CHAPTER -FOUR

THE PORTUGUESE IN MADRAS: FROM REFUGEES TO \textit{MORADORES}, 1640--1710

This chapter will concentrate on the Portuguese society, economy, and their role in the defence and security of Madras and its trade from the inception of the City till the time of Governor Thomas Pitt. This period is significant in as much as the monopoly of Old Company come to an end by Act of Parliament in 1694 and the formation of rival new Company (1698) on the one hand and the amalgamation of the Old and New Companies into United Company of Merchants of England Trading to the East Indies (agreed to work together in 1702 and finally amalgamated in 1708) took place during Pitt's time which existed till 1858. This changing circumstance has also greatly changed the attitudes of the English Government towards the Catholics. It was also important for the study of the Catholic community for several reasons. The period witness the laying of a foundation on which the future relationship between the Portuguese community and the English government hinged: various policies were adopted upon the Catholic community on trial basis which got matured during the time of Governor Pitt. This period is also significant in terms of the importance of the Portuguese residents for the security of Madras, its Fort and its business. Besides, it was during this period that Portuguese were finally settle down and became vibrant businessmen from their erstwhile refugee's situations. Their business and importance to the English merchant government reach its zenith during Pitt's governorship from where it seems to have gradually decline under a comparative peaceful situation leading to their final expulsion from the 'white town' in 1750, after French occupation. We have already discussed the settlement patterns in the first chapter and learned that in the colonial scheme of space and race or 'colour' the Portuguese constituted nearest to the rulers and were admitted to settle in the 'white town'. Here, it would be pertinent to begin herewith the population and settlement, the migration patterns and factors that have contributed to such migration of the Portuguese \textit{moradores} in Madras in much detail. In other words, what compelled the Portuguese settlers to migrate to Madras and why the English merchant government was so keen to have large number of Portuguese population in their premier centre in the Bay of Bengal.
trade? In this way the subject of Portuguese society, economy and other aspects related to them in Madras may be better understood.

THE PORTUGUESE POPULATION AND SETTLEMENT IN MADRAS

We have noted briefly in the previous chapter about the pattern of settlement in Madras under the colonial scheme of urban space and colour in which the Portuguese were settled in the ‘white town’ as well as in the ‘black town’. Here, a more detail survey would be undertaken in this respects viz. their population and settlement. However, to our predicament records are not extant much on this subject until 1871 when we have the first census report of Madras. But an attempt is made here from some available sources. The term Portuguese is generally used to denote European Portuguese, Indian born Portuguese of both pure-blooded Portuguese and the Mestizos (half-breed Portuguese) or Eurasians. The later group was sometime called ‘black Portuguese’ in the Company’s account that must have surpassed other groups of Portuguese in Madras.

Recorded evidence pointed out that the Portuguese seem to have settled down at Madras since from its inception. They came mainly from the nearby town of Mylapore. Many of them have also come from Armagaon from where the English transferred to Madras. During this time only the inner Fort was built. In order to encourage more and more Portuguese to settle down in Madras ground was generously distributed and they were even given money to build their houses. The Portuguese were first allotted the grounds around this Fort on the open sand. The outer rampart was gradually built during the 1650s by President Bakers, Greenhill, etc, and completed by Chamber in and around 1661. This outer wall enclosed the European settlements including those Portuguese and together with the inner Fort was latter known as the ‘white town’ or ‘Christian town’. The beginnings of Portuguese settlement in the ‘white town’ was clearly pointed by the reply of the Madras Council to Maj. Puckle in 1676 which read: ‘the Portuguese and Mestizos

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1 This is attested by the fact that when Father Ephraim landed in Madras in middle of 1642 there were already many Catholic settlers including the Portuguese and their dependents. For instance, see the certification of Father Manuel de St. Joseph, the Vice-Commissary General of the order of Franciscans on the work of Father Ephraim de Nevers in 1590, adapted in Niccolao Manucci, Storia Do Mogor or Mugal India, III, (trans. William Irvine), p.445-446; William Foster (ed.) English Factories in India, 1655-60, p.402. (Hereafter EFI) and William Crooke, Jean-Baptiste Taverniers Travels in India, Manoharal, 1977, Vol.I, p.77, II, p.220.
2 D&C, 29 February, 1676, p.87.
were invited hither by the several agent from our first settling here and some came with our people from Armagaon and encouraged and several had money lent them to build upon the open sand, under the protection of the guns, which by degrees has been walled in...They have never paid any rent or acknowledgement, nor taken out any leases' for their houses and plots.4

The population of the Portuguese in Madras by this time is not extended in the record. However, Phillip Baldaeus in 1659 said that in ‘Madraspatan otherwise Chinnapatan’ the English have the Fort of St. George ‘garrisoned with Topatzes and Mistices.5 By 1670 Dominic Navarette had also seen large number of Portuguese residents inhabiting the ‘white town’ and some in the ‘black town’.6 Thomas Bowrey also said that Fort St. George was inhabited by ‘many Portugals’, being subject to the English government.7 By 1673 Dr. John Fryer estimated that the Portuguese were ‘as many thousand.8 By 1676 Maj. Puckle found that ‘above half of the soldiers of the forts are Portuguese and more than half of the inhabitants of the new town are Portuguese and they now have two churches nigh unto the fort where some thousands meet every week.9 By 1681 when the Diwan was to come and collect his dispatches from Governor, 260 Portuguese inhabitants of Madras, all able fighters, could be mustered for militiamen to defence Madras.10 In 1678, among the list of 118 houses prepared for the collection of house-tax for the conservancy of the ‘Christian town’ 33 belonged to the English, 77 to Portuguese and 3 to the natives.11 No wonder than that, by 1688, when John Pitt and Zouch Troughton compiled a ‘Rent Rowle of Dwelling Houses within Christian Towne’, half of the 128 private dwelling houses belonged to the Portuguese.12 This, along with

4 D&CB, 29 February, 1676, p.87; See also 22 March 1680.
5 Philip Baldaeus, A Description of the East India Coasts of Malabar and Coromandel and also of the Isle of Ceylon with their adjacent Kingdoms and Provinces, Asian Education Services, New Delhi, 2000, p.653.
9 D&CB, 29 February, 1676 p.89.
10 D&CB, 18 April, 1681, p.18.
11 Love, Vestiges, I, p.444.
12 D&CB, 2 August 1688, pp.120-123; T. Wheeler, Madras in the Olden Time: Being a History of the Presidency, AES, 1993, 136-140; see also Love, Vestiges, I, p.258.
those who were in the garrison, women, children and aged, may likely cross the ‘thousand’ mark.

When the number of the Portuguese population increased many of them also started to purchase land in the ‘black town’ and made their settlements there. But it is not possible to locate their specific residence within that, probably, they must have mixed up with other local inhabitants. And it is not clear when this people started to settle down in the ‘black town’ and for what reason. By 1670s Abbe Carre said that ‘Fort St. George is in the middle of the town...Besides this, there is yet a second town, or rather a large suburb of fine large and wide streets, inhabited by Hindus, Moors and other different castes and natives of the country, as well as some Portuguese.’\textsuperscript{13} In the just cited list prepared for the collection of house tax for the conservancy of the ‘Christian town’ in 1678, seventy-five houses of the ‘black town’ were also included out of which seventy-two belonged to the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{14} Thomas Salmon said that ‘to the northward, adjoining the White Town, stands a much larger, called the Black Town, where the Portuguese, Indians, Armenians and a great variety of other people inhabit.’\textsuperscript{15} Therefore, by computation, we have 149 Portuguese households in Madras, in the ‘white town’ as well as in the ‘black town’, by the 1680s which might probably crossed ‘thousand’ people.

According to the list prepared in 1678 some of the main Portuguese inhabitants of Madras were John Perera de Faria, Cosmo Lourenzo Madeira, Luis de Kintall Fialho, and Lucas Luis de Oliveira; while Cassa Verona appears as a native owner.\textsuperscript{16} Forty-four prominent Portuguese names also came in their petition to the Council for the release of one portuguese convict in 19 September 1678: Gasparda Motta de Britto, John Baptist Munis, John Sardinha de Foncea, Gaspar de Cunha da Silva, Ignacio de Gomboa, Lucas Luis Dolivera, Manoel da Silva de Manezes, Luis de Kintall Fialho, Jn. De Siquera de Vasconcellos, Antonio Coelho, Lorenzo Cutta Falcan, Antonio Henrique da Foncea, Antonio, Pereira Tavares, Antonio Figueredo, Thome Baptista, Francisco Cardozo de Macedo, Lopo Mexia, Jno. De Morais Mexia, Lazaro Henrique, Nicholas Pinto Daoure,

\textsuperscript{14} Love, \textit{Vestiges}, I, p.444.
\textsuperscript{15} Thomas Salmon, \textit{Modern History, or the present state of all nations}, (1724): his description is around 1699/1700, cited in Love, II, p.75.
\textsuperscript{16} Love, \textit{Vestiges}, I, p.444.
John Pereira de Faria, Antonio de Souza Guedes, Jeronimo de Faria, Manoel Ribero Aranha, Diogo Pereira, Jeronimo de Saw, Antonio de Soiza Mexia, John Ferrera da Silva, Simon Nunes, Thomas Paiz, Miguel do Valle, Thome Lopes de Gauarra, Francisco de Souza de Lemos, John Galvan da Silva, Barnabe da Fonceia, Manuell Goncaluves Dolivera, Francisco de Britto Correa, Couto. Sebastia Texera de Carualho, John Paiz Gazio, Philippe de Souza, Somon de Maderos, Francisco de Mattos de Faria, Manoel de Souza, and Francisco Carnero Dalcassoua.\textsuperscript{17}

According to the ‘Rent Rowle’ of 1688\textsuperscript{18} there were four non-English or Portuguese houses out of 13 houses in the Middle Street belonging to Father Ephraim; Martad Consason, Paul Cardozo and Martin Lopez. In Choltry Street were 10 houses where Como Lorenzo, Padre Theodosia and John Parera also own houses. In Chowltry Alley Joan Lopus owned two houses out of 7 houses. ‘Madam Paiva’ and Pancheu Viera owned one house each in Glochester Street among 4 houses. York Street contained property owned by Pancheu Viera (four houses), Renon Perera, Domingo Mendes and Martha de Consason (one each) out of 14 houses where Padre Lopus, Adre Garmast, Frans Tessera and Marmad Consason were tenants. In the York Lane Domingo Joan, Emmanuel Rosaira (two houses) owned houses out of 9 houses. In James Street houses of Girmar Peniora, Joseph Perera, Maria de Sure, Pois new hospital and another house belonging to ‘Pois’, Padre Lorenz Parera, Sicilla Mendes and Maria Madera, can be located among twenty-one houses. All the houses and godowns in the James Alley (10 houses), St. Thomas Streets (21 houses), St. Thomas Lane (4 houses) and Church Street, (5 houses) belonged to the Portuguese save President Yale house and godown and another godown owned by Mr. Gray in St. Thomas Streets and another house owned by John Stevenson in Church Street. In all there were 128 private dwellings in the ‘white town’ out of which half of them belonged to the Portuguese inhabitants. Besides this, evidence also shows that the Portuguese were generally mixed up with English inhabitants in the ‘white town’.

Then one pertinent question is: from where did the Portuguese came from and why they come to Madras, and for that matter why the English government invited them

\textsuperscript{17} D&CB, 1678, p.166.
\textsuperscript{18} D&CB, 2 August 1688, pp.120-123; See also Annexure-I.
and allowed them to inhabit the ‘white town’ while many prominent local merchants were not permitted? This can be seen in two ways: the Portuguese came from different places and during different stages when their settlements and business were at stake under the Dutch scourge and they came to Madras as refugees seeking English government’s help; on the other hand they were invited by the English not only to populate the town but also for the defence and security of Madras and the growth of its trade and commerce. This issue will be dealt with in detail in the following section.

A COSMOPOLITAN DIASPORA: PORTUGUESE AS DISTRESSED REFUGEES IN MADRAS
To begin with, the Portuguese residents of Madras came from different port settlements of India such as Mylapore, Armagaon, Durgarajapattinam, Negapatinam, Porto Novo, Masulipatnam, etc. as refugees seeking better employment and security under the English government. The establishment of English Fort settlement in Madras was rather a god-made abode for many Portuguese free merchants to rehabilitate themselves when the prospect of their trade and commerce were at stake. However, they did not come in one time; they came in variation throughout the 17th century, since the 1640s. But it should be noted that this cosmopolitan diasporas was but part of a larger chain of movement of people from one port to another due to various reasons. One of the foremost reasons for the Portuguese was the ‘protestant scourges’ of the Dutch maritime power that captured their settlements one after another. Dominic Navarette (1670), a Spanish priest who traveled in the East Indies and China from 1646-1672, succinctly puts that in Madras ‘the English have a noble fort; they have also other walls, but small, within which live all the Portuguese, who after the losing of Jafnapatan, Negapatan and St. Thomas, went to seek places to dwell.’ Dr. John Fryer (1673) also said that the Portuguese ‘made Fort St. George their refuge when they were routed from St. Thomas by the Moors about ten years past (1662) and have ever since lived under protection of the English.’ Thus, the Portuguese became literally refugees in Madras when their settlements were routed by other powers.

To begin with, it should be stated that under the Dutch pillaging movement Mylapore, the putative resting place of St. Thomas, the Apostle, had first become the

\[19\] JS Cummins, *Friar Domingo De Navarrette*, p.297.
resting place for the endangered Portuguese free merchants until they were later driven to Madras. The ambitious VOC, after realizing that Indian cotton textiles were essential to any dealings with the Spice Islands, had patrolled over the Coromandel Coast against other European competitors since the turn of 17th century. The English, being thrown out from the Spice Islands, had also now concentrated in Indian coast. Both moved at the cost of the Portuguese who had established themselves economically most viable in the coast since the 16th century. The Dutch settled themselves first in Ceylon by expelling the Portuguese and gradually moved northwards in Indian littoral region. They established themselves at Pulicat in 1607. The Portuguese first drove them out five years later but with stronger forces they reoccupied in the following year. They also captured Machilipatnam and driven out many of the Indo-Portuguese inhabitants who were then ship-owners and traders. Only St. Thoma and Nagapatnam remain unaffected for the time being, their trade being greatly reduced by the Dutch squadrons patrolling up and down the Coromandel Coast however. Frightened with the Dutch movement the Portuguese moradores (residents) even applied to Goa for protection but to no much avail. By 1659, Nagapatnam was taken over by the Dutch and the Portuguese inhabitants rehabilitated themselves at Porto Novo which itself was also ravaged by the Bijapuri army two years later. It was rebuilt but by 1687 was again attacked by Aurangzeb.

Nearer home, Mylapore was much less in danger from the Dutch but equally suffered from the ‘protestant scourge’ on the high sea. However, its economy was sustained by the good employment provided by the English government in Madras. Many of the residents worked in the services of the English Company at Madras until they permanently settled down to that place by forces of circumstances or voluntarily. Being better situated than other Portuguese settlements in the Coromandel Coast, St. Thoma (Mylapore) absorbed influxes of refugees, first from Jaffna in Ceylon, Machilipatnam and later from Nagapatnam and then Porto Novo. As a result of this there was concentration of entrepreneurial expertise and capitals among its citizenry. The reassembling of Portuguese capitals and expertise were later reaped by the English Company of Madras when many of them choose to settle down in Madras. This was mainly because St. Thoma Mylapore was exposed to various political quagmires.
In fact, the migration of Mylaporians to Madras already took place during the Dutch seizures, in the 1640s and 1650s. We know that after the Dutch attack St. Thoma in 1644 the number of Catholic population in that place decline to a mere 1700\textsuperscript{21} from 200 native Christian families inside the walled city and about 6000 outside it in 1635.\textsuperscript{22} This mass migration would have suggested the movement of many of them to Madras. Similarly, when St. Thoma was captured by the Golconda Army in 1662 most of the Portuguese inhabitants were said to have migrated to Madras and other places.\textsuperscript{23} We also learn from the factory records that the occupation of St. Thoma by the Golconda army was a threat to Fort St. George which had ‘not above 26 English in the Fort’ so that ‘they were forced to take as many Portugals as formerly to maintaine the outworkes’.\textsuperscript{24} Thus we have seen that political turmoil and intolerant attitudes of the Dutch and later the Golconda and the French, was one important factor behind the movement of Portuguese to Madras where they become virtually a refugees.

The lost of their settlements and dwindling economic prospect, however, does not represent the whole picture for the migration of Portuguese to Madras. The viability of rehabilitating themselves by becoming the citizens of Madras from the lost they made from their enemy powers was also equally matter. This will hinge on two things: first, they must be able to break the Dutch barricades for their business in order to thrive and second, they need to have good rapport with the English who will now be their master. The former mainly hinged upon the relationship between English and the Dutch and the latter on England and Portugal. As far as the relationship between the English and the Dutch were concerned the only weakness of the VOC in Indian Ocean was that the Dutch Republic had the English as their neighbour across the North Sea. Although both are Protestants, they were trading rivals who fought three bitter naval wars over trade in 1652-54, 1665-67, and in 1672-74. The battles were enormously destructive for the Dutch admiralties and the Republican economy. It was because of that that the Dutch government repeatedly warned the Directors of VOC not to create incidents in Asia which might stir up new wars in Europe. One of the English battle cries in the North Sea

\textsuperscript{21} Andrew Lopez, The Annual Letters of 1644, the Jesuits Malabar Province, trans. L.Besse (1907), p.29.
\textsuperscript{22} Thekkedath, History of India, II, p.204; Meersman, The Franciscans, pp.15 &17.
\textsuperscript{23} EFI, 1661-1664, p.146; Fryer, A New Account, I, p.107; Manucci, Storio do Mogor or Mugal India, III, p.263; Love, Vestiges, I, p.197.
\textsuperscript{24} EFI, 1661-1665, 1662, p.180.
wars in fact was enough to establish the link: 'Remember Amboyna!' Consequently, VOC, while they struck relentlessly at indigenous shipping in the Bay of Bengal and in the Malacca Straits, were obliged to stand helplessly when the English private traders sailed by under their noses. This is in fact the only way out for the Portuguese merchants if they would like to continue their trades in the Bay and with the Spice Islands and beyond that with China or Manila. The result was that the Portuguese, by becoming the citizens of Madras, could now fly the English flags on their vessels and sometime even had the Englishman on board to warn the Dutch in no uncertain terms to keep their hands off. This seems to have been operational as early as by 1642 and gradually wrecked the VOC plan to monopolize trade in the region. Thus, the security and prospect of better trades under the English Company must have compelled many Portuguese free merchants to transfer themselves to Madras as the subject of English government rather than remain in the Portuguese settlement and wait for a disaster.

As far as the relationship between England and Portugal is concern it was on a fluctuating terms. The ancient friendly relationship between Anglo-Portuguese was broken in 1550s over the English voyages to the Guinea Coast and then from 1580-1640 when Portugal was under Spanish crown. Despite peace agreement in 1604, the Spanish refused to allow English trading privileges in their overseas possessions, including those of Portugal. The English Company forces, besides hijacking few Portuguese vessels on the seas, helped the Shah Abbas of Persia in blockading Ormuz and prevented Goa from assisting it in 1621-1622. But by 1635, the English Company was preoccupied with the Dutch menace and in that year they accepted a non-aggression pact with Goa. In 1642, the Treaty of London formally ended all hostilities between the two nations. The relationship between the two was further improved by the marriage of Charles II to Princess Catharine of Braganza, the sister of Portuguese King, in 1661 for which English got Bombay Islands as dowry. This home relation must have great implication in their overseas colonies too. The immediate implication of this can be seen from the letter of Madras to the Directors saying that as they have not above 26 Englishmen they were compelled to take as many Portuguese to maintain the outworks as before especially due

26 Ibid., p.59.
to the fact that they have greater confidence in them now 'because of their alliance to the Crowne of England.'²⁷ For the Englishmen there was little inhibition against the Portuguese in terms of nationality then. However, in terms of trade and commerce the English Company officials found themselves in competition with the Estado da India as the latter was still influential in the region. For this reason some control mechanism was devised such as a bond have to be made with Company for good conduct or that the English reserved the right to expelled from their settlements. In terms of religion the Company officials in India were compelled, sometime against the wish of their home Directors and the Church of England, to take the course of toleration towards the Catholics with certain restrictions. In fact, such religious freedom was equally given to all religions. Considering the advantages of being the citizens of English government such restrictions was not of much impediment for the endangered Indo-Portuguese free traders. The views of both the Portuguese merchants and the English officials can be best illustrated from the expression of the Madras Council when they replied to Maj. Puckle queries. They said that it is quite safe to have Portuguese in Madras as they are 'usefull and disarmed as the inhabitants are' and 'so firme at peace as between our princes, with so great a dependence as they have on us more than on all other European nations in India.'²⁸

Besides, for many of the religious Portuguese moradores, Madras (just three miles away from Mylapore) was not much remove from their highly venerated Great Mount where Apostle Thomas lies and from where they could continued to receive their daily mental consolation which they were so accustomed in that way since their first settlement in Mylapore. This had become another important factor for the choice of Madras as their final abode. The St. Thomas Mount was seven to eight miles westward of Madras and the Portuguese venerated so much so that San Thome de Mylapur was founded because of this. On the top of this hill was built a fine Church dedicated to the Holy Virgin, and is known as the Madonna of the Mount. The Church and the shooting Mount has been a landmark for mariners already for some centuries. During the 17th century the Church had been much embellished by the rich Armenians and concourse of

²⁷ EFI, 1660-1664, 1662, p.180.
²⁸ D&CB, 29 February, 1676, p.89.
people especially the rich gentlemen of the town started to settle down at the foot of the hill not only for religious matters but also as a pleasant resort for weekend recreation and health, especially during summer. Father Ippolito Desideri (1726) said that ‘up to less than sixty six years ago (1660) Great Mount was just as deserted as Little Mount once was’ which by that time was with ‘very large number of handsome houses round its foot, even some sumptuous mansions which belong to Malatri (Malabaris=Tamil), Portuguese and Armenians; also many owned by the English.’ He also said that ‘so great an increase is there in the number of dwellings that it might be said that it is a large and agreeable town, where there is a continual concourse of the richest coaches and palankeens on their ways to great Mount’ and ‘nearly one half of the well-to-do inhabitants of that city (Madras) come and pass months at a time in this newly formed town at the foot of great mount.’

