

Goa around 1850.
Its labour relations under the Portuguese, based on historical sources.

Working Paper

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Summary

Labour relations in Goa in 1850

Demographic and occupational data for Goa before the late 19th century are exceptionally good if compared to the rest of India. This enhances their importance far beyond what one would normally expect for such a small territory, encompassing at best 2 per mile of the total population of the subcontinent. In particular around 1850 many censuses are available.

However, a reconstruction of the labour relations encounters specific problems, in particular in the classification of the agricultural population, after all three quarters of the population. A detailed study is still waiting for an analysis of the nearly 1000 village account books, available at the Goa State Archives for the period 1550-1940.

Nevertheless, combining census data from the Goa and Lisbon state archives with migration data from the Goa archiepiscopal archives allows for a first provisional reconstruction of the labour relations in Goa around 1850. It shows the prevalence of small peasant households sub-leasing small plots and adding to their income by temporal migrations to Bombay, Mozambique and elsewhere. According to the classification of the *Global Collaboratory for the History of Labour Relations* this means a prevalence of *primary* label 12 (self-employed) in combination with *secondary* label 14 (wage labour)¹.

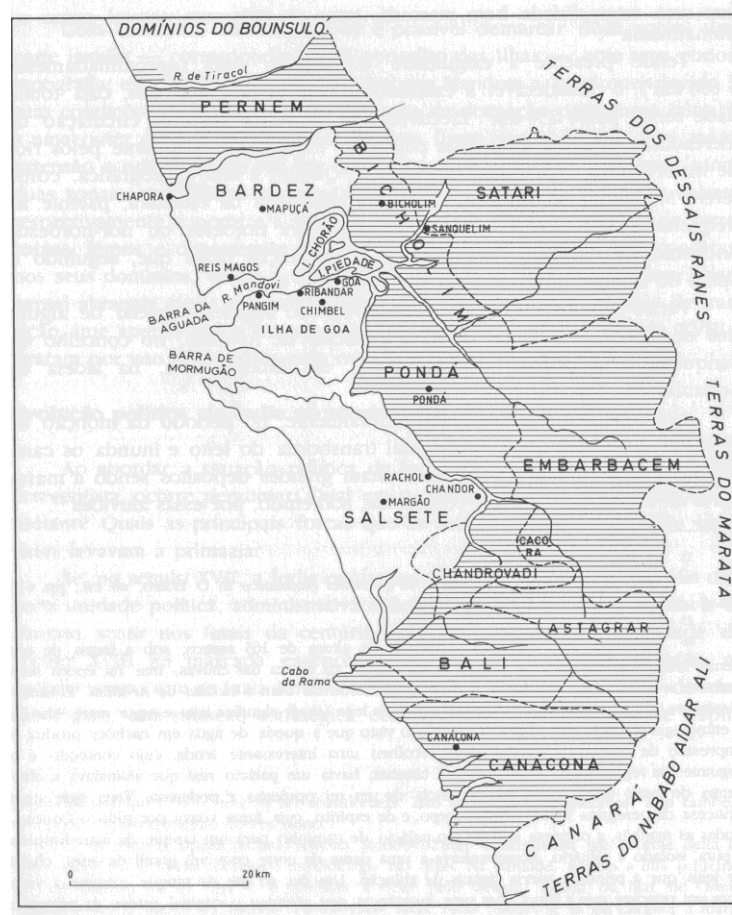
Labour Relations	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Total (%)
1	53,523	29.4	53,522	29.0	107,045	29.2
2	2,530	1.4	2,530	1.4	5,060	1.4
5b	0	0.0	16,640	9.0	16,640	4.5
7	5,917	3.2	0	0.0	5,917	1.6
12	81,924	44.9	78,421	42.5	160,345	43.7
13	704	0.4	0	0.0	704	0.2
14	32,320	17.7	32,815	17.8	65,135	17.8
17	449	0.2	400	0.2	849	0.2
18	4,908	2.7	0	0.0	4,908	1.3
Total	182,275	100.0	184,328	100.0	366,603	100.0

¹ Cf. IISH-Website <https://collab.iisg.nl/web/labourrelations> and Lucassen & Stapel 2014. Please see appendix 3 with the taxonomy used in this article.

Introduction

It is extremely difficult to find adequate sources for the reconstruction of labour relations in South-Asia before the first censuses held by the British in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Therefore, the Portuguese sources are among the very rare to fill the gap for the period 1500-1900, in particular for the territories Goa, Daman and Diu (for more than four centuries under Portuguese sovereignty), but also for territories who were Portuguese for a shorter period.² To start with, this paper will concentrate on Goa, adding a few remarks on Daman and Diu.

Figure 1 – Map of Goa. The territory of Goa during the second half of the 18th century. (Lopes, 1996, 17)



For the different cross sections see figure 2, showing the different sources and the possibilities to reconstruct labour relations (including the main, not all, censuses).

² For the tombo of Baçaim 1727-1730 see Teixeira and Pires 2007; in their footnotes they also mention a publication on the tombo of the same Baçaim 1610-1730, and one of Chaul 1591-1592.

Figure 2 – Available demographic and occupational sources Goa 1500-2000

	Old Conquest	New Conquest
1500	Few quantitative data ³	No data
1650	Tombo of 1595 ⁴ ; Demographic data (1720 to be compared with 1753, 1776) ⁵ and production (trade) data may allow assessment of differences with 1800 ⁶	No data
1800-1850	Demographic data since 1808 and General & occupational census 1839, 1843, 1846, 1848. In 1839, 1843, 1846 details are given for each village. The 1851 census provides extensive information on demography but not on occupations and labour relations.	Demographic data since 1808 ⁷ and General & occupational census for 1848. Census of 1851 (although no data for the occupations and labour relations)
1900	Not applicable (combined data with new conquest)	General & occupational census Goa 01-12-1900
1950	Not applicable (ut supra)	General & occupational census Goa 15-12-1950
2000	Not applicable (ut supra)	General & occupational census India ⁸

Portuguese India comprises the territories of Goa, Daman and Diu with a total extension of 3,807km², that were under Portuguese rule from 1510 to 1961. Goa, the largest territory, with an area of 3,401 km², is ensconced between the long range of the Western Ghats and the Arabian Sea. The vast hydrographical network and the mountains set the natural boundaries of this territory. Goa can be divided into two distinct areas. The first one corresponds to the provinces of Ilhas de Goa, Bardez, and Salcete – the *Velhas Conquistas*, or "Old Conquests" (745 km²) – and the *Novas Conquistas* or "New Conquests", conquered between 1746-1782 (2,657 km²). These areas were quite different in terms of landscape, population density and religious composition.

Daman is a small possession of 384 km² located 93 km north of Mumbai in the Gulf of Cambay, where the Portuguese settled in 1523. Diu (1535) is an island of 53 km² located in the Gujarat coast. Both territories were taken by the Indian army in 1961 and integrated since then into the Union Territory of Daman and Diu.

³ Goa was ruled by the Portuguese since 1510. The oldest qualitative and quantitative descriptions of this new possession, both from the state and the church (i.a. *visitas ad limina*) may provide some clues.

⁴ Published 1945 and 1950 (see Teixeira and Pires 2007, 325, fn. 5).

⁵ See De Matos 2007 for 1720; Lopes 2006 for 1753; and De Matos 2011.

⁶ For the economic characteristics of Old Goa (esp. state and church servants) in the seventeenth century see also Artur Teodoro de Matos 2012.

⁷ Cf. Lopes 2006, 100-101, fn. 13.

These three territories had very different characteristics in terms of population density, religious composition and economic activities. Within Goa the Old Conquests of Goa had not only the greatest population in the State but also the highest density, whereas the New Conquests, had a much lower population density. The recent annexation of the territory and the instability that followed made permanent settlement difficult for a long time. Furthermore, the large forested areas and the agrarian structure of the land itself contributed to keep the population density lower. Moreover, its religious composition was rather different compared to the Old Conquests. Around 1820 the New Conquests had only 11% of Catholics, being the inverse in the Old Conquests, with a percentage of 11% non-Christians (among Hindus and Muslims).

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Goa and the *Estado da Índia* underwent a profound change⁹. The characteristically strong political and religious intransigence of the times, as embodied by an implacable Inquisition, coincided with a period of Portuguese economic and political decline. Not only did naval supremacy now belong to the English, the Dutch and the French, all trade rivals to the Portuguese, but political instability in neighbouring kingdoms also brought about a new geopolitical balance.

In this context, the reforms introduced by the Marquis of Pombal (1750-1778) took on particular importance. They endorsed a policy of religious tolerance and support for local elites, as well as the extension of the Goan territory as far as its natural boundaries in the Ghats as a means of defence against encroachment by neighbours. This new strategy seeking to restructure Goa came in the wake of the loss of several Portuguese territories to the north of Goa and was designed to render the territory a viable proposition in its own right and not as part of some lost whole.

The policies defined by the Crown would reach their peak in the second half of the 18th century due to the commitment of the Marquis of Pombal (prime minister 1750-1770) and his successor, Martinho de Melo e Castro (prime minister 1770-1796). This was a period of profound political, economic and social reform at a time when Goa benefited from a more favourable international context. Goa was transformed from a maritime power into a “continental” power. To this end, a bellicose and diplomatic policy was adopted that practically quadrupled the area attributed in the Luso-Maratha treaty of 1741. Simultaneously, the government took up an interventionist position as regards Indian politics by adopting a policy of

⁹ Cf. Thomaz 1998, 245-289; Carreira, 2014, 76-94.

neutrality both towards Indian states and the other European colonial powers.

It is within this framework that the Count of Ega moved to benefit from the conjuncture of the Seven Years War (1756-1763), which bore highly significant consequences for the Indian Ocean. Portuguese neutrality policy sought to capitalise upon the fallout of conflict between the powers involved regionally: Britain, France and the Maratha Empire. The new framework would be defined by the sudden ascension of British power and the eclipse of French and Dutch aspirations. In 1761, Pondicherry, the main French holding in India, fell to the British. This brought an end to the former's imperial expansion in Hindustan just as, two years earlier in 1759, the battle of Bidara had amputated the Dutch foothold in Bengal. However, the British were not suddenly propelled into rule over the whole extent of India. The strategy was first to consolidate their power in territories facing political turbulence caused by powerful and combative Hindu states. Only later, after 1793 and especially in the wake of the Napoleonic Wars, did the British Raj dominate almost the entire extent of the Hindustan peninsula – at least militarily.

The arrival on the throne of Don José I (king 1750-1777) and his minister the Marquis of Pombal wrought a profound structural alteration in efforts to guarantee the survival of Goa. Pombal, inspired by Mercantilist and Physiocratic doctrines, attempted to ensure the independent economic viability of Goa in its own right. Thus far, the overseas territories had been linked into two clusters, one west and one east of the Cape of Good Hope (Angola e.g. falling under Brazil, and Mozambique under Goa. That situation was abolished with each colony destined to take over its own management and to answer directly to Lisbon (although for very long Macao and Timor stayed in the Estado da India, comprising as well Goa as capital and Damão and Diu).

One of the measures with greatest social and political reach was the *alvará* (decree) dated 2nd April 1761 according to which all Christian subjects in Portuguese Asia were endowed with the same rights as those in the Kingdom. Various subsequent diplomas and instructions would stipulate a preference for locally born citizens holding administrative positions and extending to the Church, at least under the condition that these subjects spoke Portuguese or were fluent in the local language - Konkani. This was part of efforts to secure the loyalty of local populations to the Crown. This proved especially significant in the case of the clergy who had thus far been completely blocked from holding positions in civil society. This move also sought to undermine the major European religious orders from other countries like

e.g. France, that constantly attempted to circumvent the authority of the Portuguese state. Indeed, within the framework of this sequence of events, there was the abolition of the Company of Jesus (1759).

