CHAPTER IV

DEVELOPMENT OF TRADE AND INTERPLAY OF EUROPEAN POWER POLITICS
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Trade is said to be the natural corollary of industry and the medium of the distribution of industrial products. It may be taken as an index of the economic prosperity of a country. A study of the sources clearly testifies to the vigorous trade that South Kanara continued to enjoy during the period under review. It also reveals the fact that the trade activities, foreign as well as inland, were largely controlled and dominated by various merchantile bodies or guilds that played an important role in the upliftment of socio-economic life of the people as a whole. It may, however, be noted in the context that, so far as the foreign-export and import-trade is concerned, the information has to be gathered chiefly from the foreign notices of the Arab and non-Arab geographers and travellers. The commercial activities of the period may conveniently be studied under two heads: 1) Foreign trade and 2) Inland trade.

South Kanara from early periods had maintained trade relations with many countries across the seas. Geographically, its seaboard opened to the west; and the coast line boasted of many good harbors, which are referred to by classical writers.¹ It was through these ports that close contacts were maintained for centuries with the western and eastern worlds.²

Many were the agricultural products that were exported. Among various spices, special mention may be made of pepper, a staple article in great demand in the west as well as East during the Middle Ages.³ We learn from Yaqut⁴ a Arab Geographer, that Mangalore (Manjarur) and Barkur (Faknur) were the chief cities of Malibar, from where pepper was exported. Dimishq⁵
refers to the large quantity of pepper that was available at Mangalore. The fact that the port of Mangalore used to sell enormous quantities of pepper as well as ginger in the fourteenth century A.D. is testified to by Ibn Battuta. During the Vijayanagara days, according to Barbosa, Mangalore, Goa and Bhatkala used to export rice to many countries across the sea. Again, Bhatakala was a noted centre for the export of powdered sugar. It also exported coconuts – the Indian nuts as known to the Arab and other medieval writers – to countries like Ormuz and Aden.

As far as foreign trade in agricultural produce is concerned, the most important article that was exported from South Kanara ports like Bhatkal, Mangalore and Honnavar was pepper which had a good market in India and outside. From the earliest times Kanara had trade relations with other countries. South Kanara played a distinct role in both inland commerce and in the oceanic trade with the west. Pepper and other spices formed the bulk of the agricultural products. Having a fine coast, South Kanara enjoyed a strategic position commanding the sea routes that linked with the west. The volume of external trade of South Kanara with foreign countries probably had greatly increased during the sixteenth to eighteenth centuries. According to Abdur Razzaq, the Vijayanagara Empire possessed 300 sea ports and it had trade relations with the islands of Indian ocean, Malaya, Burma, China, Arabia, Persia, South Africa, Abyssinia, and Portugal. The agricultural products from the interior parts to the coastal towns on the West Coast like Ankola, Mirjan, Honnavar, Bhatkal, Baindur, Barkur, Basrur, Mangalore and Kumbla were transported by means of Kavadis (big stick taking loads hung from either end carried on the shoulder), head loads, pack horses, pack bullocks, carts and asses. Rice, sugar, spices and cotton clothes were
purchased by Portuguese traders at these ports and shipped aboard. Basrur, Barkur and Mangalore ports exported rice to Maldive Islands, Aden andOrmuz. Kanakadasa, a contemporary of Krishnadevaraya, in his *Mohanatarangini*, says that the wealth of the merchants who traded in agricultural products with foreign countries in ships was such that they could lend money to Kubera (devine controller of wealth in Indian legend) and they sat with their heaps of gold and money in their shops.

Almost the whole of the foreign trade in which spices formed an important item during the Vijayanagar period passed through the hands of the Arabs and the Portuguese. Portuguese succeeded in driving away the Arabs from the Indian Market. The Portuguese had ware-houses in Mangalore, Barcelore and Honnavar. Paes says in his chronicle: *the said kingdom has many places on the coast of India; there are seaports with which we are at peace, and in some of them we have factories, namely, Ancola, Mirgeo, Honor, Betecall, Mangalore, Barcelore and Bacanore.*

In 1503 A.D. Vasco-da-gama noticed many Moorish ships anchoring in the port of Bhatkal. It was a Great port for loading rice, sugar which were exported to all parts of India. Vasco-da-gama drove Moors and got huge quantity of rice and sugar at Bhatkal. His four conditions to the envoy of the chief of Bhatkal were as follows: a) that the chief should pay tribute to the Portuguese; b) That the chief should not trade in pepper with any other power; c) that the chief should not bring Turks; d) that he should have no dealings with Calicut. The second condition of Vasco-da-gama is interesting because, it clearly shows how the Portuguese from the beginning were anxious to secure pepper which was so precious an article in those times and which brought huge profits. Hence, the Portuguese policy was
European Factories in South Kanara

O BANDUR
O BASRUR
O BASRUR
O MANGALORE

SHIMOGA
CHIKAMAGALUR
KODAGU
HASSAN

O Portuguese - C 1570 - 1750
△ DUTCH - C 17TH C TO 18TH C. A. D.
* ENGLISH-C 18TH C. A. D.
always to secure the monopoly of trade in pepper on the Western Coast of India. As long as the Portuguese were dominant, this was possible but when other western powers like the Dutch and English also began to visit the ports of South Kanara to gather pepper, the competition among them was inevitable and often such competition was mixed up with political affairs of the kingdoms of South Kanara.

Varthema also noticed in 1505 A.D., in Bhatkal the export of rice and Sugar. In the beginning of sixteenth century the Portuguese had close connections with Bhatkal which was a chief producer of rice and cloves. The Portuguese ships were carrying these articles from Bhatkal and they had their factories, there. According to Barbosa Bhatkal dealt with various kinds of goods and Moors and 'heathen' were engaged in trade. Every year the ships from Ormuz used to come to this busy port of Kanara in order to take pepper, spices, powdered sugar and white rice which were in large store at the port. Myrobalams were specially conserved by the merchants of Bhatkal because it had good market in Arabia and Persia. Moors were intermediaries before the advent of the Portuguese, between the merchants of Kanara and the consumers abroad. It is interesting to give an extract from the report of Affonso Mexia who was the captain of Cochin in 1530 A.D. He wrote this report to the king of Portugal which was dated 15th January 1530 A.D:

"Between Beticalea and Goa there are certain places called Onor, Mergen and Ancola, from which I hear 5000 crusados worth of pepper are annually shipped to Diu, Ormuz and Jedda, carried by Moorish vessels. These places are under the dominion of the Queen of Gerusoppa, who in her turn is subject to the king of Narsynga (Vijanagar). This pepper is larger than in Cochin, but is lighter and not so
hot. It appears to me that we ought to secure this. It might be done by concluding a treaty with the Queen.20

Thus the Portuguese from the beginning had a contact with local chiefs in South Kanara and the primary purpose of which was to secure the monopoly of trade in Pepper. They bought spices at low prices from the merchants of South Kanara and sold the same at high prices in the markets of Persia and other parts of India.21

In general South Kanara was famous for the production of pepper, cardamom and other spices. The climatic condition of the region was suitable for the production of pepper.22 Hence these places were the main exporters of these articles. Pepper which was such a precious article of trade during the period of our study and to procure the article from South Kanara, the western powers like the Portuguese, the English and the Dutch and even the French were eager to have friendly trade contacts with native powers in South Kanara. This policy sometimes resulted in the armed support of one power against the other and exhibits open competition for hegemony over pepper trade among the Europeans.

Interplay of Power-Politics among Europeans (The Portuguese, Dutch, French and the English):

Towards the end of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, the ports of South Kanara emerged as important Portuguese trade centres. Partly because of its close proximity to Goa and its remoteness from the constant strife of the Malabar Coast, the Portuguese began to shift to South Kanara as their pepper purchasing market. The other major attraction in South Kanara was the abundant supply of rice, which the Portuguese needed desperately for their growing colonies of Goa, Cochin, Colombo, Jaffna and Galle.
Though South Kanara pepper was more expensive than that of Malabar, it was reputedly of better quality and the mechanism for purchase was less cumbersome. The Portuguese had established strategic fortified ports here and developed small colonies of settlers, through whom they were able to manage the trade. There was less conflict here with local coastal powers and with maritime merchants because here, the Portuguese themselves acted as merchants, not as rulers (as they did in Malabar). By the first decades of the seventeenth century the Portuguese were procuring twice as much pepper from South Kanara as they were getting from Malabar, another index to the economic collapse of their Malabar coastal empire.

One reason for the increased price of pepper in South Kanara was that these were free markets where Asian merchants made their major purchases for various Asian markets. The Surat and Dabhu merchants were the major buyers for Gujarat, Hindustan and West Asian markets without paying taxes to the Portuguese. Arab and Persian merchants sailed to South Kanara and Bijapur ports to the north which also contributed to the pushing up prices. Indeed when the first northern European companies came into the Indian pepper trade, it was to South Kanara and Bijapur ports that they sailed in search of this staple. The hinterland political powers, well aware of the advantages they had, strove to keep the trade free from interference by outside forces and they kept a tight region on the commercial process. The availability of rice was also a great attraction to Gujarati, Arab and Persian traders, who were thus able to procure here staples for the India - West Asia trade.

Goa, dependent on South Kanara for its pepper supplies, began in the seventeenth century to cultivate relations with the ruler who most nearly
controlled the pepper-producing areas of its interior. Rice from South Kanara also helped to feed Goa’s population. At this period the leading political power in South Kanara was the Nayaka’s of Ikkeri, one of those south Indian rulers who began as provincial governors in the Vijayanagar Empire and with its decline assumed an increased independent authority. At its zenith, the Ikkeri state controlled most of the coast and much of the hinterland in the region between Goa and Cannanore. Its ruler also maintained formal relations with Goa. Many people from South Kanara worked at either permanent or temporary jobs in Goa.

