CHAPTER TWO

An Overview of Portuguese Rule over Goa

In the first two-and-a-half centuries of their rule over Goa, the Portuguese made determined efforts to transplant their culture in the territory they had colonized. In this chapter, I have briefly examined the nature of Portuguese rule over Goa¹, as a particular form of domination necessarily leads to particular expressions of nationalism.

Although the Portuguese arrived in India in 1498, serious attempts at colonization began with the appointment of Afonso de Albuquerque as the second viceroy between 1509 and 1515. Goa was then under the Adil Shahi dynasty of Bijapur. On 25 November 1510, in his second attempt, Albuquerque succeeded in conquering the island of Goa (Tiswadi). Consequently, the Portuguese became the first Europeans to establish their colonies on the Indian sub-continent.

By 1543, three conselhos of Goa came under Portuguese domination. These were Salcete (inclusive of the taluka presently known as Mormugao), Bardez and

¹The Indian territory which was under Portuguese domination consisted of three enclaves -- Goa, Daman and Diu -- comprising a total area of 1532 square miles. Goa was the largest enclave made up of 11 talukas and an area of 1309 square miles. Daman approximated 219 square miles and comprised two talukas -- Daman and Nagar Haveli (including Dadra) -- and Diu was 14 square miles and consisted of one taluka.

Although events narrated and observations made in the thesis may at times be relevant to Daman and Diu, it is concerned primarily with the conditions prevalent in Goa. Daman and Diu are not geographically contiguous with Goa and were culturally different. The development of nationalist consciousness and the events leading to independence from the Portuguese also followed a different course in each of these regions.
Ilhas (Tiswadi). These came to be known as *Velhas Conquistas* or the Old Conquests. Diu had also been captured by this time.

By 1788, the remaining *conselhos* -- Pernem, Bicholim, Sattari, Antruz (Ponda), Canacona, Embarbacem (Sanguem), Cacora, Chandrovadi, Balli and Astragar (the last four of these collectively approximate to the present-day Quepem taluka) -- were acquired by the Portuguese and came to be known as *Novas Conquistas* or the New Conquests. Daman and Nagar Haveli had also been annexed by this time.

Political domination of the British over the rest of India dates back to 1757. Significantly, by the time Britain began its political subjugation of India, parts of Goa had already experienced over two centuries of Portuguese rule.

This chapter is divided into three sections. The first section examines Portuguese domination of Goa. The second section is a study of the economic conditions under the Portuguese. The last section contains observations on the social life of Goa in the first half of this century, the period which is the focus of this study.
Portuguese Cultural and Political Domination of Goa

The Process of Lusitanisation

The early rule of the Portuguese was marked by an attempt at imbuing the people with a loyalty to Portugal, through the process commonly referred to as lusitanisation. This was quite different from the Macaulayean endeavor to create a class of people who were British in their 'manners, morals and intellect'\(^2\). They were not satisfied with merely creating a class of 'Black Portuguese', but attempted to create a micro Portugal on Indian territory, through a process of official nationalism.

Before this could be done, the Portuguese had to forcibly establish their domination over Goa. In the four days that followed the Portuguese conquest of Goa, Muslims were mercilessly massacred.\(^3\) Albuquerque boastfully admitted that he had ordered the killing of the Muslims in a written communication to the king:

No life was spared for any Mussulman and their mosques were filled up . . . and set on fire [Cunha 1961:61].

Consequently, 6000 men, women and children were killed. This implied the

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\(^2\)Anderson describes Bipin Chandra Pal saying: 'In mind and manners he was as much an Englishman as any Englishman...' [1983:92]. But could Bipin Chandra Pal or any of the westernized elite trained to carry out administrative functions for the British, claim to be British? However, Fransisco Luis Gomes, who represented Goa in the Portuguese parliament, in a speech commented that the problems of the colonies had to be attended to, 'otherwise, our overseas possessions will become extinct' [Gomes 1961:356 emphasis added]. Newman points out that out of the three coloniial powers that dominated India, only Portugal conferred recognition to its colonial subjects philatelically. Between 1955 and 1956, five prominent Goans were honored with stamps issued bearing their portraits [1989:6].

\(^3\)Albuquerque's first attempt to capture Goa was unsuccessful, largely because of the betrayal of Muslims. This in part explains the brutality unleashed on them. Also, the Portuguese resented the Moors, who had established their hegemony over the Iberian peninsula and maintained a domination over Portugal for almost five centuries (even today, Muslims are called moir (moor) in Konkani). Their rivals in trade, the Arabs, were also Muslims.
total marginalization and terrorization of the surviving Muslim community. 4

Interestingly, in the same communication Albuquerque states:

I ordered that the tillers of the soil and the Brahmins should not
be killed [Cunha 1961:61]. 5

Conversions

An examination of some of the measures taken by the Portuguese state will serve
to illustrate its attempts at creating a nation of lusitanised people on Indian soil.

From the beginning of its colonization of Goa, the Portuguese looked at the
church as an agency through which it could strengthen its hold over its colony.
The alliance of the crown and the church was formalized under the Padroado
system, according to which the king of Portugal was entrusted with all
ecclesiastical affairs.

The crown decided the jurisdiction of different religious orders, gave subsidies
for the maintenance of religious institutions, made appointments to all
ecclesiastical posts, established parishes and dioceses and supervised the activities
of the religious agents [Houstart 1981:106]. Thus, the functioning of the church
was determined by the crown. A freedom fighter interviewed described the

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4According to Hugh Kay, prior to 1510, the Portuguese had faced stiff resistance from the Muslim overlords,
whereas Hindus had varied in their attitude. This resulted in the massacre of Muslims [1970:295].

5The specific sparing of the Brahmins and the tillers of the land can possibly be understood in keeping with
Houstart's and Lemerciner's explanation of the policy followed by the Portuguese later when they launched
on a policy of proselytization, specifically attempting to allure peasants and Brahmins to Christianity. The incentive
to peasants was that they were relieved of compulsory labor and were either given land that had belonged to
Muslims or were enabled to rent land belonging to Christians. According to Houstart and Lemerciner, this was
because the peasants had the potential to reproduce the religious organization of the village and to build chapels
to replace Hindu temples. The incentive for Brahmins was that after Baptism, they were eligible for
administrative posts suited to their intellectual disposition [1981:112]. Another relevant point to be noted is that
some of the biggest bhatkars (landlords) came from amongst the Brahmins.
church as 'the cultural wing of the Portuguese state'. The church and the state worked in unison to effect conversions en masse.

Till 1540, conversions were mainly effected through marriages contracted between Portuguese officers and 'native' women who were converted and consequently produced Christian offspring [Menezes 1947:8]. 'Orphans', which meant children who had no father, were entrusted to Christian tutors and brought up in orphanages run by different orders. Consequently, they became 'indigenous agents in the service of the Portuguese' [Houstart 1981:113]. Other conversions were effected through the offer of incentives or through persuasions. According to Albuquerque, caste was utilized by the Portuguese to effect mass conversions [1989:10].

The Royal Ordinances of 1546 granted certain privileges to all converts, which must have motivated a number of conversions. Notably, Christians enjoyed the right to public office; poor Christians would receive help from the Royal treasury, land held by the Portuguese would be rented to or given to Christians. Christians were exempted from the system of compulsory labor and only they enjoyed the right to take legal recourse. This caused Paulo da Trinidade to remark: 'Numerous were those who, attracted by such favours, abandoned idolatry and

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4 Personal communication made at an interview with Purshottam Kakodkar on 15 May 1992, at Panaji.

5 The success of the crown and the church in effecting conversions can be assessed from the fact that within 50 years (from the time of conquest) 'all the inhabitants of Salselte embraced Christianity, and 28 parishes were created therein' [Coutineau 1831:40].

6 A K Priolkar cites the case of an old Brahmin man being exiled for six years towards the river Cumua on 26 March 1662, for having sent his three orphaned grandchildren to 'the other side of the country', presumably to save them from being converted [1967:27].