In conjunction with the promotion of locally born subjects came a policy of social and religious tolerance. Subsequent to the ending of the Inquisition of Goa (1774), Hindu believers were granted freedom of worship as well as to marry legally. In fact, before that whenever this implied recourse to *bailadeiras*, these marriages were not allowed to take place in Goa. This resulted in serious damage in terms of retaining the population in turn impacting on the economy given the extent to which local trade was controlled by Hindus.

The various reforms to the administrative sector, particularly the appointment of the Councils of Salsete and Bardez, support for agriculture (*Intendência da Agricultura*), manufacturing (setting up textile factories) and the arts and culture conferred a greater degree of modernity on Portuguese Asian society while breaking with some of the old paradigms of the Ancien Régime.

However, this “modernization” of Goan society did not go smoothly, witness the *Conjuração dos Pintos* uprising in 1787. Possibly in reaction to the swift promotion of Goan subjects to public offices, the ecclesiastical and army hierarchies, a coup was prepared - probably with the objective of integrating Goa into the Maratha Federation. Ernestina Carreira stresses that the core support for this movement essentially stemmed from discontent in the military faced by an incompetent hierarchy¹⁰. However, other sectors, including the clergy and various public figures, were also implicated. Despite the Portuguese authorities having nipped the plot in the bud, the plans and the event would cause sustained mistrust among governors towards locally recruited staff.

As from the final decade of the 18th century, a new conjuncture prevailed in Portuguese Asia: the ascension of the British Raj and the French Revolution. Through to 1810, the situation in Goa remained generally highly unstable due to the lack of room for manoeuvre and, particularly, by the peaceful British occupation between 1812 and 1815. The context deteriorated still further with the transfer of the entire Portuguese court from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in Brazil (1808-1821) hindering still further the political decision making process. Correspondingly, Goa shed its status of continental power and the diplomatic centre of South India to adopt that of a small regional state.

¹⁰ Cf. Carreira 2014, 76-94.

The 1810s would prove a decade of greater prosperity for Portuguese Asia both due to the growing opium trade through Macau and trade with Brazil rising after 1814. This brought financial solvency to the State through to the mid-1820s. As from 1822, this situation was to change with the independence of Brazil and control over the opium trade passing into British hands. The founding of the *Estado liberal* in Asia coincided with a marked period of decline. As Ernestina Carreira highlighted¹¹, the Portuguese domains now represented a mere commercial annex to the interests of Bombay¹².

The definitive implementation of liberalism in 1835 brought a lull to the Portuguese Asia political and social scenario. Nevertheless, the former Portuguese *Estado da Índia* as an institutional unit of importance had lost its underlying justification. 1840 saw the abolition of the title of viceroy for the leader of Goa who was simultaneously stripped of the power to nominate the subaltern governors of Timor and Macau.. The symbolic loss of predominance of Goa had begun in 1843 with the abandoning of Cidade de Goa. Pangim or *Nova Goa*, a modest centre with less than twenty thousand inhabitants, became the new capital.

According to the 1848 census, out of the 81,252 heads of households, 75% were employed in agriculture, 4,4% were fishers, 8,0% in crafts, 4,5% in manufacturing and 3,4% in trade. The other occupations accounted in 4.3%. This situation had not basically changed 70 years later when we are informed in detail by a large inquiry on the agriculture and social conditions in Goa. This took place in the 1920s¹³. The image arising from the nine provincial councils (*Concílios Provinciais*) is that of a predominant agricultural state with an insignificant industry that moreover is directly linked to the primary sector. The main Goan exports were the coconut, fish products and salt, while all sort of goods, specially rice, have to be imported. In 1925 there were only two factories, one of fish products (at Margão) and the other of cashew nuts canning (at Raçaim)¹⁴. In the 1950's with a more intensive mining exploration the industrial activity starts to have a larger expression. Even so by the end of the 1970's the *Gazetteer of the Union Territory* highlighted that "agriculture still continues to be the main occupation of the inhabitants of the district"¹⁵.

¹¹ Carreira, 2014, 76-94.

¹² In the 1848 censuses it is noted that "all the imports and exports (only with a few exceptions) is done through the Bombay port and Balagate neighbouring areas subject to the English". Cf. AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino (Estatística)*, caixa 2, doc. 3, "Mappa geral, estatístico e histórico da Índia Portuguesa ... 1848".

¹³ *Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*, Nova Goa, Casa Luso Francesa, 1928.

¹⁴ Cf. *7º Congresso Provincial da Índia Portuguesa*. Comissão de Estudos, Nova Goa, Tipografia R.M. Rau e Irmãos, 1927, p. 17

¹⁵ *Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman and Diu. District Gazetteer Part 1 – Goa*, ed. by Dr. V. T. Gune, Panaji, Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu, 1979, p. 273.

1. Goa: occupational and demographical data

Goa is the overseas territory with the largest number of demographic sources available. Due to royal orders since 1776 there is a regular set of population tables (*mapas estatísticos*). More complete population counts were carried out in 1839, 1843, 1846, 1848, 1851, 1881, 1900, 1911, 1920, 1930, 1940, 1950 and 1961¹⁶. This reality sharply contrasts with the other lands of the Portuguese State of India such as Macao and East Timor.

Although information on the New Conquests of Goa dates back to 1808, before 1848 it rarely includes social groups or the age breakdown. The even fewer statistics for Daman and Diu suffer from the same limitations. Only from 1848 onwards it is possible to outline for the three territories as a whole the basic trends of demographic and professional developments.

Overview of the source materials with information on occupation 1839-1851:

- a) No occupational census¹⁷ has been taken before 1839 (Old Conquest) and 1848 (Goa Old and New Conquest)
- b) The occupational census 1839 (Old Conquest) – “Mappa estatístico da população das três comarcas principaes do Estado de Goa, denominadas Velhas Conquistas, referido ao anno de 1839”, has been published in *Annaes maritimos e coloniaes. Publicação mensal redigida sob a direcção da Associação Maritima e Colonial*. Quinta série. Nº 4. Lisboa, Imprensa Nacional, 1854, pp. 145-148. Information is given at a village level. The original documents have not been found so far.
- c) The occupation census 1843 (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino - AHU, 764-1E-SEMU_DGU (1841-54) is available for the Old Conquest in three original documents: “Mapa da população do concelho de Bardez, suas qualidades e movimentos do ano 1843 organizado pelo respectivo administrador do concelho” 15/2/1844; “Ano 1843. Estado da população do distrito administrativo de Goa”, 16/3/1844; “Mapa da população do distrito administrativo do concelho das Ilhas de Goa do ano de 1843”, 2/5/1844. NB the structure given for Bardez

¹⁶ Some population surveys were also carried out before 1776. A very detailed census was taken in 1720, while for 1749 and 1750 there is also population figures for each of the Goan provinces. 1720 – Cf. Matos, 2008; 1749 census - Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, código 449, fl. 115v.

¹⁷ Occupations as such are of course registered on an occasional basis much earlier, see for a rich harvest the occupations of accused in Lopes 2006, 277-278.

is not similar to that of the other provinces (age groups). Labour relations are given, but not the majority of occupations.

- d) The occupational census 1846 (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, SEMU-DGU, Índia, 1847/1849, cx. 17) is available for the Old Conquest in three original documents: “Mapa da população do distrito administrativo do concelho das ilhas de Goa do ano de 1846”, 23/7/1847; “Mapa da população do distrito administrativo de Salcete. Ano 1846”, 2/8/1847; “Mapa da população do concelho de Bardez, suas qualidades e movimentos do ano de 1846, organizado pelo respectivo administrador do concelho”, 13/4/1847. N.B: the structure given for Bardez is not similar to that of the other provinces (age groups). Labour relations are given, but only for a minority of occupations.
- e) The 1848 census was published by Captain Cicilia Kol (in archives AHU, in 1855 published in English¹⁸), referring to the official documents, printed in *Boletim do Governo da India Portuguesa. no. 45* (1848). The original manuscript with this information in Portuguese is kept at the AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino (Estatística)*, caixa 2, doc. 3, “Mappa geral, estatístico e histórico da India Portuguesa ... 1848”.
- f) The 1851 census is to be found at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, AHU, Conselho Ultramarino/SEMU, Estatística do Ultramar, box. 1, doc. 9. It is purely demographic and does not provide information on labour relations and occupations.

Despite the high number of censuses available for this period, and the large amount of information they do contain, in the original census documents nothing is said about the context why and how they actually were taken, and about the purposes for which they are intended. However, it seems certain that the implementation of these censuses corresponds to the Royal Order of 20/10/1835 to the district governors of the Kingdom of Portugal to conduct for every year a census of the population with details on age, labour relations and professions. The model applied for Goa, Daman and Diu is absolutely similar to the instructions sent to the Kingdom, which should also have been sent to other overseas governors¹⁹. Indeed, censuses with this structure are available for the Azores, Madeira, Goa, Daman and Diu.

¹⁸ “A General Statistical and Historical Report on Portuguese India [...] extracted in 1850 from official documents by captain Cicilia Kol, chief Secretary to the Government of Portuguese India”, in: *Selections from the Records of the Bombay Government*, no. 10 – *New Series* (Bombay: Bombay Education Society’s Press, 1855; reprinted 1995 by Asian Educational Services).

¹⁹ In fact in April 1839 the Governor of the Portuguese State of India asked the Governor of Diu to carry on a census according with the royal orders of 30.11.1835 (dispatched from the Ministério da Marinha – Navy Bureau). The 3

The censuses that we have consulted correspond to the “formularie” (model) # 2 annexed in the Royal Order of 1835 that is, the aggregate data for the entire district. Based on the model # 1, which required the nominatim enrolment of all the parish inhabitants, the governors should then do the aggregation of data for the whole jurisdiction. The recent discovery of Diu 1842 census²⁰ with the description of about 10 thousand inhabitants has brought to light the only model # 1 copy so far known to us. Important in itself, it also confirms the nominative basis of all censuses analyzed here, which enhances their credibility.

formularies annexed in this letter are similar to the Royal order of 20.11.1835. Cf. HAG. *Correspondência para Diu* (Correspondance sent to Diu), nº 1015 (1837-1842), fl. 12.

²⁰ Cf. HAG, book 2997, População de Diu. 1842,

2. Goa demographic developments 1776-1851

The basis for our reconstruction of labour relations around 1850 is the census of 1848 (see table 1). Two categories of inhabitants are not included in this census (the slaves and the military). They will be discussed in Chapter 4 (step 7 and step 11 respectively) and be added there under step 12 for the final reconstruction of the labour relations. In this chapter we will discuss briefly the total population, sex ratios, the number of households and the number of persons per household.

Table 1 – Total population 1848 and number of households

Districts with year of conquest	Male	Female	Total	Density
(Isles of) Goa 1510	22,656	22,864	45,520	303,4
Salsette 1534 (with Anjediva 1505)	48,644	50,599	99,243	294,5
Bardez 1534 (with Tiracol 1746)	46,273	51,350	97,623	433,9
Old Conquest Total	117,573	124,813	242,386	
Ponda 1763	14,646	12,969	27,615	
Panch Mahal 1763	11,525	10,801	22,326	
Canacona 1763	6,627	6,274	12,901	
Cabo de Rama 1763	897	786	1,683	
Bicholim 1781	9,122	8,496	17,618	
Sanguelim 1781	4,853	3,715	8,568	
Pernem 1783	14,223	14,082	28,305	
New Conquest Total	61,893	57,123	119,016	44,8
Goa Total	179,466	181,936	361,402	107,2

For the Panch Mahal the census systematically provides the subdivision between Astragar, Embarbarcem, Bally, Chondravady and Cacora). However, below we only use the total.

