

The Crown and agriculture in the colonial Amazon region (seventeenth and early eighteenth century)

Rafael Chambouleyron
Universidade Federal do Pará

When the Portuguese Amazon region was occupied and colonized, in the early seventeenth century, and an independent province was created – the State of Maranhão –, Portugal had already had a considerable successful experience with cultivation, mainly of sugar cane and tobacco, in “older” parts of Portuguese America, such as Bahia and Pernambuco. Therefore, the opening of sugar mills and tobacco plantations was considered one of the first options for those who established themselves in the region.

This idea was perfectly defined by João de Moura in a text written in the 1680s. According to Moura since the first “Portuguese who occupied this State” were from Pernambuco, they were used to “sugar production”. As soon as they arrived, they “began to build sugar mills” and look for Indians, since they needed many slaves for this production.¹ In fact, since the beginning of Dom João IV reign (1640-56), the Crown sponsored sugar production, which was seen as a fundamental crop for the development of the region, an idea exemplary expressed in a letter sent to the Governor of the region, in the 1660s, which stated that the building of new sugar mills would be “of great utility for my treasury and for this State to become opulent”.²

Sponsoring sugar production was implemented by tax exemptions, importation of African slaves, and juridical privileges. In 1646, for example, the king renewed an exemption of tithes for eight years.³ Years later, the sovereign granted more privileges to the sugar mills’ owners – the *senhores de engenho*. In 1688, the king decided to exempt the owners of sugar mills from “serving in the [municipal] Councils”. One of the reasons was that the sugar mills were “too far from the cities” and the absence of the owners would aggravate the precarious production of sugar in the region.⁴ In addition, considering the abandonment of many sugar mills, the Crown decided to exempt both the *senhores* and their planters (*lavradores*) from suffering judicial confiscation of their machinery and slaves, for six years.⁵ This privilege, officially granted in 1688, however, had already been implemented, in response to settlers’ petitions.⁶

In 1697, with the decease of the *senhor* João de Sousa Soleima, who owned an *engenho* in the Itapecuru River (captaincy of Maranhão), by his will, eighteen of his slaves had to be handed to some of his relatives. The governor of Maranhão, however, intervened and suggested that this transaction should be forbidden, since it would imply the total destruction of the *engenho* and its sugar production. Moreover, he stressed that it was not equitable that, at the same time that the sovereign tried to sponsor and help the *senhores*, he should allow the dismantling of this *engenho*. Gomes Freire de Andrade, former governor of the State (1685-87), was heard by the Overseas Council, and argued that the diminution of *engenhos* was not only a consequence of the lack of slaves, but also of judicial seizure on the *senhores'* slaves and machinery.⁷ Therefore, the king should re-state the privilege, similar to what prevailed in the State of Brazil.⁸

In the case of tobacco producers, in 1650, the king granted a privilege by which foreign tobacco was forbidden in Portugal.⁹ This royal decision originated from a petition made by the governor on behalf of Maranhão's inhabitants. According to the petitioners, the most important product for the State was tobacco, which was impossible to sell in the "kingdom" because of the tobacco that foreigners freely sold in Portugal. The Overseas Council suggested that the king should raise the taxes paid by foreigners, since it could be a "great damage and impediment that this conquest [Maranhão] does not have a way out for its fruits". Moreover, this policy should apply to all the territories that produced tobacco.¹⁰ This was not the first time the settlers requested such petitions, since in the late 1630s they had sent a similar plea.¹¹

Tobacco had part exemption of import taxes when sent to Portugal. In 1674, some "people interested in Pará's tobacco" made a petition to the Administration of Tobacco Council (*Junta de Administração do Tabaco*) arguing that they should not pay the taxes owing to their poverty. According to the councillors and the royal treasurer of the kingdom, however, the damage caused by the example of such an exemption could be more serious than the actual loss of revenues. Nevertheless, the king should promote the development of Maranhão; therefore, Maranhão's settlers would only pay half the due taxes. The decision was approved by the king.¹²

One has to point out that these measures were not necessarily peculiar to the State of Maranhão. Many of them were or had been applied to the State of Brazil. However, the circumstances and the arguments raised by the settlers and also by the Councils reveal a mutual interest in promoting the growth of agriculture, and consequently of trade from the State of Maranhão to Portugal. This becomes even clearer when one analyses the

amount of exports to the “kingdom”. In fact, the officials of the Crown explicitly stated that the sugar and tobacco trade was so small that exemptions could not damage the royal treasury. What was important was to consolidate trade routes and to avoid any loss of contact with the region, a serious problem that will be examined later.

