important ally of Colonel Antônio Pessoa, asked the commissioner captain Galdino Fonseca to be made the body of crime, being sent by him, two carpinas that according to the periodical were linked to the "agents of the attack" and who were contractors of the municipal works.

After the invasion of the *Gazeta* building, Captain Galdino, who was previously seen by the *Gazette* in the episode of the trial of José de Protasio,²⁶ as a man "calm, dispassionate, and did not live the soups of the bosses, which may be a reason not to linger in this city,

²⁴ *Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus*, October 18, 1903 - no. 244. Pg. 01.

²⁵ In the First Republic, attacks on opposition newspapers became common practices. Cf. QUEIROZ, Suely Robles Kings of. *The radicals of the Republic*. São Paulo: Brasiliense 1986.

²⁶ Trial occurred on December 16, 1902 of the defendant José de Protasio, accused of the death of the dealer José Domingues de Oliveira, on the road of Cachoeira de Itabuna and widely passed by the *Gazeta de Ilhéos*.

where only the vandals satisfy the Arcetides and others of the same jaez", begins to be treated with suspicion, which was sometimes confused with the "torments and enemies". Regarding the performance of Captain Galdino, the Gazette points out that;

Not content to appoint such experts, he sent the illustrious chief of security a telegram, which is a collection of inaccuracy, of falsehoods. And, so that, among other inventions written by others and by him assigned, declared to the chief of police *that the prelo is not disarranged, so much so that the machine operates perfectly, that there was no jamming in the night of 23, for, being the Gazeta de Ilhéos of morning publication, was printed at night, with the 24th edition Distributed To assignees 7:00 a.m.*²⁷

The attack on the Gazeta building had great repercussion in the press of the capital. A telegram sent to Captain Galdino by the Secretary of Security and published in *the Jornal de Notícias* on September 25, 1903, transcribed by the Gazette, along with a telegram sent by Governor Severino Vieira, demonstrates the concern of the state government in solving the case, classifying the attack as "disdain the freedom and guarantee of freedom of the press", demanding an investigation and "severe punishment against the perpetrators and accomplices of the attack".

Although the governor has positioned himself in favor of the urgency of an investigation, in the construction of the discourse employed by the journal, a well-defined and biased position in favor of the personistic faction begins to be published in his publications. This, places the Adamist group as agent of the jam, being usurper of power with the support of the then governor, and as responsible for the maintenance of the municipality, both politically and socially, delayed, even if the region, due to the great expansion of cocoa plantations, had an income that would enable growth.

He also argued that the Adamists, through the methods of oppression and violence, remained in political control of the municipality, consequently having the maintenance of public offices for their allies. Also, according to the journal;

[...] we know which are the perpetrators of the crime, and better than we know them Mr. Galdino [...] showed himself how far his subservience comes

²⁷ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus, October 11, 1903 - no. 243. Pg. 01-05.

to the group, adamista, to which is aggregate, only interested in the suppression of the sheet, which counts large number of assignors in the municipality and the most fervent sympathias.²⁸

On the other hand, the idea of a political group, which despite not being in power, due to the electoral and political practices of the Adamists, was formed by the largest farmers in the region, owners and traders, of artists, is created in relation to the personists. of the people, that is, the discourse tries to encompass all social categories, building the image that the group was made up of men of honor, prestige, value, in which the people must trust and who will not only be able to bring progress to the city but also break with Adamist mandonism.

However, despite the expectation of getting the necessary votes to elect the candidates of the personistic plate, in the rule of the political game in the First Republic would not necessarily assume the public office the candidate who obtained the highest number of votes. Thus, the fear again that the Adamist group had the influence of the governor became constant in the articles published by the journal. As the *Gazeta de Ilhéos* wrote;

S. ex. prepares, at the same time, land for the November municipal election. All measures are already taken in favor of electoral freedom, and if the thirty-odd or almost forty soldiers we already have here are not sufficient, nothing easier than to have a few more.²⁹

In addition to the governor's influence, it is important to realize, as Carone points out, that in the political process, it was the polling stations that calculated the votes and ploughed the respective minutes, then burned the ballots, except for the separately, that had destination for the Ministry of the Interior. In this sense, the elections in the First Republic allowed the mechanisms of oppression to be established, and there was no secret vote and the electoral table was responsible for controlling the vote and the presence of voters, making it easy to pressure (CARONE, 1973, p. 301). Still on the polling stations, the author points out that in each district it was composed of five members. In the district of the city's

²⁸ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, October 11, 1903 - no. 243. Pg. 01-05.

