CHAPTER THREE
SALT AND THE GOAN ECONOMY DURING THE 19TH CENTURY PRIOR TO THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE TREATY OF 1878

3.1 INTRODUCTION

The dawn of the 19th century witnessed the continuation of the decadence in trade and commerce that had set in, in the economy of Portuguese India since the beginning of the 17th century. As we have seen in the Chapter II, the stagnation in the external trade of Portuguese India that continued in the second half of the 18th century, carried some bright spots which were more marked during the last quarter of the century. Goa-based coastal and overseas trade operated by the indigenous traders and others had prevented the total debacle of the Goan economy. Modification brought about by the government of Portuguese India in the custom duties schedule of the Goa Island Custom House had been of great help in this regard. These bright spots continued at the time Portuguese India stepped into the 19th century. There was brief revival of the Goa-Portugal trade channel during the Anglo-French wars in the early 19th century. The British monopoly of opium trade had been challenged by a new channel of opium trade opened up between Portuguese India and Macau. The East India company had monopoly of the opium trade to China. From 1813 when the Company stopped all opium exports via Bombay, the Indian traders defied the British government by exporting Malwa opium to China by sailing with Portuguese papers and under the Portuguese flag leaving from Daman. This trade brought atypical windfall for the Portuguese India government. Clarence-Smith is of the view that the new capital of Portuguese India, Panaji, was built between 1827 and 1835, largely from the resources earned by the Portuguese India government from the opium trade. Besides this channel of opium trade, direct Goa-Brasil trade links had been established and Brasilian tobacco could be imported directly from Brazil. Trade in cotton textiles was going on smoothly between Portuguese India and Brasil. Portuguese India's trade with East Africa which was profitable in the 17th century, had been crippled with the loss of Mombassa, but was now showing some signs of improve-
ment as Indian ocean slave trade expanded during this period. Thanks to the initiative taken in 1770s by Marques de Pombal, one of the great Portuguese statesmen who was at the helms of affairs during this period, the Portuguese government in Goa had taken progressive measures to develop agriculture in Goa.  

Despite these bright spots on the trade and commerce scene of Goa, and measures taken by the Government to develop agriculture in the last quarter of the 18th century, the economy of Goa exhibited all the signs of decadence at the dawn of the 19th century. Agriculture had remained stagnant and although there was realisation on the part of the Government to promote manufacturing industries, Goa in the beginning of the new century could not boast of any manufacturing industries of economic importance. The stagnation and backwardness of agriculture reflected most conspicuously in the large quantity of imports of rice and other essential goods into Goa from the interior mainland India and Canara region, since local production was not sufficient to meet the consumption needs of the people. As Goa had nothing to offer except a few commodities like coconut, arecanut, salt and salted fish for export markets, most of the traders of the neighbouring states had stopped visiting the Goa port for trading purposes. Even these traditional export commodities were not produced on such a scale that would have prompted the traders to visit Goa for large scale trading in these commodities. The financial position of the Government of Portuguese India was leaving much to be desired.

All was not well on the political front too. During the last two decades of the 18th century, Goa was living under the shadow of Tipu Sultan's possible attacks on Goa. Napoleon Bonapart had entered into an alliance with Tipu Sultan with the intention of driving both the British and the Portuguese out of India. The English suspected the aggression of Goa by the French, as its vicinity to Bombay made it the most desirable station to the French. Accordingly, they proposed to the Portuguese authorities the idea of introducing an English garrison into Goa, and in 1799 a detachment of British troops consisting of about 1100 rank and file entered into Goa. Thus, in the very beginning of the 19th century, Goa found itself under the imposed protection of the British forces who had made their way into the Portuguese territory.
with the declared intention of defending Goa against Tipu Sultan - French axis. The stationing of British forces in Goa was a source of constant irritation to the Portuguese authorities as there were no signs of these forces of the allied nation of Portugal vacating the territory of Goa. The British forces left Goa in 1815 and the fear of political dependence under British domination which was lurking over Goa, disappeared, at least, for the time being.

The political situation in the parent-country was also disturbing. When Goa was living under the threat of the French aggression, and to protect it, British forces had occupied the territory, the French invaded Portugal in 1807 and, as a result, the Portuguese Royal Court fled to Brazil and remained there for a long period. During this period, the Regency Council set up in Lisbon was, in fact, controlled by the British General William Carr Baresford, who received his orders from the Duke of Wellington stationed in London. This period saw Portugal ruling its overseas territories from its temporary seat in Brasil. The crisis brought about by the French aggression did not allow Portugal to pay attention to its colonies in Asia and Africa. One more development took place after the second decade of the 19th century, which greatly influenced the Portuguese colonies including Goa. Brasil became independent in 1822 and in the same year Portugal got a liberal constitution which restricted the powers of the Court. The Charter of 1826 established a constitutional monarchy. But, the period after liberal revolution of 1820 witnessed great political instability in Portugal because of intermittent civil strife between liberals and absolutists and, later, among liberal factions. Concerned with its own problems, Portugal's control over its overseas territories decreased and they were left to fend for themselves. Goa had to look after its own economy. Its economic relations with the parent-country dwindled to the minimum. Although the territory was a political dependency of Portugal, during the 19th century, it became economically almost independent of its parent-country; and this process was hastened by the above mentioned political events in Portugal.

Thus, the first two or three decades of the 19th century witnessed Portuguese India's economic links with its parent-country almost totally unloosened. However,
this did not make the territory an economically independent and self-reliant administrative unit. The Portuguese possessions in India became economic dependencies of British India, making the economy of this territory, particularly its trade and commerce, subservient to the interests of British India. The 19th century saw Bombay, which had earned world-wide reputation as an international entre-pot, totally dislodging Goa and Surat from the position of eminence they had enjoyed in their prime days and making Goa a virtual economic satellite of British India. In addition to the political developments mentioned before, there were a few other important events that influenced the economy of Goa, Daman and Diu during the first half of the 19th century. One of these political developments that engaged the minds of the Portuguese authorities and influenced, although indirectly, the economy of Goa, was a series of revolts by the Ranes in the New Conquests. In 1844, one more political event took place, which influenced the administrative set-up of Portuguese India. During this year, Macau and Timor which were, so far, being administered by the Governor General of Portuguese India, were delinked from Portuguese India and a separate Governor General was appointed for these two territories. The abolition of slavery in all Portuguese territories was another event that influenced the economy of Portuguese India. During the governorship of Pestana, an imperial edict was passed on 25-2-1869, which abolished this inhuman system in the Portuguese dominions. As a result of this measure, trading in slaves which was going on in the Portuguese colonies, since time immemorial, officially stopped.

3.2 THE STATE OF THE GOAN ECONOMY IN THE 19TH CENTURY

The state of the Goan economy during the 19th century until the implementation of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, can be better understood if we focus the different aspects of the economy of Goa, namely, Goa's agricultural sector, the state of its industries, volume, composition and direction of its external trade, the state of the communications sector, the state of its public finances, particularly its custom receipts position, the population and the standard of living of the people and economic measures adopted by the Government to tone up the economy during this period. The focus on the state of the Goan economy will enable us to understand, in a better way,
the state of the salt industry and salt trade in Goa and the changes that have taken place in them during the period under study.

### 3.2.1 AGRICULTURE IN GOA

Agriculture was the most important sector of the Goan economy even though, since their arrival on the Goan soil, in the beginning of the 16th century, the Portuguese neglected this productive activity on account of their obsession with trade and commerce.\(^{19}\) The majority of the people in both Old and New Conquests was engaged in the agricultural pursuits, but, paradoxically, agriculture had remained least productive economic activity in Goa. In fact, this situation prevailed even in the subsequent century towards the end of the Portuguese power in India. The soils and climatic conditions were favourable for the growth of a wide variety of tropical crops, but the technique of production followed by the Goan farmers was primitive. "Tools, methods of preparing land and means of using water belonged to the times of Brahma" Rice, coconut and salt were the principal products of land.\(^{20}\) Besides these agricultural products, the following agricultural commodities were being produced in Goa:- Nachinim, arecanuts, woorid, mugo, savom, sesame, culita, tory, kidney bean, chovli, orio, pepper, chillies, hemp, cotton, cinnamon, sugarcane, pacol, sweet potatoes, onions, coffee, jackfruits, mangoes, cashewnuts and bananas, besides certain other products which included vegetables.\(^{21}\) Although the above includes fruits, very little attention was given to the production of fruits in the territory.\(^{22}\) Thus, agricultural production in Goa included cereals, pulses, spices, fruits, vegetables and certain other categories, besides salt which was abundantly produced.

In the Old Conquests although there was cultivation of rice, salt, coconut, nachinim, arecanut, fruits and other products, cultivation of rice and coconut was more general.\(^{23}\) During the first half of the 19th century, Goa's position, in this respect, was such that there were vast lands remaining uncultivated in both Old Conquests and New Conquests.\(^{24}\) In Bardez 1/10 area was uncultivated, while in Salsete the uncultivated area was 1/3 of the total area available for cultivation.\(^{25}\)

As compared to the production in the second half of the 18th century, particularly towards the close of this century, production of agricultural goods in Goa, by
1841 was estimated to be double. This increase in the production of agricultural goods, particularly that of rice, was the outcome of the encouragement given by the Government to the rice cultivation in Goa, especially in Ponda. Cottineau in his 'An Historical Sketch of Goa' published in 1831 states that by 1827 rice production was more than the consumption requirement in Goa and was sufficient even for exportation. So far productivity of land was concerned, by 1840, the cost of rice cultivation was 1/3 of the total production on good plots and 1/2 of the total production on sandy and high lands. The cost of salt production was 1/3 and that of coconut production 1/5 of the total production.

In 1841, the Government, in order to bring under cultivation uncultivated lands in New Conquests, set up an institution named "Sociedade Patriotica de Agricultura dos Baldios das Novas Conquistas". The "Sociedade" was to grant on lease uncultivated lands of the New Conquests to those persons who were volunteering to cultivate these lands. With a view to attract the agriculturists from the Old Conquests to the lands of this 'Sociedade', and encourage them to cultivate pulses on the land, the Government granted certain facilities to the agriculturists willing to avail of the same. Subsequently, in order to encourage the agriculturists to settle on the lands of the 'Sociedade' and undertake the cultivation of these lands which were fertile and available in plenty, the Government exempted, for five years, the cultivators working under the 'Sociedade', from the payment of all taxes. All these measures were purported to increase the production of agricultural goods in the New Conquests, so as to free the territory from its dependence on the imports of cereals and other products.

Between the Old Conquests and the New Conquests, the production of agricultural products in the latter was less than that in the former, inspite of land availability in the latter being larger and land being fertile. In the Old Conquests, the position of agriculture, in terms of improvements effected therein, was comparatively better, since Jesuits had been instrumental in introducing these improvements. The New conquests were showing a different picture. The people were averse to the introduction of innovations in the practice of agriculture. Even though the areas like Satary, Embarbacem and Astragar pertaining to the New Conquests had great potentialities.
for the development of agriculture, the scarcity of capital and much needed human
efforts acted as a stumbling block to the development of agriculture in the New Con-
quests. Lack of initiative and enterprise on the part of the farming population neutral-
ised the benefits accruing to these areas. Agriculture in Goa suffered because of the
neglect on the part of the Government, even though it was "more powerful nerve of
richness". Despite the absence of the scarcity of land, the inaction and indifference on
the part of the people kept Goan agriculture poor and backward. During the preceding
centuries, heavy taxes, wars and frequent invasions of the neighbouring native rulers
affected the prospects of agriculture. Goa had large tracts of Communidades land of
cultivable nature, but these lands were not adequately utilized by the people and, so, a
very large number of plots were remaining uncultivated. One of the reasons of this
situation was the system of annual or triennial leasing of the Comunidades lands.
This system did not encourage the farmers to effect improvements on land.

During the first half of the 19th century, although the production of rice was
more than what it was in the 18th century, thanks to the Government efforts to revital-
ise the Goan agriculture in the last quarter of the 18th century, imports of rice into
Goa never stopped, since, except for a few years period as mentioned above, produc-
tion of rice was always lagging behind the consumption requirements of the local
population. By 1839, the position of Goa Island, as described by Barbuda, was as
follows: The production of rice was 55,000 khandies and, assuming that each person
was to be supplied one measure, the population would have required an additional
quantity of 108,378 khandis, i.e., almost double the quantity of its production. In Sal-
sete and Bardez, the difference between production and consumption was proportion-
ately less. The shortage of rice here was equivalent to two months consumption.
According to an estimate, by 1846 production of rice in Goa was sufficient to meet the
consumption requirements of the Goan population for just 4 months of a year. Even
the production of nachinim, the staple food of the poor, was not sufficient for internal
consumption. In 1846, imports of rice were amounting to 47197 fardos. According
to an estimate, in 1850 and 1851, the deficiency of rice was equivalent to 113 and 1/2
days of consumption. By the middle of the 19th century, the cultivated land in the
Old Conquests of Goa was covering 70,000 hectares, while in the New Conquests the area cultivated was between 20,000 to 25,000 hectares. Land under rice cultivation was 49,600 h.a. The number of coconut trees was 1,394,547. There were 254,933 arecanut trees covering 229 h.a of land. As far as productivity of land in terms of rice crop was concerned, the seed-output ratio was 1/15 for the sorodo crop on the banks of the rivulets or creeks and 1/8 for the vaingana crop. The seed-output ratio was 1/6 on dry lands. The productivity per hectare for the rice crop was 8 hectolitres. On an average the annual production per coconut tree was 20 to 30 coconuts and the productivity per areca tree was 3 kgs of arecanuts. The annual rice production in Goa was 14,742 kumbhs (47,174 kilolitres and 4 Hectolitres) comprising of 12,394 kumbhs of the sorodo crop and 2,346 kumbhs of vaingana crop. The production of coconuts and arecanuts per annum was 23,108,457 fruits and 2,390 khandis (764,800 kgs), respectively. This inability of the agricultural sector to meet the consumption requirements of the people of Goa as regards rice and other food articles is, no doubt, the most striking indicator of the stagnation of agriculture in the territory. It is, however, pertinent to note that the stagnated state of Goa's agriculture is exhibited by one more economic variable during the first half of the 19th century. It is none other than 'Dizimos'(Tithes), a tax on the gross production of rice, coconuts, salt and toddy from coconut trees, levied at the rate of 10% of the gross production of these commodities on private lands and at the rate of 5% of the same on the Communidades land. When Portuguese India entered into the 19th century, the collection of the receipts from this tax was exhibiting a decreasing trend. The figures of these receipts during the period from 1795 to 1827, which are available to us, focus on the behaviour of the revenue from this tax levied on land income in Goa. The annual revenue from this tax decreased from 309,655 xerafins during the three years period of 1795-97 to 187,000 xerafins during the three years period of 1825-27. This decreasing trend in the receipts from Dizimos is shown by the Table 3.01. As mentioned above, this fall in the collection of 'Dizimos' (Tithes) exhibits the stagnated state of, and, also, decadence in the agricultural sector of Goa.
TABLE 3.01
ANNUAL RECEIPTS FROM DIZIMOS (TITHES) 1795-97 TO 1825-27
(in xerafins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1795-97</td>
<td>309,655</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1801-03</td>
<td>265,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1810-12</td>
<td>267,860</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816-18</td>
<td>211,200</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1822-24</td>
<td>196,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825-27</td>
<td>187,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, 202 D (1824-26)

3.2.2 MANUFACTURING INDUSTRIES IN GOA

During the entire period of the Portuguese presence in Goa, one sector of the economy that was totally neglected by the Government was manufacturing industry. It is pertinent to note that the Government authorities were aware of the importance of this sector for the development of the economy of Portuguese India and, accordingly, there is reference to the need to set up and develop manufacturing units, in the letters, reports and other documents dispatched by the Vice-roys and Governors-General to the National Government at Lisbon. However, these suggestions or decisions never materialised in concrete terms, and the position of Goa as regards manufacturing industry remained, more or less, as it was during the previous centuries. Although agriculture also received the same treatment at the hands of the Government of Portuguese India, as witnessed in the last quarter of the 18th century, measures aiming at improvements in agriculture were adopted by the Government, thanks to the initiative taken by Marques de Pombal. This neglect of the manufacturing business was at the heart of all the woes of the economy of Portuguese India. In the absence of manufacturing industries, Portuguese India continued to suffer from unfavourable balance of trade, which could have been avoided if Portuguese India, or Goa to be more specific, had at its disposal manufacturing goods and larger quantities of agricultural goods to be offered to the export market. During the first half of the 19th century, Goa had the following manufacturing industries.
1. Gunpowder manufacturing unit
2. Sugar production
3. Production of jaggery from sugar cane
4. Jaggery production from coconut tree
5. Liquor production from coconut tree, cashew tree and sugar cane.
6. Coconut oil production
7. Sesame oil production
8. Cocum oil production
9. Wax production
10. Cotton textiles on smaller scale.

