Chapter VI

Trade and Commerce in Goa: 1750-1910

The Portuguese were traders basically interested in securing areas strategic for their trading activities in the east. Goa was conquered by them in 1510 especially due to its strategic location for being at almost the centre of the west coast of India. Immediately after having conquered Goa, Affonso de Albuquerque entered into a contract with the gaunkars of the city of Goa with a view to winning over the local populace to his side and thereby to ensure economic co-operation including the trade-related support from the indigenous people. The gaunkars were allowed undisturbed possession and tillage of their lands after they agreed to pay to the Portuguese the foros that they had been paying to the earlier rulers.¹

To most of the historians the sixteenth century was for the Portuguese a century of pristine glory. The seventeenth century saw the Portuguese suffering reverses, following struggle with the Dutch, for supremacy in the Indian waters.² Portugal lost many of its territories on the littoral of the Indian Ocean. To offset the losses as a result of decline in maritime trade the Portuguese concentrated in acquiring additional territorial space in Goa from the second half of the eighteenth century. From the mid-eighteenth century, the nature of western colonialism in India itself was undergoing a change with the establishment of British hegemony. The latter concentrated, besides trade, in extracting as

much revenue from land and its resources. The Portuguese followed this practice and in fact its attempts to acquire the New Conquests were an attempt to derive benefits from the land. The attempt in this chapter is to study the trade and commerce of Goa from the mid-eighteenth century to the advent of the twentieth century with a view that the colonial history of a country is not exclusively bound with the fortunes of its colonizers but also with those of the colonized. Trade and commerce in Goa from the mid-eighteenth century till the advent of the twentieth century was chiefly for the purpose of procuring the much needed rice requirements of the people. Similarly, Goa’s prime products for exports were what its agrarian sector produced in abundance that is coconuts and coconut products. This was the focus of trade and commerce in Goa from the mid-eighteenth century and its study forms the basis of this chapter.

Goa, has always been or at least since Portuguese domination, a rice deficit region. Throughout the four and a half centuries of the Portuguese rule in Goa, there had been hardly any period when the cereal production has been sufficient to meet the yearly requirements of the people. Except for a brief period of 50 years, from the 1770s to the 1830s – when the agricultural production lasted for two-thirds of the year – rice production was hardly enough to meet the requirements for four months of the year, throughout Portuguese domination in Goa.³

There was the need to procure the much wanted rice requirements of the people. This necessitated trade operations. It would not be correct to say that there was

deprivation everywhere in Goa. Surely, those who worked and toiled on the land had sufficient requirements for the year. The rice deficit was made up by the individual cultivator gaunkars through the cultivation of secondary crops like millets and pulses, etc. In fact the production of millets and pulses helped the cultivator gaunkars to meet the requirements of two-thirds of the year. Besides, the people had taken to coconut and areca nut cultivation in a big way. The coconut requirements of Goa were met with just one-tenth of its production. The rest was all exported to bridge the gap of cereal deficit. Similarly, areca nut consumption was negligible and it was totally an export item.4

Goa had a substantial non-farming population comprised of landless labourers, daily wage workers (begarins), military officials and class, traders, travelers, etc. The body of civil servants had also increased. By the 19th century Goa had about six thousand civil servants.5 The cereal deficit was for the region of Goa as a whole and not for the individual cultivators. The yearly shortfall of cereal requirements were met through imports. And Goa had abundant coconut, areca nut, coconut and cashew feni, jaggery, and other products from the primary sector, available for exports. Import–export activities were run according to the needs and wants of the gaunkars in particular and the population at large. The cash crops – coconut and coconut products, areca nut, etc. – helped the people to balance their budgets for the greater part of Portuguese domination till 1870s.6 Thereafter, rising imports made the Goan economy depend increasingly on the remittances despatched by the emigrants. Moreover, during this time, a considerable

4 Ibid., Doc. Nos. 3-8, pp. 4-47,
5 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes, pp. 45-63.
share of agrarian surplus was transferred for the conduct of trading activities in Goa. This Chapter tries to see, how the agrarian surplus of the farming sector, was transferred to carry out the hinterland and maritime trade, so as to sustain the continued existence of the *Estado*.

The analysis of the *Estado*’s budget from the second half of the 19th century onwards brings out the fact that the land and farming sector was the single largest contributor to the government coffers. On the other hand the state expenses were the least or negligible for the benefit of the countryside or the farming sector. The agrarian surplus thus extracted was diverted for the payment of the administrative personnel. The manner in which this was achieved was that either the farm taxes were collected in cash or the collection in kind were auctioned off to the highest bidder at the headquarters of the Administration in each province. The revenue collected by the government was utilized largely to pay salaries to the administrative staff. In this manner purchasing power was generated among the salaried class perhaps to sustain the local trade and commerce.

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7 J. A. Ismael Gracias, *op. cit.*, pp. 52-151.
8 *Boletim ...,* N. ° 105, dated 2nd December, 1879, pp 801-802. Here is the translation of the note of *Administração do concelho de Salcete*: By orders of the *Junta da Fazenda* it was announced that on the 10th of the following month of December at 9.00 am there would be public auction at the headquarters of the *Administração*. The items to be auctioned off included 75 *candins* of paddy and 22,000 coconuts collected from the villages of Chicalim, Cortalim and Sancoale as taxes denominated *dizimos*. Those interested in taking part in the said auction were to be present on the designated day and time with proper guarantors. Margao, 29th November, 1879, signed by, the *escrivão* of the *Administração das Communidades*, Tito Caetano de Menezes.
I. Inter-Regional trade

Goan had trade with regions in its hinterland and along the coast of India. The focus of this trade was to bring the much needed cereals, of which Goa had deficit every year. The problem of cereal deficit was very grave. The official inquiry carried out at the end of the 19th century showed that the cereal and legumes of a value of 20 lakhs rupees per annum were procured from outside Goa. The payment for these huge imports was met partly through the remittances of the Goan emigrants. Earlier, the trade deficit was balanced chiefly through the exports of coconut and coconut products and other agro-based products like jaggery and country liquor. Salt exports were also substantial. In this chapter a humble attempt is made to study the trade of Goa for the period 1750 to 1910. However, the analysis is limited to the trade which was carried out to bridge the serious and perennial problem of cereal deficit. Similarly, the chapter also analyzes how the trade deficit is met by with export of items which were locally produced like coconut, coconut products, areca nuts, salt, etc.

Goa’s gross domestic product was not such that it could contribute lakhs of rupees every year to bridge the trade deficit. Displacement of goods and services from areas of surplus to those of scarcity has always been there and is an essential condition of socio-economic life which none can dispense with. Commercial relations are determined by reciprocity of interest and trade is adversely affected when there are obstacles and hindrances. That danger fortunately did not threaten Goa. As far as the intra-local trade was concerned, Goa’s principal imports were regions in India under British control, from

where Goa procured, not only the much needed food grains, but also other essential
goods, as well as products catering to the comforts of life.

**The Arteries of Trade**

Though Goa was ensconced on the seaward side of the Western Ghats it was not
cut off from mainland India. In fact it had a thriving trade with the regions across the
ghats such as the Parmargo gant, Talkati gant, Ram-gant, Chorlém gant, Quelghat, Tiném
gant, Cuessim gant, and the ghat passes of Khandepar, the Usgao and Balkondem passes.
Commodities moved via Tiném pass in Sanguem, the Cuessim gant and the Digui gant,
Codal, Doncorpém, Maulinguem, Pargor, Dumegod and finally Telgant.\(^9\) Merchandise
also came via the Gates of Parmargo, Tiney and Cavessy. From here the merchandise
moved either to Ponda, Paroda, or, Murgudy. Similarly, in the south from Adnem the
caravans of oxen entered directly into Salcete. Substantial merchandise entered on the
eastern side via the narrow passes of Ramgate, Manguelim, Quelghat and Chorlim.
Merchandise coming via Quelghat and Chorlim was dispatched to Sanquelim.
Commodities of common consumption were disposed off here and the rest of the
merchandise proceeded via Bicholim to Bardez. Considering the quantum of the trade on
these routes it was decided to set up customs-houses in these regions.\(^11\)

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\(^9\) Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas da India*. Lisboa:
Typographia Universal, 1905, pp. 30-31.

\(^11\) Ibid.
Substantial merchandise on oxen caravan entered Pernem via land routes of Naibaga, Bandem and Tolghat after descending the ghats under the jurisdiction of the Bounsulo. A customs-house was established at Colvale to control this trade.\textsuperscript{12}

There was also substantial maritime trade. Merchandise also came via the various rivers in Goa from the other regions of India. Most of these rivers were navigable throughout the year and due to this fact the movement of goods to markets and customs houses was conducted by rivers. Goods would arrive from Sanquelim and Bicholim via the rivers of Tiswadi to the checkpoints surrounding the Customs houses of Goa. Merchandise from the mainland, laden on small boats, would move via the River Rachol up to Madkai. In Salcete, the river Sal was an important part of the river network for the movement of goods especially rice coming from Southern parts of India. In Bardez, the rivers of Kaissua and Colvale linked Pernem and Maneri. The rivers of Aldona and Chapora, together with River Tiracol were also significant channels for the movement of commodities for trade.\textsuperscript{13}

Trade and commerce was carried out with the help of Boias and Mareinheiros who belonged to the category of people who belonged to the shudra caste. The boias served in carrying machilas (type of palanquins) while the mareinheiros assisted in the navigation of vessels to carry essential commodities upon payment of due fees. Lot of human labour was engaged in this activity that could have been better utilized in agriculture. However, the service of carriage and boats were necessary from the trade

\textsuperscript{12} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{13} Ibid., pp. 41-42; Manoel José Gomes Loureiro, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 140-144 and 321-342.
point of view in Goa which had a network of rivers, which were navigable for most part of the year. Palanquins were needed by the people, who were not used to the high summer heat and the heavy downpour of the monsoons.14

Besides there were quite a substantial number of begarins i.e., day-labourers who were engaged in different types of work, including the transport of goods from one place to another, especially along the coastline of India and across the ghats. Large cargos were transported on caravan of oxen – the boiadas. Every year hundreds and thousands of begarins and skilled workers, craftsmen, and artisans moved out of Goa to Balaghat and other territories of British India. They went to eke out a living as there were no opportunities for gainful employment in Goa and returned back if they survived and sustained their families that they left behind in Goa.15

This traffic was necessary for it involved the survival of the landless begarins and skilled workers, artisans and craftsmen. But they had to suffer a lot of hardship at the check points on the borders at the hands of the military officials who were invariably the leading gaunkars of the respective villages. Such emigration or traffic was often declared as impolitic, without taking into consideration the benefits that accrued, in the form of earnings and the savings that they brought back to feed their poor families. They also brought lot of unaccounted essential food grains while returning to Goa.16

14 Manoel José Gomes Loureiro, op. cit., pp. 82-83.
15 Ibid.
16 Ibid.
Rice was the most important commodity featuring significantly in the Goan trade with other regions in India. According to Manoel Jose Loureiro the *Estado* consumption of rice was about one million *fardos* per annum. However, Goa produced far less than needed. Thus Goa imported rice from other regions in India where there was surplus production. Goa’s rice imports stood at 162,145 *bales* in 1757. This fell to 146,246 and 138,036 *bales* in 1779 and 1780 respectively. This was perhaps due to the efforts initiated by the Department of Agriculture for increasing agricultural production in Goa. In 1824, Goa imported 24,327 *bales* of rice and this figure went up to 47,197 in 1846.