Needless to mention that the large quantity of pepper grown in the richest portions of Kanara attracted the Portuguese, who at a very early date established commercial relations with its ruler and derived great benefit from the pepper trade. The Italian traveller Pietro Della Valle writing of Gersoppa says: *For this is the country wherein greatest plenty of pepper grows, for which reason the queen of Gersoppa was wont to be called by the Portuguese Reyna da Pimenta, that is, queen of pepper.* 23 The account of the same traveller contains some information regarding the circumstances under which the kingdom of Gersoppa was annexed by Venkatappa Nayaka.

*The queen of Gersoppa fell in love with a mean person and a stranger and resigned herself with her whole kingdom to him. Her choice of a lover of base blood was abhorred by her subjects. And the man, so favoured by the queen having thoughts as ignoble as his blood, instead of being grateful to the queen designed to prove false to her and take the kingdom for himself. He met with success in the initial stages by getting around himself the queen’s leading vassals. The queen, finding herself oppressed by the traitor, appealed to the Portuguese for help, who willingly helped her. But the traitor to go free and punished his intrigue by causing him to be slain. He also burnt Gersoppa and the royal palace in it.* 24
This expedition seems to have taken place in 1606 A.D., for a letter of the Portuguese viceroy to the king dated 16th January 1607 A.D., refers to this event. The effects of this conquest were far reaching. The ports of Onore (Honnavar), Barcelore (Basrur) and Bhatkal came under the control of the Nayaka. Apart from the prestige Venkatappa earned by defeating the Portuguese, he was now master of the West coast under his control. He thus became a power, whose favour was courted by all European trading companies on the coast.

Early in the seventeenth century, the English East India Company had but a few factories in India. They were at Agra, Surat, Ahmedabad, Barhampur, and Broach. At that time the power and influence of the Portuguese were still considerably high. The pepper trade of the Coast was entirely under the Nayakas of Ikkeri. Rice was also another important item of trade and it was the Rice of South Kanara that attracted the English merchants. Soon there was competition between them and the Portuguese. Some details regarding the commercial policy of the Ikkeri rulers are available in the letters of the servants of the English East India Company. A few of these letters were written by Thomas Kerridge and Thomas Ratsell from Surat. Two of them are dated respectively 9th and 15th February 1619 A.D. respectively. While describing the voyage of a ship named “The Expedition” they refer to a factory at Calicut. The letter says:

They (the company authorities) advise the Commander to call there to receive if possible the moneys due to the Company. Overtures received from 'a certayne Mallabars who inhabit a country on the sea coast some 20 leagues to the southwards of Goa called Ekaree, the prince, an Indian Raja that hath been long in league with Portingall.
William Hoare, in a letter to the Company written in May 1620 A.D., says:

*It hath been, I presume, long since related unto your worship, how that during your fleets abode at Swallee, two Mallbar frigotts put themselves under command of your shippes, affirming themselves subjects to a ragia of Echaree, neare Goa, and pretending to be sent by the king, their master to capitulate with the English about establishing a trade with him for pepper, his country by their report, yielding yearlie sufficient to lade two good shippes, the tryall whereof being by consultation assented to, they both attended the fleets to this place. And here one of them desired leave to depart before to the king to advize of our comminge, that his pepper might be in readiness against our arrival, and that an English merchant might accompany him to view the commodity and cutt price with the kinge; for whom sufficient hostage should be left aboard the Dragoon which was likewise agreed upon.*

The above letters help us to confirm that, firstly, Venkatappa Nayaka, the Keladi ruler was desirous to secure advantages of trade in Pepper with the English. Secondly, he sent two ships to put themselves under the command of the English captain. Thirdly, the ships were to affect a bargain with the English to trade in pepper and lastly, the final word concerning the price of the commodity lay with Venkatappa Nayaka. It may also be noted that all this was done before he received an ambassador from the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa.

Even before the Portuguese ambassador Sig. Fernandez departed from Goa, Venkatappa had written to his ambassador Vithula Sinay, that if they sent this ambassador to urge the restitution of the Bangher Raja, it was in vain that they undertook the journey; for he was fully resolved not to restore him. Venkatappa also felt that the ships from Portugal, *which every year take pepper from his dominions and bring him a great sum of money* had not
arrived and that the Portuguese were in arrears of payment. Hence he did not care to arrange for the transport and other facilities for the ambassador. However, after prolonged negotiations, mainly due to the efforts of Vithula Sinay, the Portuguese were allowed to go to Ikkeri with the ambassador. They arrived at the place on November 6th, 1623 A.D.. One gets a detailed description of the transactions of the ambassador from the accounts of Pietro Della Valle.27

The ambassador was lodged in one of the best houses in Ikkeri and was suitably looked after. On 8th November 1623 A.D., Vithula Sinay, accompanied by Muse Bai, an Ikkeri general and other personages conducted the Portuguese ambassador and his party to the court of Venkatappa Nayaka. After preliminary exchange of honours and formalities, the Portuguese ambassador Sig. Fernandez, explained the reason for his ambassador i.e., to continue the friendship and peaceful relations with Venkatappa Nayaka and handed over some presents (some pieces of cloth) from the Portuguese Viceroy. Venkatappa Nayaka, in turn, enquired with him about the health of the King of Spain and the Viceroy at Goa. His discourse with them covered different subjects, chief among them being the question of the arrears of payment and the delay of the ships that year, which used to come to take pepper. He also discussed matters relating to the war with the Raja of Bangher as also the peace which concluded the war. He further made other personal enquiries regarding all the members of the ambassador. After the negotiations, the ambassador was reconducted home, with grand solemnity and company.28 In spite of the anxiety of the Portuguese to be on friendly terms with Venkatappa Nayaka, they were however not able to get further concessions.
There were three powers contesting for the supremacy over Mangalore, the Queen of Ullal, Raja of Bangher and the Portuguese. Ullal is situated to the south of Mangalore with only a river separating them. The king of Bangher had a palace and fort at Mangalore. The Portuguese had a fort at Mangalore and they carried on trade in rice. South Kanara was a rice exporting centre during the period. The Portuguese joined hands with the Raja of Bangher whenever the local chiefs were on inimical terms.

On her accession Abaka Devi was married to the Raja of Bangher but the marriage was a failure. Some other unfortunate incidents followed and the queen made preparations for war with the Raja of Bangher.

Venkatappa Nayaka, by this time, had carried out his policy of aggrandisement and was anxious to bring Mangalore under his control. From the letter of the Portuguese Viceroy dated 29th December, 1616 A.D., to the king of Portugal, it appears that the Portuguese had been on friendly terms with Venkatappa till then, because of the good profits the pepper trade brought them from his country. But this friendship was not to last long. Venkatappa is represented in the letter as being at the gates of Mangalore, threatening to drive out the king of Bangher.

In 1617 A.D., the Portuguese concluded an alliance with the king of Bangher, who made over the fortress of Bangher, to them for defence. The fort was reinforced by soldiers and by the arrival of a fleet of eight ships under Francisco Miranda Henriques. In the engagements that followed the Portuguese were successful and it is recorded that 4000 Canarese were slain.

An unfortunate turn came to the Portuguese. They captured a ship belonging to the queen of Ullal who sent an invitation to Venkatappa
Nayaka, for attacking her husband and the Portuguese. Venkatappa Nayaka who was waiting to humiliate the Portuguese invaded the Bangher Raja’s territories aided by the Queen’s armies. The territories of the Raja were conquered and the fort set fire, though the Portuguese were in charge of it. Venkatappa also captured the ensign of the Portuguese. Their captain Henriques revenged by attacking Ullal but he was soon forced to raise the siege.\(^32\) In 1618, the Portuguese made another attempt, by bringing fresh reinforcements from Malabar but they were once again defeated by Venkatappa Nayaka, who had at his command more than 12,000 Canarese. A treaty was however signed with the Portuguese according to the terms of which Venkatappa restored to them the ensign he had captured and in return he got the fort of Bangher. Though the Queen of Ullal gained freedom from the Portuguese, she had only to fall under the sovereignty of Venkatappa Nayaka. Venkatappa Nayaka was now the undisputed master of Kanara.\(^33\) The Raja of Bangher was in exile, being deprived of his kingdom worth 1,25,000 pagodas.\(^34\) It was this expedition which forced the Portuguese to send an ambassador to Ikkeri to regain their lost favours and to reinstate the Raja of Bangher.

Venkatappa Nayaka was succeeded by Virabhadra Nayaka, who was then just 20 years old and the responsibility of administration was entrusted to his uncle Sivappa Nayaka. The defeated chiefs were so jealous of his accession that they took the earliest opportunity to make an organized attempt to dethrone the young ruler. The whole kingdom was in the throes of a civil war. All the Ballalas and minor chiefs of the South Kanara area who were conquered by Venkatappa Nayaka revolted against the authority of Virabhadra Nayaka. The rising was a general and widespread one and all the
territory from Bhatkal to Kasaragod was a seething mass of rebellious chiefs. Virabhadra’s power seemed to be crippled for a time.

In between, there broke out an open confrontation between Virabhadra and Virapa Nayaka. However, Virappa Nayaka was able to bring the coastal town of Barcelor under his control and he offered it to the Portuguese in return for help. The Portuguese were not able to decide in favour of any particular claimant. Meanwhile they were anxious to establish a factory at Cambolim.

