

The Portuguese Working Under the English East India Company at Fort St. George Madras in the Seventeenth Century

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Type of Review: Peer Reviewed.

DOI: <http://dx.doi.org/10.21013/jems.v4.n3.p10>

How to cite this paper:

Shngreiyo, A.S. (2016). The Portuguese Working Under the English East India Company at Fort St. George Madras in the Seventeenth Century. *IRA International Journal of Education and Multidisciplinary Studies* (ISSN 2455-2526), 4(3), 438-456. doi:<http://dx.doi.org/10.21013/jems.v4.n3.p10>

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ABSTRACT

This article mainly emphasizes with the Portuguese migrants at Fort St. George Madras and the policy of the English in containing the problem posed by the migration. Moreover, it also points out the reasons for the growth of Fort St. George Madras, particularly after the fall of San Thome and Nagapattinam and the attendant English response to the Portuguese migrants in Fort St. George Madras. For instance, the English encouraged and welcome the Portuguese migrants to settle in Fort St. George Madras, because the latter were proficient in trade owing to their familiarity with the region and local vernacular. The Portuguese were already settled in the sixteenth century before the English arrived. They knew the local language and all usual ways of expediting business in the region; they were ideal supervisors, as soldiers, as translators, as brokers, in fact as intermediaries for all the range of activities that are useful in establishing and operating a fortified trading post in the midst of a strange landscape. They were indispensable for the newly arrived English Company to establish a trading post. The English skilfully took advantage of these settlers that culminate as one of the success to foothold as a major competitor post in the century to come.

Keywords: Portuguese, English East India Company, Fort St. George Madras, Seventeenth Century

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. With the establishment of Fort St. George in 1640, slowly the migrants begin to settle down with the promise of no tax for thirty years, ‘the term of thirty years only no custom of things to be taken, drank, or worn should be taken of any of the town dwellers.’¹ Among them the most important community who came to settle were the Portuguese and their offspring known as *mesticos*.² They knew the Tamil language and all usual ways of expediting business in the region; they were ideal foremen, as soldiers, as translators, as brokers, in fact as intermediaries for all the range of activities which are useful in establishing and operating a fortified trading post in the midst of a strange landscape.³

The Portuguese that colonized Coromandel as early as in 1518 were not part of the administrative system of Goa, though by the 1620s the resident fear of the Dutch and English made them 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 their own ships, which greatly affected their prosperity. Even before the final annexation of Portuguese overseas empire, the Dutch and the local regularly disturbed their settlement that compels many of settler’s lookouts for the safer place for trading and other business activities. Thus, this is how many Portuguese came to settle down in Fort St. George Madras under the protection of the English East India Company. Abbe Carre a French traveller who visited Coromandel in the 1672-74s report that, “They had escaped there from other places in India, to live in liberty and far from the worry of important affairs.”⁴

Fort St. George Madras also attract large number of local especially brokers, merchants, weavers and artisans. This was related mainly to the security offered by the city in the midst of continuous devastating warfare in the region. In addition, many traders and artisans with the stigma of low caste attached to their ritualistic status, found in English welcome neutrality. Thus, “by the freedom given to

¹ Foster, William (ed.), (1912). *The English Factories in India, 1637-1641*, p. xliii.

² In Portugal's colonies in India from the seventeenth century, the term ‘mestiço’ applied to anyone with any European ancestor, or mixed marriage with the local People.

³ Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994. p. 61.

³ Diary and Consultation Book, 1684, (1913), p. 55.

⁴ Fawcett, Charles, (ed.), (1990). *The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and the Near East, 1672-1674*, Vol. I, p. 244.

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 Coromandel Coast. Merchants throng to it from all parts having whatever they are in want of.”⁵

The large number of Portuguese migrant to Madras is inevitable; it is for the continuity and survival of century old dwindling empire. The threat of the Dutch swept like cyclone firstly the most important fort of Malacca fell in 1641, Nagapatnam in 1658, Cyclon in 1659, and all the forts in Malabar by 1663. All these losses resulted in the alarming shrinking of Portuguese from fifty-odd forts and fortified areas in the 16th century, to just nine by 1661; three in Africa and the five in India Goa, Diu, Daman Bassein and Chaul, and the last one Macao China.⁶

Portuguese Working as Soldier under the English East India Company

To move back the nature component of the Portuguese soldiers, from the sixteenth century, the number of soldiers in any fort depended on the season. The largest numbers were seen during southwest monsoon, from June to September. During this season, the strong offshore winds prevent any patrolling along the coastline. Up to 500 footloose and idle soldiers could be reside in Goa in this rainy season mostly lived by charity. During the rainy season they usually have no work and no money which often led to violence. Even when these soldiers had been recruited and were off serving under some captain, strict military discipline was not always in evidence. At times, the soldiers were prepared to revolt if they felt that their interest or rights had been violated.⁷ The soldiers were not under the continuing authority of any captain during the rains; every September they were free agents available to whichever captain offered most or had in the past treated them best. The captains received pay for the number of troops sanctioned for their command, ‘which done the captains bidde their soldiers to a blanket, and of their own purses give them something besides their pay, for that every captaine seeketh to have the best soldiers and buy much victuails and other things at their owne charges, thereby to have their soldiers good willes, and to use them all.’⁸ Thus, the captain who looks after them had not much difficulty to recruit them after the monsoon.

The English knew that to build an effective trading company needs manpower guarding their respective post. The manpower can’t be recruiting alone in England as very few ventures in the sea and there is a concept of dangerous life working as seafaring men always perceive on second thought. Therefore, when the English learn the Portuguese and their offspring settle in the coast, which many were ready to work for the British Crown the English readily accept it and here most of them work as soldiers or as militiamen. The English company never fulfil the requirement troops to maintain guarding the post in almost in their fort. In 1653, all they have in Madras was just twenty-six soldiers.⁹ Even after three years the Englishmen enlisting in the company soldiers were still insignificant, sometimes even reduced to dozen to maintain the fort.¹⁰

To begin with, it should be assumed that the Portuguese were entertained in Madras garrison since the first settlement, as some of them must have already served the English in Armagon from where the English transferred to Fort St. George, Madras.¹¹ However, the first clear reference on the presence of Portuguese recruiting in Fort St. George garrison came on 28th January, 1657, which gives the list of

⁵ Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, Vol. III, p. 92.

⁶ Pearson, M. N, (1987). *The Portuguese in India*, pp. 137-138.

⁷ Pearson, M. N, (1987). *The Portuguese in India*, pp. 96-97.

