

BRAZILIAN INDIANS IN THE DUTCH REPUBLIC

THE REMONSTRANCES OF ANTONIO PARAUPABA
TO THE STATES GENERAL IN 1654 AND 1656

LODEWIJK HULSMAN



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Introduction

The conquest of Olinda in 1630 by forces of the Dutch West Indian Company (WIC) was the beginning of a period that has become known as Dutch Brazil. The enterprise flourished after the board of directors of the WIC, the gentlemen XIX, appointed Count Johann Moritz von Nassau in 1636 as Governor General. Recife, the present capital of the Brazilian state of Pernambuco, became the administrative centre of an area reaching from the state of Alagoas to the state of Maranhão. The uprising of a large part of the Portuguese population in 1645, a year after the departure of Nassau, turned Recife into a beleaguered fortress that surrendered itself and all other WIC possessions in Brazil on 26 January 1654.

The pamphlet published by H. Hondius in 1657 with two remonstrances of the Brazilian Amerindian Antonio Paraupaba, is remarkable in that it shows a continuing relation with Brazil after the surrender in 1654. Paraupaba presents himself as a representative of Brazilian Indians loyal to the Dutch Republic and the Reformed religion. It is also remarkable in that it illustrates a relationship between Brazilian indigenous people and the Dutch that has received but little attention: the presence of Amerindians in the Netherlands in the seventeenth century. The Irishman Bernardo O' Brien del Carpio wrote in 1636 in Madrid to Philip IV of Spain, that after having arrived in the Netherlands from the Amazon in a Dutch vessel in 1635: *'I went to other cities in Holland like Rotterdam, Delft, The Hague, where I met many Portuguese and Indians from Brazil, which pretended that the States of Holland should contract their services'*.¹

The study of the history of the indigenous people of Brazil is hampered by a lack of documentation; most of the sources available for the sixteenth and seventeenth century were written by Europeans. The documents written by Brazilian Indians during the period of Dutch Brazil have become famous because they are rare. The pamphlet is in the first place, one of the few remaining accounts of indigenous Brazilian people from the seventeenth century. Paraupaba was a witness to the relationship between his people and the Dutch for thirty years. The pamphlet has frequently been cited, but has never been published fully since 1657.²

The second important value of the pamphlet is the description of Dutch involvement in Brazil. Paraupaba's discourse reflects his perception of the Dutch. Dutch Brazil is an important period both in the discovery of the Americas, and for its impact on the Netherlands. Recent historical research into the relations between the Dutch and non-European peoples during the Dutch expansion in the seventeenth century, has characterised these relations as an exchange process. The study of Mark Meuwese 'For the Peace and Well Being of the Country' is an excellent example.³

The text of the pamphlet consists of two requests by Paraupaba to the Dutch States General, and the translation of an intercepted Portuguese letter from Brazil. Paraupaba's first request is registered August 1654 in the index on the resolutions of the States General. His second request dated April 1656 is preserved, contrary to the first remonstrance, of which only the printed version remains.⁴

It is difficult to prove that Paraupaba wrote the requests. The remaining manuscript was drawn by a professional writer. The correction of his name on the first page of the manuscript of the second remonstrance suggests that he checked the document after it was written before signing it.

It is also difficult to prove that Paraupaba did not write the requests. Paraupaba was an experienced writer; the Daily Minutes of the WIC High Council in Recife mention several manuscripts from his hand. The correspondence between indigenous Brazilians, like the reply from Pedro Poti to letters of his relative Felipe Camarão, points to a relatively high degree of literacy among the indigenous population of Pernambuco, Itamaracá and Paraíba. Pedro Poti even had a personal writer, like many higher placed officials of the WIC.⁵

J. de Laet wrote about the 'Brazilians', including Paraupaba, who came to the Netherlands in 1625: '[...] we have often seen them in the United Provinces, they have learned our language, they know how to write and are instructed in the principles of the Christian religion. We have, in a certain way, received knowledge of these regions from them'. J.A. Gonsalves de Mello concludes that the Indians in Leiden circulated in high circles.⁶

The pamphlet is presented in the form of an integral English translation of the printed text of Paraupaba's remonstrances with annotations in the margin. The translation is preceded by concise contextual information on Antonio Paraupaba and Brazilian Indians.⁷

'Brasilianen'

The Dutch discourse adopted the division between the 'Tupi' speaking people along the coast and the 'Tapuia', non-Tupi speaking peoples of the interior. The Tupi are named 'Brasilianen', 'Brazilians', and are seen as civilized as opposed to the 'barbarous' Tapuia.

The alliance of the Dutch with the Tarairiu of Jandhui was marked by the exotic character of these Tapuia. However, recent studies by Pompa and Galindo have shown that this division between Tapuia and Tupi is not so

clear. The arrival of the Europeans led to massive migrations of the indigenous population in North-eastern Brazil.⁸

The Potiguar were dominant along the coast from Pernambuco to Maranhão when the Portuguese arrived in 1500. Duarte Coelho, the founder of Pernambuco, established good relations with these Tupi, which soured rapidly, around 1535. The Potiguar in Paraíba and Rio Grande were defeated between 1589 and 1599 despite their fierce resistance with firearms bought from the French.⁹

Part of the Potiguar nation, headed by the father of Felipe Camarão, allied itself in these wars to the Portuguese. Other Potiguar fled to Ceará and Maranhão in the beginning of the seventeenth century. Pedro Poti refers to this division in the Potiguar nation in his letter to Felipe Camarão dated 31 October 1645, that was also published as a pamphlet: *'Nephew Camaron, thy lets thyself be deceived, the Portuguese wicked design is none other than to master this land and then whether kill or enslave you as well as us.'*¹⁰

The Potiguar were one of the indigenous identities that the Dutch considered 'Brazilian'. Barlaeus records the: 'Potiguars, Viatans, Tupinambas, Caetés, Tupiniquins, Tupiguais, Apigapigtangas, Muriapigtangas, Itátis, Temimino, Tamoio and Carijo'. An important distinction between the 'Brazilians' and the Tapuia was that the former led a sedentary life in settlements. These aldeias were a project to 'civilise' the Indians under the direction of Catholic missionaries. The aldeias were important as a defence against indigenous raiders. They also served as a labour pool for the local economy. The conquest of Paraíba in 1634 led to the establishment of Dutch rule over a large part of the Brazilian population. The WIC copied the government of the 'Brazilians' in aldeias.¹¹

Antonio Paraupaba

Antonio Paraupaba probably left Brazil the first of August 1625, with the fleet of Admiral Boudewijn Hendricxsz, together with his father Gaspar Paraupaba. Laet mentions the names of: Marzial, Takou, Ararova and Matauve, while Hessel Gerritsz refers to the Indians embarking with this fleet and arriving in the Netherlands as Andreus Fransisco, Antony Guirrawassauay, Antony Francisco and Lauys Caspar. Two names are uncontested: Pedro Poti and the 'old' Gaspar Paraupaba, father of Antonio. (Indian nomenclature in Dutch Archives is extremely unreliable.) The schooling of the Indians from the *Bahia de Traição*, including Paraupaba, was a long term investment of the WIC. Some of the Indians stayed in Groningen, others in Amsterdam. Paraupaba left no traces of his stay in the Netherlands between 1625 and 1631.¹²

Paraupaba and Poti travelled back to Brazil in 1631, where they acted primarily as interpreters to recruit Indian allies for the Dutch. Paraupaba is referred to as one of the 'Brazilians' educated in the Netherlands in 1631. De Laet mentions him as interpreter for Arciezewski and Stachouwer in their negotiations with the Tapuia of Jandhui in Rio Grande, in October 1634.

