Chapter V

Goan Communidades as Social Welfare Institutions

The fundamental function of communidades of Goa, as agricultural associations, was to effectuate measures necessary for the agricultural development of the area under their jurisdiction as has been seen in the earlier chapter. Better agricultural production meant higher profits for the communidades. However, very often many communidades had no distributable surplus at the end of the year. This was to a great extent because of the fact that the communidades undertook various social welfare activities for the benefit of the rural society that ultimately reduced the quantum of their distributable surplus.1 The communidades had to contribute their mite in constructing roads, taking care of the destitute women, widows and orphans, erecting the dykes and embankments, building schools, providing for the maintenance of the school teachers, building culverts, providing medical facilities for the people in times of epidemics, repairing schools, churches and cemeteries, providing for the maintenance of the divine cult, etc. In fact several of the welfare activities were, in course of time, conveniently shifted on to the shoulders of the communidades, whereby the gaunkars might channelize their agrarian surplus for relieving the burden of the state in carrying out rural development.

It is a historical fact that the villages owed to their communidades in the eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries the net-work of public roads, the aqueducts of rain water and those for irrigation of rice-fields and areca-groves, the top draining of

marshy lands, the catchment of waters, the public security and such other works carried out today by the municipalities and local boards.²

The execution of the above works was made the responsibility of the comunidades and the expenses on these constituted their liability. All this was carried out under the direction and supervision of their managing bodies and under government tutelage. There existed no other institution elected by universal suffrage of the villagers at the village level for promoting social welfare. The gaunkars were made all powerful and the existence of the institution of comunidades continued, perhaps, to make them shoulder these responsibilities. The budget of the Estado did not earmark any amount for rural development.³

In order to have a better understanding of the day to day functioning of the rural society and economy it is important to investigate the nature of social edifice, which the comunidade system fabricated and to look into the various welfare activities undertaken by it. These welfare activities might be divided into two broad categories. One, those which were undertaken by it as agricultural institutions and were related to augmenting agriculture in the countryside as mentioned above. The other was to make life better for the residents and these were not related to their function as agricultural associations. Like for instance, many Goan comunidades provided for the widows and orphan children including the young girls of the gaunkars. The widows and orphan children of the

culachars, jonnkars, etc., were also provided pension or maintenance grants sometimes on par with the gaunkars and in other instances on a lower scale.\(^4\)

When the Portuguese conquered Goa, they found that the comunidades were engaged in social welfare activities in the villages of Goa. It was one if not the only reason which led them to maintain the comunidades.\(^5\) The comunidades spent substantially for promoting the advancement of agriculture. Besides, made the comunidades defray the expenses for setting up primary schools,\(^6\) providing regular health services in the respective village, and additional emergency cells in cases of epidemics, for all the inhabitants without distinction.\(^7\)

The Portuguese government insisted on the observance of old traditions of making the comunidades contribute towards welfare activities despite the vehement protest of the gaunkars and without paying heed to the fact that the villages had ceased to


\(^5\) Rui Gomes Pereira, *op. cit.*, pp. 24-25.

\(^6\) *Portaria Provincial do governo do Estado da India,* dated 17\(^{th}\) August, 1841, which created the parish schools maintained by the comunidades. This disposition was reaffirmed again on 23\(^{rd}\) September, 1841, 14\(^{th}\) November, 1842 and 29\(^{th}\) January, 1843, but was recognized by the authorities that it was not fair to make the comunidades solely responsible for this. Therefore, the proceeds collected by way of 'Subsidio Litterario' since 1773 was also to be concurrently utilized for this purpose. But the comunidades were not relieved of the burden. J. A. Ismael Gracias, *O Imposto e o Regimen Tributario da India Portugueza,* pp. 78-79.

\(^7\) Filippe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo Historico das Communidades ...,* edited by José Maria de Sá, Vol. II, pp. 155-156. From 1845, the comunidades were obliged to cater to the society in times of epidemics by defraying the cost of the physicians, their transport as also providing the affected people with medicines; Filippe Nery Xavier, *Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agrícolas,* Doc. No. 300, p. 388.
be occupied only by the *gaunkars*, who constituted a minority in the villages and the their structure was found totally modified.⁸

During the Portuguese rule, the *communidades* were so much involved in providing services that were of the nature of public welfare that even scholars like Cunha Rivara⁹ and Filipe Nery Xavier were led to think that social service and municipal functions were inherent and essential functions of the *communidades*. Both these scholars were on the pay roll of the *Estado*, and published works that argued for the continuation of the *communidades* as welfare institutions.¹⁰ The fortunes of the *Estado* had dwindled following the decline of trade from the 17th century onwards. Moreover, the constant wars with its European rivals in the 17th century and the skirmishes with the neighbouring Indian rulers had a very bad impact on the financial resources of the *Estado*.¹¹ Because of this the *Estado* was eager that its social welfare obligations were shifted on to the *communidades*. The works produced by the above mentioned historians should be seen in the perspective of the government attempt to make the *communidades* shoulder these burdens. Thus, “besides the functions which the *communidades* performed as agricultural associations”, opines Cunha Rivara, “they are corporations of public order with an

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⁹ J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Brados a Favor das Communidades*, ..., pp. 2-3. He writes in the following manner justifying his views that the *communidades* were organizations with municipal functions. “... *Se contemplarmos as vicissitudes, por que tem passado as aldeas indianas desde o tempo da conquista até ao presente, acharemos que em nada se alterou a essencia da organização municipaes das gançarias e comunidades; e assim concluiremos esta parte do nosso trabalho repetindo o que dissemos no principio do nosso 1.º Brado: As *Communidades* das aldeas da India são verdadeiros municipios. Proval-no as leis, refere-o a historia, e vemo-lo por nosso alhos.*”

¹⁰ Cunha Rivara was the chief Secretary to the Portuguese government, and, Filipe Nery Xavier was working as the *Official-maior* for the Portuguese government in the nineteenth century.

extensive municipal power and administrative, judicial and electoral jurisdiction. This is proved by the laws; it is referred to in history; and, is seen with one's own eyes. The municipal nature of the comunidades was so obvious, that the comunidade was called Camara and based on the social composition of the gauncaria of Goa.

Cunha Rivara argued that alterations that the comunidades had undergone over the course of history neither infringed nor contradicted its municipal functions (in the 19th century Cunha Rivara and others considered public welfare activities of comunidades as the principal municipal functions) as the laws provided ample proof for this and history was a good indicator of these facts as can be seen from their functioning from 1750 to 1910.

The village represented a social, civil and political unity in Goa. And what gave to the village this unity was besides the territorial unity the functioning of the comunidades at the rural level that exercised a form of corporate governance through its members and other officials. It was taken that the comunidade included all the limits of the village comprising not only of those parts that were cultivated or administered in common but all the rest including the estate of the individual property owners as well. The individual property owners were not extraneous to the functioning of the comunidades, because anyone who was not a gaunkar, cuntocar, etc., and who

12 J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Communidades ..., pp. 4-6. Here it must be specially mentioned that municipality structure in Portuguese administrative system was conferred only on leading cities and not on rural areas. Here the comunidades seem to have been equated with the municipality probably because of the similarity in the functions carried out both by municipality and comunidades in welfare-related activities.
13 Ibid., p.52.
cultivated the common lands were either tenants or lessees of the comunidades, and, in some form or the other enjoyed, the benefits and services that the comunidade offered. The effective and smooth functioning of the comunidades meant invariably gains to the individual owners (bhatkars). For instance, these people entrusted their estates to the officials of the comunidades called vigias or terlos for watch and ward duties. Similarly, they benefited from utilizing the roads, wharfs, common wells, springs, dykes and embankments etc., which the comunidades had made at their own cost. Sometimes the comunidades did ask for the services of the individual owners in carrying out repair works and they were well within their rights to demand such services because the latter benefited equally. Moreover, the individual owners of farm property were residents of the same province and residents of the same village ‘republics’ and had correlated rights and obligations for effective functioning of the rural society and economy.

Whosoever enjoys or partakes of common benefits had to contribute proportionately for creating facilities for enjoying such benefits. Thus an individual farm owner who used the village road, passed by a bridge, and benefited from all the other infrastructural facilities, created for and by the village, had firm obligation to subscribe proportionately according to the assets, which they owned in a particular village. But this was hardly the case. Individual proprietors rarely concurred with the comunidade in carrying out developmental activities. For instance whenever there were ruptures in the dykes and embankments it was always the gaunkars who took the risk, both financial and more so personal, in making the repairs within twenty-four hours. The rice fields that got

14 José Maria de Sá, op. cit., pp. 51-52; Filippe Nery Xavier, Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Communidades Agrícolas, Doc. No. 10, pp. 32-34.

269
damaged due to these ruptures included those of the comunidade and the individual owners (bhatkars). But the latter hardly concurred in making any contributions. Often the individual proprietors abandoned their lands causing damage to the rural economy as a whole. Under such circumstances the fields owned and abandoned by the individual proprietors had to be taken over by the comunidades. For instance the rice field denominated Varzea Cantor owned by Savetry Naiquinim in Cumbarjua was ordered to be taken over by the comunidade in 1841, as its abandonment due to non-repairs of the adjacent embankment had led to considerable loss for the village economy. Similarly, the fields owned by one Ignacio Soares denominated Balcantor in Chorao were taken over by the respective comunidade on payment of one-fourth of the produce annually to the concerned individual.

It was said that the comunidade was within its right to tax the residents of the village for meeting such expenses. This was done in the past in many other instances for other diversified purposes. The comunidades imposed and collected taxes for extraordinary expenses which were not covered in their budgetary provisions. For instance they collected, through their agents, the malkhorch (for the expenses of Camara Geral) and Gramkhorch (for unforeseen expenses of the village). As was seen later the comunidades brought about certain imposts like professional taxes and levies for the transit of merchandise in their respective areas. However, at no point of time were the

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16 Assento de Fazenda Publica de 13 de Mar. de 1841 as quoted in Filippe Nery Xavier, Defensa ..., pp. 102-103.  
17 Filippe Nery Xavier, Defensa ..., pp. 102-103.  
18 J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Comunidades ..., pp. 65-68.
*communidades* allowed to impose tax on the rural people for meeting the cost of the developmental activities undertaken by them.

Often the *communidades* were burdened to provide innumerable services to the *Estado* and to the society at large. The government (mis)used its tutelary authority in extracting from the *communidades* as much as possible for creating and maintaining rural infrastructure and for carrying out various welfare activities.¹⁹

While discussing the division of village lands it has been mentioned that the *communidades* reserved lands for the utility of its residents and the neighbours as well. These included land used as roads, streets, and other pathways for facilitating intra-village and inter-village connectivity. They also reserved land for school, religious and social activities of the village. The existence of places denominated *mandd* in every village was a clear indicator of that. Evidently this can be seen in the regions of New Conquests. In many of the regions of New Conquests the *communidades* had extinguished and yet the places reserved for common benefit and utilization have survived to this day in the same form as had existed centuries back when the lands were occupied for the first time by the *gaunkars*.²⁰

The *communidades* were made responsible for creating various infrastructural facilities to promote the smooth functioning of the local economy. For instance, the *communidades* made the roads and highways; but this fabrication of roads was done

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¹⁹ Ibid., p. 72.
²⁰ Filipe Nery Xavier, Defensa ..., pp. 80-81

271
when the *communidades* enjoyed prerogatives as local administrative units in each of their respective villages. However, later that was no longer the case from the second half of the 19th century. The *communidades* did not enjoy such prerogative anymore. And because of this they should not have been compelled to provide men, money and material for road making. It was pure injustice to do so after they had lost the pristine position that they once held.\(^{21}\) However, the government considered it as an obligation of the *communidades* among other things to fabricate and to maintain at its own cost the rural infrastructure.\(^{22}\) As we proceed it would be clear that the *communidades* were forced by the government to give land, labor, capital and even entrepreneurship for the service of the state and society. In fact land was leased freely, labour was demanded as free service by right, capital once invested never earned any interest, and the entrepreneurship offered brought back no profits for the *communidade*.

It seems that the concept that the *communidades* were organizations to carry out public activities was erroneous, for before Portuguese occupation all these institutions always envisaged the exclusive benefit of their members only. The other villagers who were not members of the *communidades* did not enjoy the above referred benefits except those which by their very nature were for public purpose and with no prejudice to the member’s rights. Later on the Portuguese, on realizing their error, called upon the *communidades* to render services only for the exclusive benefit of their members.\(^{23}\)


The *communidades* although exercising municipal functions were never municipal bodies, since they always had catered only to the private interests of their members. The *communidades* had never catered to public interest, which was rather an essential feature of any Municipal Corporation. The functions of the *communidades* got modified to such extent that their expenses on things extraneous to their function as agricultural institutions was four times more than their expenses on projects which were related to agriculture and agricultural development.\(^{24}\)

*Communidades* had identical functions as other institutions of the period like the parish churches and municipalities, in promoting the religious cult, giving charity, imparting elementary instructions, and local transport. These institutions, however, could impose taxes for meeting these ends. For this the continued existence of the *communidades* was not required. Similarly, the *communidades* were not allowed to impose taxes of their own to meet their developmental activities.\(^{25}\)

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\(^{24}\) Filipe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo Historico das Communidades ...,* edited by José Maria de Sá, Vol. II, pp 137-38. ‘...D'ahi resulta que, por exemplo, no concelho das Ilhas, em quanto as obras próprias da instituição, a saber: de construção e reconstrução de portas, pontes e aquedutos, umas completas e outras em execução, todas consideradas importantes, custaram apenas 5.346½ rupias, na consecução de outras por ellas solicitadas para a conservação e asseio dos templos, ou seja na reparação dos edifícios eclesiásticos e sua mobília, se gastou no mesmo período 21.139 rupias'; Refer to Relatorio da Administracao das comunidades aldeanas do Concelho das Ilhas, Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1901, referido ao anno de 1899, pp. 17. In document no.° 15 the following clarifications are given regarding the expenses made in the year 1899:

--Reparação, obras e asseio de edifícios religiosos, dotação as egejas e capelas, vencimentos dos seus empregados, consignação para festividades..............Rs. 9.431:03:07
--Instrução.................................................................340:00:00
--Obras próprias da instituição........................................1.241:02:08

por este andar parece que as actuates comunidades agrícolas, em uma época mais ou menos remota, poderão chegar a alterar o seu modo de ser por forma a serem com mais propriedade denominadas comunidades religiosas.

