CHAPTER 1

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The Press, by its very nature, is grounded in the socio-political-religious milieu of the population it serves. It is affected by, and reflects, the economic vicissitudes of its readers. Goan newspapers definitely reflected the history and culture of the land and its people. To get a perspective on the functioning of the Press in Goa and to understand its setting, a brief outline of the social, political, religious and economic history of the land will be apt and useful.

The territory of Goa lying between 14°53' and 15°48’N. latitude, and between 73°45' and 74°24’ E. longitude was divided into nine districts, viz., Ilhas, Salsette, Bardes, Pernem, Sanquelim, Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, and Canacona. The first three of these constitute what is known as the Velhas Conquistas, (old Conquests) and the others form the Novas Conquistas (New Conquests). Numerous rivers, most of which are navigable, intersect the territory. The island of Anjediva and the district of Tiracol, Daman, Diu, Nagar Haveli and Dadra were also for administrative purposes included in the territory of Goa during the Portuguese rule.
The Historical Background

The earliest record about Goa available goes back to three centuries before Christ. In the 3rd century B.C., Goa became an important part of Ashoka’s vast empire and continued to be ruled by the Mauryas for a short time even after the death of Ashoka in 232 B.C. until it fell under Satavahanas, western Kshatrapas and Abhiras in quick succession. The Kadambas of Banavasi took over it in about 200 B.C. Trilochana Kadamba, was a powerful king of this dynasty and for many centuries, his descendents called the Batpuras, ruled over Goa. King Jayakeshi of this dynasty made Goapuri his capital and a branch of this family settled in Chandor. Although it acknowledged the Chalukya overlordship, it maintained itself more or less independent. It ruled over the part of Goa to the south of the Zuari, while the Silaharas of Bali held sway over the island of Goa with its great commercial centre at Goapuri. Dr. Pandurang Pissurlencar in 1934 deciphered some copper plates from Shiroda in Brahmi script bearing testimony to the grandeur of the Kadamba Kingdom of Dewraj in the 4th century with its capital at Chandrapura, the modern Chandor in Saxtti district. Except the Bhoja dynasty in the 6th century and the Shilaharas under the Rashtrakutas in the 8th century, the kingdom of Kadambas from Mysore ruled Goa the longest, for over nine centuries from the 4th to 13th century. The Kadambas ruled over the greater part of Goa, which they unified into a prosperous kingdom.

Islam came to Goa with Malik Kafur, a general of Sultan Allauddin of Delhi, in 1312 A.D. The Muslim rule ended in 1367 when Goa was taken over by General Madhav, a minister of king Harihara of Vijayanagar kingdom of Mysore. The people of Goa succeeded in driving away the
Vijayanagar rulers and remained independent for 25 years. However, in 1469, the Bahmani king, Mohammed Shah III, ordered his General Khwaja Gawan to besiege Goa and it capitulated. In 1472, the king of Belgaum, Vikrama, encouraged by the ruler of Vijaynagar, made a bid to recover the territory from the Mohammedans but failed. The ruler of Vijayanagar himself made a similar attempt but in vain. After the death of Mohammed Shah III, the vast Bahmani Empire began to crumble and was broken up into five principalities, the most powerful being that of Bijapur, founded by Yusuf Adil Shah who assumed the title of Khan. The latter made Goa the seat of his government. Goa became an entrepot of treasures for Mecca, Aden,Ormuz, Cambay, Malabar, other hinterland kingdoms and for those from China to Genoa and Venice.

**Arrival of the Portuguese**

D. Henrique formulated the gigantic “Plan of the Indies” and in a little more than twenty years, 1440 to 1460, the Portuguese navigators reached Cape Verde. When Henrique died, the carrying out of his “Plan of the Indies” was still far from completion. What was done, however, under his direction, represented the initial impulse, which culminated in the ultimate discovery of the sea-route to India under D. Manuel I who sent Vasco da Gama, with a fleet as far as India, which he reached in May 1498. The Portuguese were mainly motivated by political, commercial and religious factors in their quest to find a sea route to the East. One of the chief motives that spurred the Portuguese to undertake maritime
explorations, which culminated in the feat of Vasco da Gama, may be said to be the desire to circumvent Mohammedan control of the Red Sea.

Portugal’s entry into the Indian Ocean represented a potential menace to Turkey and Egypt. The Papacy viewed the progress of Portuguese navigational activity with keen interest. The Papal Bull “Romanus Pontifex” (1454), issued only eight months after the fall of Constantinople, when the whole of Europe lay exposed to the threat of invasion and the markets of Venice and Antwerp were crying out for spices, that the idea of the expedition to India was envisaged as part of a global plan to stem the tide of Islamic expansionism. In that bull, in which the so-called “Plan of the Indies” was for the first time devised, Pope Nicholas V enjoined on Don Afonso V of Portugal to “invade, conquer and subjugate all of the lands which are under the rule of the enemies of Christ” and confirmed his exclusive right to all the territories thus subjugated on condition that the christianization of the populations was undertaken as the main object of policy.

To understand the Portuguese position on the Indian coast one has to consider their objects and the enmities, which they thereby excited. For many centuries, the Egyptians had held the monopoly of the Indian trade along with the Venetians closely connected with them as the chief carriers of Indian goods from Alexandria to Europe. The Portuguese after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and their first visit to Calicut in 1498, resolved to become the commercial masters of the East, and for that purpose they not only claimed the monopoly among European nations of trading by the Cape of Good Hope, but also undertook the enterprise of
conquering the whole coast of Asia, from the Red Sea round the Persian Gulf, along all the shores of India, and away to the Straits of China and Japan. This brought them into immediate conflict with Egyptians in the Red Sea, and with the whole body of Muslim traders, spread along the shores of the Eastern seas who felt threatened and therefore, felt to fight back. Thus the Egyptians, who were the first enemies of the Portuguese, were entirely supported by local traders; and the Venetians, realizing how seriously the defeat of the Egyptians would affect their prosperity, joined in the vain attempt to confine the Indian trade within its old bounds. 6

When Vasco da Gama reached India in 1498, he was warmly received by the Zamorin of Calicut. He returned to Portugal with the impression that the people he had met were Christians. The Portuguese soon changed their erroneous notions. They realized that the Hindu faith was different from the Christian religion. They also realized that their arrival on the Malabar Coast had not brought them to the real home of the spices. The costlier spices came from still further east. Calicut was a great distributing point on the Indian coast but it was only one of the important stations on the long spice trail. 7 No territorial conquests were attempted in the initial years, as the Portuguese concentrated on gaining command of the sea. They were content to buy spices in the Indian markets, although they already aimed at a monopoly. Within a few years, they seem to have achieved their mission.

Up to 1505, the Portuguese had captured trade and had made satellites of minor Indian states. Their empire building began when Fransisco de Almeida became the Viceroy in 1505 and he was out to build
forts at Kilwa in Africa and at Anjediva, Cannanore, and Cochin in India. These strongholds would protect friendly people from attack the moment Portuguese fleets had gone home and would also provide places where spice could be safely collected and stored while waiting shipment. Almeida built the forts as directed and Portuguese power spread. Albuquerque took over power from Almeida. He was the real founder of the Portuguese empire.

**Portuguese Consolidate Political Power**

Alfonso de Albuquerque wished to consolidate the Portuguese holdings in the East by conquering the important ports of this region to maintain the supremacy over the seas and neighbouring kingdoms as well. In the meanwhile, Albuquerque was encouraged by Timoja, a Hindu sovereign of Honore to attack Goa. Timoja pointed out that this was the most opportune time to attack, as there were discords between its Muslim ruler and the neighbouring kingdoms. Albuquerque heeded this advice and entered Goa on 17 February 1510. Adil Khan, the ruling prince of Goa who was away, rallied his forces which under the command of Kamal Khan attacked Goa on 23rd May, with a 60,000 strong army. The Portuguese were forced to take shelter in their fleet, which lay anchor off Panjim. Provisions were scarce. Albuquerque, however, managed to survive the monsoons. In August, they escaped to Angediv Island, to the south of Goa, from where they sighted four and later on six ships coming from Portugal. Encouraged by Timoja, on 25th November 1510 Albuquerque once again attacked Goa. The local inhabitants resisted Albuquerque’s troops but he finally succeeded in subduing them after three days of fierce fighting. Goa fulfilled
Albuquerque's hopes and rapidly replaced the declining Calicut as the trade emporium of the Indian coast. In 1530, the Portuguese permanently shifted their capital from Cochin to Goa where they remained in power with varying fortunes until 19th December 1961.

The Portuguese established their factories all round the Arabian Sea from Mombasa and the Persian Gulf to the Malabar Coast and Bengal in India, Ceylon and even to Sumatra. Later on, they took possession by conquest of Macao and Timor in the Far East. The important strongholds of the Portuguese empire were Bahrein, Chaul, Ormuz, Goa, Calicut, Colombo, Pacem (Sumatra) and Malacca. Goa was the headquarters of the Portuguese Viceroy whose jurisdiction extended over all these territories in Asia and Africa. In the face of strong local opposition, Portugal managed to add many territories in India to her list of possessions. Bahadur Shah ceded Diu along with Bassein, islands of Salcette, Bombay, Karanja, Elephanta and Trombay around 1535, when he was persecuted by the Moghuls. In a later endeavour to regain Diu, Bahadur Shah lost his life. The Portuguese were frequently harried by the native population as well as by neighbouring princes in most of the areas held by them. In Goa, the forces of Assad Khan, a high dignitary of the Bijapur court, attacked them. In 1538 and 1546, they had to stave off the onslaughts of Khoja-Safar in Diu and of Ibrahim Adil Khan in Ponda and Cuncolim in 1547. Daman became a part of Goa in 1559. In 1570, the Portuguese defeated the combined attack of three rulers, Ali Adil Khan of Deccan, Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar and Zamorin of Calicut.
Albuquerque's original conquest had been of the island of Tiswadi on which the town of Goa is situated, and along with it, he took control of the provinces of Bardez, Salcete and Ponda. He again lost these provinces the following year to a counterattack by the Bijapur forces, but in 1530, they were conquered by Vijayanagar, and they promptly donated the same to the Portuguese. Once again, the Bijapuris attacked and reclaimed all three in 1533 only to lose Bardez and Salcete to the Portuguese again the following year. Until 1543 there followed a series of attacks and counterattacks, but after that they were almost permanently in the possession of Portugal, until after the treaty of 1571 they were definitely integrated into the Portuguese colonial territories. Bardez and Salcete were annexed in 1543. Tiswadi, Bardez, Salcete and also Marmagao are thus known as the 'Old Conquests' and form the nucleus of the territory of Goa. Bicholim was conquered in 1781, Sattari in 1782, while Pernem was ceded in 1788. Finally, after the treaty of 1791 the King of Sunda ceded Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona, as well as the island of 'Cabo de Rama', which had already been captured in 1763. Goa thus assumed its full dimensions and constituted a much more compact territory than previously.

