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Goa's History of Education: A Case Study of Portuguese Colonialism

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GOA'S HISTORY OF EDUCATION - A CASE STUDY
OF PORTUGUESE COLONIALISM

by

Verissimo Coutinho

A Dissertation Submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School
of Loyola University of Chicago in Partial Fulfillment
of the Requirements for the Degree of
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PREFACE

Goa was under Portuguese rule for over 450 years. The territory was liberated by the Indian Army on December 20, 1961. The Military Administration, that took over the Government of Goa immediately after liberation, was replaced by a Civilian Administration on June 8, 1962. Two special bills were enacted in the Indian Parliament -- one to include Goa, Daman and Diu in Schedule I of the Constitution as a Union Territory, and the other, a bill to provide for the administration of the territory.¹ With the passage of these bills, Goa became a Union Territory with two elected representatives to Parliament, and a local Legislative Assembly consisting of 30 elected members.

Since then, Goa has had two popular elections, one on December 20, 1963 and the other on March 28, 1967. An opinion poll was also conducted on January 16, 1967, to determine whether Goa should merge with the neighboring state of

¹Government of Goa, A Review of Activities of the Government 1962-63 (Panjim Goa: Government Printing Press, 1963), pp. 128-158.

Maharashtra. The Goan electorate rejected Maharashtra's claim over Goa, but in both the popular elections to the Legislative Assembly they voted into power, the Maharashtra Gomantak Party -- a protagonist of merger politics.

The contradictory behavior on the part of the Goan electorate can be best explained by the behavior of the marginal Hindu voter. According to Halappa:

Though on the whole, the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak supporters and the United Goans were split along communal lines, the number of marginal Hindus who could support the United Goans was definitely higher than the number of marginal Christians who could support the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak. The upper class conservative Hindus tended to support the idea of separate statehood on psychological grounds as well as grounds of self interest, as revealed in our interview.²

This finding is from a study conducted much in advance of the opinion poll, yet it provides an adequate explanation of the behavioral patterns of the Goan electorate in a changing political climate. It may be observed further, that the issue of Goa's merger with Maharashtra injected a communal fervor into Goan politics. The Goan Christians and educated well-to-do Hindus made common cause with the United Goan Party, whose main political plank was "No merger with

²G. S. Halappa et al., The First General Election in Goa (Dharwar: Karnatak Press, 1964), p. 111.

Maharashtra." In contrast, the Goan Hindu masses along with a few ideologically-oriented Christians supported the Maharashtrawadi Gomantak Party's demand for immediate and total merger with the state of Maharashtra.

Politics in Goa appears to have calmed down since 1967, the date of the opinion poll. The communal fever is on the wane and new political alignments are in the offing. Many of the former pro-merger politicians are now openly espousing the cause of a separate state status for Goa. There are others, who claim that the Konkani-speaking areas of the neighboring states of Mysore and Maharashtra should be merged with Goa to form a separate state of Konkani while a few vocal diehard merger protagonists still continue to persist in their demand for Goa's merger with Maharashtra.

What these new developments have in store for Goan politics is difficult to predict at this stage. If present political trends are any indicators of the future, then Goans will have to contend with communal politics at least for some time to come. This time it may be fermented from within, without the able assistance of the politicians from the state of Maharashtra.

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

In this case study an attempt is being made to examine and analyse all relevant forces, that have through periods of history, been instrumental in shaping the socio-economic and political structure of Goa, and their relative impact on the important institutions of the community. This would entail a study of all such physical, economical and political forces and institutions.

Before examining these forces, it may be appropriate to briefly touch upon the origin of Goa or Gomantak. Originally, Goa was known as Kalyan which means happy, because it was blessed with plenty of rain. The land was fertile; droughts and food scarcity was unheard of in Goa. Her capital was Kalyanpuri, where the word puri means city. The word still survives in Goa as Kalafura or Kalanpura, and was renamed Santa Cruz by the Portuguese.¹

Goa was also known as Gomantak. This name was in vogue since 250 B.C. A mention of it is made in the ninth chapter of Mahabharata's Bishmaparva, where Gomant was used

¹A. Braganza, The Discovery of Goa (Panjim Goa: Brooks Publications, 1964), p. 7.

to refer to this place and its people.²

A Goan history scholar, Mr. V. R. Warde Valavalikar states in his book, "Some Marathi Articles" (Kahim Marathi Lekh)³ that the word may have originated from what the Aryans saw in Goa. It is believed that Goa was the only area in the Konkan where there were plenty of cows. Hence they called it Goa -- Gomant -- meaning a land of cows. This research has been further reinforced by Fernao Lopiz da Castanzed, a Portuguese historian, in his History of Goa⁴ published in 1555, where he refers to Goa as a land where there are cows, buffaloes, chickens and pigs in plenty. This appears to be the correct derivation of the word "Goa."

Other historians believe that the word Goa might have come from the word "Gomantak" itself. A Greek traveller Ptolemayus referred to this area as "Kouba." Historians

²C. V. Vaidya, History of Sanskrit Literature, Vol. I; Sec. 4; pp. 4-9, quoted in J. S. Sukhtankar (ed.), Aicha Va Kalcha Gomantak (Bombay: Goa Hindu Association, 1954), p. 1.

³V. R. Warde Valavalikar, Some Marathi Articles (Bombay: by the author, 1958), pp. 22-25.

⁴Lopes da Castanzed, History of Goa (Lisboa: 1555) cited by Sukhtankar, p. 1.

contend that he may have called it "Goa" by mistake "Kouba." This has been established by J. W. Mackridal and other reputed scholars.⁵ Furthermore, there is evidence to prove, that the word was in use much before the arrival of Portuguese in Goa. Inscriptions found on copper plates written in Kanada (a language of the neighboring state of Mysore), make a mention of this word. The King Harihar II of Vijaynagar in writings of 1391, on copper plates found recently, uses the word Goa whilst referring to this place.⁶ This indicates that Goa was known as Goa even before the coming of the Portuguese.

Geography

Among physical forces may be viewed the geography of the territory and its natural resources. Goa, situated on the West coast of India, resembles a triangle in shape. This settlement of Goa, lies about 250 miles south-south-east from Bombay, and extends between $14^{\circ}45'$ and $15^{\circ}48'$ N. latitude and between $73^{\circ}45'$ and $74^{\circ}24'$ E. longitude. Goa is bounded

⁵J. W. McCrindle, Ancient India by Ptolemy, quoted in J. S. V. T. Gune's "Maritime Traditions of Goa," Commerce, 119 (Dec. 1969), p. 42.

⁶Sukhtankar, p. 1.

on the north by the river Tirakul or Auraundem, separating it from Savantwadi state (now a part of the Mysore state); on the east by the range of the western ghats, separating it from the district of Belgaum (again a part of the Mysore state); and on the west by the Arabian Sea.⁷ It may be observed that the boundaries of Goa are defined by the Tirakul river in the north which cuts it off from the state of Maharashtra; the Mysore state in the south and east and by the Arabian Sea in the west.

Topographically, Goa is a hilly country, especially in the east which abounds in rich forest. Goa's eastern side is especially hilly, particularly where the southern end of the Sahyadri ranges lie. The important rivers, flowing westward and providing a network of internal waterways, are the rivers Mandovi, Zuari, Tirakul, Chopra and Betul. These rivers are navigable for a total length of 230 kms. The most picturesque region is the lower basin of the Mandovi and Zuari.⁸

⁷F. C. Danvers, The Portuguese in India (New York: Octagon Books Inc., 1966), Vol. I, p. x/ii.

⁸Commerce Research Bureau, "Goa, Daman, Diu: A Profile" Commerce, 119 (December 20, 1969), p. 6.

Soil

The fertility of the soil of Goa varies considerably, depending upon the supply and availability of water. As a rule, the Velhas Conquistas (Old Conquest) are better and more intensely cultivated than the Novas Conquistas (New Conquest), as it comprises more broken country, being very close to the western ghats.

The coastal tracts on the other hand are alluvial flats formed through sedimentation along principal rivers. Along the coastal line there are sand dunes. Most of the remaining land, mainly classified as forest originates from artesian rock formations and is very thick.⁹

Climate

The climate of Goa may be described as extremely pleasant throughout the year. Goa enjoys excellent rainfall on the west, brought by the South-West Monsoon, and this measures about 2,800 and 3,500 milimetres. The rainfall is considerably heavier on the eastern side, about 300 inches, annually.¹⁰ Goa has a warm tropical climate and its annual

⁹Ibid., p. 6.

¹⁰Ibid.

average temperature is about 26°C. The maximum temperature for the whole area is about 21°C.

There are three seasons in Goa: (a) The hot season begins in March and lasts till mid-June. (b) The cool and wet season commences with the onset of the south-west monsoon, which is roughly about the 15th of June, and ends about the end of October. (c) Finally the cool and dry season, which begins in November and lasts till February.¹¹

Natural Resources

Goa abounds in natural resources. In this study, however, only the important natural resources are examined and discussed. They are, the rivers and ports, fisheries, forests and mines.

Rivers and Ports

Goa is known for a vast navigable waterway, fed by the waters of the rivers. The river Mandovi and the river Zuari are the most important ones. They have a navigable length of 100 kms. and 60 kms. respectively. These rivers account for internal transportation and communication, and

¹¹Times of India, A Guide to Goa (Bombay: Times of India Press, n.d.), pp. 17-18.

also help the development of agriculture and fisheries.

Goa is blessed with a number of ports. The three important ones are Murmugao, Panjim and Betul. The most outstanding port is the Murmugao port, whose harbor is a natural all-weather port. Although the harbor was completed in 1888, it was only after liberation that it came into prominence to rank as one of India's major ports. Its importance is linked with the rich hinterland which contains large deposits of iron and manganese that are presently being mined.

Based on the figures of traffic handled during the years 1968-1969, the Murmugao port has pushed Calcutta port into the third position. Only Bombay, with 17 million tons exceeded Murmugao, the second port with 8.8 million tons. Murmugao is known to have handled more ore traffic than all other ports put together, and also handles the largest tonnage of export traffic among the Indian ports.¹² The port consists of a quay approximately 3,082 feet long, which is protected by a 1,714 foot breakwater. It can accommodate up to 50 ships at a time during the fair season and up to fifteen during the monsoon.

¹² V. Srinivasachari, "Murmugao Port Development", Commerce, 119, (Dec. 20, 1969), p. 20.

At present the Marmugao port is being developed to accommodate vessels of larger sizes and tonnage for instance of the size of 60,000 dwt. which is to be increased to 100,000 dwt. at a later date.¹³ There are seven berths in the harbor which are mainly engaged in the loading of ore most of the year. The present average loading rate of ore per day is about 2,000 tons in midstream and over 7,500 tons at the mechanized berth of the port. The mechanized plant installed by a private company, has been in operation since 1959.¹⁴

A number of studies have been conducted with a view to modernize and better develop the port and port facilities. Among these studies were one concerning ports performance and traffic patterns and the other concerned with the economic radius.¹⁵

These studies conducted after 1961, indicate three important trends: (1) The phenomenal growth of ore traffic

¹³Government of Goa, Ten Years of Liberation: 1961-1971 (Panjim Goa: Government Printing Press, 1971), p. 84.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 84.

¹⁵Srinivasachari, pp. 20-22.

through the ports; (2) A tendency towards the diversification of the ports traffic with a growing volume of non-ore traffic; (3) The regular expansion of Murmugao's service area, to areas beyond Goa. They also revealed the areas which could be more economically serviced through Murmugao port. These areas comprised of five districts in Maharashtra, two districts in Andhra Pradesh, and eight districts in Mysore state. It may be of interest to note that the port has already succeeded in securing a sizeable portion of the traffic due from this area, which is a proof of the quality of the ports services and its natural advantages.

The total ore exports from Murmugao which was only 75,000 tons during 1947-48, rose to 3 million tons during 1968-1969. The non-ore traffic at the port has also risen from 175,000 tons during 1961-1962 to 475,000 tons in 1968.¹⁶ The Government of Goa has also executed a plan, according to which 200 acres of land will be reclaimed. This land will provide an additional break-water and will double the berthing facilities. The entrance channel and the base are proposed to be dredged in order to take in the biggest

¹⁶Ibid., p. 20.

ore-carrying ships.¹⁷ The port is being dredged from 9 months to 16 months. The work forms a part of the massive Rs. 280 million development project which is scheduled to be completed by the end of March, 1973. A new ore-handling berth with a plant of loading capacity of 8,000 tons an hour will be constructed at the port. This will be in addition to a new oil berth.¹⁸

The important role the Mormugao port has in the economy of Goa, can be gauged from the writing of Mr. Srinivasachari, chairman of Mormugao Port Trust. The port of Mormugao and the economy of Goa are so interlinked, that they constitute almost a single economic entity today. Mining, which is the main sustaining activity in Goa, also finds the port of Mormugao for the export of Goan ore, and accounts for more than 8.3% of the port's total traffic at present. Indeed, the horizons are expanding both for the port and for the Goan economy. The latter is diversifying itself into new and more challenging lines of industrialization - with many industries like a giant fertilizer complex, ore-palletization units, units

¹⁷ Sarto Esteves, Goa and its Future (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1966), p. 77.

¹⁸ Government of Goa, p. 84.

in textiles, food processing and pharmaceuticals are developing with the territory.

The port at the same time is becoming more than a monocommodity port and its economic radius is also spreading into new areas outside Goa and it is also trying to develop fast enough to cater to the expanding economy of Goa and the areas outside, falling within its hinterland.¹⁹

Fisheries

Ninety per cent of the Goan population are fish eaters. Fisheries provide a source for nutritious food, with high protein content. If properly developed, this industry could help to increase Goa's food production.

Nature has endowed Goa with considerable marine and inland fisheries potential. This territory has 100 km. coastline, 250 km. long inland waterways and a number of small fresh water tanks, covering an area of 242 acres. The coast is full of creeks and estuaries providing a good shelter for fishing craft. The coastal and inshore waters of Goa are known to be rich in aquatic resources and shoals of mackerel

¹⁹ Srinivasachari, p. 22.

and sardines regularly visit the shore. These species are found in abundance during September and January. All the important fish landing centers are situated at points which are devoid of rocks and where the sea bottom is sandy. These aspects facilitate the operation of beach seines which make up the main fishing activity. There is further scope for exploiting these resources in order to provide better means of livelihood for the fishermen and their families.

It is estimated that there are about 5,258 fishermen engaged directly in marine fishing, and the population dependent on fisheries is about 24,051. There are about 3,000 non-mechanized fishing vessels inclusive of dugout canoes and 48 mechanized vessels and over 3,000 nets which include 179 shore seines and 198 fishing stake localities.²⁰ Fish production increased by over 60% during 1965-1969, and crossed the Rs. 100 million mark in value at the end of the period.²¹

During the Portuguese period, a small beginning was made in mechanized fishing, in 1957 when two trawlers and two purse-seiners were bought. Later the fishing fleet was augmented

²⁰R. R. Bonsle, "Development of Fisheries", Goa Today (May 1971), p. 30

²¹Government of Goa, p. 84.

by two mechanized boats. At the time of Portuguese rule, there were two canning factories, which canned small quantities of fish mostly mackerel and sardines. The average annual export of canned fish during 1958-59 came to about 20 tons. There were no suitable cold storage facilities for fish.

A remarkable change occurred in the fishing industry, after the liberation of Goa. A Department of Fisheries was set up in January 1963, to organize fishing on modern lines and to exploit the resources available in the sea more systematically. A survey of fishing activities was made and a number of schemes were launched for mechanization of fishing craft, exploration of fishing, supply of fishing requisites and grant of financial assistance, training, stocking of tanks and development of inland fishing, running of ice factory, cold storage and freezing plant, establishment of shark liver oil extraction units, fishing research and statistics, operation of fish stalls, running of fish meal plants, staff welfare, development of and assistance to cooperative societies and loading and berthing facilities. The total expenditure incurred on the scheme up to March 1969 came to about Rs. 8,829,000.

The total quantity of fish and fisheries products

canned during the year 1968 was 341 tons as against 138 tons and 290 tons in years 1966-67 respectively. In terms of export, during the period, 768 tons of fish was exported to different parts of the country, and 156 tons of frozen fish mostly shrimps was exported to U.S.A., Japan and West Germany.²²

Thus from the foregoing discussion it will be observed that Goa has excellent prospects for the development of fishing industry on all fronts in view of the vast natural resources and other infrastructural facilities.

Forests

Goa's forest estate comprises 1,050 square miles which accounts for roughly thirty per cent of the total land area against twenty per cent forest area for the country. The concentration of the forest is in the eastern parts of Goa, with three types of forest: (a) Tropical wet evergreen forest covering 55,660 acres. (b) Tropical semi-evergreen forests, covering 53,240 acres. (c) Tropical moist deciduous forests covering 140,360 acres.²³

²²W. G. Ranadive, "Development of Fisheries", Commerce, 119, (December 20, 1969), p. 26.

²³Government of Goa, p. 65.

The territory produces forest products worth over Rs. one million. During 1967-68, about nine million cubic meters of timber were produced.²⁴ The contribution of forests to the Territory's income is roughly one-half per cent. Goa's forest resource is now recognized as having the potentiality of increasing timber products. Improvement of timber production lies in abolishing the ruinous practice of diverting forest land for some other cultivation and by introducing a scientific forestry program through the Department of Forests.

The Forest Department has decided to prepare a working plan for the Territory. During 1964-65, the area planted was to the extent of 2,323 acres, which was doubled in 1967-68.

Mines and Minerals

Minerals are the most important natural resource in the Goan economy. About one-sixth of the net domestic product of the Territory originates from the mining sector. Mines also have a high labor potential. At present about 12,000 persons are engaged in mining which constitutes about ten per cent of the working population.

Iron ore deposits are found throughout Goa. Rough

²⁴ Commerce Research Bureau, p. 6.

estimates place the deposits at 150 million tons of lumpy ore and 250 million tons of powdery ore. The mineral production during the last four years was around six to eight million tons. This accounts for more than one third of the country's output of iron ore. The mining industry has made tremendous progress during the last decade. According to the Commerce Research Bureau, Goa exported about 7.9 million tons of iron ore in 1965-66, as against 2.5 million tons in 1958. In terms of value, the exports in 1965-66 were of the order of Rs. 220 million as against Rs. 70 million in 1958. In 1968-69 Goa earned over Rs. 300 million in foreign exchange.

Export of manganese ore and ferro-manganese ore earned foreign exchange of Rs. 3.3 million and Rs. 7.6 million respectively during 1965-66 as against Rs. 9 million in 1958.²⁵

In addition to industrial minerals, Goa is also endowed with other mineral resources such as bauxite, limestone, dolomite, deposits of refractory clays, ilminite and silica sands, quartz and graphite. According to the Government of Goa estimate, resources of recoverable iron ore with 58% and above of iron ore content, are of the order of 400 million tons. Similarly, the reserves of black iron ore amount to

²⁵Ibid., p. 6.

600,000 tons and of manganese ore to 1.2 million tons. Clay deposits reserves are estimated for washed clay at about 100,000 to 300,000 tons. Bauxite has been discovered in aerial surveys in the southern part of Goa and the deposits indicate aluminium content of 45% to 60%.²⁶

Economic Forces: Agriculture

The examination of the economic forces will be confined to the study of the two important economic sectors, namely, the Agrarian sector and the Industrial sector.

Goa's economy is predominantly agricultural. About three-fifths of the population is estimated to be dependent on agricultural and allied activities. According to Prof. G. V. Kamat-Helekar, over the past fifteen years the agrarian sector was neglected and has remained primitive and backward. The net area sown comprises eight per cent of the total area. Forests account for twenty-five per cent, fallow land three per cent, tree crops and groves twenty-three per cent and cultivable waste twenty-three percent. The gross irrigated

²⁶G.V. Kamat-Helekar, "A Resume of the Goan Economy" in Goa, The Problems of Transition (Bombay: Indian Committee for Cultural Freedom, 1965), p. 34.

area is two per cent of the total area under cultivation.²⁷

It will be observed from the net area sown that the irrigation facilities are extremely poor and requires much improvement. Productionwise, the Union Territory had a record in the level of food grain production. Statistics for the period 1963-64 reveal a production of 99,000 tons of food grains, thereafter, the production of food grains fell considerably and stood around 70,000 tons during the period 1964-65 to 1967-68.

Rice is the only major crop. Other cereals are grown but not on a significant scale. However, Goa is famous for agricultural crops like coconut, arecanut, pineapple, mangoes, jackfruits and bananas.

The future of Goan agriculture lies in the development of irrigation facilities, in the absence of which agriculture is exposed to the vagaries of the monsoon. Presently, Goa faces a deficit in rice of about 20,000 tons. Steps have, however, been taken for the utilization of the high-yielding varieties of paddy on an extensive scale. The Government of Goa has given topmost priority to high yielding varieties and similar other programs. It has also been decided to equip the

²⁷ Government of Goa, p. 82.

existing research station with essential personnel, buildings and other facilities. These positive steps are bound to result in high food grain production and better and more productive development of agricultural crops.

Economic Forces: Industry

Prior to the liberation of Goa, the industrial complex consisted of a large number of rice, flour and oil mills, a few saw mills, workshops, soap manufacturing units, a tire rethreading unit and a carbon dioxide factory.

In 1960, about six per cent of the working population was engaged in manufacturing industries, and their contribution to Goa's income was seven per cent of the total income. Some of the reasons given for the slow growth of the industrial sector are lack of cheap power and the absence of technical expertise. Furthermore, the Portuguese rulers were not interested in exploiting the industrial potential of the territory.

The annual survey of industries data of 1965 shows that in all thirty-eight factories were registered in Goa. There were five factories registered for shipbuilding and repairing, employing 567 persons. Repairing of motor vehicles was reported by seven workshops, engaging 370 persons. Manufacture of miscellaneous food preparations engaged about 400

persons. There were three printing and publishing units with a staff of 160. The total value added by all these factories covered by the survey amounted to Rs. 4.1 million. Of this shipbuilding and repairing alone contributed thirty-one per cent.²⁸

Government has been taking steps to improve the industrial sector by providing water, electricity and approach roads. Government has also established two industrial estates.

In the area of small scale industries - carpentry, coir works, bamboo works, footwear, pottery, handicrafts, etc. Government has started schemes for training the artesans. Government has also decided to start a common facility center which will consist of an engineering workshop and an electroplating unit.

The existing industrial units reveal that their growth has not been properly planned and guided. Some units have progressed due to favorable conditions while other industries despite developmental potentialities have suffered, especially the resource-oriented industries. Special attention should be paid to these industries and if possible they should receive

²⁸ The Annual Survey of Industries, quoted in Commerce Research Bureau, p. 8.

discriminating treatment. These industries are labor-intensive with small capital requirements. Further they do not require highly skilled labor. Finally, the development of the agro-industries is bound to have a salutary effect on the agricultural economy of Goa.

Social Forces

Goan society is not homogenous. It is structured by some very important social institutions, whose interplay and interactions have left an indelible impress on the fabric of the Goan society. These institutions are the (1) Village Communities or Comunidades or Gaumponn; (2) Goan Caste system; (3) the Class system; (4) Religion. It should be noted that these institutions are very closely interrelated.

Village Communities or Comunidades or Gaumponn

The origin of the village communities in Goa, can be traced to the early Aryan inhabitants, who settled in the south of Goa. There is evidence that they existed in the sixteenth century.²⁹ It has to be stated, however, that the village

²⁹B. H. Baden-Powell, "The Village of Goa in the Early Sixteenth Century", The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society, (1900), quoted in S.P. Aiyar and V.K. Sinha's Goa, the Problems of Transition (Indian Committee for cultural Freedom, 1965), p. 24.

community system is not unique and peculiar to Goa alone. As a matter of fact, this system was prevalent throughout the sub-continent of India, at the time of the British. Karl Marx in his book, British Rule in India, states:

The British conquest differed from every previous conquest in that, while the previous foreign conquerors left untouched the economic bases and eventually grew into its structure the British conquest shattered that bases and remained a foreign force, acting from outside and withdrawing its tribute outside.³⁰

Like most of the other social institutions, the institution of the village system too suffered a drastic change with the passage of time and began to resemble to some degree, the feudal institutions of the Medieval Ages. In the beginning, the first inhabitants of Goa divided the families in Vangors or Clans. These were further graduated and ranked to three places on the bases of their services and utility to the community. They voted in order of their rank and each Vangor had a single vote. The inhabitants divided the territory into Mahals or provinces or gaon or villages.³¹ A

³⁰Karl Marx, British Rule in India, quoted in Dr. A. Furtado's "The Village Communities in Goa and Their Future", Free Goa (January 25, 1962), p. 1.

³¹A. Furtado, "The Village Communities in Goa and Their Future", Free Goa (January 25, 1962), p. 1.

certain number of vangors formed into a gaumponn or community, with its own special regime. The original and the chief representative of the village were known as Gaoncars. The villages or gaons, were further divided into vaddos or subsection of a village, and the lands of each vaddo were classified into three grades on the bases of the quality of the soil. The first quality land was used for the cultivation of the staple food of the people, namely rice. From the proceeds obtained by the sale of the produce, allocations were earmarked for the maintainance of religious cults and administration. A larger portion of the revenues were reserved for social preservation and progress.

The lands of the second grade were called morod, and were used for the cultivation of fruits and other cereals. The income derived from the produce was used to finance activities such as the building and preservation of temples and later on, Catholic Churches, and for the construction and preservation of roads. Lands belonging to the third quality were further divided into nalles and nomoxins, free use of land by tenants. Their income supported the village servants, such as the school teacher, carpenters, smiths, washermen, barbers, etc. A further division in the third grade land was

made into long lease lands called cotruban or permanent; and into lands known as alvidracao for which a tax was levied on the annual total production of the cereals or grains cultivated. "In short", says Dr. Antonio Furtado, long time administrator of the comunidades in Goa, "it was a regime of the cooperation of efforts and collectivization of land and its produce".³²

The village communities underwent a drastic change with the coming of the Portuguese regime into Goa. The Portuguese did not abolish the system but used it for the purposes of financing their wars. They also created laws that provided for the destruction of collective property of the territory and the gradual absorption of the collective interest of the communities. Portuguese rule loosened the old strong ties of the collective assistance of the villages.

The communities were now converted into agricultural syndicates and the rights of inheritance of the Gaoncars were converted into shares which could be freely bought and sold at auction. These share-holders were called Accionistas or Culaxarins, and often they were not the actual descendants of the original settlers or Gaoncars.³³ The actual share-holders

³² Ibid., p. 1.

³³ Times of India, p. 110.

(who were the descendents) were known as the Jonoeiros, and the dividends they received on the shares was known as the zonn.

state interference in the endless disputes between the Gaoncars and Culaxarins (new share-holders) weakened the old spirit of solidarity and collective interest. This made it possible for a community of shares to be concentrated in the hands of the capitalists who possessed the shares, leaving the old Gaoncars to entertain themselves in their inglorious quarrels in the Catholic religious confraternities.³⁴

Coupled with the interference of the state into the matters of the Commundades, was the evils of the caste system that began to creep into Goan society at this time. The Portuguese in order to win the sympathy of the local inhabitants began to cultivate the Brahmins who were flexible and acceptable to the new regime. The Brahmins had nothing to lose as the majority of the owners and rulers came from the Kshatriyas, or the princely caste, that was constantly engaged in fighting the Portuguese in order to win back their lost lands. The Portuguese as a reward for their services, married into the Christian Brahmins. This provided the Brahmins with opportun-

³⁴Furtado, p. 1.

ities to become share-holders in communities of which they were not Gaoncars. The Brahmins were also made administrators of the Comunidades that had been confiscated from the Kshatriyas fro their political resistance to the Portuguese regime.

The social and political forces began to crystallize themselves into a rigid structure that was highly caste oriented, and politically motivated. The Gaoncars, wherever they could survive, along with the new share-holders dominated the scene. The bulk of these share-holders came either from the ruling caste of Kshatriyas or the Brahmins (some of whom were later injected into the system by the Portuguese). The Sudras had very little say in the affairs of the Comunidades. They were for all practical purposes the servants of the Gaoncars and share-holders, whose duty it was to render all the professional work that was demanded of them by the Gaoncars without any wages. These servants were remunerated in kind - a stipulated amount of rice, coconuts and other produce was received by them annually in addition to the free use of a plot of land (namoxin) which they could cultivate. In addition in some parts of Goa, there were serfs or bondsmen.³⁵

³⁵ Times of India, p. 110.

The social effects of the village community system were strongly felt and in course of time became rigid in the church in defining certain privileges and determining membership to permanent religious fraternities. The population was divided into two classes, namely Gaoncars, and Moradores. The Gaoncars, since they were the descendants of the original founders of the village, claimed to be the aristocrats and began to look with contempt on the Moradores, who were not descendants of the original settlers. The Moradores were and still are denied certain privileges in the church and at major religious festivals, which are reserved exclusively for the Gaoncars. It is the exclusive privilege of the Gaoncars, to celebrate the feast of the "Blessed Sacrament", in each village and to the membership of Confraria or Congregation of the Blessed Sacrament, where no Moradores is admitted. In general, there are two congregations in each parish, one of Gaoncars and one of Moradores, each under the patronage of a particular saint.³⁶

The establishment of these social distinctions in the church has caused much bitterness and strife among the members of the parish. They became noticeable during and on the day of

³⁶Ibid., pp. 111-112.

the feast of the Blessed Sacrament. The Gaoncars, claim that it is their exclusive right to hold the poles of pallum, when the Blessed Sacrament is carried out in procession and insist upon their right even when the feast is celebrated by the Moradores.³⁷ This dispute often ends in physical violence. Despite its major shortcomings the village community system has been mainly instrumental in fostering or inculcating values that promote love for one's village and country.

Though irritating exaggerations of it are to be deplored, especially where it has intruded itself in the affairs of the local church festivals and administration, the village community remains still a strong incentive, to the deep-rooted love of a village and country, which covers nearly all of the political and social life of the Goan. The various village clubs of Goan emigrants is one manifestation of the strong social spirit engendered by the Gaumponns which seems to bind a Goan to his motherland as no other institution anywhere else does.³⁸

Economically speaking, the Comunidades have become

³⁷Ibid., p. 112.

³⁸C. F. Saldanha, A Short History of Goa (Bombay: Anglo-Lusitano, 1952), p. 9.

a losing proposition. The Zonn share of net income of the Comunidades increased with the increase of the male population among the Gaoncars, hence at the time of the liberation, the Comunidades had deteriorated into stagnant obsolete institutions.³⁹

Moreover, the new democratic set-up ushered in by the liberation of Goa on December 20, 1961, assumed responsibility for the welfare of the people in every sector, making the Comunidades redundant. It has now been decided to abolish this anachronistic institution not only because it has become functionless, but also to establish direct relationship between the tenants and the state, in keeping with the national pattern.⁴⁰

Thus we have observed the progressive decline and deterioration of the Comunidades, a fine social institution. Dr. Furtado, a former administrator of the Comunidades, says:

Originally, the Comunidades had the basic objective of achieving not only the economic self-sufficiency but to contribute towards the progressive improvement of the village. However, the interference of the foreign rulers transformed them into exploitation societies for the benefit of certain individuals called "Joneiros" and share

³⁹ Government of Goa, p. 54.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

holders. The result is what we see: the villages are in a vile and gloomy sadness, the population showing a tendency to abandon them, for city life. On the other hand the old social and economic organization underwent a change: the Joneiro ceased to represent the rural aristocracy, retaining only the monetary link to receive the community income. In its turn agriculture far from progressing, continued stagnant left in the saying of Texeira de Vasconcelos, "dependent on manual labor, routine and gods will" - the only factors of the precarious survival of our agriculture.⁴¹

At present there are 222 Comunidades who together own about 88,385 acres of land, representing 11.18% of the total land available. Of the total 124,792 acres of land under paddy Comunidades own 35,513 acres representing about 23% of the paddy land. In some of the most fertile districts like Bardez, Salcette, Tiswadi and Murmugao, Comunidades own from 50% to 55% of the total paddy land.⁴²

The future of the Comunidades in terms of organization and administration is yet to be decided. It has been accepted by all concerned that village communities in their present form have no right to exist. Economists however, disagree in the method of elimination and the forms of organization and administration.

⁴¹Furtado, pp. 1-2.

⁴²Government of Goa, p. 53.

Dr. Antonio Furtado is of the opinion that instead of dissolving the Community there should be a vertical elimination of the Jonoeiros and share-holders and that the income of the community being applied to the benefit of the whole village. According to this scheme, all share-holders and Jonoeiros would be paid indemnity. The income of the community would be applied to the collective benefit of the population of the villages, their continuous progress, lasting welfare and happy life would be possible.

As regards administration and organization, Furtado favors the creation of an Agrarian municipality, to consist of representatives elected by Community Panchayats or groups of communities of a district. The municipality would exercise the functions of social and economic coordination of the villages and cities. There is however, another view which holds all Comunidades be organized into collective farms without offering compensation to share-holders. Finally, there are those who believe that the basic institutions of Village Communities should be preserved with some minor reform.

In a socialistic society like India, the Comunidades in their present form or even with some modification have no place in the socio-economic set up. It can be conjectured at

this stage, that the future of the Comunidades will be decided in favor of some sort of cooperative or collective endeavour.

Caste System

The caste system as originally conceived by the Indo-Aryans, literally is a division of labor. Interpreted esoterically, it is the categorization of the different degrees of spiritual awakening. Taken either way there is maximum mobility i.e. an individual can move through one or more castes, spiritually and socially. But casteism as practised today, is totally rigid, socially an impediment to progress and politically a dangerous manifestation.⁴³

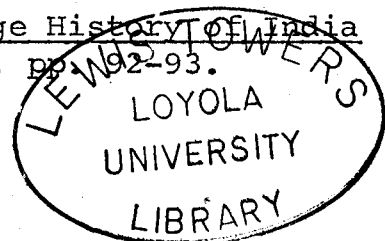
The caste system in its origin was not as rigid as it eventually came to be. As stated earlier, the Aryans when they entered India, were not divided into castes. The warriors of the community were the agricultural and industrial classes, and the Brahmin priest was not necessarily a member of the hereditary class. But as the petty tribes coalesced into kingdoms, the need was felt of a separate body of administrators and warriors, which came to be designated as Kshatriyas.

⁴³Rudolph D'Mello, Goa, a New Deal (Bombay: Chetna Ltd., 1963), pp. 10-11.

At the same time, the industrial and agricultural classes hardly found time to interest themselves in matters of state in the midst of their heavy work. While on the other hand what with the demands made on his time by the onerous duties of his office, the king found it burdensome to carry on his functions of Pontifex Maximus and was compelled to delegate them to other officials. The result of this process was the growth of a priesthood and of a class of warrior administrators in addition to a third class, who bore the burden of the day and heat, the Vaishyas, and fourth the Sudras, consisting of the enslaved population.⁴⁴

Except in the case of the members of the last caste, to whom life could have been nothing but misery, the system seems to have worked fairly well. It eliminated competition and conflict among the members and promoted harmony in the community. But the harmony which it achieved was at the expense of the dignity of the individual and the sacredness of the human person. Of course, it was too early to expect any recognition of the democratic principles of equality of opportunity and la carriere aux talents in Hindu society, as consti-

⁴⁴T. B. Bury (ed.), The Cambridge History of India (Cambridge: The University Press, 1937), pp. 92-93.



tuted in those medieval times, principles for the recognition of which in the State, although they were recognized and acted in the Church from early times, the West had to await the outbreak of the French Revolution and the rise of liberalism.⁴⁵

It is of interest to note that the Christian missionaries were impressed by the caste system. "The people of India" writes Friar Jordan, "are very clean in their habits true in speech, and eminent in justice, maintaining carefully the privileges of every man according to his degree, as they have come down from old times."⁴⁶ "The institution which ensured this social harmony," says historian George Moraes, "was the caste system, under which the community was divided into as many endogamous groups as the number of castes, each caste mutually recognized their duties and rights."⁴⁷

The four Hindu castes were the Kshatriyas, the warrior and the administrative class; the Brahmins, the priestly class; the Vaishyas, the merchant or business class; and finally the Sudras who tended to menial tasks.

⁴⁵George Moraes, A History of Christianity in India (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1964), p. 278.

⁴⁶Ibid.

⁴⁷Ibid.

Initially, the Brahmins were recognized as the custodians of the culture of the community. "The Brahmins are like friars with us", writes Paes, "and they count them as holy men... Those who have charge of the temples are learned men, and eat nothing which suffers death, neither flesh nor fish nor anything which makes broth red, for they say that is blood."⁴⁸

This was indeed the first observation of Paes, because even during his time, the great majority of the Brahmins had already invaded the domains of other castes. They were engaged in occupations such as administrators, merchants, mail-carriers, and even as cooks. As Paes remarks, "Although the King has many Brahmins, they are officers of the towns and cities and belong to the government of them: others are merchants and others live by their own property and cultivations, and the fruits which are grown in their inherited grounds."⁴⁹

In the Indian caste system, the Brahmins remain an impure and flexible caste. In the strict interpretation of the Indian caste system, the so-called Brahmins, i.e. those who work in occupations assigned to other castes, have no place in the Brahmin caste. They have forfeited their claim to this caste, by

⁴⁸R. A. Sewell, A Forgotten Empire (London: George Allan and Unwin, 1924), p. 245.

⁴⁹Ibid., p. 390.

invading castes such as the Vaishyas and the Shudras. It is of interest to note, that the Brahmins even cooked for the King and his relatives, the position of cook being inferior, reserved for the Shudra caste.⁵⁰

In Goa however, the caste system may be viewed as comprising three groups or castes. The Kshatriyas, the Brahmins and Shudras. There is no evidence of the existence of the Vaishya caste. But there is ample evidence that shows the Brahmins taking over the functions of this caste. It is customary, in small Goan villages, to see Brahmins setting themselves up as petty shopkeepers, catering to the needs of the poorer people of the village.

The Kshatriya caste of Goa is further divided into an upper and a lower class. The upper class of Kshatriyas, belonging to the landed gentry of Goa, are reputed to have descended from royal and Rajput warrior stock.⁵¹ There is evidence that proves that although the political power had passed to the Muslims, the Kshatriyas, being sons of the soil, were practically masters of the entire territory. As Tome Pires observes:

⁵⁰D. Barbosa, The Book of Duarte Barbosa, An Account of the Countries Bordering the Indian Ocean ... About the Year 1518 A.D. (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1918), p. 123.

⁵¹Saldanha, p. 7.

There are great many heathens in this kingdom of Goa, more than in the Kingdom of the Deccan. Some of them are very honored men with large fortunes; and almost the whole kingdom lies in their hands, because they are natives and possess the land and they pay the taxes. Some of them are noblemen with many followers, and lands of their own, and are persons of great repute, and wealthy, and they live on their estate, which are very gay and fresh.⁵²

The lower class of Kshatriyas was generally found among the soldiers, the lower administrative posts, and peasant classes of Goa.

The Brahmins of Goa are also divided into two classes. Those who are engaged in the practise and performance of the religious cult and those that are not. The former are the true and real Brahmins and do not like to associate themselves with the latter Brahmins. In the second category are found Brahmins who are engaged in all sorts of occupations varying from administrative positions to ordinary menial works.

The Shudras of Goa who are by far the greatest in number were forced by social cannons as well as official discriminations to take up humbler occupations. Some of the members of this caste are still engaged as artesans and menial workers in Goa.⁵³ This caste despite official and social discriminations throughout the ages, have produced some of the best musicians and artists

⁵²Corteseo, p. 59.

⁵³Times of India, p. 47.

of Goa.

The Catholics of Goa are also strict adherents of the caste system, though in a modified form. They are classified as Brahmins, Kshatriyas or Chardos and Sudras. The caste system divides the Goan Catholic community into three distinct groups, constantly pulling against one another in Goa and where ever else they may be found. They generally move about in separate groups though there is no real objection to mixing socially. Intermarriages between the castes are not encouraged but they occur quite frequently.

The Brahmins, as usual, regard themselves as superior. However, the Chardos also assert their superiority. Contemporary literature has some instances of group antagonisms, viz., the dissensions between the Brahmins and Chardos among the new converts. Brahmins and Chardos were constantly quarrelling over pre-eminence of their communities in local affairs. At times these quarrels took a violent turn. The Viceroy in a letter addressed to the King on January 15, 1741, reports an incident which took place at the Church of Nossa Senhora de Belem, at Chandor (Salcette district). He writes:

Among three villages of Salcette, which border on the mainland, there was recently a feud between the Brahmins and Chardos over their respective pre-eminence. They waited for a decision until a feast day, when the Blessed

Sacrament was exposed, for which they showed so little respect and veneration, that either side called armed soldiers to fight on its behalf, and there was so much bloodshed, that the tabernacle in which the Lord was exposed came to be stained.⁵⁴

According to A. K. Priolkar, the Brahmins and Chardos were the two advanced castes among the Indians in Goa. The attachment of their members to their castes was so strong that even after conversion to Christianity, they continued to mention their castes after their new Christian names and surnames in documents. There is evidence of this practice in the contemporary lists of the prisoners of the Inquisition which are available.⁵⁵

Catholic Brahmins held high positions both civil and ecclesiastical and wielded great power and influence in Goa. However, like the Hindu Brahmins, all Catholic Brahmins were not people of high education and social standing. There were many among them who were employed as domestic servants and in other menial occupations. The Catholic Brahmins have been accused for their

⁵⁴J. H. Cunha Rivara, Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, 1862-65 (Nova Goa: Government Printing Press, 1865), VI, Suppl. 11, p. 13, Doc. 7.

⁵⁵A. K. Priolkar, The Goa Inquisition (Bombay: Bombay University Press, 1961), p. 147. Also, Antonio Bajao, A Inquisicao de Goa (Lisboa: by the author, 1949), Vol. I, pp. 279-83.

quality of ruthless ambition, cunning, intrigue and lust for power, and even for their unscrupulousness. It is even stated that St. Francis Xavier, did not regard them with favor.⁵⁶

Whoever accused the Brahmins of being ruthless and ambitious, failed to view their activities in the context of time. The Brahmins as a caste, were interested in consolidating their position in Goa. Their loyalty to the Portuguese regime made them beneficiaries of important positions of power which they wanted to keep at all costs. The Chardos on the other hand, gave no allegiance to the Portuguese but were constantly resisting their rule and seeking to recapture the power which their ancestors lost to the Portuguese. Under such circumstances, it is not proper to blame the Brahmins for usurping power.

The Brahmins as a caste have shown great flexibility and loyalty to the ruling power and have been credited with ensuring political stability in the country. Furthermore, history and politics too, had a great impact on the caste system. Historically it was Timoja, a Brahmin, who helped Albuquerque to reconquer Goa. "This man it is said, in the commentaries of Albu-

⁵⁶ Times of India, pp. 46-47.

querque, was a Hindu by birth, very obedient to the interest of the king of Portugal, and being a man of low origin, and as a corsair, raised himself to the position of great honor.⁵⁷ Timoja was rewarded for his services to the Portuguese. He was made the Governor of Goa and was entrusted with the power of creating and distributing administrative positions (thandors) And, as expected, he appointed his friends and relatives as administrators and to other positions of authority. As a result, the top administrative positions came to be in the hands of a handful of Portuguese and Goan Brahmins. It also increased bonds of friendship and loyalty of the Brahmins to the Portuguese regime.

Albuquerque, writes, "no life was spared for any Mussal-^{man} and their mosques were filled up and set on fire. I ordered that the tillers of the soil and the Brahmins should not be killed".⁵⁸

Dr. Dharmanand Kosambi, the well known Goan scholar and researcher points out that Albuquerque instinctively understood

⁵⁷Braz Albuquerque, Commentaries of the Great Afonso da Albuquerque, (London: Hakluyt Society, 1877), Vol. II. p. 81.

⁵⁸Dr. Juliao Menezes, Goa's Freedom Struggle (Bombay: by the author, 1947), p. 6.

the use the Portuguese had for Brahmins as the best allies of foreign rule, and quisling -- a tradition faithfully maintained under all foreign invasions.⁵⁹ As regards the tillers of the soil (who were mainly Sudras), they were valuable to the Portuguese as the legitimate prey of the foreign exploiters and parasites.⁶⁰

We consider this statement as a harsh characterization of Goan Brahmins. The Goan Brahmins like their counterpart in the rest of India, are a service-oriented caste and should be credited for their political opportunism and loyalty to the regime. The Kshatriyas and the Kshatriya nobility who for all practical purposes were the masters of Goa, even during the Muslim rule, could not strike friendship with the Portuguese for the simple reason, as vanquished rulers they had to resist the Portuguese rule and work for their defeat and ouster, if their power was to be ever restored in Goa. They failed, and their failure brought rich dividends to the Brahmins. And the Brahmins naturally consolidated their position of power.

Thus it may be observed that during the time of

⁵⁹Ibid.

⁶⁰Ibid.

Albuquerque's rule over Goa, in 1510, the Hindu Brahmins enjoyed great prestige and religious freedom. This link between the Portuguese and Goan Brahmins was further cemented when Albuquerque arranged marriages between the Portuguese soldiers and the Brahmin women.

Prof. George Moraes comments on these marriages. The Hindus of Goa, whose daughters Albuquerque had taken and given to his soldiers and officers were at first scandalized and aggrieved by his proceedings, which had indeed in it, an appearance of force. But they soon found their daughters enriched with property and treated as honored wives and saw themselves rising in the social scale, they were content to see them well settled.⁶¹

The religious tolerance that ensued during the rule of Albuquerque, and the power wielded by the Hindu Brahmins came to an abrupt end with the departure and death of Albuquerque, in 1516. The Portuguese, after making use of the quisling Timoja, dispossessed him of lands awarded to him in recognition of his services in 1515, and Portuguese officers were appointed in his place.

⁶¹Moraes, p. 157.

Furthermore, the Portuguese in their zeal to convert the local population to Christianity passed laws forbidding Hindus from holding any public office. In 1560, all the Brahmins were ordered to be turned out of the Goan territory. Hindu temples were destroyed and the properties attached to them confiscated.⁶²

This policy of forced Christianization brought about changes in the power structure of the Goan community. In this new power structure, those of the Hindu Brahmins who had converted to Christianity continued to enjoy the power and status which they formerly shared with their Hindu caste men. The Catholic Kshatriyas or Chardos were freed from the Portuguese wrath but did not enjoy the privileges enjoyed by the Catholic Brahmins. The Hindu Brahmins either migrated out of Goa, or remained in Goa despite persecution. The Kshatriya Hindus, still militant and opposed to alien rule, were either dispossessed of their lands or oppressed with heavy taxes. Many of them were reduced to the lot of ordinary peasants and their confiscated lands were given to the Christian Brahmins. The Sudras whether Catholic or Hindus had very little say in the

⁶²Cunha Rivara, (Doc. 344), p. 451.

power alignments of Goa. The Catholic Sudras, however, enjoyed better treatment in this new set up.

At this stage, we find a new socio-political alignment where the Hindu Brahmins joined forces with the Catholic Chardos who provided the progressive leadership in Goa and espoused the cause of their oppressed Hindu brethren. This leadership came from the aristocratic Chardos, many of whom were educated abroad and were economically self sufficient. They were men like Francis Luis Gomes - a great parliamentarian and at one time Goa's representative in the Portuguese Parliament, and Menezes Braganza, who brought inspiration and vision to the people who had been denationalized and emancipated them from the reactionary thought imposed by the Portuguese and their lackeys. In a well known book, Os Hindus e a Republica, The Hindus and the Republic, Dr. Antonio Noronha a close associate of Menezes Braganza, shows with historical truth and accuracy, how the Hindus were oppressed and persecuted by the fanatical Portuguese and theocratic agencies till they were emancipated by the Republic. It is of interest to note that this new alignment which produced a great political force became the vanguard of the Goan Freedom Movement, under the leadership of Dr. T. B. Cunha, about which more will be

said in the relevant chapter.

The Class System

Closely linked with the caste system is the class system. Initially the people of Goa were divided into two classes, the batcars or the landowners, and the mundcars or the tenants. Almost half the population of Goa are batcars possessing land holdings, ranging from one acre to several acres in area.

These lands were cultivated by mundcars. They were allowed to live on the land of the landlord, who besides providing them with a house for residence and his protection, also gave them a portion of the produce of the fields and plantation on which they worked. Sometimes, they were paid in cash.⁶³

Like the caste system, the class structure too, underwent a change. At the time of liberation, the class structure of Goa was comprised of the Upper Class, the Middle Class and the Lower Class.

In the Upper Class itself, there was a hierarchy. At the top were the Portuguese bureaucrats who drew large salaries from the public funds. Below them a little way down were the higher officials, recruited from the local population.

⁶³Times of India, p. 49.

It was composed largely of Christians and Hindu Brahmins. Allied with them socially, was the land owning class (Kshatriyas). The top minority of the commercial class also belonged here. The mine-owning class whose economic interest should have tied them with the above groups did not seem to have belonged here socially. On the whole all the above groups may be described as the Upper Class. In terms of income, those whose income was beyond Rs. 12,000 per annum, belonged to the Upper Class.

Next came the Middle Class. This class was comprised of low-salaried bureaucracy, the petty tradesmen and other similar groups. Those whose income was between Rs. 6,000 and Rs. 12,000, belonged to the higher middle class. Those between Rs. 1,200 and Rs. 6,000 belonged to the lower middle class.

Finally, the Lower Class comprised of those whose income was below Rs. 1,200. This class comprised of laborers, both agricultural and industrial.

The so-called 'high society' in Goa, was centered in the capital, Panjim. Like the vested interest in former British India, it was slavishly imitative of its colonial masters, the Portuguese.⁶⁴

⁶⁴G. S. Halappa et al., The First General Election in Goa (Dharwar: Karnatak Press, 1964), pp. 26-27.

Religion

The Goans fall into three religious groups - the Hindus, the Catholics and the Muslims. There is also a small population of Indo-Portuguese extraction called Mestizos, or descendants who hardly number more than a few hundred families in Goa today.⁶⁵

According to 1960 census, the Hindus formed 61.2% of the total population. The Christians constitute about 36.4% and the Muslims comprise about 2.4%.⁶⁶ It may be observed from the above-quoted statistic, compiled by the Portuguese Government, that despite forced Christianization the majority of the people remained Hindus. And, what is more, those who converted to Christianity did not give up their Hindu customs and culture.

Goan people, whatever be their religious profession, have been known to be deeply religious and tolerant. Oftentimes, these religious sentiments have sought to find expression in fine monuments of art and architecture. In Goa, are some of the most beautiful Churches, Temples and Mosques. Each

⁶⁵Ibid., pp. 22-24.

⁶⁶Ibid.

of these monuments, provides us with an insight into the past.

The Portuguese were forced to leave after 450 years of colonial rule, but they have left behind some of the most impressive historical landmarks, for which they will always be remembered. The Churches and Cathedrals in Old Goa, are a veritable treasure trove for scholars and students of history. They bear witness to the fact that Goa used to be known as the 'Rome of the East'.

Se Cathedral The Se Cathedral is one of the most imposing structures in Old Goa city. Structurally, it is a combination of Tuscan-Doric architecture. Its construction was started in 1514 and was elevated to the status of a Cathedral in 1534. In 1557, the Pope made it the Archepiscopal Metropolitan Church of India. It is an enormous edifice covering an area of nearly 200 feet by 180 feet and is 150 feet high. It had two belfries but the one on the right was destroyed by lightening and never rebuilt. The left belfry has a great bell, the Sino do Ouro, famous as being the largest and best in all Goa. It is of very large dimensions and its sound can be heard for miles around. The bell was cast in the village of Cuncolim, in Salcette and from its mellow tones is known as the Golden Bell.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ Times of India, p. 67.

The altars which are fourteen in number, are exquisitely carved and adorned, and the retables are of gilded wood carvings on the lines of those of the Cathedrals of Carcow and Nuremburg. The monstrance in the Main Tabernacle is a wonder of art in gold bedecked with diamonds and rubies. The silver chalice is a fine illustration of Venetian craftsmanship. In the aisles there are fourteen vaulted chapels, artistically gilt, with curious paintings.⁶⁸

The Basilica of Bom Jesus The Basilica of Bom Jesus is well known in the Christian world, for it holds the incorrupt remains of St. Francis Xavier, the patron saint of Goa. The inner side of the vast convent is patterned after the Mosaico-Corinthian style. Apart from the beautifully wrought altars, retables, niches with images full of precious stones, the main attraction is the chapel inside this convent prepared in 1655, for the permanent abode of the tomb of the Apostle.⁶⁹

The beautiful casket enclosing the coffin of St. Francis Xavier, is a truly marvellous example of the Italian

⁶⁸Braganza, p. 54.

⁶⁹Ibid., pp. 64-65.

or Florentine jewellers finest work. The casket is most intricately and elaborately carved with a perfection of finish and exquisite design that leave it without a rival in the world. Of bronze, decorated beautifully with wrought silver and gold ornamentation it is in deep relief, every figure standing out sharply and clearly. It was once covered with precious stones. Several panels around its sides depict incidents from the life of St. Francis Xavier. This magnificent casket, in which is placed the coffin bearing the remains of the Saint rests upon a beautiful pedestal of black Italian marble which has four wonderful bronze panels in bas-relief, depicting with life-like fidelity four memorable incidents of the life of the Apostle.⁷⁰ It is stated that except for the famous Taj Mahal, no other mausoleum in the East can rival that of St. Francis Xavier.

Behind the Se Cathedral, is the Convent of St. Francis of Assisi. It is a museum of paintings, engravings, and statues of saints, martyrs, etc., belonging to the Franciscan Order. The convent was built in 1517.

Convent of St. Cajetan The Convent of St. Cajetan was built by the Theatines Order in 1655. Its external design is Corinthian and the interior is Mosaico-Corinthian. The

⁷⁰Times of India, pp. 64-65.

convent, according to some writers, was patterned after that of St. Peter's Basilica and St. Andrea in Rome. The convent bears a large hemispherical cupola. In addition it has two towers. Finally, there is the glorious monastery of Santa Monica. It was built in 1627. Its interior architecture is of Doric and composite style, while the external combine the Tuscan, Corinthian and Composite. The monastery is known for the education of Goan women. It teaches arts and crafts.

Hindu Temples In the middle of the sixteenth century, the Portuguese in their religious zeal for conversion destroyed many Hindu temples, which were located in Old Goa. Some of the surviving idols were brought to New Conquest, for worship and temples were built to house them.

The Shri Mangesh Temple is situated on the side of a hill. Around it, there are twelve Agrashalas, that is, residential quarters for pilgrims. At the entrance of the temple is a majestic tower. There is also a sacred lake, which during certain festivals, is illuminated with lighted cups. In Mangesh, there are two special trees which bear flowers with a peculiar aroma. These are supposed to be rare specimens.

Shri Mahalsa Temple was erected in 1560. The temple is renowned among other things, for the ceremony of the

"external cycle of life". In the morning, the priest dresses the idol as a child, at noon as a youth, and in the evening as a grown-up, and at night as an old man. The ritual symbolizes, in a poetic simile the evanescence of life. The temple has the biggest meeting place, Sabhamanttap. Shri Mahalsa represents the incarnation of the creative god, Vishnu, of the Hindu Trinity.

The Kavlem or Shanta Durga Temple built in 1567, is a sumptuous temple with a magnificent dome. The temple is dedicated to the goddess, Shanta Durga. Shanta Durga deity is placed between the two deities of the Hindu trinity. The temple is famous for the fine silver lace work and the eye-catching precious designs.

Shri Ramnath Temple is known for its huge amphitheatre which resembles the one at the Golden Temple of Amritsar. In addition, there are a number of other Hindu Temples spread all over the territory of Goa. According to Jambakalakshmi, the architecture of the temples is something unique to Goa. For instance, the Deepastambhia or meeting place, and the Dwajasthamba, which in south India is directly in front of the Main Hall inside the temple, becomes in Goa, a spectacular tower several stories high, on the outer corridor. The domes are

Hindu but Saracen and Doric influences are seen in the supports. The halls are local in the sense that they have tiled or tinned roofs and serve merely the purpose of the congregation with little pretensions to architecture. It is all mostly brick and stucco which weather poorly.⁷¹

Mosques

Some of the fabulous mosques in the world were found in Goa, at one time. Before the coming of the Portuguese, there were in the Ponda district alone, some twenty-seven glittering mosques, the ruins of which are still preserved. They are Jumma-Masjid, Takia and Fort Mosque, Nagjesi Mosque, etc.