Only the gunpowder manufacturing unit was owned by the Government, while all other units belonged to the private sector, and were run as small units, producing output on small scale. Goa had Government-owned cloth manufacturing unit at Cumbarjua, where looms had been installed for weaving the cotton cloth. This unit was closed on account of continuous losses suffered by the Government.\(^{49}\) Cotton cloth manufacturing units never developed in Goa as the territory was not a cotton-growing region and, as such, was suffering from the insufficient supply of cotton to the weaving industries. An attempt had been made to establish a cotton goods manufacturing unit in Goa, but despite Government's assistance and Junta da Fazenda's help, the unit did not succeed because of the shortage of capital.\(^{50}\) In Bardez, attempts had been made to see whether sugar cane production was possible. The distillation of liquor from sugar cane was also tried in this Concelho, but no encouragement was received by this industry in Goa.\(^{51}\) Besides the above manufacturing units, there were coir rope producing units, shoemaking units and other trades like carpentry, goldsmithy, knitting of stockings, blacksmithy, turnery, stone cutting, masonry, cabinet-making and other small trades.\(^{52}\) Sugar production was taking place at Collem in the New Conquests and weaving units had been set up at Panaji. While iron works were found in the New Conquests, wax production was taking place in Salsete. A weaving unit had been set up at Taleigao, but on account of losses incurred, it had to be closed down.\(^{53}\) Daman and Diu were centres of cotton goods production, and export of cot-
ton goods from Daman to East Africa and Brasil greatly helped the economy of Portuguese India for long time, until machine made cotton goods totally dislodged these handicraft cotton goods.

Most of the manufacturing units of Goa were cottage units catering to the demands of limited local market. Production for export market was almost conspicuous by its absence. Even though Goa could boast of excellent and skillful artisans such as goldsmiths, carpenters, blacksmiths, shoemakers etc., there was no inducement to work over and above what was sufficient to ensure a bare livelihood. Manufacturing did not flourish because of lack of capital. Except the House of Kenkros, Goa did not have capitalists who could invest in manufacturing. Manufacturing industries were not getting any encouragement from the Government. To add to this, the people themselves were lacking in the spirit of enterprise. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the position deteriorated further and by 1878, Goa dwindled into insignificance. Except for a few manufacturing units which were required for meeting the basic necessities of the people and certain trades and professions, Goa had no manufacturing business of any importance.

3.2.3 THE COMMUNICATIONS SECTOR IN GOA

Along with other sectors of the economy, the transport sector was very backward in Goa. Roads connecting different towns and villages were in poor conditions and a large number of villages were not linked by any road. Many villages were inaccessible. This situation continued up to 1846 when the Government, under the initiative of the Governor General J. F. Pestana, undertook the construction of roads to develop the communication network in the Concelhos of Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez. The development of the road system in Goa continued after 1855, and a large number of roads were constructed through the length and breath of Goa and to the frontier of British India. 'A carriage descended the Ghats by a road leading from the British frontier for the first time in the year 1857. Construction of a road from Usgao to the Ghat of Tinem which joined itself to the road from Dharwar and opened up the port of Goa to the interior of British India was taken up by the Government of Portuguese India. Another road from Sanquelim to Massordem leading to the Ghat of
Tinem was under construction. Panaji - Sadashivgad road connecting the capital of Goa to the south and another road leading to British India and running northwards through Bardez from Verem to Naibag on the confines of Sawantwadi were taken up for construction. The programme of road building undertaken by the Government, aimed at connecting the port of Goa to the interior of British India in an attempt to promote the export trade of Goa.

A turning point in the communication system came with the opening of the first telegraph line connecting Goa with the outside world in 1859. The network of roads constructed by the Government had salutary effect on the internal trade of Goa. Goa's external trade through the Ghat routes and other land routes was benefitted because of better transport. This greatly helped, along with other export commodities, the export of salt, through the land routes, to the mainland interior of British India. The Government tried to improve the conditions of Goa through the development of a new capital for Portuguese India, at Nova Goa (Panaji) which replaced the Old Goa port town.

3.2.4 POPULATION AND STANDARD OF LIVING OF THE PEOPLE IN GOA

The population figures and the data pertaining to the standard of living of the people of a territory help us to understand the state of the economy of that territory. Although the enumeration of the population of Portuguese India, carried out during the major part of the 19th century, was not scientific and systematic, the figures of the population of the territory which are placed before us by these enumerations, indicate us, if not exactly, in a broad manner, the change in the population during the 19th century. Population figures of Goa coupled with the figures of production in the agricultural sector, give us an idea about the availability of locally produced agricultural goods to the population of the territory, throwing, thus, light, though in a limited way, on the standard of living of the people. The population of Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez in 1801 was 179365. In 1808, while the population of Portuguese India was reported as 292,688, Goa's population was 258,600. In 1825, the population of Portuguese India and Goa was 316,253 and 281,956, respectively. In 1844, while the population of Portuguese India was 382,934, Goa had a population of 346,686.
In the enumeration of the population that took place in 1848, Portuguese India’s population was reported as 383,594. Goa’s share in this population was 347,476. In 1877, while Goa had a population of 392,234, Portuguese India’s population totalled up 420,586. Portuguese India’s population in 1879 was 442,883 and Goa’s share in this total population was 390,500.

During the first half of the 19th century, Goans were enjoying a very low standard of living. 80% of the people of Goa was composed of truly poor and miserable lot. 1/2 pardau (80 reis) or 1/4 rupee was sufficient for decent maintenance of a single individual in Goa, but a very large majority of the Goan population had such a dismally low income that decent living was totally beyond their reach. Many were getting either one Rupee or 2 or 3 Rs. per month. Those who were earning 2,000 rupees per year were considered rich, but their number was minimal during this period. Only 2 or 3 people had annual incomes exceeding Rs. 20,000 per year. Thus, there were very few rich families in Goa. Most of the people of Portuguese India were “almost naked and used ordinary clothes”. Even these clothes were imported from the lands of Balaghat. The landed gentry including the upper and middle peasants had reasonably comfortable life. In the rural sector, except Gaonkars who were the original settlers of the Communidades land, almost all were poor. The poor had to do with just one meal. High and rich classes were eating bread and the poor used flour. Pork, fowl and turkey were cheap and abundant. Sheep and goat were rare, but beef although cheap, had no demand except in three cities of Goa.

By the second half of the century, the standard of living of even the upper class population suffered, due to inflation. During this period salaries of various government officials were raised. The high cost of living reduced the savings of the middle class. A labourer earned a daily wage of 16 reis. The whole year’s wages could buy for him only 10 khandis which were not sufficient to maintain the whole family. The estimated amount of rice required by an adult during a year was calculated as 3 khandis of unhusked rice. In the beginning of 1860s, the people of Goa suffered because of higher and increasing prices of all basic necessities of life. This, no doubt, made the life of the people, at large, unbearable, but the people with fixed in-
comes suffered more, as their purchasing power eroded substantially. The seriousness of this situation is conveyed by the request of the military personnel, stationed in the territory, to the Portuguese Crown for a rise in their salaries which, they said, were insufficient to meet their basic needs.\(^{82}\) The rise in the prices of rice and other essential goods had resulted from the shortage of these commodities in Goa. Since the local production could not meet the growing demand of the people, and the imported rice and other essential goods were subject to import duties, the people asked the Government to exempt rice and paddy imports from import duties, upto December 1862.\(^{83}\) Per capita gross regional product and per capita consumption of Goa, estimated by Francisco Luis Gomes, a great Goan scholar of the 19th century, give us an idea about the standard of living of the people of Goa, by the middle of the 19th century. He estimated the gross regional product of Goa as 900,680 xerafins on the basis of his estimates of different components of the gross regional product. The estimates of the production of these components were as follows:

Animal sources 94,800 xerafins; rice production 6,700,000 xerafins; cereal and pulses, 250,000 xerafins; Coconuts 1,380,000 xerafins and other commodities 412,000 xerafins. By dividing the gross regional production by the population of Goa which was about 347,000 during this period, he derived the per capita gross regional product of Goa as 26 xerafins, which was comparatively at a very low level.\(^{84}\) As mentioned by Franscisco Luis Gomes, even Ireland, a poor region in Great Britain had per capita gross product of 100 xerafins. Per capita consumption of Goa was estimated by Gomes as 30 xerafins, which figure was more than the per capita gross production of Goa by 4 xerafins, implying that there was insufficiency of production of essential goods in Goa. Goa was importing 1/4 of the rice output of Goa from outside the territory, as per his estimate in this respect.\(^{85}\)

The lower standard of living of the people of Goa and the miserable conditions in which the majority of the people was living, were the outcome of the backwardness of the Goan economy, which had resulted into a lack of adequate means of livelihood for the people. This led to the migration of a large number of people to British India, in search of employment for earning means of livelihood. This was an altogether dif-
ferent picture now, as compared to the situation some 250 years back. In the zenith of its prosperity in the 16th century, the people of almost all countries were flocking to Goa for commercial purposes. With the decline in trade there was no occasion for immigration of the people into Goa. The only exception was of a handful of Gaulis i.e. milkmen who annually resorted from British Indian territory to Satari for grazing their cattle. As Goa's economy suffered because of its dwindling trade, the movement of population began in the opposite direction. The beginning of the 19th century witnessed a large number of people, principally, those belonging to menial classes, annually emigrating to British India in search of employment. By 1830, thousands of workers and a good number of craftsmen from Goa were found migrating to the lands of Balaghat and British settlements, in search of the means of livelihood which they were not getting in their own territory. The migrants were not taking their wives and children along with them. They were left behind and were sustained by the incomes of the menfolk who returned to Goa after regular intervals. The people intending to migrate to the mainland India had to put up with great inconveniences and difficulties on account of the passports and other requirements. During the first half of the 19th century, many Goans had migrated to Bombay and other places of Bombay Presidency to work as cooks, clerks and nurses.

3.2.5 GOA'S EXTERNAL TRADE

As Goa lost its position as an international entrepot in the post-sixteenth century period, its external trade underwent drastic changes in terms of quantity, direction and composition of trade. In the 19th century, the nature of Goa's external trade further changed. In the first half of the nineteenth century, Goa's external trade was characterised by Goa based coastal trade carried on by the indigenous traders and others, with different ports on the Indian coast, but, particularly, with Bombay, and by Goa based long distance overseas trade with Macau, Brazil and Portugal. Towards the end of the first half of the 19th century, the long distance trade channels of Goa almost disappeared and Goa's fate was invariably and irretrievably linked to its trade with Bombay. Goa's trade with the interior of the mainland India, through Ghat routes, was also going on after the end of the first half of the 19th century. However,
during the first half of this century itself, Goa-based Asiatic trade with Bombay increased and downward trend was visible in the Goa-Balaghat trade.\textsuperscript{89} Goa's import trade during the first half of the 19th century included rice, wheat, sugar, tea, Chinese ware, raw materials, liquour, wines, beer, spices, paper, iron, copper, tin, cotton cloth, linen, wool, silk etc.\textsuperscript{90}

The exports of Goa comprised of coconuts, arecanuts, salt, rice, pulses, oils, alcoholic drinks, vinegar, jaggery from coconut tree and sugarcane, cashewnuts, pepper, ginger, cotton thread, stockings, hemp, fishing nets, candles, fruits, woodwork etc.\textsuperscript{91}

Goa's more important export goods were areca, salt and coconuts. It was considered main wealth of Goa. Goods which were being exported in less quantity and, so, were considered less important, included copra, oil, vinegar, liquours, jaggery, cashewnuts, pepper and chillies, hemp, cinnamon, fruits, wax products, butter etc.\textsuperscript{92}

By 1827, as Cottineau reports in his book on Goa, this territory was exporting coconuts and, comparatively, smaller quantity of salt to Bombay. A ship or two were leaving Portugal for Portuguese India every year, but the destination of their voyage was Brasil, Macau, Daman, Bombay and Surat. Daman had more trade and commerce than what Goa had. Trade and commerce in the latter had been reduced to the minimum. One or two ships were going from Goa to Macau, but they generally touched Daman to take opium for Macau.\textsuperscript{93}

Towards the late 1830s, Goa's position as regards its import-export trade was precarious. The gap between the imports and exports was substantial. In 1839, the unfavourable balance of trade was to the tune of 1,415,822 xerafins. Goa was paying for its imports not only in terms of its meagre exports, but also in terms of cash.\textsuperscript{94}

The difference between the imports and exports could be paid only because of the earnings of thousands of migrant Goans who were earning their means of livelihood in British India by working as stone-cutters, carpenters, tailors and other workers. The migrants used to return to Goa towards the end of the rainy season and in the beginning of summer with their earnings in metallic money. During the late 1830s, this migrant Goan population was bringing every year, about 800,000 xerafins in
terms of metallic money, which helped the territory to reduce its burden of unfavourable balance of trade.⁹⁵

During the 19th century, the external trade of Goa continued to be in a decadent state. There are different indicators which prove the decadence of Goa’s external trade during this period. One of these indicators is the receipts of the Custom House of Goa. The movement of these receipts over a period of time gives us an idea about the performance of the import and export trade of the territory. The data pertaining to the period from 1806 to 1840 as regards the receipts of the Custom House of Goa Island, as shown in the Table 3.02, make clear that the average annual receipts of the Custom House of Goa Island during this period indicated a downward trend.

### TABLE 3.02
**AVERAGE ANNUAL RECEIPTS OF THE CUSTOM HOUSE OF GOA ISLAND (1806 TO 1840)**
(in xerafins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1806 to 1810</td>
<td>238,952.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1811 to 1815</td>
<td>201,343.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1816 to 1820</td>
<td>262,662.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1821 to 1825</td>
<td>110,372.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1826 to 1830</td>
<td>93,241.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1831 to 1835</td>
<td>71,688.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1836 to 1840</td>
<td>69,617</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Claudio Lagrange Monteiro de Barbuda, Instruccoes com que El-rei D. Jose I mandou passar ao Estado da India, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1841, p.25

The average annual receipts during the five years period from 1806 to 1810 were 238,952.6 xerafins which decreased to 110,372.4 xerafins during the period from 1821 to 1825. The receipts further decreased to 69,617 xerafins during the period from 1836 to 1840.⁹⁶ The decadence of the external trade of Goa is also proved by the receipts of the Custom Houses of Ponda, Bicholim and Pernem. If we observe the annual receipts of these three Custom Houses during the period from the last years of the 18th century to the end of the first quarter of the 19th century, as shown in the Table 3.03, we find that there was a tendency for the Custom receipts to fall and then
to increase, but over the period of time for which the data are available, we note that
the annual receipts decreased.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
<th>Period</th>
<th>Receipts</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1785-87</td>
<td>42,070</td>
<td>1785-87</td>
<td>23,850</td>
<td>1793</td>
<td>8,543</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1797-99</td>
<td>29,663</td>
<td>1797-99</td>
<td>15,712</td>
<td>1797-99</td>
<td>7,500</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1809-11</td>
<td>28,656</td>
<td>1809-11</td>
<td>18,433</td>
<td>1804-06</td>
<td>2,255</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1819-21</td>
<td>32,755</td>
<td>1821-23</td>
<td>20,652</td>
<td>1813-15</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1825-27</td>
<td>37,080</td>
<td>1824-26</td>
<td>22,772</td>
<td>1824-25</td>
<td>1,501</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, 202D(1824-26)

In case of the Ponda Custom House, the annual receipts decreased from 42,070
xerafins during 1785-87 to 28,656 xerafins during 1809-11, but they increased to
37,080 xerafins during the period 1825-27. It should, however, be noted that between
the period 1785-87 and 1825-27, there was a fall of 4,990 xerafins in the receipts of
the Ponda Custom-House. As regards the Custom-House of Bicholim, the annual re-
cceipts decreased from 23,850 xerafins during the period 1785-87 to 22,772 xerafins
during the period 1824-26. The annual receipts of the Pernem Custom-House which
were 8,543 xerafins in 1793 decreased to 2,255 xerafins during the period 1804-06.
They slumped down further to 1,501 xerafins during the period 1824-25.97

The rise of Bombay as a commercial centre on the western coast of India
changed the direction of Goa’s external trade in the course of the 19th century. Goa
and other Portuguese possessions started importing a large number of goods from
Bombay leading to a substantial increase in the trade of Portuguese India with Bom-
bay. The import trade of Goa with Bombay was composed of rice, wheat, sugar, tea,
spices, oils, butter, cheese and other food items, liquour, textiles and clothes of both
Indian and European origin, paper, hardware, crockery, glassware, cutlery, Chinese
silks, curios, fans, parasols etc. Goa’s exports consisted of local liquour, coconut, co-
conut products, cashewnuts, salt, arecanuts, cocum, local pottery, fowls, mangoes,
jaggery, pepper, chillies, nachinim, tamarind, bamboos etc. Daman imported from Bombay cotton, tea, sugar, spices, saltpetre etc. Its exports to Bombay consisted of tobacco, wood and textiles. Diu's imports from Bombay consisted of dates, pepper, sugar, oils, copra, rice, tobacco etc., and it was exporting to Bombay ivory.  