The New conquests, which include the provinces of Pernem, Satari, Bicholim, Sanguem, Ponda, Quepem and Canacona, came into the Portuguese possession, either by conquest or by treaty. The nearby presence of these provinces enabled many of the Hindus to find shelter there, both for themselves and for the sacred images, which were to be the particular target of the Portuguese. By the time that these provinces were eventually acquired there was a much greater spirit of tolerance, and the power of the Inquisition had been broken so that they did not suffer as much as had the
original territory. The Old Conquests were under Portuguese rule for nearly 450 years, whereas the New Conquests were in their possession for about 173 years. Goa was unable to escape the Napoleonic wars and British soldiers landed in Goa in 1798, 1799 and 1802 to protect Goa from the French and their ally Tipu Sultan.

The Portuguese were harassed by the Marathas off and on. After the death of Shivaji in 1680, Sambhaji laid siege to Chaul with a large army in 1683, captured some Portuguese ships and attacked the fort of Santo Estevao and the provinces of Bardez and Salcete. But the Portuguese were saved from facing further disaster since Sambhaji had to make hasty retreat on account of Mughal threat to his own territory. Later in 1737, Shahuji, son of Sambhaji, began his operations against the Portuguese and the Luso-Maratha war lasted for two years ending in May 1739 with a treaty by which Goa lost the entire territory of the North, except Daman and had to pay huge war indemnity. This event crippled the economy and the functioning of the state and a complete disorder followed affecting even the functioning and the evolution of the press.

Meanwhile, in Portugal, Prime Minister, the Marquis de Pombal, consolidated his power as a result of the great Lisbon earthquake. The King turned to Pombal to guide him and he held that position for the next twenty-two years from 1755 until the King's death in 1777. During this period, a number of sweeping reforms were made, mainly concerned with development of Brazil, but a number of them had equally important effects on Goa. The first most important decree was the confiscation of all Jesuit properties throughout the Portuguese world, and the imprisonment or
deportation of the members of the Society in 1759. This brought considerable quantities of land to the Crown, and effectively subordinated the religion to the royal ministers. Pombal abolished the Inquisition in Goa and ordered removal of colour prejudice exercised against Indian Christians in the Portuguese territories. A number of appeals had been made against this practice and Rome was convinced that the formation of a native clergy was essential for the sound development of Christianity in Asia. Pombal in 1761 promulgated a decree which informed that henceforth the Asian and East African subjects of the Portuguese Crown who were baptized Christians must be given the same legal and social status as white persons who were born in Portugal, since 'His Majesty does not distinguish between his vassals by their colour but by their merits'. He told the Indian Viceroy "to dispose matters in such a way that the ownership of land, the sacred ministry of parishes, the exercise of public affairs and even military posts, should be conferred mostly on natives of the soil or on their sons and grandsons not taking into consideration whether they be white or black". This decree was followed by another one in 1763 but to no avail. It was only when the Indian secular clergy sent a petition directly to Pombal that slavery was abolished in 1773. In 1774, he sent a new Viceroy and also a new Archbishop, with strict instructions not only to enforce the anti-racialist legislation but also to favour the claims of the Indian clergy above those of their European confreres. This was 18th century enlightenment at its best and fortunately the government of his successors was wise enough to continue the policy.

Even when in 1787 there was a plot by the native clergy to overthrow the Portuguese and establish a republic in Goa, there was no
subsequent change in the policy towards the native clergy. The plot itself was discovered at a very early stage and was ruthlessly suppressed, but the anti-racialist policy continued. By the time of the suppression of all religious orders throughout the Portuguese empire in 1834-35, out of some 300 regular clergy in Goa, only 16 were Europeans the rest being Indians. Pombal’s anti-racialist policies were not so successful in East Africa, but in India they represented a major break-through which was much in advance of happenings in the rest of Asia.

In the nineteenth century, the capital of Goa was shifted from Old Goa to Panjim. The process of moving was a gradual one and as usual it was led by the Viceroy in an attempt to find the most salubrious quarters. In 1695, they had already moved to a palace in Panelim, a suburb of Goa, but by the end of 1759 they had decided to move to the old palace of the Adil Shahs at Panjim. It had obviously been kept in a reasonable state of repair because it was here that the new Viceroy landed and spent the nights before their official entry into Old Goa. The palace was large but was altered on a number of occasions, particularly in 1887 and later in 1900, but remained the residence of the Viceroy or Governor General until 1918, after which they moved to the Cabo Palace, formerly the convent of the Franciscans. In 1759, the viceroy had shifted his residence to Panjim and Jesuits were expelled from the region. With the departure of the Jesuits, the last sparks of commercial enterprise died out and Old Goa became a suburb of Panjim.
Trade Rivalry

The Portuguese had to compete for trade with the Arabs, who, for several hundred years, had carried on commerce with the East to the mutual advantage of the native rulers and of themselves. In their intercourse with the natives of India, the Arabs had established a strong bond of union, which Portuguese had to break so as to replace their predecessors in the possession of the Eastern trade and so lucrative was the trade that they were not likely to abandon it without a violent struggle. Two methods lay open to the Portuguese for the accomplishment of this object, successful competition, or use of force. In the struggle for supremacy, the Arabs fought to death and they were strongly supported in their cause by the Grand Turk and the Soldan of Cairo, both of whom were deeply interested in preventing the trade of India from being diverted from their respective territories. The trade of the Arabs was a source of considerable profit to the native rulers of India. They, therefore, also intrigued with those Princes for the exclusion of the Portuguese from their territories. In this, they were in many cases successful for some time, and with none to a greater extent than the Zamorin of Calicut, then the most powerful ruler of the Malabar Coast. The capture of Goa by the Portuguese also forced the Adil Khan to offer strong opposition to them. He also joined the Moors or Arabs, whose influence with the King of Cambay induced him, too, to resist the establishment of Portuguese trading stations in his dominions. The main reason for the hostility of the Arabs and natives of India to the Portuguese aspirations in the East was caused primarily by a desire to retain the control of that trade which had for several centuries enriched all who had a share in it. The strong resistance offered against the Portuguese was also in reaction
to the inhuman barbarities too often resorted to by the Portuguese in order to crush their opponents and to drive them from the Indian seas.

The Portuguese enforced their naval supremacy in the Indian Seas. Local traders had to take licences for longer voyages which were granted by the crown. In addition, the Captains of fortresses were, under the Portuguese system, allowed to give licences and safe conducts for shorter voyages. These were often mere excuses for open piracy. The line between what was legitimate privateering and what was open piracy was so finely drawn that there was every opportunity for the enforced transfer of coveted property without any difficult enquiries into the justice of the proceeding, and, where the line was passed, a pardon was easily got. The only law in existence in the Indian seas was that of the strong. On the Malabar Coast except at Calicut, a custom was even enforced that a ship blown out of her course into a port to which she was not bound was lawful prize-she had been sent by God. As trade increased in this region without an effective policing of the seas being established, piracy thrived.

**Attitude to Religion**

The Franciscans were the first spiritual pastors of the Portuguese in Goa. Their Order was the first to be established in Goa as the members thereof were the chaplains of the first Portuguese vessels that came out to India. The Jesuits came next. Their contribution to education, language, literature and printing was significant. The Dominicans came to Goa shortly after its conquest but they did not form themselves into a community till near half a century after. The Augustinians, the barefooted
Carmelites, the Theatins or Order of St. Cajetan and the Congregation of the priests of St. Philip of Neri were some of the other orders which established themselves in Goa. Every fleet was followed by a large numbers of missionaries in whose hands, at times were found the Cross and the Sword. In 1539 Goa was made the seat of a Roman Catholic bishopric, and João de Albuquerque was consecrated its first bishop.

One of the reasons for the decline of the Portuguese power in India was the religious intolerance carried to extreme limits by zealous Jesuits who selected Goa as their second headquarters outside Rome soon after the founding of their order. From the time of Albuquerque, religion was the main instrument of Portuguese domination, except perhaps for a short period after the proclamation of the new republic in 1910. The Salazar regime recognized that the church enjoyed a special mission in the colonies. Both the Colonial Act and the Organic Charter of the Colonial Empire stipulated that “Catholic missions in the overseas territories are instruments of civilization and national influence.” In 1540, all the Hindu temples in the Island of Goa were destroyed, due to direct orders of the King of Portugal. Lands and funds attached to these temples were appropriated by the ecclesiastics.

Albuquerque promoted the intermarriage of his soldiers with the native inhabitants. He reasoned that a new race would thus be created which would have its roots in the soil of Goa but would equally be loyal to the Portuguese crown and thus ensure continuity. The Portuguese gave rich presents to those women who were prepared to embrace Christianity. In Goa, Albuquerque persuaded his soldiers to marry the wives and daughters
of Turkish officers. The officers, trusting his words, had accepted hospitality in his ship but had been murdered and their women converted.  

Albuquerque himself was not particularly bigoted, although this in no way diminished his zeal for the slaughter of Muslims, but it did enable him to actively encourage these mixed marriages by providing dowries where necessary, and overriding any misgivings among the clergy. The temporal needs of the new colonists were met with grants of land to both soldiers and civilians. The majority of the converts were former low-caste Hindus who hoped by changing their religion to escape the laws of caste. St. Francis Xavier believed that conversions could not be made in India without the active participation of the Government. In a letter to Father Simao Rodrigues on January 20, 1548, he said: "If in the spreading of the Christian religion the authority of His Majesty and of the Viceroy is not made felt nothing can be done." He submitted to the King a plan for conversion according to which Hindu temples were to be destroyed and other coercive methods would be adopted.

Another example of the political-cum-religious rule of the Portuguese is furnished by the Portuguese Political Constitution which states: "The Portuguese Catholic missions overseas and the institutions for preparing the personnel for their services and those of the padroado shall enjoy juridical personality and shall be protected and assisted by the State, as institutions of teaching and assistance and under the terms of the concordats and other agreements signed with the Holy See." Persecution of Hindus for conversion began in 1541. An order of the governor on June 30 stated: "All the Hindu temples be destroyed, not leaving a single one on any of the islands." Property of the temples was taken away for the
maintenance of newly built churches and monasteries. Under Jesuit influence, King D. João III ordered Viceroy D. João de Castro to destroy Hindu temples, forbid Hindu festivals, banish their priests, punish makers of idols and give public jobs to new converts. Under another law issued on May 23, 1559, Hindus were prevented from holding public offices. In 1560, Viceroy D. Constantino de Braganza banished Hindus from Ilhas.

The Holy Court of Inquisition was set up in Goa in 1560 to give effect to laws forbidding the practice of non-Christian rites and punishing the heresies of the new Christians. In 1567, Diogo Rodrigues, captain of the fort of Rachol, pulled down 280 temples in Salcete alone, sparing even a single place of Hindu worship. The fourth Bishop’s Council of Goa ordered Christians not to go to Hindu barbers for a shave. Hindus, who came to be known as the martyrs of Cuncoloim, took revenge in 1583 by killing some Jesuits. To punish these Hindus, the Portuguese confiscated their properties and gave them away to Portuguese families. Some of the Viceroy and Governors tried to water down the intolerant laws in process of enforcement, but the priests’ influence was so great on the fanatical kings that the latter repeatedly asked their representatives to observe the orders strictly or face severe penalties. During mass conversions, the Portuguese found that only the lower classes of people were available for a change of faith. Brahmins and other higher classes were not easily won over. The effect of these conversions was that the Brahmins had nothing but hatred towards the aliens and their religion.

