

# Jesuit Missionaries in the Colonial Amazon: Long-term Effects on Human Capital\*

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## Abstract

This paper aims to identify Jesuit missions' long-term impact on human capital and development in the Brazilian Amazon. Using Brazilian census data from 1872 and 2010 combined with a novel dataset on the location of Jesuit missions in the Brazilian Amazon, I find that places closer to the former missions had higher literacy rates in both periods. To estimate the causal effect, I use an instrumental variable approach that considers the locations of Tupi-speaking tribes in the region. I also compare the impacts of the Jesuits against other missionary orders and the effects of the Jesuit missions in the neighboring state of Maranhão. Using microcensus data, the results indicate that the effects have persisted through 1970-2010. Further, demographic differences, the number of schools, or school attendance do not explain the results. This paper extends and reinforces the literature analyzing the positive effects of missionaries' transmission of human capital in the colonial period.

**Keywords:** Brazil, Amazon, Colonization, Missionaries, Jesuits

**JEL Classification:** I25, N36, O15, O43, Z12

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## 1. Introduction

“Everything [of political and economic nature in the Amazon is] related to the deeds, ideas, and goals of the Society of Jesus.”

- The Jesuits in Grão-Pará, J. L. Azevedo (1930, p. 9)

During the Catholic Reformation in Europe, the Catholic Church proselytized Christianity to the recently discovered New World through several religious orders. In Brazil, the most prominent of these orders was the Society of Jesus, known as the Jesuits. While they were present in the entirety of Brazil, their missionary activity was particularly focused in the South with the Guarani and in the Amazon with the Tupi. Through their work, the Jesuits were able to establish several successful missions and be the first to codify the Tupi-Gurani language.

Given the Jesuits’ important role in colonizing the Amazon, this paper quantifies the persistent effects of Jesuit missions on human capital in the Brazilian Amazon.<sup>1</sup> The colonial Amazon provides an ideal setting to study persistence for various reasons. First, the Amazon’s large area and geographical isolation allowed the Jesuits to be relatively undisturbed until their expulsion. Second, colonization was slower in the Amazon when compared to the rest of Brazil due to several factors. By 1720, there were only one thousand Portuguese speakers in the region (Mufwene, 2014), with indigenous people making up a high share of the population. Third, the Amazon had an active missionary presence throughout its colonial period receiving a large proportion of the Jesuit missionaries in Brazil. Lastly, to the present day, its inhabitants are still both culturally and genetically connected to the former indigenous people (Arenz, 2012, p. 50; Parker, 1989; Souza et al., 2019).

To measure the impact of the Jesuits in the Brazilian Amazon, I combine data from the Brazilian censuses with a novel dataset on the location of Jesuit missions in the Amazon. The Jesuit mission locations are obtained from a map drawn by Serafim Leite, a Jesuit priest.<sup>2</sup> The map contains the approximate locations of 60 former Jesuit missions in the present-day Brazilian states of Pará, Amazonas, Roraima, and Amapá. The geographical location of the Jesuit missions is combined with the 1872 and 2010 Brazilian censuses to measure the effects of proximity to a Jesuit mission on human capital.

I exploit the variation in the Jesuit missions’ locations by following Valencia Caicedo (2018), using the distance from municipalities to the nearest Jesuit mission as the main explanatory variable. I initially address

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<sup>1</sup>Valencia Caicedo (2018) analyses the effects of the Guarani Jesuit missions in Southern Brazil, Argentina, and Paraguay. A more recent paper by Gómez-i-Aznar (2022) further corroborates the evidence, also analyzing the effect of Jesuit missions on the Gurani people with mission censuses. The paper finds significant effects on the indigenous people’s numeracy.

<sup>2</sup>Leite compiled the Jesuits’ history in Brazil in ten volumes on his encyclopedia entitled *The History of the Company of Jesus in Brazil*. Volumes 3 and 4 are focused on the Amazonian region of Brazil from which the map is obtained.

the endogeneity of the Jesuit missions' locations by controlling for a rich set of controls which include: mean elevation, mean slope, distance to the nearest river, distance to the coast, latitude, longitude, and potential calories from agriculture pre- and post- the Columbian exchange ([Galor et al., 2016](#)). The main estimates indicate that localities further away from Jesuit missions had significantly lower literacy rates in 1872 and 2010. Being 100km farther away from a Jesuit mission decreased the literacy rate by 3.3% in 1872 and 2.2% in 2010. In 2010, municipalities near Jesuit missions also had higher GDP per capita, driven by the services and industrial sectors.

I further address endogeneity with three other specifications. First, I instrument the distance to a Jesuit mission with the distance to the nearest Tupi-speaking area obtained from [Clement et al. \(2015\)](#) and [Eriksen \(2011\)](#). The Jesuits developed a “lingua-geral” based on Tupi-Guarani to communicate with the indigenous population. Indigenous tribes that spoke Tupi were easier to communicate with and convert, facilitating the establishment of missions in their land. The instrumental variable estimates indicate that in 1872 and 2010, being 100km farther from a Jesuit mission decreased literacy by 7.6% and 3.0%. Secondly, I compare the effects of the Jesuit missions in the neighboring state of Maranhão, where the Jesuits were unsuccessful in establishing themselves due to opposition from Portuguese settlers and the Dutch occupation in the 17th century ([Laudares et al., 2022](#)). I find positive and significant effects on the literacy rate for municipalities near Jesuit missions in the Amazon; however, proximity to missions in Maranhão has insignificant or negative effects on literacy based on the 1872 and 2010 censuses respectively. The results are suggestive that while successful in the Brazilian Amazon, the Jesuits did not positively affect the neighboring state. Lastly, I compare the effects of proximity to a Jesuit mission with the proximity to other religious orders, the Carmelites and Franciscans. The results indicate no significant impact on the proximity to missions by other religious orders in 1872 and 2010.

Using microcensus data from 1970-2010, I find that the effects have persisted throughout the centuries, with the estimates indicating that people living 100km away from a former Jesuit mission are 2.4 to 5.1% less likely to be literate. This effect exists for both men and women; for all races, but is especially more pronounced for blacks and pardos; and only for non-migrants. Overall, these results indicate the existence of human capital persistency even into the 20th century, as measured through literacy, by the former Jesuit mission locations in the region.

I also check for possible alternative explanations that could drive the effects on literacy. In 1872 the results were not driven by demographic differences. In 2010, neither population density nor an increased number of schools explain the results. I further conduct several robustness checks, including changing treatment assignments based on localities within varying radii from a Jesuit mission; excluding localities too far away from a mission; excluding localities surrounding state capitals; and excluding localities too far

away from rivers. The results remain significant and indicate the Jesuits' effect in the region. I also analyze to what extent the coefficients are stable to unobservables using the procedure specified in [Oster \(2019\)](#). The estimates indicate that controlling for additional unobservables would increase the magnitude of the coefficients making them more significant.

This paper contributes to the literature that analyses the long-term effects of colonial missionary activity in South America. This paper is most similar to [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#), who first analyzed the effect of the Jesuits on the Guarani people of South America. The author finds significant positive effects of the Jesuits' missions on literacy rate and income.<sup>3</sup> Also closely related to this paper is [Waldinger \(2017\)](#), who studies Catholic missionaries in Mexico. Unlike the results of this paper and [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#) the author finds positive impacts only for the Mendicant order but not for the Jesuits. [Solá \(2023\)](#) studies the more recent expansion of evangelical missionaries in Brazil, and finds positive effects of conversion and political association with right-wing parties in Brazil. By analyzing the Jesuits' effect on the Brazilian Amazon, I conduct, to the best of my knowledge, the first empirical and economic analysis of missionary activity in the Brazilian Amazon. The extended geographical coverage of this paper provides additional evidence of the missionaries' impact during colonial times.

This paper also adds to the literature on the colonization of the Americas and the role of colonial and pre-colonial institutions and demographics. [Dell \(2010\)](#) finds persistent negative effects of the Spanish mita system in Peru. [Barsanetti \(2021\)](#) and [Franco et al. \(2021\)](#) find that local pre-colonial indigenous roads in Brazil and with the Inca in Peru increased urbanization and current development. [Sellars et al. \(2018\)](#) finds that a population collapse in indigenous people in Mexico led to land concentration by few owners in Mexico.

The paper further adds to the literature that explores the historical causes of human capital accumulation in Brazil, which analyzes trade shocks and the development of elementary education ([Musacchio et al., 2014](#)). [Maloney et al. \(2016\)](#) finds that pre-colonial population density is a strong predictor of higher income in the present in the Americas. Other papers have also analyzed the impact of local institutions on the long-term inequality in Brazil ([Wigton-Jones, 2020](#); [Naritomi et al., 2012](#)). [Rocha et al. \(2017\)](#) studies the effects of immigration in the state of São Paulo and finds positive lasting effects on human capital. I build on the literature by analyzing the historical causes of human capital accumulation in a previously under-researched area, the Brazilian Amazon.

Also related is the vast literature studying missionary effects in Africa finds significant effects of missionary

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<sup>3</sup>While the estimates between this paper and [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#) are similar in magnitude, the context of the Jesuit settlement and expulsion were different. In the Amazon, there was continuity in the missions' administration, as they were transferred from Jesuits to Portuguese officials. In contrast, the Guarani missions had an uprising against the new Portuguese rule as the Spanish Guarani were afraid of being enslaved by Portuguese *Bandeirantes*. The historical difference here points to other mechanisms that allowed the Guarani missions to preserve their human capital after the Jesuits' expulsion and possibly the resilience of the introduction of human capital.

presence in either human capital accumulation, health, and democratic institutions (Becker et al., 2023; Guirkinger et al., 2022; Cagé et al., 2020; Cagé et al., 2016; Wantchekon et al., 2015; Nunn, 2014; Okoye et al., 2014; Woodberry, 2012; Nunn, 2010; Gallego et al., 2010). Also related is the smaller literature of Christian missionaries in China, which finds that both Jesuits and Protestant missionaries led to technological and economic development (Ma, 2021; Bai et al., 2015). Missionaries also had similar positive effects in India by providing healthcare or educating women (Calvi et al., 2018; Lankina et al., 2013).

The remainder of this paper is organized as follows. [Section 2](#) provides some historical background on the Amazon's colonization and the Jesuits' role. In [Section 3](#), the data used is described. Section 4 describes the main empirical strategy used. In [Section 5](#), I show the results from the main specification. In [Section 6](#), I show estimators using an instrumental variable. In [Section 7](#), results for different specifications are described. In [Section 8](#) using microcensus data I explore the possible mechanisms through which the persistence could have occurred. In [Section 9](#), I provide several robustness checks. [Section 10](#) concludes the paper.

## 2. Historical Background

### 2.1. Colonization of the Amazon and the indigenous people:

The colonization of the Amazon began relatively late compared to the rest of Brazil. The central city in the region, Belém, was founded by the Portuguese only in 1616 ([Chambouleyron, 2019](#)). Several factors explain the relative lack of interest by the Portuguese in the region. First, settlements near the coast in the Northeast and Southeast provided easy transportation of goods from and to Portugal and its colonies in Africa. Second, settlement for traditional European-style agriculture and husbandry was difficult in the Amazon.<sup>4</sup> The dense tropical forest of the region hindered exploration, required effort to clear the land, and provided poor soil for plantations.<sup>5</sup> Lastly, the Amazon lacked precious metals such as gold or silver, which were the focus of the Portuguese Crown in their New World colonies. As a result, most settlements by Portuguese colonizers were located on the coast and alongside the fertile Tocantins valley ([Assis Costa, 2018](#), p. 44; [Chambouleyron and Ibáñez-Bonillo, 2019](#)).

Unlike the rest of Brazil, a key characteristic of the region was the importance and intense use of free and enslaved indigenous people as part of the labor force ([Chambouleyron, 2019](#); [Alden, 1973](#), p. 199). The Amazon was home to a large number of indigenous people, who could be enslaved to work as labor for the colony.<sup>6</sup> Indigenous labor was cheaper when compared to African slaves, which had high transportation costs

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<sup>4</sup>The Jesuits tried introducing animals in the region; however, it was unsuccessful ([Hoornaert, 1992](#), p.).

<sup>5</sup>Agriculture was viable near the rivers in the area called *varzea*; however, that required knowledge of the river cycles which only the indigenous people knew ([Hoornaert, 1992](#), p.15-16).

<sup>6</sup>The Brazilian Amazon's indigenous population in pre-colonial times is estimated to be over two million, with a higher

and as a result, were not a large part of the population in the region during the colonial era ([Diffie, 1987](#), p .415). A final benefit of indigenous people was that since the local economy was based on the extraction of resources and spices, they were the only ones who knew the region's intricacies ([Júnior, 1967](#), p .28-29; [Parker, 1989](#)). Therefore, Portuguese colonists were willing to settle in the Portuguese Amazon despite its poor economic prospects by relying on native workers. Given the necessity of the Portuguese crown to settle in the region, it tried to organize and pacify the indigenous people to make them more welcoming to future Portuguese colonizers.

## 2.2. Jesuit Arrival

With the support of the Portuguese Crown, the Jesuits were invited to the Amazon to pacify the local indigenous people and fortify Portuguese borders.<sup>7</sup> The Jesuits, formally known as the Society of Jesus, were established in 1534 by Saint Ignatius of Loyola during the Catholic Reformation in Europe. John II, King of Portugal, viewed the Jesuits highly, making them the pioneering missionaries in Portuguese colonies. The Jesuits arrived in Brazil in 1549 and quickly established several missions throughout the territory. The Jesuits were most successful in Southern Brazil with the Guarani tribes and in the North along the Amazon River and its tributaries ([Hemming, 1987](#), p. 3). The Jesuits' first arrival in the Amazon would be in Belém in 1653. The Amazon quickly became a focus of Jesuit missionaries due to its large native population.

Initially, the Jesuits established missions near the major cities of the Amazon. Logistics and accommodation impeded further Jesuit expansion into the dense tropical forest. However, partly due to conflict with settlers over the rights of indigenous labor and the need to secure the Amazon's western borders led to the establishment of missions farther from the main colonial cities.<sup>8</sup> The new missions would often be located along the colony's frontier along the Amazon River but isolated from European presence. Other than priests, non-indigenous people could not reside in the missions ([Cardoso, 1984](#), p. 100).

As Portuguese dominance over the region increased, the settlers would eventually push the frontier and come in contact with the isolated Jesuit missions. Effectively, this increased conflicts between the Jesuits and Portuguese settlers.<sup>9</sup> To solve the conflict, the Portuguese Crown established the *Regimento das Missões* in 1686. Its main goal delineated the power, responsibilities, rights, and jurisdiction of missionary orders and the colonizers. The *Regimento das Missões* benefited the Jesuits by granting all religious orders complete political and spiritual control of their missions' indigenous people. However, it also delineated specific areas

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density of them located along the rivers of the region ([Melatti, 2007](#); [Denevan, 1992](#); [Bethell, 1984](#), p. 119)

<sup>7</sup>Another role of the Jesuits was to establish Portuguese colonization past the Tordesillas line, in Spanish territory, such that Portugal would be able to *de jure* claim it ([Alden, 1973](#), p. 88).

<sup>8</sup>"Religious orders had the merit of trying to protect Indians from being enslaved by colonists, which gave rise to considerable friction between colonists and priests"([Fausto et al., 2014](#))

<sup>9</sup>Fr. Antônio Vieira was the most prominent Jesuit who lobbied the Portuguese Crown for the rights of the indigenous people in Brazil. By the pressure of Portuguese settlers, Vieira would be exiled from Brazil from 1661-1681. ([Zeron, 2015](#)).

under Jesuit jurisdiction, which included the southern bank of the Amazon River ([Chambouleyron and Ibáñez-Bonillo, 2019](#)).

While the Jesuits were colonizers themselves, and the indigenous people often were suspicious of their actions, they offered refuge from the harsher oppression from Portuguese settlers. The Jesuits primarily focused on preaching to the indigenous people through the Bible.<sup>10</sup> The Jesuits also defended the rights of the indigenous people, unlike the Portuguese settlers, who wanted to use them as slave labor.<sup>11</sup> While the regimented life under the missions was as physically demanding as working under Portuguese settlers, economically, the Jesuits were able to protect the indigenous people by reinvesting any of their profits in their missions ([J. L. Azevedo, 1930](#), p. 235).

### 2.3. Expulsion and Aftermath

The Jesuits' presence in South America would end in 1759 with the rise of Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, also known as the Marquis of Pombal. Pombal rose to prominence on the Portuguese throne serving as a critical advisor to the king. Pombal was an avid anti-Jesuit who blamed them for the economic stagnation in the Portuguese colonies, especially in the Amazon. Pombal heard the settlers' complaints that the Jesuits were monopolizing the native labor, which led to the underdevelopment of the land in the region ([Parker, 1989](#)). To overtake the power of the Jesuits, Pombal assigned his brother Paulo Antônio de Carvalho e Mendonça to become the governor of the province of Grao-Pará and Maranhão. Pombal and his brother started a slandering campaign against the Jesuits, riling up the already agitated colonists against the Jesuits. In 1759, Mendonça would end the *Regimento das Missões* and establish the *Directorate of the Indians*, which lasted until 1798.

The Directorate effectively ended any Jesuit presence in Brazil during its colonial era. All the religious orders with missions in the Amazon were expelled, while any farms and goods left over were confiscated. The expulsion of the religious order effectively removed direct Jesuit influence on the region's indigenous people. The Directorate gave the administration of the missions to local Portuguese government officials. Sixty former missions became villages under a new laic administration of Portuguese officials ([Chambouleyron, 2019](#)).

The significant effect of the Jesuits on the Amazon cannot be understated. First, the Amazon was a place of intense missionary activity, with a quarter of the total Jesuit missionaries in Brazil living in the region before their expulsion ([Bethell, 1984](#)). Second, the Jesuits were able to create 60 missions along the rivers and develop a thriving economic base of spices from the forest ([Hemming, 1987](#)). Thirdly, the Jesuits

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<sup>10</sup>The teachings would ideally happen daily in the local parish, present at every mission.

