CHAPTER TWO
STATE OF THE GOAN ECONOMY AND SALT IN THE PRE-19TH CENTURY PERIOD

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The study of the Goan salt industry and salt trade in the 19th and 20th centuries, during the Portuguese colonial rule, requires the understanding of the state of the Goan economy and of the relative importance of salt as an export commodity in this economy during the pre-19th century period. Salt was a locally produced export commodity even before the arrival of the Portuguese in the Indian sub-continent and their subsequent conquest of Goa island in 1510. The Goan economy during the pre-19th century period, under the Portuguese rule, is characterised by the golden period in the 16th century, followed by its economic decadence from the 17th century onwards.

The discovery of the new sea route to India via Cape of Good Hope by the Portuguese fleet, under the command of Vasco da Gama, brought about a complete revolution in the commercial world. Before the discovery of the sea route to India, a flourishing trade of spices and other goods was going on between India and the Arab world. This trade was in the hands of Arabs who were supplying to the Venetians the much sought after merchandise brought by them from India and other Asian countries. The Venetians were reaping rich profits on these oriental commodities, particularly, on the spices, which were being sold in the European markets at prices several times higher than what they were in India. Genoa was also distributing these goods throughout Europe. The entry of the Portuguese in the Indian ocean gave a serious jolt to the economic interests of the Arabs and Venetians. Within a few years the Arabs fleet had been either destroyed or admitted to the trade on the Malabar Coast on Portuguese terms. The powerful navy of the Portuguese prevented the navigation of all alien vessels which did not possess the authenticated permits - the cartazes - issued by the Portuguese power in India. After the victory of Diu in 1509, which made the Portuguese, the masters of the Indian Ocean, Afonso de Albuquerque realised that his dream of building the Portuguese empire in India with supremacy both at sea and
land, could be fulfilled if he could conquer Goa. The Portuguese found Goa as a
centre of commercially strategic importance on the West Coast of India. During those
days, Goa was an important entre-pot for trading in horses and merchandise. It was
being visited by merchants of various countries. Goa was a great market of Arabian
and Persian horses throughout India. Horses were being imported into India from
Ormuz and other Arabian countries. It was almost the centre between Chawl and
trading centres on the Gujarat coast in the north, and the centres of Calicut, Cochin
and Cananor, in the extreme south. In the 15th century, Goa was a true entrepot,
channelling exports from the Bahamani kingdom and Vijaynagar and importing goods
including horses for these interior markets. The conquest of Goa in 1510 gave to the
Portuguese a station excellently situated, for purpose of trade, midway between Surat
in the north and Cochin and Calicut in the south. Goa was made the principal empo-
rium of trade between the east and the west.

2.2 GOA AT THE HEIGHT OF PROSPERITY

As the main centre to purchase and sell the merchandise, Goa's strategic posi-
tion as an entrepot on the west coast of India was enhanced, under the Portuguese rule,
to such a great extent that within a period of about 100 years, it reached the zenith of
its prosperity. This was, in reality, the result of almost complete monopoly of the
trade in spices to Europe exercised by the Portuguese power through the system of
Cartazes. The conquest of Ormuz and Malaca, by Afonso de Albuquerque, was
greatly instrumental in strengthening the monopoly power of the Portuguese in the
spices trade and trade in other merchandise. The goods, instead of being transported
through the ports of Levant and the Mediterranean sea to Europe, came to be exported
from Goa to Lisbon. As Tome Pires correctly prophesised, the way was open for
Goa to become the greatest place in the world.

As a seat of the capital of the Estado da India comprising of different posses-
sions stretching from Africa to remote regions in the south-east Asia, Goa attained
strategic and political significance, but, more than this, its commercial importance as a
great entrepot on the world map, during the 16th century, brought both fame and
wealth to this tiny territory and earned for it the epithet of 'Golden Goa'. In the course
of nearly one century after its conquest by the Portuguese, Goa witnessed a flourishing trade with the outside world, mainly with Portugal, Africa, eastern parts of Asia and the Middle East regions.\textsuperscript{10}

When this trade in spices and other important goods was going on in full swing, Goa was also trading in locally produced goods. Trade in rice, coconuts, arecanuts, betel and salt was going on unabated, although the Portuguese had concentrated more on the sea-borne trade.\textsuperscript{11} In fact, during the pre-Portuguese period, when Goa was a 'place of great trade' and ships from Mecca, Aden, Hormuz, Cambay, Malabar and other regions were flocking to the Goa port coastal trade connecting different ports of the Indian sub-continent, riverine trade using waterways within the territory of Goa and inland trade using cattle caravans to and fro the mainland interior of the Deccan, were continuing unhindered. The Portuguese did not interfere with this trade in locally produced commodities moving out of Goa. The trade in commodities of essential nature and other merchandise entering into the Goan territory was also allowed to continue smoothly. Country crafts laden with locally produced and foreign originated goods were visiting different ports on the Indian coast and were bringing essential supplies for the local people and goods for being re-exported to Portugal and other regions.

Baloghat (Deccan) was the major source of supplies of goods for their consumption in Goa and for being re-exported to the European countries.\textsuperscript{12} Cattle caravans using the land routes through the difficult mountain passes were bringing to Goa rice, wheat etc., and taking to the interior mainland India salt, coconuts, copra, arecanuts and other merchandise. "Great trains of oxen loaded with merchandise used to come into Goa from very distant kingdoms in the interior".\textsuperscript{13}

The coastal and inland trade was, thus, acting as the feeder of the sea trade, based at Goa.

Although Goa based sea trade was a valuable source of profits to the Portuguese during this period, coastal trade carried by country crafts and inland trade through the mountain passes to and from the interior mainland India were of great necessity to the survival of the local people. Despite its agricultural economy, Goa was
foodgrains-deficit region and, thus, had to depend upon the supply of rice and other essential commodities coming from neighbouring regions. Goa's potential to import goods which it required for its sustenance and re-export, depended upon its capacity to supply the locally produced goods which were in demand in these neighbouring regions. These commodities included salt, betelnuts or arecanuts and coconuts.

Tome Pires in his 'Suma Oriental' which is the earliest extensive account of the East from the Red Sea to Japan written in Malacca and India in 1512-1515, refers to the goods, Goa was trading in. Rice, salt, arecanuts and betel were the goods which Goa was exporting to far off places both within and outside India. Betel from Goa was better than what was available anywhere else, mild and pleasant to the taste and highly prized. Goa was exporting betelnuts to Aden, Ormuz and Cambay besides rice and salt. Quoting "Livro Que Trata das Cousas da India e do Japao", Vitorino Magalhaes Godinho, in his book 'Os Descobrimentos e a Economia Mundial', makes reference to the salt pans existing in Salcete and Bardez during the 16th century. 'Ha Marynhas de sail de muyta renda' (There are salt pans earning large incomes) The territory of Bardez was receiving large supplies of goods from the interior mainland. The caravans used to leave Bardez in search of such supplies during the summer season and were bringing these supplies in exchange of salt which the territory was producing over and above of what was consumed. There were salt pans on the banks of the river Sal in the south Goa. It was an area full of salt pans (Zona de marinhas). Salt produced in this region was being transported to far off places.

During the 16th century, although Goa, which comprised of Goa island, Salsete and Bardez, was known to the world as a great entrepot buzzing with trading activity, the main source of livelihood for the majority of the people was agriculture followed by horticulture, fishing and salt-production. Obsessed as they were with trade and commerce, the Portuguese did not pay any attention to the development of agriculture and allied activities. But, inspite of the total indifference of the Portuguese towards these productive activities, agriculture and allied activities served the economy in two ways. Firstly, they supplied to the majority of the people, means of livelihood, although insufficiently and, secondly, commodities like coconuts, salt,
betelnuts etc. acted as exchange-goods to avail of much needed supplies of essential goods and goods for re-export, from outside Goa. Among all these goods, salt was a prominent commodity which besides being exported to the Indian mainland and other countries was used as a condiment and preservative in food preparations and was, also, extensively used for fish curing and as a manure in the plantations of coconuts, arecanuts and other fruits like mangoes, as well as on rice farms.\textsuperscript{18}

Although the prosperity of Portuguese India continued up to the end of the 16th century, the second half of this century witnessed a decline in the spice trade to Europe. However, this decline was compensated by the inter-Asia trade undertaken by the private traders, particularly, by the 'casados'. This trade contributed to the rise in the government incomes, thanks to the increase in the customs duty receipts.\textsuperscript{19} In spite of this fall in the spice trade to Europe in the second half of the 16th century, the city of Goa had grown into one of the finest capitals in India with a large population, stately buildings and extensive commerce.\textsuperscript{20} The budgets were balanced.\textsuperscript{21}

