

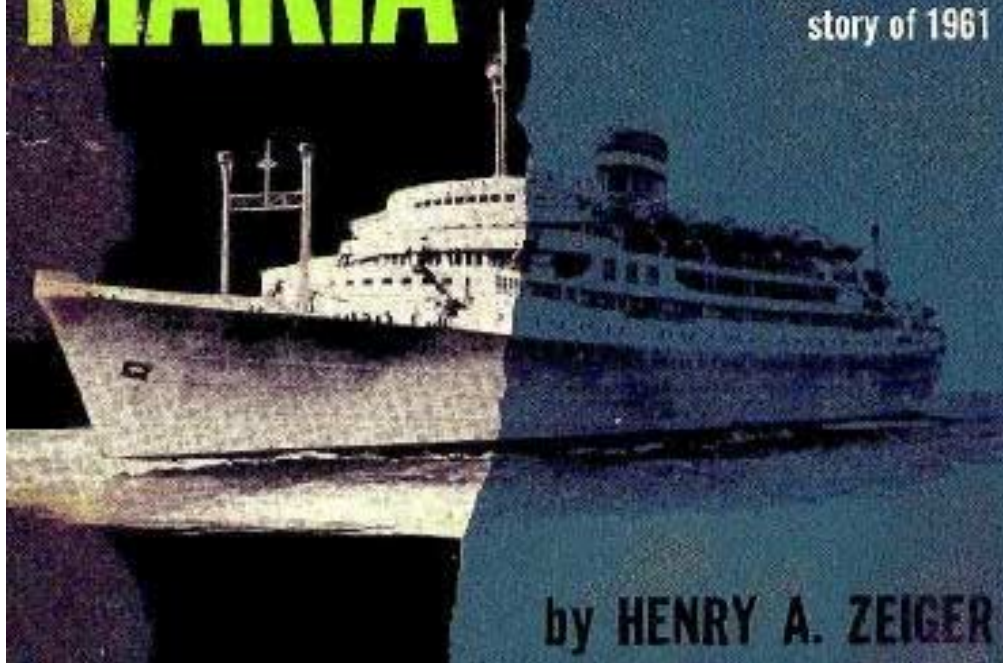
THE SEIZING OF THE SANTA MARIA

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The fully-documented
inside story—
a Portuguese
cruise ship captured
on the high seas
by a handful of men—
the most incredible
story of 1961



by HENRY A. ZEIGER

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The Chase

The first indication the world had that anything was wrong on the *Santa Maria* came in a message to H. O. Shaw, president of Shaw Brothers, Limited, the ship's agents in Miami, saying that the *Santa Maria* was having "engine difficulty" and would therefore be unable to reach Miami on schedule. The message came at 5 P.M, January 23, 1961.

It caused no particular alarm. Ships do experience "engine difficulty" at regular intervals. There were no storms in the Caribbean; there was no reason for Shaw Brothers to worry about the safety of their ship.

But slightly later the same day, the *Santa Maria* hove to off the island of St. Lucia and lowered a boat. In the boat were several of the crew who had been wounded when Galvao had taken over the ship, plus other members of the crew whom he apparently did not care to have along on his voyage. They rowed their lifeboat laboriously into the harbor of Castries while the *Santa Maria* sailed off at full speed.

A small crowd gathered as the lifeboat pulled into shore. They saw the wounded men lying in the bottom of the boat. One of the officers leaped ashore and started to jabber in Portuguese; no one understood, Santa Lucia being an English possession. Others of the crew shouted "Pirates! We are abandoned by pirates." The crowd wondered whether this were not part of some elaborate practical joke, perhaps some kind of stunt arranged by the cruise director to amuse the jaded passengers. The crew continued to yell excitedly, the *Santa Maria* soon became a speck on the horizon, and gradually: the crowd on the dock began to understand what these excited Portuguese were hollering about. But they still could hardly believe their ears.

The *Santa Maria*, when she left St. Lucia, had 1568 tons of oil on board, enough to take her 5000 miles in any direction. She had food sufficient for 20 days. She could go anywhere in the Western Hemisphere in that time, and no one, except perhaps General Delgado and Henrique Galvao, was sure of her ultimate destination.

Soon radios around the world were crackling with the incredible message—"piracy on the high seas." In the area where Blackbeard and Long Ben had roamed, another pirate(?) had seized

another ship. What his purposes were nobody knew.

A “TTTT” radio message—code for urgent—went out from Barbados to all ships in the area to watch for the *Santa Maria* and report on her whereabouts if sighted.

From St. Lucia itself, the HMS *Rothsay*, a frigate, designed for anti-submarine duty, making 40 knots, went out on the trail of the *Santa Maria* with one of the Portuguese crewmen on board.

The U.S. destroyers *Wilson* and *Damato* left from Puerto Rico in search of the missing vessel. The Navy said: “We’re sending two aircraft to search out the ship and drop flares. We’re sending two destroyers from Puerto Rico to intercept the vessel under ship.”

The word was piracy in the early days of the search. The Portuguese Government labeled Galvao’s action “a preposterous crime” and asked help from all her NATO allies under the terms of international law regarding piracy. The *Compania Colonial De Navagacao* of Lisbon, ‘which owned the *Santa Maria* and her sister ship the *Vera Cruz*, said the seizure was “pure piracy.” For the moment, the American and English governments accepted this version of the incident.

But already Galvao was acting to force world opinion to recognize his action as political in nature, part of an insurrection against the government of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. On January 24, he radioed a message from “the occupation forces of the ship *Santa Maria* to all the newspapers of the free world.” He was speaking, he said, in the name of “the international junta of liberals presided over by General Humberto Delgado, president-elect of the Portuguese Republic, fraudulently deprived of his rights by the Salazar government.”

In addition, Galvao got in touch with Delgado, radioing: “I rush to take over the forces under my command as the first step in liberating the national territory.”

Galvao also sought to assure the world that the passengers were safe. “All is normal on board,” he said. “We will inform the world in due time.”

Meanwhile the world speculated as to what Galvao would do now that he had a ship. Some, remembering his experience in Africa, thought that he would head in that direction. Others thought that he would seek refuge in Brazil. There were reports that the *Santa Maria* was headed for Cuba where Galvao was reportedly going to raise an army and then sail for Portugal.

Since Brazil has a large Portuguese colony, and since General Delgado resided there, many were wondering what the reaction of the Brazilian government to Galvao’s action would be. At first it was decidedly hostile. Navy Minister Jorge Matoso Maia said that the men who seized the *Santa Maria* would be interned and the ship handed back to Portugal if they put in at a Brazilian port. Spokesmen for the Foreign Ministry said that it was doubtful that political asylum could be granted since Galvao and his men were accused of murder, piracy and theft. But this was not the last word from Brazil. A new president, Janio Quadros was to be inaugurated in less than a week and many thought this would make a decisive difference in Brazil’s attitude toward the Portuguese “rebels.”

The next day, Tuesday, January 24, the Caribbean was alive with boats and planes, ceaselessly criss-crossing these tropical sea lanes, all searching for the *Santa Maria*. The search was concentrated in the Lesser Antilles, above and below St. Lucia along the Windward Islands. The last anyone had seen of the *Santa Maria* had been over 24 hours ago in the strait between St. Lucia and Martinique.

