

**PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENTS AND EUROPEAN RIVALS
IN THE COROMANDEL IN THE 17TH CENTURY**

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CERTIFICATE

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Acknowledgement

At the beginning of the course I used to be often carried away by the thought that I have to write a book. I wondered if I could do that and used to be very apprehensive about it. Now sitting down here typing the last line of the conclusion I am amazed that I have accomplished the work. Looking back the year that had gone by I realized this had never been a solo effort. There are many people who have generously contributed towards the success. The first person that I am indebted to is my Guide and Supervisor Dr. Yoyesh Sharma. He was tireless with suggestions and continually reminded me of my mistakes, which made the work proceed in the right direction. He also completely changed the texture of the work. What started out as an assignment gradually becomes a passion. 'Thank you so much, Sir'.

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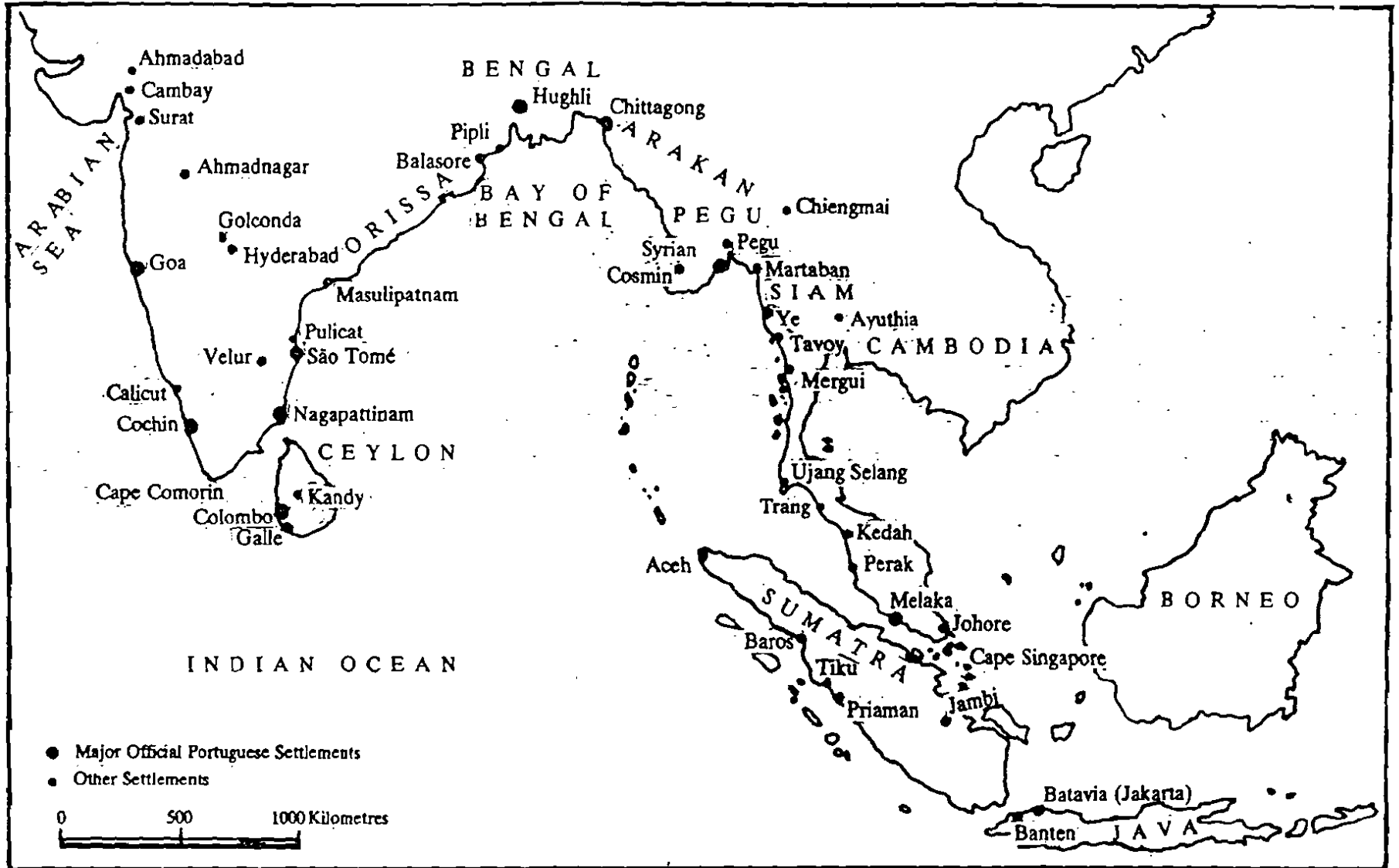
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Portuguese Settlements in the Bay of Bengal c. 1600



INTRODUCTION

The discovery of the sea-route in 1498 was one of the greatest events for a small but enterprising nation. Vasco da Gama's voyage was the longest on the high-seas voyage during to that date. The discovery of this sea-route began a new era in the world history. Upon this arrival of Vasco da Gama, K.M Panikkar proudly remarked that 'it may have passed through many stages, undergone different developments, appeared in different period under different leaderships, but as a whole it had certain well matched characteristics which differentiate it as a separate epoch in history'.¹

The fleet of Vasco da Gama, then consisting of four vessels, left Lisbon on July 9th 1497 and encountered an Arabian ship on 1st March 1498 in Melinde on the east African coast laden with Indian goods. With the help of Ibn Majid, and Indian pilot, Vasco da Gama reached India near Calicut on Sunday May 20th 1498. The Zamorin of Calicut gave Vasco da Gama a grand reception. A second and much larger expedition left Lisbon on March 9th 1500 under the command of Pedro Alvares Cabral and reached Calicut on 13th September of the same year. Here the Portuguese manifested for the first time that savage brutality by which their relations with the Indian people were so often to be stained. About thirty to

¹ K.M. Panikkar, *Asia and the Western Dominance, A Survey of the Vasco da Gama, Epoch of Asian History*, 1498-1945, (London, 1959), p.13.

forty Portuguese were killed in a riot, provoked by their own insensitiveness to the feelings of the inhabitants. In retaliation Cabral seized six hundred boatmen who had nothing to do with the riot and slaughtered them all. The city of Calicut was subjected to a heavy bombardment, which lasted for two days, and brought about considerable loss of lives and destruction of parts of the city. Thus from this day the Indian Ocean no longer remained peaceful, the long tradition of peaceful trading voyage by the Indian and Muslim merchants were at the mercy of these newly alien sea power.

The Portuguese first to have understood the concept of sea power and evolved a naval strategy for the effective control of the Indian sea. Their aim was to break the monopoly of the Muslim trade to reach the sources of the lucrative Spices Islands. Having smashed the virtually unarmed Muslim and Indian monopoly of the spice routes in the Indian Ocean by force of arms and having seized three of its principal enterport Goa on the west coast of India (1510), Malacca in the Malay Straits (1511), Hormuz on the Persian Gulf (1515), the Portuguese then tried to enforce a monopoly system of their own, as implied in king Manuel's title of "Lord of the Conquest, Navigation, and Commerce of Ethiopia, India, Arabia, and Persia," which the Portuguese Crown retained for centuries.² Trade with certain ports and in certain commodities (spices being the chief) was declared to be a Portuguese Crown monopoly, and such trade was

² C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, (Weidenfield & Nicholson), London, 1969. p.48.

carried on for the benefit of the crown or of its nominees. On the whole, Asian shipping was allowed to ply as before, that a Portuguese license (*cartaz*) was taken out on payment by the ship-owner or merchants concerned, and provided that spices and other designated goods paid customs at Goa, Hurmuz, or Malacca. Unlicensed ships in the Indian Ocean were liable to be seized or sunk if they met Portuguese ships, particularly if the ship belonged to Muslim owners.

The three key strong points of Goa, Hurmuz, and Malacca, which ensured Portuguese control of the major spice routes in the Indian Ocean were supplemented by many other fortified coastal settlements and trading posts, from east Africa (Kilwa, Sofala, Mozambique and Mombasa), Socotra off the gulf of Aden, Muscat on the Gulf of Oman, on the west coast of India Cannanore, Cochin, Chaul, Diu, Daman and Bassein, Nagapattinam and San Thome on the Coromandel Coast, Ceylon, the Maldiv Islands, Indonesia (Pacem in Samutra), Ternate and Tidor. Portuguese failure to capture Aden left open the loophole of the Red Sea to Muslim trade. Control of these key points was crucial to the maintenance of a Portuguese presence in the Indian Ocean and beyond. In addition, the Portuguese were allowed to form a number unfortified settlements and *feitorias* in some regions where the Asian rulers permitted them to enjoy a certain limited form of extraterritoriality. Portuguese settlement of these types was

Macau in China, Hughli in Bengal and San Thome and Nagapattinam in the Coromandel Coast.³

The early years of the 17th century saw the successful challenge by the Dutch and the English of the Portuguese supremacy and monopoly in the spice trade. The first dutch fleet to trade with Asia, consisting of four vessels commanded by Cornelis de Houtman, set out in 1595. It reached the Spice Islands and returned to Holland after an absence of two and half years. Of the 259 men who left with him only 89 returned but the profits were ample. The voyage opened the way for the regular traffic and to the foundation of the United East India Company in 20th March 1602⁴, which was organized under the inspiration of the great statesman Johan Van Oldenarnelvelt.⁵ The United East India Company's policy was a direct challenge to the Portuguese to displace them from their trading centers.

The other major European nation that ventured to the east in the early 17th century was the English Company, officially founded in 1600 by a royal charter. The fear of the Dutch domination of the spice market in northwestern Europe was one of the reasons that led a group of London merchants to apply to the Crown for a monopoly charter for the east India trade. The request was granted on 31st

³ Ibid., p.49.

⁴ Also know as Verenigde Oost-Indische Compagnie (VOC).

⁵ Om Prakesh, *The New Cambridge History of India: European Commercial Enterprise*, (Cambridge University Press). Cambridge, 1990.

December 1600. Thus, was born the Company of Merchants of trading into East India Company.⁶

The beginning of the 17th century witnessed major conflict among the European nations. The purpose of this conflict was to dominate major spice trade-route, which was already in the hands of the Portuguese. In this conflict Dutch were the major rivals for the Portuguese. The Dutch's attempt to dislodge the Portuguese from their trading post began with individual attacks on their shipping and was quickly extended to their possessions on land. The English East India Company had been equally active while the Dutch were consolidating their supremacy. The English's first conflict with the Portuguese in the Indian Ocean was in the Gulf of Cambay when Thomas Best reached Surat in 1612 and secures a factory, which brought about open confrontation with the Portuguese that have already established much before the English. The Portuguese hoping to crush the intruders sent a squadron to attack the English ships but the failed miserably.⁷ But the Portuguese conflict with the English did not prolong as there was a peaceful settlement between the nations in 1630.⁸

Thus, now it was left to the Dutch, which posed a challenged to the Portuguese from time to time. in most of the encounters that took place between

⁶ K.N. Chaudhuri, *The English East India Company: The Study of an Early Joint-stock Company*, 1600-1640. London, 1963, p.3-7.

⁷ William Foster (ed), *The Voyage of Thomas Best to the India, 1612-1614*, (The Hakluyt Society), London, 1934, p.xxiv.

⁸ William Foster, *The English Factories in India, 1630-1633*, (Clarendon Press), Oxford, 1910, pp.216, 220 and 331.

the Dutch and the Portuguese, the latter lost their men and resources that greatly affected in maintaining her supremacy in the ocean. The Portuguese, unable to counter the Dutch, were expelled from most of their settlements as in Nagapittinam and San Thome. The settlers of these former Portuguese towns were absorbed into Fort St. George Madraspatam, which was established in 1640 by the English.⁹ Later Madraspatam become one of the chief trading centers in the Coromandel Coast.

The term Coromandel is derived from Chola 'mandalem'. The first recorded mention of the word is in an inscription of the 11th century; and the term continued to be in use even during the 16th century. Coromandel, thus was a creation of the medieval period.¹⁰ Geographically, the coast of Coromandel is defined in two different ways; one set of historians choose as the northern limit Point Godavari, and Point Calimere as the southern point, while another set notify the southern limit, extending what comprise the Coromandel coast as far as the island of Manar. Here, the latter definition is adhered to, and hence we have at the southern limit of Coromandel the beginning of the Fishery coast.¹¹ However it is generally agreed that Coromandel ranges from the part of the coast lying to the south of the Godavari River and extends as far as Negapattinam or even to the island of Manar.

⁹ Ibid. 1637-1641, p.xli.

¹⁰ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland; Economy, Social and Political System*, (A.D. 1500-1600), (Manohar), New Delhi, 1997, p.21.

¹¹ Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce*, p.53.

It seems pertinent here to review some of the works, which are related to the subject under study. Though many general works on the Portuguese in Goa or on the administrative and political history of Portuguese Asia are available, only a very few deal with the Portuguese in Coromandel. The significant general works, which give some account of Coromandel, are *The Rise of Portuguese Power in India, 1497-1550*, (New Delhi, 1989) written by R.S. Whiteway. *The Portuguese in India*, (New Delhi, 1988), in 2 volumes, by F.C Danvers, covering from the period 1481 to 1571 in the first volume and in second volume from 1571 to 1894. To this general category, one could add C.R. Boxer's *The Portuguese Sea-borne Empire, 1415-1825*, (London, 1969). These general accounts are the developments in Coromandel are mentioned only at random. Even, these, though they supply lot of material to work with, do not explain the inner logic behind many incidents in Coromandel for which one would have to look elsewhere.

Writings on the history of Portuguese in India, Sanjay Subrahmanyam's book are certainly the best informed and most accomplished general overview. It incorporates a large body of new research material dating right up to the early 1990s; and it also provides a substantial reinterpretation of the internal logic of the Portuguese presence in Asia. His *Improvising Empire: Portuguese Trade and settlement in the Bay of Bengal, 1500-1700*, (Delhi, 1990) breaks new ground in several important ways. First, by singling out the Bay of Bengal as a distinct and

separate sub-region. He emphasis on the dynamic of Portuguese Asian trade contrasts with that of historians like Neils Steensgaard and Micheal Pearson, who have tended to treat the Portuguese presence in Asia as a much more static phenomenon, to be understood primarily through structural analysis. He studies various port cites in the Bay of Bengal, from which Portuguese traders operated during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries such as Malacca, San Thome, Nagapattinam, Muslipatnam, Pulicat and Porto Novo, together with their associated trade networks. His book, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*, (London, 1993), which opens the political and economic evolution of the Portuguese in Asia. Within this framework he portrays the Portuguese presence as an intricate pattern of relationships and interest, constantly adjusting to a range of currents and counter-currents, both internal and external. He echoes Luis Filipe Thomaz in arguing that the Portuguese presences in Asia quickly polarized into two competing tendencies, the Albuquerqueian, which emphasised centralized control and state mercantilism, and the Albergarian, which sought to promote private. The Albuquerqueian tradition soon came to dominate in the western Indian Ocean.

A broader canvas is filled by Professor, M.N. Pearson *The Portuguese in India*, and also one of the instalments of the New Cambridge History of India, traces the rise and fall of the Portuguese presence in the sub-continent. He treats the subject in a sequence of broad thematic chapters. Sketching the background to, and the possible motives for, Portuguese overseas expansion. He examines alike

the condition of Portugal and that of the densely populated, highly civilized and economically flourishing India. He gives the systematic analysis of the remarkable phenomenon of the large-scale settlement of Portuguese, or those alleged Portuguese descent, far beyond the bounds of any Portuguese authority.

Besides these, a number of Indo-Portuguese historical studies have also appeared for our understanding of maritime expansion of the Portuguese in various specific trading regions. Among such writings must be included the scholarly works of K.S. Mathew, *Portuguese Trade with India in the Sixteenth Century*, (Delhi, 1983). He examined the volume and organization of Portuguese trade carried on the initial stages of their presence in India. Anthony Disney, *Twilight of the Pepper Empire*, (Massachusetts, 1984). Disney traced the declining trend of Portuguese trade when attempts were made to revive the Lisbon- Goa trade by forming a company to give a boost to the pepper trade from Kanara and Malabar between 1628-1633. The decline of the Portuguese Empire from 1633 with the signing of truce with the English East India Company and depend their protection on the English harm much on their trade. Thus the historiography of the Portuguese in the east especially in India developed unevenly with scholars concentrating more on the Arabian Sea than the Bay of Bengal. Teotonio R. de Sousa, *Medieval Goa: A Socio- Economic History*, (New Delhi, 1979), mostly deals on the history of Goa and made his contribution in the study on the socio-economic history of medieval Goa. Scholars like Bailey W. Diffie and G.D. Winius, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire, 1415-1580*, (Minneapolis, 1977),

viewed the Portuguese as explores in Africa, as conquerors in India and as traders in South East Asia.

Chapter scheme.

The first chapter of the dissertation examines the origin of the Saint Thomas, who is believed to be buried at Mylapur, which gradually led to the emergence of San Thome as an important trading post of the Portuguese in the Coromandel Coast. The Portuguese discovered the remnants of the Saint when they excavated the place and it became a major influence in their settlement of the town called San Thome. San Thome slowly developed as an urban center in the 16th century. The chapter also attempts to show the crucial role that the Portuguese played in the process of urbanization and in the social and political spheres as well.

The second chapter traces the coming of the Europeans especially the Dutch and the English in the Coromandel Coast, which posed a direct challenge to the trading interest of the Portuguese. It also takes into account the resultant rivalry born out of these challenges to their trading interests. The establishment of the Dutch factory in Coromandel was considered as an intrusion into the Portuguese domain. This caused the open confrontation between the Portuguese and the Dutch, which led to the gradual decline of the former control in the Coromandel Coast.

The third chapter mainly emphasizes the fall of both Nagapattinam and San Thome, the two most important trading posts of the Portuguese in the Coromandel Coast. The Portuguese settlement of Nagapattinam in the *nayak* of Tanjavur was

well established necessitating the posting of a captain there in 1542. It had a meteoric rise and was very prosperous with considerable international trade. But the coming of the Dutch, more powerful in sea warfare, captured Nagapattinam on July 20th 1658. Similarly, San Thome, which is considered as one of the profitable trading ports with abundant availability of textile, met the same fate. In 1646 the Sultan of Golconda besieged San Thome and finally wrested from the Portuguese's control in 1662. After eleven years the French appeared and captured it from the hands of Golconda forces. But the French could not hold it for long and was subsequently re-captured by the Golconda troops with the help of the Dutch in 1674.

Chapter four deals with the establishment of English fort at Madraspatan in 1640. The primary concern of the chapter is the demographic ramifications which the fall of San Thome and Nagapattinam resulted. In other words, it deals with the Portuguese migrants at Madras and the policy of the English in containing the problem posed by the migration. Moreover, the chapter also points out the reasons for the growth of Madras, particularly after the fall of San Thome and Nagapattinam and the attendant English response to the Portuguese migrants in Madras. For instance, the English encouraged and welcome the Portuguese migrants to settle in Madras because the latter were proficient in trade owing to their familiarity with the region and local vernacular.

CHAPTER 1

Growth of Portuguese Settlement on the Coromandel Coast, A Study of San Thome and Nagapattinam in the 17th Century.

In the beginning, probably the most attractive single thing for the Portuguese about the region on the far side of the Cape of Comorin, was the Legend of Saint Thomas the Apostle. The quest for Eastern Christians was at least as great a magnet as was trade for wide-ranging Portuguese during the discovery era. As early as 1501, Pedro Alvares Cabral wrote to the king Dom Manuel I that, " St. Thomas was found on the sea coast, in a city which is called Maliapor, of a small population."¹ No further contact appears to have been made until 1517 when Portuguese merchants Diogo Ferandez and Bastiao Fernandez, while returning from a journey to Malacca, landed at Pulicat and stayed there with fellow Armeian Christians. These Christians invited them to join on a pilgrimage to a house five league from there, which was build by a holy man called St. Thomas.

Accordingly, the above-mentioned Portuguese merchants in the company of the Armenian Christians set out on the pilgrimage and arrived in Mylapur in March 1517². It happened to be the first time for any Portuguese to visit Mylapur, as mentioned by H.D Love and A.M Mundadan. But Sanjay Subramanyam pointed out that one of the earliest recorded European visitors

¹ William B. Greenlee (ed), *The Voyage of Pedro Alvares Cabral to Brasil and India*, (Hakluyt Society, London, 1938), p.49.

² H.D.Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, (London, 1913), p.287. See also A.M. Mundadan, "The Portuguese settlement in Mylapore," *Indian Church History Review*, Vol. III, NO I. June 1969. p.105. and his book. *History of Christianity in India*, (Bangalore, 1989), Vol. I, p.407.

was Florritine Piero Stronzzi, who participated in the Portuguese attack on Goa in the late 1510, and is known to have been in Mylapur in 1515. Then again in 1516 accompanied by another Lorentine, Andrea Corsali, Florritine Piero Stronzzi returned together to visit Mylapur, using the land route from Pulicat. One of the enigmas of this period is the foundation stone of the church of Nossa Senhora Luz in Mylapur. According to some sources, the oldest European inscriptions in India, which stated Friar Pedro de Atougia, of the Franciscan order, built this church of Our Lady of Light in 1516.³

The genesis of the tomb of St. Thomas in Mylapur began when Pedro Alvarez Cabral was approached by two native Christians, namely Joseph and Mathias, expressing their desire to go to Portugal and then finally visit Jerusalem. Though Mathias died after reaching Portugal, Joseph continued his journey to realize his dream.⁴ It was king Dom Manuel I who encountered with Joseph in 1501 that gave definite information about the tomb of St. Thomas in Mylapur which play a major role for the Portuguese settlement in San Thome. Very soon Don Manuel I, the King of Portugal, sent official missions to Mylapur. The Governor, Durate de Meneses (1522–24), also sent commissions under Manuel Frias as factor and captain of the Manaar and Coromandel Coast to inquire in the affairs of the tomb. Later a priest under Alvaro Penteado proceeds to inquire in detail about the affairs of the tomb. He made an elaborate plan for the repair which did not please the Portuguese officials for

³ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, (Delhi, 1990), pp. 48-89.

