Chapter: Five
Portuguese Assistance to the English East India Company

Any discussion on the Coromandel Coast in the seventeenth century cannot be completed without the involvement of Portuguese presence in the coast. Portuguese have already settled in the sixteenth century first at San Thome (Mylapur), Pulicat and Nagapatnam. They have started their trading with fierce monopolies in the Asian ports, but by the end of sixteenth century and with the coming of other European trading companies, the Portuguese Estado started to wane and most of the Portuguese and mesticos population were absorbed within the other European settlements.

With the establishment of Fort St. George in 1639, slowly the migrants begin to settle down with the promise of no tax for thirty years, ‘the terme of thirty years only noe custome of things to be taken, dranke, or worne should be taken of any of the town dwellers.’Among them the most important community was the Portuguese and their offspring mesticos. They knew Tamil language and all the usual ways of expediting business in the region; they were also ideal foremen, as soldiers, as translators, as brokers, as fishermen, 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 a strange landscape. The Portuguese were purposely invited by the English authorities and the motive behind inviting them was largely for the increase of trade and security of the fort and town.

These Portuguese which colonized the place as early as in 1518 were not part of the administrative system of Goa, though by the 1620s the residents fear of the Dutch and English make them closer ties with the viceroyalty in the hope that it will be able to protect them. But the Estado da India watched helplessly when

1 William, Foster (ed.), English Factories in India, (hereafter E. F. I), 1637-1641, p. xliii.
2 Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994. p. 61.
the Dutch started capturing their own ships, which greatly affected their prosperity. Even before the final annexation of Portuguese overseas empire, the Dutch and the local rulers regularly disturbed their settlements which compel many of the settler’s lookouts for a safer place for trading and other business activities. This is how many Portuguese came to settle down in Madras under the protection of the English East India Company. Abbe Carre, a French traveller who visited Coromandel in the 1672-74, reported that, Portuguese “they had escaped there from other places in India, to live in liberty and far from the worry of important affairs.”

The large number of Portuguese migration to Madras is inevitable; it is for the continuity and survival of century old dwindling empire. The menace of the Dutch, which swept like cyclone captures Portuguese settlement such as Malacca in 1641, Nagapatnam in 1658, Ceylon in 1659, and all the forts in Malabar by 1663. All these losses resulted in the alarming shrinking of Portuguese from fifty­odd forts and fortified areas in the 16th century, to just nine by 1661; three in Africa and the five in India: Goa, Diu, Daman Bassein and Chaul, and the last one Macao in China.

Madras had also attracted large number of locals especially brokers, merchants, weavers and artisans. This was related mainly to the security offered by the city in the midst of continuous devastating warfare in the region. Also, many traders and artisans with the stigma of low caste attached to their ritualistic status, found the English settlement as heaven. Thus, “by the freedom given to merchants of all nations, it has become very populous. Great profits were earned there; it is very famous, and larger than any place on the Choromandel Coast. Merchants throng to it from all parts having whatever they are in want of.” They also came to Madras as that will be most viable way to break the Dutch blockades

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to their trade and also that the relationship between England and Portugal was
cordial during that time. Besides, factors like religious freedom, closeness to St.
Thomnes Mount, free land to build their houses, free rent, etc. are also 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.

**Portuguese working as soldier under the English East India Company**
The role of Portuguese in the defense of Madras was not only recognized by
several accounts but was also been very well commended. 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 its 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.

The English knew that to build an effective trading Company there is
sufficient needs of manpower to guard their respective post. The manpower can’t
be recruited alone in England as very few venture out in the sea and the believed
of dangerous life working as seafaring men always linger on second thought.
Therefore, when the English learn that the Portuguese and their offspring have
settle in the coast, which many were ready to work for the British Crown the
English readily accept it, and here most of them work as soldiers or as militiamen.
The English Company never fulfil the required of troops from the Englishmen to
maintain the posts in almost all their fort. In 1653, all they have in Madras was just
twenty six soldiers.⁶ Even after three years the Englishmen enlisted in the Company soldiers were still insignificant, sometimes even reduced to dozen to maintain the fort.⁷

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 Armagon from where the English transferred to Madras.⁸ 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.’⁹ 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 defence and preservation of your estates, being we cannot procure one Englishman.’¹⁰

The first Portuguese and mesticos were recruited when the English had a difference with Nawab of Golconda. Fort St. George had long been annoyed by pretensions and exactions of successive local governor appointed by Mir Jumla. Governor Henry Greenhill (1648-1652, 1655-1659) determined to retaliate, seized one Mir Jumla ships.¹¹ Upon that the Vijayanagar king Chandragiri Raja revolted for recovering his ancestral throne, but Ghandragiri Raja was defeated. While retreat the Vijayanagar troops came to the Fort for shelter, which makes more burdens for the English and for the Nawab also made more annoy by giving shelter to his enemies.¹² Fearing from Nawab attack the English recruited the inhabitants as there were not enough Englishmen to protect the fort: ‘considering our present weakness for want of Englishmen, wee took a competent number of

