

anais de história de além-mar

XVI
2015

PERIODICIDADE	Anual
DIRECÇÃO	João Paulo Oliveira e Costa
COORDENAÇÃO	João de Figueirôa-Rêgo
SECRETARIADO	Cátia Teles e Marques
CONSELHO DE REDACÇÃO	Cátia Teles e Marques (CHAM) George Evergton Salles de Souza (Universidade Federal da Bahia) João de Figueirôa-Rêgo (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CHAM) Jorge Flores (European University Institute) José Javier Ruiz Ibáñez (Universidad de Murcia) José da Silva Horta (Universidade de Lisboa) Miguel Metelo de Seixas (Universidade Lusíada/CHAM/IEM)
CONSELHO CONSULTIVO	Ana Isabel Buescu (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CHAM) André Teixeira (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CHAM) Ângela Domingues (Universidade de Lisboa/Centro de História) Angelo Alves Carrara (Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora) António de Almeida Mendes (Université de Nantes) Avelino de Freitas de Meneses (Universidade dos Açores/CHAM) Barbara Karl (MAK-Museum für angewandte Kunst/Gegenwartskunst in Vienna) Cátia Antunes (Universiteit Leiden) Fernando Bouza Álvarez (Universidad Complutense de Madrid) Hervé Pennec (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) Ines G. Županov (Centre national de la recherche scientifique) István Rákóczi (Eötvös Loránd Tudományegyetem) João José Reis (Universidade Federal da Bahia) José C. Curto (York University) José Damião Rodrigues (Universidade dos Açores/CHAM) Leonor Freire Costa (Universidade de Lisboa) Malyn Newitt (King's College London) Miguel Ángel de Bunes Ibarra (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas) Nuno Senos (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CHAM) Pedro Cardim (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CHAM) Pedro Puntoni (Universidade de São Paulo) Rogério Miguel Puga (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CETAPS) Rui Loureiro (Instituto Superior Manuel Teixeira Gomes/CHAM) Tonio Andrade (Emory University) Zoltán Biedermann (University College London)
EDIÇÃO E PROPRIEDADE	Centro de História d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa Universidade dos Açores
SEDE ADMINISTRATIVA	Av.ª de Berna, 26-C 1069-061 Lisboa anais.cham@fesh.unl.pt http://www.cham.fesh.unl.pt
REVISÃO DE TEXTO	Rute Mota
CAPA E PROJECTO GRÁFICO	Patrícia Proença
COMPOSIÇÃO E IMPRESSÃO	ACD PRINT, S.A. Rua Marquesa de Alorna, 12A 2620-271 Ramada, Odivelas Tel.: 219 345 800 – Email: geral@acdprint.pt – www.acdprint.pt
TIRAGEM	300 ex.
ISSN	0874-9671
DEPÓSITO LEGAL	162657/01

anais de história de além-mar

XVI
2015

CENTRO DE HISTÓRIA D'AQUÉM E D'ALÉM-MAR

FACULDADE DE CIÊNCIAS SOCIAIS E HUMANAS

UNIVERSIDADE NOVA DE LISBOA

UNIVERSIDADE DOS AÇORES

Centro de História
d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar
CHAM
Universidade Nova de Lisboa
Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas
Universidade dos Açores

Lisboa • Ponta Delgada

REFEREES 2014-2015

Os artigos publicados nos *Anais de História de Além-Mar* são submetidos a arbitragem científica, em regime de *double blind peer-review*. A fim de garantir o anonimato na edição para a qual colaboram, os árbitros são apresentados a cada dois volumes.

Adelino Cardoso (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CHAM)	Carlos Almeida (Universidade de Lisboa/Centro de História)	Linda Heywood (Boston University)
Adolfo Carrasco Martinez (Universidad de Valladolid)	Fernanda Olival (Universidade de Évora/CIDEHUS)	Luís Frederico Dias Antunes (Universidade de Lisboa/Centro de História)
Ana Leal de Faria (Universidade de Lisboa)	Gerhard Seibert (ISCTE-IUL/Centro de Estudos Africanos)	Mafalda Soares da Cunha (Universidade de Évora/CIDEHUS)
Ana Paula Medici (Universidade Federal da Bahia)	Helder Carita (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/Instituto de História da Arte)	Manel Ollé Rodríguez (Universitat Pompeu Fabra)
Ângela Domingues (Universidade de Lisboa/Centro de História)	Iraci del Nero da Costa (Universidade de São Paulo)	Maria da Graça Mateus Ventura (Universidade de Lisboa/Centro de História)
António Camões Gouveia (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CHAM)	Isabel dos Guimarães Sá (Universidade do Minho)	Maria Pilar Ponce Leiva (Universidad Complutense)
Antônio Carlos Jucá de Sampaio (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro)	Jaime Reis (Universidade de Lisboa/Instituto de Ciências Sociais)	Marina Alfonso Mola (Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia)
Antonio Cortijo Ocaña (University of California Santa Barbara)	Jean-Louis Rallu (Institut National d'Etudes Demographiques)	Mario Marcos Sampaio Rodarte (Universidade Federal de Minas Gerais)
António Costa Canas (Escola Naval/Centro Interuniversitário de História das Ciências e da Tecnologia)	João José Alves Dias (Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/CHAM)	Miguel Ángel Puig-Samper (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas)
Antonio García-Abásolo (Universidad de Córdoba)	John Thornton (Boston University)	Miguel Luque Talaván (Universidad Complutense de Madrid)
Antonio Otaviano Vieira Junior (Universidade Federal do Pará)	José Curto (York University)	Otto Zwartjes (University of Amsterdam)
Avanete Pereira Sousa (Universidade Estadual do Sudoeste da Bahia)	José Damião Rodrigues (Universidade de Lisboa/Centro de História)	Pedro Puntoni (Universidade de São Paulo)
Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian (Universidade Federal de Santa Catarina)	José Engenjo Borao Mateo (National Taiwan University)	Rui Leandro Maia (Universidade Fernando Pessoa)
Cameron Campbell (Hong Kong University of Science and Technology)	José Manuel Garcia (Câmara Municipal de Lisboa/Universidade NOVA de Lisboa/Instituto de História da Arte)	Salvador Bernabeu Albert (Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas)
		Shane Doyle (University of Leeds)

Os *Anais de História de Além-Mar* estão referenciados e indexados nas seguintes bases de dados internacionais:

AERES	ERIH Plus	MIAR
America: History and Life CARHUS	Fonte Academica	Qualis/Capes
CARHUS Plus	Historical Abstracts	Scopus/Elsevier
CIRC	Latindex (catálogo)	SHERPA/RoMEO
classifICS	MEDLINE/PubMed	SJR
		Ulrich

O Centro de História d'Aquém e d'Além-Mar da Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas da Universidade NOVA de Lisboa e da Universidade dos Açores é financiado pela Fundação para a Ciência e a Tecnologia – UID/HIS/ 04666/2013.

Índice

- 7 Nota de Abertura
João Paulo Oliveira e Costa

THE DEMOGRAPHY OF THE PORTUGUESE EMPIRE. SOURCES, METHODS AND RESULTS, 1776–1822

- 11 Introduction
Jelmer Vos; Per Axelsson; Paulo Teodoro de Matos
- 19 Settlers for the empire: the demography of the Azores Islands
(1766–1835)
Paulo Teodoro de Matos; Paulo Silveira e Sousa
- 51 The demography of São Tomé and Príncipe (1758–1822): preliminary
approaches to an insular slave society
Patrícia Gomes Lucas
- 79 A população da América portuguesa em finais do período colonial
(1776–1822): fontes e estimativas globais
Tarcísio R. Botelho
- 107 The early population charts of Portuguese Angola, 1776–1830:
a preliminary assessment
Daniel B. Domingues da Silva
- 125 From church records to royal population charts: the birth of
“modern demographic statistics” in Mozambique, 1720s–1820s
Filipa Ribeiro da Silva
- 151 The population of Daman and Dio (1785–1820)
Diogo Paiva
- 181 The population of Macao, 1770s–1820s
Diana Cristina Teles Rato
- 205 A demografia da Paraíba. Uma análise preliminar, 1774–1820
Yamé Paiva
- 227 Contribuição para uma demografia do Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão,
1774–1821
Marcia Eliane A. S. Mello
- 255 The quality of demographic data in 1804 comparing Paraíba do Norte
(Brazil), Angola and Goa
Maria João Guardado Moreira; Maria Luís Rocha Pinto

- 281 Counting colonial populations: a comparative exercise between ecclesiastical and civil sources from the southernmost region of Portuguese America in the late colonial period
Ana Sílvia Volpi Scott, Gabriel Santos Berute; Dario Scott; Jonathan Fachini da Silva; Denize Terezinha Leal Freitas
- 313 As listas nominativas de habitantes da capitania de São Paulo sob um olhar crítico (1765–1836)
Carlos de Almeida Prado Bacellar
- 339 Avanço, arbitrariedade e variabilidade da classificação como mestiços de escravos nascidos no Brasil (séculos XVIII e XIX)
Carlos Alberto Medeiros Lima
-

VARIA

- 369 «Portugal plantou a mais duradoira de suas conquistas». Da antiga tradição jurídica para a atividade construtiva em Portugal e no Brasil: inovação e permanência em perspectiva comparada
Sandra M. G. Pinto
- 407 Negócios matrimoniais entre Portugal e França no tempo de Francisco I (1515–1547)
Diogo Faria
- 431 Cartagena de Indias y los mercaderes portugueses de esclavos en la primera mitad del siglo XVII
Antonino Vidal Ortega; Guissepe D' Amato Castillo
- 451 Entre precedências e jurisdições: dissensões nas festividades reais, cidade da Bahia (séculos XVII–XVIII)
Ediana Ferreira Mendes
- 483 Cristóvão *Colón*. Português, natural de Cuba, agente secreto de D. João II?
Luís Filipe F. R. Thomaz
- 543 Recensões | Book reviews
- 573 *In Memoriam*: José Manuel Rodríguez Gordillo
- 577 Procedimentos & Normas Editoriais | Editorial Process & Guidelines

The Demography of the Portuguese Empire.
Sources, methods and results, 1776–1822

A Demografia do Império Português.
Fontes, métodos e resultados, 1776–1882

Coord.

