Chapter VII

Emigration: Goa’s Transformation from an Agrarian – Based Economy to Remittances – Based Economy

With the decreasing returns from agriculture there appeared the phenomena of mass emigration in Goa from the second half of the nineteenth century onwards. People traditionally linked with agriculture and agro-industries and craftworks were the principal emigrants. The low productive capacity of the soil which needed high quantities of manure, the superabundance of population, the absence of any initiative at the local level to start modern factories and production units, the prospects of earning substantial salary and the adventurous spirit were responsible for thousands of Goans migrating every year.

Emigration in Goa was known for a long time. For centuries, many Goan gaunkars emigrated, not only due to religious persecution but also due to insufficient means, when the revenue earned was not enough to maintain themselves and their families. Emigration, though limited, continued over the centuries due to the different vicissitudes suffered by the people during Portuguese occupation of Goa.¹ However, the artisans, craftsmen and the working classes had hardly emigrated. Even when they did so, it was confined to certain fixed periods of a year, when these classes due to paucity of adequate labour, went in search of work in the neighbouring villages. However, such emigration was limited to the head of the family, and, in rare cases to full families of the

artisan who abandoned their villages but always invariably returned to their homeland in times of cultivation and harvesting and on occasions of local festivals.²

However, what ensued from the last quarter of the nineteenth century was the actual social disequilibrium. People from all sections of the society emigrated. This included the learned and the illiterates; men and women; those who could earn means of subsistence in their locality as also those who could not; and also those who did not feel at ease with the dispositions for the struggle for life. It was a flight and a general exodus that threatened to depopulate Goa. It was superabundance of population, the insufficiency of adequate job opportunities, and the poverty of the countryside which prompted large-scale emigration.

Emigration was not a phenomenon observed only in Goa. Even advanced countries like Great Britain, Germany, Italy, Spain, etc., suffered due to this malaise. Everywhere the problem had drawn the attention of statesmen, sociologists, moralists and the economists. Emigration from Goa had features which were different from those who were observed among European emigrants of this period. There, the emigrants conformed to the then technical definition of being steerage-class or third-class passengers as provided for by their laws. In Goa, it covered all the sections of the Goan society, who with the aim of, either permanent settlement or for long or short stay, dislocated themselves resulting sometimes in scarcity of productive labour in places of origin, and who in turn became the productive force in the lands of destiny. A large sections of the Goan emigrants did not conform to the technical definition then in vogue as they were

very poor irrespective of whether they belonged to the proletariat class or not. ¹ The governments in Portugal and Goa seem to have been less concerned with the problem of emigration. ² However, it got the attention of the intelligentsia only when the interest of the classes which they represented got adversely affected due to dearth of working people and supposedly consequent rise of salaries. ³

A. Factors Responsible For Emigration - An Analysis

Emigration was caused due to a host of factors. But the natural phenomenon of emigration could be attributed to the fundamental causes as the excess of population, the lack of adequate employment opportunities and consequent misery. Besides, the spirit of adventure was not less responsible. The first of these factors was noticeable in Germany and Italy, countries with high density of population at the beginning of the 20th century and which was responsible for the expatriation of many Germans and Italians to America. On the other hand, the misery provoked by lack of remunerative work was the cause of emigration in countries like Portugal and Spain. The adventurous spirit was high among the emigrating Englishmen who in spite of the availability of ample job opportunities in their own country still preferred to brave risk to make a fortune. ⁶ In Goa, there was both increase in population and lack of adequate employment opportunities following the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878. ⁷

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¹ Froilano de Melo and Sertorio C. Lobo, "Contribuição ao Estudo da Emigração em Goa", in SCPIP - Secção II, pp. 73-105.
³ The issue of rise of salaries and its linkage with emigration is dealt with in detail later in this chapter.
⁵ For more information regarding the population refer Censo da População do Estado da India em 1 de Dezembro de 1900, 4 vols, Nova Goa, 1902-03; also refer Censo da População do Estado da India em 31
According to several studies on the migrations in different parts of the world, if conditions in the home country build up a propensity to emigrate, the volume, direction, and timing of the movement are set largely by the business cycle in the receiving country. Migration was related to the economic trends of the period. Besides economic causes, there was a list of other “factors” ranging from the spirit of adventure to the development of transportation facilities. The circumstances at home that acted as repelling factor and those abroad which acted as attracting factors operated as “push” and “pull” factors. Given a sedentary population and an inducement to leave home, typically some people preferred to go out, while some others stayed behind. Push and pull factors, in short, did not exert their force equally. An analysis of this process would afford a better understanding of why the migration took place.

(a). Salary and the Rise of the Price of Paddy

The law of demand and supply was invoked by many scholars in Goa to argue that one of the reasons for emigration on Goan economy was the general rise in prices. However, there was no perfect relationship between the salary and the prices of the essential commodities. The people in order to procure the essentials went in search of means to satisfy their basic needs. For the period from 1845 to 1850, when emigration in
Goa was minimal or almost negligible, the average salary of the daily wage worker was 16 reis per day, which was equivalent to one tanga. The price of one candil of paddy was 480 reis or 6 xerufs. Thus, thirty days wages were sufficient to purchase one candil of paddy. Since the average requirement of an individual was about 3 candis per year, the wages of ninety days were sufficient to make the required yearly purchases. Similarly, if an individual worked for 300 days in a year then he could earn 25 rupees sufficient to purchase 10 candis of paddy to sustain an average family of three members. The life for the average Goan then was nothing more than existing at the sustenance level. He had little comforts and no luxuries of life. To understand the pitiable condition of the people it is enough to note that paddy and rice is not everything to live with or live for.9

The situation in the first decade of the twentieth century was still worse. The average salary by 1910 had risen to 4 tangas equivalent to 48 reis. The wages increased three times within half a century from the mid-nineteenth century. However, the prices of paddy too did rise but the increase was proportionately higher than the rise in wages. A candil of paddy in 1910 was priced at 9 rupees or 1728 reis. An individual had to work now for 36 days to purchase a candil of paddy and an average wage of 108 man days were required to purchase the average requirements of three candis per year. A daily wage worker managing to work for 300 days in a year earned about 75 rupees but with this he could purchase just 8.33 candis of paddy which was far less than the average

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9 Milagres Lobo, “Emigração”, in SCPIP – Secção II, pp. 10-11. "Ai pelos anos de 1845 a 1850, em que a emigração era pode se dizer nula o salario estava a 16 reis de convenção (1 tanga antiga) e o preço do arroz a 2:08:00 (seis xerufs). A relação entre os dois valores, era, em reis 480 ÷ 16 = 30; logo, 30 salários pagavam um candil de arroz, e noventa salários a subsistência annual de um indivíduo: ou três candis. Segundo o cálculo habitualmente estabelecido. Considerando, porém, que, em média, um jornaleiro trabalha durante um ano 300 dias, temos 16 x 300 = 192 = 25 rupias, ou o preço de 10 candis. Quere, isto dizer quem um chefe de família não pode alimentar regularmente mais de três pessoas! Alimentar apenas, excluído tudo o mais. E, contudo, nem so do arroz vive o índio."