⁴ A.M Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 1, (Bangalore, 1984), p. 403.

they were reluctant to involve themselves in a big financial commitment and were afraid that such an understanding would create suspicion in the minds of the rulers of the place. Penteado then left for Portugal in order to give in person an account to the king of Portugal, leaving behind in Mylapur a chaplain, an old priest Pero Fernandez and another Portuguese Diogo Lourence. Father Alvaro Penteado who had gone to Portugal came back with new commission directly from the king and arrived at Mylapur in 1525 as its vicar. Pretending that the relics, which are excavated when he was away in June 1523, were not safe in the place where they kept at that time in a wooden box buried them in a place unknown to all except one Rodrigo Alveres. Father Penteado soon came into conflict with the local Portuguese officials for various reasons. He was also attacked by maritime Muslims and was seriously wounded. All these forced him to retire from Mylapur in 1530 after which a new vicar one Fr. Ugo Nicolo, was appointed. The new vicar at the request of the Portuguese citizens of Mylapur unearthed the relics and displayed them in an open place.⁵

The beginning of Portuguese settlement in Mylapur is very contradictory in nature. Mundadan pointed out that there was no Portuguese settler in Mylapur till 1519.⁶ Jeyaseela Stephen also supports that these Portuguese settlers came in the year 1519 to reside there for the first time.⁷ However H.D. Love has point that the Portuguese settlements of San Thome

⁵ A.M Mundadan , "The Portuguese Settlement in Mylapore and Traditions about the Indian Apostolate St. Thomas and the tomb of Mylapur." Both in the, Indian Church History Review, Vol. III, NO- I, June 1967, pp.103-115, &pp. 5-19.

⁶ A.M. Mundadan, "The Portuguese Settlement in Mylapore," Indian Church History Review, Vol. III NO-I June 1969. See also his book on the, *History of Christianity in India*, vol-1, p. 424.

⁷ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, (Pondicerry, 1989), p. 242.

could not have been formed earlier than 1522.⁸ When the Portuguese started settling down in Mylapur the people of the place felt secure because they could get protection against the pirates who had been constantly harassing the native ships.⁹ They further saw in the arrival of the Portuguese the fulfilment of the prophecy made by their ancestors that there would come a time when white people would arrive and give the black man food to eat and clothes to wear and that when the sea approached the house that would be the end of the world. Whether the alleged prophecy came from St. Thomas the Apostle himself or from some ancient people and whether the people of the place believed it or not, it gave an added boost to the morale of the Portuguese who decided to settle down in Mylapur.¹⁰

Once they had established themselves along the Coromandel Coast, one can conjecture that the Portuguese *casados* and fugitive soldiers (who probably took wives and considered themselves as *casados* as well) opened trading with Bengal and the countries to the east, namely Arakan, Pegu and even Tenasserim, near present day Thailand. Bengal and Coromandel were famous for their cotton clothes of all varieties and grades, while the countries on the eastern side of the bay possessed a climate unfavourable for cotton growing and depended on India to supply them. In return, the *casado* traders from Coromandel could obtain gemstones, silver and spices. Thus, the next logical places for Portuguese settlement were in those areas themselves where they had

⁸ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*, vol.1, p. 289.

⁹ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, pp. 242-243.

¹⁰ A.M Mundadan, *History of Christianity in India*, vol. 1, p.425.

been doing business, though it is far from certain that all the Portuguese who settled in Bengal had first been in Coromandel. That the Hindu merchants from the same Coromandel region had not completely pre-empted this trade is perhaps explained by the Hindu tendency around 1500 to regard sea voyage as defiling, though there were many exceptions to the rule. At any rate, the *casados* in Coromandel were in the best trading position, and the opening of Bengal to Portuguese residence provided a golden opportunity for those who had not struck permanent roots.¹¹

The discovery of the tomb of St. Thomas had an impact of some significance on the nature of private Portuguese settlement. This was manifested in the increasing tendency for respectable Portuguese to settle there “at the Sainted Apostle after having served the crown for some years in Asia. These settlers in contrast to the earlier breed of Portuguese at Pulicat, were able to seek for themselves a sort of special status, legitimising what had earlier been regarded as a disloyal act, that of putting personal gain and private commerce over the service of the crown”.¹² The Portuguese settlers in San Thome were mostly deserters from the garrisons like Malacca and Cochin, renegades and disadvantage outlaws,¹³ as well as few people whose status was more legitimate in the official Portuguese eyes. For example, Miguel Ferreira, Albuquerque’s ambassador to the Persian court, settled at San Thome in the

¹¹ George D. Winus, *Studies on Portuguese Asia, 1495-1689*, (Hampshire, 2001), pp.278-80.

¹² Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce, Southern India*, p.106.

¹³ G.V. Scammell, “European Exiles, Renegades and Outlaws and Maritime Economy Asia,” 1500-1750, *Modern Asian Studies*, 1992, 24.4. p 641-661. and Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, “Exile and Renegades in early sixteenth century Portuguese India,” *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, 23. 3. 1986, p. 249- 261

1530s and 1540s with *mestico* trading and maintained a fleet of his own ships as well as hold the post of captain of the coast on more than one occasion.¹⁴ These soldiers turned merchants especially desired to participate in maritime trading activities, as there was surplus commodity available in Coromandel, particularly rice and textile and a potential market in the South East Asia, where there is deficit in these commodities.

The Portuguese in San Thome were a heterogeneous lot. Most of them were deserters or renegades, some were political exiles, homicides etc. These were the people who did not pay any heed to the dictates of their conscience and led a life of unbecoming of a Christian. Most of them had left Portugal for years, deserting even their wives. It is possible to surmise from this that the Portuguese society was a mixture of different elements and they were virtually free from any control. Neither the Portuguese Governor nor the captain exercised any authority over them.¹⁵ Moreover, its officials did not follow the usual pattern of salaried, three-year nomination but were unsalaried and named for irregular terms, sometimes even for life. There was no convoy or port duty system, and in almost all instances, its inhabitants did almost exactly as they pleased at all time. H.D. Love states that, “no revenue accrued to the king of Portugal from San Thome as all sources of revenue belong to the lord of the

¹⁴ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Empowering Empire*, p.52.

¹⁵ S. Jeyaseela Stephem, *Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland*, pp. 182-83.

soil. As a result, the Portuguese did not establish any administrative machinery at San Thome. Only two officials received a pay of 2000 *cruzados* annually from Goa, the Captain and the Bishop. In former times the lord of the soil used to pay the captain a gold pagoda per day. But the current arrangement, which was far less profitable, was that of the payment, half the revenues received from the sea-customs dues.”¹⁶

Indeed, for years on end the most important city of San Thome had no captain at all. The colonial inhabitants having only infallible ties were the Catholic Church and the Portuguese *Padroado*, the royal responsibility for the church and its mission within the area of Papal donation. Partly as a result of this lawlessness, Garcia de Noronha (1538 – 1540), the viceroy of Goa ordered the deportation of the resident of Mylapur to the west coast of India. He sent Mael de Gama (Captain-Factor and the successors of the first captain Father Manuel de Frairs) with powers to deport them and raze down the settlement. Manuel de Gama managed to bring some of the resident to Kochi.¹⁷ Moreover, it was due to the viceroy’s keen interest to develop the Portuguese settlement on the west coast, as the number of the Portuguese in India was too small and do not want to get scattered everywhere that prompted such a move. Dom Costantino Braganea, the later viceroy also followed the same policy to bring back the Portuguese to the west coast and he too was determined to prevent the

¹⁶ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of old Madras*, vol.1, p.291. Also see Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce, Southern India*, p.52.

¹⁷ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, p.243

Portuguese stragglers to settle down at San Thome but the Portuguese refused to return¹⁸.

If there is any reason why Mylapur was chosen as a particular target it was because it was the only settlement in the Bay of Bengal which had any legitimacy beyond mercantile self-interest, the legitimacy derived, of course, from the fact that the Apostle St. Thomas's tomb was located there. D. Garcia's representative, Manuel de Gama, was hence instructed to go to San Thome with an armada, to dismantle the settlement and perhaps to bring away the relics of the Apostle. It would appear that the Viceroy like his successor, de Brangaca in the early 1560s, miscalculated in respect of Coromandel.

By the late 1530s the Coromandel settlements of the Portuguese, Nagapattinam to the South, Mylapur and Pulicat to the North already had men of influence and prestige residing in them; entrepreneurs like Miguel Ferreira (1466-1548) were celebrated figures in their lifetimes, and capable of holding their own in correspondence with the court of Portugal. With friends in the court and among the powerful and entrenched *casados* of Cochin and Goa, dislodging Ferreira was not an easy matter. Thus, Da Gama's expectation failed miserably. On the other hand, flourishing trade between Coromandel Sri Lanka, Bengal and Burma and the Malay Peninsula ports continued to provide a reasonable return to the Portuguese in Mylapur.¹⁹ Thereafter, the settlers

¹⁸ *ibid.*, p.243-44.

¹⁹ Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia*, p.89.
William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, vol. III, p.119.

seemed to have won their case in part, because San Thome got its own appointed captain after 1542, or thereabouts and despite a few bad ones, most appear to have been contented. One can only conclude that the *Estado da India* finally decided that further pestering of the distant Portuguese settlers was not worth the expense and troublesome.

It is evident that the Portuguese on the Coromandel lived more or less outside the Portuguese domain. As they received no pay or support from the Portuguese king they showed a tendency to remain independent. They disapproved the attempts by the crown to control their activity by appointing captains at various port in Coromandel, and as early as 1537 the private Portuguese traders wrote to the king to the effect that a permanent captain could be appointed in future from among themselves as most of the captains appointed by the Governor were generally young *fidalgos* whose primary concerns was to make use of their three year term to enrich themselves as quickly as possible.

Manucci, who visited San Thome in the end of the 17th century, gives us in detail on the living condition of the Portuguese in San Thome. Manucci wrote that, “the resident of San Thome face many oppressions and much injustice. They slew one another; they dug and fortified trenches in the streets, furnishing them with cannon. Both sides had their rendezvous, and spent much money in maintaining soldiers. If anyone passed carelessly down the street,

they shot at him with their matchlocks. They obtained reward for their evil deeds paying no respect even to the Holy of Holies, shooting down men during religious procession owing to the risings in the town the convents and churches were barricaded. The friars were forced to go in person to fetch water, and out of charity carried into their housemen of the weaker party.²⁰ Besides this, merely to see the laming of an innocent person who was passing in the street, he ordered his servant to fire his gun.²¹ This order he gave when praying rosary at hand. The servant fired and reported to his master that the passer by was wounded in spite of saving order to fire another bullet to finish killing the man.²²

Further trouble occurred under the viceroy D. Constantino de Braganca. The trouble occurred in 1559 due to religious intolerance of the Portuguese priests in the nearby San Thome. These priests before raising an altar to offer their sacrifices to Almighty God, destroy the temple near the village of San Thome. All these angered the Brahmins who complained to their king Aravidu Ramaraja to give justice to his subjects. Subsequently, the king-besieged San Thome. However, Fr. A. Meersman argued that the occupation of San Thome by Ramaraja was due to his need for money. Since Ramaraja had maintained large troops it compel him to attack at the given opportunity. The *casados* were reluctant to come to the aid of San Thome as he was the lord of the place. Instead, they went to Ramaraja's camps with a present worth 4000 *cruzados*.

²⁰ William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, vol. III, p.119.

²¹ *ibid.* 'He' The name of the person is not mention.

²² *ibid.*, p.119.

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However, he proved difficult to satisfy and demanded 100,000 pagodas as compensation for destruction of their temples.²³ The king took 25 *casados* as hostages and also carried away the relics of St. Thomas. But on the way back to his capital he changed his mind and sent back the relics to Mylapur. The hostages were released after having paid 50,000 pagodas and promising to pay the remainder.²⁴

It is not certain whether the attacks on the Portuguese settlers experienced periodically in their locality around the Coromandel were directly related to the proselytization or not. The Hindus of South India were still disrupted when a Paravas community converts en masse to Christianity. On the other hand, the king of Vijayanagar also could not forget what the Portuguese had done during the famine in 1540s. In 1540 the Coromandel Coast witnessed severe famine. The people from the surrounding areas migrated in large number to escape from the rigours of famine. The Portuguese in San Thome showed generosity during these moments of hardship for which King Achytadevaraya was grateful to the Portuguese. He even sent a letter of appreciation to the captain of San Thome. Indeed, this may be the reason why King Ramaraja suddenly hold back to attack San Thome²⁵.

In the course of time the condition of the famine improved and the Portuguese population increased as more people from the west coast migrated.

²³ Achilles Meersman, *The Franciscans in Tamiland*, pp.9-10.

²⁴ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p. 58. See also J, Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol.II, p. 201.

²⁵ Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in Tamil Coast*, p. 243

The population of San Thome during 1538 was sixty families, in 1543 it reached 100 and in 1545 it was around 500. Francis Xavier when he visited in 1545 the number of *casados* was more than 100. After a year, that is in 1546, there were 500 Portuguese in San Thome with their slaves. By the year 1559 the populations of San Thome rose to 2000 including the Portuguese and natives. In 1563 there were as many as 4000 Christians besides sixty war veterans with their families.

The port of San Thome faced the sea on the west. Most of the houses were located facing the sea, and was surrounded by mud walls.²⁶ The settlement spread to its neighbouring regions known as 'Little and Big Mounts', places, according to tradition, hallowed by the life of the Apostle. The Little Mount, which was later known also as the Mount of Our Lady of Health and Calvary, attracted the attention of the Portuguese especially for the cave where many crosses were found. The Portuguese settlement in these two mounts began in 1523 and among them Dioga Fernandez was one of the first settlers. He raised a monument there in the same year in honour of the Mother of God. While foundations were dug for new building, many ruined foundations of earlier buildings were sighted along with many crosses. Among them the famous miraculous cross was discovered in 1547.²⁷

Even at this early stage their settlement in the area, the Portuguese were careful to separate their section of the settlement in the port from that of the

²⁶ George Schurhammer (ed), *Francis Xavier, His life, His time*, (Rome, 1977), p.598

²⁷ Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in Tamil Coast*, p. 243

natives of the land. The houses of the Portuguese were roughly constructed and did not involve the use of lime and mortar until in 1590s.²⁸ The native quarter, inhabited by the Hindus, was called Mylapur. An officer (*Havaldar*) of the king of Vijayanagar was stationed there. This official looked after the affairs of the Hindus, administered justice and leased out the right to collect port tax. On the Portuguese side, the settlement was called San Thome. San Thome replaced Mylapur in the Portuguese official records from 1545.²⁹ The Portuguese had a captain appointed by the king of Portugal. He issued *cartazes* to the merchants who constructed long distance trade with various ports, especially trade in the South East Asia.³⁰ While in theory these captains were appointed by the king in practice they emerged from the local Portuguese inhabitants and then were recognised by the king. They sometimes were appointed for life but received no salaries. At times there were no captains at all.³¹

The first Portuguese captain of the Coromandel-Fishery coast Manuel de Frias, patron of the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Duarte de Meneses, was appointed in 1521. The captain was stationed at Pulicat, and held the post for a period of three years. He had jurisdiction over all Portuguese settlements on the coast with the aid of a small fleet, maintained at the expense of the crown and further issued *cartazes* to merchants that operated around Coromandal. The revenue that was generated by issuing these *cartazes* probably went to the captain as

²⁸ *ibid.* Sanjay Subramanyam, *The political Economy of Commerce Southern India*, p.105.

²⁹ S. Jcyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, p. 244. Also see A.E. Medlycott, *India and the Apostle Thomas, In Inquiry With a Critical Analysis of the Act a Thoma*, (London, 1905), p.86.

³⁰ A.M. Mundadan, "The Portuguese Settlement in Mylapore," *Indian Church History Review*, Vol. III NO-1 June 1969. p.112.

³¹ M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*. p. 84

perquisite in addition to the salary paid to him by the crown.³² The issue of *cartazes* during this period had two purposes; to guarantee to the captains small revenue, and to ensure that no contraband goods particularly pepper, which is a royal monopoly, was carried.³³ The captain was also appointed as the factor of the coast. He was also the administrator of the Portuguese people on the coast by Goa, with the title implying that he had control over the estates of the Portuguese who died on the coast as well as those temporarily absent from it. In the case of death, he was responsible for dividing the estate among the heirs or dispatching them in Europe. In return for the service he was entitled to a share of the estate. Financially, this charge gave a great deal of power to its holder.³⁴

Later the trading centre shifted from Pulicat to San Thome as the former incurred heavy trade losses and the Portuguese crown decided not to have a fort at Pulicat. The seat of the captaincy of Coromandel was therefore shifted from Pulicat to San Thome at Mylapur when the next captain Miguel Ferreira took up his residence in 1530.³⁵ In the 1540s San Thome of Mylapur replaced Pulicat in importance. Moreover, as the Portuguese began trading with Malacca directly from San Thome, Pulicat was reduced to a mid point on the Malacca-Goa route, which suited the Portuguese very well but not the indigenous traders trading from Pulicat. Besides the new trade route the established customhouse for the Coromandel merchants trading with Malacca was to pay the freight in

³² Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce southern India*, p. 105.

³³ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, p. 244

³⁴ M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, p. 84

³⁵ S. Jeyaseela Stephen, *Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland*. p. 111.

advance and make their return voyage on the same ship in which they had sailed out also favoured the traders based in San Thome. Since such facilities were made available at San Thome, they preferred to settle down at San Thome and trade directly with Malacca from there, abandoning Pulicat.³⁶ Thus, one would say, San Thome emerges finally from the “Shadow of Pulicat” and appear as a centre of commerce in its own right.³⁷

The people of San Thome never left the religious aspects of life. It was one of the major significance to those who lived in San Thome. For instance, the feast of St. Thomas, in mid-December, that has a numerous miracle stories associated with it was considered very important for the Portuguese community.³⁸ Within the town itself, the religious orders actively engaged themselves with the mundane chores. The Jesuits, for example, conducted Latin classes in the college they had constructed in San Thome, and they together with other orders (Franciscans, Augustinians, Dominicans & Theatine) were also involved in missionary activities especially among the fisher villages of the area. Sadly the number of converts was very limited; in a good year (1593 to 1594) it was just eighty.³⁹

The Portuguese population of San Thome consisted mainly of deserters, renegades, political exile and *fidalgos*. They were mostly commercial minded and attracted towards the surplus commodities available in Coromandel.

³⁶ *ibid.*, p. 144.

³⁷ Shadow of Pulicat cited from Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.62.

³⁸ J.J. Campos had describe that the Portuguese in San Thome had full liberity to celebrate the feast in the same order and with the same solemnity as in Europe, but did not mention which festival, *Portuguese in Bengal*, p. 168.

³⁹ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, pp.63-64.

particularly rice and textiles. In the larger context neither the Portuguese Governor nor the Captain exercised any authority over them and were in fact, free to do one's own will. Under such condition it was difficult to lead a peaceful life for any person.. A remarkable incident happens in the 1590's when a certain man from a rich, powerful and well –to-do family kidnapped the wife of another settler, and held her captive within his house. Despite the intervention of both the religious orders of the town he refused to relent. The husband of the victim tried various means to resolve the matter, and even wrote to Goa but to little avail. Eventually, the Magistrate, Lopo Alvares de Moura, was forced to take an extreme step. He invited the kidnapper to his house under false pretexts, and with the complicity of the Jesuits, strangled him with a garrotte. Later they hung him with a rope from an improvised gallows to give the affair an appearance of legality. It is reported that following this deed Moura took to his heels for fear of the relatives who were many and very powerful. Predictably, the next day his house was attacked and destroyed by the irate relatives.⁴⁰

Father Navarrete, had also recorded that the inhabitants of San Thome came to be very rich and powerful and consequently grew very proud. He noted 'one woman,⁴¹ that she grew of that height, that when she went to Church attended by many women–slaves one went before with a censor performing her with burnt sweets, can any madness be greater! She had, say they, so many St.

⁴⁰ Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogal*, Vol. III, pp.246-249.

⁴¹ Navarrete did not mention the name of woman

Thomas (they are crown-pieces with the effigies of the Apostle) that she measured them by the peek.’⁴² Manucci conclude that ‘when the woman’, mentioned above, ‘was about to die became so miserably poor that she did not have even a piece of cloth to make a shroud, and at her burial she was wrapped in a reed mat. This is the fate of her whosoever forgets the creator.’⁴³

Navarrete, an orthodox Friar finds it very difficult to digest when he experience his fellow priest in San Thome who were more incline towards the worldly affairs. He noted that “what follow is worse, many told me (would to God it were a lye), and I had not heard it that catholic men were pimps to catholic women with Mahomatans (Muslims) and gentiles (Hindus). A beautiful and honest maid was forced out of her father’s house, and deliver to a Mahomatan. The king of Golconda has a concubine to this day, the daughter of a Portuguese.” Further he adds that “the procession of the holy week in the city of St. Thomas, some Portuguese, though in the presence of Heathen (Hindu), drew their swords one against another, there’s devotion and good example for you.”⁴⁴

Manucci’s account provides some information of San Thome during those days when he stayed there. On his part he narrates that a “Portuguese priest from Manila, a good theologian, his name was Luis Pereyra. He brought with him some money for the purpose of helping his parents, who lived in

⁴² Cummins, J.S (ed), *The Travels and Controversies of Frair Domingo Navarrete*, 1618-1686, (Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1962), p.302.

⁴³ Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogal*, Vol. III, pp. 118-119.

⁴⁴ Cummins, J.S (ed), *The Travels and Controversies of Frair Domingo Navarrete*, p.301.

Daman. About the same time there was a newly man arrived from Portuguese, Martin de Lemos, who had quitted Portugal because of his being a lawbreaker and highway robber. He had no money for his own and so begged help from those who governed. The reply they gave was that he might search for his expenses wherever they were to be found. Finding an golden opportunity one Sunday at seven in the morning he (Lemos) went into the house of Father Luis Pereyra, pointed a pistol at his breast, and ordered four Kaffirs (a black African slave) to bind him. Breaking the box, he robbed all that was with him and started for Madras.

“At that time I (Manucci) was in the churchyard of the Church Madre de Deos my way to Mass, and conversing with those who governed and with some foreigners wanted to run on the spot. But Antonio Palha, one of those who governed, said your honours are excused from taking that troubles, for I will see to it. He and the rest went leisurely to their houses giving time for the robber to carry out his attempt and get away in safety. Later Palha sent first to see if the looter had already gone, and a report was brought that he was now a long way off. On obtaining this report, Palha came fully armed, shouting along the street for every body to come and help father Luis Pereyra. They all went to him and found him tied to a pillar. They untied him and tried to console him by saying they had made all possible haste to succour him, but to come sooner was impossible, they were being at mass.”⁴⁵ Certainly it reflects the negative sense

⁴⁵ Niccolao Manucci. *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol.III, pp.123-24.

of law and order. The captain was unable to look after his subject and fail to give justice to the innocent settlers.