Under the constitutional regime, though some religious freedom was restored, yet Catholicism was the State religion. After the republican
regime in 1910, the Church and the State were separated, but this law was
not extended to the colonies. Both the persecution of Hindus and the
material benefits offered to the new converts induced many to embrace
Christianity, but many others preferred to face exile rather than abandon
their faith. “The Hindus who welcomed the Portuguese to inflict revenge on
the Mohammedans found that the God of the Christians was much more
ferocious than that of the Mahomedans.”31 In Goa as more people became
Christians, they retained their caste differentials. The missionaries wanted
to secure a cultural conversion of the Christians in Goa which was partly
achieved by force through the Tribunal of the Inquisition, from 1560 to
1812. During the period of Inquisition, the New Conquests were not under
the suzerainty of the Portuguese except at the fag end of its life. Also, the
Portuguese wealth and power in the East had greatly diminished and this
factor had a sobering effect on their proselytizing activities. Therefore, the
people of the New Conquests were spared the coercion for conversion and
the terrors of the Inquisition. Moreover, a proclamation was issued by the
Portuguese Governors guaranteeing to the people of the New Conquests the
right to follow their own rites and customs. Thus, acculturation activities of
the missionaries and the Portuguese government were confined to the Old
Conquest where their sway lasted longer than their rule over the New
Conquests. The Old Conquests were under Portuguese rule for nearly 450
years, whereas the New Conquests, only for about 173 years. Unfortunatel,
the destruction of the temples which began in 1541 in Ilhas,
and was continued in 1567 in the other two provinces, destroyed many
great shrines and superb works of art and the total destruction of this entire
section of Goan life was an immense and cruel loss.
By 1534 there were sufficient Christians for the Pope, Paul III, to constitute Goa a separate diocese, and in 1538 the first Bishop, Juan de Albuquerque was installed. In 1558, it was raised to an archdiocese which for centuries held pride of place in the East and whose prelate also bore the proud title ‘Primate of All India’. In 1532, Miguel Vaz, who arrived in Goa as Vicar General, was a particularly zealous Christian, anxious to eradicate all traces of any other religion in the territory. With the aid of the Bishop and the first Jesuits who arrived in 1540, Vaz was able to have a first law promulgated on the subject in June 1541 which declared that the king had ordered the destruction of all the temples on Ilhas, and Vaz even forced the Hindus to destroy their own temples. All of the temple properties were then listed, confiscated and handed over to the church. Not content with this Vaz returned to Portugal in 1545 and placed a similar plan before the king for the newly acquired provinces of Bardez and Salcete. Vaz returned to Goa with the King’s agreement in 1546, and in March of that year a ‘Carta Regia’ was published which formally ordained that idolatry should be eradicated in Goa by dismantling the temples, forbidding their festivals, exiling the Brahmins, and severely punishing anyone caught making an idol of wood, stone or metal. In a very short span of time he had accomplished the major part of this programme of destruction.

In 1557, non-Christians were excluded from public office; in 1559, it was forbidden to have idols in private houses; all orphans were entrusted to a Judge of Orphans who sent them to the College of St. Paul. In 1560, it was decreed that Brahmins were to be expelled from the lands of his Majesty and also in the same year the tribunal of the Holy Office, the Inquisition, was established in Goa. Under the wave of persecution that
followed those who could fled to the lands of the neighbouring provinces, later to be the New Conquests. As a result, commerce and agriculture declined at an alarming rate, to such an extent that one of the Viceroy's attempted to entice them back by decree of immunity, but the Church resented this as prejudicial to Christianisation and the decree was declared null and void. Further decrees and laws followed making the lot of the Hindus worse, until by the early 17th century, with the exception of essential services such as, carpenters, blacksmiths and notably doctors, all Hindus were forbidden to live within Goan territory. Official and legislated discrimination against non-Christian Goans continued until the revolution of 1910.

**The Goan Economy**

In an attempt to police the seas, the Portuguese needed many ships. In 1631, there were 115 ships in service and the shipyards of Chaul and Bassein were required to build a galleon every year, while this would have been supplemented by a yearly fleet from Portugal. A navy was required not only against the various enemies from Europe but also against the so-called 'pepper-ships'. These were privateers engaged in pepper smuggling, buying it in South India and selling it wherever possible. As long as these were merely privateers the Portuguese could almost cope with the problem but when it was taken up officially by the Dutch and English East India Companies the whole edifice of monopolistic protection collapsed. Money was usually short so that payment of salaries and subsidies was generally in arrears, no matter what the rank of the persons involved. Subsidies were even sometimes diverted, funds previously allocated for the support of
seminaries being switched to defence purposes and in March 1626 it was ordered that no new monasteries should be constructed, while the subsidy for the ruler of Cochin, known as the 'copas de el-rei', was frequently late necessitating a letter to the king of Portugal from his 'brother'.

In Goa local people, either Hindu or Christian, and usually with no Portuguese blood at all, continued to be in control of the economy. Local Brahmins appear to have dominated in Goan trade and commerce, by the mid 17th century. The local administration of the villages was carried out on the principle of village autonomy the basic structure of which the Portuguese did not initially alter. The village community was variously referred to as Gaonkaria or comunidades in the Portuguese correspondence. The administration of the village was in the hands of the gaunkars functioning through the village assembly which consisted of elders representing the different clans or vangor. The gaunkars were the primary landowners; the rest of the population were tenants or landless labourers. Agricultural methods remained primitive. Internal exchange was hindered by almost non-existent communications, and Goa continued to import considerable quantities of food. The commercial sector remained feeble and there was no industrial development at all. As early as the 1620s a Portuguese report noted that artillery and cannon balls could be made very cheaply in Goa as there were iron mines close to the city. A report during the British occupation, in 1802, reported there were mines, in the Province of Ponda, which could afford considerable quantities of very good Iron, if proper Engines were built; there was enough water in their neighbourhood to work Mills. Goa also possessed aluminum, cobalt and nickel. The iron ore deposits were found practically throughout the settle-
ment. In spite of the existence of these minerals in such vast quantities, the Portuguese did not carry out a geological survey of the colonies to exploit the mineral resources for the benefit of the people.

In 1947, Dr Salazar, faced with Indian claims to Goa, made an effort to develop these mines. Exports rose to 72,000 tons in 1950, and 6,500,000 in 1961, the last year of Portuguese rule. Yet, the bulk of Goa’s population derived little benefit from this expansion. Conditions for the miners were primitive. Licences to mine the ore were given to a handful of the Goan elite. In economic development, Goa and the other enclaves under Portugal were far behind the rest of India under the British. Though a predominantly agricultural area with a rich and fertile soil, Goa did not produce enough food for its small population and was obliged to import heavily from India rice, wheat, fruits, vegetables, meat, coke, cotton, textiles, soap, tobacco and tea. The Portuguese totally neglected not only the agricultural and industrial economy of the settlements but also elementary aspects of administration such as public health and sanitation. The strained relations between India and Portugal during the fifties forced the settlements to import coal, cotton textiles, tea and tobacco at higher costs from other countries. Food grains like rice and wheat were imported from other countries including Pakistan. Goa’s two excellent natural harbours were not been improved or modernized.

Lisbon always determined Goa’s trade policy. Goa hardly exported anything to Portugal but imported Portuguese wine, sardines and olive oil. Goa’s connection with Portugal imposed certain peculiar economic disabilities. Goa had to join a Customs union, which obliged it to
sacrifice almost 80 per cent of its share of Customs duty on articles imported from other members of the union. As Goa was not able to export much to these countries, its loss of Customs revenue was considerable. Also, Goa had to import sugar from a company at Mozambique, in which Portuguese officials held large shares. The economic dependence of Goa on India is fully brought out by the fact that Indian currency circulated freely in Goa and it constituted almost two-thirds of the total of all currencies in circulation. During 1942 and 1952, when Portuguese authorities banned the circulation of Indian currency, Goans were obliged to resort to barter for transactions. The Banco Nacional Ultramarino, the only bank in Goa run by the Portuguese, was mainly responsible for this state of affairs. The currency was highly inadequate to meet Goa’s trade requirements. The Banco Nacional itself used its reserves of Indian currency to back the Goan currency. It was one of the worst exploiters in the colony. It accepted deposits from the people but paid no interest. It advanced loans too, but the rate of interest charged was the highest charged by any Government bank in the world. An extent of the economic dependence of Goa on India may also be assessed through an analysis of the monetary remittances to Goa. In 1951, remittances from India amounted to Rs. 680 lakhs, and those from Goa to India Rs. 460 lakhs. Remittances from Portugal totalled only Rs. 41 lakhs and it received from Goa Rs. 116 lakhs. These remittances, largely from Goans employed in India, went to wipe off Goa’s adverse balance of trade with India.
Society and Culture

The Hindu caste system, because of mass conversions, continued to exist amongst the Native Christians or 'Naturaes', as they were called by the Portuguese. By the end of the 16th century the social hierarchy in the Old Conquest talukas comprised the Portuguese rulers and noblemen (Fringi or Reinoes), married Portuguese, i.e., Portuguese descendents or Luso-Indians, and native Christians or 'Naturaes' or 'Canarins', and gentiles or 'Gentios', i.e., the Hindus and others. Due to coercive laws of the Church, large-scale migration of the Hindus to the neighboring districts under the Indian Rulers took place. The properties of the emigrants were distributed amongst the New Christians and the lands of their temples were made over to the Church. The Luso-Indians belonged to the new privileged class, next to the Portuguese, and they dominated in both civil and military services. The Native Christians adapted themselves to the Portuguese way of life, and conflict for power and position between them and the Luso-Indians continued until the 19th century.

All classes of people, except Europeans, used the Konkani language with some admixture of Portuguese words, but the official language was Portuguese, which was principally spoken in the capital and the chief towns, as well as all educated persons. The majority of the population were Roman Catholics and were subject, in spiritual matters, to an Archbishop, who had the title of Primate of the East, and exercised jurisdiction over the Catholics of all the Portuguese Colonies in the East, and of a great portion of British India. He was nominated by the King of
Portugal, subject to confirmation by the Pope. However, the population figures of the religious composition of Goa changed substantially over the period of Portuguese rule in Goa. Christian population, which was in a majority in 1851, maintained their position till 1900. Then the decline started; from a majority community of 50.24% in 1900 they became a minority 38.07% in 1961. The Hindu population replaced them as the majority group. Presumably, one of the reasons for the steep decline in the Christian population in relative terms over the years could be the stoppage of missionary activity of proselytizing. “Reconversion of a section of the Gauda community to Hinduism in 1928 maybe another reason.”

**Language and Education**

In the early days of Portuguese colonialism in Goa, the Government hardly paid any attention to the educational needs of its subjects. It neglected the moral and intellectual growth of its subjects. During Albuquerque’s time, a rudimentary school was established. As proselytisation efforts took root and the number of converts increased, Christian parishes sprang up everywhere with a church and a parochial school attached to it. This structure was established by a decree of John III dated March 8, 1546. The medium of instruction was Portuguese. The instruction was in the hands of the priests and the aim was to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, Christian doctrine and church music. It was only in 1773 that the Government established public grammar schools with Portuguese as the medium of instruction. In 1812, the Government founded institutions to teach naval and military arts and mathematics. In subsequent years, these three institutions were amalgamated into one and
designated, *Escola Mathematica e Militar*. A medical school and pharmacy, were started in 1844. A Normal school for imparting training to primary teachers was established in 1854. The *Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa* was established in the same year. There was discrimination against Hindu students up to 1910 after which schools were open to everyone irrespective of colour or creed.