Adriaen van Dussen refers to Paraupaba as captain of the aldeia Aabaú in Goiana in his account dated 1639.¹³

The first results of the mission in the aldeias had been encouraging, as the Reformed Classis started in 1640 with the appointment of Brazilians as teachers. The further development was disappointing, though. The Dutch reached the point where they seriously considered taking the children of the Brazilians to raise them in a special school. The High council reprimands Poti and Paraupaba several times. The High council refers in 1644 to Paraupaba: *'that Pieter Poti and Antonio Paripaba, whose education in the Fatherland has cost the Company so dearly, are wilder and naughtier in the ways of life than other Brazilians'*. It seems that the Brazilians had their own agenda.¹⁴

Paraupaba travelled to the Netherlands to lobby with a Brazilian delegation for the second time in 1644. He accompanied Johann Moritz von Nassau, who returned after having served seven years as Governor General. The Brazilians were helped by the shock felt by WIC officials that had been provoked by the rebellion of Potiguar Indians in Ceará, who killed many Dutch including Gedeon Morris, one of their staunchest defenders, early in 1644. The Brazilian delegation received a charter declaring their privileges in Dutch Brazil from the Gentlemen XIX in Amsterdam on 24 November 1644.¹⁵

Paraupaba must have made a quick return journey. The Brazilians organised an assembly in Itapessericá in 1645. On 30 March 1645, they then presented to the High Council in Recife the letter from the Gentlemen XIX, together with a document resulting from this assembly, in which the Brazilians proposed councils of 'aldermen', listing the names of many Brazilians including Paraupaba and Poti. The WIC had introduced these councils in the traditional Portuguese municipalities from 1636, but not in the aldeias. Three regidores were sworn in as aldermen on 12 April 1645 and Carapeba was chosen to guard a copy of the charter of the XIX. The Brazilians returned to their villages after receiving fare, cloth and money for themselves and their twenty captains. On 5 May 1645, the members of the delegation presented the High Council with some quintals of wood in gratitude for the friendly reception they had received in the Netherlands.¹⁶

Paraupaba was appointed as 'Captain and Regidor of Rio Grande' in June 1645. He immediately wrote a request on 3 July demanding the liberation of all enslaved Brazilians. This implies that around 1645, slavery was still an issue for the Brazilians. The French Huguenot legacy partly explains the particular insistence of the Dutch in Brazil on the prohibition of the enslavement of 'Brazilians'. This policy was not very popular with the local Portuguese and Dutch population.¹⁷

The situation changed radically with the eruption of hostilities in 1645. In July, Indians massacred Portuguese in Cunhaú. The Portuguese took their revenge in August by killing the Indian allies of the Dutch who had surrendered in Serinhaem and Casa Forte. Poti wrote: *'the tyranny, but recently perpetrated by André Vidal, after quarter was conceded, to our brethren in Serinhain [...] but of which my brother Antoni in Rio Grande has taken good revenge'*. Paraupaba played an important role in a massacre of Portuguese

in Rio Grande on 3 October 1645 in Uruauassu: *'two hundred well armed Brazilians with Antonio Paraupaba prancing on a horse [...] the Flemish ordered them (the moradores) to kneel [...] and soon fetched the Brazilians to kill them'*. This account by Lopo Curado, cited by Calado in his *Valeroso Lucideno*, played an important part in the sanctification of some of the victims of this massacre by Pope John Paul II on 5 March 2000.¹⁸ Paraupaba remained active in Rio Grande, performing a special mission to Ceará in the spring of 1648. Pedro Poti and Paraupaba constantly pressed the Dutch for weapons and money, but their efforts were in vain. The defeat in the second battle of Guararapes on 2 February 1649 crushed all hopes for those Brazilians allied with the Dutch. Poti was captured, and although the High Council, after Brazilian pressure, made efforts on his behalf, they were unable to achieve anything. He was replaced as regidor by Caspar Cararu.¹⁹

The problem that developed in relation to Carapeba is an important illustration of the relations between the Dutch and the regidores. Listrij, director of the Brazilians, reported on 24 September 1649, that Carapeba had killed an ensign in a quarrel over a girl. Carapeba wrote to Listrij that he considered the matter a military issue within his discretion. The Brazilians did not want to judge him, but neither did they recognise him as regidor any longer. The High Council offered Carapeba the choice between banishment and judgement. He chose the latter. The High Council then decided, after consulting the Council of Law, that as an Indian, Carapeba should be judged under military law.

On 2 November 1649, the military court condemned Carapeba to 'die by the sword in the usual place'. The High Council, afraid of the reaction of the Indians, banished Carapeba to Fernando de Noronha. The deliberations over Carapeba's legal status, the subsequent delegation of the matter to the court-martial, and the intervention in its verdict, show clearly how difficult the Dutch official relationship with the 'Brazilians' remained even after nineteen years of relations.²⁰

Paraupaba, as the only one of the three original regidores remaining, took over the chief leadership of the 'Dutch Brazilians', and led the sad remnants of his nation into the mountains to exile in Ibiapaba, on the border of Maranhão and Ceará during the final days of Dutch Brazil. From there, he took a ship and travelled to the Netherlands to present his first remonstrance in 1654.²¹

Paraupaba is very well documented in the archives, but his personal life remains shrouded in mystery. Neither his birthplace nor locality of death can be determined. The reference to Paraupaba on the title page of the pamphlet that states 'was during his life' indicates that he had died before the publication in 1657. The request for assistance by his widow Paulina in 1656, suggests that he died in the Netherlands between April and July of that year. Antonio Paraupaba must have been quite a man. He travelled to the Netherlands from Brazil at least three times, in addition to his travels to Ceará and Ibiapaba. Handy with pen, horse and sword; he was a man who liked to drink, but knew how to cite his Bible.²²

Text

Title page

Two diverse Remonstrances, or discourses, delivered to the High and Mighty Lords States General of the United Netherlands by Anthonio Paräupába (1), who was during his life the 'Regidor' (2) of the Brazilians (3) in the Captaincy of Rio Grande (4) and who, with the recent unfortunate loss of Brazil (5), was dispatched by the entire Brazilian Nation to your High and Mighty in order to demonstrate the pitiable and miserable condition of this Nation and to request help and assistance. The Hague Printed by Henricus Hondius, living in the Hoffstraet, in the new Art and Book printing shop. 1657 (6).
[page 3]

First Remonstrance of Anthonio Paräupába, Brazilian
To the High and Mighty Lords States General of the United Netherlands
Delivered on the 6 August 1654 (7).

High and Mighty Lords, Etc.

Anthonio Paräupába, former 'Regidor' of the Brazilians in Rio Grande, demonstrates with all pertinent reverence, how the whole Brazilian Nation (that but recently lived in that district of Brazil, which before the last conquest by the perjurious Portuguese was submitted to the obedience of this State,) has lived and persevered till the final end as good loyal subjects in their loyalty to this State and to the true Christian Reformed Religion, and that they continue still living and persevering.

Annotation

1) The translation maintains the original spelling of the pamphlet. Apart from the translation, the spelling Antonio Paraupaba will be used.

2) Regidor was a municipal position in the Portuguese colonial administration, instituted by the Spanish. The regidores originally represented the local population, like the Dutch aldermen. But by the end of the sixteenth century, the function became a lifetime occupation that sometimes was auctioned. The Brazilians probably chose this title because it was for life. The Indian Assembly of 1645 resulted in the nomination of three regidores: Antonio Paraupaba in Rio Grande do Norte, Pedro Poti in Paraíba and Domingo Fernandes Carapeba in Itamaracá and Goiana (Consejo de Hispanidad, *Recopilación de Leyes*, Vol. 2, 33-35, 40, 210-211, 441, 550; Souto Maior, 'Assembleia de Indios', 61-77).

3) The name 'Brazilians' will be used here as a translation for the Dutch '*Brasilianen*' to indicate the mainly Tupi speaking coastal population living in sedentary villages. 'Brazilian' defines someone active in the collection of Brazil wood, an important activity for many Indians along the Brazilian coast in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and the source of the present indication 'Brasileiro' for a Brazilian national (Galindo, *O Governo das Almas*, 43-44).

4) Rio Grande (do Norte) is the north-easternmost part of Brazil.

5) The recent loss refers to the surrender of Recife in January 1654.

6) Henricus Hondius was an ex-sugar planter who had lived in Cape St Augustine in Brazil (Gonsalves de Mello, *Nederlanders in Brazilië*, 237).

7) The manuscript of the first remonstrance of Paraupaba has, as yet, not been found, although it left traces in the administration of the States General. The remonstrance was on the agenda August 6, 1654. The council underwrote the resolution of the States of Holland and recommended that Paraupaba be appointed to a military post. The next day, Paraupaba's case was referred to be resolved



'Brazilian' by Eckhout.


The supplicant thus was dispatched to your [page 4] High and Mighty to this end by the said Nation, which fled with women and children to Cambresive, down in Ceará in the wilderness, to escape the cruel killings by the Portuguese (8).

His mission was to reassure your High and Mighty, in the name of those miserable souls, of their continuing loyalty and [to ask] to what extent these people, that for two years, nay more, have looked for their sustenance in the savage wildernesses amidst wild beasts in

by the council of the 'Gecommitteerde Raden' (see also endnote 4).

