Chapter 1

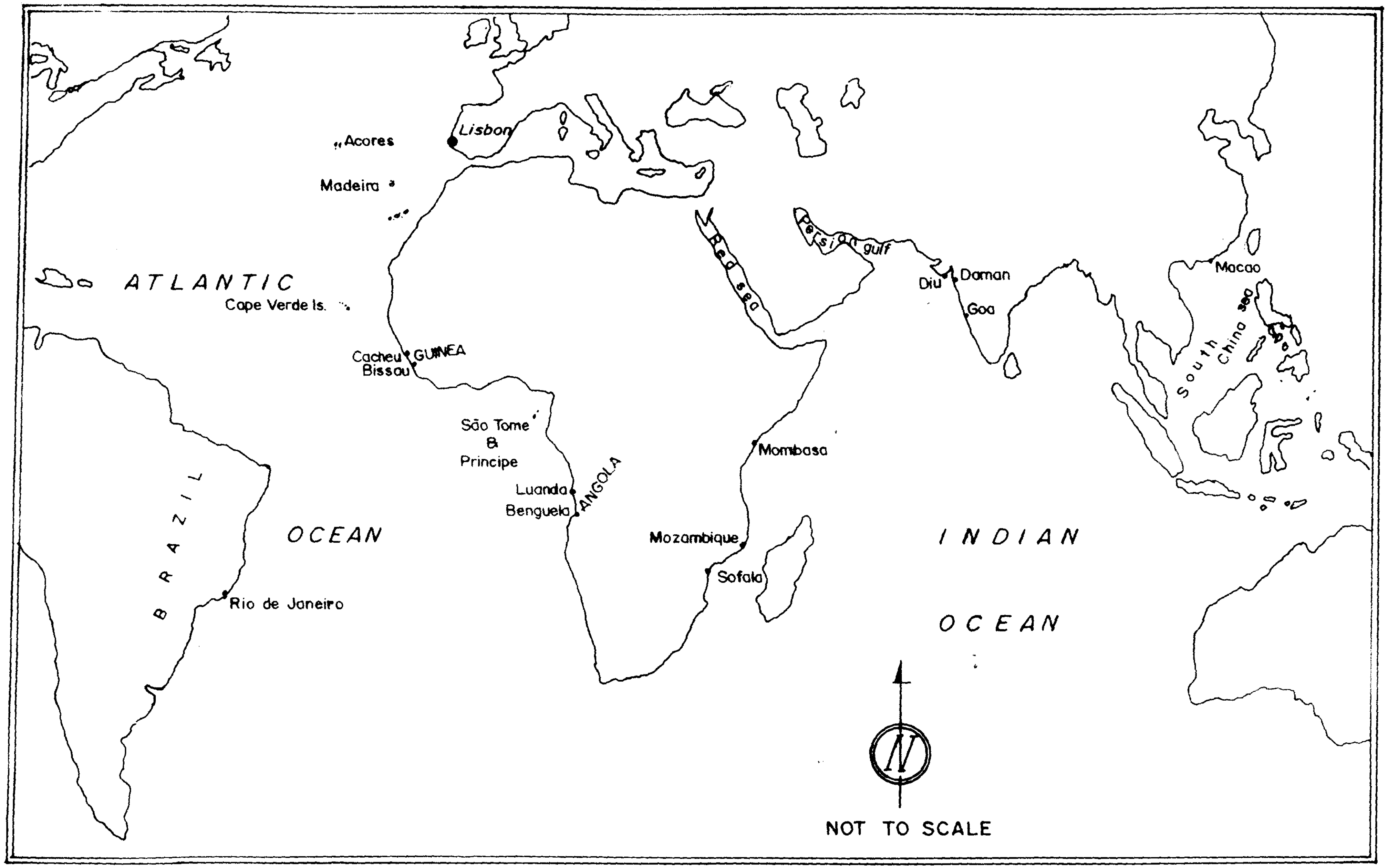
THE CONTEXT

Part 1. Portuguese Colonies in Brazil and West Africa

Portugal, one of the smallest countries of Europe in the Iberian peninsula, had set up an extensive network of colonies spreading over the three continents of Africa, America and Asia, of which the Estado da India in the Indian Ocean was only a part. In the 18th century, when the Estado had shrunk in size, retaining only a few pockets in India, Macao in South China Sea and Mozambique in the East coast of Africa, Brazil, in South America was still expanding its plantations by introducing new crops. The other colonies in the North Atlantic and along the coast of West Africa were bound to it as the suppliers of slave labour, so much in need in the plantations and mines of Brazil.

In this chapter we have attempted at giving a short description of these colonies in order to provide the backdrop against which Goa has to be placed as a part of Portugal's colonial empire in the 18th century. This will help us appreciate the relative importance - however little it may be, of Goa in the economy of Portugal and the significance of the measures undertaken by the Crown, in relation to the colonies in Brazil and Africa. The economy of the Estado will become meaningful only in this context because it was operating within the imperatives of the above mentioned colonies.

PRINCIPAL PORTUGUESE COLONIES: 18th CENTURY



The Mines and Plantations in Brazil

Brazil had become so indispensable to the economy of the mother country that even though the profits from this colony had taken a downward curve from the mid 18th century, the Portuguese ambassador to Paris, Dom Luis da Cunha commented in 1738'that in order to preserve Portugal, the King needs the wealth of Brazil more than that of Portugal itself.'[1]

This wealth came from the gold and diamond mines and the extensive sugar and tobacco plantations.

Despite disagreements among the historians regarding the exact date and place of discovery of gold,it is generally accepted that it was discovered in the end of the 17th century in the remote region of 200 miles inland from Rio de Janeiro which later came to be known as Minas Gerais. In course of time, more mines were discovered in the fields of Ciuba,Goias, Mato Grosso etc. [2] The peak period of gold remittance to Portugal was short.Begun in 1699, it reached the maximum of 25,000 kg.in 1720, after which, the production reached a downward trend until 1760, when about 14,000 kg. could be extracted per annum. After this the mines gradually exhausted and decline became even more steady.[3]

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1. CHLA Vol.I, p.469.

2. For a detailed account of the discovery of gold, see C.R.Boxer, The Golden Age of Brazil 1695-1750, Growing Pains of a Colonial Society,Berkeley,1969,pp.30-60,Portuguese Seaborne Empire, Pelican,Harmondshire, pp.157-159, James Lang, Portuguese Brazil : The King's Plantation, New York, 1979, pp.123-131.

3. A.H.de Oliveira Marquês, História de Portgual, vol.II, Lisbon, 1984, p.380.

Receipt from the Minas gold tax, which averaged over 100 <u>arrobas</u> of gold during 1752-62,dropped to 85 during the next decade and only 68 <u>arrobas</u> of gold between 1774 and 1785. Also, gold coinage minted in Portugal totalled 17.6 millions <u>crusados</u> between 1753 and 1757 but only 8.9 million between 1769 and 1773. [4] A little insignificant amount of gold yield was registered in the early years of the 19th century. In 1801 for example, gold represented 15.2% of the total exports of Brazil which was reduced to 5.6% in 1805 and a mere 0.29 in 1816. [5] Some other precious stones like emerald and diamond were also discovered in Minas Gerais, Mato Gross and Bahia. The diamond period roughly coincided with that of gold.

