INTRODUCTION

1. The economy of Goa during 450 years of long rule by the Portuguese nation, remained a trade oriented economy, although agriculture was the main occupation of the population of the territory since the times of the colonisation of the west coast of India by the pre-Aryan people. Although rice was the principal agricultural commodity cultivated all over the territory, Goa was well known to the outside world as a producing centre and exporter of coconuts, arecanuts, salt and certain other export commodities. Thanks to its surplus production over and above the needs of the Goan economy, salt was one of the important export commodities in the external trade of Goa. The commodity was exported by land, riverine and sea routes to different parts of the Indian sub-continent, and by sea route, even beyond the Indian sub-continent to far off countries, both to the west and east of India. It was paying along with other export commodities for the imports of the merchandise, Goa was badly in need of, being a 'deficit' territory in the production of rice, clothes and other essential commodities. Thus, salt was playing an important role in the economy of Goa. The present study purports to assess this role in the context of the state of the Goan economy as a part of the economy of Portuguese India, during the 19th and 20th centuries, under the Portuguese rule. Thanks to the availability of rich archival material built over a long period of about 450 years of the Portuguese rule, literature relating to the historical past of Goa during this alien rule is abundant, especially, in Portuguese language. Most of these accounts have, however, exhibited their Luso-centrist or Euro-centrist bias and have, thus, made the colonial masters the centres of their attention. Until a few decades ago, the study of the Portuguese presence in India had been, mostly, concentrated on the political, administrative and military details, and the only economic aspect of this presence that had attracted the mind of the scholars, had been trade relations between Portuguese India and Portugal and its colonies. Even here, the emphasis had, mostly, been on oceanic trade and trade in spices. Periodwise, the ‘Golden Goa’ period of the 16th century had received the attention of the scholars, to the utter neglect of the period of decadence. It is heartening to note that this intellectual bias has been, slowly, waning, thanks to the new awakening among both old and
new scholars since the liberation of Goa, Daman and Diu. Emphasis has been shifted to hitherto neglected fields of enquiry like coastal trade, hinterland linkages of trade, the period of decadence of Portuguese India and other related areas of enquiry. Certain socio-economic aspects of Goa's past are, now, being focused, which has led to in-depth studies of certain socio-economic issues pertaining to this territory. However, despite these new trends in the Indo-Portuguese historiography, many areas of study concerning Goa's or Portuguese India's past await research in depth. Goa's economy during the Portuguese rule is one of such areas which awaits in-depth study at the hands of scholars.

Although literature on Comunidades (Village communities) and certain other economic areas is not lacking, many aspects of the Goan economy, namely, land relations, traditional industries, agriculture, tax system, population, poverty, internal trade, commercial relations with the neighbouring regions, financial position of the territory, economic dependence of Goa upon the mainland India and the impact of different Government policies on the Goan economy, invite our attention for their comprehensive and in-depth study. Even in the field of trade during the Portuguese period, commodity-wise study and study of trade routes not yet touched by the scholars, require the attention of academic fraternity. Mention must also be made of the utter neglect of the study of the economy of Portuguese India during the 20th century. Goan economy during the period after the end of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 and during the inter-war period, the effects of the two World Wars on the Goan economy and the state of the Goan economy during the last decade of the Portuguese rule, particularly, the impact of the Indian economic blockade, still remain untouched grounds from the point of view of their comprehensive and systematic study.

Against the background of these lacunae or inadequacies in the Goan historiography and in the studies of comparatively recent period of the Portuguese presence in India, the present study purports to be an attempt to focus, in a comprehensive manner, one of the oldest traditional and export-oriented industries of Portuguese India, that is, the salt industry. The study tries to present the working of the Goan salt industry and export trade in salt, and their importance in the economy of Portuguese
India, during the 19th and 20th centuries upto the downfall of the Portuguese rule in Goa, Daman and Diu. Washed on the western side by the waters of the Arabian sea, Goa has been, since times immemorial, an ideal place for solar salt works on account of the favourable factors in the form of an abundant source of salt water, large tracts of land for the evaporating ponds and a hot climate to hasten evaporation. Daman and Diu, on the Gujarat coast, have also been the producers of solar salt on account of their favourable natural conditions. Goan salt was not only an export commodity, but also an important commodity of internal consumption, well-known for its domestic use as a condiment and preservative, and its use for fish curing and as a manure. So far, no comprehensive and in-depth study has been made in this important area of the Goan economy.