⁶ E. F. I., 1651-1654, p. 156.
⁷ E. F. I., 1651-1654, p. 98.
⁸ It was recorded the many Portuguese have also came along with the English from Armagon when the latter transfer their headquarters to Madras in 1639/40. See for instance, D&C, 29 February, 1676, p.87.
¹¹ E. F. I., 1655-1660, p. 95.
¹² E. F. I., 1655-60, pp.96-97.
mesticos into pay." Madras continues to effect on the struggle carried out between the Golconda and Vijaynagar. The town was in a defensible posture with the help of Eurasians, Europeans and Indians to resist, especially the Golconda incursion. Thus from the mid-September 1657 Madras was blockaded by the Nawabs troops, and there was a regular seize, which lasted until April 1658. During these days the Portuguese soldiers actively support the English Company.

By the 1660s the Portuguese had established themselves the understanding of being crucial part of the Madras population not only as merchants but reputed soldiers and militiamen in the defense 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.

In this 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 sieged 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

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13 E. F. I., 1655-60, p. 98.
14 E. F. I., 1655-60, p. 137.
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. 16

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.' 17

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.' 18 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. 19 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. 20

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. 21 The Dutch also blockaded the coast and was in good term with the Golconda's

17 Bowrey, Thomas, A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, pp. 50-51.
19 Bowrey, Thomas, A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bengal, p. 4.
20 Siwell, Robert, Historical Inscriptions of Southern India, (collected till 1923), (reprint, AES), p. 285
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. Abbe Carre (1674) has also noted that the Madras Garrison consisted of ‘three or four companies of English and black Portuguese, with some lascarins, in all hardly 200 men, of which only 60 English.’ However, this figure is disputed by Cummins in which, by computation from records, he put at over 950. 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. 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 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

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24 Ibid., n. 2, p. 548.
English and Portuguese 700, reckoning the Montrossess\textsuperscript{28} 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.'\textsuperscript{29} 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 relyed upon.’\textsuperscript{30}

The number of Portuguese enlisting in the English Company increased after the fall of their colonies Nagapatnam to the Dutch and San Thome to the Golconda with the help of Dutch. They were around 1200 soldiers in 1690, serving under the English East India Company including Englishmen and these mostly comprised Portuguese and mesticos.\textsuperscript{31} Besides the Company made various efforts to entice especially the Portuguese to settle in Madras,

“the Portuguese and mestizas were invited hither by several agents from our first settling here and some came with our people from Armagon 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 doing the duty the trained bands in watching and warding in times of trouble, upon the out workers they have never paid any rent or acknowledgement, not taken out ant leases.”\textsuperscript{32}

Therefore, more than half of the English Company soldiers were recruit from the Portuguese. This matter brought to the council whether to allowed such

\textsuperscript{28} Montrosses Gunroom crew.
\textsuperscript{30} D&CB., 1674, p. 19.
\textsuperscript{32} D&CB., 1672-1678, p. 87.
large number of enlisting, at the same time whether it is safe when they
themselves reduce in lesser number: 'whither is it safe or convenient that
considering about half the soldiers of the fort are Portuguese, and more than half
the inhabitants of the new town are Portuguese, and they now have two churches
high unto the fort, where some thousands meet every week (besides French), that
the said inhabitants should be permitted to dwell in said town'.33 So the English
were again consulting whether to disarm or not.34 But the English were
considering as it's more beneficial while employing them in this unknown far
away place. With more and more recruit from the Portuguese and their offspring
the English Company needed to know the Portuguese language. So the English
started learning Portuguese language: 'efforts learning the Portugall language that
the Company pay a tutor six months. The tutor was to read them one hour daily in
the weeks.'35

Moreover, peace was already concluded between the English Crown and
Portuguese king Dom Joan IV in 1642, where now they can settle peacefully if not
trusted in all the activities. Even before the peace treaty the English Company
learnt it more advantageous to cease hostilities with the Portuguese, in the form of
non-aggression pack made with Estado da India in 1635.36

Table 5.1: Portuguese soldier’s enlisted in the English East India Company garrison.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Soldier</th>
<th>Gunroom crew</th>
<th>Discharged</th>
</tr>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1693</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>1</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1694</td>
<td>9</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1695</td>
<td>12</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1696</td>
<td>33</td>
<td></td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1697</td>
<td>19</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1698</td>
<td>23</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1699</td>
<td>13</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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</tbody>
</table>

33 D&CB., 1672-1678, p. 89.
34 D&CB., 1672-1678, pp. 89-90.
35 Notes on and Extracts from the Government Records, Fort Saint George Records, Public Department,
36 Winus, G.D, Portugal's "Shadow Empire" in the Bay of Bengal, Revista de Cultura, 13-14, Macao,
viii,ix,26,211.
Portuguese serving as militiamen

The English also raised militia from the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras. This was due to the occupation of Golconda by the Mughals in 1687. The Mughal’s were not like the smaller southern kingdoms as considering the size they rule in the sub-continent and their approaching on the southern coast certainly makes a very precarious situation for the small English fort. On their consultation the English caution the defence of the garrison: ‘it being of so great concerne to bee continually mindfull to provide for the defence of this garrison against the Mogulls forces which wee have great reason to fear will come upon us, after he has taken Golconda’.  