<sup>11</sup>It is even mentioned in [Chambouleyron, Arenz, et al. \(2020\)](#) how "everything indicates, that although the interference on the natives' customs, the missionaries cherished the principle that the missions' lands belonged to the Indians'

economically developed the Amazon by introducing new technology, reinvesting capital into their missions, and teaching the indigenous people of their missions the basics of literacy. Lastly, the Jesuits created the first European-style settlements, which led to the development of the first urban centers that would eventually become some of the main cities in the region.<sup>12</sup>

### 3. Data

The primary source of data for the Jesuit missions comes from [Leite \(1943\)](#). Serafim Leite was a Jesuit priest who compiled the history of the Jesuits in Brazil. Leite, based on official records, includes a detailed map of the Jesuit missions in Northern Brazil.<sup>13</sup> The map is georeferenced using QGIS, giving a sample of 60 Jesuit missions in four states: Pará, Amazonas, Roraima, and Amapá.<sup>14</sup>

Brazil's data for 2010 are obtained from IBGE, including literacy rate, GDP per capita, Gini coefficient, and urban population. Census data for 1872 is obtained from the Nucleus of Research in Economic and Geographic History from the Federal University of Minas Gerais.<sup>15</sup> The 1872 Imperial Census contains demographic data at the municipality and parish level.<sup>16</sup> Parishes are geo-located to present-day locations for a total of 90 observations for 1872.<sup>17,18</sup>

Shapefiles for the Brazilian coast, navigable rivers, and municipality seats are obtained from IBGE through [Pereira and Goncalves \(2023\)](#).<sup>19</sup> Slope data comes from the European Environment Agency<sup>20</sup>, and elevation comes from [Amatulli et al. \(2018\)](#). Data on the maximum amount of calories based on pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops are obtained from [Galor et al. \(2016\)](#). The location of Franciscan and Carmelite missions in the region is obtained from [Bombardi \(2014\)](#). The location of pre-colonial Tupi-speaking areas is obtained from a map used in [Clement et al. \(2015\)](#) and [Eriksen \(2011\)](#). The number of schools per municipality is obtained from INEP (National Institute for Educational Studies and Research Anisio Teixeira), based on [Pereira and Goncalves \(2023\)](#).

Since the distance to a Jesuit mission is a continuous variable, I provide summary statistics considering a location treated if it is within 50km of a Jesuit mission in [Table 1](#) and [Table 2](#). For 1872 and 2010, it is

<sup>12</sup>At its height, the number of indigenous people living in Jesuit missions numbered 200,000 ([Bethell, 1984](#); [Alden, 1996](#)). In comparison, the total population of the two states comprising the Amazon in 1872 was only slightly over 300,000.

<sup>13</sup>The original map is available in [Figure 1](#)

<sup>14</sup>All four states were part of Pará or Amazonas during the colonial period. Acre is not in the sample since it was not a part of Brazil until 1903. Based on the map I cannot identify missions located in the states of Rondonia and Tocantins

<sup>15</sup>Available at <http://www.nphed.cedeplar.ufmg.br/>

<sup>16</sup>For the 1872 census, a parish represents the smallest geographical unit available. Given the importance of the Catholic Church in Brazil, parishes were often the base for collecting data such as birth (baptism) and marriages.

<sup>17</sup>Information on how the variables were constructed for this paper can be found in [Appendix G](#)

<sup>18</sup>Information on the georeferencing process for the 1872 parishes can be found in [Appendix H](#)

<sup>19</sup>[Pereira and Goncalves \(2023\)](#) describes the R package *geobr*. The package is available at <https://cran.r-project.org/web/packages/geobr/index.html>

<sup>20</sup>Available at <https://www.eea.europa.eu/data-and-maps/data/world-digital-elevation-model-etopo5>

already possible to observe how places near the Jesuit missions have higher literacy than places farther away. I further plot unconditional literacy rates on distance to a Jesuit mission in [Figure A.1](#) and [Figure A.2](#). Both graphs provide further evidence of how the proximity to the Jesuit mission plays a role in the literacy rate, as there is a negative trend of the distance to the nearest Jesuit mission on the literacy rate.

## 4. Methodology

### 4.1. Main Specification

I estimate the effect of proximity to a Jesuit mission on the outcome variables with the following specification, which follows from [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#):

$$Y_{i,s} = \beta DistanceToJesuitMission_{i,s} + \gamma GEO_{i,s} + \alpha X_{i,s} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{i,s} \quad (1)$$

Where  $DistanceToJesuitMission_{i,s}$  is the main dependent variable of interest. It measures the Euclidean distance in kilometers from a unit of observation  $i$  in a state  $s$  to the nearest Jesuit mission. The coefficient of interest is  $\beta$  which indicates the effect of being 1km away from a Jesuit mission on the outcome variable. If the Jesuits had a positive effect on the outcome variable,  $\beta$  would be negative, indicating that localities farther away from their missions have worse outcomes than localities near them.  $GEO_{i,s}$  is a set of geographical control variables that include the area of a municipality, average slope, average elevation, distance to the coast, distance to the nearest navigable river, potential calories from agriculture, longitude, and latitude.<sup>21</sup>  $X_{i,s}$  is a set of control variables that include the century of creation of a municipality and a dummy indicating if the municipality is the capital of the state.  $\mu_s$  represents state fixed-effects. In all specifications, robust standard errors are in parentheses, while Conley standard errors are in brackets ([Conley, 1999](#)).<sup>22</sup>

The identification of the regression assumes that conditional on the set of geographical variables, the location of the Jesuit mission was exogenous. While most of the controls included in the regression would likely be considered by the Jesuits when choosing their mission location, it might not fully capture their decision. Therefore, later I analyze several other specifications to address the missions' endogenous location choices.

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<sup>21</sup>The area and century of creation of the locations are only used as controls for the 2010 sample. Since parishes are only points, I am unable to calculate their areas. Similarly, since the parishes are not municipalities, I cannot track down their year of creation

<sup>22</sup>Conley standard errors use a Bartlett kernel, and a distance cutoff of 400km are reported in brackets when possible

## 5. Results

### 5.1. 1872 Results

To capture persistence, I use the first available Brazilian census, the Brazilian Imperial Census of 1872. Due to the small number of municipalities in the four states in 1872, I expand the sample size by georeferencing 90 parishes. If there are any persistent effects of the Jesuits on human capital, they would have to exist on the earliest possible date. Using the 1872 census also eliminates any historical events from 1872 to 2010 as possible explanations for the results.<sup>23</sup> The results of this section indicate that the Jesuit missions already affected literacy rates in 1872.

[Table 3](#) shows the estimates of [Equation 1](#) using the 1872 census. A century after the Jesuits' expulsion, the results indicate a significant effect of proximity to a Jesuit mission on the literacy rate. Column 1 indicates that conditional only on state fixed effects and state capital dummies, there are no effects on the proximity. Once controlling for the parish's geographical characteristics, the results suggest that being 100 km further away from a Jesuit mission drops the literacy rate by 3.3%. This result is economically significant since the mean literacy rate across parishes was only 22.4%. Proportionally, the results indicate a 15% decrease relative to the baseline mean literacy rate for a parish located 100km away from a former Jesuit mission. Compared to the estimates on the illiteracy of [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#) for the 1920 census in Southern Brazil, the results are smaller in magnitude.

Columns 3 and 6 explore alternative explanations, such as higher school attendance or higher presence of teachers. Parishes near Jesuit missions did not have a significant higher percentage of school-age children attending school nor had a higher number of teachers per 10,000 population. Therefore, neither higher demand nor supply for education were possible channels to explain the differences in literacy in 1872.

### 5.2. 2010 Results

The previous section provides evidence that the Jesuit missions were associated with higher literacy in 1872, over a century since their expulsion. This section aims to analyze whether their influence persisted for another century.

[Table 4](#) shows the results of the main specification using the 2010 census. The results indicate that municipalities further away from a Jesuit mission have lower literacy, with and without geographical controls.

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<sup>23</sup>A possible concern addressed with the 1872 census was the Rubber boom and the drought in the Northeast, which led to massive immigration to the region ([Parker, 1989](#)). While the rubber boom began in the 1870s, it was not fully developed until later; additionally, the first wave of migration to the region due to the drought began only in 1877. Therefore, it is unlikely that either affected the 1872 results.

The preferred specification in Column 2, which includes geographical controls, indicates that having the municipality seat 100 km farther away from a former Jesuit Mission reduces the literacy rate by 2.2%. The estimated effects are similar to those found in [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#) in which the estimated impact of the Guarani Jesuit missions in Southern Brazil increased illiteracy by 3.1% per 100km. When comparing the 2010 results to 1872, the point estimate is lower than the 3.5% found using the 1872 Census, indicating that the gap in literacy rate has decreased. Additionally, the estimated coefficient in 2010 is not as economically significant as the mean literacy rate across municipalities was 82.7%. Therefore, while municipalities closer to the former Jesuit missions still exhibited higher literacy rates in 2010, its effect has diminished in both magnitude and economic significance since 1872.

Columns 3 to 6 compare the effect of Jesuit missions on inequality, measured by the Gini coefficient, and GDP per capita. The estimate in column 4 indicates that places farther away from Jesuit missions were more unequal in 2010. The results are unsurprising given that the Jesuits preached equality among its inhabitants, and profits were often reinvested into the community. In contrast, municipalities created by Portuguese settlers were more likely to have a concentration of wealth from plantation-style agriculture. Column 6 also indicates how municipalities closer to the former Jesuit missions are more prosperous than municipalities farther away, as measured by the GDP per capita. These results are similar to [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#), who finds increased income for municipalities in Southern Brazil near the Guarani Jesuit missions.

Both the 1872 and 2010 censuses indicate that the Jesuit missionaries had a lasting effect on human capital development in the Amazon. However, there are valid endogeneity concerns with the location of the missions, even after controlling for geographical characteristics. It is possible that such as the Jesuits chose locations based on a set of unobservables not considered in this section. The following sections try to address endogeneity concerns that are not addressed in this section.

## 6. Instrumental Variable - Tupi Language

Brazil had a large variety of local languages by the time of colonization.<sup>24</sup> Given the variety of local languages, the Jesuits needed a language to communicate with the indigenous people. The natural choice was the Tupi-Guarani language family, which the Jesuits and Portuguese settlers came in early contact with as it was the most common language spoken by the indigenous people who lived on Brazil's coast ([McGinnes, 2018](#)).<sup>25</sup> As a result, in 1595, the Jesuit Father Jose de Anchieta created the *lingua-geral* based

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<sup>24</sup>For example, during his travel up the Amazon River, a Spanish Jesuit missionary came in contact with over 150 different languages ([Mufwene, 2014](#)).

<sup>25</sup>It is important to note that the Tupi people had recently had a territorial expansion throughout the 16th century, often engaging in fights with other language speaking tribes. It is often assumed that the Tupi came either from the Amazon basin

on Tupi-Guarani to communicate with the indigenous people. The *lingua-geral* was the first effort to create an orthography for Tupi-Guarani, and it provided a written and standardized form that would be usable for future Jesuits to communicate with the indigenous people of South America (Newson, 2020, p. 192; McGinness, 2018).<sup>26,27</sup>

I exploit the language barrier at the time of colonization between the Jesuits and the indigenous people as an instrument to estimate the Jesuits' causal effect on the literacy rate. The exclusion restriction for the instrument assumes that the proximity to a Tupi-speaking tribe only affects human capital, such as literacy, through closer proximity to a historical Jesuit mission. This assumption can be violated if it affects other outcomes that would also have led to higher economic output, which in turn can also lead to higher literacy. I first show in Table A.3 that proximity to Tupi-speaking areas does not affect GDP per capita; therefore, the former Tupi areas are not better off economically. Second, while there could be language spillovers, the Tupi was solely a spoken language in which the Jesuits introduced the written form. As a result, any effects on literacy have to come from the Jesuits' teaching in their missions.

Of importance is that the *lingua-geral* was created before the arrival of the Jesuits in the Amazon.<sup>28</sup> Instead, the Jesuits developed the *lingua-geral* based on their interactions with the tribes on the Brazilian coast. Therefore, it was not the case that the Jesuits constructed this language to help them create their missions in the Amazon. Also noteworthy is that missionaries faced difficulties communicating with indigenous people who did not speak Tupi.<sup>29</sup> The Jesuits also needed the cooperation of the indigenous people to establish missions since the number of priests was limited. Most established missions arose from cooperation between the Jesuits and the indigenous people. Therefore initial communication was essential when deciding where to establish a mission. Finally, given the importance of interrelation between tribes, befriending a Tupian tribe allowed the Jesuits to be better received by their allies, making contact with a new tribe safer and easier (Reeve, 1993).

An estimation of the location of the Tupi-speaking tribes' pre-colonization is obtained from Clement et al. (2015) and Eriksen (2011) who based on archeological evidence estimate the distribution of the main languages in the Amazon.<sup>30,31</sup> I then estimate the Euclidean distance from each location to the nearest

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or throughout the south, quickly expanding to the richer areas along the coast of Brazil.

<sup>26</sup>General Language, references how it was a catch-all term for the variety of languages it would be used to communicate

<sup>27</sup>The *lingua-geral* was so successful, especially in the Amazonian region, that it eventually became the *lingua-franca* of the region and remained so until the Portuguese government pushed Portuguese to become the official language (Chambouleyron, 2019)

<sup>28</sup>As previously mentioned, the *lingua-geral* was finalized in 1595, and the Jesuit arrival to the Amazon only began in 1653.

<sup>29</sup>For example, when non-Tupi speaking indigenous people decided to settle in the missions, they "could not understand the catechisms, nor could those schooled in Tupinamba grammar understand the indigenous speakers" (Mufwene, 2014).

<sup>30</sup>The other main language families other than Tupi are: Arawakan, Carib, Macro-Ge, Panoan, and Tucanoan. The most prominent ones are the former three. The Arawakan were located along the Negro River and Western Amazon, the Carib were located along Northern Amazon, and Macro-Ge were near the Tupi areas of Eastern Amazon. For more information on their locations, the entire map of their estimated geographic distribution is available in Clement et al. (2015).

<sup>31</sup>The language distribution map is only available for the Amazonian region of Brazil, therefore I am unable to estimate

Tupi-speaking area and use it as an instrument to the proximity of a Jesuit mission.<sup>32,33</sup>

The first stage regression is:

$$DistanceToJesuitMission_{i,s} = \beta DistanceToTupiArea_{i,s} + \gamma GEO_{i,s} + \alpha X_{i,s} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{i,s} \quad (2)$$

The second stage regression is:

$$Y_{i,s} = \beta \widehat{DistanceToJesuitMission}_{i,s} + \gamma GEO_{i,s} + \alpha X_{i,s} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{i,s} \quad (3)$$

Results using the distance to a Tupi-speaking area as an instrument can be found in [Table A.4](#) and [Table A.5](#). Confirming the historical records that the Jesuits created *aldeias* in Tupi-speaking areas, there is a strong correlation between the distance to a Tupi-speaking area to the distance to a Jesuit mission. The first-stage results indicate that the Jesuits placed their missions closer to areas where the indigenous people spoke Tupi. The F-statistic is above 20 in 1872 and 2010, indicating that the instrument does not lack explanatory power.

For 1872, the IV estimator from [Table A.4](#) indicates that being 100 km farther from a Jesuit mission results in a drop of 7.6% in the literacy rate. Compared to [Table 3](#), the point estimate is almost doubled. In 2010, the IV estimator found in [Table A.5](#) indicates that being 100km away from a mission is associated with a drop of 3.0% in literacy. The point estimate is almost the same compared to [Table 4](#). The 1872 and 2010 results still indicate a stronger effect in 1872 that has faded away by 2010, both being significant.<sup>34</sup>

Overall, the IV results indicate the same negative effect on literacy from proximity to a former Jesuit mission. Since the coefficients are further from zero than the coefficients from [Table 3](#) and [Table 4](#), that indicates that the later results are attenuated towards zero, making the OLS estimates a lower bound of the effect.

## 7. Other Specifications

### 7.1. Comparison with the Missions in Maranhão

In addition to the Amazon, The Jesuits were interested in the neighboring state of Maranhão, where they built an important college in the capital of São Luis; however, they were not as successful as in the

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effects on other regions of Brazil.

<sup>32</sup>The areas that were inhabited by Tupi-speaking tribes can be found in [Figure 3](#)

<sup>33</sup>Summary statistics describing the geographical differences between municipalities inside and outside a Tupi-speaking area are available in [Table A.1](#) and [Table A.2](#).

<sup>34</sup>In [Appendix B](#) I further explore the validity of the instrument by showing Anderson-Rubin and tF confidence intervals ([Anderson et al., 1949](#); [Lee et al., 2022](#)) .

Amazon. Several reasons can explain the Jesuits' lack of success in the region. First, Maranhão was a region of contention between the Portuguese and the Dutch. While part of Portuguese Brazil, the Dutch conquered the capital São Luis from 1630 to 1654. As a result, the Jesuits in the region had to use the indigenous people in their missions as militias for several years to repel the Dutch. Second, the proximity of Maranhão to the coast made the arrival of settlers easier, which increased the state's population.<sup>35</sup> A higher density of settlers often led to conflict with the Jesuits, forcing them to create missions farther from the main colonies. The leading Jesuit priest in the region, Antônio Vieira, was arrested and removed from Brazil in 1655 at the request of colonial settlers (Leite, 1943). Lastly, in the Amazon, the main economic activity was the extraction of the *drogas-of-sertão*, which required the cooperation of the indigenous people, while in Maranhão, cattle ranching was the basis of the economy (Chambouleyron, 2019).

Given the historical differences in the Jesuit presence in the Amazon and Maranhão, the following equation estimates the differential impact of the Jesuits using the 1872 and 2010 census:<sup>36</sup>

$$Y_{i,s} = \beta_1 DistaceToJesuitMission_{i,s} + \beta_2 MA_s + \beta_3 DistaceToJesuitMission_{i,s} \times MA_s + \gamma GEO_{i,s} + \alpha X_{i,s} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{i,s} \quad (4)$$

The coefficient  $\beta_1$  indicates the effect on the outcome variable from being 1 km farther away from a Jesuit mission. The coefficient  $\beta_3$  indicates the effect of being 1 km farther away from a Jesuit mission for the municipalities located in Maranhão. If the Jesuits had any effect on the outcome variables but were unsuccessful in Maranhão,  $\beta_1$  would be negative while  $\beta_3$  would be positive or insignificant.