The present study of salt industry and salt trade of Goa will, thus, be an attempt to fill up one of the gaps in the study of different dimensions of the Goan economy during the Portuguese rule, and will try to contribute to the existing knowledge of Goa's historical past. It will examine the different factors which shaped the destiny of this agro-based industry in Portuguese India. Since the study covers the period from the beginning of the 19th century upto the year when the Portuguese rule on the western coast of India breathed its last, it presents a comprehensive view of the historical evolution of the salt industry and salt trade, and their importance in the Goan economy in different sub-periods. By focusing this historical evolution, the present study will help to understand the genesis of the present state of this industry in Goa.

2. **Scope of the study**

The present study covers the following aspects of the subject at different periods of time during the 19th and 20th centuries under the Portuguese rule:

1. The state of the Goan economy touching upon different sectors of the economy, namely, agriculture, industries, external trade, and, also, other indicators of the state of the economy like population, migration etc. In order to have a glimpse of the contributing factors which determined the state of the economy in the 19th century, the pre-19th century economy of Goa is also covered by the present study for its brief review.
2. Concentration of the salt industry in 4 Concelhos of Goa, namely, Salsete, Goa Island, Bardez and Pernem; factors favourable to salt production in Goa; technique of production of salt and various uses of salt in Goa.

3. Production of salt in different salt-producing Concelhos in terms of quantity and value and changes in the same, over different periods of time.

4. Population of salt producers and salt workers and changes therein, over different periods of time.

5. Exports of salt and changes therein, over different periods of time.

6. Relative importance of salt in the Goan economy, particularly, in the agricultural sector and the external trade sector of the economy, and, also, vis-a-vis other principal export commodities of Portuguese India.

7. Impact of the policies of the Portuguese Government in Goa and the policies of the neighbouring British India government and, in the later period, of the Government of free India on the salt industry and salt trade of Goa, particularly, the long ranging effects of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 and the Indian blockade of 1954.

8. Effects of other factors on the salt industry and salt trade of Goa.

3. **Objectives of the study**

As mentioned above, the main aim of the present study is to understand the working of the salt industry and salt trade of Goa and its relative importance in the Goan economy, during the 19th and 20th centuries, under the Portuguese rule. The present study purports to examine the state of the Goan economy during this period in the light of the study of the main subject of the thesis. The specific objectives are laid down as per the aforesaid main aim of the study, which are as follows:-

1. To study all the aspects of the production of salt in Goa, including the quantity of salt produced and its value, over the period of time under study, and analyse the relative importance of salt production in the Goan economy.

2. To know the total exports of salt from Portuguese India during the period under study, analyse the changes in them and assess the relative impor-
tance of salt exports in the external trade of the territory, and vis-a-vis the other principal export commodities.

3. To examine and to discern the impact of the different factors which shaped the destiny of the Goan salt industry in the course of the history of Goa during the period under study, namely, the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, the restrictions imposed by the Bombay Presidency government on the export of salt from Portuguese India after the end of the Treaty, and the Indian economic blockade of 1954.

4. To identify, along with the above factors and developments other factors which influenced the state of the salt industry in Goa, so as to facilitate the correct understanding of the present state of this industry.

5. To understand the state of the Goan economy during the period under study, while focusing the main area of the study.

4. **Hypothesis**

The following hypothesis formulated on the basis of the identification of different dimensions of the subject, was tested against the data collected and analysed at various phases of the research work.

1. The annual production of salt in Goa increased during the 19th century upto the implementation of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, in 1880. It was less during the period of the Treaty and even after the period of the Treaty, particularly, during the 20th century, than what it was before its implementation. The production of salt during the later period of the Portuguese rule was less than what it was in the 1930s.

2. During the major period of the 19th century, the burden of the export duty on salt was much more than the burden on the other export commodities.

3. The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 caused great harm to the salt industry and to the salt producers and salt consumers of Goa, Daman and Diu.

4. The annual exports of salt before the implementation of the Treaty of 1878 in 1880 were much higher than those during the period after the Treaty, particularly during the 20th century. The exports of salt during the 20th
century decreased on account of the failure of the salt-producers to effect improvements in the methods of salt production and restrictions on the export of salt into India imposed from time to time by the Government of British India and, then, of free India.

