Cacao, Bark-Clove and Agriculture in the Portuguese Amazon Region in the Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Century*

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Este texto discute a cultura do cacau e do cravo no Estado do Maranhão e Pará, nos séculos XVII e XVIII. Seu principal argumento é o de que mais do que derivar do fracasso da produção açucareira na região (modelo colonial exemplar para a América portuguesa), as várias tentativas de desenvolver o cultivo das especiarias amazônicas, durante o século XVII e princípios do século XVIII, decorreram de uma série de circunstâncias e experiências. Esse foi o caso do lento descobrimento e interação com a região amazônica e seus produtos, o declínio do domínio português na Índia, e uma percepção singular de outras experiências coloniais.

"O Maranhão é Brasil melhor e mais perto de Portugal"
Simão Estácio da Silveira
Relação sumaria das cousas do Maranhão, 1624

Portuguese and creole soldiers coming from the northeast of Portuguese America conquered the Amazon region in the beginning of the seventeenth century.¹ In the 1620s, distance and the difficulty of travel from the Amazon region to the captaincies of Pernambuco and Bahia, where the Portuguese colonial government was established, led to the creation of an autonomous administrative province in the north, called Estado do Maranhão (or Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará). The State of Maranhão was divided into many captaincies, private and royal (the most important of them being the royal captaincies of Maranhão and Pará). Directly dependent on Lisbon, only in the nineteenth century did this region become part of the rest of Brazil.² In
contrast to other regions of Portuguese America, such as Bahia or Pernambuco, where sugar cane and sugar mills flourished since the late sixteenth century, the State of Maranhão, during the first hundred years of its colonization, represented a constant source of challenges for the Portuguese crown, which endeavored to develop the region economically.

According to Francisco de Assis Costa, since the beginning of the colonization process, the Portuguese had tried to “transform the region into an extension of a colonial economy founded upon agricultural production of goods, based on the use of an African labor force.” However, colonial experience revealed the impossibility of transforming the region into a plantation economy. During the seventeenth century, the region became heavily dependent upon an American-Indian labor force, and a variety of local products, primarily Amazonian spices—the drogas do sertão—gathered by the natives in the hinterland, or sertão. Assis Costa therefore notes the confrontation of an “agricultural ideal” with an “extractive reality,” in the approach of the Portuguese crown to the region.

The historiography has emphasized the importance of this contradiction to our understanding of the Amazonian economy and its labor system. In many “classic” works of economic history, such as those written by Caio Prado Júnior, Celso Furtado, Roberto Simonsen, Nelson Werneck Sodré and Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, the State of Maranhão formed a contrast to other Portuguese colonial experiences, manifesting the “failure” to implement an economy based on plantations and African slavery. According to these types of analyses, a “classic” sugar economy, such as that established in the captaincies of Bahia and Pernambuco, could not be developed in the Amazon region due to the inadequacy of the region’s fields and to specific economic conjunctures. According to many authors, it was only in the second half of the eighteenth century—when the Marquis of Pombal (Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo) dominated Portuguese colonial policy—, that a proper colonization of the region began. It was only then that the crown seriously intervened to guarantee its political dominion over the vast sertões.

There is no doubt that the Amazon region failed to become a “classical” export economy, at least during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Moreover, it is clear that the seventeenth-century “Brazilian experience”—i.e. sugar, tobacco and African slaves—remained an important model for the crown, settlers and authorities, when the “growth and preservation” of Maranhão were under discussion. However, historiography has favored an anachronistic Brazilian nation-state bias that ignores other connections—external to modern Brazil, or to the South Atlantic—which help us to understand the specificities of colonial Maranhão and Pará.

In fact, if one analyses the development of seventeenth-century Maranhão’s economy and occupation from the perspective of a secondary economy
gravitating around a central and exemplar colonial experience, one neglects other factors which could help to understand the formation of this specific colonial society and economy. The aim of this article is to argue that, rather than deriving from the “failure” of a (“Brazilian”) plantation economy, the many enterprises attempted with the drogas do sertão originated from a particular intersection of historical circumstances and experiences: first, the gradual discovery of, and specific interactions with, Amazonian nature and its products; second, the decline of Portuguese power in India; and third, a unique appreciation of other American colonial experiences, especially that of the thriving cacao economy in colonial Venezuela.

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As mentioned above, historians have depicted the Amazon economy during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries as one based on the extractive industry of the sertão’s spices. However, data reveal that the Portuguese crown promoted the cultivation of many local products, cacao, bark-clove and indigo being the most important. The crown also invested in sugar and tobacco production. Therefore, the establishment of an agricultural policy, throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, whether successful or not, encompassed both Amazonian spices and “traditional” products such as sugar, as well as cattle in the island of Marajó (in Pará) and in the State of Maranhão’s eastern frontier. The Amazonian economy was characterized by the intersection of many crops and types of occupation. In fact, unlike other “conquests” of Portuguese America, there was a strong interrelation between its hinterland—the sertão—and the coastal settlements such as São Luís and especially Belém where the Portuguese established an agricultural economy. If sugar production could be seen as an “agricultural ideal” for the region, because of the prosperous experiences in the State of Brazil, it did not preclude other types of agricultural experimentation.

Not by chance, in the 1650s, one of the most influential diplomats and men of letters of the kingdom, Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, insisted on the importance of developing and cultivating the State of Maranhão’s products, including not only sugar and tobacco, but also cacao, indigo, clove and many others. Like many other letRADos of the seventeenth-century Portugal, Ribeiro de Macedo believed in the increasing importance of Portuguese America for the development of the kingdom.

According to Luís Ferrand de Almeida, the ideas of these intellectuals influenced the crown and coincided with an economic crisis in the Portuguese empire. This was particularly clear during the second half of the seventeenth century, when, according to Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, “the imperial economy had undergone a prolonged depression dominated by a crisis in
the sugar, tobacco, silver and slave trades.” Ferrand de Almeida points out that the Portuguese crown had to develop new ways to prevent the crisis. Specific policies concerning taxation and trade were among the solutions envisioned by Lisbon to face the crisis. Thus, Ferrand de Almeida argues that the Crown provided incentives for the extraction and cultivation of the Amazonian spices in order to compensate for the losses in the Indian Ocean, as well as to mitigate the generalized crisis of the Portuguese empire, related to the Brazilian trade. Warren Dean points out that the sugar expansion in the Caribbean and the decline of Portuguese Asiatic empire led to an increasing interest of the Portuguese crown to “cultivate Brazilian products that until then were only collected.”