Este juizo e d'um individuo que a sua custa e muito voluntariamente tem contribuido para varias edificações de templos e n'elles faz celebrar annualmente varios actos religiosos, o que declara para que lhe seja atribuída ma vontade ao culto divino.

\(^{25}\) Ibid.
There was a great degree of similarity between the functions of the comunidades and the parish churches as well as municipalities. But, the basic and fundamental function of the comunidades was to explore the lands of the institution and make them suitable for cultivation. However, the municipal functions that they exercised were secondary to their nature. Moreover, the nature of the municipalities was political regarding the exercise of their public functions and do not take into consideration the conjunction of private interests as was the case with the comunidades.

Moreover, the municipal organizations had delegated power granted to it by all the citizens regarding public administration. On the other hand the comunidades lacked the legitimacy to represent the local population for the basic reason that such authority was not conferred on it by way of election in the modern sense. Whom did the comunidade represent? Its members were the gaunkars, cuntocares, jonnkars, and other interessados and no one else. Even these people did not have equal and fair representation. Moreover many of these people resided outside the comunidades of which they were members. Some were members of more than one comunidade. Similarly, women were not members of the comunidades. These peculiarities of the comunidade system conflicted with the nature of the municipalities.

The comunidades also no longer had attributes to impose taxes and fines, attributes that then existed with the parish churches and the municipalities. This further

26 Ibid., pp. 155-156; José Maria Teixeira Guimares, *op cit.*, 1885, pp 5-30.
27 The clamours for the extinction of the institution of comunidades or their reorganization were basically because of the unequal representation and power and privileges enjoyed by different members of the comunidades.
shows that the *communidades* were not municipalities. The latter taxed the people and utilized the proceeds in carrying out developmental functions. On the other hand the *communidades* were drained off a large chunk of their surplus, which they were forced to spend on developmental activities.

The cooperative features of the *communidades* could be compared to those of the many institutions that were functioning in the industrialised countries of Western Europe then. Many of these contributed towards laying railway tracks, sustained schools for children of the labour class, constructed religious edifices, opened homes for the handicapped, created saving banks for mitigating the misery of the widows and the orphans of the labour class, and did almost everything for the benefit of the society without any fear that they might be obliged to continue perpetually such functions for the benefit of the society. Providing such facilities was an obligation for the municipalities and parish churches at that point of history but not for these institutions. Even in Goa, the *Sociedade Patriotica dos Baldios* in the New Conquests did spend on divine cult, and on roads, just as the *caminho de ferro* of Mormugao had opened saving-bank for the benefit of the members, without the fear that they would be compelled to carry out these functions in perpetuity.\(^{28}\) However, the *communidades* of Goa were made to bear the expenses of the extra economic activities by the State\(^ {29}\)

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I. The Communalidades and the Infrastructural Facilities in Goa

The communalidades had always helped financially and otherwise in executing public works in their respective villages. The help rendered by the communalidades was undoubtedly true, but, whether the assistance given was obligatory in nature before the arrival of the Portuguese is rather questionable. The Portuguese government, however, considered it an obligation and ordered the separation of a substantial sum of money by the communalidades, every year for this purpose. The communalidades were asked not only to construct roads but to provide for their annual maintenance. However, this was executed perhaps in a manner not suitable for public good.

In fact the Charter of Afonso Mexia of 1526 as also the Regimento of 1735 did not put this obligation on the communalidades to contribute to making the network of roads. However, the government shifted the responsibility to the communalidades, justifying that each epoch had its own special necessities in the satisfaction of which has to be gauged the utility of the works executed.

(a) Need for Modern Infrastructure

Undoubtedly, there was a need for modern infrastructure for the economic development of the countryside, for the security of the people in general and the benefit

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30 Refer to the government Note n.º 221, dispatched by Victor Anastacio Mourão Garcez Palha, Secretaria do governo geral, dated 4th May, 1848, to the Administrador do concelho das Ilhas, Sr. Jeronimo Francisco Ferreira, as quoted in J.H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Comunidades ..., pp. 63-64.
31 J.H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Comunidades ..., pp. 57-58.
32 Ibid., pp. 58-59.
of the individual in particular or in brief for the progress of the civilization. Commerce and trade did not take off much in Goa as in the sixteenth and the seventeenth centuries. There were lack of roads and other transport facilities even at the beginning of the 19th century. As a result of this, lot of human labour had to be utilized for the transport of men and material from one place to another.\footnote{Filippe Nery Xavier, \textit{Defensa ...}, Doc. No. 28, pp. 53-68.}

The Portuguese did provide for modern means of communication, which in turn could be utilized for their deeper penetration. The \textit{Estado} had made roads at the cost of the Public Exchequer. A royal road (\textit{Estrada Real}) that passed from north to south Goa, besides, many other vicinal roads in both the New and the Old Conquests were constructed during this period. However, the government reasoned in a manner that suited its interest and ordered that construction of roads should be the task of the \textit{communidades} and ordered that they should keep aside every year a substantial amount of their revenues, which otherwise would have had constituted the distributable surplus for the \textit{gaunkars}, for having a network of vicinal ways and routes in rural Goa. It demonstrated that inter-village roads were works entrusted to the \textit{communidades} of the villages under the direct supervision of the government, as was evident from the study of the Administrative Codes of 1836 and 1842.\footnote{Filippe Nery Xavier, \textit{Colleccao das Leis Peculiares das Cornmunidades Agricolas}, Doc. Nos. 314 & 334, pp. 397-398 and 415-416.}
(b) The *Communidades'* Responses

Many *communidades* seem to have promptly responded to the government request of contributing to public benefit from 1840s onwards. For instance many of the *communidades* of Bardez responded to the government request in making roads in their respective villages. Major Jose da Costa Campos, the inspector of Public works informed the Governor General in 1847 on the condition of the road-making works done with little administrative experience in the taluka of Bardez, which was under his administrative jurisdiction. He was grateful to villages like Anjuna that deserved special praise for the goodwill and zeal displayed in initiating with all promptness the work of major part of the road within their village. It was evident, that the people had made a solid and lasting work in these villages.\(^{35}\)

However, the roads constructed in *communidades* like that of Calangute, Parrá, Siolim, and Candolim were shabbily executed and were of much inferior quality. Likewise, some *communidades* like that of Sirulá, Guirim, Asagão and Nagoá were yet to contribute their mite for the regeneration of the taluka of Bardez. It was suggested that it

\(^{35}\) Refer to the report of Major José da Costa Campos dated 13\(^{th}\) December, 1847, as quoted in, J.H. da Cunha Rivara, *Brados a Favor das Communidades*, pp. 61-62. The *communidades* of Mapuca, Coluale, Tivim, Sirsaim, Assonorá, Nerul, Pilerne and Saligão were also likewise praised for contributing and striving to execute the stretch of roads within their precincts. But, the execution was not up to the mark in many of the villages. However, the government was all praise and appreciative of the efforts put up by the *communidades* of Saligão and Pilerne for the road made by spending huge sum of money and with great difficulty across the hillock separating the two villages. Transport and communication between these neighbouring villages became much easier and less expensive thereafter. It was informed that the better execution of works in Saligão was as a result of noteworthy efforts made by the respected procurator of the *communidade* of Saligão who took personal interest in the matter in seeing to it that the work was executed with strict adherence to rules and regulations.
would have helped everyone’s cause if efforts were made to coordinate the activities of all the individual comunidades.36

(c) Problems faced in the Execution of Government Orders

There were many hardships and problems in executing the governmental orders. One, the works were undertaken by the individual comunidades in the absence of any common master plan for the network of roads for Goa or for its different provinces. Many roads were badly made; some works were well executed but abandoned later on; and, others were destroyed due to natural and man-made factors. Similarly many of the contractors were ignorant of the art and science of road-making and had their eyes set only on the quantum of profits to be earned from the execution of a project rather than be genuinely interested in executing top quality works. Thus even after the comunidades contributed for decades a substantial amount of their revenues for road making, in the end instead of having a good network of roads, there existed only small and fragmented stretches of passable roads in many of the villages.37

The public works were auctioned off by the comunidades to the powerful gaunkars who very often executed the work shabbily. And if at all any outsider or interessado won the bid for execution of the work then the gaunkars adopted dilly-dallying tactics while making the payment to the interessado contractor who executed the work. The frauds and delays in payment led to intolerable financial loss to the contractors,

36 This is evident from the report of Major José da Costa Campos dated 13th December, 1847, as quoted in, J.H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Comunidades ..., pp. 61-62.
37 J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Comunidades ..., pp. 57-58.
and, the government was then burdened with unnecessary petitions and requests by the affected parties.\textsuperscript{38}

This type of inconveniences could be removed with proper vigilance and supervision at the governmental level. But there were other practical problems and these were related to dealing with the egos of the \textit{gaunkars}. For instance, while many times poor villages constructed a road in their villages with great financial difficulties and personal hardship, the rich neighbouring villages more often were stumbling blocks in achieving inter connectivity of roads amongst all the villages.\textsuperscript{39}

From the above it is abundantly clear that the \textit{comunidades} made the inter-village roads in the absence of any coordination and concerted efforts among the member \textit{comunidades}. In many villages the works executed were substandard. The culpability of the various officials of the government was also responsible for the substandard nature of the work that was executed.\textsuperscript{40}

The \textit{comunidades} were called upon to execute works for laying the infrastructural network in the countryside. But the unplanned nature of the execution of these works, undertaken without taking into consideration the benefit and utility for the respective \textit{comunidade}, was responsible for consequent loss and damage to the standing crops.\textsuperscript{41}

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\textsuperscript{38} Antonio Floriano de Noronha, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 15-18, 21-25 and 44-47. \\
\textsuperscript{39} J. H. da Cunha Rivara, \textit{Brados a Favor das Comunidades ...}, pp. 57-58. \\
\textsuperscript{40} Ibid. \\
\textsuperscript{41} \textit{Aviso Regio}, dated 17\textsuperscript{th} April, 1824, art. § 5. as quoted in Filipe Nery Xavier, \textit{Defensa ...}, pp. 51-53. 
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280
It was also contended that the agricultural activities of the cultivators were responsible for the poor state of the roads. Maintenance was a big problem. Rains were the other most important factor for the bad state of Goan roads. Moreover, the cultivators who wanted to eke a living out of their small-holdings used to dig and hoe and cultivate the lands very much contiguous to the roads. Often the farming activity was responsible for weakening the foundation of the roads leading to their eminent damage. The farmers used to dig and hoe in their rice fields very much near the base of the roads. Often this affected the solidity of the foundation of the newly laid roads. Perhaps then with the onset of monsoons the condition of the roads deteriorated further.

Regarding the roads constructed in the plain, there was no need for having a layer of stones along both the sides. However the experience showed that such expenses were but essential. Similarly, in some of the villages the amount was kept aside for making new roads. But, in reality existing embankments were converted into roads. In this manner the comunidades were defrauded of their meager financial resources. The

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42 Refer to the government Note n.° 982, dispatched by, Custodio Manoel Gomes, Chief Secretary of the Estado da India, dated 13th December, 1847, to the Administrador do concelho das Ilhas Sr. Jeronimo Francisco Ferreira as quoted in J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Communidades..., pp. 62-63. “...tendo mostrado a experiencia que as porcoes das estradas situadas nas differentes varzeas, não deixão de soffrer estragos, porque os respectivos proprietarios, sem outra cousa mais em vista que os seus interesses, mandam cavar, e cultivar o terreno contiguo a ellas, a ponto de descarnar os alicerces das fiadas de pedras: determina s. ex." a sr. governador geral desta estado, que v. s." faça publico no concelho que administra, que os cultivadores, que abalarem os alicerces dos reparos das estradas, serão responsaveis pelo prejuizo que com isso causarem...”

43 Government Note, N.° 40, of Custodio Manoel Gomes, secretario do governo, dated 18th of January, 1848, as quoted in, J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Communidades..., p.63. “...as estradas nas planicies bem podiam dispensar as fiadas lateraes de pedra; a experiencia porem mostra que se torna forçoso essa despesa, porque os proprietarios, contra o que era de esperar, não duvidam de agricultura propia Estrada, que acabam de fazer, sendo entre outros pontos mui notavel o que se vê na aldea Chinchimim, onde em partes se levou huma metade da estrada, e n’outras se prolongou os angulos dos valladinhos das varzeas até a margem opposta da estradas! — s. ex."lhe recommenda por tanto: - 1.° que nas estradas, que de novo se abrirem, ou reformarem, tenha em vista que se demarquem bem as margens das estradas. - 2.° Que faça que esses proprietarios reponham quanto antes as estradas no estado em que estavam..."
government recommended that whenever the *communidades* deliberated to construct new roads or repair old ones then the plans for the same had to be prepared scientifically. Similarly, whenever repair works were undertaken the contractors had to take special care to carry out the restoration work in a manner that would make the repaired roads as good as new ones.⁴⁴

(d) The Way out of the Mess

The *Estado da India* recognized the inconveniences caused due to the unplanned nature of road-making by the *communidades* that resulted in a huge wasteful expenditure by the agricultural associations. The government despatched a Decree dated 8th November, 1869, to put into effect measures for making roads in a proper manner.⁴⁵ This provided that the *Camara Geraes* of Ilhas, Salcete and Bardez were to make arrangement to set aside 1/10th of the distributable surplus of the respective member communities within their jurisdiction for the purpose of fabricating vicinal roads within the limits of the respective province. The general plan for road making was based on three cardinal

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⁴⁴ Government Note, N.º 40, dispatched by Custodio Manoel Gomes, Chief Secretary of the *Estado da India*, dated 18th January, 1848, to the *Administrador do concelho das Salcete*, Sr. Francisco Salvador Gomes, as quoted in, J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Brados a Favor das Communidades...*, p. 63.

