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GASPAR VAN DER LEY  
NO BRASIL

MONOGRAFIA N.º 5

INSTITUTO DE CIÊNCIAS DO HOMEM — DIVISÃO DE HISTÓRIA  
IMPrensa UNIVERSITÁRIA

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**GASPAR VAN DER LEY  
IN BRAZIL**

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UNIVERSIDADE FEDERAL DE PERNAMBUCO  
INSTITUTO DE CIÊNCIAS DO HOMEM  
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## INTRODUCTION

The Wanderleys are nowadays spread out all over Brazil and has several members, today and in the past, with relevant participation in the nation political and artistic life. They have their origins in Pernambuco, in the first half of the XVII century, with Gaspar van Nieuhof van der Ley, cavalry captain under the service of the West Indian Dutch Company in Brazil, and, lately, sugar mill lord in Cabo de Santo Agostinho. By the half of the XVIII century they could be found already among the most distinct Brazilian northeast families, which led Borges da Fonseca to include them in his *Nobiliarquia Pernambucana*, whose manuscript dated 1748-81. According to him Gaspar van der Ley was a "Dutch noble", "whose nobility we have an authentic testimony in a Count Johan Mauritz von Nassau's certificate", and that "he embraced the Roman Catholic religion to marry Mrs. Maria de Melo, daughter of Manuel Gomes de Melo, Trapiche sugar mill lord, in Cabo, and his wife Mrs. Adriana de Almeida"<sup>1</sup>. This certificate, on which is based the Wanderley's nobility certificate, will be transcribed and commented ahead. To support

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<sup>1</sup> Borges da Fonseca, *Nobiliarquia Pernambucana*, 2 vls., Rio de Janeiro, 1935, vol. I., pags. 117, 215, 226; vol. II, pag. 13.

T.N.: Version in Portuguese available in the internet at [http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo\\_digital/anais/anais\\_047\\_1\\_925.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/anais/anais_047_1_925.pdf) (Vol. I) and [http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo\\_digital/anais/anais\\_048\\_1\\_926.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/acervo_digital/anais/anais_048_1_926.pdf) (Vol. II).

his statement that Ley became Catholic, Borges da Fonseca referred to Friar Manuel Calado, author of the *O Valeroso Lucideno*, although Calado states only that "Ley was married to, or cohabit", with Mrs. Maria de Melo, and do not mention the fact that he would have left the reformed religion, which he professed.<sup>2</sup>

For a long time Borges da Fonseca constituted the major historical source about Gaspar van der Ley, because the relatively rich documentation about the first fifteen years of his stay in Brazil, from 1630 until 1645, was kept in the Royal General Archive, in The Hague. Researches carried out in the Dutch archives, especially by José Higino Duarte Pereira, in 1885-86, and recently concluded by Prof. José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, in 1957-58, make available now to the Brazilian historian almost the whole totality of the documentation found there about the Dutch Brazil in the XVII century.<sup>3</sup>

The lack of this material in the early years owes to the fact that Borges da Fonseca's information have been accepted and spread out in large scale in Brazil, giving rise to the almost mythical character of Gaspar van der Ley, "the Dutch noble that

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<sup>2</sup> Frei Manuel Calado do Salvador. *O Valeroso Lucideno*, 2 vls., Recife, 1942, vol. I, pag. 361.

<sup>3</sup> The author wishes to thank Professor José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, to whom he owes the initiative of this study, for his help and suggestions during the preliminary researches and for the critical reading and corrections made to his work.

became Catholic to marry the daughter of a Portuguese". Gilberto Freyre, he himself a member of this family, also writes about the Wanderleys in several books and articles, and claims for deeper studies about the founder and his ancestors in Europe.

A recent attempt with this aim was made by Walter Wanderley, in his book *Família Wanderley*. He cites, as Gaspar's Dutch ancestors, Jarichs van der Ley, born in 1480, his son Hendrick Jarichs van der Ley, born in 1530, and the son of the last, Jan Hendrick van der Ley, born 1567. He also adds a certain Georgius van der Ley, born in 1607, and ends saying that those were the first. Since Gaspar van der Ley, as we will show later, may have been born before the mentioned Georgius, as the author makes it supposedly known, then Jan Hendrick would have been Gaspar van der Ley's father.<sup>4</sup>

Since the Van der Leys cited above had some prominence in The Netherlands, it was possible to obtain more information about them. Jan Hendrick (Jarichs) van der Ley was a general collector of convoys and licenses in Friesland, the northern most province of The Netherlands, excellent mathematician and writer of maritime navigation works, who in 1618 invented a method to measure distances in the sea. Although he was not of noble origin, he has been granted, by special

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<sup>4</sup> Walter Wanderley, *Família Wanderley*, Rio de Janeiro, 1966, pag. 17.

merits, the right to use a coat of arms.<sup>5</sup> He was married with Judith de Gardijn, but we do not know whether among the couple children there was one named Gaspar, hence it is improbable that Gaspar van der Ley descended from this family. There were in The Netherlands other Van der Ley families, from which he could descend.<sup>6</sup>

Both the names Van der Ley and Nieuhof are very common in The Netherlands and were already in the XVII century. Besides, among the Dutch that came to Pernambuco in that century, we know at least three Nieuhofs and five Van der Leys, excluding Gaspar, and there is not any reason to believe that they were relatives.

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<sup>5</sup> Jan Hendrick Jarichs van der Ley's coat of arms was reproduced in Walter Wanderley's cited book. The motto **Seyt altydt van eenderley sin** (Have always and altogether the same faith) has been translated as: That there be always a real (genuine) Wanderley (sic). Concerning the "Leeuwarden Great Church mosaic inscription in Friesland dialect" he published, it is in fact page 169 of the book of records of marriages celebrated in the cited church, written in XVIII century Dutch language, where it can be found some marriage records, among which Tjetje van der Leij's with Pietje Dijkstra, in the year 1706.

T.N.: Anne Post, a genealogy researcher from Friesland discovered that the motto comes from a Jan Hendrick Jarichs van der Ley's book entitled "Wees van eenderley sin", where the author "tries to bring together all the catholics, protestants an islamites".

<sup>6</sup> **Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie**, the Dutch organization responsible for the conservation of the national and private genealogical collections, and the **Iconografisch Bureau**, both with headquarters in Nassaulaan 18, The Hague.

In the Book of Baptism Records of the Reformed Church in Brazil are found Harman van Leei (1638), Dirck Leeye (1644) and Nicolaes Lye (1649). The *Dagelijkse Notule* of July 21, 1651 cites Philips van der Ley, while in 1639 the free merchant Balthasar van der Ley asked permission to leave Recife and return to The Netherlands. Known from his book *Remarkable Voyages and Travels to Brasil* is Joan Nieuhof, employee of the West Indian Company that has been in Recife from 1640 until 1649. In 1636 Balthasar and Didrich van Nijenhoff, undoubtedly brothers, asked permission to travel to Brazil as free merchants. If that Balthasar is the same Balthasar van der Ley early mentioned, then his complete name would have been Balthasar van Nijenhoff van der Ley. The non-uniform writing of proper nouns was common in the XVII century; variants of Nieuhof are, for example, Nihof, Niehof and Neuhoven.

We do not know, therefore, Gaspar van der Ley's parents, neither the place nor the date of his birth, what makes it extremely difficult to find information about him or his family in the genealogical collections found in The Netherlands. Researches with this aim shall be carried out both in the Nieuhof and Van der Ley families, because, especially the oldest documents, almost always refer to him by his complete name, Gaspar van Nieuhof van der Ley. Only once he is cited as Gaspar Nieuhof, and in another

place as "Gaspar van Nieuhof, called Ley"<sup>7</sup>. In the few Portuguese documents that refer him he is called Van der Ley only, also the sole name inherited by his sons, and with which he himself signed his letters and was known to the Portuguese.

### THE NOBILITY CERTIFICATE AUTHENTICITY

The source of the affirmative that the Wanderleys have noble origins is, as already said, a certificate that would have been issued by Count Johan Mauritz von Nassau, in reply to a request of Gaspar van der Ley's first son. Borges da Fonseca states that he himself had saw the certificate and had it with him for a long a time, and that it was given to him by Field Master Antônio da Silva Melo. He does not presents, however, elements to guarantee the certificate

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<sup>7</sup> **Dagelijkse Notule** of September 17, 1637, Royal General Archive, The Hague, East Indian Company Record Office (Oude WIC), package 68.

T.N.: available in the internet at

[http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/NDI7set1637\\_ing.htm](http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/NDI7set1637_ing.htm) , accessed on January 3, 2007. This document is currently part of inventory 1.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory number 68 of The Hague National Archive.

T.N.: Robert Czoelner, a genealogy researcher from Germany has found a very promising individual to be the Brazilian Gaspar van der Ley. He is Caspar von Neuhoff van der Ley, son of Wilhelm v. Neuhof van der Ley, lord of Eibach in the parish of Lindlar, Marshal and Secret Councillor of the Duke of Cleves and Berg. Czoelner's research texts are available in the internet at

[http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/Pesquisa\\_Gaspar\\_ing.htm](http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/Pesquisa_Gaspar_ing.htm)

accessed on January 5, 2007.



authenticity, because he does not explain whether he has seen the original, which we suppose has been written in German, or the Portuguese translation he published with the following contents:

"Johan Mauritz, by the Grace of God, Prince of Nassau, Count of Stzahelenbagen, Vinham and Brets, Lord of Breilskem, Master of the Taem. Teutonic Order of Saint John, Governor by appointment of His Serenity Elector of Brandenburg of the Principalities of Clzta Minden, and of the County of Mareg and Darenburg, Field Master, General of the United Provinces of The Netherlans. We make it known to all that see this, that since Sir João Maurício Wanderley, who is currently serving in Lisbon, has asked us as to whether we would like to give him a certificate of his father and grandfathers noble progeny and, therefore, we certify that his father and grandfathers and all that have had and still have today the name Wanderley, have always been and still are Nobles of Blood and of noble lineage, and thus at the time of our antecedents, as during the time of our government, have always deserved the said Wanderleys to be honored by His Lord Elector of Brandenburg with the highest posts, offices and noble dignities of their motherland, in which they have always served with much praise and honor. By faith in the truth we order this to be dispatched under our own firm and seal. Issued in Sigen on December 20, 1668 years. Johan Mauritz Prince of Nassau. (seal)".<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Borges da Fonseca, l.c., vol. I, pag. 117.

The four volumes of the *Nobiliarquia Pernambucana* original manuscript have been lost, with the exception of the last that can be found in bad conservation state at the Instituto Arqueológico do Recife. The chapter about the Wanderleys should be found in the original text at the end of volume I or at the beginning of volume II. However two copies made in the XIX century are kept there, the one to which Professor José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello makes a long reference in a chapter especially dedicated to the subject in his book *Estudos Pernambucanos*, which present transcription errors and other defects that are pointed out in detail even by the Professor. From the second copy was taken off the one that served to publish the work by Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro in 1935.