Safa Shahouri Masjid, is one of the few mosques, that has survived the ravages of time. This mosque was built in 1560, during the time of Ibrahim Adil Shah. It has a beautiful tank of thirty by forty meters. The walls, even to this day carry along some of the finest specimens of Muslim architecture. In olden days, this mosque boasted of spacious gardens on its western side. There are also ruins indicating the existence of an underground passage of two kilometers,

⁷¹Jambakalakshmi, "Temples of Goa", Times Weekly (Dec. 19, 1971), p. 13.

leading to the hill Mardan Gadha and the Fort.

The other important religious places of Muslims, are Namasgah, built by Prince Akbar; the Adil Shahi Mosque at Surla, which has a splendid tank and reminds one of the grandeur and glory of the Muslim rule in Goa. Finally, there is the Jumma Masjid, at Sanguem, which in its architectural design resembles the Munar Mosque at Bombay.

The importance and significance of these churches, temples and mosques in the life of a country has been very well brought out by Alfred Braganza when he says:

The Churches, Temples and Mosques in Goa are not merely embodiments of the eternal spirit of man in search of the supreme, where the troubled soul meets with solace, but they are monuments of ancient art and architecture to be preserved for the study and delight of archaeologists. Though removed from centuries in which they were built these Mosques, Temples and Churches stand today as an inspiring challenge to secular governments and architects.⁷²

Political Forces

Prior to Portuguese rule over Goa, Goa's administration was based on the system of Gaumponn or Village Republics -- a system of village autonomy. At the head of the village were village representatives or elders, called Gaumcars. At their head was a chief elder, or two, who represented the village

⁷²Braganza, p. 76.

before the government. Each village in addition had a scribe or scribes who were entrusted with the maintenance of village records. The status of the village elder and scribes was hereditary. The administration of the village was vested in an assembly of the elders. Decision in this assembly had to be unanimous and be duly registered by the scribe. The scribe also kept records of landholdings, and tax dues and the village administration had to be run in conformity with his records.⁷³

At the head of the village there was the General Assembly, comprised of representatives from various villages. Here too, there were hereditary village clerks. Decisions to be valid had to be unanimous and duly recorded by the hereditary servant of the village. The chief elder had the privilege to declare in the General Assembly that a resolution was unanimous.⁷⁴

The link between the government and the villages were the thandars, appointed by the government. In the years, 1540-48, the chief thandar was a Brahmin by name Krishna.⁷⁵

⁷³J. Wicki, Documenta Indica (Rome: 1948-64), Vol. VIII, p. 60.

⁷⁴Ibid., p. 391.

⁷⁵A. D'Costa, The Christianization of the Goan Islands (Bombay: by the author, 1965), p. 27.

We hear too, of a certain Gopu whose influence equalled that of Krishna. The Brahmins also served as couriers along the Portuguese-dominated coast line from Mylapure to Diu.⁷⁶

The Administration of Goa under Portuguese

In general, the administrative pattern followed the Portuguese constitution.⁷⁷ The appointment of Governors General and Governors, was the right of the Council of Ministers in Lisbon. In the administrative pattern in Goa, practically all senior posts of executive responsibility including such posts as the chief of Cabinet of the Governor-General's office, the Director of Administration, the officer commanding the troops, the chief of Naval Forces, and the Police Commander, were Europeans from Metropolitan Portugal.

The Governor-General was assisted by a 'council' of thirteen of whom eight were nominated. The function of the council was purely advisory. Since August 1955, a Legislative Council composed of twenty-three members, of whom eleven were

⁷⁶Ibid., Vol. IV, p. 747.

⁷⁷Ministry of External Affairs, Goa and the Charter of the United Nations (New Delhi: Government Printing Press, 1960), p. 11.

elected, five nominated by the Governor-General, and seven by public bodies and associations, were added to the administrative structure.

The Governor-General however, continued to be in charge of the Public Exchequer, proposed laws and decided whether measures proposed by the council should be placed on the agenda for discussion.⁷⁸

It is of interest to note that no bill became law, even though it had been passed by the Legislative Council, and accepted by the Governor-General, unless it was finally approved by the Colonial Minister. The budget was not necessarily passed by the council. It was submitted by the Governor-General, to the Colonial Minister in Lisbon, who was in fact the final authority in all administrative matters. Laws passed by the Portuguese National Assembly, in Lisbon applied automatically to the settlements. Indeed, the degree of legislative interference by the Portuguese Government in Lisbon in the administration of the settlements was the maximum possible and the opinion of the people counted for little.⁷⁹

⁷⁸ Shridhar Telekar, Goa Yesterday and Today (Bombay: by the author, 1962), p. 4.

⁷⁹ Ibid., pp. 4-5.

For administrative purposes, the territory of Goa was divided into eleven districts called concelhos. Each of these districts had an 'administrador do Concelho' except in the military district of Satari, where the administrator was the commandant called 'Commando Militar'. All of them were appointed by the Governor-General, who was also the Governor of Goa.

Each district had a municipal corporation where all the members and the president were elected. The administrator of each Concelho exercised close supervision over these bodies to see that they did not transgress the narrow bounds of law allowed them. Governor-General could at any time, dissolve these bodies and appoint a commission to look after the municipal affairs.

Below the district administrators were village officials called 'regedores'. Each village had a 'regedor' who was appointed by a village council consisting of three elected members.

The financial administration was under the direct control and superintendence of the Overseas Ministry in Portugal. The Judiciary had no independence and was completely dependent on the executive authority. No action of the government could be challenged in the court of law. The Chief Justice of Goa once declared: "the function of the Judiciary is to

administer justice with regard to its loyalty to Portugal". It would then be observed that administration on democratic lines had not been introduced even at the municipal level. All the committees were nominated by the Governor-General, even those in charge of civic matters. In short, the entire administrative structure of Goa was colonial, with no semblance of self-government.

All political parties were banned, except the Union National, the ruling party. The Government ruled the territory with an iron hand. There was one soldier or policeman for every 40 citizens. A military tax, unheard of in this part of the globe, was levied in lieu of compulsory military service.

Under Dr. Salazar's dictatorship in 1926, there was no freedom of any kind in Goa. The press in the 'overseas provinces' was equally regulated. The political constitution provides for pre-censorship. In respect of newspapers in the colonies, a monetary guarantee acts as a deterrent against the misbehavior of the editor or publisher or even a correspondent. In case an adverse comment escaped the notice of the Government censor the newspaper was not exonerated from the criminal responsibility incurred. Thus, neither individual nor collective liberty existed in the settlements.

Furthermore, 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. Public meetings even for social purposes could be convened with the permission of the authorities. Speeches, had to be approved by the official censor, and a breach of these restrictions entailed heavy penalties including long terms of imprisonment and deportation.⁸⁰

Conclusion

The expose on the socio-economic and political forces provide us with a veritable insight into the socio-economic environ of the Goan society and the manner in which it underwent a structural change at various points in the history of Portuguese colonialism.

We have observed thus far, that, at the time of the Portuguese invasion of Goa, Goan society as such, was conditioned by the Caste system and its socio-economic arm, the Village Community System. In the prevailing social system,

⁸⁰R. P. Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa: 1510-1961 (New York: Asia Publishing House, 1963), pp. 48-49.

the king along with the noblemen were vested with absolute sovereignty. Though in theory, the king was the absolute monarch, there were in Goa, a number of wealthy and powerful noblemen, whose power the king had to recognize and respect. The king and the noblemen, belonged to the Kshatriya Caste, or the ruling caste. Next to the ruling caste, came the Brahmins, who were the servants of the King and noblemen. Some of the Brahmins called the Botts, were treated with respect, since they performed the religious rites. The Sudra Caste provided the manual labor. However, the Caste of Sudra had very little say in the social and political affairs of the community.

The Portuguese came in 1510, and with their arrival we witnessed the end of the Kshatriya rule. The Portuguese usurped the political power which was constantly challenged by Kshatriya kings and noblemen. Brahmins on the other hand were quick to align with the foreign power for which they were handsomely rewarded. The result was a change in the upper structure of the society in which the Brahmins became socially influential and politically powerful, though subservient to their Portuguese masters. Kshatriya, as a caste, was oppressed and discriminated against for important

jobs and positions. Their lands were either heavily taxed or confiscated. Many of them were reduced to mere peasants.

The next point of change occurred, when Christianity became the state religion, and was forcibly imposed on the Hindus of Goa. Hindus who resisted conversion to Christianity were subjected to persecution, and many of them emigrated to the neighboring territories of the then British India. As a result of this development, Hindu Brahmins in particular lost their position of power and influence, and Hindus in general began to be treated as second class citizens. Those of the Brahmins who converted to Christianity, continued to enjoy the power and prestige of office. Portuguese attitude towards Catholic Kshatriyas however, underwent a change. Although they were not politically favored by the Portuguese, they were allowed opportunities to cultivate themselves socially and intellectually. The result was the rise of the liberal movement under the leadership of Catholic Kshatriyas, or Chardos which later transformed itself into a Nationalist Movement under the leadership of Dr. Juliao Menezes and Dr. T. B. Cunha. The last point of social change occurred after the liberation of Goa, when casteism became an offense, and untouchability in any form, a crime, punishable in the courts

of law. This is what the law provides, but in practice, caste still remains a dominant factor in Goan life.

CHAPTER II

INFORMAL EDUCATION IN GOA

This chapter will examine some of the important cultural aspects of the Goan community. The major cultural elements to be examined are: (a) The Konkani Language, (b) Goan Folklore, (c) and Goan Drama.

It may be considered inappropriate to discuss the subject of language in a chapter entitled informal education. However, history and circumstance have both conspired to reduce the Konkani language, the mother-tongue of the Goan people, to a state of informality. If Konkani survives today, the credit goes not to the educated Goan elite, but to the humbler classes of Goa on whose lips the language remained current and gained strength and vitality. The historical forces that attempted to destroy the Konkani language will be examined and discussed at length, in Chapter VI.

Konkani as a language belongs to a group of Indo-Aryan languages which owe their derivation to Sanskrit. This fact can be ascertained by examining some common words in that language and comparing it with corresponding words in

Marathi and Sanskrit.¹ For example:

Konkani	Marathi	Sanskrit	English
don	don	dvi	two
main	mai	matra	mother
pai	pai	pad	foot
naum	naum	nam	name
gai	gai	gai	cow
has	hansi	hansi	goose
vair	var	var	over

The examination of these words reveals their striking resemblance to each other. The lexicon, phonetics, morphology and syntaxes of the Konkani language indicate clearly that it is a Sanskritic language. There are some scholars who claim that Konkani is closer to the parent language than any of the other Indian languages. A very high percentage of Sanskrit words are used in everyday Konkani vocabulary, like Chotrai attention, Vedi or Peddy altar, Vidya knowledge, etc. Moreover, whenever possible the use of is for linking the subject and predicate is avoided as is done in the Sanskrit language.² Both Konkani and Marathi have their roots in

¹Jerome A. Saldanha, Origin and Growth of Konkani or Goan Communities and Language (Bombay: The Anglo-Lusitano Press, 1938), pp. 97-99.

²A. N. Pereira, "The Konkani Language", Bulletin Institute Menezes Braganza 96 (1971), p. 191.

Sanskrit and are classified among the Aryan family of languages.

There are two ways of classifying languages, the genetical or genealogical and the morphological. By means of the genetical classification, the languages are traced to one single ancestor, and are then grouped into different families where each language is given its proper place in the genealogy of families. This classification is based on resemblance of roots, especially of those roots of words which are least susceptible of alteration.

It should be pointed out that the resemblance among roots in the Aryan family of languages, do not always resemble each other. For example, we have don in Konkani, duo in Latin, two in English, zwei in German. This derivation in sounds in words derived from the same roots can be explained by reference to Grimm's law. According to this law, it is a permutation or rotation of consonants that shift in the following order: first, the mutes in Konkani, Sanskrit, Latin and Greek correspond to sonants in high German and to aspirates in low German and English. For example, Pai in Konkani, Pes in Latin, Vuoz in high German, and foot in English; secondly, the sonants in Konkani, Sanskrit, correspond to aspirates in high German and

mutates in English. For example, Gai in Konkani, cow in English and thirdly, aspirates in Konkani and Sanskrit correspond to mutates in high German and sonants in English. For example, has in Konkani, goose in English.³

Konkani closely resembles Marathi since both of these languages are derived from a common Prakrit called Maharashtra. G. A. Grierson in his Linguistic Survey of India, comments on the marked resemblance of Konkani and Marathi languages in the following terms:

They are both derived from the same Prakrit and are both dialects of the same form of speech. The reason for our calling this language Marathi, and not Konkani, is that the national literature is written in a language which is mainly derived from the northern dialects of Puna and Satara (both the places are located in the state of Maharashtra) and not from those spoken in the Konkani.⁴

The close resemblance of Marathi to Konkani has given rise to a linguistic controversy. Certain linguists claim that Konkani is the dialect of Marathi. These authorities state that Marathi is the Goan literary language and that Konkani is the spoken dialect. However, this contention is

³Saldanha, pp. 99-100.

⁴G. A. Grierson, Linguistic Survey of India (Calcutta: University Press, 1905), p. 164.

refuted by historians and other linguists who contend that Konkani is an independent language and not a dialect of Marathi. The philologist, Dr. S. M. Katre, in his book, The Formation of Konkani, states:

It would thus appear that since its very birth Konkani became the mother-tongue of a number of communities. The fact that about a million and half people speak it today in opposition to almost seventeen million speakers of Marathi will indicate that Konkani must have enjoyed considerable popularity as a language from the earliest of times.⁵

Dr. B. A. Saletore, also an eminent philologist, found from copper and stone inscriptions and from ancient literature and writings, that the Konkani region was a unit by itself during the first century B.C. Saletore states:

If as has been shown above, Konkani existed as a separate unit in the early centuries A.D., it follows that it must have had a language of its own, since nowhere either in the available records of western India or in the writings of foreigners who came to this province, was Konkani ever confounded with Kannada or with any other language of the country.⁶

Professor P. Pissolikar, the eminent Goan researcher,

⁵ Cited in Sarto Esteves, Goa and its Future (Bombay: Manaktalas Press, 1966), p. 24.

⁶ B. A. Saletore, The Konkani Controversy, Speech delivered at Seventh All-India Konkani Conference, Karwar, Mysore, 1960.

has discovered references, to Konkani language in Suma Oriental, a book by Tome Pires written as early as 1514.⁷ Furthermore, a close examination of the Konkani language in terms of its vocabulary, phonetics, morphology and syntax, also establishes the claim that Konkani is an independent language.

Analysis of the Konkani vocabulary shows, that many Konkani words are not to be found in Marathi. S. M. Khatre offers the following comment on the Konkani vocabulary:

In its vocabulary, Konkani today shows a large number of vocables preserved in Old Marathi but for which modern Marathi has coined other expressions. This topic has been dealt with a number of times by various scholars. Reference may be made in this connection to the short list given by Dr. Chavan in his work. He also notices there in a number of Konkani vocables which he finds only in Gujarati and not in Marathi. Now the geographical location of Konkani does not justify the inclusion of such of these Gujarati vocables as have not come to it through Marathi, unless we posit their infiltration in Konkani at an earlier period, and their preservation subsequently in it, without being replaced by the cognate Marathi vocables. There are a number of Old Gujarati vocables preserved in Konkani but not in modern Gujarati.⁸

Dr. Pereira provides a list of Konkani words to show that there are some words in Konkani which neither bear

⁷A. Braganza, The Discovery of Goa (Bombay: Brooks Publishing, 1964), p. 29.

⁸S. M. Khatre, The Formation of Konkani (Poona: Deccan College Post-Graduate and Research Institute, 1966), pp. 145-150.

resemblance to Marathi nor convey the same idea. This list provides the following examples:

English	Sanskrit	Prakrit	Konkani	Marathi
water	udak	udak	udak	panni
son	chetta	chela	cholo	
	putr	puttaka	put	mulga
tree	vrikna	rukho	ruk	jhadd
toddy	sur	sur	sur	toddi
grass	trinna	tanna	tan	gavat
fire	vidut	vijju	uzo	vistu
bride			hokol	navari
resentment			xinn	rusva
where	kya		khoim	kutthem
in	abhyantar		bhitor	ant
tomorrow			phalyam	udyan

The phonetics of the Konkani language also differs substantially from that of the Marathi. Khatre has dealt in detail with this aspect of the language in his book, The Formation of Konkani.⁹ According to Khatre, the phonology of the language resembles that of many of the Indo-Aryan languages of the south-western group.

In examining the process of phonetic decay, Saldanha states that this process is sometimes observable in case of vowels under certain combinations. He compared Konkani with some other Aryan languages in India. For example, words beginning with ká in Konkani change into ka in Marathi.

⁹Khatre, pp. 1-150.

Similarly, the syllable vo in Konkani changes into o or ho in Marathi; also nouns ending in o in Konkani and in a in Marathi.¹⁰

Delgado, Khatre, Xenoy Goybab, Maffei provide similar observations in their works. For example, they point out the open e in Konkani, as in per or de-aspirating tendency which is typical of Konkani as in hun, warm.¹¹

The examination of the morphology of the Konkani language further reinforces the contention that it is an independent language. In this connection, Khatre has observed:

Taking into account all the main features of Konkani, we may now definitely assign it to the south-western group (having Marathi and Gujerati as its nearest of kin) with a tinge of the central group - Hindi, especially in the dative ka. The differentiation noted in the formation of the direct singular of masculine nouns in their extended form and the divergent post positions for the dative clearly mark off Konkani as a separate language from Marathi, reserving in many respects an earlier stage of development. Its position as a separate language, is thereby proved but phonological considerations show that both belong to a common parent, Prakrit.¹²

¹⁰ Saldanha, pp. 104-105.

¹¹ N. Pereira, pp. 198-199.

¹² Khatre, p. 152.

Some foreign missionaries and writers had often confused Konkani with Marathi in their writings. It is likely that these foreigners based their conclusions on the phonological resemblance of these languages rather than on their morphology. Since many of these foreign scholars had not studied either Sanskrit or other western Indian languages, they lacked the linguistic sophistication to draw any firm conclusions. A few examples from Khatre's research will illuminate the fallacy of this controversy. For example, the ending of dative case in Marathi is la, while in Konkani it is ka; thus in Marathi we have tu-la while in Konkani it is tu-ka. The nominative case also differs in both Marathi and Konkani. For example, the first person in Konkani is hanv and the instrumental case is hanven, while in Marathi it is mi and miya respectively. Also, the causative suffix oya as in pivoyata to make one drink, Khavoyata, to feed, differs not only from Marathi, but from all other Indo-Aryan languages. Furthermore, the formation of accusative case in Konkani differs in many ways from Marathi. For example, Tuttne, break, toddne breaking, in Marathi correspond to thuntt'ta and thunttoita in Konkani.

The syntax of the Konkani language resembles that of the Indo-Aryan language. The word order of the sentence being

subject - compliment - adverb - verb. However, Konkani sentences are considered to be more cohesive, concise and ellyptic by some scholars.

J. A. Saldanha, states that among the languages of western India, namely, Marathi, Gujerati, and Hindustani, which are closely allied to each other in varying degrees of affinity the Marathi language claims the closest relationship with Konkani in terms of its grammer and lexicon, so much so, that they can be referred to, as twin sisters.¹³ The following table will substantiate this statement.

Konkani	Marathi	Gujerati	Hindustani	
undir	undir	undar	chiva	(rat)
mazar	mazar	biladi	billi	(cat)
kombi	kombadi	margi	murgi	(hen)
tambdo	tambda	lal	lal	(red)
lahn	lahn	nanun	chota	(small)
aik	aik	sambal	sunno	(listen)
gelo	gela	gayo	gaya	(went)

Konkani on the other hand also discloses some striking peculiarities as is indicated by the following:

Konkani	Sanskrit	Marathi	Gujerati	
Avun	aham	mi	hun	(I)
asan	asen	aston	chun	(am)
maka	mahyan	mala	mane	(I)

¹³Saldanha, pp. 126-127.

Konkani	Sanskrit	Marathi	Gujerati	
udak	udak	pani	pani	(water)
khain	kva	khute	khyan	(where)
anga	iha	yethen	hyan	(here)
dovor	dhor	tev	darva	(keep)
apai	avha	bulaw	bolav	(call)

There are in fact hundreds of other words in Konkani which are not shared by Marathi. The striking features of Konkani which we have observed from the examination of the above words, have been borrowed, either directly from the mother language Sanskrit, or Prakrit, or from sources other than any known variety of Marathi. The only inference one can draw from these facts is that both Konkani and Marathi have grown side by side from the same stem. Konkani cannot be considered for these reasons to be a dialect of Marathi.

Referring to Konkani, Dr. Wilson writes:

By this designation is not meant the very slight dialectic difference which exists between the language (Marathi) of the British Deccan and the corresponding country running between the slopes of the ghats and the Indian ocean, forming the British Konkani but the language of the country commencing with the Goa territory and extending considerably to the south of Karwar and even Honawar. The speech of this district differs from Marathi as much as Gujerati differs from Marathi. It is manifestly in the main formed on the bases of Sanskrit.¹⁴

¹⁴ Ibid., pp. 129-130.

The Konkani language has a number of words which appear to be the corruption of Marathi; but really on close examination these corruptions are independent of Marathi, and are from original roots common to both. As stated earlier, both these languages have evolved from Sanskrit or Prakrit spoken in south-western India.

In regards to the Konkani grammar, evidence of such a grammar dates from around 1563.¹⁵ A Jesuit lay-brother, by the name of Prikryl is credited to have given the Old Standard Konkani its first grammatical definition. All this literary activity took place in the seminary of St. Paul. Here again, in 1668, Henriques produced a Konkani Grammar. The Jesuit, Thomas Stephenson (1549-1619) definitively fixed the Old Standard Konkani in his grammar which was published in 1664 and which was later revised by his pupil Diogo Ribeiro (1560-1633) and four other Jesuit priests.¹⁶

Professor Jose Pereira also published a Grammar or Syntaxis Copiosissima da Lingoa Braman e Pollida, which dates from 1635. He undertook this work to aid in developing

¹⁵ Jose Pereira, Karel Prikryl's Konkani Grammar (Benares: Archivo Orientalini, 1968), Vol. 36, p. 627.

¹⁶ Ibid., p. 628.

the modern Standard Konkani.¹⁷ Pereira comments on Gasper's Konkani Grammar:

The language whose syntax Gasper codified can be considered to be thoroughly "pure" and "integral". Konkani which became so sadly adulterated and impoverished in the centuries that followed. Gasper is careful to keep the idiom racy and "elegant" or "polished". In one instance he makes reference to a Marathison, and in another, remarks on the lusitanization of a certain construction.¹⁸

A close examination of Gasper's Konkani Grammar suggests that he may have been familiar with Fr. Stephen's Grammar, since he repeats many of its examples. He also refers twice in his Syntaxis to grammatical works but does not identify the author or the works.

In Konkani literature, mention may be made of the first major literary text, the collection of tales from the Mahabharata and Ramayana. This work, written in the spoken language of the Konkani upper classes in the sixteenth century, was codified around 1563 by the Grammarian of St. Paul's, a Goan lay brother of Collegio de Sao Paulo in Old Goa.¹⁹

¹⁷ Jose Pereira, "Syntaxis Copiosissima da Lingoa Braman e Pollida", Journal of the University of Bombay, 36 (Sept. 1967), pp. 1-155.

¹⁸ Ibid., p. 17

¹⁹ Ibid., p. 3.

Thereafter, a number of books were written in Konkani especially by the Jesuit priests. The work of the Jesuits, however, in the main covered the grammar and vocabulary of Konkani. Equal in excellence to this linguistic achievement, were the literary qualities of contemporary Konkani writing which we have already discussed in Chapter VI dealing with Konkani schools. One of the authors of this period, Ignazio Arcamone (1615-1638), is reported to have translated a part of the Bible into Konkani in his Sagalle Varussanche Vangel, the first of its kind to be ever written in an Indian language. Antonio de Saldanha, Miguel de Almeida and Gasper de S. Miguel, produced original works in Konkani of great literary quality. Miguel de Almeida, one of the most original of the writers of Old Standard Konkani, wrote Onvalleancho Mallo, or A Pastoral Garden, which is considered a masterpiece. Professor Jose Pereira has commented on the growth and development of Konkani during the sixteenth and seventeenth century in the following terms:

Thus through the efforts of all these men, Konkani came to acquire a grammatical formulation superior to that of any contemporary Indo-Aryan tongue. It was also given a Standard language of prose earlier than were most of the other - whose expression long remained mainly 'poetical'. It is thus a paradox that one of India's best song languages, and one essentially prone to lyric expression, came to have a high poetry only after it had been

endowed with a sophisticated prose.²⁰

In the seventeenth and eighteenth century, the Konkani language was subjected to persecution. Nevertheless, the Goans clung to their native tongue as never before. As a result, a considerable volume of literature was written throughout the centuries. In this connection, the work of Ravindra Kalekar is most impressive. It consists of some four hundred publications. In addition, twenty-seven Konkani Grammars and some twenty nine Konkani dictionaries are extant today.

The study of the Konkani language would not be complete without a brief examination of the Konkani proverbs that were current among the Goan people. There are historical, legendary, mythological or religious allusions in Goan proverbs. They recount the story of Goan life, its vicissitudes, trials and tribulations, oppression under foreign domination, and their achievements.²¹ Some of these proverbs provide an insight into the sentiments held by the Goan people in the past. For example, the proverbs, "Te firngi gele, te undde kabar zale" literally means that with the passage of Portuguese rule will

²⁰ Ibid., p. 5.

²¹ Braganza, pp. 33-40.

also pass away their loaves of bread. Again, the proverb, "Gelolom sermauche axen, pun to zalo firngi baxen", conveys the idea of being brainwashed. This proverb refers to a person who on hearing a sermon becomes like a Portuguese.

Goan proverbs cover almost every aspect of Goan life including superstitions, eternal themes like nature, seasons, family, love, women, God, customs, traditions, morals, virtues and vices. "Sottin borobilelem konn kaddit", conveys a superstitious belief of the Goan people in destiny. What was written at time of birth must come true. Goan proverbs are capable of conveying almost any idea or thought. For example, the proverb "Vompta toxem lunvta" means "as you sow you shall reap". Other variations conveying the same idea are "Rand'ta toxem jevchem", "Korta toxem bogchem", which means that "each one is punished or rewarded according to one's acts". Again, the proverb, "Fatrac fator metta" conveys the idea, that "birds of a feather flock together". Another proverb that conveys the same meaning is "Apunn zosso pelo toso", "as one is, so are others".

Goans are known to have so many proverbs, sometimes to convey just one idea; take for example, the idea --"In Rome do as the Romans do", is expressed through the following Goan proverbs. "Tempa pormonnem matya karbannem; Vazta toso nachta;

Ticho konddo varyanhalta; Varya pormonnem utor; Gumttan kumpas dhorunc zai; Yeta to vogot gheuncho; Vellar vell xigmyor khell".

There are other similar proverbs like, "Anturnn pormonnem paem soddche", "cut your coat according to your cloth".

Goan marriages were by and large arranged by the parents.

Dowry is an important ingredient of the Goan marriage, and often a broker is employed to arrange marriages, and to negotiate the amount that is to be paid as dowry. This marriage arrangement

has given rise to a number of proverbs. We shall mention a few.

"Kazara adim ek cheddum zodd, kazar zatoch tem godd" -- "before marriage a daughter is a problem, after marriage she is sweet",

"vaddlelem cheddum moddleila ghorak" -- "a grown-up daughter is for a broken home". A number of homes have been broken

because of the payment of dowry to the husband which is often

borrowed at high interest rate. Another proverb that goes as

"Soirik korunk bara zotem zorouk zai" -- for matchmaking, you

need to wear out dozen pairs of slippers". This should indicate

how difficult it is to arrange a match. The matchmaker obviously

has to cover a lot of ground before he succeeds in making a match.

The proverb don't put your cart before the horse is expressed

in Konkani in the following proverbs, "Xit fuddem mit khata"

or, "don't eat salt before rice", "Mendro marche adim, chambddem

vikta", -- "do not sell the hide before you kill the lamb".

"Festa fuddem sandnnam khelim", -- "don't eat the sweets before the festival".

Goans also have proverbs to express pleasure and love.

On the pleasures of being alone and free, we have the proverb,

"Ek jiv sodan shiv" -- "one life is always free. On love,

"mog assa thum xinn assa", "where there is love, there is anger".

Also the proverb, "love, like faith can move mountains", is

expressed as "Mog aslear, uhn vodde gantta pavat", literally

it means, "if there is love, then hot bread could reach the

jungles". There are Goan proverbs for every occasion and to

describe every situation. On acquired necessities we have,

"assa pangrunk khata xim" -- "it is only when you have warm

clothes, that one feels cold". "To throw dust in the eyes of

others" -- tonddah fulam mallunk"; on friendship, "chodd oddta

thum tutt'ta" -- "too close a friendship is demanding". On

gratitude, "Kam zalem voiz melo", which means "forget the doctor

once the work is done".

These are some of the specimens of the Goan proverbs.

In fact Goan vocabulary is full of proverbs. They are used

in different forms for different occasions, sometimes, they

are used in a paradox, often they are indecent or coarse, and

at times the proverbs are used in an interrogative mood often to disarm even a sophisticated erudite opponent with its devastating effect or to stress a particular point. The richness of the Konkani vocabulary especially in its power of expression leaves no doubt about the fact, that Konkani is indeed an independent language.

The strength and vitality of the Konkani language as a vehicle of expression is evidenced from its poetry which is second to none, both in terms of its structure and literary quality. A number of Goan poets, both Hindus and Catholics have published poetry which is widely read and appreciated. However the three most distinguished contemporary poets are Bakibab Borker, Pundit and Manohar Sardesai. Bakibab Borkar, whom we had referred to earlier as the Keats of Marathi Poetry, wrote his original works in Konkani. Poet Pundit is also well known in Goan literary circles. His poetry which is nurtured in the Goan soil is widely read and appreciated. Manohar Sardesai whose poems are examined in this section of the study, is a prolific writer. He writes his poetry in three languages: French, English and Konkani. However, his poems are originally written in Konkani and contain themes and imagery that are truly Goan. Professor Armando Menezes comments on Sardesai's poetry:

The Poetry of Manohar Sardesai goes straight to the heart of the people, what is more, it goes straight to the heart of any Goan, however sophisticated and denationalized, who has just enough Konkani to follow its meaning.²²

In this study, we have chosen the collection of Manohar Sardesai's poems entitled Zaio Zuio, A String of Thoughts, for two reasons. Firstly, these poems are written in the style of Rabindranath Tagore's poetry, and secondly because they have been evaluated by Goa's foremost critic, Professor Armando Menezes. Armando Menezes classifies Sardesai's poetry into three major categories. The first category deals with the subject "Poetry of Poetry", in which the author engages himself in the simple joy of the language and delights himself in putting words in poetic form. Here is an example of this kind of poetry.

Sukneea-pilak mhollem rukhan:
 "Ailam tufan
 Pallam-mullam na tuka!"
 Sukneea-pilan mhollem; Rukha!
 Moddavor vochunk mhaka
 Asat pankham".²³

²² Armando Menezes, "Apropos of the Poetry of Manohar Sardesai", Bulletin Institute Menezes Braganza, # 96, (1971) pp. 247-248.

²³ Ibid., pp. 248-260.

The tree said to the little bird:
 "The storm has come,
 You have no roots to hold by!"
 The little bird said: "O tree!
 I have to take me above the storm,
 My wings!"

Here is another example where the poet actually plays
 with words:

Hanv utrancho doni
 Utrancho chor
 Utrancho chorov khaupi
 Utrancho mor

I am a lord of words
 A thief of words
 I graze upon words
 I am a peacock of words.

The second category of Sardesai's poetry deals with
 love. Here are two poems expressing the theme of love. The
 first is a poem that expresses despair in love:

Divlentlem kirn zaun
 Tujea dolleant khellchem
 Tujea angar lollchem
 Mennvatticheo mudio zaun
 Koddot, koddot roddchen

I must play in your eyes
 As the ray of the lamp
 I must roll over your body
 As the rings of a joss-stick
 I must be the sorrow of a candle
 And melt away as I weep.

In order to appreciate this poem, one has to be a
 Konkani-speaking Goan. The poem loses much of its depth and

beauty in translation.

Onthachea Ximpiamnim
Tujim dukam pilom
Uloilom tajim
Motiam zalim.

With the shells of my lips
I drank your tears
And what I said to you
Was turned to pearls

The third category of Sardesai's poetry deals with the ideas of thought itself. Here are some of his poems expressing "thought" as such:

San vengent
Anvllum koxi
Sounsarachi sundorai?
Mollabaiede hat zai
Nennte motin
Somzum koxi
Vixvachi nodor zai

How could I clasp with my tiny embrace
The beauty of the world?
I must have arms as wide as the sky
How could I understand
With my ignorant mind
The loveliness of the world?
I must have the eyes of the sun!

Here in this poem the poet dwells on human folly:

Fantoddek fatt korun
Sounsaracher savli ghali
Hanvech mhojea jivitachi
Rat keli.

To dawn I turned my back
And cast my shadow on the earth:
My own life I turned
To night.

These are but a few examples of Konkani poetry but significant enough for the reader to realize and understand the importance of the Konkani language, to the Goan people, as a medium of expressing their profound and innermost and sometimes, even their remotest thoughts, and what is more, it has been shown both in prose and poetry that Konkani language remains a living vehicle of communication and expression.

Having examined the Konkani language, its idiom and its poetry, the next step would be to examine the realm of Goan folk song which embodies in itself the social and cultural history of Goa preserved from times immemorial.

The folk song tradition of Goa provides a veritable treasure trove of knowledge of Goan life as sustained through the ages. There is not a single facet of Goan life that has not found expression in song, dance and music. Indeed, the Goans are a musical people with a folksong tradition that dates back to antiquity. It is through the medium of folksong alone that one gets a glimpse into Goa's rich and humid past; a past that has progressively absorbed and preserved through the

centuries; many a cultural imprint, brought in, and left behind, to germinate on the native soil.

In tracing the evolution of folksong tradition in Goa we come across four historical facts, each of which merits close examination. Firstly, the existence of an old, indigenous folksong tradition. The songs composed during this period are unmistakably Goan, both in originality and in poetic flavor. Secondly, the existence of the non-indigenous folksong tradition. This tradition was brought into Goa by the invading political forces, namely, from the now-neighboring Indian states of Mysore and Maharashtra and from far-off European Portugal. Thirdly, the existence of schools of classical music dealing with the times, the most influential and dominant schools being the Karnatak (Mysore) and the Hindustani. And fourthly, the facts dealing with literary output. In the area of literary development, three influences can be easily discerned: the Karnatak, the Marathi, and the Latin influence. The Kanada literature of Goa dates back to the pre-Portuguese period and there is hardly any collection of this literature left for posterity. There is, however, a large collection of Marathi literature developed in Goa which dates back to the 16th century, when the Jesuits began to write religious books in Marathi.

Parallel with this development of the Marathi literature in Goa was the revival of the Konkani literary movement. Once again, it was the Jesuit priests who pioneered this movement. The period witnessed the publication of a number of religious books in the Konkani language written in the Roman script. Professor Jose Pereira comments on this development:

In the last period, in which the canons of Marathi literature are superseded by those of Latin liturgical poetry, and Portuguese sacred oratory, we see a Konkani literature emerging, distinctive in form, imagery and aesthetic approach from the Kanada and Marathi literature and literary achievement, and there is very little to learn from either. The highest expression of this literature is the classical Goan song or the Goan Art song in which poetry makes use of music to supplement its own expression.²⁴

According to Professor Jose Pereira, the evolution of the Goan folk song consists of: (a) the development of indigenous forms of folk music without any classical influence, and at times under the influence of non-indigenous folksong tradition. (b) the progressive classicization of folk song forms by the prevailing classical style resulting in an indigenous tradition and (c) the evolution of music with measured rhythmic patterns out of music that is free moving or not definitely measured rhythms.²⁵

²⁴ Jose Pereira, "Folk Songs of Goa", Illustrated Weekly of India, (Feb. 18, 1962), p. 62.

²⁵ Ibid.

According to Professor Lucio Rodrigues, one of the leading authorities of the Goan folk songs, the folk chants provide the bases for the evolution of the Goan folk song tradition.²⁶ The Goan chants are the oldest form of folk songs and date back to pre-Portuguese period. Their numbers defy classification, however, the most significant ones fall into four categories: (a) the story chants; (b) the funeral chants; (c) the cradle songs and the lullabyes; (d) the occupational chants; and the nuptial chants.

The story chants of Goa are similar to those prevalent in the other regions of India, especially in the style of story telling. In the stories with a chant, both the motive and the text of the dialogue of the various characters involved as chanted by the narrator, are all fixed. These songs are stated to possess the common traits of Goan folk songs and also have Goan temperament and genius - a tragic melancholy with gentleness and irony.

The funeral chants are possibly older than the story chants, because they answer to our need other than those served by the story chants. The tragic qualities and temperament of

²⁶Panjim Goa, Personal Interview with Professor Lucio Rodrigues, August 9, 1972.

the Goan genius are given uninhibited expression in the funeral chants. In these chants only the trend of the melody is fixed. The variations are embellishments being left open to the mourner.

In addition, to story and funeral chants, there are the cradle songs and lullabies which are also classified as chants. They are also called in Konkani as Painno, cradle or Haloio, rock. These chants are fine expressions of lilting tunes. The best of these chants are "Painnem Halouk" or "Rock the Cradles", and "Dol re baba dol", or "Rock my baby rock". Very closely aligned to the lullabies are the marriage or nuptial chants sung by the lower class Goans. There are songs composed for every occasion or at every stage of the marriage celebration. At the time of sending presents from the brides home to the bridegroom, and vice versa, rice is sent along with the presents. Rice, according to the Goan tradition symbolizes fertility. Thus we have the nuptial chant, "Hea ancheam tandvank bensanv dita", I bless this rice. This is followed by yet another symbolic gesture, the bathing ceremony in which the bride and the bridegroom, at their respective houses are bathed in coconut milk, by their friends. A song accompanies the ceremony.

Apu-apu rosu
 Kadi ailo khateak,
 Ghansun, ghansun lai mateak,
 Nourea, nourea bab gai amcho.

Please bring the juice
 The coir sponge has become black
 Rub, rub the head
 Bridegroom, is our bridegroom.

Whilst referring to the bride, the last line is substituted by these lines:

Loklokit gai motianchi
 Okol bai go amchi.²⁷

Luscious queen of jewels
 It is our beloved bride.

There are a number of other nuptial chants that are sung before the marriage, at the time the bride wears bangles or Chuddo; at the time when the relatives of the bride visit the bridegroom and vice versa; whilst cooking on the wedding day, whilst receiving blessings from the parents before proceeding to church or temple, whilst going for the nuptials and finally while the bridal couple enters the reception hall. The occupational chants are full of simplicity conveying deep meaning. These chants or songs are usually sung by the rustic

²⁷ Braganza, p. 43.

peasants of Goa. The most popular among them, are the reapers song and those of the harvesters when threshing. Here is an example of a reaper's song taken from an old mythological chant:

Patuantuleam romanim
 Mujia babacho, Mujia doimacho
 Talar gumer velai ge tume
 Untti borunnun?²⁸

Oh! fairies of the underworld
 Have you stolen the toys of my darling baby?
 Have you hidden in the folds of your garments,
 The play things of my little one?

Equally significant is the song of a harvest thresher which goes like this:

Suria ostomtek poddolo
 Tuim chondrim modbar chodolo
 Pekachi bharan re bab
 Khuim tumchem gharan dev rigola.²⁹

After the sunset, my love
 Rises the full moon
 And with rising tide of the harvest
 God himself enters our home.

And finally, we have the song sung by the milkmaids of Goa:

²⁸Antsher Lobo, "The Goan Heritage of Music", Illustrated Weekly of India, (February 18, 1962), p. 54.

²⁹Ibid., pp. 250-260.

Oh! dudvalim, Oh! Gauntavelim
 Pauttik anttoni ek moddkem
 Paise thodde mi lethaim
 Dek, mapon dithem
 Lonni mogren sarken.³⁰

Milk maids are we
 From the ghats we come
 To the plains to sell
 White as the mogra flower
 Look how pure and fresh the butter
 We weigh and sell.

The next stage in the evolution of the Goan folk song came with the Christian Missionaries, when devotional christian folk chants began to be composed. Professor Lucio Rodrigues in his Collection of Catechetical Chants makes the following observation on the Goan folk chants:

The rhythm of many of these chants is free, but measured music must have been practiced alongside with them since many of the stories and nuptial chants have fixed rhythms. The freedom of composition have something that we can only describe as the aroma of antiquity and are probably older than the measured rhythm ones. Into this a measured base must have been introduced almost unnoticeably. One sees the Kunbi influence working its way through the more developed varieties of Goan songs into the Mando itself.³¹

It may be observed that the Kunbi songs also played

³⁰ Ibid.

³¹ Rodrigues, Interview.

a significant part in the evolution of the Goan folk song tradition. However, of more significance were the songs of the Sudras and Brahmins especially the Dulpod and Fells.

Kunbi Songs

The Kunbis are a tribal people of Goa who are said to be the aboriginals of the region. Their songs emphasize that they are the original cultivators of Goa and that all the land in Goa had at one time belonged to them. The batcar, landlord, took away the land from them and reduced them to mere tenants. Hence every Kunbi song in a sense is a revolutionary song since it depicts the life of the Kunbi tribe and expresses their resentment towards the landlords who took away their land.³² However, not all their songs are revolutionary in character. For poetry is so much a part of the Kunbi that it could be seen in their daily life. Among the Kunbis of Goa, there is a marriage custom which requires the prospective bridegroom's parents to approach the girl's family for the hand of their daughter in marriage to their son. This ceremony is called Magni Ghalop. The way this is actually carried out shows the poetic nature of the Kunbis of Goa. The boy's father tells the

³²Lucio Rodrigues, Interview.

girl's family of his intentions to have their daughter in marriage to their son.

Tumchea gavant ek ful fullolam
Tacho pormal amchea gavant aila!
Vas gheunc hanga ailam,
Tea fullachi magni ghalcheak.³³

In your village a flower has bloomed
It's fragrance has reached our village!
I have come here to inhale its fragrance,
And to request for the flower.

Dulpods are mostly a brief and ellyptic description of life in Goa mainly that of the Christian districts. Dulpods follow one another in an unrelated and meaningless sequence. They are generally related to each other on the bases of rhythm and identity of melody alone. The individuality of this situation is vague and blurred and before we are fully aware of them we are confronted with a fresh outburst of ideas. The tumultuous imagery also speak in flashes of an ephemeral joy which is always inescapably haunted by the ubiquitous spector of melancholy.³⁴ The text of some of these dulpods may range from a biting satire to a fighting war.³⁵

³³Ramdas Prabhu, "Shree Dhalo", Diplakshimi Magazine (May 1964), pp. 8-9.

³⁴Jose Pereira, Goan Folk Song, p. 62.

³⁵Antsher Lobo, p. 54.

Farar far zatai ranantum
 Paklem matai raneku
 Ranem matai paklemku

Continuous gun fire is heard from a jungle afar,
 The Portuguese kill the Ranas
 The Ranas kill the Portuguese.

The above mentioned dulpod describes the Rana's revolt against the Portuguese rule in Goa. The Ranas may be described as a people belonging to the landed aristocracy at one time and belonging to the Kshatriya caste. Another dulpod which describes an aspect of Goan life deals with litigation. Goans are supposed to be invariably engaged in litigation over their land, houses, etc. and in the course of such litigation they usually end up broke.

Matarea mojea Pai, tuca demand kiteac zai
 Mataro dekunum, demand macai aila tenkunum
 Dusman amigo zaunum, puta maca gaila tentessavanum
 Demananco lagunnum, puta zotim guelum zorunum³⁶

Old father, why do you need litigation?
 Because, I am old, litigation has come close to me
 Enemy became a friend, son, and put me into trouble
 Because of litigation, the soles of my sandals have worn out.

Khels are the songs of the popular theatre and is very much akin to dulpod in music but it develops its ideas with great consistency such as its theatrical function demands of

³⁶J. Fernandes, An Album of Songs (Goa: by the author, 1953), pp. 141-142.

it. Its subject matter is normally the life of the Goan Catholics. The Khel is a kind of folk opera, is also influenced by the West, especially the khels performed by the Christian Goans. We have also other kinds of khels in Goa, namely the Konkani Khel and the Kunbi Khel.

The Konkani Khels have as their plot or skit the Hindu beliefs and customs. The Kunbi Khel on the other hand deals with the life of this group. According to Professor Jose Pereira, the only known indigenous influence the Kunbi Khels are likely to have felt must have come from the Kanada folk song. The Konkani Khel on the other hand, is very much influenced by the Marathi folk song. These Konkani Khels are usually performed during the spring festival known as the Holi Festival, but locally referred to, as Sigmo. In this Khel, gaily turbaned men and boys with multicolored handkerchiefs and sticks in their hands dance the Raoslila, a dance of Lord Krishna legends. Sigmo parties often march in procession to the main village roads to the sonorous accompaniment of Shing, Shehnai and dholl music (musical instruments) thus providing much amusement and diversions to the people around, who follow it.

In addition to the Christian Khel, which is performed

during the Carnival seasons we also have what are called the masked parties. The origin of these parties is often linked with the Greco-Roman bacchanalia.³⁷ Singing parties of masked men with musical instruments often do a cross-country run either on foot or in gaily decorated carriages, travelling incognito, they visit the households of their neighbors, to reveal their most closely guarded secrets. At times, jilted lovers in disguise take the opportunity to visit their old flames. Sometimes, these masked parties and actors exceed the sense of propriety and are often unmasked and exposed much to the chagrin and discomfort of all those concerned and present.

The most typical of the Goan folk song is the fascinating deknee. Culturally, the exclusive charm of its rhythm and the allure of its distinctive melody are symbolic of Goa, and represent the truly genuine ethnic quality of Goan music. Goa is criss-crossed by numerous rivers. The familiar river crossing scenes are a normal everyday feature of Goan life, in the countryside. Deknee lyric usually depict such scenes and the text invariably consists of a dialogue between the boatmen and the passenger.³⁸

³⁷Antsher Lobo, p. 54.

³⁸Ibid.

This song is composed by the Christian musicians, but it tends to be Hindu in style, while retaining in a large measure the familiar Christian idiom. Its text centers around the Hindu temple dancers and things associated with her occupations, like dance halls, weddings, and her attire. Here is an example of a very popular deknee.

Aum saiba peltorhy voitam
 Damulea lognank voitam
 Maka saiba vatto dakoi
 Maka saiba vatto kollonam³⁹

Sir, I am going to the other bank
 I am going to Damu's wedding
 Show me the way to the ferry sir,
 I don't know the way.

Again, the second example of the deknee, we find a dialogue going on between the lover and the dancer. The dancer's love for her lover is so intense, that she is willing to part with all her jewellery, which the lover gracefully refuses to accept.

Ge ge ge ge ge
 Ge ga saiba
 Maka naca go
 Maka naca go⁴⁰

³⁹Jose Pereira and Michael Martins, A Sheaf of Deknees (Bombay: The Konkan Cultural Association, 1967), pp. 28-29.

⁴⁰Ibid., p. 55.

Take it, do take it, sir,
I don't want it, no, I don't want it.

This folksong in its structure and especially in melody, probably comes very close to Kanada music than the Marathized Hindu songs for the simple reason, that the Portuguese rule acted as a kind of insulation against Marathi infiltration.

According to Professor Jose Pereira, the indigenous folk songs tradition came under the influence of classical music. The first type of Goan song to come under the sway of classicization and has the characteristics of the art song comprises of the Brahmin nuptial songs. These songs date to the sixteenth and the eighteenth century, and in spirit they are nearer to the tradition of the Karnatak and Hindustani music. They probably grew out of the antecedents nearer to Karnatak style in music characteristics. The Goan hymns on the other hand, are undoubtedly the first products of independent Goan literature and embody the distinctive character of the Konkan way of life. The apex of the already complex old edifice of the Goan song, particularly of the Goan art song is the Mando.

The true meaning of the Konkani term mando stands for an earthen vessel. The meaning of the word mando is identical to the word ando and bando, which conveys the same significance; the only difference being in the size of the vessel.⁴¹ According to Alfred Braganza, on the other hand, the word mando is derived from the Sanskrit word manddala, which means circular movement. Both the definitions seem to have touched different aspects of mando. Braganza could have dealt with the dance aspect, as the mando is danced in circular movements, whereas Professor Lobo's definition could have relevance to an instrument called Gumott which is made of an earthen vessel, and was very popular among Goan people especially in the villages. The mando is too young to merit a full fledged classification of a folk song. It is sung in two voices, a third apart. It is often mistaken for a waltz. The typical rhythm of the mando is six-eight, with an accented beat on the fifth pause. In this sense, the mando is a slow version of the older and much livelier variety of the folk song called the dulpod, from which it derives its style, its lyrics and the theme of the verses is usually romantic. Mando as a song, is sophisticated. It is a

⁴¹ Antsher Lobo, p. 54.

love song of Goa and its very sentimental. It expresses in the Goan women the moods of love, falling in love, being frustrated in love and also expresses joys and sorrows. It is not only sung but also danced at weddings and local dances.

According to Professor Lucio Rodrigues, the mando represents the song of the Goan aristocracy, the aristocracy that took over the traditions from the Portuguese fidalgos, their land, their leisure and their culture. This song in its text, represents the story of the typical Goan lover and his beloved.⁴² The content of the mando which is highly stylized, may be classified into four groups: (1) Utrike, or union in which the lover yearns for the beloved, (2) Ekott or union achieved through marriage, (3) Villap or desolution from the separation or the impossibility of being united, (4) Fabro which deals with the life of Goa and related countries and narrate events of a political, domestic and rural order. The first three categories are clearly affiliated to the love and separation and contain the real poetic emotion of the mando. The last type, fabro deals with the plain, straight-forward events. The ekott type is clearly derived from the nuptial

⁴² Lucio Rodrigues, Interview.

chants, the uttrik and villap owe much to these chants but more to the hymns. The fobro type is clearly a classification of the dulpod, indeed many dulpods are quite indistinguishable from the kind of mando.⁴³ We do not agree with the classification of Jose Pereira in the sense that he claims that the fabro types are in actuality the dulpods.

We have evidence that there are a number of mandos, which are not dulpods, that convey "fabro type". Secondly, the other three types he states are derived either totally or partially from the Brahmin nuptial songs. An interview with Professor Lucio Rodrigues indicates that the Church music or the Italian music was the dominant factor of influence and that the so called Brahmin nuptial songs are hardly talked about. Apart from these minor differences, the classification is acceptable, and is indeed a scholarly attempt at classifying Goan mandos. In the ensuing paragraphs, some examples of mandos in each of these groups will be given. In the uttrik or yearning for one's lover, we have the following verse.

Dorieachea larari
 Chondrimanchea uzvadari
 Heam mo-jea kensanche pantreru
 Jurar zatam tujeach re mucaru.⁴⁴

⁴³Jose Pereira, Goan Folk Songs, p. 62.

⁴⁴Antsher Lobo, pp. 53-54.

Before God, in the moonlight
 By the undulating sea
 Upon thy braided tresses
 I pledge my love for thee.

This is one of the most romantic mandos of Goa in the sense that it attempts to capture the soft tender aspect of the romantic mood created by the shadowy caresses or swaying palm trees and the cool milk-white sands of Goa's famed sea shores.

In the ekott type or union through marriage, there is an appropriate verse of a mando.

Caiborim tumchem utram
 Sobit porzolit neketram
 Devan benssao tumcher galchem
 Sodanch tumim sovastcaien cholchem.⁴⁵

How sweet are your words
 Like the shining stars in the sky
 May Goa bestow his blessings on you
 Always may you live in peace.

We have similar mandos in the villap and fobro types for example we have the following verse which expresses the idea of separation from love.

Rod'tam rod'tam rogtachim ducam
 Dusmanac moga borem magtam
 Sovnsarachi axea maca nam
 Bogor sorguincho rosto tanctam⁴⁶

⁴⁵Fernandes, p. 23.

⁴⁶Ibid., pp. 129-130.

I have been crying tears of blood
 I wish our adversaries well, my love,
 I have no interest left, in this world
 Only counting the steps to heaven.

In the fabro type we have a number of mandos that deal with the news about happenings in the village. In Goa there have been several attempts to rebel against the Portuguese rule. The Goan people (or whoever the composer was) have composed songs about these incidents. For example, we have a mando entitled, Setembrache ekvissaeru, Twenty-first of September, which goes thus:

Setembrache ekvissaeru
 Camrachim foddlem deru⁴⁷

On the twenty-first of September
 We broke open the door of the Municipality.

This mando deals with the elections of 1890, held in Margao in which the people did not want the Government representative to return victorious. The popular support was for the leadership of Loyolas. The election ended in bloodshed. Similarly the revolt of the Hindu Sepoy of 1895 against the Portuguese rule is brought out in a mando entitled, Setembrache Choudawe Ratri, or The Night of Fourteenth September.

⁴⁷ Lucio Rodrigues, Interview.

Setembrache choudawe ratri
 Ponje zali re bobati
 Sogle ratri vazoun corneti
 Sepoy sandun guele baineti⁴⁸

On the night of fourteenth September
 There was an upheaval in Panjim
 After playing the clarinette, the whole night
 Sepoy left behind their bayonets.

Historically, the sepoy joined with the revolting
Ranas. The revolt was, however, subsequently put down.

Another significant mando, which deals with the patriotic
 sentiments of the Goan people, is known as Luizinha.

Luizinha mojea Luizinha
 Luizinha mojea mogchea
 Merce Calafura san Divade vetam
 Roddunaca.⁴⁹

Luizinha, my Luizinha
 Luizinha, my love
 I am leaving Merce Calafura for Divar
 Please do not cry.

This mando deals with the attempt on the part of the
Portuguese to coerce the people of Divar into voting for the
Government candidate who was done to death by the people,
 practically on the precincts of the Church. The people of
Divar even to this day sing the song lustily, so to say, 'we

⁴⁸Fernandes, p. 192.

⁴⁹Ibid., pp. 73-74.

did it'. Luizinha happens to be the wife of the official who was sent to Divar to jerry-mend the election. In the mando, they tell her not to cry since her husband got what he deserved.

In tracing the evolution of folk song tradition in Goa, we observed and noted influences both indigenous and foreign. The foreign or the Italian influence is markedly felt on the Goan mandos and dulpods. Professor Lucio Rodrigues comments on the western influence in the following manner:

The folksongs of Goan Christians are among the finest efflorescence of the encounter between native and European musical traditions. The variety of the song is truly astonishing. There are songs for every occasion, in every mood, and in every rhythm. They range from the most elementary tunes, as in the cradle songs to the most artful and sophisticated. The mando is especially the last word in musical refinement in the European tradition. It is rich in emotional appeal, redolent of the warm South, sadly sweet and sweetly sad. The mando is also a dance, leisurely and graceful, in the style of French contredance.⁵⁰

Hitherto, we have examined the Goan folk songs of the Christians.

We shall now briefly examine some of the Hindu Goan folk songs.

The Ovis are songs common to both Catholics and Hindus.

They are sung up to this day by toddy tappers and fishermen in

⁵⁰Lucio Rodrigues, "The Euro-Indian Folklore in Goa" Bulletin Institute Menezes Braganza, 96 (1971), pp. 227-228.

the Goan villages. The Christian Ovis that is not influenced by western music is called Santa Kursachi Kuru, The Sign of the Cross. The Hindus also have their Ovis, which are sung during the marriage festival. Thandnni which stands for the word 'thirst' is a recreational song, which the workers sing at random accompanied by gumot and kansallim.

The most favorite Konkani folk songs of the Hindus are dhalos and fugddis.

Dhalos are sung during the month of February. The singing is usually done by women, though men are invited to participate. The women meet at a village common place, called mandd. Women in groups of ten to twenty dance in rows going to and fro and then in circles. This continues for a period of a week or so. The fugddis are sung by married women during the puja ceremony (Hindu ritual), on every Sunday during the month of Shravan which corresponds to the month of August. In these songs called Penne which is sung in the Temple, and Gharannem which is sung at the end of the religious ceremony.