2.3 ECONOMIC DECLINE OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

The economic decline of Portuguese India gained momentum in the 17th century. The weakening of the Portuguese military power in the East was the main factor that contributed to this situation. Portugal could not maintain her naval supremacy in the face of rising influence of her enemies.\textsuperscript{22} This, in fact, sprang up from the decline of the economic power of Portugal in the 17th century. Portugal could not overcome the challenge of the Dutch to the economic interests of the Portuguese nation in the Indian sub-continent and other Asian countries. Portuguese India started facing two formidable rivals at the dawn of the 17th century, namely, the Dutch and the English. The Dutch people acquired new vigour with the birth of their new liberty in 1581, when Holand gained her independence. They began to push their commercial enterprises in all directions and appeared upon the Indian scene with their powerful navy. They soon proved themselves as able challengers to the Portuguese monopoly of the Eastern trade. Amsterdam outrivalled Venice and Lisbon to become the European emporium of Indian commerce.\textsuperscript{23} The Dutch who arrived in Southeast Asia in 1596, challenged the Portuguese in both commercial and military areas.\textsuperscript{24} They blockaded
Goa several times. The Dutch fleet was anchored at Aguada for 23 days in 1604. It blockaded the entrance to the Mandovi river again in 1636-37 and 1637-38. They established a 'factory' at Vengurla on the Konkan coast near the Portuguese Indian borders and continued their blockades of Goa so frequently that the Portuguese trade was greatly affected by their actions. However, long before the Dutch began attacking and taking over the Portuguese possessions, they had succeeded in outcompeting the Portuguese commercially and had brought about the decline in the Portuguese trade in the East. Early in the 17th century, rapid decline of the Carreira (the voyage to Portugal) had started on account of the challenges of the Dutch traders to the Portuguese trade. With their considerable financial resources, long commercial experience and superior naval organisation, the Dutch systematically harried the Portuguese interport trade of Asia from the Persian Gulf to Japan. The Portuguese lost Malaca to the Dutch in 1641, and the whole of Cylon and all the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar coast fell to the Dutch in 1659 and 1663, respectively. The Dutch challenge was not the only cause of the downfall of Goa as a trading centre in the 17th century. Along with the implacable hostility of the Dutch, the devastating effects of successive epidemics leading to the desertion of the city of Goa constituted another factor which brought about the decline. The decay of Portuguese morals both among the men and women and the general corruption prevalent in the government and the society also contributed to this situation. Two more causes can be cited as regards the decay of the Portuguese power and their trade in India. The Portuguese made a number of conquests far divided from one another. It was difficult to defend an empire which was stretching over thousands of miles covering Pacific, Atlantic and Indian Ocean. In the 16th century, the Portuguese had 50-odd forts and fortified areas. Their number came down to just nine, by 1663, thanks to the naval supremacy of the Dutch, military successes of the local powers and weakening of the military power of the Portuguese. In India, as Malabar was lost, the Portuguese were left with only five possessions on the west coast of India, namely, Diu, Daman, Bassain, Chaul and Goa. In the course of time, they lost Chaul and Bassain, but in the second half of the 18th century seven new talukas (known as New Conquests) were added to Goa, which
until that time was comprising of Goa island, Bardez and Salsete, to make up the present Goa and, along with Daman and Diu, the Estado da India. The other cause that led to the decline of Goa's position as a great trading centre in the East was that the Portuguese devoted more attention and resources to Brazil and neglected Portuguese India. This was because they found more profits in Brazil were sugar was the dominating commodity in the overseas trade. As a result, the Portuguese India got little help from the mother country against the incursions of the Dutch.

Inquisition was also one of the factors which led to the economic ruin of Portuguese India during the 18th century. Most of the traders in the territory were Hindus. Traders from the Muslim community were, also, in a substantial number. Scared as they were of the actions of the Inquisition authorities, these traders had to work under constant fear of persecution under Inquisition. This greatly disturbed the trade of Goa with the outside world. The Inquisition led to the desertion of the provinces of Daman and Diu, leading to the decline of the industries in these northern parts of Portuguese India. The challenge meted out by the neighbouring native rulers to the Portugal's right to rule in India, also acted as a contributing factor for the decline of their power and the Goan economy. They had to incur heavy expenditure in resisting such challenges. During the invasion of Marathas, the Royal Treasury(Fazenda Real) incurred loans which totalled 4,389,453 xerafins. The purpose of these loans was to celebrate peace treaty. Although the Portuguese rule in Goa survived Sambhaji's invasion of 1683, the challenge of this Maratha ruler acted as a blow to the economy of Goa because it caused destruction of palmgroves and paddy crops of Bardez, and the salt industry of Salsete.

Different foreign travellers who visited Goa during the 17th century and, also, during the subsequent period, have recorded their experiences of the economic decline of Portuguese India. Even though the Portuguese did not have sufficient means and had, thus, become poor, they were giving the people around them, the false impression of their affluence. As Jesuit Padre Manual Godinho said in 1660s, Portuguese India which was once a 'giant' had become a 'pigmy'. Thevenot refers to the vanity of the Portuguese as one of the causes of the decline of the Portuguese power in
the East. Their vanity was of such a high degree that they took the challenge of the Dutch lightly. However, given these political and commercial circumstances under which they were working, the Portuguese could have, still, arrested the decline of the economy of Portuguese India, if they had devised and implemented adequate measures to strengthen the Goan economy by promoting the traditional and dominant sector of the economy that was agriculture. The decline of the economy could have been avoided if the Government had developed the traditional industries like salt manufacturing and devised the means to develop Goa's external trade in a planned way. The development of agriculture and traditional industries would have enabled the territory to offer the locally made merchandise in exchange for the goods required for the internal consumption in the territory and for reexport. However, except for the initiative taken by Marquez de Pombal in the last quarter of the 18th century to bring about improvements in the agricultural sector of Portuguese India, agriculture and manufacturing were rarely encouraged by the Government. In fact, this neglect of agriculture and industries was an inherent feature of the Portuguese presence in the Indian subcontinent. Right from the day Vasco da Gama landed on the Indian soil, the Portuguese were never interested in any other activity but trade. The very statement made by one of the Portuguese sailors who disembarked on the shores of Calicut in their first voyage to India, is symbolic of this attitude of the Portuguese. Being asked what has made them to come to such a long distance, prompt came the reply: 'We have come in search of Christians and spices'. Obsessed as they were with trade in spices and other Indian commodities, it was but natural that the Portuguese neglected agriculture and manufacturing in Goa.

2.3.1 INDICATORS OF THE ECONOMIC DECLINE

The decline of the Portuguese trade in India is reflected in the behaviour of a number of economic variables from the 17th century onwards. During the period 1610 - 1620, the Portuguese carried to Europe 7,500 to 10,000 quintals of spices annually as against much larger quantity of 25,000 to 30,000 quintals during the period 1570 - 1595. The Portuguese returned just 27 ships to Europe in the first decade of the 17th century as against 75 ships returned by the Dutch to that continent. By 1630,
the ratio of the country trade to the 'carreira' to Portugal was 15:1. In fact, the 'Carreira' to Portugal had declined and the country trade had increased in the later period of the 16th century itself. However, in the 17th century, the competition of the Dutch and the British in the country trade led to a substantial fall in the country trade, emanating from Portuguese India. The custom revenues of Portuguese India decreased by 43% between 1600 and the 1629. As depicted by the Table 2.01, the receipts of the Custom House of Goa Island decreased from 200,000 xerafins in 1600 to 80,135 xerafins in 1700. The sea trade of Portuguese India which was estimated to be of the value of 2,700,000 cruzados in 1600 slumped down to 500,000 cruzados in 1680 and the budgets of the territory experienced deficits. Towards the close of the 17th century, Portuguese India was reduced to a condition of great depression. Throughout the 17th century, the territory was suffering from an empty treasury, but as the century was coming to a close, the state treasury hit rockbottom. As is mentioned above, this was the result of the decline of the Portuguese trade which had gone in the hands of the Dutch and the English. When, with their commercial acumen and military power, the English strengthened their commercial position in India in the later period of the 17th century, trade and commerce in Portuguese India further deteriorated. The decadence of the Goan economy in the late 17th century is highlighted in the petition submitted by the Camara Geral das Terras de Bardez (General Assembly of the Communidades of Bardez) to the Crown. The petition dated 23-1-1688 spells out the miserable economic position of the people, firstly, on account of inadequate supplies of foodgrains which were sufficient for just four months, and, secondly, due to the heavy burden of taxation imposed upon the people by the Government. Thanks to the conflict between Sambhaji and Mongols, the areas across the Ghats and the Konkan region were not in a position to supply the foodgrains and other necessaries to Goa. As the people’s plight had become miserable on account of the lack of means of livelihood, it was difficult for them to play their tax liabilities to the Government.

During the seventeenth century, Goa's dependence upon the inland trade through the Ghat routes along the eastern mountain ranges of Goa substantially increased, thanks to the economic blockades of Goa by the Dutch and the continuous
conflict of the Portuguese with this new European power in the Indian ocean. Goa had to depend upon the hinterland trade through these routes for its supplies of food and other essential commodities. Even the sea borne trade of the Portuguese started depending increasingly on this trade. The two main components of the sea borne trade - clothes and diamonds - were now being supplied through the Ghat routes.