Throughout the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries Goa was heavily dependent on Canara for supply of rice. Every year 3 to 4 convoys would leave from Canara for Goa in the sixteenth century bringing the required quantities of rice. In 1630s the value of the rice trade from Canara alone stood at Rs. 450,000. Basrur in Canara was a major source of rice supply to Goa. Goa imported from Basrur an annual average of 27,500,000 kg. per annum during September 1625 to March 1628. Mangalore, Honavar, Kalianpur, etc., were other sources of rice supply in Canara. Supplies would also come from the north.

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17 BNL, *Collecção Pombaline*, Cod. 666, fl. 1v.
Malabar and overland from the Ghat region. Goa's dependence on Canara for its rice supplies continued in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries as well.²¹

From 1802 to 1804 there was excessive demand for Canara rice from Goa. A few Portuguese and French records of this period show that rice cargoes came to Goa from Canara especially from Basrur, Mangalore, Honavar, Kalianpur and Ponani.²² Vitalji Kamat, Keshav Parab Cawandy, Vithoji Sinai Dhempe and the Mhamai brothers of Goa were some of the well-known merchants involved in the flourishing rice trade on the west coast of India.²³

Brown and Dineur, a Mahe based firm, often consigned rice cargoes from Mangalore and Ponani to the Mhamais for sale in Goa. In 1805 when there was a shortage of Mangalore rice, Brown and Dineur informed the Mhamai brothers that the export of Ponani rice would be resumed as there had been a good harvest.²⁴ It is interesting to note that in Canara, the Gaud Saraswat Brahmins or Konkanis played a crucial role as traders of the region.²⁵ In 1809, Alexander Read, the Collector of Canara, wrote to the Madras Revenue Board that the export of rice to Goa could suffer as the troops at Goa were more than that of the previous year and that settlement could procure its supplies from no other quarter but Canara only. In 1822-23, the exports from Canara

²³ Celsa Pinto, *op. cit.*, p. 217.
²⁵ This fact is supported by Buchanan in the beginning of the 19th century and John Stokes in 1830. Francis H. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar*, Vol. III, Madras, 1870, p. 271-272.
to Goa by sea were valued at Rs. 1,68,000.\textsuperscript{26} In 1845, Goa imported rice from Canara to the tune of Rs. 1,60,000.\textsuperscript{27}

Mangalore was the most important port in Canara from where Goa got large shipments of its rice requirements. In 1809, Alexander Read considered it to be the emporium of Canara. Rice was the chief article of export from here to Goa.\textsuperscript{28} It imported salt from Goa. The principal port of Barkur was situated in Hangarkatta. It was a busy port till the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. It had a large export trade in rice and paddy, principally to Goa. In fine season, as many as a hundred native crafts were seen there loading for Goa and the ports of North Canara.\textsuperscript{29}

In 1836, the principal Collector of Canara, reported on the various articles of exchange between Canara and Goa during 1828-29. Rice and paddy were major articles of export from Canara to Goa. It indicates that dates drugs, paper, dry grains, sugar, wines and spirituous liquors were also imported into Canara from Goa. Further, items like sandalwood oil, pepper, timber etc., were exported from Canara to Goa. A miscellany of the articles purchased by the Portuguese included sugar, iron ginger, coir,
saltpetre, wood, timber for masts and ship-building operation conducted at the Goa shipyard.\textsuperscript{30}

In the year, 1845-46 Goa exported to Canara by sea, commodities like coconuts, dates, furniture, glassware, grains, liquor, wine, coir, dried fish, piece goods i.e., silk, provisions of various sorts, salt valued at Rs. 5,888, timber and sundry items. In the same period Canara exported to Goa drugs of various sorts, tamarind, dry grain, paddy and rice valued at Rs. 1,32,357, piece goods, cotton, pepper, black wood, black timber and jungle timber wood.\textsuperscript{31}

In 1854, rice imported by Goa amounted to 71,312 \textit{fardos}. In 1855-56 Canara exported to Goa by sea various items like cotton, wool, cotton goods, coconut, rice valued at Rs. 84,182, metal iron bars and bolts, molasses or jaggery, cardamom, mace, pepper, timber and wood. During the same period, 121 Portuguese crafts arrived at the ports of Canara and tonnage was 1,747. In the same period, 122 Portuguese crafts departed from the ports of Canara and their tonnage was 1,693.\textsuperscript{32}

In 1858-59, Goa imported by sea, paddy worth Rs. 43,339, rice worth Rs. 59,836 and wheat worth Rs 5,796, from Canara. In the same year Goa exported salt worth Rs. 8,488 on government account and worth Rs. 364 on private account to Canara. Exports

\textsuperscript{30} PMBR, 10\textsuperscript{th} March, 1836, Vol. No. 1494, p. 4262.
\textsuperscript{32} Report of W. Fisher, Collector of Canara, 1856, from the Statement of Ships and Tonnage (Square Rigged and Country Craft) Arrived at and Departed from the Port of Canara to Foreign Ports not subject to the Madras Presidency, from 1\textsuperscript{st} May, 1858 to 30\textsuperscript{th} April, 1859, pp. 169 and 228 as quoted in N. Shyam Bhat, “Trade in Goa during the 19\textsuperscript{th} Century with Special Reference to Colonial Kanara”, in Charles J. Borges, Oscar G. Pereira and Hannes Stubbe (eds.), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 54-68.
from Goa also included coconuts, chilies, provisions and other sundry items. In 1862-63, Goa exported to South Canara items like cabinet ware, fire works, fruits and nuts, glassware, spices, spirits, wax and wax candles, wines and sundries. In the same year, one steamer from Goa to Canara and 156 native crafts under Portuguese colours departed from Canara to Goa. Along with other commodities they took mainly rice to Goa. In 1869 rice imported to Goa from South Canara was 16,198 *candis* of 16 *mãos* and the import of paddy was to the tune of 19,868 *candis*.  

**Table showing the import of rice to Goa from Canara from 1838 to 1846:**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Goa (in muras)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1838-39</td>
<td>1,35,727 ¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839-40</td>
<td>1,11,492 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1840-41</td>
<td>1,26,591 ¾</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1841-42</td>
<td>84,356 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1842-43</td>
<td>1,18,507 ½</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843-44</td>
<td>1,63,809 ¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1844-45</td>
<td>1,20,094 ¼</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1845-46</td>
<td>78,433</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

33 W. E. Under Wood, Reporter External Commerce, Fort St. George, 1st May 1859, *Statement exhibiting the Quantity and Value of Imports by Sea into the Port of Canara from Foreign Ports, and Exports by Sea from the Port of Canara to Foreign Ports not subject to the Madras Presidency from 1st May 1858 to 30th April, 1859*, pp. 164 and 228.


35 N. Shyam Bhat, *op. cit.*, pp. 54-68.
With every succeeding year the import of rice was always on the increase. This is evident from the following table:\(^{36}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Rice (in cumbos)</th>
<th>Paddy (in cumbos)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1871-72</td>
<td>16954</td>
<td>17179</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1872-73</td>
<td>16395</td>
<td>18141</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1873-74</td>
<td>10438</td>
<td>11099</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1874-75</td>
<td>17195</td>
<td>19323</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1875-76</td>
<td>16454</td>
<td>21659</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Evidently, Goa’s chief imports were rice and other cereals which it needed to feed its increasing population. As years went by the imports of rice and other cereals went on increasing as the countryside dominated by the communidades was not in a position to meet the requirements. Goa had to resort to importing huge quantities of rice to meet its basic food requirements, paying for it in hard cash.\(^{37}\)

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\(^{36}\) The Principal Customs-house of Nova Goa, 17\(^{th}\) November, 1877. The Director and Administrator general of the Customs-house, Ernesto Frederico Pereira Marecos, in Boletim ..., dated 18\(^{th}\) March, 1870, N. 21, pp. 190-91.

\(^{37}\) Refer to, Appendix 6.1.
Table showing the quantum of all cereals and legumes imported into Goa: 38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>1,588,367</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>1,366,776</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>1,126,442</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>1,950,101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>1,950,918</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>1,571,555</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>1,655,996</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>1,529,474</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td>1,298,562</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td>1,736,468</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average per year</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,577,465</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The above figures comprise of imports of all varieties of cereals and legumes. The average imports of cereals and legumes for a period of ten years from 1893 to 1903 were of Rs. 1,577,465. The imports of legumes and cereals for the year 1876-77 were only for Rs. 627,299. This means that there was an almost two-fold increase in the value of only the imports of cereals and legumes. And this was when ample land resources were available for proper utilization especially in the New Conquests region. 39

39 Ibid., pp. 52-53.
However, the value of only rice imported to Goa during the same period is as follows:\(^{40}\)

**Value of rice Imported to Goa: 1892-1903**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893-95</td>
<td>1,340,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>1,197,521</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>816,498</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>1,716,790</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>1,715,709</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>1,218,486</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>1,404,802</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>1,307,960</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td>1,076,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td>1,467,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Average per year</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,326,211</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, Goa had to spend annually an average sum of Rs. 1,326,211 on the imports for satisfying the alimentary needs of the people. If this sum was distributed to entire population, then the per capita division of this was Rs. 2.49. However, the per capita division of the value of imports of cereals and legumes for the year 1876-77 was only

\(^{40}\)Ibid.
Rs. 1.49 as the total population was only 420,586 inhabitants according to the statistics provided by Dr. Fonseca Torrie. Thus, over a period of twenty-five years the expenditure per head on imports of cereals rose by 59.83 per cent.\textsuperscript{41}

The sum of Rs. 1,326,211 was the capital spent annually in acquiring 1,43,366 \textit{candis} equivalent to 2,289,841,751 \textit{litros} of food grains. In some years the imports were much more than this figure. From 1776-77 onwards, within a period of just a quarter of a century there was a substantial increase in the value of imports every year.\textsuperscript{42} Evidently Goa faced acute shortage of food grains to feed its increasing population. The high imports bill was met through the exports of coconut and coconut products.