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requirement to sustain a family of three. Thus, a Goan had two choices. Either to see his family descend in misery or to emigrate for procuring the daily bread.¹⁰

Evidently over a fifty year period from the mid-nineteenth century, while there was a three-fold increase in wages, the rise in prices of an essential commodity like rice which formed the staple diet of the Goans, was definitely more than four times. The economic situation for the head of the family in the beginning of the twentieth century had really turned precarious than what it was half a century back.¹¹

It is also necessary to know, whether it was the wages that influenced the prices of essential commodities or the latter that necessitated increase in wages, to restore the declining purchasing power of the labour class. For the daily wage labourer when he went to the market to make the purchases of essential commodities he related the purchase price to the wages which he earned. And since it was the question of survival any shortfall that resulted from the increase in prices the same was sought to be made up for by asking for a consequent raise in wages. But the increase in prices was always higher than the increase in wages. And if, however, the ratio of increase in prices and wages had not been constant over the years it was as a result of the element of speculation involved in trade and commerce. Due to this, by the beginning of the 20th century, a labourer had to work for 108 days instead of the earlier 90 days, to maintain the cost of living of the mid 19th century.¹²

¹⁰ Ibid., pp. 11-12.
¹¹ Ibid.
¹² Ibid.
(b) Poor Conditions in the New Conquests

New Conquests faced the problem of public transport and there was lack of personal and property security and vigilance. Adequate transport and communication was essential for development of any region. This was a historical fact which the Portuguese government perhaps failed to take note of till the beginning of the 20th century. It was not until the end of the 19th century that the Portuguese government initiated measures for the economic exploitation of the New Conquests by providing for modern means of transport and communication there. The environmental conditions in the New Conquests were also unhygienic. Outbreak of diseases caused due to the unhygienic conditions was not uncommon leading to the death of many people. This led to a marginal decline in population in the New Conquests due to which the people from the Old Conquests did not want to settle in these regions.

In both the Old and the New Conquests cultivation was quite extensive. Fertile lands of first and second best quality were all tilled for cultivation. The best quality lands were those that upon paying the wages for the labour, and interest on the capital invested also produced enough to be kept aside as rent for utilization of the land. The second best lands were those, where after the wages of the labour were paid, the surplus represented just the returns in the form of interest on the capital invested and nothing more. Agricultural land in the New Conquests was mostly those which produced so little that it was hardly enough to pay the wages of the labour. No surplus would remain to pay

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14 Appendix 7.3.
interests on the capital utilized or to pay for the rent. Under such circumstances people
did not look towards development of agriculture as a profitable venture. However, vast
lands did exist herein that could probably be profitably brought under cultivation but this
necessitated heavy investment in farm machinery and implements, undertaking costly
hydraulic projects, etc. But all that was beyond the reach of the average cultivator. The
evidence of the low quality of the lands of the New Conquests can be surmised from the
fact that the ryots there had to cultivate the terraced lands on the hill-sides since remote
times. The farmers there had to ascend hills and hillocks and clear thickets to make land
available for cultivation as fertile land was not available in abundance as in the Old
Conquests.15

Agricultural production depends besides labour and capital, on the productive
capacity of the land. The productive capacity of land has a limit and once that was
reached the land gave diminishing returns. Under such circumstances even
superabundance of labour or capital became irrelevant to achieving increase in
production. Such a scenario was also harmful to the economy as it would have perhaps
led to wasteful investment of scarce capital and underutilization of labour.16

16 Ibid.
(c) **Insufficiency of Food Production**

The total requirement for the state of Goa was 1,220,854 *candis* of rice equivalent to 61,042.72 *cumbos*.\(^{17}\) In all probability the average production of rice for Goa as a whole at the beginning of the twentieth century was around 43,631 *cumbos*.\(^{18}\) Besides, Goa produced another 3,220.2 *cumbos* of millets, pulses, legumes and other cereals. The imports of rice in 1910 were to the extent of 14,379 *cumbos*.\(^{19}\) From the above one can infer that the average requirements of Goa were not satisfied by the local production and at least a fourth of the total cereal requirements were imported. It seems that it was against this background of insufficient food grain production that many people started emigrating from Goa.

(d). **Large Scale Under-Employment**

According to José Maria de Sá, the labour required for producing one *cumbo* of rice was of 70 men and 50 women, excluding the work of the farm animals and the productive capacity of the manure used. Thus, to produce 43,431 *cumbos* of rice, only the labour of about 5.7% of total male population and 3.6% of total female population, was actually required. In real terms only 10,038 men and 6,902 women were perhaps sufficient to be gainfully employed in the agricultural field. However, the agricultural sector had about 1,66,133 men and 1,84,877 women as surplus labour toiling on the rice-

\(^{17}\) Ibid., pp. 14-15.  
\(^{18}\) Ibid.  
\(^{19}\) Ibid.
fields. The employment of surplus labour in rice-fields led to diminishing returns from the agrarian sector. This is a clear indication of large scale underemployment which was prevalent in the Goan countryside. Unfortunately Goa lacked employment opportunities in the primary sector for its population. It was this surplus population that activated the migrating drive.

(e). Social Inequality

One of the primary causes of emigration was the social inequality. The society was based on the principle of ‘respect and honour’. But, those who did not do any work – here in Goa – were respected while those who toiled not only earned no respect; but were in fact disrespected and despised. The educated youth and the higher classes perhaps had a wrong notion that agriculture was a degrading occupation and that farm work was humiliating. The illiterates and the lower sections of the society that imitated the higher class also thought likewise. They preferred needle-work to the hoe, spade and pickaxe, for earning livelihood. Emigration was a natural phenomenon as irrespective of the toil and efforts, the daily-wage workers, could not attain the economic status of the artisans and handicraftsmen. The land owning sections of the society did no physical work. These people owned a few coconut trees, that were hardly sufficient for maintaining their lifestyle, but prevented them from being subservient to others. Under these circumstances many preferred to emigrate to earn the daily livelihood.