²⁹ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, 21 May 1903 - S/N. Pg. 01.

headquarters, it was presided over by the mayor, who designated the four clerks, two councilors and two voters. In the other districts, all members were appointed by the mayor (CARONE, 1973, p. 295-296).

The partisan dominance, provided by the maintenance of control of the administrative and electoral machine would be the best option to reduce the uncertainty of the elections that would follow. As Jaqueline Porto Zulini realizes, the power to command at least three bureaucratic steps necessary to carry out the ballot – the provision of enlistment, the composition of polling stations and the graduation of those elected by the Firing Boards – less costly exits for political forces and informs us much about the *Operandi modus* (ZULINI, 2013, p. 08). According to the Gazette;

[...] when everyone fights the intervention of the cameras or municipal councils in the enlistments and elections, the Congress of Bahia and mr. governor come back and *congratulate* us with a law expanding the powers already quite extensive, by the state law of 1895, of these councils, which express nothing, delivering them not only process, from the revisions to the elections, still believing them the power to *elect* the bureaurios, which should receive the votes of the voters, plough the minutes, etc. etc. [...] The councils *elect* the tables for the enlistment of voters, form the majority of the review board, designate the houses where the sections have to function, also *elect* the bureauries for these, determine the elections and recognize the powers of their members, the intendant and the justices of the peace!!!³⁰

It is at the time of the elections, as Carone points out, that the compression mechanism is established: since there is no secret vote, and the electoral *table* controls the presence and voting, it becomes easy to pressure voters (CARONE, 1973, p. 302). In this perspective, using the presence of gunmen to intimidate voters of the opposite group was a common practice in the region. As the Gazette denounced, "for three days the city was filled with individuals armed with pistols and carbines, who to the magicians transited the streets towards the sales, where they drank cachaça, and to the houses of the chiefs, to whose orders they obeyed." ³¹ On the other hand, the newspaper *A Lucta*, published news linking the

³⁰ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus, September 20, 1903 – S/N. Pg. 01.

³¹ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus, November 12, 1903 - no. 248. Pg. 01-02.

presence of the jagunços in the region to Colonel Antônio Pessoa, using the same arguments of the *Gazeta de Ilhéos*.

The delay in handing over voter s fasts was also a practice in the region before the election process. A note published by the *Gazette* fifteen days before the elections, asks the judge of right to provide to be delivered the titles of the voters of the city, in the regions of Itahype and Almada, which were in the possession of Lieutenant Colonel José Carlos Adami, when he worked on the direct stick, it should be noted that these regions, according to the personists, had a large number of votes.

The exclusion and removal to other districts of the names of voters who were linked to opposition groups in the electoral enlistments was also another common practice in the region, according to the personists, replacing them with voters *Phosphoros, New Year*, that is, "those who do not speak, do not see, do not hear and whose existence is only attested by the feather beak of its manufacturer", as it is read;

Voters whose names were not transferred to the 1902 enlistment, but are in the 1900s and earlier, exhibiting their titles and certificates from their enlistment, as *exibirão*, will be admitted to vote, pursuant to law n, 511 of September 28, 1903, art. 15 § 2º. The certificates mentioned in the same article are drawn and will be presented to the polling stations, so that the votes are not rejected [...] We call very especially the attention of voters to this device, which is guarantor and liberal, and we are convinced that they will not hesitate to attend the collegios, in and out of the city, all those who have been improperly excluded by the disengaged Domingos Adami.³²

The role of the municipal council in the elections clearly served as an instrument of maneuvering of political groups in the struggle for control and maintenance of local political power, guaranteeing them much more strength when they had the support of the State Government. However, not having this prerogative at the time, the personistic faction used the press not only as a propagator of a discourse, but as an instrument capable of gathering alliances with those who did not enjoy the benefits of the coalitions belonging to the government. In this game of interests, as we have already pointed out, the social well-being

³² *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, November 1, 1903 - no. 251. Pg. 01-02.

of the population would not be configured as the main object, although the discourse was constructed through this ideal.

