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Trade in Goa during the 19th Century with Special Reference to Colonial Kanara

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From the arrival of the Portuguese to the end of the 18th century, the economic history of Portuguese Goa is well examined by historians. But not many works are available on the economic history of Goa during the 19th and 20th centuries, which witnessed considerable decline in the Portuguese trade in India. This, being a desideratum, it is not surprising to note that a study of the visible trade links between Portuguese Goa and the coastal regions of Karnataka¹ is not given serious attention by historians so far. Therefore, this is an attempt to analyse the trade connections between Portuguese Goa and colonial Kanara in the 19th century.²

The present exposition is mainly based on the administrative records of the English East India Company government such as *Proceedings of the Madras Board of Revenue*, *Proceedings of the Madras Sea Customs Department*, *Madras Commercial Consultations*, and official letters of the Collectors of Kanara. These documents are used for the first time in the study of Indo-Portuguese history. These sources present clear trading relations between Portuguese Goa and colonial Kanara and refer to the various items of trade, both imports and exports.³ Of these, however, one could see repeated and striking references to the import of salt from Goa to Kanara and export of rice from Kanara to Goa. This basic, historic and essential link between the two colonial pockets is striking and calls for a study. I have tried to examine this problem in the wider historical context of western colonialism in India, particularly the Portuguese and the British,

and in the context of the world system. The British empire in India and their imposition of unequal treaties on the Portuguese in India cannot be ignored by any study of this kind.

Buchanan⁴ and Blair⁵ opined that there was a revival in the external trade of Kanara after 1799-1800. On the basis of the available sources the trade of the Kanara coast may be described as an *entrepôt* trade. Except for the already existing trade with Arabia, Goa and Malabar, Kanara, during the period of our study, acted more as a transmitter of trade than the direct feeder to England. The ports of Kanara were the trade links between the indigenous, interior lands and foreign dependent markets. This was very similar to the role the country played in the 18th and 19th centuries when her merchants acted as the conveyors of spices collected from areas of production and distributed them to the countries of Asia and Europe. "India was then, the central, the focus or fulcrum for Indian Ocean trade".⁶ Kanara traded in many products of Malabar, Mysore, Coorg and even those brought from outside like Bombay, Arabia, Travancore, Sind and Gujarat. It was, in fact, a spatially widespread and broad-based commercial phenomenon in which the port of Mangalore acted as an *entrepôt*. The same could be said of Portuguese Goa as regards a few products, for example, textiles and the trade with Africa and Brazil.

A dominant feature of the sea trade of Kanara of this period was that it was export-dominated, and that too, in merchandise. The excess of exports over imports was also the characteristic of the trade dealing of India in the 18th and 19th centuries. In fact, this single character, foreign trade was the problem of most of the underdeveloped colonial countries. As M. N. Pearson observed, "the problem of third world countries then is not their poverty; for often they are naturally rich; the problem is that its wealth ends up in the metropolis."⁷ The fluctuations in trade were dominated largely by the interplay of several factors like vagaries of weather, the piratical threats, political upheavals like internal rebellions in the trading countries, the natural calamities like famines or droughts in the dependent areas, a change in the tariff policy of the government, unforeseen commercial causes, etc. Some of these factors played a crucial role in the trade of Goa and trade dealings between Goa and Kanara.

Rice and other items of trade

Some of the important ports on the coast of Kanara in the beginning of the 19th century were Bekal (Kasaragod), Kumbla, Manjeshwar, Mangalore, Mulki, Padubidri, Kaup, Kundapur, Baidoor, Shirur, Sadashivgad, Honavar

and Kumta.⁸ Sir Thomas Munro described the trade of Kanara in 1800. He wrote that about one-third of the rice exported reached Arabia and the rest, Malabar, Goa and Bombay. Arrack and gin were imported from Goa. Salt was imported from Goa, Bombay and Muscat.⁹ In fact, a letter of Munro to the Madras Board of Revenue dated 29th April 1800, mentions an advance to the tune of 4000 *Bahadury pagodas* (Rs. 16,000) to the Captain of Frigates sent by the Governor of Goa to enable the Captain to purchase rice from Kanara.¹⁰ Buchanan also described rice as the grand article of export which was sent to Muscat, Bombay, Goa and Malabar.¹¹ John Sturrock also considered rice as next only to coffee in point of value. He observed that more than half of its exports went to Malabar, about one-third to Goa and only a small quantity to foreign countries such as Arabia and Zanzibar. Exports were made from all the parts of the district but the rice trade with Goa was chiefly on at Hangarkatta and with Persia, Arabia and Zanzibar at Kundapur (Gangolli) and Mangalore.¹² The difference in the proportion of the rice exports to the same places alluded to in the two records, one of Munro and another of Sturrock, is noteworthy. These two records, in fact provide the two time limits, one at the beginning of the 19th century and the other at its fag end, between which the fortunes of rice trade fluctuated before it yielded its prime position. By 1850s, coffee in the southern division and cotton in the northern division of Kanara had taken over as prominent items of trade.