Sex ratios

The sex ratios in Goa deserve extra attention as such, but also because of remarkable fluctuations over the different censuses (see table 2)

Table 2 – Fluctuations of sex ratios in Goa, 1839-1851

	1839	1843	1846	1848	1851
Old Conquests	95,5	98,5	101,0	94,1	93,0
New Conquests	-	109,9	109,9	108,4	110,3
Goa	-	102,1	103,8	98,9	98,2

The sex ratios figures of the territory of Goa between 1839 and 1851 do vary between 98,2% and 102,1%, showing a general balance between the sexes. These results are, in principle, admissible for a small population universe as Goa. We do know that in stable populations there is a slight over representation of females in the total population (c. 94%) due to the higher female expectancy of life.

However other factors as female infanticide and internal migrations can influence this scenario (compare also table 3). Within the New Conquests, with an overwhelming majority of Hindus, there existed a clear over representation of males. The prevalence of female infanticide practices among the Hindus could eventually be a part of the explanation, but this hypothesis demands a more in-deep study²¹.

The Old Conquests, where the large majority were Christians (especially in Salcete), shows a different a scenario with a slight over-representation of women. In general the figures seem to make sense in the context of this territorial unit. Although sex selective infanticide practices may have existed we must keep in mind the high levels of emigration from the Old Conquests (specially to Balagate, north of Goa) that tends to involve more men than women.

Despite fluctuations of the sex ratio in the Old Conquests may be admissible in general demographic terms, there are apparently problems with the data for 1846 (101 %). However these may be explained, as the Goa Islands authorities pointed out that in several villages severe epidemics had occurred in the previous years. Within this exceptional context of demographic stress the men could have taken the demographic lead for a short period.

Table 3 – Sex ratios per age groups in Goa (1851)

	0-5	5-15	15-25	25-50	50+
Old Conquests	93,4	96,3	91,6	93,8	88,8
New Conquests	114,9	123,6	98,3	115,5	95,3
Goa	101,0	104,2	93,6	100,1	90,6

²¹ Cf. Bauss 1997, 200-206

The 1851 census is the only one to provide information by age group and gender, which allows you to calculate sex ratios by age classes (see table 3). For the whole territory the figures seem to make sense since the slight predominance of men in groups 0-5 and 5-15 are progressively going down because of the more intense infant and juvenile mortality rate among boys. We know that in normal circumstances worldwide the sex ratio is 105 in the group 0-4. Around the age of 25 is reached equilibrium and by age 60 the sex ratio tends to be around 80% because of the higher female longevity. However this is different in the Goan case and besides, there are very clear differences between the Old and New Conquests. While in the latter there is a clear supremacy of men in the first two classes - compatible with our hypothesis on infanticide practices more prevalent among Hindus than on Christians. We have to pose the question, however, whether these differences may be due to problems in census taking. It is possible that the Hindu authorities have had a more effective system of data collection. It is known that the ecclesiastical information suffers from some shortcomings. The priests recorded baptisms instead of births. Sometimes, as a large percentage of births only are baptized with one to three weeks later, it existed clear under-representation of births²². Did this under-registration of actual births not take place among Hindus?

Number of households

At first sight the number of households may be derived from the numbers of “fogos” which means hearths or more or less houses, but that is not true as table 4 shows by comparing *fogos* with proprietors and non-proprietors.

²² The collection of the Pangim baptisms between 1720 and 1820 clearly shows a large proportion of baptisms within 1 and 3 years later.

Table 4 – Households and proprietors 1848

Districts	“Fogos”	Proprietors	Non-proprietors	Total proprietors plus non-proprietors
(Isles of) Goa	12,545	1,290	9,197	10,487
Salsette	25,023	3,381	21,641	25,022
Bardez	28,103	8,426	11,567	19,993
<i>Old Conquest Total</i>	65,671			55,502
Ponda	7,224	1,034	6,247	7,281
Panch Mahal	4,698	661	4,118	4,779
Canacona	3,708	803	2,323	3,126
Cabo de Rama	357	43	243	286
Bicholim	4,804	807	3211	4,018
Sanguelim	2,483	231	1106	1,337
Pernem	4,081	1742	3148	4,890
<i>New Conquest Total</i>	27,355			25,717
Goa Total	93,026	18,423	62,829	81,252

NB A quick and provisional check with the census of 1851 yields similar results with the exception of Ponda.

Our provisional conclusion is that only in some cases like Salsete number of *fogos* equals the sum of proprietors plus non-proprietors, but in most other cases there are strange discrepancies which need further investigation (see especially the figures in red). Possibly in these cases *fogos* stand for old hearth tax units which (because of population decline in the eighteenth century²³) no longer correspond with the actual number of households.

The 1839 and 1843 censuses can provide additional details on the relation between “fogos” and proprietors in the Old Conquest (see tables 5 and 6).

Table 5 – Households and proprietors 1839

Districts	Fogos	Proprietors	Non proprietors	Total proprietors + non-proprietors	Proprietors (%)	Non-proprietors (%)
Isles of Goa	12,026	2,836	16,845	19,681	14,4	85,6
Salcete	25,830	5,952	19,888	25,840	23,0	77,0
Bardez	21,747	8,072	13,756	21,828	37,0	63,0
Total	59,603	16,860	50,489	67,349	25,0	75,0

²³ See Lopes 2006.

Table 6 – Households and proprietors 1843

Districts	Fogos	Proprietors	Non proprietors	Total proprietors + non-proprietors	Proprietors (%)	Non-proprietors (%)
Isles of Goa	10,200	1,228	21,316	22,544	5,4	94,6
Salcete	19,899	5,432	14,467	19,899	27,3	72,7
Bardez	22,394	8,165	13,446	21,611	37,8	62,2
Total	52,493	14,825	49,229	64,054	23,1	76,9

The three different census reports show discrepancies between the number of “fogos” and the sum of proprietors plus non-proprietors. This difference is quite significant in the isles of Goa in 1839 and 1842. In the latter one the sum of proprietors plus non-proprietors is more than twice that of *fogos*!

The number of “fogos” is obviously being adjusted in each census in some provinces, but not in others. In the Old Conquest the administrator of Salcete clearly is very good at his job. He takes care that his figures for proprietors and non-proprietors always are consistent with those of fogos as is demonstrated by the following remarks in the 1843 census . In Salcete “the population grows and the number of fogos is decreasing annually as a result of the rigorous census for the tobacco contribution”. On the other hand the number of inhabitants was fluctuating constantly due to a string of epidemics in the 1840’s. In Salcete is noted that “the population movement is irregular due to the epidemics that sometimes visits the council”.

Also in the isles of Goa severe epidemics in the past years are recorded. In fact, numbers of non-proprietors in this province are fluctuating dramatically, which suggests (supposing that epidemics hit proprietors and non-proprietors more or less equally) that migration also must have played a role. Nevertheless, *fogos* numbers are never adjusted properly.

In Bardez there is already a discrepancy between 1839 and 1842, but this increases dramatically between 1842 and 1848, which makes the fogos number of that province in 1848 totally unreliable.

We may conclude for the Old Conquest that the timely adjustment of the *fogos* numbers seems to have been a difficult task for some administrators. For the New Conquest such an extensive test is not possible. Nevertheless, the discrepancies between the number of *fogos* on the one hand and the total of proprietors and non-proprietors is by far not as dramatic as in parts of the Old Conquest. In sum, we prefer the totals of proprietors and non proprietors as a much better proxy for the number of households than the number of fogos.

Unfortunately, one exception has to be made, and that is for Salsette, the very province with the supposed perfect bureaucrats were active. There, the dramatic decline of especially the non-proprietor part of the population between 1839 (19,888) to 1842 (14,467) is not at all reflected in the development of the total population (*ut infra*) from 92,069 (1839) to 94,838 (1843), and thus impossible. In this case the number of non proprietors and consequently that of *fogos* must be far too low. This conclusion is confirmed by developments in Isles of Goa and Bardez where the non-proprietor part of the population between 1839 and 1842 was stable or had grown.

Persons per household

Taking into consideration the figures given for 1839, 1842, 1848 and 1851 there is some inconsistency in the number of inhabitants per *fogo* in the Old Conquests: the average number of inhabitants per *fogo* recorded impressive oscillations between 1839 and 1851 (3.7 – 4.4). On the other there were also significant variations within the provinces between 1839 and 1843. The overall series analysis shows that the 1843 figures in this respect cannot be considered to be reliable, as the average household size in that year tends to be quite higher than in the other censuses immediately before and after.

The figures given for the Old Conquests in 1848 seem to be more or less consistent and we will use the density figure from this source. Thus, for the Old Conquest we take 3.7 inhabitants per household for the rest of this paper. However, the average number of inhabitants per households in the New Conquests is likely to be more accurate in 1851 (6.1) than in 1848 (4.4). In fact in this latter census the oscillation is smaller than the 1848 among the provinces. The overwhelming prevalence of Hindus in the New Conquests – where the household concentrations tends to be higher – suggests an average over 4.4 persons per household (the adjusted figures for number of inhabitants 363,616 *ut infra* and of 81,252 households = proprietors plus non proprietors *ut supra* yields an average of 4.4479 or 4.45 or 4.4). In sum, we will use a density of 3.7 for the Old and 4.4 for the New Conquest.

Table 7 – Inhabitants per household according to different censuses (1839, 1843, 1848, 1851).

Districts	"Fogos"	Inhabitants	Inhabitants per fogo
(Isles of) Goa	12,026	40,866	3,4
Salsette	25,830	92,069	3,6
Bardez	21,747	89,760	4,1
Old Conquests (1839)	59,603	222,695	3,7

Districts	"Fogos"	Inhabitants	Inhabitants per fogo
(Isles of) Goa	10,200	47,640	4,7
Salsette	19,899	94,838	4,8
Bardez	22,394	90,010	4,0
Old Conquests (1843)	52,493	232,488	4,4

	"Fogos"	Inhabitants	Inhabitants per fogo
(Isles of) Goa	12,545	45,520	3.6
Salsette	25,023	99,243	4.0
Bardez	28,103	97,623	3.5
Old Conquest Total	65,671	242,386	3.7
Ponda	7,224	27,615	3.8
Panch Mahal	4,698	22,326	4.8
Canacona	3,708	12,901	3.5
Cabo de Rama	357	1,613	4.7
Bicholim	4,804	17,618	3.7
Sanguelim	2,483	8,568	3.5
Pernem	4,081	28,305	6.9
New Conquest Total	27,355	119,716	4.4
Goa Total (1848)	93,026	361,402	3.9

Districts	"Fogos"	Inhabitants	Inhabitants per fogo
(Isles of) Goa	12,415	45,577	3,7
Salsette	26,445	99,875	3,8
Bardez	12,415	45,577	3,7
Old Conquests	51,275	191,029	3,7
Pernem and Tiracol	3,728	22,549	6.1
Bicholim and Satary	4,572	21,489	4.7
Ponda and Embarcagem	5,430	34,978	6,4
Astragar, Bally, Chondravaddy, Cacora, Canacona and Cabo de Rama	5,276	36,555	6.9
New Conquests	19,006	115,571	6,1
Territory of Goa (1851)	70,281	306,600	4,4

3. Reconstruction of labour relations 1848

The reconstruction of labour relations 1848 (later to be repeated for the Old Conquest 1839) will be done in twelve steps, borrowed from the established practices in the Collab on Global Labour Relations, and adapted to the data available in this case.²⁴

STEP 1: DETERMINE THE PROPORTION UNABLE TO WORK (LABREL 1)

As a proxy we take all persons younger than 11 and older than 59. Of course persons under 11 may have been working in reality, but also persons over 11 may have attended school. Provisionally we suppose that these figures balance each other. Similar arguments could be made for elderly working/non-working persons.