Even the life of a simple family was so vituperate. Deep down in every family there are many related story, which the society cannot accept. Manucci in his book narrate “a man married to a rich and influential lady of good connection sleep with a girl servant, but when his wife found the girl conceiving, she killed the servant and after mutilating the body ordered it to be buried in the garden behind the house. The flesh removed from the body was cook in her own presence and presented the dish to her husband who ate and praised it for its exquisite taste. His wife in a fit of anger flung the dish in his face and abuse him by saying it was not enough to have enjoyed her while she was alive; even in death she was of good savour. Her anger overflowing, she gave her husband plentiful abuse, and quitting the house, went to live with her relations, nor for the rest of her life she did not consent to meet her husband”.⁴⁶

Leaving aside the above statement, a factional fight was common in the street of San Thome. There were clear factional strife among the *casados*, and the power of different factions and their leader was partly determined by their connections with the local political structure, which in the early 17th century was made up of a set of bandleaders. The captains were always their first priority while choosing leaders. With this situation most of the time the inhabitant of San Thome did not recognised the captain chosen by the Viceroy

⁴⁶ *ibid.*, p.107.

at Goa. The benefit of electing from among the competing merchants a captain representing their side was the opportunity for concession voyage. Thus, the resident of San Thome always complaint about the captains appointed by the Viceroy whose primary concern was to make use of their three – year term to enrich themselves as quickly as possible.

Simultaneously, there was powerful clan-based factions such as that led by the *Kaposos* and a certain Antonio de Sousa Pereira, the latter also deriving support from local rulers, in return for rendering them military services. Sanjay Subrmanyam argued that such clan conflict did not mean San Thome was on the decline by this period. Of course, it is true that factional strife in the town was on the increase but this was not of a level to fundamentally affect the long-term prospect of the town. This would be evident from the fact that in 1600 the Portuguese settlement of San Thome de Mylapur was at the height of its commercial prosperity and importance. Few residents there could have foreseen its lamentable state a mere three decades later.⁴⁷

The heydays of these communities was from around 1570-1610, and it corresponds closely with that of the private trading in the *Estado's* west coast heartland. The private trading on the west coast was carried on by a mixture of Hindu *vaniyas* and other traders and Portuguese *casado* families, themselves of mixed European and Indian ancestry after the first generation, and thus a part

⁴⁷ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, pp. 66-67.

of the general trading picture. Seeing that both Gujarati and Konkani traders traditionally had close trading links, both in cotton clothes and foodstuffs with Coromandel and Bengal, and that *Estado da India* initially derived much of its foodstuffs from there, it is more likely that both groups of merchants on the east and west coasts shared a related and even integrated prosperity.⁴⁸

San Thome of Mylapur was raised to the status of a *cidade* in 1609 through a royal order from the King of Portugal notified subsequently by the Viceroy of Goa. A *Camara* Municipal (Municipal Council) too was brought into existence. The Municipal Council was invested with the power to frame rules to regulate the civic life. It was also ordered by the King of Portugal that only local laws, regulations, customs and conventions should be observed with regards to matters relating to the indigenous people. The natives were permitted to live without any distinction. As for others, it was stipulated that there should be a civil registry in San Thome so that none could pretend to be a subject of any other ruler even though he may be a fraud or a foe of the Portuguese. The census was counted for the first time in 1614.⁴⁹

The coming of the other Europeans, the Dutch and the English posed a threat to the Portuguese, especially from the former, in the Coromandel. The residents of San Thome felt considerably necessary for fortification. However, to carry out such a huge project they needed large financial resources. Neither

⁴⁸ G.D. Winus, *Portuguese in Asia*, p.274.

⁴⁹ Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in Tamil Coast*, pp.245-246.

the Viceroy of Goa nor the King of Portugal provided the money required for carrying out the fortification. Hence, the responsibility of mobilising the funds came to rest on the shoulders of the rich merchants. This issue was settled by granting the privileges for undertaking commercial voyages from Coromandel to South East Asia. The King of Portugal directed the Viceroy of Goa (1609) that the profit from three voyages to Malacca and three voyages to Pegu to be given to the Municipal Council for the construction of the fort around San Thome. The inhabitants of San Thome in a letter to Philippe II (1598 – 1621), the King of Portugal, on 7th March 1613 demanded additional financial help to fortify San Thome. They further suggested that a customhouse, on the model of the King of Vijayanagar, could be established in San Thome to collect four percent duty on all commodities. The suggestion was granted and with the allotted funds the fortification began. But the Vijayanagar ruler King Venkata II (1613) invaded San Thome since permissions were not sought. It should be noted that such fortification needs authorization and approval from the local ruler.

Thereafter, the work commenced only after the death of King Venkata II in October 1614. Further, on 2 May 1620 money was sanctioned from the treasury of the King of Portugal. The Captain was notified on 12th September 1620 to seek the assistance of expert engineer to execute the work with the help of the local workers. This process of extending Portuguese sovereignty in the

area was possible because there was no effective ruler at that time in the region.⁵⁰

The reality in the Portuguese settlement seems to be different after the death of most successful ruler of Vijayanagar Ramaraya in the context of Coromandel region. His successor Venkatapati Raya or Venkata II (1586-1614), a monarch who confronted with adverse circumstances to his recalcitrant vassals and the threatening power of Bijapur and Golconda to the North, managed to preserve a certain degree of stability within the empire. But we also know that before his rule, in the battle of Talikota in January 1565, the power of Vijayanagar had virtually come to an end. Due to the prevailing fragile political situation King Venkatapati Raya transferred his court to the fortified centre of Penugonda, South-East of the old capital of Vijayanagar. But with this transfer the formal control over the Western extremities of their empire, particularly the Kasara coastal plain, dwindled. Further between 1570 and 1610, control over the South-West of the empire was progressively given up on account of the rise of the quasi-independent state of Mysore.

The same process occurred, though to a lesser degree, to the Southeast of Coromandel with the growing assertiveness of the principalities of Madurai, Tanjavur and Senji.⁵¹ In its place there emerged regional centres of political power. Further more, in the 1590s Venkata II again shifted the court from Perugonda even further east. This created a system of twin courts at Velur and

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, pp.246-249.

⁵¹ Under Senji territory the two ports San Thome and Pulicat were located.

Chandragiri, which lasted until the effective dissolutions of the empire in the 1640s.⁵²

Simultaneously, the political rupture created a power vacuum in the region. At the same time, the Sultan of Golconda, who wanted to grab the opportunity, resulted in putting pressure on the Portuguese settlements at San Thome. The Sultan of Golconda desirous of controlling the town from the Portuguese rather than letting off in the hands of the Dutch who have already established their factory at Pulicat in 1609 finally managed to siege San Thome in 1662.

Nagapattinam

The port of Nagapattinam is located between 10° 46' N and 79° 50' E at the mouth of Uppanar river in the North and Kaveri river to the South. Nagapattinam flourished as a port under the Cholas in the eleventh and twelfth centuries and the Chinese trader visited and called it *na- kia-po-tan-na*.⁵³ It is probable that the first Portuguese to settle at Nagapattinam did so in the mid-1520. In 1533, there were roughly around thirty Portuguese at Nagapattinam, later in 1540s it increased nominally to a hundred, mostly private traders interested in the rice trade to Sri Lanka. A Captain was appointed to look after the settlement. In the 1530s and 1540s the Captain complained that the spread of the Portuguese along the coast made difficult the control by a single authority

⁵² K.A. Nilakantha Sastri, *A history of South India from Prehistoric times to the fall of Vijayanagara*, (Oxford 1955), pp. 297 – 350,

⁵³ Jayaseela Stephen, *Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland*, (Delhi, 1997), P – III

as most of the time the Captain was in the Northern Coromandel. Persistent complaints repeated through the 1540s and 1550s finally had an effect at the close of the latter decade in 1560 when a decision was taken to divide the captaincy of Coromandel into two sections; one would be resident at San Thome, the other at Nagapattinam. This modification was accompanied by several other changes in the administrative structure. Whereas the captaincy of Coromandel had carried a salary, and explicit naval functions, the new captains were devoid of salary and his activity on land were restricted. Moreover, whereas the earlier captaincy of the coast as a whole had carried with it a three-year term, the captains of San Thome were appointed for life, those of Nagapattinam continuing to hold three year terms. The 1560's reforms seem to signal the shift in the balance of power between the captains (representatives of the authority of Goa) and the settlers over whom they exercised jurisdictions. The outcome was decline in status of the captains and rise of two important institutions based in the Coromandel settlements. First was the *Santa Casa Misericordia* (Holy house of Mercy), a corporate body, with the charge of managing the liquidations and despatch to their heirs of the estates of deceased residents. This task had earlier been with the captains of Coromandel. The other corporate body of importance is *eleitos*, which was clearly modelled on the municipal chambers that regulated corporate life in the Portuguese cities. This unofficial council consisting of five members was formed by the *casados* of Nagapattinam to administer the affairs of the growing town. Its members were powerful traders who set together and settled disputes among the local

residents.⁵⁴ However, Nagapattinam was not recognised in the formal juridical structure of the *Estado da India* as a *cidade*, the *eleitos* too did not enjoy the privileges of the *camara* municipal.⁵⁵

This curtailment of the captain's authority may suggest that these posts had no real worth. However, not the least, the captains in fact have two source of income. The first seem to be the concession system of voyages introduced into Asia by the Portuguese crown. In case of Nagapattinam four concessions voyages were granted such as to Kedah, Vjangsalang, Mergui and Martaban. In each of these voyages, the holder of the concession enjoyed the sole right in a given trading season. Though the Portuguese Crown could in theory grant these four voyages to anyone but in reality it became (from the 1570's) an implicit perquisite of the captains of Nagapattinam.⁵⁶ A second source of income for the captain was a grant from the villages around the town from the Nayak. They also seem to have received certain privileges in respect of customs-payment. The revenue from the villages was worth some 1,400 *xerafins* annually, and the custom privileges valued at around 200 *xerafins* annually.⁵⁷

Overall, the concession was notoriously problematic. There were numerous claimants whose claims have to be chronologically arranged so that precedence was assured to the one with the earliest date of royal grant. On

⁵⁴ Jayaseela Stephen, *Coromandel Coast and its Hinterland*, p.237.

⁵⁵ C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese Society in the Tropics. The Municipal councils of Goa, 1510-1800* (Madison, 1965), p.

⁵⁶ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, pp.73-74..

⁵⁷ *ibid.*, p.74.

some occasions, from 1585, the captain of Nagapattinam successfully used himself for one or the other voyage originating from that port as a perquisite in the end of the 16th century. The *Estado* put a pressure to tighten up the concession voyages. Customs at Malacca were raised, and an export duty levied on goods destined for Coromandel, where earlier only an import tax had existed. Even the ships coming from Nagapattinam to Negombo were told to pass through Colombo and pay duties there. This rash of ambitious legislation, implying as ever greater set of claims backed by a stagnant machinery for enforcement could only have widened the gap between legislation and reality. The breakdown of the concession system begins with the Dutch Company participation on the Portuguese profited trade mainly between the San Thome and Malacca. Those who suffered were the persons who had freighted spare aboard their ships.

The system of concessions, in theory meant only the concession holder was entitled to make this trip, usually in a large carrack laden from San Thome. As early as the 1580's when Malacca was desperately short of food- supplies, exceptions had been made, and the occasional small craft from Nagapattinam, laden with rice, was permitted to go to Malacca. However, for such extraordinary circumstances a licence had to be sought (probably by the Malacca *Camara*) from the viceroy for the purpose. After 1600, when the trade between San Thome and Malacca became irregular Nagapattinam shippers began to encroach on this trade.

In October 1606, the Dutch Company vessels captured a large ship called *Santo Antonio*, belonging to Andre Furtado de Mendonca, off Nicobar. The ship was on its way from Nagapattinam to Malacca, and had on board the captain of Chaul, Don Luis Lobo and two of his nephews, besides the captain Ambrosio Serrao Pereira, carrying 800 *khandis* of rice and 290 bales of textiles. Besides these 700 persons were found on board. In course of time, however, such trade was taken at askance since it went against the concessions systems, which would thus cease to have meaning. As a consequences, in July 1611, the Viceroy Rui Lourenco de Tavora dissolved all such extraordinary licences and ultimately a warning was issued to Nagapattinam's settlers (on the basis of a complaint made by its captain Antonio Celho de Vilha), stating that only the concession holder could make the voyage to Tavoy and Martaban from Nagapattinam. All those who would contravene this order would lose the ships and all the goods involved.⁵⁸

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Nagapattinam had acquired some of the urban features during 1530 – 1570's. This could be seen from the writing of Casare Federici. According to his account the Portuguese settlement that was very close to the sea was very big.⁵⁹ A market place had taken shape within a distance of just about one league attracting a large number of merchants. The Portuguese town lay in the elbow or semi-circle to the North of the bend in the river surrounded by it on three sides. To the North, where the Portuguese town ended, there began the

⁵⁸ Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India, pp.200-2001.*

⁵⁹ Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, p. 236.

native town; the southern limit was roughly demarcated by the Nilayadakshi Amman Temple and overlooked the sea on the eastern side. While the Hindu settlement were known as Papancheri, and Muslims were called Nagure. lying eight kilometres to the North.⁶⁰

Francis Xavier who visited during 1545 witness Nagapattinam as a flourishing commercial port. As he described that the harbour was the best along the entire Coromandel Coast, which was otherwise poorly provided with them. More than seven hundred sailing vessels were frequently docked at the same time on the river. Every year these vessels carried more than twenty thousand measures of rice (the Portuguese measure Moio held 752 quarts; 20,000 measures thus corresponded to same 470,000 bushels) from here to the western Coast of India. The trade here attracted merchants from all parts of India as well as from Pegu, Malacca and Sumatra. The quarter of the Moors and Portuguese adjoined the native city inhabited by Hindus. The houses were built of clay and covered with palm leaves since the lord of the land would not allowed private house to be built of stone. From the harbour it could be seen rising up over the low roofs of the Portuguese settlements.⁶¹ Along with this there existed large number of religious institutions both within the town and around it. Indeed, the structure of the Portuguese quarter can be best defined in relation to these churches and religious centres. The earliest resident Christian

⁶⁰ Sanjay Subramanyam, *The Political Economy of Commerce Southern India*, p.196.

⁶¹ M. George Schurhammer, *Francis Xavier, His life, His times*, Vol.II, 1541-1545, (Rome, 1977). p. 549

orders at Nagapattinam were the Franciscans. The Jesuits appeared on the scene in the late sixteenth century.⁶²

The Portuguese quarter was made up of relatively rude constructions thatched with straw. The Churches of the Franciscans were impressive even in the 1570s. In the 1590s with the growing economic prosperity of the *casado* community, the construction increased apace. The town was refashioned with the characteristic red-tiled roofs in a classic Portuguese colonial style. Walls of stone whitewashed with lime and constructed with a quadrangular ground plan, around a central garden or arbour were prominent features of the town.⁶³ As trade flourished many Portuguese came from different places to settle down and carried out trade. The settlement had sixty *casados*, 200 Eurasians and 300 Indian Christians in 1577.⁶⁴ In the 1630's the number of household was estimated at around five hundred in the Portuguese quarter alone. Those deemed capable of bearing arms including *mesticos* and native Christians are estimated at around two thousands. By 1642, the number rose to 700 Christians, during this period Nagapattinam had the largest population compared to any other Portuguese settlement on the Tamil Coast.⁶⁵

The Portuguese residents of Nagapattinam had relatively a more peaceful life with less faction and disturbance throughout the 16th century.

⁶² Joseph Thekkedath, *History of Christianity in India*, Vol.II, (1542-1700), (Bangalore, 1989), pp.195-96.

⁶³ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, (New Delhi- 1990), pp 83-84.

⁶⁴ George Winus, *Portuguese in Asia*, p. 92.

⁶⁵ Jayaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*. p. 241.

However from 1601 the disorderly activities intensified in Nagapattinam and the king of Portugal gave a strict order and to punish all the culprits. The Viceroy of Goa also requested the judge to award severe punishment. It will be a worthwhile to mention some of the happenings Manucci has recollected in his book. 'In Nagapattinam there was a hounarble man named Joao Soares Coves, married to a beautiful lady and lead a happy life. He went out of the town and left his beautiful wife alone. There was another man named Christovao Pexoto, married, rich and very influential in the town. This man fell in love with the wife of Joao Soares Cove, sending her message that he wished to be her friend. As a honourable woman she declined to accept, and never came out for fear of this man. Christovao Pexoto forcefully entered the lady's house. Paying neither respect nor heed to the citizens, he mocked the magistrate and the inhibitants, and showed that he was afraid of no one. Joao Soares Cove returned from his journey and heard the entire happening. Seeing that he had neither strength nor could obtain satisfaction for the affront straight left for Goa. Here he presented his case before the Viceroy Dom Filippe Mascarenhas (1646-51). On becoming aware of that man's insolent conduct, the viceroy gave an order to the magistrate to bring justice in one way or the other.

However Christovao Pexoto sensing trouble escape from the town and settled in the country of a Hindu Prince not far from that place. Finding that they could not carry out their orders, the magistrate sent a present to the Hindu Prince, and a letter requesting him to hand over this insolent fellow in chains into the hands of the magistrate. Pexoto, instead of showing repentance and

asking pardon, abuse Cove repeatedly which angered Cove so much that he stabbed Pexoto with a pointed knife. After this was over, he hastened home to kill his wife. But warned in time, she had fled to Tranquebar with her servant. For several days he went around all bloody, solely to prove that he wreaked vengeance for his wrongs.⁶⁶

The structure of power within the Portuguese community, and its effect on the environment of the port left us more to interpret in the larger context. The constant factional fights among the Portuguese turn explosive with armed skirmishes on the streets, in which both sides would take recourse not merely to swords and staves but handgun as well. Wealth and power were not unequally distributed even within the *casado* community. Membership of the elite bodies (*Eleitos de Negapatao*), which comprised a group of five, and the governing council of the *Casa de Misericordia*, were important prizes, and at the same time indicated the *Pessoas principais* (Leading lights) of the settlement. In the 1640s the names encountered on these two bodies (*Eleitos de Negapatao and Casad de Miseri Cordia*) include Joao Veloso, Joao Virira, Jao prossel de Darbudan, Manuel Goncalves Ferreria, Domingos Vas, and the brothers Cosmo and Manuel Ledo Lima. Migrants from other ports swelled these names encountered in a comprehensive list of the *casados* at Malacca in 1626, suggesting that migrants from different ports of the *Estado* swelled Nagapattinam's population. It can be also true the population is very few and the birth was not seen as an important determinant of status here.⁶⁷

⁶⁶ Niccolao Manucci, *Storia Do Mogor*, Vol.III. p.112.

⁶⁷ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, pp. 86-87.

CHAPTER 2

Luso-Dutch Conflict in the Coromandel Coast

In this chapter an attempt has been made to study the conflict between the Portuguese (*Estado da India*) and the United Dutch East India Company (VOC) on the Coromandel Coast from 1600 to 1650. The Luso-Dutch conflict that extended from the close of the sixteenth century to the Haque treaty of 1669 has been appropriately described by C.R.Boxer as 'the real first world war'. The casualties were less but the battle was waged on four continents and on seven seas.¹ However, before entering into a detailed discussion, it would be useful to discuss the coming of the Dutch on the Coromandel Coast and the involvement of the *nayak* of Tanjavur and Madurai. This is inevitable as "the Luso-Dutch conflict was not a two-dimensional but rather a multi-dimensional affair".²

The Coromandel Coast occupied the Southern Coast of India extending from the Godavari River to the Island of Manar. The Northern part of the coast between the Godavari River and the Pennar River was included in the Qutab Shahi kingdom of Golconda, one of the five Deccan Sultanates, which arose after the disintegration of the Bahmani kingdom. The Southern Coromandel was ruled by a number of semi-independent feudatory chiefs who had emerged after the defeat of the Vijayanagar Empire in the battle of Talikota in 1565.

¹ C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire, 1415-1825*, (London, 1969), p.106.

² Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Portuguese Empire in Asia, 1500-1700*, (London, 1993), p.145.

The Vijayanagar Empire left no authority in the area after their disintegration. From 1586 to 1614, Venkatapati Raja (Venkata II) was confronted with adverse circumstances especially with his own vassals namely, Tanjavur, Senji, and Madurai. The threatening power of Bijapur and Golconda on the North further worsen the situation, which forced Venkatapati Raja to shift his capital from Penugonda even further East, thus creating a system of twin capital at Velur and Chandragiri, which lasted until the 1640s and the effective dissolution of the empire.³ At the same time Nagapatnam under the *nayak* of Tanjavur, became powerful after the decline of Vijayanagar Empire. He maintained a strong infantry and equally powerful cavalry with the revenue from duties paid by the Portuguese who live in Nagapatnam.

Having briefly mentioned about the local situation it is important to note that the Luso-Dutch conflict was ostensibly motivated by the union of the Spanish and Portuguese crown under Philip II of Spain against whose rule in the Netherlands the Dutch had rebelled in 1568. The background of the origin of the conflict lay in the defeat and death of the childless Portuguese King Sabastian on the field of EL Ksar el-kabir in Morocco (August 4 1578) left the Portuguese crown vacant. King Sabastian, the ruler of Portugal, resisted all advice from his councilors. In his absolute monarchy, he drained his country's wealth and

³K.A. Nilakantha, *A History of South India from Prehistoric Times to the Fall of Vijaynagar*, (Oxford, 1995), pp.296-306.

manpower to the dregs to carry out his expedition, which sailed out from Lisbon in June 1578, with some 17,000 strong in 500 ships, 9000 camp followers, many women among them, to witness the victory parade that was to overthrow the might of the Emperor of Morocco. On the other hand, the Moroccan Emperor, with many descendents of exiled Moriscos under his banner, had little to fear.

King Sabastain drew the enemy in five days march into the interior, and at El Ksar el-kabir, in a four-hour encounter under a broiling sun, the might and power of Portugal was utterly destroyed. The death numbered around 8000 Portuguese, Sabastian among them; the captive held for ransom or sold as slaves amounted to 15,000. Only less than a hundred succeeded in regaining the coast and safety. Portugal was stunned. The common people could not accept the fact that their king had met so ignominious an end, and a succession of pretenders made 'Sabastianism' for long after a curious strand in the fibre of a nation whose supreme direction had so taken leave of reality.