8) Cambresive is a reference to the Serra do Ibiapaba. The name Cambresive is probably an allusion to the area in the North of France where Johannes Calvin was born. Ibiapaba was important for many of the Indian peoples in north-east and northern Brazil as a migratory refuge. The Jesuit Chronicler Antonio Vieira recorded in 1660 the shock of the Jesuits upon finding an Indian community that was using Venetian paper to write and which had Protestant bibles. Vieira blames the 'Brazilians' from Pernambuco for turning Ibiapaba into the 'Geneva' of Brazil, in another allusion to Calvin. Vieira writes; *'these villages were truly an infernal composition, or abominable mixture of all sects and all vices, formed of rebels, traitors, criminals, murderers, adulterers, Jews, heretics, heathen, atheists'*. Vieira describes the reaction of the Indians to the Jesuits broaching the subject of Hell: *'send to Hell those that killed Him, but why us, who have done Him no harm?'* Vieira then writes: *'They said many other things that have not been taught them by the heretics, but by the Demon himself'* (Vieira, *Obras escolhidas*, 72-134).

Twee Herscheyden
Remonstrantien
O F T E
VERTOGEN,
Ovcrgegeben
Aen hare Ho:Mo:de Heeren Staten
Generael der Vereenighde Nederlanden.
Door
ANTHONIO PARÄUPÁBA,
In syn leven geweest Regidoor vande Brazilianen
inde Capitanía van Rio Grande: Ende met het laetste onge-
luckigh verlies van Brazyl, vande gantsche Brazitaensche
Natie afgesonden; aen hare Ho:Mo:om derselver Natie
erbarmelycken en jammerlycken toeflout te vertonen,
ende met eenen hulpe ende bystant te versoecken.



In 's GRAVEN-HAGE,
Gedruckt by HENRICUS HONDIUS, woonende
inde Hofftraet, inde nieuwe Kooff-en-Boeck-Druckery. 1657.

the service of this State, and to the conservation of the true Reformed Religion adopted and known by them, may expect help and assistance of your High and Mighty (9).

By lack of such help, they shall inevitably and finally have to fall into the hands of those cruel and blood-thirsty Portuguese, who, from the first occupation of Brazil, strangled so many hundreds of thousands of their nation. Moreover, since they have put themselves under the protection and the weapons of your High and Mighty and converted to the true religion, which they, finally having been abandoned, shall have to pay for with their total extermination.

These people cannot believe, that your High and Mighty will repay them thus for their loyal services, such long and multiple miseries, famines and massacres (10). Neither that your High and Mighty will ever tolerate that those, whom you once brought to the knowledge of the true religion, would be denied the same again, and that the road to the Kingdom of Christi Iesu once pointed out, would be cut off again [page 5]; neither that they would again degenerate in the wild forests with the savage beasts. That would be difficult to justify to that great and almighty God, who so greatly threatens those that bury the talent confided to them in the earth instead of putting it in usury (11).

We hope firmly that your High and Mighty (who always showed themselves as true fathers and protectors over the oppressed and dislodged and as upright lords nourishing God's true Church,) will send at

9) Boxer sees Cambresive as a sign that the Protestant mission under the Indians during Dutch Brazil was more successful than the missionaries thought. Paraupaba's language surely is full of Biblical references. The account of Vieira may be biased, but still indicates that Cambresive was not the type of community that Dutch Reformed preachers would approve of (Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 136).

10) Paraupaba uses the argument of the loyal service of the Brazilian Indians claiming their rights as subjects of the States general.

11) Paraupaba's second argument is the responsibility of the States General for the propagation and sustenance of the Reformed religion. To illustrate this, he uses the parable of the hidden talents. Matthew 25 (King James Version): ²⁶*His lord answered and said unto him, Thou wicked and slothful servant, thou knewest that I reap where I sowed not, and gather where I have not strawed: ²⁷Thou oughtest therefore to have put my money to the exchangers, and then at my coming I should have received mine own with usury.* Luke 19: *'Thou knewest that I was an austere man, taking up that I laid not down, and reaping that I did not sow: ²³Wherefore then gavest not thou my money into the bank, that at my coming I might have required mine own with usury.'* This argument is curious because the interpretation of stewardship, so familiar today, was, in the eyes of many Catholic Iberians, a controversial legitimisation by Protestant heretics for usury, an essential ingredient of the Republic's money market.



utmost speed a sufficient assistance to the subsistence of that miserable Brazilian nation and the conservation of the true Christian religion (12).

The supplicant, leaving father and mother, women, children and relatives behind, only taking to his solace two young sons with him, arriving here naked and bare, requests very humbly that it would please your merciful High and Mighty to fund decent fare and clothing for him and his two poor children, whenever your High and Mighty may resolve, conforming circumstances, on these requests proposed by him (13).

Done.

The Hague the 6 August. 1654
Signed: Anthonio Paräupaba
[page 6]

Second Remonstrance of Anthonio Paräupaba, Brazilian
Delivered on the 6 April 1656
To the High and Mighty Lords States General of the United Netherlands
(14)

High and Mighty Lords, Etc.

Anthonio Paräupaba, born Brazilian and sent here by the other Brazilians, the loyal subjects of your High and Mighty, demonstrates with all humility and proper reverence, that it is now almost twenty months ago that he declared briefly in the name of his principals (the most miserable Nation of this world and nevertheless your High and Mighty's

12) The role of the Dutch States General as protectors of the dislodged seems an old theme! 'Lord nourishing' is the translation of 'Voedster-Heeren', a concept used in Reformed discourse about the relation between Church and State, so quite a sophisticated argument (Schalkwijk, *Igreja e Estado*, 311).

13) Paraupaba says he took two sons with him, of whom we find no further trace. His widow later claims assistance for her family but it is not clear if these sons are included. Meuwese relates that he sailed with three children and a woman February 1654 from Brazil (Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 206).

14) The original manuscript has been conserved in the Archive of the States General. It was probably written by a clerk, but the signature is in a different hand, that of Paraupaba, as is the correction of the spelling of the name Antoni. The pamphlet is a literal representation of the manuscript, apart from a modification of the spelling. The delivery of the second remonstrance is also recorded in the index of resolutions of the WIC 6 April 1656. The request was handed over to the Commission of West Indian affairs (see endnote 4).

most loyal Brazilians,) the reasons of his coming and that he presented and demonstrated the all too afflicted, miserable and distressed state into which that loyal Nation, since the recent surrender of Brazil to the most barbarous, bloodthirsty, perfidious and perjurious Portuguese, has decayed and been brought, with the humble request of help and assistance; during which time he has fed himself steadily with hope and suffering, expecting a good resolution of your High and Mighty, without, until the present (To the affliction of his soul) encountering anything to console him about the same (15).
[page 7]

Thus he found himself, after such a long and frightful silence, finally impelled to fall once more at the feet of your High and Mighty, to beg and implore in the name of his principals, those miserable but loyal Brazilians, that it might please your High and Mighty, concerned by their highly oppressed situation, now to find the help and assistance of your High and Mighty forthcoming, this hour, conform his request for their conservation. The same is highly necessary considering the present state of Brazil and the distress of those miserable souls; about which he has deemed it necessary on this occasion to present your High and Mighty this little in brief.

Thus, your High and Mighty are begged in all humility by this miserable but loyal Nation, to hereby take merciful notice of who these people really are, in whose name he, who lies presently stretched out before your High and Mighty's feet, comes to request help and assistance

15) It seems that despite the positive resolution of August 1654, nothing happened. The request of his widow indicates that he actually received a posting as suggested by the States General to the Gecommitteerde Raden. It is probable that Paraupaba passed those twenty months in the Netherlands and that the second remonstrance was prompted by the information from Brazil, which Paraupaba mentions later when he refers to an intercepted letter from Viera (see also annotation 33).

against the perjurious treaty-breaker, the Portuguese (16).

About which he finds himself compelled, for diverse reasons, to recall the first grounds or beginnings of the acquaintance between that Nation and this State, the ensuing subjection of the former and its perseverance in all loyalty. Declaring before God that this was not done for any other insight in the world than only to renew the memories of those in this present illustrious assembly of your High and Mighty, who may still have knowledge of what has passed, and to inform those who may be ignorant, of the continuous services of these people, done in complete loyalty [page 8], and to rouse in both their hearts a Christian compassion for them.

The first acquaintance then of this unfortunate Nation with your High and Mighty was made by the Admiral Boudewijn Hendricx in the *Bahia de Traison*, who immediately upon his arrival tried to draw this miserable Brazilian Nation on his side with the promise and firm confirmation of the protection of your High and Mighty (17).

He found them also readily and heartily disposed to the service of your High and Mighty, when they so were earnestly beseeched by him. But alas! They were shortly after deserted by the same, despite the promised protection of your High and Mighty and despite performing several services against the Portuguese (18).