Most complete figures, because including the Old and the New Conquest, are available for 1848 (see table 8):

Table 8 – Reconstruction of those unable to work in 1848.

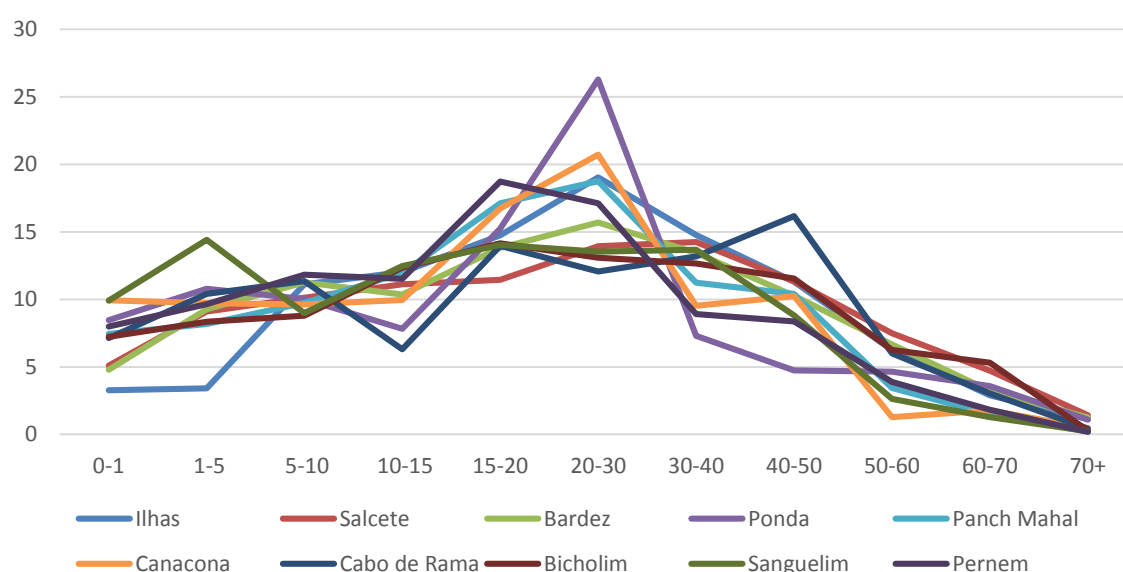
Districts	Inhabitants ²⁵	0-10	60 plus	LABREL 1	
				Total unable to work	% of total population
(Isles of) Goa	45,525	8,040	1,821	9,861	21,7
Salsette	99,243	24,129	6,089	30,218	30,4
Bardez	97,164	24,631	4,341	28,972	29,8
Old Conquest Total	241,932	56,800	12,251	69,051	28,5
Ponda	27,615	8,059	1,287	9,346	33,8
Panch Mahal	24,122	6,441	432	6,873	28,5
Canacona	12,901	3,777	289	4,066	31,5
Cabo de Rama	1,683	486	58	544	32,3
Bicholim	17,618	4,287	984	5,271	29,9
Sanguelim	8,568	2,853	131	2,984	34,8
Pernem	28,305	8,340	570	8,910	31,5
New Conquest Total	120,812	34,243	3,751	37,994	31,4
Goa Total	362,744	91,043	16,002	107,045	29,5

²⁴ Cf. IISH-Website <https://collab.iisg.nl/web/labourelations> and Lucassen & Stapel 2014.

²⁵ The sum of ages from the census of 1848 (362,744) is different from the figures showed in the column of population total from the same source (361402) (Census of 1848). Therefore, to use always the same figures, from now on it will be used the figures of total of population. We should state that is difference is mostly due to the doubtful figure for females in Bardez. The total number given for the females was 5,162. Obviously one digit was missing. We estimated the total in 51,162 according to the sex ratios of Ilhas and Salcete.

The differences between the districts are sometimes considerable as shown in figure 3. A comparison with a small adjacent British territory for which by chance figures are available for a few years later shows different outcomes for the youngest, but not for the eldest. In Goa the proportion of those under 11 (91,043 = 25.1% of 362,744) is lower than that of the Sawunt Waree State in 1852 (30%), the proxy also used for the Deccan in the 1820s²⁶ for which no proper figures are available. Why this is so has to be found out. There is no discrepancy, however, for the 60+ (Goa 4.4% against Sawunt Waree State 4.5%).

Figure 3 – Proportions of age groups per district in 1848.



As was the case in the previous section, we may compare the 1848 data also with the other censuses between 1839 and 1851 (see tables 9-12).

Table 9 – Reconstruction of those unable to work in 1839.

Districts	Inhabitants	0-10	60 plus	LABREL 1	
				Total unable to work	% of total population
(Isles of) Goa	40,866	9,134	1,990	11,124	27,2
Salsete	92,069	20,447	4,765	25,212	27,4
Bardez	89,760	25,159	11,708	36,867	41,1 ²⁷
Old Conquest Total	222,695	54,740	18,463	73,203	32,9

²⁶ Lucassen and Stapel 2014, p. 23 (Table 9); on p.25 the right conclusion is that 34% of the Deccan's population cannot work.

²⁷ The 1848 figure for 60+ is = 4341. If we replace for this figure the 1839's 60+, then the total unable to work of Bardez drops to 29500, and the corresponding rate is 32,9%. For the total of OC: 60+= 11096 / Unable =65836 / rate = 29,6%

The 1839 results must be unreliable for the 60plus category of Bardez, which is at least twice of what would be expected (a flat 6000), which would result in a total of some 12,500 in total for the Old Conquest, or some 5% of the total population. Consequently the working part of the population would account for 70% of the total.

Table 10 – Reconstruction of those unable to work 1843

Districts	Inhabitants	0-10	60 plus	LABREL 1	
				Total unable to work	% of total population
(Isles of) Goa	47,640	9,415	1,561	10,976	23,0
Salsette	94,838	20,796	4,864	25,660	28,5
Bardez	94,838	21,710	2,795	24,505	25,8
Old Conquest Total	232,488	51,921	9,220	61,141	26,3

N.B. Different age groups for Bardez Males 0-18, 18-25, 25-45, 45-60, 60+ and females 1-7, 7-14, 14-35, 35-50, 50+. Figures for 0-10 and 60+ were extrapolated from the 1900 census²⁸.

In the 1843 census the 60 plus figures for Bardez now seem to be much more reliable than in the previous census of 1839 and more or less in line with those of the other two provinces. The shift in the active population from 70 to 74% might be attributed to a disproportionate infantile mortality (see also the demographic chapter).²⁹

Table 11 – Reconstruction of those unable to work in 1846

Districts	Inhabitants	0-10	60 plus	LABREL 1	
				Total unable to work	% of total population
(Isles of) Goa	52,163	10,402	2,018	12,420	23,8
Salsette	97,806	22,323	5,885	28,208	28,8
Bardez	90,799	20,858	3,375	24,233	26,7
Old Conquest Total	240,768	53,583	11,278	64,861	26,9

N.B. Be aware of different age groups for Bardez Males 0-18, 18-25, 25-45, 45-60, 60+ and females 1-7, 7-14, 14-35, 35-50, 50+. Figures for 0-10 and 60+ were extrapolated from the 1900 census.

²⁸ The 1900's census presents age data disaggregated by each age. Consequently it allows to determine the percentages of population (male and then female) for each age group (0-18 -> 0-10 + 11-18; and 7-14 -> 7-10 + 11-14) and the use them on 1843's age groups.

²⁹ As mentioned before Goa suffered from a severe string of epidemics in the 1840's. The conjunctural raise of an exceptional infant and juvenile mortality could directly be linked to a rise of the percentage of working population.

Table 12 – Reconstruction of those unable to work in 1851.

Districts	Inhabitants	0-10	60 plus	LABREL 1	
				Total unable to work	% of total population
(Isles of) Goa	45,577	10,697	2,297	12,994	28,5
Salsette	102,765	25,159	6,765	31,924	31,1
Bardez	100,161	25,257	6,823	32,080	32,0
Old Conquest Total	248,217				
Ponda	28,563				
Panch Mahal	26,097				
Canacona	15,181				
Cabo de Rama	1,692				
Bicholim	21,489				
Sanguelim ³⁰					
Pernem	22,263				
New Conquest Total	115,285	34,495	6,457	40,955	35,5
Goa Total	363,788				

The differences shown in Figure 3 and tables 9-12 wait for further analysis. For this paper we stick to the overall 1848 results.

STEP 2: CALCULATE AMONG THE WORKING POPULATION THE (MALE) HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD, AND THEIR MALE AND FEMALE DEPENDENTS

Here we take the following steps:

- a. Calculate the entire working population (= LABREL 2-18);
- b. Calculate sex division of population 11-59, which is not possible for 1848, but which is possible for 1851 for the age classes 15-50 (because here they use different age classes): see table 13;
- c. Divide male working population into heads of household and all others who are the male dependent working population.

³⁰ Includes Satary.

Table 13 – Reconstruction of entire working population in 1851.

Districts	Inhabitants	Able to work	Of whom			Sex ratio
			15-50			
			Male	Female	Total	
(Isles of) Goa	45,577		12,430	13,048	25,478	95,3
Salsette	102,394		26,176	28,102	54,278	93,1
Bardez	99,875		24,896	2,727	52,168	91,3
Old Conquest Total	248,353	131,924	63,502	68,422	131,924	92,8
New Conquest Total	115,571	58,827	30,491	28,336	58,827	107,6
Goa Total	363,924	190,751	93,993	96,758	190,751	97,15

In the census of 1851 there were 93,993 men 15-50 and 96,758 women 15-50 which results in 49% men and 51% women in that age class. We have applied that same ratio to the 1848 age classes 11-59 (see table 14; the Goa totals will reappear in table 27 below).

Table 14 – Reconstruction of entire working population 1848

Districts	Inhabitants	Able to work	Of whom		
			Heads of household	Male dependents	Female dependents
(Isles of) Goa	45,525	35,664	10,487	6,988	18,189
Salsette	99,243	69,025	25,023	8,799	35,203
Bardez	97,164	68,192	19,993	13,421	34,778
Old Conquest Total	241,932	172,881	55,503	29,209	88,169
Ponda	27,615	18,269	7,308	1,644	9,317
Panch Mahal	24,122	17,249	4,787	3,665	8,797
Canacona	12,901	8,835	3,126	1,203	4,506
Cabo de Rama	1,683	1,139	286	272	581
Bicholim	17,618	12,347	4,018	2,032	6,297
Sanguelim	8,568	5,584	1,339	1,397	2,848
Pernem	28,305	19,395	4,890	4,614	9,891
New Conquest Total	120,812	82,818	25,754	14,827	42,237
Goa Total	362,744	255,699	81,257	44,036	130,406
	100%	70,5%	22,4%	12,1%	35,9%

STEP 3: CALCULATE AMONG THE WORKING POPULATION THE AFFLUENT (LABREL 2)

For a discussion of the presence of affluent we start from the above given table of households where we concluded that in most districts the number of houses (*fogos*) was higher than the number of families (*chefes de familias*). Whatever the reasons, we decided to continue with the *chefes de familias*. Among these we find in different census columns on the one hand the “proprietários” (18,429) and on the other those “que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades”. In principle the latter (2,530) and their family members may be classified as affluent (LABREL 2). For all potential candidates for this label 2 see table 15.