Finally, we have the Zotis and Zagors. The Zotis are songs that are sung during the Hindu feasts. Zotis contain fragments of the Konkani Ramayana collected single handed by

Mr. Vasudev Kamoti Vag over a period of years. These Zotis are perhaps the least influenced by Marathi folk songs.

Zagor, is a folk drama that is found among the Hindu caste of Pernim stone cutters, and also among Christian Kunhis.

Since the drama is staged throughout the night, it is called

Zagor; the word 'zag' means to keep awake. The female parts in the play are performed by women who remain spinsters

according to the customs. The Hindu Zagor is woven around a

religious story, while the Christian Kunbi Zagor has no story

as such. It is based on one or two incidents.

Drama

In Goa, there is a stage performance for the entertainment of the masses called the 'theatre'. There are differences of opinion among writers, whether the theatre should be classified as a drama. For the purpose of discussion, we shall view it as a form of drama. Thus theatre take the text of their plots from every day happenings, among the working class people. Hence, they are not patronized by sophisticated people. In recent years, however, there has been a marked improvement in the quality of the theatre. Two reasons may be cited for this improvement. (i) There have been more adaptations of foreign

plays, (ii) Educated people have now shown interest both as actors and as audiences. In recent years, Goan actors have even produced films. The three important films being "Mogacho Aundo" or "Yearning for Love"; "Amchem Noxib" or "Our Fortune"; and "Nirmon" or "Destiny". The quality and standard of production, direction and acting and music, is comparable with the rest of the Indian films, and the films were considered a great box office success. According to C. Alvares, a well known producer, director and actor, Goan drama and films suffer because of lack of funds and talent. The Goan Theatre has, according to him, at an elementary level, tried to raise the intellectual level of the Goan masses. The Goan Hindu stage on the other hand is highly sophisticated, their plots are well written, their actors well trained and the direction is superb. Mr. J. S. Suktankar, whom the writer had the opportunity to interview, in his book Rupdim (mask) The Theatre of Goa - its origin and development, has conducted new research which has completely demolished the theses of Professor S. N. Banhatti and other Maharashtrian writers, that Shri Vishnudas Bhave, a dependent of the Raja of Sangli was the founder of

Marathi stage.⁵¹ Mr. Bhave produced his first play in the year 1843. The author in his book, convincingly argues that similar plays were common in Tanjore, Goa and Konkan more than one hundred and fifty years before Bhave's play came to be staged in Maharashtra. However, the Tanjore tradition of producing plays came to an end after the eighteenth century. Since then, Goa has not only maintained the tradition and the continuity of the stage craft, but has also contributed substantially to the resurgence of the modern Marathi stage. Among the many documents put forward by the author, in justification of his stand, two may be mentioned. (1) The author has found the authentic manuscript of Dash-awatara, a play written by a Goan, completely written with lyrics and dialogues with a supporting proof that it was produced in Mapuca, Bardez, in the year 1818. (2) The author has also reproduced records of the comunidades or the Village Communities, which indicate that since 1766, different types of folk plays were financed by these comunidades for the entertainment of the Village Community.

According to J. Sukhtankar, therefore, the Marathi

⁵¹J. S. Sukhtankar, Rupdim, The Theatre of Goa - Its Origin and Development (Bombay: Goa Hindu Association, 1970), pp. 1-205.

theatrical stage has evolved out of different forms of folk entertainment. In Goa, there have been large varieties of these folk plays, like Zagor staged by Catholic Kunbis, as well as Gopal, Gavli and Bal Kalas (kinds of folk plays). The Hindu Kunbis in particular, and the Christian Kunbis in general, have preserved their heritage of folk song and folk drama based on mythology. For those based on the great Hindu epics Ramayana and Mahabharat were common place in Goa. The actors are reported to have worn wooden or papier-mache faces or rupdins, which are preserved in a private museum in Maharashtra and are said to be three hundred years old.⁵² These original findings of Mr. Sukhtankar cast doubt on the theses that the Goan Hindu folk songs or folk operas were influenced by Marathi folk songs or folk opera. We believe, that it was the Goan folklore that influenced the Marathi folk song and opera, at an early stage. However, with the coming of the Portuguese, and the destruction of the Konkani literature, the Goan Hindus began to turn their attention towards the study of Marathi literature, as if it was their own. It was at this stage, that we think that there was a cultural give

⁵²S. Vanjari, "Marathi stage in Goa", The Bharat Jyoti (June 4, 1972), p. 8.

and take, from either side, and Goans being a highly dramatic people, not only excelled on the Marathi stage, but helped to evolve it.

Thus far, we have observed, that the Konkani language is a language that is sound in terms of lexicon, phonology, morphology and syntax. We have also examined much of the Konkani idioms and some of the poems that are written in Konkani as a further evidence of the vitality of the language as a vehicle of expression.

In the Goan folksongs, through its tradition in evolution, we have observed a process of education that had set in from antiquity and finally we touched on the modern developments in the art of drama.

Castewise, the greatest contribution to Goan folk songs and drama on the Christian side, came from the Sudras. It was the Sudras who produced directed and acted Khels and dramas, and often composed their own music. Among the musicians in India, the topmost western musicians hail from this talented caste. The Brahmins were soon to follow. But their contribution in this field is minimal. Finally, the Chardos hardly had any achievement in this field, worth the mention.

On the Hindu side, however, the greatest contribution to music and drama came from non-Brahmin Goans. The Brahmins however, played a vital role in the evolution of the Marathi stage and the development of the Konkani drama. In the succeeding chapters a comprehensive study will be made of Formal education and Educational Institutions.

CHAPTER III

PORTUGUESE EDUCATION IN GOA

The history of Portuguese education in Goa may be divided into three periods: (1) 1510-1771; (2) 1771-1910; and (3) 1910-1961. The first two periods of Portuguese education are examined in this chapter.

Portuguese Period 1510-1771.

Alphonso de Albuquerque's policy of creating a mixed society in Goa, that would forever remain loyal to Portugal, necessitated not only marriages between Goans and Portuguese on a large scale, but also the setting up of schools for educating and training the natives for Government service. His scheme, however, was short lived and the schools designed to promote it did not flourish.

Thirty years after the conquest of Goa, roughly after 1540, education came to be the monopoly of the Church and in the course of time fell into the hands of religious orders. The Jesuit Society played a significant role in the structuring of education in Goa during these early years. Jesuit influence was felt even after they were expelled from Goa by Marquis de Pombal.

After the conquest of Goa by the Portuguese and the conversion of the Old Conquest* the place of the village Patshalla was taken by the parochial school. Parochial schools came into existence as a result of a decree by John III dated March 8, 1546 that provided schools for teaching Christian doctrine in places where there were churches. These schools combined moral instructions with the cultivation of artistic tastes and mental advancement in the teaching of the Christian religion.¹ Parochial schools have continued to render their services for three centuries.

The Parish or Church schools, some of which are still functioning today, taught church music in addition to reading and writing. These schools were financed and supported by Church funds, by associations or from proceeds of the village communities. Initially these schools were established in the islands of Goa district, later on their activities were extended to Salcette and Bardez districts.

Teaching methods used in these schools were not highly sophisticated. Teachers were selected on the basis of their

*The Old Conquest comprised the districts of Goa, Bardez and Salcette. These territories were acquired during the period 1510-1543.

¹George Moraes, A History of Christianity in India (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1964), pp. 21-22.

knowledge of church music, although they were required to have sufficient knowledge of other subjects, such as reading and writing, which they had to teach the students in order to familiarize them with the reading of catechism. The medium of instruction was essentially Portuguese, but later on, a switch was made to a regional language, because of the dearth of teachers, well versed in the Portuguese or Latin language. The usage of more than one language as a medium of instruction was an impediment to educational progress, as the students could not become proficient in either of the foreign languages. Furthermore, the teachers or masters did not possess sufficient and systematic knowledge of the local language.

In 1541, an educational institution the first of its kind in Goa, called Seminario de Santa Fe, or the Seminary of the Holy Faith, was founded.² The seminary was set up by the secular priests, but after some time it came under the control of the religious orders. Although the main purpose of the seminary was to train natives for the priesthood, the seminary gradually also assumed a role as the dispenser of secondary and higher education. This seminary was attended not only by

²J. D. da Fonseca, An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa (Bombay: 1878), p. 56.

the youth of Goa but also by those of other countries.

The importance of the Seminary of Santa Fe, diminished with the coming of the Jesuits to Goa. St. Francis Xavier came to Goa in 1542.³ The Jesuits founded St. Paul's College, also known as the University of Goa, which had meteoric fame. It was the pioneer of education in Goa. It introduced the secondary and ecclesiastical education with the objective of imparting to students of all the Eastern Nations, the study of letters and good habits. The Jesuits were also entrusted with the administration of the seminary which by now had been relegated to a subordinate position, as the name of St. Paul covered both the college and the seminary. The main function of the seminary was to train Goans to priesthood. Initially the seminary was started by two Goan priests.

Pylard de Laval, who had visited Goa in the early part of the seventeenth century, describes the college of St. Paul, as the most important one in the whole of India, and at the time it had more than two thousand students both Indians and Portuguese.⁴ The curriculum of St. Paul's college has been

³Ibid., p. 57.

⁴J. M. Cunha Rivara, Viagens de Francisco Pylard de Laval (Nova Goa), p. 47.

discussed in Chapter VI.

The Jesuits were also instrumental in starting a college at Margao, which was later transferred to Rachol. In addition, there were other colleges and educational institutions founded by other religious orders namely, the St. Boaventura's College, Academy of Dominicans, Collegio Carmo of the Carmelites, the Collegio de Populo of the Agustinian Monks.

During the early period, historian George Moraes, states, higher education was dispensed by two Agencies: the religious orders and the Medical School. The former had a dominating position in the educational field, and the country was marked with their institutions. The colleges and the seminaries that they maintained, trained the Christian lower staff, needed in the administrative services of the Portuguese possessions, and the lower clergy who did the actual parish work. Since the higher ecclesiastical appointments were held by foreigners, the more adventurous of the Indian clergy left Goa to work either under the Propaganda Fide where they expected better treatment or in the Missions of Padroade itself to make

up for what was denied to them in their own country.⁵ A number of Goan clergy were elevated to positions of Bishops and Archbishops in the rest of India, not in Goa, but also in Portuguese possessions. The Goan clergy were discriminated against and were not given high ecclesiastical positions even though they were highly qualified and competent.

The curricula of education, used in these colleges was predominantly religious. The subjects taught covered Latin, Latinity, Grammar, Philosophy, Rhetoric, Morals and Theology. The method of teaching in all these institutions resembled that of the college of St. Paul. It was dogmatic as well as rigid and was within the framework of Medieval Scholasticism. The scholastic methodology continued to be followed even after the Renaissance. Menezes de Braganza comments on this system of education in this manner:

More than two centuries witnessed the brain paralysing influence of these institutions on the people of this territory.⁶

The second period of education, 1771-1910, which

⁵Moraes, pp. 21-23.

⁶Menezes Braganza, A Educacao E O Ensino Na India Portuguesa (Nova Goa: 1922), p. 41.

suffers to some measure from the impact of the previous period, 1510-1771, was ushered in by Marquis de Pombal. Marquis de Pombal gave a jolt to the sectarian and religiously controlled education in Goa. This was achieved in the following way. First, by expelling the Jesuits from Portugal and its overseas territories and secondly, by attempting to overhaul the existing system of education. The Jesuits were expelled from Portugal because of their political activities. Since they were expelled from Portugal they were also expelled from the Portuguese colonies.

The first measure, negative in character, met with little success. For, despite the expulsion of the Jesuits, their schools and colleges continued to flourish and dominate the minds of the Goan youth. The religious orders to whom the Jesuit institutions were entrusted, had no quarrel with the Jesuits, in respect to their method and philosophy of education.

The collegiate and other educational institutions which had been founded and operated by the Jesuits were handed over to the Oratorian priests, who thereafter, like their Jesuit predecessors, took control of education. The College of St. Paul, became the College of Natives under the Oratorian administration. The College at Rachol also came under their

control. Although the syllabi of the colleges was modified under the new administration, very little progress was made towards mental emancipation. The influence of the Jesuits in terms of methodology and thought process continued unabated.

The attempts to reconstruct the existing system of education was more effective and realistic. It attempted to establish in 1771, for the first time, a public school system for Goa. Although it had a short life, it was largely instrumental in paving the way for future educational developments that came about under enlightened and more concerned administrators. Pombal issued orders for the creation of positions of teachers of reading and writing, to serve in the Primary Schools, in the various districts of Goa. In regards to secondary and higher education, similar orders were issued for the creation of positions of teachers in subjects like Latin, Greek, Rhetoric and Philosophy.

Pombal intended to provide for a school system which would be financially independent and self-sufficient, so as not to cause unnecessary strain on the public exchequer. Accordingly, a scheme of educational subsidy was designed to fund the public school system. This subsidy was created by levying a nominal tax on meat and tobacco. The Pombalian reform had an overall

impact. It not only succeeded in breaking up the religious monopoly over the educational system, but also provided an alternative in the public school system that was free of the rigour and dogmatism of the religious orders.

Financially speaking, the mode of financing adopted by Pombal, was more than satisfactory, as only one-fourth of the tax proceeds was actually needed to meet the educational commitments. Furthermore, this arrangement did not put an additional strain on the public treasury. The public school system was discontinued after Pombal on the pretext that it was an inefficient and costly adventure that was poorly attended. It was also felt that these funds could be better utilized to meet the more urgent and important needs rather than to be frittered away in wasteful educational expenditure.

Public education was disbanded not because it was inefficient but because the Governor, Vieira Cabral, felt it was not necessary. As a result of this policy of the Governor, the education system - both primary and secondary - reverted back to the Church, and the religious congregation respectively. The effect which the policy had on educational progress in the succeeding years was depicted by Governor D. Manuel da Camra in 1823:

Public instruction here borders to nothingness. In a population of 260,000, not a single educational institution can be found. There are five subjects of latin grammars, but not a single of Portuguese language. In the two seminaries which are supported by the public treasury, with a yearly expenditure of 20,000 Xerafins, 30 aspirants to priesthood, are taught latin grammar, theology, dogmatics and ethics through outdated and dilatory methods.⁷

Till 1836, very little was done in the field of education. Except for the expulsion of religious orders from Goa, and some efforts by enlightened and far-seeing Governors to establish additional schools, little was done to improve the quality of Goan education.

This situation changed with the inauguration of a new educational policy in Portugal in the year 1836. Although this policy was designed for the improvement of education in Portugal, some of its provisions became applicable to overseas territories. Thus providing a great boost to the cause of education.

According to the New Educational Policy, it was mandatory to set up Lyceum Schools in the district capitals of Portugal and in the capitals of overseas territories. It also laid down standards in regards to physical equipment and

⁷ Ibid., p. 77.

teaching standards. The schools had to be equipped with a library, a botanical garden, a department of physics and a chemistry laboratory. Lyceum teachers had to pass a prescribed test to be able to teach in these schools. Finally, a council was set up, made up of a Rector, and teachers of the respective Lyceums, to administer these schools.

The actual implementation of this policy, however, began as late as 1841, when a Normal School (Teacher training school) was established in Goa. This was followed by additional secondary and primary schools, that were established in Judicial districts and villages respectively. The active participation of the government in the field of education, minimized the importance of parish schools and other educational institutions. Furthermore, parish schools were allowed to function only in those areas where there were no public schools. Schools in the newly acquired territories (New Conquests*) exempted non-Christians from religious instruction. As a result of this policy the number of parish schools which stood at forty-nine, were now reduced to a mere twenty-five, for the whole of Old Conquest.

* New Conquest comprised the districts of Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem, Canacona, Bicholim, Satari and Pernem. These territories were annexed after 1543.

The Military Academy, that had hitherto catered to the military and other armed personnel, was now reorganized and enlarged so as to include civilians as well. The Academy was renamed as the School of Mathematics and Military.

Hereon, changes in education were brought about by issuing decrees from Portugal. This was achieved by the Provincial authority making a proposal to the Central Government in Portugal for an educational reform which if approved by the Central Government would come in the form of a decree.

The decree of 1844, sought to change the educational structure of Portugal. It provided for the division of the primary schools into two stages, with an extended syllabi. Teacher training syllabi was also improved and made more elaborate. The decree of 1844 had special provisions for the Goan schools. It provided for the setting up of at least one Normal School, a Lyceum and for the teaching of the Hindustani language at the capital of Portuguese India. As a result of this decree, second degree primary schools were established. A second degree primary school represents the fifth or the last grade of the Portuguese elementary school. A National Lyceum was established in Panjim and schools for girls were set up in the important districts of Goa. The decree, also encouraged

the growth of privately sponsored institutions of primary and secondary education by actually providing them grants. A school by the name of Sao Miguel located in the Salcette district, was a recipient of the grants for some time.

By the end of 1869, there were 112 primary schools, out of which 37 were Government schools and 75 were parish and private institutions. Of these schools, sixteen were located in the New Conquest. Attendance at these schools was 6,124, of which 5,819 were males and 305 were females, in a population of 385,000. The Normal School had seventeen students. For secondary education, there were 2,092 students out of which 333 were at the Lyceum, 445 in other government institutions, 200 at the Rachol seminary, and 1,114 in privately sponsored institutions.⁸

The expulsion of all Religious Orders from Goa in 1835, necessitated some changes in the religious education. Although attempts were made to reorganize ecclesiastical teaching as far back as 1842, when a committee was appointed for the purpose, the actual change came about in 1881.

In the year 1881, as a result of reorganization of

⁸Ibid., p. 92.

ecclesiastical teaching Rachol Seminary was suspended. Two seminaries-cum-Lyceum were set up. The courses taught at these institutions were of four-year duration. The following subjects were covered:

- (1) Portuguese, (2) Latin and Latinity, (3) English, (4) French,
- (5) Elementary Mathematics, (6) General Knowledge of Physics and Chemistry, (7) Psychology and Ethics, (8) Geography and General Ethnology, (9) General Knowledge of Biology,
- (10) History, (11) General Knowledge of Political Economics and Commerce, (12) Geography and National History and General Knowledge of Law and Portuguese Administration, (13) General and Colonial Hygiene, (14) Literature and Sacred Oratory,
- (15) Drawing and an Optional course of Music.⁹

Theological knowledge was not imparted at the seminary-cum-Lyceum. For this purpose a Seminary, an Institute and three Mission Houses were created, where prospective missionaries were to learn the language of the areas where they were to be attached.

The decree of November 30, 1869, provided for compulsory education for children in the age bracket of nine to

⁹Ibid., pp. 90-92.

twelve, residing within a radius of three kms. from the school.¹⁰

The decree also provided for the creation of local Inspection Boards. In addition it provided that primary education be divided into two standards.

The First standard comprised the following subjects:

(a) Reading, writing and the four fundamental rules of Arithmetic with integers and fractions; (b) Exercises in systems of weights and measure; (c) Christian doctrine for Catholics.

The Second standard comprised of the following subjects: (a) Introduction to Portuguese Grammar; (b) Elementary Geography and History of Portugal; (c) Elementary arithmetic and geometry; (d) Introduction to agriculture and rural economy. In girl's schools, domestic science was substituted for weights and measures.

Although great strides were made in establishing educational institutions, during this period, education in general and primary education in particular did not fare well both in terms of enrollment and educational achievement.

Local Inspection Boards in their reports to the Government pointed to the following deficiencies: lack of method,

¹⁰Ibid., pp. 105-106.

deficient school books, complexity of subject matter and nonutilization of regional language, the problems of medium of instruction, inadequate room space, lack of furniture, etc. They specially emphasized the inability of students to understand adequately the Portuguese language:

It was most convenient to impart the knowledge of Portuguese through and Eastern language used by the people, entrusting the instruction to able teachers well versed in both the languages.¹¹

The Board in addition, quoted the opinion of the then Commissioner of Instruction Cunha Rivera, which stated:

As a new language can only be learnt by comparison of its mechanism with that of the mother-tongue, Concani language should be made a starting point to teach the Indians any other language.¹²

The reorganization of education of 1881 had envisaged a definite step forward both in contents and methods of primary education. There were plans prepared to remodel the Teacher Training Program. An elaborate scheme of education with comprehensive syllabus for each of the areas mentioned above, were designed. The reorganization scheme only remained on paper, for it was superseded by the decree dated October 31, 1892.

¹¹Ibid., p. 95.

¹²Ibid., p. 97.

The Minister of Colonies, Mr. Ferreira do Amaral, reorganized the entire educational system of Goa, with the exception of Medical education. According to this Reform System, Primary education was divided into two stages (grau), the elementary stage and the complementary stage.

In the Elementary stage, the subjects covered were, speech, reading and writing in Portuguese; arithmetic which covered the four fundamental rules along with the study of integers and fractions; principles of metric and decimal system, along with those of the Indian system of weights and measures; principles of ethics and Christian doctrine for Catholics.

The complementary stage of primary education consisted of the following subjects: reading, prose and poetry; handwriting and written composition; elementary arithmetic and geometry; Portuguese grammar; study of weights and measures; elements of chronology; geography and history of Portugal; linear drawing; elementary knowledge of agriculture; ethics and church history; and civics and administration. This decree also had a provision, whereby the local governments were empowered to extend the syllabus of both first and second stage of primary education, after it had been successfully implemented for eight years.

The extension suggested in the first stage (for boys) included

subjects like physical training, choral singing and elements of agriculture. For girls, the subjects included choral singing.

In the second stage (for boys) the syllabus could be extended to include subjects like principles of bookkeeping, ethics, economics, physics, chemistry, and natural history and elementary hygiene. For girls, the subjects included would be: home economics, hygiene, bookkeeping, and rudiments of physical and natural sciences.

The Teacher Training School (Escola) had a two year course. It was comprised of the following subjects: Grammar and exercises in Portuguese language, composition and handwriting, arithmetic, metric system and the Indian system of weights and measures, elementary geography and history of Portugal, ethics and church history, pedagogy, methodology and rules and regulations concerning primary schools, hygiene and principles of domestic and industrial economy.

The same degree provided for the merger of the Professional Institute of Nova Goa (Old School of Mathematics and Military), into the existing Lyceum system. The subjects covered at the Lyceum school were: Portuguese language and literature; French; English; Latin; Elementary mathematics, Arithmetic,

algebra; geometry - both plain and solid; and rectilinear trigonometry; physics and chemistry and introduction to natural history; elementary philosophy and drawing.

Three Courses were offered: (1) General Course of four years duration; (2) Arts Course of five years duration; (3) Science Course of six years duration. "Liceu de Nova Goa" would have two additional subjects, namely, principles of political economy and administrative law, and Marathi language. The eleven subjects were to make up the complete course of Lyceum - a qualification required to teach secondary schools, and to appear for lawyers examination.

Educational system in Goa underwent a further change with the provincial decree dated September 1, 1897. The provisions of this decree were designed to keep Lyceum education on par with similar education in Portugal. The syllabus of the Lyceum under this decree was considerably diluted especially in its mathematics component where solid geometry and rectilinear trigonometry was omitted. These subjects provided the course work for the general course of Lyceum which was of five years duration.

These changes definitely downgraded the Lyceum education as compared to the 1892 standard, until 1919 when

the Lyceum was raised to the grade of Central Lyceum. In 1906, further changes were made in the Lyceum of Nova Goa. Two types of courses were introduced. The first course was of three years duration, a qualification essential for admission to Normal School and appointment to Government posts. The second course was of five years duration which included the three years of the first course and was required to obtain admission to Medical School and to higher studies in Commerce and Industry in Portugal. In 1908 another subject - statistics - was grouped together with political economy and administrative law.

In 1907, further modifications were made in primary education, and Teacher Training Programs. The syllabus of the primary education were modified to include additional subjects at both the stages. At the first stage, the subjects included were physical education; elementary agriculture; elementary knowledge of domestic economy; choral singing and elementary knowledge of music. At the second stage the subjects included were, elementary knowledge of natural sciences as applied to agriculture and industry in the country; cosmography and civics. In addition, the new subjects introduced in the first stage were to continue in the second stage.

The course of the Normal School which was of two years duration, was now extended to three years. It was comprised of the following subjects: (1) Portuguese language and literature; (2) French; (3) Practical arithmetic and elementary geometry; (4) Elementary physics and chemistry and natural history and their application to hygiene and agriculture in the country; elementary knowledge of practical agriculture; (5) Book-keeping; (6) Ethics, duties and rights of citizens and domestic economy and for girls, duties of a housewife; (7) Cosmography, chronology, geography and world history; (8) Chorography and history of Portugal and its colonies; (9) Handwriting and linear and decorating, drawing, copying of maps; (10) First aid; (11) Pedagogy and especially methodology of primary education and rules and regulations concerning primary education; (12) Physical training; (13) Music and choral singing; (14) Needle work and embroidery for girls. Practice teaching was done in schools located in Nova Goa.

Hitherto, we have examined Goa's history of education in general, for the period 1510-1900. Hereafter, our focus of attention will be directed on the important institutions of higher education. Higher education in Goa was dispensed by two institutions: (1) The School of Mathematics and Military;

(2) The Medical School.

The School of Mathematics and Military

What began as a humble class of navigation in 1760, in the course of time developed into a full fledged institution of higher education. The school of Mathematics and Military may rightly be considered as one of the forerunners of higher education in Goa. An analysis of the various stages of growth and development of this institution reveal, that in the earlier stages, it was catering solely to the defense needs of the territory. In course of time, however, the preparatory studies of mathematics were opened to careers other than the military and at a later date the school of Mathematics was made into a complete center of higher studies, catering to the preparation of students for other scientific professions, and thus making it useful to all classes of society.

The first attempt at establishing an engineering class in Goa was made in 1659. The King of Portugal in his letter addressed to the then Viceroy of Goa, Count de Alvor, ordered the creation of a small class of engineering to train three selected students in the engineering subjects. This class was

to be conducted by the military engineer stationed in Goa.¹³ The order could not be enforced because at that time, there was no military engineer in Goa capable of teaching engineering subjects. Higher education received great encouragement and support from Marquis de Pombal. In 1774, a class of Nautical Studies was established. The Governor of Goa was also encouraged to make a formal request to Portugal to send a person to Goa, who would be capable of teaching not only the theoretical aspects of nautical science, but who was also competent as a practical demonstrator of naval tactics. Because of this encouragement, a class of artillery was established in 1776 which had on its staff a Professor and an Assistant Professor. The class of Navigation was redesigned as a class of Navy.

The courses offered in these military classes were divided into two parts. The first part of the studies was mathematically oriented and included such subjects as arithmetic, geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry and algebra. The second part of the study was more specialized and included subjects like geography, astronomy and piloting. This was

¹³Letter of King of Portugal to Count de Alvor, January 15, 1659, in P. S. Varde, "Education in Goa, Daman and Diu", Goa Today, (December 1971), p. 30.

more or less the nucleus of military studies in Goa at the close of the eighteenth century.

The advent of the nineteenth century however, brought further changes that affected both the nature and content of higher education. The course of artillery for example, was replaced by the course of fortification. In addition, a class of mathematics as applied to military architecture was created in 1812. Finally, by the order of July 26, 1817, military education was put on a more scientific bases.

A military academy was established. In this academy three types of courses were offered, namely, Artillery, Naval and Engineering. The courses of Artillery and Naval were each of four years duration, while the course of Engineering was of five years duration. The first three years of study were of a general nature and common to all the three programs of study. Subjects offered for the first three years were:

First Year: (1) Arithmetic; (2) Geometry; (3) Plane and Spherical Trigonometry and their application to Geodesy and Stereometry.

Second Year: (1) Algebra; (2) Deductions concerning the theory of probability; (3) Annuities, etc.

Third Year: (1) Mechanics (Statics and Dynamics)

(2) Hydro-statics; (3) Hydrodynamics.

Fourth Year of studies was divided into two sections, namely, Artillery and Navy. The section on Artillery comprised of the teaching of science based on the treatise of John Muller, and studies of mines supplemented by field exercises. The second section which dealt with Naval study, comprised of the subjects like Revision of Spherical Trigonometry and Navigation. This involved the study of design engineering, nautical nomenclature, military exercises and naval operations conducted on board the ship.

Fifth Year of study was devoted to Military Architecture, both regular and irregular, and also the study of attack and defense of fortified positions.

In 1820, a class of drawing was started. The Viceroy D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro reorganized the academy. As a result of this reorganization, mathematics became a compulsory subject and successful completion of a course in mathematics was a necessary qualification for promotion to the rank of an officer in the Army. The first year of the mathematics course was made an essential qualification for those seeking position with the Government Treasury Office.

The Military Academy was converted into the School of

Mathematics and Military by Lopes de Lima, who introduced a number of important reforms in the educational system. As a result of these reforms, the teaching methods were improved, there was a better and more adequate distribution of the contents of the syllabus. These reforms were also responsible in converting the military institution into means of general education. It was now being recognized, that the general knowledge of mathematics was also essential for civilian careers. Accordingly, the preparatory studies of mathematics were opened to careers other than military.

The School of Mathematics and Military, offered six courses some of which dealt with general studies in Mathematics and others dealt with Mathematics as applied to Military. The following Chairs, representing major courses of instruction, were established at the School of Mathematics and Military:

First Chair: The first chair covered subjects like arithmetic, algebra up to equations; elementary geometry; trigonometry - plane and spherical; land surveying with especial emphasis on the practice and utilization of surveying instruments.

Second Chair: This chair consisted of subjects like transcendental algebra, differential calculus, integral calculus, variations, etc.

Third Chair: The third chair comprised of mechanics and its main application to machines and hydraulics, and elementary civil architecture.

Fourth Chair: This chair covered subjects such as artillery and applied ballistics.

Fifth Chair: The fifth chair was divided into two parts. Part one dealt with Military art and temporary fortification and part two dealt with permanent fortification, and general theory of mines and its applications to fortifications.

Sixth Chair: The sixth chair comprised of civil and military drawing accompanying the course of the aforesaid five chairs.

Thus the School offered professional courses in engineering and artillery which covered the six chairs with a slight variation in respect of special subjects like the fourth chair and part two of the fifth chair, the general parts being common to both. Furthermore, the first chair along with part one of the fifth chair constituted the course of infantry. The School also had a library. Most of the books available in the library were on mathematics and Military science. In addition, there was a special room where models of war material and field instruments were kept, for the students to study. The subjects of

physics and chemistry and natural history were also taught in the school in 1853 and a laboratory for practical work was set up. A class of piloting was also begun at the shipyard. The class of physics and chemistry was transferred in the year 1865 to the Medical School.

The School of Mathematics and Military underwent a further reorganization in 1867. The Royal Decree of October 23, 1867, transformed the School from a mere military school into a complete center of higher studies. The institution which now had eight "chairs" offered three courses: Engineering of seven years duration; Artillery of six years duration; and a two year course in Infantry. The chairs of the School of Mathematics and Military covered the following subjects:

First Chair: Arithmetic and elementary algebra; geometry - plane, solid and descriptive; plane trigonometry; analytical plane geometry.

Second Chair: Transcendental algebra; spherical trigonometry; three dimensional analytical geometry; differential and integral calculus, variations and theory of probability.

Third Chair: Mechanics and its applications to machines, including steam engine, its description, construction and materials used.

Fourth Chair: Military art and temporary fortifications.

Fifth Chair: Permanent fortifications.

Sixth Chair: Artillery.

Seventh Chair: Comprised of subjects such as civil architecture, stability of constructions, their theory; knowledge of materials used in the construction of buildings; general principles of drawing, opening and constructions of roads, railways and canals, canalization of rivers for water supply, cleaning of sand banks and construction of bridges, dams, metallic, wooden and hanging bridges.

Eighth Chair: Drawing, military and civil, distributed in six years.

Ninth Chair: The ninth chair of physics, chemistry and natural history was part of the engineering and artillery courses, but had to be attended at the Medical School.

The School of Mathematics and Military was disbanded in 1871 when the Indian Army (army of the Portuguese possessions in India) revolted against the Portuguese. In its place another institution was created, called the Professional Institute of Nova Goa.

The Military Academy and the School of Mathematics and Military were a great achievement in the history of public

instruction in Goa. Their role in the intellectual development of the territory was brilliant and praiseworthy. This was indeed a period of mental achievement of Goa. Some of the brilliant Goans who made their mark in Portugal and elsewhere in Europe were educated in these institutions. According to Menezes Braganza:

With the creation of these institutes and the Medical School, Portugal gave an indisputable testimony to the effect that its colonizing action did not neglect to avail of the higher mental aptitudes of a colonial people. And did it to such an extent, that can be proud of having done in this field much more than other western nations, much more prosperous, much more powerful, that came to the East later.¹⁴

The Medical School

Medical Education in Goa dates back to the beginning of the eighteenth century. Several attempts were however made to establish Medical Education in Goa, in the seventeenth century. These efforts failed, because of the difficulty experienced in securing trained physicians, capable of teaching medicine, from Portugal. It was only at the turn of the century, that an appointment of a Medical doctor was made, to teach medicine in the Royal Hospital in Goa.

¹⁴Varde, (December 1971), p. 33.

Dr. Cipriano Valladares, who was appointed on December 2, 1702, may rightly be considered as the pioneer of medical education in Goa. Dr. Valladares was appointed to teach the subject of "Vespera". The subject of "Prima" was to be taught by a senior member of the Medical profession, whose appointment was that of a Chief Surgeon. Since no appointment was made to this post, it is most likely that the subject "Prima" was taught by the Chief Physician, Dr. Manuel Rodrigues de Souza. Dr. Valladares was succeeded by other doctors from Portugal, and the course continued to be taught regularly till 1765, when Dr. Jose de Souza Bernardes was appointed. After Dr. Bernardes, no doctor from Portugal was available. A Goan doctor by the name of Antonio dos Remedios was appointed on a temporary basis as the Chief Physician. The post did not carry any teaching duties. Therefore, teaching of Medicine was discontinued for sometime.

In 1714, Dr. Luis da Costa Portual was deputed as a Chief Physician. He was sent at the request of the Government of Goa to teach speculative and practical medicine. Dr. Luis da Costa Portugal however, refused to teach, on the grounds that native students did not possess sufficient background in Philosophy and Rhetorics, which he considered essential for

medical studies. He was later transferred from Goa. For a long period of time, Goa remained without a doctor who had been trained in Portugal. Medical instruction was interrupted until the turn of the century.

Surgical education began with Dr. Manuel Vaz Fagundes, who was in Goa between 1716 and 1725. He was well known for his surgical skill, dedication to his profession and expertise as a teacher of surgery. Dr. Fagundes was followed by a number of other surgeons, but none equalled him either in surgical skill or teaching ability. The situation, however changed in 1785, when Dr. Francisco Manuel Barroso da Silva was appointed Chief Surgeon.¹⁵ He was of the calibre of Dr. Fagundes, the pioneer of Surgical education in Goa. Under his guidance and supervision, medical education was extended, improved, and placed on the same footing as that of Lisbon, Portugal. Accordingly, three subjects were taught namely, Anatomy, Surgery and Operations.

Dr. Barroso da Silva had a colleague, a French national, by the name of Dr. Charles Elory Bosse, who was well known for his surgical skill. Teaching under these doctors became very

¹⁵ Government of Portugal, Decree dated February 23, 1785, quoted in Menezes Braganza, p. 141.

famous and efficient. Dr. Barroso da Silva who worked in Goa for a period of thirty-six years trained a number of Goan surgeons. It may be observed from the above examination that medical education, both medicine and surgery, was not continuous. Indeed, there were long periods of interruptions in medical education. Despite the discontinuity, a number of competent physicians and surgeons were trained who were successful in their professions within Government services, and as private practitioners. The evidence also indicates that the Goans who were trained as physicians and surgeons were also capable of teaching medicine and surgery. In a letter dated February 8, 1779, addressed to the Governor, D. Fredrico Guilherme de Souza, the Secretary of State, Martinho de Melo e Castro, wrote:

With reference to the facts mentioned by you, I shall state that it is very difficult to send a physician from here to India in the conditions stated earlier. There is a shortage of teachers here and we have to take special care to maintain our schools of medicine, and surgery as well as hospitals. I believe that natives of India are able to perform such duties and you should strive to get by all means able persons from there.¹⁶

The first regular medical course in Goa was started in 1801, in the Royal and Military Hospital by Dr. Miranda e Almeida, who was sent from Portugal at the request of the then

¹⁶Letter of the Secretary of State, Martinho de Melo e Castro, February 8, 1779, in Varde, (January 1972), p. 18.

Governor, Veiga Cabral. As a result of this appointment, the medical services in the Royal and Military Hospital were reorganized, and there was a better coordination in the teaching of medicine and surgery as they were brought under a common control and direction.

The Medical program designed by Dr. Miranda e Almeida, was of three years duration. It included the studies of anatomy, physiology, in the first year. In the second year, materia medica, pathology, botony and chemistry and in the third year, it included the study of subjects like nosology and principles and practice of medical examination, general pathology and aphorisms of hypocrates, application of knowledge of pathology and clinical examination of patients, and practice at the bedside of the patients. This program of studies continued until 1819, when Dr. Antonio Jose de Lima Leitao, a graduate of Paris University was appointed Chief Physician of Goa and also put in charge of Medical education.

Lima Leitao organized a new plan of medical education in 1821. The syllabus was extended and divided into four years.

First Year: In the first year, anatomy was taught with emphasis on practical demonstration with the aide of corpses whenever they were available.

Second Year: In the second year, physiology, physics and chemistry were taught.

Third Year: The third year subjects included nosography, medical and surgical, chemistry and botony with application to "Materia Medica", summary of history of art.

Fourth Year: In the fourth year, the subjects covered were pathology and obstetrics.

The new program of Medical education suffered heavily when Lima Leitao was elected member of Portuguese Parliament and left Goa in 1822. Thereafter, for well over twenty years medical education was irregular and was interrupted from time to time. A fresh lease of life was given to Medical education by the order of the Governor, Count of Antas, dated November 5, 1842.¹⁷ According to this order, the Medical education was radically changed with the creation of the "Escola Medico - Cirurgica de Nova Goa" The School of Medicine and Surgery of Nova Goa. The program offered at this school ran into four years:

First Year: Anatomy, physiology.

¹⁷Government of Portugal, Order dated November 5, 1842, in Menezes Braganza, p. 144.

Second Year: Materia medica, pharmacy, hygiene.

Third Year: Pathology and surgical practice, surgical anatomy, obstetrics, surgery.

Fourth Year: History of medicine, clinical medicine, forensic medicine and medical practice.

The chairs of study, mentioned above, made up three courses: Course of Medicine, Course of Surgery and Course of Pharmacy. The former two courses ran into four years and covered all the subjects there being emphasis on certain subjects depending upon the specialization of the student. The course of Pharmacy comprised of the Second Chair (year) as theoretical part, and two additional years of internship in the Pharmacy of the Royal Hospital.

The School was provided with a library, a dissection house, a workshop of anatomy and surgery and a laboratory of physics and chemistry. The qualifications necessary for admission to the Medical program were: a first year, a year of drawing at the School of Mathematics and Military and a working knowledge of the French language. The successful completion of a year of Physics, chemistry and natural history was an essential qualification for admission to the second year of both the medical and surgical course.

The Medical School of Goa was not the creation of the Portuguese Central Government, but was rather a creation of the Government of Goa. However, the Central Government did encourage and improve Medical education in Goa through its recommendations which were strictly observed by the Chief Physician and the Chief Surgeon, both of whom were appointed by the Central Government. A perusal of the various recommendations made by the Central Government suggests that it was not its intention to establish a full-fledged medical school in Goa. Public health services were unknown to Goa, till 1844. The preamble to the decree dated September 18, 1844 stated "inter alia" that it was very convenient for the natives of the provinces to acquire the most essential knowledge of medical science, so that, people far away from the places where the Government physicians were stationed, might not perish for want of medical aid.¹⁸

The decree of September 1844, further made provisions for the teaching of medicine and pharmacy in the colonies. The teaching duty was entrusted to the Chief Physicians and Chief Surgeons respectively, who were required to perform this

¹⁸Varde, (January 1972), p. 19.

duty in addition to their official duties. At this time, the courses taught at the medical school were extended and reorganized. A plan of the reorganization was approved by the Central Government, vide Decree dated January 11, 1847.¹⁹ As a result of this approval the Medical School of Goa, Escola Medico-Cirurgica, was finally sanctioned by the Central Government. The medical program offered at the school continued to be of four years duration. However, it now consisted of six chairs. The subject matter was distributed in the following manner:

First Year: Anatomy

Second Year: First Chair - Physiology; Second Chair - Materia Medica.

Third Year: Third Chair - Surgical pathology and Surgical anatomy; Fourth Chair - General pathology and Medical pathology.

Fourth Year: Fifth Chair - Surgical practice and Obstetrics; Sixth Chair, Medical practice and Forensic medicine.

The Pharmacy Course offered at the Medical School ran into three years.

¹⁹Government of Portugal, Decree dated January 11, 1847, quoted in Menezes Braganza, op. cit., p. 145.

First Year: Covered the material of the second chair namely, Materia Medica. Also included practical experience in the Pharmacy area.

Second Year: Material outlined in the second chair was completed, and practical experience in the Pharmacy of the Hospital was continued.

Third Year: The entire year was devoted to practical experience or on the job experience in the Pharmacy.

Admission requirements to the School were slightly relaxed. The successful completion of the first year of the school of Mathematics and Military was made compulsory by the local Government, and was deemed essential qualification for admission to Medical School as well as Pharmacy. Later on, in 1851-52, the chair of Physics and Chemistry and Natural History was made compulsory for those who sought admission to the courses of medicine and pharmacy. Further reforms were introduced in the medical curriculum in 1865. According to this new reform, the courses were improved and the number of chairs of study were increased to nine, to be covered over a period of five years.

Following was the time distribution of the subject matter:

First Year: First year anatomy, general and descriptive

Second Year: Completion of the subjects of the first chair; second chair physiology and hygiene; third chair "Materia Medica" and pharmacy.

Third Year: Fourth Chair - General pathology and surgical pathology; Fifth Chair - Medical pathology and sixth chair - Surgical practice.

Fourth Year: Sixth chair - Surgical practice; Seventh chair - Medical practice and Eighth Chair - Surgical anatomy and Obstetrics.

Fifth Year: Sixth chair - surgical practice; Seventh chair - Medical practice; Eighth and Ninth Chair - Forensic medicine and public hygiene.

The course of Pharmacy was not changed. There was however an increase in the number of staff members. The numbers of professors were now increased to six. In 1881, Dr. Fonseca Torrie, director of the Medical School proposed a complementary optional course. The subjects covered in this course were:

(1) Topographic Anatomy; (2) Pathological Anatomy; (3) Histological Anatomy; (4) Medical Practice; (5) Chemical Analysis; (6) Diseases of women and children; (7) Biology; (8) Practical Hygiene. These courses were taught by the existing staff

members without additional remuneration for their services. The course was to be supplemented with an elaborate scheme of practicals. There were forty practicals of analysis of medicine, medico-legal examinations, examinations of food stuffs, two weekly visits to the hospital of Misericordia of Goa, for Gynecological practice. The course had a four year life after which it was discontinued.

A further reorganization of the course was made in 1888, by Dr. Costa Alvares, then acting director of the School. A number of changes were made in the School's courses. In the places of the existing school, a school of naval and colonial medicine was proposed. In addition to the existing courses of Medicine and Pharmacy, a new course in Nursing was instituted. According to this new scheme, the medical course was to be comprised of twenty-one chairs and was to be of a six year duration. The Pharmacy course was to be of three year duration and be comprised of six chairs. Finally, the Nursing course was to be of two years duration.

There was to be an increase in the number of staff members. The staff would be comprised of ten professors and four relieving professors. Four out of the ten permanent professors were to be selected from among the degree holders of

Goa and Bombay Medical School. It was also recommended that these graduates be appointed to different posts in the naval and colonial cadres of health services.

This plan too would have been shelved, but for Dr. Costa Alvares who in 1883, with the approval of the staff Council made a proposal to the Government of Goa for dividing some chairs without increase in expenditure. The additional work was distributed among the existing staff members. With this new development the Medical School had nine chairs of study spread over a period of five years.

First Year: First chair - General and descriptive anatomy.

Second Year: First chair - Revision of general and descriptive anatomy and topographic anatomy. Second chair - General biology and human physiology.

Third Year: Third chair - Materia Medica and pharmacy. Fourth chair - (a) General pathology; (b) Surgical pathology and Dermatology. Sixth chair - Surgical practice and attendance.

Fourth Year: Fifth chair - Medical pathology and tropical pathology. Sixth chair - Surgical practice. Seventh chair - Clinical medicine. Eighth chair - Surgical anatomy. Ninth chair - Hygiene.

Fifth Year: Surgical Practice (attendance and examination). Seventh chair - Clinical medicine (attendance and examination). Eighth chair - Obstetrics. Ninth chair - Forensic medicine.

In 1907, an Institute of Analysis and Vaccines was created and put under the control of one of the professors of the school who would be its director, helped by a chemist - analyst who would be a pharmacist of the cadre. The Medical school, from its foundation in 1842 upto 1910 had graduated 444 doctors and 135 pharmacists. According to the census of 1910 there were 274 doctors in the territory of Goa and as many as 103 pharmacists.

According to Menezes Braganza, there is one salient feature in the history of Medical School of Goa which deserves special mention. It is the devotion and zeal of its directors and staff towards it. Every director tried to develop it and make the education more efficient. The successive attempts of major reforms proposed by the directors which could not succeed due to the indifference of the Central Government, in Lisbon, demonstrated amply the zeal and patriotic action of their authors and of staff council which always supported any move for improvement which came from the Director. The faculty and staff

accepted with goodwill, any increase in work, without corresponding increase in remuneration. There are instances, in which when an attempt to reform the course had failed due to lack of sufficient funds, the staff members decided to introduce the changes entailing more work for themselves, without additional remuneration, in order to improve the courses. Governors of the territory had also supported such moves and, whenever possible had approved the reforms, assuming themselves the responsibility and supported the institution in its critical moments, when without such gesture, the school might have been closed.²⁰

Technical and Professional Instruction

Technical and Professional education, is a relatively recent development as far as Goa was concerned. Some attempts were made from time to time, to introduce technical education in Goa. In 1862, the Portuguese Government appointed an Agronomist-cum-veterinary surgeon to work in Goa. The agronomist was also required to conduct a course in elementary veterinary science, and art of shoeing horses, during the first quarter of every year. This course could not be conducted as there were no students willing to take the course. The course was

²⁰Menezes Braganza, p. 152.

later converted into a course of agriculture-cum-veterinary science, with the same duration of four months, as per Government order dated July 4, 1870. Whether the course was ever conducted is difficult to ascertain in the absence of documentary evidence. The new course, was to be started in the School of Mathematics and Military and covered some six subjects: (1) History of agriculture in Portuguese India; (2) Elementary knowledge of botony with special reference to farming; (3) Elementary geology; (4) Agricultural mechanics; (5) Systems of farming and (6) Zootechny. No provision was made, however, for practical training in the syllabus. Immediately after the inauguration of this course, that is a year after its inception, the Professional Institute of Nova Goa was created in the place of the disbanded School of Mathematics and Military, as per the decree dated November 11, 1871. The Institute provided training facilities in the areas of agriculture, industry and commerce.

Industrial training consisted of: (1) Elementary industrial instruction, common to all industrial professions; (2) Special training for particular arts and crafts; (3) Agriculture training had two stages. The first stage training was meant for preparing agricultural officer and the second

stage was concerned with the training of surveyors, agronomists and agricultural engineers.

Training was imparted both in theory and practice. Theory was taught in the various subjects that comprise a particular course. Practical training was conducted in the laboratories and experimental stations of the Institute as well as in private workshops and factories. As many as eleven courses were taught in this Institute. These courses were:

- (1) Elementary course for industrial workers;
- (2) Course for workshop - foremen and workers;
- (3) Course for superintendents for public works;
- (4) Course for works supervisors;
- (5) Course for industrial chemists;
- (6) Course for machinists;
- (7) Course for agricultural officers;
- (8) Course for surveyors and valuers;
- (9) Course for agronomists;
- (10) Course for industrial engineers and
- (11) Course for commerce.

A twelfth course of pilotage was added later on.

The subjects taught in the Institute in the eleven courses were grouped into nine chairs:

First Chair: Arithmetic, algebra, geometry, plane and solid and descriptive; and trigonometry.

Second Chair: General principles of mechanics, Industrial mechanics and its applications to manufacture of engines,

agricultural mechanics, and mechanics as applied to civil constructions.

Third Chair: General physics and its application to crafts and agricultural meteorology.

Fourth Chair: Chemistry as applied to crafts and agriculture.

Fifth Chair: Principles of political economy, industrial economy and book-keeping; rural economy and rules and regulations concerning agriculture; book-keeping.

Sixth Chair: General principles of constructions, irrigation and agricultural topography.

Seventh Chair: Agriculture, forestry, zootechny and cattle hygiene.

Eighth Chair: Drawing and modelling.

Ninth Chair: Introductory geography, commercial geography, main commercial centers and their importance; elementary knowledge of commercial and maritime law; book-keeping and commercial correspondence; exchange, invoices, promissory notes, and insurance. For practical work, the decree made provisions for the establishment of laboratories of physics and chemistry, an observatory, a research station with an experimental farm, a museum of commercial products, a show-room of models of industrial

machines, products of arts and crafts, a workshop for rural crafts and a collection of agricultural implements. A sum of Rupees 500, were earmarked for the purpose. This was too meagre a sum and was totally inadequate for the installation of laboratories and other facilities.

As regards the staff, the staff members of the defunct School of Mathematics and Military were absorbed in the new Institute and in some cases this was done without taking into consideration the suitability of the teachers qualifications to the positions. This was one of the major obstacles to the success of the Institute. The Institute had no doubt a very ambitious program of studies as is evident from the syllabus described above. However, it was not realistic in terms of implementation. In addition, the theoretical knowledge prescribed by the syllabi even for lower courses was considered excessive. Added to this difficulty, was the medium of instruction -- Portuguese, which the students found difficult to understand. Another factor that accounted for the failure of the Institute was the lack of employment opportunities for the graduates and craftsmen of the Institute. With the exception of the chairs of mathematics and drawing, which were well attended, not only because it was compulsory for students who sought admission to the Medical School

but also because they were means of general education, the Institute was an utter failure. There is no record of any distinguished graduates such as agricultural engineers, agronomists, forest officers and others, coming out of this Institute, during the twenty years of its existence.

Although the Professional Institute of Nova Goa was quite obviously a dismal failure, it deserves mention for some of its limited achievements. In such areas of theoretical knowledge as physics and chemistry, it enjoyed an excellent reputation. The Institute was fortunate to have on its staff some competent and experienced teachers, who had earlier taught these subjects in the old school of Mathematics and Military.

In a report on the Goan educational system which contributed to the general educational reform of 1892, Minister Ferreira do Amaral, examined the causes for the failure of the Institute and its inevitable consequences to the Goan people. According to this Minister, the fundamental weakness of the Institute lay in the rapid transition from the old system to the new one, which was carried out without any advance preparation or planning. Moreover, the craftsmen had no place to practice the theoretical knowledge they had acquired in the courses. Furthermore, the teachers had to teach in a school

which was deficient in its essential requirements. Therefore, the energy of both students and teachers was wasted in fruitless efforts.²¹ The failure of the Institute also had some adverse consequences for the Goan people. According to Menezes Braganza:

Many a great talent in which Portuguese-India abounds undoubtedly, and many of whom honored the Portuguese name even in foreign countries and in most scientific centers, were not properly utilized. And what might superficially be interpreted as a degeneration of a traditionally talented race, was simply a consequence of a defunctive educational set-up forced by the special conditions prevailing at the time of its enactment and should later have been improved successively.²²

The practical training program of the Institute which was to be arranged in private workshops, by entering into agreements with the owners of the factories, could not be carried out as there were no factories in the territory at that time. Even the experimental farms could not be begun within the meagre funds allocated for the purpose. Moreover, the order of the provincial government to create an experimental farm was never enforced.

The Minister, Ferreira do Amaral in his reorganization

²¹Menezes Braganza, pp. 158-159. Also, Varde, (February 1972) p. 13.

of the educational system, abolished the Professional Institute and replaced it with the newly created School of Arts and Crafts. The new School had two major aims: (1) To start professional training of apprentices and crafts and mechanical arts; and (2) to provide practical training for craftsmen and craftmasters in various trades and professions.

The School of Arts and Crafts imparted theoretical knowledge in four subjects: (1) Primary education, (2) Rules of arithmetic, book-keeping for industrial workers and measures, (3) Elementary and general drawing and (4) Industrial drawing. Industrial drawing was subdivided into three parts: (a) Decorative (b) Architectural and (c) Mechanical. Decorative drawing was meant for different craftsmen such as plasterers, painters, gilders, engravers, wood carvers, turners, locksmiths, book-binders, sculptors and carpenters. Architectural drawing was meant for masons, quarrymen, surveyors, and others, and finally mechanical drawing was meant for fitters, firemen and watchmakers.

Workshop practicals were supervised by craftmasters who were trained either in Portugal or in the then British India. Instructors from Portugal were appointed in the trades of book-binding, smithy and carpentry. To impart agricultural education,

an experimental station with a farm for practical demonstration was envisioned. A laboratory for chemical analysis of the soil was also to be installed. The farm was to have demonstration plots for experimentation of fertilisers and a warehouse equipped with agricultural tools. The agricultural station and the farm was to be supervised by the Government Agronomist. Agricultural education, however, was never started. The Government agronomist in a report to the Government stated that as far as the cultivation of rice was concerned, he had much more to learn than teach.

The School of Arts and Crafts lasted only five years from 1893 to 1898. Like its predecessor the Professional Institute, the School of Arts and Crafts suffered from the same defects. The medium of instruction at the school was Portuguese which kept a good number of potential craftsmen away from the school. Secondly, the instruction was still generally theoretical. The only class that was successful was that of book-binding; this is because those students who had enlisted in this course by necessity had to be literate, and the teaching by nature had to be always practical. In addition to book-binding the courses of smithy and carpentry created a fine tradition of workmanship. After the abolition of the

school, workshops of smithy and carpentry were taken over by the Public Works Department. In 1889, however, book-keeping class was started at the Lyceum School, to help Goan emigrants with skills essential for migration to British India and British East Africa. This class was closed at a later date. Thus the attempts to establish technical and professional education in Goa during this period, met with scant success.

Portuguese education in Goa, that was introduced by Afonso de Albuquerque, after 1510, later came under the complete control of the religious orders. The religious orders, especially the Jesuits had a monopoly over Goa's education for well over three hundred years. Some of the important educational institutions like the College of St. Paul and the Seminary of Santa Fe, were established during this period. The control of the religious orders over education came to a brief interruption with the coming of Marquês de Pombal as the Minister of Portugal, in 1771, when the Jesuits were expelled from Portugal and their overseas possessions. The educational institutions however, continued to be administered by other religious orders till 1835, when all religious orders were expelled from Goa and the educational institutions came to be run by public authority. During this period, the public school system came

to be established in Goa. Secondary and higher institutions of learning, like the Lyceum, the School of Mathematics and Military, and Medical School, were also established. In addition attempts were also made to introduce technical education in Goa. The initiative for the establishment and development of education now rested entirely with the Central Government in Portugal. The Provincial Government's proposals for improvement and development of education, had to be duly sanctioned by the Central Government.

CHAPTER IV

PORTUGUESE EDUCATION IN GOA

1910-1961

The third part of the Portuguese period of education began in 1910 and ended in the year 1961, when Goa was liberated by the Indian Army and the Goan National Forces. This period was marked by some of the important political events, that changed the political system in Portugal and its colonies. These events were: (1) The end of the Portuguese Monarchy and the proclamation of a Republic of Portugal in 1910. (2) The rise of a Fascist Regime under the tutelage of Dr. Antonio Oliveira Salazar in 1926. (3) The emergence of Indian Nationalism in Goa in 1927.

Portugal became a Republic in 1910. Two important developments came out of the Republic. (1) Roman Catholicism ceased to be the state religion, and the Hindus of Goa were at last given equal political rights along with others; (2) Goa was given limited political autonomy till 1917. In 1918, an all Goa mass rally was held in Margao, where Menezes Braganza boldly denounced Portugal's new abhorrent legislation.¹

¹A. Braganza, The Discovery of Goa (Bombay: Brooks Publishing, 1964), p. 26.

