A Brazilian Jesuit in Amsterdam. Anti-Spanish and Anti-Catholic rhetoric in the early Dutch Golden Age

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On 8 May 1624, from their quarters in Salvador de Bahia, the members of the Jesuit community saw a large fleet at the entrance of the Bay of All Saints. That these were enemy vessels intent on attacking the capital of Luso-Spanish Brazil was immediately obvious. Two days earlier, one Jesuit had received an ominous warning that the city was about to come under attack. During prayer in the Order's church, Christ, bearing a sword, had appeared in a revelation to the priest, pointing the weapon straight at the heart of the city. The following day, Christ appeared to the same man again, this time carrying three spears which were aimed at Salvador's main religious buildings. Although the Jesuits did not know precisely what to make of the revelations, the subsequent appearance of twenty-six Dutch ships on the horizon removed any lingering uncertainties.

The colonists were ill-prepared to resist the attackers. Within 48 hours, the fleet of the Dutch West India Company under the command of Admiral Jacob Willekens and Vice-Admiral Piet Heyn had completed the conquest of Salvador. Despite the swiftness of the operation, almost the entire colonial population, including the occupants of the Jesuit college, escaped before the Dutch soldiers entered the city gates. Inspired by bishop Marcos Teixeira, they began to prepare for months of guerrilla warfare from the Recôncavo. Some of the highest-ranking officials in Salvador, however, chose to remain in the city. The Dutch took Governor-general Diogo

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Mendonça de Furtado, his son Antonio, and three of his closest confidants in custody. Two and a half weeks later, nine Jesuits completed the group of fourteen distinguished captives. The fathers, including the provincial Domingo Coelho, had been making an inspection in Rio de Janeiro and Espirito Santo at the time of the attack. Unaware of the recent political turnaround, they were taken by surprise on their return to Bahia.[1]

In the United Provinces, news of the Dutch conquest prompted both spontaneous and well-rehearsed jubilations. The West India Company's first attack in America had been successful, and the Dutch estimated that Habsburg Spain would now be forced to divide its military attentions between two fronts, one in Europe and the other in the New World. When Dutch success in Brazil was ultimately confirmed to the general public at home in the final days of August, the States-General proclaimed a day of public prayer and a day of public celebrations. Excitement over the conquest was further enhanced when the Dutch learned that their forces were to bring home some illustrious prisoners. In October 1624, the group of fourteen arrived in Holland.

Two leading opinion makers in Amsterdam, the print publisher Claes Jansz Visscher and the chronicler Nicolaes van Wassenaer, provided the Dutch audience with information on the captives. Visscher designed a so-called news map, a publication which in both text and image commented on their arrival in Holland, while Van Wassenaer, in his bi-annual war chronicle *Historisch Verhael*, concentrated on developments during their captivity which lasted until the autumn of 1626. Both publications focused their attention on Domingo Coelho S.J., an experienced man who had left his native Portugal for Brazil in 1587, and had risen through the ranks of the Society during more than thirty-five years of service in the colony.[2] He was imprisoned in Amsterdam along

1 Serafim Leite, S.J., História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil, Tômos I-X, Lisboa, Rio de Janeiro 1938-1950, here Tômo V,, pp. 28-33; On the Dutch conquest of Salvador, see: Charles R. Boxer, Salvador de Sá and the struggle for Brazil and Angola 1602-1686, London 1952, pp. 46-56, Dauril Alden, The making of an enterprise: the Society of Jesus in Portugal, its empire, and beyond, 1540-1750, Stanford 1996, pp. 206-08.

2 Domingo Coelho, * 1563 Evora, S.J. 1578 Coimbra, † 8 August 1639, Salvador de Bahia. Leite, História (n. 1), Tômo I, 569, 579; Leite, História (n. 1), Tômo VIII, 164-165. See also:

with four other fathers: João de Oliva, Manuel Tenreiro, Manuel Martins, and António Rodrigues. The other four Jesuits, António de Matos, Gaspar Ferreira, Agostinho Coelho, and Agostinho Luiz, were held in Rotterdam.[3] Based on the views of Visscher and Van Wassenaer, this article will discuss anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic rhetoric in the United Provinces by analysing their representations of the captured Jesuits from Brazil.

Anti-Jesuit sentiments in the United Provinces

The Dutch Revolt (c. 1566-1609) had resulted in a decline of Catholicism in the United Provinces. The remaining adherence to Rome varied from town to town, with the size of congregations generally depending on the liberties local authorities extended to priests. The number of Dutch Catholics appears to have reached its nadir around 1620, and the Society of Jesus had made little difference up to that point. In the surrounding territories, however, the influence of Jesuits had increased significantly. They had made important contributions to the revitalization of Catholicism in the Southern Netherlands, the North Rhine area, and Westphalia, and, more worryingly for the States-General, they had began to infiltrate the United Provinces to assist the Catholic part of the population.[4] A few years before the Jesuits from Brazil were to arrive in Holland, one of these clandestine missionaries was arrested in Amsterdam. Lieven Wouters, who had been active in the city since 1610, had eluded the municipal authorities several times, but was finally captured in 1619.[5] In April 1620, he was transferred to the *Rasphuis*, where the

Georg Schurhammer S.J., Gesammelte Studien, vol. IV, Varia (BIHSI 23), Rome 1965, pp. 389-390 with references to further sources.

3 The names and ages of the fathers are recorded on the news map of Claes Jansz Visscher discussed in detail below, and are confirmed in a handwritten note from Coelho, a brief written testimony signed in the presence of the Amsterdam notary Willem Cluyt on 14 November 1624: Nijmegen, Archivum Neerlandicum Societatis Iesu, OS 352, pp. 1-3.

4 Jonathan I. Israel, The Dutch Republic. Its rise, greatness, and fall 1477-1806, Oxford 1995, pp. 380-381, 414-419. See also: Charles H. Parker, Faith on the margins. Catholics and Catholicism in the Dutch Golden Age, Cambridge 2008.

5 Lieven Wouters, * 26 May 1570 Brussels, S.J. 27 October 1589 Tournai, † 28 October 1625 Antwerp. For this information and the remainder of this paragraph: Herman J. Allard, S.J., Hoe een Jezuïet en twee predikanten uit het Amsterdamsche tuchthuis ontsnapten met den aankleve van dien (A.D. 1621), in: Jaarboekje van Alberdingk Thijm 49/1899, pp. 86-131.

city's petty thieves and other lowlife were put to the service of the common good grating imported brazilwood to extract dyes for the weaving industry. Notwithstanding the appeals of several European princes for Wouters' release, the usually lenient Amsterdam magistrates remained uncompromising. It was to their great embarrassment, then, that Wouters and two liberal members of the Reformed Church (*Remonstrants*) eventually escaped from the *Rasphuis* in 1621, with the assistance of sympathizers from inside the city.