The promotion of Amazonian spices, therefore, should not be attributed to the failure to establish a sugar plantation economy. At least three main factors should be considered instead, as mentioned above. First, from the 1640s onwards, when the Portuguese achieved considerable dominion over the region, the recognition of these territorial gains led to a gradual discovery of new potential products. According to the descriptions of the State of Maranhão, the spices began to occupy an important place in the region’s characterization. In the 1680s, for example, Captain Manuel Guedes Aranha stressed that the captancy of Pará was a conquest “where everyday new products are discovered.” Father João de Sousa Ferreira’s *America abreviada* (1690s) stressed the same idea. Above all the products that could be cultivated in Maranhão were “invaluable spices in its sertões, such as clove, cacao and others that could be found.” In 1692, Royal Treasurer Francisco Teixeira de Moraes wrote that, as experience has shown, the State of Maranhão had “precious and many spices.”

This was the main reason why, throughout this period, the idea of “discovery” became so important for the region. In the letters and reports written to Lisbon, the authorities stressed the frequency with which expeditions and journeys entered the sertão to search for new or previously discovered spices. One has the impression sometimes that the *sertanejos* (the men experienced in the sertões) were sent without even knowing what they were seeking. In 1680, for example, a paper possibly written by Governor Inácio Coelho da Silva defended the revocation of the taxes of all “those new spices that could be discovered in the conquest.” The prince agreed with this suggestion and decided to lift half of the taxes on the “new spices that will be discovered in that State [of Maranhão].” A wealthy Portuguese trader, commenting on the same paper also concluded that the prince should lift the taxes on those staples “that were not yet discovered.”

The discovery of new spices or new sources of known spices then became a task for authorities, settlers and clerics. In 1656, during an expedition organized in search of gold, the Jesuit Father João de Soutomaia described
finding several trunks of a tree called burapinima. According to him, this wood could become “a new spice of this State.” In the late 1680s, Governor Artur de Sá e Meneses notified the crown of all the progress that the Portuguese had made in the discovery of new products. With the letter, he sent new samples of long pepper, quinaquina, an herb similar to tea, carajuru (a red dyestuff), and twenty-four kinds of wood for yellow dyestuff. He also informed the king about the unsuccessful enterprises undertaken by Captain André Pinheiro de Lacerda, who had tried to find cochineal, and about a new spice, called puxuri (pixurim), which had been given to him by José de Albuquerque, to whom he had “entrusted some discoveries.” Two years later, the same governor commented to the king that he had ordered all the people who entered in the sertão to try “to discover spices.” For the Portuguese, the State of Maranhão was a land of riches; its wealth was hidden, however, and the conquerors had to unveil it.

Second, the decline of Portuguese power in India in the second half of the seventeenth century affected the Portuguese supply of Indian spices and entailed a general shift in the axis of the empire, from the Indian Ocean to the Atlantic. From this change resulted several attempts to transplant eastern products to Portuguese colonies in America. Although these experiments took place in the State of Brazil and not in Maranhão, there is no doubt that the Portuguese experience in Asia influenced the approach they took to Amazonian spices. This is clear in texts and descriptions written about the region since the beginning of the conquest.

In 1624, Captain Simão Estácio da Silveira’s Relação sumaria das cousas do Maranhaõ epitomizes this trend. He extolled the fertility of fields, the salubriousness of the land, the precious metals and stones that could be found, its sugar cane, and the abundance of woods, edible plants and fruits, as well as hunting and fishing. In his text, Captain Silveira insisted on the many parallels that could be drawn with the East. Thus, he asserted that cinnamon similar to that of Ceylon probably could be found, as well as “clove” comparable to that of Ternate. According to Captain Silveira, Maranhão was an “Oriental Peru.” He was told that “Indian mangoes” and “durians” could also be found, since “this land is at the same latitude as Malacca.”

Later descriptions drew explicit comparisons with the Indian world. In 1648, the Overseas Council wrote a report to the king calling his attention to the spices “similar to those of India which were recently discovered in Maranhão.” The councilors suggested the king to command the governor to investigate what could be discovered about the spices, and “by all means to try to produce some fruits from this discovery” for the royal Treasury and his vassals.

Years later, in 1679, Father Bartolomeu Galvão wrote that not only was the State of Maranhão “the most fertile land in America,” but it also produced
spices that even when uncultivated were “better than those from India.” He added that if those spices were farmed, they would suffice to make the “kingdom wealthy.” João de Moura’s Thought and Discourse (1680s) relates a dialogue between two “friends.” The author explained how Portugal had been an opulent kingdom when the spices of India arrived at Lisbon. It was precisely the State of Maranhão which could “restore this loss,” since its products could be easily obtained and transported to the kingdom. Moreover, one of the interlocutors explained that there could be no difficulty in developing Indian spices in Maranhão, since “if one considers the climates and qualities of both lands, one concludes that there is no difference between them.” If, as asserted by Olaya Echeverría, the “Asiatic lens” had influenced the Iberian conquerors since the discovery of America, there is no doubt that, in the case of the State of Maranhão, it was the straits faced by the Portuguese in India that would modulate the role played by the oriental spices in the region.

Third, in the case of many other goods, especially cacao, colonial experiences other than that of the State of Brazil justified the discovery of and experimentation with new products in the State of Maranhão. In the 1680s, Governor Artur de Sá e Meneses notified the municipal council of Belém that the king had informed him about the excellent quality of a “black wood” (maybe rosewood), recently discovered, considered much better than that of the “Indies of Castile.” At the end of the seventeenth century, the former Governor of Maranhão Gomes Freire de Andrade mentioned the use of urucu (annatto) as a dyestuff by the French in Cayenne, and a kind of wood, found in the “Indies of Castile” highly regarded in the “northern nations,” both products that the Portuguese could exploit. In the 1690s, Inácio Mendes da Costa was granted a license for indigo production based on what he had seen in Curaçao, where, “living for some time, [he] had observed the Dutchmen producing indigo.”

In pre-Columbian America cacao was already important in the production and consumption networks of the Maya and the Aztecs. As pointed out by Ross Jamieson, these interactions determined that “very soon after the conquest the Spanish conquerors had begun to be influenced by the conquered.” Cacao became an important product in many places in Spanish America, mainly in colonial Mexico, Venezuela (Caracas), and Central America, during the post-conquest period. In the Province of Caracas, cacao was established as a vital crop and export product in the 1650s, and it became even more profitable during the eighteenth century, with the formation of a trade company.