7 See the section on Caste in this chapter.
were converted to the faith of Christ'.

Proselytization was clearly seen as a means of enculturation. An incident recounted by the Jesuit writer Pierre Dahme, is illustrative of the kind of thinking that prevailed:

In an assembly of theologians held in Goa under the orders of the Viceroy, they expressed themselves against permitting the liberty to practice various cults in the Portuguese Colonies...(sic)

Unfortunately, to this negative policy corresponded a positive one which was no less disastrous. It can be summed up in the following equation: *To Christianise = to make Portuguese* [cited in Priolkar 1967:35 emphasis added].

**Persecution and Displacement of Hindus**

In the 1540s, around 300 temples were destroyed in the three *conselhos* that had been colonized [De Souza 1979:91]. Hindus were forbidden to worship in public or keep idols. However, it was not only their religious life that was affected. They were deprived of political, social and economic privileges that they earlier enjoyed.

Just as laws granting privileges to Christians had been passed between 1540

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10Quoted by Houstart and Lemerciner from Paulo de Trinidade, *Conquista Espiritual do Oriente (1620-1626)*. Centro de Estudos Historicos Ultramarinos, Lisbon Part I pp 354-359.

11The seventeenth century commentator Leonardo Paes declared that Goa abounded with temples when the Portuguese arrived. There were reputed to be 116 temples in Tiswadi, 176 in Bardez and 264 in Salcette. However, around 1545, a Jesuit wrote home: 'There are no more temples in this island...' [quoted in Albuquerque 1989:9].
and 1545, several laws were passed disallowing Hindus from following Hindu customs and making it punishable for them to do so. Accordingly it was:

(A) serious offense to fashion or even to privately retain, Hindu religious objects. Hindu houses were liable to be searched on suspicion that they harbored such things; all public celebration of Hindu feasts was forbidden; no one was to receive in his house Hindu priests from outside the islands. Hindu painters were not allowed to exercise their art on Christian themes [Gune 1979:155].

A law passed in 1567 forbade marriages, cremations and thread ceremonies of the Hindus, and proscribed their books [Cunha 1961:72]. The property of ‘offending’ Hindus could be confiscated. Many Hindus fled from Goa to neighboring regions to avoid persecution. The first Goan diaspora dates back to this period.

In villages where convert ganvkars formed a majority in meetings of the village communities (see page 40), Hindu ganvkars were dispensed with. Portuguese officials were instructed not to employ Hindus in private service or in government posts [De Souza 1979:93].

As a result of these measures, Hindus, barring the few who collaborated with the Portuguese, acquired the status of stateless citizens.

**Banning of customs**

The Portuguese government, through the Edict of 14 April 1736, tried to transform even the basic food and dress habits of the people. The ‘natives’ were
banned from singing *ovios* (traditional folk songs). They were instructed to cook rice with salt. Keeping the *tulsi* plant (regarded sacred by Hindus, and grown in front of every house) was prohibited. Christians were forbidden from taking on or retaining Hindu names or surnames. Men were prevented from wearing the *puddvem* (*dhoti*) and women were prevented from wearing the *choli* [Shirodkar 1988:33].

**The Holy Office of the Inquisition**

The Office of the Inquisition was an ecclesiastical tribunal established in Goa in 1560. The Inquisition of Goa struck terror in the hearts of Hindus and Christians. The horrors of this tribunal have been commented on by the Archbishop of Evora at the time of the third centenary of the Cathedral of Lisbon:

> If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy, however base however vile, however corrupt and determined by worldly interests, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called the Holy Office. The Inquisitors even attained the infamy of sending to their prisons women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them as heretics [Cunha 1961:21].

The jurisdiction of this tribunal was not limited to its original purpose of stamping out Judaism and surviving pagan practices among ‘erring’ Christians. There is evidence of people with different beliefs being tried and condemned.
According to Dr Dello, a French traveller who had been imprisoned by the inquisition in 1674, the moot difference was that while the Christians lived under 'the dread of being liable to be sentenced to the flames' [cited in Priolkar 1979:27], others were sentenced 'to deportation, or whipping and forced labor'. Consequently, 'fear of being condemned to be burnt is great impediment for Hindus and Muslims accepting Christianity' [cited in Priolkar 1979:9]. Public burnings were held every two or three years, and on each occasion around two hundred people were condemned to death [Priolkar 1979:9].

Fear of the inquisition resulted in people abandoning age old customs in preference for those prescribed by the colonizers.

**Language**

Significant to note at this stage is the attempt made by the Portuguese to impose their language on the people as part of their design to lusitanise the population of Goa. According to De Souza, these efforts were particularly in evidence towards the end of the seventeenth century when the Portuguese became acutely aware of their 'precarious' hold over Goa and their other possessions in India [1979:79], in spite of their methods of persuasion and coercion.

The order of Viceroy Francisco Tavora, Count of Alvor on 2 July 1684 stated that it was 'harmful... for political dealings and for the spiritual well being of the souls' for the 'natives' to retain 'their language'. To facilitate this 'interchange', or the replacement of Konkani with Portuguese, he stated that they should 'abandon' their language, and that priests and teachers should impart instruction
in Portuguese. He ‘assigned’ the natives a period of three years to learn Portuguese and forbade them to use their language ‘under pain of being proceeded against with severe penalties as may seem befitting’.

Interestingly, till 1745, there is evidence of the ecclesiastical authorities issuing ultimatums to the ‘natives’ to learn Portuguese. The Archbishop D Lourenzo de Santa Maria ordained that Brahmins and Kshatriyas of Salcete and Bardez learn Portuguese within six months, extending the time for other castes to a year, and imposed ‘the prohibition to contract matrimony to any man or woman who does not know or is not used to speak (sic) the Portuguese language’. The vicars were instructed to ensure that only those who knew Portuguese be permitted to get married. At this, Braganza-Cunha comments: ‘Our Archbishop discovered indeed a sure way to promote free love among the Catholics of Goa! In fact, scarcely 2% of our population knew Portuguese at that time’ [1961:84].

From Marquis de Pombal’s Liberalism to Salazar’s Dictatorship

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries had been marked by aggressive proselytizing and lusitanising attempts by the Portuguese. However, as they attempted to consolidate their military gains outside the Old Conquests, they began to realize that it was no longer advantageous to continue using these methods.

Methods of coercion had been used to establish Portuguese colonial rule over Goa. However to ensure its hegemonic control over the colonized, methods of

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1 Among Catholics there is no Kshatriya caste grouping. The reference is obviously to the chandido caste.
persuasion were necessary.

For the process of enculturation to be successful, political steps had to be taken which would make a significant section of the population feel that they were citizens of Portugal. Moreover, the Portuguese realized that they needed to win the support of the Hindus to maintain and strengthen their rule over Goa.

To this end, various changes were introduced in the eighteenth century. Some of the most significant changes were brought about during the tenure of the Marquis de Pombal (1750-1778), chief minister to D Jose I, King of Portugal.

Under Pombal, the Inquisition was abolished in 1774 and the Jesuits, regarded as 'zealous promoters of the Roman Catholic Church', were expelled.

In Goa, liberalization of religious policies was undertaken by Viceroy Alva (1745-1756) and Viceroy Ega (1758-1765) [Mascarenhas 1979:41]. The 'new subjects' of the recently annexed territories were given 'permission' to ensure 'the preservation of their temples, ministers, Brahmins, rites and customs' [Mascarenhas 1979:41]. According to Mascarenhas, this permission was offered as inducement to all Dessais and Ranes, dominant communities in the newly acquired territories who 'voluntarily came forward to swear fidelity to the state' [Mascarenhas 1979:41].

After Pombal's downfall in 1778, the Inquisition was revived but apparently was less powerful and awesome than it had been, and was abolished by 1812.

While non-Christians were still discriminated against in terms of educational and employment opportunities and were still denied recourse to legal remedy, they were not persecuted. Christian Goans benefited immensely under the tenure
of Pombal. The ecclesiastical hierarchy and the defense forces which had previously discriminated against Goan Christians on racial grounds, were forced to recruit cadre on the criteria of learning and virtue.