Products exported to Portugal by the royal treasury also had privileges, being freed from the payment of any taxes. Although this applied not only to tobacco and sugar, but to any products sent from the State, it seemed this order had to be re-stated continuously. In 1678, for example, the Royal Treasurer of the Azores, Agostinho Borges de Sousa, noted the arrival of seventy-two rolls of tobacco, ten boxes of white sugar, and three boxes of brown sugar from Pará. He urgently requested the king to instruct him if this freight, being sent by the royal treasury, should pay “the new and old taxes in the Customs”.¹³ The Overseas Council answered this request by stating that the king should exempt the products from taxation, since they were to be sold for the provision of the colony itself, and because for the same reason, sugar, bark-clove and cacao had been previously exempted.¹⁴

Financing the importation of African slaves was another form of promoting sugar and tobacco production in the State. The relation between sugar and African slaves was certainly evident from the experience of Bahia and Pernambuco. During the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth century, sugar production in these captaincies still relied on Indian labourers. However, as Stuart Schwartz suggests, from the 1570s onwards “resistance, plague, and anti-enslavement legislation reduced the availability — and profitability — of Indians”, giving way to a widespread use of African slaves.¹⁵ It was normal, then, that in the State of Maranhão agricultural production, mainly of sugar, was reckoned to depend on the use of African labour force.

The Crown repeatedly sent goods or slaves to the region to finance its own expenses in the State – such as the payment of the infantry, and the maintenance of the fortresses – owing to the insufficiency of revenues from taxation. Although goods were more profitable for the royal treasury, the king eventually decided to send slaves because with them the Crown would also sponsor production.

This idea was explicit at many moments. In 1693, for example, Governor Antônio de Albuquerque Coelho de Carvalho (1690-1701) stressed the convenience of sending African slaves instead of goods, because of the benefits it could produce: growth of tithes, increment of the sugar production, and thus, advance of trade.¹⁶ This opinion was seconded by the former Governor Gomes Freire de Andrade, by the councillors of São

Luís, for whom the improvement of trade depended on slaves, and by the Overseas Council.¹⁷ In December of that year, the king wrote to the governor, emphasizing not only the utility of sending African slaves, because the settlers would have labourers for their “sugar mills and plantings”, but also the growth of the revenues for the Crown that this would imply.¹⁸

In 1702, the king stated in a letter to the royal treasurer that the dispatch of the slaves brought immediate profits to the royal treasury. However, the royal treasurer should bear in mind that it also interested the Crown because of “the increment of the tithes generated by the cultivation of sugar cane and by the work in the sugar mills, and also for the utility of those vassals”.¹⁹ As one can see, the importation of slaves was not only understood because of its immediate consequences, but also in the context of a broader policy of the Crown to develop the State by the advance of agriculture. Small wonder that in 1699, the sovereign ordered that those who had bought African slaves could only use them in sugar crops for the *engenhos*.²⁰

A particularity of the State of Maranhão, however, was the importance of Indian labour force. Here again, the grant of Indian slaves or the authorization to use free Indians was seen as a means to develop agricultural activities. In 1685, Governor Gomes Freire de Andrade explicitly stated that *engenhos* needed slaves, because free Indians were unfit for sugar production. When he mentioned slaves, he meant Indian slaves, who could be taken from the *sertões*.²¹ Although the employment of Indian labourers occasioned a series of juridical and political problems, the kings permitted their use in the sugar mills throughout the seventeenth and beginning of the eighteenth centuries.