During the first half of the 19th century, we observe increase in the Goa-Bombay coastal trade while Goa-Balaghat trade is found to have decreased. The value of Goa based Asiatic trade with Bombay was 710,552, 560,671 and 837,993 xerafins in 1823, 1826 and 1837, respectively, while Goa's trade with Balaghat, during the same period was valued at 804,949, 823,155 and 433,558 xerafins, respectively.  

The first few decades of the 19th century were marked by certain developments which influenced the trade and commerce of Portuguese India. On 10-12-1836, the Portuguese Government issued a decree which abolished all traffic in slaves within the Portuguese Dominions. Another development was associated with the rise of Bombay as a flourishing international port. American clothes which appeared on the commercial scene of India started competing with the clothes of Diu. They also competed away the clothes of Diu from the market of East Africa. 

In 1839, total production of goods was valued at 4,627,754 xerafins and total consumption was estimated to be 6,043,576 xerafins. During the same year, import trade was valued at 2,009,281 xerafins and export trade was of the value of 593,459 xerafins. Thus, the difference between the values of import trade and export trade was very large, to the tune of 1,415,822 xerafins. The value of export trade was 29.5% of the value of import trade. The territory was paying for its imports in terms of coins and the export of coconuts, arecanuts, salt and fruits. Because of heavy import duties imposed by the importing country, i.e. British India, on the import of coconuts, the coconut growers were earning less profits on this trade. During this period the export of salt and fruits was less as compared to other products. 

By 1840, most of Goa's trade was with Bombay and with adjacent lands of Balaghat. The trade between Goa on one hand and Daman, Diu, Macao and Timor on the other, was insignificant. However, Goa's trade with Mozambique and Portugal
was not as insignificant as that with Daman, Diu, Macau and Timor. Goa did not have more than two ships. There were a few ships in Diu and Daman which navigated throughout the year between these two Portuguese possessions and Mozambique. Most of the trade along the coasts was carried on by small crafts which were navigating to the north and to the south along the Indian coast. Such country crafts were mostly belonging to the British Indian ports, the biggest of such crafts not exceeding 25 tonnes or, at the most, 30 tonnes. The Portuguese Indian country crafts rarely crossed beyond Diu to the north and Cochin to the south. Prior to the tenure of Vice-roy D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro, one ship used to leave for Mozambique on Government's account, to carry on trade with that Portuguese colony on the east coast of Africa. Since the enterprise incurred losses, and even costs could not be covered by this trade channel, it was subsequently discontinued. As far as Macau was concerned, only one brig or gallean was coming every year from this Portuguese port along the Chinese coast.

The situation by 1860 was such that very few Portuguese merchant ships visited the ports of Portuguese India. These ports were visited mostly by foreign ships. Coastal trade between Goa, Daman and Diu on one hand and Bombay, Cochin and other ports, particularly of the east coast of India, was carried on by sailing boats, and by a few British steamships. As compared to the trade during the initial period of the Portuguese rule in Goa, the coastal trade carried on, now, was less. By 1860, Goa was importing rice, copra and tobacco from South Malabar; all luxurious goods from Bombay; gold, tortoise, ivory, teeth of hippopotamus, unicorn from Mozambique; tea, sugar, silk, dining table wares etc. from Macau; wines, vinegar, hats, brandy, oils from Lisbon; and from Balaghat area and Belgaum, clothes, rice, wheat, tobacco leaves, pepper, hemp, wax, saltpetre etc. Exports by this period included salt, coconuts, copra, arecanuts, salted fish, birds and fruits. Coconuts and other fruits were main export goods, while arecanuts, salt, pepper, cinnamon, coir, liquor from cashew and coconut tree, gums, saltpetre etc. were exported on a smaller scale.

In 1868, the import trade of Goa was composed of the following items: Rice, paddy, sugar, tea, potatoes, livestock, cotton cloth, wool, coir, wheat and other cere-
als, alcoholic beverages, linen ropes, iron and steel, copper, sulphur, meat, coffee, 
biscuits, garlic, coriander, almond, jaggery, lavender, shoes and other footwear and 
carriages. During the same year the exports consisted of the following: Coconut, are-
canuts, copra, salt, domesticated birds, bamboos, both raw and finished cashewnuts, 
coconut oil, salted fish, firewood, culita, kidney beans, rice, cashew and coconut liqu-
our etc. 109

In 1878-79, the exports of Goa consisted of the following items: Coconut, 
salted fish, copra, salt, cashewnuts, fruits, firewood, coconut liquor, fowls, onions, 
bamboos, fish, fins of fish etc.

The exports in 1878-79 were such that in terms of value, coconut was the larg-
est export commodity, followed in descending order of their export earnings, by 
salted fish, copra and salt. Thus, in terms of export earnings salt was occupying 4th 
place in the export trade of Goa. 110

3.3 SALT IN THE AGRICULTURAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE GOAN 
ECONOMY

Agriculture has been the mainstay of the Goan economy since time immemo-
rial. The production of paddy and other agricultural commodities has played a domi-
nant role in the Goan economy under all rules in this territory. It has been a major 
source of livelihood and employment for the people of Goa. Although solar salt is 
produced out of the marine water resources in most of the coastal regions, wherever 
favourable climatic conditions are available, traditionally its production has been un-
dertaken as an agricultural pursuit, since for the production of solar salt, land has been 
an important factor of production. Accordingly, in Goa, salt has always been consid-
ered as an agricultural commodity. It is from this point of view that the study of salt 
industry in Goa, should be made in the context of the agricultural production in this 
territory. The role played by salt can be better understood if the state of the agricul-
tural sector in the Goan economy in terms of production of major agricultural com-
modities is focused by us. The data available for the years 1824 and 1825 help us in 
understanding what was the position of agricultural production in Goa during the first 
quarter of the 19th century.
Goa Island: During the year 1824, Goa Island produced 4,644 kumbhs of paddy (rice) valued at 557,280 xerafins, 74 khandis of arecanuts of the value of 4,440 xerafins, 5,719 kumbhs of salt valued at 17,157 xerafins and 7,270,919 coconuts of the value of 218,127 xerafins. Goa Island produced just 7 khandis of nachinim valued at 42 xerafins during this year. The total value of these 5 main agricultural commodities was 797,046 xerafins. The share of rice (paddy) in this total value of the production of 5 main agricultural goods was about 70%. The shares of coconuts and salt were 27% and 2.1% respectively. Arecanuts and nachinim contributed very negligibly to this total value. In 1825 the production of the main agricultural commodities was as follows:- Rice (paddy), 4,395 kumbhs (527,400 xerafins); salt, 5,729 kumbhs (17,187 xerafins); coconuts, 5,111,353 (153,340 xerafins); Nachinim, 11 khandis (66 xerafins). If we assume that the production of arecanuts during 1825 was more or less the same as it was during the preceding year, we can conclude that the total value of 5 main agricultural commodities during this year was 702,433 xerafins. The shares of rice, salt and coconuts, in this total value were 75%, 2.4% and 21% respectively. The shares of nachinim and arecanuts were negligible as in the previous year.

Bardez: During the year 1824, Bardez produced 5,625 kumbhs of rice(paddy), 542 kumbhs of salt, 2,014 khandis of nachinim, 104 khandis of arecanuts and 5,186,396 coconuts valued at 675,000 xerafins, 2,168 xerafins, 12,084 xerafins, 6,240 xerafins and 155,591 xerafins, respectively. The total value of these 5 main agricultural commodities was 851,083 xerafins. The share of each commodity in this total value was, in serial order, about 79%, 0.2%, 1.4%, 0.7% and 18%. In 1825, the production of main five agricultural commodities was as follows:- Rice(paddy) 5,407 kumbhs (648,840 xerafins); salt 544 kumbhs (2,176 xerafins); Nachinim 1871 khandis (11,226 xerafins) arecanuts 83 khandis (4,980 xerafins) and coconuts 4,713,754 (141,412 xerafins). The total value of the production of these five main agricultural commodities was 808,634 xerafins. The share of each one of the five commodities in the total value of these commodities was, in serial order, as follows:- Paddy-80.2%; Salt-0.2%; Nachinim- 1.3%; Arecanuts- 0.6% and Coconuts- 17.5%.
**Salsete:** In 1824, the value of rice (paddy) produced in Salsete was 869,061 xerafins and that of salt 3,099 xerafins. The production of salt was 1,023 kumbhs during this year. The estimated production of rice (paddy) was 5,793 kumbhs. In 1825, the production of rice (paddy) was 5,811 kumbhs valued at 871,685 xerafins. The value of the production of arecanuts and nachinim was 5,076 xerafins and 3,558 xerafins, respectively, and the production of salt was 1,019 kumbhs valued at 3,086 xerafins. The estimated production of arecanuts was about 85 khandis and that of nachinim 593 khandis. Salsete produced 8,913,008 coconuts valued at 267,390 xerafins. The total value of all five main agricultural goods in 1825 works out at 1,150,795 xerafins. The share of each commodity in the total value of the production of these five commodities was as follows: Rice (paddy) 75.8%; Salt 0.2%; nachinim 0.3%; coconuts 23.2% and arecanuts 0.44%.

**New Conquests:** New Conquests included Ponda, Astragar, Embarbacem, Balli, Chandrawaddy, Cacora, Canacona, Cabo de Rama, Bicholim, Sanquelim and Pernem. In 1824, New Conquests produced 3,692 kumbhs of rice (paddy), 10,907 khandis of nachinim, 1422 khandis of arecanuts, 124 kumbhs of salt and 3,136,080 coconuts. The values of all these commodities were as follows: Rice (Paddy), 443,109 xerafins (120 xerafins per kumbh); Nachinim, 54,535 xerafins (5 xerafins per khandi); arecanuts, 71,119 xerafins (50 xerafins per khandi); salt 992 xerafins (8 xerafins per kumbh); coconuts, 78,402 xerafins (25 xerafins per 1,000 coconuts). The total value of the production of all five main agricultural goods in 1824 in Old Conquests was 648,157 xerafins. The percentage share of each of the above commodities in this total value of the production of 5 commodities was as follows: Rice (paddy) 68.36%; salt 0.15%; coconuts 12%; arecanuts 11% and nachinim 8.41%.

The production figures for the year 1825 for the New Conquests were as follows: Rice paddy, 3,471 kumbhs (416,557 xerafins); Nachinim, 11,838 khandis (59,192 xerafins); arecanuts, 1,326 khandis (66,310 xerafins); 122 kumbhs of salt (976 xerafins); coconuts, 3,454,577 (86,364 xerafins). The total value of the production of 5 main agricultural commodities in Old Conquests in 1825 was 629,399 xerafins. The percentage share of each of the above commodities in this total value of
the production of 5 commodities worked out as follows: Rice (paddy) 66.1%; salt 0.15%; coconuts 13.7%; arecanuts 10.5%; nachinim 9.4%.

Based upon the production of the five main agricultural commodities in Goa Island, Bardez, Salsete and New Conquests, Goa’s production of these five commodities in 1825, in terms of value, can be derived. The production of these commodities in Goa for the year 1825 was as follows:

### TABLE 3.04
**PRODUCTION OF FIVE PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES IN GOA (1825)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value (in xerafins)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice (paddy)</td>
<td>19,084 kumbhs</td>
<td>2,464,482</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>22,192,692 (No.)</td>
<td>648,506</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>7,415 kumbhs</td>
<td>23,425</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arecanuts</td>
<td>1,568 khandis</td>
<td>80,806</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nachinim</td>
<td>14,313 khandis</td>
<td>74,042</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, 202, unpaged

The total value of the production of 5 agricultural goods in Goa, during 1825, totalled up 3,291,261 xerafins. Among these commodities, maximum contribution to this total value of the production, came from rice (paddy). It was 74.8%, followed by coconuts which contributed 19.7% to this total value. Salt contributed just 0.7% to this total value of the production of 5 commodities. The share of arecanuts and nachinim was 2.4% and 2.2%, respectively.

Thus, in 1825 the contribution of salt to the total value of 5 main commodities was abysmally low. It was not even 1%, but the contribution of paddy was maximum at a very high level of about 75%, followed by that of coconuts.

### 3.3.1 SALT VIS-A-VIS TOTAL AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION IN GOA ISLAND AND SALSETE IN 1840s

The data available as regards agricultural production, agricultural consumption and imports and exports of agricultural commodities in respect of Goa Island in 1844, throw light on the state of the economy of Goa Island, by the middle of the 19th century. They help us to understand the position of Goa's economy and, also, that of salt.
vis-a-vis total agricultural production in this concelho. Goa Island's production of agricultural commodities in 1844 was worth 640,608 xerafins. Its consumption of the agricultural commodities was valued at 1,253,720 xerafins. Goa Island imported agricultural goods worth 677,089 xerafins while its exports of these commodities were worth 235,877 xerafins. The above figures make clear one important fact related to the economy of Goa Island. The local agricultural production was short of the consumption requirements of the concelho, by 613,112 xerafins, and its import trade was larger than its export trade by 441,212 xerafins. The percentage of the export trade to the import trade of the concelho was about 35%, implying that Goa Island's exports could pay just 35% of its import trade obligations.

One of the commodities which was giving surplus production was salt. Its production was worth 65,290 xerafins. Consumption within the concelho being worth 6,717 xerafins, the surplus available was 58,573 xerafins. This quantity was being exported to the foreign countries. The value of salt exported from Goa Island was about 25% of the total export trade of the agricultural commodities of the concelho.

In 1844, an important phenomenon was visible in the economy of the concelho of Goa Island. The production of rice and other agricultural goods decreased substantially on account of the unremunerative prices of the agricultural commodities. In a report dispatched to the higher authorities, the Administrator of the concelho stated that the prices were not covering even 50% of the expenditure incurred by the farmers on farm production. The Administrator of the concelho in this report made reference to the demand of the farm producers that the cereals imported from outside Goa should be subjected to heavy custom duties, so as to discourage their imports into the territory. The implication of this demand was that the agricultural prices in Goa had fallen because of large scale imports of rice and other agricultural commodities into Goa. It was a demand for the protection to the local agricultural industry by means of higher import duties on imported agricultural goods. However, it should be emphasised here that irrespective of the price level of agricultural goods, Goa's agricultural production, particularly rice production was always falling short of its consumption needs.
The data of the agricultural production, agricultural consumption and imports and exports of agricultural commodities pertaining to the year 1843 in respect of the concelho of Salsete are available in the Goa Archives. The study of these data is worth undertaking to understand the economy of Salsete by the middle of 1840s. It helps us also to have a broad idea about the economy of Goa and the position of salt in the total agricultural production during the period. The concelho produced agricultural goods worth 1,508,762 xerafins, but its total consumption was of the value of 1,598,407 xerafins, implying that production of many agricultural commodities produced in the Conceelho was not sufficient to meet the consumption requirements of the people of Salsete. The Conceelho of Salsete imported goods worth 344,401 xerafins and exported goods valued at 264,704 xerafins. The production and consumption of rice, coconut, salt and nachinim, and production of arecanuts during this year was as given below:

Salsete produced 45781 khandis of rice worth 961,401 xerafins. Its consumption was over and above the quantity produced. It was 57,017 khandis valued at 1,197,357 xerafins, necessitating imports of rice equal to 11,236 khandis worth 235,956 xerafins. The production of coconuts in Salsete in 1843 was 16,723,650 worth 334,473 xerafins. Its consumption in the concelho was 6,368,650 valued at 127,573 xerafins. The quantity exported of coconuts was 10,355,000 worth 207,100 xerafins. The production of arecanuts was 71 khandis valued at 14,632 xerafins. The entire quantity produced of this commodity was exported during the year under question. The production of salt was 13,716 khandis worth 20,574 xerafins. The consumption of the commodity in the concelho was 9,000 khandis valued at 13,500 xerafins. The quantity exported was 8,395 khandis worth 12,592 xerafins. Salsete produced 875 khandis of nachinim worth 18,375 xerafins. The consumption within the concelho was 1,048 khandis worth 25,998 xerafins, necessitating imports of the quantity of 532 khandis worth 11,172 xerafins. Salsete exported 359 khandis of nachinim worth 7,539 xerafins.

The data mentioned above, tell us that the contribution of rice to the total agricultural production in terms of value in Salsete was 63.7%, followed by coconuts
whose contribution to the total agricultural production was 22%. Salt contributed just 1.36%, while the shares of nachinim and arecanuts were negligible. Salsete was a 'deficit' Concelho in rice and nachinim, and had surplus production of salt and coconuts. The deficit in the case of the principal staple food of Goa - rice, was 11,236 khandis and the surplus in salt and coconuts was 4,716 khandis and 10,355,000 nuts, respectively.