⁸ Burnell, A. C, (ed.), (1989). *The Voyage of John Hughan Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, Vol. I, p. 190.

⁹ Foster, William (ed.), (1915). *The English Factories in India, 1651-1654*, p. 156.

¹⁰ Foster, William (ed.), (1915). *The English Factories in India, 1651-1654*, p. 98.

¹¹ It was recorded that many Portuguese have also come along with the English from Armagon when the latter transfer their headquarters to Fort St. George, Madras in 1639/1640. See for instance Diary and Consultation Book, 1679, (1911), p.87.

soldiers as 4 English officers, 20 English privates, 49 Portuguese and Mestizas employed'.¹² It also said that 'the face of war and continued appearance of hostility in these countrys had enforced us to increase our garrisons with Portugalls, Mestizos and blacks for our defence and preservation of your estates, being we cannot procure one Englishman'.¹³

The first Portuguese and mesticos were recruiting when the English had a various difference with the Nawab of Golconda. Fort St. George had long been annoyed by pretensions and exactions of successive local governor appointed by Mir Jumla. Governor Henry Greenhill (1648-1652, 1655-1659) determined to retaliate, seized one Mir Jumla ships.¹⁴ When the Vijayanagar king Chandragiri Raja revolt for recovering his ancestral throne he was defeated while retreating, the Vijayanagar troops came to the Fort for shelter, which makes more burdens for the English and for the Nawab also made more annoy by giving shelter to his enemies.¹⁵ Fearing from Nawab attack, the English recruit the inhabitants as there were not enough Englishmen to protect the fort, 'considering our present weakness for want of Englishmen, wee took a competent number of mesticos into pay.'¹⁶ Madras continues to effect on the struggle carried out between the Golconda and Vijaynagar. The town was in a defensible posture with the help of Eurasians, Europeans and Indians to resist especially from the Golconda incursion, 'the face of war and continued appearance of hostility in this country hath enforced us to increase our garrison with Portugal's, mestizoes, and blacks.'¹⁷ Thus from the mid-September 1657 Madras was blockaded by the Nawabs troops, and there was a regular seize, which lasted until April 1658.¹⁸ During these days, the Portuguese soldiers actively support the English company.

By the 1660s, the Portuguese had established themselves by understanding of being crucial part of the Fort St. George, Madras population as not only as a merchants but reputed soldiers and militiamen in the defence of Fort St. George, Madras. The security of Fort St. George, Madras and its trade were now virtually hinged upon the valuable services and loyalty of the Portuguese and the native inhabitants. This gaining importance was mainly due to the continuing trouble in the region. In 1662, the Golconda army attacked and seized San Thome, Mylapore, which is very close to Fort St. George, Madras. On the sea, the war between the Dutch, the Portuguese and the French continued. In the neighbourhood the Nayaks of Madura and Tanjore were constantly at war and the armies of Bijapur made descents on the region with intent to conquer all the Hindu rulers. In 1669 the Dutch succeeded because a necessary part of the security of Fort St. George, Madras.

In this continuous trouble in the hinterland during the 1660s, Fort St. George, Madras was safe from any direct confrontation with the local forces. But in 1669, Fort St. George, Madras was attacked and seized by a local Nayak, only freed due to the intervention by the Golconda on behalf of the English.¹⁹ Again, in 1670, Fort St. George, Madras was again blockaded by Chinnapelly Mirza, the Golconda army's in the region. Father Dominic Navarette said that when he came to Madras in 1670 it was 'besieged by the King of Golconda's army without his orders' with a design 'to extort something from the English.' He also said that 'the enemy had stopped all the avenues, so that provisions grew scarce. There is neither port nor water; this last they get out of some small wells they have digged.'²⁰

¹² Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 174.

¹³ Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 104.

¹⁴ Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 95.

¹⁵ Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, pp. 96-97.

¹⁶ Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 98.

¹⁷ Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 98.

¹⁸ Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 137.

¹⁹ Siwell, Robert, *Historical Inscription of Southern India*, p. 285.

²⁰ Cummins, J.S., (ed.), (1962). *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarette*, p. 297.

Thomas Bowrey, who came to Madras in 1669, had also noted the event and said 'our Fort (and town) of St. George hath been often molested by some of inland native forces, raised in very considerable numbers by some of the disaffected governors. I have known an army of some thousands, both horse and foot, come down and pitch their tents within 2· miles of the walls, where they have put a stopped upon all sorts of provisions.' Like Navarrette, he also said that the motive was to extort money from the Company as 'nothing of such transactions is ordered by the Golconda King' and they are but the 'flying armies hatching rebellion.'²¹

During such sieges, the role of Portuguese militia as well as the soldiers was also very well commended. Navarrette has categorically said that the Portuguese always stand by the side of English government who also upon occasion make use of them 'as they did this time, when all men took arms and guarded the walls.'²² Bowrey has also said that many Portuguese 'also bear arms in the Honourable East India Company's Service as private Centinels,' especially during this trouble time.²³ The blockade was lifted only after it was found impregnable and an agreement was signed under which the Madras government agreed to pay the Sultan of Golconda per annum 1,200 pagodas as rent.²⁴

Madras was soon caught up with another trouble with the French and the Dutch. By 1672, the French had declared war against the English and began operation by seizing Mylapore, then garrisoned by the Golconda troops. The Dutch besieged and retook it from French in 1674 and returned it to Golconda.²⁵ The Dutch also blockaded the coast and was in good term with the Golconda's court. The three European powers were at war during this time one contesting the other for the supremacy of the coast. It is under this context that the English garrison was revamped and the local militia was formed to defence the town from any eventualities. The French occupation of Mylapore naturally led to a substantial augmentation of the Fort St. George Garrison.

An undated document, which reached London in June 1673, shows that the military forces comprised 241 British infantry and 14 artillerymen.²⁶ Abbe Carre has also noted that the Madras Garrison consisted of 'three or four companies of English and black Portuguese, with some lascarins, in all hardly 200 men, of which only 60 English.'²⁷ However, Cummins dispute this figure, which by computation from records, he put at over 950.²⁸ This weak garrison was supplemented by 163 Portuguese militiamen distributed viz: 31 at Charles Point; 31 at St. Thomes Point; 31 at Round Point; 31 at Fisher's Point; and 39 at Choultry Gate.²⁹ Abbe Carre has also mentioned that the English government 'obliged to keep all the townspeople to keep the guard every night from fear of a surprise attack by the Dutch.'³⁰ These 'townspeople' were the local militias of Portuguese and Indians inhabitants of Madras. The Portuguese militia was divided into six groups viz., 31 at the Round Point alias Charles point; 31 at St. Thomes point;

²¹ Temple, R. C, (1997). *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bemgal*, Thomas Bowrey pp. 50-51

²² Cummins, J.S., (ed.), (1962). *The Travels and Controversies of Friar Domingo Navarrette*, p. 297.