The results of the previous hypothesis are found in [Table A.6](#) and [Table A.7](#). For 1872 the coefficients for the distance to the nearest Jesuit mission are similar to the ones found in [Table 3](#), however, there are no significant effects for the Jesuit missions located in Maranhão. Similarly, for 2010, in column 2, the point estimate of  $\beta_1$  is negative and significant, indicating that being 100km away from a former Jesuit mission is associated with a drop of 1.6% in literacy. The point estimate is lower than the 2.5% estimated from [Table 4](#); however, they remain statistically significant. The estimate for  $\beta_3$  is positive and significant, indicating that being farther away from a Jesuit mission increases literacy for municipalities in Maranhão. Both coefficients, when combined, indicate that while being closer to a Jesuit mission is associated with a higher literacy rate per municipality in 2010, these results are only present in municipalities part of the Brazilian Amazon.

Similar to [Table 4](#), being closer to a former Jesuit mission is associated with a decrease in inequality

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<sup>35</sup>Based on the 1872 Brazilian census, the state of Maranhão had a population of 359,040 in 1872, while Amazonas and Pará combined had 332,847.

<sup>36</sup>For 1872, instead of adding observations at the parish level, I instead use the 37 municipalities in Maranhão.

with no differences between regions. Comparing the effects on GDP per capita on [Table A.7](#) with [Table 4](#), the effect of the Jesuit missions on GDP per capita becomes insignificant. However, the interaction term indicates that being farther away from a Jesuit mission in Maranhão increases GDP per capita. Therefore, the estimates in column 6 indicate that the Jesuits did not cause an increase in GDP per capita in places close to it; however, in Maranhão, municipalities near the former Jesuit missions are, on average poorer.

The results of this section indicate that while the Jesuits were successful in the Amazon in generating long-lasting human capital development, they were not as successful in the neighboring state of Maranhão. The statistical results align with the historical record of the different conditions the Jesuits had to work under in both regions. Therefore, the mere Jesuit presence was not enough to establish human capital, but only under necessary conditions were the Jesuits able to develop their missions. The Jesuit missionaries only found those conditions in the Amazon, but not in Maranhão.

## 7.2. Comparison with Carmelites and Franciscans:

In 1686, under the decree of the King of Portugal, the *Regimento das Missões* was established to determine the role of different missionary orders in the Amazon. A vital aspect of the *Regimento das Missões* was the assignment of missionary activity to non-Jesuit religious orders. Since the Jesuits were being overstretched and running out of supplies for their missions, the *Regimento das Missões* allowed different missionary orders to create missions and even overtake some of the Jesuits.

Two of the most successful religious orders introduced were the Franciscans and the Carmelites. The Franciscans arrived in the Amazon earlier than the Jesuits; however, they never created as many missions in their early years. After the establishment of the *Regimento das Missões*, the Franciscans took over some successful Jesuits' missions and the profitable cattle farms on the Island of Marajo.<sup>37</sup> They also established their missions north of the Amazon river. The Carmelites gained exclusive rights to establish missions along the Negro and Branco rivers in Western Amazon. The Carmelites eventually built successful missions such as Barcellos, which became the capital of the Captaincy of Rio Negro ([Perdigão, 2020](#)). While successful, Franciscans and Carmelites were more traditional monastic orders; therefore, they preferred to live in poverty, in sharp contrast to the Jesuits, who focused on developing their missions and protecting the indigenous members of their missions.<sup>38</sup> As a result, Franciscans and Carmelites never invested much in the human capital formation of the indigenous people living in their missions, while the Jesuits are known to be the pioneers and main educators during the colonial period ([F. d. Azevedo, 1944](#), p. 288; [Diffie, 1987](#), p. 93).

<sup>37</sup>While I refer to them as Franciscans, the name of the order was the Capuchins of St. Anthony, a branch of the main Franciscan order.

<sup>38</sup>The protection of the indigenous people was an important aspect of the Jesuits which often caused the anger of Portuguese settlers. Even though the Carmelites and Franciscans were equally as successful never drew such anger, with some arguing that is due to the Jesuits' "unaccommodating attitude on the issue of Indian slavery" ([Bethell, 1987](#), p. 125)

Following [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#), I compare the effect of the Jesuit missions with missions established by different orders. Specifically, I compare the impact of the distances to the nearest Jesuit mission with the distance to the nearest Carmelite/Franciscan mission on the literacy rate. Other missionary orders would want to establish their missions in suitable locations. Therefore, when comparing within missionary orders, this specification controls for possible unobservables not captured in the previous regressions. The locations of the 21 Carmelites and Franciscans missions are in [Figure A.3](#), obtained from [Bombardi \(2014\)](#).

First, I estimate the impact on the distance of the non-Jesuit missions by themselves with the following equation:

$$Y_{i,s} = \theta DistanceToNonJesuitMission_{i,s} + \gamma GEO_{i,s} + \alpha X_{i,s} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{i,s} \quad (5)$$

Where  $\theta$  indicates the effect of being 1km farther away from a non-Jesuit mission on the dependent variable, if the Carmelites and Franciscans built their missions in areas that gave long-run economic benefits, the coefficient  $\theta$  should be negative. In order to compare the differential impact of Jesuit and non-Jesuit missions, I also estimate the following specification:

$$\begin{aligned} Y_{i,s} = & \beta DistanceToJesuitMission_{i,s} + \theta' DistanceToNonJesuitMission_{i,s}, \\ & + \gamma GEO_{i,s} + \alpha X_{i,s} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{i,s} \end{aligned} \quad (6)$$

$\beta$  estimates the effect of being 1km farther from a Jesuit mission on the dependent variable.  $\theta'$  measures the effect of being 1km farther from a Carmelite or a Franciscan mission on the literacy rate. Suppose the proximity to a Jesuit mission had a different positive effect on the literacy rate than the Franciscans and Carmelites. In that case,  $\theta' > \beta$ , as a more negative coefficient, indicates a stronger decrease in literacy as a locality becomes farther away from a mission. I further compare if  $\beta$  and  $\theta'$  are different through an F-test of equality of coefficients.

In 1872, as shown in [Table 5](#), column 2 indicates that the Franciscans and Carmelite missions had no significant effects on the literacy rate. In column 4, we still see an insignificant effect of the non-Jesuit missions. The coefficient on the distance to the Jesuit mission remains negative with the point estimate of -0.034 being close to the one found in column 2 of [Table 3](#), however, it is not significant. Further, it is not possible to reject that the coefficients are different from each other as the F-statistic p-value is 0.177.

[Table 6](#) shows the results for 2010. In 2010, the coefficients for the Carmelites and Franciscans are insignificant in column 2, once again indicating that their presence did not affect literacy. The coefficient remains insignificant in column 4, while the point estimate for the effect of the Jesuit missions of -0.024 is

negative, significant, and almost identical to the one in [Table 4](#). Given the point estimates, it is possible to reject the equality of the coefficients between the distance to the nearest Jesuit mission to the distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission.

The results of this section indicate that even though other religious orders established missions in the Amazon, only the ones established by the Jesuits have long-term evidence of impacting literacy rates. The results corroborate the historical evidence that during the early colonial period of Brazil, the Jesuits were the primary teachers to both Portuguese settlers and the indigenous people.

The results of this section can be contrasted to [Waldinger \(2017\)](#), who finds that in Mexico, municipalities that had Mendicant missionaries have higher literacy. In contrast, municipalities with Jesuit missionaries had lower or insignificant effects on literacy. The non-existent effect of Jesuits in Mexico can be attributed to the Jesuits' focus on teaching the Spanish youth to control the local elites ([Waldinger, 2017](#)). In the Brazilian Amazon, the Jesuits focused on teaching the indigenous people in their missions. The results are also related to [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#) where the author finds that illiteracy decreased farther from Franciscan missions. At the same time, illiteracy increased farther from the Jesuit missions.

This section's results measure the Jesuits' unique impact on the literacy rate.<sup>39</sup> Unlike the previous literature, there are no adverse effects from the other missionary orders. Franciscans and Carmelites successfully established missions in the Amazon and even took over some of the Jesuits in the Amazon. However, since their approach to evangelization was different from the Jesuits, the results do not indicate any long-lasting effect on human capital in localities near their former missions. Following [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#), all the following regressions, unless specified, will include the distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission as a control.

## 8. Mechanisms:

### 8.1. Census Microdata:

For the censuses from 1970-2010, I use the available microdata to exploit information at the individual level.<sup>40,41,42</sup>. I estimate the following equation:

$$Y_{i,m,s} = \theta DistanceToJesuitMission_{m,s} + \gamma GEO_{m,s} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{i,s} \quad (7)$$

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<sup>39</sup>Further breakdown and discussion into the Jesuits, Carmelites, and Franciscans is available on [Appendix D](#).

<sup>40</sup>Data is obtained from IBGE through the R package *geobr* ([Pereira and Barbosa, 2023](#)).

<sup>41</sup>These censuses are used since they are the only ones that contain microdata at the municipality level which allows me to analyze possible mechanisms. For example, IPUMS does provide the 1960 census microdata, however, the smallest geographical unit is the state level, and even then most of the northern states are not included.

<sup>42</sup>Other censuses such as the 1890 and 1920 censuses exist and are available as documents on the IBGE virtual library, however, they have not been digitized. Further work could be done in extracting the tables from these censuses, and georeferencing the parishes/municipalities to study the dynamics of the changes in literacy using these other censuses.

Where  $i$  is the outcome of an individual that lives in a municipality  $m$ , in a state  $s$ . The set of geographical controls is identical to the ones used in [Equation 6](#). In all regressions, the standard errors are clustered at the municipality level.

The estimates based on the individual level data for those years are in [Table 7](#).<sup>43</sup> Consistent with the previous estimates there is a negative relationship between proximity to a former Jesuit mission to an individual's literacy through the censuses.<sup>44,45</sup> In the following sections, I explore possible mechanisms that are driving the results to last centuries after the Jesuits' expulsion.

### 8.1.1. Migration

A possible concern when analyzing the entire sample is that the estimates are a lower bound of the true effect. During both the 1970s and 1980s, Brazil was under a military dictatorship that heavily invested in expanding the highway network system in the Amazon. In the 1970s, the first main highway, the Transamazonica, was built, connecting the Northeast to the center of the Amazon. The construction of highways in the region led to a large wave of migration to the region. Therefore, during the 1970s, there was a period of structural change in the region, in which new migrants settled in new areas expanding the population and possibly diffusing the results of 1970.

[Table 8](#) shows the results comparing people who were born in a municipality and have never moved against those who have moved to that municipality. When compared to [Table 7](#) the effects for non-migrants in both 1970 and 1980 are higher than the overall population effects, while this effect is reversed from 1991-2010. When defining a migrant as someone who came from a different state the results remain qualitatively the same as seen in [Table 9](#).

Overall, this supports the historical evidence of an increased migration of lower-skilled labor from the Northeast to the Amazonian region with the construction of the highways. Additionally, it provides evidence that the effects are not caused by an inflow of skilled migration throughout 1970-2010, instead the effects are concentrated among the local population which favors the channel of intergenerational transmission of human capital.

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<sup>43</sup>It is important to note that the estimates for the 2010 census are not that different from when aggregated at the municipality level.

<sup>44</sup>The definition of literacy variable is to be 100 if the person was literate and 0 otherwise. This was used to make the interpretation of the coefficients easier, and more comparable to the estimates aggregated at the municipality level.

<sup>45</sup>Another concern would be the increase in literacy caused by Bible translations by evangelical Christians in the region as found in [Solá \(2023\)](#).

### 8.1.2. Race

A possible channel of human capital transmission would be the effects being present only for the groups of people whose descendants were educated in former Jesuit missions.<sup>46</sup> If that is to be expected then the effects on the persistence of human capital would be more pronounced on direct descendants, which would likely be the people considered “pardos” in the region.

The results for the effects on literacy by race are in [Table 10](#).<sup>47</sup> First, the effects exist for all three groups, indicating that the persistence channel is not only through a specific group of people, such as the pardos, whose ancestors were more likely to have been educated at the Jesuit missions. Second, it is important to note that the white population in the region had a significantly higher literacy throughout 1980-2010 when compared to blacks and pardos. Therefore, while the coefficients are similar through the time periods, proportionally the effects are larger for blacks and pardos.<sup>48</sup>

### 8.1.3. Gender

Another consequence of the *Regimento das Missões* was the division of indigenous labor between the Jesuits and the Portuguese Crown. The assignment of indigenous people to work outside the missions broke down the Jesuits’ monopoly over indigenous labor. The *Regimento das Missões* established that two-thirds of the male indigenous people in the *aldeias* had to work for the Portuguese Crown and the Portuguese colonists for up to six months ([Chambouleyron, Arenz, et al., 2020](#)). Given that a large part of the male population of the missions would be away for significant periods, the Jesuits were then only able to teach women and children.<sup>49</sup> With women being exposed the most to the Jesuits’ teaching, it would be expected that the effects on literacy would be more significant among women, at least shortly after their expulsion.

Results for the effects of literacy by gender in 1872 are in [Table A.8](#). The regression estimates corroborate that while men and women near Jesuit missions had higher literacy, women had more substantial effects. For women, the estimated effect of living in a parish 100km away from a Jesuit mission is associated with a 3.8% drop in literacy; for men, the effect is 2.9%. The gender differences are more pronounced when compared to the means by each group. Relative to the baseline literacy of each gender, 29.2% for women and 15.5%

<sup>46</sup>The effects of the “lingua-geral” in the region the effects were not only concentrated only among the indigenous people, as “mestizo children learned the language from their indigenous mothers; white children learned it from their indigenous nursemaids” ([Mufwene, 2014](#)).

<sup>47</sup>Information on race is only available beginning in 1980. From 1980-2010, I consider pardos both mixed-race people and indigenous people, as in 1970 there is no descriptive information on the census on whether the respondent was of indigenous origin.

<sup>48</sup>For example, in 1980 while the coefficients range between -0.046 to -0.051, being 100km farther from a historical Jesuit mission affects whites by 6%, blacks by 9.6%, and pardos by 8.5%.

<sup>49</sup>During the *Regimento das Missões* there were reports of the villages being “empty of men” ([Chambouleyron, Arenz, et al., 2020](#)). In the later period of the Directorate, estimates indicate that the indigenous men that were part of the former missions would spend 64% of the time working in expeditions for spices, either for the government or the settlers ([Hemming, 1987](#)).

for men, the results would indicate being 100km away from a Jesuit mission had an increase of 32.2% in the literacy rate for women. In contrast, for men, the effect is 12% of the mean. This result is similar to [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#), who finds that in the 1895 Argentinian census, the Guarani Jesuit missions had a more substantial effect on female literacy than male literacy.

When analyzing whether those parishes have higher levels of school attendance by gender [Table A.9](#) we see suggestive evidence that girls in parishes closer to former Jesuit missions are more likely to be attending school, even though the results are insignificant for both men and women. Column 4 indicates how being 100km away from a former Jesuit mission decreases the proportion of girls attending school by 2.2%, which is 25% of the mean of 11.1%.

This trend does not seem to persist in future years, however, as in [Table 11](#) we see no differential effects between men and women during 1970-2010. Both men and women have negative effects on their literacy if they lived in a municipality further away from a Jesuit mission. While the 1872 results might have been suggestive of differential effects between men and women, the results do not seem to persist throughout the upcoming century.

## 8.2. Alternative Mechanisms

### 8.2.1. Demographics - 1872

In [Table A.10](#), I check whether there are any demographic differences between the parishes in 1872 that could explain the results. The point estimates indicate that the demographics of places closer to Jesuit missions are not statistically different from places farther away. There are no significant effects on the proportion of Brazilians from other states, immigrants, caboclos, blacks, whites, or pardos.<sup>50</sup> The only observed difference is that places farther away from missions have fewer slaves and internal immigrants relative to the free population.<sup>51</sup> The point estimate indicates that being 100km away from a Jesuit mission would decrease the enslaved people population of an 1872 parish by 1.3%. Given that there are no demographic differences among non-slaves, I can discard the possibility that the effects on the literacy rate found previously are being driven by more educated Portuguese migrants inhabiting the parishes near Jesuit missions. The significant results on the proportion of enslaved people could indicate that places near Jesuit missions were already more economically active and required a higher share of African slave labor in their economy.

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<sup>50</sup>For the 1872 census, caboclos means either an indigenous person or a mix between an indigenous person and a white person. Similarly, pardos were defined as a mix between Africans and white people.

<sup>51</sup>While I am unable to explore why there are differences in internal migrants, it could be possible the 1872 census is picking some early effects of the Amazonian rubber boom. Even though the peak happened during the beginning of the first decade of the twentieth century ([Assis Costa, 2018](#), p.101). It is important to note, that even though there are more internal immigrants, the mean was just 2.12% of the population which is a small share of the total population. Similarly, the coefficient is only half of the estimated effect on literacy.

### **8.2.2. GDP by Sector and Nightlight - 2010**

I further analyze what sectors drive the GDP-per capita results from [Table 4](#). I find no differences in the agricultural and government spending sectors; however, similar to [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#), I also find that the effects are present only in the industrial and services sectors. These results indicate how human capital accumulation also leads to specialization in sectors that require significant investments in human capital.

Additionally, I use nightlight density as a measure of development. I consider the nightlight density surrounding the capital of each municipality and certain buffers around it. The data is obtained from [Li et al. \(2020\)](#) and results can be found in [Table A.13](#). Consistent with the previous results, there is a consistent negative coefficient for nighttime light density as a municipality seat is further away from a former Jesuit mission.

### **8.2.3. Urbanization and School Supply**

For the 2010 census, I consider whether urbanization, population density, or the supply of schools could be possible explanations for the effects on human capital from [Table 4](#). Urbanization and population density are evidence of agglomeration and cities' development, which could lead to higher human capital by channels other than the Jesuit presence. If municipalities near the Jesuit missions also have more schools, that could explain higher literacy effects.

The results on the effect of proximity to a Jesuit mission on urban population, density, and school supply are available in [Table A.14](#). The results indicate that municipality seats closer to former Jesuit missions are more urbanized, with a decrease of 4.1% in the urban population for every 100km. However, there is no impact on population density. The results would then indicate that while municipalities closer to former Jesuit missions had a higher proportion of people living in cities, it is not enough to affect the population density. The population density results of this section are similar to [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#), which finds no impact on population density in Southern Brazil. Similarly to the context of [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#), the Jesuits built some of their missions in the Amazon's interior to seek isolation and avoid settler conflict and interference.

When measuring the supply of schools, the results indicate that places farther away from a Jesuit mission have more schools per 10,000 inhabitants and more schools per 10,000 for people under 15. The point estimates show that being 100km away from a former Jesuit mission increases the municipality's number of schools per 10,000 people by 0.2 while the number per 10,000 people under 15 by 0.41. Considering that the mean population across the municipalities in 2010 was 51,000, the effects would indicate that, on average, being 100km farther from a Jesuit mission decreases the number of schools by 1 per municipality. Therefore,

the difference in the literacy rate in 2010 cannot be explained by a higher supply of schooling available. If anything, municipalities near the former Jesuit missions have increased literacy despite having fewer schools.