20 Ibid., pp. 16-17.
22 Ibid.
In Goa, emigration was divided into two categories: one, of the illustrated class and the other of the proletariat. The emigration of the illustrated class was considered as unavoidable. The secondary schools produced annually men of letters with capabilities of immense erudition, learning and theoretical knowledge. However, they faced difficulty in acquiring practical knowledge for lack of such facilities. Moreover, all those who passed out could not be absorbed in Goa markets. The natural consequence was that the educated section of the society developed over the years a natural tendency to emigrate with the perspective of encountering in the new places more lucrative occupations than what they could find in Goa. In this state of affairs the emigration helped the educated sections to get good placements outside Goa and the remittances helped balance the trade deficit, in the absence of which Goa would have faced a economic crisis. Obstructing the emigration of the educated youth, would have aggravated its precarious economic situation with consequent unrest among them.

It was rather the exodus of the proletariat class which had caught the attention of the intelligentsia who started fighting against their emigration as it had attained such proportion as to lead to a crisis. Emigration was held responsible for the dearth of able-bodied people to work on farms and rice-fields. Consequently, there was rise in wages, and the cost of living. It was also held responsible for the general abandonment of cultivation by many farm owners. However, this seems to be not true as emigration was

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24 Ibid.
neither responsible for the rise in wages nor did it affect adversely the agricultural production.  

The issue of emigration of the proletariat class was much more complex. During this period many skilled Goan workers and artisans were compelled to move to British India due to lack of opportunities to earn livelihood. It might be mentioned that the emigration of these sections had attained frightening proportions. Not only were the men who emigrated but also single women, young girls and married ladies. Many worked as nannies (aiyahs) in English families. Some were engaged in flesh trade functioning from brothels whereas others had blemished their reputation by becoming mistresses in private houses.  

As in Portugal, one of the principal causes for emigration in Goa was the lack of adequate employment opportunities. With the high cost of living, the bread winners were unable to procure the essentials for their families and were forced to emigrate. However, this does not mean that there was lack of work for all those who emigrated. Rather, the routine works on the farms and rice fields in the countryside could employ gainfully a large section of the emigrants. The prospects in big cities like Bombay attracted them. Emigration had attained such proportions that the exodus of able bodied men had reduced the population of men in many of the villages of Salcete by more than half.  

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25 Ibid., pp. 45-46.
There were instances when the private proprietors had instead of making determined efforts to develop their estates had abandoned the same to the vagaries of nature. While there was enough scope to decuple farm production the private proprietors initiated no measures for the advancement of agriculture. This eccentricity was responsible for the general depreciation of land and for adversely affecting the economies of the tenants. Consequently, the latter were forced to look for alternative sources of livelihood by abandoning the farms in the countryside and preferring to emigrate.\textsuperscript{28}

Scarcity of farm work, lack of industries, and no initiative on the part of the government to start developmental activities all combined to make cost of living difficult for the proletariat class forcing them to go out in search of better opportunities.\textsuperscript{29}

Of the proletariat class a large number of the artisans did not emigrate except when they were faced with intolerable deprivation. They could carry on their traditional occupations, earn livelihood and tend to their families. These sections of the society did not seem to have had wide horizons and earned barely enough for the sustenance of their families. It was also true that many of those who earned regular salary went out in search of better opportunities. Many villages temporarily faced scarcity of labour due to the male population being reduced by more than half. The density of population was more in

\textsuperscript{28} Ibid., pp. 46-47.

the Old Conquests, yet the labour force was requisitioned from the New Conquests where in fact density of population was less.  

Formerly, the artisans had rice-fields taken on lease from the communidades. The private proprietors cultivated their individual properties as also that of the communidades by hiring the services of tenants. The big and the average farmers together toiled on the land enduring the rigours of the monsoons and other risks and obstacles. The tenants were remunerated in kind as compensation for their labour which was sufficient for the year. The foro and other taxes were paid out of the savings and by working on the farms of private proprietors. In this manner, while the private proprietors and the communidades benefited so also gained the cultivators, tenants and the daily-wage workers.

Subsequently, the land revenue of the comunidade lands also went on increasing substantially and reached a high level when it became impossible for the cultivator that took lands on lease to earn profits from farming. Often the cultivators suffered huge losses.

Under such circumstances the actual cultivators shunned taking comunidade lands on lease for cultivation. The cultivators did not want to continuously toil year after

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30 A. B de Bragança Pereira, "O Padroado do Oriente, as Missões Religiosas Goësas em Africa e nas Novas Conquisas e a Emigração", in SCPIP — Secção II, pp. 31-32.
31 Filippe Nery Xavier, Bosquejo ..., Parte I, Mappa N.9 25-27, pp. 79-85. The data given herein gives one a fair idea of the extent to which the artisans and handicraftsmen were remunerated for the services rendered by way of allotment of rice fields which they could cultivate without payment of any rent to the comunidade or tax to the Portuguese government.
32 Nogar Prudent Lourenço, "Regiment do Mundcarismo", in SCPIP — Secção III, pp. 78-86.
year and wait for months to be witness to negative results. Many did not have in the
corners of their hutments the quantities of rice to last for the year and thus the heads of the
families were in a fix. Under such circumstances people looked for new horizons – i.e., to
emigrate. Others followed suit. On the other hand the revenues of the large number of
communidades doubled over a period of 20 years from the end of the 19th century.\(^{34}\) In
some the increase was three-fold whereas in few the revenues rose up to six times. For
instance, while the revenue of all the comunidades of Salcete was Rs. 2,89,265 in 1894,
it jumped to Rs. 4,96,180 within a period of twenty years. There was an increase of Rs.
2,06,914 within just two decades. The revenues of most comunidades in Salcete had a
minimum two-fold increase. In few comunidades the fluctuations and increase attained
frightening proportions to the extent that the revenues doubled just within a year. For
instance, the comunidade of Varca earned revenue of Rs. 10,595 in the year 1898. In
the following year of 1899 the revenues earned following the completion of land
registration records, were Rs. 20,033, almost double than that of the previous year. In the
subsequent years the revenues earned declined by some thousands. Similarly, while the
Communidade of Raia had revenue of Rs. 21,759 in the year 1898, in the subsequent
triennium the same declined by Rs. 7,000 but thereafter it earned much more. The
comunidade of Chandor had revenue of Rs. 1,640 in 1888 which rose to Rs. 2,371 in
the next triennium, i.e., a two-fold increase within four years and by 1916 the rise was
four times. Similarly, the comunidade of Chandor had revenue of just Rs. 554 in 1888.
However, the revenue for that comunidade more than doubled to Rs. 1,248, within just
four years.\(^{35}\)

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\(^{34}\) Refer to Appendix 7.4.
Similarly, in 1888 the revenue of the comunidade of Cortalim was just Rs. 2,378, which more than doubled in the next year to Rs. 5315. By 1915, this had reached a frightening proportion of Rs. 14,928, almost a six fold increase over the revenues that of 1888. Similar was the situation in the comunidade of Chicalim where in 1888 the revenue earned was only a paltry sum of Rs. 534. Within two years the revenue shot up over two times to Rs. 1,248. However, by 1915 it rose to Rs. 3,140 an almost six times rise as compared to the figures for 1888. In the taluka of Ilhas, the revenue of all the comunidades which was Rs. 2,97,191 in 1897, rose to Rs. 4,01,966 within a period of 20 years. In some of the comunidades the revenue doubled while in others there was a triple fold increase within the same period. For the same period, the revenue of the comunidades of Bardez increased from Rs. 2,28,486:12:07 to Rs. 3,61,829:14:05.