Instead of direct action against Virappa Nayaka, Virabhadra Nayaka and Sivappa Nayaka left the usurper against others. Thinking that he had firmly established himself Virappa Nayaka sent an ambassador to the Portuguese Viceroy to scrap up a peace. The Viceroy, Count of Linhares was not in a hurry to conclude peace with Virappa Nayaka as he had intentions of sending a representative to Virabhadra Nayaka.

Realizing that the whole kingdom was up against him, Virabhadra was anxious to maintain friendly relations with the Portuguese, for though they would not be very useful to him as allies, yet as enemies they would prove troublesome by aiding the rebels. He therefore sent an ambassador to Goa. A letter from the Portuguese Viceroy to the king describes the reception given to Virabhadra Nayaka’s ambassador as also the desire of the Portuguese to be on friendly terms with him, so as to have a plentiful supply of rice and chilleys.35

Finding that nearly two years had passed and that Virappa Nayaka had not been dethroned, the Portuguese being anxious to benefit from the trade in commercial crops of South Kanara, arranged for a treaty of peace with the usurper. The treaty was concluded on the 7th March 1631 A.D. The terms of
the treaty were: Virappa Nayaka was to grant the possession of the island of Cambolim to the Portuguese with permission to build a fortress therein; the Portuguese were to be allowed to cut and take timber from his dominions without any tax; Virappa Nayaka was not to allow the Malavars or others trade in his harbour; every year he was to pay punctually 500 sackfuls of rice; dues or levies on Portuguese merchandise were to be abolished; all the pepper in his dominions was to be freely sold without any difficulty to the buyers; the Portuguese Viceroy was to act as judge in differences between Virappa Nayaka and the other kings who were allies of Portuguese; Virappa Nayaka was allowed to take iron and ten horses without paying tax from Goa; he was also to have two ships and those who violated any clause of the treaty was to pay a sum of 10,000 pagoda.  

The commencement of the seventeenth century witnessed a set back in the Portuguese power and influence. The Dutch had launched on a vigorous policy of obstruction against the Portuguese and in many engagements they came out in flying colours. Added to this, the English joined the race, for the Portuguese allowed the English free access to the different ports on the west coast.

When South Kanara was torn asunder by civil wars, the Portuguese tried to acquire Cambolim taking advantage of the fact that many of the rebellious chiefs applied to them for help. The fortress was garrisoned with 70 marines, and a large quantity of gunpowder. The contingent was reinforced with two hundred infantry and six armed vessels. But up to 4th November 1630 A.D., the strengthening of the fort was not completed. The Government at Goa continued to send chunam and stone for the work. Pedro de Silva, the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, commissioned Martin
Teixera, the Portuguese Governor of the coast of South Kanara, to meet the king Virabhadra Nayaka, who had delayed the sale of pepper and who was coerced by the English to break his commercial relations with the Portuguese. Virabhadra Nayaka sent his ambassador Rama Pai to Goa but he seems to have come to no agreement and left Goa on a Portuguese vessel with instructions that he should be left at Barcelor and given asylum. After the death of Virappa Nayaka, the army of Ikkeri were again triumphant. But its success was not complete as is shown by the hasty and compromising peace signed by Virabhadra Nayaka with the Portuguese in 1633 A.D. The Portuguese welcomed Vithula Sinay, the agent of Virabhadra; and after preliminary discussions, a treaty was signed. The terms of the treaty were of a very compromising nature. The chief among them were: The Island of Cambolim was to be with the Portuguese; Virabhadra Nayaka was to give all the rice and victual in his country and a regular tribute of 500 sackfuls of rice per year; The Portuguese were bound to take 350 candies of pepper for each ship at the rate of 22 pagodas per candi; The Portuguese were to give Virabhadra Nayaka 12 horses every year and in return he was to give shelter to the ships of the Portuguese plying on the coast; Virabhadra Nayaka was to be given by the Portuguese three charters of Navigation for his ships to go to Mecca and Muscat (obviously to bring horses); The Portuguese were to be allowed to cut all the wood they required for building ships; The boatmen of Virabhadra Nayaka were to take only the allowed number of boats and not more; The two ships near the island of Cambolim were to be given to Virbhadra Nayaka.

A perusal of the treaty will show that it was almost on the model of the one concluded earlier between the Portuguese and Virappa Nayaka.
Meanwhile the gulf between the Portuguese and the English in commercial matters widened. The English offered to buy pepper from Virabhadra Nayaka at a much higher price. In 1637 A.D., the Portuguese were anxious to continue the friendship with Virabhadra Nayaka. The Nayak at this time was expecting trouble from the Adil Shah of Bijapur. Finding that the Portuguese had some influence at Bijapur court, Virabhadra thought of availing himself of their help to check the impending invasion. He sent Ramappa to Goa with instructions to request the Viceroy to write to the Portuguese ambassador at Bijapur to settle his affairs with its Sulthan. In a written reply to Virabhadra the Viceroy at Goa promised to do the needful.\textsuperscript{39}

The Political atmosphere in South Kanara was getting clearer and Virabhadra Nayaka realized that the power of the Portuguese had increased by their erection of a new fort at Cambolim. Virabhadra constructed a fort opposite to it and at the same time negotiated with the Portuguese Viceroy to dismantle the fort at Cambolim or Barcelor held by them. The Viceroy in his instructions to Antonio Borges strongly recommended the further fortification of Cambolim and the dismantling of the fort of Barcelor to please Virabhadra Nayaka.\textsuperscript{40} The queen of Bangher seems to have applied to the Portuguese for help against Virabhadra Nayaka, so that she might recover her lost territories. But the Portuguese were anxious to be friendly with both and to keep them in good spirits so that they might benefit in trade from both their countries. In instructing the chief captain of Kanara, Luix de Cane de Souza, the Portuguese Viceroy wrote:

\textit{The Queen of Banghel condescended to write to me a letter in which she asks me a favour to help her against Virabhadra Naique in order that she may be able to recover what he had taken from her. I have to say in reply that you have my orders to help her in anything that takes place, if king Virabhadra Naique does}
not object. I order you that if the said queen asks you to treat this matter, give her to understand that you have my orders to help her wherever you think fit, with many words of favour. However, if she asked a favour against Virabhadora Naique or any other king, you should excuse yourselves with good reasons saying it is impossible and that as you are sent to fill up and keep guard on, you are not able to divert yourself to other things but so that she should not be discompeited, nor take from her the hope of your help and always with vague words that do not compromise you giving to understand and that this practice and other intimations should not be in writing, but only by word of mouth, through persons who are experts in those things.  

In 1643 A.D, Count de Averras, the Viceroy at Goa instructed Antonio Borges to see Virabhadora Nayaka and try to win him over to their side as the English were making rapid progress. The chief instruction was:  

*You shall now show to the king Virabhadora Naique the baby elephant which I send him as a present and as the aim of your journey is that neither the Dutch nor the English should be admitted into Canara, and you shall represent to him about this as is convenient.*  

Antonio Borges carried out the instructions so carefully and tactfully that Virabhadora Nayaka pulled down the English factory at Bhatkal. Finding that the English were still making inroads, the king of Portugal sent an order in 1644 A.D., to the effect that the English should not be allowed to trade in Kanara. To this the Viceroy replied that the best way to drive out the English was to supply him with the necessary money to buy up all the pepper in Kanara. But the finances of Portugal being slender, the idea was not practicable. Slowly but surely the English were able to dislodge the Portuguese from the Ikkeri territories and get mastery over the entire trade.

During the reign of Venkatappa Nayaka, the English Company had made little progress, as the Portuguese influence at the Ikkeri Court was
considerable. Even when they were offered Bhatkal, they declined it because of the proximity of the place to Goa. But during Virabhadra’s reign, being better equipped, they made an attempt to capture the pepper trade of Kanara. This attempt is known as the famous voyage of Captain Weddel. In this fleet was Peter Mundy, to whom we owe much of the information regarding the English attempt. Two of Weddel’s party, Robinson and Mundy, started on a mission to Ikkeri and reached the place on 25th January 1637 A.D., The Raja received them cordially, granted them a piece of ground to erect a fort, and promised them exclusive rights of exporting pepper from his territory.43 A factory was established at Bhatkal under the charge of Anthony Vereworthy. Peter Mundy gives detailed information about the ambassador.44

The Sabandar (Shahbandar-Harbour Sperintendent) or Customer of the Towne accompanied by the king’s merchants came aboard the Dragon and gave us friendlie welcome with full assurance of all good entertainment, putting us in hope of a present quantitie of pepper for the dispatch of one of our small ships, and this although they urged somewhat beyond truth to the end we might not goe solemlie from their post, we have since (with some delay) found to be real, and what the issue will be, time will produce to the undoubted profit of successors. A few days after our arrivall,Advice came from the king, who was certified of our being here and a contracte was Made betweene our Principall and his officers to have a shippes loading of pepper, deliver 4 waights of lead for three of pepper. This arrangement included ‘custom,es and all charge and a letter and present were immediately sent to the king, who liveth 3 daes journey upp in the countrie, who by his answere, was pleased to allow what was done and to promise a grant of what we should in reason demand; and so with a present of goats, henns, rice etc., welcomed us to his ports butt shortly they began to cavil protracting Delwere, Demanding part in Ryalls of 8 as allsoe 10 to 12 per cents more in lead than was agreed for. Whereupon, for redresse hereof as also to procure and confirme a future trade here and an abiding in this country, Mr. Thomas
Robinson, was enordered to proceed to the Court to treat with the king about the particulars aforementioned.