In the way the certificate was publish in that edition, there are reasons to doubt its authenticity, because the Prince's titles mention places that he governed or had the title to, which none was correctly written, and some are unrecognizable. The original titles, according to the German writing would be the following:

"Johan Mauritz, by the Grace of God, Prince of Nassau, Count of Katzenellenbogen, Vianen and Dietz, Lord of Beilstein, Master of the Order of Taem. (?) Teutonic of São João, Governor by appointment of His Serenity Electoral of Brandenburg of the Principalities of Cleve and Minden, and the Counties of Mark and Ravensberg, Field Master General of the United Provinces of The Netherlands." The titles of Count of

Katzenellenbogen, Vianen and Dietz and Lord of Beilstein are found in the text of Johan Mauritz's picture of 1637; his election to Master of the Teutonic Order of São João is dated June 15, 1652, and he was appointed governor of Cleve, Mark and Ravensberg on October 29, 1647, and of Minden in May 1658. The "Field Master General of the United Provinces", a Portuguese military organization post, shall correspond to The Netherlands Cavalry Lieutenant-General, post he occupied since October 27, 1644.<sup>9</sup>

It is possible, however, that Nassau's titles were not so roughly mutilated in the *Nobiliarquia* manuscript text (nevertheless the noticeable Luso-Brazilian inability to write foreign names down in the colonial period, especially the non-Latin languages), since in one of the Instituto Arqueológico copies there are some correctly written, while in the other the titles have been copied without care. The certificate content is, however, the same in both copies.

After his return to The Netherlands, in 1644, Count of Nassau, when not traveling, used to leave in the beautiful palace he ordered the construction in Cleve, and it caused us admiration that the certificate could have been written in Siegen, far away from that place. We know, however, by Ludwig Driesen, the Count's biographer, that he, by

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<sup>9</sup> Ludwig Driesen, *Leben des Fürsten Johann Moritz*, Berlin, 1849, pag. 140 and folls.

the end of year 1668, was really in Siegen, where he stayed until July 1669.<sup>10</sup>

Falsifications of certificates of nobility were not rare before and after the XVII century, but in this case it should be recognized the possibility that Prince of Nassau could have actually been the author of the transcribed certificate. Whether the original contents correspond to the text Borges da Fonseca includes in his work, without pointing out any element to guarantee its authenticity, it is a question that will probably have never an answer, from the fact that we do not know where the original ends.

Although governor of the cited places, the Prince of Nassau was not, however, the person responsible for the issuing of nobility certificates. Both in Brandenburg and in The Netherlands there should be competent offices to do this. It is understandable, however, that, because of his prestige in Brazil, even among the Portuguese, had Gaspar van der Ley's son appealed to him to certify about his ancestors, and he, although having not the competence to do this, had generously done it. This fact reduces greatly the document importance, because it is not, in proper terms, a valid certification of the aimed nobility.

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<sup>10</sup> Ludwig Driesen, l.c., pag. 277.

### **THE NOBILITY AND NATIONALITY OF GASPAR VAN DER LEY**

Strongly connected are the issues about Gaspar van der Ley's nobility and nationality. The statement attributed to Mauritz von Nassau, the way it has been published by Borges da Fonseca, does not pose doubts about "the noble progeny of all that have had and still have today the name Wanderley", but we know, on the other side, that there is not a Vanderley noble family in The Netherlands.<sup>11</sup> If Gaspar was Dutch, then he could not be noble at the same time, and the transcribed certificate would be unworthy; but there is the possibility that he had another nationality and in this case he could have noble lineage.

As a cavalry captain and sugar mill lord, this last after 1637, Gaspar van der Ley enjoyed a good reputation among the Dutch and the Portuguese, he was a honored and esteemed person, whose loyalty nobody doubted. In the formal treatment he received, he was always called cavalry captain, sir, or simply by his name, without any title. The treatment of Excellency, Noble or Honorable seems to have been reserved to Count Johan Mauritz von Nassau, general governor of Dutch Brazil, and for the High Counselors, who formed the government after Johan Mauritz's return to The Netherlands in May 1644. The lack of such titles does not mean, however, that Gaspar was not noble. We have to consider

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<sup>11</sup> Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie. Haia.

that the West Indian Company was formed by merchants and bourgeois, to whom nobility was not an attribute that would itself distinguish a person, but his wealth instead, otherwise if the person pertained to the high nobility, as for example, the Count of Nassau. Also Diederik van Waerdenburg, who at the time of Pernambuco invasion was called "Nobilissimo ac Magnanissimo" in Latin and Lord of Lent, and Hartman Godefried van Stein Callenfels, regiment commander on the same occasion, who was a Baron, but neither one received in the company papers the treatment of noble or honorable they deserved.

So it is not to cause admiration that in the contemporary Dutch documentation we examined, it is not found any reference to a Gaspar's eventual nobility. In only one Portuguese document there is a mention to what was said about his origins; Martim Soares Moreno writes about him that "we were told that he is a qualified person in his motherland". Martim Soares Moreno was justifying to Brazil general governor the promise of an Order of Christ commend he made to van der Ley; and for this purpose "quality" constituted a necessary attribute, but nevertheless he has not stated that Gaspar was noble, but otherwise "qualified", which in that context seems to mean distinct.

Another document, issued a bit later, since it was dated 1691, refers to Gaspar van der Ley as "known in Pernambuco, considered noble and clean". However it

seems that the Vanderleys, and among them even Gaspar himself, were considered noble because Mrs. Maria de Melo, her wife, descended from a family considered noble by Borges da Fonseca and was included as such in his *Nobiliarquia Pernambucana*, and not because Gaspar van der Ley was of noble ancestry. We can reach this conclusion from the Order of Christ garb concession letter, issued by the King in favor of Gaspar's older son, in which it is said: "Because it is known to me... the said João Gomes Vanderley has the necessary personal parts, nobility and cleanness by his mother part... exempting with this his father's and grandfather's defects for having being heretical, since his father died catholic".<sup>12</sup> The king does not refer, as it can be seen, to Gaspar van der Ley's nobility, but to Mrs. Maria de Melo nobility instead.

The documents do not give us certainty about Gaspar van der Ley's nationality. Concerning this it is Borges da Fonseca the first to state that Gaspar was from The Netherlands, but in this case also he does not cite any confirmation for his

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<sup>12</sup> Martim Soares Moreno's letter to Bahia governor, Antônio Teles da Silva, September 6, 1645, **Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Pernambucano**, nr. 35, Recife, 1887, pg. 45; Dutch translation, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 60. Order of Christ garb concession letter, profession patent letter and knight patent letter to João Gomes Vanderley, dated October 16, 1674, Tôrre do Tombo, Order of Christ Chancellery, book 53, pags. 64/65; Inquiry to the Board of Conscience and Orders Court and documents attached, dated 11-17-1688, 10-23-1691 and 12-12-1691, Tôrre do Tombo, Applications to the Order of Christ letter J, pkg. 88, nr. 66.

affirmative. The genealogist from Pernambuco did not know that neither there are nor there were nobles Vanderleys in The Netherlands, but what is amazing is that having him the elements that would enable him to prove that Ley was German, he had not reached that conclusion.

From the certificate issued by Prince of Nassau it can be concluded that Gaspar's and his ancestors motherland was not The Netherlands, but the Electoral of Brandenburg instead, where have always been honored with important posts. Brandenburg, governed by the Hohenzollern House, was part, since remote time, of Germany. The Vanderleys would have, according to this document, German ancestry, and thus it can be comprehended Nassau's statement that they "have always served with much praise and honor". Gaspar van der Ley, although considered a traitor by the Dutch, was not the same to the Germans, and his unworthy behavior in the Dutch Brazil, have not harmed in any way the Electoral of Brandenburg.

By the Xanten-Cleve treatise, of 1614, the Electoral of Brandenburg was enlarged with the Duchy of Cleve, which bordered with The Netherlands and with the Counties of Mark and Ravensberg, all of them located in Germany. To be their governor (*Statthalter*) Elector Prince Frederico Guilherme de Hohenzollern appointed, in 1647, Prince Johan Mauritz von Nassau, whom have acquainted in 1636. When Nassau refers, in his statement about the Vanderleys, to "our



antecedents" and to the "time of our government", this shall not be understood in relation to Brazil, where he was general governor from 1637 until 1644, but to Brandenburg instead, where not only governed Cleve, Mark and Ravensberg, but, lately, the Principality of Minden.<sup>13</sup>

To the certificate issued by Prince of Nassau, from which Gaspar would have been a Brandenburg vassal, and, therefore, from the House of Hohenzollern, it is added another document that says he is "native of Germany from the city of Vienna in Austria", and, in other words, Austrian, vassal of the House of Habsburg, which governed the regions of Bohemia, Austria, Tyrol, besides others, and whose members, from 1493 until 1740, were emperors of the Roman Saint Empire, also called German Empire.

The inquiry to the Board of Conscience and Orders Court, about the exemption that has requested João de Barros Rêgo to receive the garb from the Order of Christ, says that it lacked stating the nativeness "of his grandfather by his mother side, the cavalry captain Gaspar Vanderley, whom was native of Germany from the city of Vienna, Austria, where it is impossible to carry out inquiries. And because his said grandfather lived and died in the city of Bahia where has always lived, serving this Crown with all satisfaction, and even though it had been possible to go to Germany no information would be found about him because

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<sup>13</sup> Ludwig Driesen, l.c., pag. 149 and foll.

of the many years he left that Kingdom for this... begs His Majesty mercy to exempt him to carry the inquiries about his said grandfather in this city. . . considering the impossibility of carrying them out in Vienna, Austria, and because there are many other examples which favor this inquiry of him. To this Court it seems that His Majesty should not defer to the inquirer, because in the inquiry that were carried out in Pernambuco, where his grandfather lived, it is recorded that he was heretical, and that became catholic at the death-bed, and since it does not includes his nativeness there could be impediments in it that His Majesty could not exempt. . . Lisbon, 11-17-1688."

Unfortunately this document is not an undoubted proof of Gaspar van der Ley's nationality, as it would be, for example, a baptism record, but just a doubtful statement whose truthfulness is subject to proving. A greater doubt arises from the fact that João de Barros Rêgo located Austria in Germany, what would be possible if he used the word Germany as a synonym of German Empire, and in this case Gaspar would have been Austrian. However, if João de Barros Rêgo knew exactly his grandfather's place of birth, Gaspar's son would also know this and we can not understand why he has ordered the certificate about his father in Brandenburg. It seems, therefore, more probable that João de Barros Rêgo had knew just that his grandfather was born in Germany, but not the place exactly, and had pointed out Vienna, a place very far away and difficult to access at the time, just to

burden or even avoid that the inquiries required to the Order of Christ admission were carried out there. Whatever could it be, his information, correct or not, in some extent reinforces the supposition that Gaspar van der Ley was not Dutch, as it has been always considered, but German instead, or probably Austrian. There is currently in Germany a family Von der Leyen, noble, also called Von der Ley in the XVII century, from which some of its members were heir archbishops of Trier, but there are not information about Gaspar van der Ley on this side, and it is improbable that he descended from this family.<sup>14</sup>

From what has been said, we conclude that the certainty about Gaspar van der Ley nationality will be achieved only with further research, especially in the genealogical collections, researches as such that, in our opinion, should be carried out in Germany, and, if unsuccessful, should be continued in Austria, and in The Netherlands in last case only.

#### **GASPAR VAN DER LEY'S LIFETIME**

Doubtful are also Gaspar van der Ley's birth and death dates. Johan Mauritz von

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<sup>14</sup> Information kindly provided by His Excel. Ambassador J. de Souza Leão, Minister and Ambassador in The Netherlands for many years. In a conversation His Excel. has had with the current head of that noble family, the Prince Kasper von der Leyen has stated that he know nothing about any Gaspar von der Ley who had served Dutch in Brazil. Also: **Centraal Bureau voor Genealogie**, Haia.