During the first three centuries of Portuguese rule, therefore, the education imparted to the Goan society was mainly of a religious nature. Primary, secondary and higher education was imparted by the convents and seminaries founded by the various missions.\(^42\) The efforts of the new missionaries to learn the Konkani language and to teach Goans the Christian doctrines in the local medium lasted only a century and the future missionaries changed their policy. They instead promoted the use of the Portuguese language. These efforts received support even from the influential men in the state, both European and Indian.\(^43\) The educational policy of the Portuguese Government in Goa changed during the period of Constitutionalism and later during the Republic. During these years, there were Government Schools and the Lyceums as well as private schools.

With the christianization of the territory, the Religious Orders met the demand for higher education; and Goa could soon boast of four universities. The most celebrated among them was the University of St. Paul, owing its foundation among others to St. Francis Xavier, modeling it on the University of Paris. Some of their alumni reached positions of high dignity. In 1840 when Governor Lopes de Lima opened schools for teaching English and French, his successor Joaquim Moura Garces Palha
started Marathi schools in the Novas Conquistas for the benefit of the Hindus who had long been cultivating this language. Portuguese historian, Cunha Rivara, testifies to the religious intolerance of the Portuguese and its effects on the Konkani language. He says: “In the first heat of conquest, temples were destroyed, all the emblems of the pagan cult were shattered into pieces and books written in the vernacular were burnt for being guilty or suspected of containing precepts and doctrines of idolatry.”

The Portuguese closed down all Konkani schools to make room for European languages and this zeal persisted throughout their rule. In 1548, the Catholic bishop, Fr. D. Joao Albuquerque, was in search of books written in Konkani for destroying them. Viceroy Antonio de Melo Castro informs that the Jesuits in Salcete and the Franciscans in Bardez refused to learn Konkani even for administering the sacraments, disobeying all orders in this connection. On the contrary, in 1684 the Franciscan priests obtained a charter from the Count of Alvor where it is said, “I assign three years within which time every one in general will speak Portuguese language, and only of it make use in their dealings and contracts made on our lands and not by any means make use of the language of the country under pain of proceedings being instituted against them publicly with a severity of penalty which might seem befitting.” In 1732, again on the complaint of Franciscan priests, the King of Portugal, by a decree, determined that “the said charters be observed for the petitioners and they shall always be observed.” Antonio Amaral Coutinho, an inquisitor, complained to the king in 1731 about the lack of new conversions because of the Konkani language. Father D. Lourenzo de Santa Maria, Archbishop, in his mandate of
November 21, 1745, ordained that the Brahmins, Chardos of Salcete and Bardez should learn Portuguese within six months, extending the time for other castes to a year under pain of “not being able to contract matrimony with any man or woman who might not know or not make use of and speak the Portuguese language.”

So extraordinary and inconceivable were these orders that they provoked protests from the rulers themselves who feared the adverse effects of these measures. Keen on securing converts to their religion and seeing the necessity of teaching the Christian doctrine in a language, which the people could understand, some priests tried to learn Konkani. However, they faced serious difficulties because of the complete lack of books or documents in Konkani, since all such books had been destroyed. They tried to learn it orally and with the help of Sanskrit and Marathi. The Marquis of Pombal tried to mend the wrong done for more than two centuries; but the truth remains that during the Portuguese rule no Konkani schools were established. The result was that most of the people remained illiterate and the rulers failed to impose Portuguese on the country. As referred earlier, in 1758, Pombal took action against the Jesuits and the Portuguese government ruled that the Jesuits should be suppressed in every part of the empire, their property confiscated, and their schools closed. As rapidly as possible those Jesuits at work in the colonies were rounded up and brought home.45

Thus the Portuguese adopted all means to suppress the use and development of Konkani and this in general affected Goan society educationally and culturally. “The lack of Konkani schools is undeniably
the chief cause for the obscurantism to which the masses have been condemned. For, the mother tongue is the only proper medium for the spread of education among the people. And the artificial culture acquired by educated Goans through languages which are not their own is the reason of their complete lack of an intellectual personality so characteristic of them. But the extraordinary survival of Konkani in spite of the ostracism to which it has been subjected during centuries is the best proof that it is deeply rooted into the soil and the race, which makes it impossible to replace it by another idiom however much one might endeavor.⁴⁶ Of the population of 637,000 about 138,000 could read and write.⁴⁷ Most of them used the Roman script to read and write Konkani. Literacy was not noticeably higher than in India. In 1960, it was 30.5% in Goa, 29.8% in Maharashtra, 30.5% in Gujarat and in all India 24 percent.

**Administrative Institutions:**

**Under Monarchy (1500-1820):**

In the early years of Navigation and Conquest, the maritime empire of India extending from the Cape of Good Hope to Malacca in the Far East was under one representative of the King Of Portugal. He carried the title Viceroy or Governor as he came directly from Portugal with his orders-letter patent (*Regimento*). He also could succeed to the post due to the sudden departure of its holder by the King’s authority of succession (*Vias de Successao*). The person selected invariably belonged to the military nobility. This class also provided the Captain of Fortresses even if these towns were purely commercial. The tenure of office of the viceroy
was generally limited to three years. The Viceroy enjoyed almost absolute powers and had complete control of the civil, military and judicial branches of the Government.

As per the reforms introduced by Marquis de Pombal for the administration of the empire, by Royal Order of 25 April 1771, the title of Viceroy of India was replaced by Governor and Captain General of India. The original title was again revived in 1814 and continued till 1835. By the order of 25 April of that year, “Governor Generals” of overseas provinces were appointed. This practice continued till 1961. The Viceroy was assisted by the Secretary or Secretary General of India in his administrative functions. The Council of State and Council of three Estates advised him in the affairs of the Government. The Royal letter of March 1604 fixed the composition and Membership of the Council of State as follows: President of the Council-Viceroy; Members- Archbishop, Captain of the City, Chancellor of the State and *Vedor da Fazenda* (Revenue Overseer). *Fidalgos* or Noblemen were invited to attend the meetings.48

**Under Constitutional Regime (1821-1910):**

The Revolution of 1821 in Portugal was followed by the establishment of a Constitutional Monarchy in 1836. A large number of reforms were introduced in the Colonial Administration. The State of India was given political rights and was represented in the “*Cortes*” or Parliament in Portugal by its deputies. Catholic religion was declared to be the State religion. The right to franchise was very restricted. Hindus could not enjoy the full benefits of political freedom till the establishment of the Republic in 1910.
The Civil Administration of India was governed by the Administrative Code of 18th March 1842 as altered by the Provincial Portaria of 6th August 1847. It was further modified by the decree of 1st December 1869 and entitled as the organic charter of administrative institutions of Overseas Provinces (*Carta Orgânica*). The Code of 1881, which aimed at decentralization of administration, was considered by the Government of the Council of State in Portugal as incompatible with the existing conditions in India and so was not made applicable to India which continued to be governed according to the Code of 1869 till the Republic of 1910. The Governor General was appointed directly by the King and, assisted by a Chief Secretary in his administration, held office for five years. A Government Council composed of Chief ecclesiastical authority, Judge of the High Court, the two highest military authorities in Goa, the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Council of the *Fazenda*, the Health Officer, and the President of the Municipal Chamber aided him in the administration of the Provinces. There were three other Councils-General: Council of Province, Council of the Province and Council of Public revenue. There were local divisions of the administration.

**Under Republic and Dictatorial Regime (1910-1961):**

Under the Republic Constitution of 21st August, 1911 (article 67) the principle of decentralization of the Colonial administration was laid down and in 1914 (15th August) Law No. 277 laying down the basis of the civil administration of the Colonies was passed which authorized the Government to make structural or “Organic” laws for each Colony as per its requirements. On 27 July 1917, Charter granting provincial autonomy to
the State of India (Carta Organica do Estado da India) was passed. The Governor General was appointed by the President of the Republic in the name of the Nation on the recommendation of the Ministry for Colonies and its approval by the Congress of the Republic. He had a five-year tenure of office. He was the chief executive authority of the Overseas Province in all branches of the administration. His personal staff consisted of two Aides-de Camp and Chief Secretary. A Government Council assisted the Governor General in the administration of the Province. It was composed of 10 official Members, Governor General, Chief Secretary and Heads of Departments and 10 elected Members representatives of the Councils of administration.49

The Charter of 1917 was replaced by the Organic Law of 9 October 1920, which certified the existing Laws about the administration of the Colonies. In Portugal, by Law of 2nd October 1926 a new basis for the Colonial administration was laid down on 4th October 1926 (Carta Organica do Estado da India). In 1930, Colonial Act was passed and in 1933, a new Constitution was promulgated which deeply disappointed the people of the Colonies. The Colonial Act was newly published with new alteration to incorporate the provision of article 132 of the New Constitution. In 1951, the Colonial Act was incorporated in the Constitution of 1933 and the nomenclature of Colonies was changed to Ultramar or Overseas Portugal. In 1953, new law was promulgated laying down the basis of administration of Overseas Provinces. As provided under these Laws a Statute was passed in 1955 for the administration of the State of India. In all these changes, the final authority of administration continued to be concentrated in the colonial Minister in Lisbon.
The council functioned in a purely advisory capacity. After August 1955, a legislative council, consisting of 23 members, 11 of whom were elected, five nominated by the governor-general and seven by public bodies and associations, started functioning. However, the governor-general continued to be the unchecked authority with powers even to decide whether the measures proposed by the council should be placed on the agenda for discussion. In spite of such concentration of power, no bill adopted by the council and approved by the governor-general became law unless the Colonial Minister in Lisbon concurred. The council did not have the power to pass the budget. The governor-general used to submit it to the Colonial Minister who was the final authority in all matters. Laws adopted by the Portuguese National Assembly applied automatically to the settlements. The official language of administration was Portuguese.

In addition to the above machinery of administration, there were subordinate agencies for the local government of the different districts. Although there were more than 4,500 civil servants, the police, posts and telegraphs, agriculture, health services, treasury and public works departments were usually, manned by the Portuguese. The chief of the Cabinet and the head of the armed forces were Portuguese, and Goans and Africans could rise only up to the rank of corporal in the army. Only Portuguese were appointed to even minor posts such as district officers. All political parties except the Uniaco Nacional, the party in power, were illegal. This was in keeping with the one party dictatorial set-up in force in Portugal and in its colonies. Fewer than 25,000 persons out of a population of 637,000 enjoyed voting rights in the elections to the legislative council. Apart from the usual qualifications, the civil authorities were required to
certify that a person was "politically acceptable" before he became a voter. The effect of this was that only those who belonged to the Uniaco Nacional were eligible to vote. Public meetings even for social purposes could be convened only with the permission of the authorities. Speeches, if any, were required to be approved by the official censor and a breach of these restrictions entailed heavy penalties, including long terms of imprisonment and deportation. Under these circumstances, it was almost impossible for the people to agitate even peacefully for minor civic or social liberties.