Had Sabastian triumphed, the reward of the victory would have been wholly unsubstantial for the union. His death had left the succession to the crown unsecured and several generations of intermarrying with Spain had given to Philip, the King of Spain, advantage of uniting the two nations, Portugal and Spain. Sabastian's great uncle, the aged cardinal Henry was crowned interim king. His

few remaining months of life saw the nation torn by fear and intrigue.⁴ He died in January 1580, and a few months later Philip, whose mother was a Portuguese princess, enforced his claim to the vacant throne with the aid of the Duke of Alva's. Philip's seizure of the Portuguese crown met little resistance. Most of the Portuguese nobility and the higher clergy were in favour of the union. Whereas the mass and many of the lower clergy were opposed to the union and subsequently joined the Duke of Brangca. This opposition was neutralized by an agreement to preserve Portuguese laws and language, to consult Portuguese advisers on all matters pertaining to Portugal and its overseas possessions, and to appoint only Portuguese officials in those possessions. Spaniards were expressly prohibited from trading or settling in the Portuguese empire, and Portuguese from settling or trading in the Spanish domain. The Portuguese subsequently complained that the union of their crown with that of Castile was the sole reason why the Dutch attacked their overseas dominions⁵.

The origin of the Luso-Dutch conflict commence by 1601 when the Dutch Captain Jacob Van Neck, on his second voyage learned that the crew of a Dutch ship had been recently massacred by the Portuguese garrison while visiting nearby Tidore. The vessel, *the Trouw* had been part of an expedition, which had set out from Rotterdam in 1598 to counter against the Spanish in South America, but had

⁴William C. Atkinson, *A History of Spain and Potugal*, (Middlesex, 1960), pp. 159-60.

⁵ C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*, pp.108-109.

suffered disaster. Beaten off in Chile it then set off across the Pacific and strayed into the Moluccas with twenty survivors thinking that it was in friendly hands. They were welcomed by Portuguese of the Tidore garrison in the beginning but later captured by surprise, tortured and executed. To exact revenge Van Neck then attacked Tidore. But he had only two ships against three Portuguese ships plus two galleys. His ship was not only defeated but he also lost several resources in the bargain. He then sailed off towards Patani, for his Directors had charged him to scout for markets there. But on the way the two vessels ran into a typhoon, lost direction and finally ended up in Macau, only lightly damaged but in need of provisions. Van Neck still did not fully consider the Portuguese as their enemy, so he sent a boat ashore with eleven sailors and a factor, one Martines Apius, to see if the Dutch might be allowed to trade. All twelve were immediately taken prisoner. In spite of this, Van Neck sent another boat to look for a better anchorage. Once again the Portuguese took them all prisoners, this time after approaching the boat with a white flag.⁶

All his subsequent attempts to make contacts with the Portuguese and also the Chinese failed. Upon his return in Holland, he clarified the cruel and hostile act of the Portuguese. It gave them the opportunity to immediately attack the homeward-bound Portuguese carrack *Santa Catarina* in June 1603. This issue

⁶ Leonard Blusse and George D. Winus, "The Origin and Rhythm of Dutch Aggression Against the Estado da India, 1601-1661," in Teotonio R de Souza (ed.), *Indo-Portuguese History, Old Issue, New Question*. (New Delhi, 1985), pp.75-76

becomes stronger when Apius returned to Holland via Goa. In a strong statement Apius revealed the real intention of the Portuguese when all crew members, save himself and two seventeen years old, had been executed. Coming as these two reports did, soon after the foundation of the United East India Company or VOC, the effect was to launch its ships into a quest for revenge.⁷

The Dutch East India Company was founded in 1602 by a charter granted by the States-General, the national administrative body of the Dutch Republic. Before the Company had been founded there had been a number of voyages to the East. These early voyages had learnt that the most important medium used by Asian merchants to procure the Indonesian spices was Indian textile, which was abundantly available in the Coromandel Coast.⁸ Thus, their first priority was to establish a factory in the Coromandel Coast. Subsequently, the first Dutch factory on the Coromandel Coast was established in Petapuli in north Coromandel in 1606, followed by another in neighbouring Masulipatnam in the same year. A *farman* was granted to them by the king of Golconda which stipulated the payment of four per cent custom duty on their exports and imports. South Coromandel was reached with the establishment of a factory at Tirupaliyur in 1608. Yet another factory was established at Pulicat in the same region in 1610. Later in the year, the Dutch Council of the Indies at Bantam decided to reorganize the four factories on

⁷ *ibid.*

⁸ Om Prakash (ed.), *The Dutch Factories in India, 1617-1623* (New Delhi, 1984), p.1.

the Coromandel Coast into a Directorate with the factory at Pulicat being designated the chief factory of the region. In 1612 the four per cent duty at Masulipanam was commuted into a fixed payment of 3000 *pagodas* a year. A fort was constructed at Pulicat in 1613 and was named 'Geldria'. The Coromandel factories were reconstituted into a government in 1616 with Hans de Haze as the first Governor.⁹

For the Portuguese the coming of the Dutch was an intrusion into their area of domain. They were hostile to share the trading benefits in the region. The Portuguese officialdom at Goa apparently considers the Dutch penetration in the Coromandel area as being highly detrimental to the interest of the Portuguese and perhaps even more to their private interest. An English traveler, William Metwold described the hostile Dutch presence in Pulicat as "a badde neighbour to the Portugall"¹⁰ Hence, news of the Dutch establishment in the vicinity of Portuguese settlement was constantly dispatched to Lisbon.

Thus in December 1607, the King Philip III (1598-1621) ordered the Viceroy of Goa, Dom Frei Aleixo de Menezes (1607-9), to do everything in his power to terminate the Dutch establishment in the Coromandel region. The royal warning, however, went unheeded. For though the Viceroy Dom Frei Alexio

⁹ Ibid., pp.6-7.

¹⁰ W. H Moreland, *Relations of Golconda in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Hakluyt Society, London 1931), p.3.

(1607-9) was well aware of the danger, in practice he was unable to do anything about it. The next Viceroy Rui Lourenco de Tavora (1609-12) sent an expedition to attack the Dutch in 1611 under the command of Captain Manuel de Frias, and a few soldiers to organize the inhabitants of nearby San Thome into a militia and let them mount their attack on the Dutch. Spiritually inspired by their bishop, Dom Fiei Sebastino de Sao Pedro willingly undertook, suddenly swooping down upon Pulicat in 1612. Partly, it was a joint assault. One ship was sent from Kochi to San Thome by the Portuguese viceroy to help them and other ships from Nagapatinam were also provided by the Portuguese to attack the Dutch in the open seas.

The Portuguese and *mesticos* including the Bishop himself in a motley fleet, comprising a galliot and twenty-five small coastal vessels, surprised the Dutch factory on June 12, 1612. This fleet entered the Pulicat River, attacked the Dutch factory, which despite it not fully fortified, put up a strong resistance for several hours. In the encounter two or three Dutchman were killed and some others, including the factor, Adolf Thomasz, was carried off as prisoners to San Thome. The Portuguese they burned down the factory and returned to San Thome, where they were received with great joy and celebration. They were relief to know that their anchorage was free and solely theirs to use once again.¹¹ The Portuguese razing the Dutch factory at Pulicat has been observed by Peter Floris. He observed that “some 1500 persons came from St Thome in Paleacatte and have taken

¹¹ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, (Delhi, 1990), p.199.

Hollands Howse which they had built there with great charges, slayne the men, taken goods along with theym, and rayed with a greate bootie; for the principall capitall of that coaste was in Paleacatte, as being a place of their greatest confidence.”¹²

Following this attack the Dutch now began to feel the need for a centralized administration on the Coromandel Coast. In this situation it was necessary for one person to be appointed to exercise supreme authority over the entire establishment. The Bantam authorities decided to leave this decision to Pieter Both who had been appointed the first Governor-General of the Netherlands East Indies. But Pieter Both was late in reaching Bantam. So the Council recommended Jakob Groenemegan, or failing him, Jacques L' Hermite de Jonge. The former was killed at Banda before he could sail for India and the latter could not be spared from Bantam. So the onus gradually falls on Pieter Both. Shortly after assuming office Pieter Both, on the advice of the newly formed Council for the Indies, appointed Jan Van Wesick, director of all the Factories on the Coromandel Coast.¹³

Wemmer Van Beecham replaced Van Wesick at Pulicat in 1612.¹⁴ He was well received by the King of Vankata. The Director presents a lavish gifts and he

¹² W. H Moreland (ed.), *Peter Florish, His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe, 1611-1615*, (Hakluyt Society, London, 1934), p.67.

¹³ Jan Van Wesick Succeeded Pieter Ysaacx as chief of the Northern Coromandel factories in early 1610. Later in the year, he was appointed the first Director of the coast of factories. He held this position till 1612. It was during his tenure that the Portuguese attacked Pulicat twice.

¹⁴ Wemmer Van Bercham came to the East Indies in October 1610 and was appointed Director of the coast of Coromandel in 1612. He was responsible for the construction of the Fort Geldria at Pulicat. He left for home in 1615.

was able to obtain a far valuable concession than that of 1610. The new grant of December 12th 1612 gave the Dutch the right to build a fort at Pulicat. According to the grant the fort was to be constructed at the Raja of Chandragiri's wife expense.¹⁵ Thus, in early 1613, the construction of the Dutch Fort Geldria began¹⁶. Fort Geldria played an important part in the affairs of the Coromandel in the century to follow. It almost became a nucleus from which a new territorial power which have emerged. Even after Golconda was overrun and anarchy reign in the Coromandel, Fort Geldria's position remained unchanged. The Dutch were allowed to coin their own gold *pagodas*, much as the English later did it in Madras.¹⁷

The Portuguese settlers both on the coast and the *Estados* administration at Goa were not idle while Dutch constructed their fort at Pulicat. In 1613 the Portuguese launched a second attack from San Thome; this was supported by a fleet from Goa but it was unsuccessful and the attackers were oblige to withdraw after suffering heavy casualties. This was not quite the end of the matter; the Portuguese continued to intrigue the local *nayaks* against the Dutch's presence. In the next few years, the local inhabitants of San Thome became skeptical that any initiatives from Goa and the force of the Dutch might could affect and destroy their commerce. In the council of state at Goa, it was decided that the *Estado*

¹⁵Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.200.

¹⁶ Fort Geldria, which housed the Company's factory in Pulicat, was completed at the company's cost in 1613. It was named Geldria supposedly after Van Bercham's native province of Gelderland.

¹⁷ Owen C. Kail, *The Dutch in India*, (New Delhi, 1981), pp.46-47.

should adopt as one of its highest priorities the expulsion of the Dutch from Pulicat once for all.

The first step taken by the *Estados* administration was to appoint a Captain-General of San Thome instead of Captain. Ruy Dia de Sampaio was the first Captain-General appointed in 1615. The other measure was to instruct *camara* (Municipal Chamber) of San Thome to begin a strong fortification using the revenue from the two concession voyages from Coromandel to Malacca. The Captain General reached Coromandel in July 1616 and began extensive raid that took the natives by surprise. Ruy Dia miscalculated in his raids. He believed that the area they were raiding was the territory of either the *nayak* of Senji or the Chandrigiri Raja. But the place happens to be a part of the Golconda Sultanate. The Portuguese suffered heavy casualties as the Portuguese raiding force fell into the ambush by the Golconda troops. In the ensuing fight quite a large number of Portuguese were massacred and those who were not killed or captured were drowned.¹⁸

Meanwhile, Coromandel faced the worst civil war after the death of King Venkata in October 1614. Venkata's nephew Sriranga II was chosen as a successor but he was murdered and overthrown by Venkata's brother-in-law Jagga Raja (feudatory of Pulicat region) and he put up his putative nephew as the next

¹⁸ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, pp.201-202.

successor. Itesjapa *nayak*, supported by the *nayak* of Tanjore, opposed this and he took up the cause of Sriranga's son Ramadeva while the *nayaks* of Madurai and Ginji supported Jagga Raja. Itesjapa *nayak* defeated Jagga Raja in 1617 and took four forts from the *nayak* of Ginji. For the compromise Eti Raja's (Jagga Raja's younger brother) daughter was married to Sriranga's son Ramadeva in 1619. During the civil war the Portuguese were on the side of Itesjapa *nayak*. Ruy Dia sent emissaries to convince him to attack Pulicat, as the Dutch supported Jagga Raja. But the Portuguese's attempt was futile as Itesjapa *nayak* found it less important while comparing to his opponent Jagga Raja. Moreover, the Dutch cleverly approached both sides by sending a gift to the opponent of Jagga Raja. With no hope to put pressure on the Dutch in Pulicat, Ruy Dia spent the rest of his term extorting money from the merchants of San Thome. Not only this he disobeyed the Royal Orders and even dispatch his own ships to Pegu. He also failed to act on the complaints of the merchants of San Thome about the harassment by the Dutch on their voyage to Malacca. He was more interested in Portuguese ships sailing to Pegu because such traffic boosted his own private income.¹⁹

In the meantime the Dutch in Pulicat Fort Geldria became much secure and stronger as the resources and manpower were added with closure of the factories at Petapuli in June 1616, and Tirupapaliur in 1618. The reason behind for the closure of their factory was not due to Portuguese pressure but from the local

¹⁹ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Impovising Empire*, p.203.

havalgars’ extortionate demands.²⁰ The factory at Masulipatnam was also ordered for a temporary closure to protest against the wild behaviour of the local Governor. “The Dutch at Muslipatnam have received a great affront by the Governor of that place, who did first Chabuckle (a horse-whip).”²¹

Ruy Dias’s expedition was a complete failure. The Dutch were now more prepared for any encounter with the Portuguese. The Viceroy of Goa later opted for Antonio Manuel as Captain-General of San Thome in 1621. But he was more or less same with the previous Captain-General. His conduct was totally objected by the settlers. At the same time he reported to the authorities (*Estado da India*) in Goa that everything is fine in San Thome, when there was much tension in San Thome because of the Dutch presence and trade was very much disturbed. His misconduct became so intolerable that the Bishop of San Thome was prompted to address a letter calling for an inquiry against his misdeed.²² The settlers want the post of Captain-General to be jointly held by the bishop and Antonio Manuel. For Antonio Manuel his position gave him so much of pressure that he was even afraid to walk out from his house. He left before his term in office expired. Unfortunately, he was killed when the gunpowder exploded in his ship.

In addition, the English East India Company should not be ignored, as they were also involved in the conflict. They were also one of the contenders to occupy

²⁰ Om Prakash (ed), *The Dutch Factories in India*, p7, 25,27,46.

²¹ William Foster (ed), *The English Factories in India*, (E.F.I), 1618-1621, (Oxford, 1906), p.48.

²² Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, p.174.

the trade benefits textiles in the Coromandel coast. The English East India Company was officially founded by a royal charter in 1600. Planned for incorporating the Coromandel coast with the trade of the Indonesian archipelago have been long standing with the company, and now the two Dutch men Peter Floris and Lucan Antheunis proposal not only offered an opportunity to establish a factory at Masulipatam for supplying the company's factory at Bantam with the Coromandel textiles, but also with the prospect of employing its trading capital in the purely country trade for three years before returning finally to England. The commercial ability of Floris and Antheunis and the wisdom of the company's decision to accept their plan were proved when the *Globe* which sailed in 1611 returned in 1615 with a rich cargo after trading successfully on the Coromandel Coast and in Siam.²³

The Dutch East India Company came out with a proposal that the English East India Company enter into a union with it by creating a common stock, which could also be used for the common benefit in trade and defense in the East Indies. King James I strongly supported the idea. The reason behind for King James I instant proposal was that he did not like to see the two protestant powers engage in an armed conflict when menace from Catholic Countries like Spain and France was so imminent. But the English East India Company refused, as the Dutch East India Company was capable to absorb the smaller English East India Company.

²³ W.H. Moreland (ed), *Peter Floris, His Voyage to the East Indies in the Globe*, p.xxx.

Secondly, the company raised the doubt of their sincerity of unions and feared it may exploit the English naval strength against Spain. Besides, the dispatched from the company's servant from the East were full of reports against the Dutch. "The rise and progress of the rival between England and Holland in the East when in the autumn of 1617, the committee of the second Joint Stock were preparing the first fleet for dispatch to the Indies, the greatest question they found themselves called upon to face was the attitude to be adopted towards the Dutch claims to exclude the English from the Moluccas and the Bandas, on the ground that the trade of those islands the sole source of the more valuable spices belonged solely to Holland, in consequences of concession procured from the native chiefs."²⁴

This claim has always been strenuously resisted by the English company at home and disregarded by their servants in East India Company for a peaceful settlement of their differences; but previous efforts of that kind had proved futile, and the majority was convinced that the only possible attitude was one of firm insistence on their rights. At the same time the company had to agree to the union of the two companies, as it could not effort to antagonize the king from whom it had just received the renewal of its charter. Thus, the agreement was signed on July 7, 1619.²⁵

²⁴ E.F.I., 1618-1621, (Oxford, 1906), p.xxxix.

²⁵ *ibid.*, p.xlii.

From the concluded treaty only two are strictly germane. One is the dispatch of a joint fleet in the autumn of 1621 under admiral Dedel and Fitgerbut to block the Portuguese possessions on the Malabar Coast (the Truce of Antwerp had expired in April 1621 and the Dutch were now again formally at war with the King of Spain and Portugal.) The English's share in the defensive policy was justified on the ground that the Portuguese had carried on hostilities against them ever since their arrival in India Ocean. The other was the admission of the English to a share in the trade of Pulicat, the fortified station that the Dutch established on the coast of Coromandel.²⁶ Thus, an agreement was reached between the Dutch and the English Companies regarding their trade at Pulicat.²⁷

According to the agreement they agreed to set up a council of defense and jointly execute their plan to inflict damage on their enemies and to promote trade on the coast of Malabar on the recommendations of the representative of the both companies. It was also decided to send a fleet of nine ships and two yachts to the coast of Malabar and Goa. The Dutch Company ships were the *Globe Fortuim*, the *Wapen van Zeeland*, the *Zuid Holland*, the *Noord Holland*, the *Morgester*, the *Hert* and the yacht *Klein Enkhuizen*. The English Company ships were the *Royal Exchange*, the *Royal Anne*, the *Diamond* and the yacht *Dragon claw*.²⁸ The total

²⁶ *ibid.*, p. xliii.

²⁷ Om Prakash (ed), *The Dutch Factories in India*, p.157.

²⁸ *ibid.*, p. 276.

number of the soldier carried would be 1139. Of these 730 would be on the Dutch ships and 385 on the English ships.²⁹

This fleet was being sent to the coast of Malabar and Goa to do all the possible damage to the Portuguese and to destroy their carracks and galleons. From Cochin the fleet would proceed to Goa without any loss of time so that the enemy was not warned of its approach. On arrival at Goa word was to be sent to Coromandel about the Portuguese strength, if this could be done without jeopardizing the mission. On arrival at Calicut the Zamorin should be greeted. Since he was a sworn enemy of the Portuguese he might want to assist the fleet with a small armada that would come in handy for attacking the smaller ships of the Portuguese. But no time was to be wasted in this since it might forewarn the enemy of the approaching fleets. On the way back, a discussion would be had with the Zamorin about the pepper trade.³⁰ By this Council of Defense, Anglo-Dutch fleet was dispatched from Batavia in the autumn of 1621 to cruise against the Portuguese on the Malabar Coast.

²⁹ E.F.I., 1618-1621, p.276.

³⁰ Om Prakash.(ed), *The Dutch Factories in India*, p.173.

A Dutchman Jacob Dedel,³¹ was commander with an English captain, Humphrey Fitzherbert,³² as second in command. They started early in October, 1621, and after a brief stay at Nassan island, shaped their course towards Mauritius, intended to intercept the Goa carracks homeward bound, but bad weather and sickness frustrated their plans and forced them to make for the Comoros Islands where they arrived in February, 1622. Fitzherbert died on the voyage, and Captain Michael Green had been elected to his post³³ When the combined fleet of Dutch and English strictly block the passage of Goa, the Portuguese trade were immensely affected as sending a ship to Europe was totally out of question. Apart from the material losses sustained by the Portuguese, the humiliation of seeing their principal settlement blocked for three months was keenly felt, and the Spanish king severely censured the unfortunate Viceroy Fernao de Albuquerque, (1619-22), for not taking measures to prevent it.³⁴

The so called Treaty of Defence in 1619 had freed the English in the Far East from active hostilities with the Dutch, and had given them a right to take shelter in the Dutch fortress and a share in the trade; but these benefits had been accompanied by financial obligations which, in the weak state of their finances,

³¹ Jacob Dedel came to East India in 1618 -19 as vice - admiral in the fleet of Frederick de Houtman in October 1621, he was sent to the west coast of India as admiral of the Anglo-Dutch Defense fleet consisting of eleven ships aimed at hurting the Portuguese. He returned to Balavia on July 13, 1623 without much success in his mission. In May he took over as director of the coast of Coromandel and died there on August 29 of the same year.

³² Humphrey Fitzherbert came to the East Indies in 1620 with three ships. In 1621 he made a trip to Banda and Ternate. He died on February 28, 1622.

³³ E.F.I., 1622-1623, (Oxford, 1908), pp.xiv.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p. xv.

proved far too heavy to bear. They were to pay one third of the fort and garrison charges in the Moluccas, Bandas and Ambonia, and one-half of those at Pulicat; and were in addition to maintain ten ships to cruise against the Spaniards and Portuguese.³⁵ Therefore, the agreement did not run for long as it affected the very basis of the role of merchant's capital. Jan Pieters Coen (Governor-General) was not ready to buy the accord. He was complained to the Directors at Amsterdam³⁶ that, "it was interest as they could, and then claim that it was they who were the aggrieved party. The jealousy, the distrust and the envy that these people had was unlikely to be neutralized by any regulations, agreements or orders. The more apart the two stayed from each other, the greater were the chances of continued friendliness between the two."³⁷

The English too admit on their part of their complaint. At the same time they have their own reason of justification regarding their joint venture as most of the time the English were alone when they waited for the Portuguese ships coming from Lisbon in the South African coast. As the Dutch were unwilling to go to Mozambique they decided in the middle of April 1623 they would all depart for

³⁵ Ibid., pp, xxxv -vi.

³⁶ Jan Pieter Coen was the most remarkable of the company servant in the East Indies. He was born at Hoorn on January 8, 1587, and left for the Indies as a merchant, on December 22 1607 with the fleet of Verhoeff and returned home in 1610. In 1614 he was appointed Director-General of trade on April 30 1618. when he was only 31 years old, Coen was named Governor-General between of the East Indies. Between 1614 and 1618, he was the chief of the Dutch factories at both Bantam and Jakarta, Coen held the office of the Governor-general between March 21, 1619, to February 1, 1623, when he handed over charge to Pieter de Carpreten and returned home, where he was appointed as Director of the Company the gentlemen xvi appointed him governor-general for a second time but Coen could not leave Holland until 1627. He reached Batavia on September 30, 1627 and held office for a period of two years until his sudden death on September 21, 1629.