With the exception of comunidades taking measures for better utilization of the water resources, in most of the comunidades the water available for irrigation had declined due to neglect of works related to de-silting the water channels, etc. Consequently, in Ilhas the rent of the lands given on long lease for the twenty year period from 1897 to 1917 amounted to only 1,323:01:11 ¾. The situation was not any better in the other parts of Goa.

36 Ibid.
37 Ibid., pp. 57-58.
38 Ibid.
39 Ibid.
Manual labour was more costly. The landless labourers received double or almost three times of what he earned 20 years back. A pair of oxen cost three times more. The cost of procuring lodo (fertile alluvium soil brought down by the monsoon currents) had tripled due to high transport charges. Salt and fish, both largely used as manure besides domestic consumption had become costly. And the soil with successive cultivation and due to decreasing use of manure was giving increasingly diminishing returns. Under these circumstances the gaunkars and the farmers abandoned their farms and emigrated for better prospects so as to save their families from starving.

(f). The Impact of the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878

The Anglo-Portuguese treaty which opened passage to British India was one of the important factors for the exposure of Goan populace to outside world, which ultimately led to emigration. Before the treaty the people had no other place to go, except Portugal. That was not frequent. Emigration started like a trickle in 1828, which gradually increased and in 1874 the number of persons who left for Portuguese soil was just 5969. But the treaty took the Goans outside the predominant agrarian background and put them in a wider world. It was British India that provided them chances to migrate and the Goans got them because of the treaty. For instance, in 1881 a contract with the Western Indian Portuguese Guaranteed Railways was sealed, and the construction of the railway line connecting Mormugao with the British India commenced. The same firm also undertook development of the harbour of Mormugao so as to provide proper facilities to modern shipping. And as conditions worsened in the motherland, the exodus

40 Ibid., pp. 53-54.
grew. In 1888 the mass movement gathered momentum. Facilities for coastal transport were an added incentive. 41

B. Emigration of Women

Women also emigrated in substantial number from Goa. The question of emigration of women raised so much social concern that many at the end of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century called for an end to the emigration of women. They pointed out its ignominy saying that this affected the honour and dignity of the Goan society. 42

Regarding the emigration of women, it can be said that among the high class the women who emigrated were invariably those who accompanied their husbands. Of the lower classes, the emigration of women was quite extensive. Some accompanied their families. Others went to seek employment and were mostly hired as servants. Many also went to escape from some misfortune that they faced as a consequence of engaging in some shameful acts, being victims of some qualms of conscience. 43

One of the Goan dailies commented as follows regarding the emigration of women from Goa: “It was not just the wives of the emigrants who went to Bombay but also the young girls who went away from their native land in the anxiety to arrange a pair of stockings or dowry for marriage”. It was also opined that the emigration of women had

41 Teresa Albuquerque, op. cit., p. 179.
to be prohibited totally or restricted to only those who had their husbands working in Bombay making them deposit a large sum of money as guarantee of their return to their birth place. The press in Goa was vociferous in demanding repressive measures against the emigration of women.  

Not only did married women accompany their husbands out of Goa but also single women and young girls. Some went of their own free will, others went due to their miserable conditions, and still others were seduced by unscrupulous elements in the society. Often these women wound up in brothels and got infected with venereal diseases. A distinct Jesuit orator proffered in the following manner on one of the occasion of the feast of the church of Dabul in Bombay: “destroy this majestic temple of God, these images and all the gold ornamentation, but dedicate your efforts (of fellow Goan brethren) to free from the brothels our (Goan) sisters who lived in dishonour…”

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44 A. B. de Bragança Pereira, “A Alienacção dos Bens Nacionais, o Fomento e a Emigração”, op. cit., pp 24-25. ‘... Não são só as mulheres dos emigrantes que vão a Bombaim, mas ainda raparigas adultas que se expatriam na ânsia de arranjar um pé de meia ou um dote para o casamento. Mas attendendo ao prejuízo moral da quea das emigrantes, ao prejuízo económico de falta de braços para o trabalho agrícola e a circunstância de a proletária poder adquirir meios de subsistência dentro do país, o Ultramar é de parecer que a emigração da mulher goesa seja reprimida proibindo se de futuras saídas daquelas que não tenham em Bombaim seus maridos exigindo também das que os tenham um depósito como garantia do seu regresso.’

45 Roberto Bruto da Costa, “A Crise Migratoria”, op. cit., p. 48. ‘...Um distinto orador da tribuna sarada membro da Companhia de Jesus, que fora convidado a pregar numa festa na Igreja de Dabul, em Bombaim, preferiu este eloquente apelo do alto do púlpito: Destrui este templo majestoso, essas imagens e esses ornamentos de ouro, e dedique o seu produto a tirar dos prostíbulos as vossas patrícias que são o vosso desdouro...’
C. Extent of Emigration

Up to the beginning of the nineteenth century there were hardly any statistical records of international migration. The nineteenth century was the great age of mass migration from Europe across the Atlantic of people who went of their own free will, and most of what historians know about the economic and social determinants and consequences of international migration is based on the experience of that remarkable period.

(a) Unfortunately, Goa also did not have the service for the registration of the emigrants and therefore exact figures cannot be given for this phenomenon. The census of the population, though was an appreciable exercise undertaken, could not be taken as the base for study because information regarding emigrants was found to be largely inadequate. So, definite figures are not available for proper analysis of emigration. Besides, the emigration of full families was also not recorded in the census reports.

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46 Refer to Appendix 7.1 and 7.2 for details regarding the incidence of the phenomenon of emigration in the different villages and regions of Goa. The various trends regarding the composition of the emigrants based on the determinants like sex, religion, age, region, etc., are evident from the same.