⁴⁵ Filippê Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, Doc. No. 486, pp. 111. The government *Portaria N.º 227 on the 10.º parted as rendas para obras de caminhos vicinaes*, states that, “O governador geral do estado da India, determina o seguinte: Art. 1.º As camaras geraes de cada concelho das Ilhas, Salcete e Bardez, receitando annualmente nos seus cofres a decimal parted as sobras das respectivas communidades, para que a mesma quantia seja exclusivamente aplicada à construcceio dos caminhos vicinaes do respective concelho. Art. 2.º O plano, pelo qual se hão de delinear e construir esses caminhos, sera baseado nestes tres principios: 1.º ligar igreja com igreja; 2.º ligar igrejas com os embarcadouros e passos dos rios, o 3.º ligar tudo com a Estrada real. Art 3.º De acordo com a junta da fazenda está assentado que o tesouro publico reforçará annualmente com a quantia, que for possível, cada um dos cofres das camaras geraes, para o efeito pretendido da construcceio dos caminhos vicinaes. Art. 4.º a inspecçao das obras publicas, os administradores dos concelhos, e mais funcionarios, a que tocar, receberão ao seu tempo e successivamente as ordens convenientes para se levar a seu devido efeito a construcceio dos referidos caminhos vicinaes. As authoridades, a quem competir, assim o tenham entendido e executam. Palacio do governo geral em Nova goa, 8 de novembro de 1869. O governador geral, José Ferreira Pestana.”

282
points. Thus roads were to: (a) connect churches with churches, (b) connect churches with the neighbouring wharfs and other landing places, and (c) connect all these with the royal roads (Estradas real).\textsuperscript{46}

The Junta da Fazenda was to extend whatever help was asked by the comunidades in this regard. In the subsequent years the comunidades were forced to contribute regularly a tenth of their annual surplus for laying the network of roads. The government did however very little in seeing to it that the comunidades or the concerned authorities followed rigorously the guidelines laid down for better utilization of the funds so collected. It was doubtful if the Junta da Fazenda at all contributed financially or in any other possible manner for this noble cause.\textsuperscript{47}

Special conditions were set from time to time regarding the works related to vicinal roads.\textsuperscript{48} The vicinal roads had to be of a width of twelve mãos (linear measure in Goa with one mão corresponding roughly to one foot) depending on the situation of the road and the environmental conditions. The roads always had to be straight stretches as the crow flies. The comunidades also had to avoid as far as possible the costly process of expropriation of land from private parties. This meant that the only solution for this would be that the comunidades had roads only on and passing through its own lands.

\textsuperscript{46} Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), op. cit., Doc. No. 486, pp. 111; also refer J. H. da Cunha Rivara, Brados a Favor das Comunidades, pp. 59-60; see, Boletim..., No. 15, 1870, pp. 160-69.
\textsuperscript{47} Relatorio do Exmo. Sr. Governo Geral a Junta de Distrito do anno de 1869, in Boletim..., No. 92, 1869.
This was however not always possible. The roads were to have a height of around a span with stone pavements on both sides of the road. Drains also had to be provided for on both sides of the road so that water does not get collected but was drained off to the low lying areas as fast as possible. All precautions had to be taken to see that the roads constructed were of good quality and that they did not wear out immediately.49

If the comunidades had no other way then they could expropriate land from private parties. However while acquiring land, houses or trees for clearing the value of the same had to be assessed by the assessors and arbiters chosen by common consent. If the comunidade and the individual owners did not agree on the compensation to be paid the matter was referred to the decision of the Administrador das comunidades.50

(e) The Execution of Government Orders

A good part of the public roads including the internal transit routes were constructed by the comunidades when they enjoyed the prerogatives of concelhos (administrative divisions) within their jurisdictions. In the 19th century the situation was different as the comunidades no longer enjoyed such privileges then and their contribution towards road making drained their scarce resource which could otherwise have been utilized for the advancement of agriculture.

49 Filipe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, Doc. No. 542, pp. 165-168; also see, *Boletim ...,* No. 84, dated 23rd Nov. 1872; also refer to José Maria de Sá, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

50 Filipe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, Doc. No. 542, pp. 165-168; also see, *Boletim ...,* No. 84, dated 23rd Nov. 1872.
The province of Salcete had the following royal and municipal roads constructed with the help of the *communidades* by the middle of the 19th century. (a) One from the village Cortalim to Cuncolim. It started at the wharf called S. Lourenço in Cortalim, and passed through villages like Quelossim, Nagoã, Vernã, Margão, Navelim, Dramapur, Sarzorá and reached Cuncolim covering a distance of approximately 30,000 metres. Further, from Cuncolim one road went to Canacona and the other proceeded via the village Assolna to the military post of Cabo da Rama. (b) The second royal road was from the *Praça* of Mormugão to Cortalim passing through Dabolim, Vaddem, Chicalim and Sancoale covering a distance of about 14,655 metres. This route was eventually linked to the railway station at Dabolim by a link road. (c) A third road started from Margao and passing through Dicarpalle reached Ambora. The distance covered was approximately of 9,000 metres. Further, from Ambora the road extended via Curtorim, Mullem, and Cussumane and terminated in Quepem. (d) The fourth major road was from Chicalim to Baradi. It passed through the villages of Assoy, Palle, Velção, Cansaulim, Utordá, Orlim, Carmonã, Cavellossim and Velim. Of this long route by the end of the 19th century only a small fraction of about 3,189 metres was constructed. (e) Another road measuring about 3,850 metres connected Margão to Colvá passing via Mungul and a branch line proceeding to Betalbatim. (f) A road measuring 2,091 metres connected Margão with Benaulim. (g) The route connecting Cansaulim to Loutulim and passing through Vernã was partly constructed by a road measuring 3,691 metres by the end of the 19th century. (h) Similarly, one route from Carmonã to Macasana passed through the villages of Chinchinim, Sarzorã, Mulem, Cavorim, Chandor and Guirdolim. A part of this route measuring about 3,266 metres was constructed by the end of the 19th century. (i)
Macasana was similarly linked by a road passing through Sonsoró and Curtorim to Margão, with a branch line linking Sonsoró with Rachol. The total stretch of the road measured about 13,964 metres. In this manner almost all the important villages of the province of Salcete were linked by land routes at the beginning of the 20th century. The roads in Salcete were made by the comunidades even when the province lacked adequate manpower resources.

The Comunidades had to donate or lease their land for the construction of the roads in the villages under their jurisdiction. For instance in 1879 the comunidades of Margao and Raia had to lease their prime land for the construction of road connecting them. The comunidades were obliged by the government to give the necessary finances for the construction of roads. Moreover the comunidades also had to lease their lands for the purpose. Many of the comunidades had to contribute even when they were largely indebted. For instance, during this period the comunidades of Vaddem, Camorlim, Dicarpalle, Gandaulim, Loutolim, Margão, Mormugao, Nagoa, Raia and Sirlim had no distributable surplus for distribution among its members. Yet they had to contribute to meet the State demands, perhaps by acquiring loans. The following table gives an idea of how they were made to contribute proportionately towards road making in their respective provinces.

51 Filippe Nery Xavier, Bosquejo ..., Part I, p. 28; also refer to Filippe Nery Xavier, Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades ..., edited by José Maria de Sá, Vol. II, pp. 267-268.
52 Filippe Nery Xavier, Bosquejo ..., Part I, p. 28; Boletim ..., 1836, p. 279. Herein is given a list of six principal routes that traversed the province of Salcete in the first half of the 19th century. It was the comunidades that contributed in a major way for the construction and maintenance of these roads.
53 Boletim ..., No.30, dated 21st April, 1876, pp. 197-198
Table showing the contribution made by the *communidades* of Salcete for the construction of a road from Margão to Rachol (1879):\(^{54}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Communidades</th>
<th>Amount (xerafins)</th>
<th>Communidades</th>
<th>Amount (xerafins)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Aquem</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>Guirdolim</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Betalbatim</td>
<td>36,000</td>
<td>Gandaulim</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cavorim</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>Loutolim</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Clová</td>
<td>18,000</td>
<td>Margão</td>
<td>170,000 (besides the lease of land for the construction of the road.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Curtorim</td>
<td>170,000</td>
<td>Mormugão</td>
<td>17,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Camorlim</td>
<td>34,000</td>
<td>Nagoa</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicolina</td>
<td>3,400</td>
<td>Quelossim</td>
<td>15,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Chicalim</td>
<td>6,800</td>
<td>Raia</td>
<td>170,000 (besides the lease of land for the construction of the road.)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dicarpalle</td>
<td>25,500</td>
<td>Sancoale</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Doncolim</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>Seraulim</td>
<td>85,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dramapur</td>
<td>8,500</td>
<td>Sirlim</td>
<td>27,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Davorlim</td>
<td>68,000</td>
<td>Telaulim</td>
<td>34,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Dessua</td>
<td>10,200</td>
<td>Varca</td>
<td>170,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gonsua</td>
<td>17,000</td>
<td>Vaddem</td>
<td>3,400</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td><strong>1,751,800</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Thus, evidently the *communidades* were made to contribute to lay the infrastructural networks at the village level.

(f) The Slow Pace of Progress

As early as 1887 a rail route to Mormugao from the neighbouring British India was laid. At that time, it was decided that for economic development of Goa it was essential to have a plan of extension of public transport by about 705 kms. Of these 705 kms,

\(^{54}\) The data is collected from, *Boletim ..., No. 83, dated 7\(^{th}\) October, 1879, pp. 661.*
however, within ten years from 1888, only a total of 121 kms network of roads was complete, that is, on an average of about 12 kms per year.55

For any country, public transport is considered as principal arteries for the circulation of industrial and agrarian products and for maintaining good social relation. Roads facilitate internal trade and commerce just as shipping and navigation is essential to external trade. In the absence of good transport facilities the distribution of production gets affected as there is glut in one place and scarcity in another. This resulted in starvation and widespread hunger in the places of scarcity.56

As human health depends on the circulation of blood in the same manner the roads are arteries of a good economy. The government has to take effective measures for the enlargement of the network of roadways under its jurisdiction. Good roads facilitate labour mobility, and help the agricultural goods to reach the consumers within the shortest possible time. In Goa this was put into little practice and the impulse given to construction of a network of roads was weak and tardy. The hurdles in the infrastructural development were: (a) speculation was rampant among the contractors. (b) The municipal coffers were empty to the extent that even capital earmarked for road making was many times utilized for other unproductive purposes. (c) There was scarcity of technical personnel. (d) The infighting amongst the locals whereby each influential person demanded and made an effort to have the road in a manner to benefit selfish interest

55 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes, pp. 38.
56 Ibid; also refer to Rebello da Silva, Compendia da Economia Industrial e Comercial, Lisboa, 1868.

288
rather than collective good of the rural society. As a result road making neither had a method nor a rigorous classification as established by various government orders.  

The Governor, Joaquim José Machado (19-9-1897 to 13-4-1900), ordered that the tax charged decades back for road construction was to be adequately utilized for that purpose only. He ordered that the public exchequer should collect the revenue destined towards provincial transport, as stipulated in 1888. The funds collected were till then not utilized properly. Not only were the roads constructed in a bad state of maintenance but also the destination for which the money was to be utilized was forgotten by the concerned authorities. The following would give a fair idea of how much each taluka contributed for the expropriation of land and for the construction of roads in the extension of 121 kilometers for ten years from 1888.  

57 Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes*, pp. 38-39; Regarding the state of public transport in Goa, the Report of the Administração fiscal has the following to state: "... No Estado pessimo, devido ao modo os concertos ou reparação das estradas e caminhos são executados, regula a obrigação dos proprietarios dos predios por onde passa ou atravessa, ou se liga, os caminhos, fazerem os seus reparos, esta disipição desigual, por que aggravando, somente os ditos proprietarios, ou predios nessas circunstancias, ficão os outros pela maioria livres do onus, embora sejão ricos e vastos predios distantes dos caminhos, e acontecendo que sendo o transito abundante de ingremes ladeiras, pobres do proprietario do predio que se liga nesses pontos, não pode satisfazer cabalmente, porque a renda do predio não corresponde à despeza da reparação que se deve exigir; e isto junto ao retalhadamente dos predios, com possuidores em pequenas e desiguaes dos seus pedacos; de modo que para serem todos intimados leva-se muitotempo; e para conseguir o service, ser preciso empregar pessoal, e não se pode exigir perfeito por falta de forças de renda do proprietario, como já se disse; e de tudo resulta não haver quem vigie as estradas nos invernos, para abrir regos que desviem as correntes das agoas sobre os caminhos, especialmente das altas subidas, de modo que tudo que se faz com tanto trabalho, e incommodo do pessoal d'esta administração, desde novembro até março, fica inutilizado logo depois das primeiras chuvas de junho, que levam os intulhos, deixando profundas escavações, e o ultimo inverno que bastante rigoroso e abundantissimo de agoa foi deixando tudo em miseravel estado de difficil reparação por estes dous annos, com as dificuldades declaradas"... 3 de fevereiro de 1879... O administrador fiscal da 1.ª divisão, José Joaquim de Silva Correa.  