In the 17th century, when the Portuguese sea trade was on the decline, the 'Rendas' (Receipts from farmed out taxes) from the inland trade with the mainland India became the major source of public revenue in Portuguese India. Salt continued to be one of the important export commodities in the trade between Goa and the interior mainland of India. Goa could get essential supplies for its people and supplies for its seaborne trade to Europe and other countries by exchanging salt, arecanuts, coconuts etc. for such supplies. Riverine waterways in Goa, carrying salt, coconuts, betelnuts etc., were being used by the traders as a supply line to this inland trade.

Goa's trade with Canara had salt as an important exchange commodity to get essential supplies for its people. When the Portuguese were exercising monopoly over the spice trade in the East, Canara was one of the regions which was subjected to this monopoly. However, the trade relations of Goa with the Canara region were largely because of the needs of rice supplies which Goa was feeling on account of the inadequate production of this commodity in the territory. Besides rice and pepper, commodities like wood and timber, iron, ginger, sugar, coir, salt-petre etc. were received by Goa from this region. Portuguese India was purchasing rice and other commodities by selling to the Canara region salt and other local commodities. However, the Portuguese were also supplying to the Canara region goods brought from Portugal and other countries. Horses, copper, quicksilver, vermillion, coral and lead were the goods which brought from the above countries were supplied to the Canara region in exchange of rice and other commodities. In the course of time, Goa's imports from Canara began to be paid largely in terms of local goods like salt. However, for many years, rice from Canara was partly secured by the Portuguese by way of tributes exacted from local chiefs in the region.
Although Canara - Goa trade relations continued in the 17th and, then, in the 18th century too, the inland trade between the mainland India and Goa gained more importance on account of the Dutch blockades of Goa. Pyrard de Laval who was in Goa during the period 1608 - 10, has given an account of the hinterland trade between Balaghat and Goa. A large number of people both men and women were bringing into Goa from Balaghat all types of merchandise on horses, oxen, donkeys and other beasts of burden. Details of the traditional tariff in force in Salsete which is known as Shiva Poi tariff and which lists 67 items taxed at the Customs House, refer to the commodities brought to Goa from Balaghat. Oxen caravans coming from Balaghat were bringing cloth, sugar, coir rope, cotton thread etc. from Balaghat. Salt was an export commodity entering into this trade.

When the economic position of Portuguese India was worsening in the 17th century on account of the decline of trade and commerce, the government of Portuguese India became increasingly aware of the importance of salt as an export commodity paying for the import of necessaries and other goods for reexport. The government made efforts to find an outlet for Goan salt in the neighbouring territories and distant regions. There is one instance to take note of, in this regard. When Shivaji established a salt monopoly in his lands and created salt depots at Manneri and Fatorda in the neighbourhood of the Portuguese territory of Goa, it became difficult to find an outlet for the Goan salt. The Portuguese government retaliated by compelling the fisherfolk of the Maratha territory, who were coming to fish in the rivers of Chapora or Aldona, to buy in Goa all the salt they required for salting the fish they were catching in Goa, instead of buying it in the depots of their own territory. In 1687, the authorities in Goa refused permission to the Maratha Subhedar of Bicholim to transport salt of Pernem to Manneri through the rivers of Kaissua and Colvale.

2.4 DECADENCE OF THE GOAN ECONOMY IN THE 18TH CENTURY

The 18th century brought in its wake more difficult times for Portuguese India. Almost all the most valued possessions of Portugal in the East, had been taken over by the Dutch. England had consolidated its position in India. By 1726, Portuguese India's trade with the outside world had totally ruined. On account of the decline of
trade, the tax farmers could not fulfil their obligations towards the Government. They were unable to pay their dues to the government treasury. Bidders and guarantors were not coming forward to play their respective roles in tax collecting activities. Declining trade led to the shortage of private capital. 

In a lucid account of the position of Portuguese India by 1750, the Vice-roy Marquez de Castello Novo and Alorna states that the Dutch "have taken away our best trade and have their eyes on Daman ....." He writes further that the English have also caused great harm to the Portuguese trade by paralysing their commerce on the Coromandel coast and in Bengal, as a sequel to their blockade of the coast of Coromandel after they declared war against France. Goa's trade had fallen to such a low level that, as was described by the Vice-roy Conde de Ega, "the extreme poverty was irredeemable and all were groaning under the weight of misery". The ruin of the Portuguese Indian trade by 1726 was the result of a number of factors which were operating during those difficult years for the Portuguese power in India. Among them, three factors stand out as prominent ones. Firstly, the business skills and commercial organisation of the rival European traders were a real challenge to the Portuguese Indian traders. The techniques of marketing of the Englishmen and other Europeans were superior to those of the Portuguese traders. The former were buying the Asian goods paying 50% advance or more, from the ports of Cambay, Persia, Surat and other places. They were selling the goods in larger quantities and at much cheaper rates than what the Portuguese were doing. The second factor that caused the ruin of the Portuguese Indian trade in the 18th century, was the rise of Bombay as a new commercial entrepot on the western coast of India, which undermined the commercial position of Surat and Goa, relegating them to a secondary position. The commercial acumen and military power of the Englishmen coupled with their scientific and technological superiority, placed them on the centre-stage of the commercial life in India.

The decadence of the Portuguese Indian trade in the 18th century is explained by one more factor that was, in fact, in operation even in the 17th century. The traders of the neighbouring states were unwilling to dispatch their goods to Goa as there was no sufficient demand for them in the territory. As a result, the goods which were, in
the past, being sent to Goa, were now being purchased by the English, the French and the Dutch. The traders from outside Goa, particularly, the other European traders were, also, not interested in procuring from Goa, the supplies of goods they required, since they could get most of these goods from the other ports on the Indian coast. The Britishers, for example, were procuring the goods they wished to trade in, at Vengurla port. Another reason why these traders did not want to trade with Goa to get their supplies of goods from Goa, was the fact that, except for a few commodities like salt, coconut and arecanuts, Goa had scarcely anything of its own to offer to these traders. Moreover, merchants at the other ports were being given adequate protection against the pirates. There was, comparatively, more freedom and, also, more custom duties concessions granted to them by the local authorities. On the contrary, custom duties structure in Portuguese India was harmful to the trade in the ports of Goa and other Portuguese possessions.

Goa's inability to offer goods catering to the requirements of the traders from outside Goa resulted from its undeveloped agriculture and lack of any industry worth the name. This situation prevailed, also, in the 17th and earlier centuries. During the period of prosperity in the 16th century, however, this inherent limitation of Goa's economy was neutralized by the flourishing trade that was attracted to the port town of Goa as an international entrepot. But, once Goa lost its prominence as an international centre of trade and commerce, the downfall of the economy could not be prevented on account of its undeveloped agriculture and almost total absence of manufacturing industry, except the traditional agro-based industry of salt. The decadent state of the economy of Goa is well reflected in the plight of the people, which was brought about by the shortage of foodgrains and other necessities of life, during the first half of the 18th century. To add to the woes of the people, the burden of taxation imposed upon them, was heavy. This situation is highlighted by the petition submitted to the Crown by the Camara Geral das Terras de Salsete (General Assembly of the Comunidades of Salsete) in 1733. The petition mentions the fact that the supplies of foodgrains were sufficient for just 4 months. Each individual was not getting even half measure of rice per day. As a result of the starvation of the people, a large number of
them had to leave the Portuguese territory and settle in the territory of Sunda, in the areas across the Ghats and in the Canara region. More than 60 thousand christians left Goa to settle in the above territories in order to escape from hunger in Goa and earn their means of livelihood. It was reported that every year about 2,000 people were leaving the territory of Salsete and settling in the neighbouring territory. On account of the heavy burden of taxation, the cultivators were deserting agricultural lands and coconut groves.

The decline in the economy of Goa is amply reflected in the figures of the receipts of Goa Island custom house during the 18th century. They indicate the downfall experienced in the external trade of Goa Island. The data of the Custom House receipts of Goa Island available to us (see Table 2.01) show that the custom receipts in 1700 were just 80,135 xerafins which were less than the custom receipts in 1649 by an amount of 125,566 xerafins.

The custom receipts after 1700 did increase, but they never reached the level of the year 1649 until 1779. Between these two years (1700 to 1779), one notes ups and downs in the custom receipts of Goa Island, the lowest level, among these available data, being reached in 1723 which was 77,750 xerafins. Between 1723 and 1750, the increase in the annual custom receipts has been of about 13% only. Between 1750 and 1787, one observes substantial rise in the custom receipts of Goa Island, which increased during this period of 37 years by 380%. Against the rise of just 9.8% between the years 1700 and 1750, the rise of 380% between 1750 and 1787 looks substantial. This is a pointer to the fact that the external trade of Goa revived to a great extent, in the last decades of the 18th century. Between the quinqueniums 1778-82 and 1783-87, the average annual custom receipts for the later period were 80% higher than those for the former period.