²³ Temple, R. C, (1997). *A Geographical Account of the Countries Round the Bay of Bemgal*, by Thomas Bowrey, p. 4.

²⁴ Siwell, Robert, *Historical Inscription of Southern India*, p. 285.

²⁵ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, p. 373.

²⁶ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, p. 373.

²⁷ Fawcett, Charles, (ed.), (1990). *The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and in the Near East, 1672 to 1674*, Vol. II. p. 548.

²⁸ Fawcett, Charles, (ed.), (1990). *The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and in the Near East, 1672 to 1674*, Vol. II. p. 548.

²⁹ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, p. 375.

³⁰ Fawcett, Charles, (ed.), (1990). *The Travels of the Abbe Carre in India and in the Near East, 1672 to 1674*, Vol. II. p. 548.

31 at the Round point to the sea; 31 at the Fisher's point; 39 at the Choultry gate and point near William Dixons.³¹

Dr. John Fryer, who came to Madras in the end of 1673, had also mentioned that, when he enter the Fort through the Choultry street, 'on both sides thereof is a Court of Guard, from whence, for every day's duty, are taken two hundred men; there being in pay for the Honourable East India Company of English and Portuguese 700, reckoning the Montrossess and Gunners.³² Describing the guards of the Agent and Governor Langhorn, he wrote that 'his personal guard consisted of 3 or 400 blacks, besides a band of 1500 men ready on summons.'³³ These guards were in constant duty until the impending war was over with the French and the Dutch in 1674. It was also recorded that there were enemies at sea and land at the musket shot so that Madras government was compelled to fortified Madras which was 'thin, low, slight, tottering walls with a great town close to them' and the garrison was enlarged which was 'not above [...] Europeans in garrison the rest Mestizos and Blacks, although may help to keep watches, yet for service are but little to be relied upon.'³⁴

The number of Portuguese enlisting in the English company increased after the fall of their colonies Nagapatnam to the Dutch and San Thome to the Golconda with the help of Dutch. They were around 1200 soldiers in 1690, serving under the English East India Company including Englishmen and these mostly comprised Portuguese and mesticos.³⁵ Besides the company made various efforts to entice especially the Portuguese to settle in Madras,

"the Portuguese and mestizas were invited hither by several agents from our first settling here and some came with our people from Armagon and encouraged and several had money lent them to build upon the open sand, under the protection of the guns which by degrees has been walled in, they doing the duty the trained bands in watching and warding in times of trouble, upon the out workers they have never paid any rent or acknowledgement, not taken out ant leases."³⁶

Therefore, more than half of the English company soldiers were recruit from the Portuguese. This matter brought to the council whether to allow such large number of enlisting at the same time whether it is safe when they themselves reduce in lesser number. In one of their records, the long discussion was written, whether is it safe or convenient that considering about half the soldiers of the fort are Portuguese, and more than half the inhabitants of the new town are Portuguese. In addition, they now have two churches high into the fort, where some thousands meet every week (besides French), that the said inhabitants should be permitted to dwell in said town.³⁷ So the English were again consulting whether to disarm or not.³⁸ Nevertheless, the English were considering, as it is more beneficial while employing them in this unknown far away place. With more and more recruit from the Portuguese and their offspring, the English company started learning Portuguese language, 'efforts learning the Portugall language that the company pay a tutor six months. The tutor to read them one hour every day of the weeks.'³⁹

³¹ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, pp. 374-375.

³² Montrosses Gunroom crew

³³ Crooke, William, (ed.), *A New Account of East India and Persia, Being Nine years Travels, 1672-1681*, by John Fryer, Vol. I, p. 38.

³⁴ Diary and Consultation Book, 1672-1678, (1910), p. 19.

³⁵ Varadarjan, Lotika, (trans.), (1985). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin, (1670-1694)* Vol. II, Part. II, 1681-1699, p. 1261.

³⁶ Diary and Consultation Book, 1672-1678, (1910), p.87.

³⁷ Diary and Consultation Book, 1672-1678, (1910), p. 89.

³⁸ Diary and Consultation Book, 1672-1678, (1910), pp. 89-90.

³⁹ Notes on and Extracts from the Government Records, Fort Saint George Records, Public Department, Letters from England, 1670-1677, p. 40.

Moreover, peace was already concluded between the English Crown and Portuguese king Dom Joan IV in 1642. Even before the peace treaty, the English company learnt it more advantageous to cease hostilities with the *Estado da India*, in the form of non-aggression pact made with *Estado da India* in 1635.⁴⁰

Portuguese Serving as Militiamen

The English also raised militia from the Portuguese inhabitants of Madras. This was due to the outcome of the Mughal Empire taken over Golconda in 1687. The Mughals were not like the smaller southern kingdoms as considering the size where they rule of the sub-continent and their approaching on the southern coast certainly makes a very disadvantageous when their fort were still not secure.⁴¹ On their consultation the English caution the defence of the garrison, 'it being of so great concern to be continually mindful to provide for the defence of this garrison against the Moguls forces which we have great reason to fear will come upon us, after he has taken Golconda'.⁴²

The militia were raised when the new Nawab Daud Khan with 10,000 troops emerge at the gate of San Thome. Not knowing the Nawab intention, Governor Thomas Pitt immediately prepares to resist any offensive. He called the sailors that are in the port to form a company of marines, and asked Captain George Heron and John Berlu to assist and summons all the Portuguese settlers to form company under Emmanuel de Silva, and with the help of hundred peons as scouts.⁴³ So in the consultation they decided, 'so we immediately raised our trainbands and Portuguese militia of this place, and appointed them their particular posts for defence'.⁴⁴ Since most of them were not paid they started leaving as many of them were seafaring and handcraft men who have family to maintain. Therefore, the English decided to pay from the time they took up arms for defence of the fort.⁴⁵

Individual rich Portuguese merchants have too maintain their own militia, sometimes they also assist to the English when the need arise while guarding the fort. They were Joan Pereira de Faria maintaining fifteen militia; likewise the others like Cosmo Lorenzo de Madera maintaining seventeen, Gaspar de Moto de Brito maintaining seventeen, Lucas Luis de Olivera maintaining fifteen, Joan Sardinia de Fonseca maintaining fifteen, Antonio Nogueira de Souza maintaining fifteen.⁴⁶ The militia were raised from time to time when the needed arise to defend the fort.⁴⁷