Although cacao is a product native to the Amazon region, the Portuguese “discovered” its potential in the second half of the seventeenth century from the Spanish American colonies. In the late 1650s or early 1660s,
a settler born in the State of Maranhão, João Dornelas da Câmara, defended the plantation and exportation of cacao in the State of Maranhão based on the experience of the Indies of Castile, where he had seen the Spaniards cultivating it. From this time onwards the Crown attempted the development of cacao industry.

How did the Portuguese then organize the systematic exploitation of these Amazonian products?

Cacao

Among local products, cacao became one of the most important staples of the Amazonian economy, especially during the eighteenth century. Since the 1670s, the crown decided to spur cacao production and cultivation. Incentives from the crown were most likely a result of the news sent from the colony, which indicated the commercial potential of its production. Dornelas da Câmara’s report, probably written in the late 1650s, stressed the benefits of cacao. According to him, 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 its cultivation in the captaincy of Pará.

Also in the 1660s, in a lengthy description of the State, Judge Maurício de Heriarte reported that the captaincy of Pará was plentiful in cacao, from “which the settlers do not know how to benefit.”

Historiography pointed out that the Jesuits pioneered the cultivation (and exploitation) of cacao in the Amazon region. According to Father Serafim Leite, the first attempts to plant cacao were undertaken, in 1674, by Father João Felipe Bettendorff, who transported seeds from the captaincy of Pará to the captaincy of Maranhão. There, he distributed the product of the first trees among the settlers. Father Leite argues that it was this first “auspicious event” which encouraged the Crown to exploit cacao cultivation.

However, the influence of Spanish exploitation of cacao had echoed in the region (and in the papers received at the Court) well before. Father Leite himself quoted a 1664 letter from the governor of the State of Brazil to a Jesuit Father in the captaincy of Ceará (at the eastern frontier of the State of Maranhão). The letter refers to cacao found in that region and in “the Indies,” which according to him had similar climates. Years earlier, as mentioned above, Dornelas da Câmara had written about the Spaniards and their success with cacao cultivation. Not by chance, Dom Pedro II himself recognized Dornelas da Câmara as being “the first person to begin this cultivation in that captaincy [Pará], from the knowledge he had of the Indies of Castile.”

In a long report presented to the Overseas Council in Lisbon, probably between 1676 and 1677, Dom Fernando Ramirez discussed the conveniences
of cacao and vanilla cultivation. He stressed their utility, since both could be exported to Europe and Africa. Moreover, he argued, there was no other cacao and vanilla but those grown in the Indies of Castile, and this production could not even satisfy demand for them in 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 cultivation. After hearing the royal treasurer of the kingdom and the royal counselor, the Overseas Council suggested that the king should take advantage of Dom Fernando Ramirez’s assistance to spur cacao cultivation among the settlers.51

The new governor and the appointed royal treasurer would be authorized to plant vanilla and cacao, in order to provide an instructive example to the settlers.52 In the years that followed, the governor and the royal treasurer wrote to the court about the success of their efforts. The crown was clearly convinced about the need to sponsor cacao production, since in 1680, the prince regent of Portugal had decided to abolish the monopoly that the contractors of chocolate enjoyed in Portugal.53 This measure was taken after a paper probably written by Governor Inácio Coelho da Silva reached the court. The paper advocated that cacao and vanilla should be sold freely in Portugal, and for their market prices. In addition, it proposed that both products should be exempted from taxation. As stated by the Overseas Council, two tradesmen analyzed the text and seconded the recommendations. The Council suggested the abolition of the chocolate monopoly, and the king eventually ordered its abrogation. In addition the king decided to free cultivated cacao, vanilla and indigo from taxation for six years paying half taxes thereafter.54 Those marketing wild cacao would pay half taxes, a clear incentive for planted cacao.55

The governor received this new order (sent in April 1680), and stressed that the settlers were now eager to plant more cacao. The governor also complained about the royal treasurer, who had not encouraged the settlers to plant cacao and vanilla, as he had promised.56 In a report about this letter, the Overseas Council drew attention to the settlers’ initiatives which led to the prince to subsidize some of them for their efforts.57 Some years later, in September 1684, in the context of a series of official measures to sponsor the State of Maranhão’s economy, the sovereign wrote again to the governor, stressing the utility of the cultivation of cacao and vanilla.58 In 1686, the king complained that an insufficient quantity of cacao had been sent from Maranhão; he then ordered the governor to give incentives to those who planted it.59 As was the case for other products, some cacao planters obtained privileges and grants, such as the authorization to bring Indians from the sertão (“descer índios”) to work in the fields,60 and especially sesmarias (land grants).61
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. In the case of the State of Maranhão, not only sugar and tobacco but also local products such as cacao were cultivated. 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 monarchy 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. 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 emulated one another.” In 1700, Manuel de Barros da Silva, a citizen of Belém, for example, argued that he was “cultivating” a piece of land in the Guajará River, and “had developed large pastures for cattle and had cultivated a large amount of cacao.” Years later, Silvestre Vilasboas justified his petition for land in the Laranjeiras River stating that he had cultivated “those lands with many crops, one alembic and more than 12 thousand trees (pés) of cacao.”

From the 1690s until the beginnings of the 1720s, I found reference to 162 land grants that governors distributed among settlers in the captaincy of Pará in which lands wild 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.

Being a considerable open frontier, the captaincy of Pará’s capital, Belém, was gradually surrounded by land grants. The size of these *sesmarias* was variable, but they did not surpass two leagues, since at the end of his reign (1683–1706), Dom Pedro II established limits for their concession.

