Treachery, Loyalty, and "Wild Nations of People": The Luso-Dutch Struggle for Brazil (1624–1654)

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Treachery, Loyalty, and "Wild Nations of People": The Luso-Dutch Struggle for Brazil (1624–1654)[1]

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Abstract

Dutch control of northeastern Brazil (1624–1625; 1630–1654) sparked a powerful, transatlantic Portuguese reaction, yet scholars have skewed the seventeenth century in favor of the more "enterprising" Netherlanders. This view represents the tendency for historians to mine relatively well-ordered Dutch and English language source material. Portuguese language depositions and chronicles, however, reveal that Luso-Brazilians served as translators, guides, and soldiers for both sides, directly influencing the outcome of the war. Marginalized men and women negotiated sociopolitical openings during times of conflict by drawing from prophecy, breaking social mores, and demonstrating loyalty to God and Portugal. Largely due to their efforts, the Luso-Dutch conflict for Brazil resulted in the permanent ouster of the Dutch West India Company from Brazil, served as a crucible for elite and popular Portuguese self-understanding, and led to the spiritual and material salvation of the kingdom of Portugal.

Keywords: Dutch Brazil, Brazil, Sebastianism, Portugal, António Vieira, Henrique Dias, Felipe Camarão, prophecy, millenarianism, João IV, Bahia, Recife, Domingos Fernandes Calabar, Manuel de Moraes

In April 1640, as the Dutch sailed into the Bay of All Saints, the *moradores* of Bahia called upon Santo Antônio to protect them once again.[2] By this time, the patron saint of lost causes had been promoted there with full honors to military captain; the city council had decreed for his "efforts" he well deserved his rank and pay.[3] Proof included the fact that Dutch West India Company troops had seized Bahia in 1624, but a joint Luso-Spanish force ousted them within a year. And while the Dutch rounded back to seize a large chunk of the Brazilian northeast in 1630, Bahia remained intact. Not even a forty-day siege of the town in April 1638 seemed to lift the saint's protection. Prayers to Santo Antônio, it was believed, helped keep safe the richest sugar-producing captaincy in all of Portuguese America.

The Dutch fanned out across the Brazilian northeast, conquering Paraíba (1634), Sergipe (1636), and Ceará (1637), but by 1640, Bahia was

no lost cause—not yet.[4] When they prepared to bombard Salvador, the colonial capital and administrative center of Portuguese America, a young Jesuit priest turned, in his need, to an even higher power. In the aptly named church of Our Lady of Good Help, St. Anthony's namesake, António Vieira railed on God for abandoning his faithful Portuguese:

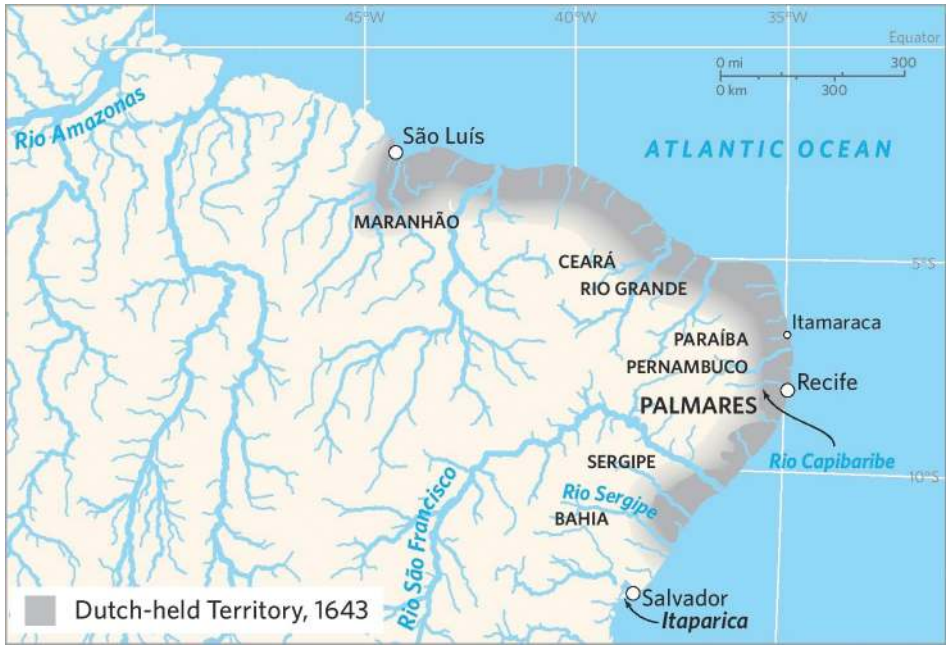
> After so much danger, disgrace, and after so many terrible deaths… what lands have we [your faithful] gained to thus lose! …To the Dutch you've delivered Brazil, the Indies … the world is in your hands, as for us, the Portuguese and the Spanish, You have left us, repudiated us, undone us, and finished us off. But I remind You Majesty
> O Lord, those You cast out, You may one day seek and not find me….You
> may look for me tomorrow and not find me.[5]

In a sermon meant to rally war-weary *moradores*, Vieira challenged God to remember his faithful Portuguese; nothing less than the world was at stake. Since the late sixteenth century, the Dutch, in the midst of their revolt against Habsburg Spain, had seized on the 1580 union of the Iberian crowns as an excuse to go after Portuguese claims beyond Europe. With the 1621 formation of the Dutch West India Company, this included Brazil. Two decades later, as the Dutch expanded their South Atlantic holdings, it seemed that God had indeed abandoned the Portuguese.

In the telling of Dutch-held Brazil (1624–1625; 1630–1654), have scholars have done the same? From the seventeenth century, the narrative arc of early modern Atlantic history has long bent towards the Dutch and later, the English, with the Iberian empires fading fast. Largely absent from their own story are the Portuguese. Yet an improvised Luso-Brazilian resistance bankrupted the West India Company and pushed the Netherlanders from the Americas (save Suriname).[6] Neglect of the transatlantic Portuguese reaction to the Dutch in Brazil—for nearly four hundred years now—results, in part, from the enticement of the well-ordered West India Company archives. By contrast, the fragmented Portuguese record is scattered across the Atlantic world. In addition, contemporary Dutch-commissioned artistic, naturalist, and cartographic descriptions of the fleeting colony, deployed from the mid-seventeenth century on, imagined a well-ordered, "tolerant," and profitable Brazil worth celebrating.[7] One result is that for the last 400 years, these cultural productions have effaced a Luso-Brazilian pushback of two powerful empires—the Spanish and the Dutch.

The liminal space of Dutch Brazil offers an opportunity to steer Luso-Brazilians into an early modern history crowded by narratives of empire.[8] A close read of contemporary chronicles points the way to marginalized people in Brazil who broke through the record elsewhere

Figure 1. Map of Dutch-held Brazil, 1643.