For which, that most miserable Nation had to pay with the blood of

16) It is interesting that Parauba defines the identity of his nation as an historical discourse. He never refers to Indian identities like Potiguar, Tupinambá or Tapuia. The reference to Bahia de Traição implicates a Potiguar identity as is documented in Frei Vicente do Salvador, *História do Brasil*. It seems that Paraupaba evades this point. He prefers to describe his nation in relation with the Portuguese and the Dutch, he adopts a European discourse. The references in the first remonstrations about the extermination of Indians in the Americas are a recurrent theme in Dutch pamphlets and other literature after the revolt in 1572. The Dutch compare themselves with the American Indians as victims of the 'Spanish Tyranny'. The language that he uses is Biblical, quite different than Indian discourses like those recorded by Léry or Abbeville. Cristina Pompa comments on this ability of the Potiguar to adopt different discourses, comparing those of Paraupaba and Poti with those of Camará (Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*; Abbeville, *Histoire de la mission*; e.g. *L'arrivée des Pères Capucins en l'Isle de Maragnan et la conversion des sauvages*; Léry, *Journal de bord*; Pompa, *Religião como tradução*, 209-210).

17) The arrival of the fleet of Admiral Hendricxs in the Bahia de Traição on 20 June 1625 is documented by de Laet. Hendricxs had sailed in March, 1625 from the Netherlands but arrived too late to help the Dutch in Salvador de Bahia. This bay served as a safe anchorage for the WIC fleet that found itself on a lee-shore. De Laet wrote: 'and the Brazilians living there came to us and offered their services, against the Portuguese'. Hendricxs left 700 dead in Brazil, so the stop must have been much needed (Naber, *laerlyck verhael*, Vol. 1, Book 2, 89-92).

18) The fleet sailed again on the first of August. De Laet writes: 'It was strange and very difficult to leave the Brazilians who declared themselves so openly for us and who had committed so many hostilities against the Portuguese, in the hope we would stay there [...] The Brazilians hearing of our resolution, were also very perplexed, because they could guess what had to follow, nothing being more sure than that the Portuguese would fall on them and plague them heavily. Many sought to depart with our men, but as

thousands of men, women and children. The first acquaintance with your High and Mighty cost it so dearly, that it can truly say that its first alliance with this state is signed and sealed on its own part, with the blood of her most dearly valued pledges, and witness to an eternal, irreconcilable hate for those blood-thirsty Portuguese.

What vexations, what torments, what massacres they suffered and endured from those times till the arrival of General Waerdenborgh, neither the tongue can pronounce, nor the pen can describe, but are known only by that great and all-knowing God who speaks: vengeance is mine (19).

After the arrival of Lord van Waerdenborgh in the Captaincy of Pernambuco, the small remnant [page 9] of that miserable people returned to the protection and obedience of your High and Mighty, as the opportunity of the times and their own possibilities permitted (20).

there were no supplies, but few were mustered'. The services of the Brazilians are described by de Laet. They fought with the Dutch against Portuguese forces and helped the Dutch to find fresh foodstuffs (Naber, laerlyck verhael Vol. 1, Book 2, 89-92).

19) The theme of a mutual bond with the Dutch in a common hatred of the Portuguese and a subsequent revenge constantly returns in Paraupaba's discourse.

20) The arrival of General Waerdenborgh refers to the invasion of Pernambuco by Admiral Loncq, who led a fleet of the Dutch West Indian Company in 1630. Diederick van Waerdenburgh was the commander of the terrestrial forces. The indigenous population of Pernambuco and Paraíba started overt relations with the Dutch, after their conquest of the main Portuguese strongholds in 1635. Frei Manoel wrote: '*so that the local Indians, Pitiguares, [...] saw that the two fortresses of the Arraial and Nazaré had surrendered [...] and soon bands started to go out with the Dutch*'. The Brazilians became an integrated part of the Dutch military tactics in Brazil (Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 52; Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, Vol. 1, 66; Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 159; Gonsalves de Mello, *Nederlanders in Brazilië*, 206).



Detail of map by Blaeu

They continuously joined their weapons with those of your High and Mighty to the destruction of the Portuguese, pursuing them also outside the realm of Brazil, even in Africa, in the conquest of Angola, under the banners of your High and Mighty (21).

Resting finally a short spell, like the other subjects of your High and Mighty, under the treacherous shadow of the Treaty with Portugal, that was agreed and sworn in the year 1640 between your High and Mighty and that perfidious self-proclaimed King (22); shortly after the revolt instigated by the perjurious Portuguese in the year 1645 in Brazil (23), they were the first to taste the cruel rage of those perfidious Portuguese in the surrender of Serinhaen.

Where, contrary to the agreement that was made, that entire Nation who were inside, including women and children, had to satisfy the bloodthirsty hearts of those perfidious Portuguese, with their own blood, by the noose and the sword (24).

It is not the intention to recount here to your High and Mighty, all the loyal services, the endured distresses and miseries of that Nation during the last nine years, but only to propose briefly a proof of irreproachable loyalty of the same in that great famine in the years of 1645 and 1646, when the subjects of your High and Mighty (except for this sad Nation) received but a pound of bread weekly from the storehouses [page 10] on which to live, and the enemy was offering those of this Nation many promises

21) Two-hundred forty Brazilian Indians sailed from Recife on May 30, 1641, as part of a force of 3000 under command of Admiral Jol and Colonel Henderson, to conquer Luanda on 26 August 1641. Only forty-eight returned to their villages, which caused the XIX to prohibit further 'Brazilian' participation in the African expedition of 1642 (Schalkwijk, *Igreja e Estado*, 289).

22) The treaty between the Dutch Republic and the Portuguese king was signed, under certain provisions, on 18 November 1641. Johann Moritz conquered Angola and the Maranhão under these provisions, which caused protests from the Portuguese, who said that these conquests were made contrary to the spirit of the treaty (Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 104-108).

23) The revolt of the Portuguese started in July 1645. The discontent was particularly strong under the owners of sugar-mills in Pernambuco, who were bankrupt with the WIC as their sole creditor. Historians agree that the Portuguese King did little to support the initial revolt (Cabral de Mello, *Olinda Restaurada*; Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 228; Cabral de Mello, *O negócio do Brasil*, 61-102).

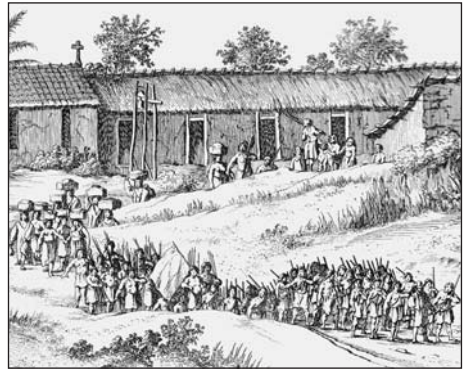
24) The Dutch garrison of Serinhaem surrendered on 6 August 1645 to the Portuguese. The Brazilian allies of the Dutch were executed by the sword and their women and children divided amongst the Portuguese. Calado describes the scene, justifying the execution because they had rebelled as Portuguese subjects raised by the Catholic Church. For a Dutch description of these events see Nieuhof, who witnessed them, and also published documents from the WIC archive, like a letter where Vidal rejects complaints of the High Council about the execution of Brazilians with the argument that the same council had declared that the Portuguese who rebelled were to receive no mercy, thereby authorising the Brazilians to kill them (Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, Vol. 2, 77; Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaense*, 117-120).

if they were willing to defect to him. The High Government made it moreover known to them, that considering the great famine, they might make use of this proposal by the enemy; to feed themselves, their women and children in this situation, until God almighty might provide a merciful change.

Thus, that loyal Brazilian Nation deemed it then much more honest and laudable to share with each other the kernels and bark of the trees, yes even the dew on the fields, and to die by the thousands, maintaining their loyalty to this State, than to blemish their once so dearly sealed loyalty with that eternal stigma of dishonour, to have defected to your enemies because of famine. Hereby calling on God and all who lived then on Itamaracá as witnesses (to the insufferable, unheard of, miserable, distresses and famines with which these loyal souls wrestled such a long time) that nothing but the sincere truth in this matter is here demonstrated to your High and Mighty (25).