Typically, planters cultivated a number of crops, but the most crucial was cacao. Many of these crops are impossible to identify, and are defined solely as *lavouras* and *roças* certainly referring to the cultivation of manioc (the primary starch of Portuguese America adapted from Indigenous agriculture) and other foods (*mantimentos*). Thus, Catarina Alves had along the river Acará her “*roças* and fields of cattle, and almost 8 thousands trees of cacao.” Leão Pereira de Barros occupied a piece of land on the river Guamá with
“5 thousands trees of cacao besides other *lavouras*.”\(^{72}\) In 1714, Felipe Marinho argued that he had been planting for more than 15 years “trees of cacao and *urucu* and his *roças*.”\(^{73}\) Besides his 15 thousands cacao trees, Antônio de Paiva de Azevedo cultivated “all the *lavouras* the land allows.”\(^{74}\)

Cacao cultivation was concentrated on Acará, Guamá and Moju rivers that flow into Guajará Bay in front of Belém. Data suggest that the crown’s effort to promote a cacao industry in the Amazon met with some success.\(^{75}\) In fact, land grants indicate that, in contrast to what Manuel Nunes Dias, Sue Gross and Dauril Alden have stated, cacao production did not come only from collection—the *cacau bravo* (wild cacao)—but also from cultivation (*cacau manso*).\(^{76}\) The use of the words “*cacaual*” or “*cacoal*”\(^{77}\) (which could be considered an orchard) and “*fazenda*” of cacao\(^{78}\) in the land grants indicates the existence of a concentrated plantation of cacao, and not wild cacao found in these lands and then collected. Moreover, many of the settlers explicitly stated they were “planting” or “cultivating” cacao in their lands.\(^{79}\)

Nevertheless, the gathering of cacao remained important throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Data from the registrar of the Royal Treasury of Pará, between 1700–1702—the only systematic series we could find—indicate that in this period, 226 canoes went to the sertão for cacao and clove, paying taxes to the Treasury.\(^{80}\) Data from the religious orders’ estates and Indian villages in the late 1720s and early 1730s, after cacao became the most important export product of the region, indicate that wild cacao was far more exploited than the cultivated one. However, the clerics could count on the labor of the many Indians from villages they administered to the extent that their survey of production was organized by estate and Indian villages.\(^{81}\) Planted cacao, produced on lands granted by the crown, therefore, coexisted with the gathering of cacao in the sertões. When the crown established a trade company, the *Companhia de Comércio do Grão-Pará e Maranhão*, in 1755, cacao was the region’s most valuable crop.\(^{82}\)

Unfortunately, there is no way of measuring cacao cultivation and gathering with any precision, since, except from the data related to the religious orders, for the late 1720s and early 1730s, we could not find any systematic reference to the production or exports of cacao for the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, a recurrent problem for this period. Only scattered information can be gathered.\(^{83}\) Nevertheless, mention of cacao cultivation rarely appears in the documents before the end of the seventeenth century. In addition, the increase of the tithes of cacao and clove was significant. This increase indicates considerable growth in agricultural production, undoubtedly a more reliable source than collecting in the sertões. Since the religious orders systematically avoided the payment of the tithes,\(^{84}\) cacao and clove tithes can be an indication of settlers’ exploitation of both products.
Clove

Like cacao, bark-clove—pau-cravo (*Dicypellium caryophyllatum*)—represented an important staple for the State of Maranhão. Unlike cacao, however, the Portuguese never succeeded in cultivating it. Clove remained an important product throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth century. The first references to clove appeared in 1645–46. A royal letter issued in August of 1646 ordered the State’s royal treasurer to examine in depth the news that in the private captaincy of Caeté there existed “abundant forests of clove.”85 Two years later, the Overseas Council informed the king that a small box containing some samples of the clove’s bark had been sent to Portugal. The Council’s report about Maranhão’s clove was optimistic. Although different from the Oriental type—it was a bark and not a flower—“in taste it is similar to that of India.” Moreover, it could be profitable for the royal treasury, since the Dutch were “the lords” of India and prevented the Portuguese from exploiting its spices. To avert what had happened in the East, the Council suggested that the king should build fortresses close to the spices.86

In March of the same year, Sergeant-major Felipe da Fonseca Gouveia sent a letter from the Gurupá fortress warning the king about the terrible state of its defenses. He also stated that he had been in the Moluccas and that the clove trees there and in Maranhão “were the same.”87 He even thought that Maranhão’s clove was better. Nutmeg could also be found, like that of Malacca. For the Overseas Council, these discoveries were even more interesting than those from Caeté. As the councillors reminded the king, the captaincies of Gurupá and Pará, where Sergeant Gouveia had found the clove, belonged to the sovereign, whereas Caeté was a private captaincy, granted to Álvaro de Sousa.88 Small wonder that, two days before this report, the sovereign had written to the royal treasurer commanding him to respect Álvaro de Sousa’s privileges and donations.89

In October 1648, another report stressed the importance of those spices “recently discovered in Maranhão,” from news sent by the royal treasurer. The Council even suggested that the king should order the newly appointed governor, Luís de Magalhães, to investigate what could be discovered about the spices.90

Some years later, a new report informed the king about more drogas. According to the Overseas Council, the samples sent from Maranhão had arrived in such a state that it was impossible to evaluate their worth.91 Apparently, from what could be analyzed, both the sarsaparilla and the nutmeg were considered unsuitable, but the clove met with approval. The Council suggested that Sergeant Gouveia should go to the kingdom and bring samples in perfect condition. In addition, the councilors stressed that everything should be done with all discretion “because those lands are open and without defense.”92
The crown promoted experiments with bark-clove cultivation. Meanwhile, settlers harvested the wild bark. According to an account likely written in the 1650s by the representative of the State of Maranhão in the court, Sergeant Gouveia had tried to benefit bark-clove without success, since the plants grew naturally only in the distant hinterland. His experiences with cultivation were also unsuccessful. Sergeant Gouveia explained this failure on the difference between the fields in the hinterland and those close to the Portuguese communities. The account also commented that settlers usually traveled 100 leagues to find clove, taking one month on the journey, only to process about four arrobas of the product (approximately 45 kilograms).

In 1662, the king received a proposal for the exploitation of the bark-clove as a trade monopoly (estanco). The sovereign ordered the Overseas Council to examine this offer. This report revealed the uncertainty about the use of this new spice. The council wrote an account of the first news about the product and how the Crown had dealt with it. For some councilors the economic benefits of a bark-clove monopoly were not at all clear, but others believed in its potential. The royal treasurer of the kingdom opined that bark-clove should not be granted an estanco. According to him, its economic potential was still uncertain; in addition, it was more useful to “leave this spice for the settlers to send it to the kingdom.” A new report approved this judgment and the sovereign authorized the contract. However, there is no more reference about this contract in the documents.

From 1650 to 1800, settlers exploited bark-clove. Many attempts to domesticate this plant were made, but all of them were fruitless. In 1684, the prince ordered the governor to plant 100 trees of clove close to the Portuguese settlements, and to try to develop its cultivation. It remained, however, primarily a forest product, gathered by the local population. Moreover, like cacao, it was mainly a paraense product (i.e. from the captaincy of Pará), since it did not abound in the captaincy of Maranhão.