Source: Martin von Wyss, vW Maps, ©2019 (with permission).

in their own voices. For example, Father Manuel Calado's *O valeroso Lucideno* [1648] references Henrique Dias, the man who would lead Afro-descended men into battle, as well as his comrade-in-arms and Potiguar leader Felipe Camarão; the commanders' rebuff of Dutch terms at the 1638 Battle of Bahia is housed at Biblioteca Nacional do Brasil (BNB).

Most source material for this work is in Portuguese. This includes evidence translated from Dutch: from the mid-nineteenth century, Brazilian historians and government officials travelled to The Hague and translated and transcribed Dutch documents on the occupation of the Brazilian northeast.[9] Such work has been widely commented on and refined in successive generations, particularly by Pernambucan historians. The Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano (IAHGP) includes Adriano (Adriaan) Verdonck's 1630 survey of Brazilian captaincies for the West India Company. Adriaan van der Dussen's more thorough account (1638) includes descriptions of the indigenous, Luso-Brazilian, Afro-descended people of Brazil, as well as a detailed survey of landholdings and the owners and *lavradores* who worked them. Read against the grain, these documents also reveal the agency of marginalized Luso-Brazilians.[10] For example, van der Dussen's survey includes a listing of female *lavradore*s and engenho owners, leading to a revisionist view of

meek, submissive Portuguese women who could hardly manage their own affairs and would run to the Dutch. Finally, for a perspective beyond Portuguese and Dutch belligerents, this work makes use of contemporary English observations.

How and why did marginalized Luso-Brazilians negotiate the Dutch presence and affect the outcome of the war? With help to fight the Dutch months away and across the Atlantic, Spanish (to 1640) and Portuguese (from 1641) aid to Brazil proved inconsistent at best; only the above-mentioned 1624 rescue effort proved successful.[11] Imaginative prayers and irreverent sermons reflected unexpected local action in the protracted war. But Santo Antônio's "promotions," like assistance from the metropole, only went so far. Afro-descended, indigenous, and mixed-descent men and women served the Portuguese or the Dutch—and sometimes even both. Their efforts as translators, guides, soldiers, and spies directly influenced the tide of war either for or against the Portuguese until the final expulsion of the Dutch in 1654. As such, the traumatic moment known as Dutch Brazil served as a crucible for Luso-Brazilian self-understanding and an experience, as Padre Vieira well knew, that played out on an Atlantic and world historical scale.

The Dutch in Brazil

The origin and significance of transatlantic Portuguese resistance to the Dutch in Brazil is sourced in the sixteenth century. In 1578, Portugal's childless young king Sebastian's mission to "be lord of all of Africa" not only resulted in his disappearance on a North African battlefield, but also sparked a succession crisis—and rumors, rooted in prophetic ballads, of his eventual return.[12] Two years later, Philip II of Spain claimed the throne in a union of the crowns. This had consequences for Portugal, and not just on the domestic front: at this time Spain was at war with Dutch provinces that had revolted against its rule.[13] The Dutch took the union of Iberian crowns—Portugal, now joined with Spain—as open season on Portuguese possessions overseas. Claiming their territory overseas was "just" and "fair" in no small part, because now the Portuguese were part of the Spanish empire.[14] To the east, Portuguese possessions—notably the Spice Islands—fell to the Dutch through the first decade of the seventeenth century and again at the expiration of the Twelve Year Truce (1609–1621) between the Spanish and the Dutch. When the truce lapsed, the Dutch Estates General (governing body of the United Provinces) granted a charter for the Dutch West India Company to operate much as its eastern counterpart, the VOC—but in the Atlantic World.[15] The main target? Brazil.

In 1624, the Dutch West India Company ships sailed into the Bay of All Saints and in less than twenty-four hours seized control of Salvador, the colonial capital of Portuguese America and Bahia and the richest sugar-producing captaincy in Brazil. One year later, the Luso-Spanish armada, the largest to ever cross the Atlantic, retook Bahia and ousted the

Dutch from the captaincy for good. But by 1630, the Dutch, flush with profits from seizing a Spanish silver ship, were able to round back to take Pernambuco, the second most profitable captaincy in all of Brazil. Olinda, the seat of power, and her main port Recife fell within a month. This first phase phase of the Luso-Dutch war for Brazil lasted until 1636, after Luso-Spanish armies retreated south of the São Francisco river to the now stronghold of Bahia. From 1637–1644 the fighting tapered off. This was at best an interregnum, however, rather than the interlude of order imagined and promoted by Dutch scholar-aesthetes and their West India Company patron; unexpected resistance by nonelite Luso-Brazilians forced fighting out into the open by 1645.[16]

"Wild Nations of People"

"If the country were capable of speech and could address you, it would surrender itself to you"—so began an account of short-lived Dutch rule in Northeast Brazil (1630–1654), an ode, really, to the fleeting colony's governor-general Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen.[17] There was more such praise, nearly all of which Maurits had commissioned prior to setting sail across the Atlantic general for "Nieuwe Holland," as the fleeting colony was also known. In the dominant Dutch imaginary, his artists "mapped" loyalty to Dutch order on "Brazilian" bodies.[18] For instance, Albert Eckhout, one of the forty-six artisans Maurits plucked out of obscurity to document his tenure, created a life-size ethnographic series (Figure 2) of the "types" of Brazil. These were the "wild nations of people," Maurits hoped to "tame" under the Dutch rule.[19] Here, Eckhout depicted African, indigenous, or mixed-descent men and women as ready to serve Maurits and the Dutch cause.[20] Such aesthetic ambition was an embellishment, perhaps, of the "Grand Design"—the imperative, given the 1580 union of Iberian crowns—to seize Portuguese Atlantic possessions and make Brazil the seat of Dutch power in the Americas.[21]

In a 1639 letter sent to Maurits, scholar-biographer Barleus wrote of the challenge of knowing ally from enemy; early in the decade, the West India Company (WIC) officials in Brazil had trouble distinguishing the same.[22] Artist Albert Eckhout's vision of loyal locals was realized, at least in the form of Domingo Fernandes Calabar, a "mulato" or "mameluco" who unexpectedly betrayed the Portuguese. In the first years of conflict, the Spanish-Luso-Brazilian army confined the Dutch to the Pernambucan towns of Olinda and Recife until Calabar turned up in their camp.[23] On the run from the Portuguese for criminal acts in Porto Calvo, Calabar soon proved deserving of Dutch trust.[24] For his "advise and meanes" and for being a "polilitique stoute fellow, and knowingge all passages and hye ways the whole land through" Dutch-led forces were able to much "annoy" the Portuguese. Fluent in Tupi, he gained indigenous allies for the invaders.[25] He led his own expeditions, nighttime and predawn

Figure 2. Albert Eckhout's "Types of Brazil."