Portuguese Soldiers Serving in the Coromandel Coast

The English were, if less numerous, scarcely less ubiquitous, and this notwithstanding the endeavours to maintain all fort was only possible from the recruit of Portuguese as well as from their offspring *mesticos* who have already established a flourishing unofficial trading presence from the sixteenth onwards. From Fort St. George the availability of Portuguese soldiers were again sent to different post for the guarding the company trading fort. Twenty Portuguese soldiers were sent to Fort St. David, to fill up the requirement of sentry post.⁴⁸ The transferring of soldiers has strategic purpose as sometimes the soldiers shift with their families and with their families then came the merchants who came to settle along with new opportunities, 'several eminent Portuguese merchants were come down from

⁴⁰ Winus, G.D, Portugal's "Shadow Empire" in the Bay of Bengal, *Revista de Cultura*, 13-14, Macao, January/June, 1991, p.283, see also Foster, William, (ed.). (1911). *The English Factories in India, 1634-1636*, pp. viii, ix, 26, 211.

⁴¹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (1916), p. 34.

⁴² Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (1916), p. 38.

⁴³ Diary and Consultation Book, 1701, (1922), p. 62.

⁴⁴ Diary and Consultation Book, 1702, (1923), p. 10.

⁴⁵ Diary and Consultation Book, 1702, (1923), p. 26.

⁴⁶ Diary and Consultation Book, 1681, (1913), p. 18.

⁴⁷ Diary and Consultation Book, 1710, (1929), pp. 60. 61.

⁴⁸ Diary and Consultation Book, 1691, (1917), p. 13.

Porto Novo to inhabit and trade there, desiring a piece of ground may be allotted them in Cuddalore for their service to build a church and dwelling house, which they accordingly granted them'.⁴⁹

Those who are ready to shift from Fort St. George at different English Company fort were properly look after by the company interest such as payment was made in advance and all the concern requirement was provided from the company treasure. There is evidence of 'several Portuguese soldiers willing to go to Pollicondore, ordered the paymaster to advances for three months pay at two pagodas per mensem, and that the steward lays in provision for them for the aforesaid time'.⁵⁰ Similarly, evidence of the Portuguese mesticos was also sent at Vizagapatnam with promise of good fortune and comfortable life.⁵¹

Portuguese Soldiers Serving Outside the Coromandel Coast

The Portuguese were not only sent within the Coromandel Coast but were also sent outside the Coromandel Coast as far as Sumatra. In 13 February 1695, thirty soldiers recruit from European and Mesticos communities were sent to York Fort at Sumatra, 'that thirty soldiers Europe and Topases be sent upon said ship under the command of a person fit to serve as lieutenant at York Fort.'⁵² While they were transferring, the families sometimes and their priest Padre were also allowed to accompany with them. In 19 September 1698, when they were transferring to the York Fort the English allowed 'portuguese soldiers or others as are willing to go to York fort have liberty to carry their families with them and that the Portuguese also have liberty of carrying a Padry with them.'⁵³ In 19 September 1698, four Portuguese were sent to serve in the west coast.⁵⁴ Again in next month twenty Portuguese were sent on the ship *Thorndon* to York Fort to take various position under the English flag.⁵⁵ In 7 September 1699, another batch of thirty Portuguese soldiers was sent to York Fort.⁵⁶ In 13 April 1705, another ten Portuguese soldiers were sent on the ship *Huglyan Ketch* to York Fort.⁵⁷ The transferring was continuing till to the 1710s, in 13 October 1707, twenty mestisco were sent on the ship *Anne* to serve as soldiers in west coast and again in 12 March 1709,⁵⁸ another twelve mestisco were sent on the ship *President*.⁵⁹ The other places where the Portuguese serve as soldiers were at Bengal,⁶⁰ and Anjenjo.⁶¹

Sometime the Portuguese defiance the orders for stationing at different post. It was during Governorship of William Gyfford (1681-1687), the Portuguese soldiers appointed to serve in the Bay of Bengal refuse to proceed, on the assumption that they are going to sent Sumatra. The Governor assured them but the Portuguese soldiers revolted against by occupying the fort gate. The English put down the mutiny by hanging the ringleaders to terrify the rest and to go obey their order. Therefore, the company resolved to disband the Portuguese soldiers and more Englishmen were to recruit but it was never materialize, as there were never sufficient Englishmen to recruit in the service of the English company.⁶²

⁴⁹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1691, (1917), p. 43.

⁵⁰ Diary and Consultation Book, 1704, (1928), p. 36.

⁵¹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1708, (1929), p. 47.

⁵² Diary and Consultation Book, 1695, (1919), p. 21.

⁵³ Diary and Consultation Book, 1698, (1921), p. 106.

⁵⁴ Diary and Consultation Book, 1698, (1921), p.106

⁵⁵ Diary and Consultation Book, 1698, (1921), p. 111.

⁵⁶ Diary and Consultation Book, 1699, (1922), p. 72.

⁵⁷ Diary and Consultation Book, 1705, (1928), p. 59.

⁵⁸ Diary and Consultation Book, 1707, (1929), p. 71.

⁵⁹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1709, (1929), p. 37.

⁶⁰ Varadarjan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin, (1670-1694) Vol. II, Part. I, p. 1018.*

⁶¹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1697, (1921), p. 135.

⁶² Diary and Consultation Book, 1686, (1913), p. 70.

The needs of men-power become the vital for the establishment of different trading fort hence; the English provide everything from transporting the soldier's families, provision for the voyage including all the families, accommodation as soon as they arrived and payment in advance for two months.⁶³ Even the child born in the garrison was welcome and grant were sanctioned, 'some of the soldiers of the garrison having made a request to receive the gratitude from the humble company of a pagoda for each born and baptized here.'⁶⁴

Prominent Merchants, Citizens Assisting in the Company service

Apart from the services of soldiers, there were also well-known merchants who from time to time help with the English company while dealing commercials as well as in time of political instability. Francisco Vera de Figueiredo a fildalgo, a known friend to the English,⁶⁵ who was trading between the Coromandel Coast and Macassar, intervene for peaceful co-existence between the Fort St. George and Madras.⁶⁶ It was during 1649's when the Capuchin Father Ephraim who was apprehended when he was invited for personal discussion with regard to ecclesiastical abuse prevailing at San Thome, by the commissaries of Inquisition at San Thome.⁶⁷ Father Ephraim de Nevers and Father Zenon had come from France for missionary work at Pegu, and reached Surat in 1641. Thence, they travelled 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, petitioned to the Agent and Council to retain him and this was agreed in June 1642.⁶⁸