Father Desideri account is also supported by others. Thomas Salmon said that ‘the Company have also a house and garden at St. Thomas’s Mount, a hill seven or eight miles to the westward of Fort St. George, where, according to the tradition of the country, St. Thomas was buried.’ Charles Lockyer also said that in St. Thomas Mount there was ‘an old House with a pleasant garden of the Company.’ Hamilton also said that ‘at the foot of the great mount, the company has a garden, and so have the gentlemen of figure at fort St. George, with some summer-houses where ladies and gentlemen retire to in the summer, to recreate themselves when the business of the town is over, and to be out of the noise of spongers and impertinent visitants, whom the city is often molested with.’

No wonder, in 1709, when Captain Tolson came from England and landed ashore at Madras about nine at night with a commission to dismiss President Thomas Pitt and therefore pressed that the Council be immediately called the Governor told him that ‘it was impossible to be done not only from the lateness of the night, but that severall of them [Council’s gentlemen] were at the Mount’ so that the Council could only meet in the morning the following day. This is also confirm by the expression of the board minutes in 1710 when Lewis Melique had complaint against Cojah Saffur for his
'insolencys' and 'abuses' the Council decided that the said Saffur has been 'a troublesome fellow to all the English in general who have resorted to the Mount for their health'.

But what is most significant for the Portuguese and for that matter other Christians was that this Mount was religiously considered to be sources of health, blessing and protection from the powers of the Apostle. Many miracles took place here. Therefore, since very long time this place became a pilgrimage centre for not only the Christians but also to others. On the 18th December of every year the Portuguese usually celebrate here the Feast of the Expectation. But what is most interesting is that when the Portuguese settle down in Mylapore the Saint was worship for safe journey over the high sea voyages, an important part of their business indeed. Usually prayers were offered to the Saint before every voyage for a safe return. This is clearly exemplified by Father Desideri's account. He said 'As soon as ever the ships and vessels of the Portuguese and Armenians can see the Church from the sea and find they are about to pass it, they put up prayers for a safe return, and discharge a salute from their artillery.' As the Church was located at the top of the hill it was also clearly visible from the ships. This is shown, for instance, in the picturesque views of Madras by Jan Van Ryne painting, which clearly depict the Mount and the Church elevating out from the backyard of the 'white Town'.

Thus, it is shown that the closeness of the tomb of St. Thomas the Apostle and his generosity toward the devotees which had been all important since their first settlement in Mylapore was also considered to be one important factor for the acceptance of Madras as their refuge by the Portuguese.

Therefore, the Portuguese were literally refugees in Madras when the prospect of their trade and business was at stake under the Dutch pillaging scourges against them and were seeking the English protection. They also came to Madras as that will be most viable way to break the Dutch blockades to their trade and also that the relationship between England and Portugal was cordial. Besides, factors like religious freedom, closeness to St. Thomas Mount, free land to build their houses, free rent, etc. are also

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34 D&CB, 12 January 1710, p.7.
responsible for such migration. Further, above all this they were welcome or invited at Madras by the English government with certain concessions on their trade and business to induced them. This will be dealt with in details in the following section.

A MOONLIGHT PARTNERSHIP: PORTUGUESE AND THE ENGLISH IN MADRAS
The Portuguese were not just distressed refugees in Madras they were purposely ‘invited’ by the English government that pave the way for their migration. We have seen that under the colonial scheme of urban space the Portuguese were located within the ‘white town’ settlement of Madras and that too within the well-fortified walls with hard stone colour like ‘rusty iron’ and ‘surrounded with very potent and stronge bulwarks, points and batteries’. Here it is contended that for the English, besides considering the Portuguese nearer, if not the same, to the English in terms of race, colour and religion, the predominant motive behind inviting them was largely for the ‘increase of trade’ and the ‘security of the fort and town.’ This is clearly spelt out in the early colonial accounts. In a letter to President Andrews of Surat, who insisted to expel the two Capuchin priests from Madras, President Chamber of Madras, in 1661, civilly dismissed the idea of expelling the two fathers by specifically citing that ‘it will neither be safe for the fort nor towne’. He argued that the French priests were invited to reside in Madras to encourage the Portuguese to come into the town and if they are expel all the Portuguese inhabitants will leave at once which will lead to the ‘weakening of the Fort’. ‘The terroure and awe of many white men in the towne’ he said ‘strikes to our neighbours’ and ‘the honour and reputation that redounds to the Company among the princes of India is the multitude of his [white] subjects’. He further argued that the Portuguese inhabitants are responsible for the ‘cause of increase of trade and Companies customs’.\textsuperscript{37} He also argued that for these reasons the Portuguese have been invited since their first settlement by Sir Andrew Cogan, Mr. Francis Day, Mr. Thomas Ivie, twice by Mr. Aaron Baker and by agent Henry Greenhill.

The same view was also taken by his successors. In 1676, the Agent and Council of Fort St. George replied to Maj. Puckle (who enquires on the security of the Fort in the presence of so many Portuguese), saying that the Portuguese were rather useful for the security of the Town by ‘doing the duty of trained bands in watching and warding in

\textsuperscript{37} EFI, 1661-64, pp.38-39.
times of troubles upon the outworks.\textsuperscript{38} In 1680, the Madras Council took another resolution that 'these Roman Catholicks of the Portuguese nation were invited hither upon our first settlement, ground given them to build upon a church and French priests allowed to encourage them to come and inhabit here, they have been loyall and serviceable in the defence of the place in time of war and are a great security to us upon that account and our greatest income arises from the customes upon their commerce.'\textsuperscript{39} Thomas Bowrey account also substantiated the Company's views on the Portuguese. He said that many Portuguese inhabitants became 'eminent merchants' and 'many of them also beare arms in the honourable English East India Company's service as private Centinels.'\textsuperscript{40}

Thus, the notion of 'defence' and 'security' of the town or Fort on the one hand and the 'increase of trades' and 'customes' on the other were the two most important considerations taken by the Company under which the Portuguese were invited into Madras. As far as trade was concerned the Indo-Portuguese population was rather a godsend for the English government. This is mainly because the Portuguese were already in the region for more than 100 years or so and were conversant with the local languages and familiar with most of the trades, society and economy. They knew Tamil and all the usual way of expediting business; they were ideal as foremen, as brokers, as translators, as soldiers, as suppliers of goods, as handicraftsmen, and in fact as intermediaries for all the range of activities which are useful in establishing and operating a fortified trading post in the midst of strange landscape. We have just mentioned how the entrepreneurial expertise and merchant capitals gradually concentrated in the nearby settlement at Mylapore. For the English Company, who was always in need of more capitals and expertise, to avail this cosmopolitan expertise and capitals happened to be the best way to develop their trade and commerce in the region. No wonder than that, the eager Britons offered 30 years tax exemptions on their commodities for consumption, ground given them and even money to build their houses, besides various other incentives such as freedom of trade, religion, etc.\textsuperscript{41}

\textsuperscript{38} D&CB, 29 February 1676, pp.87.
\textsuperscript{39} D&CB, 22 March 1680.
\textsuperscript{40} Thomas Bowrey, \textit{The Geographical Account}, pp.3-4.
The importance of Portuguese populations was especially felt for the country trade or intra-Asian trade in the region. The flourishing intra-Asian trade was mainly carried out by the participation of free merchant enterprises. The English Company, besides the various political embargoes, lacked sufficient resources, could not venture out to the south-east Asian countries and beyond. So they lent their shipping in freights to private entrepreneurs in order to get their needed goods from these areas. The Company servants were also given liberty to trade in these sectors. In the process many Company servants have also invested their earned money, much to the chagrin of the Directors at home initially, but who later, as they could not stop them, legalized or permitted in 1674 with some restrictions. The role of Portuguese becomes important in this context. Portuguese by their long stay in the region knew where to invest, to voyages and how to invest and on what items. In this capacity they acted as partners with the Englishmen. By flying under the English colour the Portuguese could undertake on the various sectors of country trades to the South East Asian countries, Bengal, and even to China and Manila. Especially they acted as the agents of the Company’s servants who cannot give full time for their private trade. Their mutual dependency for trade and commerce was, in fact, a prominent feature in the English-Portuguese relationship during this period. In fact, it was such personal relationship between the Company servants and their Portuguese counterparts that have decided the whole gamut of English-Portuguese relationship in Madras. The protectionist stances taken by most of the Madras Council in favour of Portuguese, even under a strong pressure from the Directors also come in this context. Besides, the Portuguese were also instrumental in carrying some sectors of trade where the English were forbidden such as in Manila and the Spice Islands. This will be dealt with in detail later.

For the Merchant government it was obvious that the increase of trade rank uppermost in their consideration but the concern for security was also equally important due to the volatile political situation in the region. The constant shortage of Englishmen further necessitates the Government to invite the Portuguese moradores who were easily available in the area. We have just noted that there were only 26 Englishmen in Madras when Mylapore was attacked by the Golconda Army that forced them to take as many
Portuguese in their services.\textsuperscript{42} The English Council at Madras time and again wrote home to supply with more Englishmen for soldiers and women to be wife of Englishmen but to no much avail. The shortage of supply was added further by the high rate of mortality. For instance, in 1688 John Pitt and Zouch Troughton were startled by the large number of deaths in the ‘white town’ when they took the rent roll: 101 persons in one year.\textsuperscript{43} They ascribed this to the problem of sanitary condition in the town. The shortage of Englishmen also compelled the Madras government, in 1691, to issue a general order of pardon to all the English fugitives who were scattered in India, numbering around 100.\textsuperscript{44} But all efforts to populate their towns with more Englishmen did not bring much success. Therefore, they were compelled to rely mainly on the assistance of other racially closer inhabitants such as Portuguese, Armenians and some other European renegades and exiles.

Thus, we can see the implicit partnership patterns between the Portuguese free merchants and the Englishmen in Madras: the former traded under the English flags in the midst of the Dutch scourges and the latter traded through the Portuguese in Manila amongst the Spanish and also in the Spice Island where they could not made themselves. Again, when the English provided the capitals and security, the Portuguese provided the knowledge and expertise in the enterprises. Besides, when the Portuguese settled peacefully under the English protection in Madras they also man the Garrison and stood with the English as militia forces in time of danger which would otherwise ruined the English settlement there. The result of such implicit partnership pattern for trade and security can be regarded to as what Winius called a ‘moonlight partnership’ between the two.\textsuperscript{45}

Thirdly, Portuguese were ‘invited’ to Madras due to the fact that Portuguese language had become the \textit{lingua franca} not only in the Coromandel Coast but throughout the coastline of Indian Ocean littorals. Being the elite language of the coastal region the population of Portuguese became necessary part of the English settlement for the smooth transaction of their business in the locality. We know that all the public notices in Fort St.

\textsuperscript{42} \textit{EFI}, 1661-1664, 1662, p.180.
\textsuperscript{43} Wheeler, \textit{Madras in Olden time}, p.140.
\textsuperscript{44} D&CB, 13 April 1691, p.20.
George were put up at the various gates in Portuguese, Malabars, etc. This would show the importance of the language being used as common to both the local people and the Europeans.

Besides, we have also already shown in the first chapter that race and colour also came in the consideration of the English government while inviting the Portuguese and also while making divisions in the settlement. Further, nationality was also shown to have been important criteria. The Portuguese and *Mestizos* have also become the sources of marriage partners for the Englishmen besides supplying men for soldiers, auxiliaries, merchants and others. As far as religion is concerned, it is contended here that it did not constitute an important factor for inviting the Portuguese although we found some sort of separate treatment meted to the Catholics. This is shown in chapter two and five in details.

Therefore, we have seen that Portuguese were ‘invited’ to populate Madras for the security and safety of the Fort and town, for the increase of trade and customs, for manning the avowed schemes of colonial urban space and society, the indispensability of Portuguese languages for trade and governance and probably because they are Christians. In the following section an attempt is made to show how far such expectations were realized during our period of study.

**PORTUGUESE SOCIETY IN MADRAS**

The Portuguese society in Madras, as in other parts of India, was also not devoid of division and segregation. Evidence suggested that within the avowed homogenous social set up was an implicit division on the basis of class, colour and descent. But such division was not as dominant as it used to be in other Portuguese settlements. As far as colour or descent is concerned, we have one interesting account from Abbe Carre. He said that he was once invited to a Portuguese wedding in Madras ‘which was celebrated with as much pomp and magnificence as if it was that of some price or person of high degree.’ At the wedding the English Governor was presented with ‘the principal officers of the town and all the garrison companies under arms.’ After the church ceremony there was a procession round the precincts of the Fort St. George ‘saluted it with all its guns, with many salvoes of muskets, and similar signs of rejoicing.’ Abbe Carre latter found that ‘all such was in honour of a Portuguese soldier who had hardly enough money to come to this
place from Goa.’ He was married to the daughter of M. Lucq Louis (Lucas Louis Olivera in English record), a sober and rich Portuguese of Madras, who went to all these expenses for his daughter’s marriage. Carre said that he knew the said fidalgo when he was only a private soldier in the fleet at Goa, a few months before. Carre had also specifically puts that the rich Portuguese father chooses this soldier to be his son-in-law ‘simply because he was a Reinol, that is to say from Portugal.’ After this marriage, Carre said that, he became ‘one of the most haughty fidalgos in the country, and when he went out to go to church or to take a walk, it seemed as if the streets of Madras were not wide enough for him, so grand and majestic was his bearing.’ He continued to say that ‘this fellow, who before had hardly enough with which to support himself, all at once found himself in the land of plenty, with no other occupation but to receive and pay honourable visits, and to lead a life full of the sensual pleasures.’

Carre account shows that racial purity of all sorts was being maintained by the Portuguese themselves as much as they could. This is most apparent in their choices for marriage. The fact that Portugal or Europe born Portuguese was the most sought after by the Portuguese of India for their daughters or sons for a wife or husband speaks for itself as far as social division is concerned. In spite of the fact that he was just a Portugal born male the whole idea of his economic backgrounds were suddenly buried when it comes to marriage for a rich Portuguese parents. In fact, this is a clear pointer for the kind of divisions on the basis of descent and colour among the Portuguese of Madras. It is not known whether M. Lucq Louis was of pure European descent but the fact that his choice for Portugal born men for his daughter shows that purity of blood and colour or for that matter the urge for such pure blood was thought to be more important criteria than their economic status. In other words, the choice for racial purity apparently overwhelmed other considerations as far as marriage is concern for the Portuguese moradores of Madras.

But this is not to say that the Portuguese were explicitly divided among themselves on the basis of pure and impure blood of descent in their daily social, religious or business affairs. In fact, the Portuguese, both the mixed and pure blooded, tried to maintain their social compactness as much as they could. This is shown by the

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fact that, in 1698, when the English government tried to segregate them into 'Europe Portuguese and those born of Europe parents' and other Portuguese such as the mixed blood Portuguese known as Mestizos or 'black Portuguese,' they protest and insisted that they should be treated equally.\textsuperscript{47} Although they could not succeed in their request to the English government the Portuguese, as a community maintained their egalitarian social set up in Madras. This is corroborated by other evidences which we will take up in due course of our discussion.

As far as division on the basis of economic standing was concerned the Portuguese of Madras can be broadly divided into two categories: the rich merchants and entrepreneurs; and the lay handicraftsmen: those working in the capacity of clerks, peons, soldiers, translators, etc. under the English government. Of this, the rich merchants and entrepreneurs constituted the elite section of the town whereas the rest can be grouped under the subaltern category. Such division can be most clearly seen when the Portuguese militia was formed in 1681: fourteen posts were created under the command of the rich and well-to-do Portuguese merchants of Madras wherein each leader/commander have under them 15 to 24 other Portuguese poorer folks.\textsuperscript{48} We also learn that in 1702 when the Portuguese trained band was on their guards for more than a month when the Nawab was in St. Thoma and threatened Madras, the Fort St. George Council decided to allow them salary for the said period as 'most of them consisting of poor seafaring and handicraft men, who have families to maintain' without which 'they are not able to subsist.'\textsuperscript{49} But it is not clear whether the Portuguese who inhabited the 'white town' and those who were in the 'black town' have anything to tell about this economic base division. For a convenient sake it is assume here that those Portuguese who lived in the 'black town' must have mainly consisted of artisan, handicraftsmen, soldiers and other menial services and those who live in the 'white town' were mostly the richer section. This is bound out by the \textit{Rent Rowle} of 1688 which shows the names of all the rich Portuguese merchants inhabiting the 'white town.'\textsuperscript{50} We know that there were 75 houses belonging to the Portuguese in the 'black town' and 77 houses within the 'Christian town' as per the list

\textsuperscript{47} D\&CB, 8 December 1698.
\textsuperscript{48} DCB, 18 April 1681, p.18.
\textsuperscript{49} D\&CB, 6 March 1702, p.26.
\textsuperscript{50} See the \textit{Rent Roll of Christian town}, D\&CB, 2 August 1688, pp.120-123.
prepared for the collection of house tax for the conservancy of Christian town. Overall, as evidence suggest for the existence of many rich merchants and entrepreneurs besides the ‘poor seafaring and handicraftsmen,’ the Portuguese society can be conveniently divided into two.

**The Portuguese women in Madras**

There was not much account on the women in general and more particularly the Portuguese women of Madras. However, it is possible to reconstruct, if not the true image of Portuguese women, the position or situation of these women within the larger social order. For Manucci, Portuguese women were generally superstitious in their outlook. He said, they were so accustomed to ‘futurity and know hidden things’. The Portuguese women, according to him, instead of resorting to God, recourses to the ‘old women,’ a fortuneteller and sorcerer, for their daily problems and in order to know their future. To make his point he cited some instances that took place before birth, about their husbands, their marriage partners and also even to kill others through the use of black magic. In one instance he said a rich woman resorted to the old women whether her daughter would have smooth delivery. He said that because of that her daughter died on her child-bed. Another woman wanted to know about her husband who was away on voyage and delayed his coming. The old women, after performing her rites, told her that her husband would die in ship wreck. Unable to keep with her she told her neighbours and soon the whole town comes to know of her bemoaning. Later, after some months, she received the news of her husband’s death in ship wreck. There was also a rich widow who became anxious to know whom she would marry. The old women, through her ‘rites’ came up with a name which is not known in the region. After some months there appeared a man who bore such name and when the widow saw him, she declared he resembled him that she had seen, and she married him. What is interesting in Manucci account is that such practices were apparently more prevalent among the rich women. However, such practices were not without the censures of the Church. Manucci said that when such practices ‘came to the ears of the Father Vicar’ he ‘made efforts to abolish such an abuse

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by preaching and admonishment.' 'Nonetheless,' he said, 'the practice persists and faith was still placed in the old women, the advice of the priests being disregarded.'

The power of such women was also used for killing others. Manucci said some Portuguese women were subjected to be killed or ruins by their slave-girl who were mostly the whores or concubines to their husbands. In one instance, one rich Portuguese woman named Donna Maria de Souza, the wife of Joao Pereira de Faria was almost killed by her slave-girl (lady-maid) through the magic art who 'thought she could become lady of the home upon the death of the wife.' Manucci ascribed this to 'the master of the house [Joao Pereira de Faria], who had given such authority to a slave in order to gratify his own desires in an illicit direction.' He also said that he had 'seen some lost their lives or ruin their families by the commission of such insults and-discords in their own houses.' Manucci has also noted the custom of keeping slave-girl or lady-maid by the rich Portuguese men in their houses. Abbe Carre has also noted the sensual life of Portuguese men in Madras. He said 'day and night they cannot rest themselves without a dozen mosses, i.e. female slaves employed to massage and knead their bodies which gradually send them to sleep.' For him such lifestyle has 'enervate the Portuguese men' in India.

One interesting case also came in the Fort St. George record. It was over the conflicts of possessing the wealth of one late Doctor Lewis de Melho. After his death his son-in-law, Doctor Thomas, petitioned to the Council to deliver the estates and other wealth of his father-in-law which was in the possession of one Ignacia, the slave girl with whom Lewis de Melho have 'criminal converse.' He said that his father-in-law 'in his life time held a criminal converse with one of his slaves named Ignacia near the space of thirty years, living with her in a separate house & entrusting the greatest part of his estate in her hands, taking no notice of his wife or daughter, but upon his death bed repenting himself of the ills he had done, he asked pardon of his wife for his ill usage of her, & declared that the said Ignacia had been the cause of it by the power of Medicines she had given him, & that he had delivered into her charge 2600 pagodas in money, besides jewels & medicines of value & he did appoint & constitute his said wife & daughter heiress's to his estate as appears by a certificate under the hand of Reverd. Padry Paschall Pereira de Cunha.' As the said Ignatia 'refuses to deliver up or give any account of the

said estate,' he urged the Governor to intervene for the same. In fact such lifestyles have become the source of miseries for the Portuguese womenfolk not only during their husband's lifetime but even after his death.

Abbe Carre also talked about another feature of Portuguese women in Madras. He said that when the people of Madras become so nervous over arrivals of the French ships in the Mylapore road he 'published all over the town by means of some Portuguese ladies, who are the best trumpets to spread any news, that 1,200 French had arrived with a great quantity of money and munitions.' To this he said he 'succeeded marvelously, for, as I had left Madras, the great assistance that the French had received was announced everywhere.' Abbe Carre was in Madras seeking provisions for the French of Mylapore which was siege by the Golconda Army. This means that Portuguese women were talkative, gossipy and open. This is also supported by Manucci. He said that Portuguese women were 'unable to keep the secret' and that 'ordinarily there are few secrets kept by [Portuguese] women.'

So far the impression one gets from the above evidences is that Portuguese women were nothing but dependent housewife who have nothing to do but recourse to knowing their past or futures, superstitious or going around the town gossiping. But these and such other instances are interesting for further investigation as they hold the key to understanding the larger society. In fact, such practices should be seen in the context of the larger social set up. In the religious landscape of the Tamil country people generally resorted to such old women 'saints' who were usually imbued with some divine powers for their various ailments. These old women can not only tell the future but also unravel the past. In fact their presence among the local society was generally consented with favor as they could, if not able to resolve their problems permanently, satisfied the mental urges of many people or for that matter their curiosities. In a fast and hurry urban space and in the world of risky business that ran through seamless levels of hurdles, the unpredictable overseas voyages and other business ventures, the help of such women becomes rather more appealing than resorting to the church priests who can only pray for their safety or success but not telling them what will happen. The fulfillment of curiosity,

56 D&CB, 9 November 1714, p.141.
58 Manucci, Storia do Mogor, III, p.199.
for instance, was the hallmark of one’s mental satisfaction. Therefore, the appeal of such women was very strong for the restless urban women such as the rich Portuguese women of Madras who always wanted to know their future and ‘know hidden things.’ Manucci himself noted one old blind women called Adroza who lived with the reputation of a saint so much so that ‘a whole village of fisher-folk had recourse to her, presenting to her good fish and some money’ so that they stop coming to the church and ‘the alms that they usually brought to church at the time of mass and their other offerings were also missing.’ When the Vicar discovered this she ‘was admonished, expelled from Madras,’ only to find her new rendezvous at the foothills of St. Thomas Mount.  