Source and notes: Albert Eckhout, series of eight figures, 1641, oil on canvas, located in the National Museum of Denmark, https://samlinger.natmus.dk/searc?q=eckhout.Top row (L-R): "Tapuya Man," "African Man," "Tupi Man," "Mulatto Man." Bottom row (L-R): "Tapuya Woman," "African Woman," "Tupi Woman," "Mameluke Woman."

sorties though secret paths and riverine channels that caught sleeping *moradores* unaware. By 1635, three years after he joined forces with the West India Company, he was directly responsible for the surrender of the Forte Real do Bom Jesus, a major Portuguese stronghold between the towns of Olinda and Recife. This led to the withdrawal of the resistance army to Bahia.

As a result of his skill and effort, Calabar was "soon made a captain, and then a sergeant-major; all this well-deserved, given the "considerable damage" he caused the Portuguese.[26] He served on the Dutch West India Company military council until his capture and summary execution by the guerilla resistance in 1635. But as one Portuguese eyewitness and high-ranking official noted, it was only after two years of terrible conflict that and the "loss and work" that came with it, "this mulato who was the first to pass to the adversary."[27] In other words, up until this time no other Portuguese subject had up to this time proven disloyal to the resistance.[28]

Some Portuguese subjects crossed over to the Dutch and back again, causing damage to both sides. By all accounts, Padre Manoel de Moraes had been faithful servant of God since he left São Paulo to join the

Company of Jesus in Pernambuco. There he led his own indigenous troops into battle against the Dutch from 1630, engaging in battle with perhaps a bit too much relish for his Jesuit superiors. However, a much impressed Commander Matias de Albuquerque bestowed upon him the formidable title of "captain-general of the Indians."[29] Like Calabar, this "very dark, Asian looking" priest proved himself in battle many times over and with his fluency in Tupi.[30] After several years of leading *índios aldeados* (indigenous from Jesuit-run villages) against the Dutch, de Moraes surrendered quite willingly to the West India Company forces at the Battle of Paraíba (1635). Now joined with his former enemies, he passed on valuable information, including the whereabouts of six *aldeias*. Dressed as a Dutch captain, he communicated with indigenous chiefs, encouraging them to ally with the Netherlandish invaders. In Recife, the former Jesuit shattered his vows by openly consorting with Dutch prostitutes Cristianaazinha Harmens and Maria "Cabelo de fogo" ("Hair of Fire") Roothaet. It was well known that well before this time de Moraes had broken the sixth Jesuit commandment of abstinence, but now all inhibition and pretense was dropped. Friar Domingos de Coelho, who had promoted him to govern *aldeias* in the first place, sent letters three times urging him to drop his sinful ways. Moraes declined to respond, and the Company of Jesuits expelled him once and for all.[31]

Besides damaging the Jesuit image, Manoel de Moraes betrayed his former compatriots in a profoundly personal way. He led his own Tupinambá soldiers in battle—only this time, against the Portuguese. Like Calabar, he was promoted to captain by the Dutch, but the former priest flaunted his new status with the Calvinists and "jeered at Portuguese prisoners who would not eat meat on Good Friday."[32] In the company of his new compatriots, Manuel de Moraes journeyed to the Netherlands, where he seemed ready to dispense with his wandering eye and soldiering ways. He converted to Calvinism, married, and fathered two children. He proved exceptionally useful to the Dutch cause, developing a Tupi dictionary for the West India Company. This contribution aided Dutch settlement efforts in the next few years.[33] Within a few years, however, he returned to Brazil, recanted, and even served at a turning point battle against the Dutch. Still, for his treachery and harm to the Portuguese cause, he was sent to Lisbon to face the Inquisition.[34]

Despite the efforts of de Moraes, and contrary to claims that Dutch-indigenous alliances helped establish and influential Atlantic empire," the agency, choice, and possibilities of indigenous soldiers reflects the context in which they chose sides.[35] During the 1624–1625 Dutch invasion of Salvador, then-novice António Vieira reported to the Company of Jesus that the Tupinambá were the "primary weapon" which "dealt horror to the enemy."[36] He further noted that upon the death of the Bishop of Bahia, "the indians from our *aldeias*, in particular, cried the most at his passing, because he was their father, defender, and protector."[37] Yet after 1630 thousands of *Brasilianen* fought with the Dutch against the Portuguese.

This alliance can be traced from the Dutch expulsion from Bahia in 1625, when West India Company officers brought at least twenty Potiguares to the United Provinces "at great cost" to learn Dutch and studied Calvinism.38 Such efforts were an important part of preparation for the 1630 Dutch assault on Pernambuco.[39]

Potiguar soldier Felipe Camarão, trained in Christian verse and the art of war by none other than disgraced Manuel de Moraes, remained loyal to the Portuguese cause.[40] From 1630, Camarão offered his services to ground commander of the Luso-Brazilian troops Matias de Albuquerque, eventually rising to the rank of "Commander of all Indians."[41] Fueled by prayer, "Camarão gave infinite thanks to the divine power," after one successful battle, "on which depended so much as he was a man fearful of God and a good Christian." The impressed chronicler noted that Camarão took out his relic of the Virgin Mary and kissed it, serving as an example to his men.[42] During the 1638 siege of Bahia, Johan Maurits offered him and other leaders clemency for resisting the Dutch. Camarão showed no interest, replying that he and his men would defend with sword that which the Dutch tried to conquer "with paper"—like said pardon. "And for those who know how to punish, like my soldiers," he scoffed, "your promises and pardons seem ridiculous."[43] Contemporary accounts single out Camarão's valor, especially during this battle for Bahia.[44] For his enduring fealty, he received royal recognition and a host of honors. (Figure 3)

"Northern [i.e. Dutch] images," warns Svetlana Alpers, "…show that meaning by its very nature is lodged in what the eye can take in—however deceptive that might be."[45] For example, Eckhout's loyal "African Man" wears an Akan sword that belies his slave status, an extraordinary leap of the artistic imagination.[46] (Figure 2) In fact, possession of northeast Brazil and efforts to restart sugar production had, by the late 1630s, catapulted the Netherlanders into human trafficking for "without slaves, nothing will get done," complained Maurits to the Dutch West India Company officials.[47] On his initiative, the Dutch seized the West African Portuguese-held fort of Elmina in 1637, the same year Eckhout painted his ethnographic portraits. By 1641, the Dutch seized São Paulo of Loanda in Angola, an important step for the Dutch in guaranteeing labor for sugar mills. This was a victory that "counted higher than any other" due to the "great profit it will afford," wrote a certain N.N. "and I doe not doubt but the company shall bee furnished from thence with all sorts of commodities."[48]

Still, a shortage of African labor remained a chronic problem due to death by overwork or suicide. Dutch-commissioned art catalogued the conditions of African slaves at that time. The following note was affixed to the back of a Frans Post rendering of a sugar mill Maurits gifted to Louis XIV in 1679:

> Sugar mill powered by water with kilns, where the syrup is extracted from the cane for the making of the sugar.