The militia were raised when the new Nawab Daud Khan, with 10,000 troops emerge at the gate of San Thome. Not knowing the Nawab intention, Governor Thomas Pitt immediately called the sailors which are in the ships to form a Company of marines, and asked Captain George Heron and John Berlu to assist and summons all the Portuguese settlers to form a Company under the command of Emmanuel de Silva, and also with the help of hundred peons as scouts. So in the consultation they decided: ‘so we immediately raised our

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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Portuguese</th>
<th>British</th>
<th>Total</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1700</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1701</td>
<td>47</td>
<td>1</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1702</td>
<td>27</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1703</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1704</td>
<td>31</td>
<td>3</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1705</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1706</td>
<td>17</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1707</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
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<tr>
<td>1708</td>
<td>24</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>1</td>
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<tr>
<td>1709</td>
<td>18</td>
<td>2</td>
<td>9</td>
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<tr>
<td>1710</td>
<td>19</td>
<td></td>
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(Source: Diary and Consultation Book, 1693 to 1740)

37 D&CB., 1687, p. 34.
38 D&CB., 1687, p. 38.
39 D&CB., 1701, p. 62.
trainbands and Portuguese militia of this place, and appointed them their particular ports for defence. Since most of them were not paid they started leaving as many of them were seafaring and handcraft men who have family to maintain. So the English decided to pay from the time they took up arms for defence of the fort.

Rich individual Portuguese merchants have also maintained militia, to assist the English when the need arises while guarding the fort. They were Joan Pereira de Faria maintaining fifteen militia; likewise the others were Cosmo Laurenzo de Madera maintaining seventeen, Gaspar de Moto de Brito maintaining seventeen, Lucas Luis de Olivera maintaining fifteen, Joan Sardinia de Fonseca maintaining fifteen, Antonio Nogeira de Souza maintaining fifteen. The militia were raised from time to time when the needed arise to defend the fort.

Portuguese soldiers serving in the Coromandel Coast

The English were, if less numerous, scarcely less ubiquitous, and this notwithstanding the endeavours to maintain all fort was only possible from the recruits of Portuguese as well as from their offspring mesticos who have already established a flourishing unofficial trading presence from the sixteenth century onwards. From Fort St. George the Portuguese soldiers were again sent to different ports for guarding the Company settlements. They were also greatly instrumental for the safety and security of other English settlements like Cuddalore, Bencolen, Masulipatam, 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 in Madras Portuguese soldiers were sent to different places. It would be pertinent here to highlight some

40 D&CB., 1702, p. 10.
42 D&CB., 1681, p. 18.
43 D&CB., 1710, pp. 60.61.
of the accounts mentioned in the record. In 1691, 40 soldiers; among this 20 were Englishmen and 20 were from Portuguese settlers of Madras were sent to Fort St. David to guard that place.\textsuperscript{44} 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 Fort St. David, Bombay, Bencolen and Bengal.’\textsuperscript{45} Again there being Several Portuguese soldiers willing to go to Pollicondore, it was ordered to give them 3 months advance pay.\textsuperscript{46} Thus, the foregoing few accounts have clearly shows that all these places were fully depended upon Madras garrison for their security and other necessities.

The transferring of soldiers had strategic purpose as sometimes the soldiers shift with their families and along with their families then came the merchants from the Portuguese community to settle down in the English fort with new opportunities, as we can see from consultation recorded that: ‘severall eminent Portuguese merchants were come down from Porto Novo to inhabit and trade there, desiring a piece of ground may be allotted them in Cuddalore for their service to build a church and dwelling house, which they accordingly granted them.’\textsuperscript{47}

Those who are ready to shift from Fort St. George at different English Company fort were properly look after by the Company such as payment was made in advance and all the concern requirements were provided from the Company’s treasury. There is evidence of ‘several Portuguese soldiers willing to go to Pollicondore, ordered the paymaster advances to them three months pay at two pagodas per mensem, and that the steward lays in provision for them for the

\textsuperscript{44} D&CB., 1691, p.13.
\textsuperscript{45} D&CB., 1692, p.15.
\textsuperscript{46} D&CB., 1704, p 36.
\textsuperscript{47} D&CB., 1704, p. 43.
aforesaid time". Similarly, evidence of the Portuguese mesticos was also sent at Vizagapatnam with good treatment.