Per Axelsson
Umeå University

Paulo Teodoro de Matos
FCT Researcher
CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa,
Universidade dos Açores

Paulo Silveira e Sousa
CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa,
Universidade dos Açores

The population of Daman and Diu (1785–1820)*

Diogo Paiva**

Anais de História de Além-Mar XVI (2015): 151–180. ISSN 0874-9671

Resumo

Este artigo procura oferecer uma visão preliminar dos dados recolhidos no contexto do projecto de investigação População e Império (COLDEMO), referentes aos territórios de Damão e Diu, pertencentes ao Estado Português da Índia. Através da recolha de fontes primárias, principalmente mapas da população produzidos segundo ordens régias e localizados em arquivos portugueses, procuramos analisar as estruturas e dinâmicas demográficas destes territórios. A reduzida atenção conferida pela historiografia aos territórios do Norte da Índia Portuguesa neste período reforça o valor e relevância destes dados em claro contraste com a realidade goesa, já amplamente estudada.

Palavras-chave: populações coloniais, Damão, Diu, demografia histórica, Estado Português da Índia.

Data de submissão: 21/09/2015

Data de aprovação : 23/11/2015

Abstract

This paper aims to offer an overview of the data collected under the framework of the Counting Colonial Populations (COLDEMO) project, of the territories of Daman and Diu, both part of the Portuguese India. By collecting primary sources, mainly population charts produced under the scope of royal decrees and located in Portuguese archives, we seek to analyse the demographic structures and dynamics of these settlements. The reduced attention by historiography on the northern territories of Portuguese India, in this period, reinforces the value and relevance of this data, which is in clear contrast with the Goan reality.

Keywords: colonial populations, Daman, Diu, historical demography, Portuguese State of India.

Date of submission: 21/09/2015

Date of approval: 23/11/2015

* This paper results from the research developed under the framework of the research project Counting Colonial Populations. Demography and the use of statistics in the Portuguese Empire, 1776–1875 (COLDEMO), funded by Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (FCT). Ref. PTDC/EPH-HIS/3697/2012. We would like to thank Paulo Teodoro de Matos and Paulo Silveira e Sousa for the critical review of earlier versions of this paper.

** CHAM, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa, Universidade dos Açores, Portugal.
E-mail: diogo.filipe.paiva@gmail.com

The population of Daman and Diu (1785–1820)

Diogo Paiva

Introduction

This paper aims to offer a preliminary study of the data collected under the framework of the Counting Colonial Populations project, regarding the territories of Daman and Diu, both part of the Portuguese *Estado da Índia*. The main project's goals are to identify and analyse the primary sources (both manuscript and printed materials), located in Portuguese and foreign archives, and, in this way, to put forward the main demographic trends. The population tables available for Daman and Diu were produced since 1785 onward, presenting a diverse array of models, following royal decrees ordering the collection of statistical data, theoretically, in all overseas territories.¹

Goa, the political centre and the most extensive territory in *Estado da Índia*, has received the main attention from studies regarding Portuguese colonial rule. Historiography has given much less attention to the territories of *Província do Norte*.² Diu and Daman (joined later by the rural areas of Dadra and Nagar Haveli) were small, scattered and peripheral territories, located hundreds of kilometres north of Goa, integrated in different commercial routes and presenting a diverse religious composition.

These facts reinforce the value and relevance of the data presently disclosed. From now on we will be able to compare and check the contrasts with the society of the mainly Christian Goa. Bringing together heavily

¹ This journal issue has a chronological frame from 1776 to 1820. However, in Daman and Diu we found a somewhat late start in the statistical production, despite the issue of royal orders since a decade before. The first was issued in 21 May 1776 to the Portuguese overseas governors with a notice for ecclesiastical authorities to help colonial administration in collecting statistical data and produce population charts to be sent later to the *Conselho Ultramarino* (Overseas Bureau) in Lisbon; Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino [AHU], book 2212, *Monções do Reino*, no. 157-A, fls. 166-167. For a better understanding of the Portuguese legal framework on population statistics and its evolution see Paulo Teodoro de MATOS, "Population Censuses in the Portuguese Empire, 1750–1820: Research Notes," *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, Vol. VII, N. 1 (2013), pp. 5-26.

² There are two studies presenting data for Daman and Diu, concerning the timeframe under discussion, but from a broad perspective of the *Estado da Índia*: Rudy BAUSS, "A demographic study of Portuguese India and Macau as well as comments on Mozambique and Timor, 1750–1850," *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 34, no. 2, (1997), pp. 199–216; P. T. MATOS, "The Population of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, 1750-1820: Sources and Demographic Trends" in Laura Jarnagin, *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011*, vol. 1 ("The Making of the Luso-Asian World: Intricacies of Engagement"), Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, pp. 168–91.

evangelized areas and spaces of Hindu and Muslim predominance we can also build in the future new insights on population and offer the Portuguese India as a small sample for the demographics of India since the late eighteenth century.³ These population charts are among the first European statistical data produced for the Indian subcontinent, being older than the British partial census or enumerations that started in the North-West Provinces in 1853.⁴

Historical context

During the seventeenth century the *Estado da Índia* has declined economically and lost part of its importance as one of the key possessions of the empire. The area and population under Portuguese control got smaller. However, throughout the next century there was an effort to revitalize the Portuguese military forces and territorial control. This culminated in several disputes, both in Goan surroundings and Daman's vicinities. This warlike context consolidated Goan expansion, namely by controlling the provinces suitably designated *Novas Conquistas* (New Conquests). Further north, the conflict with the Marathas also resulted in some territorial gains with the acquisition of Dadra and Nagar Haveli (1783–85), but only after the traumatic loss of Bassein in 1739 and the majority of the *Província do Norte*.⁵ Despite being close to Daman, these new territories were not connected by land or sea to the rest of Portuguese India. Oppositely, the city of Diu stayed confined to the island of Diu and the neighbouring continental village of Ghoghala. These military and political gains were linked with other international conflicts that afflicted India in late eighteenth century.⁶ After the short period of territorial expansion, the borders remained the same, throughout the nineteenth century, until India annexed the last Portuguese possessions in 1961 (the occupation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli had occurred in the previous decade).

³ For the most recent demographic data on Goa see P. T. MATOS, "A População de Goa, 1720–2011. Elementos para uma visão global," in A. T. Matos and J. T. Cunha (coord), *Goa: Passado e Presente*, Lisboa, CEPCEP/CHAM, 2012, pp. 177–95.

⁴ According to Henry Waterfield, the first enumerations of people in British India were made in "the North-West Provinces in 1853 and 1865, in Oude in 1869, in the Punjab and 1855 in 1868, in the Hyderabad Assigned Districts in 1867, and in the Central Provinces in 1866; while in Madras quinquennial returns have been prepared since 1851–52 [...]." Henry WATERFIELD, *Memorandum of the Census of British India 1871–72*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1875, p. 5.

⁵ "From the 1740s, the *Estado* renounced its specifically seaborne character." in E. CARREIRA, *Globalising Goa (1660–1820). Change and Exchange in a Former Capital of Empire*, Goa, 1556, 2013, pp. 112.

⁶ As E. Carreira mentions "[...] Goa was, proportionally speaking, one of the outstanding victors in the international conflicts ravaging India in that era," op. cit., p. 82.

At the end of the eighteenth century, financial and economic climate improved until the first decades of the nineteenth century, despite the increasing hegemonic power of the East Indian Company.⁷ Notwithstanding the decline of *Província do Norte*, Daman and especially Diu's commercial character remained significant, although less intense in volume. Trade and textile manufacturing represented an important source of income. Both ports maintained trade routes with Indian countryside and sea trade with Eastern Africa and, afterwards, with China.⁸ After Nagar Haveli and Dadra were incorporated, Daman gained access to a substantial rural area that provided farm products and precious timber, adding a more land-based character to Daman's economy. Finally, in the first decades of the nineteenth century opium trade boosted economic growth in Daman and Diu. Despite British efforts, until the 1830s several trade routes from Indian countryside to coastal areas successfully avoided British control, favouring the *Província do Norte* ports, unlike what happened in Goa, that was already then a secondary and peripheral port under the economic influence of Bombay.⁹

One among different Europeans players in India, the Portuguese resisted the growing British dominion and secured their possessions. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth century there was a gradual but dramatic shift of power from Mughal Empire to British and Maratha's hands. The succession to "Mughal supremacy was not finally resolved until the opening years of the nineteenth century."¹⁰ By 1820, the British secured their hegemony over India, with the victory over Mysore, in the south, and the abdication of the Peshwa of Poona, in 1818, in the north.¹¹ As for other European powers, the British victory in the Seven Years War and in the Napoleonic Wars reduced their presence to diminished possessions and rendered its threat to virtually non-existent. "Following the defeat of Napoleonic France in 1815 Britain faced no significant international rivals (other than Russia in Central Asia) and built the framework of an Empire in the East [...]."¹²

⁷ Celsa PINTO, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, New Delhi, Concept Pub. Co., 1994, p. 234.