Nassau's certificate shows that, in that year of 1668, he was already dead, because, on the contrary, the certificate of nobility would have been requested to the competent authority in charge of such responsibilities and not to a person that, although highly qualified, did not have the attribution of issuing those proofs. If Gaspar was an Electoral of Brandenburg native, he should know whom those authorities were and where to find them; on the contrary his son, born in Brazil, although in Lisbon in that occasion, neither had been in Brandenburg, nor would know that country authorities.

Gaspar van der Ley got married in Pernambuco with Mrs. Maria de Melo, daughter of Manuel Gomes de Melo, Engenho Trapiche sugar mill lord, in Cabo, and of his wife Mrs. Adriana de Almeida. From this marriage four children were born, they are: João Maurício, Manuel Gomes, Gaspar and Adriana. Mrs. Maria de Melo, widow, got married again with João Batista de Acioli, and with him had a daughter named Margarida.<sup>15</sup> We have not succeeded finding this marriage date, since, if it was known, it would be possible to inform, with some approximation, the time Gaspar van der Ley died. We can, however, make some conjectures: Margarida, daughter of the second marriage of Gaspar's widow, married Filipe de Moura Acioli and in the Brother of Mercy term, he signed on March 26, 1678, it is recorded that he was already married.<sup>16</sup> If we admit that his wife, on the

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<sup>15</sup> Borges da Fonseca, l.c., vol. I, pag. 117 and foll.

<sup>16</sup> Borges da Fonseca, l.c., vol. II, pag. 11.

date of marriage, had a minimum age of eleven years, she would have been born before 1667, and Gaspar van der Ley would have died then before 1666.

The news that spread out about Gaspar's death in the end of 1645, soon after the Fort of Pontal surrender, did not deserve, with reason, credit on the part of the High Counselors. In Matheus van den Broeck's *Diário*, he says that he had spoken to Ley by the end of February 1646 in Bahia.<sup>17</sup> The High Counselors' proclamation of September 1646 shows also that Gaspar was still alive on that time, because it grants forgiveness to the insurgent Portuguese, but excludes Gaspar van der Ley, among others.

A West Indian Company Council of the XIX document, dated March 5, 1663, contains a list of sugar mills sold in Brazil by the Company after 1637, which prices, in whole or in part, have not been paid. It is recorded there that Gaspar van der Ley still owed a sum of almost 50,000 florins. This makes Gaspar supposedly alive in that year yet, or, at least, that in The Netherlands he was considered alive. Dead, thus, probably after 1663 and before 1666, he shall have been born in the last years of the XVI century or in the beginning of the next century.

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<sup>17</sup> "Breve Discurso", **Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Pernambucano**, nr. 32, Recife, 1887, pages. 165 and 169. Matheus van den Broeck, "Diário ou Narração Histórica", **Revista do Instituto Histórico Brasileiro**, nr. 40, Rio, 1877, pag. 56.

**GASPAR VAN DER LEY'S CHILDREN**

At the time of the surrender under bribery and treachery of the Nossa Senhora de Nazaré fortress (which the Dutch called Pontal or Van der Dussen) in Cabo de Santo Agostinho, in September 1645, the Portuguese promise to Gaspar van der Ley an Order of Christ commend from the hundred thousands réis lot, to one of his sons. Those children, according to Martim Soares Moreno, were called "the elder João Vanderley and the other Gaspar Vanderley".<sup>18</sup>

Borges da Fonseca cites Gaspar's children in the following order: João Maurício, Manuel Gomes, Gaspar and Adriana, all of them from his marriage with Mrs. Maria de Melo. From Martim Soares Moreno's words we can, conclude, however, that Gaspar was the second child instead of Manuel.

João Vanderley, undoubtedly Gaspar's first child, was born, according to Borges da Fonseca, in 1641 probably, "because when he enlisted to serve Captain João Batista Pereira Company, of Field Master D. João de Sousa's Têrço, on January 3, 1666, he stated that he was 25 years old. Much is owed to him in Palmar restoration, because he helped with his presence, servants and provisions". According to the certificate of nobility issued by Count of Nassau his name would be João Maurício, and it is with this name that Borges da Fonseca records him. Contrary to

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<sup>18</sup> Martim Soares Moreno's letter addressed to Antônio Teles da Silva on September 6, 1645, cit. in note 12.

this information is the Inquiry to the Overseas Council on March 8, 1668, which contains the following text: "João Gomes Vanderley states that has been serving His Majesty in the Pernambuco Captaincy since January 1666 until the present in the post of soldier of captain João Batista Pereira's company, prompting himself when the occasion offered and claims that he is the son of Gaspar Vanderley well known in the Pernambuco wars where he carried out many and very particular services to His Majesty", and later: "Doctor Feliciano Dourado, Rui Teles de Menezes, Francisco Malheiro and the Count President appoint, under His Majesty's assignment, for the said company firstly João Gomes Vanderley, exempting him for not having the required number of years in the regiment, because His Majesty ordered that it should be respect to these posts persons of quality, and he has himself the provisions of his father's, Gaspar Vanderley".<sup>19</sup>

In this inquiry it is requested the appointment of João Gomes Vanderley to the post of a company captain, and this requested was addressed to the King of Portugal himself. We shall, therefore, exclude the possibility of a mistake in the applicant name; otherwise it can be admitted that that his complete name was João Maurício Gomes Vanderley. That Borges da Fonseca had made a mistake, or that João

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<sup>19</sup> Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisboa, Pernambuco, loose papers, box 5.

Gomes, in his application to the nobility certificate, had changed his name to João Maurício, the name of Count von Nassau as it is known, to obtain more easily the aimed certificate, it seems improbable to us. In the Olinda Saint House of Mercy Book 1º of Brothers Records, 1682-1859, it is also found, on June 27, 1707, the admission of the captain Sebastião Maurício Vanderley, legitimate child of the captain João Maurício and Maria da Rocha, daughter of Clemente da Rocha Barbosa and his wife Maria Lins.

About João Maurício Vanderley Borges da Fonseca also says that "has served in the posts of Ordinance Captain... of Mangabeira by a Governor D. Pedro d'Almeida's patent letter, of April 2, 1678, and Cavalry Captain by a Governor Aires de Sousa de Castro's patent letter of September 7, 1680". It is not true, as stated by Borges da Fonseca, that he had took the Order of Christ garb in 1663, but probably in 1674 instead, since it is dated this year the patent letter in which the King granted João Gomes Vanderley the right to be armed knight. In the *Kingdom Directives Books Inventory*, volume 11, covering the years of 1653 to 1664, it is not recorded the name of any Vanderley that would have received the Order of Christ mercy.

About de second son, called Gaspar Vanderley as his father, Borges da Fonseca says only that he has been lieutenant colonel and that he has married Mrs. Ana Ferreira. About him we have also another



information in a patent confirmation letter, wrote in Lisbon on November 8, 1678, in which it can be seen that the Cabo parish was still the place where Gaspar van der Ley's and D. Maria de Melo's descendants lived. The letter text is the following:

"D. Pedro, etc., I make it known to whom see this confirmation letter of mine, that with respect to that Gaspar Vanderley it is known have prompted himself in the occasions offered with satisfaction and with the same equality with which his father and grandfather have served in the Brazil State wars, according to the confidence I have in him, I grant him the mercy of confirming him, as by this I confirm, in the post of Captain of the Cabo de Santo Agostinho parish Company of Infantry of the Ordinance of the single young men in which he is provided with by D. Pedro de Almeida's patent, as Pernambuco governor, as stated in chapter 20 of his regiment, in which post he will not receive any payment from my treasure, but will enjoy all the honors, privileges, rights, exemptions and licenses that he can take because of it. For this I order my governor of said captaincy of Pernambuco to make it known to the said Gaspar Vandenem [sic] as captain of the cited company and as such honor and esteem him and let him serve the cited post under investiture and oath that were given to him when he assumed it and to the officers and soldiers I order also that obey him in everything and fulfill his orders by words or in written form the way they have and are obliged to, and for firmness of all I

ordered the issuing of this patent confirmation letter of my to him which is by me signed and sealed with the large seal of my coat of arms, which is issued in two. Lisbon, November 8, 1678"<sup>20</sup>.

The first sons of Gaspar van der Ley had followed, therefore, their father's military career and were, as Gaspar was, highly esteemed among the Portuguese for their services rendered to Portugal Kingdom, and not only by the fact of being Gaspar van der Ley's sons, to whom it was owed much for the Pernambucana Insurrection success, in 1645.

Manuel Gomes Vanderley married Mrs. Mécia de Barros, daughter of Rodrigo de Barros Pimentel and his wife Mrs. Jerônima de Almeida, while Mrs. Adriana de Almeida Vanderley, Gaspar's only daughter, got married with André de Barros Rêgo, son of Arnau de Holanda Barreto and his wife Luzia Pessoa. About those we will restrict ourselves to Borges da Fonseca's information, without further research on it.<sup>21</sup>

## THE NAME VAN DER LEY WRITING

Proper nouns formed by the preposition *van* and the article *de* tend to be written down joined, in The Netherlands, and it is this way that the name appears already

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<sup>20</sup> Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, codex 119, sheet 82v.

<sup>21</sup> About Gaspar van der Ley's and Mrs. Maria de Melo's children see Borges da Fonseca l.c., vol. I, chapter about the Wanderleys, pag. 117 and foll.

written down in Brazil in the older documents. During much time this was the unique writing form adopted by the family members in Brazil, at least until the second half of the XVIII century, as it is recorded, among others, in the already cited Olinda Saint House of Mercy Book 1° of Brothers Records, where the name was written down as Vanderlei and in the page 401 of *Nobiliarquia* volume IV manuscript, with Borges da Fonseca's own letter, as we already said. In the inquiry to the Overseas Council, on March 8, 1668, the writing form used is Vanderly [sic]. In the *Pernambuco Captaincy General Information*, of 1749, and in the *Pernambuco Captaincy General Map*, of

1763, are shown respectively, Gonçalo da Rocha Vanderley, Porto Calvo village director, and the captain João Luis Vanderley, Barreiro hamlet director.

In the *Nobiliarquia* defective copies, made in the XIX century, it is shown the wrong writing form with W, although currently accepted and largely used by the family members. We have not found out whether the *Nobiliarquia* copyist were the first to use this writing form, or if it was already in use in Brazil at that time. The writing form Wanderley is unknown in The Netherlands.

#### **GASPAR VAN DER LEY AS CAPTAIN AND SUGAR MILL LORD**

The surrender of the Nossa Senhora de Nazaré Fortress to the Luso-Brazilians, in the year 1645, caused great consternation

among the Recife Dutch residents that because of this lost their major defense point against the insurgents in the south of the Pernambuco Captaincy, besides a great number of soldiers that from now on were serving the enemies. To explain the loss of this important bastion, the High Counselors, that formed the Dutch Brazil government, wrote to the Council of the XIX of the West Indian Company, in The Netherlands, saying that they were secure of that place because there were some persons there that in the previous wars had occupied important posts in the troop, as for example, Gaspar van der Ley. By "previous wars" they referred to those of the period 1630-1635, the invasion and dominion of the northeast territory. To the author of *Iaerlyck Verhael* it caused admiration that Ley could be capable of treachery, because during 15 years he had served faithfully the same Company in Brazil. This last document enable us to suppose that Gaspar van der Ley had arrived in Brazil in the year 1630, probably with the first troops that were sent to here.

We do not know which post he was in charge of during the first years of his stay in Brazil, but it is reasonable to believe that he had been joined to the cavalry, which, at least from 1634 on, he had the command, as a captain (*ritmeester*). In the following year took part in the Arraial do Bom Jesus garrison troop, commanding 93 persons, among which 4 inapt ones, from which it can be supposed that he had taken part in its siege and conquest from the Luso-Brazilians.