In 1951 Lisbon decided to replace the term 'colonies' by 'overseas provinces', and the decision was incorporated in the political constitution. This was intended to support the claim that the colonies were overseas provinces of Portugal and any talk or claim of independence for these areas was meaningless and unjustified. This change in terminology helped Portugal to circumvent the United Nations Charter while becoming a member of that organization because the Charter had categorically rejected colonialism and had solemnly written in the right of subject peoples to independence. The Portuguese enforced in Goa their right with might. Yet, the patriotic ferment in Goans never remained dormant. It either erupted in rebellions, which were smothered by the oppressive Portuguese measures, or manifested itself in pressing for claims within the constitution. The first half of the 19th century was punctuated with revolts.

During the years of the Constitutional Monarchy and the Democratic Republic, the Portuguese Parliament had two deputies from Goa elected through limited franchise and one such representative rose to become a minister in the Portuguese government. Goans were, therefore,
obliged to look to Lisbon as their capital and they looked to it with hope and trust for the solution of their grievances and the amelioration of their socio-economic conditions. Some members of the Governor's Council were also elected. However, the franchise could be exercised only by those who had knowledge of Portuguese and paid a certain amount of taxes to the government. Thus, an element of public sanction although on a restricted scale, was introduced in the administrative bureaucracy of the State. This public sanction is a characteristic of a modern State. The Goan people came in contact with the Parliamentary procedures of the Portuguese Government and associated themselves with the modern political systems, which association gave a direction of change to the Goan society from the pre-Portuguese traditional political system to a modern one.

The Portuguese colonialism could not leave the entire administration in the hands of the local people, however competent they might have been because their loyalty was suspected. Accordingly, an administrative pattern was evolved whereby the top judges of the judiciary, the top military officers and the high police servants could be none other than the Portuguese. Even among the clergy the Patriarch was always a Portuguese national and in the early years, a large number of top clergymen were Portuguese nationals. The Inquisition tribunal was also administered by officials drawn from Portuguese priests. High posts in all departments of administration were thus reserved for the Portuguese nationals thereby strengthening the political hold of the Portuguese over the Goan society.

However, during the period of Constitutional Monarchy some civil servants of Goan nationality were also given posts in the Portuguese
administration in Portugal. This pattern enabled free exchange of views between the Goans and the Portuguese and increased social contacts among them which resulted in the assimilation of the Portuguese culture by the Goan people. Although the head of the local Government was the Governor-General or the Viceroy, he had very limited powers, and laws for Goa were actually framed by the Home Government. Goa had a High Court situated in Panjim. Yet, in certain matters the judicial powers were vested only in the Home Government. Thus, at every stage, the Goan society could feel their dependence on the Portuguese Home Government and the fate of the Goan people was directly linked with the tenor of political life in Portugal. Even political and criminal prisoners from Goa were deported either to Portugal or to its other colonies in Africa and elsewhere. Any change in the political set-up in Portugal had its concomitant changes in the administration of Goa. When Portugal passed from Absolute Monarchy to Constitutional Monarchy a similar change occurred in the administrative set-up in Goa as well. When Portugal became a Democratic Republic, the Goan people had greater liberty and freedom particularly in respect of worship. When Portugal went into Dictatorship, the Goan people experienced the vigor of a government, which was bent on restraining all types of freedom. 50

Since the local Government was required to be carried out for the benefit of the Portuguese rulers and since the higher echelons in all departments of administration were Portuguese, the administration adopted the language of the rulers and suppressed the culture and language of the local people. This involved the opening of Portuguese schools throughout Goa and the passing of Laws prohibiting the use of Konkani and enforcing
the Portuguese in its place. The language of the administration in Goa was Portuguese. The local bureaucracy, which assisted the administration mostly, consisted of the landed proprietors and those who accepted the Portuguese culture. The Goan higher castes were the first to dovetail themselves with the administration. The clergy had great influence on the government and this was in keeping with the state of affairs in Portugal. The political set-up of the Goan society during the Portuguese rule was typically of a colonial type. There was every endeavor to suppress the local culture and to impose on the people through civil, military and religious authorities, the culture of the rulers. The associations with the Portuguese Government familiarized the Goan people of modern political systems of administration. The application of the Portuguese Constitution, which was based on the written law, dealt a blow to the old customs and traditions and the Goan society experienced a direction of change.

**Decadence and Decline**

Amongst the difficulties that beset Portugal in her communications with India, by no means the least was the obligation placed upon her by the famous Bull of Pope Alexander VI, to propagate the Catholic Religion in all new lands discovered by her, as a condition of being allowed to hold them on conquest with the Papal sanction and benediction.\(^{51}\) Priests of different orders, therefore, accompanied the several expeditions to India, and large funds were appropriated for their services and maintenance. Unfortunately, at an early date, violent measures were adopted with the view of forcing the people to embrace the Catholic faith. Their temples were frequently destroyed. The resources at the disposal of the Portuguese
were not enough to match their missionary zeal. They failed in their missionary objectives. The priests, monks, and other members of the various religious orders, in course of time, multiplied in India out of all proportion to the requirements of the Portuguese populations or of the native converts. They harassed the Government by their assumptions and pretensions, and contributed to the difficulties the Government had in dealing with the natives. They abused their power and absorbed a large proportion of the revenues of the State for their maintenance and ecclesiastical purposes, so that the Government often lacked means for the proper support of their factories and military establishments.

The Portuguese had no extensive landed possessions from which rents might have been obtained in order to supplement the profits derived from trade. A favorite practice of successive Viceroyos was to put a high customs duty upon all goods arriving at or leaving their ports. These high tariffs discouraged traders. They sought other places, which were not subject to Portuguese rule. Some of the most important emporia, which had for centuries been noted as the principal seats of trade in the East, were effectually ruined. Ormuz, Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, and Malacca, deprived of their commerce, sank under Portuguese mismanagement into places of secondary importance. They never recovered their commercial supremacy. A laxity of Government, and a general corruption amongst the servants of the State in which each one, regardless of the public interests, sought his own benefit and the accumulation of wealth, prepared the way for the downfall of the Portuguese rule in India.
Portugal and Britain maintained friendly relations to their mutual benefit. Portugal made a gift of their conquest, Bombay, as a dowry to Queen Catherine of Portugal who married Charles II of England. These relations and the subsequent treaties between the Portuguese and the British enabled the Portuguese, a small power, to continue their rule in India suppressing all movements for self-government. By virtue of this friendship, the British allowed goods and products of British India and that of Portuguese Goa to be exchanged without any restrictions and both the dominions, though under different sovereignties had a rupee currency, the value of which was kept on par. There was no passport system between Portuguese India and British India and the subjects of these colonies were not discriminated against.

The Portuguese remained undisputed masters of the western Indian Ocean for nearly a century during which they also enjoyed great prosperity. However, misfortunes began to affect Portugal and her Indian possessions late in the 16th century. Portugal lost its independence to Spain in 1580 and the crowns of the two countries were united in the person of Philip I of Spain, who assumed the title of Philip I of Portugal. Portuguese nationals remained in control of their administration and trade but the royal authority in Spain was not expected to show much sympathy for the difficulties of the Portuguese in the East. The enemies of Spain were also made the enemies of Portugal and Portugal had no foreign policy of its own. Spain showed no compunctions in using the financial resources and manpower of Portugal to put down Dutch insurgents against Spanish rule.
The Portuguese regained their independent rule in 1640; however, it was too late to repair the damage. Decline and decay had set in the administration, economy and the fabric of the empire. Venality had struck deep roots in the empire. Since the days of the Governor, Lopo Soares (1515-18), the Portuguese officials had been permitted to engage in private trade, a practice against which the first Viceroy, Francisco de Almeida, had protested to the Portuguese Crown as far back as 1508 that ‘no good can come so long as your officers of justice and revenue engage in trade.’ And the Crown had heeded to his warning and prevented its officials from trading on their own account so that in the time of the Afonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515), the Portuguese, devoting themselves to the service of God and their King, had risen very high in the estimation of all the eastern people. Fortresses and factories around the Arabian Sea, such as Molucas, Ormuz, Pegu (Indo-China), Malaca and few others were lost in the first half of the 17th century. In the midst of pomp and splendour, luxury and profusion, were seeds of premature decay and dissolution. Morals of the community were lax. Civic virtues of Albuquerque and Castro were supplanted by corruption and venality. While justice was bought, public offices were put up for sale. Instead of “martial spirit the nation degenerated into effeminacy, sloth and indolence”.

The Portuguese began to face rivalry from the British and Dutch. The British fleet attacked the Portuguese off Surat, but did not achieve any gains. The Dutch fleet blockaded and attacked Goa in 1603 but withdrew before a fierce resistance. However, as they began now to command the trade of the East, they considerably annoyed and diminished that of the Portuguese: and it is from this period and not before that Goa began to
decline." 55 The Dutch again blockaded the harbour in 1643, who about the same time also conquered Ceylon, Malacca and the Moluccas from the Portuguese, whom they excluded likewise by their intrigues and influence from the trade of Japan. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, threatened Goa by land in 1674, and his successors continued to annoy the Portuguese. The fortress of Ponda, on the mainland, was then the chief object of their attacks, and "though taken and retaken, proved at that period the true bulwark of Goa. 56 The Marathas wrested the fort of Thana with the whole island of Salcette, and the city of Bacaim through attacks in 1737 and 1739. They also invaded Bardez. Later peace was concluded between the Viceroy of Goa and the Peshwa, and a Resident was sent to Poona.

The liberal period from 1820 to 1851 was characterized by great political instability. This in turns meant even less control over Portugal’s diminished colonial empire, something which was exacerbated by the anti-clerical tone of Portuguese governments in the 1830s. The clergy had always operated as a second arm of the state; now this arm also was weakened. In the second half of the century, more conservative elements at least ensured greater government stability. They were however increasingly opposed by liberal and republican supporters. Finally, in 1910 the monarchy was overthrown. A very important consequence for the empire was that discrimination based on religion was now outlawed. But Portuguese politics remained chaotic, until the ascetic strongman Dr Antonio de Oliveira Salazar took over in 1928. A much shrunken Portuguese India could expect little help from such a metropolis. As a result, politics in Portuguese India were characterized by theoretically autocratic governors presiding over a moribund and impecunious state.
Portuguese India’s international position in the nineteenth century considerably deteriorated. The British occupied Goa from 1799 to 1815, during the Napoleonic Wars. The aim was to deny France a potential foothold in India. At first the Portuguese army was in theory not under British control, but from 1808 it was.  

Worse could have followed: the forward-looking Lord Wellesley proposed that Portuguese India, a geopolitical absurdity from his point of view, be permanently ceded to Britain, perhaps in exchange for Malacca. Nothing came of this, and Goa was returned to peace in good, or at least no worse, condition. The idea of a British acquisition was revived in 1839. The British were annoyed that some British Indian rebels and outlaws had been using Goa as a sanctuary. The British ambassador in Lisbon offered the insultingly paltry sum of £50,000 for Goa, Daman and Diu. The Portuguese of course turned this down indignantly; yet even much later, in 1873-4, the annual revenue of this state was less than one-quarter of the British offer. Not for the first and certainly not for the last time pride and prestige in Portugal triumphed over cold economic calculation. Several metropolitan events had their repercussions in Goa. The failure of Pombal’s reforms to produce racial equality seems to have sparked a quite large revolt in 1787, which was led by an alliance of clerics, army officers and other Indian Christian elites. Over a century later, in 1890, twenty-three liberals were killed in front of the Margao parish church.