Having concluded upon the Shipt Planter to be dispeeded for Europe, we beganne to land of our lead and to waie some small quantities of pepper, which coming down out of the countries very slowly, reason the king and the Portugalls have latelie beene at some differences and thereupon that commoditie was transported overland to Cambia or elsewhere, nor is not at anie time brought tither, but when the merchants are ready to ship it awaie, the twon being of no defense to resist the Malabars or anie other invasive enemies. The king's officers there, fearing our discontent upon their supposed slackness, which might turn to their prejudice if we should depart unsatisfied they pretended diverse soothing excuses and delayed until at last it was resolved that to understand the certaintie of matters, Thomas Robinson should passe up to the Court and meat with the king about our trade and residence there. In the meantime, his Majesty's officer at Batacala came aboard the Dragon and requested in his master's behalf to be furnished with a piece of ordance which was granted and referred to his owne election, and a Demiculverin out of the Dragon was for that purpose with all its apurtences put ashore, the portraiture whereof was drawne out with its proportion and lengh and sent to the king with a present of Rich Scarlet (broad cloth) and some other things by Thomas Robinson who being accompanied with Peter Mundare and the two English youths to attend them departed Baticala this present evening and the next night with some difficultie attained the height of the mountiynes of Ballaguate arriving the second daie after at the cittie of Italy, the seat of the King.

In February 1637 A.D., Virabhadra Nayaka hearing about the arrival of Captain Weddel's fleet at Bhatkal, wrote to them inviting them to the port and informing them that he had ordered Mange Nayaka to weigh them out pepper procurable at the moment. He also assured them that he would most willingly embrace the friendship of the English. On the last day of the month, Virabhadra Nayaka entertained the ambassador to supper; and after it
was over, he gave them a firman to build a fort at Bhatkal and permission to trade in his country. The members of the ambassador were received with usual honours and they were looked after and well treated. All their requests were favourably considered and decided according to their wishes. Peter Mundy gives plenty of details about this embassy.\textsuperscript{46} In March 1637, Virabhadra Nayaka wrote to the English merchants regarding the transactions in pepper. Therein it is stated that he had ordered Mange Nayak to weigh out 300 candies of pepper and another 200 candies later to the agent at Bhatkal. The price of pepper was to be 30 pagodas per candi. This pepper was to be taken in exchange for lead. Further he requested the English to bring good horses from Persia or Arabia for which he would pay in pepper and money.\textsuperscript{47} In the second letter, Virabhadra wrote to the English thus: \textit{The Portuguese tell me they would faine see anie merchandise or good thing come from the English but doe not you esteem their patronage.}\textsuperscript{48}

Thus in spite of the Portuguese jealousy the English were able to gain considerable footing in the Kanara trade during the reign of Virabhadra Nayaka.

Sivappa Nayaka’s expansion wars brought him into conflict with the Portuguese along the coast from Bhatkal to Mangalore. All the Portuguese had frittered away the best opportunities to befriend the ruler and they fell victims to the wrath of Sivappa Nayaka and he had little difficulty in driving away these Parangis. The Portuguese did not realize that the destinies of Bednur were guided by a man of ability, who had mapped out a policy to free his kingdom from any outside influence. They clung steadfast to their old tactics till they found themselves dislodged from Kanara.
Soon after his accession, Sivappa Nayaka sent an ambassador to Goa to discuss with the Portuguese Viceroy the question of dismantling the fort of Barcelor. The Portuguese however wanted, that the whole island of Cambolim, should be handed over to them, if the various other issues raised by Sivappa were to be settled.

In 1649 A.D., Sivappa Nayaka went on a cruise along the seacoast. This caused great anxiety to the Portuguese captain Dom Luces de Souza, who was instructed by the authorities to make proper arrangements for its defence in case Sivappa Nayaka was on a voyage and made an onslaught on it.50

On 1st of May 1649 A.D., Antonio Borges da Costa, was ordered to proceed to Bednur with an elephant as present to Sivappa Nayaka. The Portuguese further seem to have been anxious to conclude a treaty with Sivappa and also buy the chilleys from his countries.51 In the earlier half of 1651 A.D., Sivappa Nayaka was particular about having them as his friends, due to the depredations of the Nairs in his territory extending up to Kasaragod. He sent an ambassador to Goa asking for help against the Moors of Malabar, which the Portuguese were willing to give so long as it was not against their ally the Raja of Cannanore. Fr. Correa was sent along with Sivappa’s ambassador to discuss things pertaining to the State and about pepper. He was instructed to take only 200 candies of pepper at the price of 25 pagodas per candy.52

In 1652 A.D., the Portuguese fortified Mangalore against Sivappa Nayaka’s wishes. The Nayaka was shrewd enough to anticipate a clash and so even before the Portuguese sent an ambassador to him he declared war against them. On 14th June 1652 A.D., the fort of Cambilim was attacked.
The attention of the Portuguese was diverted by an attack on Barcelor which was wrenched from their hands with little difficulty. The attack on Mangalore was quick and decisive. The Bednur troops overpowered the enemy by resorting to methods of mine warfare and breaking up the walls. In spite of reinforcements sent, the Portuguese were not able to cope with the situation as is evidenced by a letter of the Portuguese Viceroy to the king.53

Sivappa Nayaka concentrated his forces on Cambolim with reinforcements amounting to 8000 men and ten pieces of artillery and began a regular siege of the place. The war was in full swing and every soldier and mariner that Goa could spare was rushed to the theatre of war. During the siege a Portuguese fleet arrived to relieve Cambolim. After some time another fleet was sighted. By January 1653 A.D., a third fleet also arrived. But all these were forced to retire by the thick offensive launched by Sivappa Nayaka. The Portuguese had to withdraw their vessels. Seventy of the Portuguese were killed, and they withdrew taking with them all they could carry and leaving the fort dismantled.

It may be said to the credit of Sivappa Nayaka that in spite of the cover given by the guns of the Portuguese fleet, and the isolation of the fort from the mainland, he was able to achieve one of the most spectacular victories in the fort. It speaks of the efficiency of his army whose strength according to Leonardo Paes, amounted to forty to fifty thousand men.54 The letter of the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa to His Majesty the king of Portugal is descriptive of the efforts made by the Portuguese and the strength of the attack made by Sivappa Nayaka.55
The only fort that had not surrendered was that of Honavar, defended by Captain Francisco de Souza. It was besieged by Sivappa Nayaka and the Portuguese were forced to sue for peace. In February 1653 A.D., Fr. Gonzalo Martin was entrusted with the mission of making peace and his representations are referred to in a letter of the Viceroy to Diogo de Salazar, Captain General of Kanara, dated 6th March 1654 A.D., which speaks of this proposed peace with Sivappa Nayaka. But the negotiations fell through as the Portuguese did not agree upon the quantity of pepper to be taken. Meanwhile Sivappa Nayaka detained some Portuguese personnel, as there was a complaint of ill treatment of Hindus under him by Piexote de Silva, Captain of Barcelor.

Sivappa Nayaka after defeating the minor palaqars of South Kanara attacked the fort of Sao Sabastio, the Portuguese won at Mangalore and captured it. This was the only fort left to the Portuguese. In 1652 A.D., the Portuguese had to abandon it for want of garrison and ammunition. This was due to the fact that the authorities at Goa were not able to send reinforcements to the various theatres. The town of Mangalore was also lost after a vigorous and disastrous fight.

The Portuguese were thus crippled and Sivappa Nayaka became the undisputed master of the coast from Mirjee to Kasargod. The famous pepper and rice markets of the Kanara coast was left open to merchants, who paid best for it, be it the Portuguese, the Dutch, the English or the Arabs.

The attempts of the English to establish regular trading stations in the west coast, after their failure at Bhatkal were few and far between. Off and on, a ship touched the port and took whatever pepper it could get. In 1650 A.D., Capt. Durson came to Bhatkal on his ship the Loyalty. Previously,
towards the end of 1649 A.D., Capt. Durson had gone through a very sad experience. At Mirjee, he was imprisoned and his goods seized on the false pretext that he had tried to pass false pagodas. As soon as the news of Durson’s imprisonment reached Bednur, Sivappa Nayaka sent a Brahmin, Devar Shenoy, to free him and Capt. Durson was freed. Later accompanied by Thomas Dey and Hugh Shore, he decided to see Sivappa Nayaka and express their gratitude.

Sivappa Nayaka was now fully aware that as a result of his commercial policy the entire pepper trade of the coast was in his hands. He was also aware that South Kanara supplied the best rice and that sooner or later the English, the Dutch or Portuguese would compete for the same, thereby fetching him a high price.

From the beginning of the second half of the seventeenth century, the Dutch entered the race for trade along with the English and the Portuguese and directed their attention to the establishment of trading factories in the west coast of India. In 1660 A.D., a Dutch Fleet under the command of Toothaes came to Kanara for pepper trade. In compliance with the orders from Joan Maetsukyar, the Viceroy of Batavia, Leen dert Leendertz, a sub-merchant proceeded to Barcelor with letters to Venkatappa Nayaka and with a present of 100 nails, 140 nuts, 40 maces, and 24 red clothes. The Dutch governor Ryklof van der Dussen, had also sent his Treasurer with his yacht ‘Haogeline’ from Colombo, to collect from the area 1500 loads of rice for the Dutch settlement in Ceylon. This was followed by the arrival of De Gekoonds Leeune and Ellurg and the Yacht De Starre from the same island. These ships left Barcelor for Batavia and Ceylon after securing freight.
Venkatappa Nayaka promised the Dutch to prohibit the Portuguese from buying rice on condition that the Dutch bought from South Kanara all the rice available for export. He also asked them for convoys to protect their trading vessels against the pirates from Malabar. However, Leendertz, was able to contract only for 1200 loads of rice at 13 Kanarese pagodas, a price that was considered high. Ventappa was on very friendly terms with the Dutch. A letter of Venkatappa Nayaka to the Dutch Viceroy, dated 3rd January 1661 A.D. shows the keen interest he took in the Dutch as long as he benefited from them. The letter runs as follows:

I have received the letter from your Excellency and am glad to note that you have ordered Mr. Ryklof Van Goens to come to these districts to fulfil the contract closed with Leendertz, but so far he has not been able to carry out his war plan but he promises to do so afterwards. However, the two elephants which your Excellency sent me as present were not necessary considering the good friendship and unanimity that exists between us. However, since your Excellency sends them so cordially I have accepted them with pleasure. I am sending herewith a small counter present.