Goans enjoyed the Republican freedoms till 1926. The new legislation came with the introduction of 'Carta Organica' which curtailed all civil liberties in Goa. Hereafter, Goans were reduced to second class citizens in their own country.

The Fascist regime came to Portugal in 1926. The Colonial Act of 1930, completely reduced the people of the colonies to a state of subservience. Goans established an Indian Institute in 1926 at Coimbra, Portugal, to propagate Indian culture. This was followed by a new phase in the Goan Freedom Struggle. The Freedom Movement started changing its character under the impact of the preachings of Mahatma Gandhi in British India. Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha founded the National Congress of Goa in 1928 and affiliated the Goa Congress Party to the All India Congress Committee.

The Republican Period provided a great boost to educational activities. In 1900, only ten per cent of the total population of Goa was literate. In 1903-04, there were 121 primary schools of which ninety-eight were public and twenty three private, with 4,945 pupils of whom 1,255 were girls.² In the years 1910-11, the number of Government Primary Schools

²Times of India, A Guide to Goa (Bombay: Times of India Press, n.d.), p. 51.

in the entire territory were increased to 105, of which eighty-eight were Portuguese schools, seven Marathi schools and ten Gujerati schools. Seventy-one of these schools were for boys and seventeen for girls. By 1915, the number of Government Primary Schools increased to 141; i.e. thirty-six more schools were added since 1910 which meant an increase of about thirty-five per cent within a period of five years.³ A non-denominational school for girls, known as the Escola Nacional de Sexo Feminino, was created by an Order dated January 4, 1911.⁴ The Congressional institution named Collegio da Nossa Senhora de Piedade, College of Our Lady of Piety, was closed. This new school taught both the Primary and Secondary sections. Subjects taught in the secondary section were: Portuguese, French, English, Music, Painting, Embroidery, Tailoring and Cutting. The primary sections curriculum was the same as the one followed in the Government Primary Schools.

Another important development of the period, was that the Normal School was now open to all communities. The sectarian clause was abolished, by which in the last few years of Monarchy the admission to the school was prohibited to non-Christians,

³ P. S. Varde, "Education in Goa, Daman and Diu", Goa Today, (March 1972), p. 24.

Christianity being the state religion.

Secondary education, too, received a great impetus. Lyceum schools were established at Mapuca, in the Bardez district, and at Margao in the Salcette district. In 1910, the National Lyceum was upgraded to the status of the Central Lyceum. The duration of the Lyceum course was extended to seven years. In addition, a full fledged course in Sanskrit language of two year duration was created in the Lyceum.

Medical and Pharmacological education was also expanded and improved in quality. The medical course was now composed of eighteen chairs distributed over a period of five years.⁵ This was indeed an important reform in the history of Medical education in Goa. The subject matter covered at the Medical School was distributed in the following time schedule. First Year of study consisted of two chairs* The first chair comprised Descriptive Anatomy and the second chair covered the subjects of Physiology and Histology. Second Year of studies involved the subjects covered in third, fourth and fifth chairs, which were, Topographic Anatomy, Human Physiology and Microbiology, respectively.

⁵Government of Portugal, Executive Order, April 1913; pp. 1-5.

*Chair represents a Subject.

Third Year of study was concerned with the sixth, seventh, eighth, ninth and tenth chairs -- Pathological Anatomy and Dermatology; Materia Medica and Therapeutics; Surgical Pathology and Surgical Propaedeutics; General Pathology; and Pharmacy - both theoretical and practical, respectively.

Fourth Year however, the study was confined to chair eleven, twelve, thirteen and fourteen, which covered the subjects of Medical Pathology and Medical Propaedeutics, Exotic Pathology, Surgical Anatomy; and Hygiene. Finally, the material covered in the Fifth Year, outlined in the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth chair, were Clinical Medicine, Clinical Surgery; Obstetrics and Gynaecology; and Forensic Medicine.

Pharmacy -- The course of Pharmacy under this new set-up was of three years duration and comprised of five chairs. The time distribution of the subject matter was as follows:

First Year -- First chair: General and Crystogamic Botony.

Second chair: General Chemistry and Pharmaceutical Chemistry.

Second Year -- Third chair: Natural History of Drugs. Fourth chair: Materia Medica and Therapeutics.

Third Year -- Fifth chair: Pharmaceutical Technology and Sterilization.

In 1918, the Institute of Analysis and Vaccines of Nova Goa, was reorganized. As a result of this reorganization, there emerged the Institute of Bacteriology and the Institute of Chemical and Toxicological Analysis.

Professional and Technical Education

The void in the professional education was filled with the establishment of a Commercial Institute in 1916. This institute provided a two year course in commerce. The subjects covered during the two years were: (1) English; (2) French; (3) Bookkeeping; (4) Knowledge of commercial documents and operations; (5) Commercial Geography; (6) Principles of Commerce; (7) Commercial Law; (8) Administrative Law; (9) Rules and Regulations regarding customs, excise duties and other taxes; (10) Rules and Regulations regarding Post and Telegraphs. Only those students who had successfully completed primary school education were eligible for admission to the Commercial Institute.

Agricultural Education also received encouragement, during this period. Five scholarships were created to enable students to study agriculture, forestry, or hydraulic engineering in the Indian Universities. A Scholarship of Rs. 100 (\$12.00) per month was awarded to each student.

Another interesting development in education came in 1920, when the Governor Dr. Jaime de Moraes, drafted a well laid out plan aimed at reorganizing the educational set-up, both in terms of the nature and type of education. The plan was enthusiastically received and approved, by the Governor's Council of the territory, but failed to receive sanction from the Central Government in Portugal. Although the Plan was never put into effect, it would be of interest to examine some of its features.

The Educational Draft Plan of 1920, was to be prepared by a special agency created for the purpose. This would have insured the implementation of the Plan without solely depending upon the Public Treasury. The Plan touched almost every aspect of Goan education.⁶ According to the Plan, there were to be two types of primary schools -- General Primary Education and Rural Primary Education. The former schools were meant for the urban and sufficiently developed areas, while the latter were meant for the rural and backward areas.

Instruction in the Rural schools would consist of the following subjects: Reading, Writing, Simple Arithmetic, Weights and Measures, Metric System, Geography of Portugal and

⁶Varde, pp. 24-25.

its possessions in India, Drawing, General Principles of Agriculture, Physical Training, and Handicrafts. The medium of instruction in these schools was to be the regional language. The Portuguese language was to be introduced gradually. However, children from the rural schools who were found proficient in the Portuguese language could complete their primary education in the General Primary Schools.

The syllabus of the General Primary School was more comprehensive and wider than the Rural Primary School. The medium of instruction in these schools was to be the Portuguese language. Provisions, however, were made to allow the use of the regional language as the medium of instruction, wherever necessary, on a temporary basis. No child, however, would be awarded a Primary School Certificate if he was unable to speak the Portuguese language.

There were to be Model Schools in the important towns of Goa -- Panjim, Margao and Mapuca. A special feature of this education plan was the summer courses that were to be organized for teachers interested in the techniques of teaching handicraft.

Model Schools

The Plan had envisaged that in each of the administrative headquarters, and in the important villages of Goa, there

would be a primary school of seven standards or grades. The medium of instruction in these schools was to be bilingual, in Marathi, and Portuguese. The Teacher Training Course, at the Normal School, was also to be reorganized and extended to three years, to make room and time for the teaching of such new subjects as gardening and handicrafts which were being introduced by the Plan. The number of staff members were to be increased and better qualifications were prescribed for important positions such as the Principal, teacher of Portuguese language and for teacher of Handicrafts.

Women's Education

To promote education among women, the Plan recommended the establishment of Women's Institute of Education, which would offer: (1) Primary education of five year duration, followed by four years of secondary education; (2) Special courses in domestic science and music. The four year secondary course was to include such subjects as Portuguese, French, English, Geography, History, Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry, Natural Sciences, Drawing and Modelling, Educational Handicraft, Drill and Games appropriate to women, and Music and Singing. The three year special course, was comprised of: Portuguese, Literature, French, English, Cutting and Tailoring, Embroidery,

Domestic Economics, Cookery, Gardening, Horticulture, Rearing of Domestic Animals, Drill, Music and Painting.

Secondary Education

The Educational Plan's reform in the secondary education, involved the creation of two courses at the Municipal Lyceums. The first course, or the general course, was to cover the first three years of Lyceum, and the second course or special course was to be comprised of subjects such as agriculture, industrial and commercial knowledge suited to local conditions. In order to provide for the special course in the same district, an elementary school of commerce was to be established.

The Agricultural Education at the Lyceum was composed of three years -- two years for general course and a year of special course. The general course was to deal with practical study of nursery, seedlings, plantation and transplantation, harvesting and storage of produce; tilling and its purpose; ploughing implements and their uses, reform in local farming; structure of soils in India; and cultivation of rice and legumes. The special course was to be comprised of Mathematics as applied to land surveying, Botany with special emphasis on regional species, practical demonstrations at the Biology

laboratories and in the fields. Physics and Chemistry and its applications to Agriculture, Zootechny, Rural Economy, practical work on cultivation of rice, coconut trees, sugarcane, cotton trees, legumes and fodder.

Commercial Education and Professional Education

The Lyceum was to have a commercial course. The course was made up of two sections. The first section or the Elementary course was to be taught at the Central and Municipal Lyceum, and the second section or the Complementary course was to be taught at the Central Lyceum only. The Elementary section which was of three years duration, dealt with subjects such as Elements of Bookkeeping and Commercial Accountancy; Handwriting and Typing. The Complementary section which involved two years of study consisted of the following subjects: (1) English; (2) German (optional); (3) Arithmetic; (4) Accountancy and Bookkeeping (commercial and banking); (5) Principles of Commerce -- Commercial and Fiscal Law and Economics; (6) Commercial and Economic Geography, Communication and Transports; (7) Principles of Technology and Merchandise; (8) Practicals in Bookkeeping and Accountancy; (9) Handwriting, Stenography and Typewriting; (10) French; (11) Marathi (optional).

The Educational Plan had also made provisions to

provide industrial education to help Goan emigrants acquire professional training. This type of education was to be conducted at the mobile professional schools, at the special section of the Municipal Lyceum School, and in the schools of Arts and Crafts to be opened at Nova-Goa and Vasco da Gama. A School of Agriculture was proposed for Assolna in the Salcette district. The Mobile Schools were to train village populations in rural industries such as joinery, pottery, weaving, dyeing and in the making of coir products. The School of Arts and Crafts was to train students in the following crafts and trades: Carpentry, Smithy, Shoemaking, Saddlery, Cutting and Tailoring, Turning, Machinery and Driver education. A School of Music was also to be set up under this Plan. This school was to provide, in addition to the general course of music, special courses in piano, violin, cello and singing.

Higher Education

In the area of higher education, there was to be reorganization of the courses of Medicine and Pharmacy, which were to be expanded by creating new chairs. According to the Plan, the total number of chairs of the Medical course were to be increased to twenty and the material was to be covered over a

period of six years. In addition, there were to be optional courses leading to specialization. Students could take these courses during the last two years of the general course, or after the completion of the general course. Pharmacy studies were to be strengthened by an additional year of practical training which would increase the practical training to five years.

The School of Agriculture, which was to be installed would conduct a two year course in the following subjects: Agriculture - general and special; Botany and Plant Pathology; Agricultural Chemistry; Agricultural Engineering; Zootechny and Veterinary Science; Forestry; Rural Economy; Rural Technology and Dairy Farming. The School was to have dormitory facilities and a small veterinary hospital.

Thus far the progress of education during the first decade of the Republican Regime has been examined. Hereafter, a more detailed and systematic study will be made of some of the existing educational institutions in terms of their growth, development, manner and the machinery with which they were administered.

The Lyceum School

The Lyceum was started in 1854. Since then, a number

of changes have taken place that have affected almost all aspects of the Lyceum system, including its instruction, curriculum, procedures of examinations, and administration.

In the beginning, students were allowed to take only one subject at a time, which ran for a specific period of time. After the completion of one subject, the student was then allowed to continue his studies in the next subject. This process continued until all the prescribed subjects in the course were completed. This subject-oriented system was replaced by a system of classes in 1897. The subject matter of the course was arranged in classes, called the General Course of Lyceum, that could be completed over a period of five years of successful study. In addition, there were Lyceum institutions in Portugal, that provided for Complementary Courses in Arts and Sciences, which were two separate courses of study, each of two year duration. The Lyceum institutions that taught these courses were known as the Central Lyceums.

As far as Goa was concerned, as mentioned earlier, the Goa Lyceum was converted into a Central Lyceum in 1919, and the Complementary course of Arts and Sciences was taught at the Institute. In the same year, Municipal Lyceums were set up at Mapuca in the Bardez district and Margao in the Salcette district, with a course that spread over three years. The

five year general course, however, was divided into two sections. The first section covered the first two years of study and the second section covered the next three years of study. The Complementary courses made up the third section. The sections were later termed as cycles.

According to the Decree of 1931, the Lyceum syllabus was to be comprised of the following compulsory subjects:⁷

First Cycle (the first two years of study):

(1) Portuguese; (2) French; (3) Geography and Natural Sciences; (4) Mathematics; (5) Drawing (6) Morals and Civics; (7) Handicrafts; (8) Physical Education; (9) Needle work (for ladies).

The last four subjects were not taken into account for passing a student, but their attendance requirement was strict and compulsory.

Second Cycle (next three years):

(1) Portuguese; (2) Latin; (3) French; (4) English; (5) Geography and History which covered the history and geography of both, Portugal and the World; (6) Physics, Chemistry and Natural Sciences which included Zoology, Botany, Geology and Mineralogy; (7) Mathematics; (8) Drawing; (9) Physical Education; (10) Needle Work (for girls). The last two subjects were compulsory but were not taken into account for passing.

⁷Government of Portugal, Decree #20369, October 8, 1931, pp.1-10.

Third Cycle (sixth and seventh year):

Arts: (1) Portuguese language and literature; (2) Latin language and literature; (3) English; (4) German; (5) World History; (6) Geography - involving a study of General Geography, Commercial Geography, Cartography and Cosmography; (7) Philosophy; (8) Physical Education; (9) Needle Work for girls.

Sciences: (1) Mathematics which included subjects such as Algebra, Trigonometry, Analytical Geometry and Rational Arithmetic; (2) Physics and Chemistry; (3) Natural Sciences, which included Zoology, Botany, Geology and Mineralogy; (4) German; (5) Geography; (6) Physical Education; (8) Needle Work (for girls). The last two subjects were not accounted for examination purpose in either of the courses.

In 1936, a further revision was made which affected the time duration and curriculum of some of the courses.⁸ The new changes affected the structure of the general course, which was extended to six years. The first two cycles were of three year duration, each, while the third cycle course was reduced to a one year composite course. There was however, no

⁸Government of Portugal, Decree #27084 and #27085, November 14, 1936; pp. 1-10 and pp. 1-15.

separate section for Arts and Sciences as before.

Some changes were also made in the curriculum. The subject of morals and civics, was extended to the second cycle. Physical Education was combined with Hygiene. Choral singing was made compulsory in all educational institutions with the exception of higher education. Choral singing, involving the singing of Portuguese patriotic songs, was considered to be important for the promotion of national integration. These subjects, however, were not covered for examination purposes. Some changes were also made in the curriculum of the second cycle. Portuguese which was a separate subject was combined with Latin into one subject, Portuguese-Latin. The subject of the French language was discontinued. The German language subject which could be taken in lieu of English was introduced. Similarly Geography, which was separated from History in the second cycle, was now combined with natural sciences to form one composite subject was placed in the third year of the first cycle.

The third cycle apart from it being reduced in time duration, also had some radical changes in the syllabus. Subjects such as foreign languages were dropped in favor of new ones. After the new reorganization, the subjects remained as follows: (1) Portuguese language and literature; (2) Latin;

(3) Geographical Sciences; (4) Biological Sciences; (5) Physics and Chemistry; (6) Mathematics; (7) Political and Administrative Organization of the Portuguese Nation; (8) Philosophy; (9) Hygiene and Physical Education; (10) Choral Singing. The last two subjects had no bearing on the examinations.

Examinations

Lyceum examinations were conducted both in oral and written form. Practical examinations were required in those subjects where practicals were deemed compulsory. The student had to obtain at least fifty per cent of the marks to make the passing grade. A distinction was awarded to those students who had secured eighty per cent of the maximum obtainable.

The interesting feature of the 1936 reorganization was found in the area of examinations. The oral examinations were abolished except for the spoken languages. Two tests were given in each of the subjects. Only the better one was taken into consideration. Each subject was to be assessed separately in the examination. The candidates were allowed to carry over to the next year, in addition to the subjects taken in that year, those subjects of the previous year in which they were not successful. It was felt that this system of instructional coordination with the examination system, in which the students

performance was assessed, subject-wise rather than on the total program of instruction would lighten the burden on the student.

The reorganization program was not entirely promising since it had some defects that needed correction. The combined Complementary course of the third cycle, set up in 1936, did not work out in practice. It was too heavy a program of studies for most students. Since it tried to combine in one sequence a wide variety of subjects at a reasonably high level only gifted students could pass it successfully, at the first attempt. The Composite course, or the Course of Synthesis, as it was called, was divided again into two courses -- Arts and Sciences, as per the Decree of 1941.⁹ However, the period of one year duration was maintained. The science course was comprised of Physics, Chemistry, Mathematics, and Biological Sciences as special subjects; and the Arts course was comprised of Portuguese and Latin as special subjects. Other than these subjects, the remaining subjects were common to both courses.

According to the Reforms of 1947, the Lyceum instruction was once again reorganized in 1948.¹⁰ This was the last

⁹Government of Portugal, Decree September 30, 1941, pp.1-8

¹⁰Government of Portugal, Decree September 17, 1947, pp.1-15

reorganization to take place during the Portuguese Regime. It was comprised of the following subjects, divided into three cycles:

First Cycle (first two years)

- (1) Portuguese Language and History of Portugal; (2) French Language; (3) Natural Sciences and Geography; (4) Mathematics; (5) Drawing.

Second Cycle (third, fourth and fifth year)

- (1) Portuguese Language; (2) French Language; (3) English Language; (4) World History and History of Portugal; (5) World Geography and Geography of Portugal and its Colonies; (6) Natural Sciences; (7) Physics and Chemistry; (8) Mathematics; (9) Drawing.

Third Cycle (sixth and seventh year)

In this cycle, subjects could be arranged in groups to meet the needs of the individual students and the requirements of University education in Portugal. The fourteen subjects that could be taken as optional subjects, in groups, were:

- (1) Portuguese; (2) Latin; (3) Greek; (4) French; (5) English; (6) German; (7) History; (8) Philosophy; (9) Geography; (10) Natural Sciences; (11) Political and Administrative Organization of Portugal; (12) Physics and Chemistry; (13) Mathe-

matics; (14) Drawing. Each group consisted of five or six subjects. The subjects of Philosophy and Political and Administrative Organization of Portugal, were common to all groups, and compulsory. The remaining subjects or combination of subjects varied depending upon the interest and the group, leading to the University course chosen by the student.

In addition to the above schedule, there were other weekly features. In the first cycle, there were two periods of Religion and Morals, two periods of Physical Education, two periods of Choral Singing and one of Needle-Work. The second cycle had one period of Religion and Morals, two periods of Physical Education, and one of Choral Singing. Finally, in the third cycle, there was one period of Religion and Morals and one of Physical Education.

Examinations

The provisions of the Decree of 1947, also related to examinations. It stated that in the final years of the first two cycles, that is in the second and fifth years respectively, those of the students who had secured an average of seventy per cent of the marks during all the years of the cycle, in the internal assessment, were exempted from the final examinations. Students who failed to attain an average of forty-five per cent

of the marks were debarred from appearing for the final examinations. However, there was no exemption from written examinations in the final year of the third cycle. Students who had secured an average of eighty per cent of the marks in the written examinations were exempted from the oral examination. It should be noted, however, that students who had passed the previous year, could appear again the next year for the same examinations if they desired to improve their performance. In the science group of the seventh year, the practical examinations were integrated with written ones for the purpose of results. This was the way the Lyceum education was organized and functioned at the time of the liberation of Goa, in December 1961.

It may be observed from the above study that the number of years of schooling under the Portuguese Regime was twelve years. Of the total of twelve years, five years were spent in primary education, and seven years in secondary education. Of the seven years of secondary education, five years were devoted for general course and two years for complementary or pre-university course. Finally, only those students who had completed the complementary course of Lyceum, i.e. after twelve years of schooling, were eligible to seek admission in the Universities

of Portugal.

Commercial and Agricultural Schools

The Commercial Institute of Nova Goa, established in 1916, was the only institute in business education, in Goa. The Institute was very popular during its early years, and it attracted a number of good students who maintained regular attendance. One of the reasons for its initial success was the Institute's training program which prepared students for Government jobs. The Institute later declined until it was closed in 1928. From 1928 to 1932, there was no professional educational agency in Goa. The void was however filled when an Agricultural School was created to serve on an experimental basis in 1932.¹¹ The same Decree was also instrumental in establishing a School of Arts and Crafts in the district of Satari.

Agricultural School

The Agricultural School, located in the rural district of Sanguem, provided a three year course. The following subjects were taught at the School: (1) Portuguese Language; (2) General Science; (3) Elementary Arithmetic; (4) Elementary Drawing;

¹¹Government of Portugal, Order #1063, Jan. 6, 1933, pp. 5-20.

(5) Elementary Knowledge of House Construction; (6) Elementary Knowledge of Carpentry; (7) Agriculture; (8) Home Industry; (9) Ideas of Legislation; (10) Elementary Hygiene. The course's total weekly teaching hours amounted to thirty-eight. Eighteen hours a week were devoted to the study of agriculture, while the remaining twenty hours were utilized to teach the other subjects. The School was adequately staffed and headed by a qualified agronomist, as Principal. In addition, there were three other instructors who were qualified and competent in their respective fields. There was an instructor in carpentry. An instructor, a mason, taught elementary principles of construction. A Primary teacher taught all the other remaining subjects. Accomodation facilities were provided for students who were at least fourteen years of age and had given an undertaking that they would work in the district after completion of their studies. The School was later transferred to the Bardez district, where it functioned nominally for a few years, as a part of the Government farm.

School of Arts and Crafts

The rules and regulations that governed the School of Arts and Crafts were specified in an Order of 1933.¹² This

¹²Government of Portugal, Order #4674, June 11, 1948, pp.1-7.

order provided for the teaching of the course of Smithy and carpentry, at the School. The School was provided with a qualified and competent staff. The Principal was a qualified civil engineer. In addition, the School also had two instructors for carpentry and smithy. There was also an experienced mechanic who worked as a workshop assistant. A primary teacher taught Portuguese language and other subjects and also served as the Secretary of the School. The Military Administrator of the District of Satari was designated as the Superintendent of the School. In the context of the times, the School with an average attendance of from forty to forty-five students was a well attended institution. Almost half of these students attended the carpentry classes. The School also had a well equipped workshop where the students were provided with separate work benches and necessary tools.

The School of Arts and Crafts operating under Government control until 1947, had its administration entrusted to the Salesian Missionary Society, which had long been established in that district.¹³ It was felt that the School could be better operated by the Salesian Society, which was well known for its

¹³Provincial Government, Legislative Diploma #616, Jan. 9, 1933, pp.1-16.

administrative skill in conducting this kind of school. The School's property and related assets, however, still belonged to the Government. The Government had actually contracted the Salesian's services in administering the School for which they were paid an adequate maintenance amount. The School was run by the Society until 1961. It was closed after liberation of Goa. The property, including buildings and equipment, was returned to the Government. The old building was renovated by the Goa Government and a secondary school was set up in that building. The Portuguese however, did not use religious societies to operate schools, in general.

The Professional School of Nova Goa

The Professional School, founded in 1933 was established in response to the needs of Goan emigrants.¹⁴ Goa, at that time, was experiencing a phase of population exodus. People were migrating in large numbers to the neighboring territories of British India and overseas to British and Portuguese Africa in search of employment. The Portuguese, having consistently failed to provide gainful employment to the local

¹⁴Government of Portugal, Legislative Diploma #616, January 9, 1933, pp. 1-5.

population in Goa, were attempting to provide some sort of instruction and training in those skills and professions in which the Goans were known to have talent. The School also catered to the professional and technical skills of the local population.

Rules and Regulations for Administration

The Rules and Regulations submitted by the Provincial Government received official sanction from the Central Government.¹⁵ The Rules and Regulations provided, among other things for the creation of a workshop attached to the Professional School. It was recommended that such a workshop be created by merging the existing workshops of the Public Works Department and the River Navigation Department. The new workshop was to be controlled by the Public Works Department. However, the proposed merger never materialized as the River Navigation Department opposed the idea of relinquishing its authority over the workshop. The failure to merge the two workshops however, did not interfere with the actual functioning of the School. The workshop of the Public Works Department, designated as the State Workshop, became the practical arm of the school. The

¹⁵Government of Portugal, Order #1711, May 4, 1933, pp.1-9.

workshop was expanded and fully equipped with facilities essential for proper conduct of the course.

Courses and Syllabus

The course offered at the Professional School fell into two categories. The first category dealt with the training of the apprentices and the second category was concerned with the actual training of the craftsmen. The complete course ran into three years of six semesters duration. While first three semesters comprised the first category of the course, the remaining three semesters composed the second category of the course. In terms of the School's administration, the Director of the Public Works Department was also the ex officio director of the School. In practice, however, the control and direction of the school lay in the hands of the Superintending Engineer, who was also the Superintendent of the State Workshop. The qualifications and duties of the staff members were specified in the Rules and Regulations. According to the Rules and Regulations, there were to be seven staff members in addition to the Superintending Engineer. The Superintending Engineer had to be a qualified electrical and mechanical engineer. In addition to administering the school, it was also his duty to assist the Post and Telegraph and Electrical Services. The

school was provided with instructors in the trades of smithy, carpentry, joining, pattern and mould-making, and machine fitting. In addition to these instructors, there were also teachers of drawing and Portuguese language. In addition to the two categories of the course, a third category, known as special category was to be established, for selected students who had already distinguished themselves in the school curriculum. The special category was to provide training in mechanical and electrical engineering and textile technology. Although the general plans for the School provided for the special category or stage, it was never actually implemented.

The School's syllabus contained the subjects that were offered in both the First and Second Categories. In the First Category or Stage of the course, the subjects offered were (1) Elementary Drawing; (2) Portuguese Language; (3) Elementary Arithmetic and Geometry; (4) Workshop Practice; (5) Elementary Physics and Chemistry. In the Second Category or Stage of the course, the subjects offered were (1) Portuguese; (2) Mathematics; (3) Special Drawing; (4) Physics and Chemistry; (5) Mechanical Technology; (6) Workshop Technology; (7) Heat Engines; (8) Electrical Engineering; (9) Practice on Machines and Electrical Installations; (10) Conduction of Machines and (11) Workshop

practice. These subjects were arranged in groups to provide six comprehensive trades courses: (1) Civil Carpentry; (2) Joinery and Furniture Making; (3) Smithy; (4) Turner; (5) Machinist, and (6) Electrician. The entire course had a strong practical bias. The total number of weekly hours at school came to forty-eight, out of which more than half the number were spent on practical training.

Admission, Stipends and Scholarships.

Admission to the first category or stage of the course was opened to all students who had successfully completed the Segund Grau or Fifth Grade of the primary education. More than one-third of the seats were reserved for students from working class families, namely sons of craftsmen and laborers, who had no knowledge of the Portuguese language. This policy served two objectives. First, it provided opportunities for the development of traditional and hereditary skills prevalent among sons of craftsmen and second, it provided opportunities to develop skills in trades among the working class to help them improve their economic lot. The age requirements for admission to the course was set between ten and twenty-five. A novel feature of the course was the payment of stipends to students who could not afford to pay the fees. A certain proportion of the students

at the school received a nominal sum of money. After completing two semesters of successful instruction and training at the school, the student became entitled to a percentage of the income of the state workshop that was derived from its commercial operations. In addition, the students could now qualify for jobs with the Government and private companies. Another feature of this course was the reservation of seats for the Lyceum students. Fifty percent of the seats for the course of electrical engineering were reserved for direct admission from among the Lyceum students who had completed the fifth year of Lyceum. There was no provision for direct admission for the third section or stage of the course. Finally, the Government instituted five scholarships to help promising students continue their studies and training in their respective trades at the Universities of India and Portugal.

Examinations

The type of examination administered at the School was of a public nature, and was held at the completion of each of the categories of the courses. In addition to the public examinations, students were subjected to a system of internal assessment between semesters, in each category. Students who failed

twice in a semester automatically were dropped from the course.

Unlike the technical and professional schools of the past, the success of the Professional School proved that technical education was viable in Goa if given the proper guidance and encouragement of a realistic Government policy. The school definitely succeeded in establishing a nucleus of technical education in Goa. The school had the good fortune to have on its staff at its inception a Superintending Engineer of the calibre of Jenordana Khamte, a highly competent engineer, who later on, became the Director of Posts and Telegraphs in Portuguese West Africa. The School had a full fledged life of sixteen productive years during which it maintained an average attendance of forty-five students. The alumni of the Professional School of Nova Goa distinguished themselves in their fields both in Goa and other Portuguese possessions. The quality of instruction and training imparted in this School enabled many of its graduates to utilize their knowledge and training to establish successful businesses.

The success achieved by the Professional School may be attributed to the well developed State Workshops and the policy of income-sharing in which the trainees participated. The State Workshops were so equipped as to provide the trainees

with the real conditions prevalent in the factories and in private business. It gave them a first hand experience in the world of work. The policy of participation in the profits of the workshop provided the trainee with a strong incentive to learn and work. Finally, students were provided with the opportunity to put into practice the theoretical knowledge they had acquired from the course.

The nature and quality of development of the State Workshops can be gauged from the various activities undertaken in these shops. Some of the following activities were completely new to Goa: (1) nickle plating; (2) development of metal foundry including iron casting in a "cupola" furnace; (3) arc welding; (4) spray painting; (5) motor servicing with the application of pneumatic tools; (6) other applications of pneumatic tools; (7) introduction of machine tools in mechanical and carpentry workshops; (8) creation of electric workshops for repairing electrical machines and apparatus such as fan pumps and electrical installations.¹⁶

By the late 1940's the success attained by the school began to wane. By 1952, the quality of technical education

¹⁶Varde, (June 1972), p. 21.

in Goa had reached a low ebb. The Minister of Colonies, Captain Saramento Rodrigues, who visited Goa in 1952, was disappointed with the state of technical education in the territory which was at a rudimentary stage of development. The Minister immediately obtained a sanction for the establishment of five additional technical schools.¹⁷ Only four of these schools were actually set up but it was indeed a great step forward.

At the inception of these technical schools, the course offered was of an elementary type which ran for two years. The subjects taught in these schools were the same as that of the first Cycle of Lyceum but with some exceptions. For example, the French language subject was dropped in favor of the English language subject. Further, more time was devoted to the subjects of handicrafts and drawing. The course taught in this school was later extended to five years, the first two years dealing with elementary education and the remaining three years devoted to specialization. In order to effect this reorganization, certain institutional changes had to be made. Two of the schools, located at

¹⁷Minister of Colonies, Ministerial Legislative Diploma, #3, May 3, 1952, pp. 5-20.

Panjim the capital of Goa, and Margao, in the district of Salcette, were upgraded. The school at Panjim came to be known as the Industrial Commercial School while the school at Margao was known as the Commercial School. The school at Panjim - the Industrial Commercial School, offered some five subjects: (1) machinists, (2) carpentry, (3) electrician (4) general commerce, and (5) general home-science for female students. The School at Margao, the Commercial School, offered only the General Commerce course. This was more or less the state of technical education on the eve of the liberation of Goa.

Escola Normal or the Normal School

The Escola Normal or the Normal School began functioning in 1925. It was named Luis de Comoes, after the famous Portuguese poet who wrote the well known Portuguese epic, "The Luisads". Since its founding, the School underwent some minor changes in its curriculum and instruction. In 1935, some striking changes were made in the syllabus and instructions when new rules and regulations were framed to improve the quantity and quality of education.¹⁸ These rules were

¹⁸Government of Portugal, Legislative Diploma, April 23, 1935, pp. 1-10.

formally approved by the Central Government in 1935.¹⁹

According to the new rules and regulations, the syllabus was to have four categories of subjects. The first category consisted of Portuguese Language and History. The second category was comprised of Psychology, Pedology and Pedagogics. The third category consisted of Didactics, which included general teaching methods, methods of teaching particular subjects, i.e. Mother-tongue, Portuguese, Mathematics, Zoology, Geography, Morals and Music of which two subjects were compulsory. General and School Hygiene, Needle-Work, Domestic Economy and Cookery were for female students only. The fourth category was made up of subjects such as Drawing, Modelling, and Handicrafts. The duration of the course was reduced from three to two years. This reduction in the time period had few adverse effects on the quality of instruction, for ample measures were taken to see that a high academic standard was maintained. This was achieved by including in the curriculum more subjects that were considered to be important and relevant for teacher-training programs. The admission requirements were also raised considerably.

¹⁹Government of Portugal, Order #2359, May 31, 1935, pp. 1-9.

Admissions and Examinations

Only those students who had completed the fifth year of Lyceum, instead of the previous third year of Lyceum, were eligible to apply for admission to the teacher training course.²⁰ The system of final examinations administered in the school was also changed. According to the new system, adopted in 1935, internal examinations were abolished and were replaced by public examinations. A board of examiners, composed of teachers and professors from the primary, secondary and higher educational institutions, was created annually to conduct public examinations. The director of the Normal School was the ex-officio chairman of the examining board. The other members of the board were comprised of one professor of higher education, two professors of Lyceum and one primary teacher with at least ten years of teaching experience.

The forms of tests administered were written, practical and oral. The tests on literary subjects were held first. Only successful students at these examinations were allowed to appear for the rest of the examinations. The Pedagogical

²⁰Government of Portugal, Order #908, October 13, 1935. pp. 1-10.

tests were to determine both the knowledge of pedagogical culture and the degree of pedagogical ability. The minimum number of marks essential for passing were eleven out of a maximum of twenty marks in the Portuguese language subject, and ten out of a maximum of twenty marks in the rest of the subjects. Again, written tests preceded the oral tests. Those candidates found successful in the written tests were allowed to appear for the practical and oral tests. It may be observed from the above, that written examinations were used to eliminate candidates from taking further examinations. Candidates had to obtain twelve out of a maximum of twenty marks to be successful in subjects such as Psychology, Pedology, Pedagogics and Didactics. For the remaining subjects, the passing marks were ten out of a maximum of twenty marks. The first year examinations were internally administered.

The minimum age for admission to the Escola Normal was sixteen and the maximum age was thirty-two. The School was allowed to train thirty students, however, this number could be raised to thirty-five with Government permission. The School which offered broad based and well conceived course maintained a fairly high standard. The School curriculum

stressed both subject matter, knowledge and teaching competency.

Didactics, which has been referred to earlier, included:

(1) General teaching methods, and (2) Methods of teaching specific subjects such as native language, Portuguese, Mathematics, Zoology, Geography, Morals and Music. Two of these subjects had to be taken by every student. In terms of time distribution over subject matter, the first year of the course covered the theory, pedagogics, and language aspects of the course. Second year, however, was devoted to practice teaching. A total number of twelve hours a week were allotted for practice teaching. The students were required to prepare lesson plans. Teaching by the students was supervised by the teachers of the school where they were practicing, and also by the professors of Didactics.

In 1950, reforms were introduced by which written and practical tests were given equal importance.²¹ The minimum passing marks for both the tests was set at 10/20. The types of examinations now administered were in the following categories: (a) written, (b) oral of Portuguese language only, (c) practical and (d) tests of pedagogical ability. To appear

²¹Government of Portugal, Order #5151, November 23, 1950, pp. 1-10.

for the final examination of pedagogical ability, candidates had to pass the written, oral and practical tests.

In 1954, the admission requirements were changed. The Normal Course was put on par with the similar course offered in Portugal. This revision required a change in the conditions of admissions which led to the introduction of an entrance examination and a minimum qualification set at the Second Cycle of Lyceum, or its equivalent. Seats were divided equally between the two sexes. Unfilled seats, however, could be filled by either sex. The composition of the board of examiners was also changed. It was now comprised of the director of the Normal School and two professors of technical courses from the Lyceum.

The Escola Normal or the Normal School was generally successful. In 1962, the Education Committee made a detailed study of the School and its courses. The Jha Committee was of the opinion that:

The work done generally in the institution has been of a fairly high standard and easily comparable with what is done in some of the very good junior training colleges in the country.²²

²²P. S. Varde, (July 1972), p. 13.

The Escola Nacional de Sexo Feminino or The National School for Women

The National School for Women, which began as a secular institution, was closed in 1952. The school building and other properties of the school were entrusted to the care of the Patriarch, who was to conduct a school of education for girls. The administration of the school was to be entrusted to a religious corporation chosen by the office of the Archbishop of Goa. The school was to be a residential one but would also admit semi-boarders as well as daily students or day scholars.

The main objective of the National School for Women was the moral, religious and educational formation of the girls according to the Portuguese tradition.²³ A grant of Rs. 32,000 was made for the maintenance of the institution in addition to the respective provisions made in the budget of the territory. According to the rules and regulations governing the subject matter there were to be three courses in the school. (1) A one year course for housewives; (2) a two year course of domestic education, (3) and finally a three year course of

²³Overseas Ministry of Portugal, Art. #75, Decree #31207, April 5, 1947, pp. 5-25.

domestic and social education.²⁴ The syllabus covered subjects such as religion with other special subjects for girls such as cookery, needlework, hygiene and nursing. There was to be a public examination at the end of each course, and tests were administered in written, oral and practical form.

The Medical School

After the disapproval of the Draft Educational Plan of the Governor General, Dr. Jaime de Moraes in 1920, a fresh attempt was made by Dr. Froilano de Melo in 1927. This reform was important since it recommended the creation of a special course of History of Ayurvedic Medicine attached to General Pathology and History of Medicine. The reform also proposed some new Chairs in Medical Physics, Natural History -- Zoology and Botany, Bio-chemistry and Chemical Analysis and Propoedentics - both medical and surgical. It was also proposed to set up a laboratory and a display room of Ayurvedic drugs and medicine. Creation of some special facilities such as Ophthalmology and Ear-Nose-Throat were also proposed. In 1933, a Committee appointed by the Medical School attempted

²⁴Government of Portugal, Order #14535, September 14, 1953. pp. 2-18.

to bring about reforms in that institution. Neither of these reforms were approved by the Central Government.

In 1946 a reorganization in the Medical School established a five year period for the medical course.²⁵ Among the added studies were compulsory subjects such as Bio-chemistry, Medical Zoology, X-Ray Investigation and Pediatrics. The syllabus of the Pharmacy course was further extended by the introduction of subjects such as Pharmaceutical Zoology, Bacteriology, Bio-chemistry, Bromotological and Toxicological Analysis. The reform of 1946 made the Medical School independent of the Health Services. According to this reform, the hospital was attached to the School but had to assist in the duties of Health assigned to it. The X-Ray Institute and the Institute of Bacteriology were assigned to the Health Services and later in 1952, even the Institute of Analysis was assigned to it.

The Medical School was once again faced with a problem having been deprived of the services of these various Institutes which were now assigned to Health Services. Everything had to be done afresh. Despite meagre fund allocations, and

²⁵Government of Portugal, Decree 35610, April 24, 1946, pp. 1-10.

physical handicaps, the Medical School continued to progress because of the enthusiastic work of its Directors, and the active cooperation of professors, and the sympathetic support of the Governors. Later developments in the Medical School consisted of a blood-bank established in 1952 and University Extension courses in 1953.²⁶ The Extension courses were inaugurated by some of the outstanding Medical Professors of Lisbon, Porto and Coimbra. These efforts provided a great incentive to the work of the school and helped to raise its academic standard.

Government Primary Schools

The growth and expansion of the primary school during the Republican era was slow, yet the quality of education had been improved considerably. Quantitatively, the number of Government schools had increased substantially. In 1945, twenty-two primary teachers posts were created.²⁷ This was followed by the creation of an additional thirty teachers in

²⁶Government of Portugal, Decree #40041, January 10, 1955, pp. 1-3.

²⁷Government of Portugal, Decree #34481, April 4, 1945, pp. 1-15.

1955.²⁸ In 1951, there were 284 primary teachers and of these 251 were Portuguese medium teachers. By 1958, the number of primary schools had increased to 301. The rapid increase in the number of primary schools may be attributed to the Nationalist Movement. The Portuguese Government was eager to please the Goan masses because of the rising tide of nationalism that was threatening the Portuguese control of Goa. The Portuguese took measures to expand primary education and also took many other measures that would please the Goan masses and thereby win their confidence. With this end in view, the Portuguese Government embarked on a policy of encouraging private schools to impart primary education provided that the medium of instruction in these schools was in the Portuguese language. The urgency of this policy was emphatically stated in the preface of the Legislative Diploma of 1958.

The population of Portuguese India as per census of 1950 is 600,000. There must therefore be approximately 80,000 children of school-going age. We have at present three hundred and one primary teachers in Government schools who at the most, could teach 15,000 children. And as it is not possible to expand the number of schools at one stroke, to the extent needed, the only solution would therefore be to encourage the expansion of the existing private primary schools along with the Govern-

²⁸Government of Portugal, Decree #40270, August 4, 1955, pp. 1-10.

ment primary schools.²⁹

Primary education through Portuguese medium was made compulsory in October 1958. All children in the age group of seven through thirteen and who resided within a distance of three kilometers from the nearest school were required to enroll themselves in that school. If they failed to enroll, their parents were to be penalized with a fine. Furthermore, there was to be conducted a special census of the children in the school-going age group. In addition, definite measures were contemplated to achieve the goal of compulsory education. For example, the opening of private primary schools of Portuguese medium were widely encouraged. Private primary schools and primary sections of private secondary schools with a medium other than Portuguese, were recognized for the purpose of compulsory education. It was required, however, that these schools maintain Portuguese classes to impart first stage elementary education through the language. These schools were also awarded grants on the basis of student enrollment and also at a flat rate for the maintenance of school buildings and other equipment.

²⁹Government of Portugal, Legislative Diploma #1836, October 2, 1958, pp. 1-15.

The demand for additional teachers to staff the newly created primary schools was met by relaxing the conditions of employment. Teachers were employed on a temporary basis if they had passed the seventh year of Lyceum. These teachers were designated as "regentes" and were paid fifty per cent of the salary made by a trained teacher with less than ten years of service. Later on, the qualifications required for teaching was reduced to fifth year of Lyceum and still later to the first Cycle of Lyceum, provided the candidate passed the aptitude test that was administered for the purpose. In 1961 there was a further addition to the existing teaching position by about thirty and schools were opened in all important areas, where there were no primary schools. The total number of Government primary teachers in the beginning of the year 1961-1962 was 558.

The preceding study was concerned primarily with the evolution of the qualitative aspects of the educational system. Hereafter, we shall examine the quantitative aspects of Goa's education during the Republican period. In order to assess properly the impact of the Republican Regime on Goa's education, it is necessary to relate it with the educational developments of the relevant period of the Monarchy. The periods

suggested are the last decade of the Monarchy and the first decade of the Republican Regime. Hence the presentation of the enrollment figures, for the academic years, 1901-02; 1910-11 and 1920-21.³⁰

The Primeiro Grau, or the First Stage of Portuguese education in the territories of Old Conquests, had the enrollment of 3,062; 5,952 and 6,505 for the first, second and third academic years mentioned above. The enrollment figures for the territories of the New Conquests, for the same period and the same grade, stood at 498, 920 and 1,298 respectively.

The number of children enrolled for the Segundo Grau, or the Second Stage of Portuguese education for the period under study, for the territories of Old Conquest were 312, 1,032 and 974 respectively. For the territories of New Conquest, the student enrollment figures for the periods were 23, 174 and 263 respectively. The enrollment figures for the Lyceum of Nova Goa were 161, 262 and 652 respectively. In addition, some 98 Lyceum students appeared for the public examinations privately, bringing the total Lyceum enrollment for 1920-21 to 750 students. The total number of Primary

³⁰Menezes Braganza, pp. 192-200.

schools including the private schools, for the year 1920-21 were 244. It is clear from the above enrollment figures that there was a rapid increase in the student enrollment in 1910-11 the year when the Portuguese Republic came into being. This trend was consistently maintained during the first decade of the Republic as is evident from the enrollment figures for the academic year 1920-21. The same trend is visible in the enrollments of the Lyceum of Nova Goa. The increase in the number of enrollments during the first decade of the Republican Period as compared to the last decade of Monarchy was very striking indeed. We find that the percentage of student enrollment increased by 625 per cent in the year 1910-11, and by another 149 per cent in 1920-21.

The tremendous increase in student enrollment during the Republican Period can be attributed to a number of factors. Firstly, a political climate was created which engendered political freedoms of liberty and equality. Goan people for the first time, atleast constitutionally, were placed on par with the rest of the Portuguese people. They were now granted the benefits of the Portuguese constitution and had the right to choose their own representative to the Portuguese Parliament. These political developments created a feeling of identity with

the Portuguese nation. The people of Goa now felt that they had equal opportunities in the Portuguese Empire and began to study in Portuguese schools and to be assimilated into Portuguese culture. Secondly, the Republic abolished Christianity as the State religion, and with it the discrimination to which non-Christians were subjected. As a result of the secular policies of the Republic, the Hindu population which was hitherto denied the full benefits of the Portuguese constitution were now guaranteed their rightful place in the Goan society and administration. As a result, there was a huge increase in the Hindu student enrollment during the first decade of the Republican Regime. Thirdly, the Republican Regime, having been founded on democratic principles, created additional educational facilities specially in areas where there were no primary schools. Marathi schools were also encouraged, and many of them were supported by public funds. In addition, private schools both in Portuguese and Marathi medium were encouraged by the State. Finally, the Republican Regime provided great impetus to the Catholic Kshatriyas or Chardos. The wealthy Chardos now took to Portuguese education without reservation, and this accounts for a substantial increase in the student enrollment for that period. It has to be clearly understood, however, that it was

not the Hindu community alone that suffered during the pre-Republican Regime. There were also a large number of Christians belonging to the lower castes, who were systematically denied opportunities to higher education and to positions of status and prestige. And when political rights were restored to the Hindus, the Hindu Brahmin like their Christian counterparts denied educational and other opportunities to Hindus of lower castes. A fact that is lost to most Goan historians and thinkers, for some reason or the other, was the plight of the Hindu Kshatriya. The Hindu Kshatriya suffered heavily during the Portuguese regime. Their militant resistance to the Portuguese has no doubt earned them their rightful place in history but economically it was too high a price to pay. The pride and history of the caste did not allow them to take up humbler business positions nor could they identify themselves with anything that was alien - Portuguese or Maharashtrian.

The Hindu Brahmins on the other hand, had no such scruples. Like the Chinese and other oriental minorities in the United States, they set themselves up as petty shopkeepers economically and identified their political and emotional aspirations with the people of Maharashtra, when they were treated as second class citizens in Goa.

Prior to the Republican Regime, the Hindu Brahmins began to cultivate the Marathi language and culture as a substitute for the Goan or Konkani culture. The Marathi schools which they had established earlier, received great encouragement during the Republican Regime, and many Marathi schools were now started with Government initiative. In this way both educationally and culturally, the Brahmins were able to devise a new culture and language which provided them opportunities for cultural and intellectual development. Since the Kshatriya Hindu on the other hand could not accept anything that was alien be it Portuguese or from across the border, his economic and social condition went on deteriorating. Having clarified this vital historical fact, it is now possible to reflect on what Dr. Antonio de Noronha, the then Chief Justice of Goa had to say in connection with the Hindus and the Portuguese Republic. Dr. Noronha, a great intellectual, describes the manner in which the Hindus reacted to the Republic:

Here in Goa, the Republic destroyed forever the barrier which rose up before the Hindus for religious beliefs. They now rushed in like a continuous invasion, just like water contained in a dam, when the dykes are thrown open; attend the school's in ever increasing numbers, constitute themselves into associations, open schools and libraries. Take an active part in public.³¹

³¹Antonio de Noronha, "Os Indus de Goa a Republica Portuguesa", A India Portuguesa, (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923), Vol. 2, pp. 351.

Dr. Noronha's description was largely confined to the Hindu Brahmins. When Dr. Noronha wrote about the Hindu enrollment in School in 1923, it was largely the Brahmin students enrollment:

And so the Hindu population of primary schools had increased enormously and - an important fact - there are already Hindu girls in Government schools. The Normal School which in 1910-11 did not have a single Hindu student, in 1920-21 had already seventeen in a total of sixty-one. Before the proclamation of the Republic there were only twenty-three Hindus with complete qualification of Lyceum; today there are more than eighty-five Hindus qualified with that course. Before 1910 there were hardly one or two Hindu doctors qualified with the course of medical school of Goa. But today there are fourteen such doctors and it will be easy to imagine the impact of their culture among their relatives and community. Before the Republic there were a few Hindus among the Government servants, and the same were mostly in lower ranks. Today there are many.³²

As can be seen from Dr. Noronha's description, the Republic opened the doors of the Government schools and public offices to the Hindus. These opportunities were seized by the Hindu Brahmins with tenacity, opportunism and foresight. Every Goan, be he Hindu or Christian knew that the Goan situation was bound to change with the political events in Europe that were changing Portugal and its political

³²Ibid., pp. 351-352.

structure. Among the Hindus, only the Brahmins were pragmatic enough to be ready and available. The Kshatriyas were either powerless or too nationalistic to accept the Portuguese Regime in any form. Hence, the Hindu Brahmins reaped huge benefits from this political change. Noronha commented:

Till 1910 there was not a single Hindu primary teacher in Government schools with the exception of Marathi-Portuguese schools; today there are not only primary teachers among Hindus in Government schools, but also secondary teachers. And with the establishment of administrative autonomy, immediately after the establishment of the Republic we have already had Hindus in the highest political body of the territory - Government Council, Conselho da Governo, and now we have in the legislative council; Conselho Legislativo.³³

The period 1910-1961, coincided with the proclamation of a Republic in Portugal. The Republican period witnessed a tremendous growth in educational activities in Goa. The existing educational institutions were further expanded and improved. New primary and secondary schools were started in areas where previously there were none. The Lyceum of Goa was upgraded to the status of a Central Lyceum. The facilities in the Medical School were further expanded and improved. Professional and technical schools were also established and agricul-

³³Ibid.

tural education received great encouragement for the first time. These improvements in educational facilities continued till the eve of the liberation of Goa in 1961.

The next chapter will deal with the administrative and supervisory aspect of Portuguese education and will also attempt a comparison between the British and Portuguese systems of Education.

CHAPTER V

PORTUGUESE EDUCATION IN GOA

Administration and Supervision

A Comparison Between The Portuguese And British System of Education

Chapter V will deal with administrative and supervisory aspects of Goa's education. It will also examine the British System of Education in India and compare it to the Portuguese System of Education in Goa.

Administration and Supervision

Prior to the Republican Regime, there was no effective administrative and supervisory body to look after education in Goa. However, Local Inspection Boards existed as far back as 1869.¹ The study of the reports of the local boards suggests that their duties included inspections of the efficacy of teaching methods, examination of school text books and the

¹Government of Portugal, Decree of November 30, 1869, pp. 1-15.

nature of subject matter covered in the curriculum. They were all concerned about the medium of instruction, and the physical aspects of the classroom such as its size, and ventilation, furniture and other materials. These Local Boards submitted periodical reports of inspection to the Commissioner of Instruction and which were later forwarded to the Central Government in Portugal. At this time the eminent educationist and historian, Dr. Cunha Rivara was the Commissioner of Instruction in Goa. There is also evidence that the Central Government often approved or sanctioned the suggestions or recommendations made by these local boards.

The real foundation for educational administration and supervision, however, was laid in 1922 when a separate Department of Public Instruction was sanctioned in Goa.² The Department was officially inaugurated by a Provincial Order in the month of October of the same year. The preamble to the order stated that:

In order to centralize, control and guide within the framework of Rules and Regulations which might be in force from time to time, all matters connected with education in all branches without encroachment upon

²Government of Portugal, Letter #28, August 24, 1922.

the autonomy enjoyed by the various educational institutions, in terms of prevailing rules and regulations and without interference with the technical part of higher education.³

The type of administration and supervision envisioned was of the nature of general guide lines which all educational institutions were required to follow. There was to be no interference, however, with the internal autonomy of the institutions, especially if the institution enjoyed autonomy at the time of its establishment. According to the Provincial Order, there was to be created a post of the Director of Public Instruction. The existing post of Inspector of Primary Schools was to be abolished and his duties were to be assumed by the newly created post of the Director. In addition, there were to be two Deputy Inspectors of Primary Schools who were answerable and responsible to the Director of Public Instruction. However, the Department of Public Instruction did not last long. It was abolished in 1925 and replaced by the Office of Primary Instruction headed by the Inspector of Primary Schools⁴

³Government of Goa, Provincial Order #1035, October 19, 1922, pp.1-10

⁴Government of Portugal, Legislative Act #128, January 17, 1925, pp. 1-20.

The Office of Primary Instruction came under the control and supervision of the Secretaria Geral, or the Government Secretariate which was also the Directorate of Civil Administration. The Office of Primary Instruction was entrusted with powers to deal with all matters concerning primary instruction. It also provided that the services of Secondary and Special Education be entrusted to one of the sections of the Government Secretariate. The Secretariate had also the responsibility of supervising the activities of The Escola Nacional de Sexo Femino, National School for Women. The Legislation further provided that the Medical and Pharmaceutical Instruction be entrusted to the Department of Health. What actually led to the abolition of the newly created Department of Instruction is not known. However, it is surprising to note that the much needed Department of Public Instruction was disbanded without even allowing enough time to establish itself. Apparently, some persons in power were in a great hurry to get rid of the Department whose Director was vested with considerable power and authority over educational matters.

The Office of Primary Instruction absorbed the administrative and clerical staff of the Department of Public Instruction. The Inspector of Primary Education was appointed

as the head of the Office. He was to be assisted in his duties by a primary teacher, who was to serve as his assistant in addition to his regular teaching duties. Attached to this office was the Council of Public Instruction, which advised the Government on all educational matters, and functioned independently of the Office of Primary Instruction. It is interesting to note that this Office of Conselho Inspector de Instrucao Publica do Estado da India, The Council of Inspection and Public Instruction of the Portuguese State of India was established by the Decree of November 30, 1869.

The Council was however, renamed as Conselho de Instrucao Publica, Council of Public Instruction in 1917.⁵ It consisted of nine members, partly elected and partly appointed. Out of the nine members six were elected by the faculties of various educational institutinns, while the remaining three members of the Council were appointed by the Governor General. The appointed members were usually prominent persons, drawn from the fields of science, literature and fine arts, and also residents of Nova Goa. The elected members were drawn from

⁵Government of Portugal, Decree #3636, November 29, 1917, pp. 1-10.

among the various educational institutions on the following basis: Medical School, one; National Lyceum, two; one each for Arts and Science section; Commercial Institute of Nova Goa, one; Normal School, one; and Primary School, one. The term of office of both the elected and appointed members was three years. However, the members could be re-appointed or elected for one or more periods. The Governor General became the ex-officio President of the Council and was empowered to appoint a Vice President from among its members. The Council was divided into three sections. The first section dealt with Primary Education and Teacher Training Instruction. The second section dealt with Secondary and Special education and the third dealt with Higher education, i.e. Medical Education. The Secretary of the Council was appointed from the Government Secretariate. He had no right to vote and did not take part in the Council's deliberations. His main function was to prepare the minutes, make reports, and prepare agendas in consultation with the Vice President.⁶

The functions of the Council were spelled out in the

⁶Governor General of Goa, Executive Order #675, October 31, 1918, pp. 1-14.

Rules and Regulations that were formulated and approved by the Provincial Government in 1918.⁷ According to these Rules and Regulations, the functions of the Council fell into three categories, namely, Advisory, Informative and Policing. In the first category, it was the function of the Council to advise both the Central and Provincial Governments on matters of education that covered the entire Educational System of Goa. In the category of information, the Council provided the Governments with information, its own views and suggestions on all matters concerning the areas of literature, science and arts. It also made suggestions to Government, from time to time, regarding changes and improvement in the Educational System of the territory. Lastly in the category of policing functions, it was the duty of the Council to conduct periodical inspections of the educational facilities and educational institutions with a view to correct lapses and promote educational improvement and development. Under this category, the Council was vested with extraordinary powers and could cause or promote extraordinary inspection of educational institutions if and when it

⁷Governor General of Goa, Order #67, October 31, 1918, Pp. 1-10.

was deemed necessary. However, in matters of making proposals or tendering advice to Governments, the Council was obliged to consult and hear the Staff Council of the institution or institutions, which were involved or would be affected by the proposal or advice.