³⁷ Om Prakash (ed), *The Dutch Factories in India*, p.190.

Batavia.³⁸ Finally, before the treaty was revoked on March 9, 1623, the Chief factor of the English East India Company on Amboina, Gabriel Tomnson; nine other Englishmen, ten Japanese mercenaries, and the Portuguese overseer of the slaves were beheaded at the command of Dutch Governor Van Speult.³⁹ A Japanese arrested on February 23rd 1623 on suspicion of spying had confessed under torture to a plot whereby the English factors, aided by the Japanese soldiers, were to kill Van Speult and siege Fort Victoria as soon as English ship appeared in the roadstead.⁴⁰

The Portuguese plan to check the new intruder into their territory in order to regain her past glory that was lost with the coming of the Dutch in the east and the English in the west. The *Estado da India* in Goa made a decisive plan to tackle, particularly the Dutch of Pulicat. It was suggested by Andre Coelho to create a fleet of Portuguese privateer ships, which would patrol the littoral of the Bay of Bengal. The motives is to attack the Dutch and Asian ships, and in the course of time creating sufficient instability to ruin their ports. This proposal, of course, makes some headway but only to numbered their days. The Portuguese's attacks on the native fleets especially brought a major embarrassment in the court of Chandragiri Raja. Whereas, the Portuguese actual plan to counter the Dutch was a failure because the more they try to harm the Dutch the more they suffered.

³⁸ E.F.I, 1622-1623, p.174.

³⁹ Om Prakash (ed), *The Dutch Factories in India*, p.72.

⁴⁰ Holder Furber, *Rival Empire of Trade in the Orient*. 1600-1800, (London, 1976), p.48.

The Dutch and the English who were new in the Coromondal textiles trade wanted to established at the expense of the Portuguese. However, the Portuguese were not easily convinced to give up their long established trade, which resulted to minor and at times major skirmishes. But most of the time the opponents were on the advantageous side. These made the Portuguese lost their prestige in the eyes of the native rulers. The Dutch from as early as 1603, were very selective on where to strike, which can inflict heavy destruction. The Dutch ship raided the main Portuguese trading center such as San Thome and Nagapattinam. Another prime target for the Dutch were ships between San Thome and Malacca and between Negapattinam and Merpui, Trang and Malacca. In 1608, the Dutch ship captured a Portuguese galleon *Santo Antonio*, belonging to Andre Furtado de Mendinca, in the Nicobar island. The ship was on its way from Nagapattinam to Malacca, and had board, the Captain Ambrosio Serrao Preira besides the Captain, Chaul Dom Luis Lobo, and two of his nephews. The ship carries a good deal of rice weighing 800 *khandis* and 290 bales of textiles.⁴¹

This incident demonstrated the weakness of the *Estado da India* as for the Portuguese in Coromondal Coast their major trade benefit was on this Spice Islands. In September 8,1623 the Dutch ship *Memlick* on her patrol along the Coromondal coast captured a Portuguese ship not very far from San Thome. The

⁴¹ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *The Polical Economy of Commerce Southern India 1500-1650*, (Cambridge,1990) pp.198-99

captain of San Thome (Antonia Manual), his wife and children were on board heading for Goa when the ship was captured. The Captain of San Thome lost his whole estate, money and jewels values 35,000 to 40,000 *rials* of eight, his wife and two daughter, crews and two priests who were kept as prisoners within the fort of Pulicat (Fort Geldria). Without any remorse the Dutch Governor intends to send them to Jakatra.⁴² All these misfortune preceded the captured of San Thome in August 1623. However, the Portuguese recaptured San Thome on September 23, 1623 only after a short period of occupation by the Dutch.

Interestingly enough, the *Estado da India* resumed in full vigour in 1625, when Diogo de Melode Castro was sent as Captain-General of San Thome. Digo de Melode Castro was considered as a rightful person to make strategic plan to counter the Dutch menace. On his arrival, he brought with him four large ships. The Dutch *Der Goes* sank three ships and the fourth reached Pulicat but there surrendered to Dutch. All the efforts by the Viceroy Francisco da Gama (1622-28) went in vain. He spent a huge sum (20,000 *pagodas*, equal to 60,000 *zerafins*) for further assistance. King Philip III (1621-40) sanctioned an additional 12,000 *pagodas* to spent for the salary of the 200 troops Digo de Mello Castro mobilized.⁴³ Indeed the huge financial assistance was meant for dislodging the

⁴² E.F.I., 1622-1623, pp. 259-260.

⁴³ Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, p.176.

Dutch from Pulicat but the Portuguese were not capable of any offensive action against the Dutch.

The new Viceroy Miguel de Noronha Conde de Linhares (1623-35) did not follow his previous Viceroy's example. Conde de Linhares knew the growing strength of the Dutch and he realized the importance of the local rulers, which can harm their expedition. His ideas were put to practice with the death of king Ramadene, the ruler of Chandegiri in 1630. Linhares grasp this opportunity and enter into an agreement with the new and inexperienced King Venkata III. The Viceroy promised to pay 30,000 *zerafins*, twelve horses and six elephants.⁴⁴ According to the plan, a fleet of twelve ships was to be sent by the Viceroy of Goa under the command of D. Bras de Castro to attack the Dutch settlement of Pulicat. Necessary ammunition, horse and elephants were agreed to be given and the proposed date to attack was decided on March 17 1635. But the new king failed to act according to the agreement.

Thus, the unfortunate expedition led by Bras de Castro seemed doomed to failure from its very inception. One ship was lost in the Gulf of Manar before reaching the designated place. The other ships reached south of Nagapattinam and they encounter a Dutch ship *Der Schilling*, in the ensuing engagement the Dutch ship was blow up but at the cost of twenty Portuguese soldiers. The next night, four Portuguese vessels were lost in a storm near Tirupapuliyur. Thus out of

⁴⁴ *ibid.*, p.175.

twelve ships which left the west coast only seven ships reached San Thome. These ships were again attack by the Dutch and three more ships were sunk including the ship of the Captain-Major. But the Captain Major survived, as he was not there when his ship was sunk.⁴⁵

The outcome of this expedition bring to a conclusion that fleet would be sent to the coast only when the court of Chandrajiri Raja assured its support. Linhares decided once again to gamble as his term was approaching its end, and he still had no major credit to return back. Thus, he decided to undertake a final expedition. He sent D. Antonio Mascarenhas but the expeditions prove a failure from its very beginning. The court of Chandrajiri was at a great distance from the sea and had not even began to make war against the Dutch, according to reports. The armada also could not enter the river of Pulicat due to the resistance from the local population because it disturb their normal commercial activities. The overall final expedition too proved to be disaster for the Viceroy policy in the Coromandel Coast.

The Portuguese were losing from the very beginning of the 17th century, and they were gradually aware of the ineffectiveness of the *Estado da India*. It was very simple that they could not compete the might of the Dutch. The Portuguese were fighting in all the fronts; in the Eastern Spices Island with Dutch East India Company (V.O.C) and with the English East India Company in the western Indian

⁴⁵ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.209.

Ocean who were making inroads into the Persian Gulf. This proved to be a great disaster as they lost Hurmuz in 1622. Fighting in all the fronts the Portuguese exhausted its manpower and resources. Their hopes were ruined unless they align with one of the two opponents, that is the Dutch and the English, to carry their trading activities in the East Indies. Thus, they willing accept when Father Paulo Reimao and Jacob de Abrew negotiate for a peaceful settlement between the King of England and Spain.⁴⁶ The settlement was signed in 1630 in Madrid and the negotiation begins from 1632 with the concern of both Viceroy Miguel de Noronha and Methwold of the English factor at Surat.

In January 1634 when the Viceroy forwarded a proposal, Methwold expressed his readiness to sent representatives to negotiate provided that the Viceroy and his council would undertake before hand to agree to that treaty being extended to the East Indies. The Viceroy did not considered the treaty to apply in the East Indies but he was willing to conclude a truce with reference to Europe and to undertake that an agreement should the truce be disapproved a reasonable period should be allowed before hostilities were resumed. This offer was debated at a consultation held in Surat on April 15, 1634 and it was unanimously resolved to accept it where upon the President Methwold wrote to the Viceroy to that effect and intimated that as soon as the rains were over he would come in person to Goa

⁴⁶ E.F.L., 1630-1633, (Oxford, 1910), pp. 216,220 and 331.

to conclude the negotiations. In November Methwold wrote again to keep these negotiations as secret from the Dutch.⁴⁷

According to the Truce, the English vessels reached Goa on January 6, 1635, and were received with every sign of welcome. On the 8th the credentials of both parties were examined and agreement was settled to their mutual satisfaction. This provided for a cessation of arms until the Kings of England and Spain should denounce the accord, in which case six months notice was to be given before hostilities were recommenced in order to allow the merchants on both sides to secure themselves from loss. The Portuguese offered their harbours, supplies of naval stores and every accommodation in the viceroy power. After this, the accord was solemnly sworn and subscribed on both sides. Thus, the attitude of hostility between Portuguese and the English in the east that had stood for more than thirty years was changed into one of friendliness and mutual assistance.⁴⁸ The treaty benefited both the Portuguese and the English; their annual fleets of defense were saved, their ships relative secure though not completely as the Dutch is still prowling and speedy returns from trade that had been retarded for many years due to hostility.⁴⁹ By 1652 the English obtain the right to trade freely in all Portuguese possessions in the east except Macau.⁵⁰

⁴⁷ E.F.J., 1634-1636, (Oxford, 1911), p.viii.

⁴⁸ *ibid.*, p.ix.

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.26.

⁵⁰ *ibid.*, p.211.

The Portuguese-English Truce made possible the foundation of an English settlement in 1640 at Madraspatam, just to the north of the Portuguese fort of San Thome. Ever since the English had come to Masulipatam, they were seeking a better base further south. In 1626, the English had founded a factory at Armagon about forty miles north of Pulicat, the Dutch company's head quarters on the Coromandel coast, but it did not help them much because the Dutch threatened the weaving castes with reprisals if they dealt with the English.⁵¹ Armagon, where Francis Day became chief in 1634, was in almost as bad shape as Masulipatam. Though Francis Day began investigating other likely spots for a factory he seems to have taken no action until prospects for the Coromandel Coast took a turn for the better in 1639.

Finally, by the treaty of July 1654 Portugal fully accepted the rights of the English to the eastern trade, and the treaty of June 23 1661 enjoined the English to support the Portuguese in their actions against the Dutch in India. By this treaty of June 23, 1661, King of England, Charles II undertook to negotiate a satisfactory peace between Portugal and England.⁵² The English fully agreed to defend the Portuguese territories against the Dutch. In the eleventh article, with a view of this contingency and for the improvement of English commerce in the east, the Portuguese monarch ceded the island of Bombay with all its rights profits

⁵¹ E.F.I., 1624-1629, (Oxford, 1909), pp.128 and 131.

⁵² Portugal got independent from the Spanish Habsburgs in 1640, and it was during the reign of Affonso VI.(1656 – 67) from the House of Braganca, that the treaty was signed between Portugal and England.

territories and appurtenances. But the inhabitants were permitted to remain and to enjoy the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion. By the twelfth article, the English merchants were guaranteed the same privileges of trade at Goa, Cochin and Diu but not more than four English families were to be resident at one time in any of these place. Finally, having beaten down the previous foe, the crafty English could now use him to crush the other formidable European rival in India in the seventeenth century.

CHAPTER 3

Fall of Nagapittinam and San Thome

The golden age of San Thome was short lived. The town rose to eminence between 1567 and 1582. In the following century it was disorganized by foreign aggression and domestic strife. The Dutch, arriving in Southeast Asia in 1596, drove out the Portuguese from their fortified settlement over the next twenty years. Abbe Carre who visited San Thome before the French actually captured San Thome described as “this town (San Thome) is the most important on the Coromandel Coast, and has a great reputation for trade for a long time in some splendour and to the great advantage of their trade, but they had become decadent all over India, and their pride, arrogance, and manner of government, had rendered them so odious wherever they were that the natives of the country, noticing their gradual decline, caused by wars with the Dutch and other European nations, availed themselves of it to drive them from the best place they had usurped.”¹

The real decline of the Portuguese sea borne empire especially in India is seen with the disastrous losses of the late 1650's and early 1660's. The key fort of Malacca fell in 1641 to the Dutch, the whole of Ceylon in 1659, and all their forts in Malabar by 1663. Goa, their strong hold and headquarter itself was blockaded by the Dutch in 1638-44, and again in 1656-63. The Persian, helped by the

¹ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of The Abbe Carre in India and the Near East, 1672-1674*, vol.II, (The Hakluyt Society, London, 1947), p.346.

English, took the Portuguese's key possession, Hurmuz in 1622. From the late 1630s the Dutch turned their attention from East Asia to the Indian Ocean. It was only after their defeat in North Brazil that they returned to the Indian Ocean. Decisive attacks on the Portuguese by the Dutch begin from 1636 and reduced Portuguese trade in the eastern spice trade.

The statistics of Portuguese losses in India between 1640 and 1663 were one of the worst in their history, at least by 17th century standards. In 1624-5 over 500,000 *cruzados* was spent on an Armada, which fought unsuccessfully against the Dutch and their English allies. During the Viceroyalty of Conde de Linhares, from 1629 to 1635, they lost 1500 men, 155 ships, and booty of 5,500,000 *cruzados*. Under the next Viceroy Pedro Silva, from 1635 to 1639, 4000 Portuguese were killed in three years time. The hostility with the English came to an end with the accord signed in 1635, but the Dutch continue to remain as their main opponent till end of their struggle. Huge sums from the Portuguese went on the protracted wars in Ceylon with the king of Kandy and his Dutch allies. All these losses resulted in the alarming shrinking of Portuguese possessions from fifty-odd forts and fortified areas in the 16th century, to just nine by 1666; three in Africa, Macao, and in India, only Goa, Diu, Daman, Bassein and Chaul.²

² M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India, The New Cambridge Economic History of India, (Orient Longman).Bombay, 1987.p.137-8.*

The reasons for the Portuguese military losses are not difficult to explain. While the Portuguese's metropolitan attention and resources went to Brazil, in the Latin America, the Dutch in the east were better financed, better armed, and more numerous. Moreover, the Portuguese were defending a ramshackle and a very dispersed empire. As one contemporary historian noted, "From the Cape of Good Hope to Japan they were unwillingly to leave anything outside their control. They were anxious to lay hands on everything in that huge stretch of over 5000 leagues from Sofala to Japan".³

At the same time the reasons for the Dutch success in the Indian coast were mainly due to the capture of the Portuguese Malacca in 1641 and Ceylon in 1658. The Dutch laid siege to Malacca, while VOC squadrons began their tenacious blockade of Goa to cut off attempts to send help to the beleaguered garrison. Then in 1638 the Dutch moved more troops into Ceylon and made an alliance with the king of Kandy, Raja Sinha II to oust the Portuguese from the island. This was followed by a ferocious struggle with the Portuguese, which cost a deficit of 400,000 florins approximately per year to the Dutch.⁴ It is worth nothing that all this began at a time when the Governor-General's post was occupied by visionary persons like Coen and Van Diemen, who believed in war as a means of gaining monopoly. Nowhere than in Ceylon did the two empires

³ C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese India in the mid-Seventeenth Century*, (Delhi, 1980), p.3.

⁴ G.D. Winus, *Studies on Portuguese Asia*, (Hampshire, 2001), p.13.

clashed more fiercely, and in the process the *Estado* received its most decisive setback. But the campaigns in Ceylon also took their toll on the victors themselves.

Then, no sooner was Ceylon in V.O.C hands at such a great cost in terms men and money, the Dutch became obsessed with new fears that the Portuguese will launched attempt to recapture it from their strongholds in Cochin and elsewhere along the nearby coast of Malabar or in the Coromandel coast. Finally, they still had not given up their idea of gaining a complete monopoly on pepper, even though they had enough for their own needs from their present sources. The result was that the Dutch convinced themselves that the Portuguese possessions in Malabar must be stormed as well. Though the Portuguese fought heroically and even recaptured Cochin for a time after it was first taken in 1661, the superior VOC force eventually prevailed and the result was virtually a dead blow to the *Estado da India*.

As per their plan a Dutch force under Rijkloff Van Goens occupied Quilon in the Malabar Coast towards the end of November 1661, and then sailed northwards to Cochin, which was the real target of the attack. As a built up for the assault of Cochin, Van Goens firstly made himself master of Cranganor, which lies eighteen miles to the north of Cochin. Leaving three ships to blockade the Cochin port, Van Goen landed his troops near the Cranganor and commenced the siege. After a fortnight in the trenches the Dutch decided to try the alternative by

storming the fortress. Despite a vigorous resistance they were successful on January 5, 1662. Marching southwards Van Goens next attempted to beleaguer Cochin but here his good fortune deserted him. An attempt to siege the fort proved a failure, and after losing many men from sickness he abandoned the siege on February 20, 1662.⁵

The Dutch did not remain idle for long; they came with full strength by the end of the year in November 30, 1662 and succeeded in capturing Cochin. The fall of Cochin is given in detail by William Foster; "They (Dutch) landed three leagues to the southward of Cochin, in despite of the negro and four companies of shot from the towne, who after the first volley most manfully ran away, and the Dutch immediately marched themselves, and blocked up the towne, commencing their batteries with shot and granados against the fort called Nossa Snora da Giha. When in few days arrived their admirall, Generall Rickoffe Van Goens, and presently incompassed the whole towne round with batteries, plying more than 50 pieces continually, on Saterdag killed about some 300 defenders, black and white, entered the houses for their security till more succour came; where they did much dammaged to the Portugal, who sent out his souldiers by handfuls to be gleaned away by those who they could no way offend; where died many. At last seeing bootlesse to goe to beat them out, they consulted to defend themselves by new and more inward fortifications, and might possibly have done

⁵ E.F.I., 1661-1664,, pp.81-82.

it, but in the meane time the married men treated for themselves and put abroad a white flags on the other side of the towne. Whereupon they came to article, and in two days more surrendred to the Dutch, laying downe their armes, with the keyes of the citty, a mile out of towne at the Admiralls fleet; the white men and women to goe all for Goa, there to passé at the will of the Conquerour, to be either slave or free; the slaves to be still in the same condition.”⁶

Portuguese Nagapattinam was spontaneously created and nurtured by the *casado* element in Portuguese Asia. Despite its non-official character, Nagapattinam was one of the most successful centers of Portuguese private trade in late sixteenth and early half of seventeenth century. In the early 1630s when Conde de Linhares the Viceroy at Goa, repeatedly attempted to persuade the settlers at Nagapattinam to fortify their settlement. His intension was largely to protect them against the Dutch and also from the *nayak* of Tanjavur. The settlers refused as once Goa acquired a foothold it would not be long before a customhouse would be set up in the name of the Iberian Crown. The Viceroy’s warning came true when V.O.Cs under the hand of belligerent Anthonio Van Diemen plan to hold the Portuguese settlement of Coromandel to ransom. To carry out his plan Dutch armadas of five ships were called in under the command of Cornelis Leendertszoon Blauw, which arrived at Nagapattinam on 12th April 1642.

⁶ *ibid.*, pp247-248.

This sudden advance made the Portuguese to gather but not in a large number as most of them had not yet return from their trading voyage while others had fled the town. The Dutch demand 50,000 *patacas* (a gold coins) in ransom, and landed a force of six hundred men on shore. The Portuguese pleaded that they were not the enemies of the Dutch as they are now subjects of John of Portugal and not Phillip of Spain. But it did not affect the Dutch. After prolonged bargaining, the ransom was reduced to a quarter from their previous demand. However before this money could be gathered the *nayak* of Tanjavar entered the town from the landside and began skirmish with the Dutch. In the ensuing confusion the Dutch retreated to their ships. Ultimately the *nayak* handed over the port to the Portuguese again.⁷

The Dutch approached the *nayak* of Tanjavar, who wanted his territory to be free from the clutches of foreign traders, to evict the Portuguese from Nagapattinam. On the *nayak*'s refusal the Dutch returned to Pulicat.⁸ The Dutch believing that the Portuguese had treacherously called on the *nayak* for aid, refused to release some hostages whom they had on board their fleet. The attack, even though unsuccessful, had considerable consequences for Portuguese settlers at Nagapattinam. The citizen of Nagapattinam requested the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa to provide the town with walls and towers for its defense. The Portuguese

⁷ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, (Delhi, 1990), pp.86-87.

⁸ Jeyaseela Stephen, *Portuguese in the Tamil Coast*, (Pondicherry, 1989), p.239.

at Nagapattinam also came forward thereafter to pay the customs duties to the King of Portugal. The Viceroy discussed the issue of fortifying Nagapattinam with the state council in Goa and decided in favour of it on 28 July 1642. When the work started the *nayak* of Tanjaver sent a force to siege the town of Nagapattinam since permission was not sought for the fortification of the town. Later, the Portuguese requested the settlement and with the approval of the *nayak* the works resumed. The permission to have major fortifications with a strong fort in a way helped the *nayak* to take shelter at Nagapattinam when his capital was attacked for the second time (On 8 march 1649) by the army of the Bijapur Sultan.⁹ Thus, the Portuguese settlement of Nagapattinam came under the protection of the King of Portugal.

On 31 December 1642 it was officially incorporated into the *Estado da India*. The negotiations were complete by late 1643, and Nagapattinam was now granted the title of *Cidade* with a *Camara* municipal replacing the earlier institutions of the *Eletios*. A Captain-Major was appointed over the place, and the Captain of the settlement was reduced to the captaincy of the garrison sent from Goa to the port. The regulations of the customhouse was finalised by the Crown in January 1645 and accepted by the settlers in October of the same year. Harsh export duties at a rate of 7 per cent by value were collected on all the goods of the Portuguese, Hindus and Muslims (Which included 1 per cent towards the cost of

⁹ *ibid.*, pp.77-79.

fortification). Besides, there would be an entry duty of 5 per cent on all goods and even gold and Silver were to pay two percent. The only trade exempted from duties was that to Sri Lanka, particularly Manaar and Jaffna, the Fishery Coast, Porto Novo, San Thome, and other Coromandel ports. However, specific duties were levied on imports of pepper, areca, and cinnamon and on exports of coins and slaves.

