

# ROBERT GRANT WATSON

SPANISH AND  
PORTUGUESE SOUTH  
AMERICA DURING THE  
COLONIAL PERIOD; VOL. 2

Robert Grant Watson

**Spanish and Portuguese  
South America during the  
Colonial Period; Vol. 2**

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# Robert Grant Watson

## Spanish and Portuguese South America during the Colonial Period; Vol. 2 of 2

### CHAPTER I. *BRAZIL; THE DUTCH WAR*

1623-1637

The appearance of the Dutch as actors on the Brazilian stage arose, as might be expected, from the connection of the Low Countries with Spain and from that of Spain with Portugal. Their success in attacking the sources of their enemy's supplies in the East led to the establishment of a West Indian Company, the chief object of which was to make conquests in *Brazil*. A fleet was fitted out under the command of Willekens, who had under him the celebrated Peter Heyne. The religious intolerance from which the Dutch had themselves so terribly suffered at the hands of their Spanish rulers had taught them to be tolerant in such matters towards others, and to this circumstance they were now indebted for much valuable information respecting *Brazil*, which they received from the Jews who had taken refuge amongst them.

The Dutch fleet sailed at the close of 1623, and when they had crossed the line, the commander found that his sealed instructions directed him to attack *S. Salvador*. A storm, however, interrupted this programme; and Willekens, on reaching the neighbourhood of *Bahia*, was compelled to delay for some days, awaiting his comrades. On the news of his approach being communicated to the governor, it was received at first with Brazilian apathy, which, however, was succeeded by alarm on his strength being correctly reported. The colonial forces were mustered for the defence of their possessions; but, as no immediate attack was made, alarm in time again gave way to apathy, and the colonists dispersed to attend to their individual concerns. When Willekens had collected his fleet, he found *S. Salvador* undefended; and on the following day he took possession of the place without opposition. In this easy manner the Dutch, without having had to strike a blow, became masters of the capital of *Brazil*.

Willekens had with him a soldier of experience, Van Dort, who now took the command on shore. The fortifications were repaired, and proclamations were issued offering full possession of their property and freedom of worship to all such as would submit. Amongst those who were thus brought under Dutch rule were two hundred Jews. The Brazilian authorities, who imagined that this was merely a predatory expedition on the part of the Dutch, such as they had become more or less accustomed to on the part of Englishmen or Frenchmen, were astonished to find that the Hollanders meant to keep possession of what they had taken. Their national spirit revived with the realization of this fact; and as a consequence measures were concerted to recover their honour and their property. The governor having been taken prisoner, the bishop and other chief persons opened his succession papers, by which they found that their obedience was now due to the governor of *Pernambuco*. Messengers were accordingly sent to advise him of his new position, and meanwhile the command was vested in the bishop Teixeira. His force consisted of fourteen hundred Portuguese and two hundred and fifty natives, with which he established a fortified camp about a league from the city, procuring three guns from a vessel which had taken refuge in one of the rivers of the *Reconcave*.

The bishop, who was at least energetic, if not otherwise qualified for a military command, was so fortunate at the outset as that the Dutch general, Van Dort, fell at the hands of one of his skirmishing

parties, while the officer who succeeded him was shot. In the midst of this undecided situation it seems strange indeed that the invaders should have been so confident as to admit of Willekens sailing for Holland with eleven vessels. A few days after his departure, his next in command, Admiral Heyne, sailed in turn with the remaining vessels for *Angola*, his object being to secure a supply of negroes for the Dutch colony in *Brazil*. The admiral was, however, baffled in this object; and, returning to South America, he met with no more good fortune in an attempt upon *Espirito Santo*. Proceeding from there to *Bahia*, he found the Spanish and Portuguese fleets in possession, and, being unable to oppose them, made sail for Europe.

The loss of *Bahia* had fallen like a thunderbolt on the court of Madrid; and orders were given to have a great fleet equipped for the purpose of recovering that city, whilst immediate succours were sent to such other ports as were supposed to be most in danger, namely, to *Pernambuco*, *Rio de Janeiro*, and *Angola*. The Spanish Government showed on this occasion the spirit by which it was chiefly animated, by ordering all sorts of religious exercises to be undertaken in connection with the recent calamity. The authorities of Portugal were instructed to inquire into and punish the crimes which had drawn down so marked a manifestation of the Divine vengeance as the delivery of the capital of *Brazil* into the hands of heretics. Special prayers, to be repeated during nine successive days, were ordered throughout the kingdom, whilst a litany was composed for use at daily mass. In addition to this, a solemn religious procession was ordered in every town and village. The Portuguese, to whom the loss of their chief Brazilian town came more immediately home, showed their concern at the intelligence in a more worldly fashion; the city of Lisbon giving a donation of one hundred thousand crowns to the Government towards its recovery, and the Dukes of Braganza and Caminha twenty and sixteen thousand, respectively. The nobles generally offered their persons and property in the public service, whilst men of the highest rank embarked as volunteers,—amongst them Noronha, who had been Portuguese Viceroy in India. The armament now sent out to *Brazil* was so thoroughly a national one on the part of Portugal that it is said there was not one noble family in the country which was not represented in it. It consisted of six-and-twenty vessels, bearing four thousand men, and they were to join the Spanish fleet at the Cape *de Verdes*. The latter fleet, however, had not been equipped with the breathless haste displayed in the case of that of Portugal; and the Portuguese had thus to wait during nine weary weeks at the place of rendezvous for the arrival of the Spaniards. Of the proportions of the Spanish fleet, however, nothing could be said, since it consisted of forty sail, bearing eight thousand men.

1625.

Albuquerque, the governor of *Pernambuco*, and who was now governor of *Brazil*, being unable to muster a sufficient force to cope with the Dutch, contented himself with harassing them by attacking their outposts and cutting off their supplies. In March 1625 the united fleets of Spain and Portugal appeared off *Bahia*, and so intoxicated were the Brazilians at the sight that they forthwith made an attack on the Dutch entrenchments. The attack, however, was premature, and they were repulsed with loss. The city had been fortified with careful science, and was defended by ninety-two pieces of artillery. The Spanish commander, *Don Fadrique de Toledo*, who knew that reinforcements were expected from Holland, proposed to land three thousand men leaving the rest on board to intercept the enemy's succours. It was resolved, however, to land half of the army; whilst the fleet, by stretching across the entrance to the bay, should, at the same time, blockade the ships in port and cut off supplies.

The besieged Hollanders first made a bold attempt with six hundred men to surprise the camp, by which they effected considerable slaughter; and next, by means of two fire-ships, to burn the blockading fleet. The latter attempt, however, recoiled upon themselves, for the Spanish were so alarmed at the possibility of danger such as that which they had escaped, that they resolved without loss of time to destroy the Dutch ships. The Dutch drew their vessels under the forts; but a way was

hewn through the rocks which exposed them to artillery fire, and the greater number were sunk. Meanwhile a portion of the garrison became mutinous; the French and English mercenaries, who were sure of quarter, refused any longer to fight, and nothing was left for the Dutch commander but to capitulate. He and his men were to receive shipping and stores to convey them to Holland, and sufficient arms for their defence by the way; but the city of *Bahia*, which was given up on the 1st of May, suffered considerably at the hands of those who had come to expel the invaders. There was, however, some difficulty in executing the terms of capitulation, for the country round *Bahia*, having been taxed beyond its resources, was now destitute of provisions, and before these could be procured from the neighbouring captaincies the state of affairs had assumed altogether a new aspect.

Tidings at length arrived that the long-expected Dutch fleet, with reinforcements, had passed the *Canaries*; and a Portuguese prisoner who had escaped brought intelligence of its approach. Thereupon the two thousand prisoners were placed on board of dismantled ships, which were drawn under the guns of the fortress; and it was determined to await the enemy's approach within the harbour. On the 22nd of May the Dutch fleet of thirty-four sail stood into the bay, under the delusion that *S. Salvador* was still held by their countrymen. The admiral, Henrik, however, was soon undeceived; but in his confusion he lost the opportunity of attacking the Spaniards and Portuguese with advantage. He stood off to the north and passed *Olinda* during a gale which carried him on to the Bay of *Traíçam*, where the natives were disposed to welcome any one who might deliver them from the hands of the Portuguese. Here he landed his sick and fortified himself; but he was disturbed by an expedition from *Pernambuco* and *Paraíba*, upon which he thought it better to re-embark his men and depart. Henrik's fleet met with no further success. He himself died, and the remains of his unfortunate expedition found their way back to Holland.

The Spanish general, leaving a sufficient garrison in *Bahia*, now sailed for Europe, taking the Dutch troops with him. The fleet encountered storms, and three Spanish and nine Portuguese vessels foundered; another sank on reaching the island of St. George; whilst two were taken by a Dutch squadron. Another vessel caught fire from a captured Dutch ship, together with which it was burned. In short, Menezes, who had sailed out of the Tagus with six-and-twenty vessels, returned to that river with his own alone. The Dutch prisoners had parted from the fleet early enough to escape its disasters.

1627.

In Holland, the recovery of *S. Salvador* by Spain and Portugal, and the bad fortune which had attended the expedition of Henrik, had naturally the effect of considerably damping the public ardour on behalf of the West India Company; but, the Prince of Orange steadily adhering to a war policy, his views prevailed. The Spanish Government, warned by their repeated losses at sea, resolved at length to keep up a strong naval force in America; but, as was usual with them in all questions great or small, lost a considerable amount of valuable time discussing whether it would be better to equip the intended fleet in Europe or in *Brazil*. Whilst this point was being decided on, the Dutch admiral, Heyne, in 1627, once more entered *Bahia*. As it was known that he was off the coast, the governor, Oliveira, had made every preparation for its defence. In particular, two-and-forty large pieces of cannon were placed so as to bear upon the Dutch should they attempt to enter. In beating up against the wind, Heyne was so unfortunate as to run his own vessel between the two largest of the enemy's floating batteries. But, on the other hand, he was so placed that the Portuguese could not fire upon him without endangering their countrymen; and in the course of half an hour he had sent one of the batteries to the bottom; whereupon the others struck. The Dutch, coming in boats, cut the cables of the smaller vessels and carried them out, blowing up Heyne's ship and another. The admiral now sent four of his largest prizes to Holland, adding four others to his own fleet, and destroying the rest.

Heyne, indeed, was as fortunate as Henrik had been the reverse. After a cruise to the southward he returned to *Bahia*, when he undertook a most perilous enterprise in attempting to cut out four ships from one of the rivers of the *Reconcave*. They were some miles up the river, and although preparations

had been made to intercept his return, he brought one vessel back with him and the lading of the other three. After this exploit, Heyne, having taken his departure, fell in with and captured the Spanish fleet from *Mexico*, thereby securing the greatest prize which has ever been made at sea, and by which the West India Company were amply reimbursed for all their former losses. As might be expected, their schemes of conquest now revived. One of their captains took possession of the island of *Fernando Noronha*, near *Pernambuco*; but before it was effectually fortified, the Portuguese took the alarm and sent a sufficient force to crush the new settlement.

1629.

The West India Company lost no time in preparing fresh enterprises against *Brazil*. This time their efforts were directed on *Pernambuco*, from which province they estimated that one hundred and fifty vessels might annually be freighted with sugar; whilst its harbours were conveniently situated as points of departure whence their cruisers might sail to intercept more rich prizes from the Spanish Main. In order to ensure secrecy as far as possible, the preparations for their fleet were distributed over several ports, and the ships were to rendezvous at the *Cape de Verds*. Nevertheless, information of what was going on was brought to Lisbon, and the court of Madrid was duly warned. The governor of *Brazil* was accordingly instructed to place both *Bahia* and *Olinda* in a state of defence; whilst Mathias de Albuquerque was sent out from Madrid, with some men and stores, to the assistance of his brother, the captain of *Pernambuco*.

1630.

On his arrival at *Olinda*, Mathias found the place almost utterly undefended; nor did he himself do much to make things better. He had brought out the news of the birth of a prince and heir of Spain; and whilst *Olinda* was occupied in merry-making over this joyous event, a pinnacle arrived from the *Cape de Verds* announcing the assemblage there of the Dutch fleet and its departure for *Brazil*. That fleet consisted of fifty sail, under Henrik Loncq as general and Peter Adrian as admiral. Eight of these had driven off the Spanish fleet near *Teneriffe*. On the 15th of February they appeared before *Olinda*, having on board about seven thousand men. The whole force of the town, such as it was, was collected to oppose them, and the summons which Loncq sent in was answered by a discharge of musketry. The entrance to the harbour had been blocked by sunken vessels, and the sea was so rough that the Dutch could not use their guns with effect.

But whilst a harmless cannonade was being carried on, Colonel Wardenburg, taking sixteen ships some miles to the north of the town, was able to land without opposition. Retaining only a few gunboats with eleven pieces of artillery, he divided his troops into three divisions, and on the following morning began his march towards *Olinda*. The news of his landing had already produced a panic, and all were anxious that their families and portable property should be placed in security in the country. Under these circumstances, Wardenburg advanced without any serious opposition, although it would have been easy in a wooded country to impede his progress. Indeed, the river *Doce* was itself an obstacle, and the Dutch had to delay its passage until low tide, when they forded it breast-high. At this point some shots from the gunboats caused a general stampede. The redoubt at the entrance of *Olinda* checked the invaders for a moment; but it was soon overcome, and the town was given up to be plundered.

The Portuguese governor had retreated to *Recife*, which place, however, he had now not sufficient men to defend. As there was no hope of preserving it, he set fire to the ships and warehouses, which contained much valuable property; and there remained only for the invaders to reduce the two forts of *St. Francisco* and *St. George*, which commanded the entrance to the harbour. Five days were suffered to elapse before the latter was attacked. It was defended by Vieira and a band of young men who had volunteered with him, with a courage and pertinacity which formed a bright contrast to the confusion and pusillanimity displayed by their countrymen. The two forts, however, could not hold

out long, and the Dutch fleet entered the harbour in triumph. Their hold upon *Pernambuco* was still further confirmed by the arrival, nine days later, of another fleet with reinforcements.

When the fugitive inhabitants of *Olinda*, relieved from the actual presence of the invader, found themselves unpursued in the country, they began to collect their reason and to recover their composure. Their general now pointed out to them that the object of the Dutch was gain rather than glory; that they coveted the sugar and tobacco which *Pernambuco* could produce, and that the surest way to frustrate their plans was to prevent them from cultivating these articles. Works were accordingly begun at a distance of three miles from *Olinda* and *Recife*, and were prosecuted with the utmost alacrity by the population in general, whilst four pieces of cannon were procured from the wreck of a Dutch ship. Indeed such was the speed with which the camp was constructed that it was already in a state of defence when the knowledge of its existence first came to the ears of the invaders; and an attempt to gain it by surprise was frustrated by the vigilance of Mathias de Albuquerque. On this occasion the Dutch fled, leaving forty slain.