58 Ibid., pp. 39-40.
### Expenditure

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Talukas:</th>
<th>On Construction (in Rupees)</th>
<th>On Expropriation of Land (in Rupees)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Ilhas</td>
<td>2,544:02:04</td>
<td>1,124:14:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salcete</td>
<td>74,056:07:11</td>
<td>40,532:15:06</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>8,253:13:11</td>
<td>1,105:04:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponda</td>
<td>4,584:04:08</td>
<td>26:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanguem</td>
<td>2,712:11:08</td>
<td>220:00:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total</td>
<td>92,151:08:06</td>
<td>43,009:01:06</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

In the New Conquests only the provinces of Ponda and Sanguem contributed towards the construction of roads. The other provinces did not have sufficient revenues for this purpose and what little roads that existed herein were constructed by the *Estado* that took upon itself the responsibility for the same. It may also be noted the government at the end of the 19th century also did not demand that the residents of these talukas render free service in the execution of these public works though the law of the land dated 6th June, 1864 and altered later on 10th of October, 1871 had intentionally established the mandate to the government in this regard.59

**(g) Demand of Free Service by the Government**

The state demanded free service to execute the various projects of public utility especially for road construction. In Europe this method of taxing the people by way of free service was considered as features of *anciem regime*. In essence such contribution

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was by its very nature very burdensome especially when it was demanded of the rural population, which had very limited means of livelihood. Demanding free service by the state was not well accepted by the people.  

In France where like Portugal free service was demanded by the state, the government and the parliament had debated often on reforming this system but in both these countries nothing concrete came out in favour of abolishing the free service for centuries. For, in both countries the voice of the daily-wage worker as also of the small farmer was hardly heard. No one showed any pity or compassion to the deplorable state of the farm sector during this period. In Goa the working class was known for the gentleness of their spirit and the mild habits and was not likely to revolt. Taking undue advantage of the mild nature (susegad) of the Goan society the state demanded free service and other contribution regularly.  

(h) Alternative Sources of Finance Explored but not Utilized

Attention was also devoted by Mr. Conselheiro Machado in extending royal roads. To promulgate laws was easy but execution of these laws was but difficult. Mr. Conselheiro Machado showed how resources could be acquired to increase and improve the network of roads. The Estado was one of the biggest proprietors of land in Goa. Much of this government estate was either badly cultivated or improperly utilized. The Estado could do very little as proprietor to profit from optimum utilization of the land

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61 Ibid., pp. 40-41.
resources. But this land could however be freed from governmental control and given to enterprising individuals.\textsuperscript{62} This was accepted in principal and put into effect in many parts of the world then. To develop lands that were susceptible for development or to alienate those that were not susceptible was a very rational principle. Many of the lands of the government were given away to enterprising individuals in Diu and the proceeds were utilized for purpose of making roads. From the economic point of view also this was beneficial to the government. The government earned substantial revenue while alienating its lands. Subsequently, the government earned the \textit{contribui\c{c}{\~a}o predial} as tax. Transfer or sale of these lands also was a good source of revenue to the government. In Goa the \textit{Estado} possessed vast lands as \textit{bens nacionaes}, which could have been disentailed and if the proceeds there from were to be utilized for public benefit then the Goan economy would have flourished. This was however not allowed to happen in Goa.\textsuperscript{63}

Now it depended on the government of the day to take this as an opportunity to develop Goa or see in this very opportunity lot of inconveniences. In fact the shaping of the destiny of the people depended very much on those who lead the government. It may be noted that during the short tenure of Mr. Machado’s government from September, 1897, to April, 1900 there was an extension of roads by about 19.6 kms.\textsuperscript{64}

After the departure of Mr. Conselheiro Machado on 13\textsuperscript{th} April, 1900 the government showed little enthusiasm and zeal in extending the network of roads to the

\textsuperscript{62} Major Fernando Leal, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 1-17; also refer to, \textit{Boletim...}, No. 1, dated 4\textsuperscript{th} January, 1841, pp. 1-5.
\textsuperscript{63} Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, \textit{India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociales}, pp. 41-42.
\textsuperscript{64} Ibid., pp. 42-43.
extent that up to 1910 neither any new stretch of new road was laid nor were the existing roads maintained in proper conditions.  

II. Other Projects and Assignments Entrusted upon the *Communidades*

The various projects that the *communidades* could undertake for execution were as follows: (a) Effectuate measures for making the wastelands and marshy and swampy areas suitable for cultivation. Similarly undertake measures whereby agricultural fields producing one crop were made suitable for having the second crop. (b) They also made efforts to make the lands susceptible for the cultivation of two crops in a year. (c) They erected embankments, sluice-gates, dig ponds, puddles and lakes, aqueducts, etc., that were of common benefit. (d) Furthermore, the masonry and carpentry or furnishing of all edifices that were both constructed and maintained or were to be constructed and maintained in the future at their cost.  

Round the year a considerable part of the activities included the inspection by the *communidades* and consequent essential repair of dykes and embankments, erecting new sluice-gates, bridges, culverts, edification of churches, repair of quarters of the troops, etc., which were determined by the *camaras* and which were executed with all promptness and satisfaction of all the concerned authorities.  

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65 Ibid., pp. 43-44.  
66 Refer to, *Regimento de 1735*, as copied in Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, Cap. 20.°, pp. XXIII-XXIV; also refer in the same book, Doc. No. 542, pp. 165.  
67 Refer to Appendix 5.1.
The works undertaken by the comunidades were rarely arbitrary in nature but rather were necessary as the erection of the embankments, cleaning and dredging the small ponds, lakes, ponds, pools, lagoons, etc, construction of small bridges and culverts, making roads, repair of churches, etc. The projects that the comunidades undertook were with the same end, for which the individual property owners would also wish to. In the execution of these the comunidades had to scrupulously follow certain guidelines. These guidelines were followed unfailingly so as to avoid any abuses. 68

The guidelines were set as how to go about in the execution of these works. The comunidades had to report to the government about the utility of the proposed projects that were to be executed. The government often got the proposals examined by qualified engineers and other experts. 69

The works undertaken and executed by the comunidades were credit worthy and with these they helped lighten the burden of the Public Exchequer. All these projects were executed by following the procedures devised by the government to avoid embezzlement. The government had provided that the gaunkars did not participate in the auctioning of these projects with ulterior motives. 70 Once this was ensured all the possible means that could have resulted in embezzlement of funds were avoided. And therefore the earnings of the members by way of yearly jonh were not unduly affected. 71

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68 Ibid.
69 Filippe Nery Xavier, Defensa ..., Doc No. 3, pp. 5-6.
71 Filippe Nery Xavier, Defensa ..., Doc Nos. 5 & 6, pp. 22-34.
However, corruption and embezzlement of *communidade* funds was very much there which made Filipe Nery Xavier opine that if all the *communidades* were to follow scrupulously the steps laid down by the government then perhaps the misuse of resources could have been avoided. The abuses that were rampant were due to the disregard showed by those managing the *communidades* to the laws of the land.\textsuperscript{72}

But even *interestados* agreed that rarely did the *communidades* undertake projects that had no utility for the society.\textsuperscript{73} The procedure was as follows: (i) If the *communidades* wanted to undertake any of the works indicated above, then the same had to be discussed in the general body meeting of the *communidade*. All the *gaunkars* of the *communidade* as also the *interestados* had to compulsorily attend the meeting. The necessity and the utility of the project to be undertaken were discussed threadbare. The specification of the project and all its other details were considered. The views of the twenty most influential *interestados* were recorded. Similarly the full project was divided into smaller portions or series as was possible so that the *communidade* was not burdened financially with the execution of the project in one financial year only. The decision arrived at was signed by all those who were present and then this was brought to the notice of the *communidade*’s procurator for further necessary action.\textsuperscript{74} These steps had to be followed scrupulously in all cases and at all times except in instances when the dykes and embankments got ruptured. Such emergencies, however, had to be attended to immediately.\textsuperscript{75}

\textsuperscript{72} Ibid., p. 36.
\textsuperscript{73} Ibid., Doc No. 7, pp. 48-52.
\textsuperscript{74} Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, p. 165.
\textsuperscript{75} Regimento de 1735, as copied in Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, Cap. 21. p. XXIV.
(ii) If the *Administrador das Comunidades* found that a particular project was supported by the majority of the signatories then he used to set a particular date and time for carrying out personal inspection to see for himself the necessity as also its utility. The Administrator carried the inspection in the presence of the procurator of the *communidade*, its assessor, and the experts nominated by the concerned *communidade*. If, however, the project was opposed by the majority of the signatories then the Administrator used to forward the decision to the higher authorities for due orders and acted accordingly. While carrying out the inspection the Administrator recorded all the statements and views of the assessors and other experts regarding the necessity and utility of the project to be undertaken and registered the same in the form of an inspection certificate or document. The same document or the act had to be duly recorded in the register of the *communidade* by the *escrivão* (secretary), and signed by the Administrator, procurator, assessor, experts and by two more witnesses.

(iii) If during the inspection of the Administrator the project was found to be of no utility and necessity to the concerned *communidade* then the issue was considered as closed, once and for all. Under no circumstances could it be revived except under the directive of the higher governmental authorities. If on the other hand the inspection proved the necessity and utility of the project then the *communidade* followed certain well established guidelines unfailingly.

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76 Filipe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, Doc. No. 542, pp. 165-166; in the same work refer to *Regimento de 1735*, Cap. 20, pp. XXIII-XXIV.
77 Ibid., p. 166; *Portaria*, 23rd October, 1872, art. 4°; *Regimento das comunidades de 1735*, Cap. - 20°, pp. XXIII-XXIV.
78 Ibid., p. 166.
79 Ibid.
(iv) After issuing the inspection certificate the Administrator of the Communidades asked the assessors to prepare the budget or estimate for the project within the shortest possible time when this was not possible to be prepared on the day of the inspection itself. This was recorded by the escrivão in the competent register of the comunidades with due attestation by the assessor. The estimate was prepared with all clarity and total transparency regarding the minute details of the project. All details essential for the proper and timely completion of the project had to be recorded without leaving out any details.

(v) The final budget was registered in the books of the comunidade with the accompanying conditions of contract. The conditions were such as the furnishing of proper guarantee by the contractor regarding the payment of any arrears due to the comunidade or for reimbursing the damages caused in the execution of the project. The contractor as also the guarantors were collectively responsible for these payments besides paying the due fine and imprisonment. If the contractor and the guarantors were residing outside the jurisdiction of the Administrator of the Communidades then they undertook to submit themselves to the authority of the latter. The contractors also guaranteed the execution of the project without any alteration unless approved by governmental orders. They paid the damages to the comunidade in instances when there was any unauthorized alteration in the project. Many times the comunidades refused to

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81 Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, Doc. No. 542, p. 166.
82 Ibid.
pay the expenses incurred when there were unauthorized alterations. The contractor also had to complete the projects on time, if not then he was fined.

(vi) If the contractor was not in a position to complete the project within the stipulated time, which always had to be before the commencement of the tilling the farms and fields for the cultivation of the first crop, then the contractor had to pay damages to the *communidade*. These were equal to the revenue of the *communidade* from the first crop.

(vii) After making the estimate and drawing up the conditions for award of contract, the *escrivão* despatched to the Administrator the inspection certificate, the estimate and the conditions of contract. The Administrator then decided to have public auctioning for the proposed project. The day, time and place of opening tenders were announced through a public advertisement. The public auction was held after fifteen days from the publication of the tender and it was either in the respective village or at the headquarters of the Administration of the *Communidades* but it always had to be done in the presence of the Administrator. Only the officials concerned and the workers were admitted. The tender was awarded to whosoever agreed to execute the project for the least premium. This was significant because there were hardly any scope for overspending. The award of the work was duly registered. It may be noted that the entire

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84 Ibid., Doc. No. 542, p. 167.
85 Ibid., pp. 166-167; The Portuguese Civil Code also prescribed severe penalties to the contractors for non-completion of projects on time because of the prejudices that would result from it to agriculture. As Goa was always a region deficient in cereal production it was very much essential those days that such penalties be imposed.
86 Ibid., *Regimento de 1735*, Cap. 20, as transcribed in Filipe Nery Xavier (Jr.), op. cit., pp. XXIII-XXIV.
87 Ibid., Doc. No. 542, p. 166.
88 Ibid., pp. 167-168; *Bando*, dated 8th August, 1872, as quoted in, José Maria de Sá, op. cit., pp. 156-158.
project was executed only through open tender and this included the supply of all the essential building material. No gaunkar or interessado who were resident of the same village could participate in the auctioning either in person or through proxy. They also could not stand as guarantors to the contractors or to the suppliers of building material.\(^8^9\)

(viii) The award of tender for the execution of a project had to be submitted to the government for approval. Only then did the contractor initiate the work. Upon completion, the project was handed over to the comunidades, in the presence of the Administrator of the comunidades, and according to the specification of the conditions of contract and the estimate. Only when the comunidades were satisfied, that the project was completed according to the conditions and specifications stipulated at the time of signing the contract, only then possession of the project was taken. The payment to the contractor and suppliers of building material was done by the sacador (tax farmer, revenue collector of the comunidade) upon receiving the duly signed vouchers for the same.\(^9^0\) The procurator (procurador efectivo) was entrusted with the task of overseeing the progress of the project in conformity with the dispositions stated above;\(^9^1\) but he did not always carry out his task with integrity and honesty. Often, the procurators conspired with the contractors in siphoning off the building material for private use or for selling it in the open market.

(ix) While preparing the budget or estimate for projects related to making the wild and fallow lands suitable for cultivation or making the agricultural lands suitable for

\(^8^9\) Ibid., Doc. No. 616, pp. 207-208.
\(^9^0\) Ibid., Regimento de 1735 as transcribed in Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), op. cit., Cap. 20, pp. XXIII-XXIV.
\(^9^1\) Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), op. cit., Doc. No. 542, p. 166.
second cultivation, certain formalities were followed. Special dispositions regarding execution of works for making lands susceptible for two crops in a year were as follows: All lands susceptible for the cultivation of second crop, whether it was sorodio or vangana (rabi or kharif), was developed at the cost of the comunidades. If such lands were there in any of the villages then the Administrator proceeded to do the inspection with the experts and assessors. This had to be preceded by the submission of a report to the Administrator finalized after carrying out due survey every year by the procurators, village secretary and the assessors within specified period.