Using Barbados as a base the Navy sent out four Hurricane Hunters, three P2V Neptunes and two Albatross amphibians on countless sorties. Venezuelan planes joined in the search, and Brazil offered her assistance in locating the missing ship. British ships and planes were already out in force.

As top-ranking Naval officers paced the floor, these planes and ships performed an established search pattern, which the Navy knew would eventually locate the *Santa Maria*. The question was when? Reports had come from St. Lucia that the crew members had heard Galvao threaten to scuttle the ship if he were



Assigned to Crew 26, we left Rosy Rhodes for Trinidad, flew a search mission and landed in Belem, Brazil. The next day, we found the ship, circled it for a period of time then proceeded to Recife; where we were met by an armed guard who seized and held our aircraft until the Santa Maria incident was over.

The photo was taken by one of the squadron’s Photographers and I was fortunate to receive it. I have some other pictures somewhere in my archives and hope to find them and send you some—God willing, after many moves and 30 plus years.

Photo and comments by former AGM Doug Bender.

intercepted. The lives of the 600 passengers aboard might well be in danger at that very moment. Time after time, planes located blips on their radar screens which corresponded to those which a ship the size of the *Santa Maria* might make, but then they went to check them out they found that they had been caused by spume from the high seas running that day; all blips were checked out with negative results. The ships were also hampered by the high seas and low visibility. By nightfall there was still, no sign of the *Santa Maria*.

She was, however, behaving strangely for a ship which sought to avoid detection. Earlier in the day she had opened communication with the RCA radio station at Chatham, Mass. Galvao sent out two long messages, one to General Delgado and another to the world press, stating his purpose in seizing the *Santa Maria*. If the Navy had known the *Santa Maria* was on the air, it would have been a relatively simple matter to establish her position by means of a triangulation "fix" or her radio. But the Navy had missed these first messages; now they were notified by the newspapers of what had taken place and set radio operators listening on the correct wave length for the next message from the *Santa Maria*.

Galvao's messages (in telegraphese) deserve to be quoted here, since they are the first links in a chain of events which altered the status of his ship in the eyes of the U.S. and other governments around the world.

He radioed Delgado:

"Mission integrally accomplished after briefest combat, occupation. All our companions acted serene bravery worthy of praise. I confirm the communication and at same time I give it to free world press that from all world asks information.

"As it was and will be, Salazar's newspaper insult and calumny. Crew accepted consumed fact and maintains itself disciplined, majority passengers enthusiastically with us.

"Aboard there absolute tranquility, safety in perfectly normal life. All are well, asking their health be communicated families. I beg obtain, as rightful, recognition of insurrectional act and consequently state of belligerence, through hearing of specialists international law. We follow our secret destiny and we hail in Your Excellency, Chief of State, elected by people. I shall communicate whenever possible without prejudice of secrecy of destination and operational plans. In no event shall we surrender.

"I beg to make known to our families and Portuguese people, whom your Excellency represents, that we are well and we salute you. Everything established according to powers conferred me by Your Excellency and National Independent Liberation Junta as the political, military, administrative organ of National Independence Movement. We shall land passengers in first neutral port that assures' us this possibility without internment, of ship.

"Our desire is ever so much greater since, all are showing themselves in sympathy and understanding, including foreigners.

We salute people, press, President-elect Brazil, very sensitive their support of our cause. For Motherland, for Liberty.

HENRIQUE GALVAO"

To the world press, Galvao sent the following message:

"First official communique to all democratic newspapers of the free world from the command of the forces occupying the S.S. Santa Maria in the name of the National Independent Junta of Liberation led by General Humberto Delgado, legally elected President of the Portuguese Republic, who has been fraudulently deprived of his rights by the Salazar Administration:

"After a brief combat at about 1:45 A.M, I captured and occupied the S.S. Santa Maria with the forces under my command, the first free group from the national territory. The crew accepted the act as a political one in accordance with international maritime law, and the majority of the passengers welcomed the action enthusiastically. There is complete calm and safety on board, services are being furnished as normally as on an ordinary voyage. Best relations with the occupying forces. I give you this on my word of honor. Passengers and crew request their families be informed that they are well, and I add that they are well and free. We cannot reveal our destination without open hostilities against the tyrannical government of Salazar. We shall try to reach it. (Our) political objectives purely democratic, therefore purely anti-totalitarian, against all forms of tyrannical governments (and) peoples.

"We ask not only the support of all truly free governments and peoples but also political recognition of this party liberated from the national territory, led by General Delgado whom the Portuguese people elected chief in a legal election.

"In executing our action, we did not have the slightest political or material aid from any foreign government, only the sacrifice and patriotic devotion of the occupying forces under my command and the base personnel. None of us and none of those who came over to our side of their own free will is willing to surrender.

"We shall put the passengers ashore in complete safety and as quickly as possible at the first neutral port that assures non-internment of the ship.

"We salute the Portuguese people and other oppressed people of the Peninsula with many thanks for their behavior and understanding of the circumstances, and invite them to join the democratic uprising which will follow us. We salute the Brazilian people and press for their constant support of our cause. The occupying forces are well and ask the press of the world to greet their families in their names.

HENRIQUE GALVAO"

Cutting through the rhetoric, we can see that Galvao was anxious to establish three crucial points in these messages: (1) that what happened on board the *Santa Maria* was part of an insurrection—not an act of piracy-, (2) that the passengers were well and being treated courteously; (3) that he desired the good will of the countries of the world, but particularly that of *Brazil* and her *new President, Janio Quadros*.

But the fact that Galvao had sent out these extended messages, knowing—as he must have—that the Navy could determine his position by getting a fix on the ship's radio, showed that he was more anxious to publicize himself and his purposes than he was to use the *Santa Maria* for a direct military operation, at least for the time being. For even if the U.S. and Britain did not interfere, Galvao knew that even the limited Portuguese Navy was capable of sinking the unarmed *Santa Maria* if it were used against Portuguese territory. His only hope, if this was what he was trying to accomplish, would be to sneak by the Portuguese ships, and in order to do this he surely would have maintained radio silence.

The question of whether or not Galvao could be treated as a pirate was crucial. If were a pirate then it was the plain duty of all ships at sea to stop him and return the *Santa Maria* to her rightful owners. At first it seemed that this was the case. Galvao was in possession of a ship that did not belong to him—therefore, he must be a pirate. But it was not quite that simple.

According to Hackworth's "Digest of International Law": "Piracy consists in sailing the seas for private ends without authorization from the government or any state with the object of committing depredations upon property or acts of violence against persons."

A pirate, according to Hackworth, is "a sea robber, pillaging by force of arms, stealing or destroying."

"Oppenheim's International Law," a standard reference work in the field, says that piracy can be the action of one or more persons conspiring to seize a ship for plunder or other purposes.

The question then, was whether Galvao had taken the *Santa Maria* "for private ends," to pillage, destroy and rob, or whether this was part of a revolt against the Salazar regime. If it were, then Galvao was very possibly not a pirate and using the U.S. or British Navies to recapture the *Santa Maria* might represent interference in Portuguese internal affairs.