Even if there is no systematic data about clove exports until the 1730s, clove gathering appeared to be extensive, at least for the levels of European consumption. In 1686, the king determined that three to four thousand arrobas of clove per year “were enough to supply Europe” (from 45 to 60 metric tons). Apparently, this order was re-stated in 1687. “That was certainly quite a low limit, if one recalls that only one ship, called Nossa Senhora da Luz, arrived in Lisbon the same year carrying one thousand arrobas of clove “in bulk.” Apparently, clove was not only collected from the sertão, but also traded, probably with Indian groups. Some few documents refer to the resgate of clove, which meant some sort of commercial transaction.
Cacao and Clove Exploitation and Trade

Cacao and clove became the most important spices of the Amazon economy throughout the colonial period. Not only were both exported to the “kingdom,” but they also played a crucial role in the region’s economy. Until the 1750s, commercial transactions were conducted using both products as “natural” money alongside cotton in cloth and cord as well as sugar and manioc. Settlers and Indians commonly used these products to pay for goods and labor.\(^{105}\)

Unfortunately, there is almost no data concerning the production, commercialization or even generic references to the disembarkation of cacao and clove in Portugal. An accurate appraisal of their importance as commodities remains difficult, since, there is insufficient data to analyze the relationships established between producers, intermediaries and consumers as part of a “commodity chain approach.”\(^{106}\)

However, owing to the importance of these two staples, the crown established specific tithes for both in the 1670s: the “dízimos do cacau e cravo.” Besides taxes paid on both spices when embarked (the “direitos da alfândega”), clove and cacao tithes were usually paid after an auction by a contractor. Thus, clove and cacao also became an important resource for the State of Maranhão’s perennially strapped royal treasury. In 1676, the prince wrote to the councilors of São Luís, reminding them of the problems of “my treasury.” Therefore, as well as the residents in Pará, the settlers should pay the tithes “of all the fruits of the land and taxes on the slaves from the sertão.”\(^{107}\) These tithes were probably established in the early 1670s, since a royal letter referred to another missive sent from the governor in 1674 regarding the form of their collection.\(^{108}\)

Indian workers, free and slave, harvested both cacao *bravo* and *manso* and bark-clove. Unlike the Caracas cacao plantation, there is no reference to the use of African slaves, although both Indians and Africans worked together in the Amazonian fields where settlers cultivated many crops altogether.\(^{109}\) Indian workers reigned in the sertões were both clove and cacao were collected, as the Portuguese were entirely dependent on Indian labor force. The Indian labor regime was a source of constant complaint and trouble in seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Amazon region, as a number of historians have already pointed out.\(^{110}\)

The gathering of clove and cacao in the sertões caused a series of problems for the crown and local authorities. From the 1680s onwards the crown tried to address these difficulties. First, there was the problem of falsification. In 1684, the prince sent a provision condemning the mixture of bark-clove with other trees’ barks, in order to make the product heavier. In 1712, the
officials from the custom in Lisbon made clear that falsified bark-clove could lead to the final “extinction of this trade for the natives of that State [Maranhão].” In the case of cacao, the provision stressed the existence of unripe fruits which rapidly spoiled. In 1703, a new instruction complained of a fraudulent load of cacao sent to Portugal. According to this order, the settlers did not process it correctly to make it heavier. In addition, they used to paint wet fruits, to give the impression that they were perfectly ripe.

If these practices diminished the quality and the “reputation” of Maranhão’s products, the gathering of spices in the sertões were a source of more serious internal problems. In the case of clove, the method used to collect the bark killed the trees because the settlers did not merely cut the bark, but the whole tree. Dornelas da Câmara had already condemned this practice because it forced settlers to search for this product in even more distant regions, “which will be soon desolated in the same way, and then they will have to find new [places] even further.”

In 1686, the king recommended that the Governor Gomes Freire de Andrade discuss with Artur de Sá e Meneses, his successor, the excessive cutting of clove. The royal letter warned about the possibility of clove “extinction, since in its harvesting, the same method is used as with pau-brasil, (Brazil’s dye wood which was felled)” and commanded them to discuss the problem. The king also wrote to the new governor, and decreed the prohibition of cutting young trees for ten years. In 1687, Governor Gomes Freire de Andrade prohibited the cutting of trees in the Capim River (Pará). According to Freire de Andrade, the Indians who sold bark-clove to the Portuguese, mentioned above, only cut the bark off using a thread, a technique that should be learned from those “barbarians.”

Apparently these prohibitions were useless. Clove seemed to disappear towards the end of the seventeenth century. In 1684 the Franciscans of Santo Antônio were authorized to export 100 arrobas of clove and 100 of cacao free from taxes. Thirteen years later, the clerics requested a reform of their grant, since “there is no clove anymore.” In 1685, the governor commented that in Pará, the settlers had sent so many canoes after clove that, in a few years, bark-clove would no longer be found.

One of the gravest problems managing the collecting of spices was the control of men who entered the sertão. In 1692, Judge Miguel da Rosa Pimentel reported that thirty to forty canoes went annually to the sertões. In 1686, Governor Gomes Freire de Andrade decided to compel all those who went to the sertão to register their canoes in Belém and in the fortress of Gurupá, and to request a specific license from the captain-major of Pará. His idea was to control the number of boats, the people who traveled in them, and to discover whether they took advantage of this journey to make illegal
enslavements. The king transformed this governor’s order into a law in 1688. This decree covered “every person that goes to the sertão for the clove and cacao.” At the same time, the sovereign confirmed Freire de Andrade’s order to the captain-major of the fortress of Gurupá to check the license of every canoe harvesting clove and cacao and to register those that stopped in the fortress. This order was reinstated in 1691.

This law caused some inconveniences for the religious orders whose members did not want to obey it. Royal decrees in 1690 and 1699 commanded the governor to compel the clerics to register their canoes, since they were vassals and were required to register their goods with customs officials.

This practice caused internal problems in some religious orders, such as the Society of Jesus. In his chronicle, Father Bettendorf asserted in the 1670s that the head of the order disapproved of dispatching Indians to collect clove for the Society. Father Bettendorf argued, nevertheless, that “the reason why the reverend fathers of Santo Antônio [Franciscans] send people for the clove and cacao [is] for the expenses of their churches.” In 1679, Jesuit Father Antonio Vieira wrote a letter to the superior of Maranhão, admonishing him not to send Indians after clove and cacao, in observation of the Jesuit rule.