Bidirur 3rd January 1661 A.D. (Sd) Venktappa Nayaka

Yet Venkatappa Nayaka was anxious to renew his connections with the Portuguese. The Portuguese having been driven away by Sivappa Nayaka, resorted to dislocate Kanarese trade wherever possible. Leendetz writes in his diary under date 28th December 1660 A.D., that Bernado Coero, the Portuguese Captain, captured a ship at Barcelor, which had Venkatappa’s flag thereon. He took from it two pieces of ordinance, twenty-two muskets, all the gunpowder, two anchors, and eight barrels of red betel, one mast, seven sailors and some cash. Some of the sailors were converted to Christianity. When this news reached Bednur, Venkatappa was so annoyed
at it, that he immediately detained a European priest, who was on his way from Cochin to Goa. In addition, he did not return the seven war frigates of the Portuguese. The Portuguese represented their case through Ramaji Quothary, who wrote to Kallapa Kalve, evidently a prominent person at the Bednur court. The priest was thereupon released. The mission of Ramaji Quothary was not, however, fully successful. He was only able to secure the release of the seven ships, which could be used only as firewood. His negotiations regarding pepper did not come through as Venkatappa insisted that the Portuguese should buy pepper at a fixed price.

The English found themselves hemmed in between the Dutch and the Portuguese, and in 1664 A.D., their trade was not promising. Their only port was Bhatkal. They sent one Valaji, their broker, with 1500 pound in gold to purchase 300 tons of pepper from Bhatkal. But unfortunately the Ship “Vine” in which Valaji embarked wrecked and the deal did not fructify. But in October 1664 A.D., Taylor, another English merchant arrived at Bhatkal with his ships London and American. He had to wait for the arrival of Narane Maloe, the famous Kanarese merchant and Ambassador at Goa; and when he arrived at Bhatkal on 7th November 1664 A.D., Tayler was able to get some pepper from Bhatkal. Scarcity of pepper was to a certain extent due to Somasekhara Nayaka’s export of the same to Machao, Basra, Persia and Muscat.

The Dutch were making considerable progress in west coast. They had a factory at Barcelor, from which place they were monopolizing in the rice trade. An idea of the extent of their trade may be formed from the fact that in the course of May 1664 A.D., 102 vessels were filled with rice, cocoanuts, etc., for their settlements in the east.
Narane Maloe, the court merchant of Bednur was favourably disposed towards the Dutch. He made a representation on their behalf to the Bednur court for removal of some tolls levied on their goods and was able to get them refunded the moneys they had paid. Subsequently, the Dutch under Van Goens tried to secure Mangalore from Somasekhara. In 1668, Gibert de Bruyen and Jao Cassen brovt were sent to Bednur with a present and they were able to affect a contract and induce Somasekhara to grant them some concessions.

Somasekhara who wanted to keep all the foreign powers in good and friendly spirits made new overtures to the Portuguese in 1670 A.D., He offered them Mangalore, Barcelor and Honavar for the erection of factories under stipulations that the proposed factories should not be surrounded by double walls and that no bastions were also to be erected; no oil mill was to be established; native weights and measures were to be employed and none should be made a Christian. A treaty was concluded between Somasekhara Nayaka and the Portuguese in 1671 A.D., which allowed them further concessions. According to that the Portuguese were to be given sites at Honavar, Barcelor and Mangalore for building factories with single walls and without any fortification or erection of oil mills etc., Their boats were to be given free access to the ports of Somasekhara Nayaka, king of Kanara. The Portuguese were, however, not to indulge themselves in conversion of the local people as also to help the enemies of the king.

After 1671 A.D., the relations between Bednur and the Portuguese continued to be cordial. For according to the terms of a treaty of peace concluded between the queen of Kanara and the Portuguese on 15th December, 1678 A.D., the Portuguese were to pay 30,000 Xerafins towards
the cost of war. The queen was to give them stone and wood for the erection of a factory at Mangalore and to supply annually 1,500 sacks of rice. Besides these, the queen authorized them to erect Roman Catholic churches at Mirzoe, Chandor, Bhatkal and Kalyan.\textsuperscript{72} The desire of the Portuguese to continue in amity with Cannamaji is revealed in a letter from the Viceroy of Goa to the queen.\textsuperscript{73} In 1687 A.D., the Portuguese were very anxious to erect another factory near Barcelor\textsuperscript{74} as may be seen from a letter from the Portuguese king. By 1695 A.D., they were in possession of Honnavar, Barcelor and Cambolim.\textsuperscript{75} As a result of the treaty with Cannammaji, they seem to have been able to drive out the Arabs. The Arabs who resented this, returned with a large fleet towards the middle of 1695 A.D., to destroy the Kanarese ports. They burnt Mangalore and Basrur and set sail after gathering a large booty.\textsuperscript{76}

During Cannammaji’s reign, Dr. Fryer, passed along the Kanara coast, on his way to Bombay. Describing Honavar, he says:

\begin{quote}
Honavar in hilly barren land was divided between the Dutch and the Portuguese. It had a castle without soldiers and a town with poor buildings. The castle had been built by the Portuguese and seized by the Kanarese with the help of the Dutch between whom and the Portuguese the town was divided; The Naires had no footing in Honavar and Moors not much. Many of the people had received the Christian faith; those who had not, were the most impiously religious of any of the Indians, being marvelously conversant with the Devil. The people had good laws and obeyed them and traveled without guides on broad roads not along byepaths as in Malabar.\textsuperscript{77}
\end{quote}

Basavappa continued an active policy against the Portuguese. The Portuguese seemingly had been in arrears of payment for the rice taken by them from South Kanara. Hence Basavappa promptly wrote to them asking
them to pay up the dues early in 1700 A.D., The anxiety of the Portuguese to have friendly relations with Basavappa, so that they could have full facilities for getting rice and other provisions is revealed by their letter sent to the king of Kanara. They wrote saying that the price of rice would be promptly paid and assured Basavappa that they would give him necessary help against his enemies. 78

In March 1702 A.D., the Portuguese again wrote to Basavappa Nayaka that the Arabs had been received in the ports of Kanara and that they would prevent their landing at any cost. 79 To win over the king of Kanara, the factories at Mangalore made presents worth 300 xerafins every year to the king and his servants. 80 In 1704 A.D., there seems to have been further cause for friction between the Portuguese and Basavappa for the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, Castino de Mello de Castro wrote on 1st May 1704 A.D., thus: The king of Canara betrayed me by shutting his ports and refusing cargo of rice and even to prevent any embarking. 81 In December 1704 A.D., there seems to have been a skirmish between the Portuguese and the Kanarese. A Portuguese letter, dated 4th December 1704 A.D., gives details about the king of Kanara and the Arabs, who were competing for trade in the area. 82

In 1707 A.D., the Portuguese invaded the territories of Basavappa Nayaka and attacked the port of Mangalore. But the forces of Basavappa were able to put up a stiff resistance and the Portuguese were compelled to suspend hostilities. Basavappa Nayaka deputed Damarasa Prabhu as his ambassador to Goa with a letter to conclude peace with them. 83 But he had to extend more concessions to the Portuguese. He had, for instance, to pay 30,000 Xerafins and 3,150 bales of rice towards expenses incurred by the
Portuguese. Further he promised not to allow the Arabs to trade in South Kanara and allow the Portuguese a monopoly in trade, who in turn, agreed to help the king in any war in which he may be entailed and promised that every year two Kanarese ships could go to Ormuz and fetch horses. But this friendliness did not continue long.

Soon Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Menzes, the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa fell out with Basavappa. He proceeded with a small squadron to Barcelor and having dismantled the fortress at the place; he burnt all the villages on the river banks and killed all who attempted to offer any opposition. Kalyanapur on the same coast suffered a similar fate. Vasco Fernades then bombarded Mangalore, Kumta, Gokarna and Mirzeo, spreading terror, fire and death in every direction. We get details of the attacks in a Portuguese document dated the 17th January 1714 A.D., Hostilities however, seem to have ended and there was peace again.

Due to the increasing activities of the English and the Dutch, the Portuguese seem to be losing their stronghold in South Kanara. But they were very anxious to make peace with Somasekhara as is evident from their letter from Goa. Somasekhara did not give elbow room for the Portuguese and hence in 1719 A.D., they were planning an expedition against the army of Kanara. It is not known whether the Portuguese carried out the expedition. In 1727 A.D., however the chief captain of Kanara was asked to please the king of Kanara by paying fully for the rice and helping him against his enemies if the king asked for the same. But in the same year, the Portuguese soldiers seem to have committed depredations in Hindu temples of Kanara. Somasekhara naturally protested against this and the Portuguese authorities tried to appease him by promising him that the
criminals would be severely dealt with. The Captain of Mangalore was also ordered to offer the king of Kanara artillery and experts to defend his territories when attacked by enemy forces such as from Mysore.\textsuperscript{89}

The Portuguese were so particular about getting rice from the Kanarese territory that they were even prepared to concede whatever the Kanarese asked for. Agostiho Machadao, who went on a mission to Kanara in 1728 A.D., was instructed to arrange for a deal in rice at a certain price for many years in return for salt for a fixed price.\textsuperscript{90} In a letter dated 5th April, 1728 A.D., Agostinho Machadao was given directions to act, if the king of Kanara admitted his propositions.