\textbf{Trade in Coconut and Coconut Products}

Evidently the imports of rice in Goa were significant. The trade deficit caused as a result of these huge imports of rice and other cereals was met largely through the export of coconuts, coconut products and other agro-based items. Goa had substantial coconut production. Coconut was the most valuable item of exports\textsuperscript{43} Goa also exported substantial quantities of copra and coconut oil and \textit{feni} to other parts of India. However, with the rise of British power in India attempts were made to increase the area under coconut cultivation in territories under their control. This coupled with the free imports of coconuts led to the fall of prices of coconuts and coconut products of Goa resulting in

\textsuperscript{41} The Population of Goa according to the census of 1900 was 5,31,798.
\textsuperscript{42} Ibid.
huge financial losses and deprivation to the individual property owners as also of the

communidades.\(^{44}\)

Goa had extensive coconut cultivation and it was logical that coconut and coconut products would form the bulk of exports from Goa. Ships from Goa, laden with coconuts and coconut products proceeded to Bombay, Gujarat, Daman and other parts along the western coast of India. In 1789, Venkatesha Kamat sent from Goa a consignment of 10,000 coconuts to the north.\(^{45}\) Similarly, in 1826, Goa exported 448,885 coconuts and 34 candis of copra to Bombay. Similarly, 186100 coconuts and 25 candis of copra were sent in the same year to Daman.\(^{46}\) Coconuts were also despatched to far off Mozambique and Muscat as well from Goa.\(^{47}\)

Though coconuts were produced in abundance and only a fraction of which was consumed locally, they were also imported into Goa. For instance, in 1759 Goa imported 22,63,000 coconuts. In 1760 the imports of coconuts was 22,58,500 and in 1763, it was 22,57,050. The imports, however, declined substantially in 1770 when only 1,19,700 coconuts were imported into Goa.\(^{48}\) Coconuts arrived from Calicut, Mahe and other South Indian ports. In 1804, Brown and Dineur sent to Goa 22,700 coconuts priced at Rs. 22 3/4. The same company sent in the same year about 58,400 coconuts from Tanur.\(^{49}\)

\(^{44}\) Filippe Nery Xavier, Defensa ..., Doc. No. 28. Herein refer to the Parecer da Comissão nomeada pelo extincto Senado de Salcete, dated 14\(^{th}\) December, 1827, pp. 53-68.

\(^{45}\) HAG, Alfândega de Goa, Vol. 6807, fl. 467.

\(^{46}\) HAG, Alfândega de Goa, Vol. 2668. fls. 33, 34v-35v.


\(^{49}\) XCHR, Mhammai House Papers (French), Vol. 6, fls. 63-65.
The influx of coconuts from the south had adversely affected the market value of coconuts available in Goa. Earlier priced at 80 to 100 xerafins per thousands, the price of the coconuts declined substantially from the 1770s. In 1779 the price of coconuts in Goa was just 35 xerafins per thousand and this declined further when in 1780 it was only 25 xerafins, per thousand. This affected the earnings of many plantation owners in Goa.\(^50\)

There was a strong demand in Goa to ban the import of coconut from the south. Though, it was accepted that restrictions on the import of coconut from South India would affect the imports of rice also, in 1781 it was decided to ban entry of coconut into Goa. But this decision was reversed immediately for the State earned substantial revenue from the import of coconuts.\(^51\) As regards the exports trade during 1787-91 a total of 47,73,660 coconuts at an annual average of 9,54,732 coconuts were exported from Goa. It is highly probable that the coconuts imported from the south were also used for re-export trade. Similarly, for the same period the total quantity of copra exported from Goa was about 4,651 candis at an average of 930 candis per year.\(^52\)

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51 HAG, *Monções do Reino*, Vol. 161 F, fl. 1528v. There were demands from the traders to allow the import of coconuts from the south. In fact a representation was made by many traders in 1782 praying that the import of coconuts from the south be allowed. The representation was signed by the following traders: Daquea Kamat, Keshav Kamat, Venkat Kamat, Mukund Sinai, Venku Pai, Rama Sinai, Vassu Parap, Phondu Parab, Vishogi Sinai, Venkatesh Kamat, Venkat Naik, Bhiku Kamat, Rogu Kamt Mhamai, Malu Parab, Venku Kamat, Polpotea Naik, etc.

The following Table shows the export of coconut and copra from Goa for the period 1787 to 1791: 53

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of coconuts exported</th>
<th>Exports of Copra (in candis)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>21,81,520</td>
<td>2034 7/20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1788</td>
<td>10,08,800</td>
<td>1112 1/20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>6,85,690</td>
<td>590 2/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1790</td>
<td>4,56,500</td>
<td>418 2/5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1791</td>
<td>4,41,150</td>
<td>496 3/10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In 1844, the coconut exports from Goa were 1,17,69,152 in number. In the same year about 2,101 candis of copra together and substantial quantities of coconut oil were exported. 54 Similarly, 1,52,92,349 coconuts and 1,839 candis of copra were exported to various regions in India and outside India. 55

The following figures demonstrate abundantly the extent of coconut exports from Goa at the end of the nineteenth century and in the beginning of the twentieth century. After satisfying the local consumption needs of the people the total exports of the coconuts for a decade from 1893 to 1903 were as follows: 56

53 HAG, Monções do Reino, Vol. 173, fl. 284.
54 HAG, Monções do Reino, Vol. 218 B, fl. 776.
55 HAG, Alfandega de Goa, Vol. 9265, fls. 43v-44.
56 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes, pp. 55-56.
Value of Coconut Export from Goa: 1893 – 1903

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value of exports (in Rupees)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>31,600,994</td>
<td>995,137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>42,810,564</td>
<td>1,130,783</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1995-96</td>
<td>28,228,163</td>
<td>691,034</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996-97</td>
<td>30,578,682</td>
<td>675,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>21,655,483</td>
<td>498,867</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>21,816,589</td>
<td>461,530</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>31,550,653</td>
<td>529,236</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>19,825,646</td>
<td>384,111</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td>12,207,932</td>
<td>329,167</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td>13,168,275</td>
<td>308,268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per year</td>
<td>25,344,298</td>
<td>600,330</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus on an average the export of coconuts was 2,53,44,298 valuing Rs. 6,00,330. Thus there was a substantial rise in export of coconuts from Goa. For instance, in the year 1876-77 the export of coconuts from Goa was 1,62,98,579 valuing Rs. 3,81,384. This means that within a quarter of a century from 1876-77 the increase in coconut exports was about 90,45,719. Similarly the increase in the value of exports of coconuts was of Rs. 218946 for the same period.
Similarly, the export of copra for the same period from 1893 to 1903 can be seen from the following figures.\textsuperscript{57}

**Value of Copra Export from Goa: 1893 – 1903**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity in cwts.\textsuperscript{58}</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
<th>Taxes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>19,262</td>
<td>55,452</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>6,699</td>
<td>39,455</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>20,935</td>
<td>83,238</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>3513</td>
<td>32,931</td>
<td>2,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>1,536</td>
<td>16,455</td>
<td>1,536</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>1,144</td>
<td>8,634</td>
<td>1,144</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>5,223</td>
<td>25,475</td>
<td>5,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>79,143</td>
<td>49,236</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td>6,509</td>
<td>58,956</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td>5,948</td>
<td>33,974</td>
<td>--</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average per year</td>
<td>14,991</td>
<td>37,888</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

According to the customs tariffs of 16\textsuperscript{th} April, 1892 copra exported via the land routes was charged export duty at the rate of 6 réis per mão. From 1894 onwards the Portuguese government declared that copra destined for exports would no longer be taxed. But this did not last for long. The tariffs which came into force from 16\textsuperscript{th} November, 1896 decided to impose export duties on copra at the rate of 1 Rupee per 112 pounds.

\textsuperscript{57} Ibid., p. 56.
\textsuperscript{58} 1 cwt is equal to 112 pounds.

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This had an adverse impact on the exports of copra. For instance, while in 1895-96 the value of exports of copra was Rs. 83,238 it declined by about seven and a half times for the next financial year of 1896-97 to about just Rs. 11,892 and fell further to Rs. 8,634 by the year 1898-99.\(^{59}\)

It was under these circumstances when exports of copra were declining rapidly that Mr. Conselheiro Machado endeavoured to turn the tide by exempting it from payment of export duties by the Decree of 15\(^{\text{th}}\) march, 1900. Exports started picking up again.\(^{60}\)

The Portuguese had come here as traders and merchants but hardly displayed any business acumen. During the initial four centuries of their domination in Goa probably little efforts were made by the government to find markets for the local products. It was only in the early 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century that concrete efforts were made to secure markets for Goan copra in Zanzibar i.e., along the east coast of Africa and in Marselha.\(^{61}\)

Meanwhile, the cereal deficit during the period from 1876 to 1900 increased by about 7.5 lakhs of rupees per year. This abysmal requirement could not be met only through the export of coconuts and copra. The trade deficit was huge which was caused as a consequence of large imports of cereals. However, the exports of coconuts and


\(^{60}\) Ibid., p. 57. "...Foi nestas circunstancias é em vista do progressive decrescimento da exportação d'este genero, resultante sem duvida do gravame da taxa...Sr. Conselheiro Machado procurou facilitar a sua exportação, isentando-a de direitos e fei-o com feliz sucesso por portaria de 15 de marzo de 1900; pois logo imediatamente a exportação começou alargar-se não se manteve no mesmo pé ou não subiu, foi devido à mesma causa que baixou a exportação do coco...."

coconut products were not high to the extent of balancing the entire trade deficit. From 1876-77 to 1902-03, the exports of coconuts and coconut products increased from Rs. 2,19,015 to 2,56,483. Thus, the increase in export of coconuts and coconut products was only of Rs. 37,388. Evidently, the bludgeoning food imports could no longer be paid for with only the export of coconuts, copra, etc.

Trade in Jaggery and Sugar

A large section of the Goan society was engaged in toddy-tapping activities for the purpose of making jaggery. It was an industry second only to distillation of liquor in importance. Indigenously produced jaggery was of two kinds, which were derived from toddy and sugarcane respectively. Jaggery production undoubtedly occupied an important place in the Goan economy.

Yet, Goa imported large quantities of sugar which arrived from Bombay, Bengal, Siam, Batavia, Manila, Mauritius and even Brazil. In 1826, Goa obtained granular and fine sugar worth 30,601 xeralfins from Bombay. Sugar was also imported from Macao for being supplied to the Royal hospital, the Military Hospital and Royal Arsenal of Goa. In 1838, for instance, 60 arrobas of fine sugar and 4 arrobas of granular sugar were supplied to the Military Hospital.

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62 Ibid.
63 XCHR, Mhammai House Papers (Portuguese), Docs. Dated 30th November, 1788, 12th December, 1812, 24th November, 1813; Mhammai House Papers (English), Docs. Dated 11th February, 1812, 17th April 1812; Celso Pinto, op. cit., pp. 223-224.
64 HAG, Alfandega de Goa, Vol. 2668, fl. 10v.
65 Celso Pinto, op. cit., pp. 223-224.