The Council of Public Instruction was reorganized by the Legislative Act of February 11, 1927.⁸ The Act altered both its composition and functions. The Council was now comprised of a President, the Governor General of Goa, the Vice President, Director of Civil Administration and five members. They were, the Director of Escola Medica-Cirurgica; Rector of the National Lyceum; Director of the Commercial Institute; Director of the Normal School and Head of the Office of Primary Instruction. In addition to these permanent members the Provincial Government was empowered to appoint four members, from among distinguished educationists and intellectuals from Nova Goa, to represent the fields of Science, Literature, and Fine Arts.

The Council's functions were further enlarged. In

⁸Government of Goa, Legislative Act #245, February 11, 1937, pp. 1-15.

addition to the advisory functions conferred by the Act of 1917, the Council was now vested with executive powers. According to these powers the Council on its own initiative could decide upon the nature and type of text books to be adopted in the Public School System. The Council was also entrusted with the work of selection of candidates and of recruiting Primary teachers. All other executive powers were exercised by the Office of Primary Instruction and by the relevant section of the Government Secretariate. This administrative set up continued for a period of some twenty years. It was replaced in 1945 with a view to widen the powers and increase the functions of the Council.⁹ According to the new organizational set-up, the Office of Primary Instruction was replaced by the Secretariate of the Council of Public Instruction, Secretaria do Conselho de Instrucao Publica. According to the practice, all staff members of the Office of Public Instruction automatically became members of the new Office. The new Office was designed to function as an informative and bureaucratic organ of the Council. The administrative reorgan-

⁹Government of Portugal, Decree #35230, December 8, 1945, pp. 1-18.

ization marked a turning point in the history of Goan Education. For the first time, the Council of Public Instruction was vested with powers to supervise private education. Furthermore, the powers and functions of the Council were also widened so that it became the guiding and superintending organ of all educational establishments. The institutions under its jurisdiction were not only public institutions, but those that received Government grants. As stated earlier, it was also a competent authority to supervise private educational institutions on the basis of rules and regulations which the Provincial Government was to formulate and provide for this purpose. The Council was, therefore, clothed with executive authority and could now act under this authority and on behalf of the Governor General in all educational matters.¹⁰

Another important development of the reorganization, was the inclusion of cultural institutions within the supervision and control of the Council of Public Instruction. The institutions included, were, Mocidade Portuguesa or the Portuguese Youth League -- a fascist type organization -- the Bibli-

¹⁰Governor General of Goa, Executive Order #4530, November 18, 1947, pp. 1-8.

oteca Nacional Vasco da Gama or the National Library, Museums and Archeological Services.

In view of the inclusion of cultural institutions, the composition of the Council was changed and curtailed to some extent. The Council now included among its members, the Director of the Medical School, the Rector of the National Lyceum, President of the Vasco da Gama Institute, a representative of Patriarca das Indias Orientas, Patriarch of India, who was represented by the Archbishop of Goa and finally the Commissioner of Mocidade Portuguesa. The Governor General became the ex-officio President of the Council and was empowered to appoint a chairman to preside over the deliberations of the meeting. The Council met once a week, and the agenda of the meeting was prepared by one of the officers of the Secretariate, who also acted as the secretary of the Council.

The examination of the composition of the Council reveal that the Commercial Institute, Normal School and Primary Instruction were excluded from the representation of the Council. There is no evidence to show as to what caused this change. It was however felt, that the interest of the three excluded institutions could be adequately represented by the Rector of the National Lyceum. Another surprising development was the

inclusion of the representative of the Patriarch. It is difficult to justify the inclusion of the Patriarch on academic grounds since seminary education as well as other religious schools were deliberately excluded from the purview of the Council. The only justification one can offer for the inclusion of the Patriarch's representative was the growing political power of the Catholic Church in Portugal. Dictator Antonio Salazar was a staunch supporter of the Catholic Church and often used the Church and clergy to promote his political ends. As stated earlier, the Council was vested with wide powers. These powers were administrative, executive and disciplinary and were of the order and nature of powers normally exercised by the Heads of Departments. In addition to executive powers, the Council was also given some legislative powers. It could propose new legislative measures for expansion and improvement of education, or suggest changes in or amendments to, the existing legislation. The Council, in short, had powers to decide on almost all matters of educational importance, except for a few important decisions, that needed the approval of the Governor General.

The Secretary of the Council became the head of the Office of the Council of Public Instruction. His duties were

to prepare and submit all relevant papers and documents to the Council members at the time or before the Council meeting. As stated earlier, he also prepared the agenda of the meeting in consultation with the President or the Chairman, as the case may be. It was also his duty to submit to the Governor General all papers and documents that needed his approval or sanction in addition to other papers and documents that were submitted to the Central Government in Portugal through the Office of the Governor General. The head of the Office of the Council of Public Instruction was aided in his work by two Inspectors of Education. These Inspectors were entrusted with the task of inspection and supervision of all educational establishments in Goa, both public and private. One of the Inspectors had to be a female, and she was in charge of supervising the work of female teachers. However, the Medical School, the National Lyceum, the Seminaries and other religious schools were excluded from the purview of the Inspectorate.

Another educational reorganization was inaugurated in 1957, in which the Office of Instruction was amalgamated with the Directorate of Public Instruction and Health.¹¹

¹¹Government of Portugal, Decree #41472, December 23, 1957, pp.1-25.

This new office was vested with more powers than its predecessors. For the purpose of administrative efficiency and accountability, administrative functions were separated from inspection functions. The duties and responsibilities of the Inspectors were clearly defined. An Inspector of Private Schools looked after the inspection of private educational establishments. In addition, there were four deputy Inspectors who were put in charge of the inspection of non-Portuguese medium schools. The National Library and the Council was also put under the jurisdiction of the Office of Public Instruction.

Another significant development that has bearing on our present discussion was in the area of compulsory education in respect to Primary Education. Compulsory Primary Education became enforceable in 1958.¹² According to this new development it was required to conduct an annual census of all children who were within the age group of compulsory education, ages five through twelve. Censorship of entertainment such as Dramas, Debates, etc., was placed under the jurisdiction of this newly created office. Provisions were also made to include within

¹²Government of Portugal, Executive Order #7361, November 17, 1958, pp. 1-15.

its jurisdiction, all educational and cultural activities, including Medical School, Historical Archives, Museums and other educational facilities. There was to be a phased program by which all these institutions were to be brought under the control of this office. The office was also to control the relationship between the state and the Church. The same Decree 41472 of 1957, was instrumental in creating a post of Inspector of Private Schools. In addition four Deputy Inspectors were appointed in subsequent years.¹³ These Inspectors were charged with the duty of inspecting the work of Marathi, Gujerati and Urdu Schools.

The year 1960, on the other hand, brought into being a full fledged department of Public Instruction.¹⁴ The long delayed decision for the creation of this department was taken primarily to appease the Goan people and to ensure their loyalty to the Portuguese Regime. This period witnessed some of the daring activities of the underground Nationalistic Movements.

¹³Government of Portugal, Decree - Law #41472, December 23, 1957, pp. 1-25.

¹⁴Government of Portugal, Decree #42954, April 27, 1960, pp. 1-10.

Most of the underground activities were led by young college graduates who successfully challenged the Portuguese rule in Goa. Unlike the non-violent movement of the past for which the Portuguese had very little respect, this movement took a violent turn and was structured on the basis of small cammando groups. Again, the Goan Nationalist Forces in India, having been frustrated by the Pro-Portuguese Policy of the Government of India, launched a massive campaign to enlist the support of their Indian brethren to their cause and to pressure the Indian Government to support the liberation of Goa. The Goan nationalists sought to impress the Indian people and its leadership that the Goan Freedom Struggle was not merely a Goan struggle but one of the entire Indian Nation. The Portuguese Government, therefore, began to give more attention to the welfare of the Goan people. The Portuguese felt that the importance and immensity of matters relating to Goan education could only be attended through the creation of a special Department of Education.

According to the new administrative reorganization, the services of Instruction were separated from those of Health.¹⁵

¹⁵Ibid.

The Department of Public Instruction assumed complete control over instructional services. For administrative purposes the Department of Education was divided into two divisions. The first division was concerned with the Primary Education and the activities of the Normal School. The second division dealt with matters that concerned the other types of education and institutions that came within the purview of the Department. The position of the two Inspectors, created in the previous set-up, were now converted into Inspectors of Primary Schools. In brief, the administrative structure of the Department resembled a hierarchial order in which we had the Director at the top; below the Director came the two heads of Divisions, below the heads of Divisions there were four Deputy Inspectors, and below them were two heads of sections and other clerical staff.

The British System of Education

The British System of Education as it was then understood in Goa, represented the system of education that was in vogue in India during the British Rule. Although this system of education was generally modelled after the System of Education in Great Britain, there were some basic differences between the

two systems. British education in India was not integrated into a single coordinated system in which each stage of schooling (primary and secondary) was built on the foundation of the previous stage and served as the foundation for building the next higher stage.¹⁶ In other words, Indian Education did not possess a common base upon which the entire educational structure could rest. On the contrary, the elementary and the secondary systems were built on two different bases each of which catered to the educational and social needs of two distinct classes of Indians. However, due to the Nationalist Movement of the thirties, this anomaly in the educational system was corrected. The British System of Education now came to provide the basis upon which the National System of Education was to be organized. According to this system, education was divided into three tiers -- primary, secondary and University education.¹⁷ The number of years required to complete the primary and secondary stage of education, came to about eleven years, of which the first four years were

¹⁶G. Ramanathan, Educational Planning and National Integrattinn (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1965), p. 15.

¹⁷St. Sebastian Goan High School, Calendar 1945-46, (Bombay: B.X. Furtado Press, 1945), pp. 10-15.

devoted to primary schooling. The subjects taught in the primary schools were as follows:¹⁸ (1) English text, which included prose and poetry, for reading and recitation; (2) English Grammar and Composition; (3) Dictation or spelling; (4) Arithmetic; (5) Nature Study; (6) Transcription or Handwriting; (7) Drawing; (8) Physical Education; (9) Choral Singing; (10) Religion or Morals. Choral Singing, however, was discontinued in the fourth grade or standard.

The Secondary stage of education began from the fifth standard or grade and extended to the eleventh standard or grade. The subjects taught in the secondary schools or levels of education were: (1) English Prose and Poetry; (2) English Grammar and Composition; (3) Arithmetic; (4) Science; (5) History; (6) Geography; (7) Hindi; (8) Drawing; (9) Physical Education; (10) Religion or Moral Science.

Some additional subjects were added into the curriculum beginning with the seventh or eighth grade or standard. The subjects included were, Algebra, Geometry and the Second Language. Arithmetic was dropped at the ninth grade or standard and Hindi in the tenth grade or standard. The subject of Trigonometry

¹⁸ Ibid., pp.13-15.

was added in the eleventh standard or grade.

The subjects offered at the Matriculation* examination were as follows: (1) English text, which included prose, poetry and a rapid reader; (2) English Grammar and Composition which included essay writing, precis writing, comprehension, paraphrase and letter-writing, direct and indirect speech, idioms, parts of speech, analysis of sentences and parsing of words in sentences; (3) Elementary Algebra which included factorization, equations, identities, graphs, etc.; (4) Elements of Geometry and Trigonometry which included the study of theorems and constructions; (5) The second language, which could be one of the following subjects -- French, Portuguese, Latin, German, Sanskrit, Pali, Persian, Arabic and other suitable languages. (6) History, included the study of British period in India, the Moghal and Maratha period in India, also the Hanvorian period in Great Britain. The history syllabus was somewhat flexible in the sense that some periods of Indian history could be substituted for some other periods in Indian history; (7) Geography included the study of physical and general geography of the world, geography of India in detail. (8) Physics and Chemistry, which included study of specific gravity, mechanics,

*Equivalent to High School.

heat magnetism, electricity, preparation of gases and their respective properties, elements and their properties and also the preparation of various acids. In girl's schools, Physics and Chemistry was substituted by Physiology and Hygiene.

Except for the Matriculation Examination, which was an annual public examination, conducted by the Bombay University, the other examinations were conducted by the school itself. Normally, there were three examinations. Promotions of students from one standard or grade to another was made at the end of the school year, mainly on the basis of the results of the final examinations, conducted by the School. To be eligible for promotion, a student had to secure a minimum of thirty-five per cent marks in each subject. Twenty per cent marks in each subject were reserved for assessment of the student's work during the year. In practice, however, the year round assessment was taken into account only in cases where students failed to secure the minimum marks required to be declared successful. Failure in a subject or upto three subjects, was permitted provided that the student secured thirty-five per cent marks on the aggregate and had not obtained marks less than twenty-five per cent in individual subjects. These were more or less the guidelines followed by most of the

schools affiliated to the Bombay University.

As stated earlier, the Matriculation examination was a public affair. Students from all schools affiliated to the University, and who had completed the educational requirement were allowed to appear for the examination. According to the Rules and Regulations of the Bombay University, a student was declared successful if he had obtained thirty-five per cent of the marks in each subject. Marks of some subjects like History and Geography and Algebra and Geometry, were combined for the purpose of determining the minimum percentage required for passing. In addition, a student was eligible for condonation marks, not exceeding five, which became applicable if the student had failed by less than five marks in just one subject.

Successful students were graded on the basis of the percentage of marks secured on the aggregate into three classes -- First Class, Second Class, and Third Class. First Class students had to secure sixty per cent or above on the aggregate. Second Class was awarded to those who secured forty-five per cent or more of the marks on the aggregate, and the Third Class to those who had secured thirty-five per cent or more of the aggregate of marks. These classifications were important because only the top class students were allowed admissions in some of the

reputed and well established colleges. Again, only those students who had secured a first class or a high second class were admitted to the science departments of the various colleges of the University or Universities. Finally students who were declared unsuccessful could be exempted from examinations of subjects in which they had secured fifty or more percent of the marks. However, students who availed of this opportunity were not entitled to receive a class.

For the purpose of administering this examination, the Universities appointed a Board of examiners for a period of three years. The Board is usually composed of some senior Principals of the affiliated schools along with well known educationalists and University professors. The main function of the Board was to appoint teachers to write the examinations and to correct them after they were answered by the students. It was a common procedure to appoint two or three teachers to write an examination paper. The Chairman or the Moderator of the subject concerned would then prepare the final examinations from among the questions submitted by the two or three teachers. The idea behind this method of preparing examination papers was to ensure that no examination questions were ever leaked out to students before time. Furthermore, it may be of interest

to note that the answer books or supplements were examined by teachers who were appointed by the Board and were not teachers who taught the subject in the school as is the case in the United States of America. It was felt that by following an impersonal procedure, the system would be more impartial. In the area of Administration, and Supervision, the University Education Department looked after the School System. The School syllabus was either designed by the University or had to be approved by it. The books used for various grades or standards had to be recommended by the University. In the case of the Matriculation class, however, all schools had to follow the same text books and conform to the same syllabus. The Matriculation examination was replaced by the Secondary School Certificate Examination, conducted by the State Board of Education in 1949. More will be said about the Secondary School Certificate in the chapter on education after liberation of Goa.

The first English medium High School was started in 1890 at Arpora, in the Bardez district. The school followed the syllabus framed by the Bombay University. The School was later reorganized by the University and was affiliated to it. By 1901, Goa was able to send its first batch of students

to appear for the Matriculation examination at the Bombay center. Thereafter, a number of English medium high schools were established. The most important schools were the English medium schools at Arpora, Aldona, Saligao, Guirium and Para in the Bardez district. In addition to these, there were a number of other English teaching schools all over the territory, many of which were not full fledged High Schools. Students from these schools either completed their schooling in one of the above mentioned schools in Goa or migrated to Bombay to enlist in the High Schools there. These schools were started and conducted by private individuals who were usually graduates of Bombay University holding either a M. A., or a B.A. degree. In all these schools the medium of instruction was English, though no pupil could be admitted without an official certificate of primary education in Portuguese. All Schools as stated earlier were affiliated to Bombay University. The Bombay University used to send its Inspectors to the Goan Schools to see that a proper standard was maintained. The Arpora School, which was conducted by a young priest, Reverend Fr. Philip Mendonca, M.A. (Bom.), enjoyed a good reputation and at one time was considered to be the best in Goa. The School at Aldona was started by Mr. Edward Soares, also a graduate of the Bombay

University. It was at one time a leading English Medium School in Goa. This was followed by another school at Para, also founded by a graduate of Bombay University in 1911, which at one time had a membership of more than one thousand pupils. The school, however, declined in its membership after the death of the Principal. The other Schools are of no great importance though they average 150 to 200 pupils in attendance.¹⁹

Till 1931, Arpora School, was the only school in Goa that admitted both boys and girls. During the first forty years of their existence, most of the English teaching schools were staffed by graduates and undergraduates of Bombay University. According to the Times of India Guide, published in 1931, the standard of education was not remarkable for its excellence, though some of the schools standard was considered to be quite as good if not better than many such schools in the districts of British India. While discipline in these schools was poor, the knowledge of English and the teaching of Science was even poorer. But these schools played a very important and useful role in the life of the Goan people. They provided the growing number of Goan emigrants with sufficient knowledge to enable

¹⁹Times of India, A Guide to Goa (Bombay: Times of India Press, n.d.), p. 56.

them to secure employment in British India. They frequently enabled parents to give their children an education which they otherwise might have been unable to do if they had to send their children to school outside Goa. And thus, while a limited sector of the population including both Catholics and Hindus leaned heavily on Portuguese instruction, for securing Government jobs, or for following professional careers such as those of medical practitioners, pharmacists, pleaders or even for the purpose of getting higher education in Portugal, in pursuit of better prospects, another sector, the bigger one, that felt the need or urge to emigrate to British India, or the outside world, would opt for English education.²⁰

The Portuguese Government interpreted the existence of these English schools as a surrender of sovereignty in educational matters and tried to halt the new enterprise. But fully aware of the fact that these schools provided the exit valves for the Goan emigrants, it could not abolish them immediately. The Portuguese Government followed a go-slow policy which restricted opening of such schools to missionaries, and also began to create technical, commercial and multi-purpose

²⁰P. S. Varde, "Education in Goa", Goa Today (August 1972), p. 30.

schools so that the demographic excess of Goa could peacefully be deviated to Portuguese possessions in Africa.²¹

Despite these measures, the Portuguese Government was unable to turn the tide of emigration in its favor. Emigration though an important factor was not the only factor that caused Goans to study through English medium schools. There were non-material factors as well which were equally important. For example, Goans felt a spiritual unity with the rest of India that centuries of Portuguese rule could not efface. Hence with the coming of the Republic of India and with freedom of speech and expression, Goans began to put their feelings into constructive activity through the establishment of cultural institutions which demonstrated, in an ample measure, the fundamental cultural and spiritual unity of India.

In addition, there were other factors of historical importance. One such factor which coincided with the establishment of the Republican Regime in Goa, was the growing national consciousness in India. The struggle for freedom attracted the attention of the liberty-loving people of the world when Lokmanya Tilak, a great national hero, was deported to Mandalay

²¹Dr. Narain B. Sardesai, Fundamentos para uma Universidade em Goa, Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganza, #184, 1964, p. 94.

in 1901. This event definitely aroused the sympathy of the Goan people. But even more than Tilak, it was the great Louis de Menezes Braganza, who brought home to the Goan people the meaning of national consciousness, through his journal, O'Debate, The Debate.

English schools continued to increase steadily throughout the years. In 1950, the number of students in 65 primary, middle and secondary privately-owned English teaching schools in Goa was 13,477, as against 10,944 in all the Portuguese schools in Goa.²² The enrollment figures for the primary schools for the year 1961-62 for the privately-owned 17 English medium schools was 900 and in the primary sections of the three English secondary schools was 6,413. This was a total of 7,313 students in English schools whereas the 151 Government Portuguese Primary Schools and 104 private schools had a total enrollment of 26,326 students. The enrollment in the secondary school for the fifty-three private English schools stood at 4,997 while the enrollment figures for both private and public Lyceum institutions were 2,621. And when the enrollment for the four technical schools whose strength was 993 is added, the

²²Varde, (August 1972), p. 31.

total for Portuguese schools comes to 3,614.²³

It will be observed from the above enrollment figures, that enrollment in Portuguese schools at the Primary level far exceeded the enrollment in the English schools. The situation is slightly reversed when we examined the figures for the secondary school. The reason for high enrollment in the Portuguese schools at the Primary level may be attributed to the Portuguese educational policy which made Portuguese Primary Education compulsory for gaining admission to the English schools.

Comparison between the British and Portuguese System
of Education

A comparison of the two systems of education will be made in terms of policy, objective, structure, examinations, and administration and supervision. Both the British and Portuguese systems of education were designed to promote colonial policies, and both the Governments from time to time attempted to destroy the indigenous system of education. The British system of education was instituted in India after a

²³ Ibid.

heated debate over the learning of the English language as opposed to the study and spread of Sanskrit and Arabic language. The controversy led Thomas Babington Macaulay who in 1835 was both President of the General Committee of Public Instruction and Law Member of the Executive Council of the Governor General, to discuss the controversy in the famous Minute of February 2, of the same year. Macaulay stated that:

It may be that the public mind of India may expand under our system until it has outgrown that system... that having become instructed in European knowledge, the Indians may, in some future age, demand European Institutions. Whether such a day will ever come I know not. When it comes, it will be the proudest day in English History.²⁴

The then Governor General of India, Lord William Bentinck, adopted Macaulay's point of view. Accordingly, the Government resolved that:

His Lordship in Council is of the opinion that the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India and that all the funds appropriated for the purpose of education would be best employed on English education alone.²⁵

Hence every attempt was made to establish English as the language of instruction, much to the detriment of the

²⁴J. P. Naik and Syed Nurullah, History of Education in India (Bombay: Macmillan and Company, 1951), p. 142.

²⁵Ibid., p. 139.

development of classical languages of Sanskrit and Arabic which were now officially discarded.

Portuguese education in Goa began with Afonso de Albuquerque, whose main objective was to create a European society in India, by encouraging mixed marriages. It was felt that the offsprings of the mixed marriages would imbibe the Portuguese culture and speak the Portuguese language. The Portuguese destroyed all documents and books written in the Konkani language, which was the language of the Goan people. As Varde commented:

The first onslaught of the conquest steamrolled all scrolls and documents pertaining to what was alleged to be idolatry. Thus all documentary evidence of the customs and traditions of our people was consigned to fire and all vernacular literature was turned to ashes.²⁶

The Catholic religious orders, were determined to destroy the Konkani language. To them, Christianization meant Westernization, which could be achieved through a process of denationalization. There is evidence that states, that both the Franciscan Friars and Jesuit priests to a lesser extent, were hostile to the Konkani language and that they prevailed

²⁶Varde, (December 1971), p. 19.

upon the Count of Alvar in 1684 to issue an order that set a time limit of three years during which period all were required to learn the Portuguese language.²⁷ The Inquisition, too, followed the same path of destruction of the Goan mother-tongue. In 1731, the inquisitor Antonio de Amaral Coutinho proposed to the King to make the knowledge of Portuguese an essential requirement for marriage. The proposal was accepted by the King, and the resulting order established the time limit of six months for Chardos and Brahmins, the two advanced castes of Goa, and one year for the remaining castes to learn Portuguese which, of all things, was to be the binding requirement to get married.

Thus it may be inferred from the above observation, that the initial policy and objective of both the British and Portuguese Powers was to westernize the Indian people through their educational system. However, there was one vital difference in the Portuguese Policy. For them, westernization also meant Christianization of the Indian population. Although the British Government supported western education, they did not destroy

²⁷T. B. Cunha, Goa's Freedom Struggle (Bombay: T.B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961), p. 82.

either physically or legally the means of Indian education as did their Portuguese counterpart. We may now restate the elements of British educational policy. First, European knowledge became the content of education. Second, the study of English language was included in it; third, English became the medium of instruction; fourth, the system of English education was organized as a system for the education of an elite. Finally, vernacular education was recognized as the instrument for the education of the mass of people as a whole.²⁸

The elements of the Portuguese educational policy were more or less the same as that of the British. However, there was one basic difference. The Portuguese major objective was to denationalize the people and to use education and religion as the main instrumentality. Portuguese did create an elite class of people, who were not only educated in Portuguese, but also had to be Christians, and belong to a high caste whereas the British were not interested in promoting Christianity or the caste system. As far as the British were concerned, the function of the school system, especially at the secondary

²⁸ G. Ramanathan, p. 27.

level, where the medium of instruction was English, was to prepare students for Government employment or for further education.

Another significant difference between the two systems of education, was, that whereas the Portuguese promoted and developed a Public School System in Goa, the British colonial Government, in good English tradition, subsidized private secondary education instead of founding a system of public schools. With the growing strength and prestige of Universities during the latter half of the nineteenth century, Secondary Schools came to be dominated in curriculum, teaching methods, and standards by University entrance examinations.²⁹

As observed earlier during the 1930's, Portuguese secondary education faced stiff competition for student enrollments from the English secondary schools in Goa. Closely linked with the educational policy and objective is the structure of the educational system. British education was conceived as consisting of two distinctive services; one intended to serve the vast majority of the people; and the other to train a limited number of people to undertake the higher types of work in the

²⁹Don Adams, Education and Modernization in Asia (Massachusetts: Addison-Wesley Publishing Company, 1970), p. 76.

community. The two kinds of education have come to be known as elementary education and secondary education. Again, elementary education had earned the appellation "education for the masses" and secondary education has been called by the corresponding appellation, "education for classes".³⁰

It is obvious then, that the British system of education did not have a common base, the elementary and secondary systems, were built on two different bases to accomodate two distinct classes of citizens. The elementary system represented the vernacular type of education, while the secondary education represented the English medium education. There was no immediate access to secondary school after completing primary school.

The Portuguese educational system on the other hand was a well integrated system, in which there was a distinct and well defined "educational ladder". After completing elementary education, the next stage of education led to the secondary education which in turn led to University education which had to be pursued in Portugal. Again, there was no duality in education for promoting two classes of people. Though, prior to the Republican period, there were laws that forbade Hindus

³⁰G. Ramanathan, p. 13.

from being admitted to institutions of higher education. But the educational system as such was sound and integrated.

Again, structurally, the total duration of school education under the Portuguese system was twelve years -- five years of primary education plus seven years of secondary education, which included five years of the general course plus two years of complementary or pre-university course. The British system of Education, on the other hand, involved a school study of eleven years duration -- five years of primary and six years of secondary education. In actuality, the fifth year of Lyceum was considered equivalent to that of Intermediate course offered by the Indian colleges in British India, which was of two year duration.

In terms of curriculum, especially at the secondary level, the British system of education compared equally with the Portuguese System of education. The courses were broad based with a view to provide a good cultural and scientific background. It prepared students both for higher studies as well as for employment purposes.

In the method of administering tests and examinations the two systems differed. Under the British system of education evaluation of students work was impersonal to the extent

that students' evaluation was done externally by examiners who had no physical contact with the students. Again, students were subjected to public examinations, each of three hour duration in and under unfamiliar surroundings. The test or examinations were sometimes written by examiners outside the State who often did not have a sufficient idea of the subject matter covered. Again, if a student failed to secure minimum percentage of marks in a particular subject, he was declared failed in the whole examination. He had to wait to take the examination again, in the next year and had to appear for all the subjects irrespective of his passing the subjects or not.

In the Lyceum on the other hand, the examinations were conducted by that institution itself and there was nothing impersonal about the examinations. The assessment of the students was done internally by teachers who were well aware of the students' work and performance during the year. Again, if the students failed in a particular subject or chair he could appear for this subject along with the other subjects offered in the next year. In this way, he does not lose time nor does he have to undergo the agony of appearing for the whole examination again.

In the area of administration and supervision, we find a difference between the two systems. Under the British system, it was the University, that determined, the curriculum, the methods of teaching, examinations, and the text books to be adopted by the affiliated schools. Under the Portuguese system, it is the Lyceum that was empowered to conduct examinations recognized all over the Portuguese territories and also in several foreign countries. As regards the curriculum, teaching methods, academic standards and adoption of books, these were determined by the Department of Education. In the British System of Education, the inspection and audit of schools was done by the University staff; under the Portuguese System, it was done by the Department of Education.

Finally, the location of the two year pre-University course as complementary course in Lyceum, helped to raise the standard of Portuguese education at the secondary level.

CHAPTER VI

THE KONKANI, MARATHI AND MISSIONARY SCHOOLS

Konkani Schools

The Konkani Schools functioned in Goa during the pre-Portuguese period prior to 1510. The greatest monument of the pre-Portuguese culture that stands to this day in Goa is the village community -- an institution that controlled from the earliest times the intellectual formation of Goan youth. The Goan educational system was somewhat similar to the system then prevalent in the rest of India. There was not a single village that did not boast of an elementary school. These schools were housed either in separate buildings, in vestibules of temples, in the porches of big residential houses, in verandas of village administrative offices, or in the shade of a grove. Here, in these schools, children were taught the three R's, encompassing multiplication tables of integers and fractions, so much in vogue in India.

The medium of instruction was in Konkani, the mother-tongue of Goa, which was written in Kanada script, the language script of the neighboring state of Mysore. Konkahyan states, that Marathi did not enter Goa till late in the fifteenth

century, when the country passed into the hands of the Bijapur Sultans. It also states that the Sultan recognized the Konkani language as the official language of the state.¹

In addition to the elementary schools, there were also centers of secondary and higher learning. These institutions were known as Maths, Brahamapuris and Agraharas, respectively. The Maths were entrusted with the secondary education and the Brahmapuris and Agraharas were concerned with higher or University education. The Brahamapuris were colonies of Brahmans established near the towns for the purpose of running educational institutions. Grants of land were made to them for their maintenance. Inscriptions belonging to the years 1107 and 1391 A.D. found in Goa, mention two "Brahamapuris" established near the city of Goa.²

The Agraharas, on the other hand, were schools of universal learning and were the Universities of Medieval India.

¹Konkahyan urf Kakshinatya (Bombay: 1831), p. 80, quoted in George Moraes, Glimpses into the History and Culture of Goa, (Bombay: The Grand Goa Exhibition, 1947), p. 21.

²P. A. S. Pissurlencar, Goa Pre-Portuguese atrave's dos Escritores lusitanos dos seculos XVI, e XVLL, Goa 1962, quoted in P. S. Varde, "Education in Goa, Daman and Diu" Goa Today, (September 1971), p. 17.

These schools were financed and supported by the state, by Kings and by private donors. They enjoyed a large measure of autonomy in their internal affairs, and the charter which they obtained from the state guaranteed them immunity from the jurisdiction of its officials. The curricula of the Agrahara had a religious orientation in as much as the study of the Vedas and the sacred Puranas were given the highest priority. Due place, however, was also given to important subjects like Mathematics, Astronomy, Medicine, Politics and Philosophy. The standards of proficiency achieved in these institutions were of a high order and may be assessed from the fact that in the hey-day of Portuguese rule the Viceroy and the Archbishop preferred these graduates to the physicians of their own country.⁴

The quality of education of the pre-Portuguese period may be further gauged from the records of the historians and reports and letters of missionaries and travellers who visited

³P. S. Varde, "Education in Goa, Daman and Diu" Goa Today, (September 1971), p. 17.

⁴J. H. Van Linschoten, The Voyages of John H. Linschoten to the East Indies ed. A. C. Burnell, Vol. I, (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1885), p. 230.

Goa at that time. Paulo de Trinidade, described the Indian moral code as one that taught "how to live a good life according to the Natural Law". One was not to do to another, what one did not want done to oneself. This moral code was presented in elevated verses and profound epigrams that referred only to the conversation of human life.⁵

Commenting on their knowledge of "things divine and natural and moral", Lucena stated that, there was among them a book containing 339 verses which was written in the city of Mylapore by a man called Valuver about the same time that the Apostle Saint Thomas preached there. Valuver's teaching was held in great esteem by the Brahmins. It was monotheistic in orientation. It described the one Creator of the world and the reverence due to Him. Valuver's prescriptions called for the shunning of idolatry, the necessity of penance and emphasized humility and other virtues. It is possible that Valuver was familiar with the teachings of Saint Thomas since there are parallels in their teachings.⁶

⁵ Paulo de Trinidade, Conquista Spiritual do Orient Vol. I, (Rome Vatican Lat. 7746), p. 307.

⁶ J. de Lucena, Historia de Vida do Padre Francisco de Xavier (Lisbon, by the author, 1952), pp. 1-150.

The historian Goncalves, wrote appreciatively of the achievements of Indian astronomers and medics. He stated that they accurately predict the eclipses of the sun and the moon. According to Goncalves, they study medicine in their universities, their doctors are called Pundits and the land is well provided with them. They cure with simple remedies which the European physicians are quite unable to do.⁷ Commenting on the architecture of the Hindu temples, missionaries described some of them as being very sumptuous and of exceedingly fine workmanship.⁸ The Christian missionaries did not approve of the Hindu temples and often encouraged their destruction, however, Goncalves also wrote about the Devnagri script in which the Konkani language was written. He judged it to be a good script. Although the printing press had been in Goa for fifty years, Goncalves regretted that nothing had yet been printed in the Devnagri script. This was probably due to the

⁷Sebastian Goncalves, Primeira Parte da Historia dos Religioso de Companhia de Jesus, e do que fizeram com divina graca na conversao dos infieis a nossa sancta fee catholica nos reyous e provincias da India Oriental, ed. J. Wicki, (Rome 1952), Vol. I, p. 758.

⁸J. Wicki, Documenta Indica (Rome 1948-64), Vol. VII, p. 391.

multiplicity of its characters.⁹

George Moraes stated that the Jesuits, who were laboring among the Christian converts of the Salcette district of Goa, in the sixteenth century, were amazed at the mental grasp of the children and the utmost ease with which they learned Church music and played the organ, a feat in which they frankly admitted the Europeans were often deficient. The eminent historian further remarked, that this proficiency was due to the cultural background of the Goan people who had been long schooled in the art of civilized life.¹⁰

The teachers who taught in Goan educational institutions in the pre-Portuguese period were learned men, from the Brahmin castes. However, not all the Brahmins were engaged in teaching. According to the extant records, the Brahmins who ran the higher educational institutions in Goa were mostly Karhadas. Primary education seems to have been in the hands of the Sarasvats. In Orient Conquistado, D'Souza wrote that the Brahmins of Cortalim village, in Salcette, all bore the title

⁹Goncalves, Vol. IX, p. 3.

¹⁰Wicki, Vol. III, p. 430.

of Shenoas, or masters, since they taught the other Brahmins the basic literary skills. The contemporary community of the Chitrapur Sarasvat of Kanara are descendants of this earlier group.¹¹

The Portuguese conquest of Goa in 1510, sounded the death knell of the Konkani schools and other higher educational institutions. Afonso de Albuquerque's policy of creating a mixed society in particular, and the Portuguese policy of westernization in general, left no room for the development of indigenous educational institutions, the instruments and repositories of Goan culture. What actually happened, was planned and systematic annihilation of the Goan mother-tongue, together with the educational institutions that promoted the growth and development of the language and culture of Goa. Rao commented that:

The main cause for the stunted growth of Konkani is the systematic suppression and persecution to which the Portuguese subjected it. There is not a single school where this language is taught nor does it possess an alphabet or orthography of its own. The newspapers published in Konkani, both in Goa and outside are printed in the Latin

¹¹ Moraes, pp. 21-22.

script with various forms of spelling or in Devnagiri or Canarese.¹²

Dr. Cunha Rivara, a well known Portuguese historian who has written extensively on the Konkani language has documented the Portuguese policy of Christianization and westernization and its impact on the Konkani language and institutions. He wrote:

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 vernaculars were burnt for being guilty or suspected of containing precepts and doctrines of idolatry.¹³

At the very beginning, says Dr. T. B. Cunha, the Father of the Goan Freedom Struggle, all Konkani schools were closed to make a place for Christian languages, Latin and Portuguese.¹⁴

¹²R. P. Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 52.

¹³Dr. J. H. Cunha Rivara, A Historical Essay on Konkani language (Goa: Government Printing Press, 1958), quoted in Dr. T. B. Cunha, Goa's Freedom Struggle (Bombay: Tristao Memorial Committee, 1961), p. 26.

¹⁴Dr. T. B. Cunha, Goa's Freedom Struggle (Bombay: Tristao Memorial Committee, 1961), p. 26.

Among the official records at the Torre do Tombo, in Lisbon, there is a letter from Fr. Joao de Albuquerque, the first Bishop of Goa, written from Goa on November 28, 1548. In this letter, Albuquerque recounts his conscientious efforts to collect books written in the language of the pagans (Konkani) with the object of destroying them. Albuquerque further refused to honor a request of the Governor who asked him to return some books to their owners.¹⁵ It is clear that the Portuguese attitude, especially of the religious, during the early years of their missionary activities was one of undisguised antagonism to Konkani and the indigenous culture.

The attitude of the Government towards the Konkani language underwent a remarkable change during the 16th century. Three reasons may be cited for this sudden change of heart, on the part of the ecclesiastical and temporal authority. Firstly, it soon became clear to thinking minds that the methods of Inquisition had severe limitations.¹⁶ Mere force and coercion could not go far in weaning people away from the religion of their forefathers; and unless it was supplemented by persuasion,

¹⁵Quoted in, A. J. Priolkar, Goa Re-Discovered (Bombay: author, 1967), p. 76.

¹⁶The Holy Inquisition was established in Goa in 1560.

Christianity was unlikely to strike deep roots in India.

Persuasion necessarily implied a reorientation in the attitude to native language and literature. It was, however, not before 1585 that these wiser counsels prevailed.¹⁷ It was at this time that some European priests began to study the Konkani language with the aide of Marathi and Sanskrit languages.¹⁸ Secondly, Goa was fortunate to have at that time, some brilliant Jesuit priests, who undertook research in the Konkani language. And thirdly, the printing press was installed in Goa by the Jesuit missionaries.¹⁹

The beginnings of this new orientation may be traced to the directive of the Third Goan Council of 1585, which recommended the use of the native languages for the work of conversion of the local people to Christianity:

This assembly of Bishops orders that a text-book of Christain Doctrine shall be prepared in Portuguese language which shall generally be taught in all parts of India, so as to maintain conformity between all, and that

¹⁷ Quoted in Priolkar, p. 77.

¹⁸ T. B. Cunha, p. 81.

¹⁹ The Printing Press was established in 1556, in Goa by the Jesuit priests.

this shall be translated in the languages of those lands where conversion takes place and shall be taught therein. In the same manner shall be prepared a brief catechism in conformity with Catechismo Tridentino adapted to the nations of these parts.²⁰

It was therefore ordered that priests posted at various parishes should be well conversant with the Konkani language. The latter half of the 15th century, though for only a short period, witnessed the revival of the Konkani language. It appears that Fr. Thomas Stephens was entrusted with the task of preparing a book of catechism in the Konkani language in pursuance of the directive of the Third Goan Council. We find reference to an earlier booklet on catechism written in the Goan language, in a letter written from Goa by Luis Frois on December 1, 1561. However, no copy of this booklet exists.²² In addition, there were a number of other publications in the Konkani language, during this period. Most of these books were written by the Jesuit priests of Goa.

Some important books published during this period were,

²⁰Priolkar, p. 72.

²¹Varde, (December 1971), p. 19.

²²Priolkar, p. 77.

The Christian Doctrine, Doutrina Christam, by Fr. Stephens, published in 1662.²³ Fr. Stephens also wrote the Konkani Grammar, entitled Arte da Lingoa Canarim, for the use of foreign missionaries; the book was published in 1640.²⁴ Fr. Diogo Ribeiro, also a Jesuit priest is known to have written profusely in the Konkani language. His two famous works, are Declaration of Christian Doctrine, published in 1632;²⁵ and the Vocabulary of Canarim Language, a copy of the book in manuscript form is available in the Central Library in Goa. Fr. Antonio de Saldanha, wrote a book on the Miracles of St. Anthony, which was published in 1614.²⁶ Fr. Miguel de Almeida wrote, A Garden of Pastors and Pasture of Souls, in five volumes.²⁷ Finally, Joao de Pedroza wrote The Divine

²³Tomas Estevao, Doutrina Christa (Rachol Goa: Jesuit Press, 1622).

²⁴Tomas Estevao, Arte de Lingoa Canarim (Rachol Goa: Jesuit Press, 1640).

²⁵Diogo Ribeiro, Declaracam da Doutrina Christam (Rachol Goa: Jesuit Press, 1632).

²⁶Priolkar, p. 127.

²⁷Miguel de Almeida, Jardim dos Pastores (Rachol Goa: Jesuit Press, 1658).

soliloquies, which was published in 1660.²⁸ This was the last book to be printed in the Konkani language.

The policy of encouraging the development of the Konkani language, pursued by both the ecclesiastical and temporal authorities of the territory, met with stiff resistance from the missionaries, who refused to learn the language. Both the Franciscan priests and to a lesser extent the Jesuits were against the learning of the Konkani language. Priolkar comments on the hostility of the missionary towards the learning of the Konkani language:

Unfortunately, this bright interlude in the grim record of Portuguese missionary activity was of a short duration. The literary movement suffered a gradual decline during the second half of the 17th century and came to an end by the close of that century. The reason for this is to be found in the fact that the missionary personnel who came out to India were no longer fired with the same missionary zeal as their predecessors. Their interest was centered in a life of luxury and comfort and they were incapable of the effort and self-discipline necessary to master a foreign language.²⁹

There is enough evidence that indicates that the Viceroys of Goa were constantly complaining to the King of Portugal about the uncompromising attitude of these priests towards

²⁸Joao de Pedroza, Soliloquios Divinos (Rachol Goa: Jesuit Press 1660).

²⁹Priolkar, pp. 63-64.

the Konkani language. The Viceroy, Antonio de Melo Castro, informs us that the Jesuits in the Salcette district of Goa, refused to learn Konkani even for administering the sacraments, disobeying the orders.³⁰

The ecclesiastical authorities, too, had problems with the missionary priests in connection with the Konkani language. The Archbishop, Dom F. Sebastiao de S. Pedro, declared in 1627 that the Franciscans and Jesuits neglected the learning of Konkani, the language of the country.³¹ This neglect of the native language is attributed to the system of mass baptism instituted in the beginning of the 17th century. The priests who were relieved of the trouble of learning the language also reacted strongly against it.

The Franciscan missionaries were the first to revolt against the order of the Archbishop, Dom Sebastiao de S. Pedro, which required foreign missionaries to learn the Konkani language. The Archbishop threatened to replace them with Indian Vicars in the Goan parishes, if they failed to comply with his order.³²

³⁰Varde, (December 1971), p. 19.

³¹T. B. Cunha, p. 82.

³²Ibid.

In a letter to the Archbishop on December 13, 1629, the Superior of the Franciscan Order in Goa stated that the native clergy did not inspire respect among the Goan Catholics since many of them had their ears pierced (as was the custom among Indians) and that they were only concerned with acquiring property for themselves or for their relatives.³³ The same resistance to native clergy also prevailed among other religious orders. The Viceroy, Antonio de Melo Castro, complained to the King of Portugal, that the Jesuits, the Dominicans and Augustinians refused to learn the Konkani language.

The attitude and hostility of the European missionaries towards the learning of the Konkani language may be interpreted in the context of rivalry between the European and the Indian clergy. The European missionaries, it may be observed from the above examination, were against the learning of the Konkani language, but at the same time, they resented their being replaced as Vicars of Churches, with Indian clergy who knew the native language. Two reasons may be attributed to this behavior. First some missionaries were leading a licentious life and were there-

³³Letter addressed to the Archbishop of Goa, His Lordship Dom F. Sebastiao de S. Pedro, by the Superior of the Franciscan Order in Goa, dated December 13, 1629. Quoted in T. B. Cunha, p. 82.

fore afraid of losing their rich parishes. Second, since they were connected with the ruling Portuguese power, they were unwilling to concede high ecclesiastical positions to Indian clergy, who as the subject people were considered inferior. Some historians, however, attribute racial overtones to this behavior. The behavior of some missionaries was motivated by their desire to acquire the wealth needed to continue living an extravagant life. Other missionaries were determined to maintain their superiority over the Indian priests, whom their predecessors were instrumental in bringing into the Christian fold.

The second half of the seventeenth century witnessed a prolonged agitation, marked by intensive lobbying and large scale bribery both in Portugal and in Rome. The result was in favor of the European missionaries who succeeded in persuading the Roman and Portuguese authorities to impose a complete ban on the use of the Konkani language within the Portuguese possessions of Goa. On June 27, 1684, Viceroy Conde de Alvor, promulgated the following decree:

I assign three years as a period within which the Portuguese language ought to be studied and spoken. Moreover, this language should be used by the people in these parts in the dealings and other contracts which they may wish to enter into, those using the vernacular being severely

punished for not obeying the mandate.³⁴

In 1732, again on the complaint of Franciscan priests the King of Portugal issued a decree which stated inter alia that the said Charters be observed for the petitioners and they shall always be observed.³⁵ The Policy received complete support from the Catholic Church and the Goan Inquisition. As stated in an earlier chapter in 1731, the Inquisitor, Antonio Amaral Coutinho, wrote to the King of Portugal, that the Konkani language interfered with conversions to Catholic faith. He wrote, that the first and chief cause of such regrettable ruin was the non-observance of the law of His Serene Highness Dom Sebastian of glorious memory and of the Goan Councils which forbade the natives of the land to speak in their own language.³⁶

In 1745, Archbishop D. Lourenco de Santa Maria issued a Pastoral letter which stated that a person had to know or speak Portuguese before he could enter into holy matrimony.³⁷

³⁴ Priolkar, p. 64.

³⁵ T. B. Cunha, p. 27.

³⁶ Ibid., p. 27.

³⁷ Priolkar, p. 64.

This letter also stated that prospective priests needed to prove their knowledge and ability to speak the Portuguese language, not only for the parents but also for the close relations, men as well as women, which was to be confirmed by a rigorous examination conducted by the reverend parsons.

These imperialist orders and religious hostility against Konkani, provoked protests not only from the local people but also from the rulers who feared adverse consequences. Moreover, some devout missionaries who were interested in the converts really knowing their religion tried to learn the Konkani language. But it was difficult for them to do so in the absence of Konkani books and documents which had all been destroyed. They tried to learn the language from the lips of the people and with the aid of Sanskrit and other Indian languages. Some religious books were written in hybrid Konkani. These missionaries were also instrumental in persuading the authorities to be more tolerant. When the authorities issued more tolerant orders, they were seldom obeyed.

The language situation, however, was to change with the advent of Marquis de Pombal in 1771. In establishing the college of Natives, he laid down the "the first subject should dwell on the languages of the places where we have churches and

missions".³⁸ Accordingly, an order was issued on July 10, 1871, to convert the existing Portuguese primary schools into mixed schools, that is into Portuguese-Marathi Schools. There were no Konkani medium schools as there were no books in that language. Twenty years later, in 1889, the Baron of Cumbarjua was entrusted with the task of writing school books in Konkani, but the project did not materialize. During the entire rule of the Portuguese over Goa, there was never a single Konkani language school. The result has been illiteracy among the people. Thus it was that the Viceroy D. Manuel de Portugal, deplored the fact that there was only two or three for each hundred inhabitants who could speak Portuguese.³⁹

Dr. T. B. Cunha sums up the situation thus:

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 inspite of the ostracism to which it has been subjected during centuries is the best proof that it is deeply rooted into the soil and race, which makes it impossible to replace it by

³⁸Varde, (December 1971), p. 19

³⁹Ibid.

another idiom however much one might endeavour.⁴⁰

After the liberation of Goa in 1961, however, attempts have been made to restore the Konkani language to its rightful place. Konkani books have been published and are currently used in the elementary schools. The future of Konkani Schools, however, rests on the resolution of the language controversy so that Konkani will be recognized as a language by itself and not a dialect of Marathi, which is the adopted language of the Goan people, about which we shall say more in the following pages.

Marathi Schools

The existence of Marathi medium schools in Goa, can be traced to the pre-Portuguese period.⁴¹ A number of copper and stone inscriptions found in areas bordering the state of Maharashtra reveal the use of the Marathi language during the pre-Portuguese period.⁴² Furthermore, Fr. Gabriel Saldanha,

⁴⁰T. B. Cunha, p. 28.

⁴¹Marathi is the regional language of the state of Maharashtra.

⁴²B. W. Swardekar, A Lingua de Goa (Goa: Gomant Printing Press, 1971), pp. 23-27.

a Goan historian states, that at the time of Portuguese Conquest of Goa, there were Marathi medium schools, which taught the three R's, to the local population.⁴³

These Marathi medium schools, were not regular type of primary schools, in terms of curriculum, teaching methodology and trained teachers. Most of these schools were housed in a single dingy room with one teacher who taught all the subjects. The subjects taught were reading, writing, and arithmetic which involved the study of fundamental arithmetical operations such as multiplication, integers and fractions. Most of the teachers in these schools had hardly completed elementary education and in most cases teaching was a part-time calling to them. The quality of teaching was poor and inadequate and in most cases extended upto first grade. However, there were some primary schools in Goa which were well organized in terms of curriculum, teaching methods, administration and trained teachers, but these were exceptions rather than the rule. Furthermore, Marathi schools did not extend their scope of study beyond the primary level of education.

⁴³Fr. M. J. Gabriel Saldanha, Historia de Goa (Panjim Goa: Tipografia Rangel, 1971), p. 331.

The existence of Marathi schools in Goa during the pre-Portuguese period made some writers think that the Marathi schools were the only schools in Goa.⁴⁴ We believe that the Marathi schools of the type described above, did exist in Goa, during the pre-Portuguese period, but they were confined to the areas bordering the state of Maharashtra as is revealed by the stone and copper inscriptions. Furthermore, it may be appropriate to mention the Kanada medium schools especially in those areas where the influence of Kanada Kings was strongly felt.⁴⁵ Historically Goa changed hands several times from one ruler to another. These rulers came from the neighboring territories of present day Maharashtra and Mysore states. In all probability, they attempted to promote their own language and culture. This does not in any way justify the stand taken by the Marathi supporters who claim that the Marathi schools were the only schools in pre-Portuguese period.

⁴⁴The modern writers on Goan history, with the exception of Dr. George Moraes, Mr. Pissurlencar and a few others, do not possess any research capability or scientific training. Most of them are high school graduates, employed as elementary teachers but were referred to, as Professors in Portuguese.

⁴⁵Kanada is the language of the state of Mysore.

Having clarified this point of historical importance we shall now examine the growth and development of the Marathi schools in Goa during the Portuguese period. It may be of interest to note that the Portuguese became the greatest benefactors of the Marathi schools in Goa both before and after the Republican period. Prior to the proclamation of the Republic in Portugal, the Portuguese regime helped the growth and establishment of the Marathi schools in Goa, for the following reasons: (1) It helped to destroy completely the Konkani schools, books and literature by the close of the 17th century. (2) It helped to divide the Goan community on religious and cultural bases. The method of evangelization pursued in Goa was not merely concerned with winning converts to Christianity but in completely denationalizing them. Conversion to Christianity meant total commitment to westernization. (3) The policy of forced Christianization and especially the establishment of the Holy Inquisition made many Hindu emigrate to Maharashtra and Mysore, where they were well received. (4) The making of Christianity as the state religion of Goa, deprived the Hindus not only of their religious freedom, but rendered them third class citizens. Both politically and culturally they became alien in their own land. Under such circumstances, they were left with two choices, either become Christians and be western-

ized or remain Hindus and be culturally and socially impotent. The Goan Hindus therefore had to turn around to the neighboring areas for cultural and spiritual unity. Maharashtra became the obvious choice rather than Mysore although Goans also migrated there, as well. It was easier for Goan emigrants to learn the Marathi language than the Kanada language. Marathi was very similar to Konkani and was written in the same script, Devnagri, as the Konkani language. Finally, the Portuguese in their policy of destroying Konkani culture permitted the establishment of cultural institutions that were not Goan. Hence the establishment of Marathi schools.

During the period of the famous Marquis de Pombal 1771-1871, the difficulty in diffusing education and Christianity through a medium of instruction other than the local language was recognized. There were no Konkani schools or teaching material available to start Konkani medium schools in Goa at that time. Accordingly, an order was issued on July 10, 1871, which prescribed the conversion of the primary schools existing in the New Conquest areas into mixed schools.⁴⁶ Since there were no Konkani books, the schools were converted into Portuguese-Marathi medium.

⁴⁶Varde, (December 1971), p. 19.

According to P. S. Varde, the influence of local languages (Marathi) on the eradication of illiteracy could be clearly gauged by the end of the 19th century, from the percentage of literacy which was greater in the districts of the "New Conquests" where the Hindu population had always outnumbered the Christians.⁴⁷ Varde infers that the Hindus learned to read and write more quickly through the medium of Marathi, a language with which they were acquainted than the Christians who had difficulty in learning through the Portuguese medium which was foreign to most of them. This statement is erroneous for the following reasons. One, Varde should have known that among the Christians only those who had studied the Portuguese language were considered literate, whereas, there were hundreds of Konkani medium schools called Mestre Schools which taught the three R's, to the villagers in addition to church and western music, specially the violin and the clarinet. Every vaddo (village sub-section) had a Mestre school, which was supported from the community coffers. These schools were far superior to many of the Marathi Shalas or schools, as is evident by the fact, that many of the ranking musicians in

⁴⁷Ibid.

India, and well known masters of Tailoring Art were taught in these schools, and that most of these artists had no other formal education. Second, it was the practice of the vested interests among the Catholics not to consider the alumni of "Mestre" school as literate, for economic and political reasons. These officials (Government) most of whom had only elementary school (Segund Grau) considered themselves superior to individuals who had passed the Matriculation examination of Bombay University.

In the absence of Konkani language books and literature, the Marathi language came to be recognized as the de facto language of the people of Goa and was given encouragement by the Portuguese in the succeeding years. According to the Order of December 26, 1883, two Marathi schools were ordered to be established, one in Margao, of Salcette district and the other at Mapuca of Bardez district, respectively. Similarly, a school was also ordered created in the district of Quepem.⁴⁸ Another interesting development that helped the growth of Marathi schools was the decree of October 1892, which permitted local corporations to establish and maintain Marathi schools. The result

⁴⁸ Swardekar, pp. 26-27.

was the Marathi school of Rivona which also was maintained by the Municipality of the district of Sanguem. A Marathi school was also created in the district of Valpoi in 1897.⁴⁹ Further encouragement to the growth and development of Marathi and Marathi schools came in the wake of the Republic. As we have observed in Chapter V, the Republic created an environment of political and social equality which made anti-Hindu legislation obsolete.

In 1911, with the issuance of the Provincial order, Marathi script was approved and adopted for printing the Portuguese National Anthem that was to be distributed among the pupils of the Marathi schools.⁵⁰ This was followed by another Provincial order of 1913, which prohibited the Indo-Portuguese children from attending English schools. The provisions of the aforesaid decree expressly excluded the Marathi schools from the purview of these prohibitions⁵¹.

⁴⁹Government of Goa, Order #562 of August 5, 1897, pp. 1-10. Also, Central Government, Decree of May 23, 1907, pp. 1-15.

⁵⁰Provincial Government, Order #479 of October 27, 1911, pp. 1-10.

⁵¹Provincial Government Order #170, of April 8, 1913, pp. 1-5.

Two additional decrees were passed in 1913, one on August 13, and the other on September 12. The former decree, ordered the creation of twenty schools in the territories of Novas Conquistas, New Conquests. The decree also stated that in the selection of teachers to staff these schools, preference be given to those who knew the Marathi language. The latter decree, however, ratified the provisions of the earlier decrees for the establishment of a separate chair of Marathi language at the Lyceum School of Nova Goa. As there was no professor available to take up the position, a chair for Sanskrit studies was created instead.⁵² The draft plan of education of 1920 presented to the Overseas Ministry for approval by the Governor of Goa had provisions for the establishment of Rural Primary Schools in which the medium of instruction was to be the regional language. Again, there was also to be in each of the districts of Goa, one primary school of seven standards where the instructions were to be given in Marathi in the first four standards. It was to be bilingual in the remaining three standards.⁵³ Further, the legislative diploma of 1924, which modified the program of

⁵²Central Government Decrees of August 13, September 12, 1913, quoted in Swardekar, p. 37.