To the Salazar regime, at least, it was all perfectly clear. A spokesman in Lisbon declared: "The men who attacked the *Santa Maria* are not politicians or ideologists. They are just outlaws."

The regime doubted, the spokesman continued, whether the opposition to Salazar in Portugal had had anything to do with "the wicked act committed by this gang of pirates." The opposition, he stressed, "must not in any way be mistaken for these adventurers.

"The conscience of the civilized world cannot fail to reproach with indignation this return to the barbarian practices that made the Caribbean Sea an area of dishonor which took centuries to clean up," he concluded.

Other sources in Lisbon played variations on this theme. The pro-Government newspaper *Diario de Manha* editorialized: "The crime has been committed against the moral and judicial rules of the civilized world and cannot be left unpunished."

Galvao's action, it said, "shows the capability of criminals who publish pamphlets showing Communist intentions and arms at the disintegration of the people and lands of Portugal."

Other Portuguese officials described Galvao's action as the "Act of a madman." If the U.S. captured Galvao, they said, "They can gladly try him for piracy. We don't want him back here."

The United States Government was at first disposed to accept the official Portuguese view of the matter. Lincoln White, a spokesman for the State Department, told the press: "The Government of Portugal has asked certain countries, including the United States, to provide assistance in locating and intercepting the *Santa Maria*. The United States is acceding to this request. As a United States

Navy spokesman stated last night, destroyers and airplanes have been dispatched 'to intercept the vessel under the well-defined terms of international law governing piracy and insurrection aboard ship'."

When asked if Galvao's men might be granted asylum as political exiles if the *Santa Maria* were recovered, Mr. White replied, "That seems a little far-fetched."

On the same day a Naval spokesman at the Pentagon reiterated: "The Navy will take such measures as are necessary and appropriate to reinstate the control of the ship by constituted Portuguese authorities."

The British Government was also disposed to accept the Salazar regime's explanation of the incident aboard the *Santa Maria*. In a lively debate in the House of Commons, C. I. Orr-Ewing, Civil Lord of the Admiralty, speaking for the government said that the Admiralty would honor Portugal's request and restore "the vessel and her cargo to her rightful owners," though at the same time admitting that the facts concerning the seizure of the ship were "not clear."

"I am advised that the Governments are fully entitled, in accordance with International Law, to take this action and meet this request," he declared.

When questioned by the opposition to the political aspects of the case he replied that it was not for the Government to judge "the politics of the government we are trying to assist." He went on to cite "the normal tradition of the Royal Navy, that when asked, for assistance you should provide assistance. We' have done exactly that.

General Delgado saw the danger to Galvao if he were' treated as a pirate by the U.S. and British governments. He sent telegrams to, the United States Ambassador, John Moors Cabot, and the British Ambassador, Sir Geoffrey Wallinger, in Rio, saying: "I request you to inform immediately your Government that the *Santa Maria* case does not represent mutiny or piracy but appropriation of Portuguese transport by Portuguese for Portuguese political objectives. I beg insistently that your government not interfere in the subject."

General Delgado acknowledged to the press that he knew of the plans to take over the *Santa Maria* and added, "There are clandestine movements in all Portuguese territories."

He said that he had delegated to Galvao the power to actually carry out the coup.

He also denied that the *Santa Maria* might be heading for Cuba. 'We did not take the ship only to be exiled again," he said. "Why Cuba? There is no reason for Cuba."

And in London a group calling itself Portuguese Democrats in Britain appealed to the English and American governments not to interfere. They issued a statement saying, "The seizure of the *Santa Maria* is the latest protest against a Fascist regime in Portugal under which no free dissent has been possible for thirty-five years."

While the diplomats dickered about the exact status of the *Santa Maria* under international law, a stream of messages continued to pour from the ship's radio; most of them were directed to the families of the passengers, assuring them that all was well.

"We're safe-, don't worry," wired Mr. and Mrs. Delbert Smith, Jr.

"Safe. Well." radioed Mr. Mrs. Henry Bates.

"We are OK," said Prof. And Mrs. John Bietz.

"Everything is all right," Mrs. Joan Densmore Harberson, sent to her father.

"Destination unknown. Love. Mother," was the message from Mrs. Caroline Boyce to her son

Once again it seemed Galvao was placing public opinion ahead of the security of the *Santa Maria*. He was more anxious to reassure the world that he and his men were "honorab1e revolutionists who intended no harm to neutral parties than he was to escape detection.

The Navy this time was on the alert. Late on the afternoon of January 25, they announced from San Juan, Puerto Rico that they had obtained a "fix" on the *Santa Maria*'s position about 400 miles east of the island of Guadalupe in the Caribbean.

The "fix" was confirmed when the captain of the Danish freighter *Viveke Gulwa* radioed that he had sighted a ship having the "characteristics" of the *Santa Maria* at 12 degrees 18 minutes north latitude and 52 degrees 12 minutes west longitude, making about 19 knots, on an approximate course of 105 degrees true.

The Navy was relieved to say the least. All through the day the officials in charge of the search had been worried. They had only two destroyers and 14 planes to cover an immense body of water. "We can't open the doors to Soviet surveillance of our costal areas just to join in the chase of the *Santa Maria*", a spokesman said.

Each Navy search pilot had had to cover almost 600 miles of search area. In that range they could expect to find 75 to 100 ships the size of the *Santa Maria*, and countless smaller vessels.

And to obtain a reliable radio "fix" it is necessary to hear a steady stream of messages.

The conclusion is inescapable that if Captain Galvao had really wished to avoid any kind of

detection, he would have had a better than fair chance if he had maintained radio silence and changed his course.

But now the Navy was fairly certain that it had caught up with Galvao's *Santa Maria*. It sent the nearest search plane, Lieutenant Daniel L. Krauss' Neptune P2V, winging at its top speed of 150 knots to the area where the *Santa Maria* was believed to be cruising.

It was raining and it had almost turned dark when Lieutenant Krauss spotted a ship on the horizon. Slowly he took the big patrol plane down to 800-1000 feet and circled over the ship which was about 900 miles east of Trinidad and traveling at about 15 knots. He saw a crowd of about fifty passengers at the ship's stern and they waved at him hopefully. He looked down and saw the name *Santa Maria* painted on the ship's bow. He had found the needle in the haystack.

Lieutenant Krauss then flashed a blinker signal at the ship and asked how he could make contact with the ship's radio. The ship blinked back that the radio was presently on 2182 kilocycles.

After circling the liner for about 90 minutes Krauss made voice contact with the *Santa Maria*. Krauss says he had the impression that Captain Galvao was standing by the radio operator all this time, for he continually heard a conversation in poor English being conducted in the background.

First Krauss asked whether everything was all right on the ship. The *Santa Maria*'s radio operator assured him that everything was.

Then Krauss said that he had been instructed by his superiors to ask the ship to turn back to the nearest United States port.

The reply was short and defiant. "I will not go back," Galvao radioed. "My crew is not a pirate crew."

Krauss then asked where the *Santa Maria* was heading. The reply was definite (but as later events proved, somewhat misleading): "Destination Angola."