The matter did not end here for the Portuguese settler at Nagapattinam as the Dutch were still prowling, and to end the Nagapattinam nuisance once for all and for the prosperity of the VOC a proposal to attack in 1657 was sent to the Council at Batavia. This proposal was turned down but in the following year this decision was considered again. To chalk out their plan a Dutch Squadron arrived off Nagapattinam on 20th July 1658, and the Portuguese surrendered three days later after a casual fight. The Dutch plan to take Nagapattinam was quite imminent after Ceylon was taken. "The Dutch are now become lords of all Ceylon, having taken Japhnapatam (on June 13, 1658) under command of Signor Ryckloff van Godes (Goens) are threaten both St. Thome and Nagapatam."¹⁰

The Portuguese surrendered because they preferred to negotiate for the best terms possible under the circumstances, and to remain poor in honour but not destroyed and affronted. Thus, it was on 23 July 1658, facing the prospect of

¹⁰ E.F.I., 1655-1660, p.176.

bombardment by a Dutch fleet under *Janvander Laan*, the Portuguese surrendered their fort and agreed to leave the town on condition of being allowed to carry their moveable possessions and families with them.¹¹ Some of them remained as brokers and employees of the Dutch Nagapattinam¹². After 1658 the Portuguese community quite clearly appears to have accepted the changed circumstances, and most of them continuing to operate within a framework where the Dutch set some of the rules.

The Dutch who have already established their factory at Pulicat in 1613 and the English at Madaspatam in 1640 and their relation with the Portuguese were in deeply strained. The establishment of new factors was not welcome at all. The Portuguese harassed and tried to dominate the Dutch and the English who had recently come to San Thome for trading purposes. Though the Dutch and the English were on good terms they were under some apprehensions with regards to the Portuguese at San Thome.¹³ They were lot of complaints from the English sources that, “the Portuguese San Thome were consider as bad neighbours. Who fewe days since ventured into Pullicat roade and burned a juncke not with standing the Dutch force. What resistence we can make with our small forces if they should attempt we leave to your worships judgment.”¹⁴ The Viceroy of Goa had wrote

¹¹ Sanjay Subramanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.81.

¹² *ibid.*

¹³ E.F.I., 1624-1629, (Oxford, 1909), p.xlviii.

¹⁴ E.F.I., 1646-1650, (Oxford, 1914), p.52. Also see H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol.I, (reprint New Delhi, 1996), p.74.

many letter to the Portuguese settlers at San Thome to maintain friendly relations with those at Fort St. George, Madras. But the response was not forthcoming and positive, as they never pay any heed to the higher authority.

On the contrary, the Portuguese complained against the English and manifested it by imprisoning the English at San Thome and detaining the provisions belonging to the English Company. Tiyaga and his companies were called in to block all the avenues of Fort St. George. "In October (1647) came a squabble between the English at Fort St. George and their Portuguese neighbours of San Thome who had imprisoned certain inhabitants of Madraspatam and pillaged the suburbs of that place. Upon the English interfering for the protection of their people, a fight took place, in which three English men were killed, and this was followed by a declarations of war on the part of the Governor of San Thome."¹⁵ In this regard, the English demanded satisfactory explanation for the killing of the peons sent by the English to enquire whether those slain were English men.

Due to this confrontation the English agent, English Musketeers and the company's peons went to the rescue. As they were far outnumbered by the soldiers of San Thome, they were forced to retreat and in the process three Englishmen

¹⁵ E.F.I., 1646-1650, p.xxvi.

were shot dead. This act produces an open enmity between these two nations.¹⁶

Subsequently, during the attack of San Thome by the force of Golconda, the Portuguese were left alone as both their neighbour took it as their best opportunity to pay back what the Portuguese have done to them. In 1646 when the troops of Golconda consisting of 8000 infantry and 3000 cavalry led by Mir Jumla besieged San Thome the English companies assisted him. In the battle many Golconda troops and fourteen Englishmen lost their life in the attempt. Due to this siege San Thome was left in great scarcity of all the commodities and provisions. But with a new General being sent there from Goa, the matter was taken up between the English and Portuguese to come to an amicable agreement.¹⁷

According to the above agreement the English were suppose to help but they refused due to various reasons. "The Captain Moore and citizens of St. Thoma have again protested against us for not giving them releife of provisions and ammunition, the *moores* would not be sorry if they could find us to give them any assistance, for they would them quickely turne the warn upon the Company; that have more to loose then the Portuguese."¹⁸ It was reported that there was an extra-ordinary scarcity of all provisions in San Thome that even a candy of rice was worth 200 *zeraphens*, and this scarcity compelled many of the Portuguese to

¹⁶ *ibid.*, p.53.

¹⁷ *ibid.*, p.55.

¹⁸ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol.I p.199. Also see E.F.I., 1661-1664, p.147.

run to the English in Madras for relief, which had occasioned notable quarrels between the English and the Portuguese there.¹⁹

Besides, the famine having almost destroyed the entire kingdom Min Jumla set the country in total chaos. "No less then 3000 people died since September last, in Pulicat, as report said 15,000 and San Thome no less then these."²⁰ Thus, San Thome was completely overrun by force of Golconda in May 1662. The attack of San Thome originated in a scheme laid by the Dutch for capturing it, partly in order to complete the expulsion of the Portuguese from Southern India and partly with an idea that it might prove a more suitable spot than Pulicat for their own headquarters. However, fearing that such action might draw upon them the angers of the King of Golconda, they wrote first to Batavia for their approval to the project. Before the answer arrived, the Portuguese discovered the design and appealed to Golconda for protection, where upon an order was sent by Sultan of Golconda forbidding the Dutch to meddle with San Thome, which was claimed as being its Majesty's property. At the same time, the King of Golconda sent troops to the city for the protection under Neknam Khan. But the Portuguese were suspicious of their intentions and thereby refused to admit them within the walls.

¹⁹ E.F.I., 1646-1650, p.55-56.

²⁰ . ibid., p.70

The Dutch then dispatched an envoy to Golconda, asking the King to drive out the Portuguese and to accept them in place, offering to pay equal revenue. To this the King seemed to give his assent and wrote to Neknam Khan to expel the Portuguese and to allow the Dutch to set up a factory there. However, the situation in the southwards called away the Dutch fleet, and the Portuguese still stood on the defensive for sometime in abeyance. According to the Dutch it was reported that San Thome was to be ceded to the English, which roused the Golconda monarch to take fresh action. He had no desire to see neither the English nor the Dutch increase the number of their fortified station in his dominions, and so he ordered his troops to make themselves master of the city.²¹

The Dutch Chief at Pulicat on his own accord blocked San Thome by sea, and resultantly the Portuguese surrender to the Golconda troops, who at once strengthen its fortification and posted a strong force there. Most of the Portuguese took refuge in Madras to the annoyance of the Golconda authorities that threatened reprisals, but were told in reply that shelter could not be refused to Christians. The Dutch felt much aggrieved at their failure to secure a footing in the city.²²

The French again captured San Thome exactly after 11 years. The French fleet under Admiral de Haye appeared on the Coromandel Coast in July 1672 and

²¹ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of Abbe Carre*, Vol.ii, pp.436-437. Also see Lotika Varadarajan (ed), *India in the 17th century, Memoris of Francois Martin*, (New Delhi, 1981), vol.I, part.1, p.50.

²² E.F.I., 1661-1664, p.146.

captured San Thome from Golconda. The French occupation of San Thome, which lasted a little over two years, was a long period of belligerence. It divides itself into two active sieges separated by three months of passivity. From the 30th July 1672 to the 10th March 1673, the force of Golconda attacked alone but from the 30th June 1673, the fortress was blockaded and attacked by the combined strength of the Golconda and Dutch until it was starved into capitulation on the 24th August 1674.²³

The capture of San Thome by the French under Admiral De La Haye was indeed the chief and most disturbing event of the year. He and his fleet had sailed from France in 1670, and after various vicissitudes, which included a long and useless stay at Madagascar, where he lost a large part of his men from disease, and another one of three months at Surat, arrived at Ceylon in March 1672. There he encountered the Dutch, and though he was able to occupy the bay, which lies at the back and just to the South of Trincomallee, was forced to leave due to the lack of provisions, the loss of men and ships. He anchored before San Thome on 10th July and speedily found a cause or excuse for hostilities in the refusal of supplies by the Golconda Governor of the town.

After a preliminary attack on 13th July 1672, De La Haye on 14th July landed his troops and guns and the next day stormed and took the Fortress. The news of the capture San Thome by the French blazed out the Portuguese in quite

²³ H.D. Love, *Vestige of Old Madras*, p.316.

intolerable way. Being stirred by the proud and glorious memory of their former sovereignty and power in India they still clung to in spite of the fact of their being now reduced to such a level that they were despised by all in the east, on account of their losses and continual shameful acts. They could, however, not rid themselves of their absurd belief that they were still lords and kings on both sea and land in India. Hearing the conquest of San Thome, the Portuguese treated the French as traitors and heretics, and as their greatest enemies in India, saying that they had taken town, which belong to the Portuguese. They actually had the effrontery to tell that the French should ask the permission from the Viceroy at Goa to take the town.²⁴ Moreover when French occupied the city, several Portuguese had rushed to return to the city. Quite a few of the house were taken over by them on the pretext that they had been dispossessed by the Golconda troops.²⁵ The French were not long left in peaceful occupation; Golconda forces collected and by the beginning of September were maintaining a rather ineffectual blockade. This siege continued till March 1673 when the Golconda forces retreated to return some three months later in company with the Dutch. The second siege conducted by the combined Dutch and Golconda forces lasted from June 1673 to August 1674, when De La Haye after a long and gallant defense was forced to surrender by starvation.²⁶

²⁴ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of Abbe Carre*, p.447.

²⁵ Lotika Varadarajan (ed), *Memoris of Francois Martin*, Vol.I, part.i, p.120.

²⁶ Charles Facwett, *The English Factories in India, 1670-1677*, new series (Oxford, 1952), pp.44-45.

The French would not hold over San Thome for long. When they first landed on July 1672, they held high hope to establish their factories but the troops of Golconda gave pressure them hard to abandon their native land. On 24th August 1674, the French withdraw. This two-year of French occupation was beset with great hardship as it was in total confusion and there was lack supply and commodities. All the sea routes leading to San Thome was blocked by the Dutch and by the Golconda force at land. The English at Fort St. George became helpless, as any support to the French will lead to an open confrontation with the king of Golconda. The lack of provision was one of the major causes of defeat. It is reported that, the treasury being exhausted and provisions low, Martin was dispatched southward with letters to the Naik of Madura, the Duke of Gingee, Sher Khan Lodi and the Zamorin of Calicut praying for assistance in money and stores.²⁷

After rumour spread that provisions were almost exhausted. De La Haye admitted four men from each company to see the bag of rice in store, but concealed from them the fact that all but the top ones were filled with sand.²⁸ De La Haye sent Antonio Cattel to Tranqebbar with letters to two of three of the rich Portuguese residents there asking them for a loan. However, the journey was fruitless. Apart from the fact that several Portuguese disliked French as a nation,

²⁷ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol.1, p.330.

²⁸ *ibid.*, pp.331-32

their presence at San Thome was also distasteful to them.²⁹ Due to this shortage of provisions De Le Haye directly started to raid nearby villages. On the 6th February a force of 300 men crossed the Adyar by boat, and marched two leagues to cut paddy. A fortnight later a similar expedition was made to Vellacherry.³⁰

The shortage of provision almost alarmed the troops and many of them deserted. Many desertions took place among the sailors at Fort Sans Peor, and several from St. Louis, De La Hage himself followed some of the deserters, pressing his horse across the Adyar in unavailing pursuit.³¹ Major Danval a soldier of fortune who was appointed to lead it, deserted at the last moment.³² Nine Portuguese soldiers asked for permission to withdraw. This was given to them and they left immediately. A Portuguese soldier who had been complaining about the food was disarmed and imprisoned.³³ On the night of 4th-5th June, a Portuguese soldier appointed to sentry duty deserted. Again on the night of 9th-10th June three more Portuguese deserted.³⁴ Thus, at last, the French could not hold over for long. On the 24 August 1674, when only one day's provisions remained they surrendered and articles of capitulation were drawn up and they were signed on the 27th by De La Harye at San Thome and by Pavillon at Triplicate.³⁵

²⁹ Lotika Varadarajan (ed), *Memoris of Francois Martin*, Vol.I, part.i, p.339.

³⁰ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol.I, p.330.

³¹ *ibid.*, pp.331-32.

³² *ibid.*

³³ *ibid.*, p.325.

³⁴ *ibid.*, p.419.

³⁵ *ibid.*, p.332.

When the ruler of Golconda recovered San Thome with Dutch assistance, there was a great pressure by the Dutch and English to destroy that port town. Neither the Dutch nor the English wanted to see an Indian port so near their chief settlement to attract trade and grow. The Dutch believed that the best way by which they could secure their ends was by moving the Golconda court to favour the destruction of San Thome. The Dutch selected William Lard Hartsinck, Dutch Chief of Golconda (1663-1677) to represent their case. The latter emphasized, particularly to the Minister Madanna, that the razing of the city of San Thome was not only in the material interests of the kingdom but was also a necessary defensive measure.³⁶ The minister was known for his parsimony and the Governor struck at his weak spot when he pointed out how expensive it would be to demolish all the constructions at San Thome. When the orders were reiterated, however, the Governor had no alternative but to obey. The beautiful cathedral after which the town was named and which was one of the best monuments of early Christianity in idea was thus destroyed. The Dutch even went so far as to offer to help in this demolition proceeding. It almost seemed the Dutch could not wait to see the town completely razed. The English were also utilizing the material from San Thome to build themselves the beautiful houses, which may yet be seen at Madras. While refusing any overt help in the demolition proceeding at San

³⁶ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of Abbe Carre*, p. 348. Also see Lotika Varadarajan (ed), *Memoris of Francois Martin*, Vol.I, Part.II, p.496.

Thome, the English factors Langhorn provided gun powder for blowing up the walls and allowed the residents of Madras to bring away stones from there.³⁷

The Portuguese were firmly convinced that the English were behind the demolition of San Thome. Though there is no proof but certainly such an action would serve their interests admirably well. Not only was it to their advantage to prevent the other power to establish of another European nation in such a close proximity but by the destruction of San Thome they could rest assured that the remaining residents of that city could seek refuge in Madras. Their conviction was equally strong that as long as San Thome remained standing, it would serve as a magnet attracting to itself the residents of Madras. San Thome was far superior to Madras in its soil, water and terrain. Many would have already migrated had they been certain about their safety.

In 1676 the people in the vicinity of Madras had asked for permission to build once again at the ruins of San Thome. Despite the opposition, which the Dutch continued to muster at the Golconda court, they obtained the necessary sanction for rebuilding at the ruins of San Thome. People from different places including even the Portuguese began to rebuild houses and restore the Church.³⁸ The Portuguese were not satisfied with the on-going situation. So they sent their

³⁷ Lotika Varadarajan (ed), *Memoris of Francois Martin*, Vol.I, Part.II, pp.506-09.

³⁸ Lotika Varadarajan (ed), *Memoris of Francois Martin*, Vol.I, Part.II, p.519-20, and 732.

lone representative to seek permission to establish themselves at San Thome. The King of Golconda issued them a *firman* by which permission was granted to them provided they paid a certain amount each year. The Portuguese who had taken up residence at Madras now moved to San Thome where they began to construct new buildings. They wrote to several places to attract more people to San Thome. “Many of the Portuguese who had once resided at San Thome resolved to return to the city although it was in ruins now”.³⁹

In 1686 the Portuguese sent an Augustinian priest including ten other Portuguese to the court of Golconda to request the Sultan to return the town of San Thome to the Portuguese. The king of Golconda issued a *farman* on December 18, 1686 granting permission to the Portuguese, however they were required to pay 7000 *xerafins* as revenue annually to the Sultan of Golconda. They had grand ambitions and were determined to make this an important stronghold as it had been in the previous times. They wrote to Don Rodrigo (Viceroy of Goa, 1686-90) asking to write to all the Portuguese who had spread themselves along the coast to gather together at San Thome. If they were united in this way, they would be sufficiently powerful to maintain their position. Don Rodrigo was persuaded to send out necessary orders, and these orders were read out from the Pulpit of their Church at Porto Novo and express messengers were sent to the Portuguese at

³⁹ Ibid., p.732.

Nagapatam, Tranquebar and more especially to Madras where large numbers of Portuguese had already taken up residence.⁴⁰

The Portuguese also negotiated directly with the Seer Lascar, and went so far as to hoist their flag at San Thome. Having taken official possession of the town in 1687, the Portuguese settlers of San Thome did not find matter easy, mainly for two reasons. Firstly, the fall of Golconda to the Mughals in 1687 meant the *farman* conceded to them had to be granted afresh. Consequently another embassy was sent to Aurangzeb, the Mughal Emperor. This was managed in 1688–87 using the services of Frei Luis de Piedado. The real problem was however, persuading the Portuguese residents in other parts of Coromandel to return to the folds and once again become residents of an official of the *Estado da India* which the English neighbours totally object it.

It will be remembered that San Thome was restored to the Muslims after the capitulation of the French and then leased to Verona, Chief Merchant of San Thome for 1500 Pagodas by Lingapa, the Governor of Punnamalee, who took possession of San Thome on August 17, 1679.⁴¹ Later, Lingapa the Governor of Punnamlee urged the Diwan of Golconda to wrest it out of Verona and let him have it as he had rented it for two lakhs pagodas revenue per annum. Lingapa

⁴⁰ *ibid.*, Vol.I, Part.II, pp.1040-41 and 1070-71.

⁴¹ Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation, (D and C), 1679-1680, (Madras, 1911), p.53.

again changed his side and was now more interested to give Pedda Yenkatadry.

Later when Lingapa asked Verona to surrender the latter answered that he had already spent 1000 pagodas at the court of Golconda while wresting for San Thome. The English also received a letter from the Governor Lingapa declaring "he had given it to Pedda Yentakadry, paying only 50 Pagodas per annum for God sake, rather the English should ask from them. Pedda Yenkatadry had now order it under Durmaray Moodalaree the *Havaldar* of San Thome to frighten the English from taking it."⁴²

Governor Lingapa who had bad relation with the put many difficulties for the English in renting San Thome. They knew in advance that the renting of San Thome would have many problems, "it would raise many scruples and difficulties in them, or in the Rt. Humble Company name." So "it was therefore then thought most product and convenient, that Chinna Venkatadry undertook the business in his own name, as formerly he and Verona had done."⁴³ Two years later the Fort St. George Council dealt with the matter as follows; "Accordingly to the humble company's orders, the renting of St Thoma was taken into consideration, and by reason it may raise the price if we appear ourselves. It is therefore ordered that Chinna Venkatadry and Allingall Pilla do endeavour to take it at as low as

⁴² *ibid.*, D and C, 1681, (Madras, 1913), p.7.

⁴³ *ibid.*, D and C, 1687, (Madras, 1916), p.102.

possible, we engaging to them that the humble company are to stand to the profit or loss thereon.”⁴⁴

Hence on July 26 1687 Chinna Venkatadry, one of the native merchants of the English East India Company was conferred the power of renting San Thome by the President and Council of Madras. Chinna Venkaadry took the lease of San Thome for a period of three years at 4100 pagodas per annum. The revenue of the town included its customs duties and agriculture revenue derived from the paddy fields in the adjacent villages around San Thome. The Portuguese traders and residents in San Thome were given a remission of tax amounting to 500 pagodas due to be paid by them to Chinna Ventakadry. When Chinna Venkatadry died in 1687, San Thome was leased out to Kasi Veeranna, the Chief of the native merchants in Madras for 3800 pagodas per annum, lower than the amount paid by his predecessor Chinna Venkatadry. This was because the trade of San Thome was affected due to political disturbance in the region. An agreement was reached in this connection in 1688 between Kasi Veeranna and the English East India Company. The English also at this time encouraged the Portuguese soldiers living in Madras to settle down at San Thome to develop the trade of the English. Eventually, San Thome officially became a British territory in 1749.

⁴⁴ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol.I, p..521.

CHAPTER 4

Portuguese in Madras

Having established themselves at Surat on the western coast of India, the English attempt to settle on the eastern side known as the Coromandel Coast as well, which was very valuable in terms of textile trade in the Southeast Asia. The natives in this region had brought the art of painting or dyeing calicos to the highest stage of perfection. They were in great demand in Europe. Above all, they were in great demand in the countries further to the eastward; Southeast Asia or Malay Archipelago, especially in what was known as the Spice Islands.

After many abortive attempts to own a territory, which could be fortified, and a place for footing steps in the eastern trade the English succeeded in buying a piece of land from the Vijayanagar Empire. In the western coast of India they could not succeed as there is a powerful Mughal kingdom and they would neither grant territory nor allowed any fortification. In this circumstance the English were looking towards the southern coast of India where there is many small kingdoms who were opposed to each other. Taking advantage of these oppositions they accomplished a territory that can be their trading and a firm occupied place.

The success for the English East India Company making inroads in the Coromandel was due to the Anglo-Portuguese Truce (1630), which made possible for the foundation of an English settlement in 1640 at Madraspatnam. Ever since

they came to Masulipatnam, the English had been seeking a better place further south, closer to the sources of the fine Carnatic piece goods, especially the painted varieties. In 1626, they had founded a factory at Armagon about forty miles north of Pulicat, the Dutch Company's headquarters on the Coromandel Coast, but it did not help much because the Dutch threatened the weaving caste with reprisals if they dealt with the English.¹

In the ensuing decade, conditions on the Coromandel Coast failed to improve. The only thing the disgruntled factors agreed on was the need to keep Armagon and Masulipatnam, the former for painted piece goods and the latter for textile. Around the same time the Coast also witnessed one of the worst famines. 'The great mortality of poore people in Meslapatan and other towns adjacent, occasioned by the greate dearth of rice and other graine, for the major part of boeth weavers and washers are dead, the country being almost ruined.'² Even the concession from the king of Golconda in 1634 proved disappointing for trade at Masulipatnam did not greatly increase and the *Farman* provoked the Dutch to bitter reprisals since they had to pay a fixed sum in customs under old *Farman* of 1612 while the English were henceforth exempted.³

Armagon, where Francis Day becomes Chief in 1634, was almost in a bad shape as Masulipatnam; "Mesulapatan and Armagon was porely opprest with

¹ Willuam Foster (ed), *The English Factories in India* (E.F.I.), 1624-1626, (Oxford, 1909), p.128.

² E.F.I., 1630-1633, (Oxford, 1910), p.203.