⁵³Swardekar, p. 38.

studies of the regional language schools, made the second degree diploma of the regional language schools equivalent to the first degree diploma, of the Portuguese school.⁵⁴ Finally, the Legislative Diploma of 1927 established the principle of giving protection and aid to private Marathi schools. It recognized the Marathi school Dniana Prassaraca Mandali, of Mapuca in the Bardez district.⁵⁵ A provincial order issued in 1934, by General Craveiro Lopes, established preference in the selection of teachers to the Mission School of Codal in the Satari district for those teachers who had knowledge of the Marathi language. The number of children enrolled in Marathi-Portuguese schools in Goa was 131 in 1901-1902, 144 in 1910-1911 and 228 in 1920-21. In 1920-21, there were eight Marathi-Portuguese schools and sixty-six Marathi schools run by private enterprise.⁵⁶

It may be observed from the examination of the above

⁵⁴Central Government Legislative Diploma #103 dated November 7, 1924, pp. 1-10.

⁵⁵Central Government Legislative Diploma #302 dated September 16, 1927, pp. 5-15.

⁵⁶Menezes Braganza, pp. 192-200.

enrollment figures and the number of schools that the Marathi schools were slowly but steadily increasing in numbers of enrollments as well as in the number of schools. This trend was further substantiated in the enrollment, and number of schools, figures, for the year 1961-62, the year of liberation of Goa. According to these figures, there were four Government Marathi-Portuguese schools which had a membership of 125 pupils. In addition the 167 registered private schools had a membership of 13,309 pupils. Again, in the primary sections of Marathi secondary schools, run by private enterprise there were 2,911 pupils and in the nineteen Marathi secondary schools the enrollment was 1,287.⁵⁷

Missionary Educational Institutions

Chapter III dealt elaborately with the Parish or Parochial schools that were started by the various religious orders. These religious orders had dominated the Goan educational scene for well over four centuries. In this chapter, however, a general resume of the educational activities of all religious orders in Goa, will be attempted.

⁵⁷Varde, (August 1972), p. 31.

The Franciscan priests were the first to set foot on the Goan soil. They accompanied Afonso de Albuquerque to Goa in 1512. In addition to their religious activities of evangelization, they were also instrumental in setting up Primary Portuguese schools in Goa. Initially, Albuquerque provided them with a small subsidy to enable them to undertake and promote educational activities. In the course of time their activities extended to the secondary and higher level of education. The Franciscans founded the College of Santiago at Craganor, with a membership of some eighty students. This college was of great significance to Goa since the first Goan priests to be ordained were graduates of this institution. Furthermore, the College of Santiago helped to lay the foundations of the College of Santa Fe that was later started by its alumni. The College of Santa Fe, founded by two diocesan priests, who established an Order called the Congregation of Santa Fe. This College started functioning in 1544. Its enrollment was about a hundred students who were Asian and Portuguese orphans. The subjects taught at this college were Grammar, Rhetoric, Latin, Philosophy, Theology and Music.

The College of Santa Fe was later on taken over by the Jesuit Society and was renamed the College of St. Paul.

Under the Jesuits, the College expanded its educational activities and was raised to the status of a full fledged University, comparable to the European Universities of the time. It had a well developed faculty of Arts. There were three classes of Latin and a course of Philosophy. Moral Theology covering speculative and sacred scriptures was also taught. This college is also said to have initiated medical studies in Goa.⁵⁸ In 1580, the College of St. Paul was transferred to a larger facility, located on Mount Rosario, and was renamed Collegio Nova. The college enjoyed good reputation in Asian and African countries. It had among its student body, students from such countries as, Madagaskar, Mozambique, Armenia, Persia, China and Japan, who came to study the ideas of the West. The University was also known for its Department of Oriental Languages. The college, however, lost its importance after the expulsion of the Jesuits from Goa, in 1759, and its buildings were later on converted into a hospital.

Educational Activities of Other Missionary Societies

In addition to the educational and missionary activities of the Franciscans, other religious orders such as the Domin-

⁵⁸Emile Marini, Goa (Lisboa: Unio Grafica, 1956), pp. 184-196.

icans, Augustinians, Jesuits, Carmelites, Salesians and other communities worked in Goa. The following section will briefly identify the educational activities of these religious societies and communities.

The Dominican priests opened a college in Panjim, called the College of Saint Thomas de Aquinos. In this college the subjects taught were, Languages, Philosophy and Theology.

The Augustinians opened a college in 1622 called the College of Populo. The courses offered in this institution were Grammar, Latin, Philosophy and Theology.

A number of other religious congregations founded colleges and convents in Goa. Of great importance to Goa, was the Order of Father Alex de Menezes, which was dedicated to women's education. The educational institutions discussed so far were designed primarily to meet the needs of the religious aspirants. An exception was the College of St. Paul, which also catered to the needs of the laity. Hereafter, our examination will deal with educational institutions, both of Primary and Secondary level, founded by the religious orders in Goa.

The Jesuits came to Goa in 1542, from Lisbon, Portugal. They reestablished their Mission in Goa in September 1863. Among

the educational institutions they established were Our Lady of Fatima Convent in 1943, Loyola High School founded in 1944 and Sacred Heart of Jesus High School founded in 1944.

The Minor Order of the Franciscans came to Goa in 1941. It established a High School named St. Anthony's High School, located on Mount Gurium, in the Bardez district of Goa. The Franciscan Order of Mount Poincur opened an Orphanage of St. Anthony in 1929. It maintained a Primary School in English medium.

The Order of St. Francis of Assisi came to Goa in 1928. It opened a convent in Mapuca, in Bardez district of Goa, called the Convent of St. Anthony, where primary level of education was imparted.

The Carmelites came to Goa in 1619. They are known for the monastery type of education that they imparted to novitiates. They had a monastery in Old Goa. In 1633, they founded the College of Teresian Missionaries. In 1939 they founded a monastery in Margao, Salcette district of Goa.

The Salesian Fathers of Don Bosco came to Goa in 1945. Their educational institutions in Goa are the Don Bosco School founded in 1946, and the Professional School which trained skilled craftsmen like mechanics, printers, tailors, etc. They also conduct a night school.

The Order of St. Francis Xavier was purely a Goan Religious Order. It founded the Fr. Agnelo de Pillar High School in Old Goa, and also maintained a commercial school. The educational institutions discussed so far were conducted by religious orders for the education of boys only. In addition, there were and are, a number of other schools run by diocesan priests. The religious orders also started separate schools for girls.

Franciscans Hospitaleiras Portuguesas came to Goa in 1886. They founded for girls, the House of Santa Misericordia in 1881, which was later transferred to Panjim in 1887. They also started a High School for girls in Panjim, called Mary Immaculate High School. Another High School in Margao called Presentation of Our Lady High School was founded in 1936.

Orders of the Sisters of Holy Cross came to Goa in 1933. They founded a High School in Bastora, Bardez, called the Holy Cross High School.

The Daughters of the Sacred Heart of Mary came to Goa in 1952. They established the Institute of Our Lady of Piety for teaching Home Economics and Languages. They also conduct a High School - Holy Cross High School in Siolim, Bardez.

Order of the Carmelo Apostolico de Mangalore came to

Goa in 1870. They opened the following educational institutions:

A school cum orphanage, Fr. Agnelo Nuvem, Salcette, St. Thomas High School in Aldona, Bardez, in 1930, Fatima High School in Mapuca, Bardez in 1948.

Missionary Sisters of Ajmere India, came to Goa in 1946. They maintain two schools in Goa: Our Lady of Lourdes High School in Saligao, Bardez and St. Isabella School.

The Sisters of St. Alex came to Goa in 1931. They started the following schools. The Orphanage of St. Alex in Calangute, Bardez, founded in 1930; St. Teresa School in Calangute Bardez, in 1931; Institute "Conego Gracias in Corambolim, in 1948, where Home Science courses were conducted; Convent of St. Joseph in Navelim, Salcette, St. Teresinha School in Raia, Salcette, the School of Our Lady of Fatima in Valpoi, in 1951 and the School of Immaculate Heart of Mary in Goa Velha, in 1953.

The Sisters of Sacred Family came to Goa in 1935.

Their educational institutions are the Sacred Family School in Sancoale, founded in 1935; St. Anthony School in Agacaim, founded in 1953; St. Francis Xavier School in Santo Estevao founded in 1940 and the School of Our Lady of Perpetual Succour in Navelim founded in 1940.

Franciscan Sisters of Mary conduct the Educational Institute of St. Philomena in Cuncolim.

Sisters of St. Anne of Providence founded the School of Tivim in 1932. It will be observed from the above resume that Goa was the beneficiary of many a missionary effort in the area of social work and education. However, unlike the rest of India, Goa is not a mission country. In fact, Goan priests have long served in the overseas missions and have been appointed as bishops, archbishops and cardinals not only of India but also of foreign countries. The reason why so many religious orders congregated in Goa, was, because Goa was the center of Catholicism in the East and was often referred to as the "Rome of the East". Furthermore, it may be appropriate to state here, that there were also a number of schools conducted by the diocesan priests.

In conclusion it may be stated that the Portuguese policy of forced evangelization which was synonymous to westernization, destroyed completely the Konkani books and literature, so much so, that at the time of the liberation there was not a single Konkani school in Goa. However, it has to be remembered that although the religious orders were instrumental in destroying the Konkani language and school

there were others among them especially the Jesuits who worked hard for the revival of the Konkani language, and published a number of Konkani books in the Roman script. This may perhaps be one of the reasons why the Konkani language is still alive in Goa.

The Marathi language and the Marathi schools flourished in Goa because of the anti-Hindu laws of the Catholic state of Goa. These schools however, received a great impetus when attempts were made to develop the vernacular languages. Since there were no books in Konkani and attempts to write them were futile, Marathi remained the only language that could provide the Goan Hindus with materials necessary for establishing schools. In course of time, however, Marathi came to be recognized as the language of the Goan people, atleast officially, especially after the proclamation of the Republic in Portugal.

Finally, we covered the various religious orders that came to Goa at various points in history and have left behind them not only churches and monasteries, but schools and other educational institutions, which is indeed a tribute to their religious zeal and service to the cause of humanity.

CHAPTER VII

DENATIONALIZATION OF GOANS

In the Goan context, the concept of denationalization may be viewed as a historical process designed to systematically destroy the inherent culture of a people, and thereby render them either culturally bankrupt or as aliens in their own land.

In approaching the subject matter of this chapter, the question that invariably comes to mind, is whether the Goans as a people are really denationalized. There are several schools of thought on the subject. However, we shall deal with the most accepted ones for the purpose of our discussion.

The first school of thought contends, that Goans as a people are denationalized. For example, Dr. T. B. Cunha contends that the Goans are the most denationalized of all the peoples of India. This view holds that a complete lack of national consciousness and most abject subjection to the Portuguese and British foreign rulers have made the Goans and particularly the Goan Christians strangers in their own land. It sees the Goan as a servile follower of everything foreign to his country, hybrid in manners and habits, and living in dishar-

mony with his natural surroundings. Although the Goan is of the same racial stock as that of the neighboring Indians, he is often considered to be of mixed blood because of the Portuguese names he has adopted and the western manners he affects.¹

The second school of thought which is more influential and has a large following in Goa, holds the view, that Goans as a nature are eclectic and have been able to absorb in their own indigenous culture what was foreign, without losing in the process, their cultural identity; what actually has happened through the centuries of Portuguese rule may be described as a kind of cultural metabolism.

Professor Lucio Rodrigues, a well known folklorist of Goa, contends that the Indo-Portuguese encounter has resulted into a kind of cultural metabolism. It was indeed a close encounter between the two peoples, those of India and of Portugal; between two religions, Hinduism and Christianity; two languages, Konkani and Portuguese; two ways of life, Indian and European. The encounter had in the early stages, its ugly aspects, what with arrogance on the one side and humiliation on the other. But with the passage of time, the eclectic nature of the Goan

¹T. B. Cunha, Goa's Freedom Struggle (Bombay: Tristao Memorial Committee, 1961), p. 59.

enabled him to naturalize the foreign element and recreate in his own image and likeness all that was thrust upon him, achieving a kind of cultural metabolism.² According to this second school of thought, there has emerged a new composite culture which has blended the Indian and the European. This cultural blend is not identical with the Portuguese culture in that its core still remains Indian. There are others in the same school of thought who contend that Goan culture is neither Portuguese nor Indian. It is Euro-Indian.

A third school of thought has only recently risen to importance. The adherents of this school of thought claim that Goa is part of the neighboring state of Maharashtra. They base their claim on two factors: (1) Marathi, a language of the people of Maharashtra, is the lingua franca of the Goan people; (2) Goan culture, particularly of the Hindus is a Marathi culture.³

Having identified these three major schools of thought, the various social, economic and political factors that composed the historical process may be examined. These factors can be classified into four broad categories: (1) The so-called "Policy

²Lucio Rodrigues, "The Euro-Indian Folklore of Goa" Bulletin Institute Menezes Braganza, 96 (November, 1971), p. 222.

³A. K. Priolkar, Goa Re-Discovered (Bombay: Bhatkal Books International, 1967), pp. 47-56.

of Assimilation and Association of the Portuguese in Goa" and supposed tolerance attributed to Afonso de Albuquerque;

(2) The Policy of Conversion to Christianity; (3) The anti-Hindu laws; (4) The Policy of Deculturalization.

Albuquerque's policy after the conquest of Goa in 1510 has been interpreted by some historians as being tolerant towards Goan Hindus. This interpretation is based on Albuquerque's actions in dispensing rewards and positions to such Hindu military officials as Timoja and Mahadev Rao, at the time of the Portuguese conquest of Goa. However, a close examination of Portuguese military strength at that time suggests, that Albuquerque's small Portuguese force was incapable of defeating the Muslim rulers of Goa without Indian allies. It is for this reason that by posing as a liberator of the Hindus from the Muslim rule, he won the aide of Timoja and Mahadev Rao. In actuality however, his actions were motivated more by necessity rather than by his liberal spirit, as is interpreted by some historians.

It has also been mentioned elsewhere in this study that the Goan nobility, particularly the Kshatriya nobles, commanded respect and wielded great political power because of their huge landed possessions during the period of Muslim

rule in Goa.⁴ Nor was Captain Mahadev Rao a Goan. He hailed from a place called Hanover, India. It is our interpretation, therefore, that the actual vanquished Hindu rulers of Goa, had no part in the military conspiracy that helped Portugal to overthrow the Muslim Rule in Goa. This does not suggest, that the Goan Hindu rulers were contented under the Muslim rulers. What it simply conveys is, that when faced with the choice between the Muslims and foreign invaders they generally preferred the Muslim rulers to foreigners. We have evidence that on occasions the Kshatriya nobility along with their soldiery fought side by side with the Muslim rulers against the invading Portuguese.⁵ The military alliance between the Portuguese General Afonso de Albuquerque and the Goan corsair Timoja and Captain Mahadev Rao may be construed as another of the many attempts of the Hindu Brahmins to usurp political power from the Kshatriya nobility, even though it meant total subservience to a foreign power. Dr. Francisco Luis Gomes, a great Goan Nationalist, a well known economist and a novelist, in his much

⁴ Armando Cortesao, The Suma Oriental of Tome Pires (London: Hakluyt Society, 1944), pp. 58-59.

⁵ Lieut. M.J. Rowlandson, Accounts of Tohful-ul-Muj-ahideen (London: Oriental Translation Fund, 1833), pp. 97-99.

acclaimed novel "Os Brahamins" the Brahmins, published in Portugal, described the manner in which Goan Brahmins allied themselves with the Portuguese rulers to obtain political and social positions.⁶

Albuquerque, in conquering Goa, was solely motivated by the desire to plunder as much loot as he possibly could, in the name of the king of Portugal. His true designs were made known in a letter addressed to the Portuguese Sovereign in which letter Albuquerque described the dissensions between the Goan Hindus and Muslims and explained how he took advantage of the situation. He wrote, "I render your Highness this account for it is good that you be informed of the movements and disunity of the Kings and Lords of India which might please God, that there be so much idssension and war among them, that some of them might make you their protector and give you part of their lands."⁷

In the same letter, Albuquerque revealed, how he ordered the Zamorin of Calicut to be poisoned, unable to defeat

⁶Francisco Luis Gomes, Os Brahamins (God: Livuraria de Panjim, 1928), pp. 1-177.

⁷Albuquerque's Letter to the King of Portugal, dated December 22, 1510, cited in T. B. Cunha, pp. 60-61.

him in war in exchange for a promise to respect and tolerate the religion of the Hindus. He wrote:

I hold it for certain that the Nambiadiri slew the Zamorin with poison, because in all my letters I bid him to kill the Zamorin with poison, and that in a peace treaty I will come to an agreement with him, and in that case you wished that the Hindu religion and the ceremonies of the King of Cochin be kept.⁸

Another example of Albuquerque's tolerance was revealed in a letter of December 22, 1510, that described the manner in which he treated the Goan people, particularly the Muslims. Albuquerque wrote:

I then burnt the city and put everything to the sword and for days continuously your people shed blood in them, wherever they caught and found, no life was spared to any Mussalman and their mosques were filled up and set on fire; I ordered that the tillers of the soil and the Brahmins should not be killed. We calculated 6,000 souls to have been killed, Mussalmans, men and woman and of their militia archers many died; it was my lord, a very great deed, well fought and well finished. Besides Goa being so great a thing and so important vengeance has not yet been taken for the betrayal and wickedness alone to your Highness by the Mussalmans but this shall be heard all over, and through fear and astonishment will come great things to your obedience without conquering and subjecting; they shall do no wickedness, knowing that they shall pay for it with great price.⁹

Immediately after the above incident, he described

⁸ Ibid.

⁹ Ibid.

how he was aided by the Hindus. Because of Hindus assistance he spared them in the beginning of the conquest. Albuquerque commented:

Some gentile chiefs from whom the Turks had taken their lands, knowing of the destruction of Goa, came down from the hills where they were hiding, to my help and took the river passages and roads and put to the sword all Mussal-
mans who were escaping from Goa, and spared life to no living creature. They plundered great riches, for they took all the pay money of the soldiers who were escaping from Goa and killed a Turkish chief who was a treasurer and taking it. I leave no tomb or building of the Mussal-
mans standing; those who are now taken alive, I order to be roasted. A renegade was taken and I ordered him to be burnt.¹⁰

In this massacre, the principal officer was Mahadev Rao, the Hindu captain of Timoja's Company who had come to Afonso de Albuquerque's aide. Timoja, himself, arrived later with three thousand men and apologized for not having been able to come before the incident. Timoja was rewarded for his services to the King of Portugal by being appointed as the captain of the Hindu inhabitants. However, it seems that Timoja was unacceptable to the Goan people and had to be replaced.

Joao de Barros wrote:

But Timoja continued in this position only for a little while as the Hindus felt very bad that they were governed through him, as he was a man of lowly origin, but on the

¹⁰Ibid.

contrary, had raised himself to the status of a captain.¹¹

Timoja was replaced by the nephew of the King of Hanover, Melrao or Mahadev Rao, who the people of the land wished to have as their governor, as he was an individual of royal blood.¹² It is interesting to note that Timoja was not acceptable to the Goan people as a Governor because he was not of a royal blood but was a Brahmin by caste. This raises the question of the composition of Timoja's and Mahadev Rao's army. It is unlikely that the bulk of their soldiery came from the Goans. Mahadev Rao, must have brought along with him his own soldiers, and Timoja who has been described as pirate, may have had a large following among pirates who may have joined him in the fight.

Furthermore, Afonso de Albuquerque's generosity towards his Indian collaborators can be explained by his desire to seek continuous support of the Goan people. In a report sent to the King of Portugal dated November 13, 1513, he stated:

I inform you, my Lord, that the first time and the second time I took Goa I ordered the lands to be rented to

¹¹Joao de Barros, Da Asia, Decada II (Lisboa: author 1777), Vol. V, p. 543.

¹²Ibid., pp. 546-547.

collectors and began to manage the affairs through Mussalman and Gentile chiefs, with money paid for this which they themselves, collected so as not to put our people on the land, where they might one morning be found beheaded; and so I desired to try first with Mussalmans and Gentiles who at the most could do no further harm than run away and take with them what taxes they might have collected on the land.¹³

Albuquerque's initial policy of utilizing the services of Goans in collecting taxes was soon discontinued. As the Portuguese rule in Goa gained strength, the profitable posts held by Goans were given to the Portuguese officers. However, there were a number of cases of embezzlement by the Portuguese collectors. Many of the Portuguese Thandors or officials were imprisoned by Afonso de Albuquerque, for theft and embezzlement.¹⁴

There is further evidence that suggests that Albuquerque's alleged policy of toleration towards the Hindus is without much historical foundation. A letter of January 6, 1515, written to Duque Guiliano de Medicis by Andre Corsali, a Florentine traveller referred to the destruction of a Hindu Temple by the Portuguese authorities. Corsali wrote:

¹³Albuquerque, Report to King of Portugal, dated November 30, 1513. Cited in T. B. Cunha, p. 62.

¹⁴T. B. Cunha, p. 63.

In this land of Goa and of the whole of India, there are innumerable ancient edifices of the Gentiles and in a little neighboring island that is called Divari, the Portuguese in order to build the land (town) of Goa, have destroyed an ancient temple called pagoda which was built with great skill, with ancient figures of a certain black stone worked with great perfection of which some are standing, ruined and spoilt, but which these Portuguese hold in no esteem. Should I have in hand any figures thus ruined, I shall send it to Your Highness that your Highness may see how in ancient times sculpture was appreciated everywhere.¹⁵

Some Goan writers in attempting to exonerate Albuquerque of these charges of intolerance towards the Hindus and their religion have claimed that Albuquerque was absent from Goa during the period when the temple was destroyed. Nevertheless, it is historically true that Albuquerque was a firm believer in the policy of converting the Goans to Christianity. In a letter of December 20, 1514, addressed to the King of Portugal, he expressed his interest in converting the Goans to Christianity. Albuquerque gave an account of his efforts to convert the King of Cochin.¹⁶

If Afonso de Albuquerque did show some tolerance ini-

¹⁵A. B. Braganza Perriera, Historia Religiosa de Goa (Goa: Tipografia Rangel, n.d.), Vol. I, p. 44.

¹⁶Silva Rego, Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes do Padroado Portugues de Orient (Lisboa: Unio Grafica, 1950), Vol. I, p. 228.

tially to the Hindus, it was with an ulterior motive. He needed the support of the Hindus to consolidate Portuguese power in Goa. Once that was established he had no use for tolerance.

Albuquerque is admired by many Goan writers for his lack of racial prejudice towards the natives of the country. He is said to have initiated and promoted in Goa the Portuguese policy of "Assimilation and Association", which encouraged mixed marriages, between the Portuguese and the Indian women. Albuquerque, it is stated, by some writers, had no horror of mixed marriages, no dislike of half-castes. On the contrary, he did all in his power to create a race of half-caste Portuguese.¹⁷

Dr. T. B. Cunha, on the other hand, contends that Albuquerque was as full of racial arrogance as any other colonial ruler. The mixed marriages that he promoted were due to the imperative necessity of tying his people to the conquered land and of ensuring the continuation of their predominance through these unions.¹⁸ There also exist other plausible explanations for Albuquerque's policy of mixed marriages. Firstly,

¹⁷H. Morse Stephens, Albuquerque (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1892), p. 153

¹⁸T. B. Cunha, The Denationalization of Goans (Bombay: by the author, 1944), pp. 7-9.

few Portuguese women had immigrated to Goa because of navigational difficulties and the hardships of crossing the rough seas. Secondly, it was considered both politically and socially dangerous to have European families in India. Thirdly, the marriages that actually took place at the time of the Conquest were between the Portuguese soldiers and the Turkish and Muslim women and not with Goan women. These women were the wives and daughters of the Muslim rulers of Goa, whose husbands and fathers were massacred by Albuquerque and his army. However, later on, marriages between the Portuguese and Goan women were also encouraged. This reasoning has been adequately substantiated by Albuquerque's letters to the King of Portugal which stated:

Here were taken some Mussalman women fair and of good looks and some clean men wished to marry them and settle down in this land, and came to see me to ask for land and I married them as regulated by Your Highness and gave them each his horse and house and cattle and land that I thought convenient; there will be four hundred and fifty souls there. These captives and those women that marry return to their houses and dig up their jewels and their clothes and treasures of gold and pearls and necklaces and bangles, and I leave it all to them and their husbands. The properties and lands of the mosques I leave to the Church of the name of Saint Catherine on whose day Our Lord, through her merits' gave us the victory, which Church I ordered to be built in the big fort.¹⁹

¹⁹Walter de Gray Birch, Braz de Albuquerque's Commentaries of Albuquerque (London: Hakluyt Society, 1875-1884), Vol. 3, pp. 41-42.

Albuquerque's color prejudice towards the dark skinned Indian women is indicated in one of his letters in which he declared:

I was never keen on marrying men with these Malabarian women, as they are dark and corrupt in their ways of living and their customs; and the women who were Mohammedans are fair and chaste and modest in their ways of living.²⁰

It is more than obvious from the contents of this letter that Albuquerque was not devoid of racial prejudice and his so-called policy of intermarriage did not contribute to racial harmony. His policy of mixed marriages was motivated by his religious zeal, for some large scale baptism which did occur after the capture of Goa. These were principally among the Mohammedan women whose husbands had been slain and whom Albuquerque gave in marriage to his favorites.²¹

it is interesting to examine the manner in which the Indo-Portuguese matrimonial unions were made. Afonso de Albuquerque in one of his letters dated April 1, 1512, describes quite frankly, some comic episodes. One such incident occurred

²⁰Albuquerque's Letter dated November 4, 1524, cited in T. B. Cunha, p. 65.

²¹Stephens, p. 164.

when Afonso de Albuquerque gave an Indian woman in marriage to a Portuguese who had asked for her. However, the person from whom the woman was taken induced the woman through his servant to say that she did not marry the man willingly and bribed a monk to corroborate the story.²²

A number of other such incidents were reported by Portuguese chroniclers of the time. However, we shall report just one more incident of this nature, reported by Afonso de Albuquerque in one of his letters.

More was done by this monk, while I was in Malacca. I married in Goa an honorable and good looking woman to one Joao Caregeira, an honest man. The husband died and she soon married another and before certain witnesses received in her house one Achilles Godinho also married in Goa. There was another man who was also enamored by this woman. He bribed the monk and unmarried her and she was taken and kept in the house of this man where this person was to do as he pleased with her; and as he died the monk at once went there and married her to another.²³

It is evident that most of these marriages were contracted with either Muslim women by force or with Indian women of a special caste. Hindu women, even through forced conversion would not easily consent to marry a foreigner because of her deeply rooted caste prejudice. Only the women of the nautch

²²T. B. Cunha, p. 65.

²³Ibid., p. 66.

girls caste who were free from this prejudice, could consent to these unions. What happened to them after being converted and married by force was described by Albuquerque:

My Lord, these new Christian women had in their houses, ten, fifteen and twenty people, cousins, brothers and relatives, who were not christians and had affairs with them, and in other Gentile houses the Moors from Cochin came to sleep with Christian women. And likewise these houses which sheltered Gentiles and Moors from outside whose business was to instigate the slaves to rob their masters and flee. These doings had gone so far that there are many people robbed of a hundred "cruzados" and more and their slaves run away, and this was the surest income existing here; and in like manner some of your people, tired of sleeping with Christians, had affairs with this Gentile woman and in a few days six hundred people turned Christians.²⁴

It seems to follow from the above narration that every woman living in concubinage with a Christian man automatically became a Christian. This gross conception of religion prevailing at that time among Albuquerque's companions is evident from the various passages of his letters. Furthermore, it was never Albuquerque's intention nor the policy to create a mixed society in Goa by means of racial amalgamation with the conquered, as of founding a new political and social organization, as is frequently and incorrectly applied to him.

²⁴ Ibid., p. 67.

His objective was to make room for his own man who had married the fair and good-looking Turkish woman. As for the natives they could ne driven out of their lands:

If the people marry in this manner, I think it will be necessary that Your Highness order the natives of the islands to be turned out and the lands and fields to be given to the married, for the lands of Goa belong to none but the King, the Lord of the land.²⁵

Dr. Cunha Rivara, the Portuguese historian and educator frankly admitted that the aim which brought the Portuguese to India had nothing lofty about it. It was to exterminate the native race and take possession of their riches, as the Anglo-Saxons and the Spaniards did in America. If they failed to do so in India, it was because the circumstances were different. According to Rivara:

India was not America. If in the latter the European conquerors soon exterminated the uncultured or totally savage indigenous races and re-peopled the country with inhabitants imported from Europe the great distance of the Indian Conquest and specially the invincible resistance, naturally offered by numerous populations, among whom the principal classes had reached a high degree of civilization, made the conquerors avoid open violence and to prefer indirect, through not mild ways to attain their aim.²⁶

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ J. H. Cunha Rivara, Archivo Portuguez Oriental (Goa: Tipografia Rangel, 1862-75), p. 75.

In order to understand the impact of Christianity on Goan nationality, the historical development that led to the spread of Christianity in Goa must be examined. For the purpose of our study, these developments may be viewed as those that occurred before and after the Portuguese conquest of Goa. The impression that Christianity came to Goa with the Portuguese is erroneous and contrary to historical facts and religious developments in South East Asia. The propagation of this impression may be construed as an attempt by the Portuguese to discredit the Apostolic effort in the Christianization of India. Christianity in India dates back to the time of the Apostles. We have evidence that indicates that both St. Thomas and St. Bartholomew, preached Christianity in the Hindu temples and Jewish synagogues in South India, which included Goa. Although St. Thomas the Apostle visited Goa on several occasions, it was the Apostle St. Bartholomew who was instrumental for the majority of conversions in Goa.

It may be inferred, from the above facts, that there was no hostility towards the preaching of the Christian Gospel in Goa. This explains the traditional tolerance of the Hindus to other creeds and beliefs. Since Goa was a center of trade and commerce in this part of the hemisphere it contained within

its boundaries people of different nationalities and religious persuasions who resided in Goa and lived in harmony with the local population practising their trade and professing their respective religions. At this time in Goa, there were, in addition to Hindu temples, Muslim mosques and Jewish synagogues.²⁷

Swami Vivekananda, in his address at Los Angeles in the United States, entitled Christ the Messenger, explained why Christianity could not be considered alien to India:

Many times you forget that the Nazarene, Jesus Christ himself was an Oriental of Orientals, yet, notwithstanding your attempts to paint Him with blue eyes and yellow hair, the Nazarene was still an Oriental. All the similes, all the imagery, in which the Bible is written - the scenes, the locations, the attitudes, the groups, the poetry and symbolism - speak to you of the Orient: of the bright sky, of the heat of the sun, of the desert, of the thirsty men and animals; of men and women coming with pitchers on their heads to fill them at the wells, of the flocks, of the ploughmen, of the cultivation that is going around, of the water-mill and the wheel of the mill pad, of the mill stones - all these are to be seen in Asia.²⁸

²⁷Remy, Goa, Rome of the Orient (London: Arthus Barker Ltd., 1957), p. 135.

²⁸Swami Vivekananda, Christ the Messenger, an address delivered in Los Angeles, United States of America; cited in A. K. Priolkar, Goa, Facts versus Fiction (Bombay: Laxmi Narayan Press), pp. 11-12.

Apostolic Christianity it may be observed, was considered an Asian religion, which it was, and its impact on the national character of the Goan people was minimal, to the extent it did not aim to change the life style of the people. As indicated, there was a marked resemblance in the life styles of the Asian people. Furthermore, the Apostles, being disciples of Christ Himself, did very little to antagonize the local population. They preached the Gospel of Christ in the true Asian tradition. Their methods were persuasive and educative, and they were able to make a number of conversions both in South India and in Goa. It is interesting to note that the South Indian Christians till this day maintain their Indian customs and culture and it is often difficult to distinguish a Hindu from a Christian except when they are in the Church, or temples. Their mode of prayer is almost identical with the Hindus in gesture and supplication.

Rev. Fr. H. O. Mascarenhas, often referred to, as the Father of the Konkani Revival, is reported to have responded to a statement by a foreign missionary, who claimed that Goa owed its Christian faith to Portugal, that Christianity was the flower of Asia and that it was not grown in the hotbeds of

the West.²⁹ Fr. Mascarenhas further indicates that the Christians who came to receive St. Francis in 1564, at Goa, were, mostly Apostolic Christians. St. Francis it is reported was overwhelmed by the mammoth reception and is reported to have written to his superiors in Rome, that the Goan Christians welcome to him, was an extraordinary event in his own words, it was a sight to see.³⁰

The Portuguese invasion in 1510 changed the character of Christianity in Goa. For the Portuguese came to India, as is often described by historians, with a sword in one hand, and a cross in the other. Their aim was to Christianize the Goan population by force. They did not hesitate to use the machinery of the State to attain this end. According to the Portuguese to Christianize meant to become Portuguese and accept in totality the Portuguese culture. Fr. Pierre Dahmen, a Jesuit priest in his biography of Father Robert de Nobili wrote:

In an assembly of Theologians held in Goa in 1579, under the orders of the Viceroy, they expressed themselves against permitting liberty to practice various cults in the Portuguese Colonies. In practice, however, ceremonies

²⁹H. O. Mascarenhas, Tristao Memorial Meeting (Bombay: September 29, 1958).

³⁰Ibid.

and cults were prohibited in Salcette but tolerated in the northern territories where the Portuguese troops were too weak to enforce the ban. Unfortunately, to this negative policy corresponded a positive one which was no less disastrous. It can be summed up in the following equation. To christianize equal to make Portuguese.³¹

These Portuguese policies during their earlier period of rule, based on the assumption of the superiority of Portuguese blood and culture had a remarkable impact on the Goan personality and nationality.

The Goan people very much resented the forcible imposition of western Christianity and western culture. There were a number of resistance movements in the territory and as a result the number of conversions began to decline, if not become impossible. St. Francis Xavier in his letter to the King of Portugal, D. Joao III, wrote:

So long as the Viceroys and the Governors of India be not under the influence of the fear of losing their properties and their offices when not labouring for the conversion of a great number of infidels Your Majesty should not expect great fruits from the evangelical preachings in India, nor expect that a great number come for baptism and that already baptized, make any religious progress.³²

³¹Pierre Dahmen, S. J., Robert de Nobili l'Apostre des Brahmes, Premiere Apologie 1610 (Paris: author, 1931), p. 16.

³² T. B. Cunha, pp. 69-70.

Dr. T. B. Cunha stated that St. Francis, who made brief sojourns in Goa, did not have the opportunity to make a single conversion. He further adds that most of the conversions were made by force and other ways of compulsion.³³ A further proof of the forcible methods adopted for conversions can be had from Oriente Conquistado, a brief account of the manner in which conversions were made. Fr. Francisco D'Souza the author of this book, however, pleads for the justification of the use of force for making conversions.³⁴

Father Alexandre Valignano, a visitor to the province in Goa, describes the manner in which conversions were made:

As regards the work of the Father of Christians, it consists of three things, say, the one which concerns what regards conversions, the other what is done for the catechumens, their preparation and baptism, and the last the protection and aid of the newly converted. As regards the first, the conversion of the infidels, as in these parts of India it generally not being through preaching and doctrine but through other just means, as is the hindering of their idolatries and their punishment for it, and the denying to them the favors which can justly be denied and of giving them to the new converts with honour, help and protection in order that others might be converted.³⁵

³³Ibid., p. 68.

³⁴Francisco de Souza, Oriente Conquistado a Jesu Christo pelos Padres da Companhia de Jesus de Provincia de Goa (Bombay: Examiner Press, 1881-1886), pp. 1-200.

³⁵Cunha Rivara, Archivo Portugues Oriental (Nova Goa: Government Printing Press, 1866), pp. 1436-37.

It has been the generally accepted view that the main instruments which were responsible for the conversions were the lure of material rewards and threat of violence and force and that religious conviction played a comparatively minor role in effecting such conversions. This explains why these converts continued to adhere in secret to their old faiths and tended to indulge in beliefs and practices which were heretical from the Christian point of view.³⁶

According to Boies Penrose, bribery, threat and torture were freely used as instruments of proselytism. Religious bigotry and proselytism fostered by the Inquisition sapped the vitals of the empire while mere cruel terrorism took the place of the strength - albeit cruel strength - on which the early giants had relied. In so far as one date can be taken as of prime importance in the ruin of the Portuguese empire, it is May 6, 1542, when Francis Xavier set foot ashore at Goa. From then on the Jesuits did their worst, using every form of bribery, threat, and torture to effect a conversion.

³⁶A. K. Priolkar, The Goa Inquisition (Bombay: The Bombay University Press, 1961), p. 50.

Burton writing eighty years ago, refers to "fire and steel, the dungeon and the rack, the rice pot and the rupee" which played "the persuasive part in the good work assigned to them". Facetious as this quotation may seem it sums up succinctly the method use, and the satisfaction at the result for the Jesuits were fanatics, and like all fanatics they did irreparable harm.³⁷

Reverend Fr. Heras, on the other hand after reading the accounts of Fr. Francisco de Souza, in his Orient Conquistado, arrives at the following conclusion:

After reading these extracts one remains with the impression that at least in most cases, if not in all, the work of the Jesuits was only a posteriori, viz. work of instruction and baptism, after the Hindus themselves had decided to join the Church. The a priori work - say the work of invitation, of persuasion of moral compulsion - seems to be left almost entirely to God's grace and call.³⁸

There was no doubt that force and other forms of compulsions were used to effect conversion. To what extent the missionaries were justified in using coercive methods is a moot

³⁷ Boies Penrose, Sea Fights in the East Indies in the years 1602-1639 (Massachusetts: The University Press, 1931), p.14.

³⁸ H. Heras, The Conversion Policy of the Jesuits in India (Bombay: Examiner Press, 1933), p. 55.

question. We believe, however, that the missionaries who came to Goa were filled with a desire to Christianize the Indians. They were convinced that the Hindus of Goa were pagans and took upon themselves the task of converting them to Christianity and thereby saving them from damnable hell. The methods employed in achieving the goals were of less consequence since they were motivated by a higher ideal of salvation of the would-be lost souls. We have also to take into account the ignorance of the missionaries in respect to the Indian religions.

Fr. James Brodrick, the biographer of Saint Francis Xavier, states that:

St. Francis Xavier's knowledge of Hinduism was, if possible, even less adequate than his few biased notions of Mohammedanism. Though the Portuguese had been in India for over forty years, none of them appears to have made the slightest attempt to understand the venerable civilization, so much more ancient than their own, on which they had violently intruded.³⁹

It must be stated that the King of Portugal had, from time to time, stated that conversions should be made on the basis of free consent and persuasion and not by compulsion and force. This view was also shared by The Concilio Provincial,

³⁹ James Brodrick, Saint Francis Xavier (London: by the Society, 1952), pp. 114-115.

The Provincial Council, an assembly of bishops which laid down the policy and method of missionary work.

In their first resolution passed in 1567, the Provincial Council resolved that it was not lawful to bring to Christian faith and baptism any person by force with threats and terror, because no one comes to Christ by faith unless brought by the celestial father with voluntary love and prevenient grace. It further stated, that the unbelievers should be brought to the true faith by the example of our lives, preaching of the truth of our law and the confutation of their errors so that by recognition of these things, they will give up their lies, and be received in Christ, who is the way, the truth, and the life. Those who wish to bring the unbelievers to the true faith must also seek to cultivate gentleness and goodness in order that they may win persons to Christ, not merely by their preachings but also by kindness, courtesy and service.⁴⁰

Francois Pyrard, a contemporary traveller describes the manner in which the Goan Hindus were converted. According to Pyrard, the New Christians were taken to a house adjoining a Church. This house was called Cathecumenos and was maintained

⁴⁰ Cunha Rivara, IV, pp. 7-8.

for catechizing and teaching the New Christians. Here, they were fed and supplied with clothing, until they were instructed and baptized. A Father-of-the-Christians, (also known as Jesuits) was in charge of the New Christians as well as the house.⁴¹

Pyrard further states that on the day of the Feast of the Conversion of St. Paul, these New Christians received their baptism in the Church and College of St. Paul. Before the actual baptism took place, one of the Jesuit Fathers, gave a sermon on the excellence of the Christian religion. He reminded them that none should be converted by constraint; if any had reservations, he or she was free to withdraw and leave the Church.⁴²

At this stage, the New Christians really could not withdraw from being baptised for two reasons. Firstly, it was difficult for them having gone that far, to be accepted back into the Hindu fold. Secondly, it was unlikely at this stage to withdraw without incurring the displeasure of the authorities.

Dr. Antonio Noronha has commented on Pyrard's account in the following manner:

⁴¹Albert Gray, The Voyage of Francois Pyrard (London: The Hakluyt Society, 1888), Vol. II, p. 60.

⁴²Ibid., pp. 60-61.

"None should come there by constraint". What a pious comedy! As though they had not been snatched violently away from their families and interned in the house of Cathecumenos for being indoctrinated with whip and ferule.⁴³

Noronha explained the manner in which these conversions were actually made. Until 1560 in Salcette, there existed but one Church and a mission house in the fort of Rachol. In less than fifty years, a major part of the inhabitants of that district had embraced Christianity and twenty eight parishes were established. It is not known how such rapid and extensive conversions took place: some by fear of physical force; others from moral cowardice; many because they could not overcome the love for the country of their birth from which they would otherwise have been expelled; not a few to avoid the loss of their properties and interest. Some with their eyes on lucrative jobs - and almost none from conviction. The conviction, the faith, these would have to come later.⁴⁴

The period 1540 to 1763 witnessed the passage of a number of anti-Hindu decrees and legislative actions. Through

⁴³Dr. Antonio De Noronha, A India Portuguesa (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923), Vol. II, p. 227.

⁴⁴Ibid., p. 261.

the instrumentality of these decrees and legislation, the Christian missionaries, succeeded in forcing a large number of Hindus into embracing the Christian faith, and were at the same time able to amass huge fortunes.

In 1603, the Senate of Goa informed the King that the income of one major Order, alone was half of that of the income of the State. It is also reported that the missionaries lived in utter luxury and dissoluteness while the territory remained impoverished with the huge exodus of the working Hindu population, into the neighboring territories of Goa, because of the constant persecution and harassment by the Portuguese Government.⁴⁵ The anti-Hindu decrees and laws passed during this period provide us with a picture of what actually happened in Goa, during this time.

In 1540, Miguel Vaz, and his colleague Diogo de Bord ordered the destruction of all Hindu temples located in the Island of Goa. The properties of these temples were confiscated and the proceeds were used to build new Christian churches and to support and maintain the existing ones. The famous Seminary of St. Paul was built during this time with the help of this

⁴⁵T. B. Cunha, p. 73.

revenue.⁴⁶

Fr. Nicalao Lancillotto, an Italian Jesuit priest who visited Goa in 1545, wrote home to his friends and superiors that he could not find a single Hindu temple in Goa; all he had seen was a countless number of gentiles, Muslims and bad Christians.⁴⁷

The decrees aimed at the complete destruction of Hinduism may be briefly summarized. They forbade the public celebration of Hindu rites and feasts under pain of being sentenced to the galleys for life and of having one's entire possessions confiscated. Hindu orphans, below the age of reason, who were without guardians were to be raised at St. Pauls until they were old enough to choose their religion. Non-Christians were forbidden to hold offices in the Departments of Justice and Finance. The Portuguese responsible for the appointment was subject to the loss of his office. The appointee could be imprisoned and his property could be confiscated. Portuguese

⁴⁶A. K. Priolkar, The Goa Inquisition (Bombay: The Bombay University Press, 1961), pp. 65-66.

⁴⁷J. Wicki, Documenta Indica (Roma: Vatican Press, 1948), Vol. I, pp. 183-184. Also in Vincent Cronin, A Pearl of India (London: Hakluyt Society, 1959), p. 29.

officials as well as village elders were forbidden to offer an assignment to a Hindu; only a Christian could be the head of a Guild. The money of the Portuguese orphans could not be lent to non-Christians. Finally, non-Christians were forbidden to wear "Christian or European dress under pain of being fined two cruzados and having the clothes confiscated."⁴⁸

In 1560, Hindu Brahmins and goldsmiths were turned out of the Island of Goa.⁴⁹ Hindus above the age of fifteen were compelled to attend Christian sermons. In the same year, 1560, a Portuguese Captain was reported to have destroyed some two hundred and eighty Hindu temples. In this action he had the full support and blessing of the then Archbishop of Goa. The law of December 4, 1567, forbade marriages, cremations, and thread ceremonies of the Hindus and also proscribed their sacred books.⁵⁰ In 1583, Portuguese missionaries with the help of the

⁴⁸Anthony D'Costa, The Christianization of the Goa Islands (Bombay: by the author, 1965), pp. 59-60.

⁴⁹Antonio de Silva Rego, Documentacao para a Historia das Missoes Padroado Portugues de Orient (Lisbon: Unio Grafica, 1947-58), Vol. IX, p. 615.

⁵⁰Cunha Rivara, Archivo Portuguez (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1875), pp. 18-19, 131 and 505.

army destroyed the Hindu temples of the villages of Cuncolim.⁵¹ The heroic people of Cuncolim resisted the Portuguese attack but their leaders were treacherously put to death at a parley conducted in one of the forts. As a punishment, their lands were confiscated and given to the Religious Orders. Later, they were entrusted to the care of their ally, a Christian Brahmin family of Margao in the Salcette district.

The mass persecution of the Hindus brought the trade and commerce of the territory to a stand-still. The Portuguese Government, therefore, had to repeal many of the anti-Hindu orders since the revenue was constantly declining. In addition, there were also some priests who openly protested against the inhuman treatment meted out to Hindus. Fr. Manuel de Sa, who later became the Patriarch of Ethiopia, protested against the practices of dragging Hindus along the ground to force them to attend the preaching of the Gospel, and of entering the most secret chambers of Hindu houses where lived their wives and daughters, which was the greatest offense that could be done to them.⁵² The persecution of the Hindus, however, was gradually

⁵¹The village of Cuncolim comprises of Assolna, Ambelim, Cuncolim, Veroda and Velim.

⁵²T. B. Cunha, p. 73.

relaxed after the annexation of the New Conquest in 1793. In the nineteenth century, a number of factors contributed to the limited toleration allowed to the Hindus. These were: (1) The annexation of the territories of the New Conquest which was carried out by signing treaties with the Hindu and Muslim rulers, who insisted on the respect and toleration of their respective religions; (2) The spirit of the times was not conducive to religious persecution; (3) The suppression of the religious orders and the decline and ultimate disappearance of the clerical influence in the matters of the State. As a result of these developments the persecution of the Hindus came to an end. However, they were still subjected to discriminatory treatment.

The liberal policy followed by Marquis de Pombal contributed to ameliorating the conditions and elevating the status of the Goan clergy from the injustice of the European clergy and the religious orders. For the first time in the history of Goa, the Goan clergy was accorded an equal status with their European counterpart. Pombal's instructions to the Governor and Archbishop of Goa provides a picture of the conditions prevailing before and after his reform:

Since the Jesuits took to the East the plan to promote distinctions between the rulers and the natives, among the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas; to sow in India the same discords as they effected with equal malice in this kingdom...being I say, the division between the rulers and the natives, among the Brahmins and the Kshatriyas, the greatest obstacles that hinder the progress of religion and of the common well being of the state your Lordship should employ most efficaciously all your zeal and activity in banishing from the minds of all your subjects those distinctions and the divisions that are being caused by them.⁵³

He further added that:

Your Lordship should clearly dispense matters in such a manner, that useful enjoyment of the lands, the parish and chapel ministeries, the occupation of public offices and even military posts be in a greater part conferred either on the natives of the land, or on their sons and grandsons, whether they be dark or fair; for, besides being all equally subjects of His Majesty, it is so according to divine rules of God, of nature and humanity; which in no way allow that strangers exclude the natives from cultivating the lands in which they are born and from the offices and the benefits of the country, from the contrary there only results an implacable hatred and an injustice that cries to Heaven for a deserved vengeance.⁵⁴

From the examination of Pombal's charters, it is obvious that the Goan clergy was discriminated against when it came to the distribution of ecclesiastical positions of authority. Despite clear-cut orders that high ecclesiastical posts be dis-

⁵³Ibid., p. 74.

⁵⁴Ibid., pp. 75-76.

tributed in an equal number between the Europeans and Goans, the ecclesiastical authorities ignored laws and instructions of Marquis de Pombal. The result was that the Goan priests remained as in the past with a lower status. Although Marquis de Pombal attempted to do much for the Goan people, he was detested by them. This paradoxical result can be explained and understood when one becomes familiar with the history of Goa and the tremendous amount of anti-Pombal propaganda carried on by the Portuguese missionaries.

Another significant feature of the Pombalian order was that it did not seek to ameliorate the conditions and status of the Goan Hindus. They were still placed on an inferior footing as compared with Christians. Even during the time of the Salazar dictatorship, prior to the liberation of Goa, a strong distinction was maintained between the so-called "indigenous" and assimilados. The former referred to the Goan people who did not come under the Portuguese influence while the latter referred to the population that had adopted western civilization.

Although the archdiocese of Goa is one of the oldest in India, being four hundred years old, until the late fifties there was not a single Goan Bishop. The Portuguese were com-

pelled to change their policy in the ecclesiastical domain for two important reasons. First, Free India had a Goan cardinal and a number of Goan bishops. Second, the Goan Nationalist Movement was gaining momentum in Goa and had to be stemmed. In attempting to win the confidence and loyalty of the Goan people, the Portuguese elevated two Goan priests to the rank of bishop in the Portuguese possessions of Africa. These appointments were politically motivated. Certain well known individuals were deliberately demoted or not considered for these bishoprics because of their known nationalistic views and forthrightness, and their expressions of them in public.

The Portuguese used religion as a weapon of political exploitation and oppression. Even during the Republican regime, the same Portuguese Republicans who fought the Catholic Church in Portugal and promulgated the law of the separation of the Church and the State, maintained the clergy, seminaries, and missions with State money in their colonies. They helped to sustain the Catholic religion in their Colonial Empire. During the dictatorship of Dr. Antonio Salazar, Section 248 of the Organic Charter of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, stated that the Catholic missions were an instrument of civilization and

national influence. Furthermore, it compelled the Ecclesiastical authorities, "to see that in the teaching of special subjects as history, the legitimate Portuguese patriotic sense be taken into consideration."⁵⁵

Closely linked with the policy of religious conversion were the innumerable social sanctions that were periodically imposed on the Goan people by the Portuguese Government. These impositions were directed against the people's life styles and traditional customs. Added to this, was the forcible imposition of foreign habits, most of them absurd and ill-suited to the local conditions and climate. The instrument used to destroy Goan customs was the Holy Inquisition. Furthermore, the jurisdiction of the Inquisition in Goa covered not only the lapsed Christians but also the Hindus for their alleged crimes of sorcery and sortilege. The horrors of the Goa Inquisition have been described by the French travellers Dellon and Pyrard. According to the Archbishop of Evora:

If everywhere the Inquisition was an infamous court, the infamy, however base, however vile, however corrupt and determined by wordly interests, it was never more so than the Inquisition of Goa, by irony of fate called Holy Office. The Inquisitors even attained the infamy of

⁵⁵Ibid., p. 77.

sending to their prisons women who resisted them, there satisfying their beastly instincts and then burning them as heretics.⁵⁶

It was in the Court of Inquisition in Old Goa, that the Edict of April 14, 1736 was ordered, under pain of major excommunication and all other spiritual and temporal penalties a great many of which were directed against the Goan way of life. We shall mention a few of them for illustrations.

The natives of India are hereby ordered that at the functions of their marriages or other related occasions no gift of flowers, betal-leaves, areca-nuts or fugeos (fried cakes), or any of these things, be sent from the bride or bride-groom to the houses of the Daijis, Gotris (extended family) or relatives or any other persons.⁵⁷

In addition, the same Edict placed a number of other sanctions on the Goan people. The Goan people were not allowed to sing their indigenous songs called Ovios, either in public or in private. The natives of Goa were not allowed to use in their meals rice cooked without salt, adding salt subsequently according to taste as the Hindus were accustomed to do. Again, the inhabitants of Goa were not permitted to have in their compounds, properties and farms, the plant called "Tulsi".⁵⁸

⁵⁶Ibid.

⁵⁷Priolkar, Goa Inquisition, pp. 101-110.

⁵⁸A sacred plant of the Hindus, found in every Hindu home in Goa.

The natives of India and the Portuguese were not allowed to call any Christian individual, by a Hindu name or surname. Finally, the inhabitants were forbidden to wear in public or private, the Dhoti worn by gentlemen and the women were not allowed to wear their native dress, Choli. These were some of the prohibitions spelled out in the Edict of 1736. The Edict of the Goa Inquisition was so elaborate that it covered almost every aspect of Goan life. It covered customs and conventions that affected the Goan life from the cradle to the grave.

The Goans were told by the Inquisitors, what to eat, how to eat, and what clothes to wear. It is difficult to understand what relevance the proscription of these Indian habits had to do with the embracing of Christianity. The Catholics of the South, on the other hand, still maintained their Indian customs and names. The Goan Inquisitors, are reported, to have interfered with the smallest details of intimate life, with a view to eradicating paganism. Despite these strict measures and censures, the Goan still observes even to this day his once condemned customs.

Surprisingly enough, the Inquisition did not interfere with the Indian caste system. As a matter of fact, the insti-

tution of caste was reinforced by its acceptance within the Catholic religion. And what is more, it was further consecrated in the religious confraternities which admit members of a certain caste. The higher castes, namely the Chardos and Brahmins would not allow in their confraternities, individuals belonging to the lower castes. In addition to the Indian caste system, the Portuguese added a new caste - the caste of Europeans and their descendants which is the most privileged of all castes and has its own exclusive congregation - the famous Santa Casa da Misericordia which subsists on State lotteries.

One of the major reasons for the maintenance of the caste system in Goa, was that it served the political aims of the Portuguese by keeping the Catholics divided. The Portuguese Church's acceptance of the caste inequality was evident from the order of the Third Council of Goa which ordered that the Catholic priests be of the honored and clean castes and lineage so that the other Christians would respect them.⁵⁹

The cultural element in the historical process has been discussed in the previous chapters dealing with the Parish and the Konkani language schools. For almost three centuries, the

⁵⁹T. B. Cunha, p. 79.

Goan educational system was monopolized by the ecclesiastical authorities and by the religious orders. The type of education imparted in these schools was also discussed earlier. It would suffice to mention here that the children were taught by knuckle blows to repeat Christian doctrine like parrots in a strange and incomprehensible Konkani and to bawl out in Portuguese and Latin, words that they really did not understand. The secondary and higher education was the exclusive domain of the seminaries, where the curriculum comprised of Latin Grammar, Philosophy, Theology, Dogmatics and Morals, the old Scholastic Disciplines. The Lyceum system began only in 1831 and was not less enslaving.

The main purpose of the educational system was to provide the rulers with submissive and obsequious State servants. The whole educational system was deliberately made anti-national. The curriculum was foreign to the territory and did not reflect the individuals surroundings in which he lived and was of no practical utility to productive life and progress of the country. Students were trained to memorize rather than to understand and think for themselves. Literature, history, geography, all dealt with Portugal and its past glories. Nothing was taught about India or Indian history. It would appear that Indians

ceased to exist after the arrival of Portuguese in 1510. Brought up in this controlled environment and trained in these schools, some Goans of the educated class think themselves alien to India and are bound to Portugal and to the contingencies of parochial politics. Many of the Portuguese educated Goans in Goa believe, that Goa was larger than the rest of India. Having examined the major constituents of the historical process, it is now possible to establish the relevancy of each of these schools of thought in explaining the formation and the character of the Goan nationality.

Dr. T. B. Cunha, the chief exponent of the School of Goan denationalization, contends, that the Portuguese deliberately destroyed the indigenous Goan culture, i.e. the Indian culture, without replacing it with an alternative culture worthy of its name. Dr. Cunha explains the process of denationalization of Goans in the following manner.