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In 1831-32, the price of powdered sugar from China ranged between 5 and 10 xerafins per arroba, that of Bengal between 4 and 10 xerafins, that of Batavia between 5 and 6 xerafins, that of Manilla between 6 and 8 xerafins, that of Brazil between 3 and 8 xerafins while fine sugar from Mauritius cost 2 ½ xerafins per arroba.

From 1880s onwards the imports of sugar increased tremendously in Goa. This was due to the fact that the higher sections of the society started preferring granular sugar and the poor preferred the cheap imported jaggery made of sugarcane. Both were imported in large quantities from British India. For instance, from 1883 to 1889 Goa consumed 102,500 libras equivalent to 46,473 ½ kgs. of imported jaggery of sugarcane. Due to this the toddy-tapers gave up about 56,148 coconut trees. The Public Exchequer suffered a revenue loss of Rs. 224,592.66

Goa spent huge sums of money on importing sugar and jaggery made from sugarcane. In 1876-77 the quantity of sugar imported into Goa was 57,268 ceiras of the value of Rs. 31,125 and jaggery imported was 7,256 ceiras of the value of Rs. 10,881. But the value of these imports rose to such frightening figures as to completely destroy Goan indigenous industry of coconut-jaggery.67

With the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 coming into force in 1780 and the consequent trade liberalization there were large imports of sugar and jaggery into

---

67 Ibid., p. 202
Goa from neighbouring Indian territories under British control. The following table shows the import of sugar from Indian territories under British control.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity in <em>ceiras</em></th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880-81</td>
<td>3,19,003</td>
<td>84,895</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-82</td>
<td>2,42,568</td>
<td>71,140</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-83</td>
<td>3,00,826</td>
<td>85,334</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>4,09,580</td>
<td>1,12,725</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>4,23,088</td>
<td>111,980</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>4,89,556</td>
<td>1,06,338</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>6,92,268</td>
<td>1,50,941</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>7,73,862</td>
<td>1,60,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>7,45,722</td>
<td>1,58,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>5,49,161</td>
<td>1,77,794</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>9,60,400</td>
<td>2,19,257</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>7,73,508</td>
<td>1,57,383</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Average</td>
<td>556,628.5</td>
<td>133,112.8</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 1876-77 to 1880-81 within a period of just four years the import of sugar increased by six times in quantitative terms. On an average Goa imported about 5,56,628.5 *ceiras* of sugar. Similarly, for the period of ten years from 1880-81 to 1890-91 Goa spent on an average Rs.1,33,112.8 per annum, on imports of sugar alone. Even after

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68 Ibid., pp. 202-203.
the renunciation of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty from 1892 onwards the imports of sugar did not decline in spite of the fact that the Portuguese government imposed import duties on it.

**Table showing import of sugar for the period from 1893 to 1900.**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Quantity in <em>ceiras</em></th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>5,40,536</td>
<td>1,37,019</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>6,71,160</td>
<td>1,55,919</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>6,02,927</td>
<td>1,42,511</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>7,46,345</td>
<td>1,63,502</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>7,37,899</td>
<td>1,52,576</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>7,83,045</td>
<td>1,58,936</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>8,52,994</td>
<td>1,72,177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>9,98,324</td>
<td>1,75,739</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The import of sugar increased ten times over a period of 25 years from 57,268 *ceiras* in 1876 to 998,324 *ceiras* in 1900. And the outflow of capital on this item alone increased five and half times for the same period from Rs. 31,125 to Rs. 175,739.

The imports of jaggery also increased phenomenally from 1880 onwards as can be seen from the following figures.

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69 Ibid.
70 Ibid., p. 203.
71 Ibid.
Table showing the imports of jaggery in Goa for twenty years from 1880 to 1901:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity in ceiras</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Quantity in ceiras</th>
<th>Value in Rupees</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880-81</td>
<td>93,472</td>
<td>14,099</td>
<td>1890-91</td>
<td>204,272</td>
<td>26,947</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881-82</td>
<td>66,918</td>
<td>9,208</td>
<td>1891-92</td>
<td>364,097</td>
<td>48,746</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882-83</td>
<td>98,168</td>
<td>14,339</td>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>758,873</td>
<td>92,828</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883-84</td>
<td>266,915</td>
<td>36,921</td>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>972,154</td>
<td>119,617</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884-85</td>
<td>328,386</td>
<td>39,114</td>
<td>1895-96</td>
<td>803,544</td>
<td>84,062</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885-86</td>
<td>403,212</td>
<td>49,979</td>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>739,876</td>
<td>75,147</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886-87</td>
<td>350,213</td>
<td>53,406</td>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>620,349</td>
<td>88,738</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887-88</td>
<td>347,215</td>
<td>48,889</td>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>78,114</td>
<td>72,246</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888-89</td>
<td>370,769</td>
<td>50,705</td>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>630,685</td>
<td>73,025</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889-90</td>
<td>424,502</td>
<td>49,508</td>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>682,110</td>
<td>99,046</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The actual consumption of sugar and jaggery imported in the year 1876-77 was to the tune of 64,524 ceiras equivalent to 60,200 kgs. and dividing it by the number of inhabitants, then the consumption per head in that year was only 143 grams giving expenditure per head of 19,142 réis. On the other hand the consumption of sugar and jaggery imported in 1900-01 was about 1,680,434 ceiras equivalent to 1,567,844 kgs. Dividing this by the number of inhabitants gave a per head consumption of 2,948 grams.

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72 The population is taken as 4,20,868 inhabitants according to the census of 1881.
73 The population had increased within this period by over one lakh and the total population by 1900 was about 531,798 inhabitants.
This shows that the consumption of sugar had increased by about 2,805 grams in 1900. Goa had to spend huge sums of capital in importing large quantities of sugar.

**Trade in Salt**

The extraction of salt was a thriving business and a major segment of the economy of Goa. The salt production occupied a very important position in the Goan economy because of its large demand for domestic consumption and export market.\(^{74}\) The large export market was basically due to the relative low prices and high quality. Thus the manufacture of salt was an important source of Goan wealth, with the number of people involved in its manufacture and trade being very large.\(^{75}\) Salt was used for a variety of purposes in Goa. Besides, being largely used in salting fish and other products for use in the monsoon season, it was also used for increasing the fertility of the soil in the rice fields and in coconut groves. It was also used substantially for domestic purposes.

The extraction and manufacture of salt was a rich source of revenue to the government as it was exported to its neighbouring areas in Maharashtra and Karnataka.\(^{76}\) The number of workers engaged in this industry rose in Goa from 658 in 1850 to about 1968 in 1878. The extent of salt production and the area covered under this activity was also substantial.\(^{77}\)

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\(^{74}\) Refer to Appendix 6.2.
\(^{75}\) Celsa Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 219-220.
\(^{76}\) Refer Manoel José Gomes Loureiro, *op. cit.*, p. 405.
\(^{77}\) Celsa Pinto, *op. cit.*, pp. 122 and 134.
On account of the salt monopoly introduced in Canara by the East India Company in 1807, the licensed manufacturers were unable to meet the demands of the region, and as such a large quantity of salt was imported from Goa. Salt occupied a place of considerable importance in the trade transactions of the period. The salt exported from Goa to Canara was further shipped to the Amindivi Islands.\footnote{N. Shyam Bhat, “Trade in Goa during the 19th Century with Special Reference to Colonial Kanara”, in Charles J. Borges, Oscar G. Pereira and Hannes Stubbe (eds.), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 62-63. The northern group of the Laccadives known as Amindivi Islands on the Arabian Sea formed a part of the Province of Kanara under the British.\textsuperscript{78}} In 1857-58, as there was failure in the manufacture of salt in Canara, imports of salt from Goa was to the tune of 92,750 \textit{maunds} which was valued at Rs. 16,803. And in 1858-59, it was 42,325 \textit{maunds} the value of which was Rs. 13,342.\footnote{W. Fisher, Collector of Canara, ‘The Report on Land and Extra Sources of Revenue for Fusly 1268 (1858-59), no. 182’, as quoted in N. Shyam Bhat, “Trade in Goa during the 19th Century with Special Reference to Colonial Kanara”, in Charles J. Borges, Oscar G. Pereira and Hannes Stubbe (eds.), \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 62-63.\textsuperscript{79}} In 1862-63, the amount of the salt imported into Canara from Goa was 726 \textit{maunds}. In 1863-64 the imports were about 2,09,280 \textit{maunds}.\footnote{ibid.\textsuperscript{80}}

In the export trade of Goa salt was one of the major items earning substantial revenue. But the scenario was soon to alter radically. Under the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1878 the manufacture of salt in Portuguese India was placed under the control and supervision of the British government for a period of twelve years. From over 500 salt-works in operation in Goa prior to 1878 the number never went over 330 in any given year under the Treaty. The average number in operation was about 240. Salt industry was very important for the Goan economy before the signing of the Treaty of 1878 and this can be seen from the fact that it was exported to Macau, Shanghai, Singapore, Siam, etc.
Salt was exported in exchange for a host of other items many of which were re-exported to Europe. Salt in fact had given to Goa the status of an entrepot facilitating the exchange of commodities.  

Goa exported substantial quantities of salt to British India but most of this trade was, however, contraband in nature. What gave an advantage to the salt industry of Goa was the relatively low cost of producing salt where labourers called *agris* or *agrias* worked. Each salt pan employed about 20 to 30 labourers.  

Of the nine provinces of Goa salt panning was done in four, namely, in Salcete, Bardez, Ilhas and Pernem. The number of salt-pans operated in these four provinces before the Treaty of 1878 was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Talukas</th>
<th>Number of Salt-pans.</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salcete</td>
<td>234</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>73</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilhas</td>
<td>177</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem</td>
<td>23</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>507</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The production of salt in Goa before the coming into force of the Treaty of 1878 was about 633,805 *mãos*.  

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82 Ibid., p. 212.
During the period when the Treaty of 1878 was in force the salt-pans in operation and the total production can be seen from the following tables. So, of the 500 odd salt-pans that were in existence, only just half the numbers were operational during the Treaty period.