Throughout the 19th century, indeed from the 1760s, the Portuguese authorities were faced with a series of revolts by inhabitants of the New Conquests called Ranes, or Rajputs. Twenty are recorded up to
1912; we know too little of their causes or character. The general political instability of the nineteenth century had less sanguinary echoes also. From 1822, as a result of the liberal constitution, Goa had two representatives in the Portuguese parliament, elected, to be sure, on a very restricted franchise. Voters had to know Portuguese, and pay high taxes, so that only 40,000 out of a total population of about 500,000 were eligible: even so, for the early nineteenth century this was a wide franchise. At the time of the political upheaval in Portugal in 1821, white Goan liberals organized a coup against their particularly reactionary governor, who fled to Bombay. Yet liberal influence could not go too far. In 1835, a Goan doctor, Bernado Peres da Silva, was appointed Prefect, the title at this time for the governor of Portuguese India. He was deposed after only seventeen days.

The Church and the orders, shared in the general decay. The two most fervent, committed, and intolerant parts of the church were the Jesuits and the Inquisition. The Jesuits, it will be remembered, were suppressed (albeit temporarily) by Pombal in 1759. The Inquisition in Goa similarly was abolished in 1774, later revived in much attenuated form and finally ended in 1820. However a slackening of zeal even in the Inquisition seems to be discernible in the seventeenth century, while the Jesuits also by then had lost their earlier élan and enthusiasm, and seem to have concentrated on trade. Symptomatic of this and of Goa’s decline in general, was the closing-down of the Jesuits’ famous printing press in 1683. Extraordinarily, Goa then remained without any printing facilities until as late as 1821, when a government press was set up. Only in 1859 were a private press established.
In this period of decay, race relations remained uneven. The total population in the Old Conquests in 1750 was 208,000; by around 1800 this had shrunk further to 178,500, in all Goa in 1851, 363,750. Of these only 1851 could claim to be European or descended from Europeans. About 63 percent were Christian, a much larger proportion than in the twentieth century. The largest town was Panjim with a modest population of 15,000. Pombal’s decree laid down, on paper, the equality of all Christians, not all Goans. Only in 1833 were Hindus allowed to practice their rites and ceremonies in Goa, though in fact intolerance had long before then lost its teeth. But discrimination remained a problem. The orders were notoriously reluctant to admit Indians, or even sometimes mestíços or Portuguese born in India. These were forced to make as only secular, not regular, priests. In this area at least Pombal’s reforms had some effect, for when the orders were suppressed in 1834 only 16 out of 300 clergy in Goa were Portuguese.

The political situation in Portugal between the advent of the republic in 1910 and a military coup in 1926 was confused in the extreme. From 1928, de facto power in Portugal was exercised by Dr Salazar, who became prime minister in 1932, and remained so until 1968. Portugal tried by a sleight of hand to remove her colonies from the purview of the United Nations. In 1951, the term ‘Colonies’ was officially replaced by ‘Overseas Provinces’; they thus became an internal Portuguese matter not subject to outside interference. Portugal in the 1950s also made belated efforts to develop Goa, with a view to making its people clearly better off than those in neighboring India. In 1952, a Development Plan was decreed. This boosted Goa’s fledgling iron ore exports. Revenue from this, and from migrant remittances, meant that per capita income in Goa was some one-
third higher than in India. Education was expanded, sanitation was improved. Old Goa was cleaned up for the massive celebrations of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of St Fancis Xavier in 1952. These had a clear political purpose. These measures were too little and too late. However, it is doubtful that any measure could have succeeded, for Portugal was swimming against a worldwide tide of decolonization. In 1950, the total population of Goa was 637,000; of this, only 517 were Europeans, and 336 Eurasians. Her support came almost entirely from the local Roman Catholic population, who by 1960 made up less than 40 percent of the total. Of the Christians, 83 percent lived in the Old Conquests. In the Hindu New Conquests, support for Portugal was minimal

‘Assimilados’ and Discrimination:

The Colonial Act of 1930 spoke of “the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to possess and colonise overseas territories”, a phraseology, which was changed under the new Constitution. It now read: “It is the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to fulfill a historic mission of colonizing the lands of the discoveries under its sovereignty”. In fulfilling the historic mission the colonial people were divided into the “assimilated” (assimilados) and the “natives”. The former were those who could read and write Portuguese, the others were classified as natives. Discrimination between the colonial people and the “metropolitan” Portuguese was in ample evidence in both legislation and practice. For example while the law lays down that “military service is general and compulsory” in the colonies, Portuguese subjects were compelled to pay a
yearly military tax which they could not avoid to pay even if they offered to be conscripted. There were no Goan troops nor were there Goan commissioned officers in the combat divisions. In the civil services, the key posts in the Administration of Goa were held by Portuguese Europeans. Occasionally there was a Goan chief of Department but care was taken that European officers were not posted subordinate to him. Discrimination was noted in the Church and even though there were several Goan bishops, none of them was appointed at the head of the Church in Goa.

**Revolt and Reaction:**

In 1583 the people of Cuncolim, Assolna, Velim and Ambelim offered bitter resistance in the defense of their idols and temples. They failed in their attempt and their properties were confiscated; their leaders were arrested and done to death. A few months later on 15th July of the same year when Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva and other missionaries made another attempt at conversion, the inhabitants of the same villages fiercely set on these 50 priests and soldiers, most of who were killed. In 1654, a Roman Catholic priest, named Castro, raised the standard of rebellion.

As a result of the scramble that took place in the Maratha empire the Portuguese succeeded in adding to their Old Conquests by the end of the eighteenth century the talukas of New Conquests, belonging to the Maratha Chieftains Savant and Sunda, Pedne, Bicholi, Sattari, Ponda, Sange, Kepe and Canacona. Nagar Haveli near Daman was obtained *in jagir* from the Poona Court in 1781. The inhabitants of the newly acquired territories were
given a solemn assurance about the protection of their ancient customs and usages. They were more influenced by the freedom struggle that followed in the adjacent districts of British India during the nineteenth century. The Hindus before migrating to the neighboring districts engaged in a bitter struggle with the Portuguese for their religious freedom. The discontent caused amongst the Native Christians by colour differences initially encouraged by the Portuguese was manifested in the revolt of a Brahmin Christian priest, D. Mateus de Castro, and some others of Bardez in 1654. It was their scheme to oust the Portuguese from Goa and merge it in the neighboring Adil Shahi kingdom.

Another attempt at rebellion called the ‘conspiracy of the Pintos’ was made in 1787. Father Pinto of Candolim offered his place for the leaders of the revolt, and it was therefore known as the Revolt of Pintos (1787).62 The leaders of this revolt were two learned priests, Caetano Francisco Couto from Panjim and Jose Antonio Gonsalves of Divar. They protested against the practice of reserving the top ecclesiastical seats on racial grounds, as these were reserved only for European clergy. The two went to Portugal to seek redress from the higher authorities. They had no success but they met some Portuguese intellectuals of liberal outlook including Jose Castadio da Faria who later attained great fame in France. They were affected by the ideas of the French Revolution and were convinced that Goa could never breathe freely unless it was rid of the Portuguese rule. The two priests on return to Goa discussed their idea with their colleagues. They found ready response not only among the priestly order but also among the soldiers. The day, time and other details of the rising were planned. Unfortunately, a petty official from Aldona, Antonio
Toscano, divulged the scheme to the Governor. The government struck ruthlessly and arrested forty-seven persons who were accused of plotting to establish a republic of their own. Out of these, seventeen were priests and five military officers all of whom were punished and the rising was crushed. Their Goan advisor Fr. Jose Custodio de Faria known as Abade de Faria, father of Mesmerism, escaped to France from Portugal where he was exiled.

The revolution that occurred in Portugal and Brazil in 1820 affected the mood in Goa which witnessed a series of disorders and revolts lead by the natives demanding a fuller measure of autonomy. In September 1821, some of the officials and distinguished Goans deposed the Portuguese Viceroy in order to install a provisional board to rule Goa. The Goan acknowledged leader, Bernardo Peres da Silva took active part in this move. A new constitution, the *Carta Organica* granting constitutional powers to the Colonies was promulgated in Portugal. In 1822, the first three deputies of Portuguese India, including Bernardo Peres da Silva, were elected to the Portuguese Parliament. In the same year a band of insurrectionists captained by Fr. Pedro Ribeiro marched on the fort of Colvale. In the year 1834, the Portuguese monarchy was restored with Maria II as Queen. The new government appointed Bernardo Peres da Silva, a Native of Goa, to the government with title of Prefect. He took over the administration on 14 January 1835 taking as his Chief Secretary another Goan Constancio Roque da Costa. His appointment was resented by the white bureaucracy in Goa. The Prefect, in compliance with the royal instructions, abolished several judicial tribunals and cancelled the military...
promotions granted by his predecessor. The Prefect ruled for only 18 days and then escaped to Bombay.

A counter-revolution took place on 10th February in which the followers of Bernardo demanded his reinstatement. A bloody encounter ensued at Gaspar Dias between the two factions and most of his followers were massacred. The state troops then marched to Terekol and Gululem (Satari) and committed the worst atrocities on the popular forces. Bernardo Peres da Silva and Constancio Roque da Costa proceeded to Daman, and Goans acclaimed them as the undisputed rulers of Daman and Diu. There functioned for a few months parallel governments, one Portuguese, inside Goa, and another, Goan, at Daman and Diu. There was a third revolution, led by the Military Governor on 28th February, 1835. According to him, the step was necessary as a restraint upon the inhabitants of Goa who wanted to declare the Colony independent of Portugal and to massacre all the European Portuguese. The Bombay Government rejected the request of the Provisional Government in Goa to treat the Prefect and his partisans as criminals. Orders were issued to the Magistrates of Ratnagiri, Belgaum, Canara and the Political Agent at Sawantwadi, not to permit the Portuguese soldiers to march through their territories and to disarm those discovered with arms. The Prefect retired to Daman, and from there tried to recruit soldiers in the Deccan, which was disallowed by the Bombay Government.

There was another revolt in 1842 headed by the Secretary of the Council and Military Commander. The Governor of Goa took refuge in Bombay. The British refused to recognize the government and at the same
time declined to help the Governor. In 1846, there was a conspiracy to murder the Governor on the occasion of the march past in which a Desai from Sawantwadi was implicated. The Goans, brought up in the tradition of loyalty to Portugal, also expressed their burning desire for freedom and liberty. Father Jeremias Mascarenhas, citing the independence of Brazil, proclaimed in the Portuguese Parliament in 1852 that none should wonder if Portuguese India should also make a demand for her independence. A demand for “Liberty and Light” erupted in 1862. It was lead by Francisce Luis Gomes, a statesman, economist, scientist, litterateur who believed that Goa was part and parcel of the great subcontinent of India, and Goan people, flesh of the same flesh, and blood of the same blood as that of the Indian people. He demanded in the Portuguese Parliament complete freedom for Portuguese India. The British too redoubled their pressure around Goa, as they felt the entire west coast in their possession would provide them with better advantages.