3.3.2 THE STATE OF THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION AND THE RELATIVE POSITION OF SALT IN GOA IN 1849

The available figures of the production of agricultural commodities in 1849, enable us to understand the position of this sector during this period and to compare it with that in the year 1825. The Table 3.05 shows us the production of rice, nachinim, salt, arecanuts and coconuts in quantitative and value terms in Goa Island, Salsete, Bardez and New Conquests in 1849.

### TABLE 3.05
REGIONWISE PRODUCTION OF FIVE PRINCIPAL AGRICULTURAL COMMODITIES IN GOA (1849)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Goa Island</th>
<th>Salsete</th>
<th>Bardez</th>
<th>New Conquests</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Qty</td>
<td>Value</td>
<td>Qty</td>
<td>Value</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Rice (Paddy)</td>
<td>98936</td>
<td>601866</td>
<td>40670</td>
<td>854070</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nachinim</td>
<td>1210</td>
<td>8381</td>
<td>333</td>
<td>6660</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>44700</td>
<td>23959</td>
<td>13000</td>
<td>26000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arecanuts</td>
<td>82</td>
<td>6435</td>
<td>72</td>
<td>5760</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut</td>
<td>6434640</td>
<td>175544</td>
<td>1200000</td>
<td>300000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>816185</td>
<td>1192490</td>
<td>977137</td>
<td>299003</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:- (a) Quantity in Khandis, except coconuts (b) Value in xerafins
Source:- Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, (1850), Doc. no. 198 of 1850

In Goa Island, the production of rice (paddy), nachinim, salt and arecanuts was 98,936 khandis, 1210 khandis, 44,700 khandis and 82 khandis, respectively. The production of coconuts was 6,434,640 nuts. The values of these commodities were 601,866 xerafins, 8,381 xerafins, 23,959 xerafins, 6,435 xerafins and 175,544 xerafins, respectively. The total value of the production of these 5 agricultural commodi-
ties was 816,185 xerafins. The share of each one of this commodity in the total value of production of these 5 commodities was as follows:

Rice (Paddy):- 73.7%; Nachinim:- 1%; Salt:- 3%; Arecanuts:- 0.7%; coconuts:- 21.5%.

In Salsete, the production of rice(paddy), nachinim, salt and arecanuts was 40,670 khandis, 333 khandis, 13,000 khandis and 72 khandis, respectively. The number of coconuts produced was 12,000,000. The values of the production of these goods were as follows: rice, 854,070 xerafins; nachinim, 6,660 xerafins; salt, 26,000 xerafins; arecanuts, 5,760 xerafins and coconuts, 300,000 xerafins. The total value of the production of these five commodities was 1,192,490 xerafins. The share of each one of the above commodities in the total value of the production of 5 commodities was as follows: rice(paddy) 71.6%; nachinim 0.5%; salt 2.1%; arecanuts 0.5% and coconuts 25.1%.

The production of rice (paddy), nachinim, salt and arecanuts in Bardez was 113,282 khandis, 5,315 khandis, 37,285 khandis and 74 khandis, respectively. In the absence of the availability of the data of production of coconuts in 1849, we have taken into consideration the figure of the production of this commodity in the previous year (1848). The production of coconuts in 1848 was 4,301,300. The values of all these commodities were as follows: rice(paddy) 792,974 xerafins; nachinim 26,575 xerafins; salt 37,285 xerafins; arecanuts 2,960 xerafins and coconuts 117343 xerafins. The total value of the production of these 5 commodities was 977,137 xerafins. The share of each one of the above commodities in the total value of the production of these 5 goods was as follows: rice (paddy) 81%; nachinim 2.7%; salt 3.8%; arecanuts 0.3% and coconuts 12%.

The production of rice(paddy), nachinim, salt and arecanuts in New Conquests was 95,284 khandis, 110,074 khandis, 2,844 khandis and 2,632 khandis, respectively. The production of coconuts was 46,456,247. The values of all these commodities were as follows:- rice(paddy) 762,284 xerafins; nachinim 880,599 xerafins; salt 1,422 xerafins; arecanuts 184,292 xerafins and coconuts 1,161,406 xerafins. The total
value of these commodities was 2,990,003 xerafins. The share of each commodity in this total value was 25.5%, 29.5%, 0.05%, 6% and 38.9% respectively.

On the basis of the production figures of five commodities (rice, nachinim, salt, arecanuts and coconuts) pertaining to Goa Island, Salsete, Bardez and New Conquests, for the year 1849, as given above, we can compute the production of these commodities in value terms for the whole territory of Goa for the above year. The Table 3.06 indicates these production figures and percentages of the share of each commodity to the total value of the production of these five commodities.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>% share of the commodity to the total value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Rice (Paddy)</td>
<td>3,011,194</td>
<td>50.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nachinim</td>
<td>922,215</td>
<td>15.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>88,666</td>
<td>1.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arecanuts</td>
<td>199,447</td>
<td>3.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>1,754,293</td>
<td>29.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>5,975,815</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:- Compiled on the basis of the values indicated in the Table 3.05

While rice contributed more than 50% of the total value of the production of these five commodities, the share of nachinim, arecanuts and coconuts was 15.4%, 3.3% and 29.4%, respectively. The contribution of salt to the total value production of the five commodities was a meagre 1.5%.

3.3.3 CHANGE IN THE AGRICULTURAL PRODUCTION INCLUDING SALT BETWEEN 1825 AND 1879

The position of the agricultural sector in the Goan economy and the relative importance of salt therein can be better understood by us if we know the rate of change in the quantity produced of the main agricultural commodities between the years 1825 and 1879. On account of the non-availability of the data pertaining to the total agricultural production of Goa during this period, quantity produced of rice, coconuts, salt and arecanuts is taken into consideration and based upon the available
data related to the years 1825, 1848 and 1879, rates of change in the quantity pro-
duced of each of these four main agricultural commodities between 1825 and 1879 are
computed.

Goa produced 381,680 khandis, 453,472 khandis and 619,700 khandis of rice
in the years 1825, 1848 and 1879 respectively.\(^{127}\) Between the years 1825 and 1848,
the increase in the annual production of rice has been registered as 18%. Between the
years 1848 and 1879, this increase has been 36%. The annual production of rice in-
creased by 62% between the years 1825 and 1879. The production of coconuts in
1825, 1848 and 1879 has been 22,192,692, 32,724,293 and 39,913,440, respec-
tively.\(^{128}\) Between the years 1825 and 1848, the increase in the annual production of
cocoanuts has been registered as 47%. This percentage increase was 21 between 1848
and 1879. Between the years 1825 and 1879, the rise has been about 80%. Goa pro-
duced 148,300 khandis, 86,765 khandis and 149,662 khandis of salt in 1825, 1848 and
1879, respectively.\(^{129}\) The annual production of salt decreased by 41.5% between the
years 1825 and 1848. Between the years 1848 and 1879, the annual increase in the
production of salt has been 72.5%. The increase in the annual production of salt in
1879 over that in 1825, has been just 0.9%. The production of arecanuts in 1825,
1848 and 1879 was 1,568 khandis, 1255 khandis and 4,559 khandis, respectively.\(^{130}\)
Between the years 1825 and 1848, there has been 20% fall in the annual production of
arecanuts. The production of this commodity in 1879 was 263% more than that in
1848. Between the years 1825 and 1879, the annual production of arecanuts increased
by 190%.

The above analysis focuses the fact that while the annual production of rice,
coconuts and arecanuts increased by 62%, 80% and 190%, respectively, the increase
in the annual production of salt was just 0.9%, between the years 1825 and 1879.

3.4 SALT INDUSTRY IN THE 19TH CENTURY DURING THE PERIOD
UPTO THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THE ANGLO- PORTUGUESE
TREATY OF 1878.

The state of the salt industry in the 19th century during the period upto the
implementation of the Treaty of 1878 can be studied on the basis of the data of pro-
duction of salt in different salt-producing villages of Goa pertaining to the four Conceiços - Goa Island, Salsete, Bardez and Pernem - where salt was produced during the post-rainy season. These data of production of salt and other variables pertaining to different conceiços of Goa throw light not only on the concentration of the salt industry in Goa, but also on the change that has taken place in production, employment and other variables in these conceiços. The earliest year of which data of production of salt in Goa were available was 1824. The available data help us to know the village-wise concentration of the salt industry and production in each village during the first quarter of the 19th century. As regards the salt industry in Goa, it can be stated with due consideration for the historical facts that the localisation of the salt industry as found in 1824, was existing in Goa, since time immemorial. For hundreds of years, Goa's salt industry was concentrated along the banks of Mandovi and Zuari rivers in Goa Island, the banks of the river Sal in Salsete, the banks of the River Chapora in Bardez and the banks of Tiracol river in Pernem. In 1824, salt production was taking place in the following villages of Goa Island: Mercurim, Batim, Goa Velha, Gauncim, Curca, Siridao, Morombi pequeno, Murda and Calapore. In Salsete, Margao, Orlim, Cavelossim, Chinchinim, Telaulim, Sirlim, Dharmapur, Deussa and Assolna were the villages where salt was being produced. So far as Bardez was concerned, the following were the salt-producing villages: Calangute, Pilerne, Nerul, Marra, Nagoa, Arpora and Camorlim. Agarwaddo was the main salt-producing centre in the Concelho of Pernem. Thus, the total number of salt-producing villages in Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez was 9; 9 and 7, respectively.

Goa Island: The villagewise production of salt in Goa Island in 1824 and 1825 was as given in the Table 3.07. The total production of salt in Goa Island in 1824 and 1825 was 5,719 kumbhs, and 5,730 kumbhs respectively. Maximum production of salt was reported at Calapore (2,245 kumbhs) which amounted to 39% of the total salt production of Goa Island. Batim produced 1,530 kumbhs and 1,540 kumbhs of salt during these 2 years which amounted to 26.7% and 26.8%, respectively, of the total salt production of Goa Island. Minimum production was turned out by Gauncim (0.34%).
TABLE 3.07
PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA ISLAND (1824 AND 1825)
(in kumbhs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>1824</th>
<th>1825</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Mercurim</td>
<td>50</td>
<td>50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Batim</td>
<td>1,530</td>
<td>1,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa Velha</td>
<td>710</td>
<td>710</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gauncim</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curca</td>
<td>250</td>
<td>250</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Siridao</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>81</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Morombi pequeno</td>
<td>774</td>
<td>774</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Murda</td>
<td>60</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calapore</td>
<td>2,245</td>
<td>2,245</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>5,719</td>
<td>5,730</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, 202 C, F.259-60

The estimated value of salt produced in Goa Island in 1824 and 1825 was 17,157 xerafins and 17,187 xerafins, respectively. The estimate is based upon the price of salt which was about 3 xerafins per kumbh during this period.

**Salsete:** The Concelho of Salsete reported the villagewise production of salt as given in the Table 3.08. The total production of salt in Salsete in 1824 and 1825 was 1,023 kumbhs and 1,019 kumbhs, respectively. Maximum production of salt was reported at Telaulim in both the years: 500 kumbhs in 1824 and 450 kumbhs in 1825. It was 48.8% and 44% of the total salt produced in the concelho of Salsete. The second largest producer of salt in the concelho of Salsete was Assolna. It produced 228 kumbhs, and 264 kumbhs in 1824 and 1825, respectively. Percentage-wise, it was 22% and 26% of the total salt production in Salsete, respectively. The total value of salt produced in 1824 in Salsete was 3,099 xerafins. It implies that the price of salt per kumbh in the concelho of Salsete was slightly more than 3 xerafins. Accordingly, the total value of salt produced in 1825 was 3,086 xerafins.
### Table 3.08

**PRODUCTION OF SALT IN SALSETE (1824 AND 1825)**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>1824</th>
<th>1825</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Margao</td>
<td>35</td>
<td>37</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Orlim</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavelossim</td>
<td>4</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chinchinim</td>
<td>151</td>
<td>162</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Telaulim</td>
<td>500</td>
<td>450</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sirlim</td>
<td>42</td>
<td>40</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dharmapur</td>
<td>22</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Deussa</td>
<td>30</td>
<td>30</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Assolna</td>
<td>228</td>
<td>264</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,023</strong></td>
<td><strong>1,019</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, 202C, F.259, 261, 263V

**Bardez:**

The production of salt in Bardez in 1824 and 1825 is given in the Table 3.09. The total production of salt in these years was 542 kumbhs and 544 kumbhs respectively. Maximum production of salt was reported at Nerul. It produced 300 kumbhs, and 300 kumbhs is in 1824 and 1825, respectively. It amounted to 55% of the total production of the concelho of Bardez. The second largest producing centre of salt was Arpora (80 kumbhs, and 83 kumbhs, respectively). 136 It amounted to 14.7% and 15% of the total salt production of Bardez. Based upon the price of salt which was 4 xerafins per kumbh, we can calculate the value of the salt produced in this concelho during 1824 and 1825. It was 2,168 xerafins and 2,176 xerafins, respectively. 137

**Pernem:**

The production of salt in Pernem, the only concelho producing salt in the New Conquests, was 124 kumbhs and 122 kumbhs, in 1824 and 1825, respectively. The price of salt per kumbh in Pernem during this period was 8 xerafins. 138 It can, therefore, be concluded that the value of salt output in Pernem in the above 2 years was 992 xerafins and 976 xerafins, respectively.
### TABLE 3.09
PRODUCTION OF SALT IN BARDEZ (1824 AND 1825)
(in kumbhs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Place</th>
<th>1824</th>
<th>1825</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calangute</td>
<td>56</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilerne</td>
<td>10</td>
<td>9</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerul</td>
<td>300</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marra</td>
<td>61</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagoa</td>
<td>15</td>
<td>12</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arpora</td>
<td>80</td>
<td>83</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camorlim</td>
<td>20</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>TOTAL</strong></td>
<td>542</td>
<td>544</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, 202 C, F.264-65

#### 3.4.1 PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA IN 1824, 1825 AND 1844

The figures of the production of salt, both in quantitative and value terms, in different salt producing concelhos of Goa in 1824 and 1825, help us to get a macro-view of the production of salt in Goa. In 1824, total production of salt in Goa was 7,409 kumbhs. In terms of value, the production of salt in Goa was 23,416 xerafins. In 1825, while total output, in quantitative terms, was 7,415 kumbhs, its value was worth 23,425 xerafins. It is pertinent to know the percentage shares of each concelho in the total quantity produced and the total value of the output of salt in Goa. Goa Island which produced 5,719 kumbhs of salt in 1824 contributed 77% to the total salt production in Goa. Salsete's share in the total production of Goa, in quantitative terms, was 1,023 kumbhs, which amounted to about 14%. The share of Bardez was 7.3% since it produced 542 kumbhs of salt. Pernem contributed 1.6% of the total salt production of Goa in 1824. The percentage shares of these concelhos in the total salt production of Goa in 1825, in quantitative terms, were 77.2%, 13.7%, 7.3% and 1.6%, respectively.

The percentage shares of these four salt producing concelhos in the value of the total salt production of Goa, in 1824 and 1825 were as given in the Table 3.10.
TABLE 3.10
SHARES OF SALT-PRODUCING CONCELHOS IN THE VALUE OF TOTAL
PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA (1824-1825)
(in percent)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concelho</th>
<th>1824</th>
<th>1825</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goa Island</td>
<td>73.3</td>
<td>73.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>13.2</td>
<td>13.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>9.3</td>
<td>9.3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem</td>
<td>4.2</td>
<td>4.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>100</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: The Table is compiled on the basis of the quantities indicated in the Tables 3.07, 3.08 and 3.09 and the quantity produced in Pernem.

If we compare the shares of the salt producing concelhos in the total salt production of Goa, in quantitative terms, with those in value terms, we observe that the share of Goa Island in quantitative terms (77%) was more than that in value terms (73%). The share of Salsete in the total salt production of Goa in quantitative terms was more or less equal to that in value terms. In case of Bardez, the share in value terms (9%) was more than that in quantitative terms (7%). Similarly, the share of Pernem in value terms (4%) was more than that in quantitative terms. This was true of both the years, 1824 and 1825.

The data available as regards the production of salt in different salt producing concelhos of Goa in 1844 enable us to compare the production of salt in 1824 with that in 1844, both in quantitative and value terms. The Table 3.11 provides us the break-up of the production of salt in Goa among four salt-producing concelhos of this territory.

The Table 3.11 focuses the following facts as regards salt production in Goa. The total production in Goa was 164,035 khandis in 1844. In value terms, Goa's production of salt during this year, was 88,988 xerafins. The largest share in this total salt output of Goa was contributed by Goa Island. The quantity produced by Goa Island was 130580 khandis valued at 65,290 xerafins. It amounted to 79.6% of the total quantity of salt produced in Goa and 73.3% of its value measured in xerafins. The shares of Salsete, Bardez and Pernem (and Balli) in quantitative terms were 13,911 khandis (8.5%), 15,112 khandis (9.2%) and 4,432 khandis (2.7%), respectively. The
shares of these three concelhos in value terms were as follows: - 13,911 xerafins (15.6%), 7,556 xerafins (8.5%), 2,231 xerafins (2.5%). The above figures make it clear that in terms of quantity, the second largest contributor to the total salt production of Goa was Bardez, but, in terms of value, this position was taken by Salsete, and Bardez went down to the third place, since the price of salt in Bardez was less than that in Salsete.