Krauss continued to circle the *Santa Maria* while he asked for information concerning the passengers. He then radioed his base at San Juan: "All well aboard. Destination Angola. Captain Galvao refused return San Juan. Will accept conference on board *Santa Maria* with U.S. or any authorities other than Portuguese or Spanish. Wishes to discharge passengers unharmed earliest."

Krauss was requested to trail the *Santa Maria* until he could be relieved by another patrol plane. The Navy, having caught up with the wandering liner was taking no chances on letting her out of the bag: It set up a relay relief system of seven planes to keep the *Santa Maria* under constant surveillance.

Galvao sent further assurances of the passengers' welfare in a cable to the *New York Times* which read:

"Passengers are perfectly well physically and morally, and perfectly understand the sacrifices which we have had to ask them to undergo for the sake of freedom of my country. Their relations with the occupying forces are most cordial. Life aboard ship is perfectly normal.

"They will soon give unsolicited testimony of the attentive and humane treatment they have received."

General Delgado was somewhat more blunt when asked about the passengers. "War is war," he said, "and this is war on Portuguese territory. It is truly Portuguese business."

After locating the *Santa Maria* the Navy decided to make some kind of ship-to-ship contact and ordered the destroyers *Gearing* and *Vogelgesang*, which had been making a good-will tour of West African ports, and the atomic submarine *Sea Wolf* to trail her.

But the Navy's intentions with regard to Galvao were no longer quite what they had been the day before. Neither the State Department nor the Navy was entirely convinced that Galvao's action was piracy.

Lincoln White, the State Department spokesman, issued a new statement which marked a decided change in the American position:

"The facts concerning the seizure of the Santa Maria are not entirely clear. Information available to the department is conflicting and not sufficiently detailed to form a basis of firm opinion as to whether the crime of piracy under international law has been committed.

"There are grounds for suspicion of piracy. This, together with the request of the Portuguese Government for assistance, are considered to afford ample basis for the action now being taken by United States naval authorities to ascertain the whereabouts of this vessel and to take appropriate investigation."

In other words, the United States government was no longer willing to undertake to retrieve the

ship by force of arms from Captain Galvao and hand it back to the Portuguese government. They were, naturally, concerned about the 36 Americans aboard, and they did not want to offend, the Salazar regime, so they were quite willing to find the *Santa Maria* and keep an eye on her. But further than that they were unwilling to go. There was, no longer any talk at either the State Department or the Pentagon at firing a shot across the *Santa Maria's* bow and: sending out a boarding party, and there was not to be any until the affair had been concluded.

At the same time the British Government announced that it had no further interest in the case. The frigate, *HMS Rothesay*, the first ship to join in the chase had returned to Barbados and would not participate in tracking the *Santa Maria*.

Since Galvao in his first conversations with Lieutenant Krauss had mentioned that he was eager to discharge his passengers at a neutral port, many speculated that he might well have Brazil in mind. Incoming President Quadros was reportedly friendly to Galvao and Delgado. But the attitude of outgoing President Kubitschek's administration was not quite so positive. The situation was anything but clear.

The Brazilian government announced that, "all details concerning the Portuguese ship *Santa Maria* are the object of studies by political and juridical services of the Foreign Ministry." Though this was not a very definite statement, it was significant that it avoided stating definitely that the ship would be confiscated and returned to the Portuguese if it landed.

Brazilian public opinion seemed to favor Galvao. An editorial in *O Estado de Sao Paulo* commented: "We do not have the least doubt that Latin American public opinion condemns this gesture of collaboration by two democracies (Britain and the United States) with one of the most disreputable and anachronistic dictatorships in the world."

And Alvaro Lins, who as Ambassador to Portugal had given Delgado sanctuary in Lisbon when he needed it, stated: "I disagree with those who call Galvao's act piracy. It is a legitimate act of revolution. The movement, led by Captain Galvao is an act of patriotism by a real hero."

With the possibility of a landing, in Brazil firmly in mind, the U.S. Navy set out to persuade Galvao to come into port 'and let the passengers out of a potentially dangerous situation. They had been alarmed by two messages, one from Galvao, one from the passengers, which stated that while everything was "all right," food' and water were being rationed and that medical services were "adequate." (The mere mention of medical services prompted speculation that some of the passengers had been hurt in the struggle for control of the ship on Monday.)

But even more troublesome was Galvao's attitude. After thinking things over for a few hours he decided that he had been insulted by the Navy's earlier request that he return to San Juan and, in a message to the National Broadcasting Company, he dismissed the Navy's suggestion as "an impertinence and an offense."

"We are Portuguese politicians in a Portuguese ship, fighting for the liberty of our homeland. We are not and will not be confused with pirates," he explained.

And in the same defiant mood he had radioed to Brazil, "We consider the ship the first liberated piece of Portuguese territory. We will never surrender or stop in face of all the fleets of the world."

The Navy in its next messages tried to correct the impression that it had been "ordering" Galvao to do anything. The top brass had no desire to pussyfoot but it realized that as long as Galvao controlled the ship, he also controlled the passengers amongst whom were U.S. citizens. While the Navy could easily gun down the *Santa Maria*, it could not do so without endangering the lives of the very people it was most concerned 'about protecting.

Admiral Robert Lee Dennison, commander of the Atlantic Fleet, sent the following to Galvao: "Request you proceed any port northern South America you choose to discharge passengers. Please advise port selected and time of arrival. Will attempt to arrange conference aboard *Santa Maria* as you request."

A second message, from Rear Admiral Allen Smith, Commander of the Caribbean Sea Frontier, addressed personally to Captain Galvao, read: "I note you intend to' land passengers in a neutral country as soon as possible. I am concerned about safety of passengers and am anxious to arrange their safe debarkation soonest. What are your plans for landing passengers."

But even as these messages went out a plea from the American passengers on board the *Santa Maria* increased the Navy's alarm. Their message read: "The majority of American citizens aboard request rendezvous U.S. Fleet. Captain Galvao says he is receptive to negotiate for disembarkation at sea of passengers onto U. S. vessels."

The Navy was genuinely concerned. They knew that three Portuguese warships were out in the Atlantic, and presumably they were hunting for the *Santa Maria*. One of them, the *Pedro Escobar*, was a fast frigate which just might catch the *Santa Maria* and whose three-inch guns were more than capable of blowing her out of the water. The message from the American passengers showed that

they too were becoming more worried about conditions aboard the *Santa Maria*. It was reasonable for them to suppose that Captain Galvao would not hesitate to use the passengers as a shield between his men and hostile ships, but whether or not Salazar's men-of-war would fire was something no one could predict.

But Galvao was now in a conciliatory mood. He radioed the Navy:

'We accept protection escort American Navy against action of Portuguese warships until landing port.

"Will land passengers near South American or West African port giving preference Africa with all guarantees as political insurgents that is, without losing our ship or action against crew or forces under dreadful dictatorship with the right to carry on our political defense Portuguese people freedom without further protection after landing passengers.

"Meeting aboard ship or landing port. We are very interested to show the work our respect for life nor forgetting your rights to protect American citizens. We beg your early reply: We have permitted all crew and passengers to have cables sent to families but we are having difficulties sending messages to you because radio officers are overworked. For freedom and-democracy best wishes."