Pombal initiated other measures too. He introduced agrarian reforms and established secular educational institutions. But his liberal religious policies and his attempts to bring racial discrimination to an end especially changed the life of Goans.

Subsequent to his downfall in 1788, attempts were made to reverse Pombal’s policies. These attempts were shortlived. Portugal’s Commercial Treaty with Great Britain followed on 19 February 1810, according to which the Portuguese were forced to accept, at least in theory, the principle of tolerance [D’Costa nd:11].

By 1788, the annexation of the territory known as the New Conquests was completed. In the New Conquests, the Portuguese did not achieve the degree of cultural penetration that they had achieved in the Old Conquests.

The reasons for this were various. Given the nature of liberalization under Marquis de Pombal, it was not easy to reintroduce the aggressive methods of lusitanisation in the New Conquests. Sobered by their loss of Bassein to the Marathas in 1739, the Portuguese possibly realized that any religious offensive waged against the inhabitants of the New Conquests was likely to backfire and would be met with popular resistance. Consequently, full freedom of worship was
guaranteed to the new subjects.  

**Parliamentary Representation and the Right to Vote**

In the early nineteenth century, important steps were taken to imbue Goans, especially the elite sections, with a consciousness that they were indeed citizens of Portugal.

The French Revolution had led to the creation of a liberal political climate and the establishment of constitutional rule in Portugal, with a limited monarchy in 1820. A decree passed on 18 April 1821 stipulated that six representatives from Goa be sent to the Portuguese Parliament, though later the number was reduced to three [Gune 1979:193].

At first, the right to vote was held only by those residing in the Old Conquests and had the requisite qualifications. But, in 1854, it was extended to the New Conquests and to those Hindus who were literate in Portuguese [Gune 1979:193]. While Hindus were no longer persecuted as before, they were still treated as inferiors and were denied the right to education and to hold public

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13In the Old Conquests, mass conversions had taken place, forcing a large percentage of the population to embrace the Christian religion, while in the New Conquests Hinduism remained the dominant religion. This phenomenon has been referred to as a *dual culture* by D'Costa (nd:11). The divergent policies followed by the Portuguese in the Old and New Conquests resulted in the creation of a populace with two tangential forms of consciousness, an aspect which we will return to in Chapter 5.

14To understand how restricted franchise was, the following quote from Francisco Luis Gomes, elected as a member of Parliament, is illustrative: "The right of suffrage is exercised there (Goa) with so much scrupulousness, that although Salcete . . . contains 100,000 inhabitants, the names of only 2,000 are inscribed on the electoral roll because for that it is necessary to adduce proof of payment of tax of at least 320 réis"

15This led to a demand for parliamentary representation in British India. At the 27th Congress session at Bankipore in 1912, R N Mudholkar argued: "Pondicherry elects a member to the French Chamber and Goa to the Portuguese Parliament. With infinitely vaster interests to be protected, the claim of India for representation in the House of Commons cannot be called unreasonable" [Bahadur 1934:76].
office. Goan Christians had access to education, government service and church service but were not treated on par with Europeans, though equality of all citizens existed on paper.

Period of the Republic

On 5 October 1910, monarchic rule came to an end and Portugal became a republic. Within days, laws intended to bring about radical changes in Portugal -- and consequently its colonies -- were enacted. On 8 October, a decree curbing the activities of the Jesuits was promulgated. On 22 October, Catholic teaching in schools was prohibited. On 23 October, the Faculty of Theology at Coimbra was closed down. The right to divorce was established. The Law of Separation of the Church and State was to be enacted, according to which Catholicism would cease to be a state religion and all church property would go to the state [Figueiredo 1975:26].

How far these changes could be implemented is questionable, considering that there were 24 'revolutions' and coups resulting in 43 cabinets and nine presidents in the 16-year span of the Republic. In Goa, for the first time under Portuguese rule, Hindus were granted religious freedom and equality with all citizens. Discriminatory legislation was scrapped. Of special importance to the Hindus was the opening of temples and their ability to avail of education legitimately.

Educated Goans began to demand a say in administration. Earlier, the decree of 9 April 1838 provided for the establishment of a 'Council of Government', an advisory body of nominated members. Provision was afterwards
made for a limited number of elected members [Esteves 1986:16]. But this body could only express opinions; it could not take any decisions.

Interestingly, demands raised for financial and administrative autonomy were initially met with a positive response, and a charter granting autonomy to Portuguese India was issued in 1917. The charter also recommended that an advisory council called the Conselho do Governo be created, to consist of nine government officials and 10 elected representatives of the people, with the governor as its president. This was to come into effect on 1 July 1918. But at the last minute, the Portuguese government decided against the granting of autonomy or the setting up of the proposed council.

The establishment of the Republic paved the way for liberal and democratic thinking. Its significance lies in the fact that for a short period of time the Portuguese state, owing to the tremendous instability that existed, was perforce prevented from translating the liberal measures taken, into a means of persuading the subjects of their status as 'Portuguese citizens'. It was in this political climate that the nationalist idea took root. Ultimately, instability paved the way for the establishment of military rule over Portugal, which spelt the beginning of a dark period for the people in Portugal and its colonies.

**The Estado Novo — the Neo-Inquisition**

In May 1926, General Antonio Oscar de Fragoso Carmona seized power through

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18This comparison was drawn by Figueiredo especially with reference to the functioning of the PIDE, the secret police [1975:126], who were also deployed in Goa.
a military coup and suspended the republican-democratic constitution. Four years later Dr Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, initially appointed as minister of finance, rose to the rank of premier. In order to stem the grave political and social unrest in the country, Salazar initiated a host of repressive measures in Portugal and in the colonies.

Once again racial discrimination was legitimized in the colonies. Also, the right to vote and to parliamentary representation were withdrawn. The Portuguese state once again continued the process of official nationalism, insisting that Goa was an extension of Portugal.

On 21 October 1930 the Acto Colonial was passed. This denied the right to self-determination to the colonies, which were referred to as overseas provinces.\(^\text{17}\) The Act divided the citizens into two categories, and the rights a citizen possessed depended on the category he belonged to. The people of Goa were categorized into assimilados (those who could read and write in Portuguese) and the indigenas (indigenous) referring to the ‘natives’ or the rest of the population. The assimilados were considered superior to the indigenas.

However, even an assimilado could not reach beyond the rank of a corporal in the armed forces.

Similar discrimination prevailed in the ecclesiastical field, where in spite of Goan priests being well qualified, they could not rise to the position of Bishops

\(^{17}\)Portuguese laws used as synonymous or interchangeable the terms ‘dominion’, ‘territory’, ‘province’, and ‘colony’. The Acto Colonial of 1930 referred to the colonies as overseas provinces. But Law No 23, 1933, once again referred to the ‘colonies’. However, in 1951, when Portugal sought admission to the United Nations, the Acto Colonial was incorporated into the Portuguese constitution and the term ‘colony’ dropped as the charter of the United Nations had categorically rejected colonialism. For a fuller discussion on this, see Goa and the Charter of the United Nations [Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, 1960].
Top ranking posts in the government and in the church were the exclusive right of Europeans.

Interestingly, before Dr Salazar was about to decree the Colonial Act, he consulted the Supreme Council of Colonies, an official organ in existence at that time. The statement of the Council is an interesting and pertinent exercise in self assessment, shedding much light on the nature of Portuguese colonial rule; it characterized Portuguese colonial rule -- from its origins to the establishment of constitutional rule -- as exploitative and dictatorial in nature.¹⁸

Evidently, Salazar saw no use in continuing to confer the rights of citizenship on the inhabitants of the 'overseas provinces'. The codification of racial discrimination was followed by the withdrawal of civil liberties in Goa in 1937. Stringent censorship laws came into operation, prohibiting the publication of any written material, be it an invitation card, a leaflet or an advertisement, without the prior approval of the Committee of Censors.