As far as Kanara was concerned, three-fourths of its sea-borne trade was carried on at Mangalore while the rest was shared by the ports of Kundapur, Hangarkatta (Barkur), Malpe (Udupi), Mulki, Kasaragod, Kumbala, Manjeshwar and other ports. Kundapur, Hangarkatta, Mulki, Mangalore and Bekal were the main rice exporting ports. The ports of Mangalore, Hangarkatta and Kundapur exported mainly three varieties of rice, namely, the first, 'Muscati', the name received from the Arabs who took it in large quantities to Muscat, the second, 'Rassy', a coarse variety of rice exported to Goa and Malabar, and the third, 'Ersalah' to Kutch.¹³

From 1802 to 1804 there was excessive demand for Kanara rice from Bombay, Goa and Malabar markets and as such the export of rice at Mangalore to Arabia was prohibited and rice was exported to the places of demand.¹⁴ A few Portuguese and French records of this period refer to the import of rice from Kanara to Goa. It is said that in the beginning of the 19th century, rice cargoes would arrive at Goa from Kanara especially from Basrur, Mangalore, Honavar, Kalianpur and Ponani.¹⁵ Vitalji Kamat, Keshav Parab Cawandy, Vithoji Sinai Dhempe and the Mhamai brothers of Goa were some of the well-known merchants involved in the flourishing rice

trade on the west coast of India.¹⁶ Brown and Dineur, a Mahe-based firm, often consigned rice cargoes from Mangalore and Ponani to the Mhamais for sale in Goa. In 1805 when there was a shortage of Mangalore rice, Brown and Dineur informed the Mhamai brothers that the export of Ponani rice would be resumed as there had been a good harvest.¹⁷ It is interesting to note that in Kanara also the Gowda Saraswat Brahmins or Konkans played a crucial role as traders of the region. This fact is supported by Buchanan¹⁸ (in the beginning of the 19th century) and John Stokes¹⁹ in 1830. In 1809, Alexander Read, the Collector of Kanara, wrote to the Board that the export of rice to Goa should not suffer as the troops at Goa were more than that of the previous year, and that settlement could procure its supplies from no other quarter but Kanara.²⁰ In 1822-23 the exports from Kanara to Goa by sea valued Rs. 1,68,000.²¹

Many regions contributed to the overseas trade of Kanara. Rice, the staple of the region, was exported mainly to Arabia, Muscat, Bombay and Malabar. Because of the enormous supply of rice to Arabia and north western parts of India, Kanara was regarded as the granary of the western coast and of Arabia.²² The following table (see next page) gives a comparative statement of the quantity of rice in *muras*, (a *mura* is equal to about 39 kilograms), exported from Kanara to various places, namely, Arabia, Bombay, Goa, French ports, Malabar and others.²³

The only two foreign settlements in India with which the Kanara coast had trading connection were Mahe and the Portuguese settlement of Goa. A document belonging to the year 1845 reveals that the trade with Mahe was meagre, not exceeding Rs. 6,000 a year, but with Goa it was more than Rs. 1,60,000.²⁴

Mangalore was the most important port in Kanara. In 1809, Alexander Read considered it to be the emporium of Kanara. Rice was the chief article of export from here. It imported salt from Goa.²⁵ The principal port of Barkur was situated at Hangarkatta. It was a busy port till the end of the 19th century. It concluded a large export trade in rice and paddy, principally to Goa. In fine season, as many as a hundred native craft were seen there loading for Goa and the ports of North Kanara.²⁶

From Mangalore there arrived in mid-1812, in Goa, a shipment of 9 horses priced at 300 *xerafins* each, thereby possessing a total value of 2,700 *xerafins*.²⁷ Besides merchandise, in Kanara, treasure too was imported and exported from and to the neighbouring regions like Mysore, Coorg, Goa and the Maratha states. Goa exported salt to Kanara and imported paddy, rice and wheat from Kanara by land.²⁸