Now this is not exactly what the Navy had asked for or promised. There had been no mention in either of the Admiral's messages of "protecting" Galvao's ship from the Portuguese Navy. Nevertheless, the Pentagon was not prepared to quibble.

Though the text of their reply to Galvao was kept secret at Galvao's request, a spokesman said that Admiral Dennison had radioed to the *Santa Maria* that "he would take no action to interfere with the *Santa Maria's* entering and departing a port or lying off a port for the purpose of discharging passengers."

He also repeated that the Navy was eager to meet Captain Galvao on the *Santa Maria* to negotiate about a port for the landings.

The Admiral again expressed his concern for the welfare of the passengers and told Galvao that in his opinion "their well-being requires that they be disembarked as soon as possible."

Admiral Dennison said that the Navy's decision not to take hostile action against the *Santa Maria* had been prompted by its responsibility to protect the lives and property of the U.S. citizens aboard as well as a "humanitarian concern for all the passengers."

While the Admiral communicated with Galvao, the Navy took steps to see that he did not change his mind. The destroyers *Wilson* and *Damato* continued their pursuit, and now they were passed by the atomic submarine *Sea Wolf* which became the closest of the shadowing vessels some 800 miles away. And from the other side of the Atlantic the Gearing and Vogelgesang raced across the ocean to intercept the *Santa Maria*.

Then came word from the Navy planes which had been circling the *Santa Maria* constantly since Lieutenant Krauss had first sighted her; it was what the Navy had been longing to hear. The *Santa Maria* had changed 'course. She was now headed toward Brazil.

In Brazil, General Delgado took steps to bolster Galvao's position under international law. Stepping into a room filled with wildly cheering Portuguese exiles who had come to volunteer their services in the fight against the Salazar regime, he named Captain Galvao as "delegate plenipotentiary" for revolutionary action against the Portuguese regime, and ordered him to set up "an Independent Junta of Liberation" aboard the *Santa Maria*.

Then General Delgado went on to make a plea to all governments "to give, directly or indirectly, major help, moral and material, with the objective of liberating the Portuguese nation from slavery imposed by a totalitarian government."

He ordered Captain Galvao to enlist the aid of all possible "organs" in Portugal or the Portuguese colonies in order to prepare for "operations of liberation, occupation administration and public order."

Delgado concluded by remarking that the rallying of Portuguese to the rebel cause must be done within the spirit of the national independence movement; he was referring to the constant charges made by the Salazar regime that Galvao's group were Castro and Communist inspired. Delgado wished to make it clear that this was a Portuguese movement.

On Saturday, January 28, Navy Commander William Webster, in one of the Neptunes circling the *Santa Maria*, held a dramatic plane-to-ship conversation with Galvao. Galvao repeated that he was willing to negotiate with the United States about landing the passengers and for the first time sounded a new and promising note. He was willing, he said, if the proper guarantees were made, to bring the *Santa Maria* into "any selected Brazilian port."

Galvao also, said 'that be would, in the' meantime, circle 'the equator at, a point of 35 degrees west

longitude, while negotiations were being completed.

When Commander Webster returned to Recife, Brazil (where the Navy's spotting planes were now based) with this offer, the Pentagon responded immediately. Admiral Smith was ordered to fly, from naval headquarters at San Juan to Belem, Brazil, "to be available to meet the *Santa Maria* if the ship decides to confer with the Navy."

Everything now depended on -Brazil's attitude toward Galvao's insurrection. And everything was completed by the fact that the inauguration of Brazil's recently elected President Quadros was still three days in the future. Quadros was reported to be considerably more friendly toward Galvao and Delgado than his predecessor, President Kubitschek. On the other hand, Brazil was known to have a treaty of alliance with Portugal; no matter what President Quadros' personal feelings were, this treaty and Brazilian law would limit his actions.

Galvao was demanding that his ship be permitted to land its passengers, refuel and then head out to sea again. If Brazil would not guarantee that he could do this, he could easily change his course again and head for Africa. There he was virtually certain of a friendly reception at the hands of one of the new African nations who were fundamentally opposed to Salazar because of his colonial policies. As Admiral Smith started winging his way south everything was far from settled. Galvao had said that he would cooperate with the Navy provided certain conditions were met. But because of the nature of these conditions, we could not provide Galvao with the necessary guarantees. Only Brazil could do that, and Brazil's attitude was as yet not determined.

Admiral Smith found a somewhat confused situation when he arrived in Brazil. Though Ambassador John Moore Cabot had been negotiating with a spokesman for the Brazilian Foreign Ministry about making the guarantees which Captain Galvao required, there had as yet been no results. The State Department said, "Since yesterday noon we have been discussing with the Brazilian Government the overriding humanitarian considerations, namely the protection of passengers on board the ship, as contrasted with political considerations." Brazil had not agreed to anything.

There was talk now of bypassing both Belem and Recife and trying to take the *Santa Maria* into Fernando de Noronha, an island off the coast of Brazil where the United States maintained a guided missile tracking station. The island had adequate harbor facilities for receiving freighters and destroyers and it was thought that in a pinch it might be able to handle the *Santa Maria*.

But a more urgent problem confronted Admiral Smith. Brazil denied the Navy the use of the airfields at Belem, and Recife from which to track the *Santa Maria*. Brazil was apparently annoyed because traffic in and out of Brazil had not been properly cleared with Brazilian officials. This meant that the Navy would no longer be able to maintain visual contact with the *Santa Maria*, although by means of regular radio "fixes" they still had a fairly accurate idea of her location. Further, it meant that Brazil was displeased because she had so far been ignored in the negotiations between Galvao and the United States, and was only being brought in at a fairly late stage. After all, the Brazilian official reasoned, neither Galvao nor the United States could do anything without her permission. This attitude created new problems in the days ahead, for by this time the Navy was willing to agree to any proposal of Galvao's that would take the passengers off the ship.

In these negotiations, Galvao was indicating a preference for transfer of the passengers at sea, but the Navy replied that this would be highly dangerous if not downright impossible. The Navy requested that Galvao proceed to Belem where Admiral Smith had set up temporary headquarters. Galvao said that he preferred to land at Recife.

But these were minor differences, and aside from refusing to attempt a transfer of the passengers at sea, the Navy realized that it was now pretty much in Galvao's hands for the moment.

On Monday conditions had improved. Brazil had again agreed to let the Navy use its bases at Belem and Recife. When the flights were resumed Commander Webster found the *Santa Maria* only 45 miles off Recife and radioed the ship: "Admiral Smith will board the destroyer Gearing at daylight tomorrow to proceed to rendezvous area. Disembarkation of passengers to take place tomorrow if possible."

Galvao was in an agreeable mood. He apologized for kidnapping the passengers but asserted: "All passengers have had their rights respected and to the present moment there has been no trouble between them and us."

He also permitted several of the passengers to speak to reporters on the plane and their voices were the first reliable indication that everything was all right aboard the *Santa Maria*.

Howard Weisenberger said: "Our morale is good, primarily because of frequent appearance of American naval aircraft."

Another passenger, Martin A. Yunker of Warren, Conn. confirmed that the passengers were treated "with respect and courtesy," but expressed concern that he and his fellow passengers would

be caught in "a conflict" since they had heard that the Portuguese Navy was hunting for the *Santa Maria*.