The decline in the external trade of Portuguese India and the consequent poor state of the economy of the territory during the 18th century, greatly affected the public incomes of the government of Portuguese India. The government experienced deficit in its public finances for major part of the period of decline. In fact, the public finances had experienced deficits even during the period of prosperity in the 16th
TABLE 2.01
RECEIPTS OF THE CUSTOM HOUSE OF GOA ISLAND (1594-1787)
(in xerafins)

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<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>422,476</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

century and the crown was often sounding a note of warning to the Vice-roys against the excess of expenditure over revenue. But, the situation on this front deteriorated as economic decadence, on account of the decline of trade, set in in the territory. Portuguese India had to wait for the financial help to come from Portugal.

Thus, the economy of the territory had to be propped up by the succour coming from the mother country.

In the second half of the 18th century the public finances of the territory were experiencing deficit, continuously for many years. However, as trade began to be revived in the later period of this century, the public finances witnessed surplus of the receipts over expenditure. The Table 2.02 depicting receipts and expenditure of the Royal Treasury of Goa corroborates the above fact.

2.4.1 GOVERNMENT MEASURES TO REVIVE THE ECONOMY

The decadence of the economy brought about by the decline of external trade of Portuguese India was reflected not only in the deficits in the public finances of the territory, but also in the persistent efforts made by the Government of Portuguese India to raise additional tax resources with a view to tide over its difficult financial position. When the Government had to withdraw the 'Dizimos' (Tithes), a tax on agricultural produce, levied by it to increase its tax resources, since the Jesuits levelled a stiff opposition to this tax, it became imperative for the authorities to search new sources of tax revenue. Accordingly, the Government imposed the following taxes:

1. Meios Foros (Half quit rent), 2. Meias Cizas (A duty of 5% on the sale of property),
3. Rendas de copra (a duty of one xerafim on every khandi of copra that might be exported and 4. Pensao de xendi (a capitation tax on the Hindus of Goa Island, Bardez and Salsete, to be paid, also, by the Muslims in these three provinces). A duty of 1/2 xerafim on every 1,000 coconuts exported from Goa was also levied. Each native resident of Tiswadi, Bardez and Salsete was to pay annually an impost of 2 xerafins. Goldsmiths, apothecaries and brokers were to pay 3 xerafins and the merchants 5 xerafins, annually. The Xendim Tax was a Portuguese version of Jizhya. The ecclesiastics in the Council of State recommended it in order to make Hindus pay certain annual contribution. As these taxes which were in force since 1704 failed to wipe out
the deficits in the public finances of the territory, and as in the wake of Maratha invasion of Goa, the financial position of the Government deteriorated further, 'Dizimos' (Tithes) were re-introduced in 1745. The levying of 'Dizimo' (Tithe) meant that the

Table 2.02
RECEIPTS AND EXPENDITURE OF THE ROYAL TREASURY OF GOA
(1753-1798)
(in xerafins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>YEAR</th>
<th>RECEIPTS</th>
<th>EXPENDITURE</th>
<th>DEFICIT/SURPLUS</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1753</td>
<td>1,578,034</td>
<td>2,011,085</td>
<td>-433,051</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1754</td>
<td>1,623,366</td>
<td>2,021,063</td>
<td>-397,697</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756</td>
<td>1,844,919</td>
<td>1,638,592</td>
<td>+206,327</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>1,738,265</td>
<td>1,590,041</td>
<td>+148,223</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>1,656,600</td>
<td>1,666,939</td>
<td>-10,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>1,502,405</td>
<td>1,754,812</td>
<td>-252,407</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>1,660,737</td>
<td>1,924,111</td>
<td>-263,374</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1761</td>
<td>1,554,804</td>
<td>1,639,398</td>
<td>-1,902,774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>1,543,284</td>
<td>1,854,621</td>
<td>-311,337</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>1,972,032</td>
<td>2,051,846</td>
<td>-79,814</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766</td>
<td>1,672,208</td>
<td>1,776,449</td>
<td>-104,241</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>1,453,609</td>
<td>1,529,093</td>
<td>-75,484</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>1,543,656</td>
<td>1,554,478</td>
<td>-10,822</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783</td>
<td>2,027,648</td>
<td>2,020,489</td>
<td>+7,159</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1784</td>
<td>1,848,980</td>
<td>1,852,280</td>
<td>-3,300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1785</td>
<td>2,022,397</td>
<td>2,010,999</td>
<td>+11,398</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1786</td>
<td>2,160,988</td>
<td>2,123,779</td>
<td>+37,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>1,867,624</td>
<td>1,858,430</td>
<td>+9,194</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>1,947,653</td>
<td>1,819,128</td>
<td>+128,525</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from different codices of the series Moncoes do Reino (Historical Archives of Goa) as given in no. 58 of References and Notes of the Chapter II.

tenth part of the gross agricultural produce which included rice paddy, coconut, salt and toddy extracted from coconut trees, was to be paid to the Government in the form of tax revenue. However, this 10% rate was levied for the private individuals, and for
agricultural production from Comunidades the rate was fixed at 5%. The tax was first introduced in Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez, and, later on it was made applicable to Pernem and Bicholim. As a tax on gross produce, 'Dizimos' was not taking into account the costs incurred by the producers to produce the commodity. The producers had to pay the same amount of tax on the same quantity of produce, irrespective of costs incurred. Secondly, the tax-collecting contractors were not happy with their collections and, so, they had tendency to demand more and more produce from the producers. Thus, the tax was vexatious. The producers preferred leaving the produce to spoil at the fields rather than pay the tax to the tax-collecting contractors. Despite these deficiencies, 'Dizimos' contributed substantially to the state finances and reduced the financial burden of the government. The table 2.03 throws light on the annual receipts from Dizimos in Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez, during certain periods in the 18th century. The figures indicate that the annual receipts from Dizimos remained more or less stable during the period 1747 to 1785, but reverted back to the higher level during 1795-1797.

**TABLE 2.03**

ANNUAL RECEIPTS FROM DIZIMOS (TITHES) 1746 TO 1797

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>PERIOD</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1746</td>
<td>305,475</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1747 to 1749</td>
<td>246,666</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>222,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1753</td>
<td>242,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1771 to 1773</td>
<td>249,827</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1783 to 1785</td>
<td>239,779</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1795 to 1797</td>
<td>309,655</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino 202D, F.387

In 1750 and 1753 total receipts from all farmed out taxes and charges in Portuguese India were 696,773 xerafins and 766,041 xerafins, respectively. The percentage of the 'Dizimos', during these two years, to the total receipts from all farmed out taxes was 31.9 and 31.7, respectively. This indicates that 'Dizimos' were making siz-
able contribution to the public finances in Portuguese India during the years of the decline in its external trade.  

The deplorable situation that Portuguese India's trade and, also, the entire economy were finding themselves in, is equally focused by the measures tried by the Portuguese government to revive not only the external trade of Goa, Daman and Diu, but also to strengthen the agricultural sector of the territory. Realising the poor performance of the Government treasury in the collection of revenues, a Royal letter dated 10.4.1769 modified the administrative base of the public finance in the territory and abolished 'Casa dos Contos' and 'Conselho de Fazenda' (Council of Revenue). It created 'Junta de Real Fazenda'. As regards Customs administration, the Government by issuing a Regimento (Standing Order) dated 20-1-1774, modified the Custom duties structure at Goa Island Customs House. The decline in trade and commerce was sought to be arrested by reducing the import duty from 9% to 5% and the export duty from 6% to 2%. The Regimento exempted rice, wheat, salt and cattle from the customs duties at the Customs House of Goa Island. The Government amended in November 1780 certain provisions in the above Regimento which by imposing certain restrictions and inconveniences upon the traders, had discouraged commerce at the port of Goa. The Regimento of 1774 with its amendment in 1780 must have contributed to the rise in trade and commerce at the port of Goa, since one notices an increase in the custom receipts of Goa Island Customs House and, also, a rise in the public receipts of Goa, during the later period of the 18th century.