Anti-Jesuit rhetoric flourished during the Dutch Golden Age (c. 1566-1720), particularly at times of anxiety. A central feature of the Catholic menace in the eyes of many Protestants, Jesuits were broadly defined as a secretive and deceptive threat to the state and the Reformed Church.[6] After the expiration of the Twelve Years' Truce (1609-1621), anti-Jesuit sentiments increased when the Habsburgs – already victorious in Bohemia and the Rhine Palatinate – stepped up their military efforts on the southern border of the United Provinces. Spanish troops captured the town of Steenbergen in 1622, and laid siege to Bergen op Zoom. The panic of the population was reflected in rumours of treason. The Amsterdam minister Rudolphus Petri recorded in July that burghers of his city had managed to uncover a Spanish conspiracy just in time. Jesuits from Antwerp, he claimed, had intended to set fire to the heart of Dutch mercantile activity by throwing fireballs over the city walls from all sides, which would contaminate the air and poison the inhabitants during their attempts to rescue their possessions. In order to add further credibility to his story, Petri claimed that a certain Balthasar Paul, a Jesuit who was almost certainly the product of the minister's own imagination, promptly confessed and was ex-

6 Relatively little scholarly attention has been devoted to Dutch anti-Jesuit rhetoric in early modern Europe. For a broader perspective, see: Sabina Pavone, Between history and myth. The *Monita secreta Societatis Jesu*, in: The Jesuits II. Cultures, Sciences, and the Arts, 1540-1773, John W. O'Malley S.J., Gauvin Alexander Bailey, Steven J. Harris, T. Frank Kennedy S.J. (eds.). Toronto 2006, pp. 50-65; Peter Burke, The Black Legend of the Jesuits: an essay in the history of social stereotypes, in: Christianity and Community in the West. Essays for John Bossy, Simon Ditchfield (ed.), Aldershot 2001, pp. 165-182; Eric Nelson, The Jesuit legend. Superstition and myth-making, in: Religion and superstition in Reformation Europe, Helen Parish and William G. Napby (eds.), Manchester 2002, pp. 94-115, esp. pp. 94-95. Nelson goes on to demonstrate the cross-confessional development of the polemic.

ecuted.[7] In August, when the situation looked even bleaker for Protestants, news arrived of the canonizations of Ignatius of Loyola and Francis Xavier. The exuberant celebrations in Antwerp suggested that a Catholic triumph in the Low Countries was inescapable.[8] In this climate, the arrival of the Jesuits from Brazil represented a chance for the Amsterdam regents to make a strong stance, as well as an opportunity to make amends for their failure to keep Lieven Wouters under lock and key. The prison regime for the provincial and his fellow Jesuits, as a result, was extremely strict.

The Jesuits from Brazil through the eyes of Claes Jansz Visscher

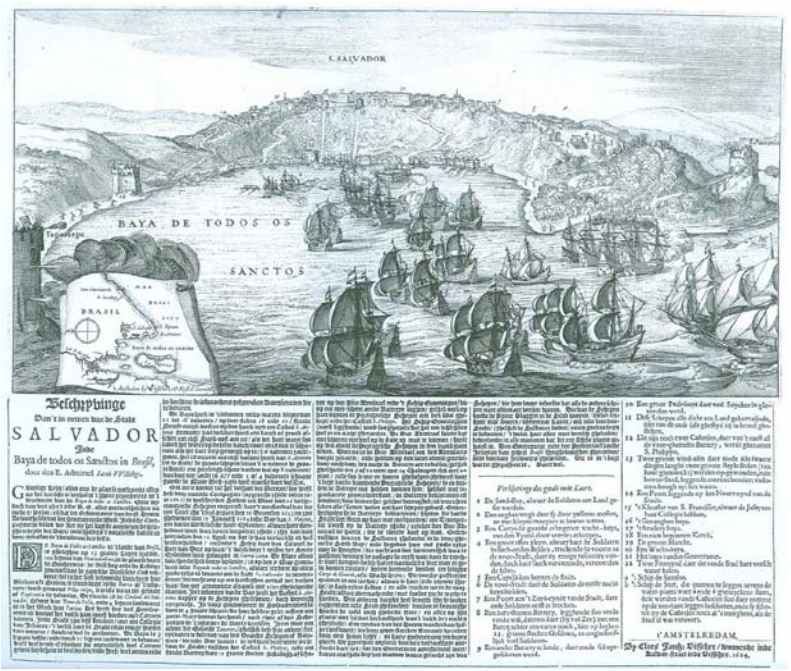
Before Coelho and the four other Amsterdam prisoners were brought to their cells, the West India Company seized the moment to inform the wider public of their arrival in the United Provinces. For this purpose they employed the Amsterdam print publisher Claes Jansz Visscher. Visscher, at the instigation of the Company directors, had issued a so-called of the conquest of Salvador in August 1624 (ill. 1).[9] Such news maps or news prints, a common type of war bulletin in Northern Europe, usually combined an illustration of the geographical setting and the unfolding of the battle with a printed caption.[10] This textual explanation, which in Visscher's news maps could be as long and detailed as a pamphlet, explained the various episodes of the confrontation. Visscher, a resolute Calvinist, had previously distinguished

7 Willem Th. M. Frijhoff, Wegen van Evert Willemsz. Een Hollands weeskind op zoek naar zichzelf, 1607-1647, Nijmegen 1995, p. 299. No Jesuit of this name can be traced in: Prosopographia Jesuitica Belgica Antiqua: a biographical dictionary of the Jesuits in the Low Countries 1542-1773, 4 vols., Willem Audenaert and Herman Morlion (eds.), Leuven 2000.

8 On the Antwerp celebrations: Karel Porteman, Exotisme en spektakel. De Antwerpse jezuïetenfeesten van juli 1622, in: Vreemden vertoond. Opstellen over exotisme en spektakelcultuur in de Spaanse Nederlanden en de Nieuwe Wereld, Johan Verberckmoes (ed.), Louvain 2002, pp. 103-119.

9 Frederik Muller, De Nederlandsche geschiedenis in platen. Beredeneerde beschrijving van Nederlandsche historieplaten, zinneprenten en historische kaarten, 3 vols., Amsterdam 1863-1870 no. 1508; Atlas van Stolk, Katalogus der Historie-, Spot- en Zinneprenten Betrekkelijk de Geschiedenis van Nederland, 10 vols., Amsterdam 1893-1935, no. 1593.

10 Christi M. Klinkert, Nassau in het nieuws: nieuwsprenten van Maurits van Nassaus militaire ondernemingen uit de periode 1590-1600, Zutphen 2005,(good recent study of Dutch news maps of a slightly earlier period).



Ill. 1: Claes Jansz. Visscher, Description of the capture of Salvador in the Bay of All Saints in Brazil, Amsterdam 1624.

himself with a famous news map on the execution of the Holland pensionary Johan van Oldenbarnevelt in The Hague in 1619, and this may explain his employment by the West India Company five years later.[11] Upon the arrival of the fourteen prisoners from Brazil in Holland in October 1624, the print publisher was given the opportunity to draw a sketch of the captives from life, resulting in his second news map of the overseas triumph.[12] Since more than six weeks had

11 On Visscher and his engravings, see: Nadine M. Orenstein, Huigen Leeflang, Ger Luijten, Print publishers in the Netherlands 1580-1620, in: Dawn of the Golden Age. Northern Netherlandish art, 1580-1620, Ger Luijten, Ariane van Suchtelen, Reinier Baarsen, Walter Kloek (eds.), Amsterdam, Zwolle 1993, pp. 167-200, here 189-195; Maria Simon, Claes Jansz. Visscher, Freiburg, 1958; Hollstein's Dutch & Flemish etchings, engravings and woodcuts, ca. 1450-1700, vols. XXXVIII, XXXIX, Claes Jansz Visscher to Claes Claesz Visscher II, Christiaan Schuckman and Dieuwke de Hoop Scheffer (eds.), Roosendaal 1991).

12 Visscher presumably made detailed sketches only of the governor-general and the provincial. He certainly could not have seen the four Jesuits who arrived in Rotterdam.

passed since the news of victory had reached the United Provinces, Visscher now embedded the success in Brazil into the wider narrative of the war against the Habsburgs.