5. The relative importance of salt in the external trade of Portuguese India decreased during the 20th century in terms of its share in the overall export trade and the percentage of the exports of salt to the overall import trade of Portuguese India.

6. The economy of Portuguese India continued to be decadent and stagnant during the 20th century on account of undeveloped agriculture and totally backward manufacturing sector which reflected in its external trade sector. The stagnation in the above three sectors and in the salt industry was the outcome of the failure of the local government to introduce appropriate measures to strengthen these sectors and the salt industry, and the attitudes of the people which were unfavourable to development.

7. The boom period which was witnessed during the later period of the Portuguese rule in Goa was destined to be short lived as it was wholly dependent upon the growth of mineral ore exports. It did not change the basic structure of the Goan economy, and, so, the economy continued to remain backward.

8. The economic blockade imposed by India severely affected the traditional exports of Portuguese India.

5. **Methodology of the study**

Since the present study is of the nature of historical research concerned with the economic aspect of a problem, the methodology adopted for the purpose is framed as per the requirement of the historical research into an economic problem. Keeping up with the subject of the research study, the scope of the study is defined and different dimensions of the subject are identified, as explained in the section of "Scope of the study". The period under study is divided into the following sub-periods:-(i) The period from the beginning of the 19th century upto the year of the implementation of
the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, (ii) The period of the tenure of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, (iii) The period beginning from the end of the above Treaty upto the year of the beginning of the Great Depression, (iv) The period beginning from the Great Depression upto the year of the beginning of the economic blockade imposed by the Government of India on Portuguese India, and (v) The period from the beginning of the economic blockade upto the end of the Portuguese power in Goa, Daman and Diu.

After defining the temporal universe of the study in the manner as given above, sources of historical data are identified for the purpose of collecting data for the relevant sub-periods under study. Sources of historical data required to understand the state of the economy of Goa in the pre-19th century period under the Portuguese rule and, also, to focus the basic information on salt, the geographical and historical setting of Goa and salt in the historical perspective of the world and India are, also, identified.

Two types of sources of historical data are drawn upon, to collect the relevant data for the present study: (a) Primary sources and (b) Secondary sources. Data are collected from both types of primary sources: (i) Archival sources and (ii) Published primary sources.

6. Sources of data collection

As regards archival sources relevant manuscripts available in the Goa Archives are examined to collect data for the pre-19th century period and the period covering the 19th century. The Goa Archives constitutes one of the most ancient repositories of records in India, providing primary source material relating to the history of European expansion in Asia and Africa and, especially, the rise, fall and decay of the Portuguese power in Asia. Built up over a period of more than 400 years, it houses a very large number of documents which are, also, valuable primary sources to study the history of the erstwhile Portuguese India, particularly, the economy of the territory. Most of these documents are in Portuguese language. As the present researcher completed his higher studies in the Portuguese medium, during the Portuguese rule in Goa, it was comparatively easy for him to collect the required data from
both primary and secondary sources in Portuguese language. The Goa Archives houses different series of records, namely, “Moncoes do Reino” (Monsoon series), “Correspondencia para O Reino” (Correspondence directed to Portugal), “Estrangeiros” (Foreigners), “Reis Vizinhos” (Neighbouring Kings), “Alfandegas” (Customs series), “Arrematacao das Rendas” (Revenue Farming), “Mocambique” (Correspondence from Mozambique) and other series. Among these series of records, the series “Moncoes do Reino” (Monsoon series) is more extensively used by the present researcher. “Moncoes do Reino” is one of the largest collections at the Goa Archives. The manuscripts in this series contain letters, instructions, reports and other official matters received by the Government of Portuguese India from the National Government at Lisbon, during the monsoon period, and copies of the replies dispatched from Goa to Portugal. It throws light on administration, legislation and also on the economy of Portuguese India, during the period upto 1914. This series is examined to collect data for the pre-19th century period and the 19th century period, under the present study.

The manuscript pertaining to the correspondence of the Commissariat of Salt and Abkari with different authorities, is also used for collecting data.