In July of that year his company, together with 200 soldiers more, was detached to Sirinhaém, and in December he succeeded dispersing with his cavalry Matias de Albuquerque's troop when this attacked Rio Formoso. The troop formed, in the Cabo parish, by the Indians, received order to join Ley in 1636, where he had been, and to obey his orders.<sup>22</sup>

These are the few known facts of the first years of his stay in Brazil; nothing of military accomplishments, only routine services, apparently without major importance (see T.N. below). The High Counselors state his usefulness, in a letter do the Council of the XIX in The Netherlands, undated, but probably of June 15, 1635, in which say that: "the cavalrymen have done until now services reasonably satisfactory and have a good captain, Gaspar

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<sup>22</sup> Jan de Laet, **Jaerlyck Verhael**, 4 vls., Haia, 1931-37, vol. IV, pags. 42 and 75. Von Schkoppe's letter to the Council of the XIX on July 16, 1635, Willem Cornelissen's letter to the Zeeland Chamber on December 12, 1635 and List of Brazil's Companies, among the papers of 1635, all of ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 50 and Dagelijkse Notule of June 20, 1636, ARA Oude WIC, pkg. 68.

T.N.: Documents are currently part of inventory 1.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory numbers 50 (docs. 119 and 149) and 68 of The Hague National Archive.

T.N.: The author omits the important participation of Gaspar in the military expedition against Paraíba, undertook by the end of November 1634, described by John Nieuhoff in his Remarkable Travels and Voyages to Brazil, London: Awnscham and John Churchill, 1732, pag. 28.

van der Ley, who succeeded maintaining them disciplined."

Jan de Laet, author of the History or Proceedings of the West Indian Company Accomplishments in Brazil, when describing the happenings of April 1636, says that the Portuguese, going from Ipojuca to the north, pillaged the sugar mills of the Dutch residents, but preserved the cavalry captain Ley's sugar mill, "whom had married the daughter of a Portuguese", from which they stole only a good horse<sup>23</sup>. This De Laet's observation is the only one to inform that, in the beginning of 1636, Ley, while cavalry captain yet, besides sugar mill lord, was already married with Mrs. Maria de Melo, daughter of Manuel Gomes de Melo, Trapiche sugar mill lord, in Cabo de Santo Agostinho. There is not indication of the marriage year, but Ley shall have been one of the first among the invaders to connect to a young woman of the conquered country.

Although those marriage were not a rare event, it shall not have been easy the union with the daughter of a Portuguese still in the first times of the Dutch occupation, because the hate towards the invader was still much strong. The opposition shall have been greater, because it constituted a marriage in the Reformed Church, as we will show later. In the *Inventory of the Sugar Mills* of W. Schott, dated 1636, it is said that the Trapiche sugar mill then, or Nossa

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<sup>23</sup> Jan de Laet, l.c., vol. IV, pages. 225 and 226.

Senhora da Conceição, was owned by Mrs. Adriana, widow of Manuel Gomes de Melo. The fact of Mrs. Maria's father was already dead then, can have favored the celebration of her marriage with Gaspar van der Ley, an important character of the Dutch army serving the West Indian Company.

The affirmative that Ley converted to Catholicism to get married with Mrs. Maria de Melo, is owed to Borges da Fonseca, but there are several documents that prove to be the contrary. In the Baptism Records Book of the Brazil Reformed Church, Ley appears three times as godfather, in the years of 1634, 1638, e 1639 respectively (see T.N. below). The Reformed Church Class of October 17, 1641 notes of the meeting say clearly that sir Gaspar van der Ley, elder, excused himself in writing for not taking part of the assembly, being accepted his excuses (see T.N. below). After the predicants, the elder were the persons of higher quality in the Reformed Church hierarchy, because formed the local ecclesiastic council and were heard in all important questions. He was at that time in Cabo de Santo Agostinho, where Jodocus a Stetten was the predicant. When the wife of this died, and he had to travel to Recife, in June 1645, he trusted his younger daughter, Maria, to the van der Ley family care.<sup>24</sup> These facts show that Ley

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<sup>24</sup> Jodocus a Stetten's letter to the West Indian Company Directors on June 24, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC. pkg. 60.

T.N.: Available in the internet at

[http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparIgreja/GasparIgreja\\_ing.htm](http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparIgreja/GasparIgreja_ing.htm)

was affiliated to the Reformed Church even after his marriage, because it would be impossible to him to be godfather and elder if he was catholic or suspected of being. The marriage has been celebrated, therefore, in the Reformed Church, and it is understandable thus Frei Manuel Calado's statement that Ley "was married, or cohabit", because as a catholic priest he could not acknowledge this union as legitimate. That Ley did not cohabit, but was really married, prove not only the several contemporary documents, but also the Reformed Church Class attitude, that always criticized severely its members faults and sins, especially when it concerned to marriages, baptisms or sexual subjects, and thus Ley could not have been, as has been, elder in the Cabo Church without being regularly married (see T.N. below). On the other side, it also does not deserve much credit the information relative to the already referred inquiry of 1668 to the Board of Conscience and Orders Court, according to which he converted to Catholicism at the end of his life only. When Ley passed to the Portuguese side, in 1645, it had been promised to him that he could live freely in his religion. However,

Hooghstraten and Wedda, two other Dutch officers that with Ley together participated in the Nossa Senhora de Nazaré fortress surrender to the Luso-Brazilians, and to whom it has been made the same promise, soon after converted to the Catholicism, since when they were in Bahia they went to Mass



daily.<sup>25</sup> Nothing is recorded about Gaspar van der Ley, but we can admit that he also converted to Catholicism, at least apparently, not only because his wife professed this religion, but also and mainly because as heretical it would be impossible to him stay in Brazil.

It is not clear which sugar mill Ley owned in 1636, because he bought the Algodois sugar mill only on July 21, 1638, located near the Cabo de Santo Agostinho, by the price of 20.000 florins to which he bought later a total of 30 slaves.<sup>26</sup> It had been owned by Miguel Pais and was confiscated by the West Indian Company, but it was neither in condition to mill, nor to be inhabited. After the occupation of its lands by the Dutch army, during the siege of Cabo in 1635, the sugar mill was almost entirely ruined and lacking the major factory parts, as, for example, the boilers. Gaspar van der Ley repaired it and replanted

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<sup>25</sup> Generale Missive of September 4, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC, maço 60.

T.N.: Gaspar's marriage in the Reformed Church is cited by Anita Novinski in her work *A Devassa do Bispo Dom Pedro da Silva 1635 - 1637*, *Anais do Museu Paulista*, Tomo XX, São Paulo, 1968. Available in the internet at: [http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/Casamento\\_Gaspar\\_ing.htm](http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/Casamento_Gaspar_ing.htm)

<sup>26</sup> Information of the West Indian Company Council of the XIX of March 5, 1663, MS kept in the Historical Society of Pennsylvania, USA, of which we have a photostat copy. *Dagelijkse Notulen* of September 22, 1638 and July 21, 1639, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 68, and *Dagelijkse Notule* of March 10, 1641, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 69.

T.N.: The *Dagelijkse Notules* are currently part of inventory 1.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory numbers 68 and 69 of The Hague National Archive.

it and expected to mill in 1640 for the first time, after so many years of inactivity.<sup>27</sup> Under these unfavorable conditions it is not believable that he inhabited the sugar mill before 1638, although it is not impossible that he has been occupying it since early years under rental, as had done, for example, "the general Sigismundo von Schkoppe and the inspector Nicolaes de Ridder, that rented their sugar mills in 1639 and had only bought them two years latter."<sup>28</sup> However it seems more probable that in 1636 he lived in the Trapiche sugar mill, owned by his mother-in-law, where he get used to the sedentary life before becoming he himself a sugar mill lord.

We shall make here a brief interruption in this Gaspar van der Ley's as sugar mill lord subject, to return to the year of 1637, when he was cavalry captain yet. Count Johan Mauritz von Nassau, Dutch Brazil general governor, wrote in the beginning of this year that an 80 cavalrymen troop was part of his army, certainly the ones that were under Ley's command.<sup>29</sup> Approximately a half year

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<sup>27</sup> Willem Schott, "Inventory of the sugar mills", ARA, Oude WIC, pakg. 46: "Breve Discurso sobre o estado das quatro capitancias conquistadas, de 14 de janeiro de 1638". **Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Pernambucano**, nº 34, Recife, 1887, pag. 147; Adriaen van der Dussen, "Relatório", 1639, translation of José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, Rio de Janeiro, 1947, pag. 36.

<sup>28</sup> Adriaen van der Dussen, "Relatório", pag. 37.

<sup>29</sup> Mauritz von Nassau's letter of February 3, 1637, ARA, General States Office, LIAS, 5772. Netscher, **Les Hollandais au Brésil**, Paris, 1853, pag. 87.

later, on September 15, he already did not occupy that post anymore, because proved to the High Council, in Recife, that had been discharged from his post by Mauritz von Nassau, and requested his account closure, having the Counselors decided to hear the Count on the subject first. Two days later Ley bought some slaves, what may indicate that his request was accepted.<sup>30</sup>

The document does not say clearly whether the discharge resulted from a Nassau's initiative, or was requested by Ley himself, what seems more probable. His military commander qualities are out of question, because in 1639, and once more in 1645, he has been appointed colonel of the auxiliary troops formed by civilians, both in the cavalry and infantry, which were enlisted as a security measure against the unsubmissive Luso-Brazilians. The regular army cavalry has only been extinct in 1639 and the Count would not discharge a person, like Gaspar van der Ley, whom for so many years was commander in Brazil; for this reason it can be admitted that he, for personal convenience, disjoined the troop to dedicate himself to other activities.<sup>31</sup>

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<sup>30</sup> **Dagelijkse Notulen** of September 15 and 17, 1637, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 68.

T.N.: This document is currently part of inventory 1.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory numbers 68 of The Hague National Archive. Documents available in the internet at:

[http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/GasparArquivoHaia\\_ing.htm](http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/GasparArquivoHaia_ing.htm)

<sup>31</sup> "Sterkte van de troepen van de West Indische Compagnie in Brasil", February 18, 1639, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 54.

From that date on Gaspar van der Ley became really sugar mill lord, one of the most important characters of Cabo parish, honored and esteemed both by the Portuguese and the Dutch. He had bought, on July 21, 1638, the Algodois sugar mill, that, as Schott informs, had approximately half league of land, with a few meadows and sugar cane plantation. It was a water sugar mill, with an annual estimated production of 1.500 to 1.600 arrôbas (see T.N. below) of sugar; the purging house and the boiler house were made of masonry.

The great expenses necessary to repair and replant the sugar mill, together with its unproductivity during the first years after the acquisition, shall have drained his financial resources. But this has not impeded that, on May 17, 1642, he acquired from the West Indian Company the two sugar mills Utinga de Cima and de Baixo, also in the Cabo district, for the amount of 20.000 florins, besides 40 slaves, which total price would be added to the sugar mills. The whole debt should be paid in annual payments of 8.000 florins, starting in January 1645.<sup>32</sup>

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T.N.: This document is currently part of inventory 1.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory numbers 54 of The Hague National Archive.

<sup>32</sup> Dagelijkse Notule of May 17, 1642, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 69.