High and Mighty Lords, may it please your High and Mighty to notice here, that all that is recounted about what that miserable Nation has encountered in the service of your High and Mighty, and what was always so courageously endured and suffered, was not done by a people who still lack the knowledge of the true God, but by a people who embraced and adopted the true Christian Reformed Religion together with their alliance with your High and Mighty. How also, and in which measure, [page 11] God, the father of all mercies, has already

25) In July 1645, the Dutch ordered Carapeba to retreat with the Brazilians to the island of Itamaracá. In the resolutions of the High Council dated 27 August 1645, he is reported as staying there with 1.200 Brazilians, of which 499 were warriors. Calado attributes the repulsion of an attack by the Portuguese on the village of Schoppe in September 1645, to these Brazilians. Nieuhof gives an elaborate description of the events on Itamaracá between 1645 and 1646. The High Council can not feed the Brazilians and suggests that they go to Rio Grande, which they refuse, afraid of being abandoned there. Listrij persuades them and 1.200 Brazilians, mostly women and children were transported to Rio Grande where they arrived in June 1646, so weakened by hunger that they could hardly walk. There is no mention of any permission to defect to the Portuguese; on the contrary, there is a constant concern of the High Council that the Brazilians might defect (OWIC 70, 71; Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, Vol. 2, 133-134; Nieuhof, *Gedenkwaardige Brasiliaanse*, 151-171).



Detail from an image of Igarassu by Frans Post. The Brazilian men are marching with weapons, mainly firearms, carrying a Dutch flag. They wear loinclothes, except for the Captain in Dutch clothes that leads them. The women in the rearguard serve as carriers.

lavished the gifts of his mercy on those poor souls will be briefly illustrated with an example.

Pere Poti (26), Regidor of that miserable Nation, captured by the Portuguese in the year 1649 on 19 February, during the second, unfortunate battle of the Guararapes (27), was then treated so exceedingly barbarously by these bloodhounds (whose inhuman cruelties by far surpass the imagination) with beatings, all manners of torments, hands and feet shackled together, thrown in a dark pit without sufficient water and bread, and left to wallow there for the time of six whole months in his own dirt.

The comfort granted to him by letting him out to enjoy one or more hours of light, only served to redouble and renew, and even to increase his ailments, when shortly after he found himself being assailed by papists and monks, and also by some of his close relatives, who had been incited by the former, and who pressured him continuously to abjure the true reformed religion (which they, as usual, decry as the most damned heresy) and to throw himself again into the womb of the Roman church (28).

Furthermore, they urged him to make all efforts to persuade the others of his Nation, still persevering in their loyal service to your High and Mighty, to his side and to deliver them, with the promise of an immediate appointment as captain and assurances of more benefices to be awarded in the future.

[page 12]

26) Pedro Poti was one of the prominent indigenous leaders in Dutch Brazil. Souto Maior's translation highlighted the description that Paraupaba gave of his ordeal. His name is spelled in many ways: Pere Poti, Pieter Potty, Pottij and Poty. Poti was a member of the first group of Indians that travelled to the Netherlands in 1625. He returned to Brazil after the invasion of 1630 to act as an interpreter and liaison. He is registered as Captain of the Aldeia Masurepe in Paraiba by van der Dussen in 1639. Poti was reprimanded more than once by the High Council for disorderly behaviour. After the assembly, he was appointed as Regidor of Paraiba in 1645. After July, he operated first from Fort Margarita, and later in 1646 is reported as fighting around Igarassu. He wrote a missive to the High Council on 13 December 1647, from Aldeia Schoonenborch about the arrears in payment to the Brazilians: *'requesting that it may please his High and Mighty to cover the nakedness of the suppliant'*. Poti also asked for sashes, hats with plumes for his officers, and presents for their wives. See for extensive information on Pedro Poti: Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 149-216 (OWIC 70, 71, 72).

27) This battle was a decisive defeat for the WIC forces. Poti and Paraupaba must have been outraged with the poor performance of the WIC troops, part of which had threatened to strike a few days before the battle because they had not received their salaries. The Brazilians requested the appointment of a new regidor to replace Poti on 22 February 1649. Carapeba filed a remonstrance about the capture of Poti five days later. Paraupaba misbehaved himself and the High Council reprimanded him after complaints from Rev. Kemp on 15 March 1649. His apology is dated 19 March, and reached the High Council on 16 April. The High Council sent a missive to the enemy on 19 April 1649, objecting to the treatment of Poti. They received a quick reply three days later. The reply from Francisco Barreto, chief of the Portuguese forces, stated that Poti was being held by his relatives, and that they must be treating him the way he deserved. Poti lived for two and a half years in shackles and died on the voyage to Portugal (OWIC 73; Schalkwijk, *Igreja e Estado*, 309; Meuwese 'For the Peace and Well Being', 201).

Calling here as witnesses, all the prisoners that thence were jailed with him in the Cape S. Augustino (29), how that great God of mercies thence fortified that weak reed through his singular mercy into a pillar of faith, so that he, during the times of said six months of his torture as related before, could reply several times when solicited, each time with impeccable conscience: that once he, being unworthy, by an undeserved and incomprehensible mercy had recognised the God and Father of all mercies in the true Reformed Religion, which he was assured to be pleasing to the true, veritable and only God, he was resolved to live and die by this; that he thought little of all the tortures they had done and were still planning to do; that he would wait, comforted by God's mercy; that he, most unworthy of all creatures, by a singular mercy, was considered worthy to suffer in the name of Jesus Christ, his Saviour; and finally, that he was prepared to die mindful of the faithful oath pledged to God and your High and Mighty (30).

After the duration of said six months, the bloodthirsty, seeing that nothing could be gained from such a steadfast disposition, neither by torture, neither by promises of posts of honour and rich rewards, took him from the dark pit of his miseries, pretending to send him to Bahia, but intending to kill him cruelly, which intention they confirmed with the deed, as when he, now ready for the slaughter-table [page 13], still spoke to various of the officers of your High and Mighty imprisoned together with him in the Cape Saint Augustine: *'I know they will kill me,*

28) The reference to the relatives of Poti suggests that the Potiguar nation was deeply divided and that Pedro Poti was considered an important symbol. Poti means shrimp in Tupi, just as camarão in Portuguese. Pedro was a member of the elite clan of the Potiguar.

29) Hondius had been a prisoner in Cape Augustine during the years 1645-1646. Reverend á Stetten might have seen Poti because he was captured before Poti, and was still in prison around August 1649 (Schalkwijk, *Igreja e Estado*, 309).

30) Paraupaba described Poti as a martyr, not of the Potiguar or the Indian nation, but of the Reformed Religion. Poti put his vision of Christianity forward decisively in his letter to Camarão: *'I am a Christian and better Christian than thou, believing in Christ only [...] have learned the Christian Religion and are being practised in it daily'*. Dutch clergymen, on the other hand despaired of the possibility of redeeming the Indians: *'because of their deep rooted vices of prostitution, drunkenness and laziness'*. Poti himself was more than once reprimanded by the High Council for disorderly behaviour. Poti died as a martyr and must have found consolation in his faith during his ordeal (Gonsalves de Mello, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, 235; Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 177-178).

but for the last time I beg thy people, do this for my sake, when you return to Recife, tell the High Government what you have seen and heard from me, how that I will die as her loyal servant and tell those of my nation, that I admonish them to remain loyal to God all their lives and loyal to your High and Mighty’.

The remonstrant furthermore begs your High and Mighty Lords, in the name of those miserable people, to note with heart and soul the principles of the miraculous mercy of God in that poor people, how that it has pleased God almighty already to bring many of those poor creatures from the darkness to the light, and from the power of Satan to Himself. To which end it has pleased his Divine Majesty to call upon and use your High and Mighty (who also were redeemed from paganism) as instruments to preach his Holy Gospel to them (31).

Which instrument is in fact the pound or the talent that was recommended so strongly to your High and Mighty, to put in usury. Please invest it likewise to the profit of those miserable ones in order that once the Master of the house who oversees all so closely will come for their account, he might find how loyal your High and Mighty have been in his service and in the spreading of his Holy Gospel (32).

Your High and Mighty lords, the danger to body and soul in which those miserable people find themselves now [page 14], with the sad surrender of Brazil and the abandoning of the same to the claws of the blood-thirsty Portuguese, their mortal ene-

31) This seems to be a short flash of Indian rhetoric that resembles the examples given under the commentary on Cambresive. Paraupaba addresses the reunion of Dutch politicians as fellow converts from ‘paganism’.

32) Paraupaba repeats the reference to the parable of the first remonstrance.



Image from Pieter H. Schut (1659) representing the servants with two and five talents, attending to their business.

mies, is excessively great and perilous and it would already have been finished for them, were they not saved by that good and merciful God in a strange way and by unexpected means through the discord and the revolt of the Brazilians, Negroes and Mulattos of the Portuguese, which having been the force and power of the Portuguese weapons, have now taken up the same weapons against their thankless masters and who have brought a large part of the countryside under their control, as is clearly stated in the intercepted letters of Juan Fernando Viero and others and can be seen in the annexed copy (33).