The present study has drawn heavily on the published primary sources of data collection. Special mention must be made of the Government Gazettes of Portuguese India and the reports of the Governors-General of the territory, dispatched to Portugal. The “Boletim do Governo” and, later on, “Boletim Oficial” which were the government gazettes in Portuguese India, published government legislations, orders, reports and other documents. They give us a glimpse of the administrative, legislative and other policies of the Portuguese government and provide us important economic data. The reports of the Governors-General of the territory directed to the National government at Lisbon, also offer a picture of the Goan economy during the concerned period. Data are collected from these sources and, also, from the published accounts of the voyages and travels left behind by the Europeans who visited Goa during the previous centuries. The published reports of different government departments like the report of the Commissariat of Salt and Abkari during the tenure of the Anglo-
Portuguese Treaty of 1878, the reports of the Customs reforms, the Census reports etc. are, also, examined.

Among the sources from where data were collected, the following works deserve special mention. Since the details of these titles are given in the section of the bibliography of this thesis, full titles of these works are not given for the sake of convenience. Some of these works include:

a) "Instrucoes com que El-Rei D. Jose I mandou passar ao Estado da India ....." edited by Claudio L. M. de Barbuda. The book contains also notes of the editor on custom houses, Gauncars, economy of Goa, trade and other matters.


c) "Collecaao de Bandos ----" edited by Felippe Nery Xavier, which include proclamations, decrees, royal orders etc. relating to New Conquests

d) "Ensaio sobre a Estatistica do Estado da India" by Francisco M. Bordalo, which provides statistical information about Portuguese India.

e) "Estatistica da India Portuguesa Confeccionada" by Joao Stuart da Fonseca Torrie, which gives statistical data pertaining to Portuguese India.

f) "Collecaao de Tratados e Concertos de Pazes ----", edited by Julio F. J. Biker, which contains the treaties and peace agreements signed by the Portuguese and includes, also, other important documents.

g) "Bosquejo Historico das Communidades ....." edited by Felippe Nery Xavier, which provides information on the comunidades of the villages of Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez and offers a glimpse of the economic position of Goa in the previous centuries.

h) "Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas", a periodical edited by Felippe Nery Xavier, which gives us the description of villages and information about agricultural production, imports of rice, custom duties structure etc., pertaining to Goa.
Secondary sources, published in the 19th century itself and throwing light on the economy of Goa during the same century, are extensively used by the present researcher. Prominent among such works are the following:

1. “An Historical Sketch of Goa ….” (Dennis Cottineau de Kloguen),
2. “A Liberdade da Terra ….” (Francisco Luis Gomes),
3. “An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa ….” (Jose Nicolao de Fonseca)
4. “The Portuguese in India ….” (F. C. Danvers), and
5. “A India Portuguesa ….” (A. Lopes Mendes).

Data are also collected from the printed works published in the 20th century, prominent among them are the following:-

1. “Subsidios Para a Historia Economico-Financeira” (J. B. Amancio Gracias)
2. “O Caminho de Ferro e Porto de Mormugao” (J. B. Amancio Gracias)
3. “Etnografia da India Portuguesa” (A. B. Braganca Pereira)
4. “Historia de Goa”. (M. J. Gabriel Saldanha)
5. “A India Portuguesa, Estudos Economico-Sociais” (F. X. Ernesto Fernandes)
6. “The New Cambridge History of India, Portuguese India” (M. N. Pearson)
7. “Trade and Finance” (Celsa Pinto)
8. “Goa: Images and Perceptions” (Celsa Pinto)
9. “Goa through the Ages, An Economic History” (Goa University Publication edited by Teotonio R. De Sousa)

As regards the Goan economy and the Goan salt industry in the 20th century, during the Portuguese rule, information and data are collected from a large number of the Yearbooks of Portuguese India, Statistical yearbooks published by the Governments of Portuguese India and the National Government, books containing statistics of foreign trade of Portuguese India published by Portuguese India Government, reports of the Governors-General of the territory, reports of different Government departments and financial institutions and other sources published from time to time.
Notable among them are the following: (a) Anuario da India Portuguesa, (b) Anuario Estatistico da India Portuguesa, (c) Estatistica do Comercio Externo, and (d) Relatorio da Caixa Economica. All the above sources are published primary sources of data collection. In addition to these, printed works of the nature of secondary sources are also used. Besides books, they include periodicals giving economic data and other information, namely, "Boletim Informativo" published by Junta do Comercio Externo (Board of External Trade), "Boletim Trimestral" and Boletim oficial (Government Gazette). Information and data are also derived from the issues of "Republica Portuguesa" which describe the proceedings of the sessions of the "Conselho do Governo", the Gazetteer of Goa, Daman and Diu, Techno-economic Survey of Goa, Daman and Diu published by NCAER, New Delhi, and also from some of the published collections of the papers read at, in all nine conferences, of the "Congresso Provincial" which was established in 1915, at the initiative of the Portuguese government, to act as a forum to deliberate on the social and economic problems of Portuguese India and to recommend measures.