Knowing that rice in Kanara has the same value for our navy as 10 or 12 temples have, they should get for it, 7,00,000 fardos per year and if it costs more, then this should be price they charge to open up their ports; and in proposition to the same price so many measures on salt as correspond to 6,00,000 fardos should be given to them.\textsuperscript{91}

Agostinho Machadao was constantly reminded by the authorities about the imperative need to effect some sort of an agreement with the king of Kanara.\textsuperscript{92} In November 1728 A.D., the Portuguese factories at Goa felt the dire need for rice.\textsuperscript{93} Meanwhile Somasekhara Nayaka seems to have asked the Portuguese for a big ship to bring horses to his dominions. But the Portuguese were anxious to have very cordial relations with Somasekhara and make an alliance of peace and friendship with them. Hence they seem to have written that they could not give him the general right to bring horses but after making a peace, they would allow him such a concession according to fixed terms.\textsuperscript{94} Further the Portuguese seem to have helped Somasekhara in his wars with the Nayas (Kottiris).\textsuperscript{95}
By 1733 A.D., the Portuguese were able to get from Kanara about 1,900 fardos of rice. The factory at Mangalore was also asked to see whether Kanarese could be persuaded to give at a just price of about 13 or 14 pagodas in return for salt.96

On 12th May, 1733 A.D., Conde de Sandomil, the Portuguese Viceroy at Goa, wrote the following letter to Raghopa Odeya (Raghunath), the Kanarese Governor at Mangalore.

*Received the letter of your Majesty with the news, which gave me joy that your Majesty got with my coming over to office. For that I thank you and I hope that you will have always reason to be pleased because always during my tenure, I shall try very willingly to further the mutual interests, the increase of the dominion of the Canra, whose friendship I esteem very much wish it may continue firmly. I was pleased with the success of the king of Canara won against the enemies, and that concurs for the benefit the ship that this state sent for help. Now I wished to send others that the king of Canara in his letter asked for and your majesty also asked for. The maker of Mangalore had written with great emphasis. But as thay will come late from north and south and will require some repairs, to be made in summer, it is necessary to keep them so that after repairs they may be sent over in the beginning of winter; this is the time when they can be used as during summer they cannot sail and instead of remaining with out use, let them remain here for repairs. Let them go to help well. Let them be useful in everything for the utility of the dominions of the king of Canara and for the pleasure of your Majesty. I am sending through the agents that you sent, my regards to the king and a present in thanks giving of what I have received.*

Goa, 12th May 1733 A.D. Conde de Sandomil.97

The Portuguese further seem to have hoped the king of Kanara would help in his wars against the Koattiris by supplying him with warships.98
In 1734 A.D., Smasekhara sent his ambassador Narana (Narayana) Prabhu to Goa, for asking the Portuguese for help in the form of army, gunpowder, bullets and bombs. The Portuguese however promised only to send the necessary help hoping to contract for a regular supply of rice. The subsequent relations of Somasekhara with the Portuguese were cordial.

During the reign of Basavappa Nayaka, a new trading company was gaining influence in the west coast. The French East India Company which was the last European trading concern to come to India, was trying to establish itself in that area. A letter from Tellichery, dated 7th February, 1740 A.D., refers to the French as having started negotiations with the Kanarese. They (the French) are now gone to the Canarese general at Madday, with a considerable land force from Pondicherry but, what their intentions are, we cannot say. The English, however, were careful to see that the French did not gain any access by helping Basavappa Nayaka, in his attempts to subdue the princes of Malabar, as they had to depend on his good grace for the pepper and rice from the coast.

In February 1740 A.D., William Wake, the chief at Tellicherry agreed to pay a duty of ½ pagoda per corge of rice taken from Kanarese ports for any rice taken above the stipulated quantity of 300 corge of rice (42 bales). By March 1740 A.D., the English seem to have got from Mangalore 6903 bales of rice and hoped to receive yet another 9000 bales. In 1741 A.D., the English made a contract with a notable merchant of Honavar, Har Camatti, for purchasing pepper. But about the same time the Portuguese also entered the field and succeeded in contracting for 40 candies of pepper, which prevented the English from getting any quantity. Apparently, the Portuguese offered a higher price and took away the pepper.
In 1744 A.D. also at the English factory at Mangalore, Charles Crommelin, was not able to buy rice for the settlement due to various reasons, chief among them being the clandestine methods of the Portuguese in getting rice for themselves. Further, the Kanarese appear to have insisted on a duty of one pagoda per corge of rice purchased by the English contrary to the previous agreement (i.e. ½ pagoda per corge). On 3rd January 1745 A.D. the English chief at Tellichery wrote to Basavappa Nayaka complaining about the increase in duties. But Basavappa did not take serious note of it and sent only a very formal reply. The English, however, were forced to be friendly with the ruler of Bednur. They could ill-afford to incur his displeasure as they entirely depended on his territories for their supplies of pepper and rice.

The document left behind by Marques de Castello Novo e Alorna, the departing Portuguese viceroy of Goa, gives us an account of the state of India, during and at the end of his administration. About the Kanara country the document says:

*The king of Canara is more rich than powerful. The traffic in rice with the whole of Malabar and part of Muscat is the cause of a great influx of money into his kingdom. We have been at peace for some time now with this prince, and it is of utmost importance to us that this peace should be preserved inviolate. It may seem absurd to say this potentate is much more rich than powerful, but such is the case, for the money as fast as it comes into his kingdom is hoarded up in his treasury and no use is made of it at all. He will not permit any fortification to be erected in his dominions in case they should at any time be invaded and the enemy establishes himself in them.*

The document reveals the anxiety of the Portuguese to remain on friendly terms with Basavappa Nayaka.
On the death of Basappa Nayaka II, Canna Basvappa Nayaka ascended the throne in 1755 A.D. (-57). Like his father he too has to face frequent invasions and plunder of his territories. Even the English who had been allies of Bednur were not friendly towards him probably on account of his weakness. Further, he had incurred their displeasure by certain indiscreet acts. For example, he seems to have prohibited the export of rice from his territories by the English for they were helping the Muslims and minor chiefs who rebelled against the authority of Bednur.\textsuperscript{107}

In the pepper trade of Kanara, there was a keen competition between the Portuguese and the English. The English stationed a Permanent representative at Honnavar to prevent the Portuguese from depriving them of any considerable quantity of pepper; they might be able to get.\textsuperscript{108}

The English were able to get better trade concessions due to the weak position of the queen of Honnavar in 1758 A.D., they were able to bargain in the pepper price and they seem to have declined to take two hundred and fifty candies from Ankola, at the rate of 24 varahas.\textsuperscript{109} The queen granted a firman to the English in 1761 A.D., according them permission to build a factory at Honavar and to mount thereon 21 carriage guns without paying land rent for any house or houses which they may build within the place. The other articles of the firman were:

\textit{The English and their servants were to have full liberty to go about in her dominions and that all the Rani’s officers and subjects must show them respect. Whatever goods or merchandise the English or their brothers shall bring in their factory at Onore, or import into Mirjee river (except horses) they shall pay on the amount they are sold for, only 1 1/2 \% customs, including officers’ fees.}
If they export any country goods at any place except Mirjee, Compta (Kumta) and Onore, they shall pay customs as other merchants except on gold and silver, on which no customs shall be charged and in case their goods remain unsold, and they choose to export them again, they shall not pay any duties.

If they cannot sell their goods at the places allowed to them, and they choose to carry them inland, they have full liberty to do so and our killedars etc., officers, shall not on any account molest or impede them.

After they have paid the customs at the place allotted, if they choose to carry their goods inland, they shall pay 2 pagodas customs, for as much as one man can carry of Broad cloth, cutness, velvets and silks as far as Madura, if they go beyond Madura, then they shall pay the usual country customs, and in case they choose to sell their goods, in the way they must pay the usual customs of the place at which they sell, but on all goods carried directly from Onore to Bringat, they shall only pay the customs of one and a half per cent at Onore and then no further custom till they come to Bringat.

If the merchants or people to whom the English sell their goods shall make any disputes or delays about paying them their money our killedars etc., officers must assist the English, all in their power to recover the money, and the English may, if they please, carry the merchants etc., who owe them money and keep them prisoners in their factory, till they have full satisfaction, and our killedars officers etc., shall not impede or make any disputes with the English on this account.

No body must go into the English factory by force, if they do and the English complain of them, our killedars must do speedy justice, and punish them and whenever slaves or servants run away all the officers and subjects must secure them and deliver them up again to the English, but they must not cut their heads off.

In a like manner if any of the Rajaha’s (Somasekha’s) people run away they must deliver them up, if they go to the English factory, the Rajah’s officers and
subjects must assist the English, to secure the thieves and recover what is stolen. If the English import any goods as necessaries they shall pay no customs on them.

The English must not kill cows, oxen or men in the dominions. If any ships or Boats belonging to the English are shipwrecked in the Rajah's subjects and officers must assist the English in saving all the goods and effects and deliver whatever is found to the English, but the English have nothing to do with any vessels belonging to any other Merchant.

If any oxen with pepper, Bettlenut or other goods come down from inland (or any part of our dominions) belonging to the English the customs man should settle the customs immediately.

The English have free liberty to cut out Timber, stones and wood to build their factory and repair their boats etc., but in case they want to cut any masts and Timbers to build ships with, they must first obtain permission. All the ships of war belonging to the English have free liberty to import and export without paying anchorage duties. The English Anchorage duty, Killedars' officer's perquisites and all fees are included in 1 ½ %.