On the other hand, gossiping, like resorting to fortuneteller, is an effective social therapy in every society and in this regard Portuguese women were not exception. But not keeping secrets is something exception in that keeping secret is the hallmarks of most urban life. Therefore, what is interesting with the Portuguese women is that they usually do not keep secrets with them. The gossip-ridden Portuguese lifeworld was nothing but a settled, closely-knit and an egalitarian society where secrets were not generally keep although they were in a hurry and strife urban Madras.

The characters of Portuguese, as trusting so much to local ‘old women,’ wanting to know their ‘future’ and the ‘hidden things’ or fond of gossiping can also be related to the harsh life they must have suffered under their leisure-ridden husbands. We have already seen the lifestyles of Portuguese men, possibly only the rich Portuguese men, who were fond of keeping concubines and fond of having a ‘criminal converse’ with their slave-girls or lady-maid. In fact keeping whores in their house was not only practice by the richer section of the Portuguese society but the poorer male folks were also equally subjected. One interesting case came in 1694. When a draughts was made for West Coast twelve Portuguese soldiers claimed to have been married and desired their wives may go with them. But when leave was granted ten of the twelve were found to be unmarried and those women they claimed to be their wives were only their whores.  

Thus, the general Portuguese men were seen to have been familiar with keeping whores and concubines with them. Referring to Portuguese men, Navarrette go further in saying that ‘Catholick

60 D&CB, 2 June 1694, p.71.
men were Pimps to Cathlick women.\textsuperscript{61} Such lifestyle was something the Portuguese womenfolk have to bear and indeed struggle with. Resorting to the local Tamil old women ‘saints’ have become the best way for this women to know about their life or the life of their husbands and what not. This is especially so when they were threatened by their male folk not to disclosed such secret ‘criminal converse’ to their religious priests or otherwise. Lastly, overall, from such evidences one can be assure of the affluent urban lifestyle of the Portuguese \textit{moradores} in Madras: the rich men were ‘enervated’ by their leisure-ridden lifestyle and the rich women seek to satisfied their curiosities and other mental urges by all means, which in all, as the pious man would say, went against the cannon of Christian religion.

As far as their economic status is concerned the Portuguese women in Madras were comparatively lower than their counterpart English women. This is shown by the fact that in 1680, a long debate took place in the Madras Council whether to allow inter-marriage between Catholic women and Englishmen wherein it was decided that such marriage should be allowed as, a part from others, the common soldiers could maintain them better out of their small pay in which they ‘cannot maintain English woman and children’ who are very expensive.\textsuperscript{62} This mean that Portuguese women were ‘not so expensive’ and easy to be maintain, depicting, however, their low economic standard or perhaps mostly of dependent status. But exception to this general status was there many rich women. We have already noted the lifestyle of the Portuguese women, especially the richer section who were generally the spouse of the rich men. Mention should also be made of rich women like Maria Pais, renter of one of the Companies fruit gardens; Mrs. Monke, the Arrack farmer; and Antonia de Carvalho da Silva, the granddaughter of John Perera de Faria and owner of huge ‘Pareira Garden.’\textsuperscript{63} It was also possible that some Portuguese women must have assisted their husband in their business as such cases were quite common during that time.

So far as their religiosity was concern it seems apparent that they were quite uncompromising. We have already noted the controversies over the issue of inter-marriage between Englishmen and Portuguese women. We learn that many cases of such

\textsuperscript{61} Cummins, \textit{Friar Domingo de Navarrette}, p.301.
\textsuperscript{62} D&CB, 22 March 1680.
\textsuperscript{63} See for instances, D&CB, 25 Octobers 1697, p.126; 8 April 1717, p.62; and 16 July 1719, p.122.
marriages took place in the Catholic Church as their ladies were unwilling to accept Protestant religion. For instance, as late as in 1675 the Directors were informed that it had been the common practice in Madras among their 'servants and other English, to be married, burried and cause their children to be baptized by the Romish Priests.' This issued have haunted the Madras Council time and again. In 1680, the English chaplains refused to bury one John Cowell, the son of an Englishman and a Portuguese mother as his father 'went over to the Papist.' One Phinehas Brewster, an English freeman was also married to a Portuguese woman by a Portuguese Clergy, Antonio Farnandis, in 1678. The reason for such marriage was that these Portuguese women were unwilling to go to the English Church. But it should be mention here that Portuguese women were not that uncompromising as it would appear in the records. In fact, many such marriages took place in the English Church and become as the common practice in Madras. This is shown by the fact that in the just cited Council decision, one important reason for formally allowing inter-marriage since 1680 was that Portuguese women were not only inexpensive but they were also 'not less modest than our ordinary or common people are, and in matter of marriages we have already gained by them many hopeful children brought up in the Protestant religion.' In fact, we also know that the wives of some of the English factors in Madras such as Cogan, Winter, Greenhill and Chamber were Catholic Portuguese of India who bring up their children the English way.

Properties and the administration of wills or probates
We have seen that the Portuguese settle down in Madras as refugees but later amassed huge wealth due to the flourishing trade. Initially, they were given plots and even money to build their houses but later they started to purchase by themselves. We know that more than half of the houses (i.e. 77) in the 'white town' belonged to them and there were also about 75 Portuguese houses in the 'black town.' A part from these houses they also acquired huge properties. So, great deal was taken by the church and later by the Mayor's Court in the management of the effects of such wealth after the death of a person. In fact,

67 D&C, 22 March 1680.
68 EFI, 1655-1660, p.402.
such affairs turned out to be one sources of social discord in the landscape of urban Madras. The Portuguese, as of other European nations, have certain way of dealing with such problems. It was the stated practice that a person has to announce the heir(s) of his or her wealth before he/she die through the last Wills. But the interpretation of such Wills as well as the human natural urges for an unlimited wants vis-à-vis the inability of a person to left for an equal shares among his legitimate heirs has brings about conflict and disagreement among his relatives. The affair becomes more controversial when a person died without making his last Wills (intestate). Therefore, the importance of probates of wills as a social parameter is significant for investigation. But unfortunately we do not have any account until 1704 where such wills were made before the Fathers of Portuguese Church whose records are not extant. However, after 1704 the Mayor’s Court took over the custody of such Wills but even here no such wills are available at our disposal at this stage of research. But some cases of intestates came in the Consultation. Our interest is to see how far such cases contribute to our understanding about the Portuguese society.

We have already noted the conflict over the estates of Doctor Lewis de Melho after his death. Similarly, there were several other cases on such wills. In 1703, one John Paul Peire, a soldier in Madras garrison, complained against Padre Michael for making the Will of his father-in-law, disposing all the estates of the deceased to the Portuguese Church and his mother-in-law. Hence, the children of the deceased were excluded from any share in the estate in which his wife was one of them. He asked the Government to intervene in favour of his wife.69 Similarly, in 1704, Capt. Francisco de Saa died on a voyage to Batavia intestate. The government ordered for the payment of all his debts, and out of the remaining, a moiety to his widow and other moiety to be keep with the Company’s Cash until it was demanded by his relatives in Europe as per the Portuguese Law.70

Another case of intestate came in 1705. After the death of one Pasqual de Graca, (1704) intestate, 'several of his relations laid claim to his estate in so much that it was difficult to decide who had most right thereto.' Therefore, they put up a public notice that

69 D&CB, 9 July 1703, p.50.
70 D&CB, 23 August 1704, p.75.
‘whoever have any pretence or demands on the estate’ of the said person ‘as a relation or debt’ were order to put in their claim to the governor and Council. Beside others he left Pagodas 2598:13:21 in cash which his relative agreed to share equally among themselves. 71 The claimants to his estate were Francisco Mendez; 3 ‘bastard children’ of Pascoal de Grasa; John Carrone; and Ignatio Grego. 72 On 30 May 1705, after a long debate, it was agreed that ‘the aforesaid deceased estate be equally divided amongst the six persons that petitioned as relations to Pascoal de Grasas wife, and the three illegitimate children to have an equal share with them, that is one seventh part of it, which is to lye in the hands of the Padres of the Portuguez Church to be paid them as they shall think fit for their subsistence, and that the house they now live in, remain to the aforesaid three bastard children for ever.’ Further, John Carroone was allowed twenty two pagodas for keeping one of the aforesaid children. The remaining part of Pascoal de Grasas estate which is two thousand six hundred thirty three pagodas thirty four fanams and one cash was divided equally. 73 According to their will Senhr Nichola Manuch and Bastian Ribeira were appointed ‘to peruse his papers, and order them to recover what due upon the several obligations which is amongst them.’ 74

Again, in 1706, one Gregora De Araugeo complained against his mother-in-law Johanna Teseira, widow of John Babbita deceased, ‘who was many yeares an Alderman’ of Madras. He repaired himself to St.Thoma before his death and his will was proved in the Portuguez Court there, and ‘the estate divided according to the tenor thereof.’ He complained in Mayor’s Court that the share of his wife was very less and asked the Court to intervene on behalf of his wife. But the Council ‘upon mature consideration of the whole matter, and the apprehensions we have of the ill consequences of interfering with the proceedings of the Courts of other Nations’ asked the Mayor’s Court to dismiss the petition and to withdraw all its orders. 75 In 1708, one Portuguez died intestate during returning voyages on the Company’s services and have no relatives. He left one chest of silver which produced eighteen hundred and two rupees which ‘the Portuguez claim as a

71 D&CB, 17 April 1705, p. 60
72 D&CB, 26 May 1705, p.68
73 D&CB, 30 May 1705, p.71
74 D&CB, 28 August 1705, p.117; 22 October 1705, p.131
75 D&CB, 7 May 1706, p.35:
perquisite to their Church.’ But as he was on Company’s services the Council decided them ‘to be divided equally’ between the English Church and the Portuguese Church.\textsuperscript{76}

What is relevant from the above evidence is that the management of wills or probates was one important social process that took great deal to the government. After someone’s death there was a usual contest from his relatives to get the best out of his estate. What is more interesting is, however, that even the illegitimate children should have equal rights over the estate of their fathers. But unfortunately the illegitimate wife does not possess unless the will of the person legitimately provided for it. In case of intestate this ill-founded illegitimate wife or slave girls have no share for them in the deceased estates. Besides, as we have discussed earlier, the reference of ‘bastard children’ among the list of legitimate heirs have some social value in that such practice was legitimized in the society. We have already noted that keeping illegitimate wives in the form of slave girls or otherwise were quite common among the Portuguese men in Madras. Although the Church stopped such practice it could not prevent their parishioners from doing it altogether. It is not clear whether the practice of allowing equal rights to the ‘bastard children’ of a deceased person was also recognized by the Portuguese Church but it would appear to us that it did so. This is mainly because the English government, although arrogating such power to decide with them, they did so as per the Portuguese Law. The result of such practice was, in fact, responsible for the high growth of the Mestizos or mixed (‘black’) Portuguese population in Madras.

Besides, such practice also brings about some social problems such as the custody of such ‘bastard children.’ We know that the Portuguese male folks were, in most case, seafarers and not constantly staying in the town. Since they could not take their children with them somebody must be entrusted to take care of them and beside his legitimate wife would not do that. We have just seen that John Carroone was one of those people who look after one of Pascoal de Grasas’s ‘bastard children’ for which he was paid. In order to tackle such problems the Portuguese church maintained an orphanage through the contribution of the rich and devoted parishioners as well as from the donation of the deceased parents for their children. This orphanage has become one of an important

\textsuperscript{76} D&CB, 16 October 1708, p.53.
institution maintained by the Church due to the increasing number of orphans especially those of ‘bastard children.’ We shall deal this in much detail in the next chapter.

**Petition, migration and non-cooperation: Portuguese forms of protest**

We have already noted a general understanding between the Portuguese and the English government in Madras. But it should also be understand that such apparent congenial relationship was not always smooth sailing. We have evidence to suggest that on certain occasion the whole Portuguese inhabitants of Madras joined together to protest against certain policies of the Company government. The initial privileges granted to the Portuguese were gradually encroached upon by the government which was however cautious and slow as the English found themselves helpless in the absence of the Portuguese inhabitants. But, this resulted into growing distrust between the two and in certain extreme cases the Portuguese migrated to other places. The common forms of protest on such occasion were, however, petition and non-cooperation. This section will take into account until the time of Thomas Pitt.

To begin with, on 19 September 1678, one Lucas Luis Olivera delivered a complaint paper signed by forty-four Portuguese and representing ‘all the other of that Nation’ belonging to Madras, demanding justice for one Portuguese Manuel Brandon de Lima who was accused on the murder of one Pero Rangell. The said Portuguese was kept in prison already for some years for want of evidence. By citing various reasons to prove his innocence, the Portuguese were not only protesting against the undue delay of disposing the case against him while ‘those that had greater faults are free,’ but they were also more concern with his release. They requested the Council to listen to and consider their reasons before any final verdict was taken such as: the killing was done in self-defence; that many English criminals, including two who killed the Portuguese, were also been already excused for want of ‘perfect’ evidence; and that the person killed in this case was native of India and not the subject of the Law of England. Therefore, they question the partiality of the English government: ‘how can there not be the same Justice for a Portuguese without wit having in his cause greater proof of being excused and none of condemnation?’\(^7\) The complaint was debated in the Council but finally it was resolved to proceed with the scheduled trial in the Court under the power granted by the Royal

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\(^7\) D&C\&B, 23 September 1678, pp.116 and 165-166.
charter of 1661 and under the commission given to President Streynsham Master in 1675. Accordingly, on 25th September the case was taken up by a Jury of six English and six Portuguese, and after five-hour long debate in the Court of Admiralty the said Portuguese was declared guilty and sentenced to be hanged. But when the said convict appealed for a Royal mercy he was granted. It seems apparent that such mercy appeal was granted under the pressure from the Portuguese inhabitants. This is said because after such appeal was allowed ‘many of the Portuguez of best quality in the towne came to returne thanks for the favour shewed to Manoell Brandaoon de Lima in allowing of his appeals for England.’

Another contested matter by the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras against the Company government was on the contribution of certain fraction of the Garrison charges by the former. On this issue one can see the extreme form of protest: migration and non-cooperation. It seems apparent that the Portuguese had once promised to pay for it but nevertheless such promise was never keep later. In 1684, the chief of Portuguese and other eminent persons among them were summoned by the Council ‘regarding their promises made to contribute towards the charge of garrison.’ In the meeting the Portuguese conveyed their inability to contribute for the said charges. Although the Council wanted to impose such charges by force they dropped the idea for sometime as many ‘Portuguese had already leave for St. Thome where the Havaldar gave them tax exemption and other’ concessions. But in 1686, they revived the matter once again. The Council sent for the chiefs of Portuguese where ‘the whole discourse of paying the contribution of Murage was pressingly renewed.’ They were acquainted with the Right Honourable Company’s order and the Fort St. George government positive decision concerning the payment for the charge of Madras Garrison by the Portuguese. After a long debate, the Portuguese chiefs asked to give them some days so that they can discuss among themselves and answer the same. On 1 October 1686, one Senor Manuel de Silva, one of the chief Portuguese, ‘in the name of the rest’ gave a letter as their answer to the orders, signed by most of the Portuguese and ‘directed to the Right Honourable

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78 D&CB, 23 September 1678, pp.116-117.
79 D&CB, 25 September 1678, p.117 and 172.
80 D&CB, 21 August 1684.
81 D&CB, 25 August 1684.
82 D&CB, 30 September 1686, p.81.
Company but no other Portuguese appeared as they promised.\textsuperscript{83} The letter contents the decision of the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras in which they 'resolved not to pay any contribution towards any charge of the garrison, except taken from them by force.' The Council considered such decision 'very obstinate.' On 4\textsuperscript{th} October, the matter was taken into consideration in the Council. But, as the English found themselves in 'too weak a condition to use force' it was 'resolved to forbear till a supply of men shall arrive from Bengal, and then to take at once, what they shall bee in arrears to that time.'\textsuperscript{84} As the record was silent about this subject in the subsequent period it was possible that the government could neither enforced such orders nor could they take further decision to imposed such unpopular policy. This is said especially because the English government could not find itself in any suitable position during our period of study to enforce such order by the use of force against the powerful Portuguese community.

Another such case came in 1694. One fateful night Lt. Seaton was sent in the night to search the Portuguese houses for 12 run-away Portuguese soldiers from the Garrison. He found the houses 'quite deserted, the soldiers wives and families remaining in most of them.' But 'there was much muttering among the Portuguese for searching their houses.' So they plotted to sue against the said Lt. Seaton. The next day one Portuguese woman came before the Court taking her mother and several other Portuguese as witnesses with her. She complained that 'Lt. Seaton had ravished her.' But when Lt. Seaton was asked by the Governor, he alleged that 'he did no more than search the house at which the people are disgusted.' Knowing that such overnight house searching have provoked great indignation among the whole Portuguese inhabitants of the town, and in order to pacify them, the Council ordered that the 'complaint be heard and tried in the Court of Admiralty and the Attorney General assists the plaintiff,' although they suspect that 'the complaint against him now may be an effect of their spite' to the said Seaton. It was well known to the President and others that 'for a long time the Portuguese have had a peake against him [Seaton] for having been formerly instrumental in bringing some to punishment who had drawn the soldiers from the garrison.'\textsuperscript{85} Lt. Seaton was particularly unpopular among the Portuguese inhabitants due to his intolerant behaviour towards

\textsuperscript{83} D\&CB, 1 October 1686, p.82.
\textsuperscript{84} D\&CB, 4 October 1686, p.82.
\textsuperscript{85} D\&CB, 19 April 1694, p.40.
them. He was especially unpopular in drawing out the soldiers for the West Coast of Sumatra, the place where the Portuguese soldiers were unwilling to go. The runaway soldiers have also demanded from Mylapore for the removal of Lt. Seaton to whom they accused of severity to Portuguese soldiers, besides an assurance not to send them to the West Coast.\footnote{D&CB, 13 and 19 April, 1694, pp.38-39.}

Again, in 1698, the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras delivered a petition wherein they requested to ‘pay the same custome of five percent as all other Christians do.’ This petition was significant in that as per the Company government policy all the Christians should be exempted from paying the duties collected by Pedda Naik for the upkeep of the town police. But many Catholic Christians were made to pay these duties including the mixed Portuguese and the natives. Finding this segregation unacceptable to them, the Portuguese inhabitants, in a form of protest, petitioned to the Council, to exempt all the Catholic Christians from such duties but pay only the five percent custom as all other Christian do. But the Council hardened their stance by resolving that ‘Europe Portuguese and those born of Europe parents pay no more than five per cent and all others going under the denomination of Mallabars & others, professing Roman Catholic religion do pay the Peddy Naiges duty besides the above mentioned five per cent custom, and further it is resolved to prevent abuses of the aforementioned from owning Jentues or Moors goods, that the sea customer make scrutiny by oath, or otherwise whenever he sees cause of suspension.’\footnote{D&CB, 8 December 1698.}

Again, in 1704, the Portuguese inhabitants delivered another petition concerning the Probate of Wills, the custody of which the English have lately taken out of their Padre’s hands ‘to preserve their effects falling into the hands of the Patriarch.’ They protested that the approval of their Wills and Testaments at the Court of the Honourable Company was never been the practice in the past sixty-two years and is against the original order of the Right Honourable Company which consented that all inhabitants of Madras ‘shall be judged according to the customs of the laws of each respective nation.’ They also complained that the charges of making such wills at the Court will be too heavy for them due to delay ‘caused by the multiplicity of affairs done in it.’ They
therefore demanded such to be made ‘before the Rev. Padre as was usual to this very day.’ However, despite such protest the Madras Council decided to continue the custody of Portuguese Wills with them. With certain modification in 1728, the government continued to keep such power with the Mayor’s Court throughout our period of study.

Three important facts turn out from the above evidence. First, we can see that Portuguese utilizes some important methods to ventilate their grievances towards the unfriendly policies of the Company; petition being the most dominant one and in extreme case migration to other place like Mylapore. Secondly, one can see that the Portuguese continued to struggle for the preservation of their rights once granted to them by the Company, say for instance, an exemption of Pedda Naiks duty, custody of Wills, imposition of odd taxes like garrison charges, and so on. Thirdly, we can also see that whenever, the Company infringes on their considered sacred spheres of independence, say their custom, the Portuguese protest in more vigorous way albeit indirectly.

Besides, we can say that, socially, the Portuguese community of Madras was quite conscious about their social exclusiveness from other groups in that they would act or decide all common and important matters among all the inhabitants, suggesting one of a compact egalitarian concern. One can also relate such Company’s policies to that of the changing prospect of the Portuguese community. Portuguese were initially given several concessions when they were mere refugees but later when they become rich and opulent the English began to slowly encroached upon those considered sphere of benefits by imposing certain taxes like garrison taxes, quit rent, Christian town tax, for building the Town Halls, the Fort walls around the black town, and so on. The Portuguese reluctance to pay for the charges of garrison was simply that they found such tax discriminatory as no other community, including the English, were not ask for that. Such sort of marginality was stiffly contested by the Portuguese so that they would live on par with other Europeans, a consciously worked out strategy. ‘We merit not less then the English themselves to enjoy their privileges’ was what the Portuguese always cried for. On the other hand, we can see that when any taxes were imposed equally among all the

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88 D&CB, 2 August 1704, p.65.
89 D&CB, 1678, p.165.
inhabitants they would willingly pay for it, say for instance, the quit rent. Further, one can also see that the Portuguese were the largest contributors for the construction of the ‘black’ town wall: Portuguese contributed 3300 pagodas, far larger than all other communities, including the English and Armenians.90

PORTUGUESE IN THE ENGLISH ‘COUNTRY TRADE’
The ‘country trade’ was a term referred by the English to the intra-Asian trade within the areas from the east coast of Africa to China. Such trade was in existence in India since the ancient time but the coming of European companies gave more stimuli in this sector of trade through their huge capitals and better technologies. European participation in this sector trading at the close of the sixteenth century was still almost exclusively Portuguese. Other Europeans came in large numbers during the 17th century. The English Company’s servants engaged themselves as early as the 1620s in their private trade; the English ‘free merchants’ came later. Among the European country traders Englishmen were most numerous. This was mainly due to the lack of resources on the part of the English Company as compared to the Dutch.91 These country traders consisted of the Company’s servants, the commanders and seamen of the ships, free merchants, interlopers, and others including Indian merchants and brokers.92 Besides, mention should also be made to the Portuguese and Armenians, inhabitants of English settlements, and prolific in this country trade. Officially, the private country trade of the Company’s servants remained restricted until 1674 though the practices cannot be prevented by all means.