Similarly, the rights to speech, association and the holding of public meetings were suppressed. This meant the effective suppression of political opinion.

¹⁸A relevant extract from the statement reads: 'The sole system of colonial policy followed by our government was that of subjection which some authors call exploitation, or a regime in which the colonies were under complete subjection to the Metropolitan Government, which exercised a truly dictatorial authority, leaving them no freedom, political or administrative.

'It was the Metropolis which in its exclusive interest dictated their laws, regulated their trade, imposed the taxes, etc., and no right was recognised as inherent in the indigenous population. They were only subject to burdens, nor had they any safeguards against fiscal and administrative abuses.

'It was exploitation pure and simple of the colonies to the profit of the Mother Country, all the powers being concentrated in a Minister who was locally represented by Governors who were authentic autocrats.

'Such was the colonial system under which gold was traded or spices brought over from India, or a slave trade indulged in.

'With the coming of the liberal regime, the utilitarian and mercantile features which till then marked the colonial administration, yielded place to a policy of assimilation or centralisation, and the natives of colonies who till then enjoyed no right or safeguards, suddenly found themselves Portuguese citizens with all the rights, privileges and immunities of such citizens in Europe without distinction of race, colour or religion. These rights were granted to them by Act 1, 2 and 145 of the Constitutional Charter of the Monarchy, of 18th April, 1826 [United Asia 1957:325].

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After 1926, the colonies were deprived of their right to elect members to the parliament in Lisbon and no other provision was made to enable the people to have any say in the political affairs of the country.

As a result of the Portuguese government's desire to put up a facade of democracy after the conclusion of the Second World War, electoral procedure was restored in 1945. But the only party allowed to participate in elections in Goa was the ruling Uniao Nacional. But it appears that these elections were manipulated and maneuvered by the Portuguese government with the help of a few businessmen, landlords, legal and medical professionals\(^1\) [Shirodkar 1988:36].

While the Portuguese government had equipped itself with stringent legislation\(^2\), the rigorous implementation of these laws was not evident in Goa till 1946, in the aftermath of the civil disobedience movement, which began on 18 June of that year.

Prior to 1946, prabhat feris\(^3\) in sympathy of the Indian nationalist movement were conducted openly. Nationalist pamphlets were distributed and journals sold, but received little state attention. A few political activists were arrested and houses were raided, but those held were not detained for long.

From July 1946 onwards, the awarding of long prison sentences and

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\(^1\)A story by Berta Menezes Braganza, *His Neutrality*, written around that time but published much later, portrays the farcical nature of elections [Menezes Braganza 1991:145-152]

\(^2\)The stringent laws enacted in the colonies were extensions of the decrees which were promulgated in Portugal, probably in response to the social and political unrest prevalent there. At this time, there was insufficient evidence of unrest in the colonies to justify the implementation of these laws there.

\(^3\)Prabhat feris were processions that moved around the concerned village or town at dawn, to highlight particular issues. Prabhat feris were sometimes held in parts of Goa to express solidarity with the anti-British struggle throughout India.
deportation to foreign countries were regularly meted out to anyone displaying
the slightest signs of dissidence. The dominant political climate was marked by
an awareness of the dictatorial nature of Portuguese rule. Nevertheless, a section
of the populace favored Portugal's continued domination over Goa. The
lusitanised Goans even agreed with Salazar's claim that:

'(Goa) is no geographical or economic frontier, but indubitably a
human one. Goa is the transplantation of the west on to eastern
lands, the expression of Portugal in India [United Asia 1957:323].

In reality, however, the 'transplantation of the west on to eastern lands' was
achieved to a very limited extent. Though without doubt the course of events in
Goa and the influences that the people had been subject to, served to distinguish
the position of Goa from the rest of India. An examination of the economic and
social conditions prevalent in Goa in this century will further illustrate this point.
(II) Economic Conditions

Portuguese Imperialist Policy

Portuguese imperialist policy differed immensely from the imperialist policy of the British. Both entered India with mercantilist objectives. But with the development of its own economy, Britain's ambitions grew, leading it to follow a policy of exploiting India's wealth and raw materials for strengthening its developing capitalist economy. In time, the building up of a massive infrastructure was necessary for this, as was the destruction of indigenous industry.

Although Portugal was a 'pioneer in expansionism', it was a poor country which had been reduced to the position of a satellite of Britain through the various treaties it had entered into with that country. It was and continues to be one of the most backward countries in western Europe. The first steam engine was introduced in Britain in 1776, but there was no evidence of its use in Portugal till after 1834. Moreover, up to 1917, there was hardly any heavy or manufacturing industry [Figueiredo 1975:38,39].

Portuguese economic policies vis-a-vis its colonies were short-sighted. In Goa, Portugal failed to outgrow its initial mercantile objectives. The imperialist government pursued a policy whereby it tried to extract maximum profits with minimal investment. This also meant that Portugal benefited much less from its colonies than it could have.

Little attempt was made to boost Goa's agricultural production or to develop its industry and, perhaps as a boon to the people of Goa, little exploitation of its
natural resources took place. The main sources of revenue for the Portuguese continued to be trade, commerce, tariffs and other dues.

Possibly the only major infrastructural development undertaken in Goa -- construction of the railway -- was by the British at the request of the Portuguese and was utilized in the main for the furtherance of British imperialist interests.22

The Mining Industry

Although the efficient transportation of goods was made possible by rail or by ship, little attempt was made to develop industry. The mining industry is a case in point.

Evidence of rich deposits of mineral ore in Goa dates back to the sixteenth century, when the Dutch traveler Hugo van Linschoten observed that iron ore could be found in Goa, and pointed to the possibility of copper and gold ore deposits. But the Portuguese government did not attempt to prospect for or extract these ores [The Goa Hindu Association 1954:266]. In contrast to Portugal's absence of interest in Goa's mining potential, Japanese, German, French and Italian capital was attracted by Goa's mining potential.23

After World War II, demand for iron and other metals rose, leading to the

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22In 1880, the Mormugao Harbor was built and in 1881, a single metre gauge rail track line was laid in Goa at the request of the Portuguese by a British Company, the West India Portuguese Guaranteed Railway. They were under the management of the Southern Mahratta Railway, another British Company [United Asia 1957:331]. The only commitment the Portuguese Government undertook, was the payment of five per cent and six per cent returns respectively on the capital invested in the above projects [Cunha 1961:45].

23Prospecting by French and German companies started in 1905 [Govt of GDD 1973:126]. Between 1905 and 1915, some Indian businessmen also went into prospecting and tried to export ore. But after the outbreak of the First World War, the prices of ores fell internationally and mining operations came to a standstill for some time.
development and growth of the mining industry, primarily at the hands of Goan businessmen [Esteves 1966:17]. Iron and manganese ore were the principal minerals exported. The Portuguese did not care to invest in the mining industry, but were content to benefit from it by way of the tariffs they received on all exports made.

**Agriculture**

In Goa, prior to liberation, the majority of the people were engaged in agricultural activities. In 1960, 85.2 per cent of the population was characterized as 'rural' and 14.8 per cent of the population as 'urban' [Govt of GDD 1973:12]. Agriculture continued to be the mainstay of most people under the Portuguese.

Portuguese reticence to 'develop' agriculture and increase its revenue from cultivated land made the preservation of at least some of the features of the traditional pattern of agriculture possible.

Prior to the advent of the Portuguese, the ganvkari system of administration of agriculture existed. Alburquerque likens this system to that of a private company, according to which 'the ganvkars were shareholders (of the land) by hereditary right and as such enjoyed certain privileges' [1989:6].

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Iron Ore</th>
<th>Manganese Ore</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>49,188</td>
<td>11,197</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>112,230</td>
<td>29,985</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1951</td>
<td>436,395</td>
<td>85,422</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

The selling price of iron ore was Rs 30 per tonne and of Manganese ore was Rs 125 per tonne [Esteves 1986:64].
The surplus from the agricultural produce was divided up among the *ganvkar*.