That was the case of Manuel de Morais who asked for twenty Indians, both free and slave, for his *engenho*.²² Pedro Paulo da Silva, owner of a sugar mill in the Itapecuru River (Captaincy of Maranhão), requested 120 slaves, both Africans and Indians for the work and the defence of his *engenho*.²³ In 1702, José da Cunha de Eça received an authorization to bring sixty couples of Indians to live in an *aldeia* next to his sugar mill.²⁴ The same grant was given to Hilário de Moraes Bittencourt, for his new *engenho* in the Acará River (Captaincy of Pará).²⁵

One has to point out, however, that all these means to promote sugar and tobacco production did not transform the State of Maranhão in a second Bahia or Pernambuco.²⁶ Nevertheless, historiography has underestimated the role of agricultural production in the Amazon region, during the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth

centuries. Sugar mills and tobacco crops are important to understand the logic of economic occupation of the State of Maranhão. *Engenhos* were located mainly in the rivers which led to the cities of São Luís and Belém.

In the captaincy of Pará, the Acará and the Moju Rivers were not routes for the gathering of the spices and chase of Indians or for the missionary journeys. This kind of expedition was undertaken primarily to the west, in large rivers such as the Amazon, or the far Negro and Madeira. The Moju and Acará region became, then, a kind of an agricultural frontier.²⁷ In the captaincy of Maranhão, the importance of the Mearim and Itapecuru Rivers for the sugar production reveals that fringe areas were occupied by agriculture. Sugar production, hence, followed a different logic of space occupation from the gathering of spices.

Data related to grant lands (*sesmarias*) confirm the growing importance of sugar plantation and, moreover, the role planted cacao began to play in the region. Cacao only became a considerably important export product from the 1730s onwards and especially during the second half of the eighteenth century.²⁸ However, it is not totally accurate to assert, as Dauril Alden stresses, that during the seventeenth century “the government’s efforts to spur a cacao industry in the Amazon were not crowned with success”.²⁹ In fact, data from the *sesmarias* suggest that, in contrast to what Manuel Nunes Dias, Sue Gross and Dauril Alden have stated, cacao production did not come only from collection – the *cacao bravo* – but also from cultivation.³⁰

The cultivation of cacao was encouraged by the Crown. Besides the first and general chronicles, references to cacao can be found in the 1640s.³¹ However, as Dauril Alden has indicated, it was only from the 1670s onwards that the Crown decided to give incentives for cacao production and cultivation.³²

Incentives from the Crown could be a result of the news sent from the colony which indicated the possibility of cultivation. A paper written by João Dornelas da Câmara probably between the late 1650s and the early 1660s, stressed the benefits of cacao. According to Dornelas da Câmara, who was born in the State of Maranhão, the region had abundant cacao, “which could be planted, such as is done in the Indies of Castile”. He argued that it was more advantageous to cultivate cacao than sugar, since it was more valuable and cheaper to produce. That was the reason why he offered his services to establish the crop in the captaincy of Pará.³³ In his lengthy description of the State, Judge Maurício de Heriarte indicated that the captaincy of Pará was plentiful in cacao, “which the *moradores* do not know how to benefit”.³⁴

Small wonder that in 1653, in a paper about Maranhão's staples, one of the great *letrados* of the kingdom, Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo considered that cacao should be urgently cultivated, owing to the high costs of its collection and transportation.³⁵

The fact is that in 1669, the ordinances of the captain-major of Pará commanded Marçal Nunes da Costa to encourage the settlers to continue the "cultivation of clove, cacao and indigo".³⁶ Nunes da Costa only arrived in Pará in 1674. In April of the next year, the sovereign wrote to the governor and to the captain-major commanding them to promote the cultivation of *drogas* such as clove, cacao and vanilla.³⁷

The major impulse to the incentive of cacao cultivation most likely came from the experience of a Spaniard who lived in Portugal and was nominated royal treasurer of the State of Maranhão. In a long paper presented to the Overseas Council, probably in 1676 or 1677, Dom Fernando Ramirez discussed the conveniences of cacao and vanilla cultivation. He stressed their utility, since they could be exported to Europe and Africa. Moreover, at that time, there was no other cacao and vanilla but those produced in the Indies of Castile, which were not enough even for Spain. The cultivation and trade of these two staples, therefore, could help to develop and populate the State of Maranhão, as had occurred with sugar in the State of Brazil. He then explained the ways by which cacao was planted in the Indies, and how the sovereign could promote its plantation. After hearing the royal treasurer of the kingdom and the royal counsellor, the Overseas Council suggested that the king should take advantage of Dom Fernando Ramirez's assistance in the State to spur cacao cultivation among the settlers.³⁸