**Measures, weights and currency:** The quantities of salt and most of the other commodities are given, in this study, in the traditional measures of kumbhs and khandis up to the period before the implementation of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, as these were the measures generally used in Goa during this period. After the implementation of the Treaty, maund started being used as a measure of weight in Goa. This change is obviously reflected in this study and, thus, quantities are given in maunds for major part of the period up to the end of the Portuguese rule. The quantities measured in maunds are converted into metric tonnes since metric measures are officially used in India. Tonnes as referred to in this study, thus, mean metric tonnes. During the major part of the 19th century, xerafim was the currency of Goa. In the early 1870s, however, values began to be measured in reis. As per the Monetary Convention of 1880 signed by the Governments of Portuguese India and British India, the currency Rupee of both the territories was made equivalent and Rupee became the main currency of Portuguese India. This change in the currencies of Portuguese India is reflected in this study and values are measured in the currencies which were in force...
during different periods. Although during the last few years of the Portuguese rule, Escudo was the official currency of Portuguese India, the present study has converted the values in Escudos into Rupees at the official rate of 1 Rupee = 6 Escudos.

**Limitations of the study, as regards data collection:** Since the present study is in the form of a historical research, it could be pursued by the researcher within the confines of the availability of the data fulfilling the purpose of the study. Consequently, the present researcher had to be satisfied with limited quantity of data in respect of certain areas of the problem under study. On account of this limitation, conclusions had to be drawn on the basis of the limited but reliable data collected for the purpose in hand. Data regarding actual production and export of salt during the pre-19th century period were not available. Similarly, the present researcher could not get data of production of salt and other main agricultural commodities for the first 23 years of the 19th century. Data were available only for the years 1824, 1825, 1844, 1849 and 1876, and for the period during the tenure of the Treaty of 1878. The role played by the salt production in the agricultural sector of the economy in terms of its share in the value of the total agricultural production, and the rate of change in the salt production are examined on the basis of the data pertaining to most of these years. Similarly, the data pertaining to the export trade of Goa and exports of salt before the Treaty of 1878, were available for the years 1844 and 1878-79 only. The share of salt in the total export trade of Goa during this period was derived on the basis of these data. After the denouncement of the Treaty of 1878 in 1892, neither the data of the Conceelho-wise production of salt and agricultural commodities nor the data of the total production of these commodities were available for the major part of the 20th century. The data of the total production of salt were available from 1938 onwards. It was, therefore, necessary to depend on the data of the total import and export trade, and exports of salt and other principal export commodities of Portuguese India to assess the role played by salt in the economy of Goa during the major period of the 20th Century. The data regarding regional income and balance of payments were not available as the same were not computed by the Portuguese India government. The data of production of salt were easily available for the last decade of the Portuguese
rule in Goa. They are analysed to draw conclusions on the role played by salt in the economy of Goa, during this period.

7. **Analysis of data**

The present study being of the nature of a historical research into an economic problem, bases itself on the documentary evidence provided by both primary and secondary sources. Being a study on the working of the salt industry and salt trade of Goa, data related to (a) production of agricultural goods and salt, (b) total import and export trade, (c) exports of salt and other principal export commodities, (d) employment in the salt industry, in Goa or Portuguese India, and other relevant data are collected to highlight the role of salt in the Goan economy. These data are analysed to derive the following:

1. Percentage change in the production of salt over the period of time under study
2. Percentage share of the export of salt and other principal export commodities in the value of the total export trade.
3. Percentage of the value of the salt exports and the exports of other principal export goods to the value of the total import trade of Portuguese India to enable to measure the relative capacity of the salt exports and the exports of other principal export goods to pay for the import trade obligations of the territory.
4. Average prices received by the salt exports and the exports of other principal commodities over the period of time under study.
5. Percentage change in the exports of salt and other principal export commodities during different periods of time.
6. Change in the population of salt producers and salt workers in Goa.