Whatever pepper the English bring from Bringat, was to pay only ½ a pagoda custom. The English have free liberty to settle their factory at Bringat, and should carry on good friendship according to this firman.110

The above study reveals the fact that the ports like Manjeswar, Mangalore, Mulki, Basrur, Baindur, Bhatkal, Honnavar and so on handled much of the foreign trade in agricultural produce. These were important producers of spices, especially, pepper and rice. These articles because of their high demand were not only exported to outside Kanara but also foreign countries. The pepper of South Kanara in particular was very popular in the countries of Europe and West Asia, where that article formed an important ingredient in the diet of the people. To procure this valuable agricultural produce, various European powers like the Portuguese, the Dutch, the
English and the French often visited the ports of Kanara. Many times their competitions were very high. In their anxiety to secure monopoly over this trade, the Western powers never hesitated to use diplomacy or even force against each other or against the native powers of South Kanara. In other words this prosperous trade enhanced the economic position of these regions of Kanara.
Notes and references:

1. R.C. Majumdar, The Classical Accounts of India, pp. 305, 312, 376, 381
2. B.A. Saletore, Karnataka’s Trans-Oceanic Contacts, Dharwad, 1956, pp. 10,25
4. S. Muhammad Husayn Nainar, Arab Geographer’s Knowledge of Southern India, Madras, 1942, p.34
5. Ibid, p. 61
8. Robert Sewell, A Forgotten Empire, Delhi 1962, p. 86
11. Barbosa, op.cit, pp. 189-198
18. Ibid.
21. William Foster, English Factories in India, 1637-41, pp. 93-94.
22. Ibid, 1668-69, p. 112
25 Foster, English Factories in India, 1618-21,p.56.
26 Ibid, pp. 69 ff.
29. Moraes: Mangalore, p.15.
32. Moncoes do Reino, 12; Ann de 1629 Fols. 448-449.
33. Varkey, History of Ullal, Mangalore College Magazine, VI, No. 2.
34. Moncoes do Reino, No. 12, Anno de, 1629, Fols. 448-449.
35. Notions of reign, No. 14, year 1630, Fols. 212-13, No. 84.
39. Secredo, 1633, Fol. 27. The reply runs as follows:

For king Virabhadra Naikue two letters together were given to me by Ramapa, Ambassador of your excellency and both demonstrative of love and friendship which your Excellency has and your ancestors bore to the king of Portugal, and for all the Portuguese who are in this State, the obligations for which will be remembered by me, that may know how to thank for them with good will.

Together with your ambassador came Antonio Borges, resident of Barcelor and each one for himself said that your Excellency kept a secret within your heart. I listened to every thing with much pleasure and replied, which your Excellency will see together with the letters what they spoke about and promised in the name of your excellency and every thing remains a great secret and as your Excellency will swear and promise to keep thus every thing, I, also, on my part shall swear and give my word on behalf of myself and other succeeding Viceroys of this state just as your Excellency will do on behalf of all the kings who will succeed in this kingdom; your sons, and descendants, so that all the peoples of Canara and all the Portuguese may remain certain that we have peace and friendship for ever, the sun to moon lasts. As soon as these things will have been done and sworn as I say, I shall arrange that the Queen of Banghel may have friendship with you and I have written to my ambassador to be present in the Court of Idalcao and I and I will write to him again to be in friendship with your ambassador and to work to help in the business for which he was sent by you to the same Idal Sha; above all I shall ever to be with so much truth and for many years.

All other things which are not written in this letter will be told by your Ramapa and Antonio Borges. Now I am certain that this friendship will be for ever between us.

Goa 10th December 1638. (Sd) Pedro da Silva

40. Jus Frucares, 1631-1640, Fol. 177.
41. Instrucoes, Fol. 98.
42. Ibid., 1641-1647, Fol. 61.
43. Foster, English Factories in India, 1637-47, Intro. P. VI.
44. Peter Mundy: *Travels*, III, pp.74-75.

45. Extract from Courteen Papers in Ms. Rawl. A. 299 Fol. 188, at the Bodleian Library. The Extract runs as follows:

By a letter received from you I am informed of your safe arrival and that you are invited to this port of Battacall and that you came in the wale of trafique. I have therefore endorsed Mange Naique to take notice of all your merchandise and to weigh you out all the pepper that is to be procured at present and have likewise received the presents which you sent me at your first arrival in the port. Mange Naique writes unto me that you desire much in the behalfe of your kinge to hold amitie with this countrie, which I am heartily glad to understand as your selfe hereafter shall perceive I shall most willingle embrace your king's friendship and shall cause to be put into your hands as well all the pepper as other merchandise of this countrie, desiring likewise that you would bring me whatsoever rarite and goodthings of your countrie. I received your present according to your letter and have likewise returned you such things as by a rolle therewith sent will apeare. 'Icarry', 14th February 1637.

46. Extracts from voyages of Weddel's Fleet-State papers, Dom Chas I cclii, No. 3 quoted in Peter Mundy, *Travels* III, and pp.88 ff. For extracts see Appendix A, No.3.

47. Extract from Courteen Papers in Ms. Rawl. A. 299 Fol. 188-189 in Peter Mundy, *Travels* III, p.92. for details see App. A, NO.4


49. Instrucoes, No.3, 1641-47, Fols. 113-114. For the text of the letter see App. A no.5.

50. Instrucoes, No.3, 1641-47, Fols. 113-114. The instructions were as follows: You shall start with all vessels of your company and go up the river Sal where you shall find some paranguese and units of the fleet to whom you shall entrust the guard of the forts of Onor and Barcellor and as I am told that king Sivappa Naique is on voyage, you shall remain in the same fortress of Barcelor till you know with certainty that he goes down with any ruin intended against our forts or go forward in order you may be able to help where necessary.

51. Instrucoes: 1647, Folio(none).

52. Instrucoes, No.4, 1647, Fol. 42.; For details of instructions see. App A, No.6.

53. Moncoes do Reino, No.23, Anno de 1653, Fol.395. For details of the letter see App.A.No.7.


56. Instrucoes, No.4, 1647, Fol. 67.

57. Ibid, Folios 83-84. For details see App A, No.9.

58. Instrucoes, No.3, 1641-1647, last but one Folio.

60. Moraes, Mangalore, App.6, P.77, KNV., VII.
61. Foster, English Factories in India, 1646-50, p.203.
62. Ibid., p.306.
63. Ibid., 1651-54, pp.75-76.
65. Foster, English Factories in India, 1661-1664, pp.348-49.
67. Batavia Dagh Register, 1664, p.448.
68. Ibid., P.573.
69. Batavia Dagh Register: 1668-69, p.129. The letter of Somasekhara Nayaka to the Dutch runs as follows: Somacecraneyak, of Queldv sends compliments to the Viceroy of Batavia, Joan Maestsukar. The delegates Covert de Bryn and Jao Casesen brovt have been at my court and a perpetual contract has been made between me and the company regarding pepper which contract will last forever. (Sd) Somasecraneyak.
70. JBBRAS., XIX, p.261.
71. Pazes-e-Tratados., No.1, 1671, Fols. 57-59. The treaty runs as follows:

In the name of all powerful God, ye who see this contract of peace and friendship know that in the year of our Lord 1671, on the 20th day of April in the city of Goa, in the Royal Hall of its fort in which the viceroys give their assent, in the presence of Their Excellencies the Governor Antonio de Mello de Castro and MANOEL Corte Real de Sampayo succeeded in the first place on the death of the Count of St. Vincient, as well as Vithula Mallo, ambassador of Quellady Somaxa Carnaik, king of Ikkeri, and Dr. Andre Friere de Anthonde, Secretary of State and Copana (Gopana) Sinay Lingoa of the said ambassador and also Manoel Mascaren has, Superintendent General of the Treasury, Diogo de Millo de Castro, Captain of the city Joao de Mello de Sampayo and Dom Francisco Luiz and all being together, was examined the letter of credency which the said ambassador Vithula Mallao has brought from the king for the governors to give their assent to peace contracted between the state and king Somaxacarnayak, after having examined the conditions of the peace on many occasions and having conferred on different days. This contract was assented to and the following capitulations there, in the following manner:-

That the king shall give to the state factories at Onor, Barcelor and Mangalore with lands to build them with their fence round a unit of a shot of hand rife, being the property of the same demarcation, and factories shall not be built of double walls but single, without bulwarks, fortifications, battlements, canals nor shall encroach on the land beyond the one that is marked.

That in the said places no oil mills shall be constructed nor balances and weights be used except those used by the king.
There shall be no forced conversion or taking of orphans or killing cows or Brahmins.

If the prisoners of the Portuguese run away to the lands of the same king, they shall be extradited in a good and willing manner. In fear of the enemy and dacoits there shall be kept in the factory gunpowder and balls.

The factory hands shall be styled according to their antiquity.

As soon as the fleets of the state arrive, there may be no delay in the loading. The factory hands shall take the rice before hand and shall load it with the help of the king’s boat master.

The officers of the fleet wishing to talk to the factory hands, shall first of all ask permission and the factory agents shall not use force in the lands of the above king.

The Portuguese merchants shall lodge all their goods in the factories and shall pay the duties only of those they sell and shall be able without impediment to take those they have not sold and on the other hands the factory hands shall bring from the hill of the king all that is necessary for their service and the use of their household without paying the duty or tax which the said king shall give up if asked for.

The boats, vessels and the machuas of the Portuguese merchants entering the rivers and ports of the said king shall not levy any duty of those goods they have not sold and good passage and shelter shall be given to them.