The number of salt-works operational for the twelve years from 15th January 1880 to 14th January, 1892 in the taluka of Salcete was as follows:\(^84\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Number of salt-works Operational in each year</th>
<th>Net production in Indian mãos</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1880</td>
<td>263</td>
<td>374,152</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1881</td>
<td>330</td>
<td>457,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1882</td>
<td>327</td>
<td>413,176</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1883</td>
<td>109</td>
<td>189,251</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1884</td>
<td>87</td>
<td>211,219</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>278</td>
<td>358,369</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>237</td>
<td>342,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>244</td>
<td>403,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>232</td>
<td>236,864</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>277</td>
<td>393,572</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>275</td>
<td>467,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1891</td>
<td>268</td>
<td>607,276</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\(^{84}\) Ibid., pp. 214-215. All the four tables that follow are prepared by taking the details available therein.
The total area under salt-production was about 19,14,115 mts\(^2\). From the above it is clear that during the Treaty period the number of salt-works in operation were around a half of what was in operation before the surrender of the monopoly rights to the British. In 1891, 268 salt-works were in operation producing 6,07,276 m\(\text{ãos}\) of salt. The domestic consumption, mainly for the purpose of cooking, salting of fish, fertilizing the farm-fields, etc., was around 1,50,000 m\(\text{ãos}\) of salt. This gave a surplus of 4,57,256 m\(\text{ãos}\) of salt of which just 2,96,329 m\(\text{ãos}\) were exported leaving behind a surplus of 1,60,947 m\(\text{ãos}\). This was the surplus amount that could not be sold for want of adequate markets. In the pre-Treaty period Goa produced about 12,55,304 m\(\text{ãos}\) of salt. While in the pre-Treaty period Goa’s production was more than what it produced later on, it perhaps did not have markets to sell its total produce of salt in the post-Treaty period.\(^85\) The salt trade via the sea routes was revived in the post-Treaty period; but the British government passed regulations hindering this trade.\(^86\) The British government prohibited the trade and sale of Goan salt by sea to the Bombay presidency. However such trade was allowed to the Madras presidency and to the Native Indian Princely States. But here also as a result of the long distance involved the Goan salt started loosing its competitive edge. Same was the case with the market for this product in Arabia, Egypt, Persia, Germany, etc.\(^87\)

The export of Goan salt was permitted only by the rail route in British India; but because of the high freights the trade was bringing low profit margins. Goan salt traded

\(^{85}\) Ibid.

\(^{86}\) Government of India Notification N.\(^o\) 2477, dated 9\(^\text{th}\) April 1894, Bombay Government Gazette, Part I of the 12\(^\text{th}\) edition, pp. 330. The following rule was framed by His Excellency the Governor-in-Council under section 157 (a) of the Sea Customs Act: “The conveyance of salt in coastal vessels from any port in Portuguese India to any port in Bombay Presidency is prohibited”.

via the rail route also was costlier than the salt traded along the Indian coast by the British in vessels. The quantum of exports shrunk drastically as is evident from the following figures:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Bombay Presidency</th>
<th>Madras Presidency</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1892-93</td>
<td>5,221 mãos</td>
<td>2,315 mãos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1893-94</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>13,983 &quot;</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1894-95</td>
<td>--</td>
<td>1,080 &quot;</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

From 1894-95, the export of Goan salt, via the high seas to Madras and the other presidencies declined. The provincial government of the *Estado* did petition to the Foreign Affairs Ministry of Portugal to take up the case at the diplomatic level regarding discrimination of Goan salt by the British. However, nothing came out of it. 89

In the meantime efforts were made to find new markets for the Goan salt through diplomatic channels in Colombo, Calcutta, and Zanzibar as also in Japan. The Indian Princely State of Hyderabad did show its willingness to purchase Goan salt. However, due to the low quality of the produce and the high prices because of the cost of transportation, the new markets could not be sustained for long. Goan salt-panning methods were quite outdated as a result of which the salt produced in Goa was of low quality. 88

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88 Sr. Conselheiro Machado wrote to the British Government of India on 17th April, 1899 that the interpretation of their decree of 9th April, 1894 was harmful to the Goan salt industry. The British government replied back that such regulations were enforced to prevent the rampant contraband trade from Portuguese controlled lands to British Indian territories.

quality. In British India lot of ‘fine’ and ‘superfine’ salt was produced as a result of adoption of new techniques. But Goa lagged behind in making innovating changes. Attempts were indeed made to depute personnel from Goa to France to study the latest techniques of producing ‘fine’ salt. However, the knowledge acquired was not however transplanted to the salt-works.  

Exports of Areca nuts

Areca nuts were produced on a large scale in Goa. This crop was produced to cater largely to the export market. Areca nuts produced in Goa were of two varieties, red and white. The former was a superior type. Areca nuts were exported from Goa to Bombay and other places in the north. In 1826 Goa exported to Bombay, about 1,080 candis of red areca nuts, and 1,015 candis of white areca nuts priced at 60 xerafins and 40 xerafins per candil, respectively. In 1826, Goa exported 19 candis of red areca nuts to Daman.  

Areca nuts from Goa were also sent to Macao, Muscat and Mozambique. In 1800 white areca nuts priced at 40 xerafins per candil were exported to Muscat. In 1844, Goa’s areca nut exports were worth 260,170 xerafins. Similarly, in 1849, Goa exported

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90 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes*, pp. 219-221.
91 HAG, Alféndega de Goa, Vol. 2668, fl. 33.
92 HAG, Alféndega de Goa, Vol. 2668, fl. 35; Celsa Pinto, op. cit., pp. 218-219.
93 HAG, Alféndega de Goa, Vol. 6810, fls. 694, 702-703 and 766.
94 HAG, Monções do Reino, Vol 218 B, fl. 776.
about 6,350 *candis* of areca nuts.\textsuperscript{95} The exports of areca nuts declined over the years and by 1910 they were negligible.\textsuperscript{96}

**Trade in Country Liquor**

Goan country liquor was manufactured chiefly from coconut toddy and the juice of the cashew fruits. Goan liquor was exported to Bombay, Daman, Diu and South India. In 1789, coconut *feni* was sent to both the north as well as the south.\textsuperscript{97} In 1826, 2 *candis* and 3 *mãos* of coconut *feni* and 10 *mãos* of cashew *feni* were exported to Bombay from Goa. Coconut *feni* was priced at 100 *xerafins* per *candil* and cashew liquor was priced at 2 *xerafins* per *mão*.\textsuperscript{98} In the same year, 1 *candil* and 6 *meios* of coconut *feni* and 19 \( \frac{1}{2} \) *candis* of cashew *feni* were exported to Daman from Goa.\textsuperscript{99}

**Inter – Continental Trade**

Though it is evident that the thrust of trade from Goa was to procure from the Asian markets the much needed rice requirements of the people, it also did have trade links with several places in Asia and with other continents. Goa had trade contacts from 1750 to 1910 with Portugal, Brazil, Mozambique, etc., however, the volume of trade was negligible. The Goa – Lisbon trade was limited to the dispatch of tobacco. Tobacco

\textsuperscript{95} HAG, *Alfandega de Goa*, Vol. 9265, fl. 43v.
\textsuperscript{96} Manuel Ferreira Viegas Junior, *A India Portugueza O Que É – O Que Poderá Ser*, Porto: Livraria Moreira, 1910, pp. 64-65. "... A exportação da areca tem diminuído muito últimos annos e é de crer que termine dentro em pouco, dado a sua accentuada diminuição annual..."
\textsuperscript{98} HAG, *Alfandega de Goa*, Vol. 2668. fl. 34.
formed the major item of imports from the Metropole to Goa. During 1776-1825 a minimum of about 11,102 barrels, 2513 bales, 21 boxes and 250 rolls of tobacco were despatched to Goa via the *naus de Viagem*.\(^\text{100}\) Revenues earned by the *estado* through the monopoly sale of tobacco were quite substantial. In 1833, the *Estado* earned around 81,000 *xerafins* through the monopoly of tobacco sale only in the New Conquests region.\(^\text{101}\)

Bullion was also remitted by the Portuguese government as also by the Lisbon-based merchants. The government dispatched the bullion to meet the budgetary deficits.\(^\text{102}\) On the other hand the bullion dispatched by the merchants might surely have been for the purchase of merchandise.

Lisbon cargoes to Goa, during the period from 1776 to 1825, on board the *naus* contained a miscellany of linen, paper, iron and iron goods, sugar, wines and liquors, as well as victuals.\(^\text{103}\) Even slaves featured among the cargoes and perhaps were brought in for being utilized as farm hands by the private proprietors who had large landed estates. The outward cargoes to Portugal included mainly the textiles procured from different sources.

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\(^{100}\) Refer Celsa Pinto, “The Economy of Portuguese India in the 18th and 19th Centuries”, in Teotónio R de Souza and José Manuel Garcia, (eds.) *Vasco da Gama e a Índia*, Lisboa: Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, 1999, pp. 111-112.

\(^{101}\) Refer to, Filippe Nery Xavier, *Colleccão de Bandos...*, Vol. I, Doc. No. 76, pp. 137-144. The document refers to the ‘...condições novamente reformadas para a Renda do Tabaco de folha na Provincia de Ponda, e nas mais de Novas Conquistas. Here also refer to the *Mappa demonstrativa do estado actual da Renda do Tabaco de Folha nas Provincias das Novas Conquistas*, indicando a diversidade com que se administra, com relação a sua população e consumo do ditto artigo, redigido pelo Auctor do presente Colleccao em presença dos depoimentos dos Rendeiros interrogados, em 1833, pela Commission encarregada da reforma das condições das Rendas do Estado.’


\(^{103}\) Celsa Pinto, “The Economy of Portuguese India in the 18th and the 19th Centuries”, in Teotónio R de Souza and José Manuel Garcia (eds.), *Vasco da Gama e a Índia*, pp. 111-112.
parts of India but mainly from Balaghat. The profits earned by the Estado from tobacco sales were utilized to procure textiles from Balaghat and other parts of India for exporting to Portugal. But on the whole the trade with Portugal was very negligible and a pale shadow of its glorious past and there was no scope for any upswing in fortunes. This was because the goods that were earlier transported from Goa were no longer in demand having been substituted by those coming from the occidental coast of Africa.  

By the end of the 19th century, the trade of Goa with Portugal was limited to import of small quantities of wine, which was transported on foreign vessels, and little else. With analysis of the economy of the Portuguese possession it can safely be concluded that many of the items of import into Goa could very well be supplied by Portugal itself. The factor responsible for the low volume of trade between Portugal and Goa was again due to the outdated nature of the Portuguese merchant navy. For the year 1902-03, Portugal occupied the third position regarding the imports herein with a percentage share of only 4%. The Exports to Portugal on the other hand stood at a meagre 0.75%. Worst of all, this trade was through foreign vessels.

There was hectic trade with Brazil. Items like tobacco, bullion and food items were sent to Goa from there. The Correspondencia para o Reino and the Livro das Monçoes do Reino clearly reflect the annual arrival of Bahian tobacco to Goa since 1776 on board the Carreira ships. At least 7914 bales, 69 rolls and 733 barris of tobacco arrived in Goa during the period 1776-1825. The bullion arrival at the Alfandega of Goa

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104 Refer Manoel José Gomes Loureiro, op. cit., pp. 292-293.
105 Ibid., pp. 223-224.
during 1816-24, was of the value of 612984.5 xerafins in 1816, later 72,902 xerafins in 1817 and 7896 xerafins in 1824. From Goa were exported textiles and small quantities of pepper, incense, coconut oil, paper, wax, and saltpeter in return. 106

The commerce and navigation to Mozambique was both private and official in character. There was also substantial trade in foreign vessels as was the case in all the Portuguese colonies. 107 Ivory, gold, ebony and slaves were despatched to India in exchange for cotton products.