⁸ Celsa PINTO, "Goa-Based Overseas and Coastal Trade. 18th and 18th Centuries," in T. R. de Souza (ed.), *Goa Through the Ages*, Vol. II ("An Economic History"), New Delhi, Concept Pub. Co., 1990, p. 180.

⁹ Luís Frederico Dias ANTUNES, "Província do Norte" in M. M. Lopes (coord.), *O Império Oriental 1660–1820. Tomo 2*, in Joel Serrão and A. H. Oliveira Marques (dir.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 2006, pp. 232–6.

¹⁰ P. J. MARSHALL, "The British in Asia: Trade to Dominion, 1700–1765" in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. The Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998, p. 505.

¹¹ D. A. WASHBROOK, "India, 1818–1860: The Two faces of Colonialism" in A. Porter (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 395–400.

¹² *Idem, ibidem*, p. 401.

The sources

This paper makes use of around 45 diverse population charts, starting on 1785. They were produced by Portuguese colonial authorities in Daman and Diu according to the guidelines of the royal decree issued in 1776. From this year onwards, all over the Portuguese empire, in some possessions with a more uneven frequency or a late start, statistical information begins to be collected and presented on tables, with predefined elements and structure. The diploma defined the age groups and the inclusion of births and deaths, it was vague in terms of social, religious and ethnical categorisation. These statistics charts ranged from the regional level (captaincies, provinces, etc.) to micro level (parishes, towns and villages) and not all of them survived or enclose exactly the same elements.

Daman	1749	1785	1786	1789	1791	1792	1797	1800	1802	1803	1805	1808	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1817	1818	1820
Gender	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Age structure	x	x						x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Births			x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Deaths			x					x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Weddings								x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Ethnic-religious composition	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Free/Non-free	x																			

1 Population charts for Daman (1749–1820)

Diu	1749	1791	1792	1797	1800	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1808	1810	1811	1812	1813	1814	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820
Gender	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Age structure	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x		x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Births					x	x	x	x	x	x											
Deaths					x	x	x	x	x	x											
Weddings					x	x	x	x	x	x											
Ethno-religious composition	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x
Free/Non-free	x	x ¹³	x ¹⁴												x	x	x	x	x	x	x

2 Population charts for Diu (1749–1820)

¹³ Only for Christians.

¹⁴ Only for Christians.

Our archive research was not able to retrieve all the population tables produced by the governors of Daman and Diu for all years. Nevertheless, a significant amount of sources was compiled, for Daman and Diu (22 documents for each settlement). We will also make use of a distinctive population chart (for the *Estado da Índia*, including Daman and Diu) located in a codex for the year 1749, previous to the mentioned royal decrees of 1776 and 1797.¹⁵

These charts present different layouts and consequently the quantity and diversity of data is not homogenous. Along with some time gaps, the variety of models and provided information are the main limitations for this study on the population of the *Província do Norte*.¹⁶

The analytical approach must be cautious in nature, and conclusions must be drawn under the presumption that only a more thorough and specific study can improve the general vision, that is the focus of this first paper. For the problems posed by the characteristics of the sources, quality and some heterogeneity, a set of prior methodological decisions had to be done in order to normalize the datasets and decrease the chance of misinterpretation.

Firstly, the definition of date of reference for statistical purposes was not a main concern in the production of these early population enumerations. Colonial authorities usually refer to a year, e.g. “This is the population table of province X for the year Y.” But to what extent can we trust this reference and how should we understand their concept of time referral?

Also, the date of production, usually at the bottom of the table, may or may not clarify this issue. What would be expected is that shortly after the year ended, the responsible authorities would produce the statistical chart and send it to the governor’s office in Goa, where it would be assembled with the other tables from Goan territories and sent to Lisbon. But this was not always the case. Dates varied from middle October to early April of next year. Early production of charts was probable due to logistic issues

¹⁵ In 6 December 1797 a new royal decree was issued, requesting governors to send population charts under a new model; AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, Codex 579, fl. 193v. Seemingly, this later order had little or no consequence in the short term for Daman and Diu’s statistical production, continuing to use the models idealized in 1776.

¹⁶ E.g. years when no chart was produced or years when we know by the content of the letter that a given chart was produced and sent to Portugal, but for some unknown reason was lost. For example, in 8th April 1802 Francisco António Veiga Cabral, governor of India, sent a letter to the Overseas Bureau containing the population charts, except for Daman’s that did not yet arrive at the time the letter was sent to Lisbon; AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, Índia, box 403. Three years later the same governor sent the population tables of India, explicitly stating that both Daman and Diu’s charts were included; AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, box 413. However, we can only find the population enumerations of Diu, while Daman’s whereabouts are unknown.

since, before the development of steam boats, sailing to Portugal was possible only in part of the year. Thus, Daman and Diu's authorities would send their statistics earlier to arrive at Goa before the fleet to Lisbon departed, has sometimes happened. This poses a problem: if the chart was produced in November it could not include all the births, deaths and marriages for that year. And if the production date varies annually, then annual growth and population comparisons are being made with variable time periods. A methodological choice was then made, and in this paper charts produced in October, November and December, as well as in January, February, March and April of following year, were conventionally considered as referring to the 31st of December of a given year. This is a provisional response to solve variable time periods and years with more than one chart.

Another question is posed by the inclusion of births in the chart's sums. It seems that for the colonial authorities the calculus of the total population (be it for each village or parish, or for the entire territory) should not only include everyone present in the age groups, but also the births (there are some cases where total populations corresponds to the sum of every figure including births, deaths and marriages).¹⁷ We may hypothesise that new-borns and children under one year were not included in the first age group, and therefore should be included in our analysis. However, we need to know more in respect of how the original data was collected and then compiled into charts, to ensure that births are to be included as individuals of total population. Therefore, in this paper, total population is always considered the sum of individuals counted in the age groups categories. Moreover, this exclusion of births also allows better comparability between charts, since a significant part does not include birth counts (4 population maps for Daman and 15 for Diu; see Figures 1 and 2).¹⁸

The process of data gathering and compilation is partially obscured. Despite having the final product—the charts received in Lisbon—it is unclear on how data was collected. The signatures present in the sources by the hands of governors and commanders of the corresponding territories are of small help as these individuals probably had little intervention in the process. The main task was probably executed by local agents, under

¹⁷ For example, the population chart for Diu in 1800; AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, box 401.

¹⁸ Dauril Alden in his article on Brazilian population dealt with the same problem: "[...] the inclusion of Class IX (annual births) caused confusion in the minds of some enumerators, since it duplicated data already recorded in Classes I and V (children under seven). As a result, some compilers mistakenly added the figures for Class IX to those for Classes I–VIII [population composition], and thereby inadvertently inflated their totals." D. ALDEN, "The Population of Brazil in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Preliminary Study," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (1963), pp. 173–205.

the orders of the governors and commanders, but omitted in the sources. Another issue is the provenance of the data. Even if we suspect that ecclesiastical sources, like parish records, were of great use for these agents, this only answers the question partially. In Daman and Diu, the majority of the population was outside the scope of Church authority, since Christians represented less than a tenth of total population. Therefore, unlike other Portuguese territories, ecclesiastical agents and records played a small role in the process of counting populations. Thus, probably the most significant part was developed by non-Christian agents that would act as *brokers* between Portuguese authorities and native Hindu and Muslim communities.

Although the process of census-taking in Daman and Diu lies outside the scope of this paper, we may raise some questions to contextualize the population charts and their contents. Are these population tables reproducing a European and Christian perspective on population, or a colonial one? Is there a base demographic dataset or several datasets compiled in one source? The motivations of the involved agents surely influenced the outcome of population counts. Community interests or individual motivations could underestimate and overestimate population counts made by specific agents. It is important to keep in mind that the process of defining and counting individuals as population is not a neutral one. In fact, “what seems ‘neutral’ actually hides various intersections between the different disciplines and social spheres.”¹⁹

The process of social categorization in these censuses led us to another question. At what extend could the local administrations introduce specific social, ethnical and religious parameters? Unfortunately, there is lack of information about this question. Although the 1776 royal diploma only fixed age groups, we do know that the several overseas governors introduced social and ethnical categories.²⁰ In Portuguese India religion seems to be a very important element for population classification. Thus all the censuses for Goa, Daman and Diu (1776–1820) distinguish between Christians, gentiles (= Hindus) and moors. But while Daman’s censuses follow exactly the same structure of Goa since 1797,²¹ in Diu a different model is produced. In fact, only between 1797 and 1804, Diu’s population was categorized in line with

¹⁹ Maria Dörnemann, Petra Overath and Christianne Reinecke, “Travelling Knowledge. Population statistics as ‘circulating entities,’” *Contemporanea*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (2015), pp. 469–88 *apud* P. T. MATOS, «Counting Portuguese Colonial Populations, 1776-1875: A research note,” *The History of the Family* (accepted for publication in December 2015,” p. 13).