So that now (under correction) the time and occasion has been born for your High and Mighty, to master with a small force, one of the most beautiful and precious kingdoms of the world and at the same time preserve that miserable but loyal Nation from its total downfall and ignite once more in its midst the light of God's holy word, that otherwise by lack of teachers is doomed to be extinguished forever.

High and Mighty Lords, it is now or nevermore, that your High and Mighty can recover that which they won so laudably by their weapons in the war with that great and mighty king of Spain, and that which the upstart king of Portugal [page 15] (whose wagging crown your High and Mighty secured on his perfidious head,) has usurped so perfidiously (34).

Now is the time that your High and Mighty can righteously take revenge on that perfidious Lusitanian, who

33) The reference to the revolt means that Paraupaba had information from Brazil. The annexed letter suggests a relation to a translator, because the letter would be property of the WIC or the Admiralty. Another channel of information might have been provided by Indians travelling between Brazil and the Netherlands like Carapeba, the third regidor, who requests and receives sustenance in July 1656. The misspelling of the name of Viera is intriguing. Hondius published the letter together with the remonstrances of Paraupaba as a '*Translation from Portuguese of a letter written from Paraiba, dated 22 September 1655, by Juan Fernando Viero, to Marcos Rodrigues Stinoque in Lisbon*'. The massive participation of the African-Brazilian population in the uprising of 1645 against the WIC government has not been analysed from a Dutch point of view. The Dutch had criticised Iberian colonial practices in America since their revolt in the 1570s. The Dutch had also presented themselves as liberators in the Americas. By 1645, they had apparently made themselves unpopular with a large part of the African population.

34) Paraupaba compares the 'upstart' king of Portugal with the 'great and mighty king of Spain'. This is correct political discourse for the time, as the Spanish had become Dutch allies in 1648. The 'securing of a wagging crown', the Republic's assistance in the restoration of the Portuguese throne, is described by Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 108.

was the first that dared tread the demise of the arms of your High and Mighty with his feet and mock openly the kindness of your High and Mighty.

Now is the time that your High and Mighty can take revenge on that nation forgotten by God, that has not scrupled itself to disturb the bones of your High and Mighty's loyal subjects in their resting places, to dig up churches and graveyards to that end and to throw into the sea the bones of the children before the eyes of their parents, the bones of the parents before their children, the bones of the wives before their husbands and the bones of the husbands before their wives, sometimes even through latrines or secret conveniences (to further shame and heart's grief) (35).

This present opportunity that is now handed by that great God to your High and Mighty will, if your High and Mighty please to let it pass, cause a robbery of endless goods from the poor and frightened subjects of your High and Mighty, yes even the complete downfall and utter extermination of that miserable Brazilian Nation that was of so much merit to your High and Mighty and to this state, and to the total eradication of which Nation the bloodthirsty Portuguese have been exercising from time to time all manner of practices, as they noticed that their tyranny [page 16] thereabouts could not be established without the extermination of said Nation (36).

High and Mighty Lords, it is sure and certain, that that shameless perjurer, encountering himself in such

35) The theme of revenge for the desecration of the bones of the dead seems the only representation of indigenous culture in the remonstrance. In many Indian cultures, the bones of the ancestors imply the relationship, and therefore identity, of the living with the past. Barleaus describes the value the Indians attach to the integrity of the body of the deceased and the long duration of their funeral rites. Darcy Ribeiro describes a funeral in his novel *Maira*. The bones of the ancestors are carefully kept, sometimes decorated. The wilful destruction of these bones, throwing them with human excrements into the sea, could be interpreted as a malicious attempt to destroy the identity of the living nation. The daily minutes of the High Council of 31 January 1654, mention that the Jesuits demanded that the Dutch after rendering Recife would be obliged to take their dead with them, and actually dug up the cemeteries and threw the bones of non-Catholics that they found into the sea. There is a reference to this matter in a pamphlet published in Middelburg (Ribeiro, *Maira*; Fernandes, *Organização social dos*, 166-201; Schaden, *Aspectos fundamentais*, 134-138; OWIC 75; Cort, *Bondigh ende Waerachtigh*, item 82).

oppression, and in fear that the just weapons of your High and Mighty might surprise him in this indisposition of his business, will appear one of these days in the form of his creatures in this country, with proposals of new negotiations and with promises at the same time of golden mountains, conforming his usual treacheries, because his intention will never be but to give a hand full of lead, which your High and Mighty by their own experience have sufficiently found to their loss (37).

The Remonstrant, for the reasons mentioned before, having deemed necessary to humbly demonstrate to your High and Mighty, in short the loyal services, mentioned before, done by the Brazilian Nation to this State, the manifold unheard miseries and distresses they suffered and the massacres perpetrated on them by the Portuguese since their first acquaintance and union with your High and Mighty.

Besides this, the first powerful beginnings of Gods mercy done to these miserable creatures has also been indicated, and how it is to fear that they shall have to fall back in the course of time, by lack of teachers of God's holy word, back from the light again into the darkness. Also the oppressed condition of the Portuguese concerns in Brazil at present [page 17], because of the sedition of the Negroes and Mulattos, has given rise to the occasion for your High and Mighty to recover all that was taken from your High and Mighty by that perfidious Portuguese (38).

Consequently, the Remonstrant

36) Paraupaba actually uses the argument of genocide.

37) Paraupaba refers to the discussion after the Portuguese king rejected a negotiated peace proposal in 1649. Boxer disagrees with Paraupaba and claims that Dutch greed and division caused such a delay in negotiations during 1647-1648 that the second defeat at Guararapes made it politically impossible for King João IV to accept the proposed treaty in 1649. The reference to Portuguese diplomacy in the Republic is another indication of the awareness of Antonio Paraupaba of the importance of European politics for America and the public discussion in the Netherlands (Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil*, 197, 228-237; Cabral de Mello, *O negócio do Brasil*, 61-202).

38) Paraupaba recapitulates his arguments: the loyal service as subjects and the bond of the Reformed Religion justify the claim of assistance that he lays before the States General. Moreover, there is now a special occasion because of the turmoil caused by the revolt of Negroes and Indians.

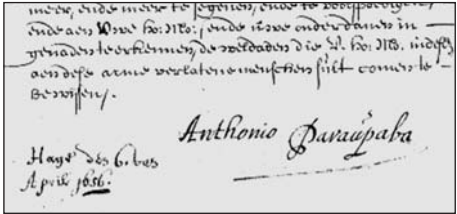


Indian dance by Zacharias Wagner

returns again in the name of that miserable but loyal Nation, kneeling before the feet of your High and Mighty, begging humbly and for God's will, that it might mercifully please your High and Mighty regarding all the loyal services, suffered miseries and distresses of that miserable Nation, and primarily because of the tie created by the true faith, common between your High and Mighty and the same, it being now in its most utter need, to assist it by provision with two ships with weapons and ammunition of war and furthermore to assist and help so loyally and promptly as your High and Mighty (at their request) have enjoyed the granted protection of ready assistance and help of these people, who have chosen to prove and maintain their loyalty to your High and Mighty unto their grave, dwelling in the wild and savage wildernesses in the company of wild and savage beasts, where they await, beside God, only the help and assistance of your High and Mighty. The Remonstrant and his miserable Nation, will relentlessly beg to the God of all graces and mercies that it will please his Divine Majesty to bless and speed [page 18] from time to time, more and more, the Government of your High and Mighty, and to recognise in grace to your High and Mighty and your subjects, the boons that your High and Mighty, might come to confer on these poor and deserted people (39).

Signed: Anthonio Paräupäba.
The Hague 6 April 1656.

39) After deliberation by the States General in their meeting on April 6, 1656, the second remonstrance was sent to the committee for West Indian affairs. His widow Paulina requested assistance on 12 July 1656, so Paraupaba must have died shortly after handing over the second remonstrance (ASG SR 4846).



Handwritten signature of Anthonio Paräupäba in Dutch script, dated "Hage des 6. April 1656". The signature is written in a cursive hand and is accompanied by a horizontal line underneath. The text above the signature is partially legible and appears to be a transcription of the signature itself.