> In the mouth of the kiln the fire is so hot that the Negro slaves prefer to die, and for this reason, they poison themselves when they are able, suffering as the do with that heat.[49]

The arrival of the Dutch in Pernambuco also marked the start of slave flight to the interior and labor upheaval as the invaders sacked and pillaged towns to stake claim. While *mocambos,* or settlements of runaway slaves, had developed prior to the arrival of the Dutch in 1630, Palmares would become the greatest such refuge.[50] In the early chaos of the Dutch invasion, about forty African slaves took flight to the interior where they formed *a Palmares*, literally "the palms," deep in the interior. "During the rule of Count Maurits," wrote one WIC soldier stationed in Pernambuco at this time, "the Negros of these Palmares wreaked considerable damage, especially on those living in the countryside, in Alagoas, and 300 musketeers, 100 mamelucos and 700 Brazilians were needed to contain them."[51]

The Dutch viewed as a menace the "band of thieves and fugitive slaves [who] lived there and formed a society of criminals and bandits who raided the Alagoas, where they devastated the cultivated fields."[52] In the neighboring captaincy of Alagoas, the forests provided safe haven for those who live in what would be known as greater and lesser Palmares—at the time, about 6,000 thousand fugitives.[53] Fifteen years later, the two mocambos of "palmares" had grown to ten.[54] In 1644, Maurits ordered a search for Palmares, with the intent to destroy the problem. That expedition failed, as did another the following year.[55]

Free Africans were among Portuguese subjects who professed and proved their unswerving loyalty to the high ranking officials. Top commanders accepted their aid when it became clear that the Portuguese could not "continue to hold Brazil without the help of the African soldier."[56] In the midst of one wretched campaign, Henrique Dias, a free man of African descent, offered his services and that of his men to General Matias de Albuquerque. (Figure 3) "It seemed to him [Dias] that we needed his person," wrote a contemporary, "and this the general accepted, with a few men of his color." Indeed, when his left hand was shattered in battle, Dias ordered the surgeon to take it off at the wrist. "I still have my right hand with which to fight the Dutch!" he proclaimed. Dias would rise to the rank of commander. De Albuquerque gave him free rein to lead his swelling company of Afro-descended soldiers—later known as the Henriques—provided that all men were all free.[57] In 1638, with no end to the war in sight, the Dutch offered pardons to the leaders of the Portuguese resistance. Dias scoffed: he wrote his own men included Angolans, men from Minas, as well as creoles. They were "ill-tempered, badly behaved men who neither feared nor obeyed anyone."[58] News of Dias' continued efforts and sacrifice against the Dutch reached the crown. He was given the title of *fidalgo* and named to an honorary military order. "And without doubt this

Figure 3. Henrique Dias and Felipe Camarão.

Soure and note: Dias (l) and Camarão (r). Both 17th century (n.d.) oil on canvas 96 cm x 70 cm, Museu do Estado de Pernambuco, Recife.

was just [merited] because of the blood he spilled from many wounds" for the Portuguese.[59]

Luso-Brazilian women never receive such recognition, and Dutch renditions focused on their appearance rather than their potential threat to the Dutch order. "Very few Portuguese men and women are good-looking," noted a Dutch West India Company officer stationed in Recife, "they are dry of face and with dark skin. While still girls, the women lose their teeth, and because they are used to always sitting, they are not as agile as the Dutch women, and walk about in [high heels] as if they had chairs on their legs."[60] On the other hand, Englishman Cuthbert Pudsey, soldier for the West India Company, wrote that the "gentyler kynde of women" proved a challenge for men to resist as "they spayred noe treasure for apparel to bewitch their loovers arts wth their bewtyes, having for helps at hands odoriferous prfumes."[61]

Dutch sources note that "The men are very jealous of their women and ever keep them shut away, recognizing that those from their own nation are inclined to [corrupt them],"[62] but most wives raised families and held onto property while their husbands engaged in the resistance away from home. While wives of Portuguese planters rarely ventured off their *engenhos* except for religious services, they tended to see themselves

as "moons among the stars" for their access, despite relative isolation, to resources and their ability to wield them.[63] Like men, "productive" women could request *sesmarias*, if they indicated that they had cattle and could grind sugar, and, in short, could prove their worth.[64] They rented land to Portuguese Dutch men for the purpose of getting out the *safra* (harvest) and selling sugar on the world market. They also ran *engenhos* (sugar mills) in the absence of their husbands and owned property in their own right, according to Portuguese inheritance law. And they engaged against the Dutch.

In early March 1641, Dona Jerônima de Almeida of Porto Calvo, a noblewoman and mother of nine daughters and three sons, was turned in to West India Company officials for treason.[65] One of her slaves whom she had recently whipped disclosed damning evidence: packets of letters from rebel stronghold Bahia, where her husband was active in the resistance against the Dutch.[66] She was then hauled to Recife, the capital of the Dutch colony. After a thorough investigation, she was charged with allowing resistance meetings in her house. The letters revealed her connection to a known Dutch West India Company traitor who warned her "not on her life" to reveal anything about such rendezvous.[67] In her deposition to Dutch West India Company officials, she confirmed the meeting but claimed ignorance of any conspiracy as she could neither "read nor write," did not know of such things, and was busy making dinner the night she supposedly engaged in "treason."[68] Still, she was sentenced to death by hanging. Upon hearing word of her impending execution, her fellow noblewomen went en masse to governor-general Johan Maurits to intervene on her behalf. As a result of their action, Dona Jerônima received full pardon.[69]

Luso-Brazilian women took action, even if they stayed close to home and hewed to social expectations. One anonymous English author noted that the Portuguese women "in their daintinesse may not set a foote on the ground" but commented that he "saw the time they were glad to make use of their feete to save their lives."[70] Woman of no or few means, however, seemed less constrained by social convention and more direct in their confrontation with the Dutch. For instance, Maria Ortiz repelled West India Company troops in her home village of Nossa Senhora da Vitória in the captaincy of Espírito Santo. Apparently her father was away and had warned his wife and daughter to take care when the Dutch troops swarmed into town. Maria—then sixteen or twenty-one, depending on the source—tossed boiling water on the head of a Dutch captain and forced their defeat.[71]

Non-elite women also went into battle against the Dutch. They included the celebrated Clara Camarão, "the warrior" who fought side-by-side with her husband, the above-mentioned Felipe Camarão.[72] In one losing battle against the Dutch, she was said to have wielded arms and, ignoring the shrieks of the "ladies of Porto Calvo," marched to the front

to fight.[73] "Sightings" of Clara Camarão have been derived mainly from the work of contemporary chronicler Diogo Lopes Santiago.[74] In the next century, Benedictine monk Domingos Loreto Couto admiringly described her "manly" actions against the Dutch:

> In the Pernambucan War of Restoration, the valor of D. Clara woman of the Governor of Indians D. Antonio Felippe Camarão was one of her most illustrious highlights: because armed with sword and bouclier [small shield] and on horseback, seen by the admiring Dutch and to our own applause in one of the most dangerous conflicts at her husband's side, such noble feats obscure the memory of Zenobia of Palmyria; of Camilla, Queen of Vulcans; Semiramis, Queen of Babylon.[75]

The accounting—and recounting—of the Luso-Dutch Battle for Brazil affords a closer view of women marginalized women long obscured by their description as helpless, passive, frivolous, and hidden from sight. Chronicles and records suggest action divorced of stereotypes and highlight avenues for elite and marginalized women. They may have appeared to have been isolated from society in their homes or on their *engenhos*, but as grantees of sesmarias and engenho owners, women proved productive—and some, like Dona Jerônima, engaged in the resistance against the Dutch. Unlike the case of the *dona do engenho* Dona Jerônima, neither Maria Ortiz nor Clara Camarão woman appear to have made it into the Dutch official record. Today, however, both nonelite women are enshrined in Brazilian national memory.[76] An *escadaria* (a set of hillside steps), first built in the 1920s where Ortiz was presumed to have lived, was recently renovated.[77]

Restoration

"Arise O Lord! Why do you sleep?" António Vieira challenged God as the Dutch trained their guns on Salvador in April 1640.[78] It seemed then that God had turned his back on the Portuguese. But the Dutch failed to take Bahia yet again, and Vieira was only ever lauded for this sermon in which he exhorted the Portuguese to take up arms against the Dutch. Across the Atlantic, Portuguese nobles soon ended Spanish rule in a swift coup and Vieira would serve as adviser to the new king Dom João IV and diplomat for Portugal. By 1641, the kingdom had not one but two enemies with which to immediately contend; besides the Dutch, who continued their expansionary violence in Brazil, the Spanish now massed on Portugal's border, preparing to invade as punishment for Portuguese defiance. The Spanish crown also offered Brazil to the Dutch in ongoing peace talks.[79]

Figure 4. View on Fort Frederick Hendrick.

Source and notes: Frans Post (1640), oil on canvas, 66cm x 88cm
Ricardo Brennand Institute, Recife.

In a 1640 rendition of Fort Frederick Hendrick (Fig. 4), Frans Post, commissioned by Maurits to paint Dutch-held Brazil, imagined a well-ordered world under his patron's control.[80] Following contemporary Dutch style, the sky takes up more than half the composition; the fort looms in the background of what appears to be a simple scene. We see three unshod figures—in Brazil, bare feet a sign of slavery for them all—either walking to or from Fort Frederick Hendrick.[81] Yet there was no such surrender. The stories of non-elite including Henrique Dias, Felipe Camarão, and Dona Jerônima de Almeida reveal that the rhetoric of Dutch aesthetic ambition belied the realities of conquest.

Towards the end of the Luso-Dutch wars, Vieira noted that that "Men invented books to preserve the memory of things past, against the tyranny of the times, and against the forgetting of men… which is an even greater tyranny."[82] Given the aesthetic ambition and prolific output of the Dutch, it is tempting—and reasonable—to cast the Dutch in Brazil as a remarkable achievement of an upstart colony. But overlooked Portuguese language texts reveal that the Dutch in Brazil served as an opportunity for marginalized subjects regardless of which side they chose: for some, the conflict led to sociopolitical openings and a place in Brazilian memory. The military-saint Anthony, *Father* Anthony, and the records of resistance fighters in seventeenth-century Brazil point the way to on-the-ground improvisation and resistance. Such considerations afford us a glimpse of overlooked and game-changing individuals during the "Divine War of

Liberation," as the conflict in Brazil came to be known, to final victory in 1654. Salvation, then, came neither from above, nor from the metropole, but from across the Atlantic in the unlikeliest of sources—non-elite Portuguese subjects in Brazil.

Abbreviations
EEBO (Early English Books Online)
NL-HaNA (Nationaal Archief)
BNB (Biblioteca Nacional Brasil)

Endnotes
[1] The author thanks David McCreery for reading and commenting on an early draft of this work.
[2] Here, *moradores* means residents of a town.
[3] St. Anthony continued to receive promotions and pay raises until 1912. He "retired" as a lieutenant-colonel. Ronaldo Vainfas, "Saint Anthony in Portuguese America: Saint of the Restoration." In *Colonial Saints : Discovering the Holy in the Americas, 1500–1800*, Allan Greer and Jodi Bilinkoff, eds. (New York: Routledge, 2003), 103–104.
[4] The Dutch would also seize Maranhão (Maranham) in 1641.
[5] António Vieira, "Sermão pelo bom sucesso das armas de Portugal contra as de Holanda," [1640], *O Chrysostomo Portuguez*, IV (Lisbon: Editora de Mattos Moreira & Co, 1881), 50. Here and throughout this paper, all Portuguese translations are my own.
[6] The effect of the Luso-Dutch war in Brazil (1630–1654) on the WIC is only now being acknowledged by prolific Atlanticists. See, for example, Michiel van Groesen, *Amsterdam's Atlantic: Print Culture and the Making of Dutch Brazil* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Wim Klooster, *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).
[7] The first governor-general of Dutch Brazil, Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen commissioned forty-six artisans, artist, naturalists, and cartographers to accompany him to Pernambuco. Upon his recall to the Netherlands, Maurits oversaw the production and distribution of art and text that described Brazil during his tenure (1637–1645). This included the first landscapes of the America, by Frans Post, *Historia Naturalis Brasiliae* (1648) by physician-scientist Willem Piso and naturalist and cartographer Georg Marcraf. Carl Linnaes found Marcraf's zoological notes particularly critical to his own work. Melissa Mota Alcides and Maria Angelica da Silva, "Collecting and Framing the Wilderness: The Garden of Johan Maurits (1604–1679) in North-East Brazil." *Dutch Influences* 30, no. 2 (Winter 2003): 153–76.
[8] Charles Boxer [1957], *The Dutch in Brazil 1624–1654* (Hamden: Archon Books, 1973); Benjamin Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad: The Dutch Imagination and the New World, 1570–1670* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press,

2009); Michiel van Groesen, ed., *The Legacy of Dutch Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Elizabeth A. Sutton, *Cartography and Capitalism in the Dutch Golden Age* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2015); Michiel van Groesen, *Amsterdam's Atlantic: Print Culture and the Making of Dutch Brazil* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Wim Klooster, *The Dutch Moment: War, Trade, and Settlement in the Seventeenth-Century Atlantic World* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2016).