²⁰ D. ALDEN, *op. cit.*

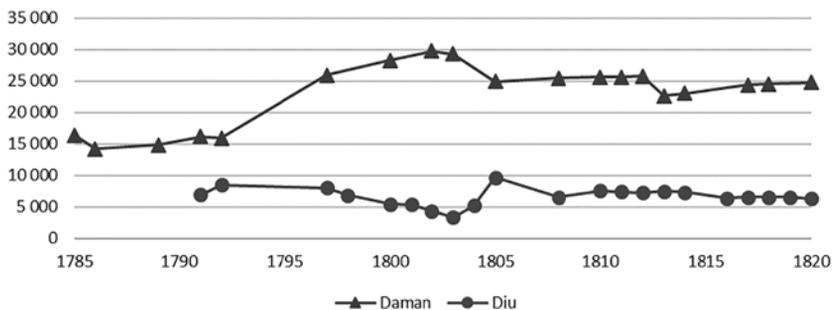
²¹ Population was classified by ages and information was given for the “White Christians,” “Natural Christians (= Christians of the land), “mixed race,” “black” and “gentiles and muslims.”

the Goan and Damanese charts. Generally speaking the age structure is less detailed (only under 15 and above 15 years) and two main groups are used: Christians and gentiles.²² But on the other hand since 1812 there is systematic information on slaves, not only those possessed by the Christians but also those pertaining to “gentiles.” In Goa and Daman, the authorities mentioned the ‘negros’ (most probably slaves) and only since 1828 there is a specific category for the non-free population (“escravos” = slaves). While more research is needed to understand the social categorization among Portuguese India it is important to note an apparent degree of autonomy given (or tolerated) to Daman and Diu. It will be interesting to investigate how the Goan authorities, in charge of Daman and Diu’s administration, asked specific population details in accordance to its social reality.

Population growth

From 1785 to 1820, population growth shows different trends for Daman and Diu. In general terms, in the first case, it is noted a rise in the global population that starts around 15,000 and finishes at 25,000 inhabitants; as for Diu’s it is noticeable the stagnation of total population around 7,000 individuals. This distinction is more evident when faced with a population account dated from 1749, which presented roughly the same numbers for Daman and Diu (12,105 and 13,783 respectively).

Two primary remarks should be stated for both Daman and Diu. Firstly, the population drop to about half its size in Diu must be connected to several factors, of economic and political nature. The *Província do Norte* was under military pressure from the Marathas during the first half of the eighteenth



3 Population evolution Daman and Diu, 1785–1820

²² We suppose that the “gentiles” included both Hindus and Muslims.

century and the loss of the majority of the territory (especially Bassein) must have had great impact in Daman's and Diu's social and economic dynamics.²³ This resulted in both territories accentuating their peripheral dimension. Goan authorities become even more self-centred, with territorial gains of *Novas Conquistas*, while, not surprisingly, the remaining *Província do Norte* decayed.²⁴ As Ernestina Carreira remarks, by the time Miles de Noyers was appointed governor of Diu, in 1784, "coastal 'piracy' was widespread" and the trade networks that Diu relied on with Mozambique and East African coast "were increasingly turning to other Gujarat ports, and in particular Surat, Daman and Bombay."²⁵ The late start for statistical production in Daman and Diu can be seen as a symptom of this peripheral situation, just as the lower quality of presented data. Goan maps from *Velhas Conquistas*, comprising the provinces of *Ilhas de Goa*, *Bardez* and *Salcete*, since 1776 up to 1820 always show the information of age structure, births and deaths, unlike Daman (beginning from 1785, there are 4 cases where only the age structure is similar) and Diu (started in 1791, with just 7 charts out of 22 that present the same model and data) (See Figures 1 and 2).

Secondly, at a first glance Daman's demographic evolution doesn't seem to fit into the above mentioned trend of decadence. Taking into account the figures in 1749, Daman's population almost doubled, which indicates the opposite situation of what happened to Diu. Although, this may be true, there's a relevant aspect that should be brought to attention. The inclusion of Nagar Haveli in Daman's charts has a significant impact in the total sum presented. This rural territory, larger than Daman, despite being less densely populated, still counts for approximately a third of Daman's population. In the enumeration of 1749 Nagar Haveli's population was not accounted because it was still under Marathas dominion. If we take into consideration Daman's evolution without this territory we can present a more accurate picture, showing the decreased importance of the whole *Província do Norte* and a lesser population growth.

²³ "In 1740, however, the '*Magestoso Estado da Índia*' had been reduced to a dismayed society scattered along the coast, and in financial ruins, along with three financially drained trading places that were enclaves in Maratha territory. Only Goa had survived the wreckage, but at the cost of its entire port network and the *Província do Norte*." E. CARREIRA, op. cit., p. 65.

²⁴ "Since the *Norte* had been lost, all efforts were focused on reinforcing Goa's regional domination." E. CARREIRA, op. cit., p. 67.

²⁵ E. CARREIRA, op. cit., p. 153.

	1749	1785	1786	1789	1791	1792	1797	1798	1800
Daman (-NH)	12,105	12,905	10,859	11,463	10,034	9,859	16,642	-	18,065
Nagar Haveli	-	3,481	3,369	3,369	6,131	6,100	9,333	-	10,216
Daman	12,105	16,386	14,228	14,832	16,165	15,959	25,975	-	28,281
Diu	13,783	-	-	5,438	6,938	8,510	8,023	6,885	-

	1801	1802	1803	1804	1805	1808	1810	1811	1812
Daman (-NH)	-	19,199	19,222	-	18,637	18,419	18,965	18,690	18,667
Nagar Haveli	-	10,573	10,122	-	6,315	7,075	6,633	6,946	7,146
Daman	-	29,772	29,344	-	24,952	25,494	25,598	25,636	25,813
Diu	5,396	4,379	3,363	5,227	9,650	6,509	7,577	7,422	7,209

	1813	1814	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820
Daman (-NH)	15,597	15,966	-	17,039	17,053	-	17,257
Nagar Haveli	7,087	7,114	-	7,357	7,477	-	7,515
Daman	22,684	23,080	-	24,396	24,530	-	24,772
Diu	7,505	7,320	6,342	6,549	6,553	6,517	6,322

4 Total population of Daman and Diu (by year)

Despite the positive structural trend over 30 years, a more negative conjunctural context had a severe impact in both these territories. From the middle of the eighteenth century onwards until the 1790s demographic growth declined (or at least halted) in Daman and Diu. At this point, with the available data this statement seems to be correct, but the lack of information (i.e. population charts and/or lists) for this timeframe advises for a very cautious analysis. Therefore, with this in mind and until new sources are available, it is possible to advance an average growth rate for both territories that corresponds to an adverse conjuncture. From 1749 to 1790 (for better comparability between the two territories, Daman's charts from 1780s decade are not considered) the population of Daman grown in average a scarce 0.69% per year, while Diu's population decreased by a yearly average of -1.62%. If we take Nagar Haveli out of the equation, then Daman's demographic dynamic also suffers a yearly loss of -0.45% in average, between the same period.

1785-1791	1791-1797	1797-1803	1803-1808	1808-1814	1814-1820	1785-1820
-0.23	8.23	2.05	-2.77	-1.64	1.19	1.19

5 Diu's average population yearly growth rates, 1785-1820

1791-1797	1797-1803	1803-1808	1808-1814	1814-1820	1791-1820
2.45	-13.49	14.12	1.98	-2.41	-0.32

6 Daman's average population yearly growth rates, 1791-1820

It is at the final decade of the eighteenth century and the first decades of the nineteenth century that a more stable and positive situation is obtained and consequently demographic growth turns upwards, with some irregularities. For Daman the 1790s were a particularly positive decade, with strong population growth, followed by some corrections that stabilized population in c. 25,000 individuals (roughly representing an increase of 67%). Between 1785 and 1820 the whole population of Daman district shows a more balanced growth. Diu had a more erratic behaviour resulting in very slight growth or even stagnation. If we aggregate the data, between 1791 and 1820, it continues to decline, but at a slower pace than during the period of 1749–1790. Large positive and negative rates are easily explained by the analysis of such a small universe (population that fluctuated from 3,000 to 8,500 individuals). High population density and economic decline may partially explain the difficulty to potentiate growth, but still other social and epidemiological factors remained difficult to overcome, and thus Diu's population was unable to return to 1750s' level. The variation of the number of inhabitants in Diu, starting in 1798 and lasting until 1810, may be related to military manoeuvres by the British. Goa, Daman and Diu were besieged between 1799 and 1802, and then Goa was again occupied by British forces between 1803 e 1813, while war ravaged Daman's vicinities and the Gujarat.²⁶ This situation certainly contributed to the scarcity of agricultural produce and consequently famines, the disruption of commercial activities, and the increase of population fluctuations (due to deaths, economic and forced migrations).