Visscher's second news map envisaged the prisoners against the backdrop of Salvador (ill. 2).[13] The cityscape, a detail from his earlier news map of the conquest, reminded his audience of the geographical origins of the captives. The two main protagonists, Mendonça de Furtado and Coelho, were positioned in the foreground of the image, as the two leading representatives of the colonial hierarchy in Brazil. Both were dressed for the occasion. Visscher's representation of the governor-general epitomized the stereotypical Dutch image of a Portuguese nobleman, proudly wearing a sumptuous cloak, hat, and body armour; Coelho, also in full attire, was depicted wearing the rosary of Francis Xavier around his neck. The caption in italics explained that the fourteen men had been captured in Salvador. Visscher then described how they had been brought to Holland, and where they were to be imprisoned. With a short list on the right, Visscher informed his customers of the identities of the fourteen men.

Ill. 2: Claes Jansz Visscher, Fourteen captives from Salvador / Chat on the wharf, Amsterdam 1624.

At the bottom, Visscher added a fictional dialogue entitled *Steyger-praetjen* (Chat on the wharf). This dialogue between a sailor who had taken part in the expedition to Brazil, and a patriotic *Batavian* who had remained at home eager for good news, touched on all the right anti-Spanish and anti-

13 Muller, De Nederlandsche geschiedenis (n. 9), no. 1509; Stolk, Katalogus (n. 9), no. 1600.

Catholic themes for a Dutch public used to the rhetoric of war. The *Steyger-praetjen* opened with the capture and imprisonment of the fourteen men, establishing the connection with Visscher's illustration. The sailor and the *Batavian* gleefully recounted that the Jesuits were now fittingly locked up in a building – the *Rasphuis* – which before the Alteration of Amsterdam (1578) used to belong to the nuns of the Order of St. Clare. Some standard anti-Jesuit rhetoric followed: the sailor charged the Society with improving their position in court circles in Europe, and squandering the financial profits of these political connections in their houses. The *Batavian* further reinforced this stereotype by stating that:

"in contrast, he who is not prepared to open his wallet
for them, is denied entry to Heaven [by the Society]".[14]

In order to make readers of the dialogue understand the impact of this accusation, the sailor feigned surprise. Paraphrasing the words of the *Batavian*, he re-iterated with disbelief how the Jesuits conspired to fill their coffers, and wondered why there were people who believed these *Papists*. Then the two characters changed the subject, and discussed the main reason for the Spanish presence in the Americas: greed. The dialogue proceeded by placing Habsburg rule in Brazil in the context of Spanish tyranny abroad, arguably the most important strand in the Dutch representation of the New World over the previous decades.[15] Both men pledged their support to the States-General and the House of Orange, before promising to serve the cause of the United Provinces by:

"taking from [the Spaniard] that which has supported
his dominance for so long, that is his great tyranny,
and the annihilation of thousands through murder, hanging, burning,
(just what our parents used to suffer in [the Netherlands])".[16]

14 "Daer tegen, die haer niet en wil sijn kas ontsluiten / Den Hemel sluyten sy, en houden hem daer buyten."

15 For the rhetoric of the *natural* Dutch-Amerindian alliance against Spain as part of the Dutch version of the Black Legend, see: Benjamin Schmidt, Innocence Abroad. The Dutch imagination and the New World, 1570-1670, Cambridge 2001.

16 "Benemen hem het geen daer hy sijn heerschappy / Dus lang me heeft gestut, door groote

The analogy between the fate of the American Indians and the ordeals of the Dutch population in the early years of the Revolt against Spain was one of the mainstays of anti-Spanish propaganda in the United Provinces. As the *Batavian* recited the list of familiar Spanish cruelties – cutting off hands, noses, and ears, hanging the innocent, and quartering children – the sailor concluded that the conquistadors must have enjoyed these brutalities as he could see no other explanation for them. He revelled at the thought of divinely inspired revenge by means of Dutch success in conquering Spanish-held towns like Salvador. At the same time, victories in the New World would relieve the position of the *naked, innocent Indians*, who had done nothing wrong apart from being so naive as to hand their riches to the Spanish conquistadors. In order to make the rhetoric of the *Steyger-praetjen* more recognizable and more powerful for a Dutch audience, the sailor and the *Batavian* systematically labelled the enemy as Spanish. The fact that Salvador was administered by the Portuguese, albeit under the watchful gaze of Madrid, was ignored completely in the dialogue. The Portuguese descent of both the governor-general and the Jesuit provincial was also withheld from readers.

The Dutch had been caught in two minds over the extent of Portugal's dislike of its neighbours ever since Philip II of Spain had united the Iberian crowns in 1580. Optimists argued that in colonies like Brazil, the Portuguese would rise in support if the Dutch launched an attack on what were now, technically speaking, Spanish interests. The overstatement of Portuguese grievances against Madrid played a part in persuading the directors of the West India Company to single out Brazil as the most vulnerable province of Habsburg America. Others, more realistically, predicted there would be few differences between the colonial agendas at both courts.[17] A premeditated mix-up of Portuguese

tyranny / En duysenden vernielt met moorden, hangen, branden / (Gelijck ons Ouders is bekent in dese Landen)".

17 Charles R. Boxer, The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654, Oxford 1957, pp. 14-16. The best-known exponent of the theory that some in Brazil *would rather see two Orange flags than one Inquisitor* was Jan Andries Moerbeeck, who submitted his plans to the States-General in April 1623, and published the same the following year, after the capture of Bahia, as: Redenen waeromme de West-Indische Compagnie dient te trachten het landt van Brasilia den Coninck van Spangien te ontmachtigen, Amsterdam 1624.

and Spanish identities in a colonial setting, like in Visscher's *Steyger-praetjen*, was hardly new. An earlier and quite similar effort to manipulate information – also relating to a Dutch encounter with colonists in Brazil – can be found in the travel log of the privateer Joris van Spilbergen. Midway through the Twelve Years' Truce, in January 1615, he and his crew had visited the colony as part of a successful circumnavigation of the world. His account, which had reported contacts with Portuguese villagers, had turned sour when hostilities broke out around São Vicente, near the town of Santos. At first, the Portuguese had offered the sailors fresh fruit, the Dutch giving wine and cheese in return. The parties had then discussed an exchange of long-term hostages, but when the colonists delivered a letter to Van Spilbergen rejecting the deal, the mood quickly changed, as did the tone of the travel account. The letter of refusal, according to one Dutch witness, had been "written in the *Spanish* nature, stating that if we wanted something, we had to come and get it by means of the rapier".[18]

Both the anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic tropes in early Dutch Americana and the subsequent identification of the population with the *innocent* Indians had their roots in the early phase of the Dutch Revolt, which had become an integral part of public memory in the Northern Netherlands.[19] Yet this rather specific version of the *Black Legend* did not easily translate to other Protestant audiences in Northern Europe, where each region had its own distinct memories of religious turmoil. Hence it is questionable whether the *Steyger-Praetjen* and thus the second news map of 1624 as a whole ever achieved commercial success. Visscher's first, informative news map of the conquest of Salvador was copied, translated, and reissued across early modern Europe in the final months of 1624, and the image of the fleet in the Bay of All Saints acquired canonical status in European iconography. In stark contrast, the opinionated news map of

18 Oost-ende West-Indische spiegel der 2 leste navigatiën, ghedaen inden jaeren 1614, 15, 16, 17 ende 18. daer in vertoont woort, in wat gestalt Ioris van Speilbergen door de Magellanes de werelt rontom geseylt heeft, Reinier Posthumus Meyjes (ed.), Amsterdam 1952, p. 29: "Desen brief smaeckten gheheel nae den Spaenschen aert ende humeuren [...] Dan soo wy yets begheerden, dat wy t'selve met het punt vant Rappier souden haelen" [my italics, MvG].