Portuguese soldiers serving outside the Coromandel Coast

The Portuguese were not only sent within the Coromandel Coast but were also sent outside of Coromandel Coast as far as Southeast Asia or even up to Canton in China. In 13th February 1695, thirty soldiers recruit from European and Mesticos communities were sent to York Fort at Bencoolen: 'that thirty soldiers Europe and Topases be sent upon said ship under the command of a person fit to serve as lieutenant at York Fort.' While they were transferring along with their families sometimes their priest Padre were also allowed to accompany them. In 19th September 1698, when they were transferring to the York Fort the English allowed 'portuguese soldiers or others as are willing to go to York fort have liberty to carry their families with them and that the Portuguese also have liberty of carrying a Padry with them.' Again in next month twenty Portuguese were sent on the ship Thorndon to York Fort to take various charges. In 7th September 1699, another batch of thirty Portuguese soldiers was sent to York Fort, Bencoolen. In 13th April 1705, another ten Portuguese soldiers were sent on the ship Huglyan Ketch to York Fort.

The transferring was continuing till to the 1710s, in 13th October 1707, twenty mestisco were sent on the ship Anne to serve as soldiers in west coast and again in 12th March 1709, another twelve mestisco were sent on the ship

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48 D&CB., 1704, p. 36.
49 D&CB., 1708, p. 47.
50 D&CB., 1695, p. 21.
51 D&CB., 1698, p. 106.
52 D&CB., 1698, p. 111.
53 D&CB., 1699 p, 72.
54 D&CB., 1705, p. 59.
55 D&CB., 1707, p. 71.
President. The other places where the Portuguese serve as soldiers were at Bengal, and Anjenjo.

At times, the Portuguese soldier’s defiance the order’s from the Governor for stationing at different post. It was during Governorship of William Gyfford (1681-1687), the Portuguese soldiers appointed to serve in the Bay of Bengal refuse to proceed, upon assumption that they are going to sent at Bencoolen. The Governor assured them but the Portuguese soldiers revolted by occupying the fort gate. The English put down the mutiny by hanging the ringleaders to terrify the rest to go to duty. As a consequence the Company resolved to disband the Portuguese soldiers and more Englishmen were to recruit but it was never materialize as there were never sufficient Englishmen to recruit in the service of the Company.

The needs of manpower become vital for the establishment of different trading fort hence. Hence, the English provided everything from transporting the soldier’s families, provision for the voyage including all the families, accommodation as soon as they arrived to payment in advance for two months. Even the child born in the garrison was welcome and grant were sanctioned, ‘some of the soldiers of the garrison having made a request to receive the gratitude from the Company of a pagoda for each born and baptized here.’

Prominent merchants, citizens assisting the Company
Apart from the services of soldiers there were also well-known merchants who from time to time help the English Company while dealing commercials as well as in time of political instability. Francisco Vera de Figueiredo a fildalgo, a known

56 D&CB., 1709, p. 37.
58 D&CB., 1697, p. 135.
59 D&CB., 1686, p. 70.
60 D&CB., 1701, p. 82.
friend to the English, who was trading between the Coromandel Coast and Macassar, intervene for peaceful co-existence between the Fort St. George and St. Thome. It was during 1649's when the Capuchin Father Ephraim who was apprehended when he was invited for personal discussion with regard to ecclesiastical abuse prevailing at San Thome, by the commissaries of Inquisition at San Thome. Francisco Vera de Figueiredo negotiates with Henry Greenhill on behalf of Captain-General of San Thome, Gomez Frera Andrada, to free both the prisoner Capuchin Father Ephraim and Reverend Padre Governor (Chief Friars of San Thome) which also detained by the English in retaliate to free their Capuchin Father.

One of the most prominent merchant living in Fort St. George was a Portuguese named Joan Pereira de Faria, owner of ship Anne, who has migrated to Madras after the fall of Nagapatnam, a Portuguese colony taken by the Dutch in 1660. He offered his service for opening up of trade at Burma and Pegu since he had much experience in the region and he was frequented to the place for trade. The English Company readily accepts it and consider as good prospect for opening trade in these rich spices and precious stones 'upon consideration of the humble Company interest in relation to trade and from this place for Pegu and also for settlement of factory's and a trade in those country for procure of salt peter and stick lack.....there offering a good opportunity of a Portuguese Joan Pereira de Faria junior inhabitant of this voyage thither who is well experienced in the king of Burma and Pegu.'