In 1836, C.R. Cotton,²⁹ the principal Collector of Kanara, reported

Official Year	Arabia	Bombay	Goa	French Ports	Malabar	Sundry	Total
1838-39	4,55,986	6,83,873 ³ / ₄	1,35,727 ¹ / ₄	7319 ¹ / ₂	75,116	3744 ¹ / ₂	13,61,767
1839-40	3,96,532	4,38,168	1,11,492 ¹ / ₂	4079	35,393 ¹ / ₂	4353	9,90,018
1840-41	3,78,046	4,71,062	1,26,591 ³ / ₄	1715	41,416	763	10,19,593 ³ / ₄
1841-42	4,26,315	5,13,342 ¹ / ₂	84,356 ¹ / ₂	5976	65,918 ¹ / ₄	280	10,96,188 ¹ / ₄
1842-43	4,87,567	5,44,704 ¹ / ₂	1,18,507 ¹ / ₂	2284	81,898 ¹ / ₂	707	12,35,668 ¹ / ₂
1843-44	4,78,192	5,24,484	1,63,809 ¹ / ₄	6744	81,838	1295	12,56,362 ¹ / ₄
1844-45	5,19,453	5,11,046 ¹ / ₂	1,20,094 ¹ / ₄	5271	89,951	1972	12,47,787 ³ / ₄
1845-46	5,01,642	7,76,395	78,433	494	1,08,507 ¹ / ₄	920	14,66,391 ³ / ₄

on the various articles of exchange between Kanara and Goa during 1828-29. Cotton's report clearly reveals that rice and paddy were major articles of export from Kanara to Goa. It indicates that dates, drugs, paper, dry grains, sugar, wines and spirituous liquors were also imported into Kanara from Goa. Further coir, drugs, dry grains, sandalwood oil, pepper, timber, etc. were exported from Kanara to Goa. A miscellany of the articles purchased by the Portuguese included sugar, iron, ginger, coir, saltpetre, wood, timber for masts and ship-building operations conducted at the Goa shipyard.³⁰

During 1845-46, Goa exported to Kanara by sea, commodities like coconuts, dates, furniture, glassware, grain of sorts, spirituous liquors, wine, coir, dried fish, piece goods (silk), provisions of various sorts, salt (valued at Rs. 5,888), timber and sundry items. In the same period, Kanara exported by sea to Goa drugs of various sorts, tamarind, dry grain, paddy and rice (valued at Rs. 1,32,357), piece goods, cotton, silk, fish bladder, salt (pure), pepper, black wood, black timber and jungle timber wood.³¹

During 1851-52, rice exported from Kanara to Goa was 1696 *corges* and 33 *muras* and it shot up in the following year.³² In 1852-53, Kanara imported the following items from Goa by land:³³

Articles	Quantity	Value in Company's Rupees
Betel nut	cwt. 1,710	7,632
Catchu or Terraja Ponica	cwt. 415	2,489
Fruits - Coconut	nos. 25,01,238	37,518
Fruits - Dry	cwt. 3,192	13,768
Oil - Coconut	gals. 7,006	4,398
Provision Salted	cwt. 2,392	14,813
Salt (Goa)	cwt. 44,058	11,283
Sundries		5,281
	Grand Total	97,182

In the same year Kanara exported to Goa the following items by land:³⁴ (see next page).

In 1854, rice imported by Goa amounted to 71,312 *fardos*.³⁵ In 1855-56, Kanara exported by sea to Goa various items like cotton wool, cotton goods, coconut, rice (7107 quarters valued at Rs. 84,182), metal-iron bars and bolts, molasses or jaggery, cardamon, mace, pepper, timber and wood.³⁶ During the same period, 121 Portuguese craft arrived at the ports of Kanara and the tonnage was 1,747. In the same period, 122 Portuguese craft departed from the ports of Kanara and the tonnage was 1,693.³⁷

Articles	Quantity	Value in Company's Rupees
Cotton Wool	lbs. 5,158	1,006
Cotton Goods-Piece Goods, Plain	Pieces 2,585	1,305
Gall Nuts or Analicoy	cwt. 3,200	3,207
Grain of Sorts	quarters 160	661
Rice	quarters 14,892	69,392
Wheat	quarters 1,590	17,529
Wak-Bees	lbs. 11,244	4,819
Sundries		6,689
Grand Total		1,04,608

In 1858-59, Goa imported by sea, paddy (worth Rs. 43,339), rice (worth Rs. 59,836) and wheat (worth Rs. 5,796) from Kanara. These were imported along with other sundry items. In the same year, Goa exported salt worth Rs. 8,488 on government account and worth Rs. 364 on private account to Kanara. Exports from Goa included coconuts, chillies, provisions and other sundry items.³⁸