19 Schmidt, Innocence Abroad (n. 15).

the fourteen captives yielded only a single German copy, and this copy did not contain the *Steyger-praetjen* (ill. 3).[20] From an artistic perspective, Visscher's news map of enemy prisoners was not very successful either. No other bulletins with a similar composition are known in the Dutch Golden Age, and Visscher himself – as one of the leading producers of news maps in the United Provinces until his death in 1652 – never again combined a topical illustration of military achievements with a fictional dialogue.

Ill. 3 [Anonymous, after Claes Jansz Visscher], untitled news map, Germany?, c. 1624.

The Jesuits from Brazil through the eyes of Nicolaes van Wassenaer

The rhetorical opportunities of having a high-ranking Jesuit prisoner in the heart of Amsterdam, however, were not lost on other Dutch opinion makers. The weekly newspapers of Jan van Hilten and Broer Jansz, which reported on Dutch progress in Brazil with great regularity, announced the arrival of the fourteen prisoners in the third week of October.[21] In Friesland, the Reformed minister and amateur lyricist Johannes Haselbekius devoted a poem of no less than 314 verses to the victory in Salvador. He alluded to the imprisonment of the Brazilian elite in Amsterdam, but mentioned

20 John Roger Paas, The German political broadsheet, 1600-1700, vol. 4, Wiesbaden 1994, no. P-1044; Michael Niemitz, Antijesuitische Bildpublizistik in der Frühen Neuzeit. Geschichte, Ikonographie, und Ikonologie, Regensburg 2008, pp. 106-107, 355.

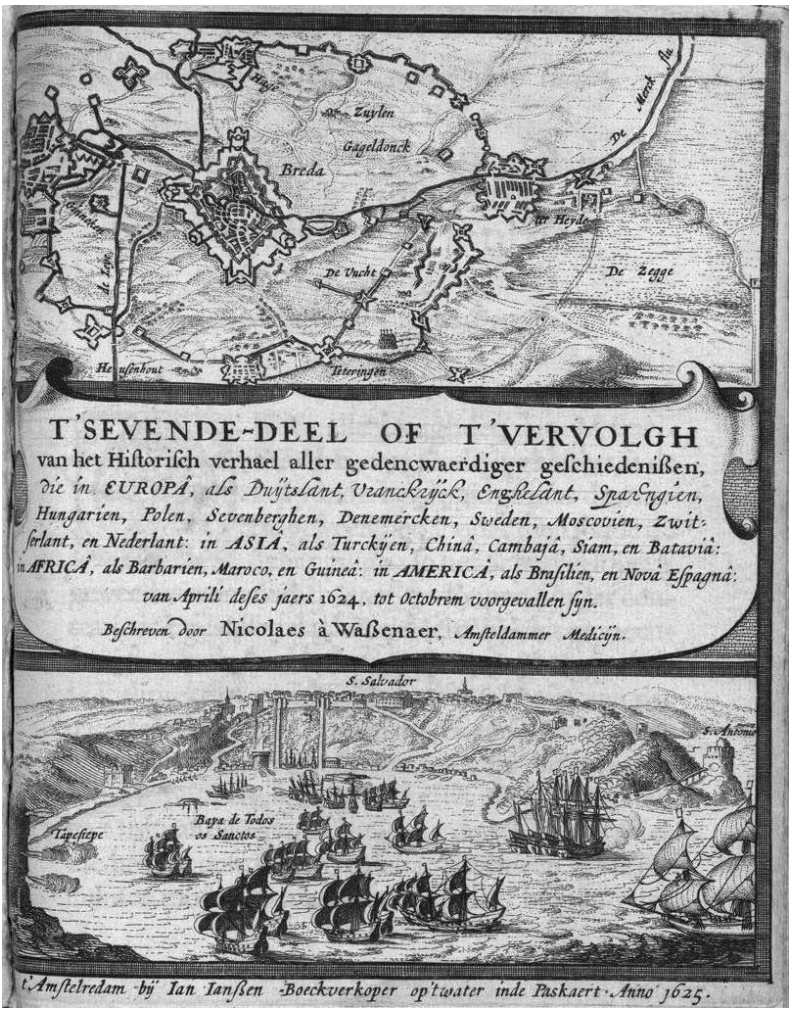
21 Dutch corantos 1618-1650, a bibliography illustrated with 334 facsimile reproductions of corantos printed 1618-1625, Folke Dahl (ed.), The Hague 1946, nos. 38 & 133. On the race among Amsterdam newspapermen for information from America, see: Michiel van Groesen, A week to remember. Dutch publishers and the competition for news from Brazil, 26 August - 2 September 1624, in: Quaerendo 40-1/2010, pp. 26-49.

only the Jesuits explicitly. Now that they had been shipped to Holland, Haselbekius remarked tongue-in-cheek, it could finally be established whether or not they liked the Dutch cuisine.[22] The most elaborate discussion of the Jesuit presence in Amsterdam, uniquely informative but at the same time highly opinionated like the Visscher news map, was produced by the Remonstrant chronicler Nicolaes Jansz van Wassenaer. Van Wassenaer, who was employed as a physician by the Admiralty of Amsterdam and had intimate knowledge of what had happened in Salvador from conversations with injured veterans, twice annually published a serial work titled *Historisch Verhael*. These quartos, issued between 1622 and 1635, summarized political, religious, and military developments both at home and abroad for Dutch readers who wanted to be informed about world affairs.[23] In Volume VII, published in the spring of 1625, Van Wassenaer did little more than to reproduce information from Visscher and others about the conquest of Bahia (ill. 4). By the time Volume VIII appeared six months later, the physician had managed to obtain reports about the interrogations of the governor-general and the Jesuit provincial in their Amsterdam quarters.

Parts of these reports had a highly personal nature, and Van Wassenaer repeatedly implied that he had spoken to Coelho himself. As a result, readers could have no doubts about the credibility of the information the physician presented. The provincial, according to the author, was a man of humble disposition. He was soft-spoken, blessed with good judgement, and well versed in Latin. He had an exceptional reputation among fellow Catholics, especially within the

22 Johannes Haselbekius, Triumph-Dicht, over de Gheluckighe Ver-overinghe van de Spaensche Silver-Vlote, Geschiet den 8. Septemb. Anno 1628. Item, over de rasse Ver-overinghe van de Bahia de Todos os Sanctos. Den 10. Maij, Anno 1624, Leeuwarden 1629 [C4v], vss. 279-82: "Ooc soo is de' Stad-houdre van onse gewaep'nede Knechten / Met noch som'ge getimpd'e Iesuyte' genomen in hechten: / En van daere gescheept nae ons' Hollandische kuste, / Omme te sien, of hun ooc d'hijr-landische Spijse geluste."

23 Nicolaes van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael alder ghedenck-weerdichste geschiedenisse, die hier en daer in Europa, als in Duijtsch-Lant, Vranckrijck, Enghelant, Spaengien, Hungarijen, Polen, Sevenberghen, Wallachien, Moldavien, Turckijen en Neder-Lant, van den beginne des jaers 1621 ... tot octobri, des jaers 1632, voorgevallen sijn, 21 vols., Amsterdam, 1622-1635. See: Jan Z. Kannegieter, Dr. Nicolaes Jansz. van Wassenaer (1571/72-1629), in: Jaarboek Amstelodamum 56/1964, pp. 71-99.