A royal provision of December 1677, determined, then, the revocation of a former order, which prohibited the officials of the Crown from cultivating and trading.³⁹ The new governor and the appointed royal treasurer would be authorized to plant vanilla and cacao to give the example to the settlers.⁴⁰ In the years that followed, the governor and the royal treasurer wrote to the Court about the success of their efforts. Dom Fernando Ramirez sent a letter in May 1678 explaining how he had informed the councillors of São Luís and the prelates of the importance of this crop for the State. Governor Inácio Coelho da Silva (1678-82) also wrote about the matter, and commented that two settlers and the Jesuits had already planted some cacao.⁴¹

The Crown was clearly convinced about the need to sponsor cacao production, since the prince decided to abolish the monopoly that the contractors of the chocolate enjoyed in Portugal. The governor received this new order in April 1680, and stressed that the settlers were now encouraged to plant more cacao. Among them, João Dornelas da

Câmara had eight thousand plants of cacao in the captaincy of Pará.⁴² The governor complained, however, that the royal treasurer had not encouraged the settlers to plant cacao and vanilla, as he had promised.⁴³ In a *consulta* about this letter, the Overseas Council stressed the initiative of the settlers, the reason why the prince stated that some of them should receive grants for their undertaking.⁴⁴ Some years later, in September 1684, the sovereign wrote again to the governor, stressing the utility that would follow from the cultivation of cacao and vanilla.⁴⁵ In 1686, the king complained that insufficient quantity of cacao was sent from Maranhão; he then ordered the governor that he should give incentives to those who planted it.⁴⁶ As was the case for other products, some cacao planters obtained privileges, such as the authorization to bring (*descer*) Indians from the *sertão*.⁴⁷

Towards the end of the seventeenth century, the crown incentives did have a noticeable effect. The analysis of *sesmarias* given to Portuguese settlers reveals how cacao plantations compared to other “traditional” products, such as sugar and tobacco. In the State of Brazil, during the seventeenth century, sugar and, to a lesser extent, tobacco became the most important staples, primarily in the captaincies of Bahia and Pernambuco.⁴⁸ In the case of the State of Maranhão, most of the cacao planters claimed their lands at the end of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a sign that the crown’s efforts eventually succeeded.

Although confirmed by the king in the beginning of the eighteenth century, many of these lands were already occupied. In fact, most of the settlers demanded a concession of the lands they already cultivated. In Portuguese America in general, tenure of the land and its economic exploitation were the main arguments for the concession of land grants.⁴⁹ The formula “possessing and cultivating” in fact, was a common phrase in the petitions. Small wonder that, in 1699, the representative of Maranhão at the court stated that the settlers had succeeded in producing considerable cacao, “having emulation one with each other”.⁵⁰ From the 1690s until the beginnings of the 1720s, 162 land grants were distributed by governors among settlers in the captaincy of Pará, in which lands cacao was found and could be cultivated. From these, 65 (40%) were dedicated, albeit not exclusively, to the cultivation of cacao. Only 16 settlers granted land stated that they had not yet planted cacao.⁵¹

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Maranhão’s geographical location as a frontier region, coterminous with Spanish America, and the early history of invasions by several European nations, offered

powerful reasons to explain why the Portuguese monarchy was so determined to maintain its presence in such a difficult province. Needless to say, the wondrous promise of Amazonia, which endured for so long, as much as a mirage as a reality, also strengthened that resolve. In addition, since the beginning of the early modern era, Portugal's economy became increasingly dependent on colonial activity, what he calls a "precocious overseas vocation". The Portuguese interest on Maranhão shall be understood from this broader perspective of developing new potential sources of wealth in the overseas territories.⁵² The Crown thus played an important role in the construction of the internal dynamics of Maranhão's economy.

In this sense, the opposition between agriculture and spices' gathering, overstressed by current historiography, has to be analysed from a different perspective. Many "classic" works of economic history as well as "regional" historiography have insisted in what one could define the "inevitability" of a spice economy. It seems that for many authors, the gathering of spices became a natural choice for the settlers and therefore for the Crown.⁵³ Although authors stressed the existence of agriculture, the Amazon region's economy as a whole was defined from the spices' experience.