That day there was more good news. Though the Kubitschek regime had now rejected a United States proposal that they be permitted to dock without being seized, incoming President Quadros told a reporter for the Rio paper, *Diario de Noticias*, that Captain Galvao was "an old friend" and that he would give him "all guarantees."

Further, Governor Lacerda of Guanabara State, a close associate of Quadros' told Galvao: "President Janio (Quadros) has declared to the press that he will assure disembarkation of passengers, political asylum for you and your companions, as well as to maintain you in command of the *Santa Maria*." Lacerda added that this was "not official but it was really the thought of the new President."

All this cheered Galvao and he radioed: "There is no doubt that with the new government we will have the best reception and treatment on arriving at a Brazilian port."

But Quadros would not be inaugurated until the next day. Until something official was done, Galvao reiterated his plans to keep the *Santa Maria* at sea.'

Later the same day, President Quadros had apparently changed his mind. When asked by other members of the press about the statement he had given to *Diario de Noticias*, he snapped: "When I have something to say about the *Santa Maria* I will not say it in this manner. I have nothing else to say right now."

And the *Diario de Noticias* reporter who got the original statement noted that President Quadros was given to saying things in an off-hand, ironical manner; and that this may have caused confusion.

Lisbon was now thoroughly alarmed at the treatment Galvao was receiving from the United States. If he were successful the regime saw further trouble ahead. Already a petition had been presented to the government protesting against the suppression of the newspaper *Republica* which was suspected of sympathizing with Galvao. The petition called attention to the "deplorable" condition of politics in Portugal which had produced an "emotional, perturbed and threatening atmosphere" which made discussion impossible.

The regime reacted strongly. An angry spokesman in Lisbon accused the United States of failing to live up to her obligations under the N.A.T.O. treaty to help Portugal recover the *Santa Maria* which was still Portuguese property.

"What about the Portuguese crew who are being forced to work at gunpoint?" the spokesman shouted. "The United States wants to assure the safety of its passengers and that is natural. But Portugal wants to assure the safety of its passengers, its ship and *its* crew, and now apparently the United States seems to be treating Galvao like some honored friend."

In support of Salazar's stand, a group speaking for the Portuguese merchant marine, delivered a message to the U.S. Embassy asking that President Kennedy do something to protect the lives of the *Santa Maria's* crew to which the United States Navy appeared to be indifferent.

Aside from angry denunciations and protests the Portuguese fleet was at sea and it had been joined by the Spanish heavy cruiser *Canaris* (Spain is allied to and sympathetic toward the Salazar regime). These vessels hoped to prevent the *Santa Maria* from reaching any part of Portuguese territory once the passengers were discharged. Garrisons at the Cape Verde Islands in the mid-Atlantic as well as other Portuguese possessions had been reinforced. In Portugal itself the police were keeping a tight watch on everything in order to prevent any demonstrations of sympathy for Galvao or Delgado.

On Monday, January 30, Manuel Cardinal Gonzales Cerejeira, Patriarch of Lisbon, appealed to President Kennedy to guarantee "full liberty of disembarkation for those crew members of the Portuguese ship *Santa Maria* who desire to leave the ship." He added that it was the Church's duty to help the crew at a "grave moment" which might have "tragic and fatal consequences."

Back in Recife, the Brazilian coast was being scoured by a ragged fleet of fishing boats, tugs, and yachts, all hoping to be the first to sight the *Santa Maria* which was now hovering in the area. Reporters piled on anything that would float and chugged out to sea in a desperate gamble to be the first to find the *Santa Maria* and get exclusive interviews with Captain Galvao and the passengers. Since Saturday, foreign correspondents and photographers had felt the spray of salt and the wind in their teeth as they looked toward the horizon, hoping to catch a glimpse of the sleek Portuguese liner.

They created a carnival atmosphere in the sleepy city of Recife. One observer described it as the Recife Regatta for the *Santa Maria* Cup; it was one of the oddest races ever run at sea and nobody won.

The Navy kept its arrangements and rendezvous point with the *Santa Maria* secret and early on the morning of January 31, Admiral Smith and his aides, with a party of over 100 newsmen, boarded

the destroyer Gearing at Recife and headed for their rendezvous with Galvao.

Out in the Atlantic, Galvao radioed a final message before the meeting. "I hope," he said, "to enter Recife on the same solemn day that Brazil initiates a new era headed by our admirable and honored President Quadros."

As the Gearing kicked through the early morning mist, Admiral Smith must have breathed a long sigh of relief. It had been an aggravating week for the Navy. It had used four destroyers, two tankers, a nuclear submarine, 16 aircraft and over 1000 men in the search. What was more, it was not something the Navy could be very happy about, even now when it seemed that the mission was about to be successfully completed. Captain Galvao, however you looked at him, was not someone who had anything to do with the security of the United States, which it was the Navy's business to protect. At best and at worst, he was simply a pest to the Navy brass, and a pest who had let the Navy in for a great deal of criticism. Congressmen were crying for scalps because it had taken a week to pick out a dot in the immense expanse of the Atlantic Ocean.

All the trying negotiations, the realization that they could not drop everything else and hunt for Galvao (and yet many expected them to do just that), the worrisome business of International Law—Admiral Smith hoped it was all behind him now. If he could just get Galvao to do the reasonable thing it would all be over in a few hours.

The Gearing neared the rendezvous point and there on the horizon loomed the *Santa Maria*. Admiral Smith ordered flags run up the mast, indicating his presence and asking for a radio frequency on which the Gearing could contact the *Santa Maria*, while the destroyer circled the liner at a range of 1000 yards.

Then a Spanish voice crackled over the air. The first words from the *Santa Maria* were not promising: "We are obliged to consider the aspect of your destroyer unfriendly. Our conduct does not merit your arriving in combat disposition.

"As an old sea dog," the *Santa Maria* continued, "I recognize your dress."

Smith was alarmed. Although the Navy was prepared, if necessary, to follow the *Santa Maria* to Africa or until, her fuel ran out, he certainly didn't want to.

Smith replied, "It is for your own protection. We are neither armed nor prepared for combat."

On board the Gearing they anxiously awaited the *Santa Maria's* reply. If she made a sudden run for it, they would be back where they were a week ago.

But Galvao may have been as weary of the chase as the Navy. He apologized, saying: "I beg your pardon. Thank you very much."

Then the *Santa Maria* signaled that they would lower a stairway to receive Smith and his party. Smith sounded the word to round up the boarding party; three other naval officers; an attaché of the U.S. Embassy in Brazil; Commander Charles Rainey, Admiral Smith's public information officer; Commander Dias Fernandes of the Brazilian Navy; U.S. Consul in Recife, Earnest S. Guarderrama, and two official Navy photographers.

While they were being assembled the Gearing radioed the *Santa Maria* asking whether there would be any objections to bringing along the more than 100 correspondents of a dozen different nations who were aboard the Gearing. The *Santa Maria* replied that they were welcome to come aboard, but that they would be confined to a first class salon.

Then the *Santa Maria* asked if Portuguese national radio correspondent, Arthur Agostino, were coming aboard. Agostino, the *Santa Maria* said, would definitely not be welcome on the *Santa Maria* because in a broadcast from Rio he had called Galvao and his men "killers, murderers and thieves."