Ill. 4 [Anonymous, bottom half after Claes Jansz Visscher], Nicolaes van Wassenaer, T'Sevende-Deel of t'Vervolgh van het Historisch verhael ..., Amsterdam 1625.

ranks of the Society, where since his adolescent years he had been regarded as very promising. His eyes, Van Wassenaer confirmed from personal experience, flickered like those of cats, lions, tigers, and leopards, something which physicians usually explained through heat of the liver. Some

Jesuits even regarded him as *divine*, and honoured him as an extraordinary man.[24] The chronicler clearly did his best to give a meticulous and agreeable representation of Coelho's character, but some of the details may well have been perceived by the Dutch readership as rather sinister. Jesuits, Dutch pamphleteers had after all insisted for decades, were notoriously unreliable.[25] It is difficult to gauge whether Van Wassenaer alluded to these preconceptions. The feline analogies may well have served to discredit the provincial, while heat of the liver was a common effect of fever, but could also indicate a serious imbalance of the humours.[26]

In the final months of 1624 Coelho was in a weak physical state. He complained about the strict regulations of his detention, and in a letter to Superior General Muzio Vitelleschi he blamed the Dutch for demonstrating a strong hatred for the Jesuit order since the early days of their occupation of Bahia.[27] But under interrogation, according to Van Wassenaer's report, Coelho adopted a haughtier tone. He claimed, in the words of *Historisch Verhael*, that some considered him of higher rank than the governor-general, or even the king himself. How was it possible that such a holy man was now being held in such terrible surroundings? The response he received was taken straight from the Dutch rhetorical handbook: here, in Holland, "the free burghers were not subjected to the dictates of the [Spanish] monarch [...], and the provincial would be treated in the same way that someone from our lands would be treated in Spain".[28] Coelho then admitted

24 "Dominicus Kohello, Pater Provincialis van Brasil, heeft hem, terwijl hy alhier in hechting in S. Clarae klooster was, altoos getoont een Man van een sacht gemoed, minnelick in 't spreken, goed van oordeel, en promptelijck de Latijnsche Tale gebruyckende, van de Griecksche of Hebreeusche gantsch geen kennisse hebbende. [...] Sijn Mede broeders, en bysonder sijn Socius, hielt hem in groote reputatie, om dat hy van sijn jonckheyd as voor yet raers ghehouden wierd onder de synen, bevonden dat hy glinsterende oogen hadde, gelijck eenige gedierten, als Katten, Leeuwen, Tygers en Lupaerden, 't welck de Physici op de hitte van de Lever legghen, en van sulcken constitutie is hy van my mede bevonden: Sy meenden dat het yet wat Goddelijckx in hem was, en dies als een bysonder Man van hen ge-eert wiert." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, f. 4^{v})

25 Nelson, The Jesuit legend (n. 6), p. 95.

26 Ken Albala, Eating right in the Renaissance, Berkeley 2002, pp. 61-62.

27 Leite, História (n. 1), Tômo V, pp. 41-42. At least some of this must have been based on second-hand information, since Coelho only returned to Bahia in the final week of May.

28 "... dat de vrye luyden onder 't Commendo van de Koningh niet en staen, [...] maer dat hy wel

that he received better care than his Dutch counterparts, according to Van Wassenaer, although one wonders how he was able to compare the prison conditions in Amsterdam to those in, say, Madrid or Seville. He offered in mitigation the claim that under his command the Jesuits in Bahia had provided shelter to foreign prisoners who had escaped detention. He and the other Jesuits recorded having assisted a Dutch ship's captain and several of his compatriots who had broken out of their Salvador imprisonment, and mentioned the names of Dutchmen who could testify to the truth of these claims.[29] It is uncertain whether this story made any impression on the Amsterdam custodians, but after several months – and a severe, briefly life-threatening illness – Coelho's prison regime in the *Rasphuis* was softened, allowing him to receive visitors from outside.[30]

The Coelho interrogations

Alongside his personal predicament, Coelho also discussed the state of the Brazilian colony now in the hands of the West India Company. This was surely the type of confidential information which interested the Dutch interrogators. A crucial topic in this respect was the malfunctioning bureaucracy of Salvador. Many of the wealthy Portuguese *lavradores de cana* in and around the colonial capital had a strained relationship with the representatives of the crown – the governor-general and the *Relação*, the High Court established in 1609. The desires of the sugar aristocracy were often at odds with the dictates of the royal government, and in a conflict between the planters and the crown, the *Relação* would invariably support the latter. Although the Jesuits did not enjoy a particularly close relationship with the Habsburg monarchs,

so gheleyt en getracteert soude werden, als yemant van onse landen in Spangien gevanghen." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, f. 4v.)

29 :"Dit heeft de Pater selfs teghens my bekent, dat hy met sijn Broeders beter ghetracteert wiert als d'onse in Spangien: en dat, meende hy, gheschiede in recompense van 't gene hy selfs en zijn gantsche Collegie in 't voordeel van d'onse, of op den roof loopende, gevangen zijnde, ghedaen hadde. [...] Alle die Patres hier by een waren, verclaerden dat sy de uytghebrokenen, haer vlucht in haer Clooster nemende, eenige dagen daer binnen ghevoedt, en daer naer laten loopen hebben, van sulckx sal getuygen de Capiteyn Cat, in dienst van de H. H. Staten geweest zijnde, en andere meer, die alhier by ons leven." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, ff. 4v-5r.)

30 Schurhammer, Gesammelte Studien (n. 2), pp. 391-92.

they were the only religious order in the colony to endorse the majority of metropolitan rulings. In 1610, for instance, the Society supported a royal decree which prohibited the enslavement of the indigenous population. Local planters, however, vehemently opposed the crown's ruling, and called for the expulsion of the Jesuits from Salvador. In the 1620s Governor-general Mendonça de Furtado had caused more disorder among the aristocracy by raising taxes to finance the building of defensive walls around the city. Only a few days before the Dutch attack in May 1624, the crown had been forced to intervene in the ensuing conflict between the governor and the sugar elite.[31]

Domingo Coelho sang the praises of the governor-general during the Amsterdam interrogations. According to Van Wassenaer, the provincial was even prepared, if necessary, to defend him at the Spanish court against accusations of having failed to accept his responsibilities. Mendonça de Furtado, unlike what some of his detractors had stated, had dutifully assembled the money to build a new fortification at sea level, in front of the coast of Salvador, in time for the Dutch attack. He had managed to maintain order among the armed forces in the city, just as the crown had desired.[32] Van Wassenaer, carefully recounting his alleged conversations with Coelho, must have enjoyed laying the blame for the loss of Salvador indirectly on the court in Madrid. The Dutch reports of 1624 had all emphasized how easily Piet Heyn had conquered the newly financed *royal* fortress. The line between the chronicler's rhetoric and the Jesuit's convictions is therefore rather fine here. Van Wassenaer distanced himself from the provincial's defence of Mendonça de Furtado only when the governor's religious preferences came under scrutiny. In his Amsterdam prison quarters in the West India House, Mendonça

31 Stuart B. Schwartz, Sovereignty and society in colonial Brazil. The High Court of Bahia and its judges, 1609-1751, Berkeley 1973, pp. 117-121, 136, 169, 209; Alden, The making (n. 1), pp. 479 ff.