T.N.: This document is currently part of inventory 1.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory number 69 of The Hague National Archive. Documents available in the internet at:

The great payment facility is explained by the fact that the two sugar mills were entirely destroyed and without plantation for many years, so that there was not anyone whom wanted to buy them. It is evident that Ley let himself to be deluded by the low price of the two properties and by the payment facility, without perceiving what really was buying, because the *Dagelijkse Notule* of June 22, 1642 says the following: "Sir Gaspar van der Ley requests in writing that he on the day 15 [sic] of the last month bought from the Council the sugar mills of Utinga de Cima and de Baixo, for the total amount of 20.000 florins and 40 slaves, which price, because of the payment term, would double the established selling price; and bought it with the expectation that would still find a good sugar mill and good sugar cane plantation, but verified now, on the contrary, that both sugar mill lands are woods and uncultivated terrain, and have only an old purging house, as he can prove to satiation. And, besides this, that the slave price is excessively high and increase enormously his debt; both the sugar mills and the slaves were sold to him by double the real price. He asks, thus, that the High Council does not cause his ruin because of this mistaken calculation and he asks a discount".

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[http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/GasparArquivoHaia\\_ing.htm](http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/GasparArquivoHaia_ing.htm)

T.N.: "arrôba" is an old measure of weight approximately equivalent to 15 kilograms.

The solution to the problem was only found months later, as recorded in the *Dagelijkse Notule* of March 23, 1643: "Having sir Gaspar van der Ley, on May 17 of last year, bought from the Company the ruined sugar mills of Utinga de Cima and Baixo..... requested he a discount; the subject remained in this point since then, because of the investigation that was necessary to be carried out in the two sugar mills, as well as because of the said Van der Ley's illness, and also for other reasons and therefore it has not advanced; until that, on the occasion of the selling of the slaves that were brought in the ship *Burgh*, the said sir came to Recife, and, after several considerations, it was decided that the acquisition of the sugar mills and all that pertain to them and the salves, will not be cancelled, paying he instead of 20.000 florins the sum of 10.000 florins, but in relation to the slaves acquisition all will remain as previously established". And it seems that it was done this way, because two days later, on March 25, Ley mortgaged the Algodoads sugar mill, in private, to the West Indian Company, for the amount of 49.964 florins, which, as a matter of fact, he had not paid in 1663 yet.<sup>33</sup> The acquisition of the sugar mills confiscated by the West Indian Company was generally made in long term, especially when involving ruined sugar mills that had not the possibility of generating any profits in the first years after the acquisition. Ley shall

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<sup>33</sup> West Indian Company Council of The XIX information dated March 5, 1663, doc. cit. in note 26.

have also bought the Algodoads sugar mill in reasonably long term, and we do not understand how he, in 1643, when the sugar mill was certainly not paid yet, could mortgaged it to his seller for a sum one time and a half higher than the acquisition price. We do not know whether he would had repaired and replanted the two sugar mills, what would only have been possible with great cost. The documents after this acquisition only refer to Ley as Algodoads sugar mill lord, where he had his home. The Utinga da Cima and de Baixo sugar mills have never certainly milled because of the Luso-Brazilian insurrection, a short time later.

#### **GASPAR VAN DER LEY AS NONJUDGE AND AUXILIARY TROOPS COLONEL**

The Cabo, Ipojuca and Muribeca parishes pertained, initially to Olinda jurisdiction, which extended 13 leagues by the coast, from the Sirinhaém river in the south, to the Igarapé jurisdiction limits in the north. The voters of each jurisdiction presented to the Dutch government in Recife annually a list from which the new nonjudges to the Chamber should be chosen, admitting that a certain number of them could be reappointed. The persons presented by the voters were the outstanding ones in the community. They had, as the councilmen of the Portuguese council system senate chamber, the judiciary power in first instance, providing that lawsuits could be appealed to the Political Council, firstly, and, later on, to the Justice Council; they had also political responsibilities in their jurisdiction area.

In the list of candidates to the Olinda Chamber nonjudge post, presented on June 2, 1638, appears for the first time the name of Gaspar van der Ley. Elected nonjudge he started to perform his duties on July 1st, for a one year time; he has not been reappointed the next year. In 1641 he was included in the list for the same post of Mauricia's City Chamber, to where the Olinda Chamber was transferred in 1639, because there was established the Dutch Brazil government headquarters. Gaspar van der Ley was not chosen for the post however.<sup>34</sup>

Because of the great distance from Recife that Santo Antônio do Cabo, Ipojuca and Muribeca parishes were, their residents sent, in 1642, Gaspar van der Ley and Manuel Fernandes Cruz, Tapacurá sugar mill lord, in commission to the High Council, to explain the inconvenients of being subject to Maurícias's court, requesting that a nonjudge chamber should be instituted in Santo Antônio do Cabo, what was accepted a short time after. On July 22, 1642 Ley was included by the three parishes voters in the list from which would be chosen the Cabo chamber nonjudges, having he be elected on the next day by the Count and the High

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<sup>34</sup> Dagelijkse Notulen of June 2, 1638, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 68 and of June 4, 1641, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg 69.

T.N.: These documents are currently part of inventory 1.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory numbers 68 and 69 of The Hague National Archive. Document of June 4, 1641 available in the internet at:

[http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/GasparArquivoHaia\\_ing.htm](http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/GasparArquivoHaia_ing.htm)



Council. We have not found documents about the year 1643 election, but a *Dagelijkse Notule* of June 22, 1644 says that Ley and Wedda remaining as nonjudges, from which it can be concluded that occupied the same post also in the do previous year.

In July 1639 it was published a proclamation where all Dutch Brazil interior inhabitants were obliged to enlist, each one in his own district. The reason for this enlistment was Count of Torre's Spanish-Portuguese fleet presence in Bahia and concerning this the High Counselors wrote in the *Generale Missive* of August 5, 1639: "To make ostentation of our power among the residents, we have enlisted all the Dutch, French and German residents..., with their horses and guns. But although we have created many infantryman and cavalryman companies, the enlisted names do not go beyond 400. We proceeded this way because it was necessary to show a respectable number to the Portuguese, letting them presume that we had gathered more people than, actually, we had achieved."

Since Ley was one of the most important Cabo parish persons, with great military experience in Brazil, he was appointed to the highest post, which was Colonel of these civilian formed troops, both of infantry and cavalry, which received order to be on alert and to present themselves as soon as called. It seems, however, that this was never necessary, because we do not know about the military activities of these militia auxiliary companies.

## THE PERNAMBUCANA INSURRECTION

With the return of Count Mauritz von Nassau to The Netherlands, in May 1644, it started one of the most turbulent periods of the Dutch Brazil, now under the government of the High Counselors Hamel, Bullestrate and Bas. The news more and more frequents about a Luso-Brazilian conspiracy became a reality when, on June 13, 1645, the planned Pernambucana Insurrection broke out.

The documentation about this episode is rich, and both Dutch and Portuguese have described it largely in reports and letters sent to their governments in the metropolis. The *Remarkable Travels and Voyages to Brazil* of John Nieuhoff, who lived in Recife on this time, is nothing more than a description, based on contemporary documents, of the facts that took place during this revolt in Pernambuco, in the years 1645 to 1647. Valuable information is also found in the book *O Valeroso Lucideno* of the Portuguese friar Manuel Calado do Salvador. He says at certain point that Gaspar van der Ley, when received the news from the rumors that troops from Bahia would soon arrive and that, among others, Amador de Araújo had been chosen captain-mor by the conspirators and Filipe Pais Barreto Ipojuca, Cabo and Muribeca parishes captain, gave the congratulations to Filipe Pais when met him in Cabo Ville, and in writing to Amador de Araújo. According to Manuel Calado four months of 1645 had passed already, and the fact would have happened then in May.

Filipe Pais, afraid of treachery suspicion and punishment, went soon to Recife to present himself to the High Council, where he told what Ley has said to him. Amador de Araújo wrote a letter to Ley, in which he asked excuses for the suspicions of having a pact with the conspiracy, and to prove that he was not a traitor, he told that, in another occasion, captain João Lopes Barbalho has passed by his house with 300 armed soldiers, but that despite this he maintained himself loyal and did not took up arms, although he could have done it. Calado continues by saying: "Having the cavalry captain (Ley) read Amador de Araújo's letter, and reaching the point where he tells about captain João Lopes Barbalho, and about three hundred men, and soldier troops on the plains, he has not forwarded it, he kept it instead and sent an alert to the Supreme Counselors telling about Amador de Araújo treachery". To arrest him the High Counselors sent a judiciary officer, but Araújo had already withdrawn to a secluded place.<sup>35</sup>

It is not improbable that Calado, in his aversion to the Dutch in general, clearly evident in his book, particularly to those, as Ley, were married with Portuguese women, had distorted some facts of this month of May. On the other hand, being an intelligent and well informed author as he was, he would not cover so largely this case

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<sup>35</sup> Frei Manuel Calado do Salvador, l.c.. vol. I, pag. 361 and foll.

if there was not some basis for his statements.

One of the Dutch sugar mill lord's great concerns, especially those married with Portuguese women, was what would happen to them in case the Dutch were expelled from Brazil someday. In 1643 already, Charles de Tournalon, the youngster, regular army captain, Casa Forte sugar mill lord, and married with Mrs. Ana Pais, questioned publicly the Portuguese whether he and his wife in this case could stay in Brazil, fact that caused his expulsion from Brazil ordered by the High Council itself and sent, without the wife, back to his motherland.<sup>36</sup>

Gaspar van der Ley also, finding himself in the same uncertain situation, shall have spoken much about it with his Portuguese friends and relatives. To this supposition contributes the information of Jacob Dassenie, Supupema sugar mill lord, dated June 14, 1645, in which he made it supposedly known that he already knew then about the future Ley's treachery, because a certain person would have told him that "Camarão or his people that is coming, does not have the intention of razing the land, but to all Dutch that want to stay in the country would give passport, and that forty or more would stay, and referred himself to Alberto Gerardo [Wedda], Johan Hick, the cavalry captain [Ley] and other important persons". It can be understood from these words that Ley, even before the Pernambuco

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<sup>36</sup> ARA, General States Charter, pkg. 5773.

Insurrection started, had discussions with the Luso-Brazilians and expressed his will of staying in Brazil, for which it is not improbable that he had congratulated with Filipe Pais, Garapu sugar mill owner, in Cabo, and with Amador de Araújo, as friar Calado informs.

Dassenie's information seemed so absurd to the High Counselors that one of them, Bullestrate, "who had a family relationship with Ley", showed him the letter so that he could see what was being said about him.<sup>37</sup> If Ley had congratulated himself with Filipe Pais e Amador de Araújo, it would have been evident that he had placed himself on the insurgents' side, and had the High Council received this information, by Filipe Pais, it would not have manifested its confidence in him to the point of, in August, appointing him to the regular army highest post, in place of lieutenant-colonel Hendrick van Haus, imprisoned by the insurgents in the Casa Forte battle, on August 17, 1645. Gaspar van der Ley's suspicious attitude, evident in Calado's and Dassenie's words, was not known to the High Counselors, who considered him one of the most loyal persons to the Dutch cause, in Cabo parish.