## 9. Robustness Checks

### 9.1. Excluding Municipalities too far away from Missions

Municipalities too far away from Jesuit missions are unlikely to be the best control group. Municipality seats located too far away from any Jesuit missions might be naturally more isolated and less developed, leading to lower literacy rates. Another concern is that those municipality seats are too far away and different from those close to the Jesuit missions. I address this issue by estimating [Equation 1](#) for 2010, selecting only observations within a cutoff difference from a Jesuit mission.

[Figure A.5](#) shows the point estimates along with the 95% confidence intervals with robust standard errors for different cutoff distances. First, it is important to note how all the point estimates are negative and centered around the main estimate from [Table 4](#), indicated by the red dashed line. The coefficients are insignificant for the subsample of observations between 50 and 100 kilometers away from a Jesuit mission. However, the coefficients become significant once I consider observations within 150 kilometers and remain significant throughout. Therefore, it is not the case that extreme outliers are not driving the results. Neither is the case that considering a subsample more representative of the treated changes the results.

### 9.2. Distance from the State Capital

Another possible concern for the 2010 results is that many smaller municipalities are located around the capitals of each state. Therefore, they would make a greater share of the observations closer to the capital. Consequently, Municipalities near the capitals could cause biased estimates as the capitals of each state are historically more developed. I address this issue by estimating [Equation 1](#) but excluding any municipalities within a cutoff distance of any state capital.

Results are found in [Figure A.6](#). All the point estimates are negative for all cutoffs. Overall, the results remain significant at the 95% confidence intervals until we exclude all observations within 300km of a state capital. Therefore, it is not the case that the increased number of municipalities surrounding the capitals of each state is driving the results from the main specification. Neither is the effect of proximity to a capital being associated with an increase in the development of nearby municipalities explaining the results.

### 9.3. Distance from a River

Even though all specifications directly control for the distance to the nearest river, a possible concern is that municipalities too far away from any rivers are biasing the results. Given the importance of rivers during the early colonial period, localities too far away from rivers would not be accessible for Jesuits and settlers alike. Therefore, a better control group to compare would be all municipalities nearby rivers, as the Jesuits could have accessed them. I estimate [Equation 1](#) by excluding municipalities that are too far from rivers.

Results are found in [Figure A.7](#). Even when considering municipalities within 10km of a river, the point estimate remains statistically significant and close to the estimated value from [Table 4](#) of -0.025. The point estimates are also consistent throughout the distances from 10-200km. The results indicate that selecting municipalities near the rivers, which would all have been possible to be settled by the Jesuits, is not a significant factor in explaining the results.

### 9.4. Redefining Treatment

I consider the following specification for 2010:

$$Y_{i,s} = \beta Treated_{i,s} + \gamma GEO_{i,s} + \alpha X_{i,s} + \mu_s + \epsilon_{i,s} \quad (8)$$

Where  $Treated_{i,s}$  is a dummy variable that equals one if the municipality seat is within a certain distance of a Jesuit mission. The coefficient  $\beta$  then estimates how much higher the literacy is for municipalities within the cutoff distance to the Jesuit mission than those outside the cutoff distance.

Results for this specification are found in [Figure A.8](#). The point estimates indicate that being within 10km of a former Jesuit mission is associated with an increase in literacy rate of 5%. The coefficient decreases but remains significant and settles around 3% when considering treatment being within 20-100 kilometers of a former Jesuit mission.

## 10. Conclusion

This paper shows the persistent effects on human capital through literacy associated with the Jesuits in the Amazon. I extend the analysis from [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#) to the Amazon, a region that, similarly to Southern Latin America, had both a strong and successful missionary presence. The results indicate that

being closer to a Jesuit mission is a strong predictor of literacy rate in 1872 and 2010.<sup>52</sup> While significant, the disparities between more distant places decreased across the 128 years between the samples.

While we should not interpret the results directly as causal, I implement several methods to narrow the mechanism to the Jesuit presence: First, all the specifications include a rich set of geographical variables that control for potential differences in geography and the region's suitability for settlement. Second, I exploit the richness of local languages at the time of colonization as an instrumental variable. The results remain significant when using the distance to a Tupi-speaking area. Third, the Jesuits had no effect in the neighboring state of Maranhão, indicating that the mere Jesuit presence was insufficient to create long-term development. Lastly, the proximity to Carmelite or Franciscan missions cannot explain the results.

Using microcensus data available for Brazil during the 1970, 1980, 1991, 2000, and 2010 censuses I establish that the effects on literacy are still persistent through the 20th and 21st centuries. I further explore what mechanisms could have caused the effect to persist to the present day. Suggestive evidence would indicate that the effects are transmitted intergenerationally as the effects on literacy are stronger and only present for non-migrants to the region during 1970-1991. The effects on literacy are present for all races, however, more pronounced for the minorities in the region. Based on the historical records indicating the effects should have been more pronounced for women, there is suggestive evidence for larger effects for women in the 1872 census, however, that effect has not persisted.

I analyze other possible channels that could explain the results. For 1872, the results are not driven by demographic differences or higher school attendance. For 2010, higher government spending, higher population density, or a higher number of schools in municipalities close to the missions cannot explain the results. Places near the Jesuit missions in 2010 are also more urbanized and have a higher GDP per capita, with differences only in the industry and services sector. Using Oster bounds indicates that if controlling for additional unobservables, the coefficients estimated would become more negative.

The paper complements the literature that measures European missionaries' positive impacts on the human capital in the New World and Africa ([Barsanetti, 2021](#); [Franco et al., 2021](#); [Waldinger, 2017](#); [Cagé et al., 2016](#); [Wantchekon et al., 2015](#); [Nunn, 2014](#); [Nunn, 2010](#); [Gallego et al., 2010](#); [Dell, 2010](#)). The results of this paper can help better inform how the development of present-day municipalities in the Brazilian Amazon is correlated with historical settlement patterns.

Future work must be done to analyze the impact of missionaries in the entirety of Brazil. While this paper and [Valencia Caicedo \(2018\)](#) analyze the areas where the Jesuits had a significant presence, the Jesuits and other missionary orders had a strong presence throughout all of South America. Another possible avenue

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<sup>52</sup>It is important to note that while the Jesuits seem to have generated positive human capital impacts on the regions nearby their missions, they served a colonial empire. This paper does not claim that Brazil's colonization was advantageous to the indigenous people, especially since many of them succumbed to diseases and enslavement.

of work would be to analyze the negative consequences caused by colonialism. While the current literature often considers a gain in human capital as positive, that also led to the loss of local identity, customs, and languages.<sup>53</sup>

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<sup>53</sup>While the Jesuits were often associated with the protection of the indigenous people in the Amazon, throughout Brazil they were also known for having large plantations with slaves and were more accepting of African slavery.

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## Figures

Figure 1. Location of Jesuit Missions along the Amazon as in the book by Leite (1943)

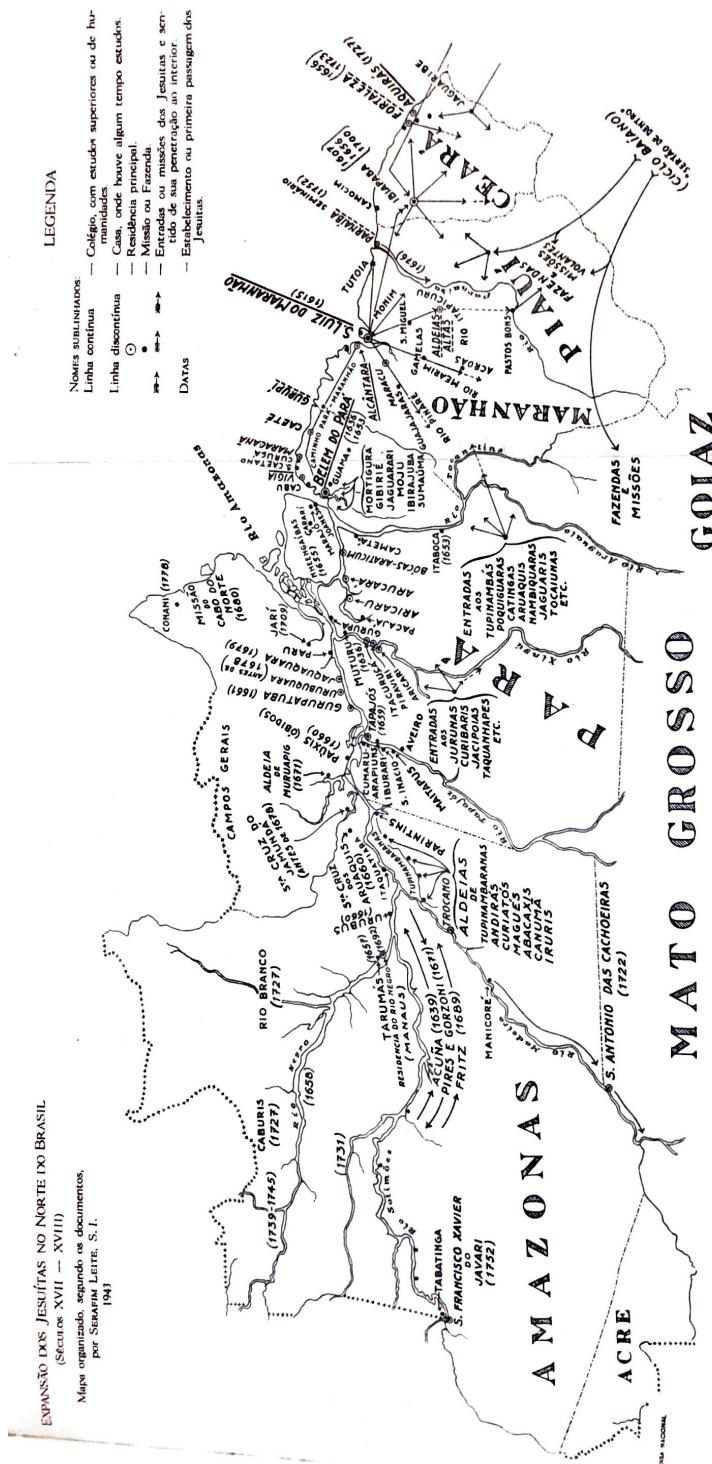
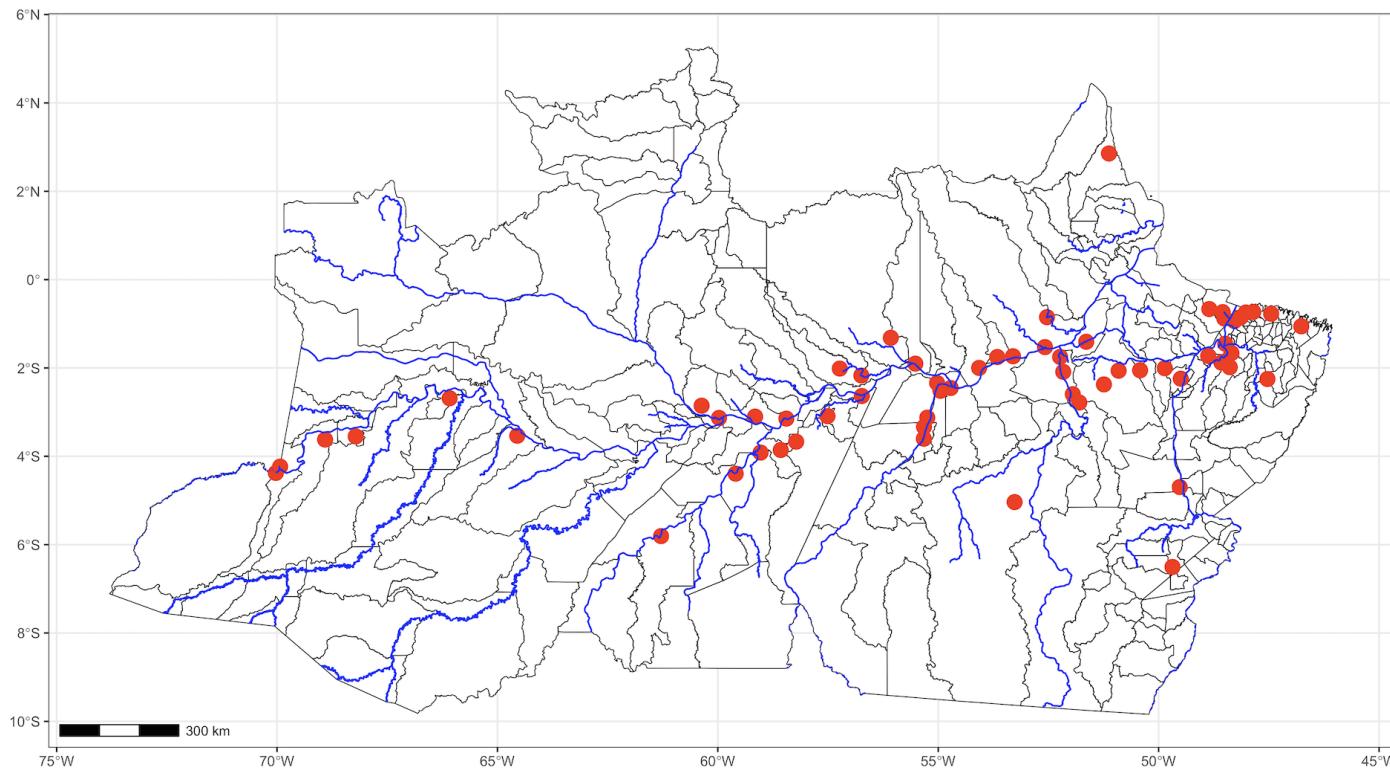
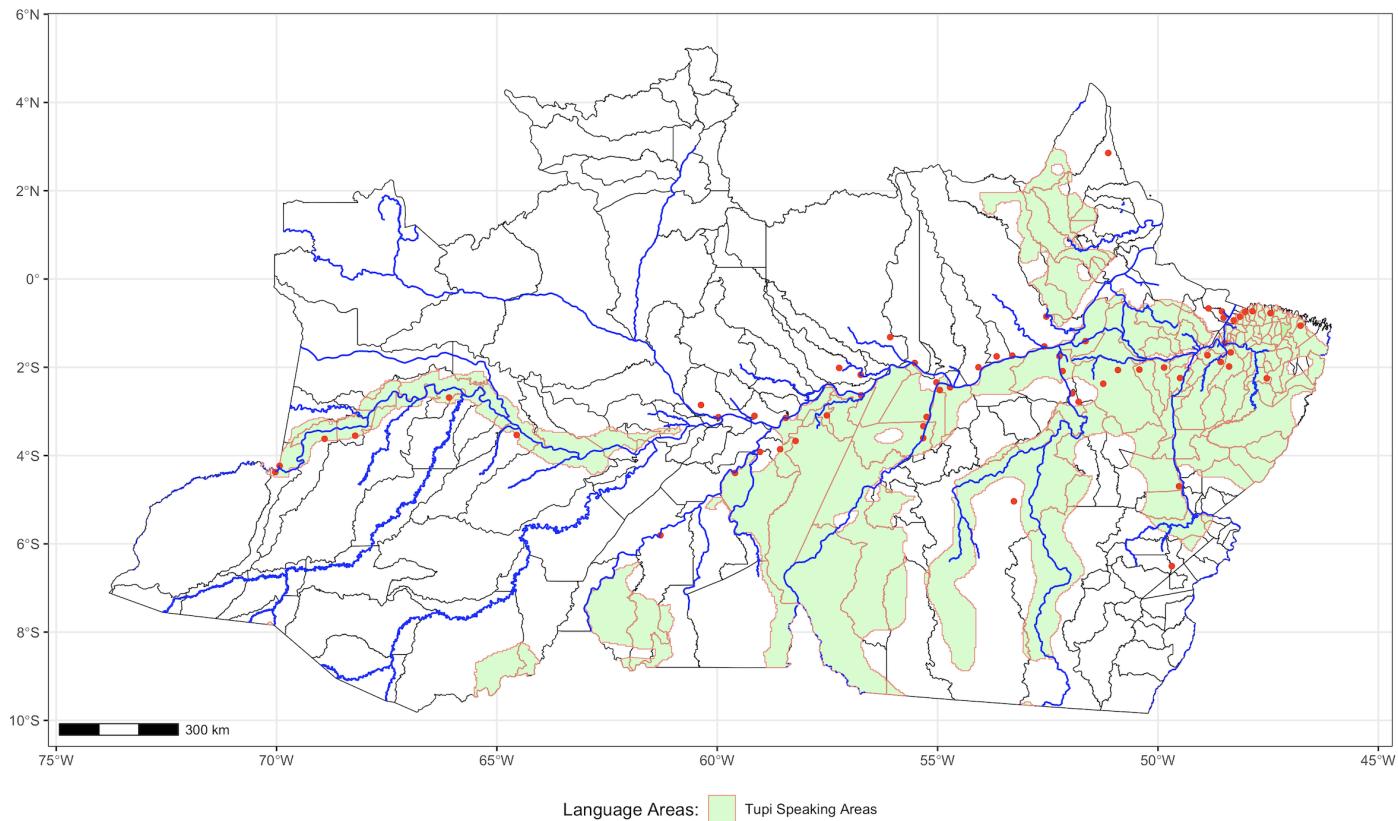


Figure 2. Location of Jesuit Missions



Notes: This figure shows the 2010 Municipalities boundaries and the red circles represent the locations of the Jesuit Missions based on [Leite \(1943\)](#).