Conclusion

The impact of the contact with the Dutch on the indigenous peoples in north and north-east Brazil must not be underestimated. The remonstrance of Paraupaba is the culmination of a process in which the Brazilians proved themselves quick adepts to Dutch bureaucracy, as the many letters of Poti and Paraupaba show. It seems logical that American people would want to gather information about Europeans, just as Europeans studied the Americans. The Potiguar had bought European military technology since the sixteenth century and the involvement in European politics could be seen as an extension of their strategy.²³

The 'barbarous wars' between 1650 and 1750 in which Portuguese rule was imposed on the indigenous peoples of north and north-east Brazil show that Portuguese dominance had not been established effectively prior to 'Dutch Brazil'. The WIC control over Paraíba, Rio Grande and parts of Ceará between 1645 and 1649 was very much supported by the activities of Poti, Carapeba and Paraupaba, as well as by the contribution of the Tapuias of Jandhui, or Jan de Wey. This area corresponds with the area described by Knivet, in the beginning of the seventeenth century, as being the domain of the Potiguar. The Dutch Brazil of Paraupaba is the product of the alliance between 'Brazilians' and Dutch.²⁴

The discourse of Paraupaba is a reflection of this alliance. Its biblical language, the stress on Calvinism and its moral obligations, have drawn attention to it as an example of the effectiveness of the Dutch Protestant mission, but it also shows the Indian 'malice' that made Reformed and Catholic clergymen despair. Paraupaba cites the 'pound in the earth, that has to be put in usury' from the Bible to support his request for assistance, referring to the concept of 'stewardship', which he underlines in his second remonstrance with the remark that the Lords High and Mighty of the States General were redeemed from paganism as well as he himself.

The references by the Dutch clergy to Paraupaba are in fact negative, as has been mentioned in the introduction. His account must be seen as a diplomatic document. The two texts of Paraupaba were written with a political objective: a Dutch military presence in Brazil. The Dutch also saw their Indian allies primarily as military, as is shown by the cases of Carapeba and Paraupaba, who were rewarded with military postings. This view of the Dutch-Indian alliance as an essential military condition is even more strongly expressed by Calado: *'So that these evil and ungrateful Potiguar and Tapuia Indians were the cause and the principal instrument that made the Dutch master of the whole Capitania of Pernambuco and kept them so long in control'*.²⁵

The meaning of the word 'Brazilian' changed after 1655 in the archives of the WIC and the States General. It indicated Dutch returning from Brazil instead of Brazilian Indians. The publication of Paraupaba's pamphlet in 1657 by Hondius was part of the political claim of the 'Dutch Brazilians' and one of the last expressions of a relation between the Netherlands and Brazilian Indians as oppressed victims.

The Portuguese negotiated a settlement with the States General in 1661 that included compensation for losses in Brazil. The Dutch editors concentrated on publishing works in which Amerindians were depicted as completely exotic beings. Tapestry with images of Tapuias became a fashion in French aristocratic circles. It seems that with the passing of de Laet and Hugo de Groot, who debated on the origin of the American people between 1642 and 1644, interest in having contact with Indians diminished.²⁶

The Dutch have largely forgotten their relationship with the Brazilian Indians. The Amerindian holding a slave before the virgin of Amsterdam beneath Atlas on the western tympanum of the former city hall in Amsterdam goes unnoticed by the people passing beneath. The Dutch also seem to have never attempted a similar relationship with other Amerindian peoples, though the rhetoric of Dutch moral support for oppressed Indians continues till today. The name of the Potiguar has also understandably been forgotten in the Netherlands, as neither Paraupaba nor Poti mention it in their two published manuscripts.

The loyal service of Felipe Camarão has made him into one of the few Indian heroes in Brazilian history. The survival of the Potiguar as an Indian identity within modern Brazil is probably largely due to the alliance of Camarão. He became the symbol of the Indian component in the co-operation of the three races in the liberation of Brazil from the Dutch. Liberation of the indigenous population and African slaves had been the discourse of the Dutch. The history of Paraupaba shows that many people in the Netherlands and Brazil seriously tried, but did not succeed. The issue of slavery is one important aspect of Dutch-indigenous relations in Brazil that can contribute to a better understanding of the socio-economic dynamics that led to the Dutch involvement in the Atlantic slave trade.

Epilogue

Carapeba survived the other two original regidors; he claimed assistance together with Paulina Paraupaba from the States General on 7 July 1656. Paulina repeated her request on 12 October 1656, and finally on 16 January 1657 asked for two months pay to leave the Netherlands. Eleven days previously, Carapeba had requested permission, which was granted, to sail to Tobago.²⁷

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Twee verscheyden Remonstrantien ofte vertogen overgegeven aen de Heeren Staten Generael door Anthonio Paräupaba, in syn leven geweest Regidoor vande Brazilianen inde Capitania van Rio Grande. Ende met de laetste ongeluckigh verlies van Brazyl, vande gantsche Braziliaense Natie afgesonden aen hare Ho: Mo: om derselver Natie erbermelijcken en jammerlijcken toestant te vertonen ende met eenen hulp ende bystant te versoecken (The Hague, 1657), Knuttel 7871.

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Notes

- * Lodewijk Hulsmán studied at the University of Amsterdam; he has specialised in the Dutch Brazilian relations in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries and published on this subject. He is currently active in the project 'Monumenta Hygino' which aims to publish Dutch sources in Portuguese. He has assisted in the publication: Galindo, M. and L. Hulsmán ed., *Guia de Fontes para a história do Brasil Holandês* [Brasília, 2001]. He can be reached at lo@lohulsmán.demon.nl
- 1 Bernardo O'Brien was the son of an Irish nobleman. He had been active in expeditions to Amazonia since 1625. See Ribeiro, *A Fundação do Brasil*: 322-327: Arquivo de Índias. Est. 147-caj.5-Leg.21 Sevilla.
 - 2 The pamphlet is cited in Ribeiro, *A Fundação do Brasil*: 231-232; Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 189, 201, 205-210; Pompa, *Religião como tradução*, 208-214; Gonsalves de Mello, *Nederlanders in Brazilië*, 237; Boxer, *Dutch in Brazil*, 291, Cabral de Mello, *O negócio do Brasil*, 228. Frans Leonard Schalkwijk cites the manuscript in his study on the Dutch churches in Brazil: *Igreja e Estado*, 308-310.
 - 3 For the Dutch perception of America see Schmidt, *Innocence Abroad*; Mason, *Deconstructing America* and Pagden, *Fall of natural man*. Exchange processes are the subject of the recent study of Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being'. It provides extensive information on Paraupaba and is recommended for further reading on this subject. The author would like to express his gratitude for the contribution of Mark Meuwese to this article. The study from Pompa, *Religião como tradução* is focused on religion as an exchange process between Europeans and Amerindians from Brazil. Galindo, 'O Governo das Almas', studies exchange in the interior of northeast Brazil in the period after Dutch Brazil.
 - 4 For Paraupaba's first remonstrance see ASG SR 4846: 7 and 8 Aug. 1654: 107; ASG SR 3216: 7 and 8 Aug. 1654: 593, 595. For Paraupaba's second remonstrance, see ASG SR 4846: 6 April 1656: 205. Hondius published the letter together with the remonstrances of Paraupaba as a 'Translation from Portuguese of a letter written from Paraiba, dated 22 Sept. 1655, by Juan Fernando Viero, to Marcos Rodrigues Stinoque in Lisbon'.
 - 5 Pedro Souto Maior published a Portuguese translation of letters written by the Potiguar Felipe Camarão to Paraupaba and Poti in Fastos Pernambucanos, and the reply of the latter, published as Pottij, *Copie van een Brasilaensen brieff. Meuwese, For the Peace and Well Being*, 187: 'In mid-February 1647, Johannes Engelaer, "schoolmaster and comforter of the sick to the Brazilians, requested rewards for services, as his son Samuel Engelaer had been in service of the Brazilians for 21 months and been used as writer for the Regidor Pedro Pottij". (OWIC 71: 17 Feb. 1647.)
 - 6 Laet, *L'histoire du Nouveau Monde* is cited by Gonsalves de Mello, *Nederlanders in Brazilië*, 225; 205-206 refer to the Indians in the Netherlands.
 - 7 I express my gratitude to Robert Cirillo for his help and to George Levine for the revision of my text. I would at this point also like to thank Lodewijk Wagenaar for his support of my historical research.
 - 8 For relations between the Dutch and the Tapuia see: Teensma, 'Roelof Baro's Tarairiu-monument' and Boogaart, 'Infernal Allies'. Pompa, *Religião como tradução*, 133-149 for migration and 240-256 for relations with the Dutch. Galindo, 'O Governo das Almas', 41-80, on indigenous migration in northeast Brazil.
 - 9 A concise description of the Potiguar can be found in Hemming, *Red Gold*, 160-182. A contemporary source with a lot of detail is Frei Vicente do Salvador: *História do Brasil*. The identification of the Potiguar is actually mainly based on contemporary Portuguese representations like those of Frei Salvador and Frei Calado. Frei Manoel Calado is a very important contemporary source as he witnessed many events between 1630 and 1645 that he describes in *O Valeroso Lucideno*.
 - 10 Pottij, *Copie van een Brasilaensen brieff*. A general history of the relations between Portuguese and Potiguar can be found in Varnhagen, *Historia Geral*, Vol. 1, 20-21, 212-213, 229, 453, 487-496; Vol. 2, 54-56, 140-143; Vol.3, 37-44, 88, 127-128, 199-200. Varnhagen dedicates special