Emboldened by this success, the Portuguese now assumed the offensive and laid an ambush for the Dutch general, who with six hundred men was proceeding from *Recife* to *Olinda*. He was taken by surprise, and owed his safety to the flight of his horse. The danger of passing from one of these towns to the other was so considerable, and afforded so good an opportunity for Portuguese attack, that it gave rise amongst these to the enrolment of a force who from the nature of their duties were called bush-rangers. They consisted, for the most part, of peasants, who came to the camp when they could spare time from their proper occupations. These men, who were only occasional visitors to the camp, were well off; but the fugitives from *Olinda*, some fifteen thousand in number, who dwelt at *Bom Jesus*, as the camp was called, suffered excessively from lack of provisions.

In the above respect the Dutch were no better off, for they could only hope for relief from the sea, whilst the only water to be found at *Recife* was collected from pits dug in the beach, and was scarcely fit for use. And although forests were before them, these were so well guarded by the Portuguese that their only fuel was that which they had brought with them. So pressing were the necessities of the Dutch, that the high prices which it was worth their while to offer were sure to tempt some of their mongrel opponents, three of whom were hanged by Mathias after having been detected in a forbidden traffic with the invader. The Dutch had nothing better to do but to endeavour to extend their conquests by sea. Their first expedition was against the island of *Itamaraca*, which contained twenty-three sugar-works, and was situated eight leagues to the south of *Olinda*. They did not succeed, however, in conquering it, and contented themselves with building a fort opposite the neighbouring shore commanding the entrance of a port. In Fort *Orange* they left eighty men with twelve guns before returning to *Recife*.

Whilst these events were passing, information of which was, of course, conveyed to the court of Madrid, that Government was not wholly idle. Nine vessels were despatched for the relief of the camp of *Bom Jesus*, some of which fell into the hands of the enemy's cruisers, so that but little good resulted from their expedition. The inhabitants of the province of *Pernambuco* were on the whole left to defend their own interests, it being hoped that the harassing warfare which they were prosecuting would prove the best means of inducing the Dutch to withdraw from the country. When it appeared, however, that the Low Countries were fitting out a strong fleet to be sent to *Pernambuco* under the command of Admiral Hadrian Patry, who was to take out with him many Dutch families as settlers, the Fabian policy of the court of Madrid was no longer pursued. Again a fleet was equipped at Lisbon, the command of which was given to *Don Antonio Oquendo*. Of this force, which was ultimately to proceed to Spanish America, ten vessels, with one thousand men and twelve pieces of cannon, were destined for *Pernambuco*.

The fleet which sailed under Oquendo's flag, besides the ten vessels with troops for *Pernambuco*, consisted of twenty ships of war; whilst four-and-twenty merchantmen, laden with sugar, joined him for the sake of his convoy at *Bahia*, at which port he had been instructed to call.

This latter instruction gave the Dutch admiral time to reach *Recife*; and, having landed his troops, he sailed out again, with sixteen ships, in quest of the enemy. When the fleets came in sight of one another Oquendo ordered his transports and merchant vessels to fall to leeward. His own ship then engaged in a desperate struggle with that of his opponent, whose vessel it grappled. Ere long the Dutch vessel was on fire, and that of Oquendo narrowly escaped the same fate. It was, however, towed away in time. The renowned admiral Patry, disdaining to attempt to save his life, determined at least to preserve his colours from falling into the hands of the enemy, and plunged with them into the sea. In this fierce action, which was splendidly fought on both sides, about three thousand men fell, the loss being pretty equally distributed. On the morrow, Oquendo, having given orders to the Count of Bagnuolo to take the succours into *Pernambuco*, proceeded on his way to the Spanish Main to convoy the homeward-bound galleons.

Bagnuolo gained the port of *Barra Grande*, thirty leagues from the camp of *Bom Jesus*. The troops were safely landed, and after a difficult march joined Mathias de Albuquerque. The Dutch commander, knowing that the Portuguese had received reinforcements, thought it necessary to concentrate his troops at *Recife*, upon which he set fire to *Olinda*, the entire city being consumed. But it was not long before the Dutch discovered the impolicy of this latter measure, for, being concentrated at *Recife*, the whole Portuguese force was brought to bear on that one point. In order to make a diversion, three thousand men were despatched to attack *Paraíba*. This place was defended by a fort which commanded the bar, and the Dutch therefore determined to attack by land rather than to enter the river. There was some severe fighting; but *Paraíba* being reinforced from the camp, the invaders were at length constrained to retire, leaving their stores behind them. The next attempt of the Dutch was upon *Rio Grande*, at the entrance of the river *Potengi*; but here too they were unsuccessful.

Whilst *Olinda* remained closed, the trade between the province of *Pernambuco* and Portugal passed for the most part through a port, about seven leagues to the north of *Recife*, called *Pontal de Nazareth*, so named from a celebrated church on a mountain, possessing a miracle-working image of the Virgin. It was fortified with four guns, and had a garrison of nearly two hundred men. On this place the Dutch directed their next attempt; but, not liking its appearance, they coasted along, meaning to land in a creek some distance beyond. It so happened that they were received by a sharp fire from a party of soldiers who were escorting some treasure, and whose numbers were concealed by the thicket. Thinking that a strong party had been sent thither from *Nazareth*, the Dutch commander now doubled back on that place. He was, however, mistaken, and his attack on it was repulsed with a loss of seventy men.

1632.

The Dutch had now been for two years at *Recife*; but their conquests were confined to the possession of that place and to a fort on the island of *Itamaraca*. A gleam of good fortune, however, now awaited them. A mulatto named Calabar, a native of *Pernambuco*, for some reason not known, deserted to the invaders. He was possessed of such sagacity and enterprise, and moreover was so well acquainted with the country, that his assistance was invaluable. Although he had been the first to desert, he was soon the means of inducing others to follow his example. His earliest exploit was to lead the Dutch on an expedition to *Garrasu*, which place he surprised whilst the inhabitants were at mass. They plundered and burnt the town, treating the people with much cruelty.

Before the alarm occasioned by the fate of *Garrasu* had cooled down, Calabar next led the Dutch on a second expedition to the south, where they destroyed another settlement. He then guided them to the river *Fermoso*, and surprised five ships nearly laden. On the Portuguese building a little fort here to prevent the recurrence of a similar disaster, Calabar once more attacked the place, when the commander and nineteen out of the twenty men of the garrison fell in its defence. Indeed, Calabar completely embarrassed his late commander, whose every plan was thwarted, and who was utterly at a loss what to do. His measures were so uniformly unsuccessful that he did not escape

from his countrymen the suspicion of treachery, though he may be acquitted of anything further than incapacity.

The results of this warfare were so meagre and its progress so slow, that the West India Company now resolved upon the step of sending out two commissioners with full powers to decide as to its continuance or otherwise. They brought with them fresh stores and three thousand men. As the chances of the war were now in their favour, they resolved to pursue it. They did so with vigour; and, having gained some successes, determined to attack the camp. The attempt was made on Good Friday, when it was supposed that the Portuguese would be employed in religious ceremonies. Three thousand men advanced under the Dutch commander Rimbach; but they were received by a hot fire, by which Rimbach himself fell, and were forced to retreat in great disorder. The next attempt of the invaders was upon the island of *Itamaraca*, in which they were this time successful. The loss which the Portuguese thus repeatedly sustained was not made up to them by reinforcements, and their whole force had now dwindled to twelve hundred men. This state of things suggested to the Dutch commissioners the idea of winning the camp by siege. The natural difficulties of the country, however, put an end to this plan so soon as it was attempted to put it into execution.

The indefatigable Calabar next projected an expedition to a greater distance, namely, to some lagoons forty-six leagues to the south of *Recife*. The object appears to have been merely to create terror amongst the inhabitants; and the Dutch ere long perceived the impolicy of ravaging a country which it was their object to possess. It was their good fortune to intercept a small squadron and a supply of stores, sent from Lisbon to the relief of the Portuguese. After a struggle, one of the Portuguese men-of-war was driven on shore, the men, the guns, and part of the cargo being saved; but the other man-of-war was sunk. The commander of the first Portuguese vessel received orders to embark his men at *Cunhau*, where four vessels would be ready to receive them. These, however, had scarcely got under weigh when the Dutch were upon them. Three were burnt; the fourth was taken. This affair proved one of the greatest losses which the Portuguese suffered during the entire expedition. Of the six hundred men sent out, but one hundred and eighty reached the camp.

The next attempt made by the Dutch was against *Rio Grande*, their guide, as usual, being Calabar. The fortress was defended by thirteen guns; but it was commanded by a sand-hill, to which Calabar led the besiegers. *Rio Grande* fell almost immediately; and five hundred men, who arrived from *Paraíba* to its assistance, had the mortification of seeing the Dutch flag flying over its walls. Indeed, the Dutch were now victorious on all sides; for they had, by means of emissaries, been able to rouse against the Portuguese the *Tapuyas*, a barbarous tribe who had been driven by the latter into the interior, and who now took a merciless vengeance upon their women and children; and the Portuguese were still further harassed by a collection of negroes, who had from time to time escaped from slavery, and who had settled in a tract of country called the *Palmares*.

1634.

In February 1634 the Dutch commander quitted *Recife*, leaving that place with so diminished a force that Albuquerque determined to attempt to surprise it—an attempt which only failed owing to the lukewarmness with which it was carried out. The Dutch had gone in force to *Paraíba*, their object being to get possession of *St. Augustines*, the point at which stores and troops for *Brazil* usually landed, and whence much of the produce of *Pernambuco* was shipped. Having thrown the Portuguese off their guard by a feint, the Dutch proceeded along the coast to a place called *Pedras*. Eleven of their vessels ran in across the bar, whilst they were followed through an opening in the reef by the launches with Calabar and a thousand men on board. The port of *Pontal* was now in the possession of the Dutch, but as the bar was still commanded by the Portuguese, the former could only communicate with their main force outside by means of the opening in the reef by which Calabar had entered.

Albuquerque and his general arrived ere long from the camp with three hundred men, and, having collected a force of eight hundred, proceeded to attack the Dutch in the town. The latter were

thrown into confusion, and the Portuguese would have easily regained *Pontal* but for a party of their own men who were sent to surprise the Dutch by attacking them on the flank, but who surprised their comrades instead. The Portuguese, however, were in such strength that their opponents could not push their advantage against them. Indeed, the Portuguese general felt confident that the Dutch ships in port must fall into his hands; but he had not realized the resources of their ingenuity. Although it was impossible for them to escape without loss over the bar as they had entered, they were yet enabled to enlarge the opening in the reef sufficiently to admit of the egress of their vessels. They, however, left a garrison of two thousand men to defend the town of *Pontal*.

The Dutch at this time were still further reinforced by three thousand five hundred men, the first use made of which was to make a renewed attack upon *Paraíba*, a flourishing town of about a thousand inhabitants, and having twenty sugar-works in its neighbourhood. *Paraíba* is situated some three miles up the river of the same name, the entrance of which was commanded by Fort *Cabedello*. Before this place the Dutch appeared with two thousand four hundred men, and effected their landing without loss. As they were vastly superior to the Portuguese in numbers, they carried all before them, although much bravery and devotion was shown on the side of their opponents. Fort *Cabedello* fell, and with it Fort *St. Antonio* on the other side of the river. The inhabitants of *Paraíba* were now advised to lose no time in retiring with their families. Some of them did so, but the greater number remained, willing to submit to any authority that could protect them, and thus the province of *Paraíba* fell into the hands of the invaders.

Following up this success, the Dutch commander next reduced the captaincy of *Itamaraca*, lying between *Paraíba* and *Pernambuco*. Both the camp of *Bom Jesus* and the port of *Nazareth* were now simultaneously attacked. The former, being inland and cut off from communication with the latter, suffered greatly from want of provisions. After a three months' siege the camp surrendered, on the condition that the garrison should march out with the honours of war and have a free passage to the Spanish Indies. No terms were granted to the provincial force, who now became Dutch subjects, and whose first experience of their new rule was that they were shamefully ill-used until they paid the life-ransom which their conquerors demanded. The fortifications of the camp were razed.

The siege of *Nazareth* was now pressed. The place was so closely beset that no supplies could be introduced into it excepting by sea. The Dutch scoured the country in all directions; but Albuquerque was enabled to introduce some provisions by means of three dismantled barques. These stores, however, could only put off the evil day for a time, and the garrison were reduced to great distress. Many died at their posts from want of food, and at length Albuquerque, who had taken up his post at *Villa Ferosa*, about six leagues to the south, determined to give up the fort, which accordingly capitulated upon the same terms as had been granted to the camp.

Notice was now given to the inhabitants of *Pernambuco* of the intention on the part of the Portuguese authorities to evacuate the portion of the captaincy which was situated round the capital. Such of the people as might choose to emigrate were offered protection; but the greater number preferred to submit to the Dutch. About eight thousand persons emigrated, not including Indians or slaves. Their way led past *Porto Calvo*, which was in the hands of the Hollanders. Albuquerque took precautions against an attack, and a native of the place, who had submitted to the Dutch, was allowed to go out to reconnoitre. He contrived to drop a letter in the sight of the sentinels. This was conveyed to Albuquerque, and informed him that the dreaded Calabar had entered *Porto Calvo* on the previous evening with two hundred men. On the report of the same informer the Dutch commander was easily persuaded to attack the Portuguese. He fell into an ambushade, and had to retreat, leaving fifty men on the field. The victors pursuing, entered the fortified place and won it after a desperate struggle, more than half of the garrison being slain. The Portuguese, too, lost heavily; they were not, however, discouraged, and secured every pass by which the enemy might send for succours. The Dutch were now deprived of water, and were closely besieged. After six days they were forced to surrender, and

were offered good terms, namely, to be sent by way of Spain to Holland. *Porto Calvo* was the native place of Calabar, and here he ended his career by being hanged.

Albuquerque now razed the fortifications of *Porto Calvo* and buried the guns which he had taken. He then conducted the emigrants to the *Lagoas*, where they dispersed, some going to *Bahia* and others to *Rio de Janeiro*. The Portuguese military force now left at the *Lagoas* consisted of four hundred men, besides Indians, and it was determined to fortify the southern settlement.

The Dutch meanwhile were giving the court of Madrid serious cause for alarm, by building naval arsenals at *Recife*, such as made them no longer dependent on Europe for the repairs of their fleet. Cornelis Jub, with fourteen vessels, took possession of *Fernando Noronha*. He thence sailed to intercept the Mexican fleet, and came up with it at the *Bahamas*. Owing to the misconduct of some of his captains, he failed to capture it; but the danger to which it had been exposed caused the king of Spain to give orders that no efforts should be spared for the recovery of *Pernambuco*. A force was accordingly prepared for this purpose, and seventeen hundred men were sent forward in advance under *Don Luiz de Roxas*, who was to supersede Albuquerque. Roxas was landed at the *Lagoas* with his stores and men.

1635.

1636.