8. **Review of the literature on salt**

Although, no comprehensive study of the salt industry and salt trade of Goa during the 19th and 20th centuries, under the Portuguese rule, has, so far, been made, two research-studies on Goan salt are worth mentioning here. One is the unpublished dissertation entitled "The Goan Mithagar (A study of salt makers of Bhati), submitted
by Ryna Sequeira to the Goa University for the degree of Master of Arts. It discusses the methods of salt production in Goa, the problems faced by the salt makers of Goa in the light of the experiences of the salt makers of Bhati and causes of the present state of the salt industry in the territory. The second study is the unpublished dissertation entitled “Microbiological Study of Saltpans in Goa” submitted by Fatima Sequeira to the Goa University for the degree of Master of Science. Alongwith the main theme of the study, it examines, the problem of pollution of the salt pans in Goa. Another unpublished dissertation on Goan salt is the one submitted by Sajna N. A. Fernandes to Goa University for the award of the post-graduate diploma in environmental pollution control technology. Entitled as ‘Impact of Aquatic Pollution on Salt Industry of Tiswadi Taluka’ it focuses the effects of aquatic pollution on the salt pans of the Tiswadi Taluka in Goa. Techno-economic Survey of Goa, Daman and Diu, conducted by National Council of Applied Economic Research has highlighted the state of the salt industry of Portuguese India at the time of the liberation of the territory. Alberto da V. Lobo’s article in Goa Today (May-June 1967) entitled “The Salt Industry” dwells upon the state of the salt industry of Goa during the mid-sixties, highlighting the performance of the industry and the causes of its decline, and examining, in detail, the scope for the allround growth of the industry in the future. During the first half of the 20th century, two scholars studied the state of the salt industry in Goa. J. B. Amancio Gracias in his book “O Caminho de Ferro e o Porto de Mormugao” analysed the impact of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 on the Goan salt industry, and F. X. Ernesto Fernandes in his “A India Portuguesa, Estudos Economico-Sociais” examined the position of the Goan salt industry at the dawn of the 20th century. “History of Mormugao Port” compiled by Amaro Pereira in the recent period, gives also an account of the impact of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 on the salt industry in Goa. The Commission for the Regulation of Chemical and Pharmaceutical Products of the Portuguese Government at Lisbon which made a study of the salt production in Portuguese India in 1959 published a booklet entitled, ‘Producão de Sal na India Portuguesa’. It throws light on the process of salt production and other related aspects of the salt industry in Portuguese India. Mario Cabral e
Sa’s work entitled “Song of the Golden Gateway......” makes brief reference to the state of the Goan salt industry after the imposition of the economic blockade by India in 1954. As mentioned by Techno-economic Survey of Goa, Daman and Diu, the Directorate of Economics had prepared “A Short Note on Salt Production in Goa” after the liberation of the territory. However, the note was not available to the present researcher. “Goa under the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878”, a paper published in the collection of papers entitled “Goa; Images and Perceptions”, authored by Celsa Pinto, examines, in a comprehensive way, the impact of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 on the Goan salt industry.

Literature on salt industry in India is not prolific. There are few works on the subject. Two of them make comprehensive and systematic study of the salt industry in India. S. C. Agarwal’s “The Salt Industry in India” is a successful attempt to present different aspects of salt production in India. It discusses, among other dimensions of the subject, geographical distribution of salt production, technology of salt production, Indian salt industry during the Pre-British period and history of salt revenue in India. S.K. Dravid’s work is equally comprehensive. His “Development of Salt Industry in India” examines, inter alia, growth of salt industry before and after independence, technology of manufacture of salt, distribution channels of salt, and finance, price policy and labour in salt industry. M. P. Bhat and K.K. Bokil have reviewed “Salt industry in India from fifties to eighties” in “Salt Research and Industry”, Volume 18, No 1 March 1982. “Salt industry of Bengal, 1757-1800” is the study made by Barui Balal in the interaction of British monopoly control and indigenous enterprise. Even though S. C. Agarwal and S.K. Dravid examine salt industry in India, there is no discussion of Goan salt industry in their aforesaid works. Against the background of this existing literature on Goan salt and salt industry in India, the present study is the first of its kind to study Goan salt industry and salt trade during the 19th and 20th centuries, under the Portuguese rule, in a comprehensive manner. It is, also, the first attempt to present the Goan economy, more particularly, the external trade of Portuguese India, on a wider canvas of the 19th and 20th centuries until the end of the Portuguese power in Goa, Daman and Diu. Taking into consideration this
aspect of the present study, it is an original contribution to the existing knowledge of Goa's economy during the Portuguese rule.