Calculated in terms of pound sterling, the value of gold and diamond together reached a total of 7,28,000 during the period of 1711-15, 17,15,201 during 1721-25, 13,11,175 during 1736-40 and 13,71,680 during 1741-45. In all, around 72,48,669 sterling worth of gold and diamond entered Lisbon or Europe during a period of 34 years. [6]

Coming to plantations, the most important product of the country was sugar which had become important in Brazil from 1570-80. Brazil remained the largest producer of sugar till 1680 after which the production was hard hit by a depression caused by the fall of international prices resulting from the increased production in the Antilles. Actually, sugar production passed through many cycles and no final trend could emerge in the 17th century.

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4. James Lang, <u>Portuguese Brazil</u>,p.166.

5. A.H.de Oliveira Marquês, <u>História de Portugal</u>,Vol. II, p.380.

6. <u>Ibid</u>., p.381.

The industry was revitalised for the second time in the 18th century, when Italy and other Mediterranean countries provided the biggest market. This continued till about 1788 when Jamaica began to export more than Brazil.[7] Market condition in Europe improved once again during the 1790s as a result of the collapse of production in Saint Dominique, Haiti, after 1792 due to slave revolts and French military action. Exports stood at 7,20,000 arrobas in 1783, topped two million arrobas in 1796 and reached 2.5 million in 1800. Sugar became so profitable at the end of the century that a Vatican chronicler commented 'there is no one who does not wish to be a sugar planter.'[8] Among the secondary items of export which remained important in the 18th century was tobacco. This item too, as sugar, had a beginning prior to the 18th century but remained important throughout the period. Tobacco was produced on hundreds of plantations concentrated in the township of Cacheira and Bahia. Its cultivation expanded in the late 17th century when sugar production dropped in the 1680s. The King encouraged its production by restricting its cultivation at home and the Atlantic islands. Tobacco even surpassed sugar in certain areas like Bahia where it maintained a monopoly over other products. In course of time, it also spread to Pernambuco and some other areas. In terms of quantity, exports averaged about 25,000 rolls [9] during the period 1700 and 1710.

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7. For details of sugar production and trade cycle, see CHLA I, pp.457-459 and James Lang, Portuguese Brazil, pp.81-87, 108-113.

8. K.N.Maxwell, Conflicts and Conspiracies : Brazil and Portugal 1750-1808, Cambridge, 1973, pp.213, 257-58.

9. Approximately of eight arrobas each.

From 15,000 to 20,000 rolls of lower grades weighing three *arrobas* were set aside for Mina slave trade.About 3000 rolls went to Rio de Janeiro,much of it for the city's slave trade with Angola. [10] Between 1756 and 1759 about 6600 rolls were sold domestically in Portugal and 12,000 rolls reexported. It was exported even to Goa and Macao but most of it went to Italy, Spain and Hamburg. Tobacco contract itself was one of the most lucrative incomes of the Portuguese Crown fetching as much as 1.8 million *crusados* as early as 1722. [11]

In the second half of the 18th century, wheat and rice were also cultivated and exported from Brazil. By the turn of 1781 the entire amount of rice consumed in Portugal was supplied by this American colony. [12]

10.James Lang, *Portuguese Brazil*, p.141, C.R.Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil*,p.151.

11.James Lang,*Portuguese Brazil*,p.142.

12.A.H.de Oliveria Marquês, *História de Portugal*,Vol. II,p.386.

Cocoa and coffee were two other items of export from Grão Pará and Maranhão. Of these, Cocoa began to yield profit after 1750 doubling its export within 20 years. This was in terms of both quantity as well as the price at which it was sold. [13] Hide and horses too were raised on a large scale to be sent out to the Metropolis.

Finally, there was cotton to be cultivated on large scale plantations in the late 18th century. The series of innovations in the cotton industry, in form of spinning jenny, water frame, mule etc. closing the technological gaps between weaving and spinning led British cotton industry to look for increased supplies to Asia, West Indies and Brazil. Between 1785 and 1789 British manufacturers purchased 13 million pounds of Brazilian cotton, the amount going up to 68 million pounds during the 1790s. The Brazilian supply made up 23% of all Britain's cotton imports. [14]

Pernambuco, Ceara and Maranhao were the chief cotton captaincies of Brazil. Together they produced 7.5 million pounds per year in the 1790s. Joint exports doubled by the first decade of the 19th century. Portugal herself retained approximately 1.7 million pounds for its domestic workshops.[15]

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13. Rice production expanded, especially in Maranhao from 1,64,000 _arrobas_ in 1783 to 3,13,000 in 1798. In 1796 Rio de Janeiro sent 1,76,000 _arrobas_ of rice to Lisbon. Export of cocoa often exceeded 1,00,000 _arrobas_ from Para alone by the turn of the century. For details see James Lang, _Portuguese Brazil_, p.162, and A.H.de Oliveira Marques _História de Portugal_ vol II,p.387.

14. James Lang, _Portuguese Brazil_, p.185.

15. _Ibid._

The significance of these articles of exports lay not only in their mere quantity and variety. Actually, only a small amount was meant for consumption in Portugal itself. A large portion of it constituted Portugal's export outside, where these were exchanged for manufactured goods. Gold from Brazil went to centres of foreign trade as official means of balancing the trade deficit. In fact, gold was so important in Portugal's foreign trade that her trade with England over £ one million annually in the 1750s dropped 43% during 1766-70 as a result of sagging gold output in Brazil. [16] It recovered in the 1790s but that was due to the economic policy pursued by Pombal. Yet, despite this crisis in gold production, Brazil remained important to Portugal.Its falling income from the mines were compensated to some extent by rising production of sugar, tobacco, cocoa, rice and cotton. The Crown,fully aware of this trend, tried to tighten its grip over as much territory as possible and ensured that the Brazilian economy developed strictly to the exclusive benefit of the metropolis. As a part of this policy, industries were kept undeveloped in Brazil with sole exception to that of ship building and manufacture of cheap cotton cloths either for use of the slaves or for making sacks.All other industries were totally prohibitted by an order of the Crown in 1785. [17]

Slave Trade from Atlantic and West Africa.

The plantations of Brazil thrived on the supply of labour force from Africa. The Portuguese colony that was the principal supplier of slaves to Brazil was Angola.

16.James Lang, Portuguese Brazil, p.166.

17.A.H.de Oliveira Marquês, História de Portugal Vol. II, p.387.