In 1862-63, Goa exported to South Kanara items like cabinet ware, fire works, fruits and nuts (dates and others), glassware, spices, spirits (gin), wax and wax candles, wines and sundries. In the same year, one steamer and 160 native craft under Portuguese colours (2,909 tonnage) were sent from Goa to Kanara and 156 native craft (2,895 tonnage) under Portuguese colours departed from Kanara to Goa. Along with other commodities, they took mainly rice to Goa.³⁹ In 1869 rice imported to Goa from South Kanara was 16,198 *khandis* of 16 *māos* and the import of paddy was to the tune of 19,868 *khandis*.⁴⁰ These details show the magnitude of trade that existed between Kanara and Goa during the period under study. Statistics reveal that there was considerable fluctuation in the quantity of rice and salt traded between these two regions. It could have been due to the various reasons stated earlier. As the British had a better bargaining power, the balance of trade was in their favour.

Tariff Policy

The changes in the tariff policy and the occasional restrictive measures adopted by the Company government in Kanara affected the trade between Kanara and Goa. Thackeray, in 1807 while writing on the

production of rice and its export said: "... the peculiar climate and situation of Canara make it the granary of the Western Coast, and in spite of a heavy duty it must continue to supply the Arabian, Bombay and Goa markets."⁴¹ In 1813-14, the double duty imposed (as per the Regulation of 1812) on goods imported and exported under Portuguese colours acted nearly as a prohibition, and would have put a stop to the export of rice to Goa altogether but for the decision of the Madras Board of Revenue to withdraw it.⁴² The diminished export of rice to Goa in 1816-17 was caused by a reduced demand on account of the imposition of a tax on its import to Goa from the British ports, to the extent of 4% which with the 10% export duty payable to the Company government proved a disincentive to the Goa trade. This was, in fact, done in retaliation of the 16% duty imposed by the British government on all articles imported under the flag of Portugal into the British territories.⁴³

Salt Trade

On account of the salt monopoly introduced in Kanara by the Company government in 1807, the inhabitants of the region had to depend on the government supply. Even the licensed manufacturers were unable to meet the demands of the region, and, as such, a large quantity of salt was imported from Goa by land on payment of a customs duty of 12 annas per *maund* which was considered to be equal to the profit on the manufactured salt of the district.⁴⁴ Salt occupied a place of considerable importance in the trade dealings of the period. In spite of its long sea coast, Kanara did not produce sufficient salt to meet its own demand.⁴⁵ Hence it was imported from Goa and Bombay. In 1838 the supply from Goa failed and the contractor was allowed to bring 120 *garce* of salt from Bombay.⁴⁶ The partial failure of the manufacture of salt in North Kanara and scarcity of the article in Bombay and Goa in 1858-59 compelled Kanara to get its supplies from the eastern coast.⁴⁷

The salt sold at Buntwal in South Kanara was of three varieties- of Kanara, Goa and Bombay. The Company government purchased salt at the following rates:⁴⁸

	<u>Pagodas</u>	<u>Fanams</u>	<u>Coins/Per Garce</u>
Kanara Salt	8	--	50
Goa Salt	8	21	--
Bombay Salt	11	21	--

As the last two, that is, Goa and Bombay salt were superior in quality, they were mostly sold and the stock of the first variety remained. To set this right, the Collector of Kanara recommended the monopoly price of the three varieties as follows:⁴⁹

	<u>Pagodas</u>	<u>Fanams</u>	<u>Coins/Per Garce</u>
Kanara Salt	20	--	--
Goa Salt	22	--	--
Bombay Salt	24	--	--

The Collector opined that as soon as the Goa and Bombay salt were sold, the merchants would bring that of Kanara.

The high monopoly price and the consequent sufferings of the people and the continuous suppression of the home manufacture by the Goa salt in the northern part of Kanara and the Bombay and Arabian salt in the south caused embarrassment to the Collectors. One of them as a solution proposed that the monopoly be substituted by an excise. The admission of the Goa, Bombay and Arabian salt at fixed duty was recommended by the Collector of Kanara in 1851 to establish equality in different varieties of salt that entered Kanara.⁵⁰ The salt imported from Goa into Kanara was further shipped to the Amindivi Islands.⁵¹ In 1857-58, as there was failure in the manufacture of salt in Kanara, Kanara's import of salt from Goa was to the tune of 92,750 *maunds* which valued about Rs. 16,803. And in 1858-59, it was 42,325 *maunds* the value of which was Rs. 13,342.⁵² From the *Report of J. J. L. Ratton (1873)* it is clear that Kanara imported salt from Goa and in 1862-63, the amount of salt imported into Kanara was 726 *maunds* at an average rate of Rs. 25.70 per *garce*. In 1863-64, it was 2,09,280 *maunds* at an average rate of Rs. 46 per *garce*.⁵³ The reason for this great variation in the price and quantity of salt traded in such a short period as one year is not clear.