47 Of the large number of passengers who enter or leave any country in a given period, only a small segment comes under the category of genuine migrants. Persons to be counted as migrants are those who move from one country to another, and, the criterion generally adopted was a declared intention to stay in the receiving country for more than one year. Owing to the wide variety of methods used in different countries, it is not easy to obtain accurate statistics. Countries did not begin to keep records of genuine international migration until the beginning of the twentieth century. For most of the nineteenth century the available statistics were by-products of acts or regulations introduced to achieve some other purpose. The primary data used by various countries to measure international migration can be grouped under six headings: those yielded by controls at ports, by transport contracts, by population registers, by control at land frontiers, by passports, and by coupons detached from certain documents. In Goa the study of emigration is made possible largely from population registers. Such data is however unreliable.
For instance, the Census of 1910 of the *Estado*, registered 57,157 natives as being absent in Portuguese India. On the other hand, in the following year 63,765 individuals were registered in British India as natives of Portuguese India. It should be noted that the latter figure also does not take into consideration the number of Goan emigrants to other parts of the world. Similarly, many resided in British India for a number of years and were declared as British nationals either for having acquired it or were considered as such due to some convenience. Taking all this into consideration the total emigrant to Bombay and other parts of British India as also throughout the world has been computed to be not less than a hundred thousands.\(^{48}\)

In 1910, of the 63,765 emigrants to British India, 58074 resided in Bombay, 968 in Madras and 755 in Bengal. The Goan emigrants of Bombay were the parishioners of the church of Dabul. For the sake of just over 5000 Goan emigrants who were spread in Madras, Bengal and other parts of India, the Public Exchequer of the *Estado* sustained two bishops paid at the rate of four thousand rupees besides defraying other cost running into tens of thousands.\(^{49}\)

(b) The emigration of Goans was spontaneous, free from any hurdles and left free to the exclusive initiative of the individuals concerned. In constructing a general typology of migrations, one should begin by choosing the criteria by which the types are to be distinguished. Perhaps the most fundamental is the distinction between innovating

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(c) More people from the Old Conquests emigrated than from the New Conquests.

Though these figures cannot be taken as exact, nevertheless, one can get a fair idea of the extent of emigration from Goa.\textsuperscript{52}

\begin{table}
\centering
\begin{tabular}{|l|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|c|}
\hline
Provinces & 1880 & 1890 & 1900 & 1906 & 1907 & 1908 & 1909 & 1910 \\
\hline
Ilhas & 1562 & 1972 & 3564 & 3340 & 3702 & 3699 & 3950 & 3954 \\
\hline
Salcete & 9050 & 9203 & 11881 & 15814 & 17084 & 16817 & 17113 & 18773 \\
\hline
Bardez & 15623 & 18743 & 19598 & 19679 & 19557 & 20530 & 20932 & 21146 \\
\hline
New Conquests & 2981 & 1347 & 1978 & 3612 & 3500 & 3605 & 3654 & 3557 \\
\hline
Total & 29216 & 31265 & 37021 & 42454 & 43843 & 44651 & 45949 & 47430 \\
\hline
\end{tabular}
\caption{Table showing the Emigration of the Goans to British India during the period from 1880 to 1910.\textsuperscript{53}}
\end{table}

Among the regions of Old Conquests emigration was more from the taluka of Bardez followed by Salcete. In 1880, the figures of emigrants for Salcete and Bardez were 9050 and 15623 respectively. Similarly, in 1910 the figures had jumped to 18773 and 21146 for Salcete and Bardez respectively. While in 1880, only 1562 persons emigrated from the taluka of Ilhas, and in 1910 the figures reached to 3954. There were different reasons for the decline of population in the New Conquests, the most important being, besides emigration, the increase in mortality and decrease in birth rate. There was increase in still-born babies and the fertility of the people was on the decline as was

\textsuperscript{52} António Francisco Simplicio Barros Dias, “Alvitres para o Saneamento das Novas-Conquistas como base do Fomento dessas Regioes”, in SCPIP – \textit{Secção II}, pp. 104-110.

\textsuperscript{53} To have an idea of the extent of emigration in the regions of Old Conquests and New Conquests of Goa herein are transcribed the figures given by the Portuguese Consul to Bombay and published in the \textit{Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia}, nos. 4 and 5 of 1912.
evidenced from the increasing incidence of miscarriages on the one hand as also due to the impotency of many others. In the First Conference on Sanitation it was clearly demonstrated that two factors were responsible for the miserable conditions in the New Conquests. These were, one, malaria and second, infant mortality and puerperal deaths.\textsuperscript{54}

The Portuguese authorities did make efforts to direct the flow of Goan emigration to other Portuguese colonies like East Africa. A commission was created to give guidance to all those who wanted to emigrate to those parts of East Africa under Portuguese dominance. The travel expenses of deprived sections of the society, who wanted to emigrate to Africa, were subsidized by the government. The result of these measures could be adjudged from the following figures that shows the extent of emigration to the ports of East Africa for the period from 1896 to 1904:\textsuperscript{55}

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Years</th>
<th>Number of emigrants</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1896-97</td>
<td>9046</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1897-98</td>
<td>9135</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1898-99</td>
<td>9261</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1899-00</td>
<td>6137</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900-01</td>
<td>13134</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1901-02</td>
<td>7930</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1902-03</td>
<td>4017</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1903-04</td>
<td>4287</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

\textsuperscript{54} Ibid., pp. 108-109.
\textsuperscript{55} Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, \textit{India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociao}, pp. 70-71.

419
It can be seen from the above table that emigration to Africa increased during the period from 1896 to 1901, with a substantial decrease for one year in 1899-00. For the year 1900-01 the emigration to Africa was the maximum, however, from that year onwards, there was a perceptible decline until 1903-04, when the figures were less than half of the number of emigrants for the year 1896-97. In 1897 the government took measures to promote emigration from Goa to territories under Portuguese control in Africa. The decline thereafter was attributed to the war of Transvaal that made it difficult for the Goans to emigrate there. Similarly, the local authorities and chiefs created many hurdles for the inhabitants of Portuguese India who emigrated there.