Final remarks

Cacao and clove experimentation and exploitation in the Amazon region indicate the importance given to the cultivation of local products as a source of wealth for the settlers and the crown. The projects promoted by Lisbon reveal that the gradual discovery of the Amazonian products increased the crown’s interest in the region. Many of these enterprises were based upon former or contemporary experiences in Asia and Spanish America. Moreover, the decline of Portuguese power in India enhanced the importance given to the Amazonian spices throughout the second half of the seventeenth century.

Three general issues arise from the seventeenth- and early eighteenth-century Amazonian experience. First, the evidence examined here demonstrates the inadequacy of established interpretations that stress that the colonization of the Portuguese Amazon region began with the Marquis of Pombal’s ascendancy in the mid-eighteenth century. Most Brazilian and Brazilianist scholarship has insisted that it was only then that a systematic agricultural, administrative, and trade policy was implemented in the region. Pombal’s decisions to end the tutelage of religious orders over Indian villages is also correctly referenced as a significant change of direction for the region. Authors have rightly presented his ministry (1751–1777) as a milestone not only for Portugal, but also for the many provinces that composed her vast empire, including the Amazon.
However, this interpretation often presents a distorted depiction of earlier periods of Maranhão and Pará’s history defined by the lack of a proper colonial policy and by the dominion of the religious orders, primarily of the Jesuits. This is clear in the works of authors who identified the Amazon region as an isolated and poor area of the Portuguese empire before Pombal. Moreover, up to the time of the definition of a specific agricultural policy under Pombal, the region is reckoned to have been abandoned to its own fate: the settlers surviving by the gathering of spices, the hunting of Indians, and subsistence crops; the religious orders thriving to the detriment of settlers; the crown oscillating between both groups but mostly absent from the region. Maybe this broader tableau was an image Pombal himself promoted to legitimize his own projects for the region.

Contrary to what was stressed by part of the historiography, the State of Maranhão was far from being abandoned by the crown before 1750. If many of the agricultural and development projects failed (just as Pombal’s did), the crown frequently interfered in the State of Maranhão. In fact, the crown played a crucial role in the region’s development, since it intervened in all aspects of colonial society. It sponsored the population of the region, it encouraged the discovery and exploitation of spices, it tried to define a labor regime, and it supported the development of agriculture (most of the lands granted in the captaincies of Pará and Maranhão were given by the governors before Pombal). The crown’s intervention in the region, although reliant upon colonial experience, was shaped by the royal treasury’s dearth of resources in the region. The incapacity of Maranhão’s economy to produce enough wealth to maintain the Portuguese military and bureaucratic apparatus led to an even larger presence. The crown, after all, viewed the progress of economic activities not only in terms of development, but also with regard to the financing of the royal treasury. At the court, these issues were considered in tandem, and Maranhão’s “failure” to produce growth did not necessitate abandonment. On the contrary, it led to an increasing government intervention. The strategic importance of this northern province of Portuguese America, which bordered Spanish, French and Dutch colonies, was reason enough for the Portuguese crown to persist in its efforts to control this extensive, frontier territory.

Second, the significant role played by the crown in the region adds a new element to a relatively recent debate in Brazilian and Portuguese historiography regarding local and central government in the Portuguese empire. One side of this debate emphasizes the limits of Portuguese absolutism, especially after 1640, with the end of Spanish rule, and the ascension of a new dynasty. This school argues that these transformations led to the construction of a corporate government, shared by the king and the members of local elites within the empire. Political rule thus has been understood as a negotiation
between different levels and sources of power in the “kingdom” and in its colonies overseas.¹³⁵

The Amazonian experience during the second half of the seventeenth century, however, requires a different perspective. Certainly the crown had to settle with local elites the limits of its own political intervention in the region as historians have stressed for the whole of Portuguese America).¹³⁶ Nevertheless, royal power was increasingly brought to bear on many other sectors of society beyond that of government in the Amazon, such as the population of the region, the agricultural policies related to local products, the complex problems concerning the use of an Indian labor force, and the defense of the region’s frontiers.

Moreover, the local population became dependent on crown intervention for their own survival. Tax exemptions, the organization of the slave trade, and the promotion of commerce were among the many policies established by the central government in Lisbon that benefited the Portuguese and Creole population of the State of Maranhão, throughout the seventeenth and early eighteenth century. Even beyond the white and mestizo population, the crown had to take into account other types of local power. That was the case of the many Indian nations who were essential for the consolidation of Portuguese dominion over the region.¹³⁷ For the defense of the land, the gathering of spices in the sertões, the cultivation of the fields, and the canoes that became the almost exclusive form of transport in the region, the Portuguese depended on the Indians, both those who lived among the Portuguese and those who lived in the hinterland in their own traditional communities. These “local powers,” especially the latter ones, were governed by principles and laws not subdued to the logic of the Ancien Regime, so much discussed by the recent historiography. The interpretation of the balance of power between local and imperial forces must thus consider the particularities of each region of the Portuguese dominions; in the case of the Amazon region, the main role played by Indian nations.

A third general reflection concerns the role of the Amazon region within the Portuguese empire, primarily in its relation with Brazil. Throughout the seventeenth century (until the nineteenth century), both parts of Portuguese America, the State of Maranhão and the State of Brazil, were independent of one another and considered to be administratively equivalent components of the Portuguese empire. After the creation of Maranhão’s bishopric in 1677, no aspect of Maranhão’s administration was subjected to the State of Brazil, as it ended ecclesiastical subjection to the bishop of Salvador, in Bahia.¹³⁸

That does not mean that relationships were not established between these colonial entities. During the 1680s, the authorities of Maranhão and Brazil were increasingly concerned with the “discovery” of a road (caminho) between both States.¹³⁹ The State of Brazil also offered a model when the question
of Indian labor force was at stake (as was the case in the 1690s, when an epidemid of smallpox decimated the indigenous population). Some in the Amazon region believed that African slaves, such as those largely employed in the Brazilian coast, represented a solution for the many problems endured by settlers in the region (though this was not a widespread viewpoint).

During colonial times, however, the State of Maranhão and Pará was not part of the State of Brazil. Even if Captain Simão Estácio da Silveira argued that Maranhão was a “better Brazil,” this statement predated the arrival of the first governor of the State of Maranhão (in 1626) and indicated difference, rather than similarity, with the State of Brazil. Historians have projected the modern configuration of Brazil as a nation into the past such that the Amazon region has mainly been explained from a perspective outside its bounds: the colonial State of Brazil, and more specifically the sugar production region. That does not mean that one should ignore the connections between those two parts of the Portuguese conquests in America. It means that one has to connect the State of Maranhão and Pará with Spanish America, with the Atlantic islands, with Lisbon, with the African west coast, and with the State of India, parts of the globe that also helped to shape Amazonian society.