In Portuguese India, till the middle of the 19th century the emphasis was on trade in luxury goods. But by the middle of the century when the trade declined, it was restricted to essential commodities. Notable items of export included coconut, salt, areca-nut, poultry and fruits. Among items of import, rice and timber were very prominent. Among the trading communities, the Gowda Saraswat brahmins and Gujarati vanias played a major role. Mormugao emerged as a rendezvous of trade in Goa.

The Portuguese commercial interests clashed with those of the British in India. The British made determined efforts to curb the Portuguese through their tariff policy and unequal treaties. As discussed earlier, in Kanara

they tried to protect their colonial interests through their tariff policy which proved disadvantageous to the Portuguese. The flourishing clandestinely conducted Portuguese Malwa opium trade was disrupted by the British transit system introduced in 1831, which sought to protect the English East India Company government's opium monopoly.⁵⁴ In the same way, the British tried to do away with the Portuguese slave trade across the Indian Ocean by the treaty of 1847. Further, England also compelled Portugal to sign treaties to open up its ports to cheap British textiles. This caused considerable damage to the Portuguese Indian textile commerce.⁵⁵ Besides, the Anglo-Portuguese treaty was signed in 1878. The idea that a railway link between Portuguese Goa and British India would help to restore the shattered economy of Goa did not materialise through the provisions of this Treaty. The British salt monopoly and the *abkari* system under the Treaty left the Goan economy in shambles. This unequal treaty clearly revealed and established the British supremacy over the Portuguese in India.⁵⁶ Nevertheless private traders, private trading network and trade in essential commodities continued to exist in Goa during this period and later.

The foregoing analysis throws fresh light on the trade relations between Portuguese Goa and colonial Kanara in the 19th century. It delineates some of the lesser known aspects of the trade relations between the two European colonial settlements on the western coast of India. Our study shows that Kanara existed as the granary of the west coast and Goa suffered as a grain-deficit region. Export of salt and coconuts from Goa to Kanara, and import of rice and paddy from Kanara to Goa, are striking. Though there was the absence of 'big trade', there was considerable 'small trade' which enabled the Goan economy to move towards the 20th century. The developments in the world system, the superior political and economic position of capitalist Great Britain affected the fortunes of the Portuguese in India.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

1. The coastal regions of the present Karnataka State, then known as the Province of Kanara and Sonda, came under the control of the English East India Company government in 1799 and remained so until 1858 and from 1858 to 1947 formed part of the British empire in India. With its annexation in 1799, Kanara was absorbed into the broader colonial network which the English had developed in India. Presently these regions constitute three districts of Karnataka and one district of Kerala namely, (1) Dakshina Kannada, (2) Udupi, (3) Uttara Kannada (all in Karnataka), and (4) Kasaragod in Kerala.