The important ports of this settlement in this period were Congo and Luango in the North and Luanda and Benguela in the South. Guinea and Cape Verde also had their share in the supply of slaves but their golden period had passed off in the 15th and 16th centuries while Angola became the chief supplier a few decades later and retained its predominance well into the 19th century as well.The Portuguese were the pioneers of plantation slavery on a large scale from as eraly as the 15th century. In the early years most of the slaves were taken from Guinea and from the last decades of 15th century onwards from Angola. For the Portuguese,buying slave from Angola was cheaper than from Guniea,where they had been ousted from their original settlements by the Dutch and supplanted from other places by the English. [18] Even though it is difficult to ascertain the exact number of slaves thus exported, there are some rough estimates available to us.At least 3,00,000 slaves were reported to have been supplied to Portugal from Guniea coast via Cape Verdes,during the 16th century. Angola became the chief supplier from the last decades of the 16th century. Between 1570 and 1600 Angola supplied Brazil with over 50,000 slaves. According to one rough estimate for the decade 1670, an average of 7,500 slaves had entered Brazil, the majority of them from Angola.As for the 18th century, Angola exported almost 7,00,000 slaves to Brazil during the 70 years from 1701-1770.Over half of these went to Rio de Janeiro. [19]

18.C.R.Boxer, The Golden Age of Brazil, p.4

19.Estimates of slave imports are scattered in the books on Brazil.

See for example,CHLA vol.1,pp. 456-457. James Lang,Portuguese Brazil,pp.29,87,89,143 etc.

In the 18th century,the demand for slave particularly increased as a result of the boom in the goldfields. The number of slave population went on increasing so fast that in the beginning of the century (1702) the Archbishop of Bahia informed the Crown that there were some 90,000 souls in his diocese, of whom the majority were Negro slaves. [20]

Philip Curtin, the historian of slave trade,has shown how the number of slave imports into Brazil had increased from 1720 onwards.

We have the following number of slave imports into Brazil from his estimate. The share of Angola, both in number and in percentage is also given.

Table 1.1.1

Slave imports into Brazil from Angola. (1701-1800)

Year :	Total Number of Slave Imports	Country of Origin (Angola)	Share of Angola in Percentage
1701-10	1.53.700	70.000	45.54
1711-20	1.39.900	55.300	39.52
1721-30	1.46.300	67.100	45.86
1731-40	1.66.100	1.09.300	65.80
1741-50	1.85.100	1.30.000	70.23
1751-60	1.69.400	1.23.500	72.90
1761-70	1.64.600	1.25.900	76.48
1771-80	1.61.300	1.31.500	81.52
1781-90	1.78.100	1.53.900	86.41
1791-1800	2.21.600	1.68.000	75.81

Source : Philip Curtin : The Atlantic Slave Trade,Madison, 1969,p.207.

20.C.R.Boxer, Golden Age of Brazil, p.2.

The estimates presented by Curtin point out that Angola alone accounted for 70% of the total Brazil bound slaves and 26% of the total Africans who were forced to migrate by all nations in the 18th century. [21]

Within Angola itself, the principal source was Luanda. Even though the port of Luanda was not colonised until 1575, slave trading in the region was already a fully developed system in the first half of the century and Luanda dominated the trade well into the 18th century when its supremacy was beginning to be challenged by the so far minor port of Benguela. Until the middle decade of the century only about 1000-2000 slaves left the shores per year. After 1760, however, its participation expanded greatly and by the 1780s it accounted for 1/4 of the trade, a share it maintained till the end of the century. As for the period from 1741 to 1780, Luanda itself accounted for 69% of the total Portuguese slave exports from Angola. Cabinda was the third leading slave zone from Angola where the French, the British, and the Dutch as well as the Portuguese traded. It was a free area until the end of the century. [22]

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21. H.S.Klein, The Middle Passage : Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1978,p.25.

22. Ibid., pp.25-26.

Klein has compiled and compared the figures of slave exports from both Luanda and Benguela during the 18th century and in the process differed with the estimate of total slave exports from Angola as presented by Curtin. We quote the table prepared by him.

Table 1.1.2

Estimates of African Slave movements from Angola in the 18th century.

	KLEIN'S ESTIMATE			
Decades	Luanda	Benguela	Total Angola	Curtin's estimate
1701-10	-	-	-	70.000
1711-20	58.841	-	-	55.300
1721-30	73.488	-	-	67.100
1731-40	98.632	17.035	1.15.667	1.09.300
1741-50	1.06.575	12.796	1.19.371	1.30.100
1751-60	1.07.697	23.709	1.31.406	1.30.100
1761-70	82.842	49.465	1.32.307	1.32.500
1771-80	97.533	54.732	1.52.265	1.31.500
1781-90	1.04.429	64.104	1.68.535	1.53.900
1791-1800	1.03.616	74.908	1.78.524	1.68.000

Source : H.S.Klein : The Middle Passage : Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade., Princeton 1978, p.27, Table 2.1.

In view of the widely scattered nature of information preserved in various archives all over the world, or the absence of port registers for all consecutive years, such difference of opinion and gap in knowledge is only acceptable. [23] But what becomes clear from the available estimates is that despite falling income from the Brazilian mines, the demands for slaves was steadily on the rise. Angola proved to be the main prop of this trade, contributing the lion's share of exports to Brazil.

Indigenous Economy of the Colonies in the Atlantic

While Angola remained important to the Portuguese Crown as supplier of slaves, the internal economic conditions of the colony was not in a very good shape. During the Govornorship of Dom Fransisco de Souza Coutinbo (1764-1772) some experiments were made with administrative as well as economic reforms. The Governor encouraged industry and settlements in the hinterlands, but unfortunately, all of these proved to be shortlived. In the absence of any economic development, Angola continued to remain more or less as a colony of Brazil until the latter's independence in 1822. [24]

23.Curtin has discussed in details the problems of giving exact numbers. He has also examined the views expressed by the other historians as well as the reason of his preference for the estimate as one of imports into Brazil rather than as exports from Africa. For further details,also see. H.S.Klein, The Middle Passage, p.26-27.

24.A.H.de Oliveira Marquês,História de Portugal,vol.II, pp.431-32.

Among the other colonies, Cape Verdes and Guinea were grouped together as one captaincy. In addition, there were Sao Tome, Principe, Madeira and Açores in the Atlantic.

Of these, Guinea was unprofitable and had to live out of its economic relations with Cape Verdes. The latter,too,despite its production of some rice, cotton, fruit and sugar, manufacture of salt, development of fishing and even some export of slaves to Brazil,yielded very little profit and suffered from a chronic shortage of money through out the 18th century.

A few companies were founded in Portugal during the 17th and 18th centuries to control the trade from these two places. the first, raised in 1676 was named Company of Cacheu and of the Rios of Guinea. It failed to yield any practical result.