The English Company authorized to negotiate and sign a treaty with the king of Burma and Pegu on behalf of the English East India Company, further he

63 E. F. I., 1655-1660, pp. 6,80.
65 E. F. I., 1651-1654, p. 92.
68 D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 8.
was also instructed to set up a factory over to their nation. The instruction given by Streynsham Master, Governor of Fort St. George, Madraspatam, with the advice given by the council to Joan Pereira de Faria to treat with his majesty the king of Burma and Pegu commerce to be obtained for the English Nations for settling a trade, "I do hereby empower you to trade with the his majesty king of Burma and Pegu using your best endeavours to obtain that the same way may be granted by his said majesty unto the English nation for the settling factory's and a lasting trade within his domains and under his protection."69

Joan Pereira de Faria was sent with eighteen proposals to the king of Burma and Pegu on behalf of the English East India Company for settling up a trade.70 His first ship arrived on 24th January 1681 with rubies and approval from the king Burma and Ava, "a small vessel belonging to Joan Pereira de Faria junior arrived from Pegu, upon which came several ruby merchants with considerable quantities of rubies, whereupon order has given to the customers to treat them with civility the to encourage others to come over, also received answer from said Joan Pereira de Faria to the commission given him to treat with the king of Ava."71

For his services the English reduced half of the customs on his cargo.72 The English Company, which owned a house in Pegu, Syraim and Ava were also given to Joan Pereira de Faria instead of using by strangers, the order was translated that 'the Company have ground and house standing thereupon at Syriam, Pegu and Ava which have been used by strangers for some years past. It is now resolved to give Joan Pereira de Faria junior order to take possession of the said house."73 He built a spectacular garden around his home in Pettanaikpetta which long gave his name to that quarter of the city.74

69 D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 9.
70 D&CB., 1680-1681, pp. 10-12.
71 D&CB., 1680, p. 3.
72 D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 9.
73 D&CB., 1680-1681, p. 15.
74 Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994. p. 61.
Another prominent merchant which reside in fort St. George was Luis de Medeiros Barreto, a well established Portuguese merchant. From the consultation his name was written as Francisco de Britto, an experienced merchant, and inhabitant of this place, be joined together in commission, for the management of the Honorable Company affairs and cargo in this present voyage. After his death his widow sells the house to the Company which later becomes the headquarters for the English East India Company. Luis de Medeiros Barreto had occasionally lent his money to the Company. On his death, he left an estate of some 19,000 pagodas. His father, Cosmo Lourenco de Madeira, in addition to being an alderman and militia commander, also built Descancao church in nearby Adyer, where he was buried.

There may be many Portuguese serving in the English Company but very few Portuguese were appointed official in the service of English East India Company, the reason probably may be the language barrier or few knew how to write English language, some official appointed are Joan Coroon as a writer, from the consultation: ‘there being great want of a Portuguese writer for our correspondence with the European Governors of these parts, this brought convenient that Joan Coroon now a soldiers upon the Crops du Guard (guard room) being very fitting for that employment be discharged his duty and allowed: 120: fa: p meneem (pagodas per month).’ His pay must be the highest among the Portuguese communities working for the English Company as nobody was paid 120 pagodas per month in any other services. Joan Coroon work’s till 1699, it was only when he decided to leave for Manila that he quit the job. The second person appointed for the service of English Company was Joan Gago Peisotee.

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75 D&CB., 1684, p. 72.
77 Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur. Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994. p. 61.
78 D&CB., 1684, p. 100.
79 D&CB., 1699, p. 50.
80 D&CB., 1701, p. 39.
Portuguese ship's owners and commanders

There are many ships owned by the Portuguese inhabitant of Madras at the same time there are also, if not owned, but captain of the ships probably which is owned by the English as the name of the ships were in English but command by the Portuguese. There were so many names given in the records.81 The captains were experienced in the seafaring voyage and some were trusted even sending parcel like gold from far place: 'there being parcel of gold which came by Francisco Cordoza from Manila.'82 These experienced captain also steer for the local rulers, 'Manoet de Medeiros Barreto, a pilot of one the Nawab ships, who had agreed in Bengal to carry the ship to Jaffnapatam and to return again to Bengal had brought the ship into Pulicat road, in this way from Jaffnapatam to Bengal, and refusing to return, was escaped from this place.'83

There is evidence to show that the Portuguese and English were plying together well before the fall of Portuguese settlements in Malabar and Coronamdel Coast. If the authorities of both Estado da India and English East India Company may not like that they were by the benefits from such joint venture. But it become more visible after the captures of Portuguese settlement in Coromandel that all the leading Portuguese merchants and shippers were operating from within the English settlements supported by their English East India Company confederates.84 The friendly partnership of these two unofficial dealing may be from the fear of the Dutch attack or probably to avoid obtaining pass called laissez-passer, similar to the cartazes, which is consider mostly to dominate their trading activities.

The actual participants, who take advantage of this friendly partnership, ply their ships under the English flag. The English Company official believe that some

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81 See Appendix-5.
82 D&CB., 1699, p. 51.
84 Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994.
of the Portuguese merchants trade with pirates or with the interlopers, who put up English flag after plundering whatever ships they found on the sea. It was great a concern for the Company official as it affects the relationships with local rulers as well as got bad reputation from the local trading communities.

There is evidence of unknown ship coming at San Thome with English flag, which really undermine the authority of the Company in the coast. The English East India Company issued a strict order of great consequence anyone dealing with the said ship.