2. It may be noted that the political, economic and cultural relations between these two regions on the western coast of India had been studied by historians, particularly by B.S. Shastri. His works, "The Portuguese in Kanara 1510-1763", unpublished Ph.D. thesis, University of Bombay, 1969 and *Studies in Indo-Portuguese History*, Bangalore: IBH Prakashan, 1981 and other published articles throw light on these relations from 1510 to 1799. This period saw the rise and fall of the rulers of Vijayanagara, Keladi and Mysore in Karnataka.
3. We are aware that a detailed study of this theme is not possible unless the relevant Portuguese sources and other records of the period are thoroughly consulted and interpreted.
4. Francis H. Buchanan, *A Journey from Madras through the Countries of Mysore, Canara and Malabar* (hereafter *Journey*), (3 volumes), Madras, 1870, vol. III, p. 58.
5. H. M. Blair, *Report on the Modification of Beriz in Kanara, 1842*, Mangalore, 1897, para 7. Blair was the principal Collector of Kanara.
6. M.N. Pearson, *Before Colonialism: Theories on Asian-European Relations 1500-1750*, Delhi, 1988, p. 62.
7. *Ibid*, p. 6.
8. Sir Thomas Munro to the Madras Board of Revenue (hereafter MBR), 28-6-1800, in *Proceedings of the Madras Board of Revenue* (hereafter PMBR), 28-8-1800, vol. no. 261, pp. 7490-7505. Munro, the famous architect of the Ryotwari System, was the first Collector of the Province of Kanara and Sonda.
9. Munro to the MBR, in PMBR, 28-8-1800, vol. no. 261, pp. 7492-97.
10. Munro to the MBR, 29-4-1800, in PMBR, 21-4-1800, vol. no. 51, pp. 4070-73. In the same document we get a letter written by I. Uthethoff, perhaps a British representative in Goa to Munro in Kanara. See *Appendix - I*.
11. Buchanan, *Journey, op. cit.*, vol. III, between pages 4 and 5.
12. John Sturrock, *Madras District Manuals, South Canara*, vol. I, Madras, 1894, pp. 218-19.
13. *Ibid.*, pp. 203-04.
14. PMBR, 9-11-1801, vol. no. 302A, pp. 13, 280-84; PMBR, 30-10-1806, vol. no. 435A, pp. 7008-09.
15. Xavier Centre for Historical Research (XCHR), Mhamai House Papers (MHP), (Portuguese), document dated 8-2-1809; *Historical Archives of Goa (HAG), Registos Gerais de Fazenda (RGF)*, 7709, fl. 373, quoted in Celsa Pinto, "Portuguese India in the Late Eighteenth – Early Nineteenth Centuries" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Goa University, 1992), p. 347.
16. Pinto, , *op. cit.*, p. 348.
17. XCHR, MHP (French), vol. 6, fls. 79-80, quoted in Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India: A Study of the Portuguese Country Trade 1770-1840*, New Delhi: Concept, 1994, p. 217.
18. Buchanan, *Journey, op. cit.*, vol. III, p. 271. Buchanan opined that the

- Konkanis emigrated from Goa and the rest of Kanara, were found in large numbers in Buntwal, Manjeshwar and Mangalore towns. He noted that they had fled from Goa to escape the Portuguese persecution and proselytisation.
19. John Stokes, *Report on the Revision of Assessment, and on the Disturbances known as Koots in Kanara, 1830-31*, Mangalore, 1885, p. 9, para 33. Stokes wrote in 1830 that "all the merchants in Kanara are more or less educated and seem to be sufficiently expert and assiduous as men of business; and the Concanis, in particular, are characterised by acuteness and intelligence. It is not surprising that men of this stamp in the general struggle for wealth should be successful competitors with the simple and ignorant farmers with whom they have to deal."
 20. Alexander Read, the Collector, to MBR, 22-2-1809, in *PMBR*, 2-3-1809, vol. no. 485, pp. 1424-25. In volume no. 485 mentioned above, we get statistics regarding the rice exported from Kanara to Goa and a few other stations during this period. For details see *Appendix II*.
 21. *Proceedings of the Madras Sea Customs Department* (hereafter *PMSCD*), 26-2-1824, vol. no. 50, p. 283.
 22. Walter A. Hamilton, *A Geographical Statistical and Historical Description of Hindoostan and the Adjacent Countries*, (two vols.), vol. II, London, 1820, p. 256; *PMSCD*, 25-11-1847, vol. no. 104, p. 511.
 23. T. L. Blane to the BOR, 10-7-1846, in *PMBR*, 4-3-1847, vol. no. 2070, p. 4174, Blane was the Collector of Kanara.
 24. T. L. Blane to the BOR, 8-11-1847, in *PMSCD*, vol. no. 104, 25-11-1847, p. 513.
 25. *A Gazetteer of South India*, 1855, p. 550.
 26. Lt. H. S. Brown, *The Handbook to the Ports on the Coast of India between Calcutta and Bombay including Ceylon and Maldiva and Laccadive Islands*, Mangalore: Basel Mission Tract Depository, 1897, p. 257.
 27. Celsa Pinto, "Goa-Based Coastal and Overseas Trade: 18-19th Centuries", in T. R. de Souza (ed.), *Goa Through the Ages*, vol. II, New Delhi: Concept, 1990, p. 193.
 28. *Report on External Commerce for the year 1813-14, Board's Miscellaneous Consultations*, (hereafter *BMC*), Sl. no. 256, p. 51; also see Buchanan, *Journey*, *op. cit.*, vol. II, p. 243.
 29. C. R. Cotton to the BOR, 26-2-1836, *PMBR*, 10-3-1836, vol. no. 1494, p. 4262. See *Appendix III*.
 30. Celsa Pinto, "Goa-Based..... etc.", *op. cit.*, p. 193.
 31. *Report of W. E. Underwood, Reporter, External Commerce, 1846, from Imports into Canara by Sea and Exports from Canara by Sea, in the year 1845-46*, pp. 160-67.
 32. F.N. Maltby, *Settlement of Land Revenue of South Canara District for Fasli 1261*, p. 4. *Fasli* means revenue year or financial year. Add 590 to convert a Fasli year into Christian Era. In this case it is 1851-52.
 33. *Statement showing the Imports into Canara by Land in the Official Year 1852-53*, Fort St. George, p. 130.