The bulk of the cargoes exported to Mozambique and other places like Portugal and Brazil were not produced and manufactured in Goa but procured from regions under British control in India. These were acquired by the merchants upon payment of due taxes at Goa and then were shipped to various parts of the world. These merchants of Goa faced a lot of competition from traders who traded directly from Surat, Bombay and other parts of British India. This affected adversely on the one hand the revenue of the Estado da India and on the other hand reduced the profit margin of the traders from Goa who frequented Mozambique. 108

The cargoes arriving at Mozambique from the Estado were composed of glass beads, bangles, wheat, sugar, coconut-oil, coconuts, preserves, vinegar, sweets, lentils, areca nuts, solans de brindao, spices, tea, sandalwood, drugs, wax, pitch and the like. One of the chief components of Goa’s outward cargoes to Mozambique included guns.

106 Refer Celsa Pinto, op. cit., p. 113.
107 Refer Manoel José Gomes Loureiro, op. cit., p. 282.
108 Ibid.
and gunpowder, used in tribal wars to quell uprisings and to capture Africans sold in slavery.\footnote{Refer Celsa Pinto, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 114.}

\textbf{Intra-Asian Trade}

There was a complex intra-Asian trading network that was privately operated, most times clandestinely, in a wide range of essentials and necessaries bringing benefits to merchants, the \textit{Estado da India} and to the metropolis.\footnote{Refer Celsa Pinto, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 114-115.} There was trade with China, Macau, and Japan. Shipping directed to Muscat from the \textit{Estado} was more extensive. A maximum of twenty annual shipments from Goa and Daman would include bamboos, rafters, coconut products, salt, wax, areca nuts, coffee and yarn.\footnote{Ibid, pp. 114-115.}

Trade relations with the cinnamon islands of Ceylon were not entirely snapped in the late 18\textsuperscript{th} and early 19\textsuperscript{th} centuries. Goa’s outgoing shipments to Colombo included dates from Muscat, tea, paper, military hats, shells and religious articles, such as wooden statues and rosaries. Goa’s chief imports were apparently cinnamon. Furniture and European wines and liquors too formed a component of Ceylon’s outgoing consignments to Goa.\footnote{Ibid.}

\footnote{Ibid.}
III. The Customs Administration and the Tariff Policy

A study of the tariff policy of the Portuguese for the period under study is essential to know how the trade was carried on in Goa within the colonial structure during the period from 1750 to 1910. Ever since the discovery of the sea route to India, the Portuguese were interested in the development of commerce. The focus of the Portuguese was to acquire wealth through commerce and trade though they lost no opportunity in tapping other sources of revenues. The customs tariff was an important source of revenue to the Estado. The development of the institution of customs from the simpler form to a system very much complex was due to the various laws passed by the Portuguese following the conquest of Goa in 1510.113

In 1531, the governor Nuno da Cunha gave a table of fixed rate to be charged on items of import and export. These regulations continued up to the late 18th century when by the Decree of 26th April, 1771 it was decided that the revenues of the customs be deposited in the government treasury with other taxes.114 The Portuguese regulations of 1531 continued with the practices of the earlier Indian rulers; but certain essential changes were introduced from time to time. For instance, earlier on 1st March, 1518, the Portuguese king D. Manuel while giving his assent to the continuation of the then

113 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas Da India, Lisboa: Typographia Universal, 1905, pp. 22-23. The first customs regulation was passed by the Portuguese way back in 1511, when Affonso de Albuquerque before leaving for Malaca created the first Portuguese impost under the denomination of lagimas de chitos do capitão and Rodrigo Rebello de Castello Branco was appointed to oversee the collection of this new impost. Subsequently, from 1518 to 1522 the Governor Diogo Lopes de Sequeira fixed taxes on the goods imported and exported. The laws given by Diogo Lopes de Sequeira were reformed on 13th July, 1528 when the customs duties were changed taking the progress of trade and commerce into consideration.

114 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas Da India, pp. 22-23.
existing customs tariffs, provided for the exemption of the items of common consumption like bread, wines, country liquor, meat, fish, etc., from payment of import duties. The trade in these items was necessitated due to lack of essential goods in Goa. This led to the internal trade of these items, from places of abundance to areas where there was less production. Thus taking this into consideration the Portuguese might have exempted these items from customs-duties.

The customs-house functioned without any further alteration till the year 1542 when Martim Affonso de Souza published the customs regulations and the collection of customs revenue for Ilhas was farmed out for a sum of 27,500 xerafins. This figure rose to 179,130 xerafins as affirmed by Francisco Paes in his Tombo Geral (1595), besides other related income.

The system of farming out of revenue collection to the highest bidder created lot of inconveniences and the people of the city of Goa represented against this to the Portuguese government, in 1602. The Public Exchequer suffered financial losses and the people faced innumerable hardships at the hands of the revenue farmers. From the

115 This led to various practical difficulties, as a result of which the governor of D. Duarte de Menezes gave a new Regimento on 21st October, 1522. Art.1.º of this Regimento maintained the concessions granted by the Portuguese King D. Manuel to the people of Goa. Art. 2.º determined that all the merchandise be charged at the rate of 4½ % at the time of import. Art. 3.º provided for exemption to the cargoes proceeding from Baticola, Onar, Mangalore, Mirzes and Barçalor, in harmony with the provision of the Royal Alvara dated 20th February, 1510. Art. 5.º similarly, provided for the exemption of payment of import duties on horses, upto ten in number, brought from Ormuz and other parts in conformity with the regimento given earlier by the king to Lopo Soares d'Albergaria.
117 Ibid., p. 24.
seventeenth century, the system of customs regulations was slightly modified, although, farming out of revenue collection was continued.

The *regimento* given by Francisco Paes included amongst other things that the customs duties on imports and exports into/from Ilhas were fixed at rate of 5% each. The customs duties were changed to 5% on both entry and exit of the goods because of the fact that a lot of commodities like turtles and tortoises, silks, medicines, etc., were consumed by the people of Goa, besides some being destined for re-export trade. The merchants were henceforth not charged at the flat rate of 10% on imports of goods consumed in Goa. It is however not known if the benefits of reduction in rates were passed on to the consumers or if the traders ended up making a profit of another 5%.  

(a) Customs Policy in Salcete, Bardez and the New Conquests

The provinces of Salcete, Bardez and the New Conquests were authorized to collect independently customs dues on commodities entering their jurisdiction as was the practice before the arrival of the Portuguese. However, there was little difference in the customs rates and the mode of collection in these areas with that of Ilhas.  

The customs-house of Salcete was situated in Margao with its constituent check posts at the frontiers. The customs check-posts subordinate to the *alfandega* of Salcete

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120 Ibid., pp. 35-42.
were situated at Rachol, Sorla in Curtorim, Racaim or Goltim, Borim, Quelossim, Tanā of Cortalim, Ambor, Chandor, transit point of river Sal, at Deussua, Veroda, Cuncolim, Assolna, and the court of Murgusim. The latter was granted on lease to Gomes Janes de Figueiredo, by the letter of Viceroy D. Francisco de Mascarenhas on 20th June, 1585 for a sum of 100 xerafins per year. According to the resolution taken by the Concelho da Fazenda, on 22nd July, 1848 the same lease was granted to Custodio Gomes de Figueiredo for 800 xerafins. 122

The Portuguese followed a system of farming out of revenue collection of the customs dues for the major part of the first two and half centuries in Salcete also. However, since 1772 up to December, 1797 the collection of the revenue was administered directly by the Public Exchequer. But, taking into consideration the high cost involved in the collection of the revenues, the government again decided to revert back to the old system of farming out of revenue collection. 123 During this period the collection of customs dues at Margao and other subordinate post was given to Francisco Barreto Xavier, Babu Naique and others of Margao with the condition that they could follow the tariff established by the regimento of 13th August, 1619. However, exceptions were made regarding the victuals and areca which were taxed according to the ancient customs of the land. The revenue farmers enjoyed the privilege of the use of royal

121 This check post was improperly denominated as it was actually situated in the village Loutolim and not Borim.
122 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas Da India, pp. 40-41.
123 Ibid. Appropriate decision in this regard was taken by the Junta de Fazenda on 1st January, 1798, approved by the despatch of royal orders on 30th April, 1801.
umbrella (sombreiros de palha) and other benefits attached to the other tax collectors to whom collection of revenues were farmed out by the government.\textsuperscript{124}

A comparative study of the functioning of the customs in both Salcete and Bardez leads to the conclusion that there were lot of similarities regarding the items of taxation and the quantum of dues to be paid on each. This was despite the fact that both the provinces were under different regimes before the arrival of the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{125}

The customs-house of Bardez was situated in Mapuca with its pickets on the extremities. The check-posts subordinated to the customs-house of Bardez were situated at porpangim, i.e., on the other side of Panjim, as also at Chapora, Siolim, and Coluale. The customs-house of Bardez was like all the others in the region of ancient origin. Consequent upon its conquest by the Portuguese, the collection of customs was farmed out for a sum of 1,750 pagodes which were equivalent to 2,887:2:30 xerafins. This continued till 1801, the year in which the Public Exchequer took over the direct administration of customs. For this purpose it appointed its own staff that included an administrator, tax collector, secretary, one assistant, inspector, and a number of guards to supervise the transit of goods.\textsuperscript{126}

In the New Conquests the customs-houses were there in Ponda, Zambaulim, Bicholim, Cansarpale, Sanquelim, Canacona and Pernem with check posts on routes descending from the ghats of Tiném, Cuessim, Diguy, Cordal, Doncorpém, Ram-Gant,

\textsuperscript{124} Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas Da India, pp. 40-41.
\textsuperscript{125} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{126} Ibid.
While the customs-house of Ilhas was at the mouth of the river Mandovi those of Salcete, Bardez and the New Conquests were set up in the interiors for the purpose of supervising the inter-regional trade. The focus seems to have shifted from the maritime trade to the hinterland trade to a great extent.