Social composition

For the time period of 1785–1820 religious groups were the main concerns to socially aggregate population. But this categorization was influenced by a European and catholic point of view.²⁷ Two main religious

²⁶ E. CARREIRA, "O Estado Português da Índia. Aspectos políticos" in M. M. Lopes (coord.), *O Império Oriental 1660–1820, Tomo 1*, in Joel Serrão and A. H. Oliveira Marques (dir.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 2006, pp. 119–22.

²⁷ In *Imagined Communities*, Benedict Anderson refers the different religious realities of Southeast Asia as difficult for the colonial powers to understand. From the "discomforting realities" faced by colonial administration "the most important of these was religious affiliation, which served as the basis of very old, very stable imagined communities not in the least aligned with the secular state's authoritarian grid-map. To different degrees, in different Southeast Asian colonies, the rulers were compelled to make messy accommodations, especially to Islam and Buddhism." B. ANDERSON, *Imagined Communities*, London, Verso, 1991, p. 169. Cordell, Ittmann and Maddox, however, mention recent studies that in British India the methods of counting communities "were adopted from practices in earlier, precolonial states. This research maintains that such approaches to enumeration reflected existing, albeit fluid, identities and relationships and were not simply the products of the imposition of Western constructions." DENNIS D. CORDELL, KARL ITTMANN and GREGORY H. MADDOX, "Counting Subjects. Demography and Empire" in K. Ittman, D. Cordell and G. Maddox (ed.), *The Demographics of Empire. The Colonial Order and the Creation of Knowledge*, Athens, Ohio University Press, 2010, p. 6.

groups are extractable from the statistical tables: Christians (e.g. Catholics); and non-Christians (mainly including Hindus and Muslims). While non-Christians are all together in a religious (and ethnic) group called 'Gentios e Mouros' (Gentiles and Muslims), the Christians were divided into sub-groups that reveal their ethnic origin 'Branços Cristãos' (White Christians) and 'Ditos Naturais do País' (Native Christians) that would be Indians converted to Catholicism. Two other categories are mentioned, 'Negros' (Blacks) and 'Pardos' (Mulattos). These two categories indicate individuals that were native Africans or whose ancestors were Africans.²⁸ Except for the explicit mention of slaves belonging to gentiles, all blacks and mulattos, slaves or freedmen, are considered as Christians.

This religious classification found in Goa, Daman and Diu, and in some extent in Macau, seems to be unparalleled in the rest of the Portuguese Empire. The mention of non-Christian groups is not a concern for governors and administration agents in other colonies, where the racial status, generally speaking divided into three groups (whites, blacks and mulattos), and the enslaved condition (slaves and freeman/freedman) are the main focus. This is a clear local interpretation and adaptation of the implicit model present in the 1776 royal decree. This particularity of *Estado da Índia's* population charts being interesting as it is, become even more so when in face of the new royal decree of 1797²⁹ with an explicit model (i.e. blank forms were sent to every colonial governor, most probably to increase uniformity in data collection and comparability) *Estado da Índia's* statistics maintained local models. The specificity of these charts may be related to local social and political context and the prominence of Goan archbishopric who was called to aid in the production of population statistics.³⁰ Moreover, Asian colonies were an especially important battleground of religious conversion and confrontation against Islam, and the religious structure in Portuguese India, including the Inquisition of Goa, attests this relevance.

Categories regarding ethnicity can be divided into three broad geographic origins: Europeans, Africans, and Asians. The Europeans are indirectly referred by the previously mentioned term White Christians, and most probably exclusively composed by Portuguese born and their descendants. Like the Europeans, African origin is not explicit, but may be inferred by grouping together Blacks and Mulattos. Lastly, the Asian group is constituted by the two religious groups: firstly, the Native Christians or baptized

²⁸ As mentioned before, some charts mention slaves and freedmen, but they are still grouped together, only sometimes differentiating slaves belonging to Christians, therefore baptised slaves, and slaves property of gentiles, which are most probably non-Christians and are likewise considered as such in this paper.

²⁹ AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, Codex 579, fl. 193v.

³⁰ AHU, Codex 2212, *Monções do Reino*, no. 157-A, fl.167.

Asians; and secondly, the composite group of Gentiles (that is, Hindus)³¹ and Muslims. This geographical division present in the sources should be seen as a product of an interpretation. As the agent producing the statistics includes individuals in ethnic and religious groups based more on the social status and less on a rigorous categorization. We may hypothesize that a black could be considered mulatto if social status permitted it, or inversely a mulatto be appointed to the black category.

Aggregation of population by religious groups in Daman and Diu reveals the opposite situation of that observed in Goa, with the large majority of the population belonging to the non-Christian group. This contrasting picture accentuates the perception of periphery of the northern territories when comparing the degree of conversion to Catholicism of native populations.

While Goa's Christians, for the period of 1785–1820, account 90% of total population,³² Daman's and Diu's Christians represent, in average, only 7.7% and 7.6% respectively. The geographical dispersion of Christians is confined to urban areas, whereas Gentiles and Muslims are found in both rural and urban areas. However, it seems to be some sort of segregation represented in population charts, especially for Daman's case. In this territory, Christians are clearly separated from non-Christians, being almost exclusively concentrated in the city of Daman and *Forte de S. Jerónimo*. This is probably due to the concentration of political, administrative and military functions in the hands of Portuguese Christians, that naturally resided in the urban context.

	Daman ³³		Diu ³⁴	
	Christian	Non-Christian	Christian	Non-Christian
1785–1790	10.2	89.8	-	-
1791–1800	7.0	93.0	12.2	87.8
1801–1810	7.0	93.0	7.5	92.5
1811–1820	7.4	92.6	5.2	94.8
Average	7.7	92.3	7.6	92.4

7 Population by religion, 1785–1820 (%)

³¹ As seen in Filipe Nery XAVIER, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardes*, Vol. III, Bastorá, 1907, p. 71: “Gentios — Deram os portugueses este nome aos hindús [...]”

³² The calculus of Goa's Christians is based on figures present in P. T. MATOS, art. cit., p. 192.

³³ In this and subsequent tables, grouping by decade for Daman was formed using the following charts: for the 1780s, we used the charts from 1785, 1786 and 1789; for the 1790s, from 1791, 1792, 1797 and 1800; for the 1800s, from 1802, 1803, 1805, 1808 and 1810; and for the 1810s, from 1811 to 1814, 1817, 1818 and 1820.

³⁴ In this and subsequent tables, grouping by decade for Diu was formed using the following charts: for the 1790s, we used the charts from 1791, 1792, 1797, 1798 and 1800; for the 1800s, from 1801 to 1805, 1808 and 1810; and for the 1810s, from 1811 to 1814 and 1816 to 1820.

Few available data concerning ethnic categories makes the analysis of geographic origin harder. The focus on religious characterization found in the models of charts produced in Daman and Diu seem to relegate to a secondary status the ethnic categories. Thus, in Diu, ethnic categories are only present in a handful of population tables. What is interesting to observe is that contrary to Daman, where charts evolve from simpler models to more complex and richer, Diu's presents the inverse evolution, from richer to poorer tables. Comparability between territories is consequently affected by this situation, but still possible in a smaller scale. Thus, Daman's series starts in 1797 and lasts until 1820 while Diu's charts with ethnic categories are only available from 1797 to 1804.

Not surprisingly, the European presence in the *Província do Norte* is very small, parallel to other overseas territories heavily populated by natives like Goa, Angola and Mozambique. In Daman Europeans (mainly Portuguese) were no more than 100 individuals, representing in average only 0.3% of total population. Africans were also a very small community, although larger than Europeans. Their presence was boosted by the slave trade, especially in Mozambique's coast, and in average they represented 2% of Daman's population. As observed for Christians in general, Europeans and Africans were concentrated in urban areas, while native Indians were largely dispersed within the rural areas.

Just as like in Daman, Diu's European population is extremely small, for the time period available, and only represents the same 0.3% in average. African population is more substantial, being the double of Daman's (4.9%). Still, Asians continue to have an overwhelming demographic weight, with Europeans and Africans confined inside the walls of Diu.

DAMAN	Europeans and descendants	Asians	Africans and descendants
1797-1800	0.2	98.5	1.3
1801-1805	0.3	97.6	2.1
1806-1810	0.3	97.2	2.5
1811-1815	0.3	97.4	2.3
1816-1820	0.4	97.8	1.8
Average	0.3	97.7	2.0

8 Daman's populations by ethnic groups, 1797-1820 (%)

DIU	Europeans and descendants	Asians	Africans and descendants
1797-1800	4.6	90.1	5.3
1801-1805	0.3	95.1	4.6
Average	1.5	93.1	5.4

9 Diu's population by ethnic groups, 1797-1805 (%)

The comparison with Goa's demographic trends shows the distinct dynamics that central and peripheral territories have in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century *Estado da Índia*. As seen, this contrast is set to a higher level when comparing social composition, such as religious and ethnic groups. Unfortunately, the information provided by population charts in Daman and Diu is less revealing than that present in Goan charts.