As to the treachery accusation made by Ley against Amador de Araújo, friar Calado has not referred to the facts truthfulness. The High Counselors had received information

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<sup>37</sup> Matheus van den Broeck, art. cit. in note 17, pag. 47.

about the insurrection plans of some Várzea residents, firstly by a commander Hooghstraten's letter, dated May 20. In this he refers, among other things, to the visit Filipe Pais Barreto had paid to Gaspar van der Ley and to the subjects discussed. To obtain more detailed information about the situation in Cabo parish, they addressed Gaspar directly, whose answer in writing was the following:

"Honorable, Worthy, Wise, Prudent and very Discreet Lords.  
My Lords,

I received Yours Excells.' letter dated May 23, in which I saw Yours Excells.' wish to know the news that runs here about enemy troops. Since Filipe Pais Barreto, some days ago, arrived in Una and asked me to alert the near garrisons to be cautious, what I have done, he informed me that an armed troop has been in Una where it supplied itself and requested provisions to many persons. Filipe Pais said that he personally has not seen it, but that he has heard this news from other Portugueses, and asked me to keep it secret, because he himself wanted to go to Recife to inform Yours Excells.

Concerning the rumor that accuses some persons, about which the *alferes* (T.N.: former rank in Brazil colony army equivalent to second lieutenant) has wrote to Yours Excells., I can inform the following. It runs among the Portuguese people the rumor that João Pais Cabral and Antônio de Crasto have received letters from Bahia, sent, from

what is said, by means of João Fernandes Vieira, in which it is announced or written that they would be appointed captains and Amador de Araújo purveyor-*mor*. Concerning this rumor the said Araújo wrote me a letter, saying that this accusation was false and contrary to the truth, and complained of the inhabitants that spread out such things about his person, stating that he does not know what to do in this situation. He has asked, thus, my advice and a recommendation letter to Yours Excells., as well as have made the others above mentioned, but this I kindly refused and advised them to go personally to Recife and ask excuses to Yours Excells.

Besides this it runs among the Portugueses the rumor that such a troop, saw in Una, had came to take João Fernandes Vieira, because he sent his jewels and values with André Vidal to Bahia. It is believed that this troop is in the woods near Gregório de Barros' house, or in Masereppa, so that is advisable to send there a competent officer who have a secure knowledge of this place, as is the case of captain Hooghstraten, who knows the language and knows how to deal with the personnel and could easily inform himself and discover something, scaring them with the possibility of punishments or severe treatment. But Yours Excells. will know better what order to the lieutenant-*mor*. These are the rumors that run here, but the truth will not delay to manifest itself. Gaspar van der Ley.

Wrote in AlagoadeWaes [sic], on May 24, 1645".<sup>38</sup>

This letter shows that, at least before this date, Ley has not given news either about troops in his parish, or about Amador de Araújo, since on the contrary the High Counselors would not have asked this information. It seems that Ley was writing to them for the first time after the receipt of Araújo's letter, to which Calado also refers, but he does not make either any accusation against him, or mentions the letter contents, unless that Araújo had asked a presentation and recommendation. The information about the troop saw in Una, he has received from Filipe Pais verbally and not from Amador de Araújo, who, since a long time suspect of being one of the most active participants in the conspiracy that led to the Pernambucana Insurrection, has been called to Recife, not under treachery accusation but under the pretext that he had not paid a certain debt to Jewish Duarte Saraiva. The High Council intention was not arrest him, because there was not proof of his treachery, but wanted his stay in Recife instead to impede that he could take part in the Luso-Brazilians revolt and to watch more easily his subversive activities. The reason for the Portuguese mentioned in the

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<sup>38</sup> ARA, Oude WIC, pakg. 60.

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[http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/Gaspar24mail645\\_ing.htm](http://www.irwanderley.eng.br/GasparArquivoHaia/Gaspar24mail645_ing.htm)



transcribed letter direct themselves to Ley, and not to other eminent Dutch of Cabo, may not have been only because of the fact he was one the most distinguished persons in the parish and, therefore, qualified to write the wanted presentation, but may indicate previous agreements between Gaspar van der Ley and the Luso-Brazilians, whom for this reason expected collaboration from his part. The dissatisfaction caused by Ley's attitude, who has not attended their request, may have given origin to the rumor friar Calado reports us.

Despite Jacob Dassenie's information and other news that had eventually reached the High Counselors ears, about Gaspar van der Ley person, they appointed him, in June 1645, colonel of the auxiliary troop, formed by Sirinhaém, Ipojuca, Cabo and Muribeca residents, whom have been called up to arms to help defend the Pernambuco captaincy south against the insurgents. Johan Hick, another person accused by Dassenie, occupied the lieutenant-colonel post.<sup>39</sup>

Ley's attitude, based on the evidence of the documentation that reached us, from his appointment on, can be considered exemplar, and does not justify any suspicion about agreements with the insurgents after

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<sup>39</sup> Dagelijkse Notule of June 16, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC, pkge. 70.

T.N.: This document is currently part of inventory T.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory numbers 70 of The Hague National Archive.

that date. His letters written to the High Council with proposals to improve the State defence, and all his activities, make believable that his concern was really the Dutch victory over the Luso-Brazilians, and in this manner they were interpreted by the High Council. We know, however, that Gaspar van der Ley was one of the greatest debtor of the West Indian Company, to which owed the considerable sum of 133.468 florins, as is recorded in the List of Debtors of this Company prepared by the end of year 1645. The anonymous author of *Bolsa do Brasil* calculated Ley's debt to the Company and to some persons, in 130.785 florins, which he should pay in 4 payments, falling due the first on August 1, 1645. He had not, however, conditions to pay, as says the same author, because "the debtor [Ley] is insolvent; still owes what have. His sureties are some poor men that have nothing; one of them is a priest called Belchior Garrido, who owns only two or three slaves and earns only what produces his daily Mass.<sup>40</sup> The Dutch victory would mean undoubtedly Gaspar van der Ley's bankruptcy, unless he achieved better conditions to pay his debts, which did not seem easy because of the sugar agro-industry difficulties and the sugar price fall.

The Pernambucana Insurrection had only started and nobody could foresee who would have the victory; if it depended exclusively

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<sup>40</sup> "A Bolsa do, Brasil", 1647, Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Pernambucano, vol. 28, Recife, 1883, pag. 129.

of economical power and military prestige, everything indicated that Brazil and Portugal would not get the better part of it. The Luso-Brazilians were waiting to receive troops from Bahia, while the Dutch, in relatively small number, waited anxiously The Netherlands help. The time to Gaspar van der Ley take side did not come yet, and this explains perhaps his indecisive attitude, on one side following the High Council orders and advising it, what could be alleged in his benefit in case the Dutch won and thus he could obtain a postponement of his debt payments to the Company; on the other side with his attempts to get the Luso-Brazilians sympathy, to obtain advantages in case they won, since he neither had attacked them with the auxiliary troops he had under his command, nor he had attempted to avoid that they gathered their troops in the south of Pernambuco.

It is recorded in the documents that Ley has fortified himself with his troops in the Cabo village, from where he informed, on July 8, the High Council, about the insurgent movement in his district, and justified his inactivity saying that he did not have enough force to confront them. He also reported the lack of torch and arms to those that have put themselves under his command. A week latter he complained, also in writing, that he has neither received any answer from the High Council, nor has been notified about any initiatives that it would have been taken. And he stated that he could not maintain himself there for a long time

if they did not send him what he was asking.<sup>41</sup>

According to a Hooghstraten's letter, commander of Nossa Senhora de Nazaré or Van der Dussen fortress, Ley commanded roughly 63 persons, besides the Indians he mentioned in a second letter; with the first ones and the others, although bad armed, it would not be impossible to raid in some way against the insurgent residents of his parish, whose number would not be much higher than the Duch under Ley, part of which was armed only with large knives, scythes and improvised arms. As soon as they received the information about the situation in Cabo, the High Counselors communicated it to lieutenant-colonel Haus and ordered him to go there personally, aiming at to dominate the Luso-Brazilians, since they judged that "from the conservation of this place depended not only Cabo de Santo Agostinho, but all the district of the south". As soon as Haus arrived in Cabo village, the insurgents left to the woods, what shows that their force was not as great as Gaspar van der Ley made it supposedly in his letters.<sup>42</sup> This attitude permits admit that he, for the reasons already mentioned,

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<sup>41</sup> See the letters included in the appendix.

<sup>42</sup> **Dagelijkse Notulen** of July 15 and 19, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 70.

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wanted at any cost avoid hostilities with his Luso-Brazilians friends, his wife fellow countrymen, attitude that could bring him advantages in the future, in case the Dutch were defeated.

On July 24, Ley sent his lieutenant-colonel Hick to the High Counselors in Recife with several suggestions on how to improve the Captaincy south defence. After having deliberated about Ley's proposals, they decided, among other things, that from that moment on Ley and Hick could enlist other volunteers, resident in the land, for a period of four months, with a wage of 9 florins per month, paying them the first month in advance.<sup>43</sup>

While this was happening, on July 9, were sent to Bahia, the Justice Counselor Balthasar van de Voorde, and, as his deputy, Dirk van Hooghstraten, who for this aim left his post of Nossa Senhora de Nazaré fortress commander, in Cabo. They should investigate Antônio Teles da Silva's intentions, Bahia governor, and demand Antônio Filipe Camarão's and Henrique Dias's troops withdrawal from the Dutch territory. Back to Recife with the governor answer, the High Counselors sent Van de Voorde to The Netherlands to explain personally to the

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<sup>43</sup> **Dagelijkse Notule** of July 24, 1645, **ARA**, Oude WIC pkg. 70.

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West Indian Company Council of the XIX the Recife precarious situation, and Hooghstraten assumed the fortress command, after being promoted to sergeant-mor.<sup>44</sup>

In the trip report this last made to the High Council, he told how in Bahia they attempted to bribe him with promises of a Christ's garb and two or three commends and all that he wished, in case he started serving the King of Portugal. It is understandable why promises so expressive have been done by Bahia governor: the fortress which Hooghstraten was the commander served to protect the Cabo de Santo Agostinho harbor, and constituted a great obstacle to the disembarking of Bahia troops in Dutch territory.

We do not know which would have been Hooghstraten's true answer. He himself declared, that he naturally, had refused all the proposals, but the later events make it believable that there really had been, in Bahia, agreements between Hooghstraten and the Luso-Brazilians. According to friar Manuel Calado, he had promised to give the Nossa Senhora de Nazaré fortress and to serve the Portuguese because he was Catholic and son of Catholic parents. We can not believe in this information, because there

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<sup>44</sup> **Dagelijkse Notule** of August 2, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 70.