"That no people whatsoever, inhabitant of this place, hold any correspondence directly or indirectly with any person belonging to the ship now in St. Thome road which arrived there on the 11th: instant with English colours, under pain of a months imprisonment or so long as the said ship shall remain on this coast, and fine not exceeding 500 pagodas: and this further declared that if any of the humble Company servants shall found guilty of the breach of this order, they shall be forth-with dismissed from their service."85

There is also evidence of Portuguese merchant from Fort St. George trading against the order.

"Antonio Ferreira de Silva a Portuguese inhabitant of this place (Madraspatam) having being aboard the ship at St. Thome yesterday, and being suspected by the slight account he gives, that he designs to drive a trade with them, and the likeliest man to carry it on for himself and others, to prevent which he was committed to the custody of the marshal till further order."86

According to the havaldar of St. Thome, the information he sent to Fort St. George was that he sent Joan Domingo de Matter a Portuguese inhabitants of San Thome pretending to trade saltpeter and sugar, he observe that few men appear

85 D&CB., 1698, p. 66.
86 D&CB., 1698, p. 66.
with no arms and they are desirous to buy the said product but they are not ready to go down from their ship so he brought his product into the ship and he suspect them to be pirates.

With the order from the Fort St. George, two prominent merchants were punished for defiance against the authority; they were Francisco Mendez and Francisco de Sa who were order to pay 500 pagodas, a penalty in behalf for himself and his uncle Francisco de Sa. In their consultation they conclude that, “it is upon this occasion resolved that if Francisco Mendez or Francisco de Sa or any other Portuguese inhabitants of St. Thome shall buy or sell with the said ship, they shall not be admitted for the future to come into Madras, nor have any dealings with any inhabitants of Madras.” 87 There was also a case of stolen English identity by the native merchant, while plying the ship. It was a ship belongs to Vizagapatam merchant plying on the coast with the English flag was chased by the English Company’s ship but they could not catch as the ship was new and escape in the direction of Bay of Bengal. 88 It was in order to avoid getting pass or native merchants work together with the interlopers.

**Portuguese bankers and entrepreneurs**

There were also some rich Portuguese bankers and entrepreneurs in Madras such as Antonio de Concello and Senhr. Matheus Carvalho de Silva who said to have lent money to the Council of Fort St. David on several occasion which they usually withdrawn at Madras. 89 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

87 D&CB., 1698, p. 66.
88 D&CB., 1708, pp. 72-73.
89 D&CB., 1696, p. 37, see also D&CB., 1700, p. 9.

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remainder of the Merchants." Thus, through this evidence we can somehow establish a sort of the existence of bankers among the rich Portuguese merchants in Madras.

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 Catholick, and in this respect not 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 ‘forbidding all persons distilling arrac within the walls in large stills except what distilled by the doctors for physical or Hospital use.’

In 1700 the Arrac firming license went to another Portuguese Peter des Pommera. He was granted the license of Arrac farming for 3400 pagodas per annum after bidding against Josua Page. In 1704, he was again granted the farm for 3600 pagodas. On 23rd 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.’ In 1706 Peter de Pomera asked the Governor and Council to add the license of wine with Arrack Farme as he incurred great loss from the latter. He was granted the said wine license for 250 Paogodas. In 1709

\[90\] D&CB., 1696, p. 144.
\[91\] D&CB., 1697, p. 126.
\[92\] D&CB., 1700, p. 94.
\[93\] D&CB., 1704, p. 20.
\[94\] D&CB., 1704, p. 23.
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. 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. Likewise, many punch houses and other stores were run by the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras.

Portuguese planning to re-settle at San Thome

An attempt has been made during William Gyfford Governorship (1681-1687) to build strong fortification and garrison. It was decided to levying a small tax amongst the inhabitants to be paid monthly, if they oppose then it can’t be successful, so they ask to paid voluntary contribution to all the inhabitants English, Portuguese and local merchants. The urgency to repair was due to the continued encroachment from the sea aroused apprehension for the safety of the fortification on the eastern front of the white town, which was inhabitant by thirty three Englishmen, seventy nine Portuguese and three natives. The contribution is for the charge of maintaining, repairing and fortifying the garrison as well as for the defense and security to them, their families and estates. William Gyfford justify while asking contribution that they all now are rich by establishing their trade under the protection of the English Company and also received many honours and favours without paying any tribute or rent and only in the time of the Governor Master, imposed a tax upon arrack, and upon paddy, to pay for cleansing the streets.