The Ranes, martial people of Satari, began harrying the Portuguese, offering them continual resistance in the New Conquests with redoubled vigour in the 19th century. There were 21 risings in a short span of 50 years or so. They adopted the means of guerilla warfare, such as attacking and kidnapping officials and their children. If in the district of Bardez, Saxtti etc. the rulers’ children comparatively overpowered the local people the last two centuries, it was the Ranes who offered them continual resistance in the New Conquests which were annexed by the Portuguese only in these three centuries. In all these insurrections, the Ranes brought to bear upon their martial prowess. They had their repercussions on the Indian inhabitants from the neighboring district of the then British India.
Portuguese realizing their own weakness tried to humour them with tempting promises, but all in vain.

The Ranes were the Jamindars of Sattari Mahal and when the same was handed over to the Portuguese by Sawant in 1788, the Ranes were given assurance by their new overlords that their special rights and privileges would be preserved. The promises were soon forgotten and encroachment began. The revolt of 1852 by Dipaji was serious and shook the Portuguese dominion to its foundation. For one or other reason, a number of inam lands were declared to have lapsed to the Government. The Portuguese imposed new restrictions and levies on cultivable lands. A declaration was issued forbidding men not wearing trousers and women blouses to enter villages or towns. This was a great handicap to the poor classes as they could not afford these luxuries. The white troops in Goa made this an excuse for assault on women. Dipaji Rane rose in revolt on 26th January 1852 and challenged the Portuguese rule. He seized the Fort of Nanuz in Sakhali Mahal and making it their headquarters, Dipaji’s troops made sorties in Bicholi, Ponda, Hemadbarsem and Kanakona, and drove out the Portuguese garrisons. The people flocked to the Rane’s standard and the latter now advanced to Kumbhar Juve. The Governor led a force in person, but found himself beaten. The revolt lasted for three and a half years and the Government treasury became empty. Governor Auren could no longer face the situation. He retired handing over charge to the Government Council in 1855. The Council accepted Dipaji Rane’s terms and he was presented with a dress and a sword, and the honorary title of Captain was conferred on him.
Later when the Portuguese wished to interfere in the elections in Divar in 1854, by sending there captain Garcez, he was done to death by popular forces. This incident is vividly recounted in a popular *mando* “Luizinha”. The military detachments in Mapusa and Ponda without orders surrounded the island of Divar where they took revenge by slaying some of the popular leaders. Such was the indiscipline and chaos that four military contingents from Margaon, Ponda, Bicholim and Mapusa joined hands to stage an insurrection known as Volvoi Revolt. This was in 1870. Another mutiny took place the next year at Marcela in Ponda district. The spirit of revolt was kept simmering. In 1870-71, there were two attempts at mutiny among the troops. The strength of the army had been increased to meet Rane’s threat. When attempts were made to reduce its strength and effect other economies, there was discontent. Don Augusto, the King’s brother arrived with a company of white soldiers from Portugal and broke the mutiny. In 1869 Custoba Rane raised the banner of revolt to avenge the injustice meted out to him by implicating him in a rape case. He harassed the Government for quite some time till he was captured in 1871 with his colleague Shamba Desai. Custoba used to collect contribution from the rich to distribute them among his followers.

A serious rising took place in 1895 as a sequel to the rising of 1852. The policy of conciliation accepted by the Government was abandoned by the successive Governments. The ryots of Sattari were poor. The farming system, which the Government introduced for collection of revenue, proved harsh. In 1895 when the metropolitan government ordered the transfer of Goans in the army from Goa to Mozambique, these troops refused to be transferred from their homeland. All of them marched
off up to the fort of Nanuz where their ranks swelled with Ranes and villagers. This is what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny. A priest, Francisco Alvares, wrote a series of articles in a leading journal, criticising the various acts of these foreign bureaucrats and exposing their highhandedness. He was the editor of *Brado Indiano* (Indian Call). He had to suffer imprisonment for taking up their cause. The Portuguese authorities quickly withdrew whatever civil rights and guarantees he enjoyed under the new Portuguese constitution.

In October-November, the same year these forces led by Dada Rane launched a vigorous attack on Bardez and other places, but the Portuguese might succeeded once again to quell the revolt. When in the following year Ravji Rane, was killed by the Portuguese police, the Ranes, set furiously upon them. Around these years, Kustoba Rane, organized constant skirmishes against the rulers but was betrayed and treacherously slain in 1871. In the chain of Ranes’ risings, after the turn of the century, a Portuguese commander met with the same gruesome fate at the hands of Ranes as a result of which in 1901, Dada Rane and few of his colleagues were deported to Timor. The European officers also roused popular antipathy by their unjust and overbearing conduct. There was an outcry against Father Alvares who was jailed and charged with complicity in the revolt of Dada Rane. Even though the charge could not be proved and he was released, yet the Governor on his own deported Alvares and several of his friends. For these reasons Dada Rane’s revolt continued and he occupied the fort of Nanuz and Bardez. The Government treasuries were plundered and military outposts attacked. Martial law was declared in entire Goa and Captain Gomes da Costa ordered his men to capture the
insurgents. The entire mahal of Sattari was laid waste. Dada Rane’s men, however, with greater vigour spread their activities right up to the capital. The King’s brother with a regiment of Portuguese soldiers tried in vain to quell the revolt and decided to come to terms with the insurgents through the mediation, of the Shankaracharya (a Hindu religious leader). A general amnesty was declared and all proceedings against the rebels were dropped. A few years later Dada Rane was again implicated in another mutiny when Lt. Sival the military commandant at Valpoi was murdered. Dada Rane was deported to Timor. The last revolt of the Ranes occurred in Goa in 1912 as a result of high taxation on them. In order to subdue 400 men of Ranes two companies of European infantry and a battery of artillery arrived from Lisbon, and martial law was declared in the entire colony. The revolt was suppressed with the greatest ruthlessness, and the Ranes were deported to Africa.

The Portuguese constitutional charter though very late, had set in a fresh wind of liberalism in Goa. By 1890 the first Goan Political parties had come into their own: the Partido Indiano representing the popular forces and the pro-governmental Partido Ultramarino. On the crest of excitement and fervour of elections for Goan Municipalities, the officials wanted to seal the ballot boxes and declare elected the governmental candidates. The great stalwarts Jose Inacio de Loyola and Roque Correia Afonso created an upsurge of a movement. On the grounds of Margao church they led a mass of Goans to launch a protest denouncing such an outrage. Portuguese troops shot down 23 prominent Goans. It was a baptism of fire in the exercise of Goans’ civic rights and liberties. This is the Goan Jalianwala Bagh. In commemoration of this historic date, the
event came to be fixed as 21st September Movement. In 1910, Portugal became a Republic. Catholic religion ceased to be the state religion and the Hindus enjoyed equal political rights as others. Goans were afforded some measure of autonomy till 1917 when a Dictatorship was clamped down on Portugal for a very short time. The new ‘Carta Organica’ curtailed all civic rights in 1918, and at an all-Goa mass rally in Margaon, Menezes Braganza denounced Portugal’s new abhorrent legislation. The republican spirit was smothered once again by Salazar’s Dictatorship in 1926 after which the elected representatives of the colony were sent to the Superior Council and not to the Parliament.

Goa was rocked by another military revolt in 1926. The Acting Governor, Senhor Tito Moraes, was forcibly deposed on 31 July by Col. Arthur Sequeira. The Lisbon Government however refused to acknowledge Col. Sequeira’s Government, and ordered his immediate return to Portugal and the reinstatement of Mr. Moraes. By this time, the national movement had gained adequate momentum in the rest of India, and the Goans could not remain aloof from the impact it had made on the masses in the neighboring areas.

The Colonial Act of 1930 completely reduced the people of the colonies to a state of subservience. Meanwhile, Goans established an Indian Institute in 1926 at Coimbra (Portugal) to propagate Indian culture. The following year Tristao Braganza Cunha, the father of Goan nationalism, affiliated the Goan Congress party which worked underground espousing the cause of freedom, to the All India Congress Committee. The struggle for self-government continued, and the Government Council was
replaced by a regular legislative Council, composed of eleven non-official and seven official members. Despite the severity of the sentences and despite the hardships and indignities heaped on the nationalists, the movement continued. In fact, between the years 1954 and 1958 several hundred Goans, men and women, were arrested, tortured, detained and sentenced for participation in the freedom movement. Some were exiled to Africa and Portugal; others carried with them the marks and wounds or mutilations, caused by the brutal treatment received at the hands of the Portuguese police.

In the 17th, 18th, 19th and the early part of the 20th centuries the freedom movement in Goa had assumed essentially violent forms. However, with the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian scene the pattern of the nationalist resistance to the Portuguese in Goa underwent a radical change. Liberation Struggle with the founding of the National Congress in 1928 by Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, non-violence was adopted as the guiding principle. The Portuguese constitution of 1933 and the Colonial Act of the same year continued and confirmed the inferior status of Portugal's overseas possessions in India. The arrogance of the Colonial Act was denounced by Menezes Braganza. In March 1946, the Goan Political Conference was held at Bombay by the Goans. It demanded immediate grant of civil liberties by the Portuguese. At a general meeting of the Goa Congress Committee held in the same month a resolution was unanimously adopted demanding immediate withdrawal by the Portuguese from Goa, Daman and Diu. From 18th June 1946, a campaign for civil liberties in Goa was launched under the leadership of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who was prevented from addressing a meeting in Goa,
subjected to various indignities and deported back to British India. The Portuguese police unleashed a reign of terror. The Goan leaders Braganza Cunha, Kakodkar, Hegde, Bhembre and Loyola were deported to far-off Portuguese prisons. In a famous letter, dated 18th July 1946, referring to this incident involving Lohia, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to the Portuguese Governor General, “He has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence, until much greater India has regained it... Your description of him as ‘stranger’ would excite laughter, if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers.” 72

The campaign for emancipation from foreign administration in Goa developed on Gandhian lines and came to be known as the Jai Hind movement. It took the form of civil disobedience or Satyagraha. The leaders of the movement were arrested and tried by specially assembled military tribunals, accorded savage sentences and some of them were deported to the island fortress of Peniche in Portugal. The campaign continued and during the months of June to November 1946, about 1,500 Goans were arrested, held in police detention for various terms, beaten or otherwise subjected to police excesses. In the year of Indian Independence, the Portuguese Government took strong measures to suppress the liberation movement in Goa and brought several thousand European and African troops into the colony. The Goan liberation movement therefore went underground, and a number of Goans fled to India to join the Goan community in Bombay. The Portuguese policy of arrest and deportation of freedom-loving Goans continued till 1954. In 1950 Nehru approached
Portugal, inviting them to discuss a time table for the transfer of Portuguese India to India. The Portuguese replied that there was nothing to discuss, as Portuguese India was part of Portugal.