32 "Soo veel als het stuck aenging dat hy van de Roomschen gesinde alhier beschuldigt wiert, dat hy zijn devoir in zijn Ampt niet gedaen hadde, dat s'Coninckx ordre in 't houden van de Soldaten op die plaets niet gevolgt was, verklaerde de Pater heel contrarie te zijn, also hem bekent was, en voor de Coning sulckx mede wilde sustineren, dat hy alles na de last van sijn Majesteyt uytgevoert hadde: te weten, dat die Batarije aen het water uyt 's Conincx inkomen, en schattinge der Ingesetenen, nae zijn vermoghen gevordert was." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, f. 6r.)

de Furtado had continued to practise his religion, but when his guards discovered that he possessed an image of the Virgin Mary, they had removed it from his cell. The governor and his son were so dismayed, according to Van Wassenaer, that they kneeled before the statue and kissed its feet – an anecdote that the largely Protestant readership of *Historisch Verhael* must have relished.[33]

Elsewhere in his description of Coelho's interrogations Van Wassenaer displayed much stronger biases. The parallel implementation of different rhetorical tropes, variously anti-Spanish and anti-Catholic, is indicative of how the imprisonment of the Jesuit provincial nourished the flexible Dutch propaganda of the mid-1620s. The Dutch chronicler was only too happy to take sides with Coelho again when the provincial criticised Spanish policies in Portuguese overseas territories like Brazil, and Van Wassenaer may well have overstated the Jesuit's displeasure:

"[Coelho] confessed that the Portuguese suffered from the King of Spain, who was a nuisance to everyone, and who possessed so many empires that he could not possibly rule them all. That there were also many of his officials, who acted so rudely that they had brought despair to the subjects, which had resulted in wars. That [the Portuguese] had lost the better part of the East Indies by the hatred unleashed, and that [these enemies] now intended to attack the West Indies, citing the example of Bahia."[34]

33 "Als de Gouverneur een wyle ghevanghen was, heeft hy, op hope die hy hadde dat de Pater Provincialis by hem soude ghebrocht worden, uyt sijn kisten, die hy besloten by hem hadde, sijn beelden ghehaelt, die hy achter sijn koets met een kleedt bedeckt hielt, om sijn oeffeningh van sijn Religie daer te houden: soo gheviel 't dat sulck te wete ghekomen wiert, van die daer opsicht op hadden, en 't wierde hem ontnomen: Over sulckx bedreef desen man met sijn Soon sulcken misbaer, dat sy in 't afnemen en 't voor by draghen de voeten der Beelden kusteden, en by-sonder op haer knyen het Beelt dat S. Maria van haer ghenoemt was, soo dat sy gantsch in droefheyt vielen, om dat de presentie van die haer onthaelt wiert, en sy (als) sonder heylighdom saten." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, f. 7r.)

34 "Onder andere discoursen viel dit mede voor, dat de Pater bekende, dat haer Portugysen sulckx over quam, van wegen de Coningh van Spaengien, die een yeder op syn hals kreegh, en soo veel Rijcken hadde, die hy qualijck alle conde regeren: Datter mede vele synder Oversten waren, die het so grof maeckteden, dat sy de Ondersaten tot disperatie brochten,

The origins of these confessions are difficult to establish. Did the Jesuit provincial really use such strong terms to criticise the Habsburg monarch whose policies he had often supported and defended? Was he forced to concur with the line of rhetoric his Dutch custodians presented him with? Or did Van Wassenaer wilfully construct these comments in order to reinforce the existing anti-Spanish sentiments of his readership? Coelho's lamentation, in any case, continued in predictable fashion. He cried out for his beloved King Sebastian, the Portuguese monarch whose death in 1578 had brought about the arrival of the Habsburgs in Lisbon, and bemoaned the fatal battle [of Alcácer El-Quibir in Morocco] where he had perished. When the House of Aviz-Beja had ruled Portugal, Coelho claimed, the Portuguese had maintained good relations with the other European powers. Since Sebastian's death, they had found themselves loathed by their former friends. While it was not unusual for a Portuguese Jesuit to sing the praises of the late king, Coelho's efforts to dissociate himself from the Habsburgs appear farfetched. According to Van Wassenaer, the provincial's fellow Jesuits also shed tears over the misfortune that had befallen them. They all agreed that had they not been under Spanish rule, they would still have enjoyed the adoration of the whole world, and would have been able to continue their mercantile activities without peril.[35]

uyt het welck Oorlogen ontstonden: Dat sy door sulcken geconcipieerden haet nu soo een goedt deel van Oost-Indien verloren hadden, en men bestont also West-Indien mede aen te tasten, 't beginsel van de Bahia nemende." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, f. 5^{r}.)

35 "Op het welck hy ophet alderdiepste syns gemoets suchtende, exclameerde: O lieve Coning Sebastiaen, onse lieve Vader en Heer, wy beklaghen met droefheyt u dood, en 't sedert u aflyven zijn wy in verdriet gekomen, o ongeluckighe uyre die u van ons scheyde, O heyloose veltslagh die u van ons weg nam: doen ghy over ons regeerde waren wy vrienden van de gantsche werelt, door onse Coopmanschappen der Specerijen, 't zedert u aflyven zijn wy in den haet van een yeder gheraeckt, om onser sonden wille, die wy bedreven hebben: Alsulcke doloreuse redenen meer vielen hem met groote weemoedicheyt uyt de mondt, daer d'andere Socij mede tranen om lieten, als zijnde door 't selfde ongheluck ghetroffen [...] Sy meenen soo sy onder 't rijck van Spaengien niet en stonden, dat sy van de gantsche wereldt gheadoreert, versocht, en op haer havenen sonder eenigh perijckel ghehandelt soude werden, als in voortijden geschiede, datter niemant eenigh quaet in haer Landen overquam, die haer na de gheleghentheydt van de plaets voegdede." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, ff. 5^{r-v}.)

From reality to rhetoric

The relation between the Habsburg monarchy and its Portuguese subjects in the 1620s was far from smooth. Lisbon suspected the Spanish authorities of not defending Portuguese overseas territories with the same vigour they reserved for the protection of their own possessions in America. The fall of the Portuguese trading post in Ormuz in 1622 further added to Lisbon's mistrust. When news of the loss of Salvador arrived at the Iberian courts, however, mutual bickering was temporarily laid aside, resulting in the famous 'Voyage of the Vassals' which returned the Brazilian capital to Habsburg control in April 1625.[36] At the time of the interrogations in Amsterdam, the recapture of Salvador was still in the (near) future. Nonetheless, for the incarcerated Jesuits to have been so critical of the royal government they had often supported, in the strong words that Van Wassenaer reported, is unlikely. The chronicler moulded the information he had obtained into an anti-Spanish tirade recognizable to a Dutch audience. Pamphleteers and readers in the United Provinces were familiar with the rhetorical value of the Spanish occupation of its neighbouring kingdom. They often placed the regime change in Portugal in the context of Spain's *universal monarchism*, an accusation derived more from patterns of rhetoric than reality.[37] Van Wassenaer's representation of the interrogations in the *Rasphuis* fits firmly in this tradition.

The next paragraph reveals even more clearly how Van Wassenaer twisted Domingo Coelho's words into representations acceptable for a Dutch readership. Here the provincial defended the Society of Jesus against the claims of its adversaries. When the Society was first mentioned by the interrogators, Coelho acknowledged that it was disliked more than any other order, and that he was familiar with the rationale behind this aversion. The Society, it was suggested, stirred up the Old World royalty and nobility, and by doing so had caused many wars. The Jesuits did not hesitate to kill monarchs if necessary, either in public or by secretly placing

36 Boxer, Salvador de Sá (n. 1), pp. 56-68; Stuart B. Schwartz, The Voyage of the Vassals: royal power, noble obligations, and merchant capital before the Portuguese Restoration of Independence, 1624-1640, in: The American Historical Review 96-3/1991 pp. 735-762.