(x) Thereafter, from the annual budget only if there was any distributable surplus, then the comunidade set aside the sum necessary for carrying out the work for making lands suitable for the cultivation of the second crop. Those comunidades that obtained permission of the government for this purpose had to finish the work as fast as possible. If this was not done then the Administrator took the necessary steps to take care of the sum sanctioned for the purpose. Further he issued order for the completion of the project within a stipulated period failing which the procurators, secretary and the members of the administrative junta of the comunidade lost their rights and privileges as gaunkars. To enable the concerned parties to finish the work on time the full project was divided into phases for completion. Under all circumstances all the work of making the land suitable

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92 Ibid., Doc. Nos. 533 & 542, pp. 155-158 and 166.
93 Ibid., Doc. No. 542, p. 166; Bando, of 8th August, 1782, §§ 1.º and 4.º as quoted in José Maria de Sá, op. cit., pp. 156-158; Filippe Nery Xavier, Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agrícolas. Doc. No. 92, pp. 171-172.
95 Refer to José Maria Sá, op. cit., p. 161.
for having second crop was to be complete before the initiation of the farming activity of the first crop. 96

After finalizing the estimate for the proposed work the tender was issued in the government bulletin and the auctioning for the award of the work was done either in the session house of the comunidade or at the office of the Administrator of the comunidades. 97

The contractors who got to make land suitable for the cultivation of the second crop had to unfailingly finish the work within the stipulated period. If for any reason the delay resulted in the fields being left fallow without cultivating even the first crop then he was imprisoned, besides paying a fine of 100 xerafins and reimbursing to the comunidade the consequent loss of revenue. 98 This was significant because the comunidades were assured of their revenue; but this may not have been the case with the ordinary cultivator gaunkars. They suffered deprivation and loss for as they were unable to cultivate the fields of their ancestors and suffered silently.

However, in spite of clear guidelines which were set for the execution of work, the comunidades often executed sub-standard projects. For instance, the works related to the dykes and embankments were mostly shabbily executed. There were constant ruptures. These were raised along the course of the rivers and rivulets and their

97 See, Filipe Nery Xavier (Jr.), op. cit., Doc. No. 542, p. 166-167; Bando, dated 8th August, 1872, as quoted in, José Maria de Sá, op. cit., pp. 156-158.
98 Refer to José Maria Sá, op. cit., p. 162.
foundation was not on any solid ground but was in the slush (lodo) of the rivers. The newly raised dykes and embankments were also exposed to the fury of heavy currents of the monsoons and tidal activity. The quality of stones used to lay the foundation was also not good as they were highly porous in nature and got disintegrated due to the salinity of the river water. Sufficiently matured timber was also rarely utilized.\(^9^9\)

Many times these works were not executed properly and so were not durable. The reason was that the procurators nominated by the comunidades for assisting the execution of these works conspired with the contractors in siphoning off the construction material. This went on year after year. This deplorable state of affairs could have been avoided only if the comunidades were to undertake themselves the execution of the various projects rather than giving the same on contract. Only the supply of the construction material and other resources could have been given on auction. The comunidades could have appointed inspectors to judge the quality of the work. The inspectors could have been appointed one from amongst the gaunkars and the other from the class of interessados.\(^1^0^0\) For instance, the Juiz das comunidades of the province of Salcete, João Pedro d’Abreu Tavares, informed that an embankment raised round the pond Rumdem in Margao around 1825 under his personal supervision was sure to last for centuries to come.\(^1^0^1\)

\(^9^9\) Filippe Nery Xavier, *Defensa...*, Doc. No. 7, pp. 36-37
\(^1^0^0\) Refer to, Filippe Nery Xavier, *Defensa ...*, Doc No. 7, pp. 34-39.
\(^1^0^1\) Ibid.
III. Special Dispositions regarding the Utilization of River Water, Embankments, Rice Fields and Cultivation

(i) The gaunkars or others were not permitted to undertake measures that would obstruct and block the flow of the river. The people were not to extend the banks of the river that would affect the course of the river. The Administrator of the Communidades was responsible to take the necessary measures to see that the people did not cog or block the flow of the river. If any one took measures to the contrary, then the Administrator initiated necessary steps, to clear the flow of the rivers and rivulets after carrying out necessary personal inspection.

The Administrators, however, permitted the use of rubble stones and lime to strengthen and give solidity to the embankments that were very fragile in nature and thus often ruptured causing untold misery to the cultivators. The embankments raised along the course of the rivers were of mud and were of the width not less than approximately twelve feet (doze maos) at the bottom and six feet at the top. The embankments had to be repaired, mended and given solidity every year. For this the mud and slush was taken from the rivers and rivulets itself so that the flow of the rivers was smooth every year. The Portuguese government in this manner burdened, though not directly, the comunidades with the task of dredging the rivers and rivulets annually. This prevented
flooding of low lying areas. But dredging the rivers every year might have been one of the factors responsible for affecting the solidity of the foundation of the embankments resulting in their constant ruptures and resultant devastations that created great havoc and misery to the countryside. Fields got inundated, huts and dwellings were destroyed and people were affected by consequent outbreaks of diseases and epidemics. Tending to the people in such abnormal times was the obligation of the comunidades.106

(ii) The comunidades were told to drain the low lying swamps and marshy areas to make these lands susceptible for rice cultivation for reducing the cereal deficit of Goa. In similar manner the comunidades were to take necessary measures to make the bogs, puddles and ponds, and all other areas where generally water was stored in the months of April and May, suitable for having at least one crop i.e., rabi cultivation. The comunidades had to cultivate these lands at its own cost when they were unable to give such lands on rent for short period or on long-lease.107 Such lands were there in almost all the different villages of Goa.

(iii) The comunidades were not permitted to deliberately inundate their low lying fields with salt water without permission of the government.108 If at all the low lying cultivable areas got inundated accidentally due to unforeseen circumstances such as due to ruptures in embankments, dislocation of the sluice-gates and other outlets, then the

106 Ibid., Doc. Nos. 298 & 300, pp. 387 and 388.
108 Circular dated 8th March, 1849 and the Circular, n.° 993, dated 8th March, 1845, as quoted in José Maria de Sá, op. cit., p. 165.
communidades were obliged to take emergency measures to make immediate repairs and to discharge the salt water within 24 hours.\textsuperscript{109}

Sometimes the government permitted the communidades to introduce salt water in their low-lying lands. But the level of the salt water was neither to be allowed to rise by more than one foot from the level of the land nor be allowed to be kept there for more than 24 hours. Where the introduction of such waters was essential then it was permitted only after a gap of every three days.\textsuperscript{110} However, it was not permitted to introduce saline water in places adjacent to wells of drinking water that were of common use and especially when there was a danger of contamination due to such activities. Introduction of saline water whenever was permitted it had to be preceded by an agreement with the proprietors of adjacent fields so that the latter’s interests were not harmed. If the comunidade took measures contrary to established laws in this regard then those responsible for it were tried judicially following a summary inquiry by the government.\textsuperscript{111}

(iv) The owners of coconut plantation and other rich owners of farm lands could take top-soil from the adjacent rice fields to fill up their plantations or for similar other use. However, the permission of the tenant cultivators had to be taken and they had to be adequately compensated for it. Neither the comunidade nor the gaunkars could oppose

\textsuperscript{109} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{110} Ibid; also see to Filippe Nery Xavier, \textit{Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agrícolas}. Doc. No. 267, pp. 352-353.
\textsuperscript{111} \textit{Circular} dated 8\textsuperscript{th} March, 1849 as quoted in José Maria de Sá, \textit{op. cit.}, p. 165.
this in any manner.\footnote{Filipe Nery Xavier, Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Communidades Agrícolas, Doc. No. 21, pp. 47-49.} While the plantation owners benefited from this the tenant cultivators also had more than just monetary gains. The farm tools and implements used by the cultivators in Goa were primitive in nature and deep furrows were just not possible. The result was that in a few years the top-soil was sapped of its vitality and became unproductive in a few years of continuous cultivation. Under these circumstances if the plantation owners scooped off the top soil for their use then the cultivators got a fresh layer of fertile soil to do the cultivation.

It may be noted that the plantation owners could take top-soil only from fields that had \textit{sorodio} (rabi) cultivation.\footnote{Ibid; José Maria Sá, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 165-166.} This might have facilitated faster drainage of rain water during the monsoons thus preventing the flooding of the rice fields. The fields which had \textit{vangana} cultivation could not be disturbed by taking the top soil. This was because the lands where \textit{vangana} cultivation was in practice were usually low lying lands. And, if the top-soil was taken then it would have affected both the drainage of rain water as also the irrigation of the fields during the summer season.

The procedure involved was that the plantation owners had to intimate the \textit{communidade} as and when they wanted the top-soil from the rice fields. The \textit{communidade} then asked its assessor to report on the quantum of payment to be made to the affected tenant cultivators taking into consideration the cost of cultivation.\footnote{Filipe Nery Xavier, Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Communidades Agrícolas, Doc. No. 21, pp. 47-49.} The
report of the assessors had to be registered in the competent books of the *communidade* giving full details of the areas from where the top-soil was to be taken.

If it was not possible to do the valuation by an approved assessor then the affected tenant cultivator had to state on oath the value of the soil taken. Sometimes the plantation owners were not prompt in making their due payments and under these circumstances the tenant cultivators were put to inconvenience because of their hard-pressed need for money. The *communidade* took measures to make advance payment to the tenant cultivators.\(^{115}\)

Plantation owners who extracted the top soil without due permission of the *communidade* were fined 5 *xerfins* for each such offence. Of these 5 *xerfins*, three were given to all the concerned cultivators and the other two were awarded to one who intimated in writing, to the *communidade*, the incidence of such an illegality. Besides, the plantation owners had to reimburse to the respective tenant-cultivators the value of the soil taken.\(^{116}\)

Sometimes the *gaunkars* or the tenants cultivating *communidade* rice fields prevented the plantation owners from taking the top soil from the rice fields. Excessive price was demanded from the plantation owners for taking the top soil. This was however, not permissible. Sometimes the *gaunkars* themselves took the top-soil by paying the

\(^{115}\) José Maria Sá, *op. cit.*, pp. 166.

\(^{116}\) Ibid; Filippe Nery Xavier, *Collecção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agricolas*, Doc. No. 21, pp. 47-49.
same price, with the intention to deny the plantation owners from taking it. Under such circumstances the latter were entitled for due compensation.\textsuperscript{117}

Extraction of top-soil was permitted only in the month of May every year. Sometimes, due to the fury of the monsoons the soil used to get carried away from the surrounding elevated embankments of the plantation owners to the adjoining rice fields causing problems for the rice cultivators. While the plantation owners were allowed to take back the resulting soil drained into the adjacent rice fields,\textsuperscript{118} the cultivators were not paid any compensation.

IV. The \textit{Comunidades} and Public Health in Goa

Goa faced constant outbreak of epidemics from time to time. Outbreak of contagious diseases was also frequent. Epizootic attacks were also not less frequent. In fact the constant outbreak of epidemics was given as the prime reason for the abandonment and depopulation of many Goan villages. For instance, the Alvará of 4\textsuperscript{th} March, 1778 gave the following villages as decadent and depopulated after the outbreak of epidemics there in 1783. These include: Corlim, Carambolim, Azossim, Mandur, Gancim, Neurá o grande, Neurá o Pequeno, Goalim-Moula and Telaulim.\textsuperscript{119} Similar was the case in villages like Chorão, Piedade, S. Mathias, Naroa, Gandaulim, Bambolim, Seridão, Chimbel, Panelim, Agaçaim and Ella wherein there were outbreaks of epidemics in 1790. Likewise, many villages of Salcete had few inhabitants especially in villages

\textsuperscript{117} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{118} Ibid.
from Mormugão to Quelossim. In the New Conquests region the situation was still worse. In fact constant outbreak of epidemics especially malaria, was cited as the chief cause responsible for the residents of the Old Conquests not taking up residence in the New Conquests for exploitation of the natural resources available in abundance there. 

120 Boletim ..., dated 3rd October, 1865. N°. pp. 496. Herein is filed the following report: Noticia historico das epidemias, pelo maior parte de febres, que tem flagellado em diversas epochas os habitantes de varias aldeas deste estado, cujos efeitos muitos delles ainda ressentem, deduzida de documentos officiais.


1775 - Em Pomburpag, e Velotin, de Sirulad de Bardez.

1781 - Em Taleigao, S. Iguez, Panjim, e Murad, das Ilhas.

1782 - Em Margao, de Salcete: começou no bairro da Povoacao, na rua á direita da igreja, e passou aos bairros do bazaar, Mormutuy, Comba, Maleabatta, Maidel, Bordá e Fatorad, e faleceram desde o 1o de abril de 1782 até 31 de agosto de 1785, ao todo 967 dos acometidos. - Sendo atribuida a sua causa aos ares que causava o pavimento do corpo da igreja, deu-se começo á construcao da igreja, e de mais fora a delia.

1787 - Em Cortalim, e os habitantes, depois de bem flagellados abandonaram em 1791 aquella, em que havia habitantes.

1790 - Em Malvarã, Açaicaim, Goa-Velha, Naurá e S. Lourenço, das Ilhas.

1792 - Em Sainxalex, e nas suas vizinhas. de Salcete.

1840 - Em Divar (Piedade), das Ilhas.

1842 - Em Chimbel, das Ilhas.

1843 - Em Mormugão, Vaddem e Chicalim, de Salcete.