Each village had its own *ganvponn* or community council, which was responsible for the administration of the village.

The Portuguese retained some of the features of the *ganvkari* system, referring to these village communities as *comunidades*. Land revenue was collected by the Portuguese through the comunidades. However, the collective spirit which had been essential to this system began to diminish as auctioning of the communal land was permitted.

Some *ganvkars* began trading on communal land. They acquired tenancy over comunidade lands for a nominal fee. This land was further sub-let to 'non-*ganvkars*' at a higher rate, making a profit known as *alca*. These middlemen came to be included in the category of *bhatkars* (landowners), and the tenants in the category of *kul* and *mundkars* (tenants) [D'Costa nd:44].

The Portuguese were also known to award land holdings to those who were loyal to them. Consequently, privatization of land holdings became widespread in Goa.\(^{25}\)

Aside from land relations undergoing a significant change under the Portuguese, little attempt was made to boost agricultural production. This is

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\(^{25}\) The distribution of landholdings according to the *Report of the Portuguese Agricultural Mission*, 1958, was as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Owner</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Government</td>
<td>17.7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Temples</td>
<td>2.6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Comunidades</td>
<td>34.8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Private</td>
<td>44.3</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Patel 1970: 194]
evident from the fact that prior to liberation, only two irrigation canals were built. These were the Paroda and Khandepar Canals [Govt of GDD 1973:82].

Production of cash crops such as coconuts, cashew nuts, supari (areca nut) and fruits was encouraged for export, but the initiative remained in the hands of the peasants. The production of rice, which was and is the staple food of Goans, was inadequate to fulfill the needs of the people.26

**Migration**

As agricultural conditions deteriorated and employment opportunities were virtually absent, the phenomenon of emigration emerged from the late nineteenth century onwards.

Education was a contributory factor to this phenomenon. Many Goans appeared for the matriculation exam conducted in Bombay and went for further studies to various centers of learning in India or took up employment. Some went to Portugal after studying at the Lyceum.27 Bombay and Karachi were major centers of employment for Goans in India.

A sizable section of Christians went to British East Africa and some to the

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26 In 1939, Braganza-Cunha highlighted the rice problem in an essay called *Portuguese India - A Survey of Conditions* and a separate pamphlet entitled *The Rice Problem*. In that he attributed Goa’s lack of self-sufficiency in rice to ‘the backwardness of the agriculture’ which depended on ‘primitive means’, and the economic policy of the government which was, according to him, dictated by the desire to earn more revenue from rice through the imposition of ‘super taxes’. This increased the price of imported rice, and indirectly caused the cost of production of locally grown rice to rise [1961:121-127]. There are statistics suggesting a decline in the production of rice. Addressing the Goa Congress Provincial in 1921, Luis Menezes Braganza estimated production of rice at 41,690 Kumbh, i.e., 8,33,800 Khandi [The Goa Hindu Association 1954:266]. In 1947, the editor of *A Vida*, a Portuguese daily, in a series of articles estimated the production of rice to be 7,50,000 Khandi [Rao 1963:25].

27 The Lyceum was the secondary school under the Portuguese in Goa, somewhat equivalent to matriculation in British India.
Portuguese colonies in Africa; they were employed variously, as white collar workers and manual workers. Another large section took employment on merchant ships all over the world (a seamen is called a *tarvotti* in Konkani).

According to Srikrishna Vanjari, an information officer of the government of Bombay Presidency, India maintained as much as one-third of the Goan population [United Asia 1957:330]. Braganza-Cunha estimated the number of emigrants at nearly one lakh in a population of six lakh [1961:39]. Large scale emigration led to substantial remittances which contributed significantly to the Goan economy.  

**Other Sources of Income**

While remittances served as an important source of revenue, trade served as a source of income only in terms of the tariffs imposed on the import and export of goods. The bulk of the trade was with India, and imports far outweighed exports, leading to the creation of a large deficit.

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28In 1951, remittances from India amounted to Rs 680 lakh, and remittances from Portugal were Rs 41 lakh [Rao 1963:59].

29Table of Imports and Exports, Goa, Daman & Diu

[[in Rupees]]

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Imports</th>
<th>Exports</th>
<th>Deficit</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>43,65,438</td>
<td>14,48,903</td>
<td>29,16,535</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>62,71,438</td>
<td>25,50,091</td>
<td>37,21,345</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1,39,92,902</td>
<td>44,44,221</td>
<td>95,48,681</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1939</td>
<td>1,35,86,734</td>
<td>27,71,589</td>
<td>1,08,15,145</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945</td>
<td>3,08,61,271</td>
<td>93,32,498</td>
<td>2,21,28,672</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1949</td>
<td>5,35,50,323</td>
<td>88,34,764</td>
<td>4,47,15,558</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>7,52,50,740</td>
<td>97,55,557</td>
<td>6,54,95,183</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[The Goa Hindu Association 1954:267,268]
Aside from remittances, taxes and excise duty, income was generated through the sale of lotteries and the production and sale of alcohol in the state.

An important source of income that is hinted at or suggested by various pre-liberation writers is smuggling. The facts used to substantiate it are the increasing imports of luxury items to buy which Goans did not possess the purchasing capacity. Smuggling probably flourished consequent to the Second World War. Portuguese neutrality transformed it into a free port, with warships of different countries permitted to dock at the Mormugao Harbor. This was conducive for the flow of foreign goods into Goa, some of which were later smuggled into India.

Smuggling and the illegal sale of such goods possibly helped generate Indian currency, which the Portuguese were in need of, considering that Portuguese currency was not respected for foreign exchange.

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30Prior to the Second World War, lotteries were run by three public institutions, and the sale of lotteries was permitted throughout India, in addition to Goa. Profits from the sale of lotteries amounted to Rs 10 lakh per annum. After the war, the responsibility of running the lotteries was given to the Provedora da Assistencia Publica, a charitable government institution. At around this time, the British government prohibited the sale of lotteries in British India. This led to an initial decline in the earnings through lotteries. However, from around Rs 4 lakh profit earned on lotteries in 1948, in 1951 the profits rose to Rs 8.4 lakh [The Goa Hindu Association 1954:281].

31In 1939, Braganza-Cunha asserted that second to customs, the greatest source of state revenue was the 'industry of intoxicating drinks'. According to him, 20 to 25 per cent of the total income of Portuguese India consisted of receipts from alcohol. Consequently, 'Portuguese India gained the just notoriety of being the most intoxicated country in the world and was as such mentioned in the last World Economic Conference in London' [1961:28].

32In 1948, Rs 5.7 lakh worth of silk cloth was imported. In 1951, Rs 65.33 lakh worth of silk cloth was imported [United Asia 1957:331].

33Gold in Goa was available at Rs 10 less per tola than in the rest of India [United Asia 1957:331].

44
The Banco Nacional Ultramarino

The only bank in Goa was the Banco Nacional Ultramarino. It was responsible for the circulation of currency in Goa, and used Indian currency to back up Portuguese currency. This bank had the dubious distinction of accepting deposits but offering no interest, and advancing loans at what was probably the highest rate of interest in the world [Rao 1963:59].

Portugal Subsidized the Goan Economy?

Although nationalist writers claim that the Portuguese benefited from their domination over Goa in economic terms, one is inclined to view this claim with suspicion, for a number of reasons.