From this viewpoint, the failure of sugar and tobacco plantation, dependent on African slaves, gave place to the exploitation and gathering of spices in the *sertões*, with the use of an Indian labour force. According to these analyses, it was the inability to establish a plantation system which gave the State of Maranhão its particular character of isolation, precariousness and poverty. Undoubtedly, "Brazilian" experience, primarily that of the successful sugar plantations, did have a strong influence on how the Crown and many people in the State of Maranhão perceived the development of its economy.

However, agricultural experiences cannot be seen only in terms of "failure" or "success". The State of Maranhão's economy was certainly more complex than the mere collection of spices. In the Amazon region, collection of the spices coexisted with agriculture, as Indian labour force (free and slave) coexisted with African slavery. If there were models to follow – such as the Brazilian sugar production and the Indian production of spices – the State of Maranhão revealed an experience in which both did evolve in a particular manner. Moreover, the development of Maranhão's economy must be examined also from the many attempts of the Crown to strengthen its own economic and military situation in the region, and to guarantee the health of the royal treasury.

Notes

- ¹ Moura, “Collonia portugueza ...”, 1684. *BNP*, codex 585, f. 14v.
- ² 22 November 1662. *AHU*, codex 275, f. 327.
- ³ 20 February 1646. *AHU*, codex 92, f. 57v. Unfortunately, the first provision granting the five years exemption could not be found.
- ⁴ 21 April 1688. *AHU*, codex 94, f. 34v.
- ⁵ 21 April 1688. *AHU*, codex 94, ff. 34-34v.
- ⁶ In 1648, the judge of the captaincy of Pará, Francisco Barradas de Mendonça, advised the king that those settlers who had built *engenhos* should have the same privileges as those from Brazil. Belém, 4 March 1648. *AHU*, Pará (Avulsos), box 1, doc. 72.
- ⁷ In fact, in 1687, Freire de Andrade had warned the Crown that the *senhores de engenho* had their privileges disrespected, being compelled to serve in the councils, and being judicially seized in their properties. 15 November 1687. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 7, doc. 783.
- ⁸ 8 January 1697. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 9, doc. 933.
- ⁹ 2 May 1650. *AHU*, codex 275, f. 168v.
- ¹⁰ 14 October 1649. *AHU*, codex 278, ff. 281-282.
- ¹¹ c. 1637. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 1, doc. 115.
- ¹² 10 December 1674. *IAN/TT*, Junta de Administração do Tabaco, Consultas, maço 1, n. 8.
- ¹³ 18 August 1678. *AHU*, Açores (Avulsos), series 1, box 2, doc. 19.
- ¹⁴ 6 October 1678. *AHU*, codex 274, f. 10v.
- ¹⁵ Schwartz, “Indian labor and New World plantations: European demands and Indian responses in northeastern Brazil”, p. 78.
- ¹⁶ 10 January 1693. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 8, doc. 858.
- ¹⁷ 16 November 1693. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 8, doc. 869.
- ¹⁸ 17 December 1693. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 149.
- ¹⁹ 13 November 1702. *AHU*, codex 268, ff. 177v-178.
- ²⁰ 10 September 1699. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 190.
- ²¹ São Luís, 15 October 1685. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 6, doc. 726.
- ²² 21 November 1691. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 129.
- ²³ 16 November 1700. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), pp. 199-200.
- ²⁴ 17 April 1702. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 217.
- ²⁵ 16 February 1703. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), pp. 242-243.
- ²⁶ See, for example, the data presented by Frédéric Mauro related to the State of Brazil: Mauro, *Le Portugal et l’Atlantique au XVII^e siècle*, pp. 195-96.
- ²⁷ For a list of some sugar mills between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries, see: Cruz, *História do Pará*, I, pp. 93-98.

²⁸ See: Alden, “The significance of cacao production in the Amazon region during the late colonial period: an essay in comparative economic history”; and Dias, “As frotas do cacau da Amazônia (1756-1777): subsídios para o estudo do fomento ultramarino português no século XVIII”.

²⁹ Alden, “The significance of cacao production in the Amazon region during the late colonial period: an essay in comparative economic history”, p. 115.

³⁰ Dias, “O cacau brasileiro na economia mundial – subsídios para sua história”, p. 27; Gross, “The economic life of the Estado do Maranhão e Grão Pará, 1686-1751”, p. 10; Alden, “The significance of cacao production in the Amazon region during the late colonial period: an essay in comparative economic history”, p. 115.