1844 - Em varias aldeas de Salcete, a epidemic of bexigas.

1845 - Idem - he of observer, que em varios annos do seculo presente o mal de bexigas grassou em muitas aldeas, e fez muitas victimas, mas os documentos officiais do arquivo do governo são omisssos.

1845 - Em Sanquilém, e em diversos pontos do estado afectados o mal de cohero-morbus.

1849 - Idem - No seculo presente como no passado, é certo que o terrivel mal de coheo faz grande estrago nos habitantes de diversos pontos deste estado; todavia os documentos officiais supra alludidos não dão noticia daquella mal, consta porém que o governo por officio de 24 de dezembro de 1775 mandará fazer autopsia tamigosa de um falhecido de Nyrmuly (indigena) ou Sirly coheo, e não se sabe do seu resultado.

N.B. - Como por portarias de 10 de março de 1845, e 25 de abril de 1845 foi commettido á Junta de Saude Publica a cuidade de audicer com as conveniences providencias em casos de molestias contagiosas, epidemicas, episooticas, só o arquivo daquelle reparticao pode subministrar dados certos aos curiosos que quizerem ordenar um mapa historico-estatistico das molestias epidemicas e contagiosas, que tem reinado depois da expedição daquelle portarias, e o resultado que se tem colhido das diligencias empregados para a sua extinção. - Nova Goa. 23 de setembro de 1865. Filipe Nery Xavier.

In 1845 the government determined that the expenses of the medical party including the dispensary had to be maintained by the *communidades* in times of epidemics. The *communidades* were made to contribute in times of epidemics for the care and treatment of non-privileged sections of the rural inhabitants. The *communidades* or their components were made solely responsible for defraying the cost of rural sanitation.\(^1\) In fact, earlier by the *Portarias* of 10\(^{th}\) March, 1845, and 25\(^{th}\) April, 1845, the *Junta de Saude Publica* (Public Health Department) was made responsible for taking measures to contain the outbreak of diseases.\(^2\) However, from 1849 onwards the *communidades* were given this responsibility.\(^3\)

According to the *Portaria* dated 25\(^{th}\) April, 1849, the *communidades* during the outbreak of epidemics were to spend daily a sum of 2 *xerarins*. Of these one *xerarin* was for the payment of the attending physician and the other was towards defraying the cost of his transport. If the physician came from outside the limits of the particular village the *communidade* had to shell out 3 *xerarins*. However, if the attending physician came from outside the limits of a particular province then the daily contribution shot up to 4 *xerarins*

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\(^3\) Filipe Nery Xavier, *Coleção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agrícolas*. Doc. No. 289, pp. 370-374. The *Portaria* of 25\(^{th}\) April, 1849, stipulated the following: "...Art. 12.° As despesas do Facultativo, e da Botica portatil serão satisfeitas pelas respectivas, para cuja despesa ficam desde já autorizados: Art. 21.° Os Facultativos, sendo da propria Aldea terão huma machita effective, e huma rupia de vencimento diario para tartar ad doentes pobres. Os doentes, que tiverem meios, satisfarão a importancia dos medicamentos; e os abstados serão tambem obrigados a remunerar os Facultativos... Art. 22.° Se o Facultativo nomeado for de huma Aldea a outra, terá huma machita effective, e tres xerarins de vencimento; e se for mandado para for a da Comarca, salvo sendo menos de tres legoas, terá além da machita effective, quarto xerarins de vencimento diario..."
per day. If we take the minimum, then a *communidade* ended up spending 2 *xerfins* per day and this was exclusive of the expenses on medications which amount was also charged to the *communidades*.

Often the *communidades* spent enormous sums during the outbreak of epidemics on paying the physicians itself. The minimum amount that every *communidade* had to spend in a year was about 750 *xerfins*. But many of the *communidades* like those of Bambolim, Curca, Talaulim, of Ilhas, Adsulim, Canã, Velim, etc., of Salcete and Arporá Corlim, Marra, etc., of Bardez had net revenues far less than 750 *xerfins* in a year.

The *Portaria* of the government dated 25th April, 1849 classified the outbreak of epidemics, if either there were four known cases of contagious diseases or when 15 cases of fever were reported. In Goa, throughout the 19th century as also earlier the outbreak of small-pox was frequent principally when the migrant Goans came back after serving in British India. Similarly, in any season it was rare for many a village not to have less than 15 reported cases of fever. Therefore at any point of time Goa remained a perpetually epidemic region. Moreover, the medications prescribed by the attending physicians was said to have been hardly effective. Under these circumstances the people were forced to take herbal medicines the effectiveness of which was also doubtful in positively controlling the outbreak of epidemics. In the end while the officiating physicians were

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remunerated and were on pay rolls of the comunidades it was the people dealing in herbal medicines who attended to the ailing people. In this manner many comunidades spent their resources unjustly and with little or no benefit to the people. 129

V. The Communidades: Construction of Cemeteries, Sustenance of Beggars and Mendicants

In Goa, ever since the arrival of the Portuguese in 1510, some of the dead people were buried in the pavement of the churches. 130 This is evident from a field study of the old churches of Goa in the Old Conquests. This however often created health problems. For instance, in 1782, there was an epidemic in Margao, and within two years a thousand people died. 131 The cause was supposed to be the foul smell emanating from the pavement of the church where the dead were buried. Parishioners of other villages might have also suffered due to similar reason. And thus from the late 18th century many parishes started constructing cemeteries.

The comunidades were made to defray the cost of construction of cemeteries for the dead in many parts of Goa. For instance, the comunidade of Gancim contributed 1999:0:39 xeralfns, for the construction of cemetery in 1819-20. 132 Similarly, the comunidade of Nagoa constructed a cemetery in 1842. Earlier, in 1832, the comunidade of Orlim in Salcete gave 1000:0:00 xeralfns for having a cemetery for its

130 Boletim..., No. 76, dated 3rd October, 1865, p. 496.
131 Ibid.
132 HAG, Registo das Portarias do Governo, Vol. 1406, fl. 79.
parishioners. Likewise, a sum of 2054:2:30 xerafins was set aside from the revenues of the village Jua in 1840 for the construction of a cemetery in that village.

In fact it was the Municipal Councils that had to construct and maintain the cemeteries. In times of lack of resources the Municipal Councils were entitled to tax the people. But the responsibility of building the cemetery was conveniently shifted on to the shoulders of the communidades.

VI. The *communidades* and the Maintenance of the Prisoners

The *communidades* also had the obligation for the maintenance of the poor captives and prisoners in Goa. It was only the Governor General Mr. V. d'Ourem who burdened the *communidades* to the extent of making them solely responsible for fulfilling the obligation for the maintenance of the poor captives and prisoners. Later, realizing that this was too heavy an imposition on the meager resources of the *communidades*, the government asked the Municipal Councils to partly defray the cost of maintaining the poor prisoners and other captives. The Portaria of 9th March, 1854 asked the Municipal Councils to take measures to collect revenue for this purpose, from the *communidades* as well as from all the tenant-cultivators, dessais, and other title-holders of the district in

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133 HAG, Registo das Portarias do Governo, Vol. 2428, fl. 83.
134 HAG, Registo das Portarias do Governo, Vol. 2438, fl. 32v.
both the Old and the New Conquests. It seems that the government authorities looked at the institution of *communidade* as a milch cow and was extracting resources from their treasury.

For instance, the *Codigo Administrativo* had made the Municipal Councils solely responsible for meeting the cost of maintaining the prisons and jails, though not its inmates. It was the Administrators of the Provinces who were entrusted with the task of policing the jails and sustenance of the jail inmates. The institution of Santa Casa de Misericordia was also partly responsible for the sustenance of the poor jail inmates. In Lisbon, the government itself maintained the poor jail inmates in association with the institution of *Misericordia*. Later on, in 1834 the Portuguese government took upon itself the sole responsibility for this obligation in Lisbon and gave to the Misericordia a sum of 2,400,000 réis annually to compensate for its help. From the above it is clear that sustenance of the poor jail inmates in mother country was the responsibility of the government itself in association with the *Misericordia*. However in Goa the government shifted this responsibility on to the shoulder of *communidade*, causing it to bear the maintenance-cost of the prisoners of state from its agricultural surplus. This unusual form of extra-economic coercion drained the meager resources of the *communidades*. It is very clear from the analysis of the preamble of the *Portaria* of 9th March, 1854, that in Goa sustenance of the jail inmates had always been the obligation of the *Misericordia* up

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137 Ibid., § 138.°, pp. 35.
140 Ibid., § 140.°, pp. 35.
to the year 1837. From then onwards up to 1854 the cost was defrayed by the Public Exchequer. But later when the Public Exchequer could not meet with the growing expenses to sustain jailers, the obligation for the same, instead of reverting back to the Misericordia, was put on the comunidades, as the agrarian surplus appeared much more maneuverable and easy for extraction for a cause like this. 141 The Camara Geral of Salcete on behalf of its constituent comunidades represented against this burdensome obligation to the government. The government, however, asked the comunidades to adhere to its directive. And the comunidades had no alternative but to oblige. 142

VII. The Comunidades and the Construction of Rest Houses

The indirect way of extracting surplus from the comunidades was also evidently visible in the cases when the comunidades were compelled to contribute both land and money for the construction of rest houses for the travelers and pilgrims. The comunidades were agricultural associations and their intrinsic function was to take measures for the agricultural development of the areas under their control. It is only in the second half of the 19th century that the comunidades were made to give away their lands on lease for this purpose. 143 The comunidades were asked to give lands to facilitate the construction of public hostels for the benefit of travelers and pilgrims. Such

141 Ibid., § 141.° & 142.°, p. 35.
142 The Camara Geral of Salcete made a representation to the government vide its Officio n.° 572, dated 26th April, 1854. In reply to this the government dispatched immediately its own Officio n.° 11, dated 29th April, 1854, asking the comunidades to fall in line with its directive as quoted in Joaquim Bernardino Catão da Costa, O Triunfo da Verdade, § 143.°, p. 35.
143 Joaquim Bernardino Catão da Costa, O Triunfo da Verdade, § 146.° & 147.°, p. 36.
types of obligations that were entrusted on the *communidades* eventually led to the weakening of these agricultural institutions financially. The *communidades* might have lost many of their prime lands to the government to help the latter to have rest houses for the pilgrims and travelers.¹⁴⁴

**VIII. The *Comunidades* and Education in Goa**

(i) Primary Education.

The Portuguese government gave to Goa a law conceding to all children the benefits of primary education. However, the burden was shifted to the *communidades*. In 1841, the government created the parish schools to be maintained by the *communidades*. The government was not ready to lighten this burden and reiterated its position several times thereafter that the *communidades* be obliged to render the educational service to the people.¹⁴⁵ It, however, allowed that the proceeds of the tax, denominated *Subsidio Litterario*, established since 17ᵗʰ of October, 1773 be applied for the payment of teachers and instructors.

The following table gives a fair idea of the extent to which the *communidades* were burdened with the obligation of disseminating elementary education at the village level from the mid 19ᵗʰ century.

¹⁴⁴ Ibid., § 181.⁹, pp. 43-46. Herein, is copied word by word the reply given by João Francisco Piedade da Cruz, *Escrivão da Comunidade de Loutolim*, regarding the deteriorated state of the lands given on lease to the individual capitalist. The lands leased for a specific purpose were hardly utilized appropriately.

¹⁴⁵ Filipe Nery Xavier, *Breve Historico das Comunidades ...,* edited by José Maria de Sá, Vol. 1, pp. 137-38. Herein read the various Portarias despatched by the government dated 23ᵗʰ September, 1841, 14ᵗʰ November, 1842 and 29ᵗʰ January, 1843 making the *communidades* bear the cost of primary education at the village level.
Table showing the *communidades* which met the cost of Public Instruction in Goa annually from 1850 to 1910.146

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Ilhas</th>
<th>Amount (xerafins)</th>
<th>Salete</th>
<th>Amount (xerafins)</th>
<th>Bardez (xerafins)</th>
<th>Amount (xerafins)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Bambolim</td>
<td>24:0:00</td>
<td>Betalbatim</td>
<td>72:0:00</td>
<td>Aldona</td>
<td>180:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Calapôr</td>
<td>108:0:00</td>
<td>Benaulim</td>
<td>12:0:00</td>
<td>Assonora</td>
<td>108:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Corlim</td>
<td>84:0:00</td>
<td>Cavorim</td>
<td>20:0:00</td>
<td>Calangute</td>
<td>100:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Goa-Velha</td>
<td>66:0:00</td>
<td>Chandor</td>
<td>50:0:00</td>
<td>Candolim</td>
<td>48:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Guirdolim</td>
<td>20:0:00</td>
<td>Camorlim</td>
<td>72:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Chinchinim</td>
<td>12:0:00</td>
<td>Colvale</td>
<td>72:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Deussua</td>
<td>36:0:00</td>
<td>Moira</td>
<td>60:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Sirlim</td>
<td>36:0:00</td>
<td>Nachinola</td>
<td>120:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Colva</td>
<td>20:0:00</td>
<td>Nerul</td>
<td>108:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>Cortalim</td>
<td>36:0:00</td>
<td>Parra</td>
<td>34:4:43</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The *communidades* of Goa were instrumental in meeting the cost of primary education for the benefit of the children of their locality.

(ii) The *Communidades* and Higher Education

The government also made the *communidades* to meet the cost of education beyond the primary level, as well. By the Decree No. 5, dated 11th November, 1871 was created for the first time a Chair in Agriculture, in the Instituto Profissional, at Panjim. Similarly, two nurseries for growing plants were set up on experimental basis: One, in Old Goa, and, the other was in Gaspar Dias.147 Thereafter were instituted subsidies to the farmers in Satari and other regions of the New Conquests. The regulation of these

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146 In the comunidades of Calangute, Corlim, Canca and Goa-Velha expenses on primary education were met by the *Comunidade* in association with the respective Confraternities. In the comunidades of Verna and Nagoa, the expenses on primary education were met by the *Comunidade* in association with the parish fábricas. Similarly, in the comunidades of Parra, Calangute and Candolim expenses on primary education were met by the *Comunidade* in association with the respective parish priest.