The new Spanish commander displayed no small amount of self-sufficiency, choosing to disregard the advice given him by those who were acquainted with the country. The Dutch, finding great inconvenience from the communication, which it was impossible to prevent, between the Brazilians who had submitted and the Portuguese authorities, now ordered all who dwelt in the district of *Porto Calvo* to move towards the north. Leaving seven hundred men at *Lagoa* under the Count of Bagnuolo, Roxas at the beginning of the year began his march northwards with twice that number. He was no sooner on the move than information reached him that the Dutch general had retaken *Porto Calvo*. Upon this, Rebello was sent forward with two companies to occupy the enemy until the whole should come up. Schoppe, however, did not wait for their appearance, but retreated to *Barra Grande*. Roxas then learned that another Dutch general was advancing to Schoppe's assistance, and, having weakened himself by leaving five hundred men at *Porto Calvo*, he set out in quest of him. The two forces were not long in meeting, but they had to lie on their arms for the night. In the morning, Roxas, who had meanwhile sent for his troops from *Porto Calvo*, did not wait for their arrival, and in the fight which immediately ensued he was himself slain. The Dutch commander did not pursue his success, but returned to *Peripueira*.

The command now devolved upon the Count of Bagnuolo. He advanced to *Porto Calvo*, where eighteen hundred men were collected, and from which place the portion of the country in the hands of the Dutch was now molested. The condition of the inhabitants was indeed deplorable, for they were called upon to serve two masters, whose service was as difficult to reconcile as that of God and Mammon. They were not even allowed to practise their religion in peace, for the Dutch did their best to bring them over to the reformed faith. The conquerors are stated to have treated the colonists with inexcusable cruelty. They were not only liable to death on the slightest suspicion of communicating with the enemy, but were not unfrequently tortured to make them discover their wealth.

Nor was the position of the Dutch a very happy one. They had won three captaincies; but it was their object to develop the resources of these, and as the Portuguese were now in sufficient strength to assume the offensive in a harassing predatory warfare, this was not very easily effected. It is not to be wondered at that the inhabitants of *Pernambuco* should desire to emigrate, and that four thousand of them should put themselves, with this end in view, under the convoy of the native chief *Cameram*. They were conducted in safety over seventy leagues of a country subject to the Dutch. Many more, who were unable to join this convoy, attempted to follow and were cut off in so doing.

It being now evident that it was impossible to develop the resources of the country until it should be completely subjected, representations were addressed to Holland with this object in view. The fame and fortune of the war had for the moment turned in favour of the Portuguese. It is interesting to know that up to this date the expenses of the Dutch West India Company amounted to forty-five millions of *florins*. They had taken from the enemy no fewer than five hundred and forty-seven vessels. More than thirty million *florins* of prize-money had gone into the public stock; and they had brought home from Africa merchandise to the amount of almost fifteen millions more. Their receipts thus balanced their expenditure, not to mention, their colonial possessions, and the fact that they estimated that they had put the Spaniards to an outlay of nearly two hundred millions. They now resolved to send out Jan Maurice, Count of Nassau, as a general with unlimited powers, and with a force sufficient to complete and secure their conquests. He reached *Recife* in January 1637.

## CHAPTER II.

### ***BRAZIL; THE DUTCH WAR; GOVERNMENT OF THE COUNT OF NASSAU***

1638-1644

The Count of Nassau arrived in *Brazil* at a critical moment, for the Portuguese were so emboldened by success that even the road between *Recife* and *Olinda* was not safe, and the sugar-works, whose existence was of such vital importance, were placed in danger. The tenths of these were at this time farmed for no less a sum than two hundred and eighty thousand *florins*. Nassau distributed two thousand six hundred men among the garrisons; whilst he formed an army of three thousand, and assigned six hundred for predatory warfare. The stores had run so short that it was difficult to supply the garrisons and at the same time to provide the troops with provisions for a two months' expedition. Dutchmen, like Englishmen, fight well when well fed, but grumble sadly when put on reduced rations. Such, however, was now their fate.

After a day of general prayer, Nassau began his march. The Dutch had advanced unmolested to within two leagues of *Porto Calvo* before the Portuguese were informed of their movements. A sally was then made, but without effect, and the same evening Nassau pitched his camp under the fort. The Portuguese general, Bagnuolo, had retreated during the night, and the Dutch could now communicate with their fleet at the mouth of the river of *Pedras* on which *Porto Calvo* is situated. After fifteen days, the fort, which had suffered greatly, surrendered on honourable terms, the garrison being promised a passage to the Spanish Indies. Bagnuolo retreated to the town of *San Francisco*, on the river of the same name. His force, however, was totally disorganized, and had lost all confidence in its general. Without waiting for the Dutch, he quitted this position and fell back on *Seregipe*.

Having secured *Porto Calvo*, the Count of Nassau lost no time in pursuing. He crossed the *Piagui* river upon rafts, a passage of much danger. He, however, did not think fit to pursue Bagnuolo beyond the *San Francisco*. The Portuguese were now driven out of the province of *Pernambuco*, and his object was to secure this river against them. The town of *San Francisco* having yielded, Nassau there built a fort, which he called after his own name, *Mauritz*; and having crossed the river, he made the inhabitants of the further shore, with their effects, pass over to the northern bank. He then explored the river for about fifty leagues upwards, finding magnificent pasturage with countless herds of cattle. Delighted with the land, he wrote to his relative the Prince of Orange, urging him to use his influence with the Company to induce them to send over German colonists; he would even be glad of convicts, to develop by their labour the resources of this region of plenty. He likewise asked for more soldiers, and for provisions fitted for storing a fleet.

Whilst Nassau was occupied at the south, his countrymen were busily engaged in the re-organization of *Olinda* and *Recife*. All persons there engaged in trade were formed into companies; the Jews were permitted to observe their own Sabbath day; measures were taken to convert the natives, and schools were opened for their children. The rebuilding of *Olinda* was encouraged in every way. Search was made for mines, but for the most part in vain. At the commencement of the rainy season, Nassau, leaving Schoppe with sixteen hundred men at Fort *Mauritz*, returned to *Recife*, where his presence was much needed. The weight of his position and authority, together with his strict justice, overawed his countrymen, who had given a-loose to every kind of lawlessness. Great irregularities, which had hitherto prevailed, were now put a stop to; and from the tenths of the sugar, the flour, and other duties, the government began to derive a considerable revenue. The sugar-works which had

been deserted were sold for the public benefit; and some idea of their importance may be gathered from the fact that they produced no less a sum to the West India Company than two million *florins*.

Nor did Count Nassau overlook the advisability of inducing the Portuguese to return to their possessions in the province, but on such terms as might render them safe subjects. They were to be under the Dutch laws and taxes; they were to possess entire liberty of conscience, their churches being kept in repair by the state; but they were not to receive any visitors from *Bahia*, nor were any fresh monks to be admitted so long as a sufficiency should remain for the service of religion. Two days of each week were to be set apart by the supreme council for the administration of justice amongst them.

On these terms it was permitted to the exiles to re-enter into possession of their property; and they were considered so fair, whilst Nassau's treatment of his prisoners was so generous, that the odium against the Dutch was thereby sensibly diminished. Nassau also established a beneficent system to be observed by his countrymen towards the indigenous Brazilians.

The Count of Bagnuolo had established himself at *Seregipe* or *St. Christovam*. This small captaincy, which extends only for forty-five leagues of coast, separates *Bahia* from *Pernambuco*, being bounded on the south by the *Tapicuru*, and by the *San Francisco* on the north. Thence Bagnuolo sent advices of his situation to all quarters; and thence he renewed his system of predatory warfare. Three times did the adventurer Souto, who had betrayed Calabar, cross the *San Francisco* on rafts and harass the unguarded Dutch, carrying devastation almost as far as to *Recife*. To such an extent were these incursions carried, that Nassau, who was at this time disabled by illness, had to send Giesselin with two thousand men to strengthen Schoppe, with a view to driving Bagnuolo out of *Seregipe*.

It was now a question with the Portuguese of making a stand at the last-named place; but the arguments of prudence or of timidity prevailed, and Bagnuolo once more retreated, having first sent a party to lay waste the country behind him. The unhappy fugitives were dogged by the revengeful natives, who had such long arrears of wrongs to repay. In their misery many resolved to submit to their pursuers; but the greater number still held on their melancholy way. In the meantime, Schoppe advanced to *Seregipe*, which province he laid bare before his return to Fort *Mauritz*, thus counteracting the prudent policy of Nassau in respect to conciliating the Portuguese, who were now driven onwards by despair towards *Bahia*.

The course of the war between Spain and Holland now takes us for a moment from *Brazil* to the coast of Africa; for, since the operations on the latter continent were conducted under the orders of the Count of Nassau, they must be connected with Brazilian history. Information was sent to the Count by the commander of the Dutch fort of *Mouree* on the Gold Coast, that a well-directed attack on the important Portuguese settlement of *St. Jorge da Mina* would probably lead to the capture of that place. Details as to its condition had been communicated to the governor, who had further tampered with the garrison. The place had once before been unsuccessfully attacked by the Dutch, and on this occasion the remembrance of their former defeat called for the greater caution. Eight hundred men were sent in a squadron of nine vessels under the command of one of the Supreme Council. After a brief siege of four days, and without the death of a single Portuguese, the place fell into the hands of the Dutch. The invaders had, however, suffered considerably at the hands of the negro allies of Portugal. Having left a garrison in *St. Jorge*, the Dutch commander returned to *Recife*.

In the meantime Nassau was not idle in *Brazil*. The province of *Ceará* fell into his hands; and he himself made a journey through the captaincies of *Paraíba* and *Potengi*, with the object of putting such places as had suffered into due repair. He now received intelligence from Lisbon that another large fleet was being equipped for *Brazil*, and he took the precaution of soliciting reinforcements from the West India Company. On his return from *Paraíba*, although he had only received an addition of two hundred troops, he resolved to undertake an expedition against *San Salvador*. The people of *Bahia* were far from expecting any such attack, but, fortunately for them, Bagnuolo, who had been made wary by disasters, took precautions for them. By means of spies he was made aware of the movements of Nassau, and took up his quarters at *Villa Velha*, close to *San Salvador*. The chief of the

Portuguese intelligence-department—the active Souto, who had betrayed Calabar—was despatched to *Pernambuco* to gain more precise information. He was not long in obtaining it; for, after having gallantly attacked a Dutch force superior in numbers to his own, a letter fell into his hands detailing the intentions of Nassau.

1638.

The people of *Bahia* were now awake to their danger; and, after a hurried preparation of five days, the Dutch appeared off the bay. Having landed in the afternoon at *Tapagipe*, they advanced on the following morning against the city, which was defended by a garrison of fifteen hundred men, in addition to a thousand or more from *Pernambuco*. The first day the forces on either side faced each other in the open without advancing to the attack; but, as these prudent tactics on the part of their defenders did not suit the taste of the townspeople, Bagnuolo on the following morning marched out to give the Dutch battle. The enemy had, however, altered their position, and he had nothing better to do than to return.

Nassau now commenced to attack the forts and to take possession of the heights around the city; and the Portuguese in their hour of danger had the good sense to concentrate the military command in one person, Bagnuolo, whose zeal and activity at this critical moment justified the confidence reposed in him. An attack made on the trenches of *San Antonio* by fifteen hundred Dutch was repulsed with the loss of two hundred. The Dutch general was thwarted in his efforts, mainly through want of local knowledge respecting the country in which these operations took place. The intelligence-department of the Portuguese, on the other hand, was admirably served, and the besieged were amply provided with provisions, whilst there was a scarcity in the Dutch camp.

On the 1st of May the Dutch batteries were opened; but as fast as the walls of the town disappeared before them, fresh works arose within. Days and weeks went on, and Nassau began to experience much inconvenience from the scarcity of provisions, an evil which his foraging-parties were unable to remedy. He now resolved to carry the trenches by storm, and on the evening of the 18th three thousand men were ordered to the assault. The ditch was easily won; but a fierce fight took place at the gate. All the forces were brought up to this spot on either side. At length the Dutch gave way, notwithstanding all the efforts of their general, and when darkness came on the knowledge of the locality which the Portuguese possessed gave them a still further advantage. Next morning Nassau asked for a truce for the purpose of burying the dead. The Dutch had lost five hundred men slain, whilst fifty others were made prisoners. The loss on the side of the Portuguese was less than half the above number, but it included the indefatigable Souto. For another week the besiegers continued a useless fire upon the city, at the end of which time they abandoned their enterprise, having suffered much from sickness during the six weeks' siege. The Dutch returned their prisoners, leaving sixty of their own, but they carried away with them four hundred negroes.

Notwithstanding his repulse, Count Nassau did not abandon the hope of taking *San Salvador* at a more convenient season, and with this object he now reiterated his request to the Company for reinforcements. That body, after much deliberation, now resolved to throw open the trade with *Brazil*, which had hitherto been their monopoly. Nassau, whose opinion was asked, gave his advice in favour of this measure. He urged that the only hope of creating a successful colony was by offering inducements to Dutchmen to emigrate to *Brazil*, and that, were the trade not thrown open, such inducements could not exist. His word carried the day; and the monopoly of the Company was for the future confined to the traffic in slaves, in implements of war, and in Brazilian woods.

The remembrance of the capture of the Mexican fleet by Heyne now induced the Company to send out a large squadron, under the experienced Jol, to attempt a similar feat. The old captain set out from *Recife* in great hopes, which were, however, doomed soon to disappointment. He indeed met the Mexican fleet, which he resolutely engaged; but his captains did not support him, and so the Spaniards escaped. This futile attempt, by drawing away men at a moment when Nassau was

sorely in want of succours, was the cause of much embarrassment to that general in the execution of his plans. Early in the following year [1639], Artisjoski brought out a small reinforcement; but he himself soon returned to Holland, after having brought some absurd charges against Count Nassau, which were at once refuted.

At this period the West India Company were in possession of six provinces in *Brazil*, extending from *Serecipe* in the south to *Ceará* in the north. Of these the first had been laid waste, whilst their hold on the last-named was confined to one small fort. Nevertheless the natives were friendly allies of the Dutch. The important captaincy of *Pernambuco* contained five towns, namely—*Garassú*, *Olinda*, *Recife*, *Bella Pojuca*, and *Serinhaem*; it likewise possessed several considerable villages. Previously to the Dutch invasion there had been one hundred and twenty-one sugar-works, of which thirty-four were now deserted. In *Itamaraca* fourteen works still survived, of three-and-twenty which had existed before the conquest. *Paraíba* still possessed eighteen works out of twenty; whilst *Rio Grande* had one out of two. In the whole Dutch dominion one hundred and twenty survived. The tenths of their produce were leased—in *Pernambuco* for 148,500 *florins*; in *Itamaraca* and *Gojana* for 19,000; and in *Paraíba* for 54,000. With other items, the whole tenths amounted to 280,900 *florins*.