TABLE 3.11
CONCELHOWISE PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA (1844)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concelho</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th></th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Quantity (in khandis)</td>
<td>Value(in xerafins)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa Island</td>
<td>130,580</td>
<td>65,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>13,911</td>
<td>13,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>15,112</td>
<td>7,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem and Balli</td>
<td>4,432</td>
<td>2,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>164,035</td>
<td>88,988</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Boletim oficial, 5-6-1845, No. 25, P.1; Boletim oficial, 26-6-1846, No.28, p.5,6.

3.4.2 VILLAGEWISE PRODUCTION OF SALT IN THE CONCELHO OF BARDEZ IN 1843 AND 1844

Data were not available as regards the villagewise production of salt in different concelhos of Goa, except that in the concelho of Bardez. The villagewise production of salt in 1843 and 1844, in this concelho, was as shown in the table 3.12. The table states that the total production of salt in Bardez in 1843 and 1844 was 741 kumbhs and 755 kumbhs, respectively. During both the years, the largest contribution to the total salt production in Bardez came from Nerul (35%) followed by Marra (29%). Arpora's contribution to the total salt production in Bardez was 15% in 1843 and just 2.1% in 1844, while Verla's share in the total salt production of this Concelho was 14.5% in 1844. If we compare the production of salt in Bardez in 1825 with that in 1843, it is observed that the share of Nerul in total salt production in Bardez decreased from 55% to 35%. The share of Arpora remained more or less the same. Marra's share decreased from 29% to 11%.
TABLE 3.12
VILLAGEWISE PRODUCTION OF SALT IN BARDEZ (1843 AND 1844)
(in kumbhs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Village</th>
<th>1843</th>
<th>1844</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Calangute</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pilerne</td>
<td>70</td>
<td>72</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nerul</td>
<td>260</td>
<td>260</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Marra</td>
<td>215</td>
<td>215</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Nagoa</td>
<td>16</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arpora</td>
<td>110</td>
<td>16</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Verla</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Colvale</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>741</td>
<td>755</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Boletim oficial, 26-6-1846, No.28, p.5

3.4.3 PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA IN 1849

Data available as regards the production of salt in Goa, in 1849, show that the production of salt, during this year, was less than that in 1844. The production in the year 1849 was 97,829 khandis while that in the year 1844 was 164,035 khandis. In terms of value, the production of salt in Goa during this year was 88,666 xerafins.\(^{141}\)

The Concelho-wise break-up of the production of salt in this year is given in the Table 3.13

TABLE 3.13
CONCELHOWISE BREAK-UP OF THE PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA (1849)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concelho</th>
<th>Quantity (in khandis)</th>
<th>Value (in xerafins)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goa Island</td>
<td>44,700</td>
<td>23,959</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>13,000</td>
<td>26,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>37,285</td>
<td>37,285</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Conquests (Pernem)</td>
<td>2,844</td>
<td>1,422</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>97,829</td>
<td>88,666</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Historical Archives of Goa, Moncoes do Reino, 224, Doc. 198 of 1850
As we have seen before, total agricultural production of Goa in 1849 was valued at 7,318,734 xerafins and the value of the production of 5 main agricultural commodities, namely, rice (paddy), nachinim, salt, coconuts and arecanuts, was 5,858,472 xerafins. Since the value of the production of salt was 88,666 xerafins, the share of salt in the value of the total agricultural production of Goa was 1.2%, and, in the value of the above five commodities 1.5%. The contribution of salt to the value of five agricultural commodities in each of the above four regions was as follows: Goa Island: 2.9%; Salsete: 2.1%; Bardez: 3.8%; New Conquests: (Pernem was the only salt producing concelho): 0.04%.

From the Table 3.13 we can derive the percentage shares of the salt producing regions in the total production of salt in Goa in 1849, both in terms of quantity and value. Goa Island, Salsete, Bardez and Pernem contributed 45.6%, 13.3%, 38.1% and 3%, respectively, to the total quantity of salt produced in Goa. In terms of value, the shares of these concelhos were 27%, 29.3%, 42% and 1.6%, respectively. It is clear from the above analysis that maximum contribution to the total production of salt in Goa came from Goa Island, followed by Bardez. The conclusion that is derived from the above analysis is that although Goa Island contributed 45.6% of the quantity produced in Goa, its contribution, in value terms, was just 27%. On the contrary, the share of Salsete in the total salt output in Goa in terms of value was 29.3%, even though its share in the total quantity of salt produced in Goa, was just 13.3%. Bardez contributed 42% of the total production of salt, in value terms, while its share in the quantity of salt produced in Goa was 38%. Pernem contributed 3% in terms of quantity, but just 1.6% in terms of the value of the production of salt.

The price of salt per khandi in each concelho of Goa was as follows: Goa Island: about 1/2 xerafim; Salsete: 2 xerafins; Bardez: 1 xerafim; Pernem (New Conquests): 1/2 xerafim. The price of salt was highest in Salsete and lowest in Goa Island and New Conquests during the year 1849.
3.4.4 CHANGE IN THE PRODUCTION OF SALT BETWEEN 1824 AND 1844 AND BETWEEN 1844 AND 1849

Between the years 1824 and 1844, the following changes are observed in the production of salt in Goa as a whole and in each salt-producing concelho of this territory. The production figures pertaining to 1824 and 1844, which are juxtaposed in the Table 3.14 help us in drawing conclusions regarding the change that has taken place between these two years.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concelho</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value</th>
<th>Quantity</th>
<th>Value</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goa Island</td>
<td>114,380</td>
<td>17,157</td>
<td>130,580</td>
<td>65,290</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>20,467</td>
<td>3,099</td>
<td>13,911</td>
<td>13,911</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>10,852</td>
<td>2,168</td>
<td>15,112</td>
<td>7,556</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>New Conquests</td>
<td>2,482</td>
<td>992</td>
<td>4,432</td>
<td>2,231</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>148,185</td>
<td>23,416</td>
<td>164,035</td>
<td>88,988</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:- (a) Quantity in khandis (b) Value in xerafins
Source:- The Table is compiled on the basis of the tables 3.07; 3.08; 3.09 and 3.11 and the corresponding values of the salt output in different concelhos.

On the basis of the production figures of salt pertaining to 1824 and 1844, we can conclude the following, as regards the change that has taken place between these two years:

The production of salt in Goa as a whole, increased by 10.6%, in terms of quantity and by 280% in value terms. The rates of growth of salt production in terms of quantity in the 4 concelhos producing salt, were as follows: Goa Island 14%; Salsete 32%; Bardez 39% and New Conquests (Pernem and Balli) 78%. The growth rates of salt production, in value terms, were as mentioned below:

Goa Island 280.5%; Salsete 348.8%; Bardez 248.5 %, and New Conquests 124.8%.

Between the years 1824 and 1844, one notices that the quantity of production of salt in Salsete decreased by 32%, but, in value terms, the production registered an increase of 348.8%. In all other concelhos, there was an increase in the quantity pro-
duced of salt and, also, in the value of the output of salt. In all concelhos, the rate of
the growth of the value of salt production was much higher than that of the quantity
of salt produced. The conclusion one can draw from this difference between the two,
is that the price of salt increased substantially between these two years.

Between the years 1844 and 1849, one notices a decrease in the production of
salt, in terms of quantity produced in different concelhos except Bardez. The quantity
of salt produced in Goa decreased from 164,035 khandis in 1844 to 97,829 khandis in
1849.144 This fall was substantial, amounting to 40.4%, but, in value terms production
decreased marginally by just 0.4%. In Goa Island, salt production decreased from
130,580 khandis to 44,700 khandis, amounting to 65.8% decrease. Since the produc-
tion decreased from 65,290 xerafins to 23,959 xerafins, the percentage fall in value
terms was 63.4%.

The quantity produced in Salsete decreased from 13911 khandis to 13000
khandis, the decrease being 6.5%. In value terms there was a rise of 87%, since pro-
duction increased from 13,911 xerafins to 26,000 xerafins. The production in Bardez
increased from 15,112 khandis to 37,285 khandis and, in terms of value, from 7,556
xerafins to 37,285 xerafins, amounting to 146% and 393% rise, respectively. There
was a fall in the production of salt in Old Conquests (Pernem), both in terms of
quantity and value. It decreased from 4,432 khandis to 2,844 khandis and, in value
terms, from 2,231 xerafins to 1,422 xerafins, amounting to 36% decrease, in both
cases.

3.4.5 THE STATE OF THE SALT PRODUCTION ON THE EVE OF THE ANGLO-
PORTUGUESE TREATY OF 1878

The Table 3.15 offers, at a glance, a clear picture of the state of the salt indus-
try in Goa, prior to the Treaty of 1878 between Portugal and England - a treaty which
brought about drastic changes in the salt industry of Portuguese India. The Table
3.15, besides other data pertaining to the salt industry in Goa, gives the figures of total
production and consumption of salt in the territory in 1876.145 The total production of
salt in Goa was 293,372 khandis. The consumption of salt for domestic use was
100,643 khandis and that for the use as manure was 76,012 khandis. The production
of salt in Goa Island was maximum (160,415 khandis) followed by Bardez (78,400 khandis), Salsete (46,117 khandis) and Pernem (8,440 khandis) in the descending order of salt production. The salt production in Goa Island was 54.7% of the total salt production in Goa. The relevant percentages of Bardez, Salsete and Pernem were 26.7; 15.7 and 2.8, respectively. Maximum consumption of salt for domestic use and for the purpose of manure was reported in Goa Island. It was 80,420 khandis, followed by Salsete (30,000 khandis), Bardez (14,420 khandies) and Pernem (3,955 khandies). The non-salt producing concelhos in Goa consumed, for the above two purposes, 47,860 khandis of salt.

In 1876, the total number of villages engaged in the manufacture of salt in Goa was 36 and the total number of saltpans was 386. While Goa Island and Salsete had 11 and 12 villages producing salt, respectively, the number of salt-producing villages in Bardez was 8. Pernem had five villages producing salt. Maximum number of salt pans was found in Salsete (197) followed by Goa Island (104), Bardez (64) and Pernem (21). The Table 3.15 throws light on the fact that even though the concelho of Goa Island had 27% of the total number of salt pans in Goa, it produced 54.7% of the total production of salt in Goa. On the contrary, Salsete with 51% of the total saltpans in Goa produced 15.7% of the total production of salt. Bardez with 16.5% of the total saltpans, produced 26.7% of the total salt production in the territory. The share of Pernem with 5.5% of the total saltpans, was 2.8% of the total salt production in Goa. One of the conclusions that can be drawn on the basis of the above analysis is that the average size of the saltpans in Salsete was too small as compared to that of the saltpans in Goa Island. Even the saltpans in Bardez were comparatively larger than those in Salsete.

At the time of the implementation of the Treaty of 1878, total area under saltpans in Goa was 1,914,115 square meters. The production of salt, as per official estimates, was 1,255,304 maunds (46,848 tonnes). Average per acre production of salt calculated by the first Mixed commission was 4,034 maunds (150.5 tonnes). The estimate of the same by the second Mixed commission was 1859 maunds (69.3 tonnes). The number of salt workers was 1949. 

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The total production of salt in Portuguese India in 1876 was 367,994 khandis. The consumption of salt in Portuguese India for domestic use and fish curing, amounted to 118,809 khandis. 77,702 khandis of salt was used for the purpose of manure in farms, coconut groves and other fruit orchards. 148

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concelhos</th>
<th>No. of salt Producing Villages</th>
<th>No. of saltpans</th>
<th>No. of Labourers engaged in saltpans</th>
<th>Production</th>
<th>Consumption for domestic use</th>
<th>Consumption for manure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goa Island</td>
<td>11</td>
<td>104</td>
<td>546</td>
<td>160,415</td>
<td>40,210</td>
<td>40,210</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>12</td>
<td>197</td>
<td>466</td>
<td>46,117</td>
<td>20,000</td>
<td>10,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>8</td>
<td>64</td>
<td>339</td>
<td>78,400</td>
<td>2,820</td>
<td>11,600</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>First Division (Pernem)</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>8,440</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Second Division</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>8,440</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Third Division</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>8,440</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Fourth Division</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>21</td>
<td>380</td>
<td>8,440</td>
<td>3,000</td>
<td>955</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>36</td>
<td>386</td>
<td>1,731</td>
<td>293,372</td>
<td>100,643</td>
<td>76,012</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source: Jose Nicolao de Fonseca, "An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa, New Delhi, Reprint by Asian Educational Services, 1986, p.25

3.4.6 CHANGE IN THE PRODUCTION OF SALT DURING THE PERIOD FROM 1824 TO 1876

It is worth studying the change in the production of salt in Goa during the period from 1824 to 1876. The figures of the production of salt in 1824, 1844 and 1876, as given in the Table 3.16 with the break-up of the salt production in Goa among four salt producing Concelhos, show the direction in which the salt production has moved, over the period from 1824 to 1876. 149 During the period from 1824 to 1876, the total annual production of salt in Goa increased from 148,185 khandis to 293,372 khandis amounting to an increase of 98%. Between these two years, the salt production in Goa Island increased from 114,380 khandis to 160,415 khandis, while the production
in Salsete and Bardez registered a rise from 20,467 khandis to 46,117 khandis and from 10,852 khandis to 78,400 khandis, respectively. In Pernem (New Conquests) the production of salt increased from 2,482 khandis to 8,440 khandis. The percentage rise in the production of salt in Goa Island, Salsete, Bardez and Pernem during the period from 1824 to 1876, was 40; 125; 622 and 240, respectively.

Between the years 1844 and 1876, the total annual production of salt in Goa increased from 164,035 khandis to 293,372 khandis, amounting to an increase of 79%. The figures of production of salt show that the percentage rise in the production of salt in the 4 concelhos of Goa during the above period was as follows:- Goa Island :- 23%; Salsete:- 231.5%; Bardez:- 418% and Pernem:- 90.4%

TABLE 3.16
PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA (1824, 1844 AND 1876) (in khandis)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Concelho</th>
<th>1824</th>
<th>1844</th>
<th>1876</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goa Island</td>
<td>114,380</td>
<td>130,580</td>
<td>160,415</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>20,467</td>
<td>13,911</td>
<td>46,117</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>10,852</td>
<td>15,112</td>
<td>78,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem (New Conquests)</td>
<td>2,482</td>
<td>4,432</td>
<td>8,440</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>148,185</td>
<td>164,035</td>
<td>293,372</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- The Table is compiled on the basis of the data of salt output as indicated by the tables 3.11, 3.14, 3.15

3.5 SALT PRODUCERS IN GOA, DAMAN AND DIU

The number of salt cultivators in Portuguese India by the middle of the 19th century was about 770. As per the census of 1848, Goa's population of salt cultivators was 658, and Daman and Diu had 84 and 28 salt cultivators, respectively. The following Table 3.17, showing the number of agriculturists and salt cultivators, as per the census of 1848, gives us an idea about the relative position of salt cultivators vis-a-vis the number of agriculturists in the salt-producing provinces of Portuguese India.

As per the census of 1848, the population of Portuguese India was 406,668. The population of Goa was reported to be 347,476. The population of agriculturists
in the salt producing provinces of Goa was 34,877. Thus, the salt-cultivators in Goa constituted 1.8% of the population of agriculturists in the salt-producing provinces of Goa and 0.19% of the population of Goa.

**TABLE 3.17**
AGRICULTURISTS AND SALT FARMERS IN SALT PRODUCING PROVINCES OF PORTUGUESE INDIA (CENSUS OF 1848)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Agriculturists</th>
<th>Salt-cultivators</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goa Island</td>
<td>10,368</td>
<td>299</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>10,413</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>10,948</td>
<td>112</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem</td>
<td>3,148</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Daman</td>
<td>8,834</td>
<td>84</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Diu</td>
<td>406</td>
<td>28</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>44,117</strong></td>
<td><strong>770</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


The percentage of salt cultivators to the total population of agriculturists in the 4 salt-producing provinces of Goa and, also, to the total population of Goa, as shown by the census of 1848, remained more or less the same in the Census of 1877. As per this latter census, the population of Goa was 392,234 and the number of salt farmers in Goa was as depicted in the Table 3.18.