Notes

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2. When the term Brazil is used in this text it is intended to mean the old State of Brazil, contrary to the State of Maranhão.


18. Francisco Teixeira de Moraes, “Relação historica e politica dos tumultos que succederam na cidade de S. Luiz do Maranhão” [1692]. Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, 40, 1st part (1877): 73.


21. AHU, Pará, caixa 3, doc. 279 (30 Nov. 1689).

22. The letter, written in Jan. 1691 is included in AHU, Maranhão, caixa 8, doc. 831 (4 Apr. 1691).


33. Meneses' report is included in: AHU, Pará, caixa 3, doc. 279 (30 Nov. 1689).
34. Freire's report is included in: AHU, Maranhão, caixa 9, doc. 907 (13 Jan. 1696).
35. AHU, cod. 94, fol. 129v (24 Jan. 1691).
41. In the early 1640s, news concerning the abundance of cacao in the Amazon river circulated among the Portuguese and Spaniards, spread by the work of Father Cristobal de Acuña, who traveled from Quito to Belém with Captain-major Pedro Teixeira. See: Cristobal de Acuña, SJ, Nuevo descubrimiento del gran rio de las Amazonas (Madrid: En la Imprenta del Reyno, 1641), 14v–15.


49. Leite, História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, 160.

50. LGM, 47 (13 Jan. 1679). Nevertheless, in a previous letter, the Crown did recognize that the Jesuits had planted “some cacao.” LGM, 46 (16 Aug. 1678). Father Leite seems correct when he stated that the Jesuits where the first to plant cacao in the capitanity of Maranhão. In a land grant, Governor Inácio Coelho da Silva recognizes that the priests were the first “who planted cacao in this island [of São Luís].” “Confirmação de hũa legoa de terra [. . .] o g.or Ign.co Coelho da Silva do Coll.o de N.a S. da Luz do Maranham &. que he a de Anindyba,” 30 Apr. 1678. ANTT, Cartório Jesuítico, maço 82, no. 17. See: Alden, “The significance of cacao production in the Amazon region,” 114–15.

51. AHU, Maranhão, caixa 5, doc. 614 (20 Sept. 1677).

52. A royal provision of December 1677 determined the revocation of former orders, which prohibited the officials of the crown from cultivating and trading. These prohibitions were stated in three laws. See: Anais da Biblioteca Nacional—“Livro Grosso do Maranhão,” 66 (1948) [hereafter cited as LGM], 19 (9 Sept. 1648); LGM, 21 (17 Oct. 1653); and LGM, 27 (9 Apr. 1655). For the laws revoking these decisions, see: LGM, 42 (1 Dec. 1677) and LGM, 41 (1 Dec. 1677).


54. The Treasury Council (Conselho da Fazenda) decided the same, days after. “Alphabeto das resoluções do Conselho da Fazenda,” 1705. BNP, Pombalina, no. 178, fol. 87v.

55. AHU, Maranhão, caixa 6, doc. 647 (14 Mar. 1680).

56. AHU, Pará, caixa 3, doc. 190 (10 Apr. 1681). The sovereign answered this letter commanding the judge of the State to hear Dom Fernando Ramirez and his explanations why he did not accomplish his task. LGM, 60 (20 Aug. 1681).

57. AHU, Maranhão, caixa 6, doc. 654 (28 July 1681).


59. LGM, 73–74 (24 Nov. 1686).

60. That was, for example, the case of José Portal de Carvalho, who was granted 20 couples of Indians by the king. LGM, 214 (27 Mar. 1702). Domingos Portilho de Melo Gusmão obtained a similar grant in 1706, when he pleaded for 200 Indians to “work on cacao trees.” AHU, Maranhão, caixa 10, doc. 1083 (1706). In the early

61. Land grants—the *sesmarias*—were an old tradition in Portugal, related to the so-called Reconquista against the Muslims, during the Middle Ages. According to António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, after the conquest of the Portuguese territory, it became a means of consolidating the possession of the land. Nonetheless, Vasconcelos de Saldanha and José da Costa Porto have stressed that the development of this institution in the Portuguese kingdom and in its overseas territories followed different paths. In the first case, it was a problem of taking advantage and developing abandoned or misused land. In the case of the colonies, there was the concern to occupy deserted and uncultivated spaces and to populate them. Whatever their destiny was in Portugal, as Virginia Rau pointed out, what is clear is that with the overseas expansion, the *sesmarias* became a fundamental element in the colonization of the Islands (Madeira and Azores) and Portuguese America. See: António Vasconcelos de Saldanha, *As capitâncias do Brasil* (2nd edn. Lisbon: CNCDP, 2001), 285 and 289; José da Costa Porto, *O sistema sesmarial no Brasil* (Brasília, EdUNB, n.d.), 42–43; Virginia Rau, *Sesmarias medievais portuguesas* (Lisbon: Universidade de Lisboa, 1946), 14. For a general approach on the *sesmarias* in Portuguese America, see: Carmen de Oliveira Alveal, “Converting Land into Property in the Portuguese Atlantic World, 16th–18th Century” (PhD diss. The Johns Hopkins Univ., 2007).


64. *AHU*, Maranhão, caixa 9, doc. 981 (21 Aug. 1699).
26

Luso-Brazilian Review 51:1

Pedro Portal de Carvalho, Leonardo Muniz, Manuel de Oliveira Pantoja (see previous note).


75. Alden, “The significance of cacao production in the Amazon region,” 115.


77. Those of Sebastião Gomes de Sousa; Luís Vieira da Costa; Manuel Gonçalves Luís; Gonçalo Soares Muniz; Manuel Coelho Barros; Manuel de Oliveira Pantoja (see note 68).

78. Those of Clemente Soeiro Palheta; José da Costa Tavares; Mateus de Carvalho e Siqueira; Esperança de Freitas; Felipe Marinho; Francisco de Jesus Maria; José de Sousa de Azevedo; Antônio de Sousa Soeiro; Xavier de Sousa de Ataíde; Francisco Roberto Pimentel (see note 68).