By the 1660’s the Company began to question the wisdom of itself engaging in this sector. In 1665 it withdrew altogether from such trade and in 1667, the Company’s servants were permitted to trade in all Asian commodities except for pepper and calicoes to encourage them to undertake and proceed cheerfully in the Company’s affairs.’ In 1670 and 1674, the Directors issued further ‘indulgence’ which allowed their servants virtually complete freedom of trade in the eastern seas.93 As far as the English free

90 D&CB, 6 July 1706, p.55:
93 Furber, Rival Empires of trade, pp.270-271.
merchants were concerned they were encouraged after 1665 to participate in the country trade with certain bonds and license to settle in English entrepots. The rights of other country traders were also gradually granted say for instances the seafarers proportion of private shipping space was institutionalized by the beginning of eighteenth century. Perhaps such private fortunes have become the main driving force behind every Englishmen who came to India. The profits incurred from such trade were also quite huge leading some ex-servants, for instance, Thomas Pitt, becoming very influential in British politics through his wealth. Despite various tensions in the process, between the Company and its servants, the urge for private country trade was so prominent that it established a condition within which the Company was forced to interfere in Indian politics which was not to its liking initially.

But the question is, how do the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras came into the picture? We know that the Portuguese were initially invited by the Company's servants to settle down in Madras with freedom of trade and other concessions as the Englishmen themselves were. We have already noted that they were invited to be partners or associates for the growth of trade and commerce in Madras. Three important factors can be noted here. First, as we noted, the Portuguese have the accumulated capitals to carry the country trade. Secondly, they were proficient in this country trade as they have been already in the Coast for so many years. Thirdly, the Company's servants needed them to ply their private trade as they did not have the time as well as the expertise to do so by themselves. The list can go on but these three factors appeared most prominent. As we shall see later many Portuguese merchant capitalists transferred themselves to Madras when their very business was at stake under the heat of the Dutch. Their trade becomes so prominent that the Fort St. George Council, in 1680, was not reluctant to say that 'our greatest income arises from the customes upon their commerce.' Interestingly, this was the time when Madras trade assumed its peak in its total history of textile exports; 1684 was the highest until the period of political expansion.

94 Watson, *Foundation of Empire*, p.62.
95 Ibid., p.70.
96 Ibid., pp.ix-xi.
97 D&C, 22 March 1680.
The Portuguese were already on intra-Asian trade even before the advent of other Europeans. They were already in the South-East Asian countries, in Indo-China, in China, Japan, Burma, and almost in all Indian Ocean littorals.\footnote{CR Boxer, \textit{Portuguese Seaborne Empire}, Harmondsworth, 1973.} Their knowledge and expertise in this country trade was uncompromising in that the English would certainly benefited by employing them in their own trade. Further, not only the Company’s servants who wanted the Portuguese to carry their private trade but also the Company itself wanted the proficient Portuguese in some sector of intra-Asian trade where the English were forbidden or where it was insignificant for the Company to trade themselves. Manila was one such sector. This will be dealt with in detail later.

Besides associating with the Company’s servants, the Portuguese, as other inhabitants were, granted freedom of trade in intra-Asian trade. In this, they carried their trade either alone or in partnership with other inhabitants. It is seen that many of them work in collaboration with Indian merchants, Armenians and English free merchants. In the process it is possible to locate Portuguese trading in almost all routes in the country trade: both in the overseas and coastal Indian trades. In the overseas they traded with Pegu, Siam, Spice Islands, Malay peninsula, Manila, Macao, etc. In the coastal trade they were seen plying their trade with Bengal, Orissa, Malabar Coast, Goa, Surat, and other ports in the Coromandel Coast. Therefore, in the following sections an attempt is made to study the involvement of Portuguese merchants of Madras in certain sectors of the country trade.

The ‘Manila trade’: a trade by ‘stealth’

If there is one route where the Portuguese of Madras played a major role, it was the Madras-Manila trade. It was the Portuguese merchants who first traded to Manila from Coromandel by 1631.\footnote{S Jeyaseela Stephen, \textit{Portuguese in the Tamil Coast: Historical exploration in commerce and culture, (1507-1749)} Navajothi, Pondicherry, 1998, p.191-192.} The first English ventures from India to Manila were in 1644 and 1645, from Surat. These missions prove that it was not to the liking of the Spanish for any English to venture out further. But they informed the directors at home that there was possibility of enormous profit and that such business be better based at Madras or Bantam. But when the negotiations with Medrid failed in the 1650s and 1660s the
English Company decided to carry the lucrative trade under Asian ‘cover.’ Such ‘cover’ trade was initially taken from Bantam.\textsuperscript{101} In the meantime, when the English come to know of the successful return of Portuguese (earlier) and Armenian merchants (1668) of Coromandel Coast from Manila they also began to send some Indo-Portuguese merchants of Madras and Mylapore since the 1670s. Major Puckle diary revealed that the servants of the Company in Madras traded with Philippines.\textsuperscript{102} When Bantam was captured by the Dutch in 1682 the Manila trade became a major part of Madras country trade that was mainly carried under the Portuguese ‘colours.’ Thomas Bowrey noted that ‘notwithstanding such vast quantities are yearely sent hence for England, great stores are transported and vended into most places of note in India, Persia, Arabia, China, and the South Seas, more especially to Moneela, one of the Molucca Isles, belonging to the Kinge of Spaine, but are sent thither in the name and under the colours of the Portugals borne and bred in India, noe others beinge admitted a free trade thither, and especially the English, haveinge the same prohibition as to trade to the Spanish Garrisons in Mexico, and Peruana, in America.’\textsuperscript{103}

In 1682, the Directors at home also directed their servants in Madras to trade with Manila to ‘the value of 8000 or 10000 pounds per annum in English manufactures long cloth sallampores and other proper goods’. But as it cannot be carried out in the name of the English and much less the Company it leave to the discretion of the Madras Governor and Council ‘to contrive disguise and cover that as shall be most for our advantage and security.’\textsuperscript{104} This contrived disguise was made under the Portuguese ‘cover.’ William Dampier, who visited Mindanao and Sulu (Philippines) in 1684 also observes that ‘the English merchants of Fort St. George send their ships thither as it were by Stealth, under the charge of Portuguese pilots and mariners.’\textsuperscript{105} Therefore the practice of trading with Manila under the Portuguese colours has become the norms and continued to persist even after the Armenians were also began to be used by the English for the same, after 1688. This is bound out by the fact that even in 1719 the Fort St. George Council reported home

\textsuperscript{101} Furber, \textit{Rival Empires of trade}, p.271.
\textsuperscript{102} Charles Fawcett, \textit{The English Factories in India}, II, p.262.
\textsuperscript{103} Bowrey, \textit{The Geographical Account}, p.5.
\textsuperscript{104} \textit{Dispatches from England}, 1681-1686, dated 28 August 1682, p.7.
that they sent two ships to Manila but as they feared to have been taken as prize by the Spanish "they were dispatching thither to the Portuguez and Armenians who have sent her as a Jentue ship from St. Thoma." 106

After the diplomatic rebuff at the Court of Madrid and the loss of Bantam the Directors gave up many of their projects in the Far East. This gave ample opportunity to their servants and other free merchants to devise stratagem in order to access the restricted Manila markets. We already mentioned the Portuguese and Armenian 'cover' trade with Manila. This is to be corroborated by other stratagem. First, they name their vessels after the terms of Indian origin or places in India like Tanjore, Annapourna, Trivitore, Triplicane, Conjevaron, etc. To appeal to the religiosity of the Spanish the names of saints, true to the religious background of the Portuguese captains, were also used such as Nos senhora de Boa Vista, St. Thomas, St. David, St. Paul, Nos Senhora de Rosairo, etc. 107 Besides, vessels were also named an 'alias' to the English ship, like Trivitore whose name was Jaggernot. 108 Another means was to consign the goods to Manila in the name of some prominent Hindu merchants. 109

The choice for Portuguese and Armenians were both political and religious as far as the Spanish were concerned. The Spanish entertained greater feeling of apprehension against the Dutch, English or French than any other nations. To relieve the Spaniards of their recurring fear of foreign aggression, the English Company preferred the Portuguese and Armenians who were religiously more acceptable as well as politically harmless to the Spanish. The first voyage to be launched from Madras under the Portuguese flag was that of the Triplicane in 1674. With a brief gap of two years the annual voyages to Manila was revived in 1678 with the dispatch of Tanjore under the command of Domingo Mendis de Rosario, a Portuguese pilot. Again in 1679 and 1680 made her second and third visit to Manila under another Portuguese pilot, Thomas Perez. Another ship Trivitore, belonging to Elihu Yale also visited Manila in 1680. Since then two ships from Madras could be sent to Manila annually with only two brief period of interruption i.e.

107 Quiason, The English "country trade", p.42.
108 D&CB, 1690, p.54.
109 D&CB, 1699, p.51.
1675-77 and 1681-82, during our period of study. Ships belonging to the English, Armenians, Indians or sometime the Portuguese themselves were generally piloted or commanded or chartered by the Portuguese to Manila. Some names of Portuguese merchants who commanded the various ships going to Manila are Domingo Mendis de Rosairo, Thomas Perez, Domingo de Perreira, Joao Domingos, Francisco Carneiro, Bernardo Mendes, Don Theodore de Lucas, Ferdinando Manuell, Francis Cardoza de Macedo, Joao Caroon, Alvaro Carcella, Lewis Madera, etc.

Although Manila trade was carried mainly by the Portuguese and Armenians the goods usually belonged to several persons of Madras, including the Company’s goods, the Company’s servants, the Indians, etc. We have just cited the goods of the Company amounting to the tune of 8 or 10000 pounds per annum to be sent to Manila. The goods of several local merchants also made their way into Manila market, in most case through the partnership or investments. For instance, in 1681, one Francisco Carneiro, inhabitants of Madras, complained to the Council that on 25th March 1680, when he returned from Manilas from where he was sent as Cape merchant and made his account to the satisfaction of all, Streynsham Master had forbidden him to deliver and later seized some consignments to be given to Pedda Vencadtry. As the latter (Venkatadry) now demanded to him of those consignments he requested the Council to bail him out as he would be ‘utterly ruined’. This means that Francisco Carneiro was in partnership with one Vencadtry, the chief merchant of Madras, and others with whom he settled ‘his account to the satisfaction of all’ of them.

Again, in 1712, one Francisco Andrada Portugueze, another inhabitant of Madras, asked the Council to redress his grievance against Captain Edward Bell. The Portuguese had earlier agreed to chartered ship Chindadre to embark 130 bales of goods and made a contract believing the certification of the said captain that it could carry ‘four hundred bales and that she was of 133 Tuns burden, and a good sailor, very proper for the voyage of Manilha.’ But later he found that no one was willing to lend him any money at respondentia for the said stock as the said ship was ‘not fit to perform the said voyage’ and that it could only carry 100 tonnes, a slow sailer, and that also ‘must be with a large

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110 Quiais, The English “country trade”, pp.42-44.
111 Extract from the list of shipping to Manila in D&CB from 1674-1710.
112 D&CB, 26 September 1681, p.56.
Finding such cases true, it was decided in favour of the said petitioner. Therefore, he was freed from his contract, and is 'not liable to any prosecution hereafter on that account.' This account also shows that ships were generally chartered by the Portuguese and money, belonging to others, was taken at respondentia to purchase goods for Manila. In this way the Portuguese made the Manila trade going and in the ensuing business several people were involved in the trade either in partnership with them or otherwise.

Some more instances may be cited here. In 1712, one Andrian Williboorst petitioned to the Governor saying that Capt. Roman de Costa had a debt due to him from his goods he shipped for Manila but he died during the voyage. But when the ship returned safely he was not given any profits from it which President Pitt told him was due to Cojah Sature. He asked if he can have rightful claim to the said Sature. On 28 May 1713 one Capt. Edward Bell petition to the Council and told them that 'he took 3000 dollars from Don Estevao Aquinha in Manila at respondentia at 35 percent for Madras and Manilha, but return himself he lent it to Owannes Avet Jehoikim de Gregorio & Surhad, 1880 pagodas at respondentia for 30 percent payable to Don Estevao in Manila. Surhad died on the voyages but the person who received the effects of Surhad denied payment to Estavao when he demanded until a bond was produced to him later. Now Estavao had deducted 800 dollars for the damages from him when he send Barnewall to adjust his account with Estavao. When he demanded this damages amount from Jehoikim and Awannes they refuse it. It was taken to the Mayor’s Court who decided in favour of Awannes. That is why he appealed the Council to redress his plight. After long hearing the Council decided that the Armenians must pay Bell interest of 12 per cent upon the principal and respondentia from the time of the St. Juan’s arrival to the day the money was paid.'

This account is interesting for several reasons. First, it clearly pointed out the association of several persons in the ensuing trade; Bell, an Englishmen; Awannes and Jehoikim, an Armenians; Estavao and Barnewall, a Portuguese. Secondly, Estavao

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114 D&C, 16 June 1712, p.120; 19 June 1712, p.125.
115 D&C, 16 June 1712.
116 D&C, 28 May 1713, p.75.
appeared to be the agent of Bell in Manila, a practices which was quite necessary in all overseas trade. Thirdly, it may be possible to concur that the contradicting judgment of the Mayors Court and the Madras Council seemingly divulges the power relation between the two contending parties with the power structures of the two Company’s institutions. This is assumed as such power relations have been regarded to be important factors in the decision making process of the Company’s servants in Madras.\textsuperscript{117} It may be probable that Capt. Bell have close relation with the gentlemen in the Council and the two Armenians with the members of Mayor’s Court. In most cases the merchants of Madras were plying the effects of the Company’s servants in their country trade, who usually protect their associates in the Court as such decision will have an effect on them as well.

The items for export to Manila were varied and many, but the Manila goods to be brought back to Madras were limited in range. Perhaps, the cotton piece goods from India such as calicoes, long cloths, gurras, chintz, sallampores, etc. constituted the major chunk of export to Manila. In the 1670s it did not exceed 500 bales but at the turn of the century it increased six-fold.\textsuperscript{118} The second most important item was iron ranging from 5000 to 6000 piculs. Besides, diamonds, pearls, etc. were also exported. But those Europe goods as woolen, etc. were not successful there. The volume must have been quite huge. For instance in 1684 ship Annapourna carried a cargo worth only 15,000 pound sterling which increased to about 100,000 pagodas per shipments from the sales of 3000 bales of long cloth later. A bill of lading and invoice of a small Armenian ship bound for Manila indicated the value of goods to about 39,662 pagodas. As many as 1000 pieces of long cloth ordinary were shipped to Manila towards the closing of the 17\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{119}

As far as imports from Manila were concerned products ranged from sugar, sappanwood, brimstone, copper, tobacco, wax, deer nerves, cowries, gold works and leather goods were brought to Madras. However, by far the most important product was silver (the ‘Spanish dollars’) that form the bulk of the return cargoes. Silver from Peru and Mexico, that found their way through Acapulco and then to Manila was greatly

\textsuperscript{118} Quiason, \textit{The English “country trade”}, p.45.
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., p.47.
priced in the Coromandel Coast. Besides, an appreciable quantity of ‘copangs’ brought from Manila were taken to the mint to be coined.

The country trade with Manila up to the closing years of the 17th century was a virtual monopoly of the Company servants of Madras. Lockyer (1702-04) said that ‘all private in country ships has been so long ingrossed by the Company servants that they really think they have a right to do it at their own rates.’120 This monopoly was gradually broken after 1694 when all Englishmen were given the rights to trade in the east by Parliament decree. By the turn of the century ‘Manilha trade’ was well founded although it was still to be carried with clandestinely or under cover. The amalgamation of the old and new companies also gives further boost to this trade route which will be dealt with in next chapter.

So far one can come to the conclusion that Manila trade exemplified the role of Portuguese as partners and agents of the English government and its servants in its best. It was here that one can see the explicit collaboration between the Portuguese and other inhabitants of Madras. In fact, it was through this line that many of the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras amassed their huge fortunes. It is also known that a part from plying other goods many Portuguese also exclusively traded for themselves. One estimate put it that out of 39 voyages from Madras to Manila conducted by the Portuguese between 1674 and 1702 seventeen voyages were undertaken in partnership with the natives and twelve voyages independently by the rich Portuguese private traders of Madras.121 This explains the volumes of trade taken by the Portuguese to Manila and that majority of their voyages were under ‘cover’ in which they have an indispensable role.

The Macao or China trade

Trade with China was also an important sector in which the Portuguese played a major role. China trade was one important sector the Company’s wanted to preserve for itself. But the lack of resources compelled them to let the private traders to make their ways in this sector. But as the English did not have any settlements in this part until the 18th century they would have to rely on the intermediary roles of the Portuguese or Chinese merchants. The Portuguese have their settlement at Macao since the 16th century and could

120 Cited in Quaison, The English "country trade", p.48.
121 Jeyaseela Stephen, Portuguese in the Tamil Coast, p.192.
deal with local transaction more easily than the English. Therefore, the assistance of the Portuguese of Madras becomes indispensable. Here the Company or its servants sent their yearly cargoes in the form of Supracargoes, a term used to denote the exchange of goods through the middlemen, a condition set by the absence of settlement. For the Portuguese of Madras they have their own agents there in Macao to whom they have close relation.

Unlike Manila the English did not face much restriction in this sector. Therefore, competition between the Company and its servants and others such as Portuguese merchants was inevitable. Therefore, some goods from this area were restricted for private persons such as woven silks and raw silks until 1686 and from hence teas and spices were also included.\textsuperscript{122} In this year, in order to encourage the private traders, the Company also permitted its servants in India and other residents to send in Company ships to London, freight free, goods which they had imported from China. For this the Company will bear any loss on the sea but it would not be responsible if it sells less in the markets. Under this arrangement one Alphonso Rodrigues, a Portuguese merchant of Madras, sent woven silks, fans, lacquered chests, cabinets, and escritoires, to London on\textit{ Armenian Ship} in 1696 which sold for 926 sterling and paid duties and charges of 315 sterling.\textsuperscript{123}

Macao was an autonomous Portuguese settlement in China coast with which the Portuguese of Madras have great rapport with. The export items to this place mainly consisted of spices and textile products from South-East Asian countries and India respectively. Chinese goods like silks, chinaware, teas, etc. were imported. Many Chinese goods were also brought into India and to Europe. Portuguese ships like\textit{ Johanna, St. Pedro St. Paul, Nos. Senhr. De Remeda, Nos Senhr. De Paina, Sta. Maria, Messiah, Boan Novis}, etc. were seen to have visited the place quite oftenly. Generally one or two ships belonging to Madras were yearly sent to Macao. Prominent Portuguese merchants of Madras who trade in this country trade were Francisco de Saa, Capt. Manuel Rodrigue,


\textsuperscript{123} Ibid., p.112.
Nichola de Foma, Francisco Jores, and others. The following table give the list of Portuguese shipping to Macao from 1701 to 1710.\textsuperscript{124}

**Table 4.1: Portuguese shipping to Macao from Madras**

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Name of ships</th>
<th>Captain/commanders</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>Johanna</td>
<td>Francisco de Saa</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>St. Pedro St. Paul</td>
<td>Capt. Manuel Rodrigue</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>Nos. Senhr.</td>
<td>Nichola de Foma</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>de Paima</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>Sta. Maria</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>Nos Serr de Fama</td>
<td>Francisco Jores</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Trade with the Spice Islands**

The Indonesian archipelagos were one of the most frequented places for the Portuguese of India since the 16\textsuperscript{th} century. They were quite familiar with the region and know the trade much better than any other nations. But since the occupation of the islands by the Dutch the Portuguese access to the islands declined. The English access to the region was also restricted under the Dutch naval dominance. But every effort was made to access the rich spices market. This can be done by sending small vessels in some islands where the Dutch could not have strict control. For this, the Portuguese played another crucial role in exploring new markets as they were most familiar with the islands. In 1683, the Company directed the Madras council to encourage Portuguese and any other belonging to the town of Madras 'to go to Sillebar, Lampoon, Johore, Jambee, Borneo or any other parts of the South Sea, (where pepper is to be had) to buy the commodity and bring it to the Fort.' This is because it would be a difficult thing for the Dutch to constantly guard all those places where ‘small vessels may get their loading’ and that it is ‘below the honour of our nation to appear to make such little attempts ourselves until we appear with a force sufficient to make good our settlement.’\textsuperscript{125} It also asked Madras Council to make inventory by a sloop in order to get some spices from the West Coast and consult the ‘ancient Portuguez for any information for that place’ and that being at peace with the Dutch such adventure might not have caused any breach to the peace treaty except on

\textsuperscript{124} This shipping list is derived from the extracts of D&CB, 1701-1710.
\textsuperscript{125} *Dispatches from England*, 1681-1686, dated 19 October 1683, p.57.
some contraband goods. But it also warned that the Dutch will certainly oppose such move therefore it should be done in secret.\textsuperscript{126} Thus, the Portuguese have become helpful in this area to procure spices as they have the knowledge and expertise. With such initial intelligence some ports began to gain importance for the Company's servants such as Johore and Achin or Acheh.