Age structure

The sources don't allow the construction of age pyramids as the male and female age groups do not match for population over 7 years. Besides, just like in other categories, the age groups tend to vary and, as previously stated, different models were used in Daman and Diu. In the *Estado da Índia* the division by age groups corresponded to that prescribed by the royal decree of 1776, i.e., 0-7, 7-15, 15-60, 60+ for males and 0-7, 7-14, 14-40, 40+ for females. The purpose to structure age groups in this way indicates a clear interest in separate those who were at working and conscription age (especially males 15-60), fertile and able to give birth (female adults 14-40), and too old or still too young for these important social functions. For Daman and Diu, as mentioned above, only a common model was used for the short period of 1797-1804, and therefore a more reliable comparability with each other, and the rest of the Portuguese India, is best ensured in this time frame. Therefore, we will use the information available for 1800.

Observing Daman's age groups there is a noticeable lack of older female population, unlike what one would expect, especially due to this last group being so wide (all the females above 40 years old). A different situation

Male age group	Male	Female age group	Female	Male & female
0-7	10.6	0-7	9.6	20.2
7-15	8.1	7-14	9.7	17.8
15-60	27.7	14-40	28.0	55.7
60+	2.4	40+	4.0	6.4
Total	48.8	Total	51.2	100.0

10 Daman's age structure in 1800 (%)

is found in Diu, where adult females are much larger than males and the inverse is seen in the younger generations.

With such a small universe (approx. 5,400), an unbalanced population subgroup can more easily accentuate these characteristics. For example, the African population in Diu is representative of this statement. The uneven distribution of male and female age groups amplifies the distortion. Although keeping in mind that African individuals in Diu are not necessarily slaves, it is strange that these populations have such high amount of male children.

Age group	Male (%)	Age group	Female	Male & female
0-7	6.8	0-7	6.6	13.4
7-15	8.8	7-14	6.8	15.6
15-60	25.2	14-40	25.0	50.2
60+	6.9	40+	14.0	20.8
Total	47.6	Total	52.4	100.0

11 Diu's age structure in 1800 (%)

Age group	Male (%)	Age group	Female (%)	Male & female (%)
0-7	13.1	0-7	2.3	15.4
7-15	21.0	7-14	18.2	39.2
15-60	14.5	14-40	21.5	36.0
60+	0.5	40+	8.9	9.4
Total	49.1	Total	50.9	100.0

12 Diu's African age structure in 1800 (%)

Urbanization and population density

The definition of urban populations, and its measurement, in modern history is difficult and should be prudently approached.³⁵ Daman and Diu's population counts are a remarkable example of sources that allow historical demographers to take the first steps into colonial urbanization in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These tables provide disaggregated data

³⁵ Srivastava remarks that "the criteria adopted by the authorities in course of time to define a 'town,' a 'villa' or a 'village' were purely subjective and based on the development of the region and its constitution was defined by a legal diploma. *Vilas* may be considered as less developed towns or as more developed villages." Harish SRIVASTAVA, "Demographic History and Human Resources" in Teotônio R. de Souza (ed), *Goa Through the Ages*, Vol. II ("An Economic History"), New Delhi, Concept Pub. Co, 1990, p. 74.

for the villages³⁶ and thus a first attempt to put forward preliminary data on urban population is hereby presented. It is difficult to define the borders that delimited the territories for each toponym; however, the task to determine urban perimeters is facilitated by the fact that we are in the presence of walled towns.

Therefore, Daman's urban area is presently defined by the set of toponyms consisting of: *Praça*, *Campo dos Remédios*, *Forte de São Jerônimo* and *Damão Pequeno*. The urban area of Diu is more easily identified since the sources only have one toponym clearly suggesting its urban nature: *Praça*.

As above mentioned these are preliminary results and likewise are susceptible to changes and a deeper analysis and study may revise and hopefully improve our knowledge on this subject. Nevertheless, these two territories seem to be moderately urbanized, especially Diu, no doubt justified by its small surface area.

Determining population density may significantly increase understanding on urbanization. Relating urbanization percentage with geographic dispersion of population over a territory may highlight urban concentration that otherwise would seem less significant, as well as explain high rates that may be overestimated.

	Daman's surface (Km2)	Population density (Daman) (Pop/Km2)	Diu's surface (Km2)	Population density (Diu) (Pop/Km2)
1785-1790		27.6		
1791-1800		38.6		183.6
1801-1810	559	48.4	39	154.2
1811-1820		43.7		175.9
Average		41.3		170.5

13 Daman's and Diu's population density, 1785-1820

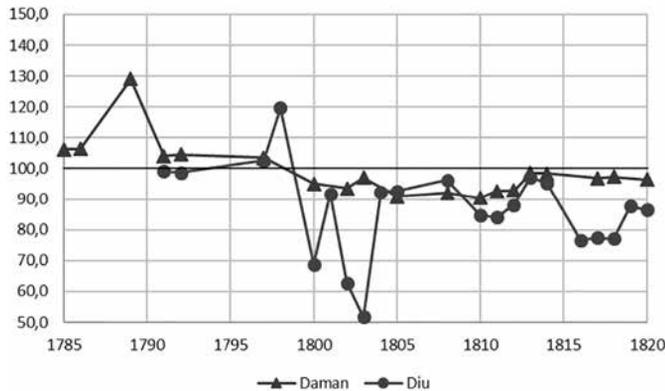
	Urbanization rate (Daman)	Urbanization rate (Diu)
1785-1790	30.6%	-
1791-1800	27.3%	55.6%
1801-1810	35.8%	51.1%
1811-1820	28.4%	46.1%
Average	30.5%	50.0%

14 Daman's and Diu's urbanization rates, 1785-1820 (%)

³⁶ The analysis presented in this paper is preliminary, and the population charts can be used as a first blunt approximation. The territorial delimitation of parishes, villages and other toponyms is very difficult with the mentioned sources. Further research, namely in historical geography, is necessary to present more rigorous data concerning urbanization in Daman and Diu.

On one hand, Diu's high urban rate (50%) should be considered under this formulation as naturally elevated, since the town of Diu is located in a small island, potentiating the concentration of people in urban environment, especially taking consideration on its commercial character. On the other, Daman's more than tenfold larger territory gives a greater dimension to its lower urban rate (30.5%), if we consider that 1/3 of its population lives concentrated in about 1–2% of its territory. Likewise, the rural character of other territories can be highlighted by the combination of these two indicators. Nagar Haveli's surface accounts for almost 90% of Daman's territory, but has an average population of 7013 inhabitants, only 30% of total average population, and a population density of 14 persons per km². A contrasting scenario of Daman proper (i.e. Daman without Nagar Haveli and Dadra districts) that has an average 255 persons per km² from 1785 to 1820, superior to Diu's average of 170.

Sex ratios



15 Daman's and Diu's sex ratios, 1785–1820

From the sex ratios calculated for 1785–1820 it is noticeable a general trend, in both territories, of a growing weight of females over males. This is especially true for Daman, which shows a regular series (except for the 1789 spike of males) beginning with a slight advantage for male population and then slowly passing the threshold of 1:1 in 1800. Diu's irregularity may be associated with deficient male population counts. It is interesting to see that when global population in Diu drops at the beginning of the nineteenth century it is mainly associated with a severe fall of male individuals. Besides an unusual death rate, there may be several plausible explanations for this observation, like employment migration, fear of conscription or conscription

itself. Further research can shed new light on this particular issue. Special attention should be given concerning correlations between mercantile activity and population dynamics.

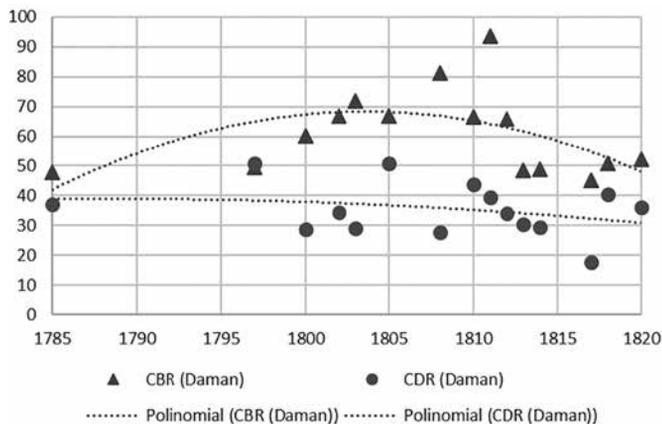
	Daman's sex ratio	Diu's sex ratio
1785-1790	113.9	-
1791-1800	101.9	97.8
1801-1810	92.8	81.8
1811-1820	96.2	85.8
Average	99.3	87.2

16 Daman's and Diu's sex ratios, 1785-1820 (%)

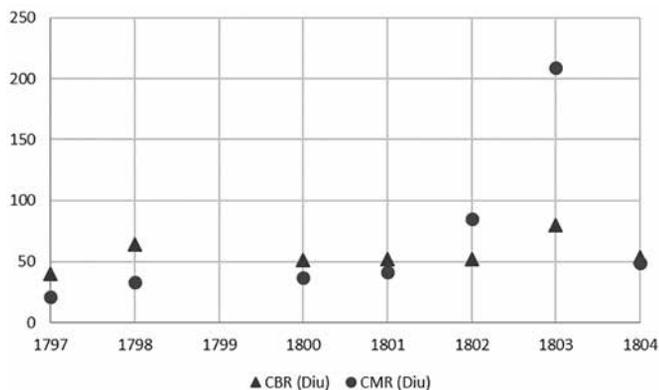
Fertility and mortality patterns

The diversity of models for population enumerations, especially in Diu's case, has the disadvantage of lacking significant information on population vital statistics. The series for Daman begins in 1785 with data on births and deaths, but in the following charts only population structure is presented. Births, deaths and also marriages start being regularly displayed in charts starting from 1797 until the end of our study period. In Diu, as already observed, the chart models are more diverse and therefore data is more irregular. Moreover, we only have information on births, deaths and marriages from 1797 to 1804.