The Gearing said that Agostino was not on board, but the correspondents never did get their chance to board the *Santa Maria*.

Meanwhile there was activity in the sea which created some anxiety on board both the Gearing and the *Santa Maria*. First, one of the little tugs which had been chugging up and down the coast, searching for the liner, hove into view and, blithely ignoring the momentous affairs which were in progress, pulled up alongside the *Santa Maria* and asked permission to unload some NBC cameramen and reporters he was carrying.

And then on the horizon another warship appeared. The Navy men peered through their binoculars. There had been reports that the Portuguese frigate *Pedro Escobar* was in the vicinity. If it were she, there was no telling what might happen.

The anxiety increased; the ship was about the size of the Portuguese vessel. Then she was identified; it was the *Damato*, another of the U.S. destroyers which had been in on the search since the beginning.

Now the weary Smith and his party stepped aboard a motor whaleboat which was lowered from the Gearing, and popped across the 1000 yards of water between the two ships. The *Santa Maria* lowered a stairway and Admiral Smith, attired in his gleaming white full dress uniform with a full

complement of gold braid, stepped aboard the Portuguese liner at 8:41 A.M. where he was greeted by Captain Galvao.

The passengers on deck cheered his arrival and he walked down the decks of the liner accompanied by an honor guard of rebels, dressed in yellow uniforms and wearing blue caps ringed in red and green (the national colors of Portugal).

While Smith and his party conferred aboard the *Santa Maria* with Captain Galvao the reporters and sailors on the *Gearing* were diverted by another interlude.

Around noon two single-engined planes suddenly appeared. They were civilian craft and appeared innocuous enough, but they kept circling the *Santa Maria*. The general opinion was that they were photographers who had flown out from Recife.

They were, but they were rather unusual photographers, for the doors of both planes opened and out into the, blue jumped two people, apparently heading straight down the funnel of the *Santa Maria*. Then parachutes fluttered open and they both dropped into the water about 1000 yards from the ship. One was picked up by the tug mentioned previously and the photographer, Jil Delamar, was taken on board the *Santa Maria*. Charles Bonnay of Paris Match, the other photographer, was not so lucky. Picked up by the *Gearing* he was confined under heavy guard until the destroyer returned to Recife.

A little later Smith emerged from his conference with Galvao and addressed the passengers over the ship's public address system. He said:

"I have just conducted a conference with Captain Galvao. He has given me strong reason to believe that he intends to discharge all passengers at Recife tomorrow.

"Within twenty-four hours, I hope all of you will be disembarked. Do not, however, be too optimistic. It is entirely possible that Captain Galvao's plans will not materialize."

Back on the *Gearing*, Admiral Smith told reporters that his conference with Galvao on the *Santa Maria* (which Galvao had renamed the *Santa Libertad*—Saint Liberty) had been "in general, good."

When pressed about the "in general" Smith admitted, "The picture is not as definite as all concerned would like it to be." He added, "Our only interest is to get the passengers off safely."

When asked 'about the condition of the passengers after some 12 days at sea, Smith replied: "We talked with quite a few passengers aboard the *Santa Maria* and they were very nervous and apprehensive, living on hopes and promises."

What Smith had feared had happened. Galvao continued to make the demand that his ship would be permitted to leave Recife after disembarking his passengers. But the State Department had still been unable to get any responsible Brazilian official to agree to this demand. Although the *Santa Maria* had moved closer to Brazil, Galvao still had a long way to go before any passengers would get off the ship.

That night General Delgado flew from Rio to Recife, telling a throng of well-wishers at the airport that he considered it his "duty to take the greatest risk in the affair" even if this meant boarding the ship with Galvao and sailing for Portugal.

The next morning Galvao comforted by President Quadros remarks to the press and the assurances he had received from Governor Lacerdas; radioed Admiral Smith at 7:45 A.M. that he was coming into Recife. He pulled up anchor at 8:05 A.M. and the *Santa Maria* now accompanied by three American destroyers, the *Gearing*, *Vogelgesang* and *Wilson*, broke out all her flags and made full steam for port.

The sailors on the destroyers saw the passengers on the deck of the liner, waving and cheering, overjoyed that their long ordeal was over at last.

But there was to be another day. Arriving just outside the three-mile limit, the *Santa Maria* was met by the Brazilian destroyer, *Paraiba*, who warned Galvao that if he took his ship into Recife she would be seized. This was not the reception the rebel leader had expected. He halted his ship, and waited for some clarification of the situation.

A few minutes later Galvao received a message from President Quadros. This was the first official communication between the *Santa Maria* and Brazil's new chief executive and Galvao stood eagerly beside the radio operator while the message came over, hoping that President Quadros would tell him what he wanted to hear.

The message read (in part):

"I reaffirm my loyalty to our unshakeable democratic convictions.

"You may be sure that in the exercise of my constitutional duties you and all who want to will receive the right of asylum in our territory and all else which laws and treaties permit.

"The government and the people of Brazil follow with profound emotion the fate of the passengers who are under your care and responsibility."

Again Brazil had avoided stating unequivocally that Galvao was free to sail into the harbor, discharge his passengers and sail away to fight another day. The message was friendly enough, but Galvao was not looking for sentiment. Without the guarantees which he had been seeking ever since the negotiations had started, Galvao refused to take the *Santa Maria* any further.

But his position had deteriorated. He was now surrounded by three American and one Brazilian destroyer from which he could not hope to escape. Reportedly food and water were in short supply on the ship. Some of the crew of the liner was definitely hostile to the rebels, the air conditioning had broken down, and the steerage class passengers were in a state of near mutiny.

Admiral Smith had no doubt that Galvao and the *Santa Maria* were now safely in the bag. "If the *Santa Maria* gets away from the *Sea Wolf* (the atomic submarine standing by)," he said, "that's something I want to see."

In Recife the city was in turmoil as pro- and anti-Salazar factions clashed in the streets in anticipation of the *Santa Maria's* imminent arrival. Brazil has many Portuguese nationals in addition to other first and second generation immigrants, and feelings run as high there as in Lisbon about Portuguese politics. They are expressed, if anything, more freely. Now mobs clubbed and stoned each other, trying to be the first to reach the docks and cheer or boo the incoming rebels.

Now Brazil took over negotiations with the *Santa Maria*, for from this point on, everything was in her hands. Twice, on the afternoon of February 1, the Brazilian corvette *Cabalo* pulled alongside the *Santa Maria* to permit Helio Citee, the port captain of Recife, and Colonel Jose Cavalcanti, Secretary of Public Affairs for the State of Pernambuco, to confer with Galvao. In the second conference, these Brazilian emissaries were joined by Dario Castro Alves of the Foreign Ministry, who had just flown in from Rio bringing the government's latest instructions. As the corvette drew alongside the *Santa Maria*, the delegates were greeted by cries from hysterical women passengers: "For the love of God get us out of here!"

On the *Santa Maria*, Galvao made the expected demands: (1) that the ship remain in his possession after she entered Recife; (2) that the *Santa Maria* be supplied with food, water and fuel, (3) that the rebels not be forced to leave the ship; and (4) that minor repairs to the *Santa Maria* be authorized. Again the Brazilians said that "they were not empowered to make these guarantees.