Madras trade with Acheh was well understood. It had withdrawn its factory in 1660s but when the Dutch dominance hindered their access to Malacca, Bantam, Batavia, etc. they decided to trade with this port to circumvent the Dutch control. In 1684, ship \textit{Rochester} was dispatched to Achin where a factory was proposed to be resettled. This was part of the 'experiment' which, as a consequence of the loss of the Bantam factory, the Company had in mind, in order to 'bring a new trade' to Fort St. George; and the possibility of other settlements in the eastern archipelago were to be explored. Thus, the ship \textit{Amoy Merchant} was ordered to go to places on the western coast of Sumatra and, if she could not procure pepper there, to Borneo, with a cargo worth 12,000 pagodas. The management of her voyage was entrusted to a committee of four, consisting of Clement Du Jardin, Capt. Robert Bibey, John Goddard and Francisco de Britto, 'an experienced Portuguese merchants of Madras.'\textsuperscript{127} Since then Madras trade with Achin slowly picked up and become one of the most important trade destinies. Indian textiles, rice, slaves, etc. were exported to this place in exchange of camphor, pepper, benzoin, dammer, wax and Far Eastern commodities such as Japanese copper.\textsuperscript{128} Besides, an understanding between the Dutch and Portuguese had also allowed the Portuguese of Madras an easy access to Batavia. An annual ship to Batavia can be seen in the shipping list of Madras records from 1707 to 1713 having one ship annually baring 1809.\textsuperscript{129}

\textbf{Trade with the Thai-Malay peninsula}

The Madras trade with this region was quite huge, with much cargoes shipped by local Indian merchants. Initially, the trading ports in this area were Malacca, Perak, Aayuthia, Mergui, Tennaserim, etc. The occupation of Malacca and Perak by the Dutch have led to

\textsuperscript{126} \textit{Dispatches from England}, 1681-1686, dated 19 October 1683, p.60.
\textsuperscript{127} Fawcett, \textit{The English Factories in India}, IV (n.s), pp.76-77.
\textsuperscript{129} D&CB, 1707-1713.
the rise of new ports like Kedah for procurement of basically tin which was brought from Perak previously.\textsuperscript{130} Elephants were also other important export from Kedah. As far as the trade with Siam was concerned it was flourishing from mid-1680s. At the beginning of 1685 more than a dozen English, French and Portuguese ships were said to left Ayuthia westward with Japanese bar copper.\textsuperscript{131} The English were temporarily expelled from Siam after the Anglo-Thai war in 1687-88 and until Thomas Pitt’s time there was no serious attempt to re-enter the Thai ports. But since 1705-06 onwards, Pitts and his colleagues resumed trade with Siam using ships of Asian or Portuguese title or captaincy at first, but sending English ships for copper by 1708-09.\textsuperscript{132} In 1706, ship \textit{Nos. Senhr. de Remeda} was sent to Siam under the command of one Portuguese inhabitants of Madras Senr. Jr. Domingos. Since then he was seen to have visit the place quite oftenly.\textsuperscript{133}

**The Pegu (Burma) trade**

Of the Madras trade with the South-East Asian countries Pegu assumed place of importance since the 1680s. In fact, it was one of eh most frequented place from Madras during the first half of eighteenth century. For the Portuguese of Madras, Pegu stood at the top in terms of value and volume. Ports like Syriam, Mergui and Tennasarim have also become prominent. Trade with Ava or Burma was already flourishing during the 16\textsuperscript{th} century under the Portuguese.\textsuperscript{134} As the Spice Islands were taken over by the Dutch, the Portuguese shifted their main trade with Pegu by the seventeenth century. Indian goods such as textiles were traded with Pegu for salt petre, stick lack, precious stones, elephants, ivory, timbers, etc. Several ships belonging to Madras were sent to this place annually. In 1680, the Company wanted to open a factory in that place for procuring ‘salt petre and stick lack’ after the Dutch withdrew from Burma. For this one Portuguese John Perera de Faria Junior, an inhabitant of Madras, and who was well experienced in ‘those parts’ was commissioned ‘to treat with the King of Barma and Pegu upon articles of Commerce for the settling a trade in his countrys’ when they come to know that he was going on a voyage in his ship to Pegu as usual. He was commissioned to treat with king

\textsuperscript{130} S. Arasaratnam, \textit{Merchants, Companies and Commerce}, pp.146-147.
\textsuperscript{131} Basset, “British ‘Country Trade and the Local Trade Networks...’” p.629.
\textsuperscript{132} See Basset, “British ‘Country Trade and the Local Trade Networks...’” pp.625-643.
\textsuperscript{133} For instance see D&CB, 1706 and 1708.
of Pegu for liberty of trade and factory settlement at Serjan (Syriam), Ava as well as at Pegu for which he will be awarded by half of the customs of the first ship entering Serian after he got the king’s permission.135 A cowl was also sent for the Pegu merchants to trade with Madras in order to encourage them. It was known that the Perera family annually sent a ship to Pegu since his father’s, Senior John Perera de Faria, time. They have a good rapport with the king of Pegu. This was the main reason why such commission was entrusted to him.

In January 1681, a small vessel belonging to Joan Perera de Faria Junior return from Pegu ‘upon which came several Ruby merchants [of Pegu] with considerable quantities of Rubies trusting to the Cowle sent them in February last.’ The Customers were ordered to treat them ‘with all civility the better to encourage others to come over, they promising all of them to settle trade at this place; alsoe received answer from said Joan Perera to the Commission given him to treat with the King of Ava, which is ordered to be translated and sent home to the Honourable Company.’136 The reply he brought from the king of Ava has postponed the consideration of the request for permission to settle factories in his country till the arrival of a special ambassador, who would be sent with presents to be laid ‘under the golden feet of His Majesty.’ But the Company, in its reply, was not keen for the proposal to settle a trade at Pegu.137 However, in 1684, the Company had at last yield to the persuasion of Gafford and had authorized the settlement of a factory at or near Pegu. Accordingly, one Peter Dod was commissioned to struck a deal with the King of Ava.138 In 1695 we also came across the destruction of one Portuguese ship of Antonio de Silva in the coast of Pegu by storm.139 The Portuguese shipping from Madras to Pegu were seen to be quite frequent and predominant. For instance, in 1701 alone two ships belonging to Portuguese viz: Bone Russon and Bone Viago, respectively under the command of Simon Rodrigues and Ignatio Swarez were sent from Madras to Pegu.140 Similarly, in 1702, four ships: Chindadree, Bon Viagio, Sapher Salamat, and Bona Voyagio, under the command or Pilot of the Portuguese of

135 D&CB, 23 February 1680, pp.8-10; see also Fawcett, The English Factories in India, IV, p.17.
137 Fawcett, The English Factories in India, IV, p.35.
138 Fawcett, The English Factories in India, IV, p.80.
139 D&CB, 21 March 1695, p.41.
140 D&CB, 1701.
Madras such as Ignatio Swarez, Diego Moroose and Antonio Farnando were also sent to Pegu.\textsuperscript{141}

The trade with all these destinations were also been attested by the yearly accounts of ships coming and going from Madras. In the capacity as master or pilot of the ships Portuguese merchants and seafarers were known to carry their trade with different ports of the South-East Asian countries, China and Manila. The following table shows this precisely from 1701-1710.

\textit{Table 4.2: Recorded Portuguese shipping to and from Madras, 1701-1710}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Name of ships</th>
<th>Master/Pilot</th>
<th>Destinations</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>Bone Russon</td>
<td>Simon Rodrigues</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pearl</td>
<td>Francisco Cardoza</td>
<td>Acheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bone Viago</td>
<td>Ignatio Swarez (P)</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Johanna</td>
<td>Francisco de Saa</td>
<td>Macao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Chindadree</td>
<td>Ignatio Swarez (P)</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bon Viagio</td>
<td>Diego Moroose (P)</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sapher Salamat</td>
<td>Antonio Farnando</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Santa Cuite</td>
<td>Capt. Senhr. Marcus</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sloop. Goodventure</td>
<td>Nichola Simons</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bona Voyagio</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Pedro St. Paul</td>
<td>Capt. Manuel Rodrigue</td>
<td>Macao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>Brig. Nos. Sehr</td>
<td>Senhr. Domingos</td>
<td>Acheen</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Pillaro St. Augo</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>Nos. Senhr.</td>
<td>Nichola de Foma</td>
<td>Macao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nos. Senhr. de Remeda</td>
<td>Senhr. Jr. Domingos</td>
<td>Siam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>Nos. Senhr. de Paine</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Macao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Trivitore</td>
<td>Lewis Madera</td>
<td>Manina</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Slp. Maria</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Bone Viageo</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nos. Senhr. de Remeda</td>
<td>Senhr. John Domingos</td>
<td>Siam</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>Sta. Maria</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Macao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nos. Santa de Rosairo</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>St. Peter St. Paule</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Pulicat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Nos Senr de Fama</td>
<td>Francisco Jores</td>
<td>Macao</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Juan</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Manila</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Rosairo</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Pegu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Sta. Cuite</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Bengal</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>St. Juan</td>
<td>............</td>
<td>Pulicat</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{141} D&CB, 1702.
Portuguese intra-regional trade

Of all the sectors in which the Portuguese traded the most prominent was their role in intra-regional trade that is to say with their trade with different ports of Indian subcontinent. These sectors were much more important for the Portuguese than the overseas one in so far as their trade frequency and volumes were concerned. These sectors consisted of Bengal, Masulipatnam, Pulicat, Goa, Surat, etc. Of this, Bengal was most important. In fact these ports acted as the feeder ports to Madras for the export to the overseas ports including Europe. Portuguese merchants of Madras were seen to run up and down the coastal ports of India. From Bengal they brought goods like saltpatre, sugar, textiles, etc. and distributed in the various ports of the Coromandel and the west Coast, besides taking them overseas. As two or more shipment can be carried annually to these ports their volumes of trade also become very large. However, this section will be restricted here for want of space.

Portuguese ship-owners of Madras

As far as the ships of the Portuguese were concerned we have some references about their ownership. We have noted that Joan Perera de Faria has owned some ships for his overseas trade and his son Joan Perera de Faria Junior also owned a small vessel in which he traded with Pegu. Abbe Carre also said that General Rijckloff, the Dutch Commander, sent a ship’s-boat into Madras roads to order three Portuguese ships anchored there to leave in three days; otherwise he threatened to burn them, as he did not wish them to stay in any place belonging to the English, who were his enemies. On June 1682, Ships belonging to some Portuguese inhabitants of Madras set sailed for Manila but about 6 O’clock a ‘gust of wind coming off the shore, brought the main topmast of one of them by the board soe she was fain to come to an anchor in the roade, again to repair her mast,

the other went off clear.\textsuperscript{143} In 1695, 'Thomas Plumbe Master of Shipp Jelpha Merchant from Pegue reported that a ship belonging to Antonio de Silva of Madras was destroyed near Negrais and all men narrowly escaped.\textsuperscript{144} On 19 April 1696, a strong wind blew several ships from the road of Madras and cast ashore towards Mylapore. Of these, one ship called \textit{Boa Vista} belonging to a Portuguese Dom Theodore St. Lucas.\textsuperscript{145} Likewise ship \textit{Parr Bone Success} was owned by Francisco Coelho.\textsuperscript{146} Ship \textit{Prospect} was owned by Francisco Nunis.\textsuperscript{147} Besides, some ships were jointly owned with others and that several small vessels, sloops, brigantines, etc. were also owned by the Portuguese of Madras.

\textbf{Portuguese merchants and seafarers in Madras}

The Portuguese merchants of Madras were one of the most prolific entrepreneurs in the region. We have already mentioned in the foregoing accounts how Portuguese capitals and expertise were utilized by the English Company and how they become partners in that respects. Here, we would like to bring out the profiles of some of the eminent Portuguese merchants in Madras. Thomas Bowrey said that there were many eminent Portuguese merchants in Madras who are 'admitted a free trade paying custome, vizt., 4 per cent to the English in and out for their goods.' The best exposition of these rich Portuguese merchants can be had from the list of the commanders of 260-strong Portuguese militia in 1681. They were Joan Sardinia de Fonseca, Antonio Nogeira de Aouza, Joan Perera de Faria, Cosmo Laurenzo de Madera, Gaspar de Mato de Brito, Lucas Luis de Olivera, Antonio Lewis de Vallo, Antonio Pallia de Lima, Gaspar de Cunhia de Sylva, Bernado Medan, Antonio Francisco, Manual de Fonseca, Francisco Carneiro del Cassova and Francisco de Brito Correa.\textsuperscript{148}

Of this, Joan Perera de Faria was one of the eminent free merchants and ship-owners of Madras. According to Manucci, Joao Pereira de Faria settled in Madras in 1660, when the Dutch took Negapatnam from the Portuguese. He said that Perera was a good friend of him and was of 'good position, honoured and wealthy' and married to one

\textsuperscript{143} D&CB, June 1682, p.53.
\textsuperscript{144} D&CB, 21 March 1695, p.41.
\textsuperscript{145} D&CB, 19 April 1696, p.55; see also, D&CB, 1688, pp.87, 97.
\textsuperscript{146} D&CB, 27 Jan. 1700, p.10.
\textsuperscript{147} D&CB, 30 December 1700, p.95.
\textsuperscript{148} D&CB, 18 April 1681, p.18.
Donna Maria de Souza. From the Hague record dated 9th February, 1662, we also learn that Governor Laurens Pit of Pulicat wrote to Batavia that ‘the evacuation of St. Thome has not yet been effected… In the meantime some of the richest Portuguese merchants, especially those who had remove to St. Thome from Negapatnam, have gone to Madraspatam. This town in consequence is much overcrowded, and is being extended very fast.’ Among these ‘richest merchants’ was also Joao Pereira de Faria. From the brief memorandum of ‘remembrance’ left for the Madras Council by President Aaron Baker before he sailed out for England in 1655, it appeared that Joan Perera was trading with the kingdoms of the Spice Islands. Baker wrote that before coming from Bantam the king of Macassar wrote to him that ‘if any Portugall to whom hee had consigned some moneys to provide him necessaries from this Coast,’ delivered any goods he should immediately sent off to him on the next ship to Macassar. Accordingly, he said, one Senhor Joan Perera de Faria, then inhabitant of Nagapatnam, sent him 7 bales of goods for the aforesaid King’s account ‘but since that time the said Faria hath fetched away 4 of the aforesaid bales againe, by order (as he writes) of that king.’ He requested the Council to deliver the remaining 3 bales to the Agent of Bantam.

According to the ‘Rent Rowle of Dwelling Houses’ prepared by John Pitt and Zough Troughton in 1688, Joan Perera have two houses in the White town, one in the Chowltry Street and another at James Alley. There is also another house at James Street in the name of Joseph Perera who might have been related to Joan Perera. His daughter, Dona Escolastica, was married to Cosmo Lourenco Madera, another commander of the militia in 1681. Besides, Joan Perera had also owned or rented one garden in the suburb of Madras to the South-west part of Peddanaigque Petta called ‘Pereira’s garden’. After his death he bequeathed this garden to his grand-daughter Antonia de Cavalho da Silva as is appear from her petition to the Company in 1719. She wrote that her grandfather John Perera de Faria had ‘bequeathed her a house & ground without the city for her maintenance’ which she already held for 31 years then but later

150 Ibid., pp.154-155.
153 This can be easily located in Pitt’s Map (1710).
she was informed that it was 'not in his power to give her.' So she desired the cowle 'may be renewed upon the same conditions as are therein expressed.' Although the cowle was put up for public outcry it seem that she got back for herself at 24 pagodas per annum as is appear from the fact that when the ground was later, in 1741, allotted for the settlement of those who were evicted from the black town she was granted the use of the building in her and her daughter's Josepha de Silveira lifetime. As far as the garden is concern, Messenger Fowke and Way reported in 1719 that it measures on the South 480 feet, West 600 feet, North 600 feet, and East 540 feet and contained 250 coconut trees with few other trees that are gone to decay. Beside, they also reported that 'there is a small Tyled house with a sort of a Chappell' nearby, which they supposed might be 'built for family worship' and there were three wells within the enclosure. It was this tiled house that his grand daughter begged to be given to her in perpetuity but granted only in her and her daughter's lifetime. The rich Portuguese were accustomed to having private chapel and priest within their precincts. In fact, this is the symbolic form of their affluent life. Joao Pereira de Faria was succeeded by his son John Parera de Faria Junior who also became eminent merchants of Madras. He was especially known for his mission in dealing with the court of Pegu for the English settlement in that country. In 1680, when the English Company got interested in trade and opening of new settlement in Pegu for procuring 'salt petre and stick lack' John Perera de Faria Junior, who was well acquainted with that court the Company decided to employed him 'to treate with the King of Barma and Pegu.'

Another eminent merchant of Madras was none other than Joan Perera son-in-law's Cosmo Laurenzo de Madera who was one of the commanders of the Portuguese militia in 1681. Although we did not understand his trade it did appear that he was also a rich merchant in the town. This is shown by the fact that he built the Descancao Church in Adyar. He died in 1703 and was buried in the said church. His house was in the Chowltry Street within the 'white town.' His wealth was inherited by his son Luis Madera who became a substantial free merchant of Madras. He commanded the ship

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155 D&CB, 16 July 1719, p.122.
156 Love, Vestiges, II, p.303.
158 D&CB, 23 February 1680, pp.8-10; 24 January 1681, p.8.
159 D&CB, 2 July 1688, p.120; Wheeler, Madras in Olden Time, p.137; Love, Vestiges, I, 444.
Messiah in 1711. His name appeared in the Fort St. George record among the list of 'Sea Faring Men not constant Inhabitants' in 1714. The nucleus of the present government house was acquired from his widow about the middle of the eighteenth century. In a Consultation in 1719 he was known to have requested leave to the Council 'to keep a Chaplain in his house for private Family worship, it is granted him on that condition.' He became an Alderman of Madras Mayor's Court as it appears from the charter of 1726. He was, like his father, rich and also generous merchants in the town. In 1746 Father Severini deposited with the Government a sum of Pags. 6000 at six percent 'towards the support and maintenance of the Roman Cathlick Orphanage in this town' and offered to pay in a further sum of nearly Pags. 15,000, which had been left by the late Mr. Luis de Medeiros for the benefit of the same charity. His wealth can be estimated from the amounts of money he used to lend to the Company. The Government was in need of money during their engagement with the French and borrowed freely at 8 per cent. In 1745 they accepted Pags. 25,000 and Arcot Rs. 30,000 from Mr. Luis de Madeiros. It is apparent that he died during this time. After his death he left tremendous wealth to his widow Antonia de Madeiros. She helped the government during the French occupation. For this reason and being an 'old inhabitants' she was allowed to remain within the 'white town' during her lifetime although all the Portuguese and Catholics were expelled from it after the English return to Madras. The Governor and Council, now at Fort St. David, directed Admiral Edward Boscawen to expel all the Catholics from the white town except Mrs. Madeiros and Coja Petrus 'as they have been very serviceable to the Company by lending them large sums in time of Necessity.' The sum lent by Mrs. Madeiros in the middle of 1745 was known to be Pags. 40,000 and Arcot Rs. 30,000. Thus, we can say that the Madera family has become one of the most affluent families in Madras.

161 D&CB, 1714.
163 D&CB, 23 November 1719.
165 Earliest reference of this orphanage occurred in 1689, D&CB, 5 August 1689.
167 Ibid., p.338.
168 Ibid., p.394, Fort St. David Consultation, 2 September 1749.
Another eminent Portuguese merchant was Lucas Luis Olivera who later becomes the 'Captain Mor' of St. Thoma in 1698.\textsuperscript{170} He was one of the famous diamond merchant of Madras who was previously in Mylapore but transferred to Madras later. He was also one of the commanders of the Portuguese militia in 1681. He also owned house in the 'white town' was exemplified by the list for the collection of house tax for conservancy in 1678.\textsuperscript{171} He had regular trade in diamond with England. On 2 July 1683, he applied for leave to secure some 'consignments from Portuguese in England aboard Smith the interloper', which was granted.\textsuperscript{172} By 1688, he and another 'Portugal Merchants’ Alvaro Capella de Valle appeared in the list of the Aldermen of Madras Mayor’s Court.\textsuperscript{173} As far as his wealth is concerned we have already described the pompous marriage celebration he made for his daughter with a fidalgo from Portugal as evident from the accounts of Abbe Carre.\textsuperscript{174} This particular event clearly displayed his wealth as one of the richest merchants of his time. In 1694, he and another Portuguese were imprisoned by the order of the Council to arrest any St. Thoma Portuguese in the town when one Madras fugitive Thomas Gutteridge was denied to be delivered by St. Thoma 'Captain Moor'.\textsuperscript{175} He became ‘Captain Moor’ of St. Thoma in and around 1698.

Besides Lucas Luis de Olivera, there were some Portuguese diamond merchants in Madras. Eminent merchants like Alvaro Cacela do Vale, Antonio Ferreira, Salvador Rodrigues, Bastiao Rodrigues, Domingos de Costa, Antonio Martins, Diogo Martins were some of the famous diamond merchants of Madras who migrated from San Thome for various reasons.\textsuperscript{176} Samuel de Castro and David Lopez Fernandez were also engaged in the exports of diamonds to England.\textsuperscript{177} Besides, Bartolomez Rodrigues and his brother Diogo Rodrigues, the Portuguese Jewish merchants of Madras, have also taken diamond trade in huge proportion. By far the most important Portuguese diamond merchant was the John Perreira de Faria and his family. We have already noted that this rich family traded with Pegu for diamond and other precious stones. The list can goes on but for lack

\textsuperscript{171} Ibid., p.444.
\textsuperscript{172} D&CB, 2 July 1683, p.53.
\textsuperscript{174} Fawcett, \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre}, II, 522.
\textsuperscript{175} Love, \textit{Vestiges}, I, pp.574-575; D&CB, 19 October 1694.
\textsuperscript{176} Jeyaseela Stephen, \textit{Portuguese in the Tamil Coast}, p.187.
\textsuperscript{177} Ibid., p.188.
of sufficient accounts we could not proceed further. In fact we have already mentioned good numbers of Portuguese merchants and seafarers of Madras in the previous section and need not repeat here.

**Portuguese Bankers and entrepreneurs in Madras**

Besides these merchants, there were also some rich Portuguese bankers and entrepreneurs in Madras. We have already noted that the rich Madera family has lend money to the Company on several occasions especially during difficult time. Luis de Madera had lent several sums to the Company during 1745 and his wife after his death continued to lend money especially during the French occupation.\(^{178}\) We also know that one Antonio de Concello and Senhr. Matheus Carvalho de Silva were said to have lent money to the Council of Fort St. David on several occasion which they usually withdrawn at Madras.\(^{179}\) One Pedro Torez was also known to have lent money to the Joint Stock Merchants. In 1696 the Joint Stock Merchants complained to the Governor that ‘they being bound with Timapa as security for one thousands pagodas borrowed by him from Pedro Torez upon a Pawn, which Pawn not proving sufficient to discharged the principal and interest by about three hundred pags. The heir of Pedro Torez doe in Timapa absence demanded the remainder of the Merchants...’\(^{180}\) Thus, through this evidence we can somehow establish a sort of the existence of bankers among the rich Portuguese merchants in Madras.