**TABLE 3.18**
AGRICULTURISTS AND SALT FARMERS IN SALT PRODUCING CONCELHOS OF GOA (CENSUS OF 1877)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Provinces</th>
<th>Agriculturists</th>
<th>Salt farmers</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goa Island</td>
<td>9,862</td>
<td>314</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>30,366</td>
<td>340</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>12,161</td>
<td>235</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem</td>
<td>12,952</td>
<td>39</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>65,341</strong></td>
<td><strong>928</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Joao Stuart da Fonseca Torrie, Estatistica da India Confeccionada, Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1879, p.230
The Table 3.18 indicates that the number of agriculturists and salt-farmers in four salt-producing provinces of Goa was 65,341 and 928, respectively. The percentage of the salt farmers to the population of agriculturists in the four salt producing provinces of Goa, was 1.4, and their percentage to the population of Goa was 0.2%.

The analysis of the population of salt farmers and its comparison with the population of agriculturists in the salt producing provinces of Goa and with the total population of Goa, in the years 1848 and 1877, throws light on the important fact that the number of salt cultivators in Goa was very negligible - just a three digit figure. Inspite of this, Goa's salt production was very large, so large that it created huge surpluses for export markets.

The data as regards the number of salt workers in Goa pertaining to 1876, as shown by the Table 3.15 gives us an idea about the employment of labour in the salt industry of Goa in the latter part of the 19th century. The total number of labourers working on the saltpans in Goa in 1876 was 1731. Out of these, 1351 salt workers belonged to the Old Conquests and 380 were working on the saltpans situated in Pernem. There were 546 salt workers in Goa Island, which number was maximum among all the Concelhos of Goa. The number of salt-workers in Salsete and Bardez was 466 and 339, respectively. Average number of salt workers per saltpan in different Concelhos of Goa was as follows: Goa Island: 5.2; Salsete: 2.3; Bardez: 5.3; Pernem: 18. Thus, Pernem had maximum number of saltworkers per saltpan.

3.6 PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA, AS CONTRIBUTED BY DIFFERENT PRODUCTION AGENCIES

In Goa, the production of salt was not undertaken by private individuals alone. Salt was produced by different other production agencies too. Besides private individuals, institutions like Communidades, Confrarias and Fabricas were undertaking the production of salt. However, most of the salt in Goa was produced by the private individuals. Data pertaining to the contribution of these different production agencies to the production of salt in 1879, as shown by the Table 3.19 focus the shares of these production agencies in the total production of salt in different concelhos of Goa. The Table 3.19 indicates the production of salt in Goa by different production agen-
cies and concelhowise production of salt in Goa. The production figures of Bardez do not find place in this table. It is observed from the figures in the above table that the production of salt by private people in Goa Island and Salsete was 5,055 and 1,378 kumbhs i.e. about 85% and 99.6%, respectively, of the production in the respective Conceelho. The entire production of salt in Pernem which was 169 kumbhs was undertaken by the private people. In Goa Island, Communidades produced 776 kumbhs, i.e. 13% of the salt production in the concelho, and the production by Confrarias was 100 kumbhs i.e. 1.6% of the same. In the concelho of Salsete, the production of salt by Fabricas was just 5 kumbhs, i.e. 0.3%. As far as total production of salt in Goa was concerned, the percentages of the salt production by different production agencies to the total output of salt in Goa, were as follows: - Private people, 88.2%; Communidades, 10.3%; Confrarias, 1.3%; and Fabricas 0.06%, since their production was 6602 kumbhs; 776 kumbhs; 100 kumbhs and 5 kumbhs, respectively.

During this year, the production of salt in Goa Island was 79.2% of the total salt production in Goa. The share of Salsete and Pernem was 18.4% and 2.2%, respectively, of the total salt production in Goa.

The Table 3.19 and help us, also, to know the costs incurred in the production of salt in different concelhos and in Goa as a whole. The gross production of salt in Goa Island, Salsete and Pernem was 5,931 Kumbhs, 1,383 Kumbhs and 169 Kumbhs, respectively, while the net production was reported as 3,658 Kumbhs, 830 Kumbhs and 101 Kumbhs respectively. Net production of salt in Goa was 4589 Kumbhs. In Daman gross production of salt was 393 Kumbhs and net production was estimated at 196 Kumbhs. The net production of salt in all the concelhos was about 60% of the gross production which indicate that the costs incurred to produce salt were about 40% of the gross production of salt.157

3.7 ROLE PLAYED BY SALT IN THE EXTERNAL TRADE OF GOA

As an export commodity, salt played an important role in the external trade of Goa even before the advent of the Portuguese in India. Salt was being exported not only to the neighbouring regions, but also to the far off countries which were trading
### TABLE 3.19
PRODUCTION OF SALT IN GOA BY DIFFERENT PRODUCTION AGENCIES (1879)
(in kumbhs)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Province</th>
<th>Private people</th>
<th>Communidades</th>
<th>Confrarias</th>
<th>Fabricas</th>
<th>Gross total production</th>
<th>Net total production</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Goa island</td>
<td>5055</td>
<td>776</td>
<td>100</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5931</td>
<td>3658</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
<td>N.A.</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salsete</td>
<td>1378</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td></td>
<td>1383</td>
<td>830</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>-</td>
<td>5</td>
<td>169</td>
<td>101</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Gross total production</strong></td>
<td><strong>6602</strong></td>
<td><strong>776</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
<td><strong>5</strong></td>
<td><strong>7483</strong></td>
<td><strong>4589</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: N.A. = Not Available
Source: Joao Stuart da Fonseca Torrie, Estatistica da India Confeccionada, p.107

With Goa and Konkan region. In the 19th century, when all important trading channels were dwindling into insignificance and Goa's survival was dependent upon Goa-based country trade, salt became one of the important commodities entering into the foreign trade of Portuguese India. Goa which was once an international trading centre with a variety of commodities being traded at the port of Goa to be carried forward to different countries and to the mainland India or coastal regions of India, had to depend, by 1840s, upon a few locally produced commodities for its export trade. By 1840s its export trade was mostly with the coastal regions of India and, through the Ghat passes, with the hinterland of the mainland India. The figures of the export trade of Goa with foreign regions including British India, for the year 1844, focus on this peculiar aspect of the composition of the export trade of Goa. The Table 3.20 throws light on the composition and the volume of the export trade of this territory. The principal export commodities of Goa, which were mostly locally produced traditional commodities included coconuts, arecanuts, copra, cashewnuts, salted fish and salt. The total export earnings from these six main export commodities as apparent from the Table 3.20 were 691,503 xerafins. However, after including the values of the exports of the commodities other than six principal commodities as mentioned above, which amounted to 59,836 xerafins, the total value of the export trade of Goa...
TABLE 3.20
EXPORT TRADE IN PRINCIPAL EXPORT COMMODITIES OF GOA WITH FOREIGN COUNTRIES (1844) (in xerafins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Value of the Exports</th>
<th>Export Duty Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coconut</td>
<td>285,970</td>
<td>15,740</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areca nut</td>
<td>260,170</td>
<td>5,998</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra</td>
<td>66,015</td>
<td>3,858</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashew nuts</td>
<td>36,273</td>
<td>719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salted Fish</td>
<td>15,797</td>
<td>1,209</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>27,278</td>
<td>31,878</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other export commodities</td>
<td>59,836</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TOTAL</td>
<td>751,339</td>
<td>59,402</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- HAG, MR 218B, 1844. F.776

amounted to 751,339 xerafins. As indicated by the Table 3.20, coconuts earned the largest export earnings among all export commodities, followed by arecanuts, copra, cashew nuts, salt and salted fish in the descending order of the export earnings of these commodities. The export earnings of coconuts were 285,970 xerafins, which were 38.6% of the total export earnings and 41.3% of the export earnings of the above six principal export commodities of Goa. The share of arecanuts in the total export earnings of Goa was 34.6%, since the export earnings of this commodity were 260,170 xerafins during 1844. Arecanuts accounted for 37.6% of the export earnings from 6 principal export commodities. It was the second largest export income earner of Goa. Export earnings of copra were 66,015 xerafins and its share in the total export earnings of Goa was 8.7%. The share of this commodity in the export earnings from six principal commodities was 9.5%. The value of the export of cashew nuts and salted fish was 36,273 xerafins and 15,797 xerafins, accounting for 4.8% and 2% of the total export earnings of Goa, respectively. The shares of these 2 commodities in the export earnings of six principal export commodities were 5.2% and 2.2%, respectively.
The value of the quantity of salt exported to the foreign countries in 1844 was 27,278 xerafins. Goa exported 59,579 khandis of salt during this year. The share of salt in the total export earnings of Goa was 3.6%. It was 3.9% in the export earnings from 6 principal export commodities.

3.7.1 EXPORT TRADE THROUGH THE CUSTOM-HOUSES ACTING AS EXIT POINTS TO THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY.

The export trade of Goa taking place through the Custom-Houses which were the exit points for the goods being transported to the Madras Presidency, was playing an important role in the economy of Goa. The data pertaining to this trade for the year 1844 give us an idea about the relative importance of salt in this export trade. The Table 3.21 showing the values of the principal goods exported and the export duty revenue collected by the government from these exports, throw light on the share of salt in this export trade and the relative contribution made by the export of salt to the export duty revenue of the Government. The value of the export trade of Goa through the Custom Houses acting as exit points to the Madras Presidency was 76,829 xerafins. The export earnings from the main 4 commodities mentioned in the Table 3.21 were 67,178 xerafins. Coconuts accounted for the largest share (31,794 xerafins) in the export trade of Goa through these Custom Houses. Export earnings from coconuts were 41.3% of the total export earnings from this export trade. Export earnings from copra and arecanuts were 15,715 xerafins and 1,509 xerafins, accounting for 20.4% and about 2%, respectively, of the total export earnings from this export trade. The value of salt exports from the Custom Houses acting as exit points to the Madras Presidency was 18160 xerafins, accounting for 23.6% of the total export earnings from this trade. Salt exported through the outlets other than the Bar of Aguada was more than that exported through the Bar of Aguada. The former was valued at 10,629 xerafins and the latter 7,531 xerafins.

3.7.2 SALT AND EXTERNAL TRADE OF SALSETE AND GOA ISLAND IN 1840s

Data which are available as regards the external trade of Salsete in 1843 help us in understanding the economic position of this concelho in the middle of the 19th century and, thus, can give us an idea about the state of the economy of Goa during
TABLE 3.21
EXPORT TRADE IN SELECTED PRINCIPAL EXPORT COMMODITIES OF GOA WITH FOREIGN TERRITORIES THROUGH THE CUSTOM HOUSES ACTING AS EXIT POINTS TO THE MADRAS PRESIDENCY (1844)
(in xerafins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Value of the quantity exported</th>
<th>Export duty revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>31,794</td>
<td>5,567</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areca</td>
<td>1,509</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra</td>
<td>15,715</td>
<td>1,030</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>10,629</td>
<td>11,811</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt exported through the</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bar of Aguada</td>
<td>7,531</td>
<td>2,199</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note:- In terms of quantity, salt exported through the Bar of Aguada was 12,570 khandis and through other outlets 17,733 khandis during the year 1844.

Source:- HAG, MR 218B, 1844, F.777

the period. The Concelho imported goods worth 344,401 xerafins and exported goods valued at 264,704 xerafins. It imported rice and nachinim of the value of 235,956 xerafins and 11,172 xerafins, respectively. Its import trade consisted, also, of wheat, cotton, pulses, wax etc. The values of the main commodities exported were as follows:- coconuts 207,100 xerafins; salt 12,592 xerafins; and arecanuts 14,632 xerafins. These figures give us the following picture of the economy of Salsete: 1) Rice imports constituted 68.5% of the total import trade of Salsete. 2) Coconuts accounted for 78% of the total export trade of Salsete. The commodity was, thus, the largest export income earner, 3) Salt accounted for 4.75% of the total export trade of Salsete, and 4) the value of arecanuts exports was 5.5% of the total export income of Salsete. A report dispatched by the Portuguese India Government to the National Government at Lisbon throws light on the economic position of Salsete during 1840s. The report states that two third area of the Concelho of Salsete was totally agricultural. Rice and coconuts were its main agricultural commodities. The production of rice and nachinim during 1843 had surpassed the production of these two commodities in the previous year. The concelho of Salsete which was a deficit rice producing region required large scale imports of rice to cover up the deficit. There was a substantial in-
crease in the production of coconuts, but the level of prices of this commodity failed to bring any benefit to the coconut-growers of Salsete. The report states further that in 1841 and 1842 there was great fall in the production of salt, but despite this fall, there was no proportionate rise in the prices of salt. This caused great loss to the salt producers who laboured very hard in their saltpans to eke out a living. The position of the agricultural class had deteriorated, during this period, to a great extent. It was difficult for them to keep aside grains as seeds. The economic position of the farmers had reached such a low level that even the foodgrains produced by them with their sweat, were beyond their reach as far as their consumption requirements were concerned.

On the basis of the economic situation prevalent in Salsete, as reported by the Portuguese India Government to the National Government, we can surmise that Goa as a whole was subjected to more or less same situation during the beginning of 1840s.

In 1844, total export of salt from Salsete was 5,445 khandis valued at 5,445 xerafins. Since the production of salt in Salsete during the year was 13,911 khandis valued at 13,911 xerafins, the quantity of salt which was available to the people of Salsete for internal consumption was 8,466 khandis valued at 8,466 xerafins. Thus, during this year 39.14% of the total production of salt was exported and 60.85% remained for internal consumption.

Goa Island exported agricultural commodities worth 235,877 xerafins in 1844. The export of salt during this year was 117,146 khandis valued at 58,573 xerafins. Thus, the share of salt exports in the total agricultural exports of Goa Island was about 25%. As Goa Island’s production of salt during this year was 130580 khandis valued at 65,290 xerafins, the salt exports of Goa Island were 89.7% of the total production of this commodity in this Concelho. The quantity of salt available for internal consumption in Goa Island was 13,434 khandis of the value of 6,717 xerafins, implying that just 10.3% of the total salt production of Goa Island was available for internal consumption.
3.7.3 SALT EXPORTS OF GOA AFTER 1844

In 1845, Goa exported 61,153 khandis of salt which was valued at 35,951 xerafins. Out of this, 27,143 khandis of salt of the value of 13,588 xerafins was exported by national transport and 34,010 khandis of salt valued at 22,363 xerafins was carried by foreign transport.\(^\text{166}\)

The export of salt in 1868 was equal to 58,098 khandis and 19 maunds valued at 49,827 xerafins. Salt carried by national transport was valued at 30,760 xerafins and that carried by foreign transport was of the value of 19,067 xerafins.\(^\text{167}\)

In 1876, Goa exported 95,429 khandis of salt. Out of this quantity, salt exported by land was 55,516 khandis and that exported by sea was 39,913 khandis. Since Daman and Diu exported 15,287 khandis and 2,000 khandis, respectively, total export of salt from Portuguese India was 112,716 khandis. As production of salt in Portuguese India in 1876 was 367,994 khandis and the territory's internal consumption and total exports were 196,511 khandis and 112,716 khandis, respectively, surplus equivalent to 58,767 khandis of salt was available to Portuguese India during this year. This was about 16% of the total production of salt of the territory. A large part of this surplus was found lying in the godowns on account of the lack of demand and a sizable quantity was finding its way to British India through illegal routes.\(^\text{168}\) Taking into account the fact that the surplus of salt in Portuguese India was about 16% of the total production of this commodity, it can be surmised that the smuggling of salt to British India was less than 16% of the total production of salt. Comparing the export of salt in 1876, as given above, with that in 1844, which was 59,579 khandis, we can conclude that the percentage rise in the export of salt between these two years was 60%.

3.7.4 SALT AND EXPORT TRADE OF GOA ON THE EVE OF THE EXECUTION OF THE ANGLO-PORTUGUESE TREATY OF 1878

The relative position of salt in the total export trade of Portuguese India at the time of the implementation of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878 was not very promising. In 1878-79 the total export trade of the territory was valued at 901,347,625 reis. Portuguese India's trade with foreign countries was of the value of
872,126,856 reis amounting to 96.7% of the total export trade. The share of Portugal and Overseas Portuguese territories in the export trade of Portuguese India was just 0.5% and 2.7%, respectively. As shown in the Table 3.22, the export of coconuts to

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Value of the quantity exported (in reis)</th>
<th>% of the value of the commodity exported to the total export trade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Coconuts</td>
<td>385,214,009</td>
<td>42.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salted fish</td>
<td>102,564,993</td>
<td>11.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Arecanuts</td>
<td>94,285,122</td>
<td>10.5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>28,870,245</td>
<td>3.2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashewnuts (kernel)</td>
<td>17,865,392</td>
<td>2.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut Liquor</td>
<td>6,982,171</td>
<td>0.77</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cashew liquour</td>
<td>2,172,370</td>
<td>0.24</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other commodities</td>
<td>263,393,323</td>
<td>29.19</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>901,347,625</strong></td>
<td><strong>100</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 1 Rupee = 400 Reis

the foreign countries was of the value of 385,214,009 reis which was 42% of the total export trade. The value of salted fish exported to foreign countries was 102,544,593 reis, i.e., 11.3% of the value of the total export trade. Portuguese India exported arecanuts valued at 94,285,122 reis, which was 10.5% of the total export trade of the territory. The value of the exports of cashewnuts (kernel), coconut liquor and cashewnut liquor constituted 2%, 0.77% and 0.24% of the total value of the export trade of Portuguese India. The territory exported during the year 1878-79, 126,524 khandis of salt valued at 28,606,405 reis to the foreign countries. Only 194 khandis of salt was exported to the overseas Portuguese territories, which was valued at 263,840 reis. Thus, total salt exports of Portuguese India were 126,718 khandis valued at 28,870,245 reis. The percentage of the value of salt exports to the value of the total export trade of Portuguese India was just 3.2%. As compared to the share of coconuts in the total export trade which was 42% and that of the salted fish which was 11.3%,
the share of salt (3.2%), which was once upon a time an important export commodity of Goa, was low. Almost entire quantity of salt (99.84%) exported from Portuguese India was finding its way into foreign markets, and negligibly low percentage (0.15%) was being exported to the Overseas Portuguese Territories. 170 In terms of the value of the salt exported, these percentages were 99.08% and 0.91%, respectively.