The general trends of emigrants from the Old Conquests during the period from 1878 to 1910 are evident from the following table:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Trends in Emigrations</th>
<th>Salcete</th>
<th>Bardez</th>
<th>Ilhas</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Above 15 years.</td>
<td>10749(m) &amp; 2376 (f)</td>
<td>18640(m) &amp; 5121 (f)</td>
<td>2692(m) &amp; 680 (f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Below 15 years</td>
<td>1568(m) &amp; 860 (f)</td>
<td>3156 (m) &amp; 1225 (f)</td>
<td>224 (m) &amp; 140 (f)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Percentage</td>
<td>14.9%</td>
<td>25.1%</td>
<td>7.5%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Total Emigrants</td>
<td>15553</td>
<td>28142</td>
<td>3736</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To British India.</td>
<td>13092</td>
<td>20193</td>
<td>2539</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>To Africa</td>
<td>1519</td>
<td>5771</td>
<td>201</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Literates</td>
<td>5467</td>
<td>11339</td>
<td>1224</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Illiterates</td>
<td>7628</td>
<td>8676</td>
<td>1741</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

56 The increase in emigration to Africa upto 1900-01 was due to the provisions in the *Portaria* of 6th October, 1897, passed by the Portuguese government in Goa which encouraged emigration to Africa.
58 The data in the table is summarized from the information given by Froilano de Melo and Sertorio C. Lobo, “Contribuição ao Estudo da Emigração em Goa”, op. cit., pp. 76-105. The authors have given a note that says, “All the figures supplied above were obtained following the investigations carried out by the corporal of the military (cabos) in each of the parish based on the questionnaire given above. There are, however, some insignificant omissions for some of the parishes.” For want of other information, these data may give a rough picture of the state of affairs.
In the Old Conquests emigration was more from the taluka of Bardez where more than 25% of the population had emigrated to regions outside Goa. While in Salcete about 14.9% emigrated, in Ilhas just 7.5% had emigrated outside Goa. It is also evident that emigrations to Africa were much less than to territories under British control in India. The literate sections of the society that emigrated were also very significant. In 1910, the number of persons who knew to read and write and who emigrated was 5467, 11339 and 1224, for the talukas of Salcete, Bardez and Ilhas, respectively.

Emigration from the regions in the New Conquests was minimal as is evident from the following table: \(^{59}\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Talukas</th>
<th>Total number of emigrants</th>
<th>Total Population</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>M</td>
<td>F</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem</td>
<td>1263</td>
<td>345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanquelim</td>
<td>843</td>
<td>110</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Satari</td>
<td>6</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponda</td>
<td>558</td>
<td>297</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanguem</td>
<td>218</td>
<td>54</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quepem</td>
<td>407</td>
<td>86</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that emigrations from regions in the New Conquests were minimal with highest being from the taluka of Pernem from where 1608 persons had emigrated by

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\(^{59}\) The data in the table are summarized from the information given by Froilano de Melo and Sertorio C. Lobo, "Contribuição ao Estudo da Emigração em Goa", op. cit., pp. 76-105.
1910. On the other hand emigration was the least from the taluka of Satari where just 7 persons had emigrated out of a total population of 17981, by 1910s.

D. The Impact of Emigration on the Goan Society and Economy

The ‘illustrated section’ of the society did well by emigrating as this helped them to take care of their lives with relative ease enabling them to help their native land with the savings that were remitted regularly. The intellectual class increased progressively but there were no employment opportunities. Everyone wanted to join the government service. But job opportunities in government departments were limited in spite of the fact that the Estado had bloated administrative machinery. In land where there was no constructive initiative, no thriving commerce, no industries worth the name, the diploma holders who had a general disdain for commerce, industry etc., had no option rather than to idle themselves. While, there were more mouths to feed, the intellectuals and the able-bodied had no option rather than to sit idle. But the enterprising segment among them preferred to emigrate.

The educated section of the society was not ready to shun age-old prejudices to take initiative to give a new orientation to the land of their birth. It was deplorable that the young generation who passed out from the Medical College or the Secondary Schools all wanted to emigrate not knowing where they wanted to go and why.\textsuperscript{60}

\textsuperscript{60} Padre Caetano P. Pereira, "A Emigração do Goês", \textit{op. cit.}, pp. 58-59.
The emigration of the illiterate section of the society was helpful to the extent of the savings that they despatched regularly helped to balance the enormous trade deficit through their remittances.  

It is essential to see the reverse side of the coin as well. Thousands of those who emigrated never returned or got to return. Many perished outside Goa and neither their bones nor their savings could manage to reach their land of birth. These were the victims of plague and other epidemics, the outbreak of which was frequent in Bombay. Some withered away due to the hostile climatic conditions while others were bogged down by fatigue due to excessive work. Many of these people who left Goa never returned abandoning their homes for the hovels that they had acquired there.

Many of the emigrants had turned vagabonds and taken to pick pocketing and other vices. These sections had in fact become shameful to their fellow brethren. Many of those who returned came with ill-gotten wealth. Some of them came with the saving of their hard earned money but came with a host of diseases that were rampant in the by lanes of big cities.

Some of the emigrants who returned to Goa got married in advanced age often succeeding to find for themselves some ‘old junk’ as life partner. There were fears — though, not totally irrational — that the offspring in these conditions would be fatally defective. Sometimes the children became orphaned when the parents had passed out or

61 Ibid; Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes, pp. 58-63.
63 Ibid.
they were too old and sickly to look after them. Moreover, the offspring of those who had contracted diseases had to live with the social stigma attributed to their parents. Thus, instead of a robust generation coming up with capabilities to work on the deserted countryside what Goa was witnessing was the rise of a generation that was weak and mentally deranged.\textsuperscript{64}

Many women who married the emigrant-returnees faced widowhood immediately. Some remarried and preferred to emigrate leaving their families behind. Unfortunately, there had begun a new trend in Goa and that was, the wives of the emigrants hesitated from working in the farm sector. They viewed themselves as emancipated from the drudgery of life and preferred to idle away their time. An idle mind was the devil’s workshop and the liberty with which women enjoyed idleness was held as one of the reasons responsible for the moral degeneration of the women in particular and the society in general.\textsuperscript{65}

Undoubtedly, the sum total of earnings of all the emigrants was quite substantial.\textsuperscript{66} Some of the emigrants earned more than what they had earned here in Goa and had notably improved their economic position. There was no doubt about this. On the other hand a great number of emigrants were in no better position.\textsuperscript{67}

\textsuperscript{64} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{65} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{66} Refer to Appendix 7.5.
The value of the difference of just the remittances from British India to Goa annually, according to the report of the General Post-Office for the ten year period from 1905 to 1914 was on an average as follows.\textsuperscript{68}

**Table showing the extent of remittances from British India to Goa for the period from 1905 to 1910**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Postal Orders</th>
<th>Rs. 4,07,250:11:05</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the form of letters containing valuables</td>
<td>Rs. 3,55,270:08:10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(cartas com valor declarado)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 7,62,521:04:03</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