As has been illustrated, the Portuguese had failed to derive significant profits from Goa's agriculture or industry. In fact, at the time of Goa's freedom, capital investment in Goa was estimated at just Rs 7 crore. Around 75 per cent of this represented Indian investment, while the remaining amount was in the form of foreign loans. Remittances were a restricted source of income. Tariffs on trade were a source of income, but the bulk of trade was with India and imports greatly outweighed exports. While statistics have been quoted by nationalist writers to show the increases in Portuguese income from Goa, Portuguese expenditure on Goa has not been examined. Pertinently, in 1831, the French traveller Rev

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4. The following figures serve to illustrate this point: The state revenue in 1948 was Rs 1,27,14,629 [United Asia 1957:331]. It nearly doubled and stood at Rs 2,47,78,358 in 1953. In terms of annual income, a similar trend is discernible. For 1953 the annual income was Rs 248 lakh [United Asia 1957:331] and for 1954 it was Rs 332 lakh. According to Vanjari, these figures belie the claim made by Senhor Garin, the Portuguese representative to the UN, who claimed in a meeting held around 1957 that Goa was a burden to Portugal [United Asia 1957:330].
Coutineau de Klougen had the following observation to make:

The revenues of this colony are very small, and I have not been able to appreciate them even approximately, but this I have been informed of by competent authorities, namely, that the colony now suffices for all its expenses, and no money is sent from Portugal for the payment of the civil and military officers of Government, or for the clergy, or for any other expenses... [1831:115 emphasis added].

He further goes on to comment that ‘the Goanese’ made great use of tobacco and that:

(T)he duties on that article (tobacco) amount to about 200,000 rupees, which form a part of the private revenue of the Queen of Portugal; this is the only profit which the mother country now reaps from this colony [1831:115].

From this account, one gets the impression that for part of its tenure, the Portuguese may actually have had to bear the expenses of maintaining their regime in Goa, and that they only gained nominally in economic terms from their rule.

In the post 1947 period, it appears that they possibly felt compelled to create a sense of economic well being among the people of Goa to avert the possibility of any serious unrest. A sudden increase in developmental expenditure is also
In 1954, an economic blockade was imposed on Goa by the Indian government as a means of mounting political pressure on the Portuguese to give Goa her independence. However, all important goods like foodgrains, which were previously imported from India, were imported from abroad and made available to the Goan people, so that civilian life was not disturbed [Esteves 1986:56,57].

Statistics suggest that Indians in Goa enjoyed a higher standard of living than their counterparts in independent India. The National Council of Applied Economic Research (NCAER) established that the per capita income of Goa in 1960 stood at Rs 433, which was 32 per cent higher than the national average. An agricultural laborer in Goa received Rs 2 - 2.50 per day, compared to Rs 1 - 1.50 in independent India; a mine worker Rs 5 - 7 daily as against Rs 3 - 4; a clerk in government service Rs 250 per month as compared to Rs 100 - 150. A postman earned around Rs 250 per month and a school teacher between Rs 350 to 600 per month [Esteves 1960:40].

Esteves goes so far as to say: ‘The people had not only enough to work for and live on, but one also got the impression, looking at the economic situation in Goa in those years, that the territory was about to reach the stage of an affluent society’ [1986:56,57].

\[^{15}\text{In May 1953, the Portuguese minister for overseas provinces visited Goa. After returning to Portugal, he ordered that 1,80,000 contus (approximately Rs 3,09,29,000) he spent on Goa’s development. The money was spent on water works at Sanguem and Quepem, air fields and on the maintenance of the port and railway [The Goa Hindu Association 1954:277].}\]
One may disagree with the conclusions of Esteves, but the relative economic well being of the people could be one of the factors accounting for the widespread reticence of the people to wage a political movement to decisively oust the Portuguese from Goa. This reticence is especially evident from 1955, from which year onwards there was little sign of any people's protest in Goa.36

The Portuguese colonial power maintained a tough executive arm in Goa. But from the time of its establishment, its efforts were focused on the naturalization of the Goan people. Economic returns do not appear to have been the moot purpose for the continuance of colonial domination over Goa, especially in the last years of its rule. The overseas provinces provided Portugal with a sense of prestige. In a speech on Portuguese colonial policy, Salazar stated:

(1) It (Portugal) acquired vast dominions in Africa, Oceania and America, defending Roman and Christian civilization against Islam and spreading civilization through new worlds . . . We are the sons and heirs of an ancient civilization, whose mission it has been to educate and train peoples to a higher idea of life, to form real men through the subjection of matter to spirit, of instinct to reason [Figuciredo 1975:35].

36 According to Manohar Prabhudesai, convincing people that they would be better-off without the Portuguese was sometimes difficult, as they would point out that in independent India the cost of living was higher [interviewed on 10 February 1992 at Mashem, Canacona].
Although rhetorical, this statement can also be interpreted as an exercise in self-vindication: of a poor country struggling to retain its status as an imperial power.
(III) Social Conditions in the First Half of the Twentieth Century: Some Observations

Demographic Features

Till liberation, Goa’s population was predominantly rural. In the last decade of Portugal’s rule over Goa, however, the number of people engaged in non-agricultural pursuits increased.37

The Goan diaspora dates back to the sixteenth century, with the initiation of aggressive proselytization by the Portuguese. Subsequent waves of migration were the result of poor employment opportunities available in Goa. This was reflected in the low population growth rate of Goa, as compared to that of India.38

Dramatic changes in Goa’s demography are apparent in the period between 1910 and 1920. In this period, a sharp decline in the population growth rate was recorded, on account of employment opportunities created outside Goa with the outbreak of the First World War. Similar changes are seen in the post liberation period, when a high population growth rate was recorded on account of the in-

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37 Till 1950, 70.94 per cent of Goans were recorded as being employed in agriculture. From 1950 onwards, the percentage of people engaged in non-agricultural pursuits increased and, by 1961, only 58.3 per cent were involved in agriculture [D’Costa nd:71].

38

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Population in lakhs</th>
<th>Growth Rate per cent</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Goa, Daman &amp; Diu</td>
<td>GDD</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>5.083</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>5.19</td>
<td>2.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>5.03</td>
<td>-3.21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>5.38</td>
<td>7.00</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>5.84</td>
<td>8.58</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>5.96</td>
<td>2.11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1961</td>
<td>6.26</td>
<td>5.14</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>8.58</td>
<td>38.88</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Govt of G&DD, 1973]
The migration of males for procuring jobs is a probable explanation for the high female to male sex ratio that existed prior to liberation, quite the opposite of the situation prevalent in the rest of India.  

**Education**

In British India, education played an important role in generating liberal and democratic thinking among the intelligentsia. From the interviews conducted with freedom fighters, it appears as though Portuguese education in Goa failed to play this emancipatory role.

First of all, education was severely restricted. Prior to 1910, Hindus were denied the right to receive education from government institutions and teaching was a purely Christian profession.

Schools were run by the government, missionary organizations and private individuals. Government schools were in a minority. At the secondary level, the only government-run school was the *Liceu Nacional* (Lyceum). In all official

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No. females per 1000 males</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>1091</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1910</td>
<td>1108</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>1120</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1930</td>
<td>1088</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>1084</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1950</td>
<td>1128</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>1066</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1971</td>
<td>981</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

[Govt of GDD 1973:12]
schools, the medium of instruction was Portuguese and in many private schools Marathi was the medium of instruction. Only in few missionary-run schools was English the medium of instruction.

The New Conquests, which made up 80 per cent of Goa, were particularly starved of educational facilities. According to Menezes Braganza, during 1869-70 there were 112 primary schools, of which only 16 were in the New Conquests [D’Costa nd:105]. On the eve of liberation, out of 146 official primary schools, 103 were in Old Conquest areas and 43 in New Conquest areas [D’Costa nd:105].