Beside there were also some important Portuguese entrepreneurs within the town of Madras. Of these some important name came in the records such as Mrs. Monke, Peter de Pommera and Lewis Melique, etc. Mrs. Monke was the wife of Mr. Monke, an Englishmen. She was a Portuguese Catholics who adhered to Catholicism even after her husband’s death. She, along with some other people, was granted Arrac Farming for distilling arrack wine in Madras. But in 1697 she was excluded from the partnership by the Company as ‘experience proving that they and Mrs. Monke have not agreed the last year and she being a person who by her influence hath done much mischief in the place by perverting several from our church to the Roman Cathlick, and in this respect not


\(^{179}\) D\&CB, 23 March 1696, p.37; 22 Jan.1700, p.9.

\(^{180}\) D\&CB, 26 November 1696, p.144.
deserving incouragement.' She was also accused of giving 'great offence to the neat neighbourhood by distilling arrac in her house [within the] walls.' To exclude Mrs. Monke more strongly it was ordered that notes be set upon the sea gate 'for bidding all persons distilling arrac within the walls in large stills except what distilled by the doctors for physical or Hospital use.'\(^{181}\)

In 1700 the Arrac firming license went to another Portuguese Peter des Pommara. He was granted the license of Arrac farming for 3400 pagodas per annum after bidding against Josua Page.\(^{182}\) In 1704, he was again granted the farm for 3600 pagodas.\(^{183}\) On 23\(^{rd}\) March the lease was given to them with strict warning not to add anything into the Arrac 'that was destructive to the health of the people, more especially Dutrow.'\(^{184}\) In 1706 Peter de Pomeria asked the Governor and Council to add the license of wine with Arrack Farne as he incurred great loss from the latter. He was granted the said wine license for 250 Paogodas. In 1709 Peter de Pomera could not continued the license as he was not able to pay his due and also that some local people under Gruapa are offering more amount for the same.\(^{185}\) However, in 1717, Gruapa and others were also indebted for the same so that the license was now granted to another Portuguese inhabitant, Lewis Melique.\(^{186}\) Likewise, many punch houses and other stores were run by the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras.

Abuse of privileges in trade by the Portuguese
Trading with interlopers was banned in any forms under Company's regulations. It seems that the Portuguese free merchants of other places were their main partners in supplying these interlopers their required goods. The Portuguese merchants of Madras were however strictly forbidden to trade with these interlopers. Two cases came during our period of study. In 1683, Mr. Thomas Lucas wrote in his letter to the Governor that some Portuguese and others in Madras were concerned with the interlopers. The Council immediately issued an ordered that no inhabitants of Madras should concern with any interlopers in anyway, the penalty being to expel from Madras with their families and

\(^{181}\) D&CB, 25 October 1697, p.126.
\(^{182}\) D&CB, 2 December 1700, p.94.
\(^{183}\) D&CB, 11 March 1704, p.20.
\(^{184}\) D&CB, 11 March 1704, p.23.
\(^{185}\) D&CB, 4 March 1709, p.31.
\(^{186}\) D&CB, 4 January 1717, p.23.
their houses to be confiscated by the Company. Again 1698, English ship with English ancient but no Jack stopped at St. Thoma road, suspected to be pirates or interlopers. The Council again issued a notice not to truck with them; the penalty of being one month imprisonment and a fine of 500 pagodas and a dismissal from service for English servants. Antonio Fereira de Silva was put into custody for boarding the ship the previous day. Two Portuguese of St. Thoma, Fracisco Mendez and Francisco de Saa (son-in-law of John Baptista of Madras) were also compelled them to give in writing not to trade with them for their 3000 maunds of salt petre with a penalty of 500 pagodas. Further it was also ordered that if any inhabitants of St. Thoma truck with them they will not be, in future, allowed to enter Madras. Similarly, the Portuguese captain of St. Thoma was also warned to cut off the friendship he had with Madras if he truck with the interlopers. Therefore, every possible step was taken to ward off any interlopers in the region as it was considered detrimental to the Company’s interest as a whole.

Another form of abuses of privileges by the Portuguese inhabitants was taking the goods of others to evade the Peddanaik Petta duties. Under the privileges Portuguese were not to pay any duties given to the Pedda Naik Petta which was collected from Indian inhabitants. In 1695, farmers tobacco and beetle complained to the President that the Portuguese bring beetle and tobacco in their close Palankeens and the Palankeen boyes and servants attending English and Portuguese palankeen do bring both beetle and tobacco in the bedding and wax clothes.’ Since then, it is ordered that ‘no close palankeens be admitted to come within the bounds’ and that the peons or the farmers now have the rights to look into any palanquins which they suspect and seize if they found any. Similarly, in 1703, an order was issued that no English, Portuguese, Armenian or any Europeans shall ‘presume to own the goods of any one that is liable to the payment of the Peddenaigues duty, so as to defraud him thereof, upon due proof of the same, the goods shall not be only forfeited, but he or they also shall be fined at the pleasure of the Governor and Council.’ This order was issued in the interest of the Peddenaigue who complained against the diminishing revenues ‘necessary to be kept for the safety of the place’ due to the ‘furthering the goods of Moores, Gentues and others who are liable the

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187 D&CB, 9 July 1683, p.58.
188 D&CB, 13 June 1698, pp.66.
189 D&CB, 23 September 1695, p.123.
payment of the Peddenaigue duty' by the English, Portuguese, Armenian or other Europeans.190

**Portuguese in the civil and judicial administration**

We have very less account on the role of Portuguese in the civil administration of the town. But this does mean that none of the Portuguese inhabitants were at all employed in that respects. It should be noted that many Portuguese were employed in the Choultry courts as clerks (Clarke in English record). Besides, they were also been employed as translators, writers, etc. In March 1678, the Fort St. George Council issued rules and regulations for the Justices of the Choultry under which the Choultry fees for the Portuguese Clarke were also prescribed.191 On 21 March 1678 one John de Sezia, a Portuguese 'Clarke' of the Choultry petitioned to the Agent and Council for the increase of pay. However it was not granted as they were paid formerly one pagodas per mensem but now receiving two pagodas per mensem and besides one pagodas was allowed per mensem for their assistant in which they hath well improved their estate.192 In 1693, one John de Seiza Parera was entered as Gunroom crew simply because he was the son of late John de Seizas, 'the former clerk of the Choultry for many years till age rendered him unfit and is reduced to extreme poverty, the whole family being maintained by his son, who understanding all the languages of the country and their customs, the Junkanner have been endeavouring to draw him into his service which is necessary to divert by making a present provision for him.193

On 23 October 1699, one Lewis de Paz was entertained in the Company services as writer for three years, giving bond and that refer to approbation.194 On 18 February 1703, one Senhr. John Caroone delivered a petition for his reinstatement in his former employment as translator of the Portuguese and the Dutch languages. He was appointed on 1st March for four pagodas per mensem.195 Apart from such reference we also have some post open for the Portuguese as Aldermen in the Major's Court. Thus, some

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190 D&CB, 6 May 1703, p.29.
192 D&CB, 1678-79, 21 March 1678, p.63.
193 D&CB, 16 November 1693.
194 D&CB, 23 October 1699, p.83.
195 D&CB, 18 February 1703, pp.10-11.
Portuguese does make their employment in the Company’s civil of judicial services in this way.

PORTUGUESE SOLDIERS, AUXILIARIES AND MILITIAMEN
We have already noted in the previous section that the English government invited the Portuguese to inhabit Madras largely for the safety and security of Madras from outside attack. Here we shall see how this was realized in Madras. To begin with, the role of Portuguese in the defence of Madras was not only recognized by several accounts but was also been very well commended. They constituted not only the major part of Madras Army but also occasionally formed into militia or trainbands to defence the Fort against attacks. We have already noted that Madras was subjected to various political quagmires in the hinterlands as well as by the competing European political powers on the sea that necessitates the English government to have as many Portuguese as they could.

Portuguese were the dominant part of Madras Army throughout our period of study not only in Madras but also in almost all the other English settlements in the Bay of Bengal. It should be noted that Madras Council was responsible for the recruitment and supply of soldiers to all the English settlements that came under it. Madras was also seen to supply soldiers to Bombay and other places which were beyond it compass. It should also be pointed out that in all the English settlements which falls under Madras Council the Portuguese dominated the garrisons. This was mainly because of the constant shortage of Englishmen for soldiers in the region. But to our predicament we have very less account, that too irregularly, that deals with explicitly on the Army such as the muster rolls, etc. As far as the Portuguese trainbands or militia are concerned it was one of the novel innovations of Madras Government to tackle with some emergency situation. But it should be mention that such innovation was conditioned by the shortage of Englishmen as well as lack of sufficient resources for large garrison vis-à-vis the volatile political situation in the region. Perhaps, the success of English government in establishing a stable settlement in the Coromandel Coast can be largely attributed to this novel innovation. Although they may not be potent forces in the real battle field the presence of this large militia forces certainly act as a camouflage to its weak garrison, a crucial deterring factor to their adversaries in time of danger. Earlier, such trainband or militia was formed out of Portuguese and local Indians but later, finding the utility of it,
the English trained band was also formed. Under continuous threats these trained bands were later formalized by giving regular exercises and other necessary preparation.

It should be noted that the formation of militia and the size of Madras garrison were contingent upon the gravity of the political situation in the region. Trained Bands were generally formed when Madras was under serious threat of attacks or actual sieges, etc. On the other hand, the numbers of soldiers were increased with the severity of threats from either the country powers or from other European powers on the high sea. In other words, there was specific correlation between the number of soldiers and the momentum of threat perception. This was especially apparent under the continuous political turmoil in the hinterland and occasionally from the sea as well. We have already seen in the first chapter that the second half of 17th Century South India was the period of political instability, wars and invasions. There was contest for the political supremacy of the region amongst the powerful inland rulers such as the Golkonda, Bijapur, Vijayanagar, the Mughals and even the Marathas on the one hand and amongst the local Nayaks and other local potentates on the other. Besides, the up-down relationship between the English and other European powers especially the French and Dutch brings about occasional threats to Madras. As such the rise and growth of Madras during this time was also harassed by occasional sieges, threat, plunders, etc. from certain political actors in the region leading to mass migration, deaths, famines and what not. As such it would be pertinent to see the size of Madras garrison and the formation of militia groups in the context of such political quagmires in the region.

To begin with, it should be assumed that the Portuguese were entertained in the Madras garrison since the first settlement as some of them must have already served the English in Armagaon from where the English transferred to Madras. However, the first clear reference on the presence of Portuguese soldiers in Madras garrison came from Fort St. George letter to the Company dated 28th January, 1657 that gives the list of soldiers as: 4 English officers, 20 English privates, 49 Portuguese and Mestezas "imployed." It also said that "the face of war and continued appearance of hostility in these countrys hath enforced us to increase our garrison with Portugalls, Mestizoes and Blackes for our

\[196\] It was recorded the many Portuguese have also came along with the English from Armagaon when the latter transfer their headquarters to Madras in 1639/40. See for instance, D&CB, 29 February, 1676, p.87.

defence and preservation of your estates, being we cannot procure one Englishman.\textsuperscript{198} This was the time when there was struggle between the Vijayanagar and Golconda for the supremacy of the region. Madras also came under direct attack on 18 December 1656, when the Nawab’s army, in pursuit of one Koneri Chetty, the then Commander of the Nayak’s army in the area, had plundered the outskirts of Madras town. Fight with the English took place on the next day that lasted a fortnight when peace was settled by a treaty that restored the former privileges of the Company.\textsuperscript{199} In the ensuing imbroglio the Madras Government immediately ‘took a competent number of Mestizes and Blacks into pay’ to supplement the weak garrison. They were retained even after the Nawab’s Army left. The Madras government informed the directors at home that they decided to ‘retain in pay such of the townes people as are serviceable for defence of the Fort’ as they ‘have but a dozen English that can beare armes’ and that they have ‘little trust in the promises (treaty)’ made by the Nawab ‘who already begin to break covenant.’\textsuperscript{200} If the expression ‘the townes people’ is taken as the militia forces, this was the first instance that we came across the formation of such groups in Madras.

This picture becomes clearer during the blockade of 1657-58. As was anticipated, the terms of the settlement of December, 1656, were not long observed. Fresh trouble arose in the following year (1657) and for seven months (September 1657 to April 1658) the Nawab’s army maintained a strict blockade of Madras, varied with occasional fighting.\textsuperscript{201} In April 1658, an important agreement was reached, under which the English were to be left in undisturbed control of the Fort and town on payment to the Nawab of an annual sum of Pagodas 380 in lieu of half customs which was paid till the 1672 when it was raised to 1,200 pagodas per annum.\textsuperscript{202} One Dutch account puts that ‘the English on the coast of Coromandel have thoroughly fortified the town of Madraspatam...The Nabob has threatened to attack the town on the plea that the English have lent assistance to the King of the Carnatics in his war against the Mogul, and that they shew themselves in every other respect very hostile.’\textsuperscript{203} Roger Middleton, the commander of Madras

\textsuperscript{198}EFI, 1655-1660, 1656, p.104; Love, Vestiges, I, pp.170-171.
\textsuperscript{199}EFI, 1655-1660, 1656, pp.97-98; Love, Vestiges, I, p.167.
\textsuperscript{200}EFI, 1655-1660, 1656, p.98.
\textsuperscript{201}EFI, 1655-1660, 1657, p.137.
\textsuperscript{203}Love, Vestiges, I, p.169.
Garrison, also wrote to his relatives in England, dated 12th January, 1659, regarding the blockade and told that he have 'the absolute command of the soldiers, within and without' the Fort and also over the '600 men in dayly pay, viz., 100 white and 500 blacks.' The expression 'dayly pay' signifies not those of regular soldiers but more possibly the temporary auxiliaries or the militia forces that had been raised during the previous year. In fact, it was also true that the garrison would be certainly augmented this time. In both the cases we have seen that the security of Madras was secured largely by the militia forces raised from the civilian inhabitants of the town, including the Portuguese and Indians.

By the 1660s the Portuguese had established themselves the rapport of being an indispensable part of the Madras population not only as merchants but reputed soldiers and militiamen in the defence of Madras. The security of Madras and its trade were now virtually hinged upon the valuable services and loyalty of the Portuguese and the native inhabitants. This gaining importance was mainly due to the continuing trouble in the region. In 1662, the Golconda army attacked and seized Mylapore, close to Madras. On the sea, the war between the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French continued. In the neighborhood the Nayakas of Madura and Tanjore were constantly at war and the armies of Bijapur made descents on the country with intent to conquer all the Hindu rulers. In 1669 the Dutch succeeded in capturing St. Thome from the Portuguese. Thus, the Portuguese inhabitants became a necessary part of the security of Madras. This is clearly expressed in the accounts of Governor Chamber in 1661. We have already noted his argument for not expelling the two Capuchin priests of Madras that was mainly due to the fear of the migration of Portuguese to other place. Referring to the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras, he told the President of Surat that 'the dispeopling of Christians was accomplished a weakening to the fort' and the 'terror and awe that many white men in the town strikes to our neighbours' and the 'honour and reputations that redounds to the Company among the Princes of India is the multitude of their people.' He also said that there were only 30 Englishmen in Madras by that time. This means that without the population of the Portuguese the security and stability of Madras and its Fort could not be

204 Love, Vestiges, I, pp.173-175.
sustained. In another letter to the directors in 1662, the Madras Council also reported that as the country was in political turmoil and as they have only 26 Englishmen in the Fort, they were 'force to take as many Portugalls as formerly to maintaine the out works...[as they] have the greater confidence in them now, because of their alliance to the Crowne of England.'

Thus, we have seen that the debate for the expulsion of the two priests was centre around the question of the importance of the Portuguese and other Catholic inhabitants who in case of leaving the town in the wake of expelling their priests would cost greatly to the English. Such commendable fit was also now recognized by some travelers of the time like Father Dominic Navarette, Thomas Bowrey, etc. This can be seen especially during the sieges of Madras in 1669 and 1670.

Despite the continuous trouble in the hinterland during the 1660s, Madras was safe from any direct confrontation with the local forces. But in 1669, Madras was attacked and siege by a local Nayak, but it was raised due to the intervention of the Golconda on behalf of the English. Again, in 1670, Madras was again blockaded by Chinnapelly Mirza, the Golconda army's commander in the region. Father Dominic Navarette said that when he came to Madras in 1670 it was 'besieged by the King of Golconda's army without his orders' with a design 'to extort something from the English.' He also said that 'the enemy had stopped all the avenues, so that provisions grew scarce. There is neither port nor water; this last they get out of some small wells they have digged.' Thomas Bowrey, who came to Madras in 1669, had also noted the event and said 'our Fort (and towne) of St. George hath been often molested by some of inland native forces, raised in very considerable numbers by some of the disaffected governors. I have known an army of some thousands, both horse and foot, come down and pitch their tents within 2 miles of the walls, where they have put a stopped upon all sorts of provisions.' Like Navarette, he also said that the motive was to extort money from the Company as 'nothing of such transactions is ordered by the Golconda King' and they are but the 'flying armies hatching rebellion.'

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207 Siwell, Historical inscriptions of Southern India, p.285.
208 Cummins, Friar Domingo Navarette, p.297.
209 Bowrey, A Geographical Account, pp.50-51.
During such sieges the role of Portuguese militia as well as the soldiers was also very well commended. Navarrette has categorically said that the Portuguese always stand by the side of English government who also upon occasion make use of them 'as they did this time, when all men took arms and guarded the walls.'\textsuperscript{210} Bowrey has also said that many Portuguese 'also bear arms in the Honourable East India Company's Service as private Centinels,' especially during this trouble time.\textsuperscript{211} The blockade was raised only after it was found impregnable and an agreement was signed under which the Madras government agreed to pay the Sultan of Golconda per annum 1,200 pagodas as rent.\textsuperscript{212}

Madras was soon caught up with another trouble with the French and the Dutch. By 1672, the French had declared war against the English and began operation by seizing Mylapore, then garrisoned by the Golconda troops. The Dutch besieged and retook it from French in 1674 and returned it to Golconda.\textsuperscript{213} The Dutch also blockaded the coast and was in good term with the Golconda's court. The three European powers were at war during this time one contesting the other for the supremacy of the coast. It is under this context that the English garrison was revamped and the local militia was formed to defend the town from any eventualities. The French occupation of Mylapore naturally led to a substantial augmentation of the Fort St. George Garrison. An undated document which reached London in June 1673 shows that the military forces comprised 241 British infantry and 14 artillerymen.\textsuperscript{214} Abbe Carre (1674) has also noted that the Madras Garrison consisted of 'three or four companies of English and black Portuguese, with some lascars, in all hardly 200 men, of which only 60 English.'\textsuperscript{215} However, this figure is disputed by Cummins in which, by computation from records, he put at over 950.\textsuperscript{216} This weak garrison was supplemented by 163 Portuguese militiamen distributed viz: 31 at Charles Point; 31 at St. Thomas Point; 31 at Round Point; 31 at Fisher's Point; and 39 at Choultry Gate.\textsuperscript{217} Abbe Carre has also mentioned that the English government 'obliged to keep all the townspeople to keep the guard every night from fear of a surprise attack by

\textsuperscript{210} Cummins, \textit{Friar Domingo Navarette}, p.297.
\textsuperscript{211} Bowrey, \textit{A Geographical Account}, p.4.
\textsuperscript{212} Siwell, \textit{Historical inscriptions of Southern India}, p.285
\textsuperscript{214} Ibid., p.373.
\textsuperscript{215} Ibid., p.373.
\textsuperscript{217} Fawcett, \textit{The Travels of the Abbe Carre}, p.548.
\textsuperscript{216} Ibid., n. 2, p.548.
the Dutch. These ‘townspeople’ were the local militias of Portuguese and Indians inhabitants of Madras. The Portuguese militia was divided into six groups viz., 31 at the Round Point alias Charles point; 31 at St. Thomas point; 31 at the Round point to the sea; 31 at the Fisher’s point; 39 at the Choultry gate and point near William Dixons.

Dr. John Fryer, who came to Madras in the end of 1673, had also mentioned that when he enter the Fort through the Choultry street, ‘on both sides thereof is a Court of Guard, from whence, for every day’s duty, are taken two hundred men; there being in pay for the Honourable East India Company of English and Portuguese 700, reckoning the Montrossesse and Gunners.’ Describing the guards of the Agent and Governor Langhorn, he wrote that ‘his personal guard consisted of 3 or 400 blacks, besides a band of 1500 men ready on summons.’ These guards were in constant duty until the impending war was over with the French and the Dutch in 1674. It was also recorded that there were enemies at sea and land at the musket shot so that Madras government was compelled to fortified Madras which was ‘thin, low, slight, tottering walls with a great town close to them’ and the garrison was enlarged which was ‘not above[…] Europeans in garrison the rest Mestizos and Blacks, although may help to keep watches, yet for service are but little to be relied upon.’