Measures tried or adopted by the Government of Portuguese India to revive trade during this century were many. In 1760s the Vice-roy Conde de Ega encouraged local manufacturing by bringing artisans from Thane, Surat and Cambay. He was instrumental in introducing the cultivation of cotton plant in Goa. A company for trade with Bengal was started, but it had to be wound up within short period. Throughout the period of the 18th century, the government authorities, either at the national government's level at Lisbon or at the local government's level in Goa, applied their mind to revive trade and commerce in Goa. Instructions from the Crown to the local government authorities and suggestions of the local government authorities...
to the Crown highlighted possible measures to lift the Goan economy from its deca-
dence. Way back in 1700, the Portuguese Crown had decided to allow goods laden
ships from Brasil to visit Goa directly, against the wishes of the Tobacco Board which
wanted to route such ventures only through Lisbon. Even the Brazilian traders were
allowed to send the tobacco powder to Goa.\textsuperscript{69} During the initial decades of the 18th
century, the Crown had ordered the Portuguese Indian government to pursue regular
ship voyages for trading in Bengal and ask the ships to touch the coastal ports during
their to and fro voyages.\textsuperscript{70} The Crown instructed the government at Goa to ask the
friendly princes and vassals to trade with Goa by exporting their goods to this terri-
tory.\textsuperscript{71} In 1715, the Vice-roy of Portuguese India suggested to the Crown that the
trade should be again directed from Lisbon to Goa and from this port to the other ports
of Portuguese possessions. Thus, skipping over the port of Goa should be avoided.
Similarly, Indian trade should be diverted from different Indian ports to Goa and
through this port only the merchandise should reach Portugal.\textsuperscript{72}

In the later period of 18th century, a grand plan entitled "Breve e Util Idea de
Comercio, Navegacao e Conquistas da Azia e da Africa" was suggested to expand
Portuguese trade in Asia and Africa.\textsuperscript{73} The Plan of 1786 was proposed to activate
commercial relations between Portuguese India and Mozambique. A proposal to form
a company, at Lisbon, covering commerce of Mozambique, Goa, Malabar, Bengal,
Coromandel and China was also formulated.\textsuperscript{74} Measures to liberalise Portuguese
commerce in Asia were also taken by the Government. But all these measures met
with a setback and Goan trade slowly came under British commercial domination
which was developing fast in the Indian sub-continent.

\subsection{MEASURES TO DEVELOP AGRICULTURE IN GOA}

Agriculture being the mainstay of Goa's economy, the development of this
territory's economy was closely linked with the prospects of this sector which, right
from the day Goa was conquered by Afonso de Albuquerque, was totally neglected by
the Portuguese authorities. Although the authorities were aware of the need to de-
velop agriculture to revive the declining trade in Goa, no significant measures were
adopted by the Government in this regard. As a result of this indifference of the
authorities towards agriculture and, also, manufacturing, Goan economy could not
overcome the decline in its external trade, brought about by a number of factors.
Paddy cultivation was the main occupation of the population of Goa. The chief paddy
crop known as Sorod depended upon the monsoon rainfall in the months of June, July
and August. The serpentine river nets and seasonal lakes enabled several villages to
raise a second crop known as Vaingan during the months of December to April.
Where the Vaingan crop was not feasible, beans of various kinds as well as several
other kinds of vegetables were grown. The territory had palmgroves all over the
seaside area. In the New Conquests, arecanut groves were adding to the natural
beauty of the area. Besides paddy, Goa was producing, inter alia, the following agri-
cultural commodities: coconuts, arecanuts, nachinim, cashew, tory, chillies, cinna-
mon, pacolo, hemp, sesame and salt. Although the economy was predominantly
agrarian, the agricultural sector was backward with the same outdated agricultural
techniques, inherited by the territory, as Francisco Luis Gomes said, subsequently in
the 19th century, "from the days of Brahma". Despite rice being main agricultural
commodity, its production was less than the requirements of the local people. Except
salt, coconuts, arecanuts and certain other agricultural commodities, the production of
most of the agricultural goods was insufficient on account of lower productivity in
agriculture and less geographical area covered by the crops, even though large tracts
of lands were remaining uncultivated, particularly in the New Conquest provinces.
This had resulted into a situation in which Goa was importing, on a large scale, rice
and certain other necessaries of life from the neighbouring areas like Deccan and Ca-
nara regions.

Against the background of the neglect of agriculture by the Portuguese, a
turning point came in the last quarter of the 18th century when in 1776, Marques de
Pombal, the Portuguese statesman who took over the reins of power in Portugal, in-
roduced measures to develop agriculture in Portuguese India. He tried to lift agricul-
ture in Goa from the miserable conditions it was finding itself in. He established a
public warehouse in Goa, created the post of 'Intendente' of Agriculture in Portuguese
India, appointed 'Junta da Agricultura', exempted the cultivation of crops in new lands
from the payment of 'Dizimos' (Tithes) for 10 years and popularised the science of agronomy in Portuguese India. He took strict measures to make the people cultivate their lands. The Government of Portuguese India adopted certain measures in 1781 which purported to strengthen Goan agriculture, since the Governor General of Portuguese India had, by now, realised that as there were no means and necessary infrastructure to increase trade and commerce in the territory, agriculture which was an important sector of the economy, should be given utmost priority for lifting the territory from economic backwardness. The Government decided to cultivate one or two plots of better land on its own account. The farmers who would cultivate uncultivated lands and develop irrigational schemes were exempted from payment of Dizimos for 10 years. Poor families from Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez which were hardworking and with an aptitude of work, were to be given lands in Ponda, Zambaulim and Canacona if they expressed their willingness to cultivate the same. They would also be given tools, a pair of bullocks and, during the first year, seeds. It was also decided to bring to Goa, at the cost of the Government, Chinese farmers to cultivate a few lands in the territory so as to expose the local farmers to their techniques of production.

Even though the Government initiated measures to revive agriculture in Goa, most of these measures were directed to the development of rice cultivation and, to some extent, cultivation of pulses. Coconuts and salt production did not attract the attention of the Government and, so, no measures were initiated to increase their production. As far as salt was concerned, the Government was totally indifferent towards the development of salt industry or bringing under it new lands for cultivation. Given the importance of salt as an export commodity since time immemorial and as a source of income for the Government as mentioned in Canusapto (List of Duties) of the times of Muslims, which was in force at the Custom Houses of Salsete and Bardez upto 1811, the lack of interest on the part of the Government in the promotion of salt was, in fact, surprising. It was more surprising if we take into consideration the deplorable conditions under which the industry was working during that period. Owing to the great fall in the prices of salt and consequent losses to the producers, the process of converting many salt pans into rice fields was continuing during those years.
far coconuts were concerned, even though the commodity was produced on a large scale in Goa, its imports were going on unabated for considerably long period. The product was given protection by the Government by an Edital dated 16-1-1774 by which its imports were totally prohibited into Goa.

The efforts of the Government, translated into different measures as mentioned above, bore fruits in the subsequent immediate period and, also, in the long run stretching into the 19th century. In 1729, much before the campaign for agricultural development was undertaken by the Government, the production of rice in Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez was 9,843 kumbhs. The break-up of this total production was as follows:- Goa Island : 3,015 kumbhs; Salsete: 4,108 kumbhs; Bardez: 2,630 kumbhs. In 1777, the production from new cultivation in these three Concelhos of Goa was 1827 kumbhs with Concelho-wise break up being as follows: Goa Island : 352 kumbhs; Salsete: 1,386 kumbhs; Bardez : 89 kumbhs. Between 1778 and 1787, production of rice from new cultivation was 2,137 kumbhs. Between 1788 and 1805, the rice production from new cultivation was recorded as 523 kumbhs. As regards imports of rice into Goa, one observes downward trend in the imports from 1757 to 1780 in the 18th century. This downward trend in the imports of rice was also noticed in the 19th century. The following figures of the imports of fardos (bales) of rice make clear this point:- 1757: 162,145; 1779: 146,246; 1780: 138,036; 1824: 24,327; 1846: 47,197.

The above mentioned figures of additional production of rice from new cultivation and the figures of imports of rice depicting their downward trend over the years, explain the fact that the campaign of agricultural development which was undertaken by the Government was reasonably successful.

It should be, however, emphasised that the measures aimed at agricultural development were haphazardly planned and implemented by the Government. They did not stress the need to improve the method of production in the cultivation of rice and other crops, nor did they make possible large scale cultivation of new lands under rice and other crops. Secondly, the measures totally neglected the development of salt industry which was a predominant export earning industry of Goa, Daman and Diu.
Although the Government had protected the coconut plantation industry by prohibiting the imports of coconuts from outside Goa, no significant measures were taken to promote its production. Thus, the measures adopted by the Government to boost up the agricultural sector and revive the economy, did not succeed to halt the decline of the Goan economy.

2.5 GOA-BASED MAINLAND, COASTAL AND SEA-BORNE TRADE

From 17th century onwards Goa lost its pivotal place as an international entrepot, and economic decadence that followed the golden period of the 16th century, pervaded all the sectors of its economy. However, the territory did not plunge into total debacle, thanks to the coastal trade and mainland trade which continued unabated in the 18th century and, also, in the subsequent period. As mentioned before, the mainland trade through the Ghat routes was playing a significant role in the economic life of Goa. Thousands of people were involved in this trade. Goods were being carried to and from Goa on the backs of the animals which were mostly bullocks. The Ghat routes were carrying to Goa rice and all other types of necessaries, and Goa was supplying to the mainland salt, coconuts, arecanuts and other locally produced as well as other important goods.