Table 15 – Reconstruction of the affluent among the working (male) heads of households 1848

Districts	“Chefes de familias” “proprietários”	Living on their own landed property = que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades =LR2	Possible candidates for LABREL 2: (“Affluent”), among persons who otherwise are classified as:		
			<i>Men of letters = LR12 (or LR13)</i>	<i>Merchants = LR12 or LR13</i>	<i>Others, to be found among high clergy and civil servants (LABREL 18) or the richest agriculturalists and craftsmen = LR12 or LR13</i>
(Isles of) Goa	1,290	444	89	50	302
Salsette	3,381	189	115	1,486	?
Bardez	8,426	671	120	1,044	?
Old Conquests Subtotal	13,097	1,304	324	2,580	302
Ponda	1,034	112	4	64	44
Panch Mahal	669	236	1	69	166
Canacona	803	150	2	0	138
Cabo de Rama	43	29	0	0	14
Bicholim	807	237	3	87	147
Sanguelim	234	85	1	52	32
Pernem	1,742	377	2	0	375
New Conquest Subtotal	5,332	1,226	13	272	916
Goa Total	18,429	2,530	337	2,852	1,218

As these figures suggest, those able to live in principle of the rents from their property which enables them (0.7% of the total population) and their dependent family members to live as affluent without working (LABREL 2) might be found as well among several categories of occupations. However, it is not necessary that all of these other candidates, or even the majority, spent their days without working. In the 1843 census for Salcete it is mentioned that “only a few proprietors live exclusively from their rents, despite most of them being very frugal” (see also figure 4). A number of them will have been high church and state officials (classified as LABREL 18), members of the professions (lawyers, physicians etc.; LABREL 12), big merchants, or big farmers with personnel (LABREL 13). Besides, note that virtually all of them will have been slave owners. To conclude, we only consider the 2,530 “que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades” as affluent heads of household, as well as their 11-59 year old dependent family members. We estimate similar numbers: 2,530 extra affluent women (the spouses of the affluent heads of households) as well as an equal number of men (the in-living sons over 11, living with their affluent parents; we suppose that similar daughters were hardly available as girls in Goa at the time married very early, soon after age 11). In total therefore we estimate that there were 7,590 persons in total who were affluent.

Figure 4 – Palm-tree owner in *Usos e Costumes*. 1846 (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon)



It is difficult to determine which overlap exists precisely with the occupational categories mentioned in table 15 (LABRELS 12, 13 and 18) which will be discussed below. Therefore, with the risk of over representing these categories at the cost of LABREL 2 slightly we will not classify these heads of household as affluent, but only their dependants. Below we will discuss the possible affluent-status of dependent grown-ups.

A comparison of the censuses of 1839 and 1846 (tables 16-17) with 1848 demonstrates a quick decline of this category. This is not due to bad registration in the later years, but very likely to actual political change. It is very important to note the impact of the loss of political and institutional importance of Goa (see our chapter 1; Introduction) in the impoverishment of the elite of Goa. Indeed in 1840 the governor of Goa ceases to have the title of viceroy, while from 1843 the government of Macau and Timor is no more dependent from Goa. These political and administrative changes should have had a clear impact in reducing elites. Thus the number of those who "live on their incomes and property" decreases in the Old Conquests from 1635 (year 1839) to 1304 (year of 1848), while the absolute population of these provinces was sharply increasing.

Table 16 – Reconstruction of the affluent among the working population 1839

Districts	"Chefes de famílias" "proprietários"	Living on their own landed property = que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades =LR2	Possible candidates for LABREL 2: ("Affluent"), among persons who otherwise are classified as:		
			Men of letters = LR12 (or LR13)	Merchants = LR12 or LR13	Others, to be found among high clergy and civil servants (LABREL 18) or the richest agriculturalists and craftsmen = LR12 or LR13
(Isles of) Goa	2,836	180	108	369	
Salsette	5,952	362	163	758	
Bardez	8,072	1,093	107	397	
Old Conquests Subtotal	16,860	1,635	378	1,525	

Table 17 – Reconstruction of the affluent among the working population 1846

Districts	"Chefes de famílias" "proprietários"	Living on their own landed property = que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades =LR2	Possible candidates for LABREL 2: ("Affluent"), among persons who otherwise are classified as:		
			Men of letters = LR12 (or LR13)	Merchants = LR12 or LR13	Others, to be found among high clergy and civil servants (LABREL 18) or the richest agriculturalists and craftsmen = LR12 or LR13
(Isles of) Goa	1,103	168	102	231	
Salsette	9,208	404	173	760	
Bardez	7,464	975	86	397	
Old Conquests	17,775	1,547	361	1,388	

STEP 4: CALCULATE THE LABOUR RELATIONS OF THE HEADS OF HOUSEHOLD

Now we come to the other occupations (midwives / agriculturalists). The lucky thing is that the total of all occupations (80,882)³¹ is more or less equal to the “chefes de familias” (81,257)³².

This means that we have to derive the labour relations of the heads of households (and afterwards of their dependents from that of the chefes) by translating their occupational titles into LABREL 7 (the ‘balutedari” of the Deccan, i.e. the ironsmiths, carpenters, shoemakers, washermen, barbers, potters and goldsmiths in the villages³³), LABREL 12 for the small peasants and other craftsmen, LABREL 13 for the big employers, LABREL 14 for the wage labourers and LABREL 18 for the state and church servants.

The first results are as follows:

Table 18 – Reconstruction of the labour relations of the heads of household working outside agriculture for which occupational data are available 1848

LABRELS heads of households 1848	Main occupational categories from census		%
7	Goldsmiths (1,261), potters (808), washermen (780), iron smiths (670), carpenters (624), shoemakers (158)	4,301	5,2
12	Fishermen (3306), spirit distillers (2843), merchants-pedlars (1508), merchants coasting trade (1243), bearers (1187), sugar etc (1106), musicians (510) ETC	14,954	18,1
	Agriculturists	51,067	61,9
13	Commercial company	1 ³⁴	0,0
14	Toddy-drawers (3804), sailors (2231), coconut leaf cutters (1659), Low caste (1470), salt-men (658), stone diggers (563), oil-men (402)	1,0787	13,1
18	Clergy (1269), schoolmasters 1 st class (111)	1,380	1,7
Goa Old and New Conquest total		82,490	100,0
Of whom heads of household		81,257	
Others	Therefore classified as Male Dependents LABREL 18	1,228	

³¹ We have to include here also the emancipated slaves (see below). In that case the number of occupations even exceeds slightly the number of heads of household.

³² But it is not the case for 1839 – check the table below – 13,254]. If we include the 337 men of letters the difference becomes only 28 persons, which is negligible. As the 1839 is the apparently the first censuses for Goa (according with the Royal order of 30.11.1835 it is likely to offer more problems of accuracy in the registration of the occupations and “chefes de familia”.

³³ See extensively Lucassen and Stapel 2014 for the adjacent Deccan. .

³⁴ [Later possibly to be increased]

The value of the exercise of step 4 of course depends greatly of the classification of the “Agriculturalists” as they are by far the biggest occupational category. Therefore we need two extra steps 5 and 6 in order to discuss in some detail the nature of the labour relations of the agricultural population of Goa.

STEP 5: CHECK THE LABOUR RELATION OF THE AGRICULTURALISTS (i)

The question is of course to what extent we may classify all agriculturalists under label 12. In order to solve that problem we need to have a better insight in the economic characteristics of the agriculture in Goa. To start with, production figures might provide some basics. It seems that, if all measured in candies as to the weight the following products prevail: coconuts, mangos and rice. As to their market value this might be completely different (census of 1848) “The principal articles are five: rice, salt, cocoanuts, betelnuts and nachinim.” Other, slightly less important products – measured in candies, if this applies universally – are jackfruit (in total some 24,303,000 [candies?]), salt and nachmin (compare table 19).

Table 19 – Principal agricultural products of Goa (1848)

	Those paying tithes			Grain, &c. (in candis)													Fruit, &c.	
	Rice	Coconuts	Salt	Nachimim	Worrid	Mugo	Beans	Savom	Round pepper	Girgilim	Culita	Tory	Orio	Hemp.	Cotton	Beetlenuts	Jacks	Mangoes
Isles of Goa	98929	6433640	44670	1200	176	69	328	8	2,5	7	12	94	2	20,5	4	82	161065	8328000
Salcete	147960	15000000	12900	1118	250		8		13	100	280	62		10	4	75	150000	2736000
Bardez	121289	4301300	27061	3433	776	27	37	38	5	178,5	247,5	4		13,5	0,5	67	250717	3364300
Old Conquests	368178	25734940	84631	5751	1202	96	373	46	20,5	285,5	539,5	160	2	44	8,5	224	561782	14428300
New Conquests	85294	6989353	2134	10074	521	31	60	645	61	386	839	1458	7042	28	20	1031,5	23741204	42226483
Total	453472	32724293	86765	15825	1723	127	433	691	81,5	671,5	1378,5	1618	7044	72	28,5	1255,5	24302986	56654783

Source: Census of 1848, p. 334.

However it is important to pay attention to a comment made in the 1839-1846 censuses. In 1848 census it appears the term “agriculturists” (1848, Kol), whereas in the original Portuguese version they are designated as “working on agriculture”. In 1839, 1843 and 1846 they are enumerated as “jornaleiros” = “workers”. In the 1839 census the redactor says “Jornaleiros are normally men that in Portugal have the same meaning of trabalhadores (workers)”. This concept is in Portugal similar to the “wage earners”, i.e. those working for others receiving a salary (=jorna) per day. Rarely did these workers possess any land.

The social structure of the Goan village is dominated by *Comunidades* (Village Communities) composed of the so-called *ganvkars* (literally “governor” / “lord”)³⁵. According to Teotónio de Souza, quoting an early-seventeenth century account, they are the male descendants of the original settlers.³⁶ Although the crown may have claimed some of these lands and with some other caveats, they are therefore – as a body (not privately!) - the owners of the land. The Portuguese inherited this system when they set up their colony and it still exists today. Two legal changes have influenced its importance. First, the introduction of the Portuguese Civil Code in 1867, allowing anyone to own private property, competing with the *comunidade*-principle. Such privately owned land had to be divided equally between a man’s male heirs, enhancing parcellization.

In the mid-1960s there were 224 comunidades in Goa (half of which in the Old Conquest), holding still 45% of the land under cultivation. The remaining part was privately owned. The second change took place by the Agricultural Tenancy Act, 1964, and Rules, 1965, aiming at an improvement of the status of the tenants.³⁷

How did the *Comunidade* function? All ganvkars in a village consider themselves to belong to the same family stock. Moreover, they govern all village matters in common, to the extent even that each of them may veto any proposal in their meeting. Only if all gankars present (mostly one per clan) agree on the proposal – e.g. how taxes are to be paid or

³⁵ In Portuguese we encounter the following main spelling variations: gancar/ganvcar, gãocar, gauncar.