From 1680 to 1706 trade from this captaincy remained under the control of the Company of the Cape Verdes and Cacheu. This enjoyed the monopoly of supplying slaves to Spanish America. But this company lasted only six years and eight months and was never taken seriously. The archipelago and the entire coast succumbed to inactivity after the fall of the Company. Attempts to introduce certain commercial crops failed and from the middle of the 18th century, these places survived mainly on cotton,maize beans and fish which yielded very little profit.

The places were handed over to two more companies,that of Grão Pará and Maranhão to be followed by the Company for the Monopoly of Commerce in Islands of Cape Verdes, Bissau and Cacheu. (Companhìa para o Monopólio de Comércio as Ilhas de Cabo Verdes, Bissau e Cachéu).

These functioned till 1786. Both the companies only marginally succeeded in stimulating the economy of the islands.Like the other Portuguese possessions, Cape Verdes too was subjected to foreign attacks- by the French and the English. The latter tried to secure a foothold in some of these islands and they succeeded in Guinea where they founded a factory in Bolama in course of the closing years of the 18th century. [25]

The companies which were set up for the control of trade from Cape Verdes and Guinea were also entrusted with the management of commerce from São Tomé and Príncipe. Situated in the Gulf of Guinea, these and some other neighbouring islands were very rainy, humid and full of Tropical diseases which put off the European settlers from permanent settlements. The Archipelago mainly survived by raising cattle and manufacturing sugar. [26]

The main source of prosperity was, however, their geographical location.It was the best halting point in the overseas trade route to India and later of the slave trade between Africa and Brazil. A heavy traffic of slaves was carried to Brazil from here and commercial relations were also maintained with the neighbouring islands.

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[25] For a detailed description of Cape Verdes see Joaquim Verissimo Serrão, História de Portugal, Vol. VI, pp. 144 -149, A.H.de Oliveira Marquês, História de Portugal.Vol. II pp.38-41, 265,422-23.

[26] For details of sugar trade in São Tomé see A.H.de Oliveira Marquês, História de Portugal vol. II, pp.266-267.

The companies, once entrusted with the management of commerce from these places, vitalised trade to some extent and established factories at Jaquem, Apa, Popo, Calabar and Camarao along the coast and in the islands of Corsico and Fernão de Pó.Ships trading in tobacco of Bahia loaded the slaves from these places. The Company also developed trade from the islands of Principe. The fall of the Company of Cape Verdes and Cacheu (1706) led to a phase of stagnation and commercial decline in this part of the Gulf. [27] Later, Marques de Pombal initiated certain reforms in these places. The most important of these was the elevation of the principal village of the island of Santo Antonio into a city and the capital of the Archipelago and nomination of a Captain General with total authority over Sao Tome. [28]

Towards the end of the century, Portugal realised the uselessness of maintaining some of the possessions in the Gulf. The majority of the factories were abandoned. Fernão de Pó and Ano Bom were ceded to Spain by the treaty of San Idalfauso of 1778. The attention henceforth was focussed on the two islands - São Tomé and Príncipe only.

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27. Ibid.,p.425.

28. Ibid.

Finally, there were the islands of Madeira and Açores. Both the islands were uninhabited when discovered and explored in the early 15th century and passed through several stages of agricultural experiments.Commercial cropes like sugar and fine wine were introduced in Madeira [29] in its third stage of agriculture, which eventually transformed Madeira into a huge commercial centre. From this island sugar began to be shipped to markets in Portugal, the Mediterranean and Northern Europe by way of the Royal factory at Antwerp. [30]

Açores on the other hand, never reached this stage of developments and stopped with the cereal stage when wheat became the primary export in course of the 15th century.

By the 18th century,the islands were able to develop their own economic resources. In Madeira, the trade of wine went on expanding while Açores introduced extensive cultivation of oranges. An weaving factory,established with the assistance of the French in the island of St.Miguel in the beginning of the 18th century added to the prosperity of the island.Whaling had begun from 17th century simultaneously with the cultivation of potatoes. These yielded a positive balance of trade and the islands were able to meet their own expenses without turning to the Crown for assistance. Funchal, Angra and Ponta Delgada developed into big cities in the 18th century.

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[29] In the early years only animals were put ashore to proliferate rapidly in the new surroundings to be rounded up in course of time for sale in Portugal. At the second stage of development, the cultivation of cereal was embarked upon. In Madeira, this followed only a few years after the first,due to an unexpected migration of settlers, who abandoned the Morroccan outpost at Ceuta. Wheat was cultivated at this stage.

[30 James Lang, Portuguese Brazil, p.9.

Both the islands were inhabited by white colonists and these two places became more or less like any other province of Portugal. In the 18th century, many of them left for Angola and Brazil. [31]

Conclusion

To sum up ,the picture that emerges is that not all the colonies outside the Estado da India were equally profitable. The most prized possession was,beyond doubt,Brazil. Even though the yield of gold was on the wane from the mid 18th century onwards,the products from the plantations still constituted the greatest share of Portugal's income. It also made up a considerable portion of Portugal's exports to the other countries of Europe.

The following table will show the relative importance of the colonies in the economy of Portugal,during the closing years of the 18th century.

Table 1.1.3

Average share of the individual colonies in percentage in their trade with Portugal. (1796 - 1800)

Name of the Colony	Export from Portugal	Import into Portugal
Brazil :		
Rio de Janeiro	32.26	28.68
Bahia	23.96	25.24
Pernambuco	15.88	15.64
Maranhão	6.46	8.64
Pará	3.50	3.40
Paraiba	0.44	0.64
Santos	0.32	0.66
Asia :	8.96	14.56
Islands of Madeira & Açores	4.66	2.44
Africa	3.56	0.10

Source :Jose Jobson de Andrade Arruda :O Brazil no Comercio Colonial, Sao Paulo, 1972, pp.249-257

31.For further details,A.H.de Oliveira Marquês,História de Portugal, Vol. II,pp.35-38,258-263,371.

The table confirms the overwhelming importance of Brazil in the coloni al network of Portugal. She alone consumed 82.8% of the articles exported by Portugal to the colonies while she also supplied 82.9% of the goods that the metropolis received from her colonies. The share of the other colonies together were insignificant 17.2 and 17.1 respectively. So, Brazil, in this period served as both a supplier and a market for the metropolis, while both Africa and the islands of Madeira and Açores acted more as markets for the Portuguese products than as suppliers to the metropolies.Asia, on the other hand, had more to offer to Portugal by way of export than to consume the produce that the latter could send to India.[32] The term Asia, in this context indicate all the parts of the Continent that Portugal traded with-including of the Estado da India. The share of the latter alone cannot be deduced from this.

The economic policy pursued by the Portuguese Crown, towards Brazil had originated long ago. In the 18th century, the Crown was merely continued with this old policy of priority to the same, ie. to maintain the rate of returns from these plantations.