On the other hand the remittances from all over the world for the same period on an average were as follows.\textsuperscript{69}

**Remittances to Goa from all over the world: 1905 – 1914**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In Postal Orders</th>
<th>Rs. 8,37,511:12:03</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>In the form of letters containing valuables</td>
<td>Rs. 4,15,804:15:08</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><em>(cartas com valor declarado)</em></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td><strong>Total</strong></td>
<td><strong>Rs. 12,53,316:11:11</strong></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

It is evident that from British India itself the remittances were on an average Rs. 7,62,521:04:03 per annum for the period 1905-1914. on the other hand the remittances dispatched by the Goans from throughout the world for the same period were about Rs. 12,53,316:11:11, per annum. Besides, it is essential to give the necessary

\textsuperscript{68} Milagres Lobo, "Emigração", op. cit., p. 17.  
\textsuperscript{69} Ibid.
discount to the exchange of money through commercial transaction. It may be noted that besides this are to be added the remittances despatched in the form of bank-notes, registered letters, bills of exchange, retirement benefits of those who retired, and the value of precious articles, money and consumables brought personally by the emigrants when they returned. It was not easy to calculate the total value of all these inflows but with little error can be estimated to be more than five times the figures noted above.\(^{70}\) However, in any case, the remittances were less than the total value of imports of cereals that amounted to Rs. 25,91,550, in 1910.\(^{71}\)

Those who emigrated despatched substantial remittances. But what was it utilized for? The capital generated through remittances was utilized at the individual level to buy landed estates for the construction of residential cottages.\(^{72}\)

Emigration, though had its advantages, also led to many inconveniences. It did lead to ‘partial denationalization’. There was also prevalent here a wrong notion that emigrants ought not to work when they returned to Goa. Besides, the moral and social education of the youth remained incomplete when they emigrated at a young age or that it was compromised as and when people emigrated. Similarly, the offspring left behind by the emigrants did not get the adequate education and proper upbringing. They had sickly and weak bodies as was affirmed by many doctors. The mortality rate was high amongst

\(^{71}\) Milagres Lobo, “Emigração”, *op. cit.*, p. 17-18
\(^{72}\) Francisco Xavier Ernesto Fernandes, *India Portugueza Estudos Economico-Sociaes*, p. 67.
the emigrants. Competent physicians who worked in Bombay and who tended to the
Goan emigrants there reported on their poor sanitary conditions.\textsuperscript{73}

\textsuperscript{73} Socrates de Noronha, (Junior) and Francisco Correia Afonso, “A Sorte do Emigrante Goês no Foco da
Emigração (Alvitres para o seu Melhoramento)”, in SCPIP – \textit{Secção II}, pp. 1-10. Here one can read the
following information regarding the physical health of the Goan emigrants in Bombay. Though the figures
given are for 1910s the situation was surely not any better earlier.
The \textit{cuddas} being largely the antechambers of the hospitals it would be pertinent to see what their records
have to say about the Goan emigrants.

Dr. Constancio Coutinho of the Anti-Tuberculosis League informed that 282 Hindus, 111 Muslims, and 60
Goans were treated in his dispensary for the year 1915. For the next year the figures rose to 461, 191 and
90 for Hindus, Muslims, and Goans, respectively. The total population of Bombay comprised of 6,64,000
Hindus, 1,79,000 Muslims, besides Parsis, Jews and Christians constituted about 57,000 of which 35,000
were Goans. The figures given by the league do not represent the total cases of tuberculosis for the city of
Bombay. For all who were infected did not go to the dispensary of the League to be treated. But what is
significant was the high incidence of tuberculosis among the small Goans population.

In the J.J. Hospital one of the advanced hospitals of that period gave frightening figures regarding the Goan
immigrants to Bombay. The statistics for the year 1916 – according to the Chief Statistician of the Hospital
the situation was not different for earlier years – 452 Goan men and 150 women were admitted out of the
total admissions of 4743 and 593 males and females, respectively. In the out-patient were registered 1,236
Goan men and 400 women out of the total registration of 24,278 and 2,200 males and females, respectively.
Among the Goans admitted for treatment were 80 cases of tuberculosis and 26 of syphilis in a total of 352
and 110 cases of tuberculosis and syphilis, respectively. It may be noted that only those who had reached
advanced stage of illness were admitted. Taking into consideration that Goans constituted just a fraction of
the 1 million population of Bombay the proportion of those from among them that visited and were
admitted to the hospital for treatment was really high.

The resident doctor of the women’s Cama Hospital informed that in the year 1916, about 140 Goan women
were admitted with 34 cases of genital disorders, mostly venereal disorders. Of these 34 just half were
married women. The figures of Allbless Maternity and Gynecological Hospital show that of the 260 Goan
women who were admitted, there were 60 childbirths and 10 abortions. Others were mostly treated for
genital disorders originating from venereal diseases. For cutting the long story short it may be noted that the
total admission of the two hospitals were only 1,100 and 1,400, respectively. Thus, Goan women constituted
by far a large chunk of those admitted for various treatments.

Statistics of the Medical School of Bombay – Bai Motlibai e Petit hospital – point to the fact that 33 % of
those admitted daily were Goans and a third of the cases were related to maternity and gynecological
problems. The paternity of those born of Goan women was not clear and in most of the cases the women
were admitted by Muslims, Parsis and even Chinese men.

In the Acworth Assylum for leprosy patients of the 250 who were interned 50 were Goans. Dr. N.H.
Chosky noted that in the hospitals treating small-pox patients many Goans were admitted. He attributed the
high incidence of small-pox among the Goan community to lack of vaccination in Portuguese Indian
territories. Similarly, a large section of those who were admitted for plague were Goans for the simple
reason that the \textit{cuddas} where they lived were the excellent shelters of rats.

From all the statistics it may be safely concluded that Goans constituted two-third from among all those
affected with tuberculosis, plague and small-pox.

The conclusion is obvious. If the \textit{cuddas} ought not to be abolished for they contained many appreciative
features, then they were also largely responsible due to lack of hygiene for the poor health of the
inhabitants. Goans there suffered physical ailments like tuberculosis, plague, leprosy, venereal diseases, and
small-pox, as also moral turpitudes like alcoholism, gambling, etc., had still the promiscuity in some of the
\textit{cuddas} where lower class women fell prey to the guiles male sensuality. It was a fact that immorality
displayed by the Goan emigrants in the new land were imported from Goa, where the women and daughters
of the emigrants left behind fell prey to the desires of licentious men.
The emigration by the end of the nineteenth century had attained the proportion of an exodus. The rich and the average went to Europe to be doctors, while the poor went to British India and to Africa to strike gold. Emigration had attained the proportion of a mania and a neurosis partly provoked by the economic conditions of the region.  