³⁶ De Souza 2009, 169-170 (the account most likely was written by Sebastião Gonçalves S.J, who wrote the history of the Goa based Jesuits in 1604-1619). More precisely it could be dated ca. 1605 (see the following fn.). For a modern description of the *comunidades* or village communities see Gazetteer 1979, 666-668 and Frenz 2014, 70-72. The most important work about the village communities of Goa was written by Filipe Nery Xavier in 1852. It is useful to read the 1903 edition with the revisions of José Maria de Sá and a biographical sketch of the author by J.B. Amândio Gracias, *Bosquejo histórico das comunidades das aldeas dos concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardez*, 3 vols., Bastorá, Tipografia Rangel, 1903. Nery Xavier (vol. III glossary) defines the gãocares as “First settler and benefactor (arroteador) of the village land. By the Portuguese law (1526 charter they were granted with special rights. One gancar, by male line, has the right to *jono*, administration and village government, never not losing this quality, except by the comunidade’ decision. See also Lopes Mendes 1886.

³⁷ Frenz 2014, 71-72.

welfare issues – the village clerk would declare it to be a “nem” (resolution) by raising his hand. Ganvkar representatives from 12 villages about the 1570s formed a General Assembly (*camara geral*) in order to meet tax exigencies together.³⁸ Each ganvkar has the right to receive the *jono*, a personal income that is imprescriptible and unalloyed³⁹. Of course this ideal could be violated in all kinds of ways, e.g. by intruders (Indians and Europeans) from outside or from “aggrandizers” from within⁴⁰.

By comparing these data with our reconstruction of the rural labour relations, we might be able improve the reliability of our picture, so far based exclusively on the census outcomes. First, the number of ganvkars per village should be compared with the heads of households we have classified so far as “agriculturalists”, supposedly working only with their family members or with at most two wage dependents from outside and therefore classified squarely as label 12. The question is now whether we have to diversify this group by attributing some of them to label 13 (employer) and others to label 14 (labourers), by deduction resulting in the “real” label 12 (self-employed).

The most obvious method would be of course to compare per province or commune three categories in 1848: the agriculturalists and the inhabitants “que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades” from the census, and the ganvkars from the village community records. The first two groups have been compared already above, but the data on the ganvkars are much more difficult to be found. Although the basic data have been preserved partially (the Goa State Archives keep 956 volumes of village accounts between 1550 and 1940⁴¹), as far as we know, before the twentieth century nobody has ever made, let alone published these

³⁸ De Souza 2009, 169-170. The texts suggests that this took place during the invasion of Salcete by Adil Khan of Bijapur “nearly thirty years back”. In 1578 the Portuguese and the Adil Shah dynasty finally signed a peace treaty (Carreira 2014, 32).

³⁹ Nery Xavier, vol. III, 78-79. There is a certain age to access to this right that would vary from village to village. The number of *jonoeiros* (*jono* receivers) is variable depending on the increase or decrease of the male generation. In many villages the deceased jonoeiro’s eldest son is enrolled to receive the *jono* that his father would benefit being alive. In several villages whenever a jonoeiros deceased without male successors, his widows and single daughters will receive a part of the *jono* as a help for their subsistence, dowry or funeral.

⁴⁰ Nery Xavier states that by the early 17th century many strangers entered in the *gãocarias* (village communities meetings) through royal favors, debts contracted by the ganvkars, sales or women’s inheritance (cf. Op. Cit., vol. III, pp. 70-71).

⁴¹ In March 2015 we culled the following number of books from the inventories of the Goa State Archives (and could check a few only): 6 for the period 1550-1600, 128 for 1610-1700, 449 for 1701-1800, 342 for 1801-1900 and 32 for 1901-1940. These figures conceal that a number of books cover two periods. The number of years covered per book varies between one and a few dozen, but we may safely state that several thousands of comunidade-years are available. The books, kept in Portuguese and Marathi, contain the following types of records: minutes of the village council meeting, auction proceedings (including all names of ganvkars and their major domus or kullacharins; as well of those willing to bid in the auction), overviews of villagers, their means of production (acreage, palm trees, etc.) and the taxes they are supposed to pay, memorais and measurements of acreage.

figures. As long as the village records have not been processed by historians, we have to satisfy ourselves with the three following observations, and – more importantly and extensively discussed below – with data on labour migration.

The first anecdotal information is available for the village of the Island of Chorão in the province of Ilhas.⁴² As per the *Róis da Cristandade* (see below for this source) it had 2,841 inhabitants in 1800, which would boil down to some 710 households (taking an average of 4 persons per household). Supposing that these were all male, one third of them were entitled as ganvkars (274). Besides there were 123 kullacherins, who subrented plots from the ganvkars. Three hundred households must have had different occupations, a number certainly agricultural labour. All in all this does not look like a village with sharp wealth inequality, rather as one with a majority of medium peasants employing one or two farm hands, and a minority with small peasants, only employing family labour. Very roughly then the working agricultural population of Chorão in 1800 would have to be classified as two-thirds labrel 12 and one third labrel 14, leaving no or hardly any room for employers with labrel 13.

However, this sample is far too small to solve our problem, as regional variations were significant as becomes clear from the proceedings of the meetings of the nine provincial councils of Goa at the start of the twentieth century who discussed social issues.⁴³ In one of these meetings Francisco Otolini de Souza stated: “there are comunidades where the joneiros [ganvkars] are so limited that that each one can live in total laziness; others however where the number of joneiros is so high that the income will be almost insignificant.”

Maybe the first variant was much more common than the second (and thus Chorão would be not very representative for Goa as a whole) if we may believe Lopez Mendes who stated: “After the [annual] land auction the ganvkars *or landlords* [our emphasis] agree with the cultivators known as culacharins and joneiros the cultivation and also with several artisans [the balutedari, labrel 7, ut supra] to provide their different agricultural and domestic services. The cultivators and artisans belong to the low castes of Hindu society.” In particular the last sentence is highly significant, because it would necessitate us to classify the big majority of our “agriculturalists” under labrel 14, and not only one third as the small

⁴² This is the only sample which we could take so far: HAG, book 10.107, Comunidade de Chorão (1798-1802), folios 19-27v.

⁴³ *Congressos Provinciais de Goa*; quotation from the 8th memory, 19[...], section I, p. 27.

sample of Chorão suggests.

How to solve this problem? How to choose between the two models? First, the inequality model with a tiny number of employers (i.e. ganvkars who in the annual auctions acquired the right to exploit most of the village comunidade lands), a limited number of self-employed (small ganvkars) and a big majority of agricultural labourers. Second, the egalitarian model without employers, but instead dominated by a majority of medium and small self-employed peasants and a minority of wage labourers. As far as a good sample of village records analyses are lacking, we think we have found an indirect way to lift a tip of the veil, as explained in STEP 6.

STEP 6: CHECK THE LABOUR RELATION OF THE AGRICULTURALISTS (ii)

(Temporal) migration

A second indicator that wage labour might have played a more important role in Goa at the time of the cross section 1848 than might be derived from the occupational census as such is provided by a source which we had not used before: “the Róis da Cristandade”. These are annual ecclesiastical statistics in which for each Roman Catholic parish is indicated what was the (mandatory) attendance (confession and communion) at Easter of the parishioners (from which we have collected figures for the years 1776-1800, 1848, 1870, and 1900). One of the main reasons of absenteeism in these statistics is “absent for one year” and “absent for more than one year”.

These figures are not only important for what might be characterised as respectively seasonal migration and multiannual temporal migration (TMA)⁴⁴, but also for the extent to which Goans searched for possibilities to earn money outside the state, without loosening links with their homes (otherwise they would no longer have been counted by the parish priests we suppose). This source for migration studies, as far as we know, has escaped the attention of the historians so far. Margret Frenz’ recent and beautiful history of international migrations from Goa reports Goan migrations to Mozambique from the sixteenth century onwards, but does not use this source. For her figures become available only from 1768 when – unfortunately only very occasionally – passport records have been preserved.⁴⁵

⁴⁴ See the characteristics in Lucassen & Lucassen 2009 and 2014.

⁴⁵ Frenz 2014, 58-62. She refers to the following records in the Goa State Archives: Passaportes 3003 (re 1768/1769, though “hardly legible”), 2572 (re 1817: 525 passes; 1818; 1819: 935), 2574 (re 1840s), 2575-2576

Only from 1880 first, although very imperfect, census-like migration figures become available, which have been collected by Frenz.⁴⁶ For the period 1880-1910 she states that by far most emigrants came from the Old Conquest, in the first place from the district of Bardez (25.1% of the total population), and further from Salcete (14.1%) and Ilhas (7.5%). Their main destination (77%) is “British India”, while the rest have left for “Africa”, then still mainly Mozambique, in the late 1920s to change to British East Africa.⁴⁷ For our comparison, it is noteworthy that in these years Christians constituted 69% of the migrants. Besides, this part of the population apparently has a much older migration history than the Hindus who joined in only from about 1880. We therefore may suppose that before the middle of the nineteenth century the *Róis da Cristandade* figures are valid to reconstruct total migration from Goa.

Table 20 – “Omissos” as part of the total Catholic population in 1848

Districts		Inocentes	Omissos			Totals		
			1 ano	> 1 ano	Total	subcategories	almas	Census
Novas Conquistas	abs	2,091	718	3,513	4,231	9,672	11,627	17,622
	%	21.62	7.42	36.32	43.74	83.19		
Salcete	abs	18997	18,986	26,139	45,125	89,101	89,570	93,229
	%	21.32	21.31	29.34	50.64	99.48		
Bardez	abs	12905	10,590	19,935	30,525	80,653	89,570	83,748
	%	16.00	13.13	24.72	37.85	90.04		
Ilhas	abs	4999	3,791	9,911	13,702	30,810	29,772	36,384
	%	16.23	12.30	32.17	44.47	103.49		
Goa Total	abs	38992	34,085	59,498	93,583	210,236	220,539	230,983
	%	18.55	16.21	28.30	44.51	95.33		

Goa, *Archives of the Archbishopric*, Róis da Cristandade (1848)

These Easter migrants statistics of 1848 (table 20) show that a staggering 93,583 Catholics were not able to perform their main religious duties due to absenteeism, most of them temporarily for more than one year. This is in the order of magnitude of the total agricultural working population (51,067 heads of households plus their male and female dependants). Of course, not all temporal migrants were drawn from the agricultural

(re 1840s-1850s: 4,000 annually), 2579 and 2585 (re 1860s), 10518-10547 (re 1920s), 2579-2585 (monthly passports 1917-1949; NB a passport may contain several persons!!).

⁴⁶ Frenz 2014, 52-58.

⁴⁷ Frenz 2014, 56 (Table 2.1).

population (two other categories have to be taken into account: some 5,000 sailors and fishermen, some 1500 pedlars, part of whom abroad, and a few thousand drivers of ox carts employed by the one thousand or so “balagateiros” who traded eastwards of the Ghat mountains⁴⁸). However, as so many Goans were necessitated to seek an additional income abroad, we prefer our first hypothetical model (the inequality version with a tiny number of employers, a limited number of self-employed and a big majority of agricultural labourers) much more than the second, egalitarian one.

Apparently, the income as a farm hand or as a small subcontracting peasant on the lands rented by a big *ganvkar* was by far insufficient to support a household and consequently additional income from temporal migration was necessary in order to survive. This adds an interesting twist to the argument we have developed so far. In conclusion, we may consider the big majority (say as a rough guess 75 % of all 51,067 agriculturalists in table 18 , or 38,300 heads of household) as having as primary label 12 (self-employment) but linked to a secondary label 14 (extra income from temporal migration), whereas only a minority (say 10% or 5,107 heads) could live sufficiently by mobilising the labour of all family members at the family farm, and a minority (say 1% or 511 heads) consisted of big *ganvcars*, subletting their leases from the *comunidade* to small peasants or exploiting their holdings directly by using wage labour (say 14% or 7,149 heads).