32.A comprehensive idea about the nature of mutual dependence of the colonies and the metropolies can be had from the series Balança Geral do Comercio, preserved in the two archives of INE and AHMOP in Lisbon. They give a clear idea about the items imported from Asia into Portugal and their reexport to the other colonies. In fact, some articles (in small quantities) like tea, pepper,Cassas,Cinnamon and few cotton goods were even reexported to the other countries of Europe. Arruda's conclusions are based on these documents only.

In order to preserve the colonial interests over Brazil, the Portuguese Crown had issued order as early as February 2, 1591 prohibiting the foreign ships to visit the ports of either Brazil, or for that matter,any other colony under the Portuguese Crown. Even the Portuguese subjects were forbidden to carry any foreignor to these ports. The penalty prescribed for contravention of these orders were confiscation of the ships as well as the Cargo and death of those foreignors who might dare visit those ports.

Similar orders against Brazil's trade with any foreign ship were issued repeatedly,on March 18,1605, October 10.1715,May 28,1757. The scope of the order of December 12,1772 was even broader. Under penalty of confiscation of the entire cargo, it absolutely prohibited all the Portuguese ships from the Estado da India, any other part of Asia or from any area beyond the Cape of Good Hope to even halt at any port of Brazil.[33]

No other island and coastal settlement in North Atlantic and West Africa, with exception to Medeira and Açores was profitable for the sake of indigenous products. Rather,they wera being encroached upon by the French and the English as happened in Cape Verdes and Guinea. Yet, these were maintained for the sake of their strategic location which helped develop a network of slave traffic around which revolved the economy of Brazil.In this way,they were contributing towards Portugal's national economy by catering to the needs of a constant labour force in Brazil.Viewed from this angle, the figures retating to Africa in the above table are not to be accepted as absolute.

33.AHU,Moz.cxa.36,Doc.33.cover refernce 1781.Unsigned document dated 19.6.1781.

The Balance of Trade series of documents,on which Arruda has based his findings, does not include the slaves which was the most important item of export from these African settlements as already discussed above. [34]

34.Arruda himself pointed this out by saying that the deficit in the trade of Africa is not real as the settlements of Angola,Cacheu and Bissau were doing slave trade with Rio de Janeiro by order of the credotroes in Lisbon. Jose Jobson de Andrade Arruda, O Brazil no Commercio Colonial p.246.

Chapter I

THE CONTEXT

Part II

Part II.The Changing Scene of India's Maritime Trade

Goa, the headquarters of the Portuguese Estado da India was situated in a commercially viable location in the middle of the West coast of India. To its North was situated Gujarat, the traditional production centre of textiles and to its South were the pepper producing lands of Kanara and Malabar. The Persian Gulf and Red Sea, the two gateways to West Asia could be reached easily from the Northern dependencies of Daman and Diu. In fact, Goa, which had never produced of any of the articles that the Portuguese exported to Europe,mainly survived as an entrepot, where all the articles were collected and then despatched off to Portugal.

By the second half of the 18th century, the Portuguese had lost their string of settlements along the Malabar and the islands of the South - East Asia mainly to the Dutch.Their presence in India, at this time, was primarily confined to the three pockets of Goa, Daman and Diu with her trade restricted to a few nearby ports along the coast. In this period, some basic changes took place in the overall direction and composition of the maritime trade of India, which altogether changed the economic, profile of the coast, both to the North and to the South of Goa. As a result of this, the West coast of India, the traditional lifeline of India's maritime trade, was eventually relegated to the background and the eastern markets of China were brought to the forefront.

Even the participants of this trade were the comparatively newcomers in this field, viz.the servants of the English East India Company.

This chapter is a short description of the changes that set in during the 18th century based on existing research works.It is divided into three sections.The narration of the changes as they were is preceeded by a short description of the traditional trade from the West coast and followed by a note on the emergence of the private traders of the English East India Company.

Trade from the West coast as it used to be

The 400 mile long coastline to the south of Goa was a pepper producing area that also yielded other spices like cardamom,cinnamon and sandalwood. There was also a modest trade of textiles and some amount of coconut products.

The coast was divided into two parts,the North and the South. The North, under the King of Mysore,was dominated by the port of Calicut, while the South under the King of Travancore was represented by the port of Cochin. The other important ports of the region were Mangalors,Angengo and Tellicherry. Of these, Cochin was a Dutch settlement while the English maintained factories at Angengo and Tellicherry. The merchants of Calicut were the wealthy ship owing Muslims while there were also some Jews and Moplas. [1]

The trading community of Cochin was dominated by the Konkani Brahmins who had migrated down from the vicinity of Goa in the early 16th century. Jews, represented by the family of Ezechiel Rahabi,formed another strong community. [2]

1. Ashin Das Gupta,'Trade and Politics in 18th century India,'in D.S. Richards, ed. Islam and the Trade of Asia,Bruno Cassirer,Oxford and University of Pennsylvania Press, 1970,pp. 196-97.

2. Ibid.

Going up to the North of Goa, Daman and Diu, the most important port of the region was Surat in the province of Gujarat. Bombay had not yet risen to prominence. Only a few Englishmen carried on their private trade from there. Surat did not have any production of its own but acted as the chief outlet of the products of the heartland of India. Textiles, which was the most important item of export, was produced in the village surrounding the cities of Ahmedabad, Broach, Baroda, Cambay and even Lucknow. Indigo, another item of trade, had two qualities - sarkhej and jamboser. Both were produced in the region of Agra.

There ware merchants of various races and communities in the port. One of those was that of the Bohras to which belonged Abdul Ghafur, the richest merchant perhaps of the whole of India in the late 17th century. There were also the ship owing community of Chellabis, Multanis, Kashmiris, Northern Khatris from the Persian Gulf or Red Sea, the simple Muslims or Mughals etc. The Banias of Rajasthan and Gujarat - acting mainly as brokers and money lenders, were also present in the city.

Among the Europeans, the Dutch East India company still had the largest foreign factory with a personnel of 57. The English and the French also maintained their factories in Surat. [3]

In the Persian Gulf, Basra in Turkish Iraq and Gombroon or Bandar Abbas in Persia were the two important ports. Of these, Gombroon had developed after the capture of the Portuguese base of Hormuz by the Persians and the English in 1622. The English East India Company maintained a factory there and carried on trade custom free in return of the services rendered by them.

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3. Ibid, p.187. For detailed description of the port, see Ashin Das Gupta, Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, c.1700-1750. Weisbaden, 1979, pp.20-92.