In fact, for the strengthening of the opposition against adamista political hegemony, we sought to compose an alliance not only with the local elites, but also with the great working mass and the liberal professionals, understood by the newspaper as a *independent electorate*.³³ Therefore, to build rhetoric based on the idea of freedom, democracy and independence from the ties of a local oligarchy, in the case of the Adamist group, ended up becoming constant discourse in the publications of the Gazette. This can be perceived in the following excerpt of the matter;

We must all, united and strong, march to the polls with the courage of a people, who have the right to be free, because we find ourselves in full democratic regime, which should not only remain mystified and sophisticated. We must rise to the height of our credit of independent, laborious citizens and friends of this crook and rise to our civilism [...] Let us therefore march courageously to the ballot box, convinced of our rights, whatever the threats and the persecutions. Only then can we win our freedom. Only then can we be independent, big and happy.³⁴

Thus, on November 8, 1903, elections for representatives to municipal offices took place. Vying for the intendancy, the Colonels Antônio Pessoa da Costa e Silva, representing the personistic faction, and Domingos Adami de Sá, by the Adamist faction, launched applications. However, although the Gazeta de Ilhéos, throughout the electoral process, did not highlight the presence of a third candidate for the post, and its numbers were not very expressive, there was still the candidate Albino Martins.

Despite the little information about the candidate Albino Martins in the Gazeta de Ilhéos, appearing only in the list of its first shareholders, we suppose that this represents, at this time, a third alternative beyond the two factions. However, later, when Colonel Antônio Pessoa comes to the control of municipal politics with the support of J. J. Seabra, in 1912, the

³³ It is important to question the idea of a *independent electorate*. Within a context of practices of corruption, open voting, etc. to what extent was there a freedom for these voters? In this sense, we can understand the pessoistic discourse as a way of co-opting and mobilizing the working mass by selling a discourse of a democratic society.

³⁴ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus, October 18, 1903 - no. 244. Pg. 01.

name of Albino Martins appears as one of the members who participated in the personistic faction.

Us data presented by the Gazeta de Ilhéos, referring to the electoral bulletin, Colonel Domingos Adami only obtained votes in the third district (Cachoeira de Itabuna), acquiring less than 10% of the votes obtained by candidate Antônio Pessoa in the general computation. It is also important to point out that the third district that had great influence of the personistic group, was the only one where the occurrence of votes in favor of Domingos was observed. Adami, while in the second and third districts, where adamistas maintained greater connections, did not get any votes. In this regard, the Gazette provoked;

For the first time in his life, Mr. Domingos Adamis had the names of the 1st district voters who voted at his desk published, showing III, in an electorate of 202, the result of clandestine enlistment, as was 1902, in which, while excluding hundreds of voters his opponents, included completely unknown names, which can not fail to be imaginary, and other people residing in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th districts [...] Here is ahi, in synthese, the *brilliant* vote obtained by Mr. Domingos Adami at his illegal table, guaranteed by a large number of armed gunmen, willing to bleed the first *peçoist* who had the audacity to affrontal them in his bacchanal [...] And why isn't Mr. Adami also having the names of the *voters* who voted in the 2nd, 3rd and 4th districts published?³⁵

In this sense, the personistic faction uses the Gazeta in an attempt to permeate the popular imagination with the constitution of meanings referring to the possibility of a new political coup and continuity in the maintenance of local oligarchies led by adamis. After the elections, more than manipulation, it was about ensuring the legitimacy of the elections and the elected candidates, although there is no certainty of ownership and especially their maintenance.

On November 26, 1903, the Gazeta de Ilhéos reported that the diplomas of intendant, counselors and justices of the peace had been issued by the Junta Apuradora das Ições Municipals, and Colonel Antônio Pessoa was recognized by him as the intendant elected in the municipality of Ilhéus. According to the newspaper;

³⁵ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus, November 19, 1903 – S/N. Pg. 01-02.

The municipal board investigating the elections, makes public that, gathered on the 23rd of the current month, at 11 am, in the palo of the municipal council of that city, after electing its president and secretary, in the form of the law of August 12, 1895, art. 29, § 1 and that of August 28, 1903, art. 18, § single became aware of the minutes present to him, in the competent books, remitted by the presidents of the sectioning, of this Municipality and by examining them carefully and summing up the votes of each section, given to each citizen [...] By virtue of what sent the table to issue diplomas to the elected, in order to take possession of their positions on the day designated by law, and publish this, by notice, in the most public and usual registers and by the local press.³⁶

Thus, on January 1, 1904, with great solemnity in the municipality, the swearing-in ceremony began for the positions of intendant, municipal councillors and justices of the peace elected on November 8, 1903. Accompanied by the *lyra* juvenil philharmonic, conducted by Affonso Nolasco, they left the Pessoa palace, which was located on Santos Dumont Street, the candidates elected along with a large number of popular, for the new municipal palace. It should be noted that the first measure approved, including before the inauguration by Intendant Antônio Pessoa, together with the new Municipal Council, was the rent of the mansion of the heirs of the late Colonel Firmino do Amaral, former coreligionist of the personistic faction, to function in it the headquarters of the Intendência and the Municipal Council.