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 and the English disputes between them. 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.⁶⁹ While the two priest were detain Francisco Vera de Figueiredo negotiates with Henry Greenhill on behalf of Captain-General of San Thome, Gomez Frera Andrada, to free both the prisoner Capuchin Father Ephraim and Reverend Padre, which also detained while retort by the English to freed their Capuchin Father.⁷⁰

One of the most prominent merchant living in Fort St. George was a Portuguese named Joan Pereira de Faria, owner of ship *Anne*,⁷¹ who was migrated to Madras after the fall of Nagapatnam, a Portuguese colony taken by the Dutch in 1660.⁷² He offered his service for opening up of trade at Burma and Pegu since he had much experience in the region and he was frequented to the place for trade. The English company readily accepts it and consider as good prospect for opening trade in these rich spices and

⁶³ Diary and Consultation Book, 1701, (1922), p. 82.

⁶⁴ Diary and Consultation Book, 1696, (1921), p. 101.

⁶⁵ Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, p. 97.

⁶⁶ Foster, William (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, pp. 6, 80.

⁶⁷ Irvine, William (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, Vol. III, pp. 407-417, 431-437, 438-455.

⁶⁸ Love, H. D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, pp. 47-49. see also Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, Vol. III, by Niccolao Manucci, p. 468.

⁶⁹ Winius, G. D. (2001). *Studies on Portuguese Asia*, p. 56.

⁷⁰ Foster, William, (ed.), (1921). *The English Factories in India, 1655-1660*, pp. 96-97.

⁷¹ Foster, William, (ed.), (1923). *The English Factories in India, 1661-1665*, p. 275.

⁷² Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1653-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, vol. III, p.195.

precious stones. It was recorded, 'upon consideration of the humble company interest in relation to trade and from this place for Pegu and also for settlement of factory's and a trade in those country for procure of salt peter and stick lack.....there offering a good opportunity of a Portuguese Joan Pereira de Faria junior inhabitant of this voyage thither who is well experienced in the king of Burma and Pegu.'⁷³

The English company authorized to negotiate and sign a treaty with the king of Burma and Pegu on behalf of the English East India Company, further he was also instruct to set up a factory. The instruction given by Streynsham Master, Governor of Fort St. George, to Joan Pereira de Faria to obtain commerce for the English and opening a factory. In the letter it was written, "I do hereby empower you to trade with the his majesty king of Burma and Pegu using your best endeavours to obtain that the same way may be granted by his said majesty unto the English nation for the settling factory's and a lasting trade within his domains and under his protection."⁷⁴ Joan Pereira de Faria was sent with eighteen proposals to the king of Burma and Pegu on behalf of the English East India Company for settling up a trade.⁷⁵ In the following year, on 24th January Joan Pereira de Faria returned from Pegu, along with several ruby merchants, on their arrival order was given specifically with all civility and better treatment to encourage others to come trade at Fort St. George.⁷⁶ A cowl was also granted by Streynsham Master to all Pegu ruby merchants:

"For any gold or silver that they shall bring to this place, and for all other goods imported or exported they shall pay no otherwise then according to the customs and usage of the place; and this cowl I the agent and governor with the advise and consent of my council, do grant in behalf of the honourable English east company."⁷⁷

For his services, the English reduced half of the customs on his cargo.⁷⁸ The English company which owned a house in Pegu, Syraim and Ava were also given to Joan Pereira de Faria junior instead of using by strangers, the order was translated that 'the company have ground and house standing thereupon at Syriam, Pegu and Ava which have been used by strangers for some years past. It is now resolved to give Joan Pereira de Faria junior order to take possession of the said house.'⁷⁹ He built a spectacular garden around his home in Pettanaikpetta which long gave his name to that quarter of the city.⁸⁰

Another prominent merchant, which reside in fort St. George was Luis de Medeiros Barreto a well-established Portuguese merchant, from the Record of Fort St. George, his name written as Francisco de Britto. He was an experienced merchant; he was enlist in the commission for the management of the company affairs and cargo in the ship.⁸¹ After his death his widow sell the house to the company, later it become headquarters for the English East India Company.⁸² Luis de Medeiros Barreto had an occasion lent his money to the company. On his death, he left an assets of some 19,000 pagodas. His father, Cosmo Lourenco de Madeira, in addition to being a council member and militia commander, also built Descancao church in nearby Adyer, where he was buried.⁸³

⁷³ Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681, (1912), p. 8.

⁷⁴ Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681, (1912), p. 9.

⁷⁵ Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681, (1912), pp. 10-12.

⁷⁶ Diary and Consultation Book, 1680, (1911), p. 3.

⁷⁷ Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681, (1912). p. 12.

⁷⁸ Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681, (1912). p. 9.

⁷⁹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1680-1681, (1912). p. 15.

⁸⁰ Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994. p. 61.

⁸¹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1684, (1913), p. 72.

⁸² Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I, p. 433.

⁸³ Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994, p. 61.

There may be many Portuguese serving in the English company but very few Portuguese were appointed in the higher echelon where it was reserved for only English. The reason probably may be the language barrier or few knew how to write English language, some official appointed are Joan Coroon as a writer, from the Records of Fort St. George. 'There is great need of a Portuguese writer for our correspondence with the European Governors of these parts, this brought convenient that Joan Coroon now a soldiers upon the Crops du Guard (guard room) being very fitting for that employment be discharged his duty and allowed: 120: fa: p meneem (pagodas per month).'⁸⁴ His pay must be the highest among the Portuguese communities working for the English company as nobody pay as much as 120 pagodas per month in any other services. Joan Coroon work's until 1699, it was only when he decided to leave for Manila he quit the job.⁸⁵ The second person official appointed for the service of English company is Joan Gago Peisotee.⁸⁶

Portuguese ship's owner and ship's command by Portuguese

There are many ships owned by the Portuguese inhabitant of Madras at the same time there are also, if not owned, but captain of the ships probably owned by the English as the name of the ships were in English but command by the Portuguese. The captains were experience in the seafaring voyage and some were trusted even sending parcel like gold from far place, 'there being parcel of gold which came by Francisco Cordoza from Manila.'⁸⁷ These experienced captains also steer for the local rulers. One such captain was Manoet de Medeiros Barreto. He was a captain for the Nawab ships, who agreed to sail Bengal and in return visit Jaffnapatam and in return to Bengal again and later brought the ship into Pulicat road.⁸⁸