Besides, uniform was also introduced for the first time in Madras garrison for the Englishman in order to boost the morale of the soldiers and that ‘the native princes might be inspired with emulation and so affords a market for the company’s woolen cloth beside to preserve their health.’ Such uniform was later extended to the Portuguese and Mestizos as ‘the proportion of the English being so small’ and given to all ‘it would rather shew our weakness then our strength.’ Measures were also taken to boost the morale of militiamen. For instance, when one Nicolo Gomes, ‘one of the captains of the Auxiliaries’ was accidentally shot by the guard at night ‘in regard of some apprehensions from the Dutch and Mores’ his daughter was compensated with twenty pagodas so that all the inhabitants give their best assistance for the defence of the place ‘with more

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220 *Montrossesse Gunroom crew*.
223 D&C, 13th December, 1672.
224 D&C, 20th September, 1673.
cheerfulness.\textsuperscript{225} By November 1674, after the expulsion of French from Mylapore the English government had disbanded as many of the natives and Mestizos by reducing the garrison to about 250, the gunners crew to 15 and the pattamers and peons to 180, ‘bringing down the expenses as low as possible.’\textsuperscript{226} By November 1675 the garrison was reduced to two companies.\textsuperscript{227} However, by 1676, Major William Puckle, the Company’s Commission to investigate the affairs of Madras, found that the Portuguese still constituted about half of the soldiers of the Fort.\textsuperscript{228} The commendable role of the Portuguese militia during trouble times was also responsible for the support of the Madras government before the Puckle Commission. They told Puckle that so many Portuguese were permitted to dwell in the English town and pay no rent or any acknowledgement for their houses because they were ‘doing the duty of trained band in watching and warding in times of troubles upon the outworkes.’\textsuperscript{229}

In December 1676, the Madras government was again affront with the hostile activities of Podala Lingapa who had greatly increased his wealth and power by controlling the passage of rice and other provisions that greatly distressed Madras inhabitants. The English govt. had complained the matter to the Diwan of Golconda which was not considered. Therefore, the Council resolved to list 100 soldiers and 150 peons ‘as fast as we can meet them to inforce our in and out guards, and to fetch in provisions and others as opportunitys present.’\textsuperscript{230} The English Agent at Fort St. George reported to the Directors that the Hindu rulers and their ministers were ‘pillaging and squeezing the people.’ ‘The government of the country’, they wrote, ‘is in bad hands, nothing but fraud and oppression.’\textsuperscript{231}

In 1677 the garrison was again augmented owing to threat perception posed by the advance of Maratha army in the region. The Marathas had prevailed upon the Gingee country and was slowly approaching Madras. The Madras garrison was thoroughly mobilized and the Council resolved to list ‘what Christian soldiers’ they could get ‘as much as 50 and what peons as much as 100.’ The former, with the auxiliaries, to

\textsuperscript{225} D&CB, 11 October 1673, p.18.
\textsuperscript{226} D&CB, 20 Nov. 1674; Love, Vestiges, I, p.377.
\textsuperscript{227} Love, Vestiges, I, p.377.
\textsuperscript{228} D&CB, 1676, p.87.
\textsuperscript{229} D&CB, 1676, p.87.
\textsuperscript{230} D&CB, 20 Dec. 1676.
\textsuperscript{231} Love Vestiges, I, p.356.
strengthen the out guards and the latter ‘chiefly to send up and down to the several quarters’ of Shivaji army in order ‘to observe his motion’ and to attend the Bramany (the political agent) for the ‘better obtaining of intelligences and prevention of suprisalls.’

When Shivaji requested for ‘ingeniers’ (engineers), the English civilly refused in order to avoid any ill will from the Golconda’s and the Mughals. But, knowing this would displease Marathas, several pre-emptive measures were undertaken. First measure was that the government decided to entertain ‘all the Christians that can meet with into the garrison, as far as to complete the number of 250 effective for the present’ as it was ‘indispensably necessary for the safety of this place and all therein.’ Secondly, it ordered to ‘hasten the bringing in of lime, brick and stone, for carrying on of the new Caldera point and building of the curtain from thence to the Fisher’s point to St. Thomas point southward.’

Thirdly, the transfer of English soldiers to other place was stopped. Lastly, by December 1677, the Madras government also advocated for the formation of a British militia, besides the existing Portuguese and local trained bands. According to this plan the English inhabitants of Madras and in the neighboring areas were to be summoned to repair in the Fort and be ‘listed as the Company of Trained Bands to serve in time of danger, and officers appointed them, and sometimes exercised in the use of their armes and some of our Council or senior merchants to be officers, that on any occasion they may knowe whome they are to serve under without pay, as our trained bands here.’

By 1680, the importance of Portuguese has become a reality not only in the trade of the town but also in the defence of the city and its trade. The Council was now fully convinced that Portuguese were ‘loyal and serviceable in the defence of the place in time of war and are a great security to us upon that account.’ Not only was the Portuguese beneficial for the defence of Madras from outsiders but they were also been beneficial for protecting or subduing the internal rebellion and other unrest. In October-November 1680, for instance, the Painters and some disaffected persons of Madras were rebelling against the English government. The mutineers have withdrawn to nearby Mylapore and demanded the others to join them. They have also stopped the passage of all the

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232 D&C'B, 9 May 1677, p.112.
233 D&C'B, 3 October 1677, p.123.
234 Cited in Love, Vestiges, 1, p.380.
235 D&C'B, 22 March 1680.
provisions to Madras. The Council immediately entertained 'about 100 Topasses or Black Portuguese into pay the better to guard the washers, who doe as yet stick close to their business and are the more to be encouraged by reason of their usefulness in whitening the cloth at this time being in the height of that business.' Several soldiers and peons were also sent to bring the mutineers back or 'to disperse them far away from Madras.' On 7th December, 1680, the chief of the Muckwaes was arrested and henceforth other submitted to the governor.

The 1680s Coromandel region was the period of intense political disorder crowned with devastating famines of the century. This has been already discussed and need not repeat here. Such political and natural calamities in the region had directly or indirectly affected Madras. In Madras, the English government undertook several preemptive measures to stand against any surprise. Madras has now become a place of refuge for those afflicted by wars and famine in the hinterland. In April 1681, the Madras govt. found that many of the disbanded peons and Topasses of Madras have gone over to the Dutch at Pulicat, which took as many of them to their service. Therefore, to prevent such and to get back all those that have left, it was ordered 'to take as many Topasses and Peons into the Companys pay here as present themselves.'

In April 1681, when the Diwan was to come to Madras to receive his dispatch from the Governor, all the Portuguese inhabitants were summoned to form trained bands. Upon notice given they 'appeared at the fort gate to receive arms who being mustered officers amongst them were appointed to command the others at the several posts assigned them.' They were altogether 260 Portuguese men including the Mustered Officers and 14 posts were created viz:

Table 4.3: The roll of Portuguese trainband

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Post</th>
<th>Muster officer/leader</th>
<th>no. of men</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. At St. Thomas Bulwark</td>
<td>Joan Sardina de Fonseca</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. At Charles Bulwarke</td>
<td>Antonio Nogeira de Aouza</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. At James Bulwarke</td>
<td>Joan Perera de Faria</td>
<td>15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. At Choultry Gate</td>
<td>Cosmo Laurenzo de Madera</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

236 D&CB, 1 November 1680, p.75.
237 D&CB, 6 November 1680, p.76.
238 D&CB, 6 November 1680, p.82.
239 D&CB, 7 April 1681, p.16.
240 D&CB, 18 April 1681, p.18.
5. At Middle Gate  
   Gaspar de Mato de Brito  
   Juan de Oliveira  

6. At St. Peter Bulwarke  
   Lucas Luis de Olivera  

**IN THE MALABAR TOWN**

7. At Cornet Bulwarke  
   Antonio Lewis de Vallo  

8. At Bridge gate  
   Antonio Pallia de Lima  

9. At Bridge Bastian  
   Gaspar de Cunhia de Sylva  

10. At Cape Bulwarke  
    Bernado Medan  

11. At Garden gate  
    Antonio Francisco  

12. At Faulcon Bastion  
    Manual de Fonseca  

13. At Chitty gate  
    Francisco Carneiro del Cassova  

14. At Sea Bulwark  
    Francisco de Brito Correa  

**Total**  
    260

*Source: see footnote.*

It was because of such support from the Portuguese militiamen that the Company could even resist the unreasonable demands of the Diwan. They also warned Podela Lingapa, who blockaded all the provisions to Madras, that no unreasonable exaction can be made upon the English Company as they have ‘a sword to defend’ their rights as per the King’s *firman* and cowls as much as they have money to trade. Beside the Portuguese militia, the local Indians have also volunteered to ‘raise a militia force of 215 men and to maintain it at their own expense’ and another ‘corps of 150 men’ for the defence of the Fort town during this trouble time. Even the washers offered 25 men. On 9 July 1681 the Agent and Council sent for the commission officers and the Portuguese inhabitants giving them strict charge to look after their watches ‘this troublesome time to prevent surprisals till all differences should be composed.’

Adding to their woes, the coming of Mughals to South India since the early 1680s has posed one of the greatest threats to Madras. This was because the relationship between the English and the Mughals was at the lowest ebb during this time due to the infamous piracies on the high sea. By 1688, almost all South India became under the Mughals Empire. On the other hand the French also became another threat for Madras on the sea front since the 1690 when the two nations declared war on each other. In August

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241 D&CB, 18 April 1681, p.18. 
242 D&CB, 18 April 1681, p.19. 
244 D&CB, 9 July 1681, p.33.
1690 there was a brief engagement between them in Madras when the French squadron was in Mylapore road.\(^{245}\)

Under such impending dangers from the Mughals, the Company, in 1685, advised to Madras government to increase the garrison and urged the formation of a squadron of volunteer cavalry. It directed the Madras government to raise revenue sufficient to serve for ‘keeping in repair and enlarging your fortifications, and the constant maintenance of 500 European soldiers, most part English, the rest Portuguez which are cheaper by one half’ as ‘such formidable posture of defence will make more rich men trust to your government and protection.’ It also directed the Council to ‘pursued all the rich men in the Fort St. George, to the number of 100 English, Jews, Portuguez and Gentues, to keep each of them a horse and arms at their own charge, as…it may be a brave additional strength upon any sudden occasion.’ Further, it also directed to ‘appoint captain and officers to exercise once in 2 or 3 months as a militia or city troop.\(^{246}\) Not only was a troop of cavalry immediately formed,\(^{247}\) but an infantry militia was shortly afterwards embodied. In February 1687, it was ordered that ‘two companies of trainbands do be raised, the one of the Rt. Honble Companys Servants and English freemen, the other of Portuguese inhabitants.’\(^{248}\)

In fact the period of Yale’s administration was one of military activity owing to the hostile presences of the Marathas, the Mughals and the war with France. Among the Governor’s earlier measures was the placing of the native contingent on an improved footing. In July 1687, the scattered 280 peons were organized into three regular companies and each to go in round ‘to keep their watch day and night’ and that they should be ‘exercise and drill’ twice a week by their officers.\(^{249}\) The President also paid great attention to the development of the militia. He formed an English trained band from a list of ‘all the Rt. Honble Company’s servants under this Council and all English freemen’ who were given regular exercises as the defence and security of the Garrison

\(^{245}\) D&CB, 15 August 1690; see also Dampier, *A New Voyage round the World*, 1697, cited in Love *Vestiges*, I, pp.527-528.
\(^{246}\) Cited in Love *Vestiges*, I, pp.468-469.
\(^{247}\) It was formed in August 1685, D&CB, 13 Aug. 1685.
\(^{248}\) D&CB, 24 Feb.1687.
\(^{249}\) D&CB, 29 July, 1687.
have become their ‘daily consideration.’ The list for the Portuguese militia had also been already drawn up but it was ‘not thought convenient, before we have absolute occasion, to muster them, least we may alarm them to leave the town.’ However, when, in early 1688, the Maratha army of 2,000 horse and 5,000 foot destroyed Conjeveram and plundered Poonamallee, order was issued immediately for the Portuguese and Indians militiamen to take up arms, each family containing two males between fifteen and sixty years of age to supply one man, and families of six or more to furnish two men. The Portuguese were to assemble before their Church and the ‘Gentues’ before the Town Choultry where they shall be brief and assigned their duties. As far as the strength of Portuguese soldiers in Madras Garrison in 1688 was concerned they constituted ‘two thirds’ and their population in Madras was ‘at least 6 for one to the English inhabitants.’

These city train bands or militiamen were occasionally mustered and trained them to meet with any eventualities. For instance, in January 1690, an order was issued to the city train bands and the garrison soldiers to a general training. On 1st January 1690, according to the order, ‘the city train bands, containing all the Christian inhabitants, also the garrison soldiers, met at the general place of rendezvous, which were divided into two parties, and the method of the military exercise shewn them round the garrison. Afterward [they] march to the river to the campaign, where they did form and order them in a battalion, and then treated them with handsome dinner.’ Such occasional military exercise was also encouraged by the Directors at home. They even asked the Madras Government to continue such exercises even after the war because they intended to keep themselves as ‘a martial nation of India.’ Such were some of the few military activities taken up by the Madras government to prepare themselves from the impending attacks from its adversaries.

After the threat from the Mughals and Marathas were subsided by 1692 the home Directors asked again to reduce the garrison by disbanding one company of foot soldiers and also reducing their pay to the former one. At first Madras Council could not do so

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250 D&CB, 21 November 1687.
251 D&CB, 13 January, 1688, p.9.
252 D&CB, 23 August 1688, p.135.
253 D&CB, 30th December & 1 January, 1689/90.
254 Dispatches from England, 27 August 1688.
citing that they have 'spared a considerable number of soldiers, excluding the foot soldiers, to St. David, Bombay, Bencolen and Bengal' and they themselves are short of men 'not having about seventy European sentinels in the garrison, and about a hundred and fifty Topasses, which are not near sufficient to guard half the garrison well and the French fleet being expected on the Coast.'\textsuperscript{255} They rather ordered to the Paymaster to 'entertain as many more Europeans as he can' till the President shall judge to follow the Company's order. However, in September 1692, the President divided the European soldiers into two foot companies of 100 each and 'disbanding most of the Portuguese and Topass soldiers.'\textsuperscript{256} But this did not, however, reduced the number of the Portuguese soldiers into minority in the garrison. They continued to dominate the garrison.

The French threat has become more imminent since the 1695. In March, the French Father of Madras told the President that he received a letter from Frenchmen at Tranquarbar that they met French ships at Indian Coast near Cape Comorin. He also informed that the Portuguese had also told him that the Danes sloop met 4 French ships and they were bound for this coast and Bengal. The English were also earlier told that 4 or 6 French ships from France were designed for India. The Council, therefore, immediately sent for more details and simultaneously prepare themselves for any eventualities. It ordered the gunners to get all the guns in readiness and cause the paymaster to get the platform of 'iron stone' at the sea gate for the guns and lieutenants of the garrison to take care that all the small arms be well fitted and in readiness. All the Englishmen, not in service, were also ordered to be mustered in the gun room. Besides, 'all the Rt. Honble Company servants and Europe inhabitants' were mustered to form the trained bands.\textsuperscript{257} The situation was so tense that even for a slightest sign of French hostile appearance amounts to taking such hectic preparation in Madras. For instance, in May 1696, the Madras government took up a hectic preparation on mere suspicion. They were told that four ships, suspected to be of the French, appear before Tricomalee and remain there. The Council was immediately summoned to resolve upon a method to be adopted for defending the Garrison. The chief inhabitants of Madras were also summoned for the

\textsuperscript{255} D&CB, 7 June 1692.
\textsuperscript{256} D&CB, 27 September 1692.
\textsuperscript{257} D&CB, 21 March 1695, p.39.
same.\textsuperscript{258} Even after realizing that the ships were not of French the chief inhabitants of Madras were told to choke out the best means to defence the town and inform the President.\textsuperscript{259} The persisting French threat also compelled the Directors to direct the Madras government to seek for Golconda’s friendship and assistance.\textsuperscript{260} However, despite such hectic preparation, no direct confrontation took place between the English and the French until the proclamation of peace between the two nations on 11 July 1698.\textsuperscript{261}

The temporary relief at Fort St. George after the peace treaty with the French did not last. In April 1699, the Nawab of Golconda, Zulfikar Khan wrote to the President that Daud Khan, his deputy, is planning to come to Madras to view the sea. Governor Pitt was wary of the intention of the visit and informed the Council. This was mainly because the one Seileman Khan, Daud Khan’s brother, had earlier plundered and burnt their villages at Fort St. David (1698). While placing Mr. Styleman’s garden-house at the Khan’s disposal, the Council ordered that the garrison and the out town be put into the best posture of defence. Officers were thus ordered to make a survey. They reported that, beside others, the repair of the out wall by bricks was necessary.\textsuperscript{262} Daud Khan arrived on 28\textsuperscript{th} of April and stayed for two days at the garden house. He then spent a week at Mylapore. Nothing sort of untoward incidents took place however. But it seems that the Khan was not very well received with the English government’s treatment. This can be seen from the following events.

In 1700 the Mughal Emperor appointed Daud Khan as the Nawab of the Canatics and Gingee country, Zulfikar Khan become Subedar of the Deccan. The new Nawab came down to Arcot at the beginning of 1701 and sent for ‘sundry sorts of liquors’ from the English probably to pick a trouble. Not aware of the intention, the Council thought the occasion favourable for obtaining a confirmation of their privileges and sent Noccolo Manucci to accompany the Chief Dubash Ramappa to deliver the presents.\textsuperscript{263} However, the Nawab regarded the presents inadequate and sent Manucci back with threats of

\textsuperscript{258} D&C\textsuperscript{B}, 30 May 1696.
\textsuperscript{259} D&C\textsuperscript{B}, 1 June 1696.
\textsuperscript{260} D&C\textsuperscript{B}, 12 March 1696.
\textsuperscript{261} D&C\textsuperscript{B}, 11 July 1698.
\textsuperscript{262} D&C\textsuperscript{B}, 27 April 1699, p.37.
\textsuperscript{263} D&C\textsuperscript{B}, 17 January 1701.
appointing a governor for the Black Town and developing Mylapore at the expense of Madras. In July, Daud Khan appeared in Mylapore with 10,000 troops, horse and foot. Messrs. Ellis and Davenport were sent to wait for him with further presents but was rejected. In the mean time the outlying villages were plundered by the Nawab’s army. Pitt regarded the Nawab’s attitude as tantamount to a declaration of hostilities and took immediate measures to resist any attack. He immediately summoned the Council to ‘consult what is most proper to be done to reinforce the garrison and prevent the Nabob from doing any mischief.’

On 4th July, the Council resolved to take the following measures; viz., first, sailors from three ships in the road, numbering 110, should be landed to form a company of Marines. Secondly, the city train bands, consisting of all the Englishmen with Captain George Heron as Captain, should be raised. Thirdly, about 120 of the Portuguese inhabitants are also to be raises into a company and armed them under Captain Emmanuel de Silva. Fourthly, the paymaster was ordered to entertain one hundred additional peons as scouts for intelligence and to reinforce the outposts. Fifthly, it was ordered to bring in all the Company’s cloths, washed and unwashed, from the washers to prevent them from plunder and that likewise the washers should be armed and posted in the out villages. After all these preparation were taken, on 5th July, Governor Pitt wrote to the Nawab telling him that his troops had twice plundered Madras town so that he must now ‘resolved to provide for our security, for that wee are neither to share in your Excellency favour nor justice, which is our great misfortune.’ On 7th July it was reported that the Nawab is making ‘great preparation’ to come against Madras. Therefore, it was immediately ordered that 50 Lascars more be entertained in the gunroom and 1000 pagodas sanctioned ‘for defraying charges of the Black Town wall and new works’.

Seeing that Pitt was prepared to fight, the Nawab changed his mind. On 8 July he consented to receive the presents which he had refused earlier. It was dispatched on 9th July. The Nawab received the presents ‘very kindly with great expression of friendship.

264 D&C&B, 3 February 1701; see also Storia do Mogor, III, 384-393.
265 D&C&B, 3 July 1701, p.60.
266 D&C&B, 4 July 1701, pp.61-62.
267 D&C&B, 5 July 1701, p.63.
268 D&C&B, 7 July 1701, p.64.
269 D&C&B, 8 July 1701.
and sent a horse and tasheriff to the governor...and told them that Coja Amud, our Mullah, should come tomorrow’ to receives the Perwanas (order) ‘for confirmation of our privileges.’ This sudden change of mind makes the Govt. of Madras ‘fear a snake in the grass.’ So it resolved not to disband the forces raised till the Nawabs army went away.270

On 11th July the Nawab announced his willingness to honour the Governor by having dinner with him. It was accepted and on 12 July, the Newab, the Duan and Buxie were conducted into the Fort and served them with good dinner. When they enter the town they saw the streets ‘loined with soldiers from St. Thoma Gate up to the Fort, and the works that way manned with the Marine Company handsomely clothed with red coats and caps, and the curtains of the inner Fort with our train bands, all which made a very handsome appearance.’271 The Nawab also wanted to inspect one of the ships but he missed it as he was too drunk. The Nawab left the area only on 17 July.

It is seen that the Madras forces including the soldiers of the garrison, the train bands, the Portuguese militia, the peons, etc. all worked dutifully until the Nawab left the area. The total period of about twenty days were taken up to guard the town. The Marine Company was disbanded on 18th July. The Portuguese and the English trained bands were disbanded on 19th July ‘that lay at out guards, many of them falling sick for want of conveniency of lodgings there, and by reason of the great fatigue of about twenty days lying their arms.’272

Six months later, Daud Khan again appeared at St. Thome with his army. In early January 1702 the Madras government was already warned by the Surat of some impending dangers from the Mughals. The Council had ordered to the Company’s servants to possess one horse each which can be use in time of danger. This time, the Council ordered that ‘the trained bands of this city be immediately raised; that tomorrow the Portuguese Militia be raised and posted at the out works; that both our Company soldiers lye with their arms night and day during the encampment so near us; that two hundred rashboots (Rajputs) be taken into service to guard our out town and the Companys cloth at the way; that what Lascars not exceeding 60 or 70 be entertained to assist the gunroom.’ Thus, Pitt, once again, caused the city trained bands and the

270 D&CB, 10 July 1701, pp.65-66.
272 D&CB, 19 July 1701, p.70.
Portuguese militia to be embodied and also engaged 200 Rajputs to defence the town for the first time.\textsuperscript{273} The native political agent (mulla) was sent with some presents to St. Thome to receive the Nawab. He reported that the Nawab expected a visit from Englishmen with present. The Council refused to accede to either of the demands, ‘the Mulla is ordered to deliver, resolving to send no English no present.’\textsuperscript{274}

On 6\textsuperscript{th} February 1702, a strict blockade was ordered by the Nawab. He stopped all provisions destined for Madras and all goods passing in or out of the town. In support of his action, he forwarded an imperial order dated 16\textsuperscript{th} November, 1701, interdicting trade with Europeans on the ground that they failed to prevent piracies committed on the ships sailing under the Muslim flag. In response to this Pitt immediately raised the city train bands and Portuguese militia of Madras and appointed them their particular posts for the defence thereof.\textsuperscript{275} Pitt also sent a spirited letter to the Nawab telling him that the English Company are also equally suffered by the pirates and that the King of England had spend huge money to contained them and he concluded that if the Nawab is resolved to starve Madras by stopping all provisions he ‘can put no other construction on this, than declaring a war’ against the Mughals with all other European nations and ‘accordingly we shall act.’\textsuperscript{276}

The next day i.e. 7 February, the Nawab’s army plundered Egmore, Pursewakum and Triplicane and several thousand inhabitants fled to the Fort. Pitt also wrote again to the Nawab that there is no need of stopping provisions to the town as he has sufficient provisions for the people for two years besides the sea open to them.\textsuperscript{277} On 12\textsuperscript{th} February the Nawab demanded possession of the Black Town and of the Mint, but Pitt refuse to response ‘not being worth our taking notice of, but tacitly to defie their threats.’\textsuperscript{278} The English applied to the Dutch and Danes for assistance. The former excused but the latter sent a vessel with provisions. The blockade was not confined to Madras, but extended to Fort St. David, Masulipatm, Bengal and Surat. About the middle of March, Daud Khan intimated that matters might be arranged by a payment of 30,000 rupees. Negotiations

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{273} D&CB, 29 January 1702, p.8.
\item \textsuperscript{274} D&CB, 4 February 1702, p.9-10.
\item \textsuperscript{275} D&CB, 6 February 1702, pp.10-11
\item \textsuperscript{276} D&CB, 6 February 1702, pp.11-12.
\item \textsuperscript{277} D&CB, 7 February 1702, p.11.
\item \textsuperscript{278} D&CB, 12 February 1702, p.16.
\end{itemize}
ensued and it was ultimately agreed that the English should pay 25,000 rupees and the Nawab should return all the plundered property and make good all the damages.\textsuperscript{279} The blockade was raised on the 5\textsuperscript{th} of May 1702, and the term of the agreement was subsequently carried out. Daud Khan had visited St. Thome twice after this, one in November 1706 and another in January 1708. But no serious threats were posed this time although the English took some military preparation each time he came.