95 D&CB., 1709, p. 31.
96 D&CB., 1717, p. 23.
99 ibid, vol.i. p. 444.
The problem arises from the Portuguese community as some on them disapprove to pay the voluntary contribution. The English Company left it to the chief Portuguese to convince their community. Moreover, the English don’t want any type of imposition which may lead to hostile to these merchants. Meanwhile, the Portuguese started negotiating secretly by sending a priest to the Golconda court to seek permission to re-established themselves at San Thome which was now almost in a ruin state. San Thome was given lease to chief English merchants Chinna Vankatadry and Verona Vankatadry, the English Company who also wanted to rent but leave it to their agent as they consider it will create many problems and consider as in Company name. From the consultation,

"the Honourable Company having in their former general letter to us of renting of San Thome town from the Diwan, but being satisfied it would raise many surplus and difficulties in them or it least enhance the rent if we appeared in it, or treated about it ourselves, or in the Right Honble Company’s name...in the meantime some of our Portuguese inhabitants since our demanding taxes and advance of the customs, have privately negotiated this matter by one of the Padreess at Golconda, who procured them a Phirmaud for their settlement and trade in the country, and since that the news of the Mughal’s success against the Golconda, with the probability of his coming or sending hither, and our danger nearby, have privately, basely and ungratefully sneak away to San Thome, and there been treating with the Seer Lascar and the Governors to take a lease of San Thome government and there to fortify hoist their flag".

The king issued them a farman by which permission was granted to them, provided they paid certain amount each year. Hence, the Portuguese who had obtained a farman from the king of Golconda allowing them to settle once again at San Thome were determined to make this an important stronghold as it had been

101 D&CB., 1684, p. 94.
102 D&CB., 1687, p. 102.
103 D&CB., 1687, p. 102.
in previous times. The English East India Company was determined to check this new design which will really hinder their prospect.\textsuperscript{105} The English further took precaution by declaring a martial law that, "the Portuguese soldiers also were acquainted with the sense of Proclamation and all advised, that as it commanded all soldiers to return to their colours, so it caution them from running from ours, for that his Royall Majesty had given to his Right Honourable Company his Royall Charter for Martial Law, and that they had strictly commanded its execution, which should be obeyed without mercy." \textsuperscript{106} The proclamation was to have a sense of loyalty towards the British, as they have long being settled under the protection of English Company.

When the matter was not decided a new political change took place in the Coromandel Coast, Golconda Empire was overrun by the Mughal in 1687.\textsuperscript{107} The officials who had been sent out by the Mughal authority to take over the administration harassed the Portuguese who started to re-establish at San Thome, following the permission granted to them by the king of Golconda. They had tried to resist Mughal authority but having failed in this, they dispatch again the Augustin monk (Father Louis de Piedade), who had obtained permission for them to the Mughal court with \textit{farman} to try and secure its confirmation by the Mughal king.\textsuperscript{108}

The obstinate Portuguese who eagerly plan for re-settlement got a bolster when the Viceroy Dom Rodrigo da Costa (1686-1690) at Goa commissioned one of his relatives named Lewis Francisco Countinho to be "General authority over all affaires on the coast."\textsuperscript{109} He also brought with him a commission's approval to appoint a captain and to recruit the soldiers. The Viceroy Dom Rodrigo da Costa wrote all the Portuguese who had spread themselves all along the coast to gather

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{105} D\&CB., 1687, p. 103.
\item \textsuperscript{106} D\&CB., 1687, p. 106.
\item \textsuperscript{107} D\&CB., 1687, p. 162.
\item \textsuperscript{108} Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans), \textit{India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin}, vol.ii, part,1, p. 1083.
\item \textsuperscript{109} D\&CB., 1695, p. 69.
\end{itemize}
together at San Thome. If they were united in this way, they would be sufficiently powerful to maintain their position. Dom Rodrigo was persuaded by these arguments and sent out the necessary orders. The orders were read out from pulpit of their church at Porto Novo and express messengers were sent to the Portuguese at Nagapatinam, Tranquebar and more especially to Madras where large number had taken up residence.

When the English Governor Elihu Yale (1687-1692) learned this, he informed the Council and it was decided that with the exception of those who had departed on voyaged, no Portuguese resident was allowed to leave the city for more than six days. Any resident belonging to this community who stayed away longer than this would not allowed to return and the consequence is his house and other possession would be declared as forfeited to the English Council. This decree was read out in the Catholic Church. Many Portuguese who had wished to leave were now held back.

However, the Viceroy didn’t sanction any financial to execute the mission at the same time the Portuguese at large didn’t cooperate even when they were summoned personally like Joan de Coasta, Francisco Mendes and Joan Baptista, form the inhabitants of Fort St. George, but they didn’t appear, ‘many of their own nation esteeming this to be but a bravado, which having no foundation cannot subsist.’ With few troops and little authority the mission to re-establish at San Thome was never accomplished.

The Portuguese got another jolt in 1704, when the new Captain Nuno Silvestro Frade, neither arrived without paying any respect nor visit the local governor Mir Usman, who was also visiting San Thome. Upon on that the captain started erecting the walls of the go downs and ordered 100 candies of saltpetre to make gunpowder. Another insult to the local governor was the Captain Nuno

110 D&CB., 1695, p. 71.
111 Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans), India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin, vol.ii, part,1
112 ibid, vol.ii, part,1, p. 1071
113 D&CB., 1695, p. 72.
Silvestro Frade went to procession walking under the shade of umbrella 'with drums beating, giving the air of master of the country.' The local governor took his action as an offense but did not take immediately action but waited for some days to look for an opportunity to injure him.