List of ships owned by the Portuguese and command by Portuguese settlers of Fort. St. George

1. *St. Cruise*, command by Captain Augustin de Carvalia, and
Nossa Senhora de Rosia, command by Captain Jacomme Fersena, *Concord*, command by Captain Domingo,
2. *St. Thoma*, owned by Francisco Mendes
3. *Boa Vesta* and *Jerusalem* owned by Don Theodore of Fort St. George,
4. *St. Francisco*, command by Captain, Ferdinando Manuell,
5. *St. George*, owned by Francisco Mendes
6. *Nossa Senhora de Concession*, command by Captain Antonio de Silva,
7. *Conimere Merchant*, command by Captain Ferdinando Manuel,
8. *Nossa Senhora de Espernia*, command by Captain Ferdinando Manuel,
9. *Jaggerayakoola*, owned by Joan Ferreira,
10. *Senhora de Remendo*, command by Captain Manuel Patchego,
11. *Senhora de Rosairo*, command by Captain Joseph de Souza,
12. *Ramoda*, owned by Joan Ferreira,
13. *Senhora de Rosairo*, command by Captain Francis Gomes,
14. *Senhora de Souza*, command by Captain Manuel Feca,
15. *Elephant*, command by Captain Domingo de Souza,
16. *Good Fortune*, command by Captain Francisco Henriques,
17. *Latchme* and *Pearle*, command by Captain Francisco Cordoza de Macedo,
18. *Susanna*, command by Captain Francisco Newis,

⁸⁴ Diary and Consultation Book, 1684, (1913), p. 100.

⁸⁵ Diary and Consultation Book, 1699, (1922), p. 50.

⁸⁶ Diary and Consultation Book, 1701, (1922), p. 39.

⁸⁷ Diary and Consultation Book, 1699, (1922), p. 51.

⁸⁸ Diary and Consultation Book, 1684, (1913), p. 24.

19. *Josia*, command by Captain Anthony Ferera,
20. *Parr Bone Success*, owner and command by Captain Francisco Coelho,
21. *St. Antonio*, command by Captain Juerda Mendez,
22. *Prospect*, command by Captain Francisco Nunis,
23. *Noss Senhora Rosairo*, command by Captain Anthony Norangy,
24. *St. Cruse*, command by Captain Ignatius Marcoss,
25. *Pombrupa*, command by Captain Simon Rodrigues,
26. *St. Anthony*, command by Captain Manuel Gosalvas,
27. *Resolution*, command by Captain Andrew Ferreira,
28. *Bone Russen*, command by Captain Simon Rodrigues,
29. *Johanna*, command by Captain Francisco de Saa,
30. *Boom*, command by Captain Viagio Diego Moroosse,
31. *Sapher Salamut*, command by Captain Antonio Farando,
32. *Senhora de Rosairo*, command by Captain Francisco Canor,
33. *St. Peter and St. Paul* command by Captain Manuel Rodrigues de Sa,
34. *St. Augo*, command by Captain Domingo,
35. *Senhora dePersia*, command by Captain Manuel Rodrigues,
36. *St. Martin*, , command by Captain Manuel Gosalvas,
37. *Senhora de Remendo*, command by Captain Joan Domingos,
38. *Senhora de Fama*, command by Captain Francisco Jores,
39. *Ballasore*, command by Captain Dennis Gomes,

The evidence of Portuguese and English plying together begins before the actual fall of Portuguese fort both in Malabar and in Coronandel Coast. If the authorities of both Estado da India and English East India Company may not be recognized but encouraged as both benefit from these trading together. It become more visible after the complete take over Portuguese fort in Coromandel as all the leading Portuguese merchants and shippers were operating from within the English battlements supported by their English East India Company confederates.⁸⁹ The friendly partners of these two unofficial dealing were taking advantage mostly from the Portuguese shippers due to the fear of Dutch attack or probably for not wanted to take pass called *laissez-passer* similar to the *cartazes*,⁹⁰ which is consider mostly to dominate their trading activities.

This brought the attention of pirates and the actual offenders who take advantage of these friendly unofficial traders partners ply their ships under the English flag. The English company official believe it was from the Portuguese community, who often resort pirates activities or from the interlopers, which put up English flag and plundering whatever ships they found on the sea. It was great concern for the company official as it affects the relationships with local rulers as well as got bad reputation from the local trading communities.

One such case brought to notice was unknown ship coming at San Thome with English flag, which really undermine the authority of the company in the coast. The English East India Company issued a strict order of great consequence anyone dealing with the said ship.

“That no people whatsoever, inhabitant of this place, hold any correspondence directly or indirectly with any person belonging to the ship now in St. Thoma road which arrived there on the 11th: instant with English colours, under pain of a months imprisonment or so

⁸⁹ Winus, G.D, A Tale of Two Coromandel Towns, Madraspatam (Fort St. George) and Sao Thome de Meliapur, Itinerario 18, no.1, Leiden, 1994, p. 62.

⁹⁰ A naval trade license or pass (permit) issued by the Portuguese in the Indian ocean during the sixteenth century (circa 1502-1750), under the rule of the Portuguese empire.

long as the said ship shall remain on this coast, and fine not exceeding 500 pagodas: and this further declared that if any of the humble company servants shall found guilty of the breach of this order, they shall be forth-with dismissed from their service.”⁹¹

There is also of evidence of Portuguese merchant from Fort St. George trading against the order.

“Antonio Ferreira de Silva a Portuguese inhabitant of this place (Madraspatam) having being aboard the ship at St. Thoma yesterday, and being suspected by the slight account he gives, that he designs to drive a trade with them, and the likeliest man to carry it on for himself and others, to prevent which he was committed to the custody of the marshal till further order.”⁹²

According to the havaladar of St. Thome, the information he sent to Fort St. George was that he sent Joan Domingo a Portuguese inhabitants of San Thome pretending to trade saltpeter and sugar. de Matter observe that few men appear with no arms and they are desirous to buy the said product but they are not ready to go down from their ship so he brought his product into the ship and he suspect them to be pirates.