While many Hindus went to private schools, literacy amongst them was comparatively low. This is evident from a comparison of literacy levels in the Old Conquests with that of the New Conquests in 1910, till which time Hindus did not have the right to education.40

The percentage of literacy as per the census of 1910 was 13.1 per cent [Gune 1979:690]. Interestingly, in the Old Conquest talukas, the lowest level of literacy recorded -- 12.85 per cent in Salcete -- was higher than the highest percentage of literacy recorded in the New Conquests, which stood at 11.65 per cent in

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Taluka</th>
<th>Male</th>
<th>Female</th>
<th>TOTAL</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Tiswadi</td>
<td>22.1</td>
<td>10.2</td>
<td>16.15</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Salcete</td>
<td>19.2</td>
<td>6.5</td>
<td>12.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Bardez</td>
<td>29.9</td>
<td>11.1</td>
<td>20.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Pernem</td>
<td>12.2</td>
<td>1.5</td>
<td>6.85</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanquelim</td>
<td>20.7</td>
<td>2.6</td>
<td>11.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sattari</td>
<td>6.8</td>
<td>0.5</td>
<td>3.65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ponda</td>
<td>18.5</td>
<td>2.9</td>
<td>10.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Sanguem</td>
<td>9.8</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>6.05</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Quepem</td>
<td>11.5</td>
<td>1.9</td>
<td>6.07</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Canacona</td>
<td>13.4</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>7.35</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

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40 [Gune 1979:690]
Many Goans preferred to pursue their studies in other parts of India, as facilities for higher education were limited in Goa. Till liberation, one medical school, *Da Escola Medico Citurgia de Goa*, conducted courses in medicine and pharmacy. Some opted to go to Portugal for higher studies. From 1950 onwards, the Portuguese government offered scholarships freely to those who wanted to do engineering and other studies in Portugal and other foreign universities [Esteves 1986:58].

Some of the statements made by freedom fighters interviewed shed more light on the nature of Portuguese education. Purshottam Kakodkar (b 1913), presently a full time politician and a former Rajya Sabha MP based in Delhi, while a student at the Lyceum, came across a book by Swami Vivekanand in a local library. Till this point he had always prided himself on being a good student, but Vivekanand's book made him realize:

> Through the education that I had acquired, I was learning to become a good Portuguese citizen and was ignorant of my own country and its culture.

This realization filled Kakodkar with a desire to search for the roots of his identity. Consequently, he ran away to Banaras, where he studied Sanskrit. After completing his studies, he returned to Goa to fight for its freedom.

Even the education imparted at the highest levels was not secular in nature, provoking the resentment of some Hindus. Dr R V P Nachinolkar (b 1924), a

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*Personal communication made at an interview with Purshottam Kakodkar on 15 May 1992, at Panaji.*
general practitioner based in Santa Cruz village, is an example of a person who had the means to study abroad, but preferred to complete his education in Goa. He recalled that in the medical college traditionally, every year, a function was held for final year students in which a ceremony called 'the blessing of the stethoscope' was performed. As a measure of protest, he and some other final year students stayed away from this ceremony and held a Satya Narayan Puja instead. As a result of this, he was blacklisted and 'kept under surveillance' for some time.\textsuperscript{42}

Commenting on the Portuguese system of education in 1957, Theodore Mazarello, Secretary of the Goan Students' Association, Bombay, wrote:

I think nowhere in the world does the Portuguese system of education as perpetrated in Goa find a parallel. It is nothing but indoctrination. The student is taught nothing about the outside world. Portugal is glorified as a nation that has produced the world's only explorers. Nothing is taught either of America or England, leave alone India: In spite of strict regimentation of thought, the Goan students studying in Goa itself have managed to learn a lot about India. [United Asia 1957:349].

Apparently, Braganza-Cunha found Portuguese education so abhorrent that he left the Lyceum, preferring to pursue his education in Pondicherry.

\textsuperscript{42}Personal communication made at an interview with Dr R V P Nachinolkar on 14 January 1992, at Santa Cruz. It is significant to note that in this case, an assertion of Hindu identity by Nachinolkar was viewed by the medical school authorities as an anti-Portuguese action.
Berta Menezes Braganza, one of Goa’s first women freedom fighters, recounted:

My father believed that Portuguese education was useless, and so never sent us to school in Goa. I did a few years at primary school in Calcutta and then came back to Goa. My parents used to teach me at home and, for a brief period, we had a private tutor.

In spite of having undergone no real formal education, she served as an honorary teacher at the Adarsha Vanita Vidyalaya, a private school at Margao, teaching English from 1936 to 1946. As a teacher, she became a victim of the intolerant ways of the Portuguese authorities. After her participation in the Civil Disobedience Movement of 1946, the school authorities informed her that the Portuguese government had threatened to close down the school unless they discontinued her services.

However, within the privately run schools the atmosphere was often more liberal. Berta Menezes Braganza stated that during her 10-year tenure as a teacher, she used to periodically conduct a class on current affairs -- with the knowledge of the school authorities -- in which political affairs would be actively discussed.

Teachers from Marathi medium schools sometimes became agents of politicization. Dr D S Sukhtankar, a doctor and noted Marathi writer settled in

She was the daughter of Luis de Menezes Braganza, Goa’s renowned free thinker, and the niece of Braganza-Cunha. Interviewed on 14 June 1990, at Margao.
Bombay, who had been a freedom fighter, recalled a quaint incident from his days in Goa:

In school we had a teacher who told us to come to school wearing *khadi* on *Shivaji Jayanti* (birth anniversary of the seventeenth century Maratha warrior king). This was absurd, as Shivaji had nothing to do with *khadi* but we were all excited by this.44

Instances like these instilled a sense of nationalism in the impressionable minds of such students. However, many freedom fighters traced the development of their political consciousness to their student days outside Goa, particularly Bombay. Their exposure to the charged political climate and the freedom they enjoyed as students transformed them into willing receptacles of nationalist thought.

Urselino Almeida, who became a member of the militant Goan Liberation Army (GLA), completed his primary education in Goa, after which he went to Bombay for further studies. As a teenager, he was thrilled by the Quit India Movement and participated in it:

My source of inspiration... was the Indian freedom struggle. What happened within the college walls did not interest me. The buzz of events taking place outside the college inspired me.45

A probable consequence of the nature of Portuguese education was that Goan students were more politically active outside Goa than they were within Goa.

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44Personal communication made at an interview with Dr D S Sukhtankar on 10 December 1991, at Bandra, Bombay.

45Personal communication made at an interview with Urselino Almeida on 6 March 1992, at Margao.
In the early twenties, some Goan students who had gone to Portugal to pursue their studies awakened to the oppressive nature of the Portuguese regime and formed the *Indian Centre*. Some of the members of the centre later came to India to strive for Goa's freedom. From 1954 onwards, several Goan student bodies operated in Bombay and similar bodies could be found in Poona, Belgaum, Dharwar, Nagpur and Calcutta [United Asia 1957:347].

At particular junctures, students in Goa came forward to show their presence. Three Margao schools participated in the satyagraha of 1955, and were subsequently joined by school students of Aldona, Ponda and Assolna. Goan students also joined the Medical Corps to give aid to the wounded when the satyagrahis were fired upon [United Asia 1957:349]. But the overall participation of students in the nationalist struggle in Goa bears little comparison with the situation in India.

**Language**

On account of its peculiar history, in Goa the spoken language of the people has always been different from the languages of literacy.

The limited success of the lusitanisation endeavor is reflected in the fact that on the eve of Goa's independence only two per cent of its population spoke Portuguese and was literate in it [Saxena 1974:36].

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46 Forty per cent of the rank and file of Goan political parties consisted of students [United Asia 1957:348]. However, it is to be noted that many of these political parties functioned from outside Goa.

47 In fact, according to the census figures of 1960, the Urdu speaking population, comprising 7,883 persons, outnumbered the Portuguese speaking population, which numbered 5,972 persons [Priolkar 1979:57].

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Konkani remained the spoken language for the overwhelming majority of the people, but people were literate in Portuguese, Marathi or English, depending on whether they were educated in schools run by the government, private bodies or missionaries.

*Romi Konkani* (Konkani written in the Roman script) was occasionally used. The use of this peculiar form of Konkani originated amongst the Roman Catholic missionaries, mainly the Jesuits, who built up a body of literature ‘written and printed in the Roman character in a Portuguese orthography’ [Gune 1979:221]. The Christian scriptures were among the first documents rendered into *Romi Konkani* in the mid-sixteenth century, to enable the proselytization process.