Indian items with markets in the Persian Gulf consisted of various kinds of piecegoods,slik,rice,sugar etc. These were distributed in the Ottoman Empire by river and caravan routes.The return cargo was composed of copper,rose water,Shiraz wine, date, almonds, horses and asafoetida.A large part of the exports was paid in bullion.[4]

The second gateway of trade with West Asia was the Red Sea,the two major ports in the region being Mocha and Jidda. Large quantity of coffee from Yemen was exported to Europe and Asia through Mocha, while goods from India, sent from Surat, were carried by camel caravan to Egypt from Jidda, which was actually a mart between India and Egypt. In the 18th century, some Bengal piecegoods of medium and coarse quality, 'cheap' white muslim used by the Turks for summer dresses also were in demand there in addition to ginger and silk of Bengal.Bengal ships normally brought back bullion from there. [5]

Thus,in the early 18th century,some very important trading centres of India were,situated in the West coast of India and the main thrust of India's export trade was towards the Persian Gulf and the Red Sea region. A conglomeration of political events, both in and outside India was to change the picture drastically in course of the next few decades. This will be analysed in the following section.

The Changes during the 18th Century

This section is divided into three parts :

1. The decline of Surat.
2. Growing government control of trade in Malabar.
3. From West to East.

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4. P.J.Marshall,East Indian Fortunes :The British in Bengal in the Eighteenth Century,Oxford,1976, p.81.

5. Ibid., pp.83-84.

The Decline of Surat - A long and complicated story and divided into three distinct phases by its historian Prof. Ashin Das Gupta, [6] it was the direct consequence of the breakdown of Mughal authority in the heartland of India in 1707, when the Mughal Emperor Aurangzeb died.

The death of Aurangzeb and the immediate dissapearance of the security of transport affected the fortunes of Surat in two ways : on one hand, Gujarat was cut off from the centres of production and on the other, the Gujarati merchants lost the markets for their articles in India. A glut developed at the port of Surat which was noted as early as February 4, 1708 by the Dutch directorate J.Grootemhiujs. Also, the shroffs, who remitted money in Agra had to suspend business and all the merchants trading in that area were in trouble. The depressed contidion of market was repeatedly noted in the 1720s.

The crisis was almost simultaneously followed by a breakdwon within Gujarat in general and in Surat in particular.

This began with the attack of the Marathas in 1721. They besieged the city for several weeks in 1723, plundered its suburbs and even extracted chauth or a fourth part of the revenue, first from the neighbouring villages and in 1730, from the city itself. In the struggle for revenue, the Mughals gradually lost to the Marathas, but somehow managed to retain their control over the urban centres including Surat. Desperate for money as they were, to meet the expenses of the war, they adopted the easy way of extracting it from the merchants. Even though the developments of Surat alone can be studied in depth, the condition seems to have been the same in all the trading centres of Gujarat, viz. Cambay, Broach, Ahmedabad etc.

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6. Ashin Das Gupta, Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat, pp.8-9.

Taking advantage of the helplessness of the administrators, the English began to exert pressure for a share of the custome revenue of the port. This ultimately led to the removal of the Governor himself, when the former tried to appease the English by exploiting the merchants.

This was followed by the blockade of the port first by the English East India Company and then by the African Sidis - both taking it as the last resort to preserve their private interests and realise the money due to them.

All this took Surat down the path of disintegration in course of the third decade of the century. By 1750, virtually the entire trade with Delhi and Agra was lost and with the transport system broken down, very little connection remained beteween the port and the heartland of India.

In the port itself, the Muslim ship owners lost much of their possessions.The commercial sail comprising of about 60 in all, virtually disappeared. While at least 40 ships used to sail every year from the port before, there were only five ships that sailed. In a list of the 'capitalists' and their fortunes not more than 30 people appeared with their fortunes, ranging in the region of mere Rs. 1,00,000. The total trade of Surat dwindled roughly to a third of its previous volume.Even that was mainly carried on by the private English traders.Ahmedabad too lost its previous prosperity and trade in textiles.Three quarters of the city was laid waste and it became difficult even to procure a few pieces of cloth.The situation was more or less the same in Cambay and Broach,the condition of Cambay being worse than that of Broach.

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7. For details of the story,Ashin Das Gupta,Indian Merchants and the Decline of Surat,pp.134-196,197-239.

Growing Government Control of Trade in Malabar-Even though Calicut was the traditional centre of pepper trade of Malabar,the absence of figures relating to its production renders it difficult to estimate the production of the coast at any time.Prof.Ashin Das Gupta, on the basis of figures from the south of the port,suggests a tentative amount of nine million pound for the port of Calicut. Of this,not more than a third was ever claimed by the European companies,the rest being sold to the Indian and the Arab merchants, and private Europeans.[8]

The decline of Surat came as a boon to the merchants of Calicut as the price of pepper shot up during the 1730s and continued to remain high till about 1770, when the advances of the state of Mysore under Haider Ali and his son Tipu Sultan brought it to a halt.Haider Ali conquered Calicut for the first time in 1766.Even though he did nothing at this stage to dislocate the trade,business became hampered by the lack of stability in the interior.The price of pepper rose steadily from Rs.90 a Khandi in 1765 to Rs.130-40 in 1767.After this,large scale purchase broke down and pepper was snapped up in small quantities.

Even though the situation deteriorated in 1773 when the army of Mysore returned, the actual blow fell under Tipu Sultan,who adopted some deliberate measures aganist the commerce of Malabar.Out of his belief that the Europeans were waging war against him for the commodities of trade only,he cut down all the sandal trees and imposed a monopoly by prohibiting his subjects to sell their produce to anyone but officials of the Government.The

8. Ibid., Malabar in Asian Trade, 1740 - 1800 Cambridge,1967,p.25.

sumtotal of all this was not a fall in demand in Calicut, but a sharp fall in trade, due to political unrest and the disappearance of free trade from the region for the first time. [9]

The more fundamental and long lasting changes in the trade from Cochin in South Malabar set in during the reigns of Martand Varma (1729-58) and his son Rama Varma (1758-98), who began to build up a bureaucratic state in the Kingdon of Travancore. In the process, Martand Varma organised the commercial department and established a strict monopoly first on the trade of pepper and then on the other articles as well.The first move towards the monopolisation was taken in 1743-44,when,by a declaration,the king took upon himself the 'direction of pepper trade',giving instructions to the foreignors regarding from whom to buy and to the Indian merchants as to whom they should supply.

The richest pepper producing areas of Thekkumkur,Vedakkumkur, Peritally and Atingel were brought under the control of the King,who bought up the entire production of 8,10,000 Khandis at a low price of about Rs.30-32.per Khandi. The King even exercised control over all the routes by which pepper used to be transported to the Dutch from south Malabar.He also controlled the four major markets where his pepper could fetch a price much higher than the Dutch paid for it.Not only the indigenous merchants but even the Dutch became dependent on the King in course of time.The price of pepper being too high,the latter began to rely entirely upon the commercial department of Travancore to supply them with the amount they needed.

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9. Ibid.,pp.111-112.