The customs-houses of the New Conquests as well as that of Salcete and Bardez used to follow the tariffs imposed by the pre-Portuguese rulers of the region. Here the tariffs included also the remuneration for the services of the hereditary Dessais and it helped to defray the cost of the divine cult. For instance, the customs-house of Ponda contributed as sum of 1,292 xerafins and 1 tanga to the temples within its jurisdiction, besides, providing certain duty free imports of cargo of approximately 52 oxen. Similarly, in Murguddy (Zambaulim) 1,104 xerafins and 2 tangas were given as grants to the temples. In Canacona it was 166 xerafins while in Bicholim the amount paid to the temples was 500 xerafins. 128

(b). Reforms in Tariff Policy

The administration of customs attained a new form consequent upon the promulgation of the royal decree on 26th April, 1771. Henceforth, all customs-duties collected were to be deposited in the public treasury and all impositions that did not directly constitute the revenue of the Estado were abolished. This affected the

127 Ibid.
128 Ibid; also refer Filippe Nery Xavier, O Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas, Vol. II, pp. 47-48; also refer Livro do Tombo Geral by Francisco Paes.
functionaries of the customs-houses who were earlier remunerated by way of emoluments that they earned for the State. To compensate for this, the Junta da Fazenda fixed salaries for the functionaries from 15th February, 1772 onwards. This was the first time that the customs employees received fixed payment for the services rendered. 129

The decree of 20th January, 1774 touched all the commercial operations from the arrival of vessels up to the point of their departure after unloading their merchandise. In this appears well defined the modes and procedure that were required to be followed upon the arrival of a commercial vessel. Similarly, regulations pertaining to how to handle the incoming cargo and the steps to be followed for preventing deliberate pilferage of merchandise done with the purpose of avoiding payment of dues, help extended to ships that had been attacked by pirates, warehousing facilities to the cargo, etc., were provided for. In fact the provisions of 1774 covered everything regarding the commercial activities. All the formalities of the customs despatch, such as the list of goods given by the captain of the ship to the customs officials together with the declarations that had to be made were precepts that were codified in this law so as to give complete guarantee and security to the cargoes while entering and leaving Goa, and ensuring proper payment of customs dues. 130

While attempts were made to carry out the reform, the customs-houses of Goa were charged with additional responsibilities extraneous to their functions as customs-house. For instance, by the law of 10th February, 1774, attested by Gaspar de Costa one

129 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas Da India. pp. 45-46.
130 Ibid., pp. 46-47.
of the ministers of the Portuguese king D. Jose, a new impost of 2 tangas was imposed on
the coconut palm utilized for toddy tapping. The collection of this tax was imposed only
in the Old Conquests region and was entrusted to the customs-house of Goa. Similarly,
liquor imported in Salcete, Bardez and Ilhas from either the New Conquests or outside
the Estado domain were charged at the rate of 15 xerafins per barrel of capacity
equivalent to 625 litres. Likewise, toddy and jaggery were to be charged at the rate of 3
tangas per almude.\textsuperscript{131}

The Portuguese government passed laws from time to time to facilitate the
resurgence of trade from the last quarter of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{132} However, the city of Goa
was infested by pest that led to depopulation and consequent abandonment. The
government did not have the resources to rebuild the city. Therefore by the alvara of 20\textsuperscript{th}
April, 1777, was created a 1\% additional customs duty on all the imports in Ilhas, Salcete
and Bardez to be collected by the customs-houses. The proceeds of this were utilized for
the reconstruction of the old City of Goa. Items of common consumption like rice, wheat
and other essential provisions were exempted from this additional duty in the province of
Salcete only.\textsuperscript{133}

\textsuperscript{131} Ibid., pp. 48-49. Almude is a measure of liquid equivalent to 25 litres. However, jaggery is solid in
nature and the reason as to why it might have been measured in this manner was perhaps because it was of
semi-solid in nature or in gel form.
\textsuperscript{132} The reasons for the decline of the Estado's trade are described in detail in HAG, Livro das Monções, No.
84, ff. 489.
\textsuperscript{133} Rev. Clotineau in his book "Bosquejo Historico de Goa" says that the additional impost was only of \( \frac{1}{2} \)
\%. But in the Livros dos Assentos geraes da Alfandega de Salcete it is registered that the charge was 1\%. For additional information on this read, Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e
Alfandegas da India, pp. 48-49.
The decree of 20th January, 1774 provided for the extinction of numerous check-posts that were subordinate to the customs-houses of Salcete and Bardez, which led to the multiplicity of import duties being charged and which were obstacles to the free movement of goods from one place to another. It may be noted that the customs-houses of Salcete and Bardez functioned till then as independent units without any subordination to any central authority. The decree of 20th January, 1774 did away with this and brought the two the customs-houses of Salcete and Bardez under the administrative supervision of the principal Customs-house of Ilhas.134

(c). Customs reforms in the early 19th century

With the aim of efficient fiscal administration, the Aviso Regio of 26th January, 1816 confirmed the creation of four guards, who were posted at the frontiers in the customs-houses of Sanquelim, Murguddy (Zambaulim), Bicholim, and Ponda with the obligation to take note of the all the merchandise entering Goa from the Western Ghats. These guards were appointed by the customs house of Ilhas. To prevent any foul play on the part of the traders these guards had to accompany the merchants from the borders up to the customs-house at Panjim.135

Similarly, the customs-house at Ponda was to oversee the entry of merchandise from the gates of Parmargo, Tiney and Cavessy. From here the merchandise was destined either to Ponda, Paroda or Murgudy. The alfandega of Murgudy was to oversee the

134 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas da India, pp. 51-52.
135 Ibid.
merchandise coming from the ghats of Tiney and Cavessy besides those of Diguy, Condolo and Doucorpem. Check posts were proposed for the ghat routes that led directly to the villages of Cuncolim, Assolna, etc., in Salcete. Similarly, from Adnem the boiadas entered directly into Salcete. The customs-house of Bicholim and Sanquelim were to oversee the merchandise entering via the narrow passes of Ramagate, Manguelim, Quelghat and Chorlim. Merchandise entered via Quelghat and Chorlim to Sanquelim. Commodities of common consumption were disposed off here and the rest of the merchandise proceeded via Bicholim to Bardez. Considering the quantum of the trade on these routes it was indispensable to have customs-houses in these regions. 136

Substantial merchandise on oxen caravan entered Pernem via land routes of Naibaga, Bandem and Tolghat after descending the ghats under the jurisdiction of the Bounsulo. And it was appropriate to have a customs-house at Colvale to control this trade. All these new customs-houses had the liberty of marking with seals and stamping the goods entering from Balaghat into the areas of their jurisdiction upon paying the necessary customs duties. All the customs-houses were to pay pensions to the temples, Dessais and other mercenaries as was customary then. The boiadas had to be remunerated adequately according to the practices of the time. Charitable grants also were to be made to the former ruling houses of the region. 137

The import duties which were paid were not uniform but were diverse in nature and varied from province to province and from commodity to commodity and the

136 Ibid.
137 Manoel José Gomes Loureiro, op. cit., pp. 331-335.
government expressed its desire to have parity. In Ilhas the import duties were 5% with additional toll tax (lagimas). Thereafter the goods could be transported to the other provinces of Salcete and Bardez for consumption without payment of any additional charge. However, goods entering Salcete paid just half of the stipulated taxes if they were consumed there itself; but were charged the full amount for those goods which were destined for the other regions. This was the same with the cargoes entering Bardez. The complexities increased in relation to the goods entering the regions of New Conquests and proceeding to other parts of Goa.\footnote{Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas Da India, pp. 48-49.}

Such dissimilarities were harmful for smooth conduct of trade and commerce. Recognising this, the Portuguese government ordered that steps should be taken for bringing about uniformity in payment of customs duties in all the three customs-houses of the Old Conquests. The royal letter of 3\textsuperscript{rd} January, 1810 ordered that import duties should be charged only once at any of the customs-houses thereby facilitating the movements of goods. This was put into effect in Goa following the deliberation and appropriate decision taken in this regard by the \textit{Junta da Fazenda} dated 31\textsuperscript{st} October, 1810.\footnote{"Assento de Junta da Fazenda de Goa de 31 de Outubro de 1810 ", as quoted in, Manoel Jose Gomes Loureiro, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 322-329.} This was perhaps done to promote the free circulation of goods imported through any of the customs-houses of Ilhas, Salcete and Bardez. Trade and commerce might have surely benefited as a result of this.

Henceforth, goods coming via the ghat routes paid duties at the customs houses of Bicholim, Sanquelim, Ponda and Murgudim and entered the regions of Old Conquests as
a result of the extinction of the check posts in the latter. However, often the merchandise entered the jurisdiction of the New Conquests directly. To avoid occurrence of such instances that resulted in loss to the Public Exchequer, certain steps were undertaken. These steps included as follows: (i) guards were appointed by the customs house of Ilhas at Bicholim, Sanquelim, Ponda and Murgudim on a monthly salary of 40 *xeráfins* per month; by Salcete at Ponda and Murgudim. Bardez also had guards posted at the frontiers within its jurisdiction. These guards had the duty of examining scrupulously the quantity of goods imported and then issued appropriate permits to the traders for the transit of goods to the respective customs-houses. At the end of every month they had to submit a report to the higher authorities regarding the quantity of goods entering Goa from the ghats. This was to check the evasion of payment of import duties by the traders.

(ii) The merchants entering the regions of New Conquests from the ghats and proceeding to the Old Conquests had to take only approved and marked routes for their onward journey. If the merchants deviated from these routes then their goods were confiscated by the government. Similarly, the residents of the Old Conquests were not allowed to make purchases directly in the New Conquests and if any one was caught red handed violating these provisions, then the goods were confiscated by the governments. Besides the violators also had to pay fine equal to the value of the goods confiscated. And, guards were posted at Marcela to prevent residents of the Old Conquests from making any purchases.

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141 Ibid., pp. 323-324.
142 Ibid., pp. 324-325.
(iii) Guards appointed at Cuncolim in Salcete kept a check on the goods entering from Canacona taluka in the South. Similarly, the guards posted at Tiracol, Chapora and of Rio de Sal had the duty to see to it that the cargoes entering Goa via these rivers paid the necessary import duties. The Administrator of the customs-house of Bardez appointed a guard at the Forte de Meio with the duty of supervising all the goods that came via the ghats of Chorlim, Ramaghat, Quelghat and Manguelim and which had to pass through Bicholim and Sanquelim. Goods also arrived at Pernem via the ghat routes within the jurisdiction of the Bounsulo. The Administrator of the customs house of Bardez appointed a guard at Coluale to see that these goods reached Bardez. 143

(iv) Similarly, the Administrator of the customs-house of Salcete appointed guards to supervise the movement of goods that came via the ghats of Tinem, Digui, Condole, Adnem, Ambaulim and Saranguelim which were within the limits of Murgudim. The Administrator of the customs house of Ilhas appointed guards at Tonca at Santo Estevão to monitor the goods arriving in vessels from Bicholim and Sanquelim. Guards were also appointed at S. Thiago and S. Braz to supervise the movement of the goods arriving via Ponda, Paroda and Sanguem to the customs house at Panjim. The commandant of Rachol had to inspect all the vessels and see to it that the goods arriving via the river routes were taken to the customs-house of Salcete. The new law, with all the radical measures altered completely the organization of the customs of Salcete and Bardez, from 1811 onwards. However, the reforms did not include the customs-houses of

143 Ibid., pp. 325-326.
the New Conquests in which the old system of farming out of revenue collection was followed. 144

The customs regime was really cumbersome and there were lot of difficulties in the despatch of merchandise by the revenue farmers. Thus, the Junta de Fazenda determined that goods entering the jurisdiction of the customs-houses of Salcete and Bardez were to pay import duty of 5% as determined by the regulations of 20th January, 1774, besides the lagimas (toll) of 3 tangas and 10 reis. Merchandise exported from these regions paid a duty of 2% besides the lagimas as cited above. Furniture and wooden products were taxed likewise. However, items like salt, wheat, rice, and cattle were exempted from these payments. It was decided that transport of feni, jaggery and toddy from one taluka to another in Goa was taxed in conformity with the decree of 30th January, 1775. The same was to be charged at the rate of 2% when exported out of Goa. Similarly, cashew feni was charged at the rate of one xerafim per barrel. All the other duties that were imposed including the paladana which was imposed on the beast of burden employed in the transport of merchandise were likewise abolished. 145

The reforms introduced in 1810-11 regarding the functioning of the customs regime continued with little changes for a long time. Under this regime, the customs-houses were administered till 1840s.