These limitations make more difficult the attempt to compare datasets of these two territories and with other parts of India. In spite of this, there are some remarks that we can make. The average Crude Birth Rate (CBR) and Crude Death Rate (CDR) have the expected behaviour, with some death spikes but otherwise stable rates, with births being 20/30 points above deaths.



17 Daman's crude birth rate and crude death rate, 1785-1820 (‰)



18 Diu's crude birth rate and crude death rate, 1796–1804 (%)

The average CBR for Daman is 61.1‰ and the CDR is 35.4‰ being the natural population growth almost always positive (the only exception is the year 1797). This data is in contrast with the negative yearly population growth of that which is present in Figure 5. Besides migrations, that are unaccounted, deficient data collection can also explain this discrepancy.

As stated above, Diu's data is extremely limited since it only consists of six years (of a total 20 available charts), nevertheless some observations can be made. The CBR and CDR are slightly closer than those of Daman, which correspond to a lower natural growth that can explain population stagnation of Diu. This specific dataset shows figures that we can consider both normal and abnormal. The rates in 1797, 1800, 1801 and 1804 are what we may consider regular and closer to what should be Diu's norm with an average CBR of 49.2‰ and CDR of 37.1‰. The rates for 1802 and 1803 display an extreme situation, with a corresponding fall of total population, of a high death rate, which may be, in some degree, explained with, decease, famine and/or military actions.³⁷

In comparison to what happens in Goa, both rates are significantly higher. Based on the study of Paulo Matos³⁸ the average CBR from 1785 to 1820 is 28.4‰, which seems very low and perhaps related to an underestimation of

³⁷ In the beginning of the nineteenth century the British East Indian Company occupied Goa, Daman and Diu under the pretext of protection against French naval power. From 1799 to 1802 and again from 1803 to 1813 British military invaded, pillaged and blockaded the Portuguese India; E. CARREIRA, *op. cit.* 2006, pp. 120–2.

³⁸ For the calculation of averages for Goa's CBR and CDR it was used the figures present in P. T. MATOS, *art. cit.*, p. 192.

births by the local agents.³⁹ Thus, Daman's and Diu's CBRs are 30 and 25 points higher, respectively. Mortality rates are much closer to each other, but still 5 to 10 points higher in average for Daman and Diu.

	Population	Births	Cbr	Deaths	Cdr
1785	16,386	784	47.9	606	37.0
1797	25,975	1,289	49.6	1,317	50.7
1800	28,281	1,702	60.2	815	28.8
1802	29,772	1,990	66.8	1,021	34.3
1803	29,344	2,108	71.8	852	29.0
1805	24,952	1,671	67.0	1,271	50.9
1808	25,494	2,075	81.4	709	27.8
1810	25,598	1,699	66.4	1,125	44.0
1811	25,636	2,398	93.5	1,010	39.4
1812	25,813	1,697	65.7	879	34.1
1813	22,684	1,103	48.6	691	30.5
1814	23,080	1,125	48.7	681	29.5
1817	24,396	1,105	45.3	435	17.8
1818	24,530	1,243	50.7	992	40.4
1820	24,772	1,295	52.3	892	36.0

19 Daman's crude birth rate and crude death rate (‰)

	Population	Births	Cbr	Deaths	Cmr
1797	8,023	320	39.9	170	21.2
1798	6,885	441	46.5	228	64.1
1800	5,438	280	51.5	200	36.8
1801	5,396	280	51.9	223	41.3
1802	4,379	227	51.8	374	85.4
1803	3,363	268	79.7	703	209.0
1804	5,227	280	53.6	256	49.0

20 Diu's crude birth rate and crude death rate (‰)

Taking into consideration the study of Tim Dyson,⁴⁰ of the Berar Province, for the last two decades of the nineteenth century, we can see that while CBR are lower than in Daman and Diu, just like Goa, averaging 39‰, the average CDR, with c. 38‰, is much closer to what happens in

³⁹ P. T. MATOS, "The Population of the Portuguese Estado da India, 1750–1820: Sources and Demographic Trends" in Laura Jarnagin, *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011*, Vol. 1 ("The Making of the Luso-Asian World: Intricacies of Engagement"), Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, p. 174.

⁴⁰ TIM DYSON, "The Historical Demography of Berar, 1881–1980" in T. Dyson (ed.), *India's Historical Demography. Studies in Famine, Disease and Society*, London, Curzon Press/SOAS, 1989, pp. 150–96.

the *Província do Norte*, being just very slightly higher. Despite not being in the same time frame, we can assume some comparability, since structural demographic changes in India happens in the twentieth century.

Conclusions

As stated in the introductory lines, the purpose of this paper is to present the preliminary results on the demography of Daman and Diu, from 1785 to 1820, after a systematic archival research under the scope of COLDEMO project. Thus, publishing the most complete demographic dataset available for the northern territories of Daman and Diu up to date. This paper picks up from a recent study by Paulo Teodoro de Matos,⁴¹ which has a more general perspective of the *Estado da Índia*, and consolidates its conclusions with larger datasets specific to the northern territories.

From the analysis of these sources, we're in position to characterize, even if only in general terms, the populations of the Daman and Diu. Both territories are small in size and population, and reflect their coastal and commercial character, with the exception of rural Nagar Haveli. Urbanization rates are therefore high, and density is likewise larger than average, if we exclude from this consideration Nagar Haveli. Thus, coastal Daman and Diu demographics are much closer between each other than Nagar Haveli. From this standpoint *Província do Norte* can be divided into two zones: coastal Daman and Diu, and rural Nagar Haveli. Social composition is mainly dominated by Hindu and Muslims, with Christians only representing 10% of total population. European presence is concentrated in the urban areas, in very low number, only accounting for 1% of total population. African origin individuals, probably resulting from slave trade, are also only a small fraction of the population. As for fertility and mortality, the obtained rates show higher levels of both births and deaths, than other parts of India. This contributed, alongside unaccounted migratory movements, in small population growth rates for Daman and almost stagnation for Diu in the period of 1785–1820.

Despite being able to obtain some demographic indicators, we are, nevertheless, still just seeing the tip of the iceberg and further research can and should focus on several questions regarding not only the local demography but also political, social and economic dynamics of the Portuguese Empire and European colonialism.

⁴¹ P. T. MATOS, 2011, art. cit.

Hence, it is intended with this paper to establish the groundwork for further research. Firstly, a deeper analysis on local demographic dynamics can highlight social relations, namely between Christians and non-Christians, contributing for the understanding of migration and economic patterns. Also, the roots for demographic behaviour are to be understood under the economic and political perspectives. Besides from benefiting from this data, Economic History and Political History can inversely contribute to better interpret and understand it, by contextualizing the population dynamics.

The urban development and rural settings of Daman and Diu are another issue to be explored, especially since these territories were able to remain under Portuguese control, despite their peripheral condition in the context of the *Estado da Índia*, unlike the rest of the *Província do Norte*. Urban studies in Portuguese India are central, since Portuguese territorial domain was largely confined to coastal towns, fortress and factories. Population charts provide essential data to understand geographical distribution, social relations and political control.

Also, the different demographic patterns in comparison with Goa are to be understood not in the context of Portuguese India, but in the regional Indian context, especially when the British control is established and colonial statistics are produced. The older experience of Portuguese colonial rule in India meeting the newer British sovereignty and economic growth is an innovative field of research ripe for exploration.