Whilst the country had suffered severely from the Dutch invasion, the city of *Recife*, being the seat of government and of commerce, had thriven. Colonists were greatly wanted; more especially there was a constant demand for skilled labour,—three, four, and six *florins* a day being given as wages to builders and carpenters. The Portuguese inhabitants of these provinces were held in subjection only by fear, with the exception of the Jews, who were excellent subjects. With the native Brazilians the Dutch had considerable trouble; whilst negroes were more scarce, and consequently more dear than before, some having followed their Portuguese masters in their emigration, and others having joined the black community at the *Palmares*. The military force of the Dutch amounted to rather more than six thousand men, and they reckoned on a thousand native auxiliaries; but all this force was required for garrisons. On the whole, the colony could scarcely be pronounced flourishing. Without supplies from Holland it could hardly furnish its own food, since so many cultivators had been driven away. All possessors of land were compelled under heavy penalties to devote a certain portion of it to the cultivation of mandioc.

Count Nassau, who took a large-minded view of the future of his countrymen in *Brazil*, now set about building himself a palace, which he called *Friburg*, on an island near *Recife*; and to his gardens on this spot he transplanted seven hundred full-grown cocoa-trees, as well as lemons, citrons, and pomegranates. In order to relieve the crowded state of *Recife*, he proposed to build another city on this island; the marshy ground was soon drained by canals; streets were laid out, and houses rapidly arose in *Mauritias*, which was to be connected by a bridge with *Recife*. After the expenditure of a hundred thousand *florins*, the contractor gave up the attempt in despair; but what could not be effected by means of stone pillars was possible with the aid of wood, and in two months the bridge was completed by Count Maurice himself. On the success of this undertaking, Nassau next built another bridge over the *Capivaribi*; thus connecting *Recife* with the opposite country through *Mauritias*. It is remarkable, if it be the case, as stated, that these should be the first bridges erected in a region so well watered as Portuguese America.

Nassau's measures, showing as they did that the Dutch fully believed in their power to retain what they had taken, were not a little calculated to dishearten the Portuguese. But all hope was not lost at Lisbon. One of the ministers obtaining an audience of the king, so forcibly represented the ruinous consequences of the manner in which Brazilian interests were treated, that the favourite, Olivares, found himself compelled to make an effort for their relief. A grand fleet was equipped, the command being given to the Count Datorre, who was named governor of *Brazil*. This fleet, like so many others coming from the same country, was destined to misfortune, its first calamity being to be sent to the *Cape de Verds*, there to await its Spanish consorts, and where it endured a terrible mortality, more than a third of the men being cut off. When it had reached *Recife*, instead of being in a condition to

blockade that place, and so to reduce it by famine, its commander was compelled by the numbers of sick on board to proceed to *San Salvador* [*Bahia*] as to a sanatorium. In this healthy climate his men recovered, but a whole year elapsed before he was again in a position to put to sea.

Meanwhile, before starting, the governor sent forward troops divided into small parties, who were to carry fire and sword into the enemy's provinces, and finally to unite in one body and join operations with the fleet when it should appear in sight. Nassau, however, had time to prepare, and the opposing forces met at sea on the 12th of January 1639 near *Itamaraca*, when the Dutch admiral fell. Three more naval actions ensued,—the last off the *Potengi*, so far had the Portuguese been driven by the winds and currents beyond their destination. Thus by superior manœuvring and by the advantages of weather, was a very inferior force enabled to baffle a fleet consisting of no less than eighty-seven vessels, and carrying two thousand four hundred pieces of cannon. Once beyond *Recife* at that season, that place was perfectly secure for the meantime; for it was hopeless for the fleet to attempt to retrace its way against the currents and the prevalent winds.

Under these circumstances the military force of thirteen hundred men, together with the native allies, landed north of the *Potengi*. These troops had before them the terrible task of finding their way by land to *Bahia* over a distance of three hundred leagues, through such a country as is *Brazil*, and without any stores beyond what each man could carry. After this the Count Datorre went before the wind to the West Indies and thence to Europe. We are not surprised to learn that on reaching Lisbon he was thrown into prison. His subordinate, Vidal, who was at the head of the land forces, had no choice but again to break them up into small parties. These being joined by the troops from the north, made their way back, as well as was possible, to *Bahia*, which place the fugitives reached in safety, having meanwhile subsisted, as it is said, mainly upon sugar.

Nassau was not slow in pursuing the work of retaliation for the havoc committed by the Portuguese. Two thousand *Tapuyas*, in alliance with the Dutch, were let loose upon *Bahia*, their families being meanwhile kept as hostages in the island of *Itamaraca*. Admiral Jol was next sent to the *Reconcape* to lay it waste with fire and sword. The whole of the sugar-works in that extensive bay were destroyed. But ere long both parties saw the folly of this desolating warfare, and the new Viceroy, the Marquis of Monte Alvam, entered into negotiations with the Dutch for suppressing it; but these bore no fruit until the province of *Pernambuco* had been by his secret orders in turn laid waste. His predatory bands, however, were so well acquainted with the country that they eluded the vigilance of the Dutch, and their proceedings were publicly disowned by the Viceroy.

An important change in Europe at this time altered the face of affairs in *Brazil*. In 1640 the Duke of Braganza recovered the throne of Portugal. On information of this event reaching the Viceroy, measures were at once taken for disarming the Spanish portion of the garrison; after which King John was proclaimed. This news was received with enthusiasm throughout *Brazil*, as it had been throughout Portugal. It had an important bearing on the relations between Portugal and Holland, inasmuch as either country was now at enmity with Spain, and it was accordingly duly communicated to Nassau. A strange turn now took place in the fortunes of the Viceroy himself. Two of his sons, it appeared, had deserted the cause of their country and fled to Madrid, with the result that Vilhena, a Jesuit, was sent to *Bahia* with conditional instructions to depose the Viceroy, in case he too should have followed the same party. Although he had behaved most loyally to Portugal, he was now improperly and outrageously superseded and sent a prisoner to Lisbon.

1641.

Meanwhile the news of the revolution in Portugal had been received with great joy at *Recife*, as well by the Pernambucans as by the Dutch, though for very different reasons. The inhabitants of *Pernambuco*, who were anxious to shake off the foreign control, expected to receive more effective aid in doing so than they had met with from Spain; whilst the Dutch looked forward to securing their own conquests during a period when their enemies were divided against themselves. Nor were the

latter mistaken in their calculation. Whilst general rejoicings were in progress, a ship arrived from Holland announcing that a truce for ten years had been agreed upon between the States and Portugal. Owing to circumstances, however, which it requires some little attention fully to appreciate, this truce proved wholly illusory.

Immediately after the revolution, the King of Portugal found himself in a position demanding the utmost circumspection. His first object was to secure the allegiance of the powers at enmity with Spain; that is to say, of England, France, and Holland. His next object was to procure for Portugal a supply of arms and ammunition, of which he had been in great measure deprived by Madrid. With these objects in view, ambassadors were at once despatched from Lisbon to the three countries above-named. The Portuguese court contended that as their country had merely become involved in hostilities with Holland as being an appendage of Spain, they were, on becoming again independent, entitled to regain the possessions which had been taken from them. The Dutch, on the other hand, argued, with better reason, that as the resources of Portugal had been employed against them, they were fully entitled to retain the possessions which it had cost them so much to conquer and to hold. These questions were for the meantime set at rest by the conclusion of a ten years' truce.

But the Dutch negotiators showed a Machiavellian spirit. A year's time was given for notifying the truce to the Dutch authorities in the Indies, and with this proviso arms and ammunition were supplied to Portugal, whilst troops and ships were sent to Lisbon to be employed against the common enemy. The Dutch meanwhile treacherously required Nassau, who had requested to be recalled, to seize the opportunity of extending their conquests, more especially in reference to *Bahia*. The only excuse which is put forward for this conduct on the part of Holland, is that they did not believe that the separation between Spain and Portugal would be lasting, and that in despoiling the latter country they thought they were merely injuring their sworn enemy.

On the departure of the Viceroy from *Brazil* the government had fallen into the hands of a commission of three persons, who now sent Vilhena the Jesuit, with another, to *Recife* to establish a friendly intercourse between the two colonies. Vilhena took advantage of the opportunity to recover a considerable quantity of plate and other treasure, which had been buried by the brethren of his order and by the Albuquerquees. Laden with this he sailed from *Brazil* in a small vessel, in which he duly reached *Madeira*. There, however, he became oppressed with the apprehension of trusting his wealth once more to the small ship which had carried him safely so far. It accordingly sailed without him, and duly reached its destination. He himself was not so fortunate. Thinking to provide himself the better against attack, he transferred his person and his riches on board a large Levant ship bound for Lisbon. It was taken by Algerian pirates, who fell heirs to the treasures of the Jesuits and of the Albuquerquees, and who sold Vilhena into slavery.

The orders of the temporary government at *Bahia* to the Portuguese freebooters to withdraw their forces within the Portuguese territories were now obeyed, and the leaders were invited to *Recife*. During their stay there, the Portuguese commissioners saw grounds for suspicion in the attitude of Count Nassau, and they warned their superiors accordingly. It is scarcely to be believed by those accustomed to our modern ideas of international good faith, that Count Maurice of Nassau, after his public professions, and after having entertained not only the emissaries of the Brazilian Government, but likewise the commanders who had recently been in arms against him, should now have acted as he did. But it is nevertheless the case that he prepared to extend his conquests on all sides, even venturing, on the strength of the confidence which the government of *Bahia* placed in his good faith, to withdraw the larger portion of his garrisons for the purpose of attack. The inhabitants of *Serecipe* were surprised by a squadron carrying a flag of truce, and *St. Christovam* was thus taken possession of.

1641.

Another of the results of the cessation of Portuguese hostilities was that Nassau now sent Admiral Jol, with two thousand troops, against *St. Paul de Loanda*, the most important Portuguese

possession in Africa. It fell into the hands of the Dutch without much opposition, thus causing a grievous loss to the Brazilians, whose entire supply of negro slaves came from this source. It was not solely a loss to them as slave-traders; but without a supply of slaves their Brazilian possessions were almost worthless. The Dutch Company established a government in *Angola* independent of that of *Recife*. From *Loanda* Admiral Jol proceeded against the island of *St. Thomas*, which place, after a siege of fourteen days, surrendered. The climate, however, made the Dutch pay a severe penalty. It is said that but a tenth of the invading force escaped death or disease, Admiral Jol himself being one of the victims.

1637, 1648.

It is now necessary to revert to the northern portion of Brazil, which, being separated by the scene of the Dutch conquests from the seat of government at *San Salvador*, had hitherto remained unaffected by the war. In this part of the world some English adventurers endeavoured unsuccessfully to obtain a footing; but the chief incidents to be related are an endeavour to discover the sources of the *Amazons*, and a slave-hunting expedition of the younger Maciel, as great a villain as his father, and who was now governor of *Pará*. The origin of the former expedition was a voyage of some missionaries who had been sent to the natives from *Quito*, and who had been taken to the river *Napo*. Down this stream they were, like Orellana, carried to the *Amazons*, and like him they were borne on that river to the ocean. Soon after their arrival at *Belem*, an expedition was concerted to explore the river upwards, taking the missionaries as guides. Of this exploring party Teixeira took the command, with seventy soldiers and twelve hundred natives, and in due time he arrived at *Quito*, where he was received with great rejoicings.

The *Conde de Chinchon*, who was at this time Viceroy of *Peru*, thought this expedition of so much consequence that he ordered Teixeira to return by the same route, taking with him two persons who should proceed to lay his report and surveys before the court of Madrid. Christoval d'Acuña was chosen as the chief of these. On their way downwards, amongst many discoveries, the chief of which are to be found on the early maps of *Brazil*, they made one of an object which is to us in Europe of familiar acquaintance from our boyhood upwards, namely, the *Caoutchouc* or India-rubber plant. It is stated that the Portuguese of *Pará* were in the habit of employing it for shoes, hats, and garments, its impenetrability by water making it invaluable. When the Portuguese, on their downward voyage, came into familiar regions, their slave-taking instincts came strongly upon them. They were restrained for some time by their commander, Teixeira, and by the Jesuits who accompanied him.

Further on their course, however, Teixeira and Acuña had the mortification to find the Portuguese established in a fort collecting for a slave-hunting expedition. These were headed by young Maciel, who by treachery and great excesses contrived to procure a booty of two hundred slaves. The consequence of this and other such like barbarous practices was that the natives along the banks of the *Amazons* became so hostile to the Portuguese that the latter, even up to the middle of the eighteenth century, had not been enabled to explore that river thoroughly farther than to the first falls. It was not until the 12th of December 1639 that Teixeira and his party arrived at *Belem* or *Pará*.

1642.

The Dutch Company had sent Count Nassau directions to take possession of the island and province of *Maranham*; being masters of which they could at their ease prey upon the Spanish Main. Of the island in question the elder Maciel was now governor, and although he was warned to beware of Dutch aggression, he remained in a state of blind confidence until a Dutch squadron of fourteen guns appeared in the channel which separates the island from the mainland. Maciel, after having protested that his government was at peace with Holland, came to terms with the Dutch commander. It was agreed between them that Maciel should continue in his government until the arrival of instructions from the Netherlands, and that meanwhile the Dutch should be quartered in the city. They, however, were not acting in good faith. Owing to Maciel's cowardice, rather than to anything else, they obtained

possession of the place and made the governor a prisoner. He was shortly afterwards removed to *Recife* and sent a prisoner to the fort of *Rio Grande*, where he died at the age of seventy-five years.

The court of Lisbon naturally protested to the Hague against the conduct of Nassau, whose proceedings against their colonial possessions were in direct contrast to the assistance which Portugal was meanwhile receiving from Holland against Spain. The only satisfaction, however, which they received, was an evasive and untrue reply to the effect that Nassau had acted as he did in ignorance of the ratification of the truce. The Dutch were determined to retain what they had won, and the Portuguese were equally determined to recover what they had lost. A new governor was appointed to *Brazil*, with orders to proceed against the commission of three who had wrongly superseded the Marquis of Monte Alvam. Two of them were sent home as prisoners, one of them being allowed for years to remain in the jail of Lisbon; the bishop, who was the third member, was compelled to refund the emoluments which he had received during his co-administration.

The new governor of *Brazil* now imitated the insincere conduct of which Nassau had set him the bad example. He professed to be friendly with the Dutch, but awaited the first opportunity to act against them. Nassau was not allowed to enjoy at peace the possessions which he had gained. An unusually wet season caused the rivers to overflow, sweeping away men and cattle, and destroying much vegetation; in addition to this, great ravages were produced by the small-pox. The people were unable for these reasons to pay the usual taxes; and yet the Dutch Company, in reliance on the truce which they had so disregarded, instructed the Viceroy to reduce his military expenditure, a measure against which he strongly protested. He naturally pointed out that the Portuguese would await an opportunity to recover their losses.