After the arrival at the new municipal government building, the inauguration ceremony began, taking an oath before the former municipal councillor, Major Hermínio de Figueiredo Rocha, and Colonel Ramiro Idelfonso de Araújo Castro, who presided over the provisional table and was responsible for granting the oath of the Intendant and the rest of the counselors and justices of the peace. Soon after the oaths, the final table was elected, being elected: President, Colonel Ramiro de Castro, Vice-President, Major Rodolpho Mello Vieira, 1st Secretary, Benedicto Franca Amaral, 2nd Secretary, Lieutenant Eustaquio Bastos. It is important to realize that all elected members of the council belonged to the personistic

³⁶ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus, November 26, 1903 – S/N. Pg. 01-02.

faction, which would constitute a government without the presence of the opposition. About the swearing-in ceremony, the *Gazeta de Ilhéos* narrates that;

Given the word, by the illustrious chairman of the council, to the intendant Colonel Pessôa, he gave this substantive speech, in which he outlined his programma of government, which is varied and complete, being much applauded, and concluding by giving life to the Catholic religion, to the independent electorate and the Ilheense people, in what was corresponded stupendously, touching the *Lyra Juvenile* The hymn district National.³⁷

Despite all the propaganda built by the personistic periodical around the release of certificates by the electoral board and the pompous inauguration ceremony of the main offices in the municipality, in addition to the victory at the municipal level, get the support of the government state would constitute a fundamental piece for the continuity of power, expedient that was at the heart of the political game of the First Republic.

With the end of governor Severino Vieira's term in early 1904, maintaining close relations with the next governor would provide the possibility of an influence on the decision of the State Senate in case of electoral appeals, indications of the offices among other benefits already scored throughout the work. In this context, the *Gazeta* news that;

Go to Bahia to soon elect its governor, under the terms of the state constitution, and we believe that no competitor will have the official candidate, Mr. José Marcellino de Souza, whose honesty and independence of character give us the right to expect from s. ex. a government worthy of the great state we inhabit and of which is s. ex. one of the most prelight children [...] we trust that s. ex. had acted with frankness, decision and justice, and therefore we support the candidacy of our esteemed and honorable comprovinciano.³⁸

Thus, as the elections for governor approached, the campaign of then candidate José Marcellino for the post already began in the pages of the journal requests for support to the members of the group in all districts and with the entire population. Although the candidate

³⁷ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, January 7, 1904 - no. 265. Pg. 01.

³⁸ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, November 26, 1903 – S/N. Pg. 01-02.

was an indication of the then governor Severino Vieira, it is important to realize that political divisions in the context of state politics was a common practice in the period, as well as outside among the vianists and severinists.

Building possible ties with the candidate of the situation was a priority of the personistic group as we can see in the publications of the Gazette. On the other hand, the posts made by the journal *A Lucta*, had as main objective to accuse the personists to be opposing José Marcellino and to support Ruy Barbosa's candidacy for government, as a way to destabilize relations with the state government. In this way, the Gazette begins to argue that;

Mr. Adami is a man condemned by the lowness of his bloodthirsty politics and latrocinium, and must know that no effect will produce the intrigues he seeks to howl in his *pasquim*, between us and the honorable Dr. José Marcellino, who must know us *all*, and has the necessary pride to despise the herring and gossip of Mr. Adami.³⁹

Having the support of the new governor would be crucial to the political ambitions of both factions. At the same time that Colonel Antônio Pessoa and the members of the Council had taken office and all the fraternization sponsored by the group, the same occurred with the members of the Adamist faction. Colonel Domingos Adami de Sá assumed the position of Intendant and João Mangabeira as President of the Municipal Council.