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are several documents that prove that Hooghstraten was a Reformed Church member.<sup>45</sup>

Soon after Van de Voorde's and Hooghstraten's departures from Bahia, twelve ships were prepared there with help troops to the Pernambuco Luso-Brazilians, which disembarked on July 28 in Tamandaré bay. Under the command of Martim Soares Moreno and André Vidal de Negreiros, they journeyed united to the north and arrived on August 13, in Cabo village, which on that time was abandoned, because the High Council, alerted of the Bahia troops arrival, ordered Gaspar van der Ley to withdraw to Nossa Senhora de Nazaré fortress, what he did on August 11 or 12. On the day after, Hooghstraten informed the High Council that, with the volunteers from the Cabo village, the fortress counted now with 280 persons, that is 217 soldiers of the regular army, and 63 volunteers, who constituted the troop Ley commanded. According to Manuel Calado, were in the fortress, on the rendition day, 275 soldiers, "besides some Dutch residents in the land, who have withdrawn to the said

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<sup>45</sup> In the Reformed Church General Assembly notes of the meetings, gathered in Recife on January 1646, which is part of José Higino's Collection, in the Instituto Arqueológico do Recife, it can be read in article 39: "Dirck van Hoogstraten, ex-elder of Pontal and member of our General Assembly... has abjured his religion and has served and adored statues and idols, in what he persists until today. It has been asked whether his name should not be crossed out from the book and Class notes of meetings, and afterwards excommunicated and publicly declared apostate." It was decided this way.

fortress." Further ahead the author calculates the number in roughly 340.<sup>46</sup>

### **THE SURRENDER OF NOSSA SENHORA DE NAZARÉ FORTRESS**

Although the number of soldiers in the Nossa Senhora de Nazaré fortress was small, in relation to the Luso-Brazilians force, these preferred to conquer it pacifically, the same way they have done, on August 6, with the Sirinhaém Dutch garrison. With this aim André Vidal de Negreiros sent commissioners to Hooghstraten and Ley with two letters, both dated August 13. The first seemed to serve as a pretext to the commissioners' presence in the fortress because contains only complaints about the crimes committed by the Dutch; in the second André Vidal demanded the fortress surrender, according to promises made in Bahia by Hooghstraten and by Ley to his brother-in-law João Gomes de Melo, and to João Fernandes Vieira.<sup>47</sup>

The agreements which we admit have been made between Ley and his brother-in-law and

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<sup>46</sup> Matheus van den Broeck, art. cit., pag. 15; Friar Manuel Calado, l.c., vol. II, pages. 108 and 127. **Dagelijkse Notule** of March 13, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 70. For a more detailed description of this Pernambucana Insurrection period, see José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, **João Fernandes Vieira**, 2 vls., Recife, 1956, vol. I, cap. IV; Pernambucana Insurrection map, June 13 to August 17, 1645, vol. II, pag. 408.

T.N.: A Dagelijkse Notule of March 13, 1645 is currently part of inventory 1.05.01.01 (West Indian Company) inventory number 70 of The Hague National Archive.

<sup>47</sup> See the letters included in the appendix.



Vieira, about his stay in Brazil after the eventual Portuguese dominion restoration, shall be dated even before his appointment to colonel of the auxiliary troops. João Gomes de Melo, Luso-Brazilian regular army captain, only now has arrived to Pernambuco with the Bahia troops, while João Fernandes Vieira since the Insurrection beginning has been with his troop in the Mata zone, going from Camaragibe to São Lourenço and to Tabocas, where he defeated lieutenant-colonel Hendrik van Haus on August 3. It seems improbable to us that he had had contact with Ley in this period, during which this was in the Cabo village. Ley's promises shall have been then to collaborate with the Luso-Brazilians, but shall have been hardly of military order, because on this time he was only sugar mill lord and did not occupy any post in the regular army, while the civilian troops were to be created yet.

In the fortress were present yet other Dutch officers, some of which until the last moment showed themselves contrary to the surrender, and this fact perhaps would explain why Hooghstraten's and Ley's answer in writing to André Vidal has been negative, being not known the details of the agreements that were held with the commissioners, one of whom was the cited João Gomes de Melo. Both André Vidal's letters were, together with a copy of the answer, sent to the High Council in Recife, where, as it seems, this attitude was considered a sign of fidelity, because Hooghstraten has been confirmed in his post

of fortress commander, while to Ley and Hick it was promised that they would be promoted as soon as possible.<sup>48</sup>

To Vidal and Moreno joined João Fernandes Vieira, in Cabo village, on day 16; they decided then to divide their forces. André Vidal and Vieira went to the north with part of the troop, while the other part, commanded by Martim Soares Moreno, started the Cabo de Santo Agostinho siege, after the Nossa Senhora de Nazaré fortress garrison second refusal to surrender.

The communication with the fortress was now cut both by sea and land. Captain Maarten Thijsen ship, sent to Cabo with water and other aids, had to return on day 16 to Recife, because three enemy caravels cruised in front of Cabo harbor, impeding the entrance.<sup>49</sup> A few days later the garrison received the information about lieutenant-colonel Haus and all his commanded defeat and imprison, by João Fernandes Vieira, on

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<sup>48</sup> **Dagelijkse Notule** of August 14, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC, pkge. 70.

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<sup>49</sup> **Dagelijkse Notule** of August 16, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC, pkg. 70.

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August 17, through a Vidal's and Moreno's letter addressed to Hooghstraten and Ley.<sup>50</sup> This letter that before anything else aimed at discouraging and convincing the Dutch that their dominion in Brazil came to an end, had the desired effect. Soon after, on day 22, they made an attempt to evacuate the women that were in the fortress, in the "escolteto" (see T.N. below) Alard Holl's ship, which was used to carry letters to the High Council in Recife. It has never reached its destiny because soon after its departure it was captured by the Luso-Brazilians who from now on had passed to demand vigorously the garrison surrender.

This was the opportune moment to Hooghstraten and Ley fulfilling their promises of collaboration with the Luso-Brazilians and of giving them the fortress without lives loss; but Hooghstraten, even though being the commander, he could not take the decision without his officers' agreement. It may have been for their influence that Hooghstraten and Ley answered demanding that they wanted the women back, what was soon satisfied. They thanked for the women restitution and for the good treatment dispensed to them, but they refused to surrender.<sup>51</sup>

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<sup>50</sup> See the letters included in the appendix.

T.N.: The *Escolteto* was a Dutch Brazil government authority with responsibilities of police chief and public prosecutor at the same time.

<sup>51</sup> Matheus van den Broeck, art. cit., pag. 29.

The patience of the ones that had laid siege to the fortress reached the end, and in the ultimatum they sent they offered the garrison to choose between surrender and death. After Haus' and other Dutch officers' imprisonment, whom formed the regular army elite, the garrison could not wait any help from Recife, and since the insurgent force was in a number that would never permit the garrison to resist for a long time, they chose Gaspar van der Ley to deliberate the surrender conditions. These were, among others, that all them could live freely in their religion, and that they could own and occupy freely and without constraints their houses, sugar mills and lands and to cultivate them; they promise also to pay to the surrenders the delayed payment that the West Indian Company have not paid them. Considered favorable, the majority of the fortress officers opted by the surrender; only three opposed to the decision and preferred fight until the end.<sup>52</sup>

Favorable to the surrender was, before anyone else Hooghstraten himself, to whom the Luso-Brazilians have promised an Order of Christ garb and the Field Master post besides a considerable sum of money. The fact that he was farmer of a thirty tarefas (see T.N. below) sugar cane party in Gaspar Dias Ferreira's Engenho Novo sugar mill, besides owning a sugar cane party in Gaspar van der Ley's Algodoads sugar mill, shall

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<sup>52</sup> Matheus van den Broeck, art. cit. págs. 31 e segs.

T.N.: Tarefa is a measure of area equivalent to 4,356 square meters or 43.56 ares.

have contributed to his decision. To Gaspar van der Ley, as already said, it was promised a Christ's garb to one of his sons, although the older, João Maurício, at that time was only four years old, according to Borges da Fonseca's information. It was more important to him, however, that this way he would free himself of the great debts he had with the Company and with some persons, made with the acquisition of his sugar mills and slaves, which he would continue owning freely and without constraints after the Dutch expelling which seemed near to them. Johan Hick also, married to a Portuguese woman as Ley, was in a difficult situation, because his wife and children have been imprisoned by the insurgents; he was, in partnership with the Dutch Jacob Goes, owner of Santo André sugar mill, in the Muribeca parish. Interests connected with the marriage with women from the land or others of economical nature had the remaining minor officers, so that on September 3 the Nossa Senhora de Nazaré fortress surrendered, passing all the garrison to the insurgents service forming one third under Hooghstraten command.

Responsible for the fortress was, in first place, its commander, Dirk van Hooghstraten, whose troop was part of the regular army. For his attitude he was, with reason, considered by the Dutch responsible for the treachery. Gaspar van der Ley's case on the other side, whom the Dutch also pointed the finger at as traitor, was different because he was only colonel of a civilian auxiliary troop, and as he himself

would have said, "it had not been trusted to him any fortress, and he had not, therefore, any fortress to give".<sup>53</sup> The High Council, however, had appointed him, on August 27, substitute for lieutenant-colonel Haus who was the military chief of all Dutch forces in Brazil and decided to call him from Cabo to Recife, to take there charge of the post, the highest of the regular army.<sup>54</sup> In this case Ley would be the officer of highest rank present in the fortress on the surrender day, and, thus, the major responsible for the decision.

Everything leads to believe, however, that Ley had not known his appointment to the Dutch army supreme command, because of the siege to the fortress where he withdrew himself, and we know for sure that he has not gone to Recife to take charge of the post. All the Dutch documents unanimously state that Hooghstraten was the responsible for the fortress, and not Gaspar van der Ley, to whom refers only as colonel of the auxiliary troops, and not as commander of the Dutch regular troops. As chief of the civilian militias Ley can really be considered traitor, or collaborator on the Luso-Brazilians point of view; but not in the same way as Hooghstraten, whom started

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<sup>53</sup> Matheus van den Broeck, art. cit. pag. 32.

<sup>54</sup> **Dagelijkse Notule** of August 27, 1645, ARA, Oude WIC pkg. 70.

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serving actively the contrary army what has not happened with Ley.

From September 1645 on information about Gaspar van der Ley stopped almost completely. The High Council received his death information, for the first time, in December 1645, from an Indian, according to whom the Luso-Brazilians had killed him during the massacre of the Dutch, caused by captain Claes Claeszoon's desertion, of Nazaré fortress garrison, who took the chance of an ambushing to go with his commanded back to their fellow countrymen. In January of the next year the same information was given by a black, called Francisco, who stated that Ley had been slaughtered. As we have already said, the High Counselors have not believed in this information without confirmation.

After staying a short time in Algodoads sugar mill, Ley was, together with other Dutch, sent to Bahia, where arrived on December 11. From Matheus van den Broeck's words, who maintained regular contact with Ley, it can be concluded that this did not deserve the whole confidence of Bahia governor, Antônio Teles da Silva, who during some time was upset with Ley, for reasons we do not know. About Hooghstraten and Hick we know that they served the Luso-Brazilian army in important posts, but nothing is recorded about Gaspar van der Ley, either in relation to military activities, or about his private life. Excluded by the Dutch High Council in Recife of the general forgiveness it offered to the insurgents, in September

1646, he has had no other choice unless to stay in Bahia and wait patiently the fighting end, eight years later. His life in Bahia shall have been similar to those of many other Dutch in that city, the one of a modest bourgeois, maintained under the Portuguese government sponsorship as a reward for the services rendered to the Pernambucana Insurrection.

After the Pernambucana Insurrection, in 1654, we point out the Vanderleys' presence, almost always in military service, in the south of Pernambuco Captaincy, especially in Cabo parish. It is supposed that Gaspar van der Ley, according to the promises that were made in 1645, had gone back to his Algodoads sugar mill, where shall have passed in obscurity, judging by the documents silence, his life still remaining years.



## APENDDIX I

GASPAR VAN DER LEY'S AND JOHAN HICK'S  
LETTER TO THE HIGH COUNSELORS, DATED  
CABO VILLAGE ON JULY 8, 1645.<sup>55</sup>

"Honorable, Worthy, Wise, and very Prudent  
Lords,

After offering the due honor to Yours Excell., we inform you the following. We can observe daily that all residents of this region are rebelling against our State, and his colonel is Pedro Marinho. They order to pick up the young men in their houses, and those who do not pass to their side voluntarily they force them to do so, so that all young men 14 years older have already joined them. The enemy has his headquarter behind here, in Engenho Novo, near the coppersmith house, where their ones stay easy, they cook and smoke before our eyes, and we can not impede them of doing this, because we do have enough people. For this reason we humbly ask Yours Excell. to take actions in due time, because they attempt to block all the paths and cut our supply. Amador de Araújo took possession again of Ipojuca parish and occupied the

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<sup>55</sup> ARA, Oude WIC, pakg. 60.