Count Nassau was at this time meditating extensive plans of conquest. He intended an expedition against *Buenos Ayres*; but the force reserved for this service was now needed for the protection of *Maranhã* and *St. Thomas*. Indeed so great was the risk of insurrection as well in these places as in *Angola* and *Sergipe*, that, in order to have a force at hand, Nassau was compelled to defer an expedition against the negroes in the *Palmares*. Before this necessity occurred a squadron had sailed, which was destined to act against *Chili*. It was commanded by Brouwer, whose name is remarkable as being one of the earliest navigators who doubled Cape *Horn*. He had intended to pass through the Straits of *Magellan*, but was driven southward by storms. He reached *Chiloë*, and stormed some Spanish forts. But intelligence of his coming had been received at *Lima*, and the Spaniards were prepared to resist his further progress. Brouwer died at *Castro*. His successor, Herckmann, reached *Valdivia*; but, being unable to establish himself there for want of supplies he returned to *Pernambuco*.

1643.

The ambition of the Dutch was out of proportion to their population and their resources; whilst their system of government was far from being a conciliatory one. In *Maranhã*, as in *Bahia* and *Pernambuco*, the people now began to work for their own deliverance. In *Maranhã* a conspiracy was formed to free the place from foreign rule. The sugar-works on the river *Itapicuru*, where there were collected three hundred Dutch, were the object of attack. The first one assailed was easily carried, and the Dutch found in it were slain. In the second the Dutch were likewise either cut down or shot, or consumed in the flames. In like manner fell the other three, and it was only at the last that any quarter was given. Fort *Calvary* next fell, which was garrisoned by seventy Dutchmen. Moniz Barreiros, the leader of the insurrection, now crossed over to the island of *Maranhã*. Here the Dutch were no more fortunate than they had been on the mainland. After an engagement in which they were totally defeated, Moniz and his adherents attacked the fort of *St. Luiz*. The Dutch garrison despatched vessels to *Recife* for assistance, whilst Moniz applied to his countrymen at *Pará*.

Such are the immense distances between different localities in *Brazil* that a considerable time elapsed before either party had received the reinforcements asked for. On their arrival hostilities were forthwith resumed, to the disadvantage of the Dutch, who were repelled with loss. After this

success Moniz died, being succeeded by Teixeira, who, after having waited for months in the hope of receiving succour and ammunition, abandoned his present position and recrossed to the mainland. He was reduced to great straits, being deserted by his allies, who returned to *Pará*. He had still, however, with him sixty Portuguese and two hundred natives, and he was opportunely aided by the arrival of some ammunition from *Belem*. The Dutch likewise at this time received reinforcements, which made them superior to any force that could be brought against them in the field; but they were disheartened by the general feeling against them.

1643.

They were now confined to the fort of *St. Luiz*; whilst the island, outside the fort, was held by the Portuguese. On one occasion the garrison sallied out with the hope of surprising the Portuguese whilst dispersed at their harvest operations. In this they were successful; but they were in the end utterly defeated. Of all who had quitted *St. Luiz*, ten French mercenaries alone re-entered, and these were hanged as traitors. After a time Teixeira was about to be reinforced by the arrival from Portugal of one hundred men with stores, under Pedro de Albuquerque, who was appointed governor of *Maranham*. Albuquerque, however, not knowing the state of things on the island, and having no pilot on board, fired his guns off to announce his presence. His signals not being answered, he proceeded to *Pará*, where the ship struck on a sandbank, the greater part of those on board being lost, including Luiz Figueira, the Jesuit, with eight of his brethren. Notwithstanding the loss of this expected succour, Teixeira held his own in *Maranham* so effectually that the Dutch found it necessary to evacuate *St. Luiz* by sea. Including their native allies, they had still nearly five hundred men. They made for the island of *St. Christopher*.

1644.

The latter period of Count Nassau's eight years' residence in *Brazil* was clouded by misfortunes, the direct result of the treacherous policy which he had been instructed to pursue on the acceptance of the ten years' truce. The Dutch had not only been driven out of *Maranham*, but had further been cut off in *Ceará*, where the natives had risen as one man against them, surprising them at their different posts. The fort of *Ceará* was now again in the hands of the Portuguese. At *St. Thomas* too the people were in arms, the Dutch being confined to the citadel. It was at this time that Nassau again sought his recall, which was now granted. He made over the military command to Henrik Haus, and the civil government to the Great Council, with much apprehension for the future which awaited the transatlantic dominions of Holland. For the guidance of his successors he left elaborate and judicious instructions; but, so confident did the Dutch in general appear to be in the continuance of the truce which they themselves had so wantonly violated, that the fleet which bore Nassau to Europe took likewise away no fewer than fourteen hundred of his countrymen.

## CHAPTER III.

### ***BRAZIL; THE DUTCH WAR; RISING OF THE PORTUGUESE***

1644-1645

It is satisfactory to know that the treacherous policy which the Dutch had thought themselves strong enough to pursue toward Portugal in her hour of weakness, was followed with the worst possible results to themselves. They had at no time been so completely masters of *Pernambuco* as to be able to supply *Recife* with provisions for the country; and, when an honestly-observed truce might have enabled them to consolidate their conquests, they set the Portuguese an example of practices which speedily recoiled on their own head. The pecuniary resources of the Company were exhausted by the various expeditions to *Serecipe*, *Maranham*, *Angola*, and *Chili*. Money became scarce at *Recife*. Hitherto all transactions had been carried on on credit; but now credit was stopped, and money had to be borrowed at the ruinous rate of 3 or 4 per cent. interest per month. Many of the planters were ruined by the floods and the subsequent ravages of the worm; whilst the small-pox committed great havoc amongst the valuable negroes imported from *Angola*. So great was the pecuniary distress that the most desperate measures were resorted to, and which only made matters worse. Some creditors endeavoured to procure payment of their debts by means of large abatements; others threw their debtors into prison; whilst the government felt itself compelled to exact its dues by seizing the sugar produce at harvest time. Thus a conflict arose between the government and the public as to the priority of their respective claims, and the result was embarrassing and ruinous.

In this state of things it was suggested that the Company should contract with the owners of the sugar-works for a certain number of years, receiving the whole products of the works and satisfying the demands on the estate. The plan was approved by the Home Government; but it only proved a partial remedy to the disorder. Many of the Portuguese in *Pernambuco*, being now deeply indebted to the Dutch, had a greater interest than ever in inciting insurrection. They had further cause of complaint in the insolence and brutality of their conquerors. An edict was passed inviting slaves by the promise of reward to give notice if any of their Portuguese masters should have concealed arms. This measure, as may be believed, led to intolerable abuses, certain Dutchmen going to the length of tampering with slaves to hide arms, in order to have their masters condemned. On one occasion two Dutchmen were informed upon by a slave upon whom they had thus practised, and having confessed their guilt, were deservedly put to death.

The departure of Count Maurice of Nassau was a real loss as well to the Portuguese as to his own countrymen. He had systematically endeavoured to repress the excesses of the latter, and had so far won the affections of the former that they looked upon him as their special protector. They respected his high birth and his princely manner of life, which stood out in contrast to that of his countrymen about him. His successors sent deputies to *Bahia* to compliment the new governor on his arrival. They were charged, ostensibly, with certain proposals respecting extradition, and, secretly, with instructions to spy the condition of the Portuguese at that place. They learned that the number of troops at and near *San Salvador* was about two thousand five hundred. A new system had been adopted of sending out men-of-war from Portugal to convoy the Brazilian merchantmen home; and the deputies concluded that the price of Portuguese imports into Europe would be thereby so increased that Holland could undersell them.

This report of their deputies had the effect of making the Dutch more suspicious than before of the Pernambucans, and, as it shortly proved, not without reason. They were not fortunate, however, in the measures they adopted to allay discontent. The Portuguese inhabitants of *Pernambuco* had

petitioned for the intercession of the King of Portugal towards securing them freedom of religious worship. This step was so highly resented by their Dutch governors that the public funds which had hitherto been appropriated to religious purposes were now declared government property, to be applied to the support of schools, churches, and hospitals. All priests were imprisoned who entered the conquered provinces without a safe-conduct; and such of them as chose to reside there were required to take the oath of fidelity, and were prohibited from receiving ordination from the bishop of *Bahia*. It was discovered that some of the priests with the Dutch and French Catholics had refused to give these absolution whilst serving against Christians, that is to say, Portuguese; and, in retaliation, the Dutch now ordered all priests and monks to quit their dominions within a month. They were shipped from the island of *Itamaraca* and landed on the Spanish Main.

We now come to a remarkable epoch in the history of *Brazil*. Joam Fernandes Vieira has already been mentioned as having distinguished himself in the defence of Fort *St. George* after the loss of *Olinda*. He was a native of *Funchal* in *Madeira*, and at a very early age sought his fortune in *Brazil*. He was found to be so able and honest that he was soon put in the way of setting up in trade for himself. In the course of some years he became one of the wealthiest men in the country; and, as he had so much to lose in case of troubles, the Dutch looked upon his fidelity as assured. He was noted for his liberality and his fair dealings. Whether his patriotism alone would have led him to risk all his worldly possessions by taking the lead in a revolt can only be conjectured; but the main principle of his life was devotion to the Catholic faith, and his main object was to do what he could towards the suppression of heresy.

So long as Count Maurice of Nassau remained in South America Joam Fernandes took no step which could place him in danger; but the vexatious system of government which ensued ripened his designs. Taking counsel with Vidal, who had been appointed to the captaincy of *Maranhão*, he addressed a memorial to the Governor of *Brazil*, pointing out that the Dutch were weak and were off their guard, that the fortifications were neglected, and that many of the best officers had departed with Nassau. He did not ask for advice, for the die he said was cast; he merely prayed the governor for assistance. The grievances and outrages which he and his compatriots had to endure were such as to force them to take up arms in self-defence, despite of any truce or treaty. Open assistance the governor could not, of course, give; but he now took advantage of the lesson which the Dutch had taught him. Sixty chosen men were placed under the orders of Antonio Cardozo, who was to act under the instructions of Fernandes. In order to avoid suspicion they made their way, unarmed, and in small parties, to *Recife*, near which place they were quartered in the woods, on the estates of Fernandes, and supplied with arms and food. At the same time the native chief, Camaram, and Henrique Diaz, the two partisan chiefs, set out by land to join in the enterprise.

Joam Fernandes now determined to open his designs to his kinsmen and friends, whom he assembled at a banquet for this purpose. In reply to his inspiring harangue there was apparently an unanimous consent on the part of his hearers; but there were traitors amongst them, who, on reflection, did all they could to discourage his patriotic scheme, and who even went the length of secretly denouncing him to the Dutch. Such, however, was the credit which Fernandes enjoyed, that, calling all those in whom he had confided together, he defied the traitors and bade them beware of themselves or he would denounce *them* in turn to the Dutch as impostors. Cardozo likewise declared, that were he taken he would denounce the traitors as having invited him, and affirm the innocence of Fernandes. Cardozo, however, was not taken, although the Dutch had full information of his presence and that of his men in the country.

The Dutch Council was now considerably embarrassed as to the course of action which it should pursue. They had information of an intended Portuguese revolt, which they were aware their system of government was only too likely to bring about; and likewise, that Joam Fernandes and his father-in-law were the heads of the conspiracy; but, as they stated in their despatches to the Company, they had not sufficient evidence to warrant the committal of these to prison. They did not venture on a

search and on disarming the Portuguese, lest it should provoke the insurrection which they dreaded, and against which they were so ill-prepared. Their magazines and store-houses were ill-secured; and, as they could not withdraw from the garrisons a force sufficient to protect the open country, the Dutch living outside the forts would certainly be cut off.

Joam Fernandes conducted the revolution of which he was the moving spirit with all the foresight and precaution which he would have employed in conducting a great commercial enterprise. In his capacity of president of many religious fraternities he had ventured, openly, on the purchase at *Recife* of considerable quantities of powder, under the pretext of using it for fireworks on saints' days; and he had procured more powder by land from *Bahia*. This was carefully concealed in his woods, where he had likewise collected stores, of various descriptions. He had sent off the greater part of his herds to his grazing farms, under the pretence that in the plain near *Recife* many animals had been stolen by negroes, and that many more had died from eating a plant called *fava*. At length, however, the time came when his practices could no longer be ignored by the government, who were set on their guard against him chiefly by the Jews. These are certainly not to be blamed for wishing a continuance of the *status quo*; since, in the event of an outbreak, they were certain to be plundered by both parties with complete impartiality; whilst, in the event of a victory on the part of the Portuguese, they had before them the image of the fiendish agents of the Inquisition.

The Government at last resolved to seize Fernandes; but it was considerably easier to resolve to do this than it was to execute the resolution. As he was engaged in a contract with them, they sent to desire his presence, on the pretext of concluding the contract in question. But the wary and wealthy conspirator was well informed by his spies of what passed, and, when the Government's broker arrived at his *fazenda*, he pleaded that urgent business prevented his repairing in person to *Recife*, but that he had given full powers to his man of business to execute the contract, on his behalf. His house was surrounded by sentries, who kept a constant look-out; his servants were prepared for resistance or for flight; one hundred armed negro slaves guarded his person, whilst a secret mode of escape from his house was ready in case of emergency. His horse was kept always saddled, and each night he retired to sleep in the woods.

When news reached *Recife* that Camaram and Enrique Diaz had passed the *San Francisco*, both parties felt that the time for action had arrived. An attempt made by Dutch troops on the eve of St. Antonio's Day, to surprise Fernandes in his house failed. They found the place deserted. Nor were the Dutch more successful in their endeavours to secure the other leaders of the conspiracy. Fernandes took up his position on an eminence in the woods from which a good look-out could be observed, and he was there joined by his retainers and by slaves from his various estates. Thence he issued a proclamation to the people, summoning them to arms, and offering pay and freedom to all slaves who should join in the cause. Many obeyed the call, and fell upon such Dutchmen and Jews as happened to be within their reach. But it is not to be supposed that the spirit of patriotism pervaded the whole population. Many persons looked upon the insurgents' cause as hopeless, and, wishing to be allowed merely to live in peace, only prayed for its speedy collapse.

The measures which the Dutch Council at this time adopted served only to extend the limits of the insurrection. Not being able to lay hands on the actual rebels, they commenced a system of general arrests amongst the inhabitants of the provinces who had stayed at home. These had given the best possible proof of their being peaceable and inoffensive subjects; but it suited the authorities—or at least their subordinates—to pretend to suspect them; and, in order to obtain their liberty, they were required to pay for it. Another source of extortion was found in compelling all Portuguese to take the oath of allegiance and to provide themselves with a pass; for which, of course, fees were exacted. The authorities, after having in vain tried, by means of an enormous bribe, to induce Fernandes to return into the paths of peace, now offered the sum of four thousand *florins* for his person, dead or alive,—a compliment which was reciprocated on his part by an offer of twice that amount for the head of any member of the Council.