37 Schmidt, Innocence Abroad (n. 15), p. 100.

explosives which, so Van Wassenaer claimed, "we have seen all too often during our times".[38] Of course Coelho denied the accusations, and insisted that no Jesuit was allowed to interfere in government. He explained that sometimes they were called upon to advise governors, especially when there were few other counselors available, but that they would never recommend waging war – as this was prohibited by the Society's constitutions.[39] In Salvador, Coelho continued, the governor once had consulted the entire administrative elite over the desirability of launching an attack on a group of rebellious and murderous Indians. The provincial's answer at the time had been a very formal one. The superior general of the Society in Rome would not permit him to get involved in such matters, and he had therefore left the meeting.[40]

Whereas for Coelho this account illustrated the non-interventionist attitude of the Society under his supervision, Van Wassenaer and his Dutch readers reached a different verdict. Having been brought up with exaggerated stories of Spanish tyranny against innocent Native Americans, based

38 "In 't mentie maken van haer Ordre, gaf hy wel te kennen, dat die buyten andere gehaet wiert, als oock de redenen, beschuldigt synde, dat sy die zijn, die Coningen, Vorsten, Princen teghens malkanderen ophitsen, ende oorsake van groote oorloghen zijn, ja niet en schromen Coningen of om te brengen in 't gesicht van alle menschen, of door heymelijcke lagen van Bospoeder, ende andersints, als in onse eeuwe al te veel gebleken is." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, f. 5^{v}.) Van Wassenaer presumably referred to the English gunpowder plot of November 1605.

39 On the role of the Jesuits on the international political scene, see also: Harro M. Höpfl, Jesuit political thought: the Society of Jesus and the state, c. 1540-1630, Cambridge 2004; Robert L. Bireley S.J., The Jesuits and the Thirty Years War. Kings, courts, and confessors, Cambridge 2003.

40 "'t welck hy excuseerde teghens haer Ordre te zijn, dat sy haer niet met den vleeschelijcken arm (soo sy de Koninghen en Regenten noemen) moeyen moeten: [...] Dat zy altemet op plaetsen daer de Gouverneurs weynigh raets hebben, sijn zy wel in de Raet geroepen, om met hen van stucken de Regeringhe aengaende te consuleren, maer tot den Oorlogh eenige consultatie te geven, dat is hen op haer saligheyd verboden. Dese Pater selfs protesteerde voor Godt en zijn Heylighe Engelen, met devotie zijn ooghen nae den Hemel slaende, dat hy de waerheyt sprack, dat hy in zijn tijt tot dit hooge Ampt gheroepen zynde, in de Bahia, van de Gouverneur in een Ghenerale vergaderingh, [...] gevordert synde, om te consulteren, of hy de Binnelantsche Indianen, die zijn volck doot geslagen, geplondert, ja wegh gevoert hadden, en Rebellen waren, niet mocht beoorlogen, dat hy daer op gheantwoordt heeft, op sulckx te consulteren, hen van haer Generael die binnen Romen sidt, verboden was sub paene excommunicationis, en dies uyt de vergaderingh met sulcken antwoort vertrock: Statuerende daer by, dat alle die sulcx deden, dat sy geen oprechte Jesuyten waren, haer Ordre niet voldoende." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, f. 5^{v}.)

on Bartolomé de las Casas' best-seller *Brevíssima Relación*,[41] they interpreted Coelho's departure from the meeting as a refusal to protect the lives of the natives the Society was supposed to convert to Christianity. That the Jesuits in fact had been actively advocating a more humane attitude towards Brazilian Indians was of no consequence at all to Van Wassenaer. Realistic representations were conveniently overlooked in favour of recognizable rhetoric. Arguably more important still for the Dutch image of the Society was the conclusion to Coelho's enforced introspection. The provincial admitted that it was allowed for Jesuit fathers to advise monarchs in maintaining their [Catholic] religion, and to propagate the faith among their subjects. How this was done was left unexplained, Van Wassenaer added in one of his rare personal remarks: This was not the place to elaborate. If it were up to him, the chronicler stated, he would certainly have an opinion on these matters as such controversies pleased him greatly. But he would allow every reader to judge for himself.[42] Regardless of Coelho's efforts to explain and justify the influence of the Society, and of the fairness of the reflection of his words in Van Wassenaer's text, the conclusion to the paragraph did more for the prolongation of the existing stereotype than for the rebuttal of Jesuit intrusion in political affairs.

Epilogue

Van Wassenaer's transcripts of the Coelho interrogations in Amsterdam, like the news map by Claes Jansz Visscher, were instrumental in reinforcing familiar rhetorical programs. Rarely in the Dutch Golden Age would such an ideal opportunity arise to employ various strands of rhetoric all at the same time. Visscher made use of trusted stereotypes to criticize the Catholic Church, the Society of Jesus, and

41 Schmidt, Innocence Abroad (n. 15), pp. 96-99.

42 "… maer dattet hen geoorlooft was de Coningen te Raden tot onderhout van haer religie, tot voortplantinge van dien: Hoe sulckx dan geschiet, laten wy hier in medio: geen plaets synde om hier daer van te spreken. Soo veel als my aengaet ick mach gaerne sulcke velitationes hooren, en 't myne daer op infereren, het oordeel staet dan aen den derde, die als Auditor daer by sidt: Het geloof of het accepteren wil niet gedwonghen zijn: het staet een yeder vry yemants segghen aen te nemen of te verwerpen." (Van Wassenaer, Historisch verhael [n. 23], vol. VIII, ff. 5^{v}-6^{r}.)

the Spanish monarchy. In the process, the two unpretentious protagonists of the *Steyger-Praetjen* minimized the role of the Portuguese in Brazil. Van Wassenaer went one step further: first he twisted the words of a Luso-Brazilian Jesuit, a levelheaded man according to Van Wassenaer's own report, in order to inflict the blame for all colonial misdeeds on Madrid. Then, after this apparently reasonable and, to the Dutch, recognizable condemnation of Spanish tyranny, he used Coelho's testimony to denounce the Society. Just as with Visscher's news map, however, Van Wassenaer's rhetorical ploys were only available to a Dutch audience. His *Historisch Verhael* was never translated or published abroad.

Military developments in Brazil soon caught up with the two opinionated representations. When a Habsburg armada recaptured Salvador in April 1625, the Dutch opinion makers were silent, although both Visscher and Van Wassenaer continued to follow Dutch expansion in the Atlantic with professional interest. Their representations of maritime success re-emerged in the late 1620s when Piet Heyn first returned to Bahia to take a large share of the annual Portuguese sugar export, and then managed to capture the Spanish treasure fleet in the Bay of Matanzas in Cuba. As the war between the Dutch and the Habsburgs continued, finding a diplomatic settlement for the prominent captives that was acceptable to both parties proved difficult. Coelho himself, during his interrogations, had been correct in predicting that Madrid and Rome would not be prepared to pay ransom for the hostages from Brazil. Meanwhile various people exerted pressure on the Dutch authorities to let the Jesuits go. The Habsburg commander Ambrogio Spinola wrote to Maurits to ask for their release as early as January 1625, and several days later, Dutch family members of prisoners in Dunkirk, Ostend, and elsewhere in Flanders requested the States-General to consider an exchange of captives.[43] Despite the personal efforts of the stadtholder, the States decided that the Jesuits could not be part of any deal based on existing treaties, because they had been captured in the Indies.[44] One of Maurits'

43 Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal. Nieuwe reeks, 1610-1670, vol., VII, Nijhoff 1994, nos. 1266, 1280.