With the order from the Fort St. George that is prohibited to deal to any pirates but go unheard for the two prominent Portuguese merchants. They were punished for defiance against the authority. They were Francisco Mendez and Francisco de Sa, which is order to pay 500 pagodas for their crimes dealing with the pirates. In the consultation they conclude that, “it is upon this occasion resolved that if Francisco Mendez or Francisco de Sa or any other Portuguese inhabitants of St. Thome shall buy or sell with the said ship, they shall not be admitted for the future to come into Madras, nor have any dealings with any inhabitants of Madras.”⁹³

There was case of stolen English identity by the native merchant. A ship belong to Vizagapatam merchant plying on the coast with the English flag was chased but they could not catch as the ship was new and escape in the direction of Bay of Bengal.⁹⁴

Portuguese planning to re-settle at San Thome

An attempt has been made during William Gyfford Governorship (1681-1687) to build strong fortification and garrison around the Fort St. George. It was decided to levying a small tax amongst the inhabitants to be paid monthly, if they oppose then it cannot be successful, so they ask to paid voluntary contribution to all the inhabitants English, Portuguese and local merchants.⁹⁵ The urgency to repair was due to the continued encroachment from the sea aroused apprehension for the safety of the fortification on the eastern front of the white town,⁹⁶ which is inhabit by thirty three Englishmen, seventy nine Portuguese and three natives.⁹⁷ The contribution is for the charge of maintaining, repairing and fortifying the garrison as well as for the defence and security to them, their families and estates. William Gyfford justify while asking contribution that they all now are rich by establishing their trade under the protection of the English company and also received many honours and favours without paying any tribute or rent and only

⁹¹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1698, (1921), p. 66.

⁹² Diary and Consultation Book, 1698, (1921), p. 66.

⁹³ Diary and Consultation Book, 1698, (1921), p. 66.

⁹⁴ Diary and Consultation Book, 1708, (1929), pp. 72-73.

⁹⁵ Wheeler, J. Talboys, (1990). *Annals of the Madras Presidency, 1639-1702*, Vol. I, p. 101, also see, Diary and Consultation Book, 1684, (1913), p. 88.

⁹⁶ Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I. p. 470.

⁹⁷ Love, H.D, (1996). *Vestiges of Old Madras*, Vol. I. p. 444.

in the time of the Governor Mr. Master, imposed a tax on arrack, and paddy, to pay for cleaning the streets.⁹⁸

The problem arises from the Portuguese community as some on them disapprove to pay the voluntary contribution. The English company left it to the chief Portuguese to convince their community.⁹⁹ Moreover, the English do not want any type of imposed, which may lead to hostile to these merchants. Meanwhile, the Portuguese started negotiated secretly by sending a priest to the Golconda court to seek permission to re-established at San Thome which was now almost in a ruin state. San Thome was given lease to chief English merchants Chinna Vankatadry and Verona Vankatadry, the English company who also wanted to rent but leave it to their agent as they consider it will create many problems and consider as in Humble Company name.¹⁰⁰ From the Records of Fort St. George Consultation it was recorded;

“the humble company having in their former general letter to us of renting of San Thoma town from the Diwan, but being satisfied it would raise many surplus and difficulties in them or it least enhance the rent if we appeared in it, or treated about it ourselves, or in the Right Honble Company’s name.....in the meantime some of our Portuguese inhabitants since our demanding taxes and advance of the customes, have privately negotiated this matter by one of the Padres at Golconda, who procured them a Phirmaud for their settlement and trade in the country , and since that the news of the Mughal’s success against the Golconda, with the probability of his coming or sending hither, and our danger nearby, have privately, basely and ungratefully sneak away to San Thome, and there been treating with the Seer Lascar and the Governors to take a lease of San Thoma government and there to fortify hoist their flag”¹⁰¹

The king of Golconda issued them a *Farman* where permission was granted to the Portuguese, provided they paid certain amount each year.¹⁰² Hence, after obtaining a *farman* from the king of Golconda for allowing them to settle once again at San Thome they were determined to make this an important stronghold as it had been in previous times. The English East India Company was determining to check this new design, which will hamper their prospect. The English took precaution by declaring a martial law that, “the Portuguese soldiers who were acquainted with the sense of Proclamation and all advised, that as it commanded all soldiers to return to their colours, so it caution them from running from ours, for that his Royall Majesty had given to his Right Homble Company his Royall Charter for Martial Law, and that they had strictly commanded its execution, which should be obeyed without mercy”.¹⁰³

When the matter was still not yet decided a new political change took place in the Coromandel Coast, the Mughal overran Golconda Empire in 1687.¹⁰⁴ 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 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 dispatch again the Augustin monk (Father Louis de Piedade). He obtained permission for the Mughal court with *farman* and secure its confirmation by the Mughal king.¹⁰⁵

⁹⁸ Wheeler, J. Talboys, (1990). *Annals of the Madras Presidency, 1639-1702*, vol. I, pp.112-114.

⁹⁹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1684, (1913), p. 94.

¹⁰⁰ Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (1916), p. 102.

¹⁰¹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (1916), p. 102.

¹⁰² Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, Vol. II, Part, I, pp.903, 1040. see also Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (1916), p. 102.

¹⁰³ Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (1916), p. 106.

¹⁰⁴ Diary and Consultation Book, 1687, (1916), p. 162.

¹⁰⁵ Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, Vol. II, Part, I, p.1083.

The obstinate Portuguese who eagerly plan for re-settlement got a bolster when the Viceroy Dom Rodrigo da Costa (1686-1690) at Goa commissioned one of his relatives named Lewis Francisco Countinho to be “General authority over all affaires on the coast.”¹⁰⁶ He also brought with him a commission approval to appoint a captain and to recruit the soldiers. The Viceroy Dom Rodrigo da Costa wrote all the Portuguese who had spread themselves all along the coast to gather at San Thome. If they were united, they would be sufficiently powerful again to maintain their position. Dom Rodrigo 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.¹⁰⁷

When the English Governor Elihu Yale (1687-1692) learnt the proclamation, 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 six days would not allow returning. The consequence is the house and other possession would be declared as forfeited to the English Council. This decree was send in the Catholic Church for public hearing. Many Portuguese who had wished to leave were now held back.¹⁰⁸

However, the Viceroy did not sanction any financial to execute the mission at the same time the Portuguese at large didn't cooperate even when they were summoned personally like Joan de Coasta, Francisco Mendes and Joan Baptista, form the inhabitants of Fort St. George. They did not appear, ‘many of their own nation esteeming this to be but a bravado, which having no foundation cannot subsist.’¹⁰⁹ With few troops and little authority, the mission to re-establish at San Thome was never accomplished.

The Portuguese got another jolt in 1704, when the newly Captain Nuno Silvestro Frade arrived, he did not visit the local governor Mir Usman, who was also visiting at San Thome. At the same time, the captain started erecting the walls of the go downs and ordered 100 candies of saltpetre to make gunpowder. Another insult to Mir Usman was, he went to procession walking under the shade of umbrella ‘with drums beating, giving the air of master of the country.’¹¹⁰ The local governor sat a council meeting to take immediately action but waited for some days to look for an opportunity to teach him a lesson.