The percentage share of the seven export commodities in the value of the total export trade of Portuguese India in 1878-79 was 70.8. 171

3.8 SHARE OF SALT IN THE TOTAL EXPORT DUTIES REVENUE COLLECTED BY THE CUSTOM-HOUSES OF GOA

The contribution of salt to the total export duties revenue collected by the Custom-Houses of Goa was substantial during the major part of the 19th century. The Table 3.20 depicting the export earnings of the principal export commodities of Goa in 1844 and the contribution of each of them to the total export duties revenue collected by the Custom-Houses of Goa, focuses this important role of salt in the generation of export duties revenue for the Government. 172 The Table 3.20 shows that the export earnings of coconuts were the largest among the six principal export commodities of Goa, but the export duties revenue from this commodity was not largest. It was 15,740 xerafins amounting to 25.9% of the total export duties revenue of Goa which was 60,614 xerafins in 1844. Arecanuts constituted the second largest export income earner, but its contribution to the total export duty revenue was 5,998 xerafins, i.e, just 9.8% of the total export duty revenue of Goa. Copra contributed 6.3% of the total export duty revenue of Goa. The shares of cashewnuts and salted fish in the total export duties revenue were 1.18% and about 2%, respectively.

The contribution of salt to the total export duties revenue of Goa during this year was however, the largest among all principal export commodities of Goa. Even though the share of salt in the total export earnings was just 3.6%, this commodity contributed 31,878 xerafins to the total export duties revenue of the territory, which accounted for 52.5% of the total export duties revenue of Goa. 173 Thus, even though salt occupied fifth place as an export income earner among six principal export commodities, its contribution to the government finances was the largest in terms of ex-
port duty revenue generated by it. This points out to the fact that the burden of export
duty on salt was unreasonably exorbitant, as compared to all other export commodi-
ties of Goa.

The relative burden of export duty on each of the export commodities can,
also, be measured in terms of the ratio between the export duty payments and the ex-
port earnings of each commodity. While the percentage of the export duty payments
to the export earnings of coconuts, arecanuts, copra, cashewnuts and salted fish was
5.5; 2.3; 5.8; 2 and 7.6, respectively, the export duty payments by salt were 116.8% of
the export earnings of this commodity. It implies that salt paid to the government ex-
port duty which was more than the value of the export earnings of this commodity.
One can conclude from this analysis that the burden of export duty on goods other
than salt was very less. That the burden of export duty on salt was maximum among
all export commodities is also proved by the export trade of Goa which was taking
place through the Custom-Houses acting as exit points to the Madras Presidency. The
total export duty revenue earned by the Government from this export trade was 20,845
xeruins. The Table 3.21 shows that the export duty revenue from coconuts, areca-
nuts and copra was 5,567 xeruins, 29 xeruins and 1,030 xeruins, accounting for
26.7%, 0.13% and 4.9% of the total export duties revenue from this trade.

It is, thus, clear that even though coconuts accounted for the largest share in
this export trade since export earnings from the export of coconuts were 41.3% of the
total export earnings, this commodity contributed only 26.7% of the total export du-
ties revenue of the Government. On the contrary, even though the share of salt in the
total export earnings from this export trade was 23.6%, it contributed 14,010 xeruins
to the total export duties revenue. This amounted to 67% of the total export duties
revenue from this export trade. Thus, salt was the largest contributor to this revenue,
implying that the burden of the export duty on salt was maximum among all export
commodities entering into this trade. As depicted by the Table 3.21, the burden of ex-
port duty on salt exported through the outlets other than the Bar of Aguada was much
more than that on salt exported through the outlets of the Bar of Aguada. While salt
exported through the Bar of Aguada contributed export duty revenue equal to just
29% of the value of the exported salt, salt exported through the outlets other than Bar of Aguada contributed export duty revenue which was equal to 111% of the value of salt exported through these outlets. The position of the export duties on salt was similar in the subsequent period.

The export duty revenue contributed by the export of salt from Goa in 1845 was 35,951 xerafins. Since the value of the exported salt was 35,951 xerafins, it implied that the export duty revenue collected by the government was 100% of the value of the salt exported from Goa. In 1868, the export duty revenue from the salt carried by national transport amounted to 26,556 xerafins and that collected from the salt exported by foreign transport was equal to 15,322 xerafins. Since the value of the salt exported by national transport and by foreign transport was 30,760 xerafins and 19,067 xerafins, respectively, it is clear that salt carried by national transport paid export duties equal to 86.3% of the value of the exported salt, and salt exported by foreign transport contributed to the Custom receipts 80.3% of the value of the export of salt. Thus, the total export duty revenue collected from the salt exports in 1868 was 84% of the value of the export earnings from salt. The above figures of the export duties revenue contributed by salt in Goa, throw light on an important fact associated with the exports of salt from Goa. It is that the burden of the export duties on salt was very heavy as compared to other export goods in the Portuguese Indian territory.

The Portuguese India Government which was collecting export duties on salt at the Custom-Houses of the territory, introduced a tax on salt which was named as Gadi, the collection of which was started from 21-11-1843. The tax on salt named as Gadi collected for the Custom-Houses of Goa, 557 xerafins in 1843. In 1844, the revenue from this tax increased to 18,432 xerafins. In 1845, this tax contributed to the receipts of the Custom-Houses 12,181 xerafins. Since the receipts of the Custom-Houses of Goa in 1843, 1844 and 1845 were 278,205 xerafins, 371,042 xerafins and 327,551 xerafins, respectively, the contribution of this tax on salt to the Custom House receipts of Goa was 0.2%, 4.96% and 3.71%, respectively. The figures of the tax Gadi for the above years indicate that, between the years 1844 and 1845, the revenue from this tax decreased by about 34%, from 18,432 xerafins to 12,181 xerafins.
The implication of this was that, between these 2 years, the export of salt to the south registered a fall. The revenue from the tax Gaddi, however, increased to 15,439 xerafins during the year 1852-53. The Gadi was abolished in 1854.

3.8.1 SHARE OF SALT IN THE TOTAL EXPORT DUTIES REVENUE COLLECTED BY THE CUSTOM-HOUSES OF GOA (1871-72)

Salt was a major source of export duties revenue among all the export goods of Goa during the year 1871-72. The total receipts of the Custom-Houses of Goa during this year were 483,263 xerafins and the share of the import duties in the total custom-receipts was 344,814 xerafins. The total export duties revenue of Goa during this year was 111,283 xerafins. The export duties revenue from the export of salt was 41,856 xerafins. The Table 3.23 indicates the export duties revenue from different principal export commodities of Goa, during this year. The contribution of salt to the total export duties revenue of the Custom-Houses of Goa was the largest. It was 37.6% of the total export duties revenue and 8.6% of the total receipts of the Custom-Houses of Goa. The percentage shares of the export duties revenue from the exports of coconuts and arecanuts in the total export duties revenue of Goa were 22.7% and 18.5%, respectively, while the contributions of these two commodities to the total Custom receipts of Goa were 5.2% and 4.2%, respectively.

**TABLE 3.23**

EXPORT DUTIES REVENUE COLLECTED BY THE CUSTOM-HOUSES OF GOA (1871-72)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Commodity</th>
<th>Revenue (In xerafins)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Salt</td>
<td>41,856</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Coconut</td>
<td>25,364</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Copra</td>
<td>3,132</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Areca</td>
<td>20,540</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Birds</td>
<td>7,331</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Firewood</td>
<td>4,339</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Other Goods</td>
<td>8,719</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>111,283</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Relatorio do Governador Geral do Estado da India, 1871-72, p.153
Thus, coconuts and arecanuts occupied second and third place in terms of their contribution to the total export duties revenue of Goa. \(^{182}\)

The position of salt in the total export duties revenue collected during the previous year - 1870-71, was not different. During this year, the total receipts of the Custom Houses of Goa were 474,164 xerafins and the total export duties revenue was 109,186 xerafins. Export duties revenue from the export of salt was 47,165 xerafins. In terms of percentages, the share of salt in the total custom receipts was about 10%, while the same, in the total export duties revenue was 43%. During this year too, coconuts and arecanuts occupied second and third place in terms of their contribution to the total export duties revenue of Goa. \(^{183}\)

It is pertinent to note that the export earnings of salt were not the largest. Still, its contribution to the total export duties revenue of the Government was the largest, implying that the export duties imposed on the export of salt were higher than those levied on other export commodities.

### 3.8.2 Shares of Different Custom-Houses and Checkposts in the Export Duties Revenue From Salt Exports of Goa

Salt as an export commodity was earning for the Portuguese Indian Government, a sizable export duty revenue during the 19th century. Even before the advent of the Portuguese, salt was an important source of revenue for the Government. This was the reason why the governments of the pre-Portuguese period, had enacted adequate laws for the protection of the salt industry in Goa. Salt was being exported to British India by riverine and sea routes and, also, by land routes. Other countries were receiving Goan salt by sea routes. Riverine and sea ports and land routes particularly the Ghat passes were the outlets for the Goan salt to the foreign markets. One of the ways to study the relative contribution of these outlets to the marketing of Goan salt in foreign countries is to know how much revenue from export duties on salt was collected by the Custom-Houses and the check-posts at these outlets. The Table 3.24 throws light on how much revenue from export duties on salt was collected at each Custom house and check post during the year 1871-72. Although the data pertain to
only one year, they give us an idea about the relative performance of different Custom houses and check posts as regards the export of salt from Goa. The Table 3.24

**TABLE 3.24**

REVENUE FROM EXPORT DUTIES ON SALT COLLECTED AT DIFFERENT CUSTOM HOUSES AND THEIR CHECK POSTS IN GOA (1871-72)

(in xerafins)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Custom House/Checkpost</th>
<th>Revenue</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Custom House of Nova Goa</td>
<td>15,601</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom House of Chapora</td>
<td>78</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Quirampanim</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Torxem</td>
<td>657</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Noibaga</td>
<td>33</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Anconem</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Veluz</td>
<td>1,224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Quelaudem</td>
<td>1,279</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Cuessim</td>
<td>66</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Naiquinim</td>
<td>688</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom House of Tinem</td>
<td>1,471</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Polem</td>
<td>606</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Udenvol</td>
<td>98</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Col</td>
<td>-</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom House of Betul</td>
<td>613</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post of Tiracol</td>
<td>193</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom House of Doromarogra</td>
<td>8,105</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Chandel</td>
<td>1,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Salem</td>
<td>203</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom House of Sanquelim</td>
<td>3,550</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Check post Maulinguem</td>
<td>268</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom House of Sanguem</td>
<td>4,470</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Zuna</td>
<td>17</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Netorlim</td>
<td>1,134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Custom House of Canacona</td>
<td>310</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Supanguddi</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Lingapedda</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Checkpost of Piramarogra</td>
<td>25</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>41,856</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Source:- Relatorio do Governador Geral do Estado da India, 1871-72, p.153.

indicates that the total quantity of export duty revenue from salt, collected in Goa in 1871-72, was 41,856 xerafins. Maximum salt was exported through the Custom House of Nova Goa since the revenue from salt collected at this Custom House was maximum (15,601 xerafins). It was 37% of the total export duty collections from salt in Goa. The Custom House of Doromarogo, situated on the land route to British India, occupied the second position in the collection of this revenue and, therefore, also as regards the quantity of salt exported. The revenue from salt collected by this Custom-House was 19.3% of the total export duty revenue from salt in Goa. These per-
percentages in respect of Custom-Houses of Sanguem and Sanquelim were 10.6 and 8.5. The Table shows that export duty revenue from salt collected at the Custom House of Chapora was minimum among all Custom Houses. It is also observed that the export duty revenue from salt collected at many check-posts was comparatively substantial. Thus, the figures of export duty revenue from salt contained in the Table give us the contribution of each Custom house and check post to the total export duty revenue from salt in Goa, but, at the same time they impliedly tell us about the relative contribution of each Custom House and check post to the export of salt in Goa. The data contained in the Table No 3.24 indicate the shares of the sea Custom Houses and the territorial Custom Houses in the total export duties revenue from salt exports. The sea Custom Houses and their checkposts contributed 39.14% of the total export duties revenue from salt exports, while the share contributed by the territorial Custom Houses and their checkposts contributed 60.6% of the total export duties revenue from salt exports of Goa. It is, thus, clear that the territorial Custom Houses contributed larger percentage of the total export duties revenue from salt exports.

3.9 MEASURES ADOPTED BY THE PORTUGUESE INDIAN GOVERNMENT WHICH INFLUENCED THE EXTERNAL TRADE OF PORTUGUESE INDIA

The 19th century was characterised by the formulation and implementation by the Government of Portuguese India of a number of measures which exerted great influence on the external trade of the territory. Some of these measures contributed to the expansion of the exports of salt, during the period under study in this chapter. These measures were adopted by the Government to give a boost to the decadent external trade of Portuguese India by increasing the movement of trade in Goa and other settlements in India. By these measures the Government tried to expand the export trade in locally produced commodities. Although these measures were not meant for the expansion of salt exports alone, they contributed to the development of salt trade as a part of the external trade, in general.

The Government of Portuguese India terminated the system of farming out the revenues at the Custom Houses of Salsete and Bardez from 1-1-1802. This measure
brought about far reaching changes in the administration of the collection of Custom duties at the above two Custom Houses. The system of revenue farming was vexatious for the traders since revenue farmers were indulging in many malpractices in the collection of duties from the traders who had to carry their goods through different checkposts.\textsuperscript{186}

Another important measure that the Government of Portuguese India implemented during the first decade of the 19th century was the equalisation of the Custom duties of Salsete and Bardez with those of Goa Island, as per the Royal Order dated 3-6-1810. The Junta da Fazenda resolved in October 1810, to bring the duties charged at the Custom Houses of Bardez and Salsete on par with those at the Custom House of Goa Island. The Government abolished all the posts under the Custom Houses of Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez, in order to bring about free movement of the goods imported through these Custom Houses.\textsuperscript{187}

Although in 1810, when the equalisation of the Custom duties of all the three Custom Houses of the Old Conquests was carried out by the local Government, the National Government at Lisbon had advised the Portuguese India Government to bring the Custom duties of the New Conquests on par with those charged at the Custom Houses of Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez, nothing materialised in this regard, until 1840. The Custom Houses of the New Conquests continued to operate under the system of revenue farming. The continuation of two different systems of tax collection - one for the Customs Houses of the Old Conquests, which were under direct administration of the Public Treasury, and the other for the Custom Houses of New Conquests, under the system of revenue farming - led to the continuation of the contraband of goods between Old and New Conquests.\textsuperscript{188} The Government, in July 1840, under the recommendation of the committee which had been appointed in 1835 to study this problem, abolished the system of revenue farming in the New Conquests and brought the Custom Houses in the New Conquests under the direct jurisdiction of the Public Treasury.\textsuperscript{189} The uniformity thus brought about among all the Custom Houses of Goa, marked a watershed in the history of customs administration. It boosted the customs revenue of the Custom Houses in the New Conquests. During
1806-10 the Custom Houses in the New Conquests had collected 47,665 xerafins in the form of Custom receipts. The custom revenue increased to 68,000 xerafins in the three-year period which ended in December 1840. 190

The Government by another measure implemented through the Portaria dated 23-12-1840, transferred to Assolna and Chapora, along the sea coast, the Custom Houses of Salsete and Bardez, respectively. The New Conquests had seven Custom Houses, namely, Pernem, Bicholim, Cansarpale, Sanquelim, Ponda, Zambaulim and Canacona or Cabo de Rama. They were reduced to two: Sanguem and Sanquelim. Later on, in 1841, Dodomarog was elevated to the position of the Custom House. Thus, from 1841 the number of Custom Houses in Goa was six: Pangim, Assolna, Chapora, Sanquelim, Sanguem and Dodomarog. 191