44 Resolutiën der Staten-Generaal (n. 43), nos. 1316, 1327.

correspondents pleading for the release of the Jesuits in January 1625 – Charles Faye, *monsieur* d'Espesses, the French ambassador in The Hague – complained to the stadtholder that if the States continued to be unwilling to co-operate, there was no point in concluding treaties anymore.[45] His efforts did not produce the desired result, he reported six days later to Florent de Montmorency[46], the Society's provincial in Antwerp. D'Espesses, whose tenure in The Hague was characterized by misunderstandings and conflicts, made another effort to free the Jesuits after Maurits had passed away and had been succeeded as stadtholder by Frederik Hendrik, but again to no avail.[47] Coelho and the others remained in custody.

The Jesuits would have to wait for almost two years to be released. By then Diogo Mendonça de Furtado had been allowed to leave his captivity temporarily to broker an exchange deal. With the support of the Archduchess Isabella, Superior General Vitelleschi, and even Philip IV himself, the fathers were finally free.[48] While in 1624 and 1625 Dutch Protestant publishers and authors had cherished the Jesuit captivity to re-ignite anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic, and anti-Jesuit sentiments, in November 1626 it was the turn of Jacob Schaep, the most influential Catholic burgher of Amsterdam, to make a public statement. Schaep organised a lavish celebration

45 "… je dirai qu'il pas licite quand deux parties ont faict un contract que l'une d'Icelles puisse dire que son intention at esté differente car de ceste façon il n'y auroit contract que seroit de valeur." (Charles Faye, monsieur d'Espesses to Maurits of Nassau, The Hague 17 January 1625; Nijmegen, Archivum Neerlandicum Societatis Iesu, OS 352, pp. 6-7). During the early months of 1625, Franco-Dutch relations rapidly deteriorated. On the troublesome relationship between the ambassador and the States-General, see: Maarten Hell, Heliogabalus in The Hague. Franco-Dutch relations during the embassy of D'Espesses (1624-1628), in: Dutch Crossing 33-1/2009, pp. 44-63.

46 Florent de Montmorency, * 18 September 1580 Douai, S.J. 15 March 1599 Tournai, † 12 August 1659 Lille. (DHCJ III., p. 2733)

47 Charles Faye, monsieur d'Espesses to Florent de Montmorency S.J., The Hague 23 January 1625; Nijmegen, Archivum Neerlandicum Societatis Iesu, OS 352, pp. 8-9; Charles Faye, monsieur d'Espesses to Frederik Hendrik, The Hague 13 May 1625; Nijmegen, Archivum Neerlandicum Societatis Iesu, OS 352, pp. 10-11.

48 Mendonça de Furtado was also freed as part of the prisoner exchange, but his reception in the Iberian peninsula was decidedly unfriendly. Held responsible for the embarrassment of the loss of Bahia, he was first made to wait in Madrid for ten months before being granted an audience with Philip IV, and was then imprisoned again in Lisbon for fourteen months: Schwartz, The Voyage (n. 36), pp. 756-757.

dinner for the liberated fathers in his house at the Oudezijds Voorburgwal.[49] Several days later Coelho and the other Jesuits left Holland, under the gaze of large numbers of curious onlookers. In the spring of 1628 the Jesuits returned to Salvador, where Coelho was to serve another term as provincial of Brazil. In May 1638, he reported to Vitelleschi about the Dutch once again, this time to express his joy over Governor-general Johan Maurits van Nassau-Siegen's failure to recapture Bahia.[50] Several months later, in the first week of September, the final episode in the story of the Jesuit imprisonment took place.[51] Maria de Medici, the exiled mother of the French king Louis XIII, visited the United Provinces. In Amsterdam, the burgomaster Albert Coenraadsz Burgh presented her with a gift: the rosary of Francis Xavier he had received from Domingo Coelho (ill. 5). The Brazilian provincial, who in 1624 had been depicted by Visscher wearing the rosary around his neck, had used the relaxation of the *Rasphuis* prison regime to give his most valuable possession to the visiting Burgh. The artist Gerard van Honthorst painted the queen-mother with Coelho's rosary in her hand. In her will, made shortly before her death in Cologne in 1642, eighteen years after the Dutch conquest of Bahia, she returned it to the local Jesuits.

Summary

The Dutch conquest of the Brazilian capital Salvador de Bahia in May 1624, the first major Protestant triumph in Habsburg America, generated a number of opinionated publications in the United Provinces. The capture of the Portuguese governor-general and the Jesuit provincial further added to the rhetorical opportunities for Dutch publishers and pamphleteers. This article traces the anti-Spanish, anti-Catholic, and anti-Jesuit rhetoric in two important publications, a

49 Herman J. Allard S.J., De oude heer Jacob Pietersz Schaep te Amsterdam en drie zendelingen uit Brazilië (1626), in: Jaarboekje van Alberdingk Thijm 54/1905, pp. 73-108.

50 Leite, História (n. 1), Tômo V, pp. 60-61; Schurhammer, Gesammelte Studien (n. 2), pp. 393-394. On Johan Maurits' expedition to Bahia: Boxer, The Dutch in Brazil (n. 17), pp. 86-87, with further references.

51 Paul Begheyn S.J., The cult of Saint Francis Xavier in the Dutch Republic, in: AHSI 71/2002, p. 306. The Honthorst painting is currently in the collection of the Royal Palace in Amsterdam.

Ill. 5 Gerard van Honthorst, Portrait of Maria de' Medici with Francis Xavier's rosary, ca. 1638.

news map by the Amsterdam print publisher Claes Jansz. Visscher and a bi-annual chronicle of world affairs edited by the Amsterdam physician Nicolaes van Wassenaer. Visscher added a fictional dialogue to a copper engraving of the fourteen prisoners, while Van Wassenaer presented readers with a transcription of the interrogations in the following months. Both men modified existing rhetorical programs to construct their own image of the leading imprisoned Jesuit from Brazil, Domingo Coelho. These representations, familiar yet flexible, shaped public opinion in the United Provinces.

Sumario

La conquista holandesa de la capital brasileña, San Salvador de Bahía, en mayo de 1624, el primer triunfo protestante en la América de los Habsburgos generó un número de sesgadas publicaciones en las Provincias Unidas. La captura del gobernador general y del Provincial de los jesuitas ofrecía grandes oportunidades retóricas a los editores y panfletistas holandeses. Este artículo sigue la pista de la retórica antiespañola, anticatólica y antijesuítica en dos importantes publicaciones, un boletín de noticias por el impresor Claes Jansz Visscher y una crónica bi-anual de asuntos mundiales editada por el médico de Amsterdam, Nicolaes van Wassenaer. Visscher añadió un diálogo ficticio a un grabado en cobre de los catorce prisioneros, mientras que Wassenaer ofreció a los lectores una transcripción de los interrogatorios en los meses siguientes. Los dos hombres modificaron programas retóricos ya existentes para construir su propia imagen del principal preso jesuita de Brasil, Domingo Coelho. Estas representaciones, familiares y sin embargo flexibles, condicionaron la opinión pública en las Provincias Unidas.