Figure 3. Distribution of Tupi-Speaking areas in the Amazon pre-colonization



Notes: Tupi-speaking areas, based from [Clement et al. \(2015\)](#). Red dots in the map indicate the location of Jesuit Missions; blue lines indicate the main rivers of the region

## Tables

Table 1. Summary Statistics for variables in 1872

	Less than 50 km of a Jesuit Mission (N=67)		More than 50 km of a Jesuit Mission (N=23)		Diff. in Means	Std. Error
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		
<b>Education</b>						
Literacy Rate (%)	22.8	17.3	21.2	17.3	-1.6	4.2
Men Literacy Rate (%)	29.6	15.9	28.3	17.5	-1.3	4.1
Women Literacy Rate (%)	16.0	19.8	14.0	19.0	-2.0	4.6
Children 6-15 Attending School (%)	14.4	9.0	14.3	10.1	-0.1	2.4
Boys 6-15 Attending School (%)	18.0	12.4	18.0	13.4	-0.1	3.2
Girls 6-15 Attending School (%)	11.0	8.1	11.2	10.9	0.1	2.5
Teachers per 10,000	10.0	17.9	4.9	8.1	-5.2***	2.8
<b>Demographics</b>						
Proportion Slaves (%)	8.0	9.4	6.8	7.4	-1.2	1.9
Proportion Caboclo (%)	30.2	26.9	34.8	26.0	4.6	6.3
Proportion White (%)	31.6	15.1	25.8	13.1	-5.8***	3.3
Proportion Pardo (%)	33.0	16.5	33.4	14.6	0.4	3.7
Proportion Black (%)	5.2	4.4	5.9	6.3	0.7	1.4
Proportion Foreign (%)	1.9	3.5	1.4	1.9	-0.5	0.6
Proportion Other State (%)	2.0	3.5	2.0	4.4	-0.1	1.0
<b>Geography</b>						
Distance to Tupi-Speaking Areas (km)	5.9	17.5	82.4	160.6	76.5**	33.6
Distance to Non-Jesuit Mission (km)	136.4	86.4	158.9	111.8	22.5	25.6
Distance to River (km)	13.9	22.9	6.6	10.2	-7.3**	3.5
Distance to the Coast (km)	349.7	502.3	557.3	594.2	207.6	138.3
Average slope (m)	1.0	0.8	1.0	1.1	0.0	0.2
Average elevation (m)	18.1	27.1	36.9	36.8	18.7**	8.4
Longitude	-52.4	5.4	-54.5	6.7	-2.1	1.5
Latitude	-2.0	1.0	-1.5	1.5	0.5	0.3

Table 2. Summary Statistics for variables in 2010

	Less than 50 km of a Jesuit Mission (N=99)		More than 50 km of a Jesuit Mission (N=137)		Diff. in Means	Std. Error
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		
<b>Education</b>						
Literacy Rate (%)	85.0	6.9	81.0	7.7	-4.0**	1.0
Schools per 10k population	16.6	8.8	18.3	12.9	1.6	1.4
Schools per 10k for People Under 15	46.3	23.0	48.6	30.3	2.3	3.5
<b>Inequality</b>						
Gini Coefficient	58.1	4.6	60.9	6.3	2.8**	0.7
<b>GDP (2010 R\$)</b>						
GDP per Capita	6798.9	8473.2	7993.5	8586.6	1194.6	1124.0
Agricultural GDP per Capita	1372.0	1167.2	1540.0	1242.8	168.0	158.2
Industry GDP per Capita	1486.7	6561.0	1635.6	6980.6	148.9	889.1
Service GDP per Capita	1413.4	1710.7	1511.0	1663.7	97.6	223.1
Government GDP per Capita	2139.9	720.5	2941.5	1637.4	801.6**	157.5
<b>Demographics</b>						
Urban Population (%)	52.4	19.8	53.3	19.5	0.9	2.6
<b>Geography</b>						
Distance to Tupi-Speaking Areas (km)	10.3	24.7	116.5	195.0	106.3**	16.8
Distance to Non-Jesuit Mission (km)	162.2	125.1	335.6	225.5	173.3**	23.0
Distance to River (km)	21.4	27.7	31.3	43.4	10.0**	4.6
Distance to the Coast (km)	399.4	562.6	748.2	617.3	348.8**	77.3
Average slope (m)	1.1	0.9	1.7	1.1	0.6**	0.1
Average elevation (m)	45.7	60.6	135.2	112.5	89.5**	11.4
Area	8931.3	16912.5	16817.8	24848.5	7886.5**	2719.6
Longitude	-52.5	6.1	-55.2	7.0	-2.7**	0.9
Latitude	-2.1	1.4	-3.0	3.3	-0.9**	0.3

Table 3. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Literacy Rate School Attendance and Number of Teachers

	Literacy Rate (%)		Proportion of children between 6-15 Attending School (%)		Teachers Per 10,000	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	0.016 (0.011) [0.013]	-0.033* (0.019) [0.018]	0.012 (0.012) [0.011]	-0.016 (0.019) [0.015]	0.003 (0.010) [0.009]	-0.028 (0.017) [0.012]
Geographical Controls		✓		✓		✓
N	90	90	90	90	90	90
R <sup>2</sup>	0.53	0.61	0.13	0.22	0.40	0.44

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean level of education among the parishes in 1872 was 22.4%. Mean percentage of children attending schools is 18.5%. Mean number of teachers per 10,000 is 9.0

Table 4. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Development in 2010 for municipalities in the Brazilian Amazon

	Literacy Rate (%)		Gini		GDP per capita (2010 R\$)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.030*** (0.005) [0.008]	-0.022*** (0.006) [0.004]	0.018*** (0.004) [0.005]	0.019*** (0.004) [0.003]	-1.704 (2.825) [3.791]	-13.476** (6.286) [7.758]
Geographical Controls		✓		✓		✓
N	236	236	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.24	0.39	0.33	0.49	0.05	0.32

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean literacy rate across municipalities in the four select states in 2010 was 82.7%, mean Gini is 0.596, and mean GDP per capita is 7492.3

Table 5. Distance to Jesuit Missions and Non-Jesuit Missions Effects on Literacy Rate for Municipalities in Brazil (1872)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance to Non-Jesuit Religious Mission (km)	0.003 (0.011) [0.010]	-0.004 (0.014) [0.012]	0.002 (0.011) [0.009]	0.002 (0.015) [0.013]
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)			0.016 (0.011) [0.012]	-0.034 (0.021) [0.020]
Geographical Controls		✓		✓
N	90	90	90	90
F-test p-value			0.400	0.248
R <sup>2</sup>	0.52	0.60	0.53	0.61

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. F-tests for both combined regressions are not significant at the 10% level.

Table 6. Distance to Jesuit Missions and Non-Jesuit Missions Effects on Literacy Rate for Municipalities in Brazil (2010)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance to Non-Jesuit Religious Mission (km)	-0.006*** (0.002) [0.004]	0.000 (0.005) [0.008]	0.003 (0.003) [0.004]	0.007 (0.005) [0.007]
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)			-0.033*** (0.006) [0.009]	-0.024*** (0.006) [0.004]
Geographical Controls		✓		✓
N	236	236	236	236
F-test p-value			0.000	0.001
R <sup>2</sup>	0.14	0.35	0.25	0.40

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean literacy rate across municipalities in the four select states in 2010 was 82.7%. F-test of the coefficients on the distance to the nearest Jesuit Mission and distance to the nearest Non-Jesuit mission is significant at the 5% level

Table 7. Distance to Jesuit Mission on Literacy Rate using Census microdata (1970 - 2010)

	1970		1980		1991		2000		2010	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)	(7)	(8)	(9)	(10)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.061*** (0.010)	-0.035*** (0.013)	-0.068*** (0.011)	-0.051*** (0.014)	-0.080*** (0.022)	-0.062*** (0.016)	-0.039*** (0.008)	-0.031*** (0.009)	-0.027*** (0.005)	-0.024*** (0.007)
Geographical Controls		✓		✓		✓		✓		✓
N	722 265	722 265	1 007 183	1 007 183	701 889	701 889	1 103 182	1 103 182	1 042 080	1 042 080
Number of Municipalities	134	134	134	134	184	184	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.09	0.06	0.07	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.03

\* p &lt; 0.1, \*\* p &lt; 0.05, \*\*\* p &lt; 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and indicators on whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Mean literacy for each decade of the census are 57.1, 62.5, 66.0, 66.8, and 83.1.

Table 8. Distance to Jesuit Mission on Literacy Rate using Census microdata - Born and never moved from the same municipality vs. Migrants to the municipality (1970 - 2010)

	1970		1980		1991		2000		2010	
	(Non- Mig.)	(Mig.)	(Non- Mig.)	(Mig.)						
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.038*** (0.013)	-0.020 (0.015)	-0.055*** (0.014)	-0.002 (0.017)	-0.058*** (0.018)	-0.019 (0.013)	-0.028*** (0.010)	-0.017** (0.008)	-0.028*** (0.008)	-0.013** (0.006)
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	580 166	142 053	688 103	319 080	466 533	220 783	713 054	390 128	641 087	373 157
Number of Municipalities	134	134	134	134	184	183	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.10	0.10	0.07	0.09	0.05	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.02

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and indicators on whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Mean literacy in percentages for non-migrants is 55.5, 59.3, 62.6, 59.7, and 81.8. Mean literacy in percentages for migrants is 63.8, 69.5, 72.3, 79.7, and 84.7.

Table 9. Distance to Jesuit Mission on Literacy Rate using Census microdata - Born in the Same State vs. Out of State Migrants (1970, 1980, 2000, 2010)

	1970		1980		2000		2010	
	(Non- Mig.)	(Mig.)	(Non- Mig.)	(Mig.)	(Non- Mig.)	(Mig.)	(Non- Mig.)	(Mig.)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.038*** (0.013)	-0.020 (0.015)	-0.051*** (0.014)	-0.006 (0.020)	-0.027** (0.011)	-0.008 (0.008)	-0.022*** (0.007)	-0.010 (0.008)
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	580 166	142 056	821 942	185 241	177 564	187 939	181 526	183 249
Number of Municipalities	134	134	134	134	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.10	0.09	0.09	0.04	0.04	0.02	0.03

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and indicators on whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Mean literacy in percentages for non-migrants at the state level is 55.5, 61.5, 80.7, 86.2, and 81.8. Mean literacy in percentages for out of state migrants is 63.8, 66.9, 78.1, and 82.9.

Table 10. Distance to Jesuit Mission on Literacy Rate using Census microdata - Racial Differences (1980 - 2010)

	1980			1991			2000			2010		
	(W)	(B)	(P)	(W)	(B)	(P)	(W)	(B)	(P)	(W)	(B)	(P)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.046** (0.019)	-0.049*** (0.018)	-0.051*** (0.014)	-0.061*** (0.017)	-0.092*** (0.023)	-0.060*** (0.016)	-0.022** (0.009)	-0.030** (0.013)	-0.033*** (0.009)	-0.012* (0.007)	-0.018** (0.008)	-0.027*** (0.007)
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	187 649	28 221	781 563	133 972	21 851	541 644	274 443	53 172	758 996	208 167	68 433	755 978
Number of Municipalities	134	133	134	182	176	184	236	236	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.10	0.08	0.07	0.09	0.07	0.03	0.06	0.04	0.02	0.03	0.03

\* p &lt; 0.1, \*\* p &lt; 0.05, \*\*\* p &lt; 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and indicators on whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Mean literacy in percentages for white 73.7, 76.1, 70.4, 86.9. Mean literacy in percentages for blacks 50.6, 54.2, 61.7, 79.1. Mean literacy in percentages for pardos/indigenous people are 60.2, 64.1, 65.9, 82.3.

Table 11. Distance to Jesuit Mission on Literacy Rate using Census microdata - Gender Differences (1970 - 2010)

	1970		1980		1991		2000		2010	
	(M)	(F)	(M)	(F)	(M)	(F)	(M)	(F)	(M)	(F)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.039*** (0.013)	-0.030** (0.014)	-0.051*** (0.014)	-0.051*** (0.015)	-0.065*** (0.016)	-0.058*** (0.016)	-0.033*** (0.009)	-0.029*** (0.009)	-0.027*** (0.007)	-0.021*** (0.007)
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	364 338	357 927	508 405	498 778	355 054	346 835	560 762	542 420	532 318	509 762
Number of Municipalities	134	134	134	134	184	184	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.09	0.11	0.09	0.09	0.07	0.07	0.04	0.04	0.03	0.03

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

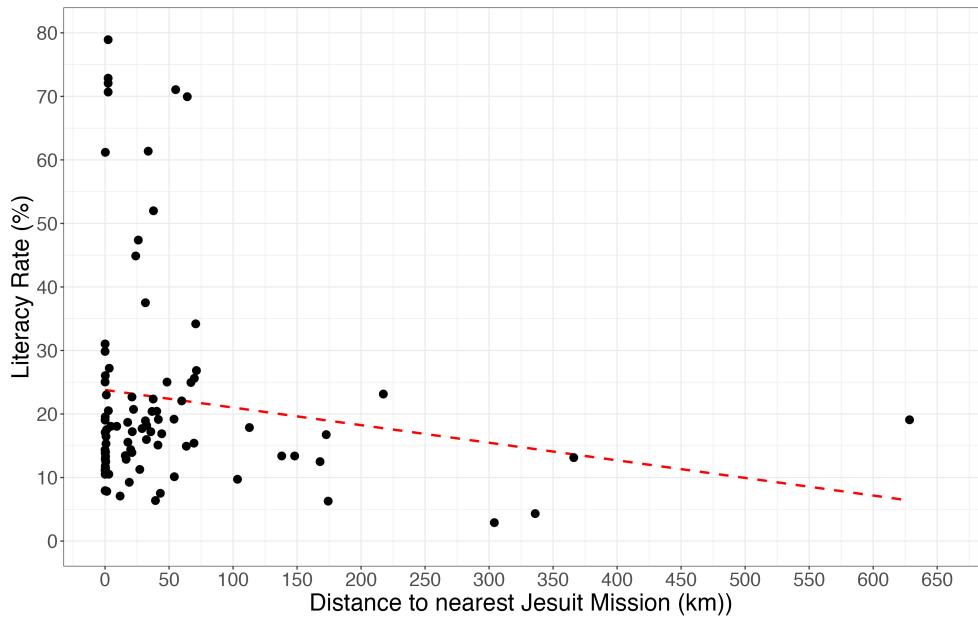
<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and indicators on whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Standard errors are clustered at the municipality level. Mean literacy for males in each decade of the census are 58.2, 62.7, 64.7, 65.7, 81.7 . For females they are 56.1, 62.3, 67.3, 67.9, 84.5

# Online Appendix

## A. Robustness Figures and Tables

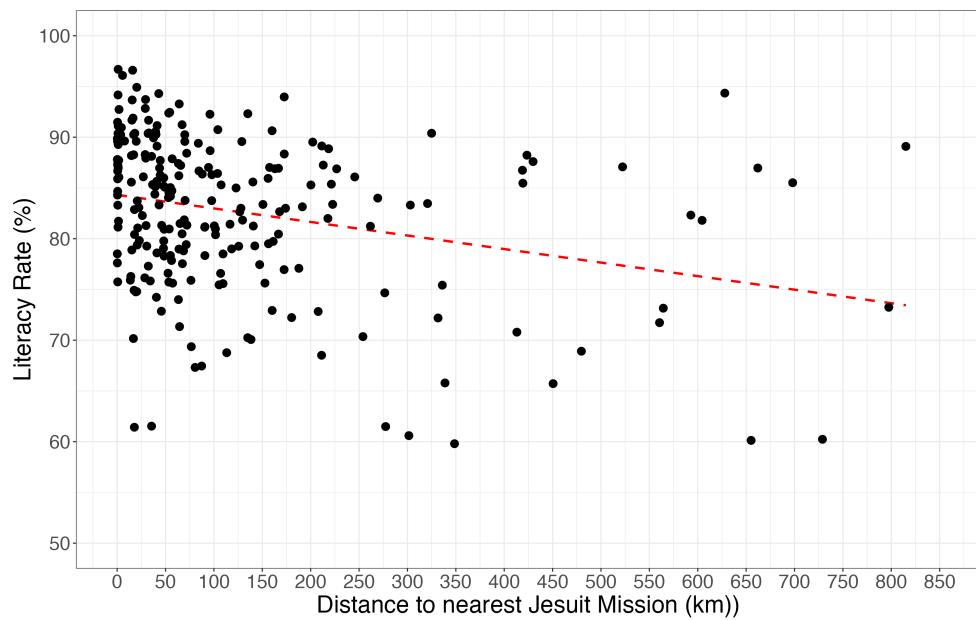
### A.1. Figures

Figure A.1. Correlation between Literacy and Distance from the Census Parish to the Nearest Jesuit Mission (1872)



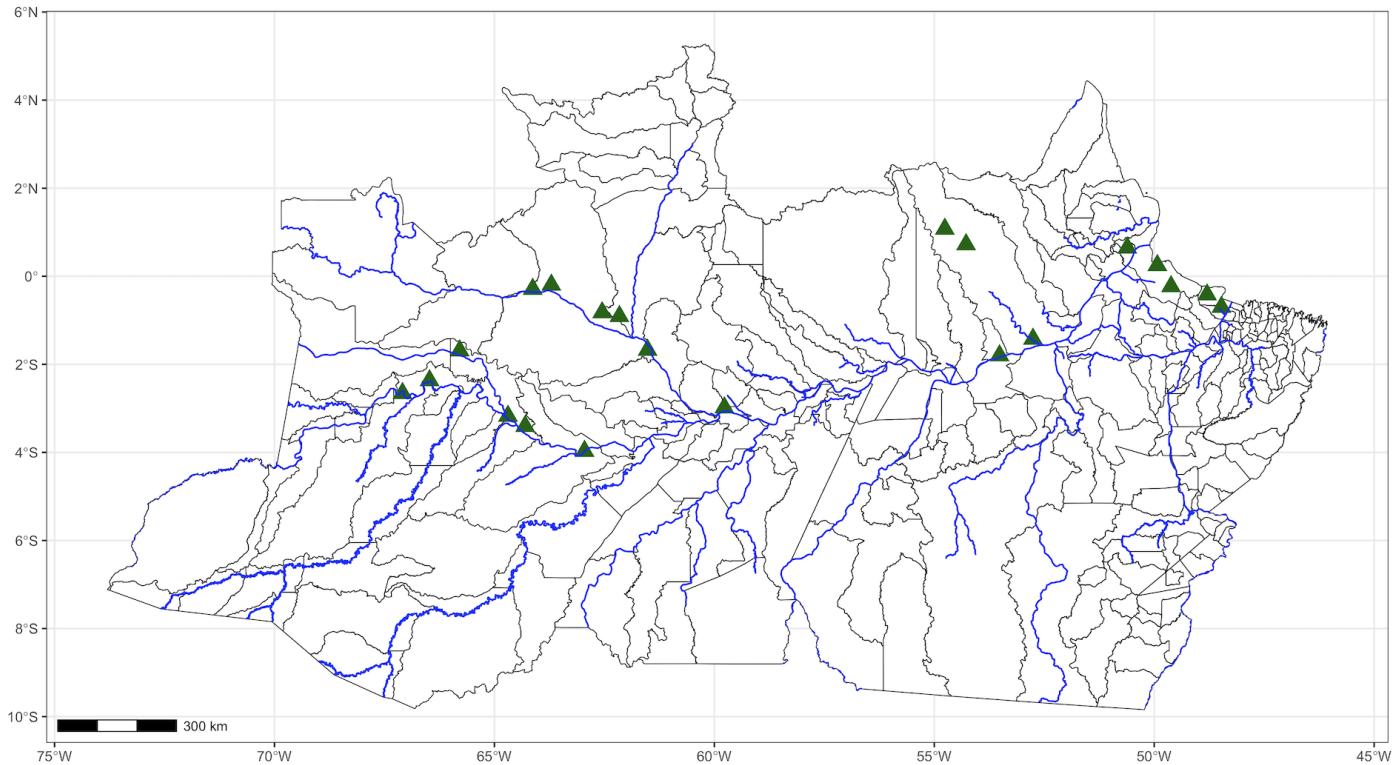
*Notes:* Unconditional trends for literacy and distance to the nearest Jesuit mission from parishes in 1872. The red dashed line indicates the best-fit line.