Hostilities first broke out at *Ipojuca*, a small town near Cape *St. Augustine*. A free mulatto, named Fagundes, took advantage of a passing affray to fall upon the Dutch; their garrison took to flight, leaving their arms to the insurgents. Fagundes next attacked three vessels laden with sugar, and massacred the Dutch on board. On this the whole neighbourhood took to arms, and the land communication between the Dutch at Cape *St. Augustine* and all to the south was cut off. This news arrived at *Recife*, together with the intelligence that *St. Antonio*, a town to the north-west of *Ipojuca*, was besieged, and that Camaram and Diaz were devastating the neighbourhood of the *Lagoas*, the garrison of which place had now to be withdrawn. On the appearance of a force of two hundred Dutch and four hundred natives at *Ipojuca*, Fagundes and his men retreated to the woods.

The Dutch now prepared to attack Joam Fernandes, whose small force consisted of not more than four hundred men. A call, however, was made in the name of religion upon the inhabitants for assistance from themselves and their slaves, with the result that in five days eight hundred volunteers flocked to the meeting-place. They were but indifferently off for arms; but their leader had the good fortune to capture a quantity of flour which was being conveyed under an escort to *Recife*. The country was flooded; but this was a disadvantage which told equally against the operations of either party. In point of intelligence, however, the Portuguese had a great advantage. It was the object of Fernandes to delay fighting as long as possible, in expectation of the arrival of Diaz and of Camaram. With this view he crossed the *Capivaribi* and proceeded to the *Tapicura*, over which latter river his men were ferried, eight at a time, on a small raft.

The chief of the Portuguese forces had now to deal with considerable discontent amongst his own men, who, as was natural, felt the depressing influence of the weather, and of the hardships they were enduring, without the excitement of being brought into contact with the enemy. He showed considerable prudence in dealing with the dangerous spirit which had arisen; and ere long he was joined by the insurgents from *Maribeca* and elsewhere,—a force of four hundred men. Some Indians sent in advance likewise brought him the glad tidings of the approach of Camaram and Diaz. The Dutch Council now issued a proclamation requiring the families of all such persons as were with the insurgents to leave their homes within six days, under pain of being declared rebels. The fate of these poor people, who had to take to the woods at such a season and under such circumstances, was indeed pitiable; and the reasons assigned for this cruel measure, namely, that the women supplied the insurgents with information, and that the latter would be embarrassed by their presence with them, cannot justify so inhuman a proceeding.

Joam Fernandes again retorted by a counter-proclamation, which he contrived to have posted in all the most frequented parts of *Recife*. The Dutch, he said, had, contrary to the law of nations, made war upon that sex which was exempted from all acts of hostility; and he, as general of the Portuguese, ordered all his countrywomen to remain in their houses, under his protection, adding that he would exact rigorous vengeance for any injury offered to them. On this, the Council forbore to repeat the proclamation or to enforce it; and such persons as had not already fled were no further molested. But at this time a massacre of about seventy Portuguese occurred at *Cunhau*, at the hands of the *Pitagoares* and *Tapuyas* from the *Pontengi*. This measure, doubtless, arose from the instincts of the savages; but it was represented as having taken place by order of the Council, and it inflamed the insurgents to fury.

The Dutch general, Haus, having ascertained the locality where Fernandes and his men were concealed, now advanced against them. They removed to the *Monte das Tabocas*, about nine leagues to the westward of *Recife*. The Dutch commander had with him fifteen hundred well-armed European troops; he had likewise a considerable native force. An engagement was soon brought on. Failing to surprise the enemy, Haus, in his disappointment, set fire to a sugar-factory, the smoke of which gave Fernandes the alarm. The Portuguese outposts were soon in conflict with their opponents, and, by their knowledge of the country, were able to hold their own, notwithstanding their inferior numbers. Cardozo had cut three openings in the cane-wood which surrounded the position on the *Monte*, and

when the outposts were driven in a number of his men were posted in ambush hard by. Fagundes and his followers were ordered to dispute the passage of the *Tapicura*, a small stream which the Dutch must pass; and when he could no longer withstand them, he was to fall back in such a manner as to decoy them towards the ambuscades.

Before commencing the passage of the *Tapicura*, Haus directed a heavy fire into the wood on the further side, and then immediately advanced under cover of the smoke. As was foreseen, the Dutch were led on, step by step, into the cane-wood. They were received at the first ambush with a discharge, every shot of which took effect. They pushed on to the second; but at the third their loss was so great that they were compelled to fall back. They were not, however, disheartened, and, having reformed into three bodies, they again advanced through the canes. They were visibly gaining ground, when, in a panic caused by the fear of another ambuscade, they were a second time repulsed.

The engagement now lasted for several hours; but the Dutch had not yet brought their entire force into action. After a short breathing-time they returned with fresh troops to the attack. It was now that the exhausted Portuguese were indebted to the priests amongst them for enthusiasm which supplied the place of strength. They were exhorted not to give way to heretics; and many were the vows offered to Christ and the Virgin by those who besought their help in this their hour of need. Fernandes in particular promised a church to the latter; whilst he appealed to his slaves to distinguish themselves, by the promise of immediate freedom. His guard rushed down the hill, blowing their horns, and charged the heretics with such spirit that the latter were driven back through the canes. Haus made one more attack; but this, too, was in vain, and the Portuguese remained masters of the field.

1645.

The fight had lasted the entire day [August 3rd]. On the stormy night which followed, the Dutch, under cover of darkness, recrossed the *Tapicura*. The Portuguese passed the night in preparations for a renewal of the attack on the morrow; but daylight showed them the extent of their victory. A messenger arrived from Haus, requesting quarter for the wounded, when Fernandes, according to his promise, immediately emancipated fifty slaves. Three hundred and seventy Dutch were found dead upon the field; whilst about four hundred wounded had been carried away. Of the Portuguese the loss is said to have been under forty, not, however, including the negroes or natives. So important a success, and one obtained at so small a cost, was, of course, ascribed to supernatural assistance; many persons affirmed, and perhaps believed, that in the hottest hour of the battle a woman and a venerable man were seen amongst the combatants distributing powder and bullets, and dazzling the eyes of the heretics. These were the Mother of Mercies, whom they had invoked, and the good St. Anthony, the hermit, the favourite protector of the Portuguese.

## CHAPTER IV.

### ***BRAZIL; CONCLUSION OF THE DUTCH WAR***

1646-1661

Haus, with the wreck of his army, continued his retreat throughout the night, never halting until seven leagues' distance lay between him and the scene of his defeat. He then awaited his wounded and stragglers, whilst he sent to *Recife* for immediate assistance. Succours reached him the same day, sufficient to secure his further retreat, but not to enable him to resume offensive operations. The Council now distinctly perceived their danger; and they had reasons to distrust the professions of the governor of *Bahia*. Three weeks before the battle Hogstraten and another deputy had been sent to *Bahia* to express the belief of the Dutch Government that Camaram and Diaz were not authorized in their proceedings by the Portuguese governor, and to request that they might be recalled, or, in the event of their disobedience, be declared enemies of the Portuguese Crown. Telles persevered in his previous line of conduct, putting off the Dutch with vague professions. He taunted them in turn with their acts of aggression at *Angola*, at *St. Thomas*, and at *Maranhã*. He further indicated that Camaran and Diaz were not men to be restrained by any words of his; and he pleaded that the Portuguese had been driven into insurrection by false accusations on the part of untrustworthy persons. Finally, he offered to act as mediator.

Hogstraten now repeated his offer to deliver *Nazareth* into the power of the governor, a proposal which he said he had already imparted to Joam Fernandes. His offer was accepted; and as he was somewhat afraid lest his conference with the Portuguese authorities might excite suspicion in the breast of his fellow-deputy, he had the audacity to tell him that they were tampering with him for the betrayal of his fort, and that he pretended to listen to them in order the better to thwart them. On his return to *Recife* he repeated the same tale, adding that the governor merely awaited some ships from *Rio de Janeiro* before attacking the Dutch possessions. Two regiments were now embarked at *Bahia*, and were to be landed at *Tamandare*. They were to be escorted by the homeward-bound fleet of thirty-seven ships.

It was arranged that, on the two regiments being landed at *Tamandare*, their commander, *Payva*, should proceed to *Recife* with letters for the Council, in which the Governor-General should state that he had sent two officers to remonstrate with the insurgents, and that, should remonstrances fail, he would compel them to return to their duty. Whilst this farce was being enacted, the Dutch commandant at *Serinhaem* had received instructions to disarm the Portuguese in that district. The Portuguese, however, declined to be disarmed, and the fort being surrounded and its water cut off, was compelled to surrender, the Indian allies of the Dutch being given up to the Portuguese.

Joam Fernandes had remained for seven days upon the scene of his victory at the *Monte das Tabocas*, when he was informed of the arrival of the troops from *Bahia*. Camaran and Diaz, the two partisan leaders, likewise reached the *Monte das Tabocas* about the same time. On meeting the troops from *Bahia*, after some formal words, Fernandes was joined by the whole Portuguese force; after which his first act was to send a detachment to reduce the fort of *Nazareth*.

Blaar was now sent to take possession of all the Portuguese women who might be found in the *Varzea* or open country behind *Olinda*, to hold as hostages. A number were taken, and were conveyed to the headquarters of Haus. This intelligence was speedily conveyed by a chaplain to Fernandes, and the army, being naturally roused by a desire to rescue the women, was put in motion for this purpose. By midnight they reached some sugar-works. Remaining there for three hours, they were roused by Fernandes, who announced that the wonderful *St. Anthony* had appeared to him, and had

reproved him for his ill-timed delay. Once more being put in motion, the troops at daybreak reached the *Capivaribe*, which they crossed with considerable difficulty.

Having accomplished this passage without opposition from the enemy, they ere long came in sight of the headquarters of Haus, when they sent forward a party who succeeded in capturing some Dutch sentinels. From those they learned that the officers were at their morning meal, on the conclusion of which they were to march off with their prisoners. They were roused by the dread signal by which Camaram summoned his Indians. Their men were driven in, and no way of retreat was left to them, whilst the Portuguese poured in a steady fire upon them from their shelter. In this emergency the Dutch brought out the Portuguese women, and exposed them at the windows to receive the fire. This artifice brought a flag of truce from the assailants; but the besieged were so confident in their newly-found resource that they fired upon the flag, killing the ensign who bore it; they at the same time took aim at the Portuguese general, Vidal, who had approached under the protection of the flag. Enraged at this conduct, the Portuguese forgot the women, and proceeded to set the whole place on fire; which brought the enemy to their senses. It required all the authority of Vidal to induce his soldiers to spare the cowards who had so nearly taken his life.

The enemy now surrendered on the bare condition that their lives should be spared; they were not, however, able to procure the same terms for their Indian allies. More than two hundred Dutch were made prisoners in this affair, which, according to the Portuguese writers, was, of course, not accomplished without the aid of miracles. Joam Fernandes was now master of the field; and he conducted a triumphal procession to one of his own chapels to return thanks to his patron saint. The prisoners were sent to *Bahia*, Blaar being assassinated on the way. About the same time *Olinda* fell into the hands of a party of Pernambucan youths; whilst the traitor, Hogstraten, was as good as his word in delivering *Nazareth* to the patriots. The Dutch regiment which had garrisoned it entered the service of the Portuguese.

Whilst the troops sent from *Bahia*, nominally to aid in suppressing the insurrection, were thus taking an active part in extending it, the farce which the governor had commenced to play was continued by the Admiral Correa, who, according to his instructions, proceeded to *Recife* with the homeward-bound fleet. The Dutch authorities at that place, who may be excused for preferring to judge of the Governor-General's intentions by acts rather than by words, were naturally not a little alarmed at the arrival of a fleet of such formidable dimensions. Correa, however, who was unaware of the recent occurrences on land, proceeded to execute the instructions which had been given him at *Bahia*, and with the utmost courtesy not only placed his own services at the disposal of the Council, but likewise offered them those of Vidal and his troops, which were at that moment most actively employed against them.

The Council, naturally enraged at this transparent duplicity, at first proposed to arrest the messengers of Correa; but, on the reflection that their own fleet was not in a condition to meet that of the enemy, they wisely sent a courteous reply, declining the services of the Admiral; on receiving which Correa, still wholly unaware of what was passing on shore, immediately set sail for Europe. Relieved from this danger, the Council lost no time in ordering Lichthart to get his ships ready with all speed, and to do the utmost damage to the Portuguese, an order which he obeyed to the letter.

Meanwhile Payva was with his two regiments on board of eight ships in the Bay of *Tamandare*. Letters had been written to advise him to put into the port of *Nazareth*, since it was known that the Dutch fleet was in search of him; but these warning despatches were intercepted, and he fell an easy prey to the squadron of Lichthart. Of his eight vessels one reached *Bahia*; two were abandoned and set on fire; two others ran aground, whilst three were taken by the enemy. The Portuguese are said to have lost seven hundred men in the action.

Whilst these events were passing in *Pernambuco*, the Portuguese were not less active in the other ceded provinces. Fernandes and Vidal sent officers to *Paraíba* to head the insurgents; whilst the Indians and Negroes were headed by officers sent respectively from the regiments of Camaram and

Henrique Diaz, the result being that the Portuguese were soon masters of the captaincy. The Dutch were likewise in turn compelled to abandon Fort *Mauritz* on the *San Francisco*. It was soon razed to the ground, there being then no obstacle to prevent the free passage of the Portuguese from *Bahia* into the province of *Pernambuco*.

Fernandes now pitched his camp upon the neck of sand which divides the river from the sea about a league from *Recife*, commanding the communication of that place with *Olinda*, and on this locality he erected a fort to secure his ammunition and stores. To this fort was given the name which had been applied to the camp, *Bom Jesus*, and a small town soon grew up under its shelter.

The Dutch beheld with consternation the near approach of the enemy; and the splendid out-houses and gardens, which had been laid out by Nassau, as well as the bridge of *Boavista*, were destroyed by the people of *Recife*, in order to facilitate the defence of that town. The new town of *Mauritias* was likewise demolished. So great was the anxiety of the people that the Council found it advisable to communicate to them the contents of their latest despatches to Amsterdam, in order to convince them that their critical situation had been duly represented.

On the advice of Hogstraten an expedition was now organized against the island of *Itamaraca*, on which the enemy had to rely for grain. After three attacks, the assailants, under Fernandes and Vidal, forced their way into the town, and had actually secured their victory, when it was lost through their rapacity and cruelty. The troops from *Bahia* showed an example of plundering which was not thrown away upon the Dutch deserters of Hogstraten's regiment; and Cardozo had given orders to put all the Indians to the sword, the result being that the Portuguese had to retire with loss and disgrace. They, however, fortified *Garassu*, and secured all the roads by which the enemy from *Itamaraca* could molest them.