The Portuguese having destroyed the culture of the Goan people, merely endowed the territory with a traversity of civilization that had no roots in the native soil and in the profounder life of the country. They forcibly imposed on the Goan people an artificial culture, unsuited to local conditions and its natural surroundings. This proved to be a major

impediment in the cultivation and unfolding of a truly Goan, Indian, personality. Finally, the foisting of this artificial culture through the barbarous methods of coercion have left the Goans in a state of inculture.⁶⁰

The policy of denationalization, pursued by the Portuguese, had far-reaching effects on the social, political and economic life of the Goan people. The forcible imposition of the Portuguese language deprived the Goan masses of their legitimate vehicle of communication. Portuguese, as a lingua franca of the Goan people, was a dismal failure. In the first place, Portuguese being an European language, was unsuitable to Goa. Secondly, it could not be easily studied by the Goan masses. Thirdly, it was a poor substitute for the Konkani language. It lacked the words and expressions needed to name the products of the soil and the peculiarities of Goan life. It is for this reason alone, that Goans, who had left the country, began to cultivate the Konkani language. This explains the existence of a number of books and periodicals in Konkani, published in the important cities of India -- like Bombay and Karachi -- where Goans emigrated en masse. Goa denied them the

⁶⁰T. B. Cunha, p. 86.

opportunity to read and write in their own language. In these cities they found ample opportunities to develop their mother-tongue. However, it was the common people of Goa especially of the lower caste, who kept the Konkani language current and alive.

The obstacles in the way of the cultivation of their mother-tongue Konkani, deprived the Goans of the most natural vehicle of expression of their deepest thoughts and feelings thereby denying them a literature worthy of the name. Such was the propaganda against the Goan language that the so-called Goan elite began to despise it, and the Konkani language once their mother-tongue now descended to the servant quarters. The Goan Christians began to write in a foreign language, producing mere works of imitations, which lacked in the creative spirit and originality, which is the privilege of those who are inspired by the deep consciousness of the race. The thoughts of these Goans were borrowed from the distant west about which they knew very little, except what they had learnt from the books and seen through movies and picture shows. The Goan talent began to stagnate in mediocrity and consume its best energy in perfecting the skill in a foreign language. This accounts for the poverty of the Goan literary productions in Portuguese,

English and Marathi, which reflects their effort at refinement and effects of style, but are empty of substantial thoughts.

An ape-like literature which lacks vitality because it has no roots in the soil where it is born.

Goan art and architecture also suffered heavily under the Portuguese regime. The coming of the Portuguese to Goa, brought destruction of the Hindu temples and Muslim mosques, and wiped out the artistic heritage of the past. The Goan artists, sculptors and goldsmiths, known for their marvellous work in wood, stone, ivory and clay were constantly persecuted by the Portuguese for practicing idolatry and paganism. What remains of art and architecture in Goa however, is a manifestation of the centuries of decadence and degeneration.

In the area of science and technology the loss was immense. The Portuguese had no scientific and technological literature of their own. Even in the Medical School of Nova Goa, the only institution of higher learning, the text books used were written in the French language. Furthermore, there were no good technological institutions in Goa. The study of science, as pursued in Goa was completely bookish as there were no properly equipped laboratories, to conduct practical work. At the time of the Portuguese conquest of Goa, the Portuguese

had no superiority over the Goan technicians. Albuquerque in his letters is said to have admitted, that the ships built in Goa, were as good as those built in Portugal and that the cannons and guns made in Goa were better than those made in Germany. Furthermore, Archbishops and Viceroys preferred to be treated by the local physicians, Vaidhyas and Hakims, rather than by the Portuguese doctors.

Portuguese education, alienated the Goans from the rest of India. It produced brains molded in a bookish and scholastic culture. The educational system was designed in a manner that kept the Goans completely ignorant of their Indian heritage, its highest creations of thought, of its literature, philosophy and art and of India's contribution to world's culture. The result of this educational system was the slavish admiration of the west. They were only acquainted with the vulgar and superficial aspects of western culture and began to confuse western civilization with universal culture. Added to this notion of culture, was the mental make up of the Goan people, which rendered them unfit for an autonomous and independent way of life. The entire educated class led themselves to be tamed and crippled in the official bureaucracy.

Another important feature of the Goan culture was its

reactionary and anti-democratic quality. The school system was largely instrumental in producing anti-liberals totally opposed to all social progress. Movements of emancipation and self-determination were viewed as communistic or presented in a form that made them appear to be destructive. Under the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar, advanced and progressive ideas were completely prohibited. The ideologies opposed to political and social progress and to the movements of freedom and independence of colonial and enslaved people, were exalted and pointed out as examples to be followed. The Church especially the pulpit, was used, to denounce the nationalists and their activities. They were referred to, in sermons, as communists and traitors. This systematic and anti-democratic propaganda resulted in keeping the Goan resign to his fate under the regime of subjugation and ably promoted the cause of the rulers by deliberately keeping them away from, and making them hostile to, all struggles of liberation and independence.

The servile mentality of the Goan people is reflected in their newspapers. In Goa, strict censorship of news prevailed during the Portuguese rule. Newspapers submit meekly to Government orders and regulations. Most of these papers remained indifferent to the Indian Nationalist Movement for

fear of being branded subversive by the Portuguese Government. As a matter of fact, the Goan press came to be completely controlled by the Portuguese Government. Those of the Goan newspapers published in Bombay, and other important cities where the Goans had emigrated, were either guided by communal leaders or strictly conformed to the Portuguese Government's injunctions. This way the owners and writers of newspapers could enter Goa without fear of punishment or reprisal. The strong influence of communalism in the Goan press is evidenced from a statement made by one of the Papal Knights, who is said to have once likened the Portuguese rule in Goa, to the rule of the Papacy. He is said to have stated, that "Portuguese Home Rule was Rome Rule". Hence both in Goa and outside Goa, the majority of the Goan press remained hostile to all liberating movements and supported everything that was tyrannical and reactionary. In this way, Goans made themselves tools of their own enslavement.

The impact of the policy of denationalization, can be observed from the attitude of the Goans towards the dictatorship of Dr. Antonio Salazar. Under the Republican Regime, and even during the Constitutional Monarchy of the nineteenth century, Goans were granted certain political rights. Goans enjoyed

political equality along with the people of Portugal and were able to elect their own representatives and make their voice heard in the Portuguese Parliament. There was also the freedom of press and speech in Goa. But the irony of it was, that inspite its more liberal mood, the Republican Regime was received with a systematic hostility by a section of Goan people who were inspired by their clerical mentors. On the other hand, the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar, although it had deprived the Goans of all their inalienable rights and reduced them to a humiliating position, was praised by the Goans and the Goan press, not only in Goa, but even in Bombay where there was no fear of censorship or reprisal.

Dr. T. B. Cunha comments on Goan denationalization in the following manner:

No people have sunk so low into indignity as Goans. They have been deprived of the most elementary human rights. Their habits and customs have been violated. Their mother-tongue has been replaced. Their traditional culture destroyed. Their Press sold out to the Fascists. The country has been ruined by an inept and corrupt administration forcing its inhabitants to emigrate en masse as domestic servants and subordinate employees. By the Acto Colonial of Dr. Salazar they are emphatically denied the right of self-determination which is considered to be an exclusive privilege of the Portuguese race. Under this clerical and military dictatorship, any responsible police rules supreme using vilest tortures in its lock-up and jails. But inspite of all tyranny and humiliation not a single public protest was ever uttered against the brutal Colonial

rule. On the contrary Goan renegades shamelessly boast in their Press and in their speeches that they are tied to Portugal forever. Despicable quislings. It seems that four centuries of denationalization has succeeded in making them forget their kith and kin and be ashamed of their own race.⁶¹

Dr. T. B. Cunha wrote this statement in 1943. Thereafter a number of political events took place in Goa, which contradict Dr. Cunhas statement, "that not a single public protest was even uttered against the Portuguese regime". In 1946, Goans of all creeds and castes gave a mammoth reception to the Indian Leader Dr. R. Lohia, who brought the message of India's Freedom Movement to the Goan people. It was at this meeting that Dr. T. B. Cunha agitated for civil liberties in Goa. He was later arrested, sentenced and deported to Portugal to serve a long sentence of imprisonment.

Professor Dionisio Ribeiro further explains the Portuguese policy of denationalization in Goa:

Albuquerque's plan was to cut the blood links of Goans with their mother, and to create a unique loyalty to Portugal based on a community of religion and culture. Cut off from the native environment, made strangers in their own soil, identifying the christian religion and the salvation it offered with the political loyalty to the Catholic King of Portugal, Goans would forever be chained to the chariot of Portuguese Imperialism. This plan was

⁶¹Ibid., p. 91.

executed with the most diabolical perfection by his successors. And the job of denationalizing Goans was later completed by the Inquisition. The Cross and the Sword together made Goans identify the fear of God with love of the new motherland. The ancestral habits, customs, language and the whole traditional way of life of the Indian population were uprooted. This created an unbridgeable hiatus in the lives of the people. Overnight, Goans were made Portuguese on a soil that was Indian and in a natural environment which was not in tune with the newly acquired customs, habits and attitudes.⁶²

We accept Dr. Cunha's thesis of denationalization of Goans. We even agree with his explanation of the process of denationalization. However, our disagreement with Dr. Cunha's thesis lies with his conclusion that is, the effects of the policy of denationalization on Goans. Dr. Cunha, it appears from his writings accepts, that Goans as a people were denationalized. We, on the other hand, do not subscribe to this thesis in totality. There were no doubt in Goa, a small segment of Goan population that was completely denationalized. This section of Goans were mainly concentrated in the larger towns of Panjim, Margao and Mapuca; and have what may be termed a latin or western type culture. This group, however, is a

⁶²D. A. Ribeiro, "The Problem of the Emotional Integration of Goans" in A. B. Shah, Goa, The Problem of Transition (Bombay: Manaktalas, 1965), p. 79.

distinct and small minority in relation to the entire population of Goa. The vast majority of Goans live in small villages, and if one were to see the Goans in their homes, it would be easy to understand how deep rooted Indian tradition and Indian way of life is in Goa. Dr. Braganza pereira, in his book entitled, Etnografia de India Portuguesa, describes the customs and usages of the people of Goa, emphasizing the close affinity between the Goans and the Indians across the political barrier.⁶³

Furthermore, it is interesting to learn about a peculiar phenomenon which has probably no parallel in the Christian world and which again, only emphasizes the fact that Goans are not denationalized. For the Goan Christians, who were converted to Christianity some centuries ago, still retain the ancient usages and customs of the Hindus. They have held fast to old traditions despite efforts by the authorities, civil and religious, to suppress them on the grounds that they militate against the very basic principles of the Christian religion which underlined equality among its members. For example, a typical feature of the Goan Christians,

⁶³ Ministry of External Affairs, Goa and the Charter of the United Nations (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1960), p. 16.

is that Goan converts originally from higher castes, would not marry converts from lower castes, thus maintaining the caste distinction in their new role as Christians. The caste system is even prevalent among the Goan priests and leads to sharp rivalries and factions among them in Goa to the extent that there are different institutions to meet the requirements of different castes.

A noted Brazilian Sociologist, Gilberto Freira, who visited Goa, a few years before the liberation, had this to say about casteism in Goa:

I have been amazed to discover in Portuguese-India that the spirit of casteism still survives inside Christianity itself. Even in the Churches, it is common, at present to see Catholics of Brahmin origin maintaining themselves strictly apart from Catholics belonging to castes considered by them as "inferior". The clergy have adapted themselves to the situation.⁶⁴

Gilberto Freira's observation, though casual, does give us some insight into the Catholic community of Goa. For, it is common knowledge, that the priests of the two major castes namely, the Chardos and Brahmins have been known to be in a state of constant feud. The Church in Goa, had adapted

⁶⁴Ministry of External Affairs, p. 15.

itself to this situation, and carefully maintains an acceptable balance between the two castes, in making ecclesiastical appointments and in the allocation of Church funds.

Dr. T. B. Cunha's exposition, of the anti-Indian role of the Catholic Church in Goa has relevance in understanding the alienation of the Goan Catholics from the rest of India. For it was the policy of the Cross and Sword, that made the Goans identify the Christian religion and salvation it offered with the political loyalty to the Catholic King of Portugal and the Portuguese nation itself.

Dr. Salazar's dictatorial regime recognizes that the Church enjoys a special mission in the colonies. Both the Colonial Act of 1930 and the Organic Charter of the Colonial Empire stipulates that: "Catholic missions in the overseas territories are instruments of civilization and national influence."⁶⁵ The role of the highest Catholic authorities of Goa, in alienating the Goans can be gauged from the statement of the then Patriarch of Goa, D. Jose da Costa Nunes.

According to this Patriarch:

⁶⁵Government of Portugal, The Organic Charter of the Colonial Empire, Article 248, cited in Dr. Juliao Menezes, Goa's Freedom Struggle (Bombay: by the author, 1947), p. 31.

The priests in the Orient must safeguard, at all costs, the historical rights of Portugal whose epic of miracle performed by our missionaries, even now fills us with wonder. Goa is the most stupendous example of our colonizing genius by spreading the Faith we confirm and strengthen the Portuguese Empire.⁶⁶

He further added:

I can and must inculcate in Goa's inhabitants, love for Portugal and condemn the imbecility of its incorporation into Greater India. In short, whilst this is Portuguese territory, I have a right to defend the national flag and condemn any agitation against the country. And I do it under the shadow of the Gospel and on account of instructions and imposition from Rome, sound reasons, good sense and in respect to wishes of the majority of the Goan people.⁶⁷

It may be of interest to know that the concordation of 1940, a treaty between the Holy See and Dr. Salazar's regime, compels the ecclesiastical authorities, "to see that in the teaching of special subjects as history, the legitimate Portuguese patriotic sentiment be taken into consideration."⁶⁸

It may therefore be observed, that the temporal rulers of Portugal had linked religion with the cult of Portuguese sovereignty. This combination of the ecclesiastical with the

⁶⁶Dr. J. Menezes, Goa's Freedom Struggle (Bombay: by the author, 1947), pp. 32-33.

⁶⁷Ibid., p. 33.

⁶⁸Ibid.

political also found favor with another Patriarch of Goa, Dr. Jose Alvernaz, the Patriarch of Goa who succeeded Dr. Jose Costa Nunes in 1953. In one of his celebrated sermons the Patriarch is stated to have preached thus:

Nevertheless we find ourselves today in this See, Primatial of the East and Patriarchal of the East Indies, an old and majestic witness of our past greatness, and of our will to continue to be the bearers of a message brought to this land by the Caravels, flying the Cross of Christ, to thank God for the favour granted during these past years and chiefly the fact of the recognition by that Court of International Justice of our right to continue to be what we are for the last four and half centuries.⁶⁹

The impact of this religious indoctrination on the Catholic priests can be seen in the sermon of the Vicar of Sonapur Church, one of the Catholic parishes of the city of Bombay. The Vicar is stated to have said in his sermon, the following:

Why are you all anxious to drive the Portuguese out of Goa? What harm has the Portuguese Government done to the Goans? On the contrary they have civilized us all and were it not for the Portuguese we would still have remained a jungle tribe. See whats happening today in India.⁷⁰

⁶⁹Ministry of External Affairs, p. 14.

⁷⁰Menezes, p. 37.

We have not the slightest doubt, that the Vicar of the Sonapur Church, was preaching in all sincerity to the Christian brethren, what he believed to be the truth. The Portuguese and the missionaries, had definitely succeeded in denationalizing a segment of the Goan people. The writer finds it difficult to understand the behaviour and the loyalty of the Catholic Brahmins to the Portuguese regime. One can understand the loyalty of the vested interestes to a regime of which it was a beneficiary. In the case of the Catholic Brahmins, however, even those of the majority of Brahmins who had no vested interests, and who were employed as domestics and humble clerks in India, gave complete allegiance and remained loyal to the Portuguese regime. For, it is common knowledge, that Catholic Brahmins as a rule did not participate in the Goan Freedom Movement.

The behavior of the lower caste however, can be understood in the context of the socio-economic system then prevalent in Goa. The people of the lower castes were constantly exploited by the higher castes. The politics of Goa, atleast for a considerable period of time, was caste oriented. The most dominant castes being the Chardos and Brahmins. Hence even after the dawn of freedom in India, and the change in the

Goan Freedom Movement, the lower castes were still suspicious of the intentions of the political leadership that came from the Chardo caste.

Finally, it would be wrong to leave the reader with the idea that all Goan priests were denationalized. This is not true. For, in the late forties and early fifties, there was a significant nationalistic activity in the Seminary of Rachol. The man responsible for the awakening of national consciousness among the Goan clergy, was a well known and well respected priest, then Rector of the Rachol Seminary, Dr. Agapito Lourenco. His leadership, and qualities of statesmanship were well recognized by the Goan priests and Goan intellectuals, and at one time had a huge following. His activities, were largely curtailed by the Portuguese Government, and by the ecclesiastical authorities.

The study of the historical process, in the context of socio-economic and political factors, revealed that Portuguese policies of "assimilation and association", of conversion to Christianity, of anti-Hindu laws and of deculturalization have all affected the life styles of the Goan people in varying degrees, the Catholic Goans being the most affected. The Portuguese were successful in some small measure in alienating

a segment of the Catholic population of Goa from the motherland, India. The majority of the Goan population, though influenced by the Portuguese policies remained faithful to their Indian customs and heritage throughout the Portuguese rule in Goa.

CHAPTER VIII

CONCEPTS OF CULTURAL METABOLISM and THE MARATHIZATION OF GOANS

The thesis of Cultural Metabolism propounded by some Goan Sociologists has two versions. The first version contends that a cultural blend between the Portuguese and the Indian cultures has resulted in a new culture that can be termed Euro-Indian. The second version of the thesis states that Goan culture has been changed as a result of historical processes. It further contends that Goan culture is independent of and superior to Indian culture. It is often referred to, as Portuguese or Latin culture.

Professor Lucio Rodrigues, a major exponent of the cultural blending version of Cultural Metabolism has explained the process in the following manner:

Soon after the Conquest the State and the Church in Goa began to collaborate in fashioning a new community following European patterns of behaviour. At the official level Portuguese became the language for administrative social and cultural intercourse. Konkani, however, remained the language of the social, religious and cultural life of the people at large. It had vitality enough to freely borrow Portuguese words and Konkaniize them. Western dress, food and manners were sedulously

aped. Customs relating to birth, marriage and death were adopted. The Church which was the integral part of the establishment became the very guardian not only of the people's morals but also of their mores. The urban and rural areas were dotted with places of worship - Churches, Chapels, Wayside-Crosses and Shrines. These became the centres of the social and religious life of the people. The missionary from the pulpit imparted the necessary doctrines. The school-master and choir master imparted education in the three R's and western music. The Hindu calander was replaced by the Christian calander, and the total life of the new community revolved round the observances of the liturgical year of the Roman Catholic Church. The new Christian community did not live in complete isolation from the Hindus. The two co-existed and shared many common features, and a dialogue continued between them. But the old identity was no more. The grafted European twig on the Indian trunk took on a life of its own.¹

In the study of the historical process, an examination was made of the various forces that were deliberately employed to effect a change in the Goan nationality. The School of Cultural Metabolism, which hinges on the eclectic nature of the Goan, contends that as a result of the forced interaction of the European culture with the indigenous Goan culture, certain outcomes became possible. These outcomes were visible in every aspect of the Goan Catholics life.

As mentioned earlier, the Christian Goans were forced

¹Lucio Rodrigues, "The Euro-Indian Folklore of Goa" Bulletin Institute Menezes Braganza, 96 (November, 1971), pp. 222-223.

to wear European clothes. This explains the attire of a Catholic Goan who wears European styled suits, coats, trousers and shirts. Even the poorest Goan Catholic has at least one black suit of clothes, which he uses for important occasions such as, weddings, feasts and funerals. The black suit will also be worn at his own funeral. Dressed in his black suit, he will be carried away to his grave.

The food habits of the Christian Goans also differ from those of the Hindu Goans. While the Hindus generally continue to be vegetarians, the Catholic Goans have become non-vegetarians. Beef and pork, which are considered taboo in Hindu Society, are freely indulged in, by the Christian Goans, especially on festive occasions. The names of the dishes prepared are in Portuguese. Even the confections and preserves are different from those prepared by the Hindus and bear Portuguese names.

Under Portuguese rule, the manners and customs of the Christians underwent a radical change. Christians began to use the handshake as a sign of greeting rather than folding their hands in front of their face. When the child is baptised, two important persons in his future life were brought into intimate relationship with the child's family. Marriage customs were also adopted from Europe. For example, both the groom

and the bridegroom are dressed in western style and the bridal entourage consists of the bestman and the bridesmaids. The bridal couple enters the reception hall to the sound of western music played by a small band. The toast of the nuptial pair is raised in the European style. Then, as the band plays the music, the bridal couple is the first to dance on the floor, surrounded by other couples. Then others follow the bridal couple in the dance in the true western tradition.

The funeral customs of the Catholic Goans also were changed. A married man, for example was now dressed in a black suit, black tie and black shoes and was carried in a black coffin. Similarly, married women were also dressed in full black and interred in a black coffin. Children and unmarried men and women were all dressed in full white and placed in white coffins. Mourners clad in black take the coffin to the Church to the slow and solemn sound of funeral marches played by the brass band.

Church feasts are celebrated with great pomp and show in the tradition of Latin countries with novenas, psalms and vespers. On the feast day, a Solemn High Mass is followed by procession and benediction. As in the Latin countries, the festival of the carnival before Lent also came to be celebrated

in Goa. Fasting for three days, this festival begins on Sunday and ends on Tuesday night. During these three days, men and women clad in fancy costumes and masques, move around mumming, serenading and engaging in other forms of revelry. Teenagers, too, have a field day. Groups of boys get together into camps and fight a mock battle with powder balls. Then follows the forty days of Lent which are observed with great solemnity and austerity in Goa. There are Passios celebrated on every Sunday evening with the choir singing plaintive motets. On Passion and Palm Sunday and on Good Friday, the Catholic Goans clad in black and white, mournfully vend their way to attend the religious ceremonies in their respective Churches.

Christmas or Natal is celebrated in the true Latin fashion. On this day, a star made of wooden sticks and covered with paper is hung in front of every house. This star is symbolic of the star of Bethlehem. On the eve of Christmas women spend their time in making confectionaries for the occasion.

European or Latin influence is also visible in many of the folk tales current among the Goans. The characters in these tales are Christ or Jesus, the priest, St. Peter, angels

and devils. The Church, the Cross, Heaven and Hell also figure in them. These tales have parallels in Europe, specially in the Latin Countries. The western influence on Goan music, folksongs, and drama has been explained earlier in Chapter II. It would, however, be appropriate to conclude in the words of Professor Rodrigues:

The non-verbal and verbal folklore of the Christian community in Goa has a character that has no parallel with the innumerable communities in India. It represents a harmonious fusion of two traditions separated both in space and time, the Indian and the European. In the vast beautiful spectrum of the folklore of India this folklore is perhaps the most iridescent.²

We are in agreement with the thesis of Cultural Metabolism as represented in its first version. There can be no denying of the fact that as a result of historical processes, the "Indian-ness" of culture was further enriched by its exposure to western culture. However, the dress, food habits, religious customs, and usages of the Catholic Goans, mentioned earlier, need not be construed as a sign of a western culture. For despite his outward appearances the Goan has always remained at heart and in mind a true Indian.

As indicated earlier, the traits that Catholic Goans

²Ibid., p. 228.

have acquired from the West are specially marked in the area of music and cuisine. In fact, Catholic Goans are intimately connected with Western music and Latin folklore. In music, the Goan genius has blossomed into first rate creative activity. The Goan folk songs exhibit a real symbolism of two cultures, a living strain that needs to be developed. Furthermore, this musical genius is not only evident in western music, but is also seen in the great musicality of the masses and in the virtuoses in Indian music that Goa has produced. This propensity can be found also in the Bhajan, the Hindu religious hymns, which in Goa alone were given a melodious turn.

Goan Catholic cuisine has acquired a unique exquisite style which in taste and decor is very close to European rather than Indian food. Goan cuisine through the centuries has developed into an elaborate art. While capturing all the delights of French cuisine, it has also some original contributions to make.

We disagree with the second version of the thesis of Cultural Metabolism which holds Goan culture as separate from

³Dionisio A. Ribeiro, "The Problem of the Emotional Integration of Goans" in A. B. Shah (ed.) Goa: The Problems of Transition (Manaktalas, 1965), p. 87.

and superior to Indian culture. When exaggerated, this contention produces political and emotional overtones which could provide obstacles to the emotional integration of some Goans with their Indian motherland. Undoubtedly, the historical processes of alienation from their native soil, has developed in Goans a mental attitude which regards anything Indian as foreign. This attitude can be described in the words of a so-called westernized Goan:

We Goans have a personality of our own, different from other peoples and from the rest of India. As a people we are different; we are, indeed, better because of the superior culture that we have evolved through our fruitful contact with the Portuguese and with western civilization. The morals of our people are better, our taste is better, our manners more polite. Our traditions make our laws wiser, our religion more advanced, our society more unique.⁴

It is necessary to determine the bases for these statements in order to ascertain their veracity vis a vis the formation of Goan Nationality. This process of alienation from India and the feeling of superiority to other Indians has been explained by Professor Ribeiro:

The process of cultural absorption had alienated Goans sufficiently from the mother-land. A new and equally powerful element was introduced into the blend which

⁴Ibid., p. 79.

produced this attitude of superior differentiation during the period of the economic boom in the last few years before liberation. The dictatorship had emasculated Goans, but the thesis of oneness of the Goan soul with that of the "Mai Patria", Portugal, was cemented by the liberality with which the Goa Government used the financial opportunities offered by the boom. The Goan economy before this period was essentially a hand to mouth affair. There was little opportunity for employment and there was no industrial or productive activity, even agriculture was stagnant. Nevertheless, there was little unemployment. Migration to Africa and India balanced the economy. In 1952 for example, the Government deficit of Rs. 200,000, was made up with the remittances of the emigrants who covered the gain between the imports and exports with their hard earned Indian or foreign currency. The African continent and India absorbed the excrescences of Goa's socio-economic system and also made it possible for the few in Goa to lead a tolerably easy life, with low taxes and customs duties. The emigrants took care of the currency for importing the foreign goods regarded as essential to the Goan notion of their personality. Goa was a paradise for lotus eaters, where the hard working emigrant would return in the evening of his life. And he always made it a point to see that it remained the dulce Goa of his dreams, where life was at a standstill.⁵

The Goan's alienation from and feeling of superiority towards Indians can be explained also by examining some important developments that occurred in Goa. Of great significance were the striking developments in the economy of the territory and their favorable effects on the socio-political life of the community. Prior to the 1950's, the Goan economy was largely

⁵Ibid., pp. 80-81.

at a subsistence level. It was maintained primarily by the remittances of the Goan emigrants to India and Africa.

According to the Government of India, in 1951 remittances from India to Goa totalled Rs. 68 million, while those from Goa to India reached Rs. 46 million. In comparison, remittances from Portugal to Goa totalled Rs. 4.1 million and remittances from Goa to Portugal amounted to Rs. 11.6 million.⁶

In Goa, the Portuguese economic policy was one of laissez-faire. Although Goa was known to have large deposits of manganese and iron ore, the Portuguese Government was either not interested or found it uneconomic to explore these rich deposits of manganese and iron ore. However, the economic situation changed in the 1950's. Two reasons may be attributed to this sudden change of policy: (1) There was a sudden demand for lower grade ore in the world market; (2) Indian and foreign businessmen became interested in developing the mining industry because of its huge export potential. As a result of these activities, Goa experienced an unprecedented economic prosperity. The economic boom brought about by the mining industry, however, coincided with the Indian economic blockade

⁶India Information Service, The Story of Goa (London: by the author, n.d.), p. 14.

of Goa.⁷ According to Rubinoff:

After 1947 mechanization with the aid of foreign capital was introduced in the previously underdeveloped iron and manganese mines. Japan imported forty per cent of the 4.7 million tons of iron ore produced in 1960. Most of the remaining thirty per cent was shipped to West Germany. The most important client for the manganese ore was the United States. As Goa contained two harbors, including Murmugao, one of the best in India, ore could easily be exported without Indian interference. As a result of this new found prosperity, Goa began in the late 1950's to take on the appearance of a boom town.⁸

The impact of the economic boom was far reaching. Money began to pour into the pockets of the fortunate few. Foreign business men were attracted to Goa in large number. A modern airport was built to provide plane service on a regular basis from Goa. This airplane service provided ample opportunities for Arabian gold to enter in huge quantities into Goa. The entry of this gold stimulated smuggling trade with India and an unprecedented increase occurred in the contraband of gold and luxury goods to India. The smuggling operation received full support and encouragement.

⁷Government of India imposed an economic blockade over Goa from 1956-61.

⁸Arthur Rubinoff, India's use of Force in Goa (Bombay: Popular Prakshan, 1971), pp. 34-35.

from the Portuguese authorities:

The Portuguese not merely connived at, but openly encouraged smuggling. Expensive luxury goods, far in excess of local requirements, were imported from abroad and systematically smuggled across the border to India. Italian silks, U.S. fountain pens, Swiss watches, foreign liquor, silver and gold and precious stones, were smuggled. The total value of such contraband goods seized by Indian customs and Excise authorities in the three months in 1954 amounted to Rs. 2½ million. Moreover, the Customs department believed that it detected only about ten per cent of the total goods smuggled into India from Goa.⁹

The economic boom of the 1950's also alleviated the unemployment situation in Goa. Because of a sudden demand for Goan labor, wages had to be made attractive to induce laborers to work. There was a short supply of labor due to the Indian economic blockade that cut off the labor supply from India.

Instead of using this large foreign exchange to build up the economy of Goa, the Portuguese Government wastefully diverted it to purchase luxury goods and imports. As a result of this policy, Goan markets were flooded with luxury goods. Employment opportunities increased as did wages and salaries. In response to the challenge of the Nationalist Movement, the Portuguese sought to cultivate the political loyalties of the

⁹R. P. Rao, Portuguese Rule in Goa (Bombay: Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 59.

Goan people by raising the Government employee's salaries to high levels. There were some attractive fringe benefits. For example, the departmental officer in the employ of the Portuguese Government was provided with a luxury car, either a Mercedes or Opel, or some such imported cars. The impact of this Governmental policy was strongly felt in Old Goa, where at least two members of a family were often in Government employment.

Thus, the old complex of cultural superiority and individuality was further reinforced by this economic windfall. In course of time, the consumer demand was geared to a way of life where cheap foreign luxury goods and high salaries became a common place and in fact an often indispensable element in the Goan way of life. Furthermore, travel abroad, especially to Europe, became a casual affair with the opening of the Air Service in Goa.

The Goan economic boom coincided with India's economic blockade of Goa. India had been forced to impose the economic blockade on Goa due to pressures from the Goan Nationalist forces who felt that the Portuguese would be forced to come to terms when faced with an economic crises. On the contrary, the economic blockade helped to justify the economic independence

of Goa from India. Goa on her own could offer its people a better life than India could provide to her citizens. It cannot be denied that Goans in Goa shared in the economic boom as there was no effective competition. To some Goans, resident in Goa, it was an ideal situation.¹⁰ They were unconcerned if this prosperity was lasting or temporary.

Another important factor, that contributed to the Goan feeling of difference and superiority was that Goa was kept isolated from the rest of the world where new ideas were taking shape and from India where a great renaissance was taking place. Still living in a semi-feudal world that was cut-off from the rest of the world, Goans found their home-land enchanting and different from both India and the rest of the world.

Another characteristic, often quoted to support Goa's separate identity and superiority, is based on the Goan's social habits of spending money on personal comfort, celebrations, and hospitality. This habit of ostentation is designed to keep up appearances even at the sacrifice of savings explains the Goan consumption pattern and its higher standard of living.

Having examined the bases for the claim of separate

¹⁰ The best of Goans had migrated to India.

identity and cultural superiority of Goans vis-a-vis India and Indians, it is now possible to ascertain the strength and logic of these bases. This writer rejects, as unjustified the claim that Goan personality and culture is different from the rest of India. Goans, no doubt, were exposed to historical forces that helped to create this feeling in them. Also, it cannot be denied that Goans are different from other Indians and other peoples. However, to claim that Goa has a personality completely different from the rest of India is baseless and untenable. It is absurd to say that Goa as a whole has developed an ethos completely different from the rest of the country. A great many Goans cannot under any circumstances claim a personality or culture which is different from their neighbors of the west coast of India.

The traits which are often ascribed to the Goan individuality are common characteristics shared by all coastal people. These characteristics or traits may be described as the ability to assimilate other cultural influences or as an artistic propensity with love for music and beauty. In India for example, these traits are common among such coastal people as the Bengalees and all the Saraswats, who have not been influenced by the Latin culture. Volubility and conviviality is

another characteristic assigned to the coastal people.

Without doubt, the Goan shares some of the cultural aspects that are common to the westernized minorities of Indians who reside in big cities. This acquisition gives these small urban minorities a feeling of superiority and modernism over other Indians. In the case of Goans, there is the element of genuine alienation as compared to the snobbery of the Indian minorities. These manifestations of urban values tend to make them foreigners in their own country. The handling of cutlery, western clothing, preparation of foreign menus and preference for canned foods or even sporting foreign choreographic proclivities, does not constitute superiority over others. These are trivial aspects of culture which are easy to transplant from their native environment. Their assimilation by those not born in the urban setting creates a false sense of values, for these values are not in tune with geography, climate and realities of the surrounding environment.

Coming to the institutions which were supposed to feed and maintain the cultural and intellectual life, growing out of the so-called Latin personality, namely the Lyceum and the Medical college, we find that they were staffed with local talents whose standards were very low. The so-called Latin

culture in Goa had produced very little intellectual and creative life. While about 600 students attended the Lyceum more than 26,000 attended schools affiliated to the S.S.C. Board of the Government of Maharashtra. Many of the most notable Goans have been the product of Indian colleges and Anglo-Saxon culture, if culture can be divided into compartments.¹¹

Another interesting development that needs to be mentioned is the arousal of "Indian-ness" in Goans who were fully exposed to Portuguese culture. When absorbed in this process, the Goan writers and poets often burst out with all that was true and confident in their Indian heritage. An examination of some of the works of Goan writers written in Portuguese is an evidence of this fact.

The first two works written in Portuguese by Indian authors appeared early in the eighteenth century. The first of these, Aureola dos Indios, The Glory of Indians written by Fr. Antonio Joao de Frias, was published in Lisbon in 1702. The second book entitled, Promptuario das Diffinicoes Indicas, A Handbook of Indian Definitions, was written by Leonardo Paes.

¹¹Ribeiro, p. 86.

and published in Lisbon in 1713. Frias belonged to the Brahmin caste and Paes to the Chardo caste. It is stated by some critics that the object of each author was to prove the superiority of his own caste. These works illustrated how caste pride and prejudice did not loosen even after conversion to Christianity.¹²

There were also a number of other works that had Indian characters and themes in them. In the area of novels, the book entitled Os Brahmins, The Brahmins, by Dr. Francisco Luis Gomes, was considered a classic both in Goa and Portugal. The book dealt with the caste system of Goa and the role played by the advanced castes during the early Portuguese rule. In the realm of poetry, Paulino Dias, who wrote under the Indian pseudonym, Pritidasa, was a poet of pure Indian origin. His work bore a deep imprint of Indian imagery, tradition and values, as is indicated by the very titles of some of his poems like Nirvana, Suriavarta, etc. Another important figure in the Indo-Portuguese literature whose work is noted for originality and depth is Nascimento Mendonca. The peculiar quality of his poetry has been summed up as follows: "He possesses an

¹²A. K. Priolkar, Goa Re-Discovered (Bombay: Bhatkal Books International, 1967), p. 67.

impetuous imagination and a passionate sensibility - Portuguese imagination and Indian sensibility".¹³

Mendonca wrote under an Indian pseudonym, Nitpala.

The Portuguese critic Severo Portel who was very enthusiastic about Mendonca's work is reported to have stated that Mendonca's poetry excelled that of the Indian Nobel prizewinner, Rabin-dranath Tagore. There was yet another Goan poet who needs special mention in this study. Adeodato Barreto, was educated and wrote extensively in Portuguese. His poems are compiled in a work entitled The Book of Life. Throughout his writings, whether in prose or in poetry, he manifested his yearnings for freedom and spoke of his great Indian heritage. In 1931, Barreto composed a special poem, entitled Redemption, in which he made a clarion call to Goans to awaken to the times. In stanzas that throb with patriotic emotion and with a vision of exultant hope, Barreto exclaimed:

Beautiful Goa!
Behold the Ghats!
Behold the rebel crest afire!
'Tis India that speaks to thee!
'Tis India calling thee!

It is fascinating to observe how these Goan writers

¹³Ibid., p. 70.

or poets who were so thoroughly exposed to Portuguese culture discovered, became aware, and made known to the Portuguese public, their true Indian heritage and culture. In the same poem, Poet Barreto speaks of Goa's period of decadence.

Behold the lesson
 "Exploitation"
 That Europe thy mistress bequeathed thee:
 She exploited thee afore.
 Thou exploitest now
 The sons of thine own soul!

Poor Goa, so Poor! In what carcass ignoble
 Didst thou in misfortune's hour put thy soul of Gold!
 Thy brain grown weary
 Slumbered unconscious.
 And, the past forgotten,
 History discontinued,
 In vain in quest of knowledge knocks doors alien!
 In vain seekest Glory in lands foreign!
 O beautiful Goa, awaken!
 Forget thyself and remember!¹⁴

The poet then revels in Goa's glorious history, always beckoning the Goans to awake from the deep slumber of colonialism. As is obvious from the above examination, Goan culture did undergo a profound change when it came into direct contact with the Portuguese culture. But in undergoing this cultural metabolism, it did not lose its Indian identity. The greatest contribution the Portuguese ever made to Indian culture was to revitalize it

¹⁴Adeodato Barreto, The Book of Life, quoted in Berta Menezes Braganza, "Adeodato Barreto", Bulletine Institute Menezes Braganza, 96 (November, 1971), pp. 275-276.

by its exposure to the West.

The thesis of Marathization of Goans is yet another phase of the historical process. Marathization may be viewed as a process in which a section of the Hindu Goans came under the influence of the Marathi culture of the neighboring state of Maharashtra. A number of historical developments forced the Goan Hindus, especially the Hindu Brahmins to look for an alternative culture. These developments have already been examined in the discussion of the historical process. However, a brief outline of these developments is important to understand the conceptualization of the Marathization of Goans. These developments are as follows: (1) The Portuguese policy of conversions to Christianity, which was a total departure from the early Christianization of Goans. Portuguese Christianization also meant westernization of Catholic Goans and persecution of Goan Hindus. (2) The introduction of the Holy Inquisition and the imposition of prohibitions on Hindu practices and religious rites. (3) The destruction of the Konkani literature and ultimately the Konkani language -- the mother-tongue of the Goan people. (4) The Portuguese policy of development of vernacular languages during the Republican period led to the encouragement and development of the Marathi language, as

there were no Konkani books available.

As a result of these developments, Hindus were cut off from the mainstream of Goan life and rendered third class citizens in their own land. Many of them migrated to the neighboring territories of Maharashtra where they were well received by their Maharashtrian brothers. However, those who chose to remain in Goa had not only to face economic and political hardships but also to retain their cultural identity. Since Maharashtra was adjacent to Goa and since the Konkani language was derived from the common Prakrit, as was Marathi, the Maharashtrian language, the Goan Hindus felt more comfortable with Marathi influence rather than in submitting to a foreign cultural influence. Yet the Goans, even those who migrated to Maharashtra, still retained their Konkani heritage. They traced their Goan origin to their religious deities and often come to Goa on a pilgrimage to pay homage to their ancestral village deities.

Furthermore, the degree to which Hindu Goans came under the influence of Marathi culture varied both on the bases of caste and the area of residence. Castewise, the Hindu Brahmins were more effected by Marathi culture than the other castes. Hindu Brahmins sent their children to Marathi schools where they

studied Marathi literature. In time, some of them became experts in Marathi literature and were instrumental in a large measure in developing the Marathi stage. Even the customs and attire of some of them resembled that of a typical Maharashtrian. Their Konkani language absorbed more and more Marathi words, and what is more, even their tonation began to resemble that of Marathi. However, the rest of the Hindus, especially, the Kshatriyas and the lower castes did not change in their habits appreciably, in terms of their spoken language and dress and diet habits. These were the castes that clinged heavily to their indigenous culture and as a result remained socially and economically backward. The Goans living on the border areas, bordering the State of Maharashtra, were more influenced by Marathi culture than other Goans.

A. K. Priolkar, a great protagonist of the Marathi language and the territorial integration of Goa with Maharashtra does not subscribe to the concepts of the Marathization of Goans. Infact, it is Mr. Priolkar's contention that the Goans as a people have always been Maharashtrians and that their literary language has always been Marathi. Konkani, according to him, is a dialect of the Marathi language and is not an independent

language as is claimed. He carries this argument to the logical conclusion that since the Goans are culturally Marathas it is to their benefit and cultural development to join their kith and kin in the land of Maharashtra.

Mr. Priolkar's thesis begins with the premise that when Albuquerque landed in Goa in 1510, all that he had succeeded in conquering was a small island called Goa. Thereafter, the Portuguese gradually extended their sway over the rest of Goa. The present districts of Bardez and Salcette came under Portuguese rule in 1543. This area, that was acquired during the sixteenth century, came to be known as the Old Conquest, Velhas Conquistas. The present geographical entity of Goa came into being in the middle of the eighteenth century.

According to Priolkar, it is essential to remember that only in these Old Conquests did the Goan Inquisition carry on its inhumane activities. Only in these regions were systematic efforts made by the Portuguese rulers, in the name of Christian religion, to transform the local population into a community of Indian Portuguese, by forcing them to abandon not only their religion, but also language, dress, names, diet and other social habits and customs and adopt those of their

portuguese rulers.¹⁵

The territories which came to be described as the New Conquests, Novas Conquistas did not suffer persecution for their religious beliefs nor were they subjected to the rigors of the Inquisition. For by 1793, the Portuguese had already come to terms with local rulers, both Muslims and Hindus with a guarantee that the religious beliefs of the people would be respected. Accordingly, Governor Conde de Ega issued a proclamation guaranteeing to the residents thereof, the right to follow their own rules and customs. The proclamation provides specifically that its provisions should be translated into Marathi and read out to the residents of the newly acquired territories.¹⁶

Priolkar is in the habit of jumping to conclusions, without a proper evaluation of historical facts and developments. He infers from the fact that the proclamation was translated into Marathi language, that the language of the people was Marathi. This is an erroneous conclusion since at the time of

¹⁵A. K. Priolkar, Goa - Facts Versus Fiction (Bombay: Laxmi-Narayan Press, 1962), pp. 7-8.

¹⁶Ibid.

the issuance of the Proclamation, Portugal as a power was on the decline, and was constantly harassed especially on the bordering areas by the Maratha power, which had made several incursions into Goa. We believe, that the Portuguese policy of tolerance towards Hindus and the official use of the Marathi language was in deference to the Maratha power.* For the Marathas had already conquered Bassein in North Konkan.

However, Priolkar continues that on the basis of the dissimilar historical experiences of the people residing in the Old and New Conquests, the impact of the Portuguese culture on the people of the New Conquests was slight and superficial. He contends that the way of life of the people was not distinguishable from that of the neighboring Maharashtrians outside of Goa. Priolkar states:

It is therefore a mistake to consider the present Goa as a homogenous area having a unique distinctive cultural personality. There is nothing distinctive about the way of life and culture of the non-Catholics who form the bulk of the population, which could be considered as giving them an individuality distinct from that of the neighboring territories. The Portuguese culture has no doubt left deep imprint in the way of life of the Catholic community, who form the minority of the population, but there can be no justification for the view that their way of life typified the cultural identity of Goa.¹⁷

¹⁷Priolkar, Goa Re-Discovered, pp. 47-48.

*Maratha is a race and Marathi is the language spoken by them.

The writer agrees with Priolkar's contention that as a result of the historical experiences of the people of Old and New Conquests that the impact of Portuguese culture has been minimal on the people of the New Conquests as compared to those of the Old. However, the author disagrees with Priolkar's conclusions, that: (1) the way of life of the people in the New Conquests is not distinguishable in any way from that of those of Maharashtra. (2) that the culture of the non-Catholics who form the bulk of the population is not distinct from that of Maharashtra.

The way of life of the people in the New Conquest is definitely different from the life style of the residents of the Old Conquest for obvious reasons. First, economically the areas of New Conquests are economically depressed and their inhabitants have remained illiterate and ignorant. In fact, the people of the New Conquests have been exploited by educated Goans from the Old territories who have acquired landed properties in these areas by paying a mere pittance. Furthermore, it has been the experience of the writer who has lived and moved with these people in their own areas, that they spoke the Konkani language, which he could very well understand. In dress and food habits, however, they could resemble any set of people

in India, living in depressed areas. The educated among these people, however, who were educated in Marathi public schools, that were established during the Republican period in Goa, did use a lot of Marathi sounding words in their Konkani dialogue.

The second argument that the majority of the Goan population is non-Catholic is statistically correct. But the manner in which Priolkar presents this fact implies that the experiences and the resulting outcomes of the non-Catholics in both the Old Conquest and the New Conquest could be lumped together and viewed as identical. This is far from the truth. The Hindus of these territories have very little in common except religion. While some of the Hindus of the Old Conquest who have completed elementary school emphasize their Marathi character, most of the Hindus after the inauguration of the Republic of Portugal did, however, partake of the cultural life afforded by the Portuguese and have acquired some of the traits and characteristics assigned to the Goan Catholics. Furthermore, it should be established that the so-called Marathi schools or Shallas, as they are called in Goa, were rudimentary schools that were conducted on only a part-time basis. Hence the type of Marathi they learnt in these schools is again

questionable. This is not to suggest that Hindu Goans were not at all exposed to and influenced by Marathi culture. In fact, those of the significant few who had obtained Marathi education did acquire some traits of Marathi culture. However, in the process of this acquisition, the Goan Hindus did not lose their identity as Goans. The acquired Marathi culture was assimilated into the broader indigenous Goan culture over a period of time. Hence the claim, that Hindu Goans are culturally Marathi, is absurd and untenable.

The ensuing paragraphs will briefly examine Priolkar's arguments for establishing Marathi as the language of the Goans. Priolkar has offered six arguments in support of his contention.¹⁸

(1) In Maharashtra a variety of dialects, used as a medium of speech by different communities and in different regions, have for centuries co-existed with Marathi as the common literary medium. Priolkar contends that the dialects spoken in Konkan, which are sometimes described collectively as the Konkani language, vary both in terms of region and communities. For example, there are wide variations in the

¹⁸Ibid., pp. 50-60.

forms of spoken Konkani in regions such as Salcette, North Konkan, Malwan, Goa and South Kanara. Again, these variations in form are also discernable in the spoken language among communities such as the Parbhi, Chitpawani and Saraswati, and even within Goa, there are variations of the dialect spoken by Hindus and Christians. Furthermore, it is contended that the dialect spoken by the Hindus in northern Goa is different from that spoken by other Goan Hindus. The argument that there is no uniformity in the spoken Konkani language does not justify the conclusion that Konkani is a dialect of Marathi. We regard this diversity in the spoken language as a historical consequence. Historically, Konkani and Konkani literature were completely destroyed. It has also been established that religious persecutions caused a number of Goans to migrate to the neighboring territories of Maharashtra and Mysore. The Goans who settled in these territories adopted the culture of these territories for mere survival. It is a tribute to these people that despite hardships, and obstacles, they still speak to each other in Konkani in their homes and with their other Konkani brothers. The variations in the spoken languages between the Goan Hindus and Catholics, as stated earlier, is discernable only in the language of those Hindus who had Marathi education.

There is a tendency for them to use a number of Marathi words in the Konkani language. The same language usage occurred with the Christians who studied in Portuguese schools since they too, are in the habit of mixing Portuguese words with Konkani. However, the language pattern of the Kshatriyas or Desais of Goa shows greater uniformity, because they have never absorbed words from Marathi. Over a period of years, the language acquired the tonation of the dominant language. Thus, Konkani in Maharashtra is influenced by Marathi. Konkani in Mysore is influenced by Kanada, and Konkani in Goa by Portuguese and Marathi. But this variation does not justify the claim the Konkani is a dialect of Marathi.

(2) Priolkar also contends that there is ample evidence to show that Marathi was the literary mother-tongue of the Goans and that no literature had been produced in any of the Konkani dialects, until the advent of the Portuguese. He further states that a number of copper plates and stone inscriptions found in Goa dating back to 1348, were reported to have been written in Marathi. He further contends that no pre-Portuguese document written in Konkani has ever been discovered. In Chapter VI, we have already cited authorities that state, that Konkani was the official language of Goa prior to 1510,

when the territory came under the rule of the Bijapur Sultans and that the Sultan himself recognized Konkani as the official language of Goa. Marathi on the other hand did not enter Goa till late in the fifteenth century. As regards the absence of Konkani literature in Goa, one has to blame the Inquisition for the massive destruction of Konkani books and other forms of literature. However, with the advent of the Portuguese, some Jesuit intellectuals did write a number of religious books in Konkani. These included books on Catechism, volumes of sermons, accounts of miracles performed by Christian Saints, and even Grammars and Dictionaries in the Konkani language. Yet, Mr. Priolkar states, that these books were written in the spoken dialect of the Goan people. Even if Konkani was a dialect of Marathi, which it is not, the very fact that religious books could be written in it, and that the language did have its grammars and dictionaries published, during the sixteenth century, merely goes to prove that this so-called dialect had already matured into a full fledged language. In this sense, most of the Indian languages began as dialects of Sanskrit.

(3) Priolkar states that as a part of the Portuguese policy of imposing their culture on the Goans, a campaign to eradicate the Indian languages from Goa and replace them by

Portuguese language was initiated by a decree of Conde de Alvor, Governor of Goa, in 1684. This was discussed in Chapter VI. The campaign was directed against Konkani and not Marathi. He has done this by calling the Konkani language as the spoken dialect and Marathi as the literary language. Historically, however, there is no proof of such a division in the Goan language.

(4) Priolkar argues that the Hindu community has always recognized Marathi as its sole literary mother-tongue and there exists an unbroken tradition in Goa extending over six or seven centuries, of the use of Marathi as the sole medium of education and written communication, and of intensive cultivation of and original contribution to Marathi literature. Priolkar contends that this linguistic bond resulted in a remarkable degree of emotional integration between the Goan Hindus and the people in the parts of Maharashtra outside Goa.

It is wrong to generalize that the Hindu community as such recognized Marathi as its sole literary language. Only a section of the Hindus accepted this language as their own. These comprised of a few Brahmins and Kshatriyas. The lower castes, however, did not take to Marathi education. That the Hindus took to the study of Marathi because of lack of opportu-

ities in Portuguese Goa, is evidenced by the fact, that with establishment of the Republic and restoration of equal political and social rights to Hindus, Hindus in large numbers began to attend Portuguese schools. This is one of the reasons why on the eve of the liberation of Goa, a number of important positions in Government were held by the Goan Hindus. As regards Goans contribution to Marathi is concerned, we certainly have a number of Goans who have distinguished themselves as Marathi writers and poets. The famous Konkani poet Baki Borker who has written profusely in Marathi, has earned for himself great reputation as a poet and is often referred to, as the Keats of Marathi poetry. We have a number of others who have excelled on the Marathi stage and drama as well as in Marathi music. Finally, as regards the bond of emotional integration is concerned there were hardly any Maharashtrians who came forward to fight side by side with the Goan Freedom Fighters, until the launching of the All India Movement. As far back as 1956, at a political convention held in Bombay, under the auspices of the Goan Students Association, Bombay, presided over by the writer, who was then its president, the then Chief Minister of Maharashtra, emphatically stated that the Goan Freedom Struggle was mainly the Struggle of the Goan people and that Goans could expect only moral support

from the people of Maharashtra. In this context, it is difficult to understand what Priolkar means by emotional integration.

(5) Priolkar also contends that Goan Hindus movement for the revival and development of the Konkani language as their mother-tongue was politically motivated. He says that the main motive force behind this movement was provided by communal animosity. According to Priolkar, Konkani has three main Brahmin communities, namely, the Saraswats, Karhadas, and Chitpawans. Saraswats who predominate in Goa both in number and status, still use Konkani as the medium of speech. A misconception has, therefore developed among the Saraswats that Marathi is the mother-tongue of the other communities and Konkani their own. Saraswats are mainly vegetarians but are permitted to eat fish. The other Brahmin communities who are vegetarians and claim superiority in sanctity over Saraswats denied the name of Brahmins to the latter and even go to the length of treating them as untouchables. Priolkar states that Mr. Walavliker, a leader of the Konkani movement among the Hindus, resented this discrimination. His argument is that Walavliker felt that to continue the allegiance to Marathi would tantamount to accepting their claim to superiority. He is therefore, stated to have decided to banish Marathi from Goa

and raise Konkani to the status of a literary language. His supporters, according to Priolkar feel that to accept the claims of Marathi as the literary language of Goa would strengthen the case for merging Goa in Maharashtra, a prospect which they view with concern as they are understandably nervous about the ability to uphold their claims for leadership in a larger unit. The hollowness of this argument needs no elaboration. Whatever may have been the feud between the Saraswats and other Brahmin communities, it has very little to do with the language question. Goan Hindus know that their mother-tongue is Konkani and have decided along with their Catholic brothers to develop it to the best of their ability. As regards the political leadership of the Saraswats, is concerned the two elections have shown that Brahmins and Kshatriyas claim to leadership, have failed to a low ebb.

(6) Finally, Priolkar argues that Hindus are unlikely to give up their allegiance to Marathi. The only problem according to him is whether in the present context, the Catholics should choose Marathi, Konkani or some other language as the medium of instruction in elementary schools. If they choose Konkani, according to Priolkar, they will have to face a host of problems. First, there is at present no standard form of

Konkani and what Konkani enthusiasts are attempting is to evolve an artificial synthesis of its various versions.

Secondly, there is no unanimity as to the script to be used.

At present the Catholics have been using the Roman script which they learnt in Portuguese schools and Hindus the Devnagiri script which they learnt in Marathi schools. Thirdly, there is no Konkani literature worth the name. Hindus have produced some literature in Devnagiri script and the Christians in Roman script.

Mr. Priolkar's arguments that Hindus will not give up their allegiance to Marathi is no longer tenable. The majority of the Goans have already decided through the Opinion Polls not to merge with Maharashtra, which is a great blow to the Marathi movement. Secondly, the difficulty of the script has already been resolved by the acceptance of a common script - the Devnagiri script. Thirdly, books in Konkani have already been prepared that can take care of the entire elementary school.

In our examination of the thesis of cultural metabolism we have successfully established that Goan culture especially the Christian culture underwent a change when brought in confrontation with the western culture and emerged as a cultural blend. We also observed that the claim of Goan cultural superiority and identity was superfluous in as much as it lacked factual

bases and emotional foundations.

From our discussion on the concepts of Marathization of Goans, two conclusions come to mind. One, that Marathization is a significant force that will have to be contended with for a long time to come. Secondly, Priolkar's claim that Marathi is the original literary language, of the Goan people and that Konkani is its dialect, lacked conviction. Whatever be the merits of this claim, one thing rings clear. Priolkar has definitely failed, to bring them out in a convincing manner. His argumentation smacks of political motivations rather than intellectual convictions.

It is our belief, that like the Portuguese culture, Marathi culture was also absorbed by the Konkani culture, and in the process, internalized it and made it its own. The result being, a composite culture comprising of different strands all united in diversity. It also shows and in an ample manner, the virility and vitality of the Goan culture. In the words of the Keats of Marathi poetry, Goan poet Baki Bah Borkar,

The virility and vitality of this quiet soft mannered and peace loving society's culture were tested and proved beyond doubt when in the sixteenth century the Portuguese conquerors of Goa tried fanatically to uproot it completely. Though partially impaired under their onslaught of superior arms and administrative machinery it not only outlived it, but even absorbed some good and progressive features of

their Latin culture. Besides, it turned every difficulty they thrust upon it into a new opportunity to revitalize and enrich itself. It adopted some fine modes of western living and grafted on its ethos and aesthetics the good sense and good taste peculiar to Latin culture, brought by the Portuguese. It is a remarkable feat in history that the culture of numerically so small a community like the Goans survived and grew inspite of every kind of assault and atrocity it suffered at the hands of its conqueror. This very fact speaks abundantly about its unebbing vitality and indestructible virility.¹⁹

¹⁹B. B. Borkar, "The Goan Personality" Bulletin Institute Menezes Braganza, 96 (November 1971), p. 61.