[9] At the end of the nineteenth century and through the first four decades of the twentieth, this effort was also a regional project of Pernambucan pride at a time when the Brazilian northeast was eclipsed by the industrial growth to the south. See also Geert Oostindie, "Historical Memory and National Canons" in *Dutch Colonialism, Migration, and Cultural Heritage: Past and Present* (Leiden: Brill, 2008), 79.

[10] Cuthbert Pudsey [1629–1640], *Journal of a Residence in Brazil*, *Dutch Brazil* vol 3, Nelson Papavero and Dantes Martins Teixeira, eds. (Petropolis: Index, 2000).

[11] This was the joint Luso-Spanish expedition which ousted the Dutch from Bahia. The Spanish crown directed several more such armadas during the Philippine era, none of which proved successful. With the December 1640 dissolution of the Iberian crowns, Dom João of Braganza, the first Portuguese king in sixty years, concentrated on cutting losses and protecting Portugal as the Spanish massed on the border. An independent Luso-Brazilian uprising against the Dutch began in 1645.

[12] For a detailed account of the battle, see Damião Antonio de Lemos de Faria Castro [1625], *Jornada de Africa del Rey D. Sebastião escrita por um homen Africano: monumento verídico das cousas que passaram em Africa quando el Rey Dom Sebastião de Portugal e ela veio : escrito por um homem Africano desejoso de se não perder a fama dos acontecimentos que nesta batalha se obraram pelos nobres capitães, fidalgos e almocadés*. (Lisboa: Livro Aberto, 2004) and Mary Elizabeth Brooks, "Military Defeat to Immortality: The Birth of Sebastianism," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 1: 2 (1964).

[13] Note: this was the Dutch Revolt against Habsburg Spain, later known as the Eighty Years' War (1568–1648).

[14] In 1603, the Dutch seized the Santa Catarina, and sold its contents in an auction that brought in staggering sums. The Dutch East India Company hired rising jurist Hugo de Groot (Grotius) to pen an "apologia" regarding such action. His work evolved into the enduring 1609 *De Jure Praedae (On the Law of Prize and Booty)* and *Mare Liberum (The Free Seas)*. These texts articulated the circumstances under which person and property could be seized and served as foundation for modern international law. Peter Borschberg, "The Seizure of the Sta. Catarina Revisited: The Portuguese Empire in Asia, VOC Politics, and the Origins of the Dutch-Johor Alliance (1602-c.1616)." *Journal of Southeast Asian Studies* 33, no. 1 (February 2002): 34; Martine Julia Van Ittersum, *Profit and Principle: Hugo Grotius, Natural*

Rights Theories and the Rise of Dutch Power in the East Indies, 1595–1615 (Leiden: Brill, 2006).

[15] The VOC stands for the Vereenigde Oostindische Compagnie (Dutch East India Company).

[16] On the phases of the phases of the war and the "Nassovian interregnum," see Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *O Brasil holandês, 1630–1654* (São Paulo: Penguin-Companhia, 2010), 21–22; 161.

[17] Caspar van Baerle, *The History of Brazil under the Governorship of Johan Maurits of Nassau 1646–1644* [1648], translated by Blanche T. van Berckel-Ebeling Koning (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 2011), 1.

[18] Kimberly Cleveland, "Mapping the Landscaped Brazilian Body," unpublished graduate school paper (04/18/2003) 20; 44.

[19] Ineke Phaf-Reinberger, citing Maurits, "Science and Art in the Dutch Period in NE Brazil," *Circumscribere* 2 (2009): 43, fn.19.

[20] Rebecca Parker Brienan, "Albert Eckhout and Frans Post" in Edward J. Sullivan, ed., *Brazil, Body and Soul* (New York: Guggenheim Museum Publications, 2001), 65.

[21] See chapter one of Mark Meuewse's *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade: Dutch-Indigenous Alliances in the Atlantic World, 1595–1674* (Leiden: Brill, 2012); John Donoghue and Evelyn P. Jennings, *Building the Atlantic Empires: Unfree Labor and Imperial States in the Political Economy of Capitalism, ca. 1500–1914* (Leiden: Brill, 2015); Pepijn Brandon and Karwan Fatah-Black, "'For the Reputation and Respectability of the State': Trade, the Imperial State, Unfree Labor, and Empire in the Dutch Atlantic" in *Building the Atlantic Empires: Unfree Labor and Imperial States in the Political Economy of Capitalism, ca. 1500–1914* (Leiden: Brill, 2015), 84–85.

[22] A.J.E. Harmsen, "Barleus' Description of the Dutch Colony in Brazil," *Travel Fact and Fiction: Studies on Fiction, Literary Tradition, Scholarly Discovery and Observation in Travel Writing*, ed. Zweder von Martels (Leiden: E.J. Brill, 1994), 158.

[23] Cuthbert Pudsey, *Journal of a Residence in Brazil,* 69; Regina de Carvalho, "Calabar:Um Intermediário Cultural No Brasil Holandês," *Revista 7 Mares*, no. 3 (October 2013). http://www.historia.uff.br/7mares/wp-content/uploads/2018/11/v02n03a06.pdf., 68. Ronaldo Vainfas notes that Portuguese accounts all point to the exact date of Calabar's desertion: 20 April 1632. Vainfas, *Traição:um Jesuíta a serviço do Brasil holandês processado pela inquisição* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008), 86. The Portuguese term "mulato" refers to one of European and African heritage; "mameluco" to a person of Indian and European descent. Brazilian historian Ronaldo Vainfas notes he was cast as both terms, although believes that given Calabar's fluency in Tupi, he is best described as mameluco.

[24] Vainfas, *Traição,* 90. English eyewitness and soldier for the Dutch Cuthbert Pudsey noted that Calabar had committed a terrible crime which forced him to desert or die at the hands of the Portuguese: he had

"ravished" a woman and cut out her tongue lest she betray him. Pudsey, *Journal of a Residence in Brazil,* 69.

[25] Quotes from Pudsey, *Journal of a Residence in Brazil* 69; Duarte de Albuquerque Coelho, *Memorias diárias,* (July 22, 1635), 212.

[26] Coelho, *Memórias diárias,* 212.

[27] Ibid., 84.

[28] A fair number of Dutch West India Company soldiers crossed over to the Portuguese, especially in the brutal early years. The cause of Calabar's desertion is unclear, though it is generally agreed that some sort of criminal behavior sparked the move. One contemporary noted his "perverse inclinations"" and that he had committed great crimes in Porto Calvo, his natal town, and elsewhere, escaping to the Dutch to avoid punishment. After the fall of the strategically located Forte do Bom Jesus, and upon southward retreat to Sergipe in July 1635, the Portuguese army, tipped off by a spy embedded with the Dutch, came upon and overwhelmed a Dutch company which included Calabar. He was captured and summarily executed. Coelho, *Memórias diárias*, 207.