147 These were created by the *Portaria Provincial* of 11th December, 1877 and *Portaria Provincial* of 23rd January, 1899. For more information read Simplicio de Sousa, "A Instrução Agrícola nas Escolas Primárias de Goa", in *Segundo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, pp. 17-20.
subsidies was in the hands of the military commanders of Sanguem and Valpoi. The government issued guidelines for activities related to agriculture as late as 1906.\textsuperscript{148}

The overall scene in Goa was that by the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century most of the institutes started to impart education concerning agriculture were either extinct or were open to only select students. The poor people had hardly any access to this education. The people of Goa time and again asked that the \textit{communidades} be made to organize education for the poor regarding the farming on scientific lines. But till 1910 and even thereafter the \textit{communidades} were made to defray the cost of primary education in large part of Goa; but no attempts were made to accede to the wishes of the people in asking them to impart agricultural education.\textsuperscript{149}

(iii) The \textit{Communidades} and Professional Education in Medicine and Engineering

In view of the opinion emitted by the Overseas Ministry dated 31\textsuperscript{st} March, 1830, in Lisbon regarding the study of medicine and surgery, the Portuguese government determined that the government of the \textit{Estado da India} should choose and send four students, two in each branch, to Portugal for higher studies in these fields.\textsuperscript{150} It was stated that the study of these four students had to be borne by the \textit{Estado}. It was stipulated that if the \textit{Estado} was not in a position to defray the cost of their study and stay in Portugal

\textsuperscript{148} Refer to \textit{Portaria Provincial}, dated 25\textsuperscript{th} January, 1906 in \textit{Boletim ..., No. 16, 1906.}

\textsuperscript{149} Proporção Correia Afonso Pereira, "Escolas Noctumas e Dominicais", in \textit{Segundo Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa}, pp. 1-3

\textsuperscript{150} The Portuguese government decided to call four students to study medicine in Portugal. The students had to be from those who were highly talented and yet who had good moral conduct. This decision of the Portuguese government was communicated to the \textit{Estado} vide its \textit{Provisão}, dated 2\textsuperscript{nd} May, 1832.
then the Senado da cidade and the camaras of the provinces should contribute half the cost of these students.\textsuperscript{151}

However, when the royal orders were enforced in Goa the then viceroy of Goa D. Manoel de Portugal fixed an annual sum of 6,000 xerafins for maintaining the students in Portugal. This sum was distributed in the following manner: 500 xerafins to be paid by the comunidades of Ilhas, 1,000 xerafins by the comunidades of Salcete and another 1,000 xerafins by those of Bardez. Of the rest the Senado da cidade was to contribute 1,000 xerafins and the Public Exchequer was to pay from its own revenue the other 2,500 xerafins. This contribution started to be collected from 1833 as stated above without any alteration till the third quarter of 1848. In that year the Municipal Council of Ilhas, which succeeded the Senado da Cidade requested that it be freed from the obligation of contributing its quota of 1,000 xerafins. By a Portaria dated 19\textsuperscript{th} October, 1848 this request was granted and moreover it was stated that henceforth the contribution be limited to only 2500 xerafins which was the amount to be collected from the comunidades of Ilhas, Salcete and Bardez.\textsuperscript{152}

The comunidades of Old Conquests continued to pay for this additional burden up to 1873. It may be noted that no student was supported for a long period. Similarly, after 1857 no student was ever supported for undergoing medical studies in Portugal

\textsuperscript{151} Filippe Nery Xavier, \textit{Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades ...}, edited by José Maria de Sá, Vol. 1, p. 32.
\textsuperscript{152} Ibid., pp. 32-33.
though the *communidades* of Ilhas, Salcete and Bardez were not relieved from the obligation of making the contribution till 1873.\textsuperscript{153}

The expenses met from the revenues of Goa from 1833 upto 1857 on the students sent to Portugal for higher studies in medicine was as follows: \textsuperscript{154}

**Share of *Communidades* for Higher Studies in Medicine**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Purpose</th>
<th>Amount (xerafins)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1833</td>
<td>Advance paid to Manoel J. F. de Abreu, A. A. Leandro Mascarenhas, Antonio José de Gama and Raimundo V. Rodrigues.\textsuperscript{155}</td>
<td>2000:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>--</td>
<td>Forwarded to the Ministry (Overseas ?) as had been requested by it for the grant of aid to the students stipulated at the rate of 20,000 reis per month to each of the above four students</td>
<td>4000:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1839</td>
<td>For defraying the transport cost of Isidoro E. Baptista and Marciano A. Nunes Pereira.\textsuperscript{156}</td>
<td>1000:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843 to 1845</td>
<td>Study grants paid to Marciano A. Nunes Pereira.\textsuperscript{157}</td>
<td>3875:0:00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1847 to 1854</td>
<td>Study grants paid to Isidoro E. Baptista.\textsuperscript{158}</td>
<td>16991:3:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848 to 1857</td>
<td>Study grants paid to Agostinho V. Lourenço.\textsuperscript{159}</td>
<td>29991:3:20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Total</td>
<td>57858:1:40</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{152} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{155} Both Manoel J. F. de Abreu and A. A. Leandro Mascarenhas, died without completing their higher studies in Portugal in the year 1836 and 1837 respectively.
\textsuperscript{156} They were sent as substitutes for Manoel J. F. de Abreu and Leandro Mascarenhas, with grant of equal aid.
\textsuperscript{157} Besides, the Portugues treasury paid to him 9,59,840 reis.
\textsuperscript{158} Besides, the Portuguese treasury was paying to him 1.700$000 reis, annually.
\textsuperscript{159} Besides, the installments of 20,000 reis were paid to him by the *camaras agrarias* (*communidades*) of Goa, to enable him study natural science which was later on increased to 40,000 reis so as to enable him do higher studies in France and Germany. Subsequently, the Portuguese treasury granted to him an aid of 1,284,404 reis to add to the additional 10,913,334 reis paid by the *camara agrarias*. 

320
Thus the *communidades* of Goa spent a sum of 57858 *xerafins*, in defraying the cost of various students sent to Portugal for higher studies.\(^{160}\)

In 1840, it was determined that all the overseas provinces should dispatch to Portugal hundred young men to be instructed in sciences, arts and as engineers. Of these the Public Exchequer of the *Estado* was to meet the expenses of sending 20 students from India. Five of these were each from Salcete, Ilhas and Bardez with 3 and 2 students sent from Daman and Diu. Their maintenance and return journey were also to be at the cost of the Public Exchequer. In 1841 a sum of 4800 *xerafins* was spent for their maintenance while proceeding to Portugal.\(^{161}\)

In April 1870, the *Junta da Fazenda* acting on the proposal of the governor Pestana decided to choose and send six students for higher studies to Portugal. These students were to be paid a grant of 90 *xerafins* every month besides meeting their expense of travel to Portugal by second class. However, in November, 1871, after the departure of the Governor Visconde de S. Januario the number of students to be sent was reduced to four only. Those chosen included José Maria Alvares, Elvino de Brito, Christovam Ayres and Clovis da Costa. They were to be maintained by giving them an aid of 100 *xerafins*. But all these proposals of the *Estado da India* were not approved by the government in Portugal. The external affairs minister of Portugal Andrade Corvo did not approve of the proposal of the *Estado da India* saying that when originally in 1833 it was

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\(^{160}\) Ibid.

\(^{161}\) Ibid; M.V. Abreu also states that the total expenses from 1833 till 17\(^{th}\) March, 1869 including the expenses on the Goan students sent after the publication of the list in the *Boletim* of 1859 was to the total of 11,681,5334 *reis fortes* besides the 4,000 *Xerafins*, despatched to the overseas ministry in the first year that is 1833.
decided to support the higher studies of students in Portugal it was only to be in the field of medicine. And since higher studies in medicine were imparted in Goa there was no need to send and support students in Portugal. Thereafter, the Camara Geral of Ilhas petitioned to the Public Exchequer that they be relieved from the heavy yoke of making the yearly contribution of 500 xerafins, but the request was not granted.

Meanwhile, the metropolitan government decided to continue the grant of aid to the four students till August, 1872. However, one of the students Elvino de Brito asked that the grant of aid be continued till November of that year when they would be in a position to complete their studies. This request was granted but one of the students Clovis da Costa had to return to Goa without completing his studies as a result of stopping the grant of aid to him.

In a statement made to the Portuguese House of Parliament on 20th March, 1874 Andrade Corvo proposed for the extinction of the contribution made by the comunidades of Goa since 1833. Four decades of experience showed that the students sent at the cost of the comunidades have benefited the scholars only. The students never returned to work for the benefit of the rural society. The comunidades were squeezed for the benefit of these students but hardly got anything in return. The contribution collected from the comunidades was finally put to an end in April, 1874. In the course

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162 Portaria No. 31, dated 18th May, 1872, signed by Ministro da Marinha Andrade Corvo, as quoted in Filippo Nery Xavier, Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades ..., edited by José Maria de Sá. Vol. II, pp. 32-33.
of over four decades the public Exchequer collected about 1,25,000 xeratins from the 
*communidades*. Of these only a sum of 70,000 was truly utilized for the purpose for 
which it was collected.\(^\text{165}\) The rest was the price paid probably by the *communidades* for 
being under the tutelage of a colonizing state.

**IX. The *Communidades* and the Widows and Orphans**

The *Communidades* were made to carry out many social welfare activities, which 
were indispensable for socio-economic welfare of the Goan rural society. These welfare 
activities were thrust on the *communidades* for their implementation by drawing on their 
surplus. When surplus was not available with them, the *communidades* often borrowed 
from individual and institutional capitalists. Many *communidades* remained in debt for 
long. In others, the quantum of profits for the members was reduced considerably. 
Against this background there were lots of clamours for the dissolution of these 
associations for the simple reason that the membership of the same became a burden for 
many. While the *communidades* spent on their varied activities, the deprived sections of 
the society especially the widows and orphans were put to lot of financial hardship 
because the earnings for them were far reduced than what would have normally been.

\[
\text{(i) Many *communidades* of the Old Conquests that followed the system of division of distributable surplus }\text{ per capita }\text{ had instituted the payment of pension/maintenance grants in favor of the widows and orphan children of the deceased }
\]

\(^{165}\) Ibid., pp. 34-35. While every year the *communidades* were made to pay 2,500 Xeratins, in the last three 
years from 1872 to 1874 the *communidades* were forced to contribute around 10,800 Xeratins, per year.
Of these the *communidade* of Carambolim provided for even the widowed mother and unmarried sisters of the deceased *gaunkars*.\textsuperscript{167}

Some *communidades* favored simultaneously a plurality of persons, while others gave the benefit to one certain and particular individual. For instance, in the *communidades* of Bambolim, upon the death of a *gaunkar* only the eldest son was entitled to receive one *jonn*. On the other hand most *communidades*, like those of Banguenim, Batim, Calapur, Carambolim, Curca, etc., offered pension to both the first born and the widow.\textsuperscript{168} Some *communidades* like those of Goltim, Jua, gave one *jonn* in full while others gave a fraction of it.\textsuperscript{169} In some others what the children received jointly was much more than what would correspond to the *jonn* of a *gaunkar*. For instance, in Mandur, Mercurim, Morombim o Pequeno, etc., the *jonn* earned by the bereaved family of a *gaunkar* was always more by at least one-fourth of what the latter would have earned as a member.\textsuperscript{170}

(ii) The Report of 22\textsuperscript{nd} September, 1860 records the system of giving maintenance grants as was followed in the *communidade* of Carambolim. According to this report on the death of the *gaunkar* only the eldest son was entitled to the *jonn* of the father till the

\textsuperscript{166} *Boletim*. ..., N.° 99, dated 15\textsuperscript{th} November, 1879; N.° 12, dated 11\textsuperscript{th} February, 1876; N.° 15, dated 22 February, 1876; N.° 30, dated 21\textsuperscript{st} April, 1876; N.° 89, dated 18\textsuperscript{th} November, 1870; N.° 4, dated 17\textsuperscript{th} January, 1865; N.° 101, dated 24\textsuperscript{th} December, 1861; N.° 100, dated 22\textsuperscript{nd} December, 1863; N.° 1, dated 2\textsuperscript{nd} January, 1867; N.° 98, dated 17\textsuperscript{th} December, 1867; N.° 102, dated 29\textsuperscript{th} December, 1868; N.° 99, dated 18\textsuperscript{th} December, 1868, etc., which give a fair idea of the quantum of pension maintenance grants earned by the widows and orphans in the different villages of Goa in the 2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century.


\textsuperscript{168} Ibid., pp. 53-55, 58-60, 67-69, 73-77 and 110-111.

\textsuperscript{169} Ibid., pp. 141-152 and 154-156.