Appendix List of Sources

- 1749** “Resumo de todos os habitantes das Ilhas de Goa Salcete, Bardez, Diu, Damão, e Angediva assim Eclesiásticos, como Seculares de todas as Nações Até ao último de Dezembro de 1749” AHU_GIND_CORRESPONDÊNCIA COM O REINO, Cod. 448, fl. 115v
- 1785** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, consistida de Cristãos, e gentios, existentes nos districtos da Sua habitação; e das Classes das Suas idades, como neste se declara. Ano de 1785” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 166
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, consistida de cristãos, e gentios existentes nos districtos da sua habitação, e das Classes das suas idades, como neste se declara Ano de 1785” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 368
- 1786** “Cópia. Mapa da População dos Moradores da Praça de Damão e sua jurisdição da data de 8 de Fevereiro de 1787” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 347
 “Mapa da População dos Moradores da Praça de Damão e Sua jurisdição, da data de 8 de Fevereiro de 1787” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 374
- 1789** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de S. Jerónimo de Damão pequeno e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição, Dado pelo Governador da mesma António Leite de Sousa” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 384
- 1791** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão do Forte de S. Jerónimo de Damão pequeno das Aldeias de Sua jurisdição dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 166
 “Mapa dos Mouros Gentios Parses e Outras Castas Habitantes na Praça de Diu E seus Domínios” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 166
 “Mapa da Cristandade da Fortaleza de Diu, e seus Extramuros” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 166
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de S. Jerónimo, de Damão pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua jurisdição, dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 390
 “Mapa dos Mouros Gentios Parses e Outras Castas Habitantes na Praça de Diu e Seus Domínios” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 390
 “Mapa da Cristandade da Fortaleza de Diu e Seus Extramuros” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 390
- 1792** “Mapa da Cristandade da Fortaleza de Diu e Seus Extramuros” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 207
 “Mapa dos Mouros, Gentios, Parses, e Outras Castas habitantes na Praça de Diu, e seus Domínios” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 207
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de S. Jerónimo de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição, dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 208
- 1797** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente Ano, dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 398
 “Mapa da População da Fortaleza de Diu, e do seu Distrito do presente ano dado pelo Castelhão Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 398

- 1798** “Mapa do Estado da guarnição, e da População da Praça de Diu de que é Castelão e Governador Chefe, e Comandante do Regimento o Chefe de Divisão Cândido José Mourão Gáries Palha” ANTT, Conde de Linhares, Mç 31, Doc 29
- 1800** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão do Forte de São Jerónimo de Damão Pequeno e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente Ano dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 401
 “Mapa da População da Fortaleza de Diu e do seu Distrito do presente ano dado pelo Castelão governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 401
- 1801** “Mapa da População de Diu, e dos seu Distrito do presente ano dado pelo Castelão Governador da Mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 403
- 1802** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente Ano dado pelo Governador da Mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 407
 “Mapa da População da Fortaleza de Diu e do seu Distrito do presente ano Dado Pelo Castelão Governador da Mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 407
- 1803** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente Ano dado pelo Governador da Mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 410
 “Mapa da População da Fortaleza de Diu, e do seu districto do presente ano Dado Pelo Castelão Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 410
- 1804** “Mapa da População da Fortaleza de Diu e do seu Distrito do presente ano dado pelo Castelão Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 413
- 1805** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente Ano dado pelo Governador da Mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 415
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Diu e das Aldeias de Sua Jurisdição dado pelo Castelão Governador da mesma António Leite de sousa” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 415
- 1808** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente ano dado pelo Governador da Mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 418
 “Mapa da População da Fortaleca de Diu, dos Habitantes da Praça Ilha de Brancavara e Aldeia de Gogala, tudo da sua Jurisdições” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 418
- 1810** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente ano dado pelo Governador da Mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 421
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Diu, e Ilhas” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 421
- 1811** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente Ano dado pelo Governador da Mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 425
 “Cópia. Mapa da População da Praça de Diu, e Ilha” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 425

- 1812** “Mapa dos Habitantes das Aldeias das Ilhas de Goa, e suas Adjacentes do ano de 1812, feito por Ordem do Ilustríssimo e Excelentíssimo Senhor Conde Vice Rei, e Cpitão General do Mar, e Terras do Estado da Índia, com diviões determinadas” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 424
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Diu, e Ilhas” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 425
- 1813** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão do Forte de São Jerónimo de Damão Pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente ano dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 430
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Diu e Aldeias e Hortas Pertencentes à sua Jurisdição como se mostra pelas divisões do mesmo com a declaração da Horta do Confisco e das outras pertencentes a S. A. Real” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 430
- 1814** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente ano dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 431
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Diu e Aldeias e Hortas Pertencentes à sua Jurisdição como se mostra pelas divisões do mesmo com a declaração das Hortas do Confisco e das outras pertencentes a S. A. Real” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 431
- 1816** “Mapa da População Existente na Praça de Diu, e seus Suburbios Dado pelo Capitão da Fragata, e Governador da mesma Maurício da Costa Campos” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 434
- 1817** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente ano dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 437
 “Mapa da População Existente na Praça de Diu, Aldeias e Hortas Pertencentes à sua Jurisdição como se mostra pelas divisões do mesmo, com a declaração dos Fabricantes de tecidos, e Pintores, de que é Castelão Governador Joaquim Mourão Garcez Palha” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 441
- 1818** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente ano dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 441
 “Mapa da População da Praça de Diu, Aldeias, e Hortas pertencentes à sua Jurisdição como se mostra pelas divisões do mesmo, de que é Castelão Governador o Capitão de Mar e Guerra Joaquim Mourão Garcéz Palha” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 442
- 1819** “Mapa da População da Praça de Diu, Aldeias, e Hortas pertencentes à sua Jurisdição como se mostra pelas divisões do mesmo, de que é Castelão Governador o Chefe de Divisão da Real Marinha de Goa João Vicente Rencosa” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 447

- 1820** “Mapa da População da Praça de Damão, do Forte de São Jerónimo, de Damão pequeno, e das Aldeias da sua Jurisdição do presente ano dado pelo Governador da mesma” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 447
- “Mapa da População da Praça de Diu, Aldeias, e Hortas pertencentes à sua Jurisdição como se mostra pelas divisões do mesmo, de que é Castelão Governador o Chefe de Divisão da Real Marinha de Goa João Vicente Rencoza” AHU_CU_058, Cx. 447

Manuscripted Sources

ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO [AHU]

Monções do Reino, book 2212, no. 157-A, fls. 166–167.

Conselho Ultramarino, boxes 401, 403 and 413; codex 579, fl. 193v.

Bibliography and Printed Sources

ALDEN, Dauril, “The Population of Brazil in the Late Eighteenth Century: A Preliminary Study,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 43, No. 2 (1963), pp. 173–205.

ANDERSON, Benedict, *Imagined Communities*, [2nd ed.], London, Verso, 1991.

ANTUNES, Luís Frederico Dias, “Província do Norte” in Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes (coord.), *O Império Oriental 1660–1820. Tomo 2*, in Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 2006, pp. 207–64.

BAUSS, Rudy, “A demographic study of Portuguese India and Macau as well as comments on Mozambique and Timor, 1750–1850,” *The Indian Economic and Social History Review*, Vol. 34, No. 2, (1997), pp. 199–216

CARREIRA, Ernestina, “O Estado Português da Índia. Aspectos Políticos” in Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes (coord.), *O Império Oriental 1660–1820. Tomo 1*, in Joel Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 2006, pp. 17–122.

CARREIRA, Ernestina, *Globalising Goa (1660–1820). Change and Exchange in a Former Capital of Empire*, Goa, 1556, 2013.

DÖRNEMANN, Maria, OVERTATH, Petra and REINECKE, Christiane, “Travelling Knowledge. Population statistics as ‘circulating entities,’” *Contemporanea*, Vol. XVIII, No. 3 (2015), pp. 469–72.

CORDELL, Dennis D., ITTMANN, Karl and MADDOX, Gregory H., “Counting Subjects. Demography and Empire” in Karl Ittmann, Dennis D. Cordell and Gregory H. Maddox (ed.), *The Demographics of Empire. The Colonial Order and the Creation of Knowledge*, Athens, Ohio University Press, 2010, pp. 1–21.

DYSON, Tim, “The Historical Demography of Berar, 1881–1980” in T. Dyson (ed.), *India’s Historical Demography. Studies in Famine, Disease and Society*, London, Curzon Press/SOAS, 1989, pp. 150–96.

MARSHALL, P. J., “The British in Asia: Trade to Dominion, 1700–1765,” in P. J. Marshall (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. The Eighteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1998, pp. 486–507.

MATOS, Paulo Teodoro de, “The Population of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, 1750–1820: Sources and Demographic Trends” in Laura Jarnagin, *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011*, Vol. 1 (“The Making of the Luso-Asian World: Intricacies of Engagement”), Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, pp. 168–91.

MATOS, Paulo Teodoro de, “A População de Goa, 1720–2011. Elementos para uma visão global,” in Artur Teodoro de Matos and João Teles e Cunha (coord.), *Goa: Passado e Presente*, Lisboa, CEPCEP/CHAM, 2012, pp. 177–95.

- MATOS, Paulo Teodoro de, "Population Censuses in the Portuguese Empire, 1750–1820: Research Notes," *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, Vol. VII, No. 1 (2013), pp. 5–26.
- MATOS, Paulo Teodoro de, "Counting Portuguese Colonial Populations, 1776–1875: A research note," *The History of the Family* (accepted for publication in December 2015).
- PINTO, Celsa, "Goa-Based Overseas and Coastal Trade. 18th and 18th Centuries," in Teotónio R. de Souza (ed.), *Goa Through the Ages*, Vol. II ("An Economic History"), New Delhi, Concept Pub. Co., 1990, pp. 176–212.
- PINTO, Celsa, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India*, New Delhi, Concept Pub. Co., 1994.
- WASHBROOK, D. A., "India, 1818–1860: The Two faces of Colonialism" in Andrew PORTER (ed.), *The Oxford History of the British Empire. The Nineteenth Century*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1999, pp. 395–421.
- WATERFIELD, Henry, *Memorandum of the Census of British India 1871–72*, London, Eyre and Spottiswoode, 1875, p. 5
- XAVIER, Filipe Nery, *Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardex*, Vol. III, Bastorá, 1907.