³ E.F.I., 1634-1636, (Oxford, 1911), p.xxxiv.

famine, the liveinge eating up the dead, and men derest scarsly travel in the country for fear they should be killed and eaten.”⁴ Though Francis Day begun investigating other likely spots for a factory, he seems to have taken no action until the prospect for the Coromandel Coast took a turn for the better in 1639. He had received several overtures from Damarla Venkatappa, the powerful *nayak* of the district stretching south from Pulicat, whose lands near San Thome were administered by his brother *nayak*, who resided at Poonemalle, a few from the coast.

In June 1639, Day gained permission to visit the *nayaks* country. He was well received probably by Ayappa *nayak*, who was anxious to see the land flourish and grow rich.⁵ After some exploration of the countryside, Day was attracted by a piece of land just to the south of the small fishing village of Madraspatam. Protected on the east by the sea and the snakelike bends of the little river *Coum*, and on the south and west by another small stream, this tiny peninsula seemed to be a perfect spot to build a fort. The *nayak* gave them full control of Madraspatam for two years, after which its revenues were to be divided equally. English goods were to be duty free and pay only half the usual inland tolls, and also obtained the right to coin pagodas and *Farnams*.⁶ Thus, Madras was founded in 1639; it was a

⁴ E.F.I., 1630-1633, p.268.

⁵ E.F.I., 1637-1641, (Oxford, 1912), p.xxxviii.

⁶ They rated the pagoda they coined at Armagon at 6s. 8d., and fanam at 4d. The old pagoda (of 15 fanams) was valued by the Masalipatam factors in 1630 at 9s, 4 half d. ; but this rate was admittedly too high, in 1633 it was reduced to 8s.4d. Increasing trade seems to have brought about an appreciation, for in 1642, we find the same coin rated at 10s, a valuation, which was long, maintained, the new pagoda being reckoned at 8s. E.F.I., 1655-1660, (Oxford, 1921), p.34.

mere strip of land, three miles to the south of Madras was San Thome⁷. It ran six miles along the shore and one mile inland. It was only four hundred yards long and about a hundred yards wide; but it could be easily rendered secured against the predatory attacks of native kingdom.

Within a year, the settlement at Madras had grown to seventy or eighty houses to entice the nearby inhabitants. Proclamation was made “that for the terme of thirty years only noe custome of things to be eaten, dranke, or worne should be taken of any of the town dwellers.”⁸ Fort St. George had been established within a short period of time right after the downfall of the great Hindu Vijaynagar Empire. In the mid-1640s, the Muslim powers of Bijapur in the west and Golconda in the east conquered and divided the Vijaynagar Empire. In 1646 Golconda took control north of Madraspatam, later Tanjore and Madurai acknowledged the suzerainty of Golconda. Gingi fall to Bijapur in 1649. When the disturbance began in the 1640s the English at Fort St. George were better placed than they would have been at Armagon where the *nayak* is all in the hands of the Moors.⁹

On the other hand, San Thome, Portuguese trading center was five miles north along the coast from Fort St. George the. The Portuguese had colonized the place as early as 1518. Until the mid 17th century San Thome was

⁷ William Crooke (ed), *A New Account of East India and Persia, Being Nine Travels. 1672-1681*, vol.1, by John Fryer, (Hakluyt Society, London, 1909), p.103.

⁸ E.F.I., 1637-1641, p.xlii.

⁹ E.F.I., 1642-1645, (Oxford, 1913), p.80.

not a regular part of the administrative system of Goa though by the 1620s the residents' fear of the Dutch and English made them seek closer ties with the viceroyalty in the hope that it will be able to protect them. But the *Estado da India* watched helplessly when the Dutch started capturing Portuguese ships, which had greatly affected the town's prosperity. As already pointed in the preceding chapter, San Thome gradually decline in terms of its trading importance and prosperity over time until it was finally made English territory in 1749. Even before the final annexation the Dutch and the native rulers as well regularly disturbed San Thome which compel many of the residents to look out for safer places for trading and other businesses. Thus, this is how many Portuguese came to settle in Madras.

In the meantime, during the second half of the 17th century Madras had been attracting a large number of artisans mainly weavers, as well as brokers and merchants. This was related mainly to the security offered by the city in the midst of devastating warfare in the region. Also, many traders and artisans with the stigma of low caste attached to their ritualistic status found in English a welcome neutrality and social and economic freedom, even though within the walls of Madras the inhabitants of the "black town" were not entirely free from caste conflicts. Racial separateness, of course, was nothing new and had indeed characterized the growth of the city from the very beginning. The original settlement, Fort St. George, had been divided into 'white town' with its surrounding for the European inhabitants and the 'black town' and its suburbs for

the Indian residents.¹⁰ The white town developed on the north side was mainly resided by the European, the Eurasian and the Indian Christian population of the settlement. Its street formed a uniform grid pattern and had both British and Indian names.

The black town was originally founded as an Indian town and had been laid out in a neat grid pattern of streets just beyond the walls of the fort. It was provided with a temple and a market at the center, and the various resident castes were allotted separate streets. Economic, social and politically authority in the black town were largely held by the Company's favourite merchants, who were granted substantial powers over revenue, judicial and commercial matters. Moreover, the English took many steps to entice the settlers to migrate and promise immunity for thirty years from imports on articles used for food or clothing.¹¹ Thus, "by the freedom given to merchants of all nations, it has become very populous. Great profits were earned there, it is very famous, and larger than any place on the Choromandel Coast. Merchants throng to it from all parts having whatever they are in want of."¹²

Rich Portuguese merchants like Joao Perreira de Faria, Manoel de Lima and Lucas Luis de Oliveira who migrated and lived in Madras were held in high esteem by the English Company and presented with honours since they had brought prosperity to the English settlement. These Portuguese were living quietly

¹⁰ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, vol.I, (London, 1913), p.

¹¹ *ibid.*, p.34.

¹² William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, vol.III, (reprint Calcutta. 1966), p.92.

as if they were not in India. They indulged in no intrigues nor concerned themselves with affairs at Goa, or in any other Portuguese places. “They had escaped there from other places in India, to live in liberty and far from the worry of important affairs.”¹³

The English considered the Portuguese as godsend because the latter knew the Tamil language and all the usual ways of expediting business in the region. They were ideal as foremen, as brokers, as translators and as soldiers, and as intermediaries for all ranges of activities, which are useful in establishing and operating a fortified trading post in the midst of a strange landscape. So eager were the English to avail themselves of their services that they offered the migrant’s thirty years exemption from taxes on goods of consumption and even money to built their houses in the vicinity.

The Portuguese around these times were caught in a critical spiritual dilemma with their various religious orders thrown into disarray following the fall of San Thome and its destruction. Hence, the residents felt hopelessly torn between Mammon and God, between their English employers and their obligations to attend mass on Sunday. But help was on the way, in the form of two French Capuchins, Father Ephraim de Nevers and his colleague, Father Zenom,

¹³ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and the Near East, 1672-1674*, vol.I, (Hakluyt Society, London, 1947), p.244.

who was all but literally washed up on the beach, as if in answer to an Anglican prayer.¹⁴

Father Ephraim de Nevers and Father Zenon had come from France for missionary work at Pegu, and reached Surat in 1641. Thence, they traveled overland to Masulipatam, but being unable to get ship there to take them to Pegu, they came to Madras. While waiting for a ship, they ministered to the Catholic settlers. Its Portuguese inhabitants, including Joao Pereira de Faria, in June 1642 petitioned to the Agent and Council to retain him and this was arranged.¹⁵

As it turned out, Father Ephraim and his associate not only agreed, but Father Ephraim proved himself to be devoted to his flock. He spoke (beside his native French) Portuguese, English and German and some Persian, Arabic and other Asian languages as well. He constantly acted as a peacemaker between the Portuguese themselves and in disputes between them and the English. Nor would he accept any fees or rewards. Father Ephraim and his subsequent Capuchin associate behaved themselves with great charity and diplomacy taking every care not to arouse the ire of their Anglican counterparts. Hence, they proved the ideal solution to English needs for Catholic clergymen to service their Portuguese settlers.¹⁶

¹⁴ G. D. Winus, *Studies on Portuguese Asia, 1495-1689*, (Hampshire, 2001), p.55.

¹⁵ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, pp.47-9. Also see William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, p.468.

¹⁶ G. D. Winus, *Studies on Portuguese Asia*, p.56.

Father Ephraim continued to live in all innocence, having acquired a high reputation, not only as an honest man, but also as a most zealous priest, but these cause great hatred to the neighbouring priests of San Thome. These priests were raised in unbelievable ignorance of all the bright light of Holy Schools. They were mostly engaged in worldly occupations and employed far removed from duties and obligations of their ministry. These priests could not bear the neighbouring good priest for virtue and doctrine. They were determined to drive out the Capuchin priest from the country, and in order to succeed in this they began the prosecution of the Portuguese and the native Christians, who helped and supported these two apostles.

Finally, seeing that these strategies were not affective, force was tried, and Father Ephraim the head of the mission was kidnapped. Niccalao Manucci provides all the details and he says that the reason for his arrest was nothing but an irreconcilable hatred and excessive envy entertained against him by some person of that place. The cause thereof, being his virtues, his strict conduct and the office that he held.¹⁷ Father Ephraim was imprisoned for some months in the town of San Thome, and was then sent in a passing ship to the Inquisition at Goa, where he was detained two whole years in close confinement. He was even refused the Bible to read, and all these because the worthy priest had one day **interposed** with truth against the ignorance, abuse, and abominations, of those Portuguese in San

¹⁷ William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, p.408.

Thome. At last the good priest returned gloriously after such persuasion, which only made him even more zealous than before.¹⁸

Due to this injury done to the Father Ephraim, the English did the same thing by arresting the Portuguese Head priest of San Thome, “to requite the affront of the Portuguese in betraying their French Frair, they in February last seized the Padre Governor, intending to detain him until the Frair was released.”¹⁹ Frair Domingo Navarrete had mention that even the Sultan of Golconda intervene for the released of the Capuchin Fathers; “The king of Golconda, Abdullah Qutb Shah, threatened to burn down Meliapor if Ephraim were not freed, and the Inquisition hastily yielded, releasing the Frair to return to his work.”²⁰ The two Capuchin Fathers were joined at a later date by a third member called Father Michel de Anjou, who served faithfully until his death in 1708. Matters did not always run smoothly thereafter. The two Fathers Ephraim and Zenon, were expelled from Madras by winter in 1663-64, but were readmitted again in the same year.²¹ In 1666, after their absorption both were expelled once again.²²

Madras not only attracted residents from San Thome, many Portuguese private traders who lived at the port of Durgarajapattinam, located at a little north

¹⁸ *ibid.* p.407-453.

¹⁹ E.F.I., 1651-1654, p.96.

²⁰ J.S. Cummins (ed), *The Travels and Controversies of Frair Domingo Navarrete, 1618-86*, (Hakluyt Society, Cambridge, 1962), p.302.

²¹ William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, p.221. see E.F.I., 1661-1664, p..378-79.

²² H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, p.249. see E.F.I., 1665-1667, p.249. Also see J.S. Cummins (ed), *The Travels and Controversies of Frair Domingo Navarrete*, pp.301-02.

of Pulicat and Nagapattinam too came and settled down in Madras. The Portuguese population in the white town was said to be around two thirds of the white population in the year 1675. By 1688, Love estimated that of the 128 houses in the white town, the exclusive part of Fort St. George, half belong to the Portuguese.²³

The increasing population of the Portuguese in Madras makes difficulty for the English to find accommodation in the white town. The Portuguese who lived within the white town of Madras did not pay any rent to the English Company as desired by the English council there, while the English had to pay rent like the natives since they lived in the black town of Madras. The company's contingent of soldiers in the Madras also had many Portuguese who formed almost two thirds in 1675. According to Love, pay is not equal between the Portuguese and English. Most of the pay was one half of the English pay, and some were third fourth.²⁴ The English Company felt concerned that the Portuguese soldiers always assembled every week at a particular place and discussed things of common importance, but they could not do anything. The matter was finally resolved to maintain the status quo.²⁵

In due course of time there arose many problems for the Portuguese. These problems were mentioned in a complaint lodged by forty Portuguese inhabitants of

²³ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, p.538.

²⁴ *ibid.*, p.211.

²⁵ J. Talboys Wheeler, *Madras in Older Times. A History of Presidency*, (Madras, 1861), p.674.

Madras to the English Governor and Council on September 20, 1678. This case was taken up by Luis de Oliveira who was a leading Portuguese merchant at Madras. He presented a petition to the Portuguese inhabitants asking for mercy to be shown to Manoel de Lima, who had been convicted of murder.²⁶ The Portuguese demanded equal justice to be rendered for the English subjects and the Portuguese resident in Madras. The Portuguese were arguing, as there were several other criminal offences committed by the English in Madras but they were left without action. They stated that the disposal of the case of Manoel de Lima was delayed for no reason. This Portuguese man was accused of killing a fellow Portuguese with a pistol in the middle of a street and as there was no proper proof he was kept in prison for many years.²⁷

The Portuguese in Madras inherit the same culture from their previous settlement like San Thome, Nagapattinam, Porto Novo etc. The Portuguese settlement in the Coromandel Coast mostly built up by the political exiles, renegades and lawbreakers who wanted to escape from life term imprisonment or death sentence. Moreover, the Portuguese authority in Lisbon evades the punishment if they are ready to serve for the Portuguese crown in the Portuguese

²⁶ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of the Abbe Carre*, p.342.

²⁷ Luis de Oliveira had a house in white town, and in 1681, he was given a militia command and in 1687 he was appointed one of the court of Mayor and corporation. Also see H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, p.432-33, 443-44, and 497-98.

occupied territory.²⁸ M.A. Lima Cruz divided high and low born, in the higher grouping the *fidalgos*, the captains, the cavalries, the principal person, the squires, and those associated with royal household. These are honoured men or clean persons and of a type that fought or aspire to fight with swords and lance, the arms with which one carry out acts valour and honourable deeds. At the lower level, there were nameless men, the soldiers, the mariners, the oarsmen, and in civil society the tailors, the innkeepers, the carpenters etc. They were following the terminology of the period, the low people, the little people, and the luckless on account of their natural defect of their birth. In the material activities, they included those who fought on foot and from them emerged the mass of archers, the musketeers, bombardiers, and cannon founders and in sum, those who used firearms.²⁹

Still then most of the Portuguese on arriving in India changed in character and in name, each name claims to be of a gentle birth, and a man of dignity, and most of them wanted to become rich from various designs whether it is good or bad did not concern much. This happen in the case of a young Portuguese from lowborn serving in Persia and Goa. This young Portuguese was invited to married to a rich man's (Lucas Luis de Olivera) daughter, who was staying in Madras. Abbe Carre interviewed this young Portuguese soldier and he reply that, "Lucas Luis de Oliveira had sent for me to marry his lovely young daughter; she will

²⁸ Maria Augusta Lima Cruz, *Exile and Renegades in Early sixteenth century Portuguese India*, "The Indian Economic and Social History Review", 23, 3 (1986), pp.249-261.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, p.253.

probably inherit all his wealth; so then become a rich *fildago*; to go out well dressed, followed by a fine troop of slaves, always under a *sumbreiro* (umbrella), or sitting in a palanquin; to pass my time in gaming or visiting people in Madras,"³⁰ At last he married on the first of May 1673.

A similar case but with a different ending. This happened in Madras, a young Portuguese, born in the country, but with lofty thoughts. His name was Joao da Cunha. He was deeply in love with one of the rich Portuguese's daughter but not dare to open his mouth. This young Portuguese used to visit frequently and one day he lied in front of his beloved that he was proposed by one rich family and promised to offer one thousand pagodas as a dowry. This was made out on a paper for the banns, and not wishing to be counted as lair, and every one congratulated him. One night he escape to San Thome and return the message that they both were married and his wife is very ill. They would come only after she recovers. He made a figure of straw and declared that his wife was dead. The funeral took place in the church without knowing who the girl was, except her name was Catherina da Silva and did not even allowed to see her face. The cheat, suspected by his servant declared the poor woman was in fact a straw figure. The rumour spread and it came to the ears of Lord Bishop. He sent orders to open the tomb, and they lighted upon the straw figure, buried there eight days before. The liar escape but returned after a month and asked forgiveness, and he was then given absolution.

³⁰ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of the Abbe Carre*, p.341-42, 521-22.

The story was known all over Madras and San Thome, and everybody was greatly amazed at Joao da Cunha's trick and his temerity.³¹

It is true that most of the Portuguese lead a sinful life. M.N Pearson argues "It was due to the creation of a half-caste population with the weaknesses of both race and few of their better qualities".³² It is justified from the book of Niccolao Mannucci who has already written in the 17th century "because they are a mixture of Jews, Mohomedans, and Hindus either having an admixture of their blood, or having drunk it in with their nurse milk."³³ The composition of Portuguese will be considered as one of their unruly behavior in their settlement. Of course their zeal to spread Christianity, a religion of goodness to others was strong but it make no sense when do what should not be done. In the 17th century a French traveler noted " they say that the Portuguese entering India with the crucifix in one hand and the sword in the other, finding much gold, they laid aside the crucifix to fill their pockets, and not being able to hold them up with one had they were grown so heavy, they dropped their sword too. Being found in this posture by those who come after they were easily overcome."³⁴ The reasons were due to the fact that many of the priests were still too young. Most of them had only two years of training. After that they become vicars and missionaries with great power and

³¹ William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, pp.177-80.

³² M.N. Peason, *The Portuguese in India, The New Cambridge History of India*, p.133.

³³ William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, p.127

³⁴ S.N. Sen (ed), *The Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri*, (New Delhi, 1949), p.198.

authority given on them by the prelate. But owing to their immaturity they used their privileges in the wrong way, which brought disgrace to Christianity.

The Portuguese in Madras are said to have indulged in witchcraft, sorcery, and magic etc. For instance, a Portuguese woman whose husband was a merchant stays away from home for most of the time. Being delayed on his return she went to an old woman who claim to have a vision. The old woman replied that her husband had already died in a shipwreck. The woman disclosed the secret and it came to the ears of the Father Vicar, who made efforts to abolish such an abuse by preaching and admonishment. At last the old woman prophecy was true and she earned much money as a diviner.³⁵ A rich person like Joao Pereira de Faria did not escape from the influence of witchcraft. As it happened that one of the slave girl was much favoured by Joao Perira and this slave girl wanted to kill his wife Donna Maria de Souza. So the slave girl sought help from the black magician and instructs her to bring some hair, nail-clippings, and a piece of defiled cloth belongs to the lady. Later the black magician gave her a doll to kept below the lady's bed. The lady was ill which cannot be cured. However, soon a kid while playing discovered the doll and the nurse understood what it meant. They called another magician and told Joao Pereira that he was responsible for the cause of his wife's suffering, as he have illicit relation with the slave-girl and gave her much authority

³⁵ William Irvine (trans), *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, pp. 98-99.

who dreamt to become the mistress of the house. Later the slave was banished for the rest of her life.³⁶

It is true during those days religion was strictly followed and everybody was afraid of Inquisition. Anyone who defied the orders of the head priest is sure to be punished. Witchcraft, sorcery, and magic etc. were condemned as blasphemy. Still then many Portuguese settlers sought help from the local magician rather their priest. The economic role of the cleric was also one of the worst factors. The Jesuits who were prominent and successful, were accused of paying too much attention to Mammon and far too little to Christ. Their response was of course that profits were necessary to save souls. A traveler in this region in during 1670s claimed, "the Jesuits govern all Portuguese India, in matters both temporal and spiritual, with a superiority and address that render them redoubtable to any who dare to work against this Holy Society."³⁷

The co-operation between the Portuguese migrants and the Englishmen were not like by the officials from Goa and the local authorities at San Thome. The partnership was base mainly on personal level and had little or nothing to do with the official trade. A rich Portuguese who resided at Madras named Joao Pereira, when his ship was seized at San Thome by the Portuguese authorities, the

³⁶ Ibid., pp.95-97.

³⁷ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of the Abbe Carre*, pp.132-33.

English East India Company did not interfere anything though they knew the ship was from Madras and Joao Pereira was their subject, which they gave protection. Joao Pereira, made insistent demands and supplications for the release to the authorities at San Thome. But they did not give any reason and the cargo was unloaded at San Thome.³⁸ For his contribution the English in Madras gave a concession on customs duties for a period of ten years and it was lifted after the expiry period in March 1681. In 1681 the Governor and Council of Madras employed him to make treaty with the king of Burma for a settlement at Pegu, as he had much experience on voyage in this region.³⁹

The English and Dutch Companies prohibit against their servants to pursue personal trading. This having been said, the English management was in a poor moral position to forbid their personels from making a living when the company was such a bad paymaster. Moreover, it would have required more floating capital than they had available to organise the intra-Asian, or country trade. Hence, by 1674 the English company abandoned all ideas of controlling the country trade and freed its servants to deal privately something they had been doing for decade. By contrast, from the very beginning the Dutch consider the intra-Asian trade as an important source of company profits and the Dutch servants were not allowed at all in personal trading and if found they were imposed serve penalties.⁴⁰

³⁸ *ibid.*, p.484.

³⁹ *ibid.*, p.618.

⁴⁰ G.D. Winus, *Studies on Portuguese Asia*, p.58.

Further, to achieve its cherished monopoly in this intra-Asian commerce, the Dutch soon completely reversed its earlier position on the freedom of the seas. In the early 17th century the Dutch justify its attacks on the Portuguese monopolies. From the mid-17th century they have changed from remaining faithful to free trading to a monopoly of its own, based on its conquest of the Portuguese territories. Hence, the Dutch even began issuing documents similar to the *cartazes* like the Portuguese had used. But there was a clear difference of intent between the Portuguese and the Dutch; the Portuguese used them primarily to raise revenue while the Dutch used them to keep others out of a trade they wished to dominate. The only weakness for the Dutch to monopolise the intra-Asian trade was the English East India Company as neighbours. Although both belong to the same religion (protestant), they were trading rivals who fought three bitter wars (1652-54, 1656-67 and 1672-74) over the question of trade. There were no real winners and both side enormously loss both men and resources. Thus, the State-General repeatedly warned the Directors of the VOC, not to create incidents in Asia, which might stir up new woes in Europe. The effect was that the Dutch patrols in the Bay of Bengal and Strait of Malacca were obliged to stand helplessly as the English private traders sailed under their very own noses. And the worst was that the Portuguese traders sailed with the English flag and sometimes even had an English man on board to warn the Dutch in no uncertain terms to keep their hands off.⁴¹

⁴¹ *ibid.*, pp.59-60.