Briefly, we have to add, that the number of temporal migrants after 1848 became less important (84,527 omissos in 1848 against 75,181 in 1870), whereas permanent migrations increased probably, as is suggested by the passport figures from the end of the nineteenth-century.⁴⁹ More research is needed, however, in order to understand the relation between omissos and passport registrations. From a legal point it is still to be determined whether all these “omissos” really needed to have a passport, implying that many if not the majority of them left as undocumented, because everybody expected them to come back sooner or later.⁵⁰ Another reason of this discrepancy could be that many relatives or co-villagers travelled on one passport.

⁴⁸ For the “balagateiros” see Pinto 1994, 211-212 and Sebastião Rodolfo Delgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (1909), 83. [NB in European statistics traders are only a minority of seasonal migrants, whereas wage labourers are the big majority].

⁴⁹ Frenz 2014, 62 gives 56 females and 352 males for October 1920. See also 67 about *ayahs*. The consequences of this gender bias is very big as our figures suggest that nearly the entire adult male population was involved in temporal migration!

⁵⁰ [to be checked in passport legislation].

As a result of the steps 4, 5 and 6 we may reconstruct the labour relations of all male heads of household, discussed so far. The results may be found in table 27 below.

STEP 7: SLAVERY IN GOA AROUND 1850

Despite the importance of the slave trade in Goa, their presence while laborers appears to have been very residual from the second half of the eighteenth century. In 1753 only 2.3% of the population was slave, a figure that rose to 4.8% in the province of the Ilhas. Unfortunately, the category of "slaves" is no longer included in the census Goa between 1753 and 1829, which hinders its quantification. However if we consider the (*negros*) "black" as slaves, their importance would be 1.4% in 1797⁵¹. The census of 1830 records a total of 1,285 slaves in the territory of Goa, which represented only 0.4% of the population. Of this total 748 were men (58%) and 537 women (42%)⁵². According to 1851 official data, collected in the census of that year, the number of slaves was virtually nonexistent: 205 individuals, 98 (48%) men and 107 (52%) women. Despite the sharp drop in official slave population data exist to believe that their weight in the territory could be higher. Timothy Walker believes that due to British pressure for the abolition of slavery - and the resulting treaties made with Portugal - the authorities could deliberately manipulated that data⁵³.

For an insight into the labour economics of agriculture it is important to realise that it may be considered as largely or completely commercialised. Not only because most of the products raised cannot be considered staple foods, but also because Goa's production of its only real staple food - rice - is not sufficient for the needs of the territory. Even around 1750 already rice had to be imported from elsewhere. Another argument for the commodification of society might be the existence of regular markets and of credit relations among the rural population.⁵⁴ Thus, LABRELS 4-6 do not apply.⁵⁵ In principle, the average production per agriculturalist per district might point into the direction of larger and smaller farms, needing more or less agricultural wage labourers per farm. However, there are no indications that slaves in Goa were used on plantations. Their main function was domestic.

⁵¹ De Matos 2011, 70.

⁵² Cf. "Resumo de toda a população dos Estados da Índia no anno de 1830", HAG, *Monções do Reino*, book 207 B.

⁵³ Cf. Walker 2005, 82-98.

⁵⁴ Lopes 2006, 253-255 (for a caveat see p. 386-387 from which might be deduced that poor peasants do not consume rice (but for the opposite see p. 397).

⁵⁵ Lopes 2006, 30 [to be supplemented by i.a. Raquel Soeiro de Brito, 'Notas' 1956 in Lopes 2006, 17, fn 6!!]

What is the relation between the races (census, p. 328) and the labour relations, just reconstructed? In particular the Africans and their descendants have to be taken into account as they point to slavery (LABREL 17; see below)

A first check for the Old Conquest (in the New conquest there are only 43 Africans and their descendants) does not yield a clear result. For the Isle of Goa they seem not to be included in the total population, for Salsete and Bardez the opposite seems to be the case.

Table 21 – Indicators for the slave population of Goa 1848

Districts	Total population	Total races ⁵⁶	Race “forgotten” in population	“Africans” and their descendants
(Isles of) Goa	45,525	45,928	Plus 403	316
Salsette	99,243	99,216	Minus 27	191
Bardez	97,164	97,523	Plus 359	299
New Conquest	120,812	120,940	Plus 128	43
Total Goa	362,744	363,607	Plus 863	849

Remarkably, the 1839 census gives a much more serious underrepresentation of black slaves (see table 22) and is therefore not very helpful.

Table 22 – Indicators for the slave population of Goa 1839

Districts	Total population	Total races	Race “forgotten” in population	“Africans” and their descendants
(Isles of) Goa	40,866	40,866	0	136
Salsette	92,069	92,069	0	88
Bardez	89,760	89,760	0	94
Total	222,695		-	318

To conclude this step, we suppose that the 849 Africans were slaves (we estimate 449 males and 400 females), which have to be added to the total population, for which we finally reconstruct the labour relations.

⁵⁶ The 1848 census accounts the following “races”: Europeans, descendent of Europeans, Asiatics, Africans and Descendants of Africans.

STEP 8: CATEGORISATION OF MALE DEPENDANTS FOR WHOM OCCUPATIONS ARE KNOWN

Only for three sorts of male dependants we do have occupational titles (see table 23). First the “surplus” of 1,233 occupational titles in comparison with the number of (male) heads of household (see table 18 in step 4 which shows 82,490 occupational titles as compared to 81,257 heads of households). Second, the mendicants and third, the menial servants who apparently are not counted under the heads of households, which means that we have to classify them here under the dependents (male and female) in the following way: mendicants = LABREL 12 and menial servants = LABREL 14.

Table 23 – Reconstruction of the labour relations of male dependents with occupational title in the census 1848

Districts	Male dependent population	Of whom		Living on their own landed property = que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades =LR2	Male servants per rentier
		<i>Resident mendicants LABREL 12 (supposing these are all males)</i>	<i>Menial servants Male LABREL 14</i>		
(Isles of) Goa	6,988	126	526	444	1,2
Salsette	8,799	323	2,119	189	11,2
Bardez	13,421	158	567	671	0,8
Old Conquest Total	29,208	607	3,212	1,304	2,5
Ponda	1,644	203	921	112	8,2
Panch Mahal	3,665	148	568	236	2,4
Canacona	1,203	112	721	150	4,8
Cabo de Rama	272	12	42	29	1,4
Bicholim	2,032	247	782	237	3,3
Sanguelim	1,397	78	116	85	1,4
Pernem	4,614	228	1,283	377	3,4
New Conquest Total	14,827	1,028	4,433	1,226	3,6
Goa Total	44,035	1,635	7,645	2,530	3,0

A comparison between the figures on male mendicants at the Old Conquest between 1839 and 1848 shows that the totals registered a small oscillation (697 (0,31% of total population) in 1839 and 607 (0,0 in 1848), which in principle is in line with a good quality of data collection (see table 24). In any case these data appears to be contradictory to the reduction of Goa's elite, as previously mentioned, which registered a large decrease in number from 1839 to 1848. In the case of menial servants there has been a slight reduction in their number between 1839 and 1848. Given that the total population increases between these dates their representation in the total population is decreased. What stands out most in the analysis of menial servants is the disproportion of its weight in the territory. The relationship between menial servants and rentiers is 2.1 in the Old Conquests, but reaches 6.8 in Salcete. Provisionally we have no good explanations for this asymmetry. A hypothesis that cannot be excluded resides on different concept of menial servant for Salcete authorities⁵⁷.

Table 24 – Reconstruction of the labour relations of male dependents with occupational title 1839

Districts	Male dependent population	Of whom		Living on their own landed property = que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades = LR2	Male servants per rentier
		<i>Resident mendicants LABREL 12 (supposing these are all males)</i>	<i>Menial servants Male LABREL 14</i>		
(Isles of) Goa		221	364	180	2,2
Salsette		349	2479	362	6,8
Bardez		126	565	1093	0,5
Old Conquest Total	5902	696	3408	1635	2,1

⁵⁷ As far as we know each population census was prepared by the tanador-mor an officer responsible for the administration of each province. It might happen that these officials gave different instructions on how to classify this specific group.

STEP 9: CATEGORISATION OF FEMALE DEPENDANTS FOR WHOM OCCUPATION IS KNOWN

For this category we only have the occupation female menial servant in the census (see table 25). This implies that we still have to attribute labour relations to 124,005 women (130,406 in total minus 6,401 servants)⁵⁸.

Table 25 – Female servants 1848

Districts	Female dependent population	Of whom	Living on their own landed property = que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades = LR2	Female servants per rentier
		<i>Menial servants Female LABREL 14</i>		
(Isles of) Goa	18,189	442	444	1,0
Salsette	35,203	2,086	189	11,0
Bardez	34,778	477	671	0,7
Old Conquest Total	88,169	3,005	1,304	2,3
Ponda	9,317	603	112	5,4
Panch Mahal	8,797	399	236	1,7
Canacona	4,506	632	150	4,2
Cabo de Rama	581	31	29	1,1
Bicholim	6,297	637	237	2,7
Sanguelim	2,848	147	85	1,7
Pernem	9,891	947	377	2,5
New Conquest Total	42,237	3,396	1,226	2,8
Goa Total	130,406	6,401	2,530	2,5

Unlike male menial servants there was a slight increase in female servants in the Old Conquest between 1839 and 1848 of about 300 women (see table 26). However due to the increase in the total population between 1839 and 1848 their weight remained virtually unchanged. A common data relative to male menial servants resides in the great disproportion on the ratio “female servants per rentier” within the provinces. However this ratio registered a impressive shift in Salcete between these dates (4,6 in 1839 and 11,0 in 1848) which is can reveal a deficient data collection in this territorial unit.

⁵⁸ Although the census only refers to one female category (menial servants) at STEP 3 we already defined 2,530 individuals as affluent female dependants (see. page 22)

Table 26 – Female servants 1839

Districts	Female dependent population	Of whom	Living on their own landed property = que vivem de rendas de suas propriedades = LR2	Female servants per rentier
		Menial servants Female LABREL 14		
(Isles of) Goa		434	180	2,4
Salsette		1,792	362	4,6
Bardez		491	1,093	0,5
Old Conquest Total	76,240	2,717	1,635	1,7

STEP 10: CATEGORISATION OF ALL MALE AND FEMALE DEPENDANTS

In step 8 we have already classified the mendicants (1,635 under LABREL 12) and menial servants (7,645 under LABREL 14), as well as 1,233 with different other occupational titles, in total 10,513 male dependants with known occupation from the census. Under step 3 we also have proposed to categorise 2,530 male dependants as affluent (labrel 2). These different attributions leave all other male dependants (30,993) to be distributed still over labrels 12-18 according to the same proportions of the heads of households in these categories.

For the women the total of dependants (130,406) has to be diminished with 6,401 female menial servants as well as 2,530 affluent. Here we have faced the crucial decision to classify the majority of this number (121,475 women) proportionately over the heads of households by supposing that they were directly working together with the heads of household to sustain the family. This is very obvious in the case of the women at the tiny family plots, where the males have to migrate temporarily to supplement the family income. Here no doubt the women were nearly totally responsible for the upkeep of the small holding while the men were away most of the year if not longer (see step 6).