9. **Chapterisation**

The entire thesis is organised into an introduction, seven chapters and conclusions of the study.

The first chapter Entitled “Salt - The World, India and Goa”, places the commodity under study in the world perspective by highlighting its properties and different sources of its production in the world and, also, its importance in the world history. The chapter places the commodity in the Indian perspective and proceeds to outline geographical and other features of Goa, Daman and Diu and, also, the historical setting of Goa. It offers us a picture of the factors favourable to salt production in Goa and areawise concentration of the salt industry in this territory. Technique of production of salt in Goa and various uses of salt, in general and in the Goan context, are also examined in this chapter.

The second chapter entitled “State of the Goan economy and salt in the pre-19th century period”. offers a broad but brief outline of the evolution of the Goan economy since the days of Goa’s conquest by the Portuguese. It traces the movement of the Goan economy from the Golden period of economic prosperity to the economic decline which started in the beginning of the 17th century and continued thereafter. The chapter describes the factors which contributed to the economic decline of Goa and gives a brief account of the state of the Goan economy in the 17th and 18th Centuries. Against this background, the chapter deals with the localisation of the salt industry in Goa and the importance of salt in the Goan economy during the period. It focuses also the different land routes through which salt was being carried to the hinterland of India and identifies different ports on the Indian coast and foreign regions to which salt was being carried by coastal vessels and other ships.

The third chapter bearing the title of “Salt and Goan economy during the 19th century prior to the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878” begins with the brief discussion of the Goan economy in the first few decades of the 19th century and traces economic, political and other factors which influenced the Goan economy. It provides a glimpse of
the state of agriculture, manufacturing, communication sector, external trade, and population and living standards of the people during the period up to the implementation of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878. It, then, proceeds to examine the position of salt production in the agricultural perspective of the Goan economy. It throws light on the production centres of salt, area-wise output of salt, the relative importance of salt production vis-a-vis the production of other agricultural commodities, change in the production of salt in different salt producing centres of Goa, the population of salt producers and workers, and production of salt as contributed by different production agencies. As regards the export of salt from Goa, the chapter discusses the role played by salt in the external trade of Goa by highlighting the share of salt exports in the total export trade of Goa and the share of salt in the total export duties revenue of Goa. Measures adopted by the Portuguese Indian government which influenced the external trade of the territory and government measures and policies to promote the salt industry and salt trade are also examined in this Chapter.

The fourth chapter is entitled “The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 and its impact on the salt industry in Goa”. The main focus of this chapter is the impact of the British salt monopoly created by the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 in Portuguese India, on the salt industry of Goa. The chapter begins with a brief discussion of the features of the Treaty of 1878 and delineates the factors and developments which contributed to the signing of the Treaty by the Portuguese government, and the motives of the British government behind the signing of the same. It, then, proceeds to describe the features of the British salt monopoly in Portuguese India and examines the state of the salt industry during the tenure of the Treaty by highlighting the following: (i) Change in the total production of salt in Goa and in the Concelhewise production of salt, during the period of the Treaty, (ii) Change in the number of salt works in Goa, which were actually under operation, during the period of the Treaty, (iii) Public distribution of salt during the period of the Treaty, (iv) Population of salt producers in Goa, and (v) exports of salt from Goa. The chapter discusses, then, at length, the economic and social impact of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 on Portuguese India by focusing both favourable and harmful effects of the Treaty, with particular
reference to the effects of the British salt monopoly on the Portuguese Indian economy, in general, and the people in particular.