Then the procession of the Most Holy Rosary came when things were still not settle down. Many Muslim mingled in the procession making many insolent remarks and taking the candles out from the Christian hands: ‘paying respect neither to women nor men abuse to all the Christian in procession.’ The Portuguese unable to bear any longer of these insults broke one Muslim fellow head, which followed great confusion in the procession but Father Friar Diogo do Sacramento, Dominican, and Simao de Loyolo, who bore the pyx in the procession, pacify the mob for peace and brought inside the church to celebrate the First Mass.

Seizing the occasion, Mir Usman marched straight to the new captain house, which, learning of his approach, came out to greet him, thinking that it was a friendly visit paid to him. Mir Usman seized him by the collar violently and made him over to his soldiers, and carried away as prisoner. Just then a Portuguese gentleman called Joan Rebello arrived, who fired his musket and killed the man who was removing the chief captain. In this confrontation the Mir Usman slew Joao Rebello. Then some more Portuguese arrived, and they killed another Mir Usman troops. As a result of this Mir Usman blockaded all the routes supplies leading to San Thome. Manucci went to negotiate on behalf of the settlers of San Thome, Mir Uaman agreed to withdraw the blockade.

The Portuguese knew they were helpless and they knew they can’t do anything, being frightened for more consequence, came out at night with their

116 D&CB., 1704, p. 83.
117 D&CB., 1704, p. 83.
families and went away as best they could grab whatever they could. Among them were, 1, Nuno Silvestro Frade, the wounded chief captain.

2, Matheus Carvalho da Silva.

3, Manuel de Sanche, nominated magistrate on behalf of his majesty.

4, Gasper de Motta, councilors.

5, de Britto, councilors.

6, Pedro de Torres Oliveira, manager of his majesty’s plantation and tax collector.

7, Luis da Fonseca Varjao, judge of the orphans.

8, Antonio Tullimao, public prosecutor.

9, Francisco George, assistance of public prosecutor.

The principal inhabitants who left along with these officials are the following, Manuel Ruiz, Antonio Cassella do Valle, Alvaro Cassella do Valle, Francisco Lopez do Frigueroedo, Luis Carvalho da Silva, Joan de Moroes Mexias, Joan de Fonseca Varjao, Joseph de Fonseca Varjao, Antonio Gonzalves, Joan Rebello de Coulo. They were accompanied by some topazes (mesticos) and among them were also Friars and Priest: Simon de Costa, Friar Manuel de Nevis, Augustinian; Manuel da Silva Menezes, Lucas de Oliveira, Estevao Ruiz, Manuel Ruiz, Antonio de Figuredo, Manuel Pinto. These runaway Portuguese came to seek protection at Madras and request to stay, Governor Thomas Pitt, welcome and received them kindly.

After Nuno Silvestro Frade, the wounded chief captain, escape to Madras he wrote the Viceroy of Goa that he resigned the office of captain, and requested him to choose someone else to take charge of the government. The Viceroy Caetanao de Mello (1703-1707), wrote to Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo, to take charge for the post of captain and if he is not willing then he can choose anyone he considered best fitted for the post. Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo called for a

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meeting to all the inhabitants of Portuguese living in San Thome, requesting to allow the imposition of tax. The settlers remonstrated, pointing that the impossibility of the matter owing to the poverty of the inhabitants, who had hardly enough to eat. The Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo was worn out of these associations and other official business, and being already advanced in years, he handover the post of captain to Nicolao Rodriguez and retire in officials business.\footnote{William Irvine (trans.), \textit{Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708}, by Niccolao Manucci, vol.iv, (reprint AES), pp. 62-63.}

After some days Mir Usman invited the Portuguese to return to St. Thome. He forwarded a written promise not to interfere in their affairs and to forget the past. The Portuguese refugees did not felt the promise was enough, and they wrote to Daud Khan telling him what had happened, demanding justice and forwarding a small present. Daud Khan also did not give any assurance and only warned to Mir Usman forbidding him to harm them. The Portuguese were not satisfied and refused to return to San Thome. Mir Usman continued to ask them to return in more polite way. But when he came to know that they did not intend to return, he sent a message that if they did not return at once and reoccupy their houses he would knock down their flagstaff and destroy their houses along with their churches. The Portuguese were divided some wanted to return and some wanted to stay in Madras, but ultimately many Portuguese choose to remain permanently in Madras.

Thus, we can see the relationship between the English Company and the Portuguese was very significant for the growth of trade and commerce but also in terms of the security and safety of the English Fort and towns. There were many rich merchants shifting after their bases settlements were occupied by the Dutch and the local rulers. They become prolific inhabitants helping the English in various ways. They traded with various sectors 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 to the Coromandel Coast and for the Europe markets but also brings huge revenues for the English government of Madras. The contribution of the Portuguese in the defence and security of not only in Madras and its Fort but also to other English settlements within the Coromandel Coast as well as outside the Coast was not only remarkable but also commendable.