Upon returning to the dock at Recife, the negotiators predicted that with or without his demands being met, Galvao would have to take his ship into harbor on the next day at the latest.

In both Brazilia, the new capital city of Brazil, and Washington, the Portuguese regime put on the utmost pressure to secure the return of her vessel and the safety of the passengers and crew. Ambassador Fernandes called on Secretary of State Dean Rusk to present him with a full bill of particulars. The Portuguese government, was encouraged by President Kennedy's press conference that day, when he referred to the *Santa Maria* in a statement which seemed to support the Portuguese position.

However, there was now little chance that Galvao and his men would be treated as pirates as the Salazar government insisted. President Quadros' message to Galvao seemed at least a tacit admission that a state of belligerency did exist and that under International Law, as Brazil interpreted it, Galvao and his men would be treated as rebels not pirates.

Late in the day, General Delgado arrived in Recife and raced by small boat to join Galvao and his embattled crew on the *Santa Maria*.

That night the negotiators returned to the *Santa Maria* with a definite proposal. But as they stepped aboard the liner, they were mobbed by crew members, demanding that something be done to take them off the ship. When Captain Galvao came forward to greet the Brazilians he was engulfed by the screaming crew who were at the point of open revolt. Galvao fought his way out of the mob, rallied his "rebels" and drove the crew from the deck with pistols and sub-machine guns.

Galvao then met the Brazilian officials in the first-class lounge and listened to their proposal. They said that under international law they were unable to give Galvao the guarantees he requested. What they were willing to do, they said, was let the *Santa Maria* disembark the passengers in Recife harbor, then steam out past the three mile limit again where negotiations between Brazil and Galvao would continue as to the final status of the *Santa Maria*. Galvao seemed impressed—it was the best offer he had had so far—but said that he would have to think it over. The Brazilians pleaded with him to accept, pointing out that the crew had been shouting that there was no water, no food; they asked him to think of the welfare of the passengers, who were not supporters of Salazar and who had done nothing to oppose Galvao's revolution. Galvao said he would sleep on it and give them his answer in the morning.

The next day the *Santa Maria* was surrounded at dawn by a motley array of fishing boats, tugs and private yachts, all bearing reporters, hoping to come on board for the first exclusive interviews. Galvao waved them all away.

"Get us off, get us off!" Mrs. Lucille Gray called to the floating press corps.

Lawrence Williams, a Canadian, said. "We are in peril of our lives every moment. Men with small arms, rifles and sub-machine guns are all over the place—they even eat with us."

Third-class passengers called that they were out of food and water.

But Doug Patton of Boulder City, Nevada, calmly informed a passing reporter, "We have everything we really need."

Then the startled reporters saw a near riot on deck. The crew had gathered in one portion of the ship and swept forward to demand that Galvao take the *Santa Maria* into the harbor. Steerage class passengers—penniless Spaniards returning home on tickets purchased by the Spanish government—who had been cooped up below decks without air-conditioning, joined them and together the whirling, screaming mob cornered Galvao outside the first-class salon. They kept pressing forward, there was a crash and someone catapulted head first through the heavy plate-glass window.

(One of the passengers thought it was Galvao himself, but this is unlikely; pictures of him after the landing show him to be unscarred by recent experiences and a plate glass window would certainly have left its mark.)

Galvao again rallied his men and tried to calm the excited passengers and crew, but this time there was no talking them out of their demands. Galvao gave a sigh and gave in; he knew that provisions were short, that the *Santa Maria* needed repairs, that he could never take her out of the harbor surrounded as he was by four swift destroyers.

Galvao gave the order, the *Santa Maria* hoisted anchor and steamed past the breakwater into Recife.

She came in proudly with all her flags flying; to the last, Galvao remained the ever gallant buccaneer. Even though he must have known that this was the end of his proud gesture, he didn't whimper or drag his tail.

The *Santa Maria* displayed a huge banner with the legend "Santa Liberdade" and another bearing the initials "D. R. I. L." which stood for the movement of liberation headed by Delgado. Galvao himself, his epaulets and braid glittering in the sun, stood on the bridge, his hands raised over his head in a gesture of unmistakable triumph, smiling and waving to the small craft that darted in and out between the *Santa Maria* and her four destroyer escort.

The docks of Recife were jammed with sightseers and partisans for and against Galvao. They pressed forward toward the water, but were held back from the docks by unyielding lines of police and Brazilian marines.

Even the roofs were crammed with men and women, clad for the pre-Lenten carnival which had already started in Recife, who had now turned out for the sight of real masqueraders.

The big ship pulled up alongside Dock #4 which had been assigned to the liner at noon. Galvao refused to take her up to the dock itself. For the next two hours the passengers sweltered under the tropical sun while the ship's band played sambas and Portuguese and Brazilian patriotic tunes. and tugs were collected in sufficient numbers to disembark the passengers.

The crew still not sure whether Galvao would let them off the ship, grew steadily more boisterous. The passengers and crowds at the dock were diverted by several high dives from the deck of the ship by Portuguese crewmen who were then picked up by Brazilian navy tugs filled with bathing suit clad marines.

Then the first tug pulled up alongside the *Santa Maria*, the stairway was lowered and the first passenger (an elderly Portuguese, sick with cancer, who had been returning to his homeland) came off the boat.

At this sight all the repressed emotions of twelve nerve-racking days at sea broke loose. Passengers shouted and cheered; women and even, some men broke down and started to cry; long lines of jubilant Latins sang and danced on the second-class deck. Some were hysterical, some were calm and matter-of-fact but seemed glad to be leaving the *Santa Maria*.

The traditional order "Women and children first!" was given, but it may have been too much to expect these passengers to respond to such a command.

One American woman described the scene: "There was great confusion during disembarkation. At first it was announced that women and children would be taken off first. But the mob pressed forward. I tried to retire gracefully from combat but was pushed forward onto a stairway and that's why I was one of the first off"

Gradually order was restored and a steady line of passengers emerged. Swathed in fur coats, carrying all their luggage, burdened by cameras, parakeets and children's teddy bears, they got on the waiting tugs and left forever the scene of one of the most amazing sea voyages in recorded history.

When all the passengers were off, the crew started to clamber down the gangway, only to be forced back by Galvao's men at gunpoint. Galvao knew that he could not sail his ship away without a crew, and he knew that they would not stay with him voluntarily. Once again the *Santa Maria's* deck was turned into a mob scene as Galvao's men pushed and were pushed by the frantic crew.

But the Brazilian officials remonstrated with Galvao. After all, they said, they had offered him the chance of political asylum in their country; they could do no less for the crew; he would have to let them leave the ship,

"All right," Galvao replied, "perhaps it is over." He watched while the 350 crewmen clambered down the gangway and were replaced by Brazilian marines. Then a representative of the Portuguese company which owned the ship came forward with a Recife judge and handed him a writ for the repossession of the *Santa Maria*.

And as the passengers sped through the lush streets of tropical Recife, one reporter asked an American woman for her first thoughts on reaching land. They were simple: Trees," she said, "I didn't think I'd ever see a tree again."