The sumtotal of all this was that the trade survived but in a new way, where the profit went to the state. It was the free merchant who was eliminated in the process. [10]

Trade through both the ports of Cochin and Calicut became stagnant by the end of the century.Their places were taken to some extent by Aleppy,the new port of Travancore,but in the absence of relevant and adequate statistics,it is impossible to say how far these changes denoted a decline in the trade of pepper.The direction of whatever trade remained was changed from Muscat to China.Prof.Das Gupta has shown that the number of vessels which called at Cochin from the North and the West fell from 146 in 1774-75 to 22 in 1797-98.Much of the pepper was being transported to the East.[11]

From West to East - Trade with Red Sea and the Persian Gulf region diminished considerbly during the first half of the century,the reason being not only the political instability of Gujarat and the subsequent decline of Surat but uncertain market and unfriendly terms of trade in those ports as well.This section is based on the findings of Prof.P.J.Marshall.[12]

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10. Ashin Das Gupta, 'Trade and Politics in 18th century India' pp.196-197 and Malabar in Asian Trade, pp.33-72.

11. Ibid.,'Trade and Politics in 18th century India'.pp.134-137.

12. Prof.Holden Furber was the first to point out this shift in the direction of trade from West to East and to describe it as a commercial revolution. He also mentioned 'four processes' of change in the whole fabric of the Indian Country trade that went on simultaneously at varying speeds during these decades.One of these four was the change in direction. Later,it was for P.J.Marshall to point out that the thrust towards the East was not immediate to the decline of trade with the West but there was a gap of about 30 years in between.Holden Furber,John Company at Work :A Study of European Expansion in India in the late Eighteenth Century, Cambridge,1951 and P.J.Marshall, East Indian Fortunes.

His being a discussion of the British trade from Bengal, the data relate to the British shipping alone,but, in view of the lack of any comprehensive discussion of the contemporary trade between West Asia and Gujarat - where indigenous shipping had come to almost a halt, these can be accepted as indicators of the trend that had set in at this period.

Though profitable in general, trade was a vulnerable business in this region even in a normal season. To the usual hazards of sea were added the threat of French attack on the English ships during the days of Anglo - French rivalry.

The markets there, for example, those of Basra and Jidda, were also fickle by nature.

From the third decade of the century, the whole course of the Gulf trade became even more upset by the Afghan invasion of Persia. Gombroon suffered so much that the trade there became almost impossible. The English traders moved on to Basra but from 1731 onwards, routes to that port also became disrupted due to attacks by both the Arabs and the Persians. Bad and good years alternated with the English traders shifting between Gombroon and Basra accordingly. Finally, Gombroon was captured by the French in 1759 and virtually abandobed by the Company in 1763.The Company as well as other private traders tried to explore the possibilities of trade in other outlets of Persia,in the Gulf of Bushire and Bandar Rig,but,by 1772,the whole coast came to be regarded as hostile.

Trade with Red Sea followed a similar course. As in the Persian Gulf,in Red Sea ports also,there were bad seasons even in the buoyant years.

as early as 1721,the English Company's resident in Mocha described the market as precarious, where even a small surplus could easily fluctuate the demand. There were no more than four or five substantive merchants and the competition was even narrowed down by any single merchant's ability to buy the favour of the governors of the ports, whereby he managed to have a monopoly of dealings with Europeans and fix the prices.

These problems, coupled with the difficulties in obtaining prompt payment of goods, only accentuated over time. Merchants began to ask for credit for one or two years and huge debts piled up in Jidda. Trade between Calcutta and Red Sea were largely abandoned by 1770. However, Asian ships, operating at low costs and prepared to accept lower returns,continued to ply between Calcutta and Surat, Basra,Muscat,Mocha and Jidda.It was only the Europeans and the Company servants with lucrative options of trade with the East, who lost interest in trade with the region.[13]

The trade with East,particularly China,grew tremendously after the grant of Diwani in 1765 that led to an expansion of private trade by the Europeans. These private traders turned more and more towards China out of their need on the one hand, to remit their profits to England through bills on London and on the other,to raise more cash money by the Company.In fact,it was the latter,that led to the growth of opium trade with China.Apart from opium,the other articles transported to China from India included raw cotton,tin and pepper.

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13. P.J.Marshall - East Indian Forturnes, for further details,Holden Furber, Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient 1600-1800, Oxford,1976.

These were obtained either from the West coast of India or by trade in the straits of Malacca on the way to China. One new item that began to be taken to Europe from China was tea. Sale proceeds on tea alone rose from L 1,16,000 in 1712 to & L 3,48,000 in 1744. [14]

Simultaneously with this change in the direction of trade from West to the East, there was the emergence of new trading centres in the East. The most important of these was Calcutta, which replaced Hugli in Bengal. In fact, Hugli in Bengal and Masulupatnam in the Caromandel were the two other centres of traditional trade in Eastern India, that matched by the decline of Surat, also went into oblivion in the 18th century.The process however,was not as drastic as that of Surat.Masulipatnam,according to Prof.Das Gupta,suffered due to the breakdown of political order that created anarchy from the 1730s onwards.In the 1750s,it became one of the focal points in the Anglo-French rivalry.The French captured it in 1750 and the English took it over in 1759.The contemporary accounts of Ananda Ranga Pillai as quoted by Prof.Das Gupta,brings out the picture of overwhelming collapse in Coromandel in this period.[15]

Hugli,on the other hand,was not affected by any such political dusturbance.The collapse of Mughal authority that affected Gujarat and other Mughal provinces did not affect Bengal so acutely,nor was the impact of Maratha invasion so lasting.The pressure,however was felt to some extent as its procurement of

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14. For details of trade on tea, Holden Furber,<u>Rival Empires of Tradein</u> the Orient,pp.125-184.

15. Ashin Das Gupta.'Trade and Politics in 18th century India;' pp.202-206

merchandise from the interior became difficult.Its decline was gradual and to some extent caused by the disappearance of Muslim shipping from Gujarat and disturbances in West Asia. As Hugli maintained close ties with both the regions, the impact of disturbances in the West affected Hugli adversely. This is borne out by the decreasing number of ships coming to Hugli from Surat.[16]

The trade with China from Bengal was carried on mainly from Calcutta.In addition,Calcutta also increased her trade with Indonesia and Malaya.In the East India Company's Canton diaries, there are mentions of halts at the ports of Selangir,Riaiu, Palembang and Treggana. Calcutta ships went to Pasir in South Eastern Borneo after 1766 and ambitious men were also considering plans for possible trade with Celebes and then Batavia. [17]

Emergence of English Private Traders

Around 1713-14,as Prof.Holden Furber pointed out,ships owned by the Dutch East India Company were still moving in terms of both bulks and value,more goods on voyage between Asian ports than all other Europeans put together. The number of Dutch private country ships,however,was very few.But,there was a sharp drop in Dutch Company's country trading fleet during the fifty years from 1690 - 1740 . This was due to the Dutch Company's restrictions on private trade of its servants. [18]

The diminishing share of the Dutch in country trade of Asia was being matched by a corresponding growth in English country

16. *Ibid.,* pp. 199-202.

17.P.J.Marshall,*East Indian Fortunes*.pp.95-97.