The Patamarins (boats) of the Portuguese going or coming with letters shall be allowed to go free without any search. If any vessels of the thieves who do stay in the lands of the said king imprison any boats of the Portuguese or the merchants of their mills, they shall be ordered to be let off as of old.

The boats, machuas, and the vessels from Canara shall take bills as they did formally and the boats of the said king that go with the cargo of chilleys shall receive bills from the secretariat in the old style, however they shall not be able to go to the ports of the enemies of the state.

The said king being at war with the enemies of the state, he shall be helped with fleet as of old nor shall this state unite with enemies of Canara.

The boats of the king of Canara coming to the ports of the state shall be allowed good passage and on the occasion of a storm they shall be given shelter without being forced to land their goods, nor to pay duties except on those they sell willingly.

The boats, vessels and machuas of the king of Canara shall not pay toll and anchorage fees.

Finally they shall be bound to order to hand over at once if they have not done it still, 60 measures of chilleys as a reward to the risks undergone in one of the ports of Canara, for having entered with a cargo below the safety line.

Which contract and capitulations and this friendship which has been newly obtained, the said ambassador Vithula Maloe promised in the name of the said king Somaxacarnaik, who is his master and lord and also in the name of his successors to obey and keep, hold and maintain, all that it contains, on the penalty of paying to the
state all the losses and damages that are caused by its being disobeyed and the said governments shall accept in the name of the prince overlord, and shall promise on the other hand to obey and keep and maintain this friendship and all that is contained in this contract for themselves and for the viceroys and governors, who henceforward shall be of this state on the same penalty of paying to the said king Somaxacarnaik all the losses and expenses and damages that are thereby caused which the said ambassadors Vithula Maloe has accepted in the name of his Master and lord and for the firmness of the contract all the governors swore declaring that a person shall go to the king from the city so that he may swear to all that is capitulated as if all the successors were represented by his person and as the peace and friendship is celebrated and solemnized the said king Somaxacarnaik shall assent to the contents of this treaty whose copy is sent to him so that he might publish it in his court, which also shall be done in this city, and so that it may be obeyed. This assent is given with signatures of those present on the same day, month and year.

Subsequently the governors Antonio de Mello de Castro and Manoel Corte Real de Sampayo seem to have felt the need for including in the treaty the following clauses:

"The king of Canara should force those Christians who live in his kingdom to obey our laws as also the Portuguese who live there shall be able to be priest in their misdemencouors against the law.

We are also informed that some Brahmins forced the Christians to go to their temples on feast days to fire salutes of musketry, and to do other things which our law forbids and thus the king of Canara ought to order that henceforward this should not be done and those who disobey shall be punished".

The letter of Somasekhara Nayaka to the Portuguese runs as follows:

To the possessors of happiness, Governors of the State of India Antonio de Mello de Castro and Manoel Cortes Real de Sampayo to whom I Quelladi Somaxacarnaik with great love and courtesy between myself and the king of Portugal there shall be much friendship as has been formerly with whose contact and adjustment I celebrate on the 14th February 1671 in the following manner.

At Mangalore, Barcelor and onor, in these three ports I shall give you places to build your factories and Bunglows and also surrounding places. In the same places you shall neither build double walls nor raise bulwarks and battlements and canals nor shall you encroach upon the ground besides the one I give you. In the same place you shall not use oil mills and the balances and weights shall be those that are used in our lands. You shall not convert by force nor shall take orphans nor molest cows or brahmans. The Portuguese captains who enter my lands shall keep in the factories the necessary gunpowder for fear of decoits and enemies. The factories should, however, pay anchorage in conformity with old custom. I have ordered the boatmen to be paid from the money of the parias. As soon as the vessels reach, they may not be delayed from the cargo; The Portuguese shall bring the rice and other things beforehand. When they load it, it shall be in the presence of my boatmen. The officers of the Aramane wishing to speak to the millhands shall ask first of all permission and the Tanadars shall not send their officer to exercise force and violence and in particular I shall order what is necessary and in the same manner the agents of the mill hands
coming to my lands shall not exercise any force nor shall mine given any scandal and if this takes place to the contrary I shall order what is right and shall pass orders accordingly.

The Portuguese merchants, buying their goods by the river shall keep them in the factories and shall pay duties on those that are sold and shall not pay anything for those they take back and they shall not be harasse... in this matter and all that the factory hands bring in for the service and use, use of their house, though the duty belong to me, I shall give it up if they ask for it.

The boats, the vessels and the Machuas of the merchants coming from the lands of the Portuguese to my lands with their goods shall pay duties of the goods sold and with this shall be given good passage. The post coming or going with the letters of the Portuguese shall not be searched and shall be let free for which I shall give orders.

The boats and vessels from Canara shall take bills and shall pay in the accustomed manner and bills shall pass to the boats that take the cargo of the chilies.

On any occasion the Portuguese shall send their fleet with powder and balls to hel me against the moors, the naires and others, they shall not unite with my enemies nor shelter them.

They shall help me when I send my army against those I referred above. My boats and vessels that go to the Portuguese ports shall pay their duties and good passage shall be given to them. In case of any storm or contrary wind turning the ships and vessels to your ports, they shall be given permission and let off without forcing them to unload their goods. The Portuguese and the merchants bringing their goods loaded in the vessels and boats shall pay duties of those that are taken from our lands in the presence of our boatmen and the clerk shall not do it absolutely and by this there shall be commerce with our vessels, boats, and machus supplying the necessaries going and coming without paying for shelter and anchorage and the Portuguese binding themselves to keep and concur with the clauses of this contract without failing on their part. In the same manner I shall not fail to obey and as a means to that effect I give this paper written by me.


73. Riez Viznhos., No.2 Ano de 1681-93. The letter of Viceroy of Goa to Cannammaji runs as follows:

One of the Frigates of this state of which Joao Monteiro da Rocha is Captain General of sea and war captured in the port of Baticala, a vessel that was unloading Arabian horses from Muscat against the contents of the charter (or permit) given to it. On account of this, the vessel could be confiscated, yet paying attention to the good conduct of your Highness towards the State and because the vessel is the property of your Highness I present the same to your Highness and am giving orders to the Captain of the same frigates to take it to the aforesaid port. It is nevertheless expected that your Highness will show your gratefulness to his kindness by ordering to give soon the amount of Rice for the kafila without delay.
Moreover, we expect that your Highness will give the necessary orders so that the vessels will be faithfully observed. Let God enlighten the person of your Highness with his Divine Grace.

Goa, January 16, 1683. Francisco de Tavore

74. Notions of the Reign, No. 3, 1685-1698, Fols. 77-78. The letter from Portuguese King to Cannammaji dated 6th February 1687 runs as follows:

The license Gaspar de Manel whom you sent with chilleys wrote to me that in the river of Barcelor there is an island on the side of Goa which gives an income of 10,000 pagodas from palm trees to the Canaras. It is from this that leaving aside 30 paces of a point which comes to join with land, a fort could be ordered that could defend itself with a custom house with great income which could in the least yield 10,000 coins.

And as on this matter also the Superintendent of the Treasury of Cochin wrote to me I recommend to you that you should deal in this matter with persons who understand this and send the information, which you obtain on this matter so that I may write to you what is good and best.

Lisbon, 6 February 1687. The king

75. Careris, Voyages, P.220.

76. Pinkerton, Voyages, p. 365.

77. Dr. Fryer – Travels, p. 57. Between two islands near Bhatkal Fryer saw six skuking Malabar prows waiting their booty. See East India and Persia, p.57. “The Malabar pirate” he says, are the worst pickeroons on this coast going in fleets. They are set out by great men ashore. At sea, near Goa, Fryer was attacked by a large boat of Malabar pirates with about sixty fighting men besides rowers who threw stink pots and piled chambers and small shot, flung stones and darted long lances and were with difficulty driven off. (ibid., p.151,152).

78. Reis Vizinhos, No. 5 Fol. 44; see Extracts in Archivo-Portugese Oriental; III, pt. I, No.95. see App A. No.13.


80. Ibid., III, Pt. I, No.220.

81. Ibid., III, Pt. I, No.252.


84. OS. Portu exeze, VII, pp.157-167.


86. La Das Moncoes, No.80, Fol.160; Ibid., No.82, Fol. 106; Extracts in Archivo-Portuguese Oriental; III, pt. II, No.99 and 133.

87. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.8, Fol. 80; Archivo-Portuguese Oriental; III, pt. II, No.274.
88. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol.43, APO,III, pt.ii, No.6.
89. Ibid., Fol.53, APO,III, pt.ii, No.27.
90. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol. 60 APO,III, pt.iv, No.36.
91. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol. 64 APO,III, pt.iv, No.38.
92. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol. 70 APO,III, pt.iv, No.54.
93. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol. 73 APO,III, pt.iv, No.56.
94. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol.75; APO,III, pt.iv, No.59.
95. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol.102; APO,III, pt.iv, No.148; Ibid., No. 150.
97. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol.121; APO,III, pt.iv, No.303.
98. La dos Reis Vizinhos, No.7, Fol.130; APO,III, pt.iv, No.175. La das Moncoes, No.102, Fol.710; APO,III, pt.iv, No.165.
100. Secretariat Inward Letter Book, No. 2/1740.
101. Logan: Treaties, No. XII.
102. Secretariat Inward Letter Book, No. 2/1740, p.168. The selling price of the rice, however, seems to have been Rs. 98 for a candy of about 502 pounds and Rs. 115 with all charges. Secretariat Inward Letter Book, No. 2/1740, P. 143.
104. Secretariat Inward Letter Book, 1743, p.79. The Kanarese were but legitimate in raising the tax, as they had to incur a lot of expenditure in subduing the Malabar chief.