In three cases however we have decided to classify them as mainly housewives (labour relation 5b) according to the rules set out previously for the Deccan. In these cases - female dependants (most of them spouses) of jajmani workers, medium size farmers and agricultural and other employers – may be supposed to have lived according to the norm (unattainable by the majority of this poor population) that women should work inside the home.⁵⁹

⁵⁹ Lucassen & Stapel 2014

Table 27 – Reconstruction of labour relations of the working part of the population
(provisionally except for slaves and military) 1848

Labour Relation Category	Male Heads of Household		Male Dependants		Female Dependants	
	abs	%	abs	%	abs	%
7 jajmani	4,301	5.2	1,616	5.2	6,334 =LR 5b	5.2
12 agricultural self employed	5,107	6.2	1,920	6.2	7,522 =LR 5b	6.2
12 agricultural self-employed with secondary wage 14	38,300	46.4	14,390	46.4	56,401	46.4
12 non agricultural self-employed	14,954	18.1	5,618	18.1	22,020	18.1
13 employer	511	0.6	192	0.6	753 =LR 5b	0.6
14 agricultural wage labour	7,149	8.7	2,686	8.7	10,528	8.7
14 non agricultural wage labour	10,787	13.1	4,053	13.1	15,886	13.1
18 wage labour polity	1,380	1.7	518	1.7	2,031 =LR 5b	1.7
Subtotal	82,490	100	30,993	100	121,475	100
2 affluent	*		2,530		2,530	
12 mendicants			1,635			
14 servants			7,645		6,401	
dependants with occupational titles already subsumed under heads of households	Minus 1,233		Plus 1,233			
Total in working age class as in table 14	81,257		44,036		130,406	

*subsumed under the categories 12, 13 and 18 as explained under STEP 3

STEP 11 ADD THE MILITARY TO TOTAL POPULATION WITHOUT MILITARY

As the military (based in 4 forts, 12 fortresses, 4 marine establishments and 12 engineer establishments) is *expressis verbis* excluded from the salaried persons above and as they apparently are not included in the occupational census of the heads of household, we have to list them separately and most likely to add them to the total population.

Table 28 – Military (1848) (p. 337)

Artillery	474
1 st battalion of infantry	467
2 nd battalion of infantry	630
3 rd battalion of infantry	606
4 th battalion of infantry	469
Moors	79
Veterans	188
In garrison	97
Total Regular troops⁶⁰	3,010
Irregular troops; Sunudee soldiers, whose number is uncertain	

⁶⁰ The total of 2,725 in the English translation obviously is the total without veterans and troops in garrison.

STEP 12 FINAL RESULTS GOA TOTAL (1848)

Table 29 – Reconstruction of the labour relations of the total population 1848, phase 1

Labrels	Population Goa census 1848	Unable to work	Male Heads of household, incl. midwives	Male dependents	Female dependents
LR 1 (Non-working)		107,045	0	53,523	53,522
LR 2 (Affluents)				2,530	2,530
LR 5b (female dependants of agriculturists)					10,306
LR 5b (female dependants of jajmani)					6,334
LR 7 (jajmani)			4,301	1,616	
LR 12 (agriculturists)			43,407	16,310	56,401
LR 12 (non-agricultural self- employed)			14,954	5,618	22,020
LR 12 (mendicants)				1,635	
LR 13 (agriculturists)			512	192	
LR 14 (agriculturists)			7,149	2,686	10,528
LR 14 (non-agricultural wage-labourers)			10,787	4,053	15,886
LR 14 (servants)				7,645	6,401
LR 18 (wage labour polity)			1,380	518	
Subtotals “normal” Occupations	362,744	107,045	82,490 Minus 1,233 = 81,257⁶¹	96,326 Plus 1,233 = 97,559⁶²	183,928
Military LR 18	3,010		3,010		
Slaves LR 17	849			Est. 449	Est. 400
Total	366,603				

In its most simple form, all subcategories added up result in table 30.

⁶¹ The figure of 1,233 corresponds to the dependents with occupational titles already subsumed under heads of households. See table 27.

⁶² See previous footnote.

Table 30 – Reconstruction of the labour relations of the total population 1848, phase 1

Labour Relations	Male	%	Female	%	Total	Total (%)
1	53,523	29.4	53,522	29.0	107,045	29.2
2	2,530	1.4	2,530	1.4	5,060	1.4
5b	0	0.0	16,640	9.0	16,640	4.5
7	5,917	3.2	0	0.0	5,917	1.6
12	81,924	44.9	78,421	42.5	160,345	43.7
13	704	0.4	0	0.0	704	0,2
14	32,320	17.7	32,815	17.8	65,135	17.8
17	449	0.2	400	0.2	849	0,2
18	4,908	2.7	0	0.0	4,908	1.3
Total	182,275	100.0	184,328	100.0	366,603	100.0

Table 31 – Comparisons Primary labour relations Goa with three divisions of the Deccan 1820s⁶³

Labour Relations	Goa 1848	Deccan			Comments
		<i>Dharwar (south)</i>	<i>Poonah (centre- west)</i>	<i>Khandesh (north)</i>	
1	29.1	20	20	20	Goa slightly lower than 34% which should be the figure for the Deccan if similar to Sawunt Waree State
2	0.7	2	4	3	Lower in Goa possibly because less Brahmins there??
5b	22.6	22	27	21	
7	1.7	6	9	7	Lower in Goa possibly because more balutedari (esp. Dhers) in Deccan
12	32.1	32	33	25	
13	0				
14	12.4	16	2	20	
17	0.2				
18	1.2	2	5	4	
Total	100	100	100	100	

⁶³ See Lucassen and Stapel 2014. But there with mistake for LABREL 1 which should be 34% instead of 20% which leads to recalculations (i.e. decrease) of all other percentages!!

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APPENDIX 1: Attribution of labour relations to occupational titles, Goa census (1848)

Occupation in Census (our translation)	Number	LABREL (LUCASSEN & MATOS)
Clergy	1,269	18
Full solicitors	4	12
Country-trained barristers	68	12
Medical men and surgeons qualified in Europe	3	12
Medical men and surgeons qualified in Goa	117	12
Druggists qualified in Europe	1	12
Druggists qualified in Goa	33	12
Naval architects qualified in Europe	2	12
Ditto, practical	0	12
School masters of 1st lessons	111	18
Midwives	233	12
Herbalists	84	12
Merchants - Peddlers	1,508	12
Merchants - Coasting Traders	1,243	12
Merchants - Commercial company	1	13
Painters	75	12
Goldsmiths	1,261	7
Wax chandlers	73	12
Ironsmiths	670	7
Bricklayers	748	12
Carpenters	624	7
Bakers	280	12
Shoemakers	158	7
Washermen	780	7
Potters	808	7
Braziers	55	12
Hatters	30	12
Musicians	510	12
Sugar, jagree, cocoa and toddy manufacturers	1,106	12
Spirit distillers	2,843	12
Oil-men	402	14
Salt-men	658	14
Cocoanut leaf cutters	1,659	14
Stone diggers	563	14
Toddy-drawers	3,804	14
Barbers	489	12
Bangle sellers	25	12
Sailors	2,231	14
Fishermen	3,306	12
Chunam manufacturers	161	12
Sawyers	475	12
Dyers	56	12
Bearers	1,187	12
Low caste	1,470	14
Moochies	239	12
Agriculturists	51,067	12
TOTAL	82,490	

APPENDIX 2: Intermediate tests E to H**INTERMEDIATE TEST E:**

It is supposed that the category “living on their own salaries” (p. 329) is congruent with the table headings Judicial, Public Ministry, Civil and Municipal (pp. 336-337), which would mean that we attain a deeper insight in LABREL 18.

Table 32 - Salaried inhabitants and State functionaries 1848

Districts	Total Chefes de familias	Living on their salaries, except the military ⁶⁴	Specifications in 3 categories: judicial incl gg and public ministry, civil, municipal (pp. 336-337)			
			<i>jud</i>	<i>civ</i>	<i>mun</i>	<i>T</i>
(Isles of) Goa	10,487	2,718	35	32	2	69
Salsette	25,023	121	53	54	2	109
Bardez	19,993	1,296	55	54	2	111
Old Conquest Total	55,503	4,135				
Ponda	7,308	12				
Panch Mahal	4,787	0				
Canacona	3,126	0				
Cabo de Rama	286	0				
Bicholim	4,018	7				
Sanguelim	1,339	5				
Pernem	4,890	5				
New Conquest Total	25,754	29	0	2	9	11
Goa Total	81,257	4,164				

The result is surprising as especially in Isle of Goa and Bardez there is a great discrepancy between the category “Living on their salaries” and the civil servants listed. What can have been meant by the thus missing at least 2,500 (Isle of Goa) and 1,000 (Bardez) persons?? A quick look at potential candidates like clergy or schoolmasters does not provide any solution. This seems to stay a mystery for the time being but, unfortunately the figures related to the categories (judicial servants, etc) are not given in the 1839, 1843 and 1846 censuses).

⁶⁴ 1848 census (p. 329).

Table 33 - Salaried inhabitants and State functionaries 1839

Districts	Total Chefes de familias	Living on their salaries, except the military ⁶⁵	Specifications in 3 categories: judicial incl gg and public ministry, civil, municipal (pp. 336-337)			
			jud	Civ	mun	T
(Isles of) Goa	19,681	780	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Salsette	25,840	178	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Bardez	21,828	96	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A
Old Conquest Total	67,349	1054	N/A	N/A	N/A	N/A

INTERMEDIATE TEST F:

As there must be a relation between schoolmasters of 1st lessons (LABREL 18) on p. 331, public schools (p. 337) and even citizens able to write (p. 331).

Table 34 - Schooling and literacy 1848

Districts	Heads of household	Schoolmasters of 1 st lessons	Public schools			literacy ⁶⁶	
			<i>elem</i>	<i>adv</i>	<i>sup</i>		% of hhh
(Isles of) Goa	10,487	21	9	1	3	3,332	31,8
Salsette	25,023	41	11	1	1	7,675	30,7
Bardez	19,993	36	9	1	0	6,622	33,1
Old Conquest Total	55,503	98	29	3	4	17,629	31,8
Ponda	7,308	4	4			2,116	29,0
Panch Mahal	4,787	1	3			1,056	22,1
Canacona	3,126	2	0			833	26,6
Cabo de Rama	286	0	2			65	22,7
Bicholim	4,018	3	4			724	18,0
Sanguelim	1,339	1	1			183	13,7
Pernem	4,890	2	4			644	13,2
New Conquest Total	25,754	13	18	0	0	5,621	21,8
Goa Total	81,257	111	47	3	4	23,250	28,6

⁶⁵ 1848 census, p. 329

⁶⁶ "Citizens able to write"[Portuguese??] see English version of 1848, p. 331.

Provisional conclusion: even if the literate inhabitants would be restricted to only those who can write Portuguese the results are quite impressive, in particular in the Old Conquest, and much better, it seems, than in the Deccan where only Brahmin boys attend school.

INTERMEDIATE TEST G:

The same goes for the clergy (LABREL 18: 1274 men / we suppose no nuns); to put some flesh on the bones of the clergy (p. 330) see also the important heading “ecclesiastical” and for the comparison with 1800 pp. 337-338 of the English translation under “pious institutions” and ‘extinct convents”. NB Apparently the Hindu and Muslim clergymen are hidden completely under the other occupations.

INTERMEDIATE TEST H:

For the sailors (p. 333) on the merchant marine⁶⁷ we have additional information, which may colour their occupation (classified as LABREL 12) a little bit more under the three headings called “Navigation” (1 bunder boat, 81 cargo boats and 705 fisher boats).

⁶⁷ From the fact that “marine establishments” are subsumed under “military”(p. 337) we may conclude that the “sailors” of p. 333 are exclusively those on merchant vessels.