Then came the procession of the most Holy Rosary when things were still not settle down.¹¹¹ Many Muslim mingled in the procession making many insolent remarks and taking the candles from the Christian hands.¹¹² They were not paying respect neither to women nor men and abuse to all the Christian going in the procession. The Portuguese unable to bear any longer of these insults broke one Muslim fellow head, which followed great confusion in the procession but Father Friar Diogo do Sacramento, Dominican, and Simao de Loyolo, who bore the pyx in the procession, pacify the mob for peace and brought inside the church to celebrate the First Mass.

Seizing the occasion, Mir Usman march straight to the new captain house, who, learning of his approach, came out to greet him, imaging that it was a friendly visit paid to him. Mir Usman seized him by the collar violently and made him over to his soldiers, and carried away as prisoner. Just then, a

¹⁰⁶ Diary and Consultation Book, 1695, (1919), p. 69.

¹⁰⁷ Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, Vol. II, Part, I

¹⁰⁸ Varadarajan, Lotika, (trans.), (1984). *India in the 17th Century, Memoirs of Francois Martin*, Vol. II, Part, I, p.1071

¹⁰⁹ Diary and Consultation Book, 1695, (1919), p. 72.

¹¹⁰ Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, Vol. IV, pp. 60-61.

¹¹¹ According to Niccola Manucci it was held on October, 5. Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, Vol. IV, p. 61.

¹¹² Diary and Consultation Book, 1704, (1928), p. 83.

Portuguese gentleman called Joan Rebello arrived,¹¹³ who fired his musket and killed the man who was removing the chief captain. In this confrontation, the Mir Usman slew Joao Re-bello. Then some more Portuguese arrived, and they killed another Mir Usman troops. Because of this Mir Usman blockade all the routes supplies heading to San Thome. Manucci went to negotiate on behalf of the settlers of San Thome, Mir Uaman agreed to withdraw the blockade.

The Portuguese knew they were helpless, as they knew they cannot do anything, being frightened for more consequence, came out at night with their families and went away as best they could grab whatever they could to Fort St. George. Among them were:

- 1, Nuno Silvestro Frade, the wounded chief captain.
- 2, Matheus Carvalho da Silva.
- 3, Manuel de Sanche, nominated magistrate on behalf of his majesty.
- 4, Gasper de Motta, councilors.
- 5, de Britto, councilors.
- 6, Pedro de Torres Oliveira, manager of his majesty's plantation and tax collector.
- 7, Luis da Fonseca Varjao, judge of the orphans.
- 8, Antonio Tullimao, public prosecutor.
- 9, Francisco George, assistance of public prosecutor.

The principal inhabitants who left along with these officials are the following, Manuel Ruiz, Antonio Cassella do Valle, Alvaro Cassella do Valle, Francisco Lopez do Frigueredo, Luis Carvalho da Silva, Joan de Moraes Mexias, Joan de Fonseca Varjao, Joseph de Fonseca Varjao, Antonio Gonzalves, Joan Rebello de Coulo. They were accompanied by some topazes (mesticos) and among them were also Friars and Priest: Simon de Costa, Friar Manuel de Nevis, Augustinian; Manuel da Silva Menezes, Lucas de Oliveira, Estevao Ruiz, Manuel Ruiz, Antonio de Figuredo, Manuel Pinto.¹¹⁴ These runaway Portuguese came to seek protection at Madras and request to stay, Governor Thomas Pitt, welcome and received them kindly.

After Nuno Silvestro Frade, the wounded chief captain, escape to Madras he wrote the Viceroy of Goa that he resigned the office of captain, and requested him to choose someone else to take charge of the government. The Viceroy Caetano de Mello (1703-1707), wrote to Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo, to take charge for the post of captain and if he is not willing then he can choose anyone he considered best fitted for the post. Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo called for a meeting to all the inhabitants of Portuguese living in San Thome, requesting to allow the imposition of tax. The settlers remonstrated, pointing that the impossibility of the matter owing to the poverty of the inhabitants, who had hardly enough to eat. The Lord Bishop Gasper Alfonzo was worn out of these associations and other official business, and being already advanced in years, he handover the post of captain to Nicolao Rodriguez and retire in officials business.

¹¹³ There is a contradictory of Joan Rebello's death, according to Fort St. George Record, Diary and Consultation Book, 1704, Joan Rebello death was already record in 24 September 1704, page number 83, which is much before the actual procession mention by Mannuci on October 5.

¹¹⁴ Irvine, William, (trans.), (1981). *Storia Do Mogor or Mogul India, 1652-1708*, by Niccolao Manucci, vol. iv, p. 62.

Thus, it cannot deny that in the expansion of the English Company in Coromandel one of the contribution for its success was due to the absorption of the Portuguese and their descendants of mixed breed *mezticos* in the English organization. They were century ahead compared with the English but in the seventeenth century their power declined and knowing all the trading activities and linguistics in the coast, which is very vital for the establishment, were quickly recognized the utility by the English Company. This turned out to be the mutual collaboration and partnership for the growth of trade and commerce as well as security for the various forts. Their indispensable service enlisting in the English troops were the matter of survival for the services not only in Fort St. George, but also in various ports of Coromandel Coast and in Bencoolen, Fort Marlborough.

The Portuguese who trade with various sectors of the country trade routes, both in intra-Asian trade from early sixteenth century become equal partners with the English in the seventeenth century. In these trade both the English Company and the Portuguese benefit from implicit partnership, the Portuguese amassed huge fortunes under the English flag and the English Company reaped the capitals, knowledge and expertise of the Portuguese diasporas. Thus, Portuguese settlers in Coromandel gradually help in many ways, which built the English in vast ocean network.

Acknowledgement: I take this opportunity to thank Professor Yogesh Sharma, Centre for Historical Studies, Jawaharlal Nehru University, for constantly guide from the very beginning of my research M. Phil, Ph D and Post Doctoral Research. Without his guidance and supervision it would be impossible for to reach this far. In spite of my poor background Professor Yogesh Sharma, continue to encourage regardless of his busy schedule. Whenever I seek any assistance, he never hesitates to instruct me in the right direction. I can say deep from my heart is “Thank you” and my prayer is always with you. Apart of this I am very grateful to the University Grant Commission for giving me Post Doctoral Fellowship, which I am very indebted without this financial assistance I would not able to pursue further studies.

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