The fifth chapter bears the title of “Salt and Goan economy after the denouncement of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, till 1929” and begins with the brief discussion of the implications of the denouncement of the Treaty. It, then, throws light on the economy of Goa and other Portuguese possessions during the period after the denouncement of the Treaty, under the following heads: (i) Agriculture and Goan economy (ii) The manufacturing industry in Goa, (iii) External trade of Portuguese India, (iv) Emigration as an indicator of decadence, (v) Republic and decentralisation, (vi) The performance of Mormugao port and railway line in Goa as an indicator of decadence. The chapter, then, devotes itself to the discussion of the state of the salt industry after the end of the Treaty of 1878. It reveals how the salt industry and salt trade of Goa and Daman were severely affected by the two notifications of the Government of the Bombay Presidency, which restricted the movement of the Portuguese Indian salt to Bombay Presidency. The chapter discusses, briefly, localisation of the salt industry in Goa, production of salt in Portuguese India and the population of salt producers in Goa. It, then, proceeds to explain the role played by Goan salt in the external trade of Portuguese India, under the following heads: (i) Volume of the import and export trade of Portuguese India and its direction, (ii) The shares of the annual export of salt and other selected export commodities in the annual export trade, (iii) The percentages of the annual exports of salt and other selected export commodities to the annual import trade, (iv) The percentage change in the exports of salt and other selected export commodities during the period under study, and (v) The average price received by salt and each of the other selected export commodities from the export trade. The chapter gives also an account of the measures adopted by the Government of Portuguese India to revive the economy and promote the salt industry.

The sixth chapter, entitled as “Goan economy and salt from 1929 till the imposition of the economic blockade by India”, examines the position of salt industry and salt trade of Goa during the period beginning with the start of Great Depression and covering the Second World War. The period ends during the year when India imposed eco-
nomic blockade on Portuguese India. The chapter gives an account of the state of the economy of Portuguese India under the following heads:— (i) the state of agriculture as depicted by the imports of rice and other food items, (ii) the state of the manufacturing industry and (iii) Volume and direction of the import and export trade of Portuguese India during the sub-periods 1929-1938, 1939-1945 and 1946-1954. The chapter, then, proceeds to focus the main area of study, i.e., the state of the salt industry and salt trade in Goa by discussing the following:— (a) Production of salt in Goa, (b) Manpower in the salt industry, and (c) role played by salt in the external trade of Portuguese India. The role played by salt in the external trade is explained under the following heads:— (i) The percentage shares of the annual exports of salt and each one of the other selected export goods, in the annual export trade of Portuguese India, (ii) The percentages of the annual exports of salt and each one of the other selected export goods, to the annual import trade of Portuguese India, (iii) The percentage changes in the annual exports of salt and each one of the selected export commodities during the period under study, and the comparison of the percentage change in the annual export of salt with the percentage change in the annual export trade of the territory, and (iv) average prices received by salt and other selected export commodities in the export trade.

The seventh chapter is entitled "Indian economic blockade, Goan economy and salt". The main focus of this chapter is the impact of the Indian economic blockade on the Goan economy, in general, and the salt industry and salt trade, in particular. The chapter begins with a brief account of the causes that compelled the Government of India to impose an economic blockade on Goa, Daman and Diu and, then, discusses briefly the implications of the blockade for the Goan economy. It examines further the state of the Goan economy, in general, and salt industry, in particular, at the time of the imposition of the economic blockade. The state of the economy of Goa during the period of the blockade is, then, studied under the following heads:— (i) agriculture (ii) industrial sector and (iii) external trade of Portuguese India. The state of the external trade is examined under the heads:— (a) Volume of the import trade and export trade of the territory and (b) the direction of the import and export trade. The chapter,
then, proceeds to analyse the impact of the blockade on the salt industry and salt trade under the following heads:— (i) Production of salt, (ii) Population of salt producers and salt workers, and (iii) Export of salt. The role played by the export of salt in the external trade of Portuguese India is focused under the following heads:— (i) The percentage shares of the annual exports of salt and each one of the other selected export goods, in the annual export trade. (ii) The percentages of the annual exports of salt and each one of the other selected export goods to the annual import trade. (iii) The percentage changes in the annual exports of salt and each one of the selected export goods, during the period under study, and the comparison of the percentage change in the annual export of salt with the percentage change in the annual export trade of the territory, and (iv) average prices received by salt and other selected export goods in the export trade. Government measures to fight the challenge of the Indian economic blockade, in general, and measures to protect the salt industry in Portuguese India, are also discussed in this chapter.

Conclusions: This is the concluding chapter of the thesis. It is based on what was discussed in the earlier chapters. The conclusions are drawn on the basis of the testing of the hypothesis against the data collected and analysed at the various stages of the study. The chapter briefly relates these conclusions to the present state of the salt industry in Goa.

Appendix contains the text of the important provisions of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878.

Two Maps, one showing the production centres of salt in India and the other indicating the production centres of salt in Goa are also included.

Bibliography contains references in Portuguese, English and Marathi language.