The coastal trade was mostly along the western and eastern coasts of India. Country crafts comprising of patmarins, muchuas, escunos, sibares, saudos, tonas, canoas, manquerins etc. laden with local and foreign originated goods were found moving from port to port. Coastal trade along the western and eastern coasts was operated by Goa based private traders who were visiting different ports with locally made and other products carried from Goa and were bringing from these ports goods required in Goa both for consumption and re-export. Country crafts were visiting Kanara, particularly Mangalore and Basrur, Cochin, Calicut, Mahe, Alleppy, Madras and other ports both on the western side and Coromandel coast. Goa was importing from Kanara rice, sugar, iron, ginger, coir, saltpetre, timber for ships etc.; from Cochin pepper, cloves, coconut and coconut products, cinnamon, cardmom, country crafts, horses etc.; from Calicut copra, coconut oil, cashewnuts, salted fish and tex-

97
tiles; from Alleppy teakwood, dyes, oil, jaggery, cloth and country crafts; from Mahe rice and pepper; and from Madras textiles, rice, saltpetre, sugar, chests etc. 85

The Goa based traders were carrying to the ports which their country crafts were visiting, different locally made and other goods. The country crafts moving in the direction of the ports to the south of Goa and on the Coromandel coast, were always laden by locally produced goods like salt, domesticated birds, mangoes, cashewnuts, coconuts etc. and other merchandise like tiles, slaves, tea, gold, pagoda. Goan traders were carrying to Cochin salt, hides, tea, gold, pagodas and other articles; to Alleppy salt and certain other goods; to Mahe salt, tiles, domesticated birds, mangoes, cashewnuts, slaves etc.; to Kanara salt and other articles; and to Madras salt and coconuts. 86

The trade relations of Goa with Kanara were more concerned with the exchange of rice for salt produced in Goa. Portuguese India required annual rice supplies of 70,000 bags from Kanara, which they tried to secure in return of 60,000 loads of salt. This quantity of salt was being supplied by Portuguese India to the Nayakas of Kanara. 87

Although coastal trade along the western and eastern coast of India was going on since time immemorial, in the second half of the 18th century, Goa's dependence on this trade increased to a very high level. Along with this inter-port trade on the Indian coast, sea-borne trade linking Goa to different ports in Asia and Africa played valuable role in arresting the further decline of Goa's economy. Both coastal as well as sea borne trade operated by Goa based indigenous traders, Portuguese settlers and crown officials, revived Portuguese India's external trade in the second half of the 18th century and, also, during the initial few decades of the 19th century. Under the privately operated sea-borne trade, Portuguese India had trade links with East Africa, Macau, Brazil and Lisbon. 88

The imports of Portuguese India, under this Goa based private traders operated sea borne trade, were as follows: East Africa - gold, ebony, ivory, slaves etc.; Macau - crockery, Chinese silks, paper, parasols, fans, camphor etc.; Brasil - tobacco. 89
The merchandise carried to Macau comprised of cotton, textiles, ivory, sandalwood, saltpetre, slaves etc. In the late 18th century, there developed a very profitable opium trade between the west coast of India and Macau. Along with the flourishing textile re-exportation trade, the opium trade which was short-lived "overshadowed all major trading channels".\(^9\)

The export trade to East Africa comprised of victuals including salt, textiles, glassbeads, guns, gunpowder etc. There was also slave trade between Mozambique, on one hand, and Mauritius and other French colonies in the Indian ocean, on the other, via Goa.\(^9\) Direct long distance trading in tobacco started taking place between Goa and Brazil when in 1775 Portugal's monopoly over the purchase and sale of tobacco was terminated. Towards the later period of the 18th century and, then, in the beginning of the 19th century, Goa-Brazil trade in finished cotton goods prospered to a large extent.\(^9\)

There was a brief revival of 'Carreira' (Goa-Lisbon trade) during the Anglo-French wars which continued upto 1815. During these wars, Lisbon was the major entrepot for the import of Asian goods into Europe. Lisbon was receiving from Bengal and Gujarat, Chinese tea and textiles for their re-export to different European nations.\(^9\) This improvement in the commercial interaction of Portugal with Asia during the last quarter of the 18th century is reflected in the number of visits of ships from Asian ports to Lisbon and vice-versa. During the period 1784-88, 56 ships left Lisbon for Asian Ports and 75 ships entered the port of Lisbon from Asian ports.\(^9\)

The Goa-based coastal and sea-borne trade operated by the indigenous traders and others, involved trading in both luxury and high value commodities, and bulk, low value and essential commodities. However, during the second half of the 18th century (and also in the first half of the 19th century) trading in luxury and high value commodity occupied the centre stage of the Portuguese Indian commercial system.\(^9\)

That Portuguese India's economic position improved, though not substantially, in the last quarter of the 18th century, because of the contribution made by the Goa based coastal and seaborne trade, operated by indigenous traders and others, is amply proved by the fact that in the last quarter of the 18th century the Custom House re-
Receipts of Goa Island were at a level which was much higher than what they were in the previous period, particularly in the first half of the 18th century (see Table 2.01). One of the factors which contributed to the higher custom receipts during this period, was the modification brought about by the Government in the Custom duties structure of the Goa Island Custom House. The revival in the external trade brought about by the above factors is also reflected in the public finances of Portuguese India. During many years in this period, Portuguese India experienced surplus in its public finances and the public receipts were found to be at higher levels as compared to the period before 1750. (see Table 2.02)

Thus, the revival of external trade on account of Goa-based coastal and sea-borne trade in the last quarter of the 18th century averted the total debacle of the Goan economy. However, it should be emphasised that this survival of the Goan economy from total collapse did not generate forces to lift the territory from its decadence. Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India were deep in the mire of decadence because of the inherent weaknesses of their economy, particularly because of its weak trading system and its inability to produce adequate quantity of either agricultural or industrial goods for export market. As Goa had nothing to offer for export markets except salt, coconuts, arecanuts and some other less important commodities, traders showed a natural tendency to skip over the ports of Goa, and trade with other regions on the Indian coast. The financial burden on the Government, owing to its inability to raise adequate resources from tax and other sources, was almost a perennial feature of Portuguese India during the 18th century, except for a few years in the last quarter of this century. On account of the deficits in the public finances, the financial position of the territory had to be propped up by the succour from the Crown, which during the period of 7 years from 1744 to 1750 had amounted to 3,158,652 xerafins in gold and silver. Even during the last quarter of the 18th century, when the external trade was reviving on account of Goa based coastal and sea-borne trade, the territory was under heavy debt burden. By 1780, Goa Island, Bardez and Salsete were living under heavy debt obligations. While the revenues of these provinces were 83,574 xerafins, 273,699 xerafins and 338,125 xerafins, respectively, their debts were very high-
181,503 xerafins, 390,013 xerafins and 326,176 xerafins, respectively. Although Portuguese India's Goa based coastal and overseas trade which developed in the last quarter of the 18th century continued to be profitable in the first quarter of the nineteenth century, by the middle of the 19th century, Goa, Daman and Diu found themselves in the vortex of commercial dominance of British India, and Portuguese Indian trade almost became subservient to the commercial interests of Bombay which had attained by this time world wide importance as an international entrepot.

2.6 SALT INDUSTRY AND SALT TRADE IN THE PRE - 19TH CENTURY GOAN ECONOMY

The preceding study of the Goan economy in the pre - 19th century period which is characterised by the golden period in the 16th century and economic decline from the beginning of the 17th century, offers us a broad picture of the salt industry in the Goan economy during this period. It helps to highlight the importance of salt in the Goan economy during this period. Although, during the golden era of economic prosperity, the share of salt and other locally produced export commodities like coconuts and arecanuts in the total export trade of Goa, was very small as compared to the trade in spices and other internationally demanded goods, these locally produced export commodities contributed to the development of the external trade of Portuguese India in an indirect way. Salt and other locally produced export goods played the role of a medium of exchange for availing of essential goods required for local consumption and goods for reexport. When Goa experienced economic decadence from the beginning of the 17th century, salt and other locally produced export commodities continued to be a part of the external trade of Portuguese India and were main export commodities of Goa. During the 18th century, when Goa - based country trade was making a valiant attempt to prevent the total downfall of the Goan economy, salt was one of the few commodities which were an integral part of the export trade of the territory.

Salt was produced in Goa during the pre-Portuguese period in Goa island, Bardez, Salsete and Pernem in almost same villages as were found to be the producing centres in the subsequent century. Historical documentation points out to the fact
that Salsete, Bardez and Goa Island were the producers of salt at the time of the advent of the Portuguese in Goa. Salt was produced in Goa Island along the banks of Mandovi and Zuari rivers. The following villages were the traditional producing centres of salt: Mercurim, Batim, Goa Velha, Gauncim, Curca, Siridao, Morombi Pequeno, Murda and Calopore.