Prior to this measure reducing the number of Custom Houses of Goa, in October 1839, the Government brought the Custom Houses of Salsete and Bardez, which were so far independent units, under the aegis of the Custom House of Goa Island. The Custom House of Goa Island was, thus, made the central Custom House. 192

The Government stopped the practice of a commodity paying custom duties at different custom houses when it passed through these custom houses. Once custom duty was paid at one Custom House, it was to be exempted at all other Custom Houses through which the commodity passed. This measure freed the people from the oppressions and arbitrariness of the tax farmers who were indulging in such malpractices while collecting the taxes. The internal Custom House of Ponda which required on account of many rivers, maintenance of many posts at which customs duties were charged, was abolished. This resulted into the removal of the obstacles to the freedom of trade and commerce. The internal and external trade developed. The export duties revenue from salt, coconut and copra increased. The export duties brought a revenue of 41,681 xerafins in the subsequent year. The cereals, pulses and seeds imported into New Conquests brought a revenue of 15,416 xerafins. This was much more than the annual revenue earned from import and export duties during the three years period of 1806 to 1809. 193
The free movement of merchandise which included salt and other commodities exported from Goa and merchandise imported to this territory was subject to great inconveniences and obstacles on account of a large number of checkposts and vexatious imposts which the merchants were supposed to pay at these checkposts. The Portuguese India Government abolished the posts and the Custom Houses which were subordinate to the Custom Houses of Salsete and Bardez and, also, the vexatious imposts levied at these posts. This measure led to a great increase in the external trade of Portuguese India.\textsuperscript{194} Another tax entitled 'Impostos de Bagibabo' which was levied at different posts and which was imposing restrictions on agriculture and internal trade by impeding free movement of trade, was abolished from 1-1-1841. This tax had been termed barbarous by the trading people since the tax farmers were indulging in the extortions from the traders involved in trade.\textsuperscript{195}

In 1840, the Government monopoly of tobacco was abolished by the Portuguese Government and, in its place, import duties on tobacco and licence fee to sell tobacco leaves in retail, were introduced. From 1-1-1841, the Government abolished xendi tax, which had been introduced in 1705 and which had imposed upon Hindus and Muslims great disabilities as it had led to extortions from the people at the hands of the tax-farmers.\textsuperscript{196}

Thus, during the 1840s the Government of Portuguese India introduced a number of reforms to strengthen the Customs administration in the territory of Goa, Daman and Diu with a view to give a boost to the external trade of Portuguese India. The Custom Tariff schedule of 1840 stands out among all these reforms. A Portaria dated 19-11-1840 implemented a new tariff duties list which had been approved by the Decreto dated 10-1-1837.\textsuperscript{197} As per this new list, foreign goods imported in foreign ships were levied import duty at the rate of 10%. If these goods were carried in Portuguese ships, the rate was to be 7%. Goods imported from Portugal and Portuguese colonies were exempted from import duties, if similar exemption was granted by the governments of these territories to Portuguese India. In the absence of such exemption from Portugal and Portuguese colonies, the imports from Portugal and Portuguese colonies were subject to the import duty of 5% if the imported goods were
As far as export duties were concerned, the new tariff list fully exempted goods of Portuguese origin transported in Portuguese ships with a destination to other Portuguese ports. Goods exported to foreign ports in Portuguese vessels were subjected to the export duty at the rate of 1%, and if the same were carried to foreign ports in foreign vessels, the rate of the export duty was to be 2%. Salt and gunpowder were not to pay any export duty. To promote agriculture and manufacturing, raw materials imported from abroad were exempted from import duties.

Under this tariff duties list, all handicrafts made up of skins, woolen clothes, clothes of linen, silk and cotton, woodcrafts and handicrafts of copper, iron and steel, when imported from foreign countries in foreign ships were imposed an import duty of 20% ad valorem, if all these goods could be manufactured by local artisans. If the same were imported by national transport, they were to pay 15% ad valorem duty. In November 1840, import and export duties were more clearly defined. Import duties rates on coir products were such that they acted as protective devices against the import of foreign coir products. The tariff duties list of 1840 banned the import of salt and gunpowder into Portuguese India.

Gunpowder, salt, gold, silver and copper coins were exempted from the payment of export duties at the Custom Houses of Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez. The tariff duties list of 1840 was a turning point in the history of Customs administration. Since 1820, external trade of Portuguese India was in doldrums. The new list brought about a positive change in the performance of Goa’s external trade. In 1836, the receipts of the Custom House of Goa Island were 43,516 xerafins. In 1840, which was the year of the implementation of the new tariffs list, these receipts increased to 93,590 xerafins. The receipts increased to 136,892 xerafins in 1850. Thus, the new list of Custom duties led to the rise in the receipts of the Custom House of Goa Island, which was no doubt, an indication of the rise in the external trade of Goa.

The Government of Portuguese India abolished, as a measure to expand the export trade, one more tax which was an important source of revenue for the Govern-
ment treasury. It was a tax on the exports of coconuts, copra and arecanuts from Goa, at the rate of one xerafim per khandi of copra and 1/2 xerafim per 1,000 coconuts. This tax which was named as ‘Direitos de coco, copra e areca’ had been introduced in 1704. In 1705 it had collected a revenue of 9,000 xerafins per year which figure increased to 10,000 xerafins in 1749 and to 10,468 xerafins in 1840. The tax was abolished in 1854.206

3.10 RISE IN THE BURDEN OF THE CUSTOM DUTIES OF BRITISH INDIA ON SALT AND OTHER GOODS

The external trade of Portuguese India was not influenced by the measures adopted by the Portuguese Indian government alone. The measures taken by the British India Government, from time to time, exerted great influence on the volume of the trade and the net profits of the traders involved in this trade. It was a well known fact that the Custom duties policy of the British India Government was never sympathetic to the economic interests of the Portuguese possessions. The increase in the rates of the Custom duties in 1844 by the British India Government, more than proved this fact. During the first half of 1844, the British India Government increased the custom duties on the products entering into Portuguese India and, also, on the Portuguese Indian products entering into British India. Before 24-4-1844, one gone of 5 maunds of salt imported into British Indian territory from Goa, was paying only one Rupee and one quarter. This duty was hiked to 7 Rupees from the above date. Custom duty on rice was doubled. Rice with husk which was paying 1 anna per gone of 5 maunds had to pay 6 annas (4 tangas 48 reis of Portuguese India). Nachinim was not subject to any custom duty before. It had to pay now 3 annas per gone of 5 maunds. This hike in the Customs duties on the goods moving to and from British India, affected the external trade of Portuguese India. This was because, by this time, most of the trade relations of Goa had been established with British India. Goa had, by now, very few trade outlets other than British India. The hike in the custom duties levied by the British India Government on the salt exported by Portuguese India to British India was, no doubt, a blow to the export trade of salt of Portuguese India. In terms of the percentage, the rise in the import duty on salt levied by the British India
Government was 460%. Thus, Goan salt was subjected to a comparatively higher burden of custom duties in both exporting and importing countries, as compared to other commodities.

3.11 GOVERNMENT POLICIES AND MEASURES AS REGARDS SALT IN PORTUGUESE INDIA

Being an important export commodity and, also, a commodity of high consumption within the territory of Portuguese India, salt was looked at by the Portuguese Indian government as an important source of tax revenue for the Government treasury. Accordingly, following the footsteps of the preceding regimes, the Portuguese government took utmost care to bring salt within its tax net. As mentioned before, salt was one of the commodities subject to the tax levied on the produce of land, named as Dizimos (Tithes). Salt was also subject to the export duty levied by the Portuguese Indian government, as per the custom duties schedules implemented by it, from time to time. Salt exports were also subject to a tax named Gadi which was subsequently withdrawn by the Government. Although the Government used salt as an important source of tax revenue, it equally strived to promote the production and export of salt by way of fiscal protection to the local salt industry. This is amply proved by the tariff duties schedule of 1840, implemented by the Portaria dated 19-11-1840. As per this new tariffs schedule, gunpowder, salt, gold, silver and copper coins were exempted from the payment of export duties at the Custom Houses of Goa Island, Salsete and Bardez. So far as salt was concerned the motive behind exempting this commodity from the payment of export duties was nothing but to promote its exports to foreign countries.

For salt, the Custom tariffs schedule of 1840 was important in one more sense. One of its provisions acted as a protecting wall against the competition of the foreign salt to the local salt in Portuguese India. It banned the import of salt (and also gunpowder) into Portuguese India.

Although the ban on the import of salt into Portuguese India helped the local salt industry, the measure adopted by the Government to exempt salt exported from the Custom houses of Goa Island, Bardez and Salsete from the payment of the export duty was a significant step towards promoting the export of salt to foreign countries.
duty, caused great loss to the external trade of Goa taking place through the territorial frontiers with British India. The provision making the export of salt from Goa Island, Bardez and Salsete free from the payment of export duty, led to losses not only to the traders, but also to the Government Treasury. As salt exported through the Concelhos of Goa Island, Bardez and Salsete was exempted from the export duties and salt exported through the territorial frontiers continued to be subject to the export duties, the traders of Balagate who used to come to Goa, through the inland trade routes, in search of salt, stopped coming to Goa to collect salt and other export commodities. 210

These traders started going to the districts of Vengurla, Bandem and Manerim to buy salt exported there from Goa, free of export duties. This resulted into a fall in the export of Goan salt through inland routes. As the traders of Balagate stopped coming to Goa to buy salt, through land routes, the inland trade of Goa was diverted to other places outside Goa. This was because of the fact that the traders of Balagate who used to come to Goa to buy salt, with their oxen caravans, were bringing with them different commodities for being sold in the Goan markets. As they started going to Vengurla, Bandem and Manerim to buy Goan salt which was available there at cheaper rates, the incoming trade to Goa, conducted through the inland routes, registered a fall leading to great losses to the Government treasury on account of the fall in the import duties which were paid by the traders of Balagate carrying merchandise to Goa. 211

The representation made by the traders of Goa in this regard was later on accepted by the Governor General of Portuguese India and this anomaly was removed with effect from 21-11-1843. The Government made an amendment to the Custom Tariffs Schedule of 1840 and provided that the salt to be exported by sea to Vengurla, Bandem and Manerim and, in general, to any foreign port in the North would pay the same export duties as would be paid on the export of salt through the land routes. However, salt exported to the southern ports continued to be exempted from export duties as provided in the article 17 of the Portaria dated 19-11-1840. As this exemption could have been misused by the salt traders, the Director of Customs was instructed to take appropriate measures to prevent this possible malpractice. 212
In 1843, the Portuguese Indian government took two more important measures which influenced the export trade conducted from Goa. The Government decided that from 21-11-1843, the export duties on the commodities exported by sea would be collected at the sea Custom houses of Goa. The other measure was concerning the system of collecting the export duty on salt. The system of farming out the export duty on salt exported by land routes, was stopped with effect from 1-1-1844, and from this day onwards the collection of the export duty on salt was made by the Custom houses of the territory. 213

The Custom tariffs schedule of 1854 fixed the following rates for the export duties on arecanuts, coconuts and salt: Arecanuts, 2 xerafins 2 tangas and 30 reis per khandi of 512 pounds; coconuts, 1 xerafim per 1,000 coconuts; salt exported through sea routes, 20 reis per khandi of 20 curos and salt exported through land routes, 3 tangas and 20 reis per khandi of 20 curos. It is clear from the above that the export duty structure of Portuguese India for salt was exhibiting a peculiar feature. The Government levied different rates of export duties for salt exported through sea ports and salt exported by land routes. Salt exported by land routes was subject to a rate which was exhorbitantly higher than that for salt exported by sea routes.214 The purpose of this dual rate structure for salt was to promote the marketing of salt in distant lands. However, as a result of this disparity in rates, the traders coming to Goa from across the Ghat regions to buy salt, found this commodity costlier than the Goan salt which was available to them in the neighbouring regions to the north of Goa at cheaper rates on account of the lower rates of export duties on salt carried by sea routes. As had happened in 1840, when salt carried by sea routes from Goa Island, Bardez and Salsete was exempted from the payment of export duty, this time also, the incoming trade to Goa via Ghat routes was diverted to these neighbouring regions to the north of Goa. In order to remove this disparity which had diverted incoming trade of Goa to other regions, the Government of Portuguese India modified certain provisions of the Portaria, dated 19-11-1840, which was regulating the system of collection of custom duties in the territory. As regards salt, an important provision was introduced from 1-7-1854 through the Portaria no. 32. As per this provision, salt exported by sea to the
northern ports up to Ratnagiri and to the southern ports up to Kumpta, was to be considered for the purpose of export duties as if it was exported by land routes, and, thus, the rates of the export duties were to be equal to those charged on salt exported through land routes.\textsuperscript{215} The Government adopted one more measure to promote the export of salt from Goa. So far as goods exported by foreign means of transport either by sea or land, to the foreign countries, it had been provided that they should pay besides the regular export duties, additional charges at the rate 15% of the duties paid by them. Salt exported by land, however, was exempted from this additional charge. The Government by the same Portaria no. 32 abolished the impost of Gadi on salt.\textsuperscript{216}

Although the import of salt from foreign countries into Portuguese India had been banned by the Portuguese Indian Government, salt imports from other Portuguese territories were allowed by the Government, but they were subjected to an import duty of 5 reis per khandi of salt. This measure was aimed at placing the locally produced salt on a better footing against the salt imported even from other Portuguese territories.\textsuperscript{217}

During the 19th century, salt was being considered as an important revenue yielding commodity for the government, even by the National Government at Lisbon. As per this policy, efforts were never lacking on the part of the National Government to subject salt to the tax burden of the Government. The Portuguese Royal Court's Decreto dated 21-11-1844 with its article 3, is symbolic of this policy of the National Government vis-a-vis salt. The article 3, of the said Decreto laid down that a tax of 20 reis per alqueire (Bushel) should be imposed by the overseas territories of Portugal on the salt consumed in these territories. The tax was supposed to be paid at the place where salt was despatched for consumption. The National Government, however, suspended the implementation of the article 3 of the said Decreto levying a tax of 20 reis per bushel on the salt consumed in the Overseas Provinces, on the request of the Government of Portuguese India in this respect, which pointed out certain difficulties in the implementation of the said article.\textsuperscript{218}

One of the measures adopted by the Portuguese Indian Government in 1840s, caused great inconvenience to the traders carrying salt through the inland routes.
across Goa-British India borders. Before the establishment of the Custom-houses on the inland routes in Goa the Custom-duties on the export of salt were fixed per 'gone', without weighing the salt contained in the 'gone'. This helped the traders as there was no inordinate delay in transporting the commodity to its destination. The authorities at the Custom Houses on the inland routes changed this system in favour of weighing the salt contained in the 'gone' in order to calculate the duties which were to be paid by the traders. This time-consuming exercise obstructed the movement of goods across the borders and led to great inconveniences to the trading community involved in the trade to Balaghat. The new system was, however, abolished on the representation of the traders who demanded reversion to the old system of fixing the export duties per 'gone' of salt without weighing the salt contained therein. The Governor General of Portuguese India, ordered that salt carried by oxen or buffaloes should be charged the export duty of 3 tangas per 'gone' without weighing the salt.

The Government of Portuguese India was following a policy of enlightening the local manufacturers and producers about the markets available to the export products of the territory in the foreign countries. The Government was publishing such information in the Government Gazette---Boletim do Governo---brought out from Panaji. The Boletim do Governo dated 15-09-1846 has published an advertisement reproduced from a daily newspaper in respect of salt demanded in the ports of Singapore. The advertisement gives information on the quality of salt required and the price charged in the local market of Singapore. Such advertisements and information published by the Government gazette from time to time are a pointer to the interest shown by the Government in the promotion of the exports of locally produced commodities. The Government of Portuguese India was more concerned about the need to place Goan salt in the foreign markets. The policy of the local government to fix dual rates of export duties on the export of salt found expression in the 11th Custom Tariffs Schedule implemented by the Government. As before, the purpose of the Government was to promote the marketing of this commodity in distant countries by charging relatively lower rates of export duties on the export of salt to these countries. The 11th Custom Tariffs Schedule fixed the following rates of Custom duties for are-
canuts, coconuts and salt exported from the territory: arecanuts, 930 reis per khandi of 512 pounds; coconuts 374 reis per 1,000 coconuts and salt of all qualities 250 reis per khandi of 20 curos. However, if salt was exported by sea route beyond the ports of Ratnagiri in the North and Kumta in the South, the export duty on this commodity was to be less - 23 reis per khandi of 20 curos. Thus, the Government continued its policy of fixing lower rate of export duty for the salt exported to distant places so as to promote its marketing in distant markets. 221

The study of the Goan economy and the salt industry during the 19th century upto the implementation of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, focuses the decadent state of the Goan economy on account of the decline in the external trade of Portuguese India during the second half of this century. Government measures did not succeed in reviving the Goan economy. As a result, the Portuguese government was compelled to sign the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878, to arrest the decadence of the Portuguese Indian economy. The implementation of the Treaty acted as a turning point in the history of Portuguese India.
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