Consequently, in Goa most of the nationalist literature to be found is in Marathi, English or Portuguese. In the early nationalist literature, it is common to find bilingual publications, carrying articles in Portuguese and Marathi: *Procasha*, edited by Vankatesa Sardessai and *Bharat*, edited by Govind Pundalik alias Bharat-kar Hegde Desai. Later on, English was also used. *Free Goa*, a fortnightly journal operational from 1953 to 1962 and edited by Braganza-Cunha for five years, carried articles in English and Portuguese. One of the few nationalist publications brought out in *Romi Konkani* was *Azad Goem*, edited by Braganza-Cunha.48

In spite of Konkani being the mother tongue of most Goans, a section of Hindus view it as the language of the Christians, and have chosen to identify Marathi as their language. The Portuguese speaking population, already sparse

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48I was unable to trace any copies of this publication.
at the time of liberation, is becoming still more sparse as English is the preferred language of the new generation.

Religion

Goa has the fifth highest percentage of Christians in the entire country. However, contrary to popular belief, Goa is not a predominantly Christian state. According to the Census of India, 1981, Hindus comprise 64.20 per cent of the population and Christians 31.25 per cent. Most of the remaining 4.55 per cent are Muslims. A detailed religious break up of the 1991 census is not yet available but, going by earlier trends, the Christian population will likely be lower in percentage.

In the last century the Christian population was in the majority, comprising two-thirds of the population.69 While a dramatic change in this pattern took place in the post liberation years, the beginnings of this change were discernible with the establishment of the republic.

The concentration of Christians has continued to be greater in the Old Conquests than in the New Conquests.60 In spite of the population being divided into Hindus and Christians, Goa has no history of communal riots. Because of this, it is popularly projected as an isle of communal harmony. Synergetic religious practices are frequently taken to represent the cement that binds Hindus and

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69 The number of Christians as per the census of 1851 was 2,32,189 while the number of Hindus was 1,28,824 [Gane 1979:224]. An important factor responsible for this was the exodus of Hindus from Goa between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries.

60 On the eve of liberation, 56.9 per cent of the population in the Old Conquests was Christian, as compared to 14.7 per cent in the New Conquests [Gane 1979:224].
However, the first elections held after liberation were marked by the coalescing of the electorate on communal lines. There can be no denying the fact that religion has had an important role in dividing the opinion of the people on supposedly secular issues in recent times.

Moreover, Hindus and Christians perceive themselves as different. This was evident from the interviews with freedom fighters, who displayed an acute awareness of the religious differences between Hindus and Christians. As the relationship between religion and nationalism is examined in greater detail in Chapter 3, I cite only two instances.

Divakar Kakodkar (b 1918), a Hindu by religion, was inspired by Marxism and joined the Communist Party of India [CPI] at the age of eighteen. He asserted:

There are two different worlds within Goa, the Christian and the Hindu. There is a great difference between them.

Former Advocate General for Goa Joachim Dias, who was a freedom fighter and the founder President of the Goa Youth League in Bombay, stated:

Prior to liberation there was some suspicion amongst Hindus and Christians. Hindus were referred to as *shendiwallahs* and...
Christians as Portuguesewallahs and ‘anti-nationals’. After liberation, Christians were discriminated against because of this distrust, resulting in politics on communal lines.54

According to him, the latent distrust between the two communities manifested itself along communal lines in post liberation politics through the United Goans Party (which received popular support from Christians) and the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party (popularly supported by Hindus).

The responses of Christians and Hindus, however, have not been homogenous on account of the caste factor, which has contributed to the emergence of different equations.

Caste

Evangelization did not serve to diminish the caste divisions in Goan society, but furthered their institutionalization. As is the case throughout India, in Goa too the caste system has played an important role in the social and political life of the people.

A few academicians are of the view that under Portuguese rule, the role of caste became less operative. B G D’Souza, the author of one of the most comprehensive books in English on social life in Goa, has written that ‘the ascriptive norms of the traditional society were no longer respected and the people became individualistic, competitive and acquisitive’ [D’Souza 1975:198]. However, the persistence of caste distinctions is evident from D’Souza’s treatise

54 Personal communication made at an interview with Joaquim Dias on 15 November 1990, at Panaji.
itself, as he states: 'Of the old caste system, a few features survived such as the caste hierarchy, the status attached to each caste and the endogamous marriage' [245]. But it is these few features which form the kernel of the caste system.

According to Alburquerque, the Portuguese did not discourage caste distinctions, as for the clergy the institution of caste could be used to facilitate en masse conversions. For, if the head of a particular caste could be won over, it meant that all the families of that caste in the village could be converted [1989:10]. This is a plausible explanation. The fact is that the church confrarias or confraternities were organized on caste lines.

Moreover, there was no marked improvement in the condition or status of the lower castes as a result of conversions. In her profile of Santa Cruz village (Calapor), Albuquerque describes the plight of the gaudas converted to Christianity, showing that conversions led them to be doubly discriminated against:

(T)hey (the converted gaudas) began to be shunned by their Hindu counterparts, who refused them water from the village wells. Christians of other castes too ostracized them as being backward. Even in Christian communal life they felt discriminated and exploited [1989:23].

The discrimination they experienced was an important factor that led to the Shuddhi movement, in which a mass reconversion to Hinduism was effected in February 1928 in some villages of Tiswadi. Around 600 gaudas were reconverted in Santa Cruz and, on the same day, 300 gaudas were reconverted in Nagzar.
In an account of Saligao, while talking about the condition of mahars (spelt as mars in the account) De Souza and D'Cruz state:

After both the Brahmins and Mars were converted to Christianity and particularly after the building of the Church Mac de Deus, the Mars became the servants of the parish, their most new occupation being that of sextons [1973:36].

The caste system necessarily entered the realm of the freedom struggle too. It appears as though Hindu bamonns came to occupy positions of leadership in the movement, though they were not numerically the largest group of participants. While there is no substantive proof of this, interviews with freedom fighters and non-participants support this view, also corroborated by Rammanohar Lohia in a written account. While narrating his experiences with regard to the organizational aspects of the freedom struggle in Goa after the Civil Disobedience Movement of July 1946, he states:

The non-Brahmins in Goa struggle told me that the movement had petered out because of the Brahmins and that the executive committee comprising solely of the Brahmins would have to be substituted with one having a fair non-Brahmin representation...

But when I helped select a new committee, and I cannot be accused of partiality in this matter, I found that nine of the eleven members selected were still Brahmins [Lohia nd:11].

Apparently, Brahmins also exercised leadership at the village level on account
of their dual status as bamonns and bhatkars.

Among Christians, the commonly held opinion among the freedom fighters was that the Christian bamonns did not participate in the movement as readily as charddos did, because of the greater patronage the former had received from the Portuguese rulers. From the material gathered for the purposes of this research, it is not possible to prove or disprove this contention.

The fact is that caste has played a role in determining the patterns of leadership and participation in the freedom struggle and continues to play a crucial role in the social and political life of Goa.

**The Lusitanised Goans**

Some measure of sympathy for the Portuguese existed among the Christians and among a class of wealthy Hindus, but only a minuscule and elite section, predominantly Christian bhatkars, had been successfully lusitanised. They adopted Portuguese as their language. Konkani was only for conversing with servants and fisherwomen. They prided themselves on being Portuguese citizens, distinct from Indians. Even now, remnants of this section rue the day the Indian Army liberated Goa. Although numerically very small, this section is often taken as representative of Goans because they form a very visible, vocal and articulate

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4The *chhanidos* comprise a caste group peculiar to the Catholic community. In the caste hierarchy this caste is a dominant caste, second to the *bamonns*. It is often referred to as being equivalent to the *Kshatriya* caste.

5The views of this section often find representation in the popular media. A typical example of this representation is an article titled *Goa -- India with a Portuguese Accent* carried in *Reader’s Digest*, featuring a photograph of the Panaji Church on the cover page and quoting Portuguese lecturer Selma de Vieira Velho as saying: 'The Portuguese left us with a taste for the Latin way of life' [July 1990:105].
The social life in Goa was thus distinguished by certain features; a population that was depleted on account of the large scale migration to other parts of India and abroad, a peculiar phenomenon of the languages of literacy being different from the spoken language of the people, a population which was divided by religion and conscious of caste.