18.Holden Furber,*Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient*.pp.272 - 73, 275-76.

shipping. This is indicated by the following set of figures. In the first decade of the 18th century,Calcutta had been the home of about 10 ships owned by resident Englishmen. The figures grew to 40 in 1722-23. There was a decline in the 1730s and the number of 25 for 1736-37 remained the highest till 1750s.Then it rose again to 30. There was a great spurt during the last 20 years of the century. The number of English private ships using the port of Calcutta rose to 128 in 1783 and 591 in 1791. [19]

This growth in English country shipping was the result of the political developments of the period. The English East India Company's nature had been completely transformed in course of the 18th century. On the one hand, Clive's success in making the Company a revenue collector in Bengal created an illusion of wide vistas of profit, on the other, the process of empire building required large increase in personnel. In fact, however, the Company was loaded with debts from which it could come out only with the facilities provided by its own servants, either individually or through the agency houses. The remittances,that the Bengal Government wanted to make to the other Presidencies, could be made only with the assistance of the country traders, many of whom were also Company servants. In fact, the country trade had become such an established practice and the Bengal economy had become so intertwined with this trade, that people from various spheres of occupation were drawn to this profession.Thus there were 'seamen,who either deserted or left European ships with the consent of their employers,servants of the East India Companies,resigned or retired from service,who loved life in the East,mercenary soldiers with mercantile experience,adventurers of many diverse

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19.Ashin Das Gupta,'Trade and Politics India in 18th century India' p.201.

backgrounds'. [20]

The increase was equally reflected in trade with Malabar and the West. A study of British country captains' names on Cochin shipping list shows an increase from 17 to at least 28 between 1724-42. Also, in the trading season of 1719-20, 15 British commanded country ships called at Cochin with tonnage at least 3,000. During 1741-42, the number of British calls reached probably 29. As several of these were large ships, their aggregate tonnage reached at least 7,500 tons and may have reached 9,000.[21]

In Surat also, the British private traders were equally active. Around 1746-47, the English country ships were taking out 8221 bales of cotton ,piecegoods, raw silks and small amounts of smuggled spices.They were bringing in large assortments of sundries,copper,copra,areca nuts,coconuts,guns and rice of all varieties.This trade was being supported by the English Company's own funds,which its Councillors at Surat lent to country traders on respondentia,secured by the value of ship and payable after the sale of the cargo.[22]

These traders were equally active in West Asia.Througout the first half of the century,they carried Bengal textiles,silk and sugar to Gujarat and West Asia.They turned towards the East after the 1750s when the market became less attractive.The list of ships calling at Mocha in the 1730s show that ships commanded by the seven to 10 English captains had the largest share of European controlled trade.

20.Holden Furber,Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient.,p.276.

21.Ibid.,p.274.

22.Ibid.,pp.282-282.

By the midddle of the century these private traders were advancing their own interests even at the cost of their own company, so much so, that the directors in London realised that the Company's expenses were increasing while the trade was managed'only to serve the corrupt ends of our servants formerly there.'[23] Remitting the money made out of this country trade was another problem faced by these English traders. For this, they often had to depend on the Company's bills of exchange and sometimes on the bills of the French,the Dutch of even the Danish East India Companies. At times,they also invested on respondentia bond of any of the private 'adventurers' of Lisbon,Ostend,Copenhagen etc.[24]

This is how the capitals of the many European financial communities viz.London,Amsterdam,Paris,Copenhagen and Lisbon became deeply concerned,directly of indirectly in the affairs of the English East India Company.In all of these European capitals lived bankers and merchants, whose affairs would be greatly affected by any radical reforms in the English company designed to prevent the British subjects from sending remittances through their foreign channels.[25]

Thus,nearly ousted by the British private traders from the Indian country trade,these other European nations were,in a way pushed to a brink,from where they had to,in one way or another,take 'part in the work of building a British Empire in India', for the sake of their own survival.[26]

23.Ibid.,pp.283-284.

24.Holden Furber,John Company at work,p.28.

25.Ibid.,p.29.

26.Ibid.,P.31.

Conclusion

To sum up, the traditional pattern of maritime trade of India did undergo some transformations in course of the 18th century. The nature of the changes varied from region to region. While in Gujarat it was the breakdown of political authority that triggered off a series of turmoils in the port city of Surat, finally relegating it to the background of commercial importance; in the South, in Malabor, it was the tightening grip of the local rulers on the trade that changed the traditional commercial practices. In the East, the changes, again, were of a different nature. Some new centres developed there on the ruins of the old and the scope of trade widened in the ports of China. Above all was the emergence of a new pattern of trade, where the Indian merchants, whether in Surat or in Bengal lost their previous independence and began to work merely for the British private traders. The presence of these British country traders were felt in all parts of the country and in no time, they surpassed their own European rivals in both the number of ships and the volume of cargo. Their increasing dominance was facilitated by the political developments in Bengal, where following the Battle of Plassy in 1757, the British gained foothold into the administration of the state from where in course of time, they came to rule over the whole of India.

The Portuguese on the other hand had long ago left back their supremacy in the waters of the Indian Ocean.Their presence,in this period,was confined to the three pockets of Goa,Daman and Diu,directly under the rule of the Crown.Some individuals, however,were spread out and settled in scattered pockets of Malabar,Coromandel or Bengal, carrying on their own trade.

In fact, the Portuguese had considerable share in the private trading world of India even in the first decade of the 18th century.At this time, according to Prof.Furber, their share was probably next only to the Dutch and the English.Some traces of it were still felt in the 1740s,when they moved out cotton from Surat.[27] Even in the later part of the century,there are references to some private and influential Portuguese merchants who were settled in Surat and carrying on trade in textiles-as representatives of their companies in Lisbon.The Portuguese record s, however, do not reveal the quantity of the cargo taken out by them. Their share in trade from Surat however seems to have considerably reduced by the middle of the 18th century. According to an estimate prepared by Jan Schreuder of the Dutch factory, there was a total of Rs.87,42,000 of trading capital operating at Surat around 1750. Of this, Rs.27,86,000 operated under the protection of the four European powers, the Portuguese, Dutch, English and the French while the rest was independent. The share of the Europeans were as follows - Rs.17,60,000 operated under the Dutch protection Rs. 8,86,000 under the English, Rs. 1,30,000 under the French and a mere Rs.10,000 under the Portuguese.[28]

27.Holden Furber,Rival Empires of Trade in the Orient,pp.273-74.

28.Ibid.,Bombay Presidency in Mid Eighteenth Century,p.64.

Despite an apparent insignificance of the Estado da India in this period,the role of the Portuguese in India will be better understood in the context of the ongoing changes all over India and particularly in the areas surrounding Goa.This will generate a better understanding of the policies formulated by the Crown from Lisbon towards Goa and the objective behind the direction of the Portuguese shipping towards the East by surpassing their own ports in the West.[29]

29.This is discussed in chapter two below.