For some time after this expedition the Portuguese were kept inactive by a strange infectious disease, which seemed only to yield to the treatment of bleeding, and which filled the hospitals, until Joam Fernandes hit upon the expedient of setting up certain images of saints, before whom mass was daily performed. To their intercession the cessation of the scourge was ascribed. At the same time that the main body of the Portuguese insurgents were suffering from this cause, their countrymen in *Rio Grande* were massacred by the *Tapuyas*, in revenge for the execution of the Indians at *Serinhaem*. This slaughter had, however, the effect of convincing the Portuguese who had not yet taken up arms of the uselessness of neutrality.

Meanwhile the action of the two forces at *Recife* was confined to isolated attacks, the besiegers not being provided with the means either of properly besieging the place or of blockading it. Every day or night witnessed some sally or skirmish, and many dashing but unimportant deeds are recorded. The general conviction, however, gained ground that the Portuguese would eventually win the day; and many slaves deserted to them whilst there was still some merit to be gained by doing so.

The Dutch at this time hoped to effect a diversion in their favour by means of Hogstraten's regiment of deserters. Although he himself was a traitor beyond redemption, it was rightly believed that most, if not all, of his men had taken service with the Portuguese on compulsion, and would be glad of an opportunity to return to their natural service. In this belief, communication was opened with the regiment; and it was arranged that a sally was to be made from the city in order to facilitate their desertion. This measure was only thwarted by a chance movement of the Portuguese commander. The backwardness of the would-be deserters, however, could not escape notice. Their captain, named Nicholson, demanded an opportunity of clearing their fame, which, being granted, he and seventy of his men succeeded in effecting their purpose, and reached *Recife* in safety. After this, the remaining Dutch were disarmed and sent to *Bahia*.

Meanwhile massacre and counter-massacre, on the part of the respective Indian allies on either side, took place in the captaincy of *Paraíba*; and the Dutch became seriously alarmed for their supplies. They resolved, in desperation, to make a vigorous attack against Camaran. They were no match, however, for that active and able leader; and the Dutch commander was compelled to retreat,

with the loss of many men, besides the whole of his baggage. The Portuguese cause at this time suffered a serious loss, in consequence of an ill-timed order from *Bahia* that the sugar-plantations of *Pernambuco* should be destroyed. The Governor-General, when issuing this edict, was not aware that these plantations were now in the hands of his countrymen. The unhappy Fernandes, while protesting against this measure, had to destroy his own canes to the value of two hundred thousand *cruzaos*.<sup>1</sup>

1646.

The Dutch now became so greatly distressed for provisions that the Indians were only kept in their service by the opinion which was propagated, that every deserter to the enemy met with torture and death. The besiegers, too, began to suffer from want of provisions; but the form which discontent took in this case was desertion to *Bahia*, and severe measures had to be adopted by the Governor-General to put a stop to this practice. The Dutch, having made an attempt in force to intercept a convoy of cattle from *Paraíba*, were defeated with considerable loss at *S. Lourenço*.

Shortly after the above-mentioned event, there arrived at the camp two Jesuits, sent by the Governor-General, and who were the bearers of an astounding mandate from the King of Portugal, to the effect that his generals, Vidal and Martim Soares, should retire forthwith to *Bahia*, leaving *Pernambuco* in the possession of the Dutch. The reason of this order will presently be explained. In the meantime it is to be shown in what manner it was received. The two generals, or camp-masters as they were called, were at first so taken aback that they knew not how to reply. To yield up the country which they had won step by step with such difficulty, and to leave in possession a heretical enemy whom they detested, was naturally abhorrent to their feelings as soldiers, as patriots, and as Catholics. On Joam Fernandes, who had risked all on the insurrection, the blow fell yet more heavily. He was, however, the first to rally; when he declared that the King's orders, having been issued in ignorance of the actual situation, ought not to be obeyed without a further reference to his Majesty.

This opinion prevailed, and was accordingly referred to the Governor-General at *Bahia*. He, however, having received positive orders, declined to take any responsibility upon himself should they be disobeyed. Upon this Martim Soares gave up his command, and sailed soon afterwards for Lisbon. Vidal and Joam Fernandes, however, remained true to their first resolution.

The orders from Lisbon had not been issued without great reluctance. The Duke of Braganza did not feel secure of his throne, and was apprehensive lest Holland should ally herself with Spain against him. He was at this time represented at The Hague by Francisco de Sousa Coutinho, an ambassador of great ability, which was in no small degree essential to his country, seeing the difficult part he had to play. De Sousa saw from the first that the West India Company were not equal to carrying on the expensive war in which they were embarked; and he accordingly advised his master to give the insurgents effective though unavowed assistance. When it became evident in Holland that the Portuguese authorities of *Bahia* put forth no effort to suppress the insurrection, the States retaliated by giving orders to seize all vessels coming from *Pernambuco*, a measure which was made a pretext for seizing Portuguese shipping in general. In short, Holland and Portugal were gradually drifting into open war; and, as has been said, the fear of an alliance being formed between the States and Spain had weighed with the King to send orders for the evacuation of *Pernambuco*.

It will be remembered that at the commencement of the insurrection there were many murmurs and menaces directed against Joam Fernandes; it had been even necessary to take special precautions against his being assassinated. In face of his brilliant successes, all murmurs against him had been silenced, and he was rightly regarded as the hero of a successful revolution for the liberation of his province. Now, however, that he was known to be acting in contravention of the express orders of his sovereign, the clamour against him recommenced. He was repeatedly warned that his life was in danger, and he received the names of nineteen persons who were engaged in a conspiracy against

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<sup>1</sup> About £50,000.

him. These communications producing no effect, the writer called upon Fernandes, and remonstrated with him; but he had the mortification of finding himself looked upon as a calumniator. With Vidal, however, he had more success; in so far that his story was at least believed, and an attempt was made to bring the conspirators to reason.

Not long afterwards, however, Fernandes, in coming from one of his sugar-works, having outridden his bodyguard, was attacked by three *Mamelucos*, one of whom shot him through the shoulder. One of the assassins was cut to pieces by his guard; the other two escaped through the canes. Fernandes, although he was aware of the conspirator who had set on the assassins, was magnanimous enough not to denounce him.

After this escape, Fernandes and Vidal organized a daring expedition against the island of *Itamaraca*. It was not successful in winning Fort *Orange*; but the rest of the island fell into the hands of the Portuguese, the Dutch having previously expelled from it their Indian allies.

The distress in *Recife* now reached the length of famine. The city was searched for food, and all that could be found was put into a common stock, one pound of bread per week being allowed for each soldier and citizen. But even this scanty allowance had soon to be withheld from the townspeople, in order that that of the soldiers might be doubled; for the latter now began to listen to the suggestions of the enemy. Horses, dogs, cats, and rats were greedily devoured; and many slaves died of inanition. Neither courage nor ingenuity could avail to procure food; whilst to venture beyond the works was certain death at the hands of Diaz and his negroes.

Months had elapsed since the dangerous position of the city had been known in Holland, but still no reinforcements arrived. Things had now come to such a pass that a capitulation or a complete surrender could no longer be delayed; for there was but food left for two days more. It is strange that at this critical moment the stoutest defenders of *Recife* should have been the Jews. Were the place rendered up to the Portuguese, they could hope to avoid death by apostasy alone; they had resolved, therefore, to perish by the sword rather than to surrender, and they had even induced the Council seriously to consider a plan for a general sally of the whole besieged population. Such was the result of the intolerant bigotry of the Portuguese.

At this supreme moment what were the feelings of the starving crowd when they beheld two vessels bearing towards the port under full sail, and carrying the Dutch colours? Casting anchor, they saluted with three guns, thus denoting that they were from Holland. They were the advanced guard of a convoy which might hourly be expected. It is here necessary to state the circumstances under which this fleet sailed, and also those which led to its tardy arrival.

It has been mentioned above that the interests of Portugal were at this time watched over at the Hague by a most astute diplomatist. The professional morality of European diplomacy has become considerably stricter in the course of late years than it was in the year of which we write, namely, 1646. Francisco de Sousa must be judged, therefore, as to his diplomatic conduct, by the ethics of his own age rather than by those of the present time. He had a most difficult part to play; and, being a thorough patriot as well as doubtless a devout Catholic, he held that the interests of his country, if not those of his faith, justified him in any amount of dissimulation, in order to secure them. His judgment both as to the importance of the Portuguese settlements in Northern *Brazil* to his country and as to the practicability of recovering them, was sound, as was proved by the event; but, as has been said, there were imperious reasons to make the court of Lisbon dread an open rupture with Holland. Under the circumstances the ambassador had the courage to take upon himself the entire responsibility of negotiating with the Dutch, leaving it to his master to disavow his proceedings should it prove necessary for the public well-being so to do. He was well aware that he was fully trusted; but he could not foresee all the possibilities of the future.

The Dutch statesmen, although they were slow at arriving at conclusions, could not but perceive that the Portuguese diplomatist had been merely seeking to gain time. They therefore called upon him to give a categorical statement of the intentions of his government with reference to *Brazil*. He

replied in a note, in which he asserted that he had instructions to treat with them respecting the affairs of *Pernambuco*; and he requested that a conference might take place in time to save them the expense of fitting out an unnecessary armament. The Dutch Government, perceiving that he was only renewing his former practices, declined his proposal; whereupon De Sousa, being hard pressed, offered to communicate the instructions on which he was to act. This was a bold step; for it required the exercise of some creative genius on his part. He had, however, with him some blank despatches from his Government already signed, and one of these he filled up so as to suit the moment. The result was that the Dutch, being deceived, suspended their naval preparations.

The ambassador, however, although he had tricked the States, was perfectly open in his communications with his own Government; and he suggested to his sovereign to order his own disgrace or punishment should it be necessary to disavow the act which, according to his knowledge of the existing circumstances, he had judged best for the public interests. His action was secretly approved; but the Portuguese Government had sufficient decency to refrain from any open commendation of the ambassador's conduct, nor did they confer upon him any reward. The King now assured the States that the insurgents in *Pernambuco* disregarded his authority, and that, therefore, they were justified in making war upon them. The Dutch naval preparations were therefore resumed; but they had been delayed for several months. It was November 1645 before the fleet was ready to sail; the frost delayed it at Flushing three months longer, and six months were consumed upon the voyage. Had the insurgents possessed the means of pressing the siege of *Recife* with vigour, the convoy would have arrived to find that place in the possession of the Portuguese.

As it was, the arrival of the fleet had the effect of prolonging this lingering war for years still to come. With the fleet arrived five new members of the Council, with six thousand troops, besides seamen and volunteers, all under the command of the experienced Schoppe. The first attempt of the new general was to regain possession of *Olinda*; but in this he was defeated. As, however, he had now a superior force in the field, the insurgents thought it advisable to evacuate *Paraíba*, and accordingly sent orders to Camaram to withdraw from that captaincy.

The Dutch leader next made a descent upon the northern captaincies, in which he made preparations for the future supplies of provisions for *Recife*. He sent also a considerable force to the river *San Francisco* for the purpose of cutting off the source from which the Portuguese were nourished; but in this latter attempt he was not so successful, and lost a hundred and fifty men. He next secretly fitted out a naval expedition with which he set sail to surprise *Bahia*. Landing upon the island of *Itaparica*, he established himself upon a commanding position, which he fortified. The Governor-General, being taken completely unawares, thought only of protecting the city; and meanwhile the invaders devastated the *Reconcave* unopposed. On this the Governor-General determined to attack the Dutch position—an unsuccessful enterprise—in which six hundred men were sacrificed. After this, Schoppe, who had only meant to effect a diversion in favour of *Recife*, returned to that place.

The Portuguese were now, in turn, considerably straitened for supplies; and Vidal had to proceed on foraging expeditions to *Paraíba* and to the *Potengi*. The insurgent leaders, however, were buoyed up by the hope which they entertained of assistance from Portugal. So strongly indeed did they entertain this hope that they concerted measures for the co-operation with them of the fleet which was to arrive; and a battery which was now erected caused much trouble to *Recife*. As it commanded the harbour as well as the streets, the Dutch were compelled to remove their vessels. In one of the sallies made by the Portuguese, the palace built by Count Nassau was sacked.

1647.

The convenient pretence that Portugal and the States were still at peace was abandoned, in so far as South America was concerned, after the attack by the Dutch on *Bahia*. The order of the Jesuits in *Rio de Janeiro* contributed to the insurgent cause a ship-load of supplies. A new Governor-General now arrived at *Bahia* in the person of the Count of Villa Pouca, who brought out with him

reinforcements in twelve ships, three of which were unsuccessful in a conflict with the Dutch. The arrival of this fleet without any considerable succours for *Pernambuco* was a sore trial to the patriots of that province. The fleet brought them, however, a new commander, Francisco Barreto, with the rank of Campmaster-General. He had with him an escort of three hundred men, together with arms and ammunition. The Dutch, having information of his sailing, intercepted his ships off *Paraíba*, and Barreto was carried prisoner into *Recife*. After nine months' captivity he effected his escape and joined the insurgents.

It certainly seemed a measure little calculated for insuring success to supersede at this juncture two such capable and efficient commanders as Fernandes and Vidal, who had hitherto headed the insurrection with such vigour, and who were so thoroughly acquainted with the country in which they had to operate. Such, however, was their thorough loyalty, and such the good sense of Barreto in conforming to their advice, that no ill effects resulted from this change in the command. In the course of the insurrection, Vidal and Fernandes had overrun one hundred and eighty leagues of country, from *Ceará* to the *San Francisco*; they had captured eighty pieces of cannon; and they now delivered up to the new commander two months' provisions for the army, twenty-four *contos*<sup>2</sup> in specie, and the value of eighteen thousand *cruzados*.<sup>3</sup>

1648.

Soon after this event a fresh fleet arrived from Holland, bringing out six thousand men, which placed the Dutch at an unmistakable advantage in the field, compelling the Portuguese to contract the limits of their operations. The insurgent leaders, with this view, called in their troops from various out-stations, and evacuated *Olinda*, confining themselves between *Serinhaem* and *Moribeca*. All of the inhabitants of the *Varzea*, capable of bearing arms, were ordered to repair to the camp. Upon a muster being taken, the entire insurgent force was found to number only three thousand two hundred men. Its quality, however, made up for its deficiency in quantity.

In describing the details of this long and tedious colonial war, one is glad to arrive at a point which, though it did not mark its conclusion, was nevertheless decisive as to its result. Such a point is the first battle of *Guararapes*. The Dutch commander had determined to take possession of the small town of *Moribeca*, from which place he could co-operate with the fleet destined for *Nazareth*. With this view he attacked the *estancia* of *Barreta*, making prisoner of Soares, the officer in command. A range of hills, called the *Guararapes*, rises between three or four leagues south of *Recife*, its skirts extending to within three miles of the sea, the intervening space being swampy. Where the range most nearly approaches the ocean there is only a narrow slip of land between the hills and the swamp—the entrance to the pass being between a lake and a thicket. Of this pass the Portuguese took possession, being protected by the wood from the view of an approaching enemy.