Possibly, the need to rent the new space for the operation of the Intendency and the Municipal Council was due to the non-exit of the Adamist faction of power as expected and its maintenance in the official building. Thus, unlike the elections of 1899, the region began to experience a double government, which provided an intense search, both in the speeches of the *Gazeta de Ilhéos* and in *A Lucta*, for the hegemony of power. In this power struggle, the Gazette pointed out that;

From the duality of elections in this municipality resulted in the acquisition of two cameras, one elected by the people, in ostracism, under the most scanning and unworthy official pressure, the other by the public force composed of about forty squares, under the command of an official of police

³⁹ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, February 11, 1904 - no. 275. Pg.01.

passionate and disarmed by the unbridled jagunçada, armed with carbines, threatening and commendo disturbances, and by *phosphoros* or *voters of leaf*, a number greater than 600.⁴⁰

With the duality of the government, the race for the collection and receipt of taxes would now be one of the main points of conflict between the groups. In this perspective, he affirmed the *Gazeta de Islets*;

Do not have the taxpayers of municipal taxes the slightest fear of paying them to the prosecutor and fiscaes of the intendancy elected by the people, of which is chief our friend Colonel Antonio Pessôa, the quaes, since the 3rd of the current, are being charged to the bullet by Mr. Captain Galdino, police commissary.⁴¹

According to news published in the newspaper *D'A Bahia* of the capital of January 13, 1904, entitled *A duplicata de Ilhéos*, with a copy linked in the *Gazette*, after the possession of the two intendências, the collection of taxes by both parties began to configure a common practice. In this sense, a telegram sent to the capital newspaper denounced the alleged "improper collection" and the "terror" used by Captain Galdino when removing the cocoa shipment from the boat *Paquete Voador*, the consignee Portuguese Joaquim Eugênio who claimed to have paid taxes to the government of Antônio Pessoa. Still according to telegram;

Islanders, 9. I was today threatened arrest Captain Galdino, police commissary, presence soldiers, many people, for having paid Intendencia Person taxes *boat Flying Paquete* of which I am consignee. I have a risky life. Captain Galdino, accompanied by twenty squares, horn, penetrated, without formalities, boat, removing portion saccos of cacáo. Absolutism here reigns Absolute guarantees. I telegraphed consul portuguez my nationality; Arrangements. – *Joaquim Eugenio Carvalho*.⁴²

⁴⁰ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, February 1, 1904 - no. 273. Pg. 01-02.

⁴¹ *Gazeta de Ilhéos*, Ilhéus, January 17, 1904 - no. 268. Pg. 01-02.

⁴² Ditto; op. cit.

Another telegram, sent to the *Capital News Journal* on January 25, 1904, by João Evangelista de Figueiredo, farmer of Ilhéus, also published by gazeta, claimed the invasion of his *potumujú* farm by eight armed henchmen and captained by Alberto Homem d'El-Rei, being forced to sign debt document allegedly already paid to intendant Pessoa, and forcing him to take refuge in the city to escape being arrested or killed for having abandoned his farm.

Within this context of conflicts, the State Government and the State Senate, once again, would be key pieces in the political dynamics of the region. Thus, on February 27, 1904, the Senate submitted the request for annulment of the *police camera*, made by Captain Galdino, configuring once again the possibility of the personistic group returning to the situation of Opposition. As Ribeiro points out, despite claiming the expiration of the elections, their candidates were not made official by the State Senate that had the prerogative to graduate the elected, that is, legitimize the possession of the positions of the state executive and legislative and (RIBEIRO, 2005, p.50). Indeed, the Gazette reported that;

Thanks to your *high reportage*, they learned for days that they interposed friends of ours, *18 of the current*, resource of thebandalheira that elevates the atrabiliary and unpopular Adami to the position of *intendant*, and some *basilio candolas*, and burning cangaceiros to municipaes councillors and judges of peace, and by the organ of his group, the immoral pasquim that shames any municipality, are shown many anchos because they say they, only treated our friends of nullity of the nullity of Adami bandalheira and did not ask for the approval of the election that filled in the positions of intendant, counselors and justices of peace to Colonel Pessoa and his coreligionists.⁴³

Once again the State Government, despite having strong support during the campaign of the pessoist group, interfered to favor the continuity of Domingos Adami and his allies in the position of Intendant. The influences of Governor José Marcellino in the region allowed not only the permanence of adamistas during his administration, but also in

⁴³ Gazeta de Ilhéos, Ilhéus, March 27, 1904 - no. 287. Pg. 01.

the administration of Governor Araújo Pinho. This later allowed the Adamist group to shed new spaces, both in state and federal politics.

This situation invariably persisted until the political rise of José Joaquim Seabra (1912-1916) to the state government, providing a change in the political configurations of the region, enabling the rise and maintenance of the personists to the government of the municipality of Ilhéus, as well as, at the state level. This would substantially alter the discourses used in the press managed by the group.

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