In Bardez, salt was produced along the banks of the river Sinquerim, and the villages which were the traditional producing centres of salt were as follows: Calangute, Pilerne, Nerul, Marra, Nagoa, Arpora, Camorlim and Verla. Salt was being produced in Salsete along the river Sal in the following villages: Margao, Orlim, Cavelossim, Chinchinim, Telaulim, Sirlim, Dharmapur, Deussa, Assolna.

In Pernem, salt was produced along the banks of the river Tiracol and Agarwaddo was one of the main producing centres in Pernem.

As mentioned in the Chapter I, Khazan lands producing rice during the rainy season, were being used to produce salt during the first quarter of each year. The salt producers in Goa were adopting the same old primitive methods to produce this commodity. During all the regimes preceding the Portuguese rule, the rulers had recognised the importance of salt in the economy of the territory and were adopting special measures to protect the industry and encourage salt production. During the pre-Portuguese period, salt was an important export commodity not only in the coastal and mainland trade, but also in the sea-borne trade of Goa. The export trade in salt followed the same routes and more or less the same destinations during the Portuguese rule. Salt became an inseparable component of the coastal, mainland and sea-borne trade of Goa. In all these three routes of the export trade in salt, the network of inland waterways existing in Goa played an important role. Salt was carried through the inland waterways to different market places for its internal consumption and, also, to different ports or other destinations in Goa, from where it was transported to the regions outside Goa by coastal, inland or sea routes.

2.6.1 COASTAL TRADE IN SALT

As highlighted in the preceding sections of this Chapter, the coastal trade which was mostly along the western and eastern coasts of India was operated by Goa.
based private traders whose country crafts of different types laden with salt and other goods were visiting different ports on these coasts. Mhamais were one of the leading trading families which were operating this Goa based coastal trade and, also, seaborne trade. Country crafts laden with salt and other locally produced goods were visiting Mangalore, Basrur and other ports of Kanara, Mahe, Cochin, Calicut, Alleppy and Madras and in exchange of salt and other export goods, were carrying in their return visits commodities like rice, clothes, sugar, spices, saltpetre and other essential goods. Goa’s trade relations with Kanara involved exchange of salt for rice. Country crafts carrying salt and other locally produced goods were also visiting Bombay and other ports to the north of Goa, from where they were returning with essential and other goods required by Goa.  \(^{104}\)

2.6.2 INLAND TRADE IN SALT

The study of the state of the Goan economy during the pre-19th century period highlights the importance of salt in the inland trade to the mainland India. Goan salt was exported to the hinterland of the mainland India through the Ghat routes along the eastern mountain ranges of the territory. The oxen caravans with salt and other locally produced export goods loaded on the backs of the oxen, were seen crossing the Ghat passes, in the direction of the interior regions of the Deccan plateau. In their return trips, these caravans were bringing rice, wheat, clothes and other essential supplies for Goa and merchandise for reexport. \(^{105}\) Being a ‘deficit’ territory in foodgrains, the inland trade through the Ghat passes with salt as an important component of this trade, played a significant role for the survival of the local people, since this trade supplied foodgrains and other essential goods to the Goan people. The importance of this trade and of salt as a component of this trade, greatly increased during the period when the Dutch blockaded Goa. In the 17th century and the subsequent period when the sea trade declined, the inland trade became a major source of public revenue for Portuguese India. Salt, being an important component of this trade, made substantial contribution to the public revenue from 'Rendas' (revenue from farmed out taxes) collected from the inland trade. The inland trade with the mainland India was taking place through the following Ghat routes via the passes in the mountains. \(^{106}\)
1. Talkati Ghat leading to Alorna. This route was being used by the oxen caravans which were coming to Colvale in the north.

2. Rama Ghat. The oxen caravans using this route were coming to Thivim and Bicholim.

3. Chorlem Ghat. This route, situated at Satari, was used by the oxen caravans coming to Sanquelim and Thivim.

4. Kelghat. It had two routes, one leading to Sanquelim and Bicholim in the north and the other to Usgao and Ponda. The first route was also touching Mapusa.

5. Tinai Ghat near Collem. This route was used by the oxen caravans leading to Ponda. It was also touching Usgao, Khandepar, Mardol and Durbate.

6. Kuvessi Ghat at Supa. The oxen caravans using this route were coming to Ponda.

7. The Volvoi river and the Ghat pass of Khandepar. It was frequented by the caravans coming from Konkan.

8. Usgao and Bolkondem passes

9. Tanari Pass in Embarbacem. This pass was very narrow and was connecting Goa with the lands of Sawants and Marathas

10. Dighi Ghat near Supa. It was used by the caravans mostly for carrying clothes to Goa. The route was touching, on the way, Sanguem, Kepem, Paroda, Margao and Balli.

11. Kundal Ghat in Embarbacem. The passes at this Ghat were used by the caravans coming to Kunkolim via Naikini.

12. Donkorpem Ghat in Verlem of Zambaulim. This route was leading to Netarli Village.

2.6.3 SEA BORNE TRADE IN SALT

Salt was also a commodity in the sea borne trade of Goa. It was finding its place in the market of far-off regions like West Asia, Africa, Siam and certain other countries which were trading with Goa. Goa and Daman were exporting to Muskat salt and certain other locally produced goods like arecanuts and coconut products. Goa was exporting salt to Aden and Ormuz. Salt was also being exported to the oriental ports of Macau, Shangai, Singapore and Siam. East Africa including Mozambique.
was also importing of Goan salt. Ships carrying salt and other export commodities from Goa were touching the ports of these regions and were exchanging the same for the goods available in these countries. Similarly, foreign ships carrying goods required by Goa, were visiting the ports of this territory and were loading salt and other locally produced commodities in their return journeys.  

2.7 CONTRIBUTION OF SALT TO THE PUBLIC RECEIPTS OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

Although salt was an important export commodity in the external trade of Portuguese India, the contribution of salt to the public receipts of the territory was very small. The share of the revenue from taxes on salt in the total public receipts of the Portuguese India government was negligible because of relatively less production of salt in terms of value, as compared to the production of other commodities including agricultural produce in Goa. During the 18th century, 'Renda do Sal' (Revenue from salt tax) and revenue from Dizimos (Tithes) on salt production constituted the contribution of salt to the public revenue of Portuguese India. In case of both the taxes, salt was subject to a peculiar tax collection system, known as the system of revenue farming. It was a system whereby the Government was entering into a contract with the tax farmers who were authorized to collect the taxes from those who were required to pay the same to the Government. The contract stipulated that the tax farmers pay a fixed sum of money to the Government in instalments. They were required to pay a part of their dues in advance. The tax farmers were armed with punitive powers in the process of collection of taxes. This system which continued, for a long period, even in the 19th century, was oppressive and extortionist. The tax farmers were indulging in the extortion of the tax payers who were always bound to pay whatever demanded from them under the threat of punishment. The position regarding the collections from farmed out taxes including salt duties is made clear by the data pertaining to the 26 farmed out taxes for the years 1750 and 1753, as depicted in the table 2.04.  

105
### TABLE 2.04
PUBLIC INCOMES FROM DIFFERENT FARMED OUT TAXES AND OTHER CHARGES (1750-1753)
(in xerafins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Tax/Charge</th>
<th>1750</th>
<th>1753</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1. Dizimos (Tithes)</td>
<td>222,455</td>
<td>242,885</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2. 'Renda' of Tobacco leaves</td>
<td>170,700</td>
<td>176,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>3. 'Renda' of Goa island Custom House</td>
<td>88,000</td>
<td>115,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>4. Receipts from 2% additional duties linked to Royal Treasury of the Portuguese India</td>
<td>29,333</td>
<td>28,366</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>5. 'Renda' of the Salsete Custom House</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>29,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>6. 'Renda' of the Bardez Custom House</td>
<td>17,100</td>
<td>23,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>7. 'Renda' of salt</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>26,100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>8. Others(18 in number)</td>
<td>111,185</td>
<td>125,090</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>696,773</strong></td>
<td><strong>766,041</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, 126A (1723-1754), Fls. 49-50V

It throws light on the relative position of the salt duties among all 26 farmed out taxes levied in Goa. During both these years, the revenue collected by the government of Portuguese India by way of farmed out taxes, was 696,773 xerafins and 766,041 xerafins, respectively. The revenue from salt tax during these two years was 22,000 xerafins and 26,100 xerafins respectively. It was 3.15% and 3.4%, respectively, of the total revenue from all 26 farmed out taxes in Goa. Thus, the percentage share of salt duties revenue in the total revenue from farmed out taxes was negligible. Similarly, the salt duties revenue of Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez as a percentage of the total receipts of the Royal Treasury of Portuguese India never crossed 2%. The Table 2.05 throws light on this relative share of the farmed out salt duties collected in Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez, in the total receipts of the Royal Treasury of Portuguese India.  