[29] This title was later granted to one of Moraes' proteges, the Poti Antonio Felipe Camarão.

Dauril Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise: the Society of Jesus in Portugal, Its Empire, and Beyond, 1540–1750* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 208.

[30] Vainfas, *Traição,* 15. ("cara de chim" — face of a Chinese)

[31] Ibid., 76–79.

[32] Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 267.

[33] Moraes retreated to Portugal, where he was welcomed back, though not without facing the Inquisition for his acts. Miraculously he was released; he then returned to Brazil; after the Dutch surrender, he tried his luck in exploring the relatively unknown state of Maranhão.

[34] Alden, *The Making of an Enterprise,* 210. Ever under suspicion, though, Moraes was sent to Lisbon and interrogated by the Inquisition; he recanted, was imprisoned until his release due to health issues, and left Portugal for a Catholic land. (he is believed not long after, in 1651)

[35] Seventeenth-century colonialists of Dutch Brazil named as *Brasilianen* the Tupi-speaking Tupinambá or Potiguar people who lived along or near the coastline. On Dutch-indigenous alliances in Brazil, see Mark Meuews, *Brothers in Arms, Partners in Trade,*126–132. Portuguese colonialists divided the indigenous people of Brazil into two groups: Tupinambá, for their Tupi-derived language, and Tapuya/Tapuia, a non-Tupi-speaking group who lived in the interior. The Tarairu inhabited the sertão, or backlands of Rio Grande do Norte. The first was comprised of several different and, at times warring tribes, including the Potiguara, the Tupiniquim, and the Caeté tribes. These the Portuguese named as *índios mansos* or "tame Indians"; many were also *índios aldeados* (indigenous people who lived in Jesuit-run villages). See for example, Carrie Anderson, "Mapping

Colonial Interdependencies in Dutch Brazil: European Linen and *Brasilianen* identity," *Artl@as* 7: 2 (Fall 2018): 57–59.

[36] António Vieira, "Carta Ânua da Provincia do Brasil" [1626], in *Cartas do Padre António Vieira* organized and annotated by J. Lúcio d'Azevedo vol. 1 (Coimbra: Coimbra University Press, 1925), 40.

[37] Vieira, "Carta Ânua," 34.

[38] The indigenous left in Bahia at the time of Dutch withdrawal in 1625 bore the brunt of Portuguese wrath in 1625 for serving the Dutch. This however, was due to neglect by the Dutch, according to a West India Company officer: in their surrender treaty at Bahia "forgot to include them [Dutch Indian allies] in the treaty, the result of which was cruel treatment by the Spanish [Portuguese]." Richshoffer, *Diário de um soldado*, 84. https://archive.org/details/diariodeumsolda00richgoog/page/n5.

[39] Later, the High Council lamented funds spent on Pieter Poti and his cousin Antonio Parawba who were "more perverse and wild," went the complaint, "in their way of life than in other *brasilienses."* John Hemming, *Ouro Vermelho: A Conquista Dos Índios Brasileiros* (São Paulo: EDUSP, 2007); *Tempo dos Flamengos*, (1987), 223.

[40] Igor Pereira Fagundes, "Felipe Camarão, um cavaleiro a serviço del rei: memória, história e identidade nas pernambucanas, século XVII." *Revista 7 Mares*, no. 5 (October 2015), 201.

[41] As an *índio aldeiado*, Camarão, a member of the Poti tribe, was raised on an *aldeia* (Jesuit run indigenous village).

[42] Diogo Lopes Santiago [1675] 1984 version, 484. Apud Igor Pereira Fagundes, "Felipe Camarão, un cavaleiro potiguar."

[43] Felipe Camarão to the Dutch. Recife, April 1638, "Carta dos holandeses, oferecendo o perdão a todos os rebeldes que se renderem a seu domínio e respostas dos brasileiros, João Fernandes Vieira, André Vidal de Negreiros, Antônio Felipe Camarão e Henrique Dias, em nome de todos os defensores do Brasil na luta contra a Holanda," Mss II-31,28,003, fol. 5. Biblioteca Nacional Brasil (BNB), http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_manuscritos/mss_II31_28_003.pdf

[44] See, for instance, Coelho's *Memórias Diárias*, 275–283.

[45] Svetlana Alpers, *The Art of Describing : Dutch Art in the Seventeenth Century* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984), xxiv.

[46] Cleveland, "Mapping the Landscaped Brazilian Body," 5.

[47] Johan Maurits, "A Brief report on the State that is Composed of the Four Conquered Captaincies: Pernambuco, Itamaracá, Paraíba and Rio Grande, Situated in the North of Brazil," in Stuart Schwartz, *Early Brazil: A Documentary Collection*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010.

[48] N.N., *A Little true forraine newes* (London: 1642), via EEBO, 4.

According to his WIC contract, Maurits was guaranteed a percentage of the sugar profits, but the results of monoculture proved a less than

successful. The Dutch faced agricultural challenges, as well, given the fickle growing season of the northeast. One seventeenth century planter complained that farming in Brazil was a gamble, and harvest was met with bated breath: "It is just like an act of copulation, in which the participant does not know whether he has achieved something, or whether the result will be a boy or a girl, sound or deformed, in until the birth is achieved." Darlene Sadlier, *Brazil Imagined: 1500-present* (Austin: University of Texas Press), 88.

[49] Bea and Pedro Corrêa do Lago, *Frans Post, 1612–1680: Catalogue Raisonné* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2007), 109.

[50] Palmares is often referred to as a *quilombo*, but that word did not exist in seventeenth century literature. Mocambo was the term most frequently sued to discuss such settlements.

[51] Johannes Nieuhof [1682], *Memorável Viagem marítima e terrestre ao Brasil* José Honário Rodrigues and Moacir Nascimento Vasconcelo, translators (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo), 1981.

[52] Ibid.

[53] R.K. Kent, "An African State in Brazil." *The Journal of African History* 6, no. 2 (1965): 161–75.

[54] Kent, *An African State in Brazil,* 169.

[55] Irene Diggs, *Zumbi and the Republic of Palmares*, 65–66. On the failed Dutch expeditions, 166–167, Kent. R.K. "An African State in Brazil." *The Journal of African History* 6, no. 2 (1965): 161.

[56] Kent, *An African State,* 161.

[57] Coelho, *Memórias diárias,* 109.

[58] Henrique Dias to the Dutch. Recife, April 1638, "Carta dos holandeses oferencdo o perdão a todos os rebeldes que se renderem a seu domínio e respostas dos brasileiros, João Fernandes Vieira, André Vidal de negreiros, Antônio Felipe Camarão e Henrique Dias, em nome de todos os defensores do Brasil na luta contra a Holanda," Mss-31, 28,003, fol. 3 Biblioteca Nacional Brasil (BNB)

[59] Coelho, *Memórias diárias,* 96.