144 Ibid., pp. 326-329.
145 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas da India, pp. 52-53.
From 1840s a series of successive laws were passed, some related to the
collection of customs duties and others related to the exemption of certain commodities
such as the fruits of the New Conquests from payment of duties. These laws established
the base for the foundation of the tax structure in Goa on an equal basis with the customs
tariff of Portugal.

A host of customs duties that were charged from 1840s onwards included the
following: (i) Consumption tax (Direitos de consummo): this was charged at the rate of
5% when the commodities were produced in the Portugal or its colonies and the
merchandise was transported in national ships. This was increased by an additional 2%
when the commodities were produced in territories outside Portuguese jurisdiction but
were transported on Portuguese vessels. However, when the same were transported on
foreign vessels then the total tax paid under this head was 10%. (ii) Export duties
(Direitos de Exportação): Goan products were exempt from payment of any duties when
destined to any region under Portuguese domination, but were charged at the rate of 1%
when they were destined to the foreign ports and shipped in national vessels. This went
up to 2% when they were despatched in foreign vessels. (iii) Tolls (Lagimas de chitos):
It consisted of the payment of 3 tangas and 10 réis, whether the goods are consigned
according to the general tariffs or based on the law of 20th January, 1774.146 (iv) Duties
on Trans-shipment, Transit and Exports of Goods (Direitos de baldeacilo, transito e
exportacao): The traders had to pay a duty of 1% on the trans-shipment, transit and
exportation of goods besides paying the Lagimas de chitos, freight charges, and expenses

146 Ibid.
on giving protection to the merchandise till they are transshipped. (v) Deposit Duties 
(Direitos de deposito): The traders had to pay 1% of the value of their merchandise under this head. (vi) Direito de sellagem: This impost pertained to the sealing and stamping of the merchandise and was charged at the rate of 5 réis per each bale of cloth. This was created by the Bando of 20th October, 1640 and subsequently by the portaria of Junta de Fazenda of 30th October, 1830. (vii) Warehousing Charges (Direitos de trapiche): This was charged at the rate of minimum 3 réis and ½ xerfins per each horse, for the warehousing facilities provided. (vii) Anchorage Duties (Direitos de ancoragem): This was charged from the early years of Portuguese domination in Goa. From 1531 it was charged at the rate of 1 xerfins for vessels with a capacity of 300 candis and above. Vessels with less capacity were charged ½ xerfins. This impost was abolished by the decree of 21st October, 1880. (viii) Charge on supplying ships with fresh water (Direitos de aguada de navios): This was charged for supplying the merchant navy with supply of fresh water. Each barrel of water was charged at the rate of 1 rupee. Of this, 10% was paid to the military commandant and 5% to his escrivão. (ix) Direitos do terço do Parangue (?): This was a perhaps a halting charge levied on vessels that called on the port at the rate of 1 xerfim per vessel. (x) Direitos de Collecta (?): This impost was collected at the end of the 16th century, but was subsequently extinguished. However,

147 This impost was created by the Portaria Provincial of 26th January, 1841.
148 Ibid.
150 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas da India, pp. 52-53.
151 According to Filippe Nery Xavier, this impost was collected for the first time on the orders of the Conde de Vidigueira from 1596 to 1600. The said tax was reimposed following the Assento da Junta de tres Estados dated 22nd June, 1837. The portaria Provincial of 11th December, 1840, also regulated the collection of this impost. For this and more information on the same refer Bolletim..., No. 53, 1840, p. 290; also see, Filippe Nery Xavier, Gabinete Litterario das Fontainhas, Tom. II, p. 156.
since 1775, the same was collected on meat and liquor.\textsuperscript{152} (xi) Contribution for the use of light-house facility (*Direitos do pharol d’Agoada*): This impost was charged for defraying the cost of maintaining the lighthouse of Aguada. The tax was charged at the rate of 2 *tangas* for vessels of capacity 200 *candis* with payment of 1 *tanga* for every additional capacity of 100 *candis*.\textsuperscript{153}

Such were the tariffs that were imposed in the first half of the 19th century. In 1840, the customs-houses were reduced to only five in number. Three in the Old Conquests and they were situated in Panjim, Chapora and Betul. The remaining two, were in Sanquelim and Sanguem in the New Conquests, to oversee the hinterland trade.\textsuperscript{154} Thereafter taking into consideration that the road of Doromarogo was frequently used by the ox caravans proceeding from the ghats to the province of Bardez, the then existing check-post in that place was raised to the level of the customs-house in 1841.\textsuperscript{155} And, the check post of Telgant and the transit of merchandise via the routes of Pernem and Canacona were all brought under its jurisdiction. Meanwhile, the customs-house of Sanquelim had jurisdiction henceforth only on the province of Satary.\textsuperscript{156}

However, within a short period it was realized that the new arrangement was not convenient, for the area under the jurisdiction of the customs-house of Doromarogo was very much extensive. Therefore, by April 1841, new check-posts were created at Tiracol

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\textsuperscript{152} *Carta Regia*, dated 16th October, 1773, as quoted in Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas da India*, pp. 53-55.

\textsuperscript{153} Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas da India*, pp. 53-55.

\textsuperscript{154} *Boletim ...,* No. 1, 1841, pp. 3.

\textsuperscript{155} *Portaria Provincial* dated 6th March, 1841, as quoted in Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas da India*, p. 54.

\textsuperscript{156} Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas da India*, pp. 53-55.
and Naibaga in Pernem, at Collem and Cuessim in Embarbarcem, at Veluz and Valpoy in Satary, at Talpona and Udenvol in Canacona and at Col and Cavellossim in the province of Salcete. 157

From 1840 onwards, whenever the affluence of commerce necessitated check posts then either new ones were created or the existing ones were shifted to convenient points or made full-fledged customs-houses. For instance, by the provincial decree of 22nd July, 1845 the check post of Torxem in Pernem was elevated to the category of an customs house and several new check post were created. 158

In 1855 the check-post of Collem was given the status of a customs-house after the road of Cuessim became a principal arterial route to the ghats. Subsequently, the customs-house was transferred to Tiney as the route began to be increasingly used by the merchants. Various regulations were put into force with the intent of giving an impetus to trade and commerce. 159 For instance, in 1861, the rate of taxes for the export of salt to the straits of Malaca was fixed so as to give a stimulus to the decadent trade with Macau. Goa faced serious deficit in its yearly requirement of food grains. Due to this from 1862 onwards the government allowed the free imports of rice. From the second half of the 19th century onwards, Goa faced ‘cereal deficit’ that threatened the countryside. It was essential to lower the tariffs on items of common consumption. Taking all this into

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157 Ibid, Also refer to, the Portaria Provincia, dated 15th April, 1841, as quoted in Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, Regimen do Sal, Abkary e Alfandegas Da India, pp. 53-55.
158 Ibid.
159 Portaria Provincial, dated 9th September, 1858 and 19th November, 1858.
consideration, the provincial decree of 12th September, 1862 allowed the free import of rice to help the people.\textsuperscript{160}

(d). Tariff Policy after the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty in 1878

The Portuguese and the British concluded a treaty in 1878 which is called the Anglo-Portuguese treaty. This treaty of 1878 had far reaching impact on the socio-economic scenario of Goa. The customs-houses that were established over all the territorial frontiers of Goa were abolished and only those at Nova Goa, Chapora, Betul and Talpona were retained.

The principal conditions of the agreement were reciprocal freedom of commerce, navigation and transit between the territories of the Portuguese and the British in India; mutual agreements for construction of railway lines from New Hubli to Mormugao, and an extension from New Hubli to Bellary; abolition of customs duty at the frontiers of both territories; uniformity of customs duty for both territories on most items of import and export by sea; control of salt and opium manufacture in Portuguese territory; and an alignment of excise duty on spirituous liquor in Portuguese India with the system prevalent in British India. The British agreed to pay the Portuguese government the sum of four lakhs annually for the twelve years during which the treaty remained in force.

\textsuperscript{160} Ibid.
This amount was meant to be diverted as annual guarantee to the British firm that was to undertake the project connecting the harbour of Mormugao by rail to British India.\textsuperscript{161}

The tariff rates of Goa were linked with those of British India. A phase of liberalization was introduced regarding Goa’s trade with neighbouring British India. The Treaty of 1878 liberalized trade and commerce and Goa was flooded with foreign products that competed with those produced in Goa. In this competition the local industry suffered. The cheap goods that flooded the Goan markets led to increase in consumption of both the consumables and luxury products in Goa.\textsuperscript{162}

To get a fair idea of the change in the lifestyle of the people it is enough just to see the figures of import before and during the Treaty period. During the period from 1873 to 1878 when trade was protected by tariffs, imports in Goa averaged about Rs. 2,604,587. This figure shot up to Rs. 3,179,931 per year for the period 1880-92.\textsuperscript{163}

Thus, during the period 1750 to 1910, there was a brisk trade in food materials and other essential goods between Goa and the various other parts of the country. Goa imported large quantities of rice every year. The imports of sugar to meet the domestic needs were also very substantial. In the initial years the trade was balanced with the export of coconut and coconut products like copra, jaggery, coconut oil, feni, etc. However, in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the imports bill rose tremendously.


On the other hand the quantum of export did rise proportionately. From 1780s onwards it was the remittances despatched by the emigrants from British India that helped balance the trade deficit every year. Corresponding to the increase in the volume of trade, there were increasing attempts to modify the customs regulations and establish several customs-houses at the junctional points of trade routes, with a view of extracting commercial surplus. Whether it is export of agrarian products from Goa or import of agriculture related commodities from neighbouring territories lying in the hinterland, the governments’ desire to appropriate wealth is made evident in the reorganization and proliferation of customs structure, which also is indicative of their strategy to bag as much surplus as possible from the products of agrarian sector.