\textsuperscript{170} Ibid., pp. 172-174 and 176-177.
the death of the gaunkar only the eldest son was entitled to the jonrn of the father till the
time he was eligible to be enrolled as a primary member of the communidade. In the
event of the death of the eldest son this right to receive the jonrn of the father passed on to
the son next in line. However, if a gaunkar expired had only daughters then the eldest
daughter been entitled to receive one-fourth of the jonrn. But once the eldest daughter got
married, and then the next daughter received the share. The widow was simultaneously
entitled to receive one-fourth of the jonrn. If any gaunkar left behind children of both first
and second marriage then the eldest son of the first marriage was entitled to receive the
jonrn. But once he attained the required age for his primary enrollment then the first-born
of the second marriage had the right to receive the stipulated share of one jonrn.\textsuperscript{171}

In the event of the deceased gaunkar having a widowed mother, unmarried sisters
and sons then the eldest son received one jonrn in full and the widowed mother and
unmarried elder sister got one-fourth each. If on the other hand the gaunkar leaves
behind no male issue but other relatives referred to above along with his widow and
daughters then his jonrn was equally divided among the mother, elder sister, widow and
eldest daughter. If the deceased gaunkar left behind children of the first marriage and
widow of the second marriage then the eldest son was entitled to three-fourths of the jonrn
and the widow received the remaining one-fourth share.\textsuperscript{172}

(iii) In Ilhas, nineteen comunidades instituted over a period of time maintenance
grants/pension to the widows of the gaunkars. These included the comunidades of

\textsuperscript{171} Rui Gomes Pereira, \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 56-57.
\textsuperscript{172} Ibid., pp. 24-25.
Goltim, Jua, Malar, Mandur, Mercurim, Morombim o Grande, Morombim o Pequeno, Naroá, Navelim, Neurá o Pequeno, and Taleigão. Some comunidades extended this benefit to the widows of the culachars as in Bambolim and Neurá o Pequeno. The comunidade of Gancim paid pension to the widows of the shareholders as well.  

It is important that in most cases the widow received the pension/maintenance grants only in the absence of male heirs of the departed gaunkar. However, there were exceptions. For instance, in 1767, in the comunidade of Azossim a gaunkar died leaving behind male children of the first marriage and widow of the second marriage. Yet the widow was enrolled for the purpose of receiving the pension. However, widows also lost the pension if they remarried.  

As a rule in most comunidades the widows received one-fourth of the jonn. But, in the comunidade of Calapur the widows received one-third while those of Cujira and Taleigão received half of the jonn. Similarly the comunidades of Navelim, Malar and Goltim gave eleven, two and one xeralim, respectively. The comunidade of Gancim paid six xerafins till 1765 and thereafter paid one-fourth of the jonn to the widows. The comunidade of Jua had a slightly different practice. If the gaunkar died leaving his wife and son, then the widow got pension only after the death of the son. However if the son

174 Ibid.
175 Ibid., pp. 68-69.
176 Ibid., pp. 147, 163-164 and 204-205.
177 Ibid., p. 124.
dies leaving behind his wife then the latter as well as the old widowed mother were entitled for one-fourth of the jonn as pension.\textsuperscript{178}

In Bardez, only in two communidades of Oxel and Parra the widows were paid maintenance grants or pensions so long as they continued in the state of widowhood. Their entitlement was however just one-eighth of the jonn.\textsuperscript{179} In the comunidade of Verlá both the widow and the unmarried daughters of the deceased gaunkars received dress material after every three years. They also had the right to cultivate a rice-field of an extent requiring 5 curos (local measure of weight equivalent to 1/4\textsuperscript{th} of a candil) of seed. They got a cultivable area double in size in the year when the family happened to be the main celebrant of the feast of the patron saint of the village.\textsuperscript{180}

The communidades of Salcete did not institute any form of pension to the widows and unmarried daughters. The reasons for this were unknown. Perhaps it might have been due to the fact that the communidades of Salcete had a slightly different composition whereby the members who had financial stake were mostly the shareholders.

(iv) In most of the communidades of Ilhas it was only the eldest orphan son who received the jonn as pension till the age of his primary enrollment as full-fledged member of the community. Some communidades like those of Batim, Caraim, Curca, Jua, Morombim o Pequeno, Naroá and Neurá of Grande gave pension only to the first-born and denied this pension to others under all circumstances. It was only in the

\textsuperscript{178} Ibid., pp. 155-156.
\textsuperscript{179} Ibid., pp. 455-456 and 458-459.
\textsuperscript{180} Ibid., pp. 479-481.
communidade of Chorao that the right to receive pension passed from the first-born to others. This was done when either the first-born dies or attains the required age for primary enrollment.  

Some comunidades of Ilhas gave pension/maintenance grants to the orphan sons of the culachars as well. The comunidade of Azossim gave them half of what was allotted to the orphan children of gaunkars. But in the comunidades of Malar, Neura o Pequeno and Chorao the orphan children of culachars and gaunkars were treated on par. In Chorao the benefits were also extended to the orphan sons of the shareholders.

In Bardez the pension to the orphans was paid in most of the villages. In the comunidades of Aldona and Anjuna all the male orphans received half of the jonn till they attained the age for primary enrollment as full-fledged members. In Sangolda all orphaned sons received full jonn.

In the comunidades of Assagão, Assonorá, Bastorá, Colvalle, Guirim, Mapuçá, Nadorá, Parrá, Revorá, Tivim and Verlá the system was slightly different. If the deceased gaunkar had only one son then he received the jonn in full. If however there were more than one son then only the youngest received the jonn in full while all others received half jonn. The comunidades of Camorlim, Cancá, Marná, Sirçaim, Oxel and Parrá

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181 Ibid., pp. 87-88.
182 Ibid., pp. 40-254.
183 From the 16th century up to the 20th century there were problems of enrollment of members of the comunidade of Aldona regarding the minimum age required for initial registration of members that belonged to two different castes of Brahmin and Sudras. Antonio Floriano De Noronha, op. cit., Vol. I, Part - III., N.º 70, 14 – Junho – 1913, pp. 10-14.
followed a similar system and the only difference was that the youngest son received the jonn in full while the others received nothing.\textsuperscript{185}

In the \textit{communidades} of Moirá, Nachinolá, Punolá, Saligão, and Ucassaim one jonn was paid to the eldest son and the others received half of the share. In Nachinola as and when the eldest son attained the age for primary enrollment the second son earned the jonn in full instead of half of the share as was the practice in most of the \textit{communidades}. In the \textit{communidade} of Olaulim, the only surviving son of the deceased gaunkar received the pension of one jonn in full. If there were more than one son then all received half of the share as pension. In Moira, the sons of non-gaunkar members of the \textit{communidade} received one-half of the jonn. Pension was also paid in similar form to the sons of the deceased culachars in the \textit{communidades} of Colvalle, Moirá, Nachinolá, Olaulim and Saligão.\textsuperscript{186}

(v) In five \textit{communidades} of Ilhas the unmarried daughters of the departed gaunkars had right to receive pension. The daughters received one-fourth of the jonn provided that she did not have any brothers and as long as she continued to be a spinster. In Bardez only the \textit{communidade} of Verla paid pension to the unmarried daughters as has been mentioned above. No such benefits were offered by the \textit{communidades} of Salcete.\textsuperscript{187}

The \textit{communidade} of Curtorim in Salcete had instituted a fixed yearly pension of five xerafins to the poor and needy gaunkars, their widows and children. Similarly a sum

\textsuperscript{185} Ibid., pp. 425-480
\textsuperscript{186} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{187} Ibid., Vol. II, pp. 419-477.
of fifteen xerafins was paid as dowry to the daughters.\textsuperscript{188} The \textit{comunidade} of Goa Velha in Ilhas has a similar system of providing for the dowry of the daughters of its members. The amount paid in this case was ten xerafins.\textsuperscript{189}

(vi) Some \textit{comunidades} like that of Taleigao contributed a fixed sum for meeting the funeral expenses of the \textit{gaunkars} and other family members. A sum of four and a half rupees was paid as funeral grant both on the death of the \textit{gaunkar} or his widow. In Salcete such pensions were not paid. In the \textit{comunidades} of New Conquests no pension/maintenance was instituted for payment to the orphan children and widows of the \textit{gaunkars}. No provision for such pension was made even when subdividing the \textit{tokshims} of the clans (\textit{vangores}) among their members as everything was distributed among the enrolled \textit{gaunkars} only.\textsuperscript{190} Perhaps it might have been possible that payment of maintenance grants/pension to widows and orphans began in Goa in the Old Conquests during the Portuguese rule. It is possible that such practices might have started only from the beginning of the 18\textsuperscript{th} century. As has been mentioned earlier this was a very turbulent period in the history of Goa when the Portuguese were at war with the neighbouring Indian rulers. Constant fighting meant often loss of earning member of the family, i.e., the \textit{gaunkar}. Under such circumstances the widows and orphans were assured of some livelihood in the form of maintenance grants given by the \textit{comunidades}.

\textsuperscript{188} Ibid., pp. 334-335.
\textsuperscript{189} Ibid., pp. 135-141.
\textsuperscript{190} The \textit{tokshim} is the share allotted to each \textit{vangor} (branch of original settlers of a village) on division of the annual surplus \textit{per stirpes}, and also a fraction thereof which is given to each eligible \textit{gaunkar}.
Thus, the *communidades* had responsibilities which were not intrinsic to their function as agricultural associations. Factually the construction and conservation of the vicinal ways and public roads, bridges, aqueducts, culverts, etc., were within the competency and jurisdiction of Municipal Council. Taking this into consideration the government made the *communidades* to pay the *dizimos* at the rate of 10% from 1851 onwards.¹⁹¹

Similarly, the *communidades* had to defray the cost of sustaining the medical personnel which included physicians, surgeons, nurses, etc., including their salary. Public health as also paying the salary to those teachers imparting instruction to the village children had to be met by the Municipal Councils.¹⁹² Yet in Goa the burden was shifted on to the *communidades*.

The general budget for a *communidade* was prepared by assessors appointed for that purpose. This was prepared by the end of June and was finalized in all respect in the following month of July every year.¹⁹³ All expenses for a year were included in the general accounts for that particular year.¹⁹⁴ No further expenses were allowed by the government rather than those provided for in the general budget. If any expenses on any project to be met by the *communidade* were not included in the general budget then the affected parties could petition either before the assessors or the government. If the

¹⁹⁴ Regimento de 1735, as copied in Filippe Nery Xavier (Jr.), *op. cit.*, Cap. 19.º, p. XXIII.
government agreed that such expenses were essential then they were included in the next annual budget. If the *escrivão* or the assessors who included illegally expenses on any item in the annual budget then he had to pay to the treasury of the *communidade* the value of the expenses incurred or to be incurred.\(^{195}\)

The ordinary expenses of the *communidade* included the dividends to be paid to the members, the taxes due to the Public Exchequer and the *Camara Geral*, and other expenses that were duly authorized by the government.\(^{196}\) The budget after its approval by the *communidade* was to be signed by the *escrivão*, assessors and the *sacador*. If the three signatories had differing views on any of the items included in the budget then the matter was referred to the Administrator of the *communidades* for necessary action.

The budget which was prepared upon following the due process and passed by the *communidade* was sent to the Administrator of the *Communidades* for approval. If the Administrator came across any item of expenditure which would affect the interest of such beneficiaries of the *communidades* as the widows, orphans and non-resident *interessados* of the *communidade* then they were eliminated from the annual budget. Moreover the *escrivão*, assessors and the *sacadors* responsible for the inclusion of such items were made to reimburse to the *communidade* the value of such illegal expenses included in the budget through fraud and malice\(^{197}\) A third of the amount so collected was paid to one who brought to the notice of the government such illegal and undue expenses of the *communidade* that benefited only the *escrivão*, the assessors or the *sacadors* and

\(^{195}\) Ibid.
\(^{196}\) Ibid., Cap. 5.\(^{0}\), pp. XIV-XV.
\(^{197}\) Ibid., Cap. 6.\(^{0}\), pp. XV-XVI.
individual gaunkars rather than the society at large. Moreover, those who were responsible for such acts were dismissed from service with immediate effect and substituted by others of known integrity and honesty.\textsuperscript{198}

In 1817, the revenue of the \textit{communidades} of Ilhas was 1,55,402 xerafins. From this, after providing for the servicing of debt acquired, the divine cult, and making other expenses what remained to be distributed as surplus among the gaunkars, cuntocares, interessados, orphans and widows was only 42,855 xerafins, an amount that was far less than a third of their revenue.\textsuperscript{199} This was the position in 1817; the obligations of the \textit{communidades} increased tremendously thereafter throughout the nineteenth century. At the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century the \textit{communidades} were increasingly loosing the nature of agricultural associations with production oriented activities; but were acquiring a different character of welfare associations. The members who found that the \textit{communidades} were paying them less and less every year started looking beyond the boundaries of Goa for better pastures. Many started to emigrate for greener pastures.

Thus, the \textit{Estado da India} besides using the direct taxing system devised a strategy to extract surplus indirectly from the \textit{communidades} and the individual gaunkars

\textsuperscript{198} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{199} Filippe Nery Xavier, \textit{Bosquejo Historico das Communidades ...}, edited by José Maria de Sá, Vol. I, Doc. No. 84, pp. 358-363. "... Devem as comunidades das aldeas dos Ilhas de Goa 425279 xerafins: o presente rendimento anual das é 155402 xerafins; se gasta em juros de dívidas 20975; dão em pagamento dos foros e mais foros à real fazenda 17302 3/5 xerafins; despende com a câmara geral para congrua, ordenados dos representantes e mais despeza 9556 1/4; paga ao senado da câmara de meio por cento 999; desperdiciam as comunidades em serviço da conservação de suas propriedades, contribuições, freguesias e seus oficiais 44407 1/5 xerafins, ficaram algumas comunidades alcançadas em 2246 xerafins; separou-se a terça parte, da qual a metade foi recolhida no tesouro regio e a outra metade existe em respectivos cofres até última decisão do governo sobre se também deve hir ao tesouro geral dos gancars, cuntocares e interessados, orfãos e viúvas 42855 xerafins..."
by shifting many of its welfare functions on to the shoulders of *communidades*. With the
decline of maritime trade the Portuguese authorities looked more and more on rural
surplus for lessening the burden of administration. However this resulted in the radical
deprivation of distributable surplus with the *communidades*, impoverishing the *gaunkars*.
As a result though there was a considerable increase in production in the second part of
the eighteenth century and in the early part of the nineteenth century, the lot of the
*gaunkars* became increasingly pathetic.