34. *Ibid.*
35. A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portuguesa*, 2 vols., New Delhi, 1989 (reprint), vol. I, pp. 47-48.
36. *Report of W. Fisher*, Collector of Canara, 1856, from the Statement exhibiting the Quantity and Value of Exports by Sea, from the Port of Canara, to Foreign Ports and to Indian Ports not subject to the Madras Presidency from 1st May 1855 to 30th April 1856, pp. 96-97.
37. *Report of W. Fisher*, Collector of Canara, 1856, from the Statement of Ships and Tonnage (Square Rigged and Country Craft) Arrived at and Departed from the Port of Canara, not subject to the Madras Presidency from 1st May 1855 to 30th April, 1856, pp. 138-39.
38. V. E. Underwood, Reporter External Commerce, Fort St. George, 1st May 1859, *Statement exhibiting the Quantity and Value of Imports by Sea* into the Port of Canara from Foreign Ports and Indian Ports, and Exports by Sea from the Port of Canara to Foreign Ports not subject to the Madras Presidency, from 1st May 1858 to 30th April, 1859, p. 164 and 228.
39. *Reports of W. Hudleston, Secretary, Revenue Board Office, on Imports and Exports of South Canara*, Fort St. George, 20th June 1863, pp. 149-51 and 29th June 1863, pp. 242-45.
40. A. Lopes Mendes, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-48.
41. William Thackeray's "Report on Malabar, Kanara and the Ceded Districts, 8th September 1807", para 68.
42. *BMC*, Sl. no. 266, pp. 87-88.
43. *PMSCD*, 1-11-1818, vol. no. 37, pp. 918-20.
44. James C. Melwill, *Reports etc. of Several Commissioners on Public Works at Bengal, Madras and Bombay 1851-52: of the Minutes of the Members of the Government thereon; and of any orders of Despatches of the Court of Directors relating thereto*, 27 May 1853, p. 28; Also *PMBR*, 28-8-1800, vol. no. 261, pp. 7490-505.
45. K. Abhishankar (ed.), *Karnataka State Gazetteer, South Kanara District*, Bangalore, 1973, p. 765.
46. *Appendix to the Report of the Commissioners upon Manufacture and Sale of and Tax upon Salt in British India*, p. 143.
47. *Administrative Reports of the Madras Presidency for the year 1858-59, Revenue Department*, no. 2953, pp. 1-2.
48. Malathi K. Moorthy, "Trade and Commerce in Early Colonial South Kanara 1799-1862" (Unpublished Ph.D. thesis, Mangalore University, 1992), p. 279.
49. *Ibid.*, p. 280.
50. Extract from the letter of F. N. Maltby, Collector of Kanara, to the BOR, 3-9-1851, *Appendix-E*, no. 15, *Appendix to the Report of the Commissioner*, p. 324.
51. The northern group of the Laccadives known as Amindivi Islands on the Arabian Sea formed a part of the Province of Kanara during the period of our study.

52. W. Fisher, Collector of Canara, "The Report on Land and Extra Sources of Revenue for *Fusly* 1268 (1858-59)", 12-10-1859, no. 182.
53. J. J. L. Ratton, *Report on the Manufacture of Salt in South Kanara*, 1873, pp. 20-22.
54. Celsa Pinto, *Goa, Images and Perceptions: Studies in Goan History*, Panaji: Rajhauns, 1996, pp. 46-47.
55. *Ibid.*, p. 47.
56. For details on the Treaty and its consequences on Goan economy, see Teresa Albuquerque, "The Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878: Its impact on the People of Goa", in *Indica*, vol. 27, no. 2, September 1990, Bombay: Heras Institute, pp. 117-24; J. B. Amancio Gracias, *Subsidios para a História Económico Financeira da Índia Portuguesa*, Nova Goa, 1909; B.S. Shastry (ed.), *Socio-Economic Aspects of Portuguese Colonialism in Goa: 19th and 20th Centuries*, Belgaum: Yarbhal Offset Printers, 1990.