Figure A.2. Correlation between Literacy and Distance from the Municipality Seat to the Nearest Jesuit Mission (2010)



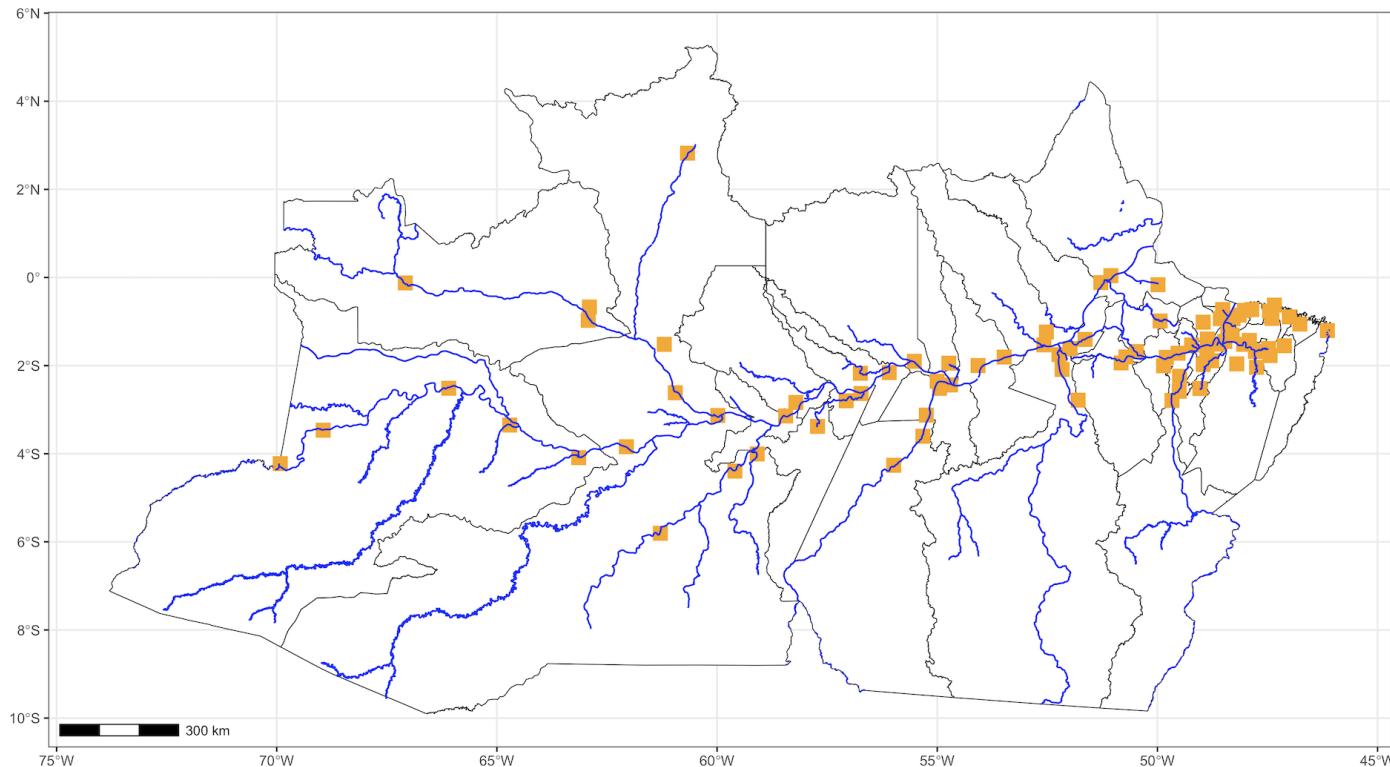
*Notes:* Unconditional trends for literacy and distance to the nearest Jesuit mission from municipality seats in 2010. The red dashed line indicates the best-fit line.

Figure A.3. Location of Carmelite or Franciscan Missions



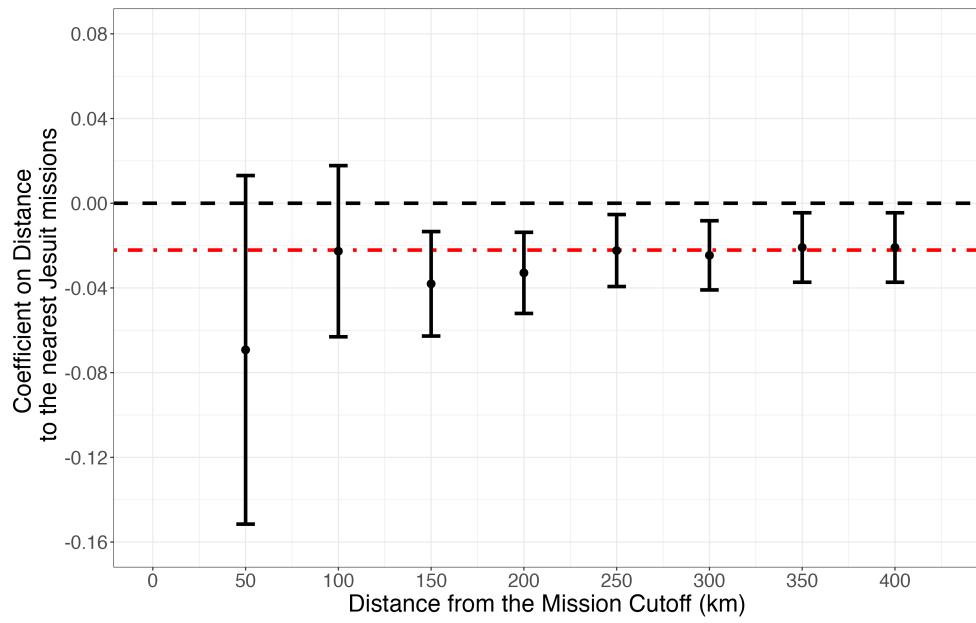
Notes: This figure shows the 2010 Municipalities boundaries and the green triangles represent the locations of the Carmelite/Franciscan Religious Missions

Figure A.4. Census Parishes in the 1872 Census



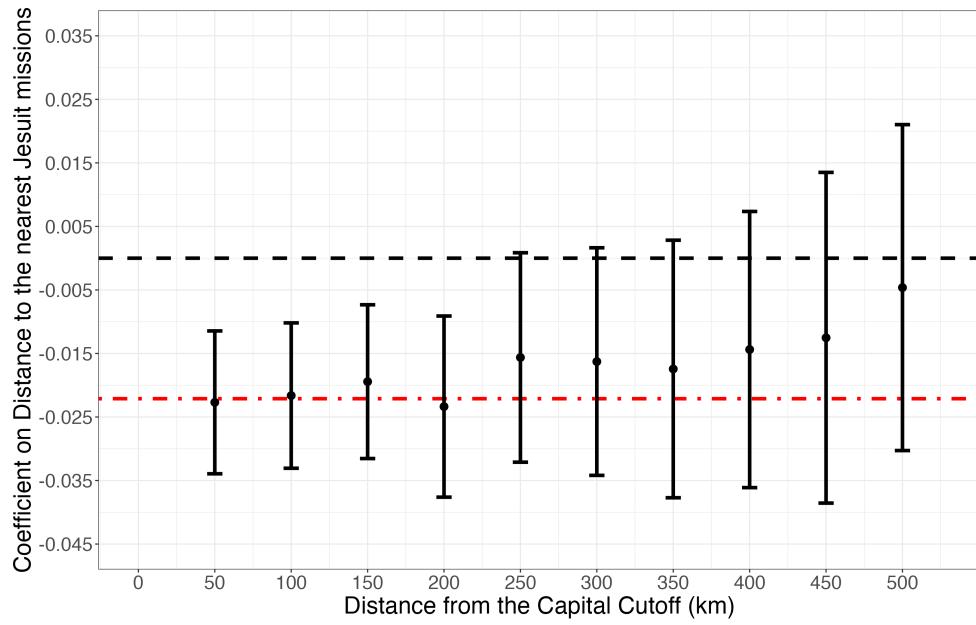
*Notes:* This figure shows the geographical distribution of the 1872 Municipalities boundaries and the location of Census Parishes in orange squares.

Figure A.5. Results Excluding Far Away Municipalities



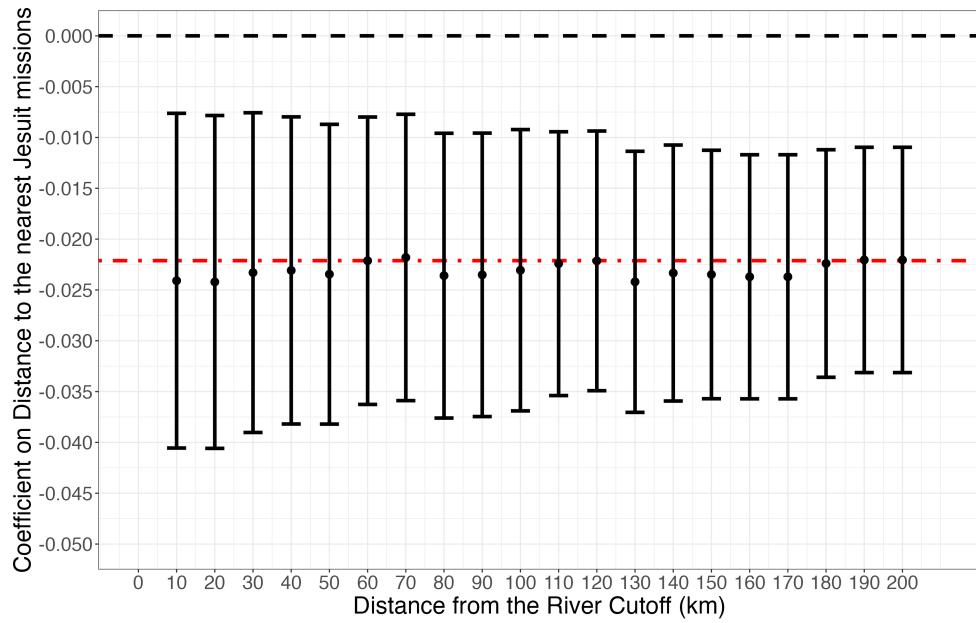
*Notes:* Results for [Equation 1](#) using 2010 data considering only municipalities within a cutoff distance from a Jesuit mission. The red line indicates the original estimate from [Table 4](#). Error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval with robust standard errors.

Figure A.6. Results Excluding Municipalities Close to a State Capital



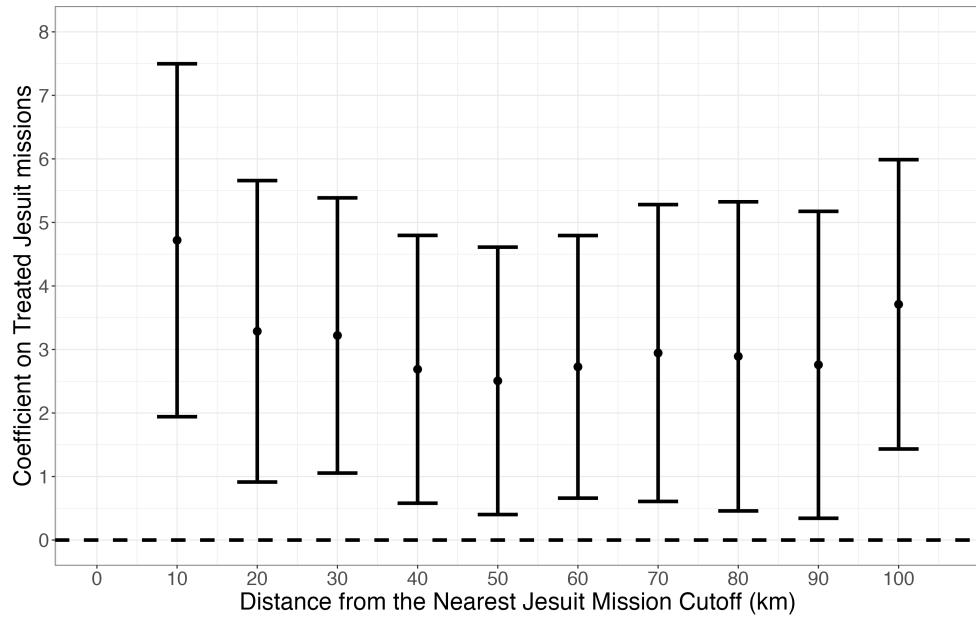
*Notes:* Results for [Equation 1](#) using 2010 data excluding municipalities within a selected cutoff distance from a state capital. Error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval with robust standard errors.

Figure A.7. Results Excluding Municipalities Far Away From a River



*Notes:* Results for [Equation 1](#) using 2010 data considering only municipalities within a cutoff distance from a river. Error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval with robust standard errors.

Figure A.8. Results Considering a Treatment Indicator Based on a Distance Cutoff



*Notes:* Results for [Equation 8](#) using 2010 data, considering *Treated* as any municipality within a cutoff distance from a Jesuit mission. Error bars indicate the 95% confidence interval with robust standard errors.

## A.2. Tables

Table A.1. Difference between Parishes outside and inside Tupi speaking areas in 1872

	Inside a Tupi Speaking Area (N=58)		Outside of a Tupi Speaking Area (N=32)		Diff. in Means	Std. Error
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		
<b>Education</b>						
Literacy Rate (%)	25.3	19.4	17.2	10.6	-8.1**	3.2
Men Literacy Rate (%)	31.8	17.8	24.7	11.9	-7.1**	3.1
Women Literacy Rate (%)	18.9	22.3	9.4	11.1	-9.5**	3.5
Children 6-15 Attending School (%)	14.0	7.7	15.1	11.6	1.1	2.3
Boys 6-15 Attending School (%)	17.2	10.1	19.5	16.2	2.2	3.2
Girls 6-15 Attending School (%)	10.9	7.9	11.5	10.5	0.6	2.1
Teachers per 10,000	11.1	19.2	4.5	6.6	-6.6**	2.8
<b>Demographics</b>						
Proportion Slaves (%)	9.4	9.9	4.6	5.5	-4.8**	1.6
Proportion Caboclo (%)	25.8	25.9	41.6	25.0	15.8**	5.6
Proportion White (%)	32.7	15.6	25.4	12.0	-7.3**	2.9
Proportion Pardo (%)	35.7	15.1	28.3	16.6	-7.3**	3.5
Proportion Black (%)	5.8	4.8	4.7	5.1	-1.2	1.1
Proportion Foreign (%)	1.7	3.1	1.8	3.4	0.1	0.7
Proportion Other State (%)	1.6	3.0	2.7	4.8	1.1	0.9
<b>Geography</b>						
Distance to Jesuit Missions (km)	26.6	31.3	93.3	143.0	66.7**	25.6
Distance to Non-Jesuit Mission (km)	144.7	80.6	137.6	114.2	-7.0	22.8
Distance to River (km)	15.7	24.4	5.5	7.0	-10.2**	3.4
Distance to the Coast (km)	288.7	507.4	609.5	519.3	320.8**	113.4
Average slope (m)	0.9	0.5	1.3	1.2	0.4	0.2
Average elevation (m)	18.8	26.0	30.4	37.3	11.6	7.4
Longitude	-51.4	5.5	-55.6	5.3	-4.2**	1.2
Latitude	-1.9	0.8	-1.9	1.6	0.0	0.3

Table A.2. Difference between Municipalities outside and inside Tupi speaking areas in 2010

	Inside a Tupi Speaking Area (N=101)		Outside of a Tupi Speaking Area (N=135)		Diff. in Means	Std. Error
	Mean	Std. Dev.	Mean	Std. Dev.		
<b>Education</b>						
Literacy Rate (%)	83.1	7.3	82.4	7.9	-0.7	1.0
Schools per 10k population	17.0	9.2	18.0	12.7	1.0	1.4
Schools per 10k for People Under 15	47.5	24.6	47.8	29.5	0.3	3.5
<b>Inequality</b>						
Gini Coefficient	58.1	5.0	60.9	6.2	2.9**	0.7
<b>GDP (2010 R\$)</b>						
GDP per Capita	6127.1	4182.7	8513.8	10603.7	2386.8**	1003.0
Agricultural GDP per Capita	1352.1	1131.1	1557.4	1266.2	205.3	156.7
Industry GDP per Capita	1094.8	2786.0	1931.0	8651.8	836.3	794.6
Service GDP per Capita	1311.5	1269.8	1588.7	1928.0	277.2	208.6
Government GDP per Capita	2033.6	580.0	3032.9	1641.6	999.3**	152.6
<b>Demographics</b>						
Urban Population (%)	50.6	19.1	54.7	19.9	4.1	2.6
<b>Geography</b>						
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	48.2	50.0	180.4	186.4	132.2**	16.8
Distance to Non-Jesuit Mission (km)	172.9	106.6	330.2	238.3	157.3**	23.1
Distance to River (km)	25.4	29.8	28.4	43.0	3.0	4.7
Distance to the Coast (km)	376.0	607.6	770.8	572.5	394.8**	78.0
Average slope (m)	1.1	0.6	1.8	1.2	0.7**	0.1
Average elevation (m)	46.2	54.3	136.1	115.3	89.8**	11.3
Area	9551.7	21719.6	16470.5	22132.4	6918.7**	2880.8
Longitude	-51.7	6.6	-55.9	6.3	-4.2**	0.9
Latitude	-2.1	1.2	-3.0	3.4	-0.9**	0.3

Table A.3. Effects of Tupi areas on GDP per capita (2010)

GDP per Capita (2010)	(1)	(2)
Distance to Tupi speaking Area (km)	-5.520 (6.751)	
Municipality within Tupi Area		418.828 (907.348)
Geographical Controls	✓	✓
N	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.31	0.31

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average, slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops

Table A.4. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Literacy Rate, Instrumental variable approach with distance to the nearest Tupi-speaking area - 1872

	(First Stage)	(Reduced Form)	(IV)
	Distance to Jesuit Missions (km)	Literacy Rate (%)	Literacy Rate (%)
Distance to Tupi-speaking areas (km)	0.691*** (0.134)	-0.052** (0.024)	
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)			-0.076** (0.036)
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓
N	90	90	90
R <sup>2</sup>	0.79	0.62	0.59
F-test	26.6		

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean level of education among the parishes in 1872 was 20.9%.