³¹ In 1644, for example, the Vicar-general of the State, Father Mateus de Sousa Coelho, declared that Maranhão’s lands were fit for “sugar mills, tobacco crops, cotton, ginger, indigo and cacao”. c. 1644. *AHU*, Pará (Avulsos), box 1, doc. 48.

³² Alden, “The significance of cacao production in the Amazon region during the late colonial period: an essay in comparative economic history”, p. 115.

³³ “Papel q. se deu a Rainha D Luiza sobre varias utilid.^{es} do Maranhão”. [1650s-1660s]. *IAN/TT*, Coleção São Vicente, vol. 23, ff. 234-234v.

³⁴ “Descrição do Estado do Maranhão, Pará, Corupá e Rio das Amazonas” [1662-1667]. in Varnhagen. *História geral do Brasil* (3rd edn.), vol. III, p. 218.

³⁵ “Discurso sobre os generos p.^a o comercio que há no Maranhão e Pará”. 1653. *IAN/TT*, Manuscritos do Brasil, n. 108.

³⁶ 5 June 1669. *AHU*, codex 169 (Regimentos), f. 53.

³⁷ 3 April 1675. *AHU*, codex 268, ff. 9v-10; 4 April 1675. *AHU*, codex 268, f. 9.

³⁸ 20 September 1677. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 5, doc. 614.

³⁹ These prohibitions were stated in three laws. See: 9 September 1648. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 19; 17 October 1653. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 21; and 9 April 1655. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 27.

⁴⁰ 1 December 1677. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 42.

⁴¹ 29 July 1678. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 6, doc. 628.

⁴² Apparently, Dornelas da Câmara continued with these crops for many years. See: 30 May 1685. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 70.

⁴³ 10 April 1681. *AHU*, Pará (Avulsos), box 3, doc. 190.

⁴⁴ 28 July 1681. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 6, doc. 654.

⁴⁵ 2 September 1684. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), pp. 65-66.

⁴⁶ 24 November 1686. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), pp. 73-74.

⁴⁷ That was the case of José Portal de Carvalho, who had been granted twenty couples by the king. 27 March 1702. *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional*, vol. 66 (1948), p. 214.

⁴⁸ Concerning sugar and tobacco production in seventeenth and early eighteenth-century Portuguese America, see, respectively: Schwartz, *Sugar plantations in the formation of Brazilian society. Bahia, 1550-1835*; and Nardi, *O fumo brasileiro no período colonial*.

⁴⁹ See: Neves, “Sesmaria em Portugal e no Brasil”; Nozoe, “Sesmaria e apossamento de terras no Brasil colônia”; Alveal, “Converting land into property”.

⁵⁰ 21 August 1699. *AHU*, Maranhão (Avulsos), box 9, doc. 981.

⁵¹ See: Chambouleyron, “Cacao, bark-clove and agriculture in the Portuguese Amazon region in the seventeenth and early eighteenth century”. *Luso-Brazilian Review* – in print.

⁵² Serrão, “O quadro económico”, p. 67. See also: Hanson, *Economia e sociedade no Portugal barroco*, pp. 243-56.

⁵³ See, for example: See, for example: Prado Júnior, *História econômica do Brasil*, pp. 69-70; Furtado, *Formação econômica do Brasil*, pp. 66-67; Simonsen, *História econômica do Brasil*, pp. 110-47; Bruno, *História do Brasil. I – Amazônia*, p. 60; Sodré, *Formação histórica do Brasil*, pp. 128-29; Reis, *A política de Portugal no vale amazônico*, pp. 91-96; Schwartz, “Colonial Brazil, c. 1580-c.1750”, pp. 473 and 477; Silva, *Sobre uma geografia social da Amazônia*, pp. 27-28; Maués, “Amazônia: exploração, seus recursos naturais e os índios”, pp. 61-63; Oliveira, “Ocupação humana”, pp. 169 and 194-95; Figueiredo, *Amazônia: tempo e gente*, pp. 67-69; Reis, *O Estado do Maranhão – catequese do gentio – rebeliões – pacificação*, pp. 16-22; Costa, *Ecologismo e questão agrária na Amazônia*, pp. 4-5.