79. That was the case of Manuel Barros da Silva; Sebastiana de Sousa Bittencourt; Antônio de Sousa Moura; Francisco Vilela; Manuel dos Passos Moura; Antônio de Paiva de Azevedo; Leão Pereira de Barros; Manuel Alves Lima; Amaro Rodrigues Ferreira; Antônio Gonçalves Ribeiro; Inês do Couto; Manuel Aranha Guedes; Manuel de Braga; Manuel Lopes Reis; João Monteiro de Azevedo; Silvestre Vilasboas; Felipe Marinho; Diogo Pinto de Gaia; Antônio Travassos de Miranda (see note 68).


81. Jesuits’ estates produced 5.8% of all the amount exploited by the Society of Jesus (total of 5,100 arrobas). In the case of the carmelites, cultivated cacao consisted of 9.5% of their production (total of 4,200 arrobas). Governor Alexandre de Sousa Freire (1728–1732) produced these data on the religious orders’ estates and economic production. *AHU*, Pará, caixa 13, doc. 1223 (c. 1730). I kindly thank Mr. Raimundo Moreira das Neves Neto for this document.


83. See: *AHU*, Maranhão, caixa 6, doc. 638 (7 Aug. 1679); *AHU*, cod. 17, fol. 301A (31 Oct. 1679).


85. *AHU*, cod. 275, fol. 91 (13 Sept. 1646).

86. *AHU*, cod. 14, fols. 130–130v (22 Aug. 1648). In another *consulta* the Council stressed that these fortresses should be paid by the royal treasury and that the king could divide the region in captaincies to better occupy it. *AHU*, Maranhão, caixa 3, doc. 267 (18 Sept. 1648).

87. In a document certainly written years later, Sergeant Gouveia was described as an “experienced man [baqueano] of several years in India.” *AHU*, Pará, caixa 2, doc. 105.


90. *AHU*, Maranhão, caixa 3, doc. 272 (23 Oct. 1648). In a *consulta* made in 1649, the Overseas Council stressed to the king that Governor Luís de Magalhães was sent with special orders to inquire about the right time to collect bark-clove. *AHU*, Maranhão, caixa 3, doc. 279 (18 Jun. 1649).

91. In 1650, the king commanded the governor to send samples of the new spices. *AHU*, cod. 275, fol. 267v (14 May 1650).


93. It was also exploited by the crown itself. In 1676, for example, the royal treasurer proposed to the prince the dispatch of two “large canoes” to collect clove in the captaincy of Maranhão, and the gathering of 100 *arrobas* of cacao and 200 of clove in the captaincy of Pará. This was a means for financing the construction of three fortresses, without “disturbing the people.” *AHU*, Maranhão, caixa 5, doc. 611 (20 Sept. 1677). Analyses of bark-clove were also ordered by the crown, in order to estimate its value. See: *ANTT*, Conselho Ultramarino, Livro 1 (Decretos), fol. 130 (5 Mar. 1688).

94. In 1687, Governor Gomes Freire de Andrade informed that in the time of Dom João IV (dead in 1656), thirty thousand plants of bark-clove were cultivated on the Capim River without success. *AHU*, Pará, caixa 3, doc. 259 (Belém, 24 Jan. 1687).

95. *AHU*, Pará, caixa 2, doc. 105 (Second half of the seventeenth century).

96. *AHU*, Maranhão, caixa 4, doc. 459 (9 Sept. 1662).

100. Concerning exports from the captaincy of Pará, from 1730 until 1777, see: *AHU*, Pará, caixa 80, doc. 6627 (31 Aug. 1778).
102. This new order is referred in a letter to the governor written in 1690. *AHU*, cod. 268, fol. 71 (18 Oct. 1690).
104. *AHU*, Pará, caixa 3, doc. 258 (20 Nov. 1686); *AHU*, Pará, caixa 3, doc. 263 (Belém, 19 July 1687).

112. *AHU*, cod. 93, fol. 378 (2 Sept. 1684). The execution of this law, however, had to be discussed with the local Councils, in order to be better implemented and to develop the trade of both products. See: *Annaes da Bibliotheca e Archivo Publico do Pará* [hereafter cited as: *ABAPP*], I (1902): 82 (2 Sept. 1684).

113. *ABAPP*, I, p. 120 (31 Jan. 1703).


115. *AHU*, cod. 268, fol. 52v (24 Nov. 1686).

116. *LGM*, pp. 75–76 (24 Nov. 1686). This royal order was re-stated in 1688, see: *LGM*, p. 104 (14 May 1688).


120. *AHU*, Maranhão, caixa 6, doc. 726 (São Luís, 15 Oct. 1685).


122. A royal letter issued in 1691 referred to the fact that some settlers used to bring “slaves hidden in the clove,” *ABAPP*, I, 99 (18 Oct. 1690).

123. A similar order had been issued years earlier by Governor Francisco de Sá e Meneses, who stayed in Belé. However, it seems this order was not taken into consideration by the crown, which only enforced Freire de Andrade’s *bando*. *BA*, cod. 51–V–43, fols. 37–37v (Belém, 18 Dec. 1682).


126. *ANTT*, Conselho Ultramarino, Livro 1 (Decretos), 143v (23 Jan. 1691); *AHU*, cod. 94, fols. 157–157v (6 Feb. 1691); *LGM*, p. 113 (6 Feb. 1691).

127. *LGM*, 108 (17 Oct. 1690); *LGM*, 193 (20 Nov. 1699). In 1687, an important jurisconsult of the kingdom, Manuel Lopes de Oliveira, wrote a report about the religious orders that sent their “subjects” to take clove and cacao in the *sertões*. According to Lopes de Oliveira, the religious orders did not have the right to go to the *sertão* by ecclesiastical privilege, but as vassals of the king, and hence the sovereign could forbid their presence in the hinterland. “Parecer q. na Junta dos Neg.\(^{a}\) do Maranhão deu M.\(^{a}\) Lopes de Oliv.\(^{a}\) sobre a lei q. se pertendia fazer p.\(^{a}\) q. Ecclesiasticos não tirassem especiarias,” 29 Nov. 1687. *ANTT*, Manuscritos da Livraria, n. 1051, 103–105 (copy). This document was recently published, see: Alírio Cardozo & Chambouleyron, “O advogado do império: um jurista discute o direito de comércio dos padres do Maranhão no século XVII,” *Ciências Humanas em Revista*, 4, no. 1 (2006): 159–66.


138. A translation of the Bull into Portuguese was published in Francisco de Paula e Silva, Apontamentos e notas para a historia ecclesiastica do Maranhão (Salvador: Typ. de S. Francisco, 1922), 52–55. Concerning the bishopric of Maranhão, see also