The data pertain to 15 years during the period from 1750 to 1798. The receipts from salt duties ranged between 17,675 xerafins (in 1798) and 30,050 xerafins (in 1767). In 1750, the receipts from salt duties were 22,000 xerafins, while towards the
TABLE 2.05
RECEIPTS FROM FARMED OUT SALT DUTIES OF GOA ISLAND, SALSETE AND BARDEZ (1750-1798)
(in xerafins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Receipts from Salt Duties</th>
<th>Total receipts of the Royal Treasury of Portuguese India</th>
<th>% of the Column 3 to Column 2</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1750</td>
<td>22,000</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1753</td>
<td>26,100</td>
<td>1,578,034</td>
<td>1.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1754</td>
<td>28,167</td>
<td>1,623,366</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1756</td>
<td>28,550</td>
<td>1,844,919</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1757</td>
<td>27,402</td>
<td>1,738,265</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1758</td>
<td>22,352</td>
<td>1,656,600</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1759</td>
<td>27,200</td>
<td>1,502,405</td>
<td>1.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1760</td>
<td>27,200</td>
<td>1,660,737</td>
<td>1.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1761</td>
<td>27,200</td>
<td>1,554,804</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1762</td>
<td>27,200</td>
<td>1,543,284</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1764</td>
<td>27,210</td>
<td>1,972,032</td>
<td>1.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1766</td>
<td>25,542</td>
<td>1,672,208</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1767</td>
<td>30,050</td>
<td>1,453,609</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1769</td>
<td>27,542</td>
<td>1,543,656</td>
<td>1.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1798</td>
<td>17,675</td>
<td>1,947,653</td>
<td>0.9</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Compiled from different codices of the series Moncoes do Reino (Historical Archives of Goa) as given in no.58 of References and Notes of the Chapter II.

close of the 18th century, i.e. in 1798, they were 17,675 xerafins. In 1753, the total receipts of the Royal Treasury of Portuguese India were 1,578,034 xerafins which increased to 1,947,653 xerafins in 1798. From 1753 to 1769, the average annual percentage share of the receipts from salt duties in the total receipts of the Royal Treasury of Portuguese India was 1.6%. In 1798, this percentage share was just 0.9%. Thus, salt duties either as a percentage of the total revenue from farmed out taxes or as a percentage of the total receipts of the Royal Treasury of Portuguese India were negligible in the public finance structure of Portuguese India. However, as mentioned above, salt duties were not the only tax, salt was subject to. Salt was paying also
Dizimos (Tithes) which were levied at the rate of 10% on the gross income from land. Rice, coconuts and salt were three commodities which were subject to this tax. That the Portuguese India government was attaching great importance to salt as a source of tax revenue is clear from the fact that when the Government decided to introduce Dizimos as a tax to raise resources to surmount its financial problem, it included salt in the list of the commodities subject to this tax. In the absence of the data on the revenue from 'Dizimos' levied on salt, it is difficult to estimate the contribution of salt to the total receipts from 'Dizimos' during the 18th century. However, considering very large production of paddy and coconuts in Goa, as compared to the production of salt in the territory, one can conclude that the contribution of salt to the total receipts from Dizimos was not substantial.

The study of the economy of Goa during the pre-19th century period has highlighted the importance of salt in the external trade of Portuguese India. Goa's economy slipped into decadence from the 17th century onwards, but export commodities like coconuts, arecanuts and salt played an important role, although in a limited way, in providing relief to the Goan economy.
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29. Comissariat, op. Cit. pp.58, 73, 78


31. Ibid

32. Ibid

33. Francisco Maria Bordalo, Ensaio sobre a Estatistica do Estado da India, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1862 p.72; Julio Firmino Judice Biker, Colleccao de Tratados e Concertos de Pazes que O Estado da India Portuguesa Fez com os Reis e Senhores Com quem Teve Relacao Nas Partes da Asia e Africa Oriental Desde Principio da Conquista Ate ao Fim do Seculo XVIII, Tomo VI, Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1884, Letter of the Vice-roy to the King, dated 19-12-1729 in which he highlights the need to create an atmosphere for Hindu and Muslim traders to work without restrictions., p.172

34. HAG, Moncoe do Reino, 202 (1824-26) F.315, Teotonio R. De Sousa, ‘Medieval Goa’, p.42


110


40. HAG, MR 126A (1723-1754); 171B (1789-90), F.493; Claudio Lagrange Monteiro de Barbuda, Instruccoes Com que El-Rei D. Jose mandou passar ao Estado da India no anno 1770, Nova Goa, 1841 p.25

41. Pearson, The Cambridge History of India, The Portuguese India, p.141


43. Ibid

44. Ibid; Teotonio R De Sousa, “Goa to Me, The Voiceless in Goan History”, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1994, p.34


46. Ibid.; Celsa Pinto, ‘Trade and Finance’, p.40


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50. Teotonio R. De Sousa, Goa to me, p.38; HAG, Reis Vizinhos III, Codex 971, F.14-14V.

51. HAG, Moncoes do Reino 93B, F.529


111


56. HAG, MR 171B (1789-90) F.493; HAG, MR 126A(1723-1754) for public incomes farmed out in 1750 and 1753.

57. Pandurang Pissurlekar, Regimento das Fortalezas da India - Estudos e Notas por Pandurang Pissurlekar, Governo Geral do Estado da India, 1951 P.XI; HAG, MR No.2B, F.433 as quoted by P. Pissurlekar

58. HAG, MR 126A (For the receipts and expenditure of the Royal Treasury of Goa for the year 1753); MR 127B, F.138 to 145 (for 1754 receipts and expenditure); MR 129B, F.562 to 572 (for 1756 receipts and expenditure); MR 130B, F.126 to 136 (for 1757 receipts and expenditure); MR 131B, F.406 to 416 (for 1758 receipts and expenditure); MR 132B, F.668 to 678 (for 1759 receipts and expenditure); MR 133 B, F.461 to 472 V (for 1760 receipts and expenditure); MR 137A, F.83 to 126 (for 1761 receipts and expenditure); MR 135B, F.485 to 490 (for 1762 receipts and expenditure); MR 137A, F.143 to 205 (for 1764 receipts and expenditure); MR 140B, F.588 to 619 (For 1766 receipts and expenditure); MR 142C, F.854 to 900 (for 1767 receipts and expenditure); MR 145B, F.398 onwards (For 1769 receipts and expenditure); MR 178B, F.395V and 532 (For 1798 receipts and expenditure); MR. 171B F.595 (For receipts and expenditure of the period from 1783 to 1787).


64. HAG, MR 202 D, F.387

65. HAG, MR 126A (1723-1754), unpaged

67. The Tables 2.01 and 2.02 substantiate this statement
69. Prakashchandra Shirodkar, "Portuguese Trade Strategy in The East in 18th Century", p.3; HAG, MR 64, F.164
70. HAG, MR 86, Letter to Conde de Ericeira dated 19-8-1819, F.309
71. HAG, MR 127B, F.246
72. HAG, MR 82, F.129
73. HAG, MR 178A, F.59-59V 242-268
74. Celsa Pinto, "Goa: Images and Perceptions, Studies in Goan History", Panaji, Rajhauns Vitaran, 1996, p.4
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83. Celsa Pinto, "Trade and Finance in Portuguese India", p.46
85. Ibid
86. Celsa Pinto, "Trade and Finance in Portuguese India", pp.40, 41
88. Celsa Pinto, "Trade and Finance" pp.35-49; Celsa Pinto, "Goa: Images and Perceptions", p.5
89. Celsa Pinto, "Goa: Images, and Perceptions", p.5
90. Ibid, p.5; Celsa Pinto, “Trade and Finance”, p.35-49
91. Celsa Pinto, “Goa: Images and Perceptions”, p.5
92. Ibid, pp.52, 53
93. Ibid, p.51
94. HAG, MR 171B, F.491V, 495
95. Celsa Pinto, Trade and Finance, pp.126, 233; Celsa Pinto, Goa: Images and Perceptions, p.5
96. Celsa Pinto, ‘Trade and Finance’, p.86
97. Felippe Nery Xavier, Bosquejo Historico das Communidades; P.314; Prakashchandra Shirodkar, “Portuguese Trade Stategy in the East in 18th Century”, p.13
98. Danvers, op. Cit., p.442
100. Ibid., F.259-60
101. Ibid., F.259-61, 263V, 264, 265
102. Gracias, ‘Subsidios para a Historia Economico-Financeira ...’ p.3
103. Gracias, ‘O Caminho de Ferro e Porto de Mormugao, 'Bastora, Tipografia Rangel, 1940, p.89; Celsa Pinto, ‘Goa: Images and Perceptions’, p.84
108. HAG, MR 126A (1723-1754), Fls. 49-50V
109. Ibid (For salt duty revenue in 1750); references for salt duty revenue and total receipts of the Royal Treasury of Portuguese India for the years from 1753 to 1798 are the same as given in no. 58 of the References and Notes of the chapter two.