In Goa, emigration had led to social disequilibrium. The society was sapped of its vigour with its able and productive young generation drained away. The salaries increased. The society got contaminated with habits and costumes, brought in by those who returned to Goa. The Goan society started transforming with the rise of people who preferred comforts and luxury to hard work. It may also be noted that those who failed to make a living returned in a still much more miserable condition than what they had been earlier before they had left Goa. Agriculture and manual labour was looked down upon and large section of the society changed their agrarian profession. There was decrease in birth-rate, slackening of morality, indifference to nationality and love of land, in sum, a complete social disequilibrium.  

E. Life of the Goan Emigrants in the New Land  

The study of the club-houses (cuddas) where the Goan emigrants resided and which, however, were centres from where irradiated all the ills and misery, give a rough picture of the Goan emigrants in the new land.

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74 Ibid.  
The *cuddas* were the rooms in which the emigrants from Goa resided. Usually the proletariat class availed of that facility with each member paying his share of the rent and the common mess. Each *cudda* represented a separate village of Goa and almost all the villages of Goa had one or more cuddas in which the emigrant lodged themselves upon their first arrival to Bombay and continued to put up there till they managed to get employed. As the rent in Bombay was always on the rise it was beyond the reach of many Goans to rent out independent houses or rooms. Under such circumstances the associations of *cuddas* of the Goan emigrants were very economical. In fact such associations existed in most parts of the world under different names. While London had its slums, Lisboa had *casas de malta*. Brasil had its *cortiços*.\(^{76}\)

Based on the principle of mutual help, the organization of *cuddas* had many appreciative features. When emigrants newly-arrived in Bombay they did not feel lost but could get company of their fellow brethren. The newly-arrived emigrant was accorded free hospitality for three days till he managed to find satisfactory work. Each *cudda* had its treasury administered by a committee (*comité*) for the welfare of the members helping them in times of emergency rather than leaving them to fate. Its aspects of solidarity and philanthropy were highly appreciated and admired by many who studied the functioning of the *cuddas*. Unfortunately, while the *cuddas* were appreciated for being based on the principle of mutual help, their actual functioning left lot to be desired especially...
regarding morality and hygiene. They were dens of vice; alcoholism and immorality reigned uncontrolled, in midst of lack of sense of cleanliness and hygiene. \(^\text{77}\)

Before generalizations are made it has to be noted that were *cuddas* which were hygienic and others which did not have high standards of hygiene. Not all deserved the epithets that were hurled at them by the Indo-Portuguese journals and dailies. There were *cuddas* of the first class that were decent residencies, properly ventilated and with a cubage of 250 cc. per resident. Such residencies also had separate rooms reserved for the sick and for administration. Such *cudda* had about 400 to 600 members. However, at any point of time the residents numbered on an average of about 80 members. Hygiene and cleanliness was lacking in most of these club-houses. To cite just one example the residents had despicable habit of spitting on the floor. Similarly, many other vices had crept in like the members celebrated the feast of the patron saint of their respective villages in the *cuddas* but such celebrations ended always in drunken brawls. \(^\text{78}\)

If however, all the *cuddas* were to be like those mentioned above then perhaps no one could have been bothered about their functioning. However, there was much to be desired from *cuddas* of the second class. And regarding the *cuddas* of the third class the only thing that could be said about them was that they should have been abolished. The *cuddas* of the second class were dirty houses with improper ventilation, insufficient cubage and absolute lack of hygiene. These were a collection of cubicles where one encountered fearfully tuberculosis. What can be said of the *cuddas* of the third order? To

\(^{77}\) Ibid.  
\(^{78}\) Ibid.  

430
have a fair idea of them one can imagine a very large house surrounded by cowsheds — an island of misery in a sea of cow-dung liquefied by the monsoons. The *cuddas* of the third order were small cubicles — *cotris* — where in lived the immigrant families. The cubicle was everything a kitchen, a place to lie down, etc. The atmosphere was really suffocating inside these cubicles with very bad illumination, no chimneys for the smoke, and no windows for fresh air.\(^79\)

There were *cuddas* for the women that emigrated to Bombay. Some were decent and well managed. Others were more like brothels. There were also mixed *cuddas* where men and women lived in flagrant promiscuity. The existence of the latter was considered as shameful to the Goan society. Informed sources confirmed that there existed of about 250 to 280 *cuddas* in Bombay. Of these just 10 to 20 were of the first class, about 150 of the second and 50 of the third class. Besides, there were 20 *cuddas* exclusively of women and around 10 *cuddas* where men and women lived together.\(^80\)

Thus, the *cuddas* gave a impression of places where there was absolute lack of hygiene where the 3,000 Goan tailors, musicians and masons, 2,000 carpenters and fitters, 10,000 servants, 3,000 *aiyahs* and perhaps the 12,000 Goan employees lived. They exhaled the putrefied air and ended up in hospital with a litany of illnesses to recite or regressed back to their native places with a host of diseases that were unknown there. Goans also often landed in police custody following the disturbances and disorders provoked by alcoholism. It may also be noted that women who emigrated increasingly

\(^{79}\) Ibid.
\(^{80}\) Ibid.
took to prostitution. Doctors, medical practitioners and priest who attended to the Goan emigrants testified to the sorry state of affairs of the Goan emigrants. 81

Improve ment of the condition of the cuuddas was the only solution of improving the condition of the Goan emigrants. One of the reasons responsible for the poor hygienic conditions in which the emigrants lived was their ignorance of the basics of community living. Proper instruction in local Konkani language would have helped in making the Goan emigrants conscious about health and hygiene.

Goa faced large scale emigration from the last quarter of the nineteenth century. There was emigration largely because of the fact that on the one hand there was increase in population in Goa. On the other hand what the countryside produced on the agricultural front was not sufficient for feeding the ever growing population. Due to this Goa had to import the required quantities of cereals in large quantities. Goan output on the industrial front was also not of great magnitude. In fact many local agro-based industries like the liquor industry, jaggery production and allied industries were on the decline. Even salt manufacturing was on the decline. The rising trade deficit caused by the import of cereals was balanced largely by the remittances despatched by the emigrants to their families in Goa. By the beginning of twentieth century the shift from agrarian based economy to remittances based economy became rather complete in Goa.

81 Socrates de Noronha, (Junior) and Francisco Correia Afonso, “A Sorte do Emigrante Goês no Foco da Emigração (Alvitres para o seu Melhoramento), op. cit., p. 10.