- attention to Camarão. Some of the Potiguar joined with the Portuguese against the French and their Topinamba allies between 1612 and 1615 in Maranhão, another indication of the complexity of the 'Potiguar' identity. See also for Potiguar in Ceará the study by Boogaart and Brienens, *Information from Ceará*, 34-35.
- 11 For the citation of Barlaeus: Brandão, *História dos feitos*, 26. For the aldeias Pompa, *Religião como tradução*, 57-84. Pompa sees the aldeias not as a natural form of Indian habitation, but as a project of integration, where protection against slavers was one of the incentives for the indigenous participation. Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 152-157: describes the aldeias as having three functions for the WIC: a labour pool, military support and a mission laboratory.
 - 12 The description of Laet can be found in Naber, *laerlyck verhael*, Vol. 1, Book 2, 89-92. The reference to Hessel Gerrits, a mapmaker who published the names, can be found in Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 87-90 and Gonsalves de Mello, *Nederlanders in Brazilië*, 205.
 - 13 For the reference to Adriaen van Dussen see Gonsalves de Mello, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, 223.
 - 14 *Ibid.*, 235.
 - 15 For the events in Ceará Gonsalves: see Gonsalves de Mello, *De Nederlanders in Brazilië*, 230. For the embassy of Parauapaba see Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 171-178.
 - 16 For a more detailed account of the events leading to the Indian assembly see Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 178-183. Pedro Souto Maior highlighted the Brazilian assembly of 1645 in *Fastos Pernambucanos*, as the first political expression of American political identity. The three regidors were Parauapaba, Poti and Carapeba. The position of the 'Brazilians' in Dutch Brazil is quite exceptional. Most Indian-Dutch relations in the seventeenth century admit no form of institutional participation by Amerindians in the local administration. The importance that the Brazilians attached to the charter issued by the XIX in 1644 on the rights and privileges of the Brazilian population, is illustrated by the new copy that the High Council in Recife issued to regidor Carapeba on 28 Oct. 1645, because his copy had been lost on Itamaracá during the battles of Sept. 1645. (OWIC No. 70.)
 - 17 For the appointment of Parauapaba see OWIC 70: 7 June 1645. The number of references to Indian labour make it very probable that the contribution of Indians to the economy has been undervalued, maybe in part because of their tribute being paid 'in natura' and therefore not being registered, or because of the clandestine nature of Indian slavery. Van der Dussen wrote in his report from 1639: 'They go to work like it is against their will, as if they are forced, but with aguardente [rum] you can get them to do anything [...] but as the negroes now are scarce in this land, there is more demand for indigenous labour than before, which they perceive very well so that they only accept work if they are paid in advance.' (Gonsalves de Mello, *Fontes para*, 183.) For the Dutch mission and its relation with France see Schalkwijk, *Igreja e Estado*, 16-18, 36, 82, 164-165.
 - 18 For Poti's comment see Pottij, *Copie van een Brasilaensen brieff*. For the description of the massacre see Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, Vol. 2, 149-155. Antonio writes two letters to the High Council, first on 28 Sept., later on 10 Oct. 1645 confirming the loyalty of the Brazilians in Rio Grande, without referring to the massacre. (OWIC 71.) See for a 'Dutch' description of events: Nieuhof, *Gedenkweerdige Brasiliaense*, 120-134, 156-171.
 - 19 OWIC 71: 4 Dec. 1645: Attendance of the Captains of the Brazilians about weapons; OWIC 73: 13 Dec. 1647: missive from Pedro Poti about lack of pay; 12 Sept. 1648, OWIC 73: 26 Oct. 1649: Antonio Parauapaba requests payment of Brazilians. See also Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 194-195.
 - 20 OWIC 73 'Received and read a missive dated 22 [Sept. 1649] written by Lieutenant Colonel M:V: de Wal commander on the Island Tamaraca from the city Schoppe where he notifies that the Regidor Domingos Ferdinandes Carapeba on the 18th of this month, being highly drunk, tied one of his ensigns, named Salvador whom he accused of wanting to elope with one of his maiden servants who was missing, to the pole to be shot and that the regidor had stabbed Salvador, who had been hit by a bullet,

- three times causing his death. OWIC 73: 24 Sept. 1649: Letter Listrij; 9 Sept.: Letter Listrij Carapeba; 27 Oct.: deliberation case Carapeba; 28 Oct.: report of 'Legal Council' on status Carapeba; 2 Nov. 1649: verdict court martial: death sentence, banishment of Carapeba to Fernando de Noronha.
- 21 See for events in Krommen, *Mathias Beck*. Mathias Beck recounts how the Dutch are saved from enraged Potiguar by the Portuguese in 1654. See Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 206 for Paraupaba's departure to the Dutch Republic, that was registered in the diary of a WIC official (Ibold, *Das "Memorial"*, 108): '*Paraupaba boarded a WIC vessel with his wife and three children in early February 1654. The same notebook records that Antonio Paraupaba's father Gaspar, whom also had visited the Dutch Republic in 1625 and who had served as an interpreter for the Dutch in Ceará from 1649 to 1654, dramatically rejected an offer to accompany his son to Europe because 'he wanted to end his life in the wilderness among his Nation, rather than sailing with us back to Holland'*.
- 22 The name Paraupaba is linked with water. Para + upaba = lagoon: river formed by lagoons. The variant Paraopeba exists in Minas, given to one of the tributaries of the river São Francisco because this river originated in a lagoon. Paraupaba died probably before 7 July 1656. '*Being read in this meeting, the request of Paulina Paraupaba, born in Brazil, the wife of Antonio Paraupaba, former Regidor of the Brazilian nation in Brazil, asking for a subsidy to the sustenance of her family and herself. After deliberation it is approved and understood to pay the suppliant the sum of 50,- guilders, the order for payment of which will be sent to her. For further sustenance she is directed to the Directors of the West Indian Company from the Chamber of Amsterdam.*' ASG SR 4846: 7 July 1656. Meuwese seems to suggest that Paraupaba still was alive but the appearance of Paulina instead of Paraupaba suggests he already died, also because she is directed to the WIC. Paulina returns to the States though: ASG SR 3216: 12 Oct. 1656: '*Being read in this meeting, the request of the widow of the late Antonio Paraupaba, during his life former Regidor of a Company of Brazilians in Brazil, asking, for the sustenance of her family, the continuation of the pay of two riders, that her husband had been awarded to earn with the Company of the Lord of Broeckhuijsen in the garrison in 's Hertogenbosch. After deliberation is approved and understood to direct the suppliant hereby to the Lords Gecommitteerde raden of the Province of Holland who administer the Company of Broeckhuijsen.*' Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well Being', 210-214.
- 23 Frei Vicente do Salvador describes how the Portuguese destroyed three smithies build by French near the Bahia de Traição in 1582 (*História do Brasil*, 282). See for previous visits of American Indians to the Netherlands: Meuwese, 'For the Peace and Well being', 72-78. The detention of Paraupaba by 'Tapuia's' of Jandhui in 1634 could well be provoked by curiosity about his knowledge of Europe (Naber, *laerlyck verhael*, Vol. 4, Book 11, 51). Poti writes in his letter to Camarão: '*Do not speak of the impotence of the Dutch, I have lived in that country and was raised there; ships, people, money and everything is there in such abundance as the stars in the sky.*' Something that would interest a warrior lord looking for allies. There are many indications that Dutch remained active in Brazil after 1654, especially on the northern coast and further research might uncover valuable information about this period.
- 24 Hemming, *Red Gold*, 160-182.
- 25 Calado, *O Valeroso Lucideno*, Vol. 1, 66-67.
- 26 See for the negotiations with Portugal: Cabral de Mello, *O negócio*, 228-234, 274-276. Laet, *Notae ad dissertationem* extensively refers to the Potiguar or 'Peti-vares' in his annotation of the dissertation of Hugo de Groot on the origin of the Americans.
- 27 Meuwese discovered this important information; see 'For the Peace and Well Being', 221-223; ASG SR, 4846.



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