On the morning on which the Dutch were to enter the pass, the officer above-named, who had been captured at *Barreta*, contrived to make his escape, and his countrymen were thus well informed as to the disposition and strength of the enemy. A skirmishing party was sent out to decoy them onwards; and the Dutch thus suddenly found themselves in a position where their numbers were of little avail. After the first discharge of firearms the fight was hand to hand. It was well contested. Vidal had two horses killed under him; whilst the charger which Joam Fernandes rode on this decisive day had one of his ears perforated by a bullet. A Dutch soldier, who aimed a blow at the rider, lost his arm by a stroke from the sabre of Fernandes. As was to be expected, in spite of their inferiority of numbers, the patriots won the fight. The enemy left twelve hundred dead upon the field, of whom it is said one hundred and eighty were officers. Amongst the fallen was Haus, who had returned to *Brazil*; amongst the wounded was Schoppe.

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<sup>2</sup> = £240,000.

<sup>3</sup> = £4500.

After this victory the insurgents once more took possession of *Olinda*; but their joy was somewhat damped by the loss of their fortified battery, called the *Asseca*, which had so long annoyed *Recife*, and which, during the absence of the commanders, had been yielded without a struggle. At this time they likewise sustained a severe loss by the death of their Indian ally, Camaram. He was a man of much ability, and although a typical Indian warrior, was of such dignified and courteous manners that he obtained the love and respect of all. We are somewhat surprised, however, that he is claimed by the Church as a model convert, who every day heard mass and repeated the office. He invariably bore upon his breast a crucifix and an image of the Virgin. The Dutch were still masters of the sea; and in consequence the Portuguese suffered much damage. By means of cruisers the Dutch carried on a tolerably lucrative war; whilst *Recife* offered a ready market for produce, and a ready means of sending remittances to Europe.

Meanwhile a blow was struck at the supremacy of the States in a quarter in which it was little expected. A member of the family of Correa de Sa, by whose means the French had been expelled from *Rio de Janeiro*, now projected an expedition for the recovery of *Angola*. Under pretext of erecting a fort on that coast to secure a supply of negroes, he set out from *Brazil*, having obtained a large amount subscribed for the purpose. Arrived on the coast of Africa, he set sail for *Loanda*, and was there informed that a detachment of Dutch was acting against the Portuguese at *Massangano*. On this information, he sent a flag to the governor, stating that, although he had not come with a hostile purpose, he felt it his duty to defend his oppressed countrymen, and he allowed the Dutch two days in which to surrender. The latter, at the end of this time, made a show of resistance, but soon fled; after which, by great address, Correa de Sa effected the relief of *Massangano*, taking prisoners the entire Dutch force of over two thousand men, whom he caused immediately to embark for Europe. The city of *St. Thomas* was likewise abandoned. The tidings of this success reaching Portugal about the same time as those of the battle of *Guararapes*, had no small share in deciding the government of King Joam to take the course which, after long hesitation, they ultimately adopted in their negotiations with the Dutch respecting *Pernambuco*.

The councils of King Joam were now not a little distracted. The Dutch were fully aware of the value of the possession which was the subject of contention between them and Portugal; and they were fully determined not to yield *Pernambuco*. Their demands were that Portugal should cede to them the whole of the provinces which they had occupied at the conclusion of the truce, with the third part of *Seregipe* in addition; that the island and port of the *Morro* of *St. Paulo*, opposite *Bahia*, should be given to them, likewise, for twenty years, until the terms of the treaty should be fulfilled; that they were to receive 100,000 *florins*, yearly, for twenty years; and likewise one thousand oxen, one thousand cows, four hundred horses, and one thousand sheep, yearly, for ten years, and a thousand chests of sugar, yearly, for twenty years. All their slaves were also to be restored.

Although these exorbitant terms were subsequently somewhat lowered, the Portuguese nation had still sufficient pride not to submit to them. The King placed the matter before the members of his Council, from each individual of whom he required a separate written opinion. The result was that a memorial was laid before His Majesty, stating that however desirable might be a peace with Holland, yet that religion and honour alike necessitated the rejection of the terms proposed. The King had, however, one adviser who took an opposite view. This was Vieyra, the Jesuit, who proceeded to expose the weakness of the several arguments which were adduced by the Council. This able statesman looked not to the Portuguese possessions in *Brazil* alone, but to the imperial position which Portugal occupied in the world. He met the religious objection by the argument that there was nothing to prevent the Portuguese of *Pernambuco* from emigrating elsewhere. Since the very existence of Portugal was at stake, it was before all things the King's duty as a Catholic sovereign to look to the safety of that stronghold of the faith. The captaincies which the Dutch required, were after all only about a tenth part of the country.

Sixty ships, he pointed out, had been captured during that year. The Dutch, he declared, possessed fourteen thousand vessels against one hundred and fifty belonging to Portugal. They had in India more than a hundred ships of war, and more than sixty in *Brazil*. But it was on the state of India that Vieyra rested his main argument, and on the certainty of the Portuguese losing their possessions on that continent should they persist in war with the States. Thus was the King left in as great perplexity as ever, since his Council advised him in one sense, whilst the statesman whom he most trusted took an opposite view of the situation. One suggestion of Vieyra's was, however, complied with, namely, a Portuguese *Brazil* Company was established, and this had a notable effect in bringing the war to a conclusion.

1649.

The necessity for the above-named measure had long been represented to the King by this sagacious Churchman. It was indeed an imitation of the Dutch East and West India Companies. Individual interest, he argued, would create exertion and enterprise; whilst foreign capital would be attracted by so promising an adventure. There was one condition absolutely needed, however, to insure its success, namely, that all capital embarked in this adventure should be free from confiscation. It is necessary to explain that this *proviso* referred to the Inquisition, the political evils of which institution had been ably exposed by Vieyra. Were the property of merchants engaged in this Company liable to be seized at the instance of the Holy Office, the Company would, of course, cease to command public confidence. As a matter of course the Holy Office denounced the proposed measure. They objected even to the use of money belonging to suspected persons. It required the losses of eight successive years and the threatened ruin of the trade of Portugal to induce the Government to put down this obstacle raised by interested bigotry. But at length the Company was formed, and the King's eldest son became Prince of *Brazil*.

To return to *Pernambuco*. The *Guararape* hills were once more the scene of a battle between the parties who contended for the mastery of this fertile province. On this occasion the relative position of the combatants was reversed, the Dutch being the defendants and the Portuguese the assailants. The former had sallied from *Recife* with a force of some five thousand men, and had taken possession of the pass between the sea and the hills of the above name. Here they were attacked by the Portuguese, and, after a struggle of six hours, were routed with a loss of eleven hundred men, nineteen stands of colours, with the whole of their artillery and ammunition. Prink, the Dutch commander, fell, as did the chief of the naval forces which assisted him. Joam Fernandes, the hero of the insurrection, had, as usual, several narrow escapes with his life. On the side of the victors fell Paulo da Cunha, who had taken a prominent part in the war.

Shortly after this battle the first fleet sent out by the new Company arrived at *Brazil*, the Dutch being unable to oppose it. There is not much, however, to record respecting the proceedings of the contending parties during the next three years. Holland, being engaged in war with the Protector of England, left the West Indian Company to provide for *Pernambuco* as best it could; but the means of the Company were exhausted, and their naval force at *Recife* became unfit to go to sea. Schoppe, indeed, made one attempt to intercept the homeward bound fleet of 1652; but he was beaten off with loss.

1653.

The conclusion of the struggle for the independence of *Pernambuco* was due, as had been its commencement, to the initiative of Joam Fernandes. To his intelligent and patriotic mind two considerations presented themselves, namely, that the Pernambucans must rely for their freedom on themselves alone; and that the expulsion of the Dutch could never be secured while *Recife* remained open to their ships. Taking these as his principles, it occurred to him that although there was no hope of obtaining direct succour from Portugal, yet that the Company's fleet might be made use of to

obtain the desired end. His commander, Barreto, entering into his views, the camp-masters met in council in *San Gonzalo's* chapel, and agreed to endeavour to carry out the scheme.

The annual fleet was to sail from Lisbon early in October, with Pedro de Magalhaens as general and Brito Freire as admiral, the latter being the well-known historian. Barreto had been desired to have the ships in the ports of *Pernambuco* ready to join the fleet on its way to *Bahia*. The advice was received on the 7th of December, and on the 20th the convoy came in sight of *Recife*. After beating off some Dutch frigates, the general and the admiral landed at the *Rio Doce*. This scheme was then opened up to them, and they were requested to block up the harbour whilst the insurgents should make a last and desperate attempt to effect the capture of *Recife*.

As was to be expected, the commanders were not a little startled at the part which had been assigned to them. Magalhaens represented that his instructions from the King did not authorize him to engage in any act of hostility; nor had he permission from the Company to divert the fleet from its destination. He further intimated that were he to involve his country in war with Holland, the penalty would be his head. To this Fernandes replied by the argument once used by John Knox, that all temporal penalties, which at least ended with this world, could not outweigh in the scale the value of a soul which was to exist to all eternity; and that were the general to fail in carrying out the part which Providence now assigned to him, the souls of all those who would be thus exposed to renunciation of the faith would be required at his hands. It was an age of deep religious conviction, and both Magalhaens and Freire yielded to the arguments of Fernandes.

The result is soon told. The Dutch fleet, perceiving the intentions of the Portuguese, stood out to sea whilst they were able to do so. Their disappearance set at liberty the merchant ships along the coast, which were employed under the orders of Barreto. A line was drawn across the harbour of *Recife*, and strict precautions were taken that no relief should reach the city by sea or by land. The besieging force consisted of three thousand five hundred men. The indefatigable Fernandes led the first assault; and he was good enough to promise a separate mass for the soul of each of his men who should fall. On the morning of the 15th of January, the besieged were astonished to find themselves cannonaded by a battery of twenty-four pounders, and the fort of *Salinas* surrendered on the same night. One post gave in after another, and at length the inhabitants compelled the General to treat for a capitulation. The Dutch, having surrendered their arms, might remain for three months at *Recife* to settle their affairs; but all their possessions on the coast of *Brazil*, without exception, were to be surrendered to the Portuguese.

1654.

Fernandez entered the city and received the keys of the magazines and forts, seventy-three in number, which he proudly delivered to Barreto. Twelve hundred regular troops laid down their arms at *Recife*. The Portuguese likewise gained possession of two hundred and seventy-three guns; the Indians had retired toward *Ceará*. Some of the distant garrisons, having received timely warning of the loss of *Recife*, succeeded in effecting their escape; but at *Itamaraca* four hundred men were taken. The General and the Admiral now proceeded with the convoy to *Bahia*; whilst Vidal set out to announce the glad tidings in Portugal. But in this intention the commander was anticipated by a Benedictine priest, who, arriving at Lisbon on the same evening, proceeded at once to communicate the information to the King.

1661.

The news of this event reached Holland at a time when the Dutch, however much they might feel disposed to do so, were by no means in a position to take revenge. Their arms were not just then successful against England. But they succeeded in recompensing themselves for the loss of *Pernambuco* by wresting Ceylon from the Portuguese. They did not, however, immediately resign the hope of recovering their possessions in *Brazil*. Although Louis XIV. was accepted as mediator between Holland and Portugal, the States nevertheless sent a fleet under De Ruyter to the Tagus and

attempted some reprisals. In the end, Holland yielded to circumstances. Charles II. of England, while treating for his marriage with the Portuguese princess, intimated to the Dutch that if they should persevere in the contest he would become a party to it. France likewise interfered energetically on behalf of Portugal; and at length the negotiations were concluded, the latter country consenting to pay a certain amount in money and commodities to Holland, and to restore her captured cannon.

## CHAPTER V. *BRAZIL; JESUIT MISSIONS IN NORTHERN BRAZIL*

1652-1662

Mention has more than once been made in the preceding chapter of Antonio Vieyra, the Jesuit, a man of singular ability, who was destined to play a distinguished part in the history of his time, both as a statesman and as an ecclesiastic, and who has left behind him one of the foremost names in the splendid literature of his country. Before proceeding to relate the part which he took in the affairs of *Brazil*, it may be well to give a sketch of his remarkable career up to this time.

Vieyra was born at Lisbon in the year 1608, but when in his eighth year he emigrated with his parents to *Bahia*, where he was brought up at the Jesuits' school. In his early youth it is said that his intellect was clouded. Being aware of this fact, he earnestly prayed to the Virgin to remove the cause, and he himself records that something seemed to give way in his head, causing him violent pain, from which hour his intellect shone out in all its exceptional clearness. When in his fifteenth year, a sermon which he heard on the glory of the Beatific Vision determined him to select a religious life. The provincial of the Jesuits in *Brazil* was a frequent visitor at his father's house; and the youth, knowing it to be in vain to seek his parents' consent, fled to the Jesuits' College, the doors of which were gladly opened to receive him. His parents remonstrated, but without effect; and, at the age of sixteen he was permitted to take the vows which bound him to the Order for life. A year later he was employed to write the yearly letter from the province to the general at Rome, and in the following year he lectured on rhetoric at *Olinda*.

Vieyra's tastes inclined him to abandon his studies and to devote himself entirely to the Indians; but his far-seeing superiors discerned too well his remarkable talents to permit them to be devoted entirely to such a purpose. After some years spent in ministering amongst Indians and negroes, and in the acquisition of the *Tupi* language, for the benefit of the former, and of that of *Angola*, for the benefit of the latter, he was, in 1635, ordained a priest. He now lectured on theology at *Bahia*, and, sometime later, he accompanied the agent sent to Portugal to congratulate the King on the recovery of his rights. Arriving at Peniche in company of *Dom* Fernando Mascarenhas, whose brother had adhered to the king of Castile, he was arrested by the people and narrowly escaped being put to death. The populace were, however, persuaded to deliver him over to justice. Reaching Lisbon as a supposed criminal, he obtained an audience of the King, upon whom his remarkable talents produced an instant effect. He was appointed preacher to Joam IV., who continued ever afterwards to regard him with the affection of a father to a son. In his sermons he expressed himself with such freedom as well as eloquence that he was at one time brought under the notice of the Inquisition.

1652.

The favour which Vieyra enjoyed at court created the jealousy even of his own order, and it was once feared that they were about to expel him. In anticipation of this, he was offered by the King a bishopric, which offer, however, was declined. The jealousy of Vieyra's superiors was at length, happily, removed, and he was employed during several years in the most important diplomatic service, including a mission to the Hague at a critical period. About the year 1652, after the *Brazil* Company had been established owing to his representations, the fleet of which Company was the means used by Fernandes to complete the reduction of *Recife*, the thoughts of the Jesuit Father began to be powerfully attracted towards the land of his early education. From the possession of his special gifts, more particularly his knowledge of the Indian and *Angola* languages, he probably felt that there

was work to be done which he was likely to perform better than any living man. But there was a strong obstacle in the way. This was the favour with which he was regarded both by King Joam and by his son, Prince Theodosio, from both of whom he felt it would be useless to solicit permission to depart on his proposed voyage.

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