After 1662, the Portuguese trading partners of the English could not do well because they were evicted from nearby San Thome, for in that year the Qutb Shah of Golconda laid siege to it from its western, or landed side. In order to cut off possible relief to it from the sea, as always the thing most dreaded by the Indian powers when confronting their European rivals, the Qutb Shah struck a bargain with the Dutch, who were eagerly waiting from the very beginning to help and imposed a strict naval blockade. Not only Dutch, the English also took this opportunity, "the English Company's servants, took an occasion to assist the *moores* (Qutb Shah of Golconda) in their assault against San Thome where fourteen English men with many *moores* lost their life in attempt."⁴² But the hostile reaction was settled when the new Captain-General of San Thome was sent from Goa. Still then the friction continued as the Portuguese in San Thome protest when they sent envoy to assist them. The English have their own reason, " which we have denyed them till we shall have order, least the burnt of the war fall on our town, which the *moores* would quickly turn upon us, having more to loose then those our neighbours."⁴³

After a siege of four months, it fell on May 2nd.⁴⁴ The city of Thomas, the Apostle thereafter remained under Qutb Shah of Golconda for ten years. Again the French captured in 1672, only to lose it again to an alliance of the Dutch and

⁴² H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, p.79.

⁴³ E.F.I., 1661-1664, (Oxford,) p.147.

⁴⁴ E.F.I., 1661-1664., p.148.

Golconda two years later. By then, the city had been thoroughly sacked three times. Now it was leveled to the ground on suggestion from the Dutch. Obviously, it was no longer a suitable base for any kind of trade. Meanwhile, the resident of Portuguese settlers migrate to Fort St. George. The English quickly welcome them and did their best to accommodate them from various ways, "the Portuguese and *mesticos* were invited hither by the several agents from our first setting here and some came with our people from Armagon and encouraged and several had money lent them to built upon the open sand, under the protection of the suns while by degrees has been walled in, they doing the duty of trained bands in watching in times of trouble upon the out workers. They have never paid any rent or acknowledgement, not taken out any leases. As now in practice at St. Thoma, where to repopulate they have promised three years exemption of taxes which drawn the people from hence again as fast as they came. And that the Humble Company may the better judge by the experience of this their place."⁴⁵

The Portuguese brought confusion and disturbance which very much irritate the English who planned to sent them back from where they came. "A proposal made for the calling all the English men into the garrison and removed of all poor *Topasses* and Portuguese into the outward town, they being of no advantage, but much the contrary and a great offence and scandal to the place."⁴⁶

⁴⁵ Record of Fort St. George, Diary and Consultation Book, (D and C),1672-1678, (Madras, 1910), p.88.

⁴⁶ D and C, 1690, (Madras, 1917), p.56.

We cannot deny that the Portuguese always make trouble from the very beginning. still then they were very much welcome at Madras as they were one of the components which built up the city. The English recognised their utility, as stevedores, linguists, and soldiers, and even as the Portuguese help in building the fort. Thus, sending away will be a major lost when their contribution is very much needed at the time of their commercial height. This was quite true when the English Governor, hearing that many people and families in Madras were leaving for San Thome, where they thought they would be safer from the Dutch, assembled a great number men, women and children about eight hundred in all. The Governor act swiftly and closed all the gates of the fort. It was due to the Dutch squadron, which was anchored well outside, moved nearer offshore and lay again in Madras. This gave great alarm to the town, where all night both soldiers and citizens stood with arms.⁴⁷

Thus while San Thome had fallen into ruin, its settlers, or at least a number of them continue to prosper among the English. It was perhaps more sentimental than entrepreneurial of some members of the Portuguese merchants community when in 1688, they leased the territory of San Thome from the local *naik* to move back.

Hence, the Portuguese who had obtained a *farman* from the king of Golconda allowing them to settle once again at San Thome were determined to

⁴⁷ Charles Fawcett (ed), *The Travels of the Abbe Carre* p.570,655.

make this an important stronghold as it had been in previous times. They wrote to Dom Rodrigo da Costa (Viceroy of Goa, 1686-90) who had succeeded Scisco de Tavora when the latter had returned to Europe, asking the Governor to write all the Portuguese who had spread themselves all along the coast to gather together at San Thome. If they were united in this way, they would be sufficiently powerful to maintain their position. Dom Rodigo was persuaded by these arguments and sent out the necessary orders. The orders were read out from pulpit of their church at Porto Novo and express messengers were sent to the Portuguese at Nagapatnam, Tranquebar and more especially to Madras where large number had taken up residence. When the English Governor learnt of these, he conveyed a meeting of the Council and it was decided that with the exception of those who had departed on voyaged, no Portuguese resident was allowed to leave the city for more than six days. Any resident belonging to this community who stayed away longer than this would not allowed to return and the consequence is his house and other possession would be declared as forfeited to the English Council. This decree was given a public hearing in the Catholic Church. Many Portuguese who had wished to leave were now held back. The ordinance was, however, too harsh but it was relaxed by the Council. Subsequently, several Portuguese retired at San Thome.⁴⁸

The officials who had been sent out by the Mughal authority to take over the administration harassed the Portuguese who started to re-establish at San

⁴⁸ Lotika Varadarajan (ed), *Memoirs of Francois Martin*, p.1071

Thome, following the permission granted to them by the king of Golconda. They had tried to resist Mughal authority but having failed in this, they had dispatch Augustin monk, who had obtained permission for them to the Mughal court with *farman* to try and secure its confirmation by the Mughal king. This was not the only obstacle, which impeded the efforts of the Portuguese. They were quarrelling among themselves for the position in the administration. They had once again fallen into the same pitfall, which had earlier contributed to the Dutch success over them.⁴⁹

Possibly because of their intervention, in 1694 the Viceroy of Goa appointed Louis Francisco Coutinho, as Captain General of the coast of Coromandel. He summoned all the Portuguese of San Thome to hear his commission, directly ordered from the Viceroy of Goa, appointing him and recruiting all person to assist him in executing the Viceroy's orders. At the same time Joao de Coasta Francisco Mendes and Joao Baptista who were staying in Madras for many years were summoned but they did not appeared.⁵⁰ Only few were inclined to obey the orders from the Viceroy of Goa because Luis Francisco tried to pay his handful of disreputable soldiers by levying fines on the Portuguese settlers. Meanwhile, his attempts to refortify San Thome failed when the English authorities at Fort St. George refused to supply him with arms and the Indian authorities pulled down the walls before they were completed. Two years later, he

⁴⁹ *ibid.*, p.1087.

⁵⁰ D and C, 1695, (Madras, 1919), p.71-72.

gave up and sailed back to Goa.⁵¹ It goes without saying that San Thome was never to regain its former pre eminence. But San Thome never wholly disappeared either; rather, the town of Madraspatam, today simply Madras, simply expanded its borders and swallowed up the large parts of the neighbouring area and now San Thome comes under the city of Madras (Chennai).

⁵¹ H.D. Love, *Vestiges of Old Madras*, p.574-75.

CONCLUSION

It is sad to see the exit of the mighty Portuguese sea borne empire in the Indian Ocean by the beginning of the 17th century. As we have seen from the very beginning, the expansion of the Portuguese started by uniting two powers, spiritual and temporal, "The two swords of the civil and the ecclesiastical powers were always so close together in the conquest of the east that we seldom find one being used without the other".¹ Is this the two powers were the real motivation for the expansion in the East Indies? Or should I rather say that it is not necessary the two powers while expanding their empire? Watching close as we have noticed, the European expansion towards the east began as a crusade. It was the beginning of one of the great crusades. The eighth crusade, we may call it. The leadership of this movement was inherited from Henry the Navigator, not only by Manuel da Fortunate and Joao III, but also by Alfonso Albuquerque and other leaders of Portuguese who look upon themselves as genuine crusaders. Every blow struck at the *moors* was, in their view, as a victory for Christendom.

Well, is these victories really helped for the expansion in the east? I am very much doubtful. Firstly, the Portuguese who came to the East and seek spices were the place mostly dominated by the Muslims. Secondly, the hostile attitude towards the Muslims dominated area greatly affect in their trade in the long run

¹ C.R. Boxer, *The Portuguese Sea Borne Empire, 1415-1825*, (London, 1969), p.106.

policy of expansion in the east. And thirdly, the “cross or spiritual” simply Christianization was just a mere word, it was only to seek the benefit of the rights, privileges and duties granted by the Papacy to the Crown of Portugal as patron of the Roman Catholic missions and ecclesiastical establishment in the vast regions of Africa, Asia and in Brazil.

Comparing to the Dutch and English, the Portuguese were a century ahead in their discovery. They have already established a number of forts and trading post from Mozambique, Hormuz, Diu, Surat, Daman, Bombay, Goa, Cannanore, Cochin, Ceylon, Nagapattinam, San Thome, Hughly, Mrauk-u, Syriam, Martaban, Mergui, Malacca, Bantam, Macau and Nagasaki. Of course all these settlements were not their strong establishment but like Hurmuz, Diu, Goa, Cochin, Ceylon, San Thome, Malacca and Macau were their strong fortifications that help in maintaining the Portuguese sea borne empire. However, over the passage of time Hurmuz was lost in 1622 to the Persian, Cochin and the whole of Malabar in 1663 and Ceylon in 1659 to the Dutch, San Thome in 1662 to the Sultan of Golconda, Malacca in 1641 and Bantam in 1596, also to the Dutch.

There may be many factors for the cause of the decline. At the same time there are many suggestions and arguments by the historians regarding the decline of the Portuguese sea borne empire. J.C Van Leur gave one of the most appropriate suggestions. His statements is follows:

“Portuguese power was typically medieval in character, a fact that helps to explain its limited effectiveness. There was not much unity to the

scattered territory of port settlements spread out over thousands of miles, despite the centralized royal shipping from Goa to Europe. There was no hierarchy of officials with a distinction between civil and military administration, but a conglomeration of nobles and condottieri each with his own retinue of henchmen bound to him by a vassal's loyalty or a lust for gain; often the officials in authority provided their own equipment and carried out exploitation for their own benefit by means of offices bestowed on them, frequently on a short-term basis. Portuguese power sought its strength then, not in taking over Oriental trade or establishing a territorial authority, but in acquiring tribute and booty. Non-economic motives, lust for plunder, not lust for profit, played the chief role in overseas expansion."²

Corruption, embezzlement and dishonesty prevailed everywhere. The official in India got poor salary, if it all they got regularly and hence they began to organize their own private expedition and trade. Everyone desired to make money by all means. The sudden acquisition of wealth dazzled and blinded the Portuguese, and prevented them seeing the real problems and they become slaves of their own glory. The Viceroys, Governors and captains of forts were traders and not rulers and they came to India to amass wealth. M.N. Pearson points out that, corruption was present throughout the 16th and 17th century. It may have increased in the latter; as Portuguese trade declined captains were driven to more extortion to compensate for a fall in their legitimate profits. But, in

² J.C. Van Leur, *Indonesian Trade and Society, Essay in Asian Social and Economic History*, (The Hague, 1955), p.170.

what is almost a stereotype of a vicious circle, Portuguese India could not afford this now. As we saw, corruption contributed to military ineffectiveness, and thus to Portugal's sometimes inglorious response to Dutch attacks. Further he said that due to this corruption, the economic dimensions of Portuguese decline are crucial: if sea trade fell, then the vital customs revenues were diminished, and the state budget went into deficit. Dutch success, in commercial competition laid the basis of Portuguese decline and territorial losses.³

No doubt corruption was rampant throughout the Portuguese settlement. The reason for this corruption was due to most of them landed in the Portuguese establishment by empty handed where their first priority was to settle down by any means. Living on a rich *fidalgos* charity they usually received no pay and had no trade skill. Most of these low born Portuguese were recruited in military where discipline was not much concerned. At times they were revolt when their interest or rights were violated. Later they were married and become a *casodos* where they have a strong influence in the administration as majority of the population consist from these communities. Most of the Captain was appointed from these *casados*. Giving this opportunity and looking back from where they came, they used the post for their own benefit. Such case was seen in 1616, when Ruy Dias de Sampio was sent from Goa to oust the Dutch from Pulicat. The

³ M.N. Pearson. *The Portuguese in India*, p.140.

expedition turned out to be a completely failure, and the rest of his term extorting money from the merchants of San Thome.⁴

The insufficiency of manpower is one of the determining factors for the causes of the Portuguese downfall. M.N. Pearson says that, “ in the whole of Asia there were perhaps 16,000 Portuguese and *mesticos* at 1600.⁵ Afonso de Albuquerque encouraged the policy mixed marriage the Portuguese men to marry native women so that the forts in India could be manned by honest men in India itself. His basic aim was to form a population who should be loyal to Portugal and would remain in India for life. It was one of his favourite schemes and was well suited to the inclinations of Portuguese people. However this policy was ignored by his successors. Year after year, Portugal sent fleets to India consisting of 3000 to 4000 men of which a few only returned to Portugal.⁶ Many perished in battles, shipwrecks, diseases and quite a large number dessert for their own good. Thus Portugal had been drain of men had neither enough men nor resources to protect her Eastern possessions and naturally the Portuguese empire entered into degeneration and decadence. Their forts and factories deteriorated for want of men to guard them from the attacks of their enemies.

The coming of the Dutch and English took the advantage of the Portuguese weakness. These new arrival were entering the Portuguese territory, to some

⁴ Sanjay Subrahmanyam, *Improvising Empire*, p.136.

⁵ M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, p.136.

⁶ K.M. Mathew, Decline of the Portuguese Naval Power: A Study based on Portuguese Documents, in Pius Malekandathil and Jamal Mohammed, (ed), *The Portuguese Indian Ocean and European Bridgeheads: 1500-1800*, MESHAR, (Mar Mathew Press), Kerala, 2001.

extent to displaced the fortified settlement and encroached the profited trading place. The challenged faced by the Portuguese were no doubt people from countries where scientific and technological developments were beginning to lead to a qualitative change, thus the arrival of such people was inevitably going to dispossess the Portuguese.⁷ The multi-pronged attacks by the Dutch in the Portuguese trading ports were the immediate effect in the vast diaspora and it foresees the decline of Portuguese sea borne empire.

The amalgamation of Spanish Habsburgs who ruled Portugal from 1580 to 1640 were also one of the reasons for the Dutch to penetrate deep into the Portuguese territories. Moreover, the beginning of the 16th century the Portuguese left with not much authority, as there is no king for themselves when there was serious challenged posed by the more stronger and advanced nations. Precisely, the *Estado da India* already stretched to the limits of its human resources, its finances began to fail, and the Habsburgs did not prove sufficiently forthcoming in terms of resources from Europe.

The eastern empire of the Portuguese may entirely swept away by the Dutch in the mid 17th century. But still then there were Portuguese successes when they held off Dutch attacks on Malacca (1616, 1629), Macau (1622, 1626) and on Goa (1603, 1610). Moreover, it lived on in East Africa, Diu, Daman, Goa, Timor, and Macau, thanks to its great past.

⁷ M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India*, p.133.

GLOSSARY

Armada: fleet

Camara Municipal: Municipal chamber of a city or town

Candy: also Khandi, a measure of weight, equivalent in *chaul* to 235 kg. Also use for the *bahar*

Carreiras: trade route or route taken by ship

Carriera da India: cape route

Cartaz: a passport or safe conduct for a ship, given in exchange for a fee or as a diplomatic privilege

Casa da India: India house in Lisbon, at which goods arriving from Asia were unloaded and auctioned, and customs duties collected

Casado: literally a married settler, and in fact used as a juridical category to denote a permanent resident of a settlement of the *Estado da India*

Castico: a person of Portuguese descent, born in Asia

Cidade: city

Conde: count

Conselho: council

Conquistas: the term used by the Portuguese for their overseas possessions, whether these had been acquired by force of arms or peacefully.

Counselho do Estado: the state council in Goa

Counselho da fazenda: The revenue council

Cruzado: Portuguese coin, worth 360 reis in the 16th century , and 400 reis in the 17th century

Dom: a title of the Portuguese nobility

Estado da India: the Portuguese state of India

Feitor: factor, crown or private trading agent

Feitoria: factory, crown trading post

Fidalgo: son of upper nobility

Florin: The Dutch monetary unit in the 17th century, further sub-divided into stuivers and penningen.

Fusta: a small ship

Havaldar: used in the Sultanate of Golconda to designate Governors of limited areas.

Kaffir: a black African Slave

Maund: unit of weight, usually 1/20 of a bahar. In Masulipatnam equal to 12kg.

Mestico: of mix blood

Moores: muslims

Nau: a large ship, or carrack

Naus del-rei: crown shipping

Naveta: a small ocean going vessel

Nayak: chief or noble in Vijaynagar period. It usually means a chief of a territory

Ovuidir: the judge

Padroado real: the Portuguese crown patronage of religious missions

Pagoda: gold coin, synonymous with hun in Golconda, and Varaha in Vajayanagar. To be found with minor variations all over southern India.

Provo: the common people

Qafila: coastal convoy.

Quintal: a unit of weight, the light quintal weighed 51.4 kg and the heavy quintal 58.7 kg

Rial of eight: silver coin worth 360 reis and 2.5 Dutch florins.

Reinol: a Portuguese born in Portugal

Reis: the basic accounting unit in the Portuguese monetary system

Santa Casa de Misericordia: the Holy House of Mercy, a religious and charitable institution administrated by a brotherhood

Shahbhandar: head of a group of foreign merchants at a port, generally a port officer

Soldado: soldier

Solteiro: a merchant without a permanent residence in any Portuguese settlement

Tanga: Indo-Portuguese silver coin worth 60 reis.

Xerafin: a silver coin worth 300 reis

Zamorin: king of Calicut

Appendix I

Rulers of Portugal¹

House of Aviz

Dom Joao I (6 April 1385- 14 August 1433)

Dom Duarte (1433 –9 September 1438)

Dom Affonso V (1438 –28 August 1481)

Dom Joao II (1481 –25 October 1495)

Dom Manuel I (1495 –13 December 1521)

Dom Joao III (1521 –11 June 1557)

Dom Sebastiao (1557 – 4 August 1578)

Dom Henrique (1578 – 31 January 1580)

House of Spanish Habsburgs

Philipe II (I of Portugal, 1580 – 13 September 1598)

Philipe III (II of Portugal, 1598 – 31 March 1621)

Philipe IV (III of Portugal, 1621 – 1 December 1640)

House of Borganca

Dom Joao IV (1640 – 6 November 1656)

Dom Affonso VI (1656 – deposed 22 November 1667)

¹ Listed provided in C.R. Boxer, *Portuguese SeaBorne Empire*, p.381.

Dom Pedro II (Prince Regent, November 1667 – 1683; King, 1683 – 9 December 1706)

Dom Joao V (1706 – 31 July 1750)

Dom Jose (1750 – 24 February 1777)

Dom Maria (1777 – declare insane in 1792; died 20 March 1816)

Dom Joao VI (Prince Regent, 1792 – 1816; King, 1816 – 10 March 1826)

Appendix II

Viceroy and Governors of Portuguese India 1505 – 1700 ²

1 Francisco de Almeida, 1505 – 9

2 Afonso de Albuquerque, 1509 – 15

3 Lopo Soares de Albergaria, 1515 – 18

4 Diogo Lopes Sequeira, 1518 – 22

5 Duarte de Meneses, 1522 – 4

6 Vasco da Gama, 1524

7 Henrique de Meneses, 1524 – 6

8 Lopo Vaz de Sampaio, 1526 – 9

9 Nuno da Cunha, 1529 – 38

10 Garcia de Noronho, 1538 – 40

11 Estevao da Gama, 1540 – 2

12 Martim Afonso de Sousa, 1542 – 5

² Listed provided in, M.N. Pearson, *The Portuguese in India, The New Cambridge History of India*, vol.I, (Cambridge University Press), Hyderabad, 1987, p.p.xiii.

- 13 Joao de Castro, 1545 – 8
- 14 Garcia de Sa, 1548 – 9
- 15 Jorge Cabral, 1549 –50
- 16 Afonso de Noronha, 1550 – 4
- 17 Pedro Mascarenhas, 1554 – 5
- 18 Franciso Berreto, 1555 – 8
- 19 Constantino de Braganca, 1558 – 61
- 20 Franciso Coutinho, 1561 – 4
- 21 Joao de Mendonca, 1564
- 22 Antao de Noronha, 1564 – 8
- 23 Luis de Ataide, 1568 – 71
- 24 Antonio de Noronha, 1571 – 3
- 25 Antonio Moniz Barreto, 1573 – 6
- 26 Diogo de Meneses, 1576 – 8
- 27 Luis de Ataide, 1578 – 81
- 28 Fernao Teles de Meneses, 1581
- 29 Franciso Mascarenhas, 1581 – 4
- 30 Duarte de Meneses, 1584 – 8
- 31 Manual de Sousa Coutinho, 1588 – 91
- 32 Matias de Albuquerque, 1591 – 7
- 33 Francisco da Gama, 1597 – 1600
- 34 Aires de Saldanha, 1600 – 5

- 35 Martin Afonso de Castro, 1605 – 7
- 36 Frei Aleixo de Meneses, 1607 – 9
- 37 Andre Furtado de Mendonca, 1609
- 38 Rui Lourenco de Tavora, 1609 – 12
- 39 Jeronimo de Azevedo, 1612 – 17
- 40 Joao Coutinho, 1617 – 19
- 41 Fernao de Albuquerque, 1619 – 22
- 42 Francisco da Gama, 1622 – 8
- 43 Fre Luis de Brito e Meneses, 1628 – 29
- 44 Migual de Noronho, Conde de Lingharas, 1629 – 35
- 45 Pedro da Silva, 1635 –9
- 46 Antonio Teles de Meneses, 1639 – 40
- 47 Joao da Siva Telo e Meneses, 1640 – 5
- 48 Pilipe Mascarenhas, 1645 – 51
- 49 Vasco Mascarenhas, Conde de Obidios, 1652 – 3
- 50 Rodriogo Lobo da Silverra, 1655 – 6
- 51 Manual Mascarenhas Homen, 1656
- 52 Antinio de Melo e Castro, 1662 – 6
- 53 Joao Nunes da Cunha, 1666 – 8
- 54 Luis de Mendonca, 1671 – 7
- 55 Pedro de Almeida Portugal, 1677 – 8
- 56 Franciso de Tavora, 1681 – 6

57 Rodrigo da Costa, 1686 – 90

58 Migual de Almeida, 1690 – 1

59 Pedro Antonio de Noronha de Albuquerque, 1692 – 8

60 Antonio Luis Goncalves da Camara Coutinho, 1698 – 1701

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