Appendix I

To
Captain Thomas Munro,
Collector in Kanara.

Sir,

There being reason to apprehend a scarcity of rice within the Portuguese Territories during the approaching rainy season, the Governor has requested that I would solicit your good offices toward obtaining supplies of that necessary Article from the Kanara country, the Quarter from which the Portuguese Territories are usually supplied. I could have wished to consult with you on this subject prior to any measures being adopted at this place, but the season is now so far advanced that it becomes necessary to take some measures immediately for obtaining supplies of Rice – accordingly, the Governor is now about to despatch a Portuguese Frigate with five or six very large boats to bring Rice hither from the Ports of Mangalore, Cundapore and Barcoor. The quantity required is from twenty five thousand to thirty thousand Robins, and the Governor requests that you will afford your countenance support, and assistance toward his obtaining this quantity and likewise that you will provide the requisite funds for it the Governor will repay the Amount to me here, which will be a good mode of securing funds, for the use of the British troops stationed here, should you, as seems probable, have obtained by the time you receive this letter, the sanction of Government to supplying this station with cash; but should you not have yet received the decision of Government on this point, which is now under reference through the Resident in Mysore, I still beg leave earnestly to request that you will provide the requisite funds for the supply of rice, for which, and for every other part of my present application I hold myself officially and personally responsible.

I have the honour to be, Sir,

Your most obedient humble servant,

Goa, April 21, 1800.

Sd. I. Uhethoff.

Appendix II

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A comparative statement of the quantity of rice exported from Kanara from the opening of the two seasons, i.e., 1807-08 and 1808-09 to January 31, 1809

	Total		To Arabia		To Bombay		To Goa		To Malabar		All other Ports inclusive	
	Corges	Muras	Corges	Muras	Corges	Muras	Corges	Muras	Corges	Muras	Corges	Muras
31 st Jan. 1808	5466	-11 ½	1407	38	485	12 ¼	1925	7	767	35 ¾	880	2 ½
31 st Jan. 1809	7286	19 ½	3670	16 ¾	277	26 ½	2267	22 ¾	446	20 ¼	624	17 ¼
Difference	1820	8	2262	20 ¾	207	27 ¾	342	15 ¾	321	15 ½	255	27 ¼
Export to 15 th Feb 1809	3153	36 ½	1152	34	128	23	1580	35 ½	271	40	19	32
Add Export to 31st Jan 1809	7286	19 ½	3670	16 ¾	277	26 ½	2267	22 ¾	446	20 ¼	624	17 ¼
Total	10440	16	4823	8 ¾	406	7 ½	3848	16 ¼	718	18 ¼	644	7 ¼
Export of 1806-07	20723	14 ¾	2993	34	3456	1	6781	1 ¼	3019	33	4772	29 ½
Balance remaining for export from 16-2-1809	10282	40 ¾										

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Source: Alexander Read, Collector, to the BOR, 22-2-1809, PMBR, 2-3-1809, vol. no. 485, p. 1427.

Appendix III

Table showing the quantity and value of some of the articles imported into Kanara from Goa during 1828-29:

Articles	Quantity	Value £-S-D
Dates - bwt.	1-1-14	0-12-0
Drugs - bwt -	23-1-0	10-6-0
Dry Grains - bwt -	763-18-0	26-16-0
Paper - reams	302-0-0	211-8-0
Sugar soft bwt.	0-1-3 ¾	0-12-0
Timber - Guz	1875-0-0	18-14-0
Wines and spirituous liquors - doz.	29 ¼	24-6-0

Table showing the quantity and value of some of the articles exported from Kanara to Goa during 1828-29:

Articles	Quantity	Value £-S-D
Coir - bwt.	48-0-0	15-8-0
Drugs - bwt	0-2-21 ½	0-16-0
Dry Grains - bwt	532-0-28	151-8-0
Oil Sandalwood - bwt	0-0- ¼	0-2-0
Pepper - bwt	2-2-22 ¾	5-8-0
Piece Goods - pieces	4-0-0	1-16-0
Rice and Paddy - bwt.	92,816-3-24	17,300-18-0
Sandalwood - bwt	1-1-0	2-0-0
Timber - Guz	50-0-0	0-10-0
Turmeric - bwt.	1-2-3 ½	Not available
Wak-Bees-bwt	5-3-12¼	28-2-0

Source: C.R. Cotton to the *BOR*, 26.2.1836; *PMBR*, 10.3.1836, vol. no.1494, p.4262.