As usual, whenever blockade or threat was imminent to the Madras government the Portuguese militia was raised to substantiate the forces of the garrison. These militiamen were mustered to defence Madras without pay. However, during this time the Council thought that it was worth paying as they have been for too long embroiled with the affairs: 'The Portuguese Trained Bands having lain at their arms ever since the Nabobs coming to St. Thoma, and most of them consisting of poor seafaring and handicraft men, who have familys to maintain wee think it reasonable and necessary for the Company affairs at this time, to allow them pay from the time they took up arms for defence of the place, without which they are not able to subsist, and accordingly it is ordered that the Paymaster forthwith give them their pay.'\textsuperscript{280} The Portuguese militia was disbanded on 18\textsuperscript{th} May 1702, i.e. they served the Company for more than three months and 12 days. After disband, besides paying them handsomely, the Governor also 'order to treat for each for their readiness during Nabob Dowd Cawn lying at St. Thoma.'\textsuperscript{281} Besides, the Paymaster was ordered to provide 'Scarlet Coats and Beavour Hatts' for the Portuguese Officers, 'as a gratuity for their readiness to serve the Garrison,' and the same was given to the English officers.\textsuperscript{282} Further, the Portuguese militias were also treated handsomely with dinner under a large tent spread in the inner Fort and the commission officers of the respective company with evening supper with the Governor. The same was provided to the Company's soldiers and the Gunroom crew on 20\textsuperscript{th}, 21\textsuperscript{st} and 22\textsuperscript{nd} of May.\textsuperscript{283} On 25\textsuperscript{th} May the Governor and Council and the train bands were splendidly entertained with a supper at the Company's garden.\textsuperscript{284}

\textsuperscript{279} The terms and conditions of the agreement is incorporated in D\&CB, 1702, p.38.
\textsuperscript{280} D\&CB, 6 March 1702, p.26.
\textsuperscript{281} D\&CB, 18 May 1702, pp.40-41.
\textsuperscript{282} D\&CB, 21 May 1702, p.42.
\textsuperscript{283} D\&CB, 22 May 1702, p.43.
\textsuperscript{284} D\&CB, 25 May 1702, p.43.
The period after Daud Khan’s blockade was comparatively peaceful in the hinterland although the enmity between the English and the French occasionally cropped up on the sea. However, by 1710 another trouble came up with the Mughal officers in the region with respect to some villages belonging to Madras—Egmore, Tandore, Persiwaca, Longumbauc, Varsalavada, Trivadore, Sautungudda and Cuttevaucu. The first three villages were granted to Madras government by then Nawab Assid Khan in February 1693 and the rest by Nawab Daud Khan in September 1708. However, on 17 April 1710 the Madras government received a letter from the Nawab Daud Khan ordering to handover the new five villages he had granted to English to one Yeavellapa, ‘the present Renter of the country.’ On 25th April the Council decided not to relinquish the said villages until further words come from the Nawab. Soldiers were sent to Trivadore and Lungnumbauc to guard the villages from any hostile occupation. The renters were also asked to remove the entire paddies that were already cut.285

On 24th May the President received another letter from the Nowarjee of Arcot demanding the five villages and the four old towns and another from the Daun Saudatula Khan for the same purpose. The President told them that the English have full rights over the said villages as they were granted to them by the Nawabs. In the meantime, the guard house in Egmore was repair and Serjeant and ten soldiers were sent to guard them. About 50 or 60 peons were also entertained in Company’s service.286 The President also wrote to Prince Khan Bhadur informing the matter in details and seeking his favour for the privileges to be reconfirmed.287 On 14th June the peons intercepted 40 horses of the Muslim troops near Madras. Suspicious of the intention, the Madras government immediately undertook some measures. Peons and soldiers were sent to guard the out villages. The city trained bands under Mr. Robert Raworth was formed on 16th June. The Portuguese and Armenian inhabitants of Madras also volunteered to form their own trained bands or militias which were accepted. Order was also issued to stop selling of horses out of Madras.288 On 19 June the Madras government was ordered by Prince Khan Bhadur and the Daun Sardatula Khan to deliver the said villages. Finding no other option

286 D&C, 24 May 1710, pp.49-50
287 D&C, 29 June 1710,p.54-55.
the Council decided to send some present to the Duan in the expectation of accommodating the matters in favour of the English government. This problem goes on for quite some time but the five villages were at last handover to the 'Renter of the Country'. But political agents were sent to the Mughal Court for the re-confirmation of their former rights and privileges over the said villages. After protracted efforts at the Mughal Court in Delhi by Cojee Surhaad (an Armenians) and Hugh Barker, Emperor Farruk Siyar had finally restored their former privileges in April 1717. This part will be dealt with in the following chapter.

Therefore, we have seen in the above paragraphs that the Portuguese were one of the most indispensable sections of Madras population as far as the safety and security of Madras was concerned. Their role as the city trained bands or militia was commendable that have given them a distinction among other inhabitants. We know that such Portuguese militias were formed so often that in about 40-50 years they were mustered for trained bands more than eleven times: 1656-57, 1669-70, 1672-73, 1677, 1681, 1687-88, 1690, 1699, 1701, 1702, and in 1710. Hence, the defence and security of Madras might not have been possible had not the Portuguese inhabitants withstood for the English Government in times of dangers. In this respect Lockyer's account is quite relevant. He arrived in Madras by 1702 and published his work in 1711 and has seen himself the last two sieges of Madras by the local powers and also from the sea. He said 'the Portuguese are obliged to find a Company or two of Train'd-bands at their own charge on any disturbances; which with the free Merchants, factors, servants and other inhabitants, a singular decorum, good fortification, plenty of Guns, and a much Ammunition, render it a Bugbear to the Moors, and a sanctuary to the fortunate people living in it.' Thus, even in the absence of good number of Englishmen it was due to the presence of a large Portuguese militia forces that the defence of Madras could be rendered it into 'a Bugbear to the Moors.' Even if they may not formed a potent forces in the battle field they did formed as a deterring forces from any direct attack.

289 D&CBB, 19 June 1710, p.62.
290 D&CBB, 21 July 1717, pp.116-119.
291 Charles Lockyer, An account of the Trade in India, Containing Rules for good Government in Trade, Price Courants and tables, (1711), (as reproduced in Love Vestiges, II, p.83.)
Besides, we also learn that Portuguese have till then dominated the Garrison of Madras which was the main forces for the security of English interests not only in Madras but also throughout the Bay of Bengal littorals. But it is difficult to pinpoint the exact size of Portuguese soldiers due to lack of evidence. But since 1693, we have the names of Portuguese being entertained for the garrison. It should be noted that such recruitment were not done on modern line when large number of people competed for the posts but it was done mostly individually that too generally on different days although we have reference of 2-5 persons entertained on a single day. These numbers were collected in the following table. Here, suffice it to say that that it was because of the continuing political unrest on the one hand and the constant shortages of Englishmen in the region that the Portuguese have attained their distinctive status in Madras. In fact, the period of Governor Thomas Pitt was not only the high time of Madras prosperity but also the high time for the Portuguese inhabitants not only in the defence of Madras but also in trades. In the relatively peaceful situation in the succeeding period the Portuguese have also gradually loss their imminent position in Madras and finally were expelled from the white town in 1750 when they were accused of helping the French during the occupation.

Table 4.4: Number of Portuguese entertained in Madras garrison.

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<th>Year</th>
<th>No. of soldiers</th>
<th>No. of Gunroom Crew</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
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<td>14</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>3</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>1709</td>
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<td>1710</td>
<td>20</td>
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<tr>
<td>Grand total</td>
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<td>51</td>
<td>403</td>
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Portuguese soldiers in other English settlements

The Portuguese soldiers were not only beneficial for the defence of Madras. They were also greatly instrumental to the safety and security of other English settlements like Cuddalore, Bencolen, Masulipatam, Rettora, West Coast, York Fort, Machelipatam, etc. They were recruited in Madras and of course belonged to Madras Garrison but were consigned to man other forts and ports of the English in India and South East Asia. There are many references in the records where Madras soldiers were sent to other places. It would be pertinent here to highlight some of the accounts mentioned in the record. In 1691, 40 soldiers; 20 English, 20 Portuguese, were sent to St. David to guard that place.\textsuperscript{293} We have already noted that in 1692 the Madras government expressed its inability to disband one company of foot soldiers as they have ‘spared a considerable number of soldiers, exceeding a foot Company to St. David, Bombay, Bencolen and Bengal.’\textsuperscript{294} Again, in July 1693, 30 or 40 soldiers, half English and half Topasses, were sent to Rettura.\textsuperscript{295} In 1695, another twenty Europeans and 20 Topasses were drawn out of Madras garrison and sent to the West Coast.\textsuperscript{296} On 29 April, 1695 it was known to the Council of Madras that there was many complaints from the factors at Visakapatnam that there were too many Portuguese soldiers in that place.\textsuperscript{297} On 7 January 1697, 10 Portuguese soldiers were sent of Ajengo.\textsuperscript{298} On 17 May 1698 Nathaniel Eaton was sent along with 10 Topasses soldiers to York Fort by ship Anne.\textsuperscript{299} On 19 September 1698, it was declared that such Portuguese or English soldiers who are willing to go to York Fort have liberty to carry their families with them and that the Portuguese also have the liberty to carry their priest with them.\textsuperscript{300} On 10\textsuperscript{th} October it was resolved that 12 English and 20 Portuguese soldiers be sent on ship Thordon to York Fort.\textsuperscript{301}

\textsuperscript{292} Extracted from D&CB, 1693-1710.
\textsuperscript{293} D&CB, 16 February, 1691, p.13.
\textsuperscript{294} D&CB, 7 June 1692.
\textsuperscript{295} D&CB, 2 July 1693, p.110.
\textsuperscript{296} D&CB, 1 April 1695, p.44.
\textsuperscript{297} D&CB, 29 April, 1695, p.58.
\textsuperscript{298} D&CB, 7 January 1697, p.168.
\textsuperscript{299} D&CB, 17 May 1698.
\textsuperscript{300} D&CB, 19 September 1698.
\textsuperscript{301} D&CB, 10 October 1698, p.111.
In April 1705, it was agreed that 10 Portuguese soldiers be sent on the Huglyana Ketch to York Fort. In February 1701, one Antony Rosairo came over from Bencolen to Madras after serving there for 12 years and asked to Madras government for his pay during his stay there. In September the same year two Portuguese were entertained as soldiers for the West Coast. Again there being Several Portuguese soldiers willing to go to Pollicondore, it was ordered to give them 3 months advance pay. Thus, the foregoing few accounts have clearly shows that all these places were fully depended upon Madras garrison for their security and other necessities.

Beside, the Portuguese soldiers were also equally instrumental to the safety of the Company’s ships that passed between various ports. For instance, in 1686, Captain Heath and Paine of Ship Defence asked for the supply of men for their voyage to England. As the English soldiers cannot be spare for it the Council got for them 10 Portuguese and 3 Englishmen for their journey. Likewise, many Portuguese men were consigned to man the English Company Ships throughout our period of study.

**Mutiny, desertions and disorders in the Army**

One interesting aspects of the Garrison of Madras were desertion, mutiny and other form of disorderliness. The first case of mutiny occurred in 1686 when several ‘companies of the Madras Garrison’ refused to go to Bengal...in connection with an expedition arranged against the Mughals in Bengal.’ Their apprehension was that going to Bay of Bengal was just a mere pretext to get them on board which would be sent to the West Coast (of Sumatra) which, it seems, used to happen before. Even after the President's assurance they refused to embarked. They complied with the order only when it was decided to hang the ring leader. In 6 July 1693, four Portuguese were appointed to fill up the place of four other people who have lately run away. In 1694, another instance of disorder took place in which ‘about thirty of the Topass soldiers deserted the garrison,’ again, for fear of being taken in a ‘draught to be made for the West Coast, and Succadana’ and also

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302 D&C&B, 14 April 1705, p.59.
303 D&C&B, 13 February 1701, p.16.
304 D&C&B, 16 September 1701, 84.
305 D&C&B, 19 April 1704, 36.
306 D&C&B, 4 & 28 January 1686.
307 The Fort St. George Council was then bestowed with the power of Martial Law for which they consistently asked for, to discipline the garrison. D&C&B, 4 & 30 August 1686, pp.60 & 70.
308 D&C&B, 6 July 1693, p.110.
due to "hard usage received from the officers of the garrison."\textsuperscript{309} This event brought about much confusion in the town which we have already discussed in the previous section. Again, in 1708 five deserters from St. David were caught at Madras and immediately sent back to that place.\textsuperscript{310} We also came across instances of desertions by the Dutch, English and other soldiers belonging to Madras garrison. For instance, in July 1694, a Dutchman call John Arts alias John the Butcher of Madras, who dieted the soldiers in the garrison, 'the greatest part whereof were Dutchmen', was accused of sending off about 40 or 50 soldiers mostly Dutchmen from his house since the past five years and two days away two Dutchmen ran away from his house. He was banished from Madras.\textsuperscript{311} Likewise similar story of deserters, mutinies, and other form of disorders occurred here and there in various English settlements.

But the question is why such disorderliness happened so frequently? It is very difficult to reconstruct the precise reasons for that. Relying on the complaints of the disaffected soldiers such as the notoriety of their officers, like Lt. Seaton, and the reluctance to go to West Coast would seems to be simplistic. But even these issues were not taken up seriously by the Council of Madras. However, the larger problems faced by the garrison during this time were, possibly, more acute. While the enemies were at hence the primary focus of the English government was to increase the number of the fighting soldiers but no concern for their health, social and other personnel needs were taken up seriously. It was Governor Yale who began to think seriously of this but such initiative was not followed by his successors. There seems to have been no job security for the non-English soldiers, especially to the Portuguese. Despite their considerable contributions in the defence of the English settlements their pay was very low, 'one half' to their English counterpart. Their diets, clothing, equipments, leaves, incentives, and other condition of services were apparently quite below the English standard.

Again, for the Portuguese soldiers the religious need seems to have been equally important. They were reluctant to the West Coast mainly for religious reason. West Coast of Sumatra was a very strange place for the devout Portuguese in the sense that there was no priest there to provide their spiritual needs. This issue has been seriously taken up only

\textsuperscript{309} D&CB, 13 April 1694, p.38.
\textsuperscript{310} D&CB, 4 March 1708, p.12.
\textsuperscript{311} D&CB, 12 July 1694, p.76.
during Governor Pitt’s time. Pitt applied to the Bishop of St. Thome to supply him with some priests to minister in the English garrisons there but failed. However, when he found one Padre Don John Milton, a Theatine priest, applying for Madras he convinced him to go to the West Coast somewhere in 1703/04. Since then the Theatine priests provided their religious need in those places. Similarly, the Company had also, later, allowed them to take their family in such places. For instance, we know that in September 1698, it was declared that such Portuguese or English soldiers who are willing to go to York Fort have liberty to carry their families with them and that the Portuguese also have the liberty to carry their priest with them. Therefore, one of the most important demands by the soldiers in the garrison appears to be being with the family and having proper way of worship.

Again, the matter of health and higher pay was not properly address. Instead, the company at home time and again directed to reduce the pay of the garrison without considering the welfare of the soldiers. Especially the state of Portuguese soldiers seems to be more pathetic as compare to their European counterparts who have received double of their pay. Further, the high rate of death among the soldiers was also an established fact in the region which was not properly taken care of. There was occasion where there was not a single surgeon in Madras. The small hospital in Madras could not cater much to the need of the Garrison. One interesting story came in 1697 where the Churchwardens and Minister informed the Council that several of the inhabitants have withdrawn their contributions towards the upkeep of the Hospital ‘because they are dissatisfied with the disbursement of the Church money for the hospital whereof the soldiers have the only use.’ Although the Hospital was maintained on the contribution mainly from the local inhabitants it was always filled up with the soldiers. The local people seem to lack any access to it. Ultimately they withdrew their contribution that did not serve their needs.

Another aspect of the Portuguese disaffection could be the sort of discrimination they faced in the army. We have already shown that the Portuguese have always constituted more than half of the strength of Madras garrison and the strength of the army was largely due to their presence and commitment. But despite all the efforts they

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312 D&CB, 13 January 1710, pp.7-8.
313 D&CB, 19 September 1698.
314 D&CB, 28 September 1697, p.111.
contributed towards the upkeep and security of Madras and other English settlements they were treated as second class citizens. This can be seen in several forms. We have already said that they received half the pay of the Englishmen. They were also initially not allowed in the gunroom crew. Besides, in terms of promotion they were forbidden to hold any officer post in the Garrison. Such policy was formerly taken during the governorship of Streynsham Master the purpose of which was 'for the discouragement of the increase of Popery.'\textsuperscript{315} This was also repeated in the articles and orders drawn out by Master in 1678 in which article 17 says: 'Noe Roman Catholick or Papist, whither English or of any other nation shall beare any office in this garrison, and shall have no more pay than 80 fanams per mensem as private centinells, and the pay of those of the Portuguese nation, as Europeans, Musteeses, and Topassees, is from seventy to forty fanams per mensem.'\textsuperscript{316} Thomas Bowrey have also noted that many Portuguese 'bear arms in the Honourable East India Company's Service as private Centinels, but not otherways, none of them being raised to any place of office.'\textsuperscript{317} Such policy continued to linger until it was finally abolished by Governor Pitt in 1705. In May that year one Serjeant Dixon, a Catholics who have converted from Protestant, was appointed as Ensign for the first time.\textsuperscript{318} Until this time we learn no Catholic officer in the Madras garrison. Besides, we also know from the languages of the English government towards the Portuguese soldiers that although they constituted more than half of the Garrison at all time and fought bravely they were always dubbed 'useless' in the battlefield at least in writing.

CONCLUSION

In the nutshell, it can be said that the relationship between the English government and that of the Portuguese inhabitants was one of mutual collaboration and partnership not only for the growth of trade and commerce but also in terms of the security and safety of the English Fort and towns. There status can be termed as one of equal partners rather than subordinates to the English. We have seen that the Portuguese have become prolific businessmen after settling down in Madras as refugees. They traded with various sectors

\textsuperscript{315} D&CB, 15 April, 1678, p.73.
\textsuperscript{316} D&CB, 15 April, 1678, p.88.
\textsuperscript{317} Bowrey, \textit{A Geographical Account}, p.4.
\textsuperscript{318} D&CB, 12 May 1705, p.65.
of the country trade routes, both in intra-Asian trade as well as with several ports of India. They were especially instrumental in carrying out trade with the Manila and the Spice Islands where the English have no or little access. Their trade has brought not only goods for the Coromandel Coast and for the Europe markets but also brings huge revenues for the English government of Madras. Some rich Portuguese bankers lent money to other merchants and the Joint Stock merchants of Indians and even to the Company. Their growing wealth and affluent lifestyles, however, drew the jealousies of the Company who impose certain odd regulations although cautiously. However, such changes were generally met with protest from the Portuguese who sometime openly defied such orders. Further, that the opulent Portuguese society was interestingly that of egalitarian, closely-knit but open society although one can broadly divide them into two economic classes wherein women enjoy seemingly low, dependent and subordinate status struggling a difficult life under their pleasure-loving male folks.

On the other hand, the contribution of the Portuguese in the defence and security of not only of Madras and its Fort but also to other English settlements was not only remarkable but also commendable. Their indispensable services as militiamen or trainbands during trouble times were firmly established in the foregoing accounts. Not only that the Madras Army was mainly man and vitalized by the Portuguese soldiers during our period of study. It was mainly due to the shortage of English manpower that have engendered the importance of Portuguese towns as the ‘fittest’ to be employed under the colonial schemes of colour, race, and the myth of European supremacy over the other race. But despite such immense contribution the Portuguese were exploited, discriminated and secluded just because they were ‘Catholics’ that does not received much favours in the colonial scheme of Protestant government. They were discriminated in the forms of low salary (just half of the English), no job security, no concern for their health and other welfare measures such as leaves, religious needs, etc. Besides it was an official policy not to raise any Catholics to the rank of officers in the Garrison until one Sergeant Dixon was raised to the rank of Ensign in 1705 and henceforth repealed the Old Company policy by Pitt.

And then, we can say that both the Company and the Portuguese moradores have benefited from their implicit partnership, the moonlight friendship to great extend. The
Portuguese benefited by amassing huge fortunes under the English flags and the English government reaped the capitals, knowledge and expertise of the Portuguese metropolitan diasporas. Besides, it can be said that the English Company had benefited more due to the fact that they could protect and secured Madras and other settlements mainly because of the assistance they received from the Portuguese soldiers, auxiliaries and militiamen. Perhaps, given the volatile political situation in the region that harassed Madras so oftenly, the survival of Madras under such heats was not likely had it not been steadfastly protected by the Portuguese inhabitants. In fact, their indispensable services in the protection of Madras as well as in the country trade were the main reasons why the succeeding factors and gentlemen of Madras steadfastly stood for them each time the home directors required them to be expelled or during the time when the home society predominantly stood against the Catholics. Under the comparatively peaceful situation from the second decade of 18\textsuperscript{th} Century the Portuguese residents of Madras gradually lost their pre-eminent position as defenders of Madras and their vitality in trade also came down for various reasons. This declining importance finally led to their expulsion from the ‘white town’ in 1749/50. This will be dealt with in the next chapter.