Table A.5. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Literacy Rate, Instrumental variable approach with distance to the nearest Tupi-speaking area - 2010

	(First Stage)	(Reduced Form)	(IV)
	Distance to Jesuit Missions (km)	Literacy Rate (%)	Literacy Rate (%)
Distance to Tupi-speaking areas (km)	0.701*** (0.122)	-0.021** (0.010)	
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)			-0.030** (0.014)
N	236	236	236
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓
R <sup>2</sup>	0.84	0.36	0.40
F-test	53.92		

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average, slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean literacy rate across municipalities in the four select states in 2010 was 82.7%

Table A.6. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Literacy Rate School Attendance and Number of Teachers

	Literacy Rate (%)		Proportion of children between 6-15 Attending School (%)		Teachers Per 10,000	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.017 (0.012)	-0.029 (0.022)	0.000 (0.012)	-0.010 (0.016)	-0.015* (0.008)	-0.026* (0.016)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km) * MA	0.020 (0.024)	-0.007 (0.041)	0.000 (0.012)	0.006 (0.022)	0.012 (0.011)	0.005 (0.025)
Geographical Controls		✓		✓		✓
N	126	126	126	126	126	126
R <sup>2</sup>	0.26	0.44	0.44	0.53	0.33	0.39

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river and distance to the coast. Mean level of education among the parishes in 1872 was 23.03%. Mean percentage of students attending school was 10.3%. Mean number of teachers per 10,000 population is 7.51.

Table A.7. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Development in 2010 for municipalities in the Brazilian Amazon vs. the neighboring state of Maranhao

	Literacy Rate (%)		Gini		GDP per capita	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)	(5)	(6)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.014*** (0.004)	-0.017*** (0.005)	0.017*** (0.003)	0.007* (0.004)	1.509 (1.998)	-1.210 (4.133)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km) * MA	0.043*** (0.007)	0.045*** (0.008)	-0.016** (0.008)	-0.005 (0.008)	24.791*** (9.466)	20.871* (10.963)
Geographical Controls		✓		✓		✓
N	453	453	453	453	453	453
R <sup>2</sup>	0.37	0.48	0.20	0.32	0.11	0.23

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average, slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river and distance to the coast. Mean literacy rate was 78.3%, mean Gini was 58.1, and mean GDP per capita was 6100.35 Brazilian Reais

Table A.8. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Literacy Rate by gender per Parishes in 1872

	Literacy Rate Men (%)		Literacy Rate Women (%)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	0.009 (0.009) [0.010]	-0.029 (0.018) [0.019]	0.025* (0.013) [0.016]	-0.038 (0.026) [0.024]
Geographical Controls		✓		✓
N	90	90	90	90
R <sup>2</sup>	0.51	0.62	0.47	0.55

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean level men literacy rate is 29.2% while for women it is 15.5%.

Table A.9. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Literacy Rate by gender per Parishes in 1872

	Proportion of boys between 6-15 Attending School (%)		Proportion of girls between 6-15 Attending School (%) (%)	
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	0.005 (0.010) [0.009]	-0.007 (0.026) [0.019]	0.024 (0.021) [0.021]	-0.022 (0.014) [0.010]
Geographical Controls		✓		✓
N	90	90	90	90
R <sup>2</sup>	0.10	0.20	0.16	0.33

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean attendance for school for boys is 18.0% while for girls it is 11.1%.

Table A.10. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Demographic Composition in 1872 for parishes in the Brazilian Amazon

	Proportion of Caboclos (%) (1)	Proportion of Whites (%) (2)	Proportion of Blacks (%) (3)	Proportion of Pardos (%) (4)	Proportion of Slaves (%) (5)	Proportion Brazilians not born in the state (%) (6)	Proportion of Immigrants (%) (7)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	0.023 (0.037) [0.040]	-0.020 (0.022) [0.022]	0.001 (0.009) [0.009]	-0.004 (0.021) [0.020]	-0.020** (0.010) [0.007]	-0.012 (0.008) [0.005]	-0.005 (0.006) [0.005]
N	90	90	90	90	90	90	90
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R <sup>2</sup>	0.63	0.30	0.42	0.62	0.48	0.53	0.31

\* p &lt; 0.1, \*\* p &lt; 0.05, \*\*\* p &lt; 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean for each of the dependent variables respectively are in percentages: 31.31, 30.77, 5.41, 32.43, 8.01, 2.12, 1.82

Table A.11. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Demographic Composition in 1872 for parishes in the Brazilian Amazon

	Proportion Working in Liberal Professions (%) (1)	Proportion Working in Industry (%) (2)	Proportion Working in Manual Professions (%) (3)	Proportion Working in Agriculture (%) (4)	Proportion Working in Other Jobs (%) (5)	Proportion with No Jobs (%) (6)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.005*** (0.002) [0.002]	0.012 (0.013) [0.011]	0.004 (0.009) [0.007]	0.028 (0.027) [0.022]	-0.050*** (0.016) [0.011]	0.010 (0.028) [0.020]
N	90	90	90	90	90	90
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓	✓
R <sup>2</sup>	0.51	0.43	0.55	0.14	0.46	0.34

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean for each of the dependent variables respectively are in percentages: 0.79, 2.82, 6.31, 33.51, 13.26, 43.28

Table A.12. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on GDP per capita by economic sector in the Brazilian Amazon (2010)

	Agriculture	Industry	Services	Government Spending
	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	0.5184 (0.8572) [0.753]	-10.5407* (6.0916) [7.316]	-3.4290*** (1.1529) [1.367]	-0.0021 (0.3020) [0.284]
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.23	0.28	0.44	0.97

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, distance to the nearest non-Jesuit mission, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean GDP across municipalities for each sector in 2010 Brazilian Reais are: 1469.5, 1573.1, 1470.1 and 2605.2

Table A.13. Nighttime light density (2010)

	Nighttime Light Density	Nighttime Light Density (5km)	Nighttime Light Density (10km)	Nighttime Light Density (20km)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.029** (0.013) [0.012]	-0.017*** (0.006) [0.005]	-0.006** (0.003) [0.003]	-0.001 (0.002) [3.791]
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.27	0.37	0.47	0.44

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean for night time light density are: 26.2, 10.3, 3.9, and 1.9.

Table A.14. Alternative explanations for the differences in literacy rate (2010)

	Urban Population (%)	Population Density	Schools per 10,000	Schools per 10,000 Under 15
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.042*** (0.014) [0.014]	-0.008 (0.059) [0.078]	0.020** (0.010) [0.009]	0.041* (0.024) [0.022]
Geographical Controls	✓	✓	✓	✓
N	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.25	0.20	0.25	0.20

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average, slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Area is not included as a control for the estimation of the effects on population density. Mean for urban population, population density, schools per 10,000 population, schools per 10,000 urban population and schools per 10,000 people under the age of 15 are 52.9%, 35.45, 17.6, 45.7 and 47.6.

## B. Validity of the Instrument

To check the robustness of the instruments, I conduct two checks. I estimate both Anderson-Rubin confidence intervals and tF confidence intervals ([Anderson et al., 1949](#); [Lee et al., 2022](#)). Results for 1872 can be found on [Figure B.1](#) and for 2010 on [Figure B.2](#). Overall, the instrumental variable standard errors and results are robust to different specifications.

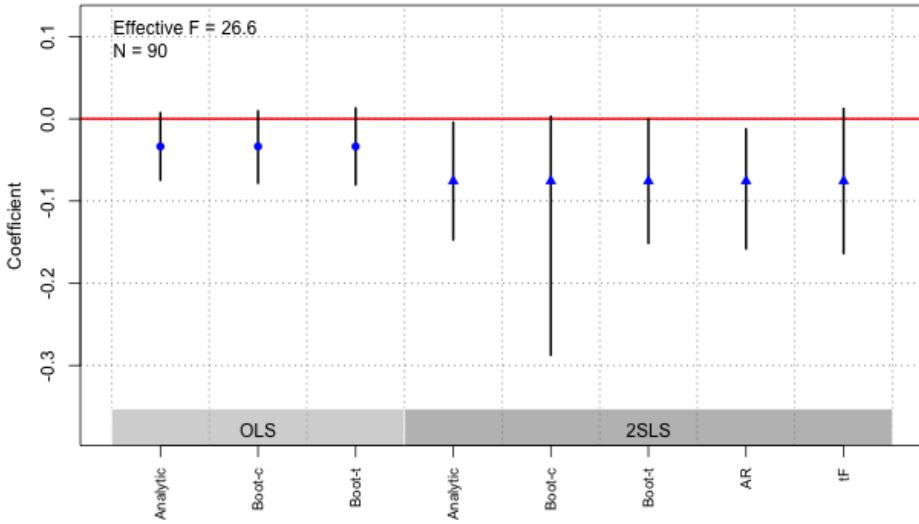


Figure B.1. Robustness checks on the IV estimates and comparison to the OLS estimates for the 1872 census. Including bootstrapped standard errors, Anderson-Rubin Confidence intervals ([Anderson et al., 1949](#)), and tF Confidence Intervals ([Lee et al., 2022](#)). Confidence intervals shown are at the 95% level.

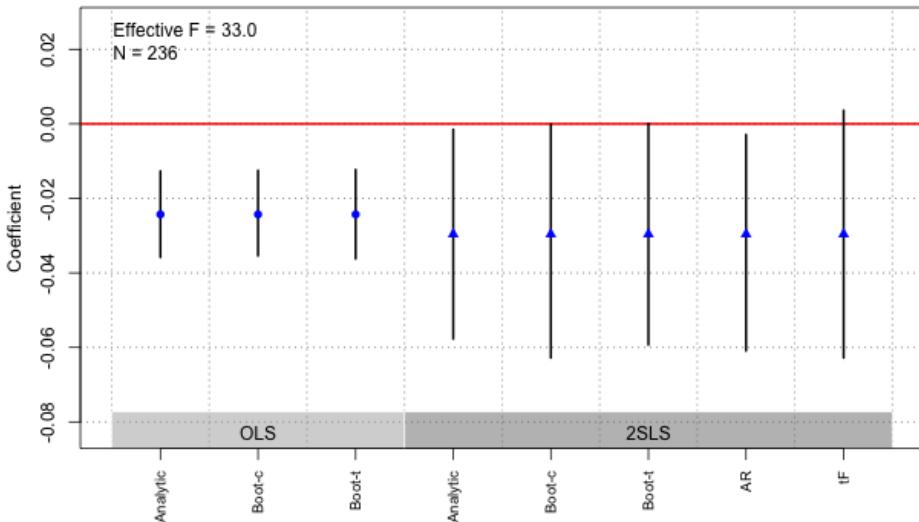


Figure B.2. Robustness checks on the IV estimates and comparison to the OLS estimates for the 2010 census. Including bootstrapped standard errors, Anderson-Rubin Confidence intervals ([Anderson et al., 1949](#)), and tF Confidence Intervals ([Lee et al., 2022](#)). Confidence intervals shown are at the 95% level.

## C. Specifications Weighted by Population

In this section, I explore how the results for literacy change when weighing the regression by the population of each parish/municipality. First, I analyze whether the locations close to the Jesuit missions had a higher population in 1872 and 2010. The results are reported on [Table C.1](#). For both 1872 and 2010, there is a decrease of around 800 and 13,673 inhabitants at the parish and municipality level respectively for every 100km. Relative to the mean the estimates are approximately a 20%-26% decrease in total population for locations 100km away from the nearest Jesuit mission.

Table C.1. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Population

	1872	2010
	(1)	(2)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-10.417** (4.937)	-138.209** (64.679)
Geographical Controls	✓	✓
N	90	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.19	0.67

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean population for parishes in 1872 was 3656.4 and mean municipality population in 2010 was 51712.2

When using the population of each observation as a weight in the regression, as seen on [Table C.2](#), the results for literacy in 1872 doubled while for 2010 remain unchanged.

Table C.2. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Literacy Rate weighed by population

	1872	2010
	(1)	(2)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.060** (0.027)	-0.024*** (0.007)
Geographical Controls	✓	✓
N	90	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.69	0.61

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops.

## D. Desegragating by Type of Mission

I further break down the missions into the individual effects of Carmelites and Franciscans to observe whether individually their historical missions have any effect on literacy. Results are found in [Table D.1](#) and [Table D.2](#). For 1872, there is no impact on the literacy rate for either Franciscan or Carmelite missions. The coefficient for the Jesuit missions drops to -0.035 and becomes insignificant under robust standard errors, however is significant at the 10% confidence level with the spatial Conley errors.

In 2010, we observe in column 2 that the Franciscan missions have a positive effect on literacy as missions 100km away from them have 1.7% lower literacy. Even when including the Jesuit missions, the coefficient for the Franciscan missions is -0.02 while for the Jesuits it is -0.018, indicating that based on the 2010 census the Franciscans had a stronger impact on literacy in 2010. Unsurprisingly, the Carmelites had no effects in both 1872 and 2010. They were more isolated, located along the Rio Negro, and never invested as much on human capital development at their missions.

A possible explanation for the difference in results between 1872 and 2010 is that, as mentioned, the Franciscans themselves did not establish many new missions, instead, they took over previous Jesuit missions, especially profitable cattle farms on the island of Marajo. Therefore, in 1872 there is an impact of the Jesuits but not in Franciscans, which can be explained that the Jesuits invested in literacy while the Franciscans did not. However, by 2010, the effects of the Franciscans came through the economic development caused by their economic activity, instead of their missionary work.

Table D.1. Distance to Jesuit Missions and Non-Jesuit Missions Effects on Literacy Rate for Municipalities in Brazil (1872)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance to Carmelite Mission (km)	0.000 (0.000) [0.000]	0.000 (0.000) [0.000]	0.000 (0.000) [0.000]	0.000 (0.000) [0.000]
Distance to Franciscan Mission (km)	0.000 (0.000) [0.000]	0.000 (0.000) [0.000]	0.000 (0.000) [0.000]	0.000 (0.000) [0.000]
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)			0.015 (0.010) [0.012]	-0.032 (0.023) [0.020]
Geographical Controls		✓		✓
N	90	90	90	90
$R^2$	0.53	0.60	0.54	0.61

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects and dummy indicators on whether the parishes are located in the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average slope, average elevation, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops.

Table D.2. Distance to Jesuit Missions and Non-Jesuit Missions Effects on Literacy Rate for Municipalities in Brazil (2010)

	(1)	(2)	(3)	(4)
Distance to Carmelite Mission (km)	-0.004** (0.001) [0.002]	-0.003 (0.003) [0.005]	-0.003** (0.001) [0.002]	0.001 (0.004) [0.005]
Distance to Franciscan Mission (km)	-0.012*** (0.001) [0.002]	-0.032*** (0.012) [0.005]	-0.010*** (0.002) [0.003]	-0.033*** (0.011) [0.014]
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)			-0.013** (0.006) [0.005]	-0.018*** (0.006) [0.005]
Geographical Controls		✓		✓
N	236	236	236	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.34	0.42	0.35	0.45

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average, slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Mean literacy rate across municipalities in the four select states in 2010 was 82.7%.

## E. Varying Conley Standard Errors

In this section, I explore how the Conley standard errors vary through different distance thresholds. Throughout the paper, a threshold of 400km is used. In [Table E.1](#) the results for the effects on literacy rate are redone for both 1872 and 2010 but now include distance thresholds of 50, 100, 200, and 800 km. The Conley standard errors are consistent throughout, not varying more than 0.019-0.016 for 1872 and 0.005 to 0.006 for 2010. The 400 km threshold, which is highlighted in yellow is within the range of the standard errors.

Table E.1. Distance to Jesuit Mission Effects on Literacy Rate for 1872 and 2010 - Varying Conley Standard Errors

	Literacy Rate (%)	
	(1)	(2)
Distance to Jesuit Mission (km)	-0.033* (0.019) [0.019] [0.018] [0.017] <b>[0.018]</b> [0.017]	-0.022*** (0.006) [0.005] [0.005] [0.005] <b>[0.004]</b> [0.004]
Geographical Controls	✓	✓
N	90	236
R <sup>2</sup>	0.61	0.39

\* p < 0.1, \*\* p < 0.05, \*\*\* p < 0.01

<sup>a</sup> All regressions include state fixed effects, century of creation fixed effects and dummies indicating whether the municipality is the capital of the state. Geographical controls include latitude, longitude, average elevation, average, slope, area, distance to the nearest navigable river, distance to the coast, and maximum caloric output from pre-Columbian and post-Columbian crops. Conley standard errors are reported in brackets at thresholds of 50, 100, 200, 400, and 800 km respectively. The threshold of 400km, used throughout the paper, is highlighted in yellow.

## F. Randomization Inference

I conduct three “randomization inference” exercises by generating several placebo missions and comparing them to the literacy rate results in 1872 and 2010. This section addresses the concerns presented with spatial autocorrelation found in [Kelly \(2019\)](#). [Kelly \(2019\)](#) argues that spatial autocorrelation decreases standard errors making coefficients more significant.

Following [Kelly \(2019\)](#), I generate random spatial noise that preserves the spatial autocorrelation by generating placebo missions. I create 60 random points within the limits of the study area and treat them as placebo missions. The distance from each locality to the nearest placebo mission is calculated and used as the new independent variable in [Equation 1](#). Given that the distances are now random, with no spatial autocorrelation, the probability I find results as significant should match the probability given by the t-statistic in the regression. However, by construction, the distance to the nearest placebo mission will be spatially correlated as two locations near each other will have similar values for the distance to the nearest mission.