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place, or pass called Penderama, where we have fought him in another opportunity, so that it is not possible to send letters to the lieutenant [Fleanming] in Ipojuca, as Yours Excell. can see in the one that goes attached, which we sent to the lieutenant, and Amador de Araújo sent it back, still close, from which Yours Excell. may conclude that, if this continues the way it is, the lieutenant, will be forced to give the convent. The enemy is becoming stronger each day here and is laying siege to us. We ask, thus, to Yours Excell. to take actions in due time and send troops to avoid the we are laid siege, and to put in the field as much people as possible and call the remaining Brazilians. In our point of view we shall abandon Porto Calvo, to gather more people this way, because this place we can recover any time. Being lord of the field we could obtain provisions for all the troops and, as we see it, it is better that we ourselves eat the cattle, than leave it to the enemy. Last night we sent a troop part of which Brazilians to Engenho Novo, to know what was going on there, but they had already retired to the coppersmith house, in a hill; before them there is swamp, where they established themselves in ambush. They have more than three hundred men and become stronger daily, so that we do not have enough people to expel them from there, what causes us great regret, because we would like to render good services to Yours Excell. but without troops we can do nothing.

We have just received the information that the enemy is in sir Paulus Vermeulen

sugar mill and that the captain Antônio de Crasto killed there the sows and carried away the sugar from the purge house. We ask, thus, to Yours Excell. to send us soon your answer and also good quality Dutch wick, which we are so badly needing as well as food. We refer this to Yours Excell. and we expect to be fulfilled soon. Yours Excell. please send also some weapons to the civilians, because there are people here without them. The said Amador de Araújo has hung in Ipojuca a man that refused to take arms, in a gallows he erased there. Santo Antônio do Cabo in July 8, 1645".

## APENDDIX II

GASPAR VAN DER LEY'S AND JOHAN HICK'S  
LETTER TO THE HIGH COUNSELORS, DATED  
CABO VILLAGE ON JULY 14, 1645.<sup>56</sup>

"Honorable, Worthy, Wise, and very Prudent  
Lords,

In the letters we sent to Yours Excell.  
by secretary Van Beveren and, afterwards,  
yet, by two Indians, we alerted Yours  
Excell., of the sad situation both here and  
in the Pontal. Unfortunately we have not  
received until today any answer, and much  
less aid. For this reason we would like to  
alert Yours Excell., once more, that  
yesterday the enemy departed with 700 men  
from Engenho Novo, and, according to what  
was said to us, headed to Igarapu, where  
they killed a sergeant of ours and six  
persons more and one *alferes* (see  
explanation in early T.N.) from the Indians  
we sent to help our ones that went out to  
bring cattle, and they would have killed  
also the others if they had not been alerted  
by Filipe Pais. The corpses were buried  
today by secretary Pedro Ribeiro Nunes. From  
there the enemy returned today to Engenho  
Novo with the major part of its force,

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<sup>56</sup> Ibid.

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leaving occupied Igaraçu only, and it not only had been in our territory, as said above, but sent us also a missive that goes attached, by means of the young man Willem van Dalen, from Engenho Velho, who has been imprisoned. Yours Excell. can see how they threat us. They started to lay siege to us by all sides and to cut all our supply paths, so that we can not go out anymore, because we have a small number of whites and the Indians do not resist.

Yours Excell. are informed, thus, that we here, with the troop we have, can do nothing and for this reason this parish, as well as the Pontal, are under great risk of falling in the enemy hands, if Yours Excell. do not supply us in a few days, especially with wick, which we have enough for two days maximum. Also the Pontal is poorly supplied, especially of provisions, and for this reason we sent there yesterday two oxen. We recommend another time to Yours Excell. that do not leave us in this situation, but give us as soon as possible the aid we expect. Honorable, Worthy, Wise, and very Prudent Lords, that God always guard and protect Yours Excell. Yours submissive servants, Gaspar van der Ley and Johan Hick, July 14, 1645, Santo Antônio do Cabo.

PS. Afternoon, 12 o'clock. We also do not have more salt, and even though Yours Excell. send us some to Pontal, we will be unable to receive it for the reasons said above, unless Yours Excell. send more people. We would like to know also if Yours Excell. agree that we call here the Ipojuca lieutenant, because Amador de Araújo and

Muribeca inhabitants have joined themselves  
to distress us."

## APENDDIX III

ANDRÉ VIDAL DE NEGREIROS'S LETTER TO  
DIEDERICK VAN HOOGHSTRATEN AND GASPAR  
VAN DER LEY, DATED CABO VILLAGE  
ON AUGUST 13, 1645.<sup>57</sup>

"I arrived this morning in this hamlet of Santo Antônio do Cabo wishing very much to hear Your Mercy's and captain Vanderley's news to whom I kiss the hands many times. I make it known to Yours Mercies that we were sent to this country by the governor sir Antônio Teles da Silva, to just calm down this province residents disturbances, as requested by the High Council sirs, of which Your Mercy has the testimony, and after arriving in Tamandaré we found very different information from what we expected, as was the fact of having killed in Rio Grande 37 residents by the Flemish sirs and dishonored damsels, smashing into pieces the graven image of Our Virgin Lady, a so great crime and other incredible extortions from so honored nation. And while I wrote this I received the information that in Goiana those sirs have sent the Tapuias (see T.N. below) to kill many people, supposedly that

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<sup>57</sup> Ibid. Also **Revista do Instituto Arqueológico Pernambucano**, nº 35, Recife, 1887, pages. 43-44.

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T.N.: Tapuias was an Indian people that inhabit Brazil northeast region during the Dutch dominion.

I do not have it for true, because then it had been necessary to make a great demonstration of succoring the poor residents, who even though had they been from the vilest nation in the world it would be an obligation to support them, since they wanted to avail themselves of us, moreover being they Christian men and vassals of Your Majesty that God guard him. And while the High Council sirs waited for us to make this peace, putting the Sir Governor as mediator, they have been brought from the woods where they have withdrew to escape from the rigor they were being smashed with, what give us a great motive to request to Yours Mercies from the part of God and Your Majesty and Your Highness that God guard him and the States Sirs that be not broken the established peace, that there be the promised quiet, that we for our part will make with the person that governs these residents that they calm down, listening first their reasons and I wish that everything is made in peace, either for Yours Mercies' part as for ours. This private message goes with captain João Gomes de Melo and the aide-de-camp Francisco Gomes, whom Yours Mercies please make me the mercy of dispatching soon, with all brevity. God guard Yours Mercies for many years. Today, August 13, 1645. André Vidal de Negreiros."



## APENDDIX IV

ANDRÉ VIDAL DE NEGREIROS'S LETTER TO  
DIEDERICK VAN HOOGHSTRATEN AND GASPAR  
VAN DER LEY, DATED CABO VILLAGE  
ON AUGUST 13, 1645.<sup>58</sup>

"Remembering the word Your Mercy have given to us in Bahia and the one given to governor João Fernandes Vieira and to captain João Gomes de Melo it encourages us more to the purpose we intend, that neither Your Mercy nor captain Vanderley should fail the diligence, with which are so obligated before us. We have arrived in this country with 3,000 well magnificent men and one of two fleets, while the other well provided does not arrive, which before Your Mercy's eyes has been cruising, with which we expect in the divine Majesty that these poor residents are freed, both they and ourselves wish so much seeing Yours Mercies in our company to love them and esteem them with the will that to Yours Mercies shall be present, remembering to Yours Mercies that should not be lost. And we promise you to fulfill and to guard what João Fernandes Vieira and João Gomes de Melo have offered and for my part much more, and to make all

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<sup>58</sup> Ibid. cit. Rev., pags. 44-45.

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that Yours Mercies wanted. And I protest fulfilling my word not failing in anything. And to the residents that there are we will give passports and all their properties, as we have done in Sirinhaém to the commended and the *escolteto* (see explanation in early T.N.) and to Carpintel, and all the others, that before our power, have surrendered. And thus I expect that Yours Mercies do the same and to establish the way it will be done we send captain João Gomes de Melo to only whom we entrust this deal, as Your Mercy has told me, to start the execution soon or to resolve what we decide and nevertheless God guard Yours Mercies many years. Santo Antônio do Cabo, August 13, 1645. Very friend and servant of Your Mercy, André Vidal de Negreiros".

## APENDDIX V

GASPAR VAN DER LEY'S, DIEDERICK VAN  
HOOGHSTRATEN'S AND JOHAN HICK'S ANSWER  
TO ANDRÉ VIDAL DE NEGREIROS'S LETTERS,  
WITHOUT PLACE AND DATE.<sup>59</sup>

"We received the one of Your Mercy from captain João Gomes de Melo's hands, from which we understand that Yours Mercies are arrived in Vila de Santo Antônio do Cabo and we celebrate much for understanding that sir Governor Antônio Teles da Silva wants to calm down the disturbances that have happened in these places and we expect that Your Mercy also do much in this with your presence. Concerning the grievance that Yours Mercies say and other insolences that would have been done by the Flemish sirs, it is a great grief for us, since in what concerns us in this part we have not caused any grievance to any boy, moreover to any man of integrity, so that Yours Mercies shall address these complaints to the Supreme Council Sirs and not to ourselves. Concerning what Yours Mercies write that we should deal with captain Gomes de Melo, and the aide-de-camp Francisco Gomes it is not in our hand, therefore we ask Yours Mercies not to send us many private messages of this

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<sup>59</sup> Ibid.

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and with this we kiss many times Yours  
Mercies' hands, of whom we are sure servants  
and friends. Gaspar van der Ley, Diederick  
van Hooghstraten and Johan Hick".

## APENDDIX VI

MARTIM SOARES MORENO'S AND  
ANDRÉ VIDAL DE NEGREIROS'S LETTER TO  
DIEDERICK VAN HOOGHSTRATEN AND GASPAR  
VAN DER LEY, DATED CABO VILLAGE  
ON AUGUST 22, 1645.<sup>60</sup>

"This darky arrives from Recife with the fact of Sir Henrique Haus governor of arms. Yours Mercies see whether want something for the said sir, and when you want to send the same darky of yours, to whom he himself entrusted, who will be kept imprisoned with the other sirs the lieutenant João Blaer, a sergeant-mor and a captain-mor from the Indians, to which persons, when Yours Mercies want something, you can avail yourselves of this same occasion. God guard Yours Mercies. Nazaré August 22, 1645. André Vidal de Negreiros. Martim Soares Moreno".

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<sup>60</sup> Ibid. Rev. cit., pag. 45.

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### DIVISÃO DE HISTÓRIA

#### MONOGRAFIAS:

1. Tarcizo Rêgo Quirino, Os Habitantes do Brasil no fim do século XVI
2. J. de Souza Leão, A "Mauritânia" ao tempo de Nassau
3. José Antônio Gonsalves de Mello, Três Roteiros de Penetração do Território Pernambucano (1738 e 1802).
4. Cleonir Xavier de Albuquerque, A Remuneração de Serviços da Guerra Holandesa.
5. Francisco José Moonen, Gaspar Van der Ley no Brasil.

#### DOCUMENTOS PARA A HISTÓRIA NO NORDESTE

1. Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil, 2ª edição integral segundo o apógrafo de Leiden, aumentada
2. Cartas de Duarte Coelho a El-Rei, reprodução facsimilar com leitura paleográfica e versão moderna, anotada