In 1953, India closed its legation in Portugal, and next year took over the enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. In 1954 and 1955 Indian nationalists, supported by some exiled Goans, tried several times to launch a Gandhian style *satyagraha* campaign in Goa. These feeble efforts received little or no local support. The Portuguese were able to arrest the 'invaders' and even killed in August 1955, twenty-two of them. Portugal adopted a strategy to outwit the U.N. whose membership she sought. Since the charter of the United Nations had categorically rejected colonialism, Portugal called to her aid legal wit and wisdom, the jugglery of words and subtle quibbling to designate what were once termed 'Colonies' as 'Provinces'. The change of terminology took place in 1951 when the Colonial Act, which had been in force since 1930, was incorporated in Portugal's Political Constitution. From that year the Portuguese sought to present to the world that Portugal "no longer had colonies under her control; they were all part of a large free state, equal in every respect, enjoying the fundamental freedom, democratic in structure, and in fact indistinguishable from a nation like the United States of America or Brazil, which in large geographical area had a population composed of various ethnic groups, religions, languages and the like."
Final days of Struggle

On 18th June 1954, the Portuguese Government arrested over 40 eminent Goans, and subjected many others to interrogation. News of these arrests produced the strongest emotions in the Goan community of Bombay. The different Goan parties, viz., the Goa National Congress, the United Front of Goans, the Goan People’s Party and the Azad Gomantak Dal, combined to form an action committee under the presidency of Dr. T. B. Cunha. On the night of 21st July the freedom fighters Dadra. The news of the ‘fall’ of Dadra created panic amongst the police of Nagar Haveli. The Portuguese European administrator, a retired Captain, and the police including several Europeans were so panic-stricken that they sought refuge in Indian Territory. Thus on August 2, 1954, the liberation of the two enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, forming part of the district of Daman, was complete. Immediately thereafter, an independent administration was set up by the inhabitants of these areas with the help of individual Goan nationalists.

In December 1955, the Portuguese Government filed a complaint against India in the Hague Court, and claimed the right of passage of the Portuguese troops through Indian Territory between Daman and Nagar Haveli. Many of the Indians were either expelled or subjected to light prison sentences; many hundred Goans, on the other hand, were inflicted the maximum severity of the penal code and subjected to periods of imprisonment up to 28 years. Of these some were deported to notorious convict settlements in Africa and others to Portugal. The International
Court totally rejected the Portuguese claim over Nagar and Haveli in 1960 and they were formally incorporated in the Indian Union in August 1961.

The movement for the liberation of Goa became more extensive. In 1954 batches of peaceful volunteers, Satyagrahis, defied the Portuguese authorities and they were arrested. In the following year, many young people from different parts of India offered themselves as Satyagrahis to enter Goa. The government of India, however, did not countenance such a move, and in fact tried to obstruct them from leaving the Indian territories. But the Satyagrahis defied the Indian Government ban and entered Goa on August 15, in five batches. The Portuguese army opened fire and killed some of them and the rest were arrested and flung into the Portuguese jails. This massacre caused a chain-reaction inside Goa and a number of young men courted imprisonment. The whole world was shocked at the news of this slaughter, especially Portugal's allies, America and England who were all this time trying to mediate between India and Portugal. At this outrage, the ire of the people of India reached its apex. They demanded of the Government of India retaliatory action. The Nehru Government tried to pacify the people and resorted to diplomatic overtures which had no effect on Portugal to withdraw gracefully. The U.S.A., England and other foreign countries too tried to convince Portugal of the futility of its arrogance but to no avail.

Portuguese rule was increasingly anachronistic. Nehru government sensing popular mood and indignation over Portuguese arrogance decided to act and for this it had support from nearly all Indian political parties, and internationally from the Soviet Union and its allies.
The Government of India decided to use force placing about 30,000 Indian troops around Goa, Daman and Diu in December 1961. Portugal faced them with 3000 rag-tag troops, no aircraft, a semiderelict frigate, and 900 Goan police, who promptly deserted. The Operation Vijay of Indian troops started on the 17th, and two days later on 19th December, it was all over, involving a casualty of just 47 including 45 Portuguese and 22 Indians. The armed forces were instructed to use minimum force required and not to use heavy weapons to avoid unnecessary loss to civilian life and property.

The Portuguese order for adopting scorching earth policy was not heeded by the Governor of Goa, General Vassalo da Silva and he surrendered without any significant fight. His surrender document reads: "Eu General Manuel Antanio e Silva, Comandante –Chief das Forcas Armandas do Estado Potugues da India ofereco e rendicao incondicional das Forcas Armandas de Goa na minha qualidade de Comandante Chefe. Goa a’s 20H 30 De 19 Dezembra de 1961.- Manuel Antanio Vassalo e Silva." (I Manuel Antanio Vassalo e Silva General Officer in Chief commanding the Armed Forces in state of Portuguese India hereby surrender unconditionally the armed forces of Goa in my capacity as Commander in Chief. Goa at 20.30 hrs on 19th December 1961). This surrender heralded a new phase in the history of Goa. The centuries old freedom struggle of Goans came to fruition and the teeming masses rejoiced with ‘Jai Hind’. Apart from the Indian Armed Forces and the freedom fighters, the Press too had its contribution to the struggle culminating in Goa’s liberation and rejoicing.
NOTES AND REFERENCES


3 Prince Henry of Portugal, nicknamed ‘the Navigator’, was the son of King John I of Portugal, and great grandson of King Edward III of England. Early in the 15th century, he founded the School of Sagres, where he educated and prepared a legion of men for the sea. Here he gathered the best mathematicians, astronomers, cartographers and navigators of the day. He brought together every possible resource for forwarding his purpose: the gifts of science, the most highly perfected nautical instruments, and the strongest and swiftest ships constructed to brave the ocean and open up the sea lanes and from that date till his death in 1460 he sent out annual expeditions that slowly and painstakingly explored the African coast. The effort was to discover a sea route to the East. A few islands were discovered, but Prince Henry wanted to bring about the gradual opening up of the African coast, until then closed to navigators.

4 Azavedo Carmo-Salazar’s Bluff Called: The Goa Question, India, 1956, p4

5 Ibid. p5


8  Ibid. p76.

9  Since 25th November was consecrated in the church to the memory of St. Catherine, virgin and Martyr at Alexandria, she was chosen as the patroness of Goa, and the protectress of the Portuguese in the East. The first Christian church or chapel was erected in her name, towards the center of the city and not far from the landing place.

10 Quoted in Richards, J.M., *Goa*, New Delhi, 1982, p69


13 Ibid., p xxxv.

15 Ibid.


17 Ibid. The Jesuits were the second in order of their antiquity in Goa. They played a significant role in power politics, education as well as the economy of Goa. St. Francis Xavier, one of the first disciples of St. Ignatius, and of the first members of their order, introduced them into Goa, in 1543, in which year they took possession of the college and church of St. Paul. They were expelled from the Portuguese dominions in 1761, by the Marquis of Pombal. p75.

18 Ibid, The Dominicans or brother preachers, an order instituted by St. Dominic, a Spanish prebendary of the cathedral of Osman, and confirmed by Pope Honorius III in 1216, has been ever since that time one of the most celebrated orders in Christendom. It produced a great number of Bishops and Cardinals, four Popes, and six Archbishops of Goa. However, the Dominicans came to Goa shortly after its conquest, and contributed chiefly to the foundation of the parochial church of the Rosary, they nevertheless were not united into a body nor did they establish a regular convent until 1548. They thus came after the Jesuits in terms of in order of antiquity. This order produced the greatest number of learned men after the Jesuits and the Benedictines. p.77

22 The Cambridge History of India, Vol.V, p17


24 Ar. Port. Or., Fasc.5, p171, note, as quoted by Whiteway, R.S., op.cit., p60.

25 In the villages of Goa some rent free plots or an amount of money from the common fund were set aside to meet the expenses of the local temple and to pay the servants who provided services to the deity. When the temples were destroyed, the ecclesiastics decided to appropriate these grants. An order to facilitate this was passed in June 1541, (Ar. Port. Or., Fasc.5, No.75 of June 30th, 1541, as given by ibid., p60.) The Church enriched itself.

26 Cunha, T.B., Goa’s Freedom Struggle, p11.

27 As quoted by Rao, R.P., op.cit., p42
In return for the Zeal for and sacrifices involved in the propagation of the Faith, an integral part of her maritime enterprise, Portugal was awarded by the Holy See with the privilege of *Padroado* or patronage. This distinction resolved itself in concrete terms into the honor accorded by the Holy See to the Patron of the right to present a candidate for a bishopric or other ecclesiastical benefice in the newly discovered territories, and the corresponding duty to protect the Christians in the regions wherever Portugal would establish herself. Portugal acquitted herself of this latter task by getting the local princes to concede to her in their treaties the privilege to look after the Christians and protect their interests. This concession definitely expressed itself in the exemption from the exercise of the jurisdiction of the local courts.

As quoted in *Goa and the Charter of the United Nations*, op.cit, p14.

As quoted in Rao, R.P., op.cit., p42

Cunha, T.B., op.cit., p13

Hutt, Anthony, op.cit., p73


The *gaunkars* were the male members of the dominant caste, either brahmin or kshatriya, in a village. In theory, they were descended from the original settlers of the village. They could be either Hindu or Christian.


37 Danvers, Frederick Charles, op. cit. pxiii

38 See Table in Appendix


40 Ibid.


42 Mendes, A. Lopes, A India Portuguesa, 1886, Vol. 1, p63.


44 As quoted by Rao, R.P., op. cit., p52.


48 Details of Civil Administrative Institutions are found in A Guide to the collection of Records from the Goa Archives, Panaji, Historical Archives of Goa, Panaji, 1973, pp 6-14.

49 Under the Constitutional Regime for the purpose of administration, the province of India was divided into three districts, Goa, Daman and Diu. The District of Goa was divided into two divisions-Velhas Conquistas or Old Conquests and Novas Conquistas or New Conquests. The former was subdivided into three Councils of administration (Concelho da administração) viz. the goa Island (Ilhas), Salcete and Bardez. Concelhos were further divided into Parishes (Freguezias) or Regedorias 98 in all.


53 Ibid., p.8.


56 ibid p.15.


58 Figures as given by ibid., p148.

59 Article 135 of the Constitution.

60 Article 54 of the Constitution.

61 A detailed account of this popular resistance is given by F.N. Xavier in his publication, *Bosquejo Historico das Communidades*, Bastora—Goa, 1903.

62 The revolt is described in detail in the book, *Conspiracao de 1787*, by Cunha Rivara. Volume VIII of the *Collection of Portuguese Treaties* by Biker contains the original correspondence of the rebels.
63 Original correspondence about this revolt was published by M. V. D’Abreu in his book *Alteracoes Politicas, Nova Goa*, 1862.


67 Original correspondence about the revolts of the Ranes will be found in the *Bulletin Official* series of the Portuguese Government.

68 The hereditary officers of the village and guilds serving the village community were assigned lands by *inam Namus* or *Namoxim* tenure in lieu of their services.


71 Ibid.

72 Quoted in Ibid., p245.

73 *Goa and the Charter of the United Nations*, op.cit, p1.

74 Case concerning Right of passage over Indian Territory (Portugal V. India) I to IV, published by the International Court of Justice at Hague and ‘Freedom Struggle of Goa’ in the T.B. Cunha Memorial Volume, Bombay, 1961.