[60] Evaldo Cabral de Mello, O Brasil holandês (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009), 260.

[61] Pudsey, 43.

[62] In "Breve discurso sobre o estado das quarto capitanias conquistados," in *Fontes para a história do Brasil holandês,* ii, pp. 108–110 apud Evaldo Cabral de Mello, 260; Adrian van der Dussen, *Relatório sobre as capitanías conquistadas no Brasil pelos Holandeses : suas condições económicas e sociais (1639)*, translated by Jose António Gonsalves de Mello, neto. *Historia, III* (Rio de Janeiro: Instituto do Açucar e do Álcool), 1947.

[63] Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 298 fn 89. Portuguese women inherited equally to men. That is, sons and daughters split familial property equally. Wives could inherit direct from their husbands.

For more on the rights of early modern Portuguese women see Darlene Abreu-Ferreira, "Fishmongers and Fishmongers and Shipowners: Women in Maritime Communities of Early Modern Portugal," *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, 31: 1, Special Edition: Gender in Early Modern Europe (Spring, 2000), pp. 7–23.

[64] One obtained a *sesmaria* (land grant) by submitting a formal petition or request with name, providence and "qualifications" of the petitioner or petitoners, as well as the specific land requested. Qualification generally indicated the means with which the person would be able to develop and subsist on the land. In most cases, that meant assurances of livestock which would graze until ready for market or consumption, or for use in cultivation and refining of sugar. The second part of the petition included justifications for soliciting the land such as a petition from the captain major or governor or another authority responsible for the donation; the scribe would verify that the land requested had not been granted to another. http://www.silb.cchla.ufrn.br/

[65] Alternate spellings of Jerônima: Geronima, Geronimma.

[66] Manoel Calado, *O valeroso Lucideno e triunfo da liberdade* [1648] 4th ed., vol. I (Recife: Fundarpe, 1985), 127.

[67] In his account, the Dutch West India Company sheriff argued that Craeijesteijn gave a letter to Dona Jerônima in which he asked her to tell him if and when rebel Portuguese captain Paul da Cunha, should come to her engenho; he wanted to speak to him. Dona Jerônima brought this request to fruition through a certain Pedro d' Andrade Barbosa from whom she heard that Portuguese captain da Cunha had come to the *engenho* Moro. He told him to say that he should come immediately as happened. Arriving there, the detained Craeijesteijn spoke with the Portuguese captain as well as other officers on the "enemy" side. NL-HA NA 1.05.01.01 56 69 0001, scan 305 1–2. With thanks to Deborah Hamer, who provided a detailed translation of this Dutch source.

[68] Dona Geronimma, 9 March 1641, NL-HaNA (Nationaal Archieef), OWIC, 1.05.01.01, inv.nr. 56, 76, f.2.

[69] Calado, *O valeroso Lucideno e triunfo da liberdade*, 127–128.

[70] I.B., *A Plaine and true relation of the going forth of a Holland fleete the eleventh of november 1623, to the coast of Brasil with the taking of Salvador, and the chief occurrences falling out there, in the time of the hollanders continuance therein. As also the coming of the Spanish armado to Salvadoe, with the beleaguering of it, the accedints falling in the towne the time of beleaguering* (Rotterdam, 1626), via EEBO, 3.

[71] Francisco de Brito Freire, *Nova Lusitania, Historia Da Guerra Brasilica : A Purissima Alma e Saudosa Memoria Do Serenissimo Principe Dom Theodosio, Principe de Portugal, e Principe Do Brasil,* vol.II (Lisboa: Officina de Joam Galram, 1675), 95. Given the scanty record—one short paragraph in Freire's memoir, Brazilian scholars have tracked down, elaborated on and questioned Maria's existence. That said, the area of town where she was reputed to have lived has been renamed in her honor, and she is

recognized as a national heroine. Here, this historian confirms the existence of Maria Ortiz (Urtiz): Gerson França, "Maria Ortiz: A Lenda, a Verdade e a Tradição." *Historia Capixaba,* November 25, 2016, http://spiritosancto.org/blog/maria-ortiz-a-lenda-a-verdade-e-a-tradicao/.

[72] Joaquim Norberto de Souza Silva, *Brasileiras Celebres* (Rio de Janeiro: B. L. Garnier1862), BBM, 54.

[73] Silva, *Brasileiras Celebres*, 88.

[74] Teacher and friar Diogo Lopes Santiago set aside his instructional duties to chronicle and fight in the battle against the Dutch. It is not known when he completed his work. His manuscript was discovered in the municipal library of Porto sometime between 1871–1876. *História da guerra de Pernambuco e feitos memoráveis do mestre de campo João Fernandes Vieira, herói digno de eterna memória* (Recife: Fundarpe, 1984), 118.

[75] Excerpted from the 1757 work of Benedictine monk Domingos Loreto Couto, which remained unpublished until 1904. *Desaggravos Do Brazil e Glorias de Pernambuco* (Rio de Janeiro: Officina Typographica da Bibliotheca Nacional, 1904), 525, BNB. http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/div_obrasgerais/drg177349/drg177349.pdf.

[76] See, for example, Maria Amélia de Almeida Teles, *Breve história do feminismo no Brasil e outros ensaios* (São Paulo: Editora Alameda, 2017); On the national recognition of Clara Camarão, see Ramon Ribeiro, "Clara Camarão, uma heroína entre o mito e a realidade." E-version of newspaper. *Tribuna da Norte*, March 15, 2015. http://www.tribunadonorte.com.br/noticia/clara-camara-o-uma-heroa-na-entre-o-mito-e-a-realidade/374304 and Cláudio Oliveiro, "Clara Camarão será reconhecida 'Heroína Natalense' pela câmara." *Camara Municipal Do Natal*, May 29, 2017, https://www.cmnat.rn.gov.br/noticias/238/clara-camaro-ser-reconhecida-herona-natalense-pela-cmara.

[77] "Escadaria Mariz Ortiz é reformada por detentos"(2018), https://gvnews.com.br/escadaria-mariz-ortiz-e-reformada-por-detentos/.

[78] Vieira, "Sermão pelo bom sucesso das armas de Portugal contra as de Holanda," 44.

[79] Jonathan Israel,*The Dutch Republic and the Hispanic World: 1601–1661* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), 349.

[80] Bea and Pedro Corrêa do Lago, "Frans Post," in *Frans Post, 1612–1680: Catalogue Raisonné* (Milan: 5 Continents, 2007), 28.

[81] In pre-abolition Brazil, bare feet, rather than skin tone, served to indicate slave status.

[82] António Vieira, "Sermão Nossa Senhora da Penha da Franca" In*O Chrysostomo Portuguez*, edited by António Honorati, vol. III (Lisbon: Matteus Moreira, 1878), 172.

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