These random placebo missions should not outperform the main regression results; otherwise, the significance of the results is caused by places near each other having similar values. I try three different methods of generating random placebo missions:

- Generating placebo missions randomly within the area of study
- Generating missions given the latitude and longitude of the actual missions in the region
- Generating missions within a 10km boundary of the rivers in the region since the Jesuits could only setup missions close to rivers

A set of placebo missions is considered to outperform the main specification if the coefficient on the distance is both stronger in magnitude and more significant. Maps of the region showing how the placebo missions were distributed across each specification are in [Figure F.1](#), [Figure F.2](#), and [Figure F.3](#).

[Table F.1](#) and [Table F.2](#). First, it is important to note that randomly generated missions give significant results at the 0.1% level in almost 50% of the regressions, which indicates that the standard errors cannot be taken at face value. In 1872, the results show that the significance of the results should have been between 0.094 to 0.182, depending on how the placebo missions were generated. For 2010, the significance of the results was around 0.074 to 0.01, which are higher than the actual significance in the main regression; however still significant at a 10% confidence level. Overall, I cannot fully reject spatial autocorrelation causing the

significance of the results in 1872 for all three types of randomization. However, for 2010, the results are still significant at a 10% confidence level.

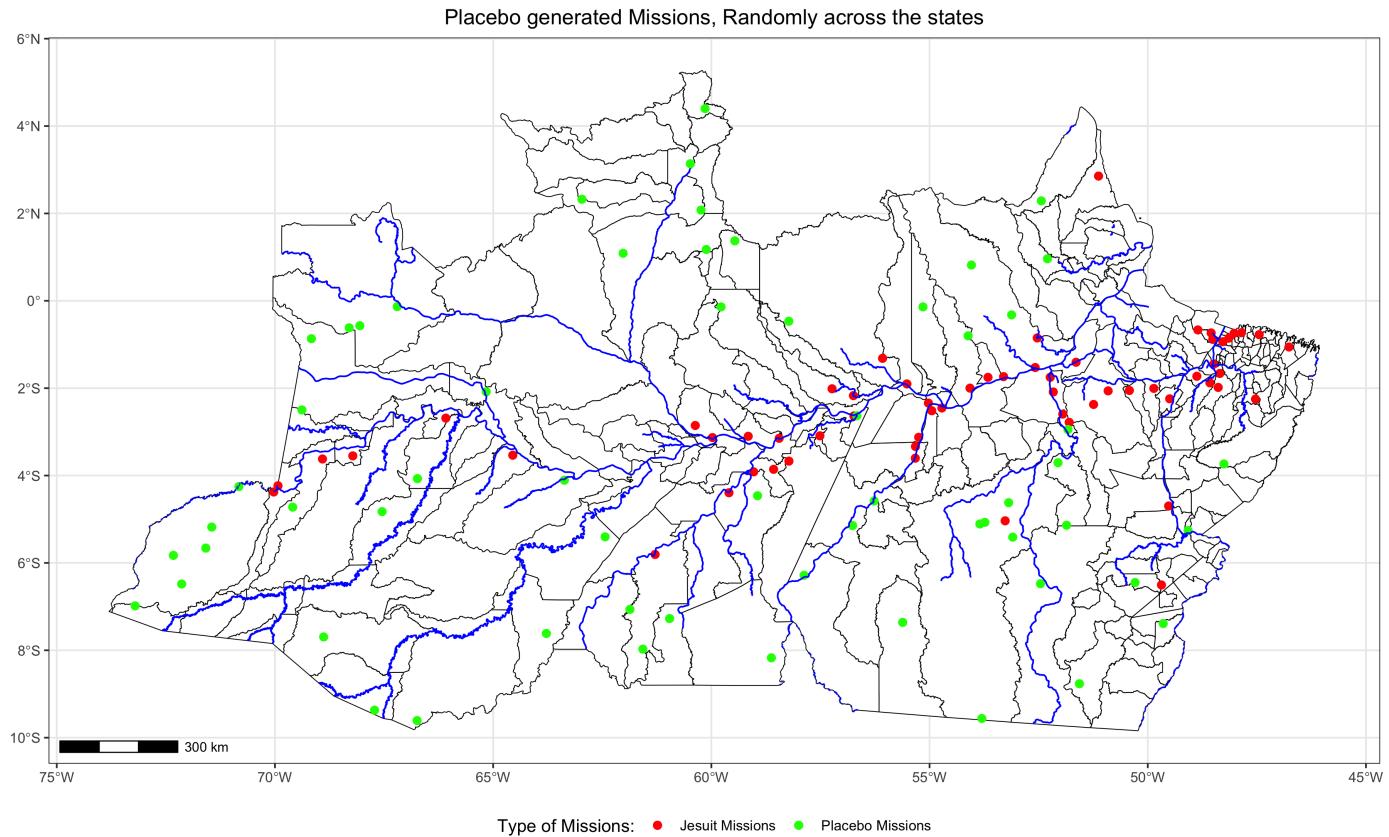


Figure F.1. 2010 Municipalities and randomly generated placebo missions

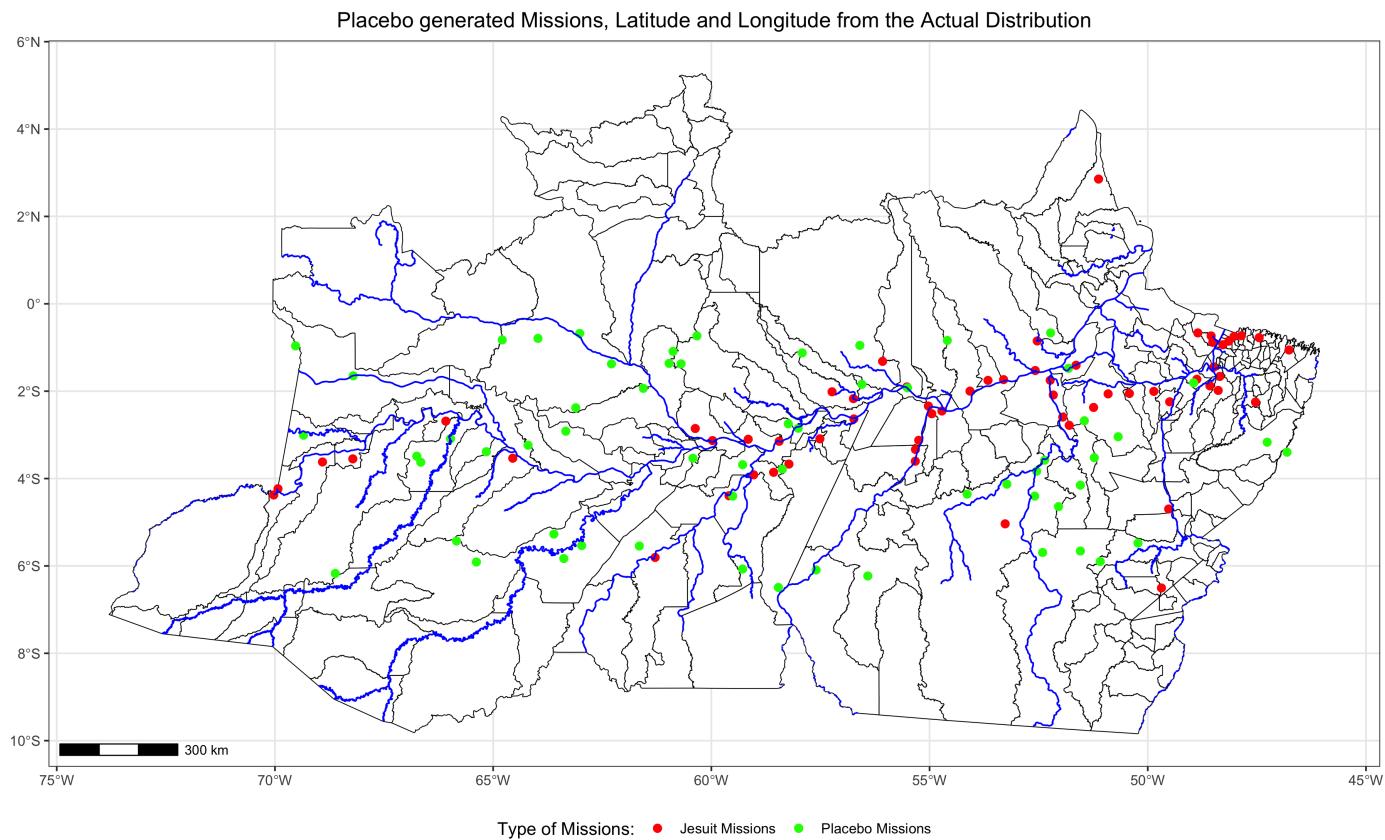


Figure F.2. 2010 Municipalities and randomly generated placebo missions, latitude, and longitude distribution

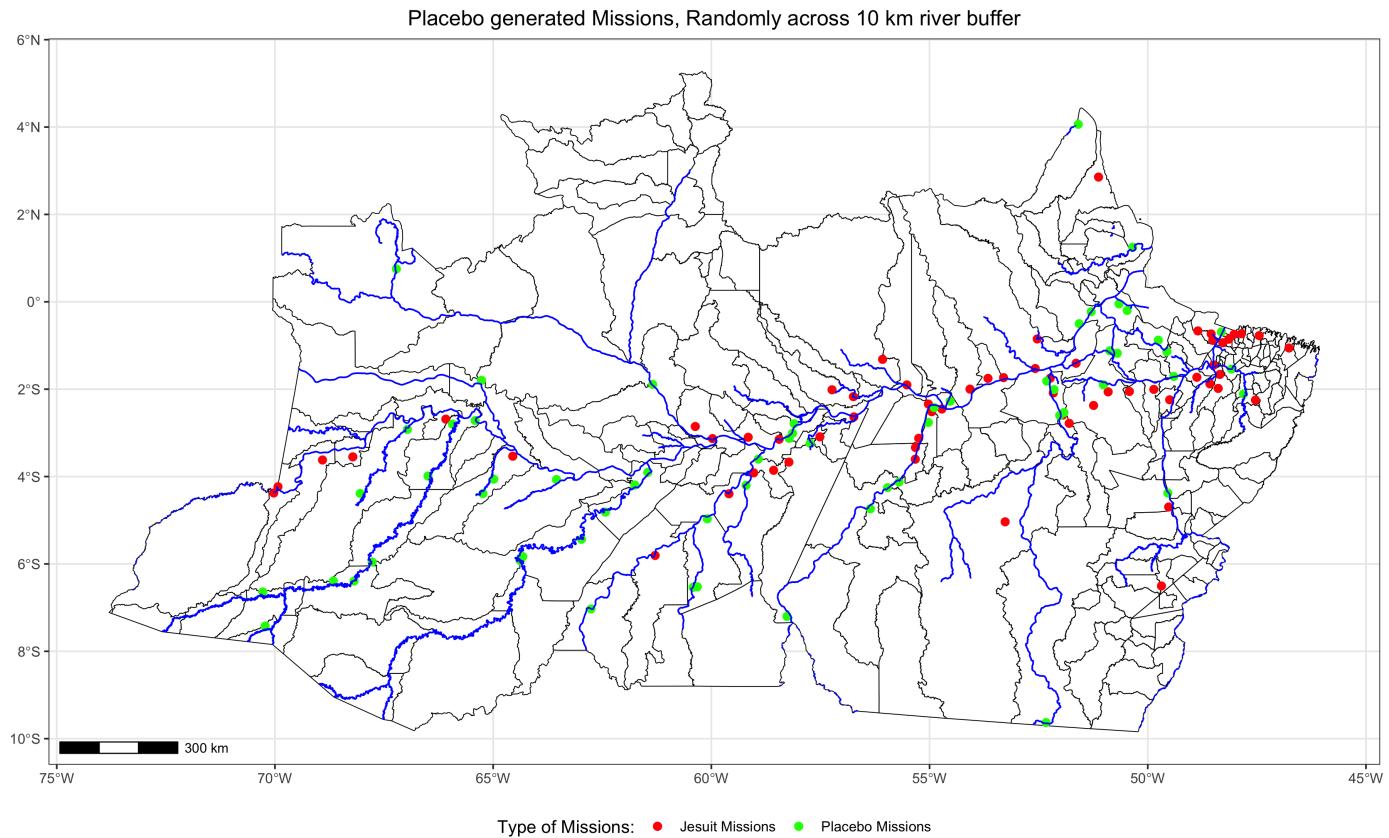


Figure F.3. 2010 Municipalities and randomly generated placebo missions, randomization across a 10km buffer of the rivers

Table F.1. Placebo results through generating random points in three different methods, 1872

	Proportion Stronger (%)	Proportion More Significant (%)	Proportion Stronger and more Significant	Proportion Significant at 0.1 (%)	Proportion Significant at 0.05 (%)	Proportion Significant at 0.01 (%)
Completely Random	15.9	11.4	9.4	20.4	11.2	2.4
Latitude and Longitude Distribution	31.5	20.3	18.6	30.6	20.1	6.8
Within 10km of River	17.7	11.1	10.1	17.6	10.8	3.0

<sup>a</sup> Results here are shown for generating 60 random points and running 1000 regressions with the independent variable being the distance to the nearest placebo mission.

Table F.2. Placebo results through generating random points in three different methods

	Proportion Stronger (%)	Proportion More Significant (%)	Proportion Stronger and more Significant	Proportion Significant at 0.1 (%)	Proportion Significant at 0.05 (%)	Proportion Significant at 0.01 (%)
Completely Random	15.7	8.2	7.4	54.3	45.9	32.2
Latitude and Longitude Distribution	2.3	2.1	1.0	49.3	40.1	25.9
Within 10km of River	9.0	2.3	2.2	50.1	41.5	26.7

<sup>a</sup> Results here are shown for generating 56 random points and running 1000 regressions with the independent variable being the distance to the nearest placebo mission.

## G. Data Appendix - 1872

Below are the definitions of the variables measured for the 1872 census and how they were constructed. Some of the variables are already defined in the census:

### G.1. Base Variables, available by gender and free vs. enslaved:

1. Number of Literate People
2. Number of People 6-15 Attending/Not Attending/No Information on Schooling
3. Demographic Information on Race
  - (a) Number of Enslaved People
  - (b) Number of Pardos
  - (c) Number of Whites
  - (d) Number of Blacks
  - (e) Number of Caboclos
4. Number of People not born in the state based on origin: Within Brazil or from another country.
5. Number of people on types of jobs: Liberal/Manual/Agricultural/Industry/Other Jobs/No Jobs
  - (a) Liberal: Religious men/women, judges, lawyers, notaries, attorneys, justice officials, medics, surgeons, pharmacists, midwives, teachers, public officials, and artists.
  - (b) Manual or Mechanical:
  - (c) Agricultural: Farmers and livestock breeders.
  - (d) Industry: Manufacturers and merchants.
  - (e) Other: Military officers, mariners, fishermen, capitalists/owners, *jornaleiros* (workers that are paid based on a working day), domestic workers, and no information
6. Number of people by age group.

### G.2. Constructed Variables:

1. Number of Free People Above the Age of 15

$$\sum \# \text{ Of Free People Above 15}$$

2. Literacy Rates, following [Rocha et al. \(2017\)](#):

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Literate Free People}}{\# \text{ of Free People Above the Age of 15}}$$

3. Men Literacy Rates:

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Literate Free Men}}{\# \text{ of Free Men Above the Age of 15}}$$

4. Women Literacy Rates:

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Literate Free Women}}{\# \text{ of Free Women Above the Age of 15}}$$

5. Total number of children between 6-15

$$\begin{aligned} & \# \text{ of Free People between the ages 6-15 who attend school} + \\ & \# \text{ of Free People between the ages 6-15 who do not attend school} + \\ & \# \text{ of Free People between the ages 6-15 with no information on schooling} \end{aligned}$$

6. Percentage of Children between age 6-15 who are attending school:

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Free People between the ages 6-15 who attend school}}{\text{Total } \# \text{ of Free Children between 6-15}}$$

7. Percentage of Boys between age 6-15 who are attending school:

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Free Boys between the ages 6-15 who attend school}}{\text{Total } \# \text{ of Free Boys between 6-15}}$$

8. Percentage of Girls between age 6-15 who are attending school:

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Free Girls between the ages 6-15 who attend school}}{\text{Total } \# \text{ of Free Girls between 6-15}}$$

9. Proportion of Slaves to Free Population:

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Enslaved People}}{\# \text{ of Free People}}$$

10. Proportion of White/Caboclo/Black/Pardo:

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Free People of Certain Race}}{\# \text{ of Free People}}$$

11. Proportion of Internal/Foreign Immigrants:

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Free People of Certain Immigration Category}}{\# \text{ of Free People}}$$

12. Proportion of Teachers per 10,000:

$$10000 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Free People working as Teacher}}{\# \text{ of Free People}}$$

13. Proportion of Workers by Labor Market characteristics (as described in the data above):

$$100 \times \frac{\# \text{ of Total People in Certain Job}}{\# \text{ of Total People}}$$

## H. Parish Level Georeferencing

For the 1872 census, the four states in the region described in the paper only had 38 municipalities. In order to increase the sample size, I georeferenced the information at the parish level for that census.<sup>1</sup> The data was georeferenced as follows:

1. If the municipalities only had one parish, then the parish location is the same as the municipality seat.
  - (a) The municipality of Serpa in Amazonas has only one parish, “Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Serpa”, therefore it is georeferenced to the municipality seat of Serpa.
2. If a municipality has more than one parish, first I checked based on the name whether or not the parish level can be traced to a present-day city.
  - (a) The municipality of Vigia in Para has three parishes: “Nossa Senhora de Nazaré da Vigia”, “Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Collares”, and “São Caetano de Odivellas”.
  - (b) All of these parishes can be traced down to present-day cities, “Nossa Senhora de Nazaré da Vigia” is the present-day municipality of Vigia, “Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Collares” is the present-day municipality of Collares, and “São Caetano de Odivellas” is the present-day municipality of São Caetano de Odivellas
3. If the parish cannot be traced down based on the name to a present-day municipality then I took a look at other historical sources.<sup>2</sup>

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<sup>1</sup>One parish in the state of Para is not included in the dataset as its present-day location is on the state of Tocantins, in which I do not have information of mission locations in that state.

<sup>2</sup><https://cidades.ibge.gov.br/> includes information on historical names for municipalities, based on their history.