CHAPTER IX

THE GOAN FREEDOM STRUGGLE

This Chapter will examine the Goan Freedom Struggle in two parts. The first part of the study will comprise of the various revolts and rebellions organized against the Portuguese rule. The second part, however, will deal with the Freedom Movement as the necessary part of a wider movement, the Indian Independence Movement, under the leadership of Mahatma Gandhi. Since this is not a major chapter of the study, it will deal only with the important aspects of the Freedom Struggle.

After the first fifty years of Portuguese rule, the Goan people became restless. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century, they made several attempts to drive the Portuguese from their homeland. The spirit of Goan resistance to the Portuguese rule continued unabated till the beginning of the twentieth century. In addition to, and sometimes parallel to the violent resistance, there was also a constitutional movement that attempted to wrest political power away from the Portuguese and obtain equal rights for the people of Goa.

The causes for these revolts were not only political,

but also economic and religious. However, when viewed in the context of the times, it is difficult to make a distinction between these three factors, as they were closely related to politics as far as the Portuguese rule in Goa, was concerned.

In the very first year of Portuguese colonization, in 1583, the people of the five villages in southern Goa - Assolna, Velim, Cuncolim, Veroda and Ambelim, now known as the constituency of Cuncolim, revolted against the Portuguese rule. The leaders of this revolt were invited for a parley and were treacherously done to death, inside a nearby Portuguese military fort. Their lands were confiscated and donated to the Society of Jesus and later to the newly appointed Count de Cuncolim. The Portuguese Count entrusted the administration of the properties to their allies, a Brahmin family, from Margao. However, the legality of the confiscation of the property was still being questioned and the case instituted in this regard, was still found pending with the High Court in Portugal, at the time of the liberation of Goa.¹ This revolt is significant in the history of the Goan struggle for freedom,

¹Evagrio George, The Goa Case (New Delhi: National Campaign Committee for Goa, 1961), p. 21.

because a large number of Goan leaders and freedom fighters came from these villages. The first rebellion of a series of twenty, took place in 1555, following the Goan's refusal to pay the increased land revenue which was considered excessive.² In 1775, the Ranas* of Satari district declared themselves free and fought the Portuguese for decades until they were put down by superior force. The Ranas were the vassals of the Bhonsles the rulers of Sawantwadi, now a part of the Mysore state. The territory held by the Ranas formed a sort of a buffer zone between the Portuguese and Bhonsles. Finding it difficult to deal with the Ranas, the Bhonsles ceded to the Portuguese its sovereignty over that province on the same feudal conditions which they had exercised over them. But the Portuguese not satisfied with mere suzerainty, tried to take complete possession of that territory. The Ranas revolted in defence of their ancient rights. The Portuguese in order to pacify them once again promised to respect all the old

²R. P. Rao, Portuguese Rule in India (Asia Publishing House, 1963), p. 60.

*Ranas were feudal land-lords belonging to the Kshatriya caste.

conditions which existed at the time of the former rulers.³ The Portuguese did not keep their promises and annexed the territory in 1782. Then followed the revolts of the Ranas. The Portuguese Government was powerless to subdue the Ranas and had to come to terms with them, and ceded to them the right of collecting the revenues of the villages. However, in 1827 the Portuguese Government began to integrate the territory in the State of Goa.

The Ranas challenged the Portuguese system of taxation and attempted to redress their grievances by appealing to the Judicial system. Litigation was accordingly instituted in the court against the State for illegally collecting the revenues of the territory. Both the Portuguese Court and the Portuguese legislature held that the state treasury had no right to the revenue of the villages of Satari. However, the Viceroy annulled the judicial award which was conferred by the High Court of Goa on August 30, 1833.⁴ It was at this stage that the Ranas once again resorted to violence to claim back their property

³Nicolau Menezes, "Short History of Goa", Goa Today (March, 1971), p. 21.

⁴Ibid.

and the rights taken away by the Portuguese. The Governor of Goa, Viscount of Qurem, levied new taxes and at the same time abolished the privileges and exemptions which the Desai's also Kshatriyas, of Bicholim and Satari had enjoyed since antiquity. It was this action that infuriated the Ranas to revolt. Fr. Gabriel de Saldanha explains the causes of the revolt as:

The discontent created by the promulgation of these measures, some hardly just, and still more by the abuse of those who executed them, produced as their result this daring revolt of Satari.⁵

The Ranas almost razed the Portuguese edifice to the ground, but were restrained by their faithful ally, the British who always came to their rescue. Although innumerable revolts were undertaken by the Ranas, we shall comment on the most important one that occurred under the leadership of Dipaji Rana:

The most serious attempt was in 1852 in an uprising led by Dipaji Rana which has left a deep impress on the history of the Goan Freedom Movement. Dipaji's first success was the seizure of the Fort of Nanas in Satari district, stocked with fire-arms and ammunition. With Nanas as headquarters, Dipaji carried out sorties into Quepem, Canacona and Hemadbarshem thus bringing almost half of Goa under his control. Impressed with such initial successes, the people rallied round him and the revolt

⁵M. G. de Saldanha, Historia de Goa (Goa: Livraria Coelho, 1925-26), p. 45.

assumed formidable proportions. Dipaji's rebellion lasted for three and a half years, and eventually the Portuguese Governor was compelled to make peace with the rebel. The Portuguese agreed to extend protection to village institutions, abandoned repressive religious measures and granted an amnesty to the rebels. Dipaji Rana being awarded a sword of honor and the honorary title of Captain.⁶

Historian Saldanha, explains why the Portuguese despite a large force consisting of battalions of Infantry and Riflemen and 550 Sepoys of Pernem, could not silence the Ranas:

It was impossible to continue the fight with the enemy who being tenacious in his attacks, was invisible for punishment. The Governor proposed peace to Dipaji Rana with the promise of amnesty and several other concessions. But the proposal was not accepted, and the rebels attacked Cumbarjua and invaded Sanguem and Quepem.⁷

The revolt of the Ranas continued until the Viscount's rule ended. No sooner had the Viscount handed over the reins of administration to the Government Council, then Dipaji Rana signed the peace treaty. There was yet another revolt in the district of Satari known in the history of Goa as the revolt of Custoba Desai - the Goan Robinhood. According to Fr. Saldanha:

⁶Ministry of External Affairs, Goa and the Charter of the United Nations (New Delhi: Government of India Press, 1960), p. 70.

⁷Saldanha, p. 45.

In 1868, more or less, a Bhatji (Brahmin priest) kidnapped a widow of a Rana family and, in order to escape the terrible vengeance which was to be expected from the father and the brother of his victim, denounced to the authorities the two Ranas as authors of a murder committed probably by himself, in a neighboring jungle.⁸

The two Ranas were sentenced to hard labor. The innocent Ranas along with others of their kind who were unjustly convicted, escaped from the jail. Among the escapee's was the celebrated folk hero Custoba Desai. Custoba and his band of followers not only assassinated the Brahmin priest, but also directed their revolt against the Portuguese rule, as they considered the Brahmin priest as merely a lackey or an instrument of the corrupt Government. Following immediately the path of rebellion against the state, they attacked with extraordinary courage all the military posts and spared none of the collaborators of the Portuguese Government. The Portuguese could not overcome the valiant Custoba by force of arms so they resorted to treachery. Custoba was killed on the 13th of June as he was coming out of the house of his mistress on a dark night. A similar fate awaited Gola Shaba, chief of one of the

⁸ Ibid.

warrior bands who was poisoned in his sleep by a Portuguese agent. As a result of this untimely and unexpected deaths, Satari remained quiet for the next two decades. According to Saldanha:

The successive acts of unexpected treachery, proceeding from their own intimate relations seems to have toned down a little the spirit of the people of Satari, who for the next twenty years remained quiet.⁹

Thus far, the major revolts organized by Goan Hindus have been examined. Now, the revolts of the Christians will be discussed. Both the revolts of the Hindus and the Catholics were linked together in the sense that they received the enthusiastic support of the entire Goan population. They have been deliberately treated separately to dispel the misunderstanding that has been promoted by some writers conveying the idea that the Christian population was always loyal to the Portuguese.

In 1787, the Pintos of Bardez revolted against the Portuguese regime. At this time the Portuguese faced a great and concerted challenge. The rebellion was planned by a group of Catholic priests in Goa with the ultimate object of overthrowing the Portuguese Government. The aim of the revolt, according to the verdict of the Portuguese court was, to

⁹ Ibid.

establish a new republic in which the people of the country would have ruled themselves by exercising all the ruling powers through a House of the People. Unfortunately, two of Pinto's colleagues gave away the plot to the Portuguese and the Freedom Fighters were arrested. The ring leaders, forty-seven in all, which included seventeen Catholic priests, and seven army officers, were arrested and imprisoned. Three priests were released and the remaining were banished to Portugal. All the arrested laymen, except one, were sentenced to different terms of imprisonment. Those sentenced to death were tied to the tails of horses and dragged through the streets of the town and their hands were cut off before they were sent to the gallows. Even their bodies were cut into pieces and exhibited in the town to strike terror in the hearts of the people.¹⁰

The impact of the revolutions of 1820 in Portugal and Brazil was also felt in Goa. In a series of disorders and revolts in which the Goans participated, the then Viceroy of Goa was deposed on September 16, 1821 and his place was taken by five member Provisional Junta. Bernard Peres da Silva, the leader of the Goan people took active part in this agitation. He was

¹⁰
Menezes, p. 21.

subsequently elected to the Portuguese Parliament. When constitutional powers were granted to the colonies by the Portuguese Government, Da Silva was made the Prefect of Goa, on January 14, 1835.¹¹

Da Silva's Prefectship lasted only for eighteen days. His sweeping reforms that affected all branches of Government incurred the displeasure of the Portuguese and Eurasians in Goa. There were also some racial overtones detected in their actions. The residence of the Prefect was besieged with troops on the night of February 1, 1835. Da Silva was taken under custody, and kept in a frigate anchored in the river. Meanwhile a Portuguese by the name of Manuel de Portugal, was proclaimed as the Governor of Goa. Bernard Pires escaped from the frigate and sought political asylum in India. A counter-revolution was launched and the reinstatement of the Prefect was demanded by the Municipalities but the Portuguese troops refused to yield.

Making one more bid for power, Bernard Pires da Silva sailed from Bombay at the head of an expedition organized and commanded by an American admiral, Halborn. However, a cyclone

¹¹ Government of Goa, Ten Years of Liberation, p. 11.

in the Indian Ocean forced them to return back to Bombay. The attempt having failed, Bernard Pires moved from Bombay to Daman and took charge of the Government of Daman and Diu. These two pockets of Portuguese possessions in India, remained loyal to Bernard Pires. As a result, there were two parallel Portuguese Governments in Goa until the arrival of the new Governor-General Barao de Sabroso. After the overthrow of Bernard Pires de silva, there was relative calm in Goa.

Goans once again worked towards a constitutional Government for Goa. In the middle of the nineteenth century two Goan priests, Fr. Jeremias Mascarenhas and Fr. Batista Cana were elected members of Parliament. Fr. Jeremias Mascarenhas pointing to the emergence of Brazil as an independent country, declared in Portuguese Parliament in 1852, that none should be surprised if Portuguese India also demanded independence.¹²

Ten years later in 1862, the same sentiments were expressed by Francisco Luis Gomes in the Portuguese Parliament when he declared the imperial men who are moved by justice and not by racialism want India to be ruled by Indians and detest

¹²Ibid., p. 13.

all despots.¹³ He is reported to have stated in Portuguese Parliament:

The Nation that formulated democracy in the game of chess, the nation that sang with the suave voice of angels all the sublimities of heaven and with the voice of nightingales all the beauties of the world in its poem, Mahabharata, must deserve the sympathies of Europe.¹⁴

Another speech of Francis Louis Gomes delivered in the Portuguese Parliament indicated how Portugal indirectly exploited Goa. The deputy said:

Portuguese India asks for neither money nor sacrifice, from the metropolis; it only asks you not to send battleships to be paid for and repaired by us, troops without being requisitioned, and vagrants to be corrected.¹⁵

In 1910 the Portuguese Constitutional Charter was issued and with that came the ideology of liberation. Goans took full advantage of the liberal period and by 1890, the first Goan political parties had come to their own. There were two important parties: the popular forces were represented by the Partido Indiano, or the Indian Party; and the pro-Governmental forces were represented by Partido Ultramarino, or the Overseas

¹³Dr. J. Menezes, Goa's Freedom Struggle (Bombay: by the author, 1947), pp. 15-16.

¹⁴Ibid., p. 16.

¹⁵Menezes, p. 21.

party. When the Government forces found that the political tide was going against them, at the Municipal elections in Margao, they tried to seal the ballot box and declare the Government candidates victorious. But the leaders of the popular movement Inacio de Loyola, and Roque Correia Afonso, led a huge procession to the grounds of Margao Church to protest against the gerrymandering of elections. Portuguese troops were sent to quell the demonstration. The troops opened fire and as many as twenty-three prominent Goans were killed along with many others. In 1910, Portugal became a Republic and Goans enjoyed some political autonomy till 1926, when dictatorship was firmly clamped down on Portugal by Dr. Antonio Olivera Salazar.

What has been examined so far, constitutes the first part of the Goan Freedom Struggle. Here again, we find that the leadership for the revolts came from the Hindu and Christian Kshatriyas with the exception of a few isolated instances. There were five major reasons why the Kshatriyas spearheaded the revolts: (1) They belonged to the landed gentry and resented the payment of heavy taxes. (2) The feudal Kshatriya chiefs were being deprived of their right to collect taxes from their villages -- an age-old custom that was even respected by the Muslim rulers. (3) The Kshatriyas, especially the Catholics,

were not employed in Government service, and had no vested interest.

(4) Those who took up the leadership were highly educated liberal intellectuals, motivated by social justice. (5) The Kshatriya as a caste was a loser both politically and economically.

Politically, their power to rule was taken over by the Portuguese and economically the lands and properties were either confiscated or highly taxes.

The second part of the Goan Freedom Struggle begins with the dictatorship of Dr. Salazar in 1926. The Goa Congress Committee was founded by Dr. Cunha and was affiliated to the All India Congress Committee in 1928. The affiliation of the Goa Congress Committee marks a significant departure in Goan politics to the extent that Goan Nationalism merged with the Indian Freedom Movement and came under the influence of Mahatma Gandhi.

According to Dr. Julio Menezes, Luis de Menezes Braganza was instrumental in launching the second phase of the Goan Freedom Struggle. Menezes Braganza who was nurtured in the tradition of Francis Luis Gomes carried forward the Gomantak Nationalism not only in the political sphere but in the spiritual as well.¹⁶ The second phase of the Goan Freedom Struggle, synchronized with the

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 16-17.

proclamation of the Portuguese Republic in 1910. Menezes Braganza collaborated with the Portuguese Republicans in disseminating and interpreting the Republican liberalism to Goans. In order to achieve this on a mass scale he founded two newspapers. O Debate, or The Debate, in 1911, and Prakash. He had a tremendous following among Goan intellectuals both Hindus and Catholics. Menezes Braganza stood for complete Indian Freedom not only political but intellectual, mental and spiritual as well. In a resolution introduced in the Goa Legislative Council where he was the leader of the Partido Indiano, the Nationalist Party leader stated that Goa did not renounce her patrimony of freedom and vision of a United and Free India:

Portuguese India does not renounce the right which people have to attain in full measure till they come to form units capable of directing its destinies, because it is an inherent right of its organic essence.¹⁷

Again, when the suppression of civil liberties began with the Acto Colonial, the Colonial Act, Braganza opposed it. He gave a stern warning to the authorities:

I appreciate the freedom of thought. It is the thought that lifts the man above the beast. And thought only lives and

¹⁷ Goa Legislative Council Proceedings, dated July 14, 1930.

is found when it is free. It is the free thought that is the one permanent measure of the progress of society. It resisted through centuries all the attempts of a strangling grip. The Governments pass with the time. The forms of Government are ephemeral. Only idea is eternal.¹⁸

As the preceding discussion indicates, the sentiments expressed by Goan leadership from the time of the Constitutional Monarchy and during the Republic, were that of solidarity with the rest of India. If the Goans did not make common cause with their Indian brethren in their struggle for Independence, it was merely because the circumstances in Goa were different from the rest of India. For Goans enjoyed greater political freedom during the Republican period that began in 1910, which was not the case in India. While Goan leaders like Menezes Braganza echoed the sentiments of complete freedom of Goa and integration with the rest of India in the Goan legislature as far back as 1930, the Indian Resolution for Purna Swaraj or Complete Independence from British Rule came in 1935. It was only in the late thirties that the British policy towards Indian Independence became tolerant. However, there was a reversal in the policy of the Portuguese with the inauguration of the Acto Colonial and with the emergence of Dr. Salazar, as the dictator of Portugal in 1926, which brought

¹⁸Menezes, p. 19.

to an abrupt end all the freedoms that Goans had enjoyed during the Republican period. It was at this juncture in Goa's history that a political parallel with the rest of India developed and identified its struggle for Independence with the National Movement for Independence of India. The Goa Congress Committee, however, was disaffiliated from the All India Congress Committee on technical grounds within a period of three years. What these grounds were is not known. The only plausible reason could be that Goa and India were under different colonial rulers.

In 1930, the Gomantak Praja Mandal was established in Bombay. The main objective of this organization was to spread the ideas of Menezes Braganza among the Goan people with a view to prepare them for political action and integration, with the rest of India. Here are some extracts taken from its Manifesto:

Ever since the beginning of the period of our bondage a great deal has been done with a view to distort and blurr our vision. We have been led into a pernicious habit of thinking of our unfortunate country as a separate and individual unit. We have forgotten the essential fact that it is a part of India and that as such it can have no separate existence or history. India is a living organism with its distinct physical, intellectual and spiritual characteristics. This organism is made up of the people of India with its several races.¹⁹

¹⁹Dr. J. Menezes, The Manifesto of the Gomantak Praja Mandal, dated January 26, 1940, pp. 1-2.

Commenting on the historical and geographical forces that have influenced Indian character, the Manifesto further adds:

All these factors have made us what we are. They have given us the vast and almost illimitable horizon of our culture and the depth and grandeur of our spiritual life. They have inspired the Vedas, the Brahmanas, the Upanishads, the Mahabharata, the Ramayana and the Vedanta works which reflect the almost divine revelation of our culture.²⁰

The Gomantak Praja Mandal immediately adopted the Congress Independence pledge for the Goan people, thus integrating the Goan Freedom Movement with the Indian Independence Movement. Meanwhile the National Congress (Goa) was formed. While the actual date of its formation is not known, it had been functioning in Goa since 1946. The National Congress (Goa) evolved from the now defunct Goa Congress Committee and was for a long time the only political organization representing the Goan National Forces.

Around the month of February 1945, a very dynamic youth organization came into being, called the Goan Youth League. Unlike the political parties, the Goan Youth League, worked for the political, social and intellectual advancement of Goan Youth in particular. Its political aim was to work for the

²⁰ Ibid., p. 2.

complete Independence of India and the integration of a Free Goa with a Free India.²¹ This youth organization came under the leadership of a dynamic and brilliant lawyer, Attorney Joaquim Dias (now advisor to the Goa Government), and it conducted an intensive program of political education. This was done through the mass media, poster campaign, public meetings, organization of study circles and seminars, both in Bombay and in Goa. The leaders of the Youth League worked in slums of Bombay, helping poor and needy Goans. It is through their efforts that for the first time in the history of Bombay, that the Municipality created the facility of a Free English School exclusively for Goan children of poor and illiterate families. In 1945, when the classes were first instituted it had a membership of three hundred children.

The most significant event in the history of Goa occurred in June 1946. Once again, the preparation for the event was made in the historic villages of Assolna, Velim and Cuncolim, under the leadership of the President of the Gomantak Praja Mandal, Dr. Julio Menezes. On this historic day, the first civil disobedience movement against the then 435 year old Portuguese rule was

²¹George Vaz, Goan Youth Cultural Leagues First Cultural Program (Bombay: by the author, 1945), p. 2.

launched in Goa. For the first time Goan Nationalist and Indian Freedom Fighters joined hands to wreck the political barrier created by the Portuguese between Indians in Goa and Indians living in the then British India.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, the Indian Socialist leader, took a leading part in this Movement. At a public meeting held in Panjim on June 18, 1946, Dr. Lohia told the people that it was time they liberated themselves from the Portuguese shackles and molded their own destiny. He stressed the methods of economic exploitation the colonial powers adopted for enriching themselves. Dr. Lohia was later arrested and released on the Indian border.²² The rousing reception given to Dr. Lohia by the Goan people is indicative of their political consciousness and their desire to integrate with the Indian Union.

Stimulated by a rising consciousness, masses of Goans began to demonstrate in front of the administrative offices shouting the identical Indian slogans, Jai Hind, Jai Goa, Long Live India, Long Live Goa. Their conduct was orderly and peaceful and their method was non-violent. The Gandhian movement of non-

²²Rao, pp. 66-67.

violence had at last reached Goa. Unable to control this situation, the Portuguese made several attempts to disperse the people but the crowds became bigger and bigger. The panic stricken police resorted to violence but the Goans still continued chanting the same slogan in defiance of the Portuguese authority.

Beginning with June 18th, crowds of people assembled in the Municipal Square, Margao, to demand the civil liberties which were denied to them by the Portuguese Government. On the 20th of June, 1946, the meeting for civil liberties was addressed by Dr. T. B. Cunha, the Father of the Goan Freedom Struggle, along with other prominent political leaders. The month of June and July witnessed the organization of political meetings all over Goa. As a result, hundreds of Goans were arrested and mercilessly beaten sometimes with bayonets. Many of the prominent Goan leaders were arrested and deported to Portugal, where they were to serve long sentences in Portuguese prisons.

The late Dr. Braganza Cunha, was the first to offer Satyagraha and court arrest. He was followed by Dr. R. Hegde, Professor Purshotam Kakodkar, Advocate Jose Loyola and Mr. Laxmikant Bhambre. In spite of the violence, repressive policies and terrorism of the authorities, the movement continued up to November 1946. About 1,500 people were arrested and held in

detention for various terms and beaten.

The quality and fairness of Portuguese justice may be determined from the trial of Dr. T. B. Cunha, which was held on July 24, 1946. Dr. Cunha was tried by a Military Court for the following charges:

- (1) Attacking the Portuguese Government and insolently criticizing the rule of Salazar and the Goan regime for being responsible for food crises and black market operations in Goa.
- (2) Informing the people addressed by him in the meeting, that Goa would be independent shortly.
- (3) Making a speech instigating the audience, while standing in the company of persons wearing the uniform of the Indian National Congress and carrying the flag of the Congress, against the security of the state.
- (4) Being present at the flag-hoisting ceremony of June 23rd.
- (5) Shouting the slogan on June 30, "Jai Hind" when the administrator ordered him not to speak.²³

T. B. Cunha denied all the charges levelled against him, except that he shouted "Jai Hind" which he said was not a crime. However, despite his plea of innocence, he was sentenced

²³ Menezes, p. 72.

to eight years and was subsequently deported to Portugal, where he served his sentence. Dr. T. B. Cunha made this statement in defense of his plea of innocence:

I am not the leader of the movement that came spontaneously from the masses and which was a manifestation of the economic causes, unemployment, etc. Nor do I believe that Dr. Lohia, has been the leader though I do not know him personally. The movement of the masses has not aimed at reinvindication of civil rights, but it is only an economic question. I have always worked openly and my sympathies for the Congress are known to all. In order to know what I am, it is enough to read my writings, in the papers and my pamphlets. Try me for what I have written and not for what others say of me. I appeal to the conscience of the learned judges.²⁴

The learned judges, sentenced Dr. T. B. Cunha to eight years imprisonment. In the course of the judgement, the presiding judge said:

To demand civil liberties there was no need for the accused to be in the middle of two persons dressed as prescribed by the Congress and holding its flag. The provocation given to the authors on June 30, with his hands clenched and fists raised and the shouts of Jai Hind, are also the elements of instigation or provocation for rebellion. For a person to raise a cheer to India there is no need to make use of this particular shout which is symbolically employed to oppose the permanence of the British in India.²⁵

²⁴ T. B. Cunha, statement before the Tribunal Militare de Nova Goa, on July 24, 1946.

²⁵ Menezes, pp. 75-76.

The irony of this judgement lies in the Portuguese Government's interests in defending the British permanence in India when the British Government itself was preparing for the transfer of power to the Indian people. At this time, Pundit Nehru, the head of the Interim Government, saluted the world with "Jai Hind" on All India Radio, whenever he addressed the Nation.

The Portuguese thought that by deporting the Goan leaders to Portugal, with savage sentences they would break down the spirit of the Goan people. They were completely mistaken. The more oppressive the sentences, the greater was the resistance to Portuguese rule and more the number of arrests. The treatment meted out to India's leaders such as Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and the deportation and savage sentences passed by the Goan courts incurred the displeasure of India's foremost leader, Mahatma Gandhi, who time and again warned and rebuked Portugal for its inhumane treatment of Goan leaders. It may be considered appropriate to discuss briefly the role of Mahatma Gandhi in the Goan Freedom Struggle.

When Dr. T. B. Cunha was arrested and sentenced in Goa, Mahatma Gandhi was in Sevagram. He was very much depressed by the developments in Goa, and is said to have stated:

The Goan authorities are going on merrily with their humanizing activities by gagging the people of Goa. The latest instance is that of the "court martial" sentencing of Mr. Braganza Cunha to eight years and deporting him to a far off Portuguese settlement in Africa for the crime of daring to assert his elementary right to civil liberty. Well has the Working Committee of the Congress passed a resolution in condemnation of the policy of the Goan authorities which stands in striking contrast to the action of the French Governor who has encouraged the people to throw in their lot with the people of British India.²⁶

The Congress Working Committee resolution to which Mahatma Gandhi alluded to, was passed on August 12, 1946.

The resolution reads:

The people of these (the Portuguese) possessions have been reduced to poverty and degradation; politically they have practically no rights, and even the most elementary civil liberties are denied them. The fascist administration of Portugal functions in a peculiarly oppressive way in this small colony, which once was rich and prosperous and is now deserted with its people migrating elsewhere in search of a living... Goa has always been, and must inevitably continue to be, part of India. It must share in the freedom of the Indian people... The Working Committee notes the contrast between the attitude of the Portuguese in regards to their Indian possessions and the policy recently enunciated by the Governor of French India, who stated that the people are free to decide their own future and may if they so choose, join the Indian Union. The Committee appreciates this statement's expression of policy on behalf of the French Government.²⁷

²⁶ Mahatma Gandhi, statement issued from Sevagram, December 8, 1946, after the trial of Dr. T. B. Cunha, in Harijan, (August 18, 1946), p. 2.

²⁷ Rao, pp. 69-70.

At the time of Dr. Lohia's arrest in Goa, Mahatma Gandhi was in New Delhi. He immediately issued a statement in support of Goa's struggle for freedom and praised Dr. Lohia for rendering a service to the cause of civil liberty especially to Goans. A part of his statement reads:

The little Portuguese settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill afford to ape his bad manners. In Free India, Goa cannot be allowed to exist as a separate entity in opposition to the laws of the free state. Without a shot being fired, the people of Goa will be able to claim and receive, the rights of citizenship of the free state. The present Portuguese Government will no longer be able to rely on the protection of British arms to isolate and keep under subjection the inhabitants of Goa against their will. I would venture to advise the Portuguese Government of Goa to recognize the sign of the times and come to honourable terms with the inhabitants rather than function on any treaty that might exist between them and the British Government.²⁸

Mahatma Gandhi reiterated his assurances to the Goan people:

To the inhabitants of Goa I will say that they shed fear of the Portuguese Government as the people of the other parts of India have shed fear of the mighty British Government and assert their fundamental rights of civil liberty and all it means. The differences of religion among the inhabitants of Goa should be no bar to common civil life. Religion is for each individual to live. It should never become a bone of contention or quarrel between religious sects.²⁹

²⁸ Mahatma Gandhi, Statement issued from New Delhi on June 26, 1946, on the arrest of Dr. R. Lohia, by the Goa Government, Harijan (June 30, 1946), pp. 2-3.

²⁹ Ibid.

After conferring with Dr. A. G. Tendukar, President of the Goa Congress Committee, who provided him with information about the political situation prevailing in Goa, Mahatma Gandhi wrote that he regretted that there were several parties working in Goa, not necessarily for its inhabitants, but for power. He stated that confusion reigned supreme in the minds of the Goans. Gandhiji set forth three essential conditions for the success of the movement: (1) That it had to be conducted on the clearest possible issue, namely, civil liberty; (2) That the fight must be through non-violent and therefore, also by entirely open means; (3) That there should be no parties struggling for power or position.³⁰

On another occasion, when a Catholic student from Goa, was told by his Indian colleagues in Bombay that he was a Portuguese and a foreigner, Gandhi immediately replied when he came to hear of this remark:

These transitory lapses will take place whilst we are shedding our narrowness and claiming all to be Indians, slaves neither of the British nor of the Portuguese, nor any other foreign ruler. If the students were wisely handled they, would be proud to know their friend as an Indian, and not as a Goan and be known themselves as Indians not Bombayites. That even among converts their

³⁰ Mahatma Gandhi, (July 28, 1946), pp. 2-3.

caste is a reflection upon Hinduism and should set every Hindu athinking and make him become with me a bhangi, a menial.³¹

Mahatma Gandhi's stand on Goan Freedom Struggle is revealed in his reply to a letter from Mr. Jose Bossa, the then Governor General of Portuguese India. He wrote:

Every account received by me personally and seen in the papers here in this part of India confirms the contrary view. I suppose the report of the sentence by your court martial of eight years on Dr. Braganza and his contemplated exile to a far-off Portuguese settlement is by itself a striking corroboration of the fact that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. Why should a law abiding citizen like Dr. Braganza be considered so dangerous as to be singled out for exile.³²

He further added:

I therefore, hope that you will revise your views on philanthropy, civil liberty and caste distinctions, withdraw all the African police, declare yourself wholeheartedly for civil liberty, and, if possible, even let the inhabitants of Goa frame their own Government and invite from Greater India more experienced Indians to assist the inhabitants and even you in framing such government.³³

³¹Carmo Azavedo, "Mahatma Gandhi and the Goan Revolution" Goa Today, (June 1971), p. 10.

³²Mahatma Gandhi, letter addressed to Jose Bossa, Governor General of Portuguese India, dated August 2, 1946, in Pyarelal's Mahatma Gandhi, His correspondence with the Government (Ahmedabad: Navajivan Press, 1959), p. 309.

³³Ibid., p. 310.

A close examination of Mahatma Gandhi's statement reveals that Gandhi was fully aware of the political situation in Goa. Secondly, he was fully behind the struggle for civil liberties in Goa. Thirdly, he did not conceive of Goa as separate from India, and Goans as different from the rest of the Indians. Finally, Mahatma Gandhi believed that the liberation of Goa was not merely the duty of the Goans but of the entire Indian community.

The Goan Freedom Struggle was indeed an integral part of the Indian Independence Movement. Once it came within the orbit of the Gandhian movement, it became completely subservient to the Gandhian ideology of non-violence and satyagraha. This movement was spearheaded by the National Congress Goa, an organization that succeeded the then defunct Goa Congress Committee of 1928. The period between the 1946 to 1953 witnessed considerable non-violent political activity in Goa under the aegis of this new organization. A number of prominent Goan leaders and workers of the movement were arrested, tried and convicted for conspiring to overthrow the legitimate Government of Goa. The sentences were at first nominal, but later as the movement began to gain greater and greater momentum, the Portuguese courts began to pass savage sentences and the police tortures became

more severe and inhumane. These sentences were in the range of two years to twenty-eight often supplemented by deportation either to prisons in Portugal or to prisons in the Portuguese possessions in Africa. Among the prominent Goan leaders to be arrested during this period were Dr. J. J. Carvalho, then President of National Congress and many other prominent Goans.

The period under discussion was a significant one, in terms of the development and course of the Goan Freedom Struggle. Four political developments had a direct bearing on the Goan Freedom Movement. (1) Goans recognized for the first time, that the sole responsibility for the liberation of Goa was their's alone. India and Indian people were to play a passive role. They were to provide the moral support motivated to influence world opinion and win support for Goa's cause. (2) The inability of the Government of India to arrive at an acceptable agreement with Portugal over the peaceful transfer of the Portuguese possession in India to the legitimate Indian Government. (3) The failure of the Government's policy of co-existence and peaceful solutions of outstanding problems between nations vis-a-vis the Portuguese Government. (4) The well publicized and exaggerated claim of Portugal that the so-called peaceful policy of India was merely an admittance of military

weakness as compared to the military might of Portugal. (5) The impact of the Indian political structure on the Goan Freedom Movement in terms of political party formation and ideological affiliation.

The cumulative effect of these developments were psychological disaster as far as the morale of the Goan people were concerned. Politically, it meant insurmountable problems. Problems which Goans alone found difficult to handle. Added to this was the split in the National Congress of Goa and the emergence of a number of splinter groups such as the Communist-oriented People's Party, the militant Azad Gomantak Dal, and the Independent United Front of Goans. The emergence of separate individual Goan political parties weakened the solidarity of the movement and further added to the decline of morale among the nationalist forces, in particular, and adversely affected the political consciousness of the Goan people, in general. The magnitude of the problems engendered by these political developments was much too complicated for the common Goan to comprehend and actively commit himself to the cause of Goa's liberation. Under the circumstances, a sizeable number of Goans chose to remain indifferent or resigned to their fate.

The results of these developments were reflected in the

Portuguese Government's treatment of unarmed Goan satyagrahis and by the judicial pronouncements of its courts. The tortures and beating of the prisoners became more severe and brutal and the sentences passed by the courts more savage and inhumane. Portugal construed India Government's policy of peaceful negotiation as a political advantage which if followed consistently and there were reasons to believe that it would, was to ensure the permanence of Portuguese colonialism in Goa. Repeatedly, Portugal had made it clear to India's peaceful overtures that she was in no mood to negotiate on the surrender of her sovereignty over Goa, to India. The Portuguese Government considered Goa to be an integral part of the Metropolitan Portugal. So long as India continued to follow this peaceful policy, Portugal had no fear but to contend with the local movement, which she was amply prepared to handle with a soldiery that outnumbered the local inhabitants. When savage sentences of imprisonment came to be imposed on peaceful Goan satyagrahis, all that the Government of India did, was to write notes of protests to which the Portuguese Government had by then become accustomed and gave them the credit it deserved. The inability of the Government of India to actively and effectively intervene and support the Goan freedom fighters, coupled with the Portuguese

outright disrespect for India's protestations and the increased savagery of sentences and brutality of police punishments of political prisoners, resulted in a demoralization of the Goan leadership in particular and Goan people at large. Prominent nationalist leaders of the calibre of Dr. Julio Menezes, barrister Telo Mascarenhas, editor of Resurge Goa, Resurgent Goa, to recede to the background with frustration and despair. Rather than be a pawn in the hands of some Indian politicians, Telo Mascarenhas chose to return to Goa, and served a long prison sentence in Portugal.

In 1953, Dr. T. B. Cunha was released from the Portuguese jail and returned to India. His return provided a boost to the liberation movement. The Goa Action Committee was formed under his leadership, with representatives from the various political parties on its executive committee. It was hoped, that thereafter all Goan parties would act in unison. But these hopes did not materialize as the Goa problem came to be handled by career officials who were more of a nuisance than help, and often pitted one party against the other. Furthermore, it became difficult for leaders of the calibre of T. B. Cunha to confer with career officials who not only did not possess sufficient knowledge of the Goa problem, but were considered ineffective to deal with

top political personalities and at best they served as instruments of political nuisance.

Meanwhile, in 1954, a group of nationalists belonging to the National Congress Goa, left the party to organize the Azad Gomantak Dal, a militant organization that believed in the violent overthrow of the Portuguese Government. Their methods of course were diametrically opposed to that of the parent body which was wedded to the ideology of non-violence. The Azad Gomantak Dal soon became a force to be reckoned with. Their subversive activities and daring acts were well received and appreciated by the Goan people. Their activities introduced a great fear among the Portuguese soldiery and those who were in the pay of the Portuguese Government. However, the Azad Gomantak Dal could only become as powerful as the petty officials at the border wanted them to be. The activities were largely curtailed by the border police and their workers were often unnecessarily harassed by them. The result was yet another failure in the Goan Freedom Struggle. There were however, some bright spots in the violent movement. For, on July 21, 1954, Dadra, a Portuguese enclave in India was liberated by the United Front of Goans with the help of the local people. This was followed by the fall of yet another Portuguese enclave in India, Nagar Haveli. Nagar

Haveli was liberated by the Independent United Party and the Goan People's Party, with the help of the local people. Popular Government was established in both these territories.

Then came the greatest event in the history of Goan politics. Mr. Peter Alvares, a well known Indian leader of the Praja Socialist Party, temporarily left Indian politics and became the President of the National Congress, Goa. The association of Peter Alvares with the Goan Freedom Movement completely changed the picture of the Goan Freedom Struggle. Political activities came to be organized, once more in Goa under the supervision and advice of Peter Alvares himself, who often visited Goa, incognito. Goans in Goa began to shed their fear of the Portuguese Government and were found openly working for the liberation of Goa. The morale of the Goans had reached a new high and elaborate plans for launching a mass satyagrahi (civil disobedience movement) both from within and outside Goa were being planned. According to the proposed plan a number of prominent Indian leaders were to offer satyagraha, by crossing the border into Goa, simultaneously with Goan satyagrahis from Goa. This plan was foiled on the eve of its execution, when the Government of India prohibited Indian nationals from participating in the Goan satyagraha, that was to be launched on August 15, 1954.

Mr. Nehru declared on August 13, that he was opposed to non-Goans entering Goa but that he would not stop Goans from doing so; at the same time he appealed to them to refrain from acts of violence.³⁴ Some Goans however, did cross the Indian border and offered satyagraha along with the Goans from within Goa. But the movement lost its mass appeal and hence did not have the desired effect on the Portuguese Government.

Thereafter, satyagraha continued in Goa but on a small scale. Mrs. Sudha Joshi, the then president of National Congress Goa, offered satyagraha in April 1954. According to the National Congress Goa sources, during the months of July-September 1954, about forty-eight Goan Nationalists were arrested and tried by the Portuguese Military courts and sentenced to various terms of imprisonment. Among those who received severe sentences were Anthony D'Souza, who received a sentence of twenty-eight years and Anastasio Almeida who was sentenced to fifteen years of imprisonment along with others. Forty-six nationalists received terms of imprisonment ranging from one to eight years.³⁵

³⁴Rao, p. 74

³⁵Annual Report of the National Congress Goa, June 1954, pp. 1-3.

The arrests in Goa and the reports of ill-treatment meted out to peaceful satyagrahis by the Goa Government, were received with great anger by the Indian people. The inhumane actions of the Portuguese infuriated the Indian people which led to increased tension during May 1955. Indian satyagrahis crossed the border into Goa, without any interference from the Indian authorities. This spontaneous participation of non-Goan Indians in the liberation of Goa and the events that followed as a result left no alternative to the Indian Government, but to bring about a speedy liquidation of the last vestige of colonialism on Indian soil.

The May Movement, was a prelude to what happened on August 15, 1955, when the peaceful Indian satyagrahis were brutally shot. This August 15, satyagraha came to be referred to, as the Massacre of 1955. According to Prime Minister Nehru's figures, submitted to the Indian Parliament, as many as 1,711 satyagrahis entered Goa at different points from Indian border out of which 1,691 were turned back. The remaining were either detained, hospitalized or probably dead.

The Massacre of 1955 effected the Goa liberation Movement into two ways. First, the Goan Freedom Movement became an All India Movement, and there was nothing the Government

could do to stop it. Secondly, the Indian people's movement was demanding that their Government take immediate and firm action to terminate Portuguese rule in Goa. For the first time, in the history of the Goan Freedom Struggle, the Government of India was put on the defensive. The New Age, a Communist inspired Weekly, commented on the passive role of the Congress Party:

As the ruling party and a leading party in the country, the people expected the Congress to give the lead in taking effective steps to liberate Goa. But the Congress maintained that it was for the Goans to fight for liberation though, no doubt, such an approach falsified the understanding that Goans were Indians and Goa was a part of India. When Kashmir was attacked, it was not left to the Kashmiris to defend themselves.³⁶

This was exactly what the Goan leaders were telling the Indian Government for the last fourteen years. Goans alone could not be expected to liquidate the Portuguese Military complex both in terms of agitating population and resources. The popular resentment towards the Government of India's Goa policy, was meeting with stiff resistance and adverse criticism all over the country. The influential Economic Weekly, summed up the situation in its editorial, "Time for Action".

³⁶ Arthur Rubinoff, India's Use of Force in Goa (Bombay: Prakashar, 1971), p. 57.

With the best of motives and the most thoughtful of policies the Government today finds itself in a position where instead of fighting the alien intruders, it has to resist and even fight the rising tide of popular feeling in this country both against the atrocities of the Portuguese and the hesitant policy of India's own Government. This is most embarrassing to be sure, but it is embarrassment for which the Government has to thank itself. And it is this Government that has to find a way out.³⁷

The Massacre of 1955, proved beyond the shadow of a doubt that Portugal was determined to retain its colonies in Portuguese India. It also proved the futility of satyagraha in the liberation of Goa. The Goa National Congress, which was responsible for the Satyagraha Movement of August 15, 1955, immediately announced the end of the state of satyagraha and urged the Government of Portugal to start negotiations with India for a peaceful solution.

Meanwhile, preparations went ahead to organize both Goan and non-Goan forces to launch a massive campaign in India to arouse the political conscience of the Indian people and prevail upon the Indian Government to take immediate and legitimate steps to liberate Goa from Portuguese colonialism. Meanwhile, on November 25, 1956, the Goan Students Association of Bombay University at a mammoth meeting of its membership passed a resol-

³⁷Editorial, "Time for Action" Economic Weekly, Vol. 34, (August 20, 1955), p. 988.

ution demanding the immediate withdrawal of Portugal from Goa. The Goan political parties met at a convention in Bombay to form a United Front comprised of the membership of all parties including representatives from the student community. Also a Goa Committee was formed in India under the leadership of Aruna Asaf Ali, the former Mayor of Delhi and at one time referred to, as the Queen of the Quit India Movement. The Executive Council of the Goa political convention worked closely with these organizations. The Goa Committee was largely instrumental in organizing the four-day seminar on Portuguese Colonialism held in New Delhi from October 20, 1961. Important leaders of the various African Movements were present and addressed the seminar. All the leaders emphasized the fact that non-violence was futile in dealing with Portugal.

Prime Minister Nehru, had already shown signs of a change in policy in his speeches after 1960:

As I have just hinted a time may come when we may even decide to send our armies and when that time comes it will be an open effort of ours and not a secret or fruitive one.³⁸

Finally, when all hope for a peaceful settlement ended

³⁸Rajya Sabha Debates, Vol. XXXV, August 16, 1961, No. 2, Column 386.

and when Portuguese soldiers continued to harrass the alien border patrol and even fired on an Indian passenger ship, the decision for the liberation of Goa was taken. The Indian Forces marched into Goa on midnight of December 17, 1962. The Indian Army encountered little resistance from the Portuguese, and within thirty-six hours the Portuguese enclave of India was liberated. Much of the credit for the swift movement of the Army also goes to the Goan Nationalist Forces and the Goan people who cleared the way for the Indian armies, and even provided them with food, refreshment and transportation facilities.

Thus far, we have examined the forces of liberation. It is now essential to inquire into the efforts made by the Portuguese Government to halt the tide of Nationalism. These efforts may be classified into two categories: the negative and the positive measures. The negative measures included prison sentences, brutal beatings of the unarmed satyagrahis and the underground freedom fighters, harassment of their close relatives and even confiscation of properties in extreme cases.

The treatment meted out to prisoners varied from prison to prison and from interrogator to interrogator. According to former political prisoners, the military officers were more humane towards the political prisoners than the Goa police.

The interrogators of the police usually came of a mistiso caste, of Portuguese-Indian blood. Again, the severity of punishment also depended upon the political philosophy of the freedom fighters. Those who held that Goa should immediately merge with India were more severely punished than those who merely demanded independence from Portugal. All the interviewers however, agreed that they were not beaten after being sentenced by the court. The conditions in the prison were unhygienic and the rations were inadequate. Prisoners were provided with daily rations of some rice and salt fish, which they were required to cook by themselves. These negative measures were successful to a large extent in subduing the Goan people. The Portuguese in addition to the police force also maintained a large army, which was used to harass the Goan people. In the absence of positive support from the Government of India, Goans became increasingly reluctant to come forward and express the nationalist sentiment without fear of reprisals.

The positive measures on the other hand were comprised of the following: (1) Extension of educational facilities, especially in rural areas. (2) A huge raise in the wages and salaries of Government employees and officials, eg. a mailman in Goa, received a wage of Rs. 450/- a month as compared to

Rs. 150/- a month received by his counterpart in India. In addition, Government officials were also entitled for the use of a car, at Government's expense. (3) Unrestricted imports of luxury goods and articles. (4) Air travel facilities at reasonable rates to European and other western countries.

(5) No foreign exchange restrictions in Goa.

Despite all these positive measures, the Goa Government did not succeed in placating the people of Goa for several reasons. The people who benefited from the Goan prosperity and Government's positive measures comprised a small segment of the Goan population. These were the Government officials, smugglers, businessmen, and those who were employed in the Goan mines. The conditions of the bulk of the Goan population, especially those engaged in agriculture, which constituted 80% of the population, showed little or no improvement at all. Again, the educational facilities offered by the Portuguese Government in Goa were not fully utilized by the Goan people since Portuguese education was not employment-oriented. There were hardly any employment opportunities in Goa, for those who had secured Portuguese education. The graduates who used the cheap transportation facilities and of the generous foreign exchange policy of the Portuguese Government were Goans who had studied in

Universities in India. Principal Surlacar of People's High School, Panjim, when interviewed, stated that Goans studied English because of employment purposes and the opportunity for employment in British India and the Overseas territories of British Africa.³⁹

The Goans who led and participated in the liberation movement, ironically were those who were educated in Portuguese institutions, many of whom had studied in the Universities of Portugal. These Goans also happened to come from wealthy Goan families. In addition to the Portuguese educated Goans a large section of Goan intellectuals participated in the freedom movement. Finally, there were those Goans who participated in the liberation movement for historical reasons, for example, the people of Divar in the district of Ilhas, and the people of the constituency of Cuncolim in the Salcette district.

In terms of caste, the Chardos were in the forefront of the freedom struggle. The Christian Brahmins on the other hand always made common cause with the Portuguese rule. The Shudras among the Catholics remained completely indifferent.

³⁹Panjim, Goa: Personal Interview with Prof. Surlacar, July 25, 1973.

Among the Goan Hindus, the Brahmins and Kshatriyas were very active and had no hesitation in accepting the leadership of the Goan Chardo Catholic liberals. The participation of the Hindu Shudra in the movement was also minimal. Thus, the bulk of the leadership and the participation in the freedom struggle came from the Chardos, the Kshatriyas and the Hindu Brahmins of Goa.

Goans resisted Portuguese rule right from its very inception. A series of revolts were organized throughout Goa, to overthrow the Portuguese rule. Some of these revolts were organized by the Catholic priests but the most successful revolts came from the Ranas of Satara which continued till the dawn of the twentieth century. Thereafter, the Goan resistance became the part of the Indian Freedom Movement. In 1947, after India's Independence, Goans continued their struggle for liberation on their own. In 1960, frustrated by the luke-warm policy of the Government of India, Goans took their struggle for independence to the Indian people. Overnight, Goa became the active concern of the Indian masses which culminated in the liberation of Goa by the Indian Armed Forces. The following Chapter will examine Goa's education after the liberation of Goa.

CHAPTER X

EDUCATION IN GOA AFTER LIBERATION

The liberation of Goa and its integration with the Indian Union, necessitated changes in the educational system of Goa so as to bring it in conformity with the educational system generally prevalent in the rest of the country. In order to achieve this uniformity in the educational pattern of the territory, the Government of India appointed a Committee in April 1962 under the chairmanship of Mr. B. N. Jha.¹ The Jha Committee, as it came to be known, was entrusted with the task of thoroughly reviewing the existing educational system and educational facilities, and also to make recommendations for its integration with the educational system generally prevalent in the rest of India. The proposed integration was to affect every layer of educational activity beginning with the primary level right up to the University.

The Jha Committee submitted its report in June 1962.

The Committee's report along with the recommendations was approved by the Government for immediate implementation on June 25, 1962.²

¹Mr. B. N. Jha, was at that time, the Leader of the Education Team, Committee on Plan Project, Planning Commission.

²Government of Goa, Order, dated June 25, 1962.

Briefly, the important recommendations may be stated as follows:

(1) The pattern of school education envisaged for Goa was to conform with the general pattern obtaining in the other Union Territories.³ The school system was to comprise of three tiers - the primary school of five year duration; three years of Middle School; and three years of higher secondary school. (2) Education was to be made free and compulsory for children between the ages of six and eleven. Primary education was therefore to become free and compulsory. The chronological age of entering the school system was set at six plus. (3) The duration of the school day in the primary school was set at five and half hours to six hours. In the former Portuguese system of education, the primary schools had a four hour day. (4) As regards the medium of instruction in the Primary School, the Committee recommended the use of the mother-tongue. In the absence of the mother-tongue, the guardians of the children were allowed to choose the language of instructions in the primary school, from among the languages listed in the eighth schedule of the Constitution. However, the opening of a school division in a particular

³Union territories are administered directly by the Central Government.

language to be used as the medium of instruction was permissible provided that there were twenty or more children willing to be taught through that particular language. Finally, the teaching of the Konkani language was to be done through the Devnagiri script. At present, the Catholic Goans write the language through the Roman script. (5) The Committee's recommendations, regarding religious instructions, forbade the impartation of religious instruction in Government Schools. However, moral instruction and information about the basic principles of all religions was permissible. Religious instruction was, however, allowed in the private schools, provided that the instruction was given outside the school hours and provided that a written permission was obtained from the parents or guardians of the children, who received these instructions.

In regards to the syllabus for the primary schools, the Committee recommended that during the transitional period, the syllabus followed during the Portuguese rule was to be continued with some minor changes. Portuguese History and Geography was to be substituted with Indian History and Geography, with special emphasis on Goa. Recommendation regarding the languages to be taught in the primary school, stated that in addition to the language of instruction, an additional language of schedule

eight of the Constitution be taken in the third or fourth grade; and English or Portuguese or Hindi, if not already taken before. These transitory measures were to continue for three years from the day of the implementation of the recommendation of the report.

As regards secondary education the committee recommended a pattern of higher secondary education similar to the type existing in New Delhi. It also recommended that the Secondary school system be affiliated with the Central Board of Secondary Education, New Delhi. The committee also prescribed changes in the syllabi with a view to upgrade the teaching program and also to provide for the transitional period. Separate recommendations were made for Lyceum and Portuguese medium schools and for the English and Marathi schools which operated under the Maharashtra Board of Examination.

The Lyceum and other Portuguese schools were required to change their medium of Instruction from Portuguese to English. The English and Marathi schools, however, were allowed to prepare students for the Secondary School Certificate Examination, conducted by the Maharashtra Board of Education for a period of four years as a transitional measure.

These recommendations could not be implemented by the private schools due to practical difficulties. The only insti-

tution that was able to fully implement the recommendations was the Government controlled Central Lyceum. The Government later decided to maintain the status quo in regard to secondary schools which now were allowed to continue their affiliation to the Secondary Board of Education, Maharashtra.

Regarding the Technical Schools of Goa, the Committee recommended that they be converted to Junior Technical schools following the All India Pattern of Technical Education. In order to achieve this conversion, the Committee recommended that these schools and the Technical facilities be studied in detail by experts from the Ministry of Scientific Research and Cultural Affairs, New Delhi.

In regards to the operation of Normal School, Escola Normal, the committee recommended that its medium of instruction be changed from Portuguese into the local language. English however was allowed as medium of instruction during the transitional period, provided, that the enrollment to the school comprised of high school graduates. The long term policy was to progressively introduce the local language as the sole medium of instruction. A committee was also appointed to examine and screen the existing text books and to prepare syllabus of study. The new syllabus and a list of text books was approved

by the Government in July 1962.

Thus far, an enumeration of Jha Committee's recommendation has been made. Hereafter, an examination of each of the layers of education, including technical education, with emphasis on the quality and quantity of education will be made.

Primary Education

The impact of liberation on Primary education can be explained in terms of instructional changes and the awakening of political consciousness among the Goan masses. Instructionally, the local language became the medium of instruction at the elementary level. This change opened the doors of the primary school to children of low socio-economic groups. Secondly, education became free. Political freedom coupled with the idea of free education generated a new consciousness among the masses who began to enroll their children in primary schools. The result was an unprecedented increase in the enrollments of the Government primary schools. However, there was an adverse effect on the private school system of the territory. Many of these schools had to be closed due to inadequacy of funds to operate them. Many of these schools and their facilities were purchased by the Government and converted into

Government schools.

A number of factors contributed to the decline of the private school system during the transitional period. The most important being school finances. It all began with interim Grant-in-aid code for primary schools in Goa.⁴ The grants made available to the schools, as per the provisions of the Grants-in-aid code, were not sufficient to operate the schools. They were just equal to the tuition fees, which could not be collected from the students since education was made free by the State. The private schools which had depended solely on the tuition fees for their maintenance and operational costs found it difficult to stay in business. Added to this factor were the aspirations of the school teachers who felt that with liberation they had a right to expect better wages and working conditions than those afforded under the previous administration. Consequently, with the grants made available to the private schools it was impossible to make improvements in the administration and maintenance of schools and also of improving the economic conditions of the teachers. At the same time, there was demand for teachers in the public system, which was generated with the

⁴Government of Goa, Order dated August 29, 1962, in the Government Gazette, dated September 27, 1962.

change in medium of instruction that enabled teaching in local languages, in the existing schools, as well as in new schools that were opened in areas where there had been no schools, or where the existing schools had been closed down. Furthermore, the salaries offered by the Government schools were far more attractive and offered greater security of employment than did the private system. The cumulative effect of these factors was a rush of teachers into the public system.

This sudden demand for Government employment created problems for the Public System which necessitated a relaxation of the rules of recruitment and employment. Most of the teachers in Goa lacked teacher training. In addition the Government had to take into account the socio-economic implications that would follow from the retrenchment of the untrained teachers. The Government had no alternative but to retain the services of all teachers irrespective of their training. The net result was the virtual conversion of the private schools into public schools, which was effected by taking over school facilities from private schools that had ceased to function.

As indicated, the expansion in the enrollments of the primary school was exceedingly large during the first year of liberation, 1962-63. The Government could, however, have

averted the situation, by making liberal grants to the private schools and thereby find sufficient time to draw up a comprehensive plan to develop and operate the public school system. What would have actually happened was that some of the students from the public schools would have been enrolled in the private schools and hence the education of the students as such would not have suffered.

The rapid increase in the number of primary schools enrollments, and teachers can be determined by comparing the statistical figures for the year 1961-62, with that of the year 1962-63. The number of Government primary schools which stood at 176 in 1961-62, increased to 601 in 1962-63. The number of primary teachers which was 558 in 1961-62 increased to 1395. Similarly, the number enrolled in the Government primary school increased from 17,028 in 1961-62 to 55,202 in 1962-63. However, as stated earlier, there was a sharp decline in the number of institutions, membership, and teachers in the private schools. The number of private schools which stood at 300 in the year 1961-62 was reduced to 272 in 1962-63. The number enrolled in these schools for the period declined from 24,273 in 1961-62 to 16,275 in 1962-63.⁵

⁵ P. S. Varde, "Education in Goa, Daman, Diu" Goa Today, (October 1972), p. 32.

The trend however was slowed down by the year 1963-64. In this year the number of schools rose to 618 with 1527 teachers and 57,431 pupils as compared to 691 schools, 1,395 teachers and 55,202 pupils respectively, in the previous year.⁶ Thereafter, the rate of growth maintained a steady pace. The number of Government schools in the year 1968-69 was 862 with 2,150 teachers and 75,479 pupils. The number of private schools on the other hand continued in their declining trend. They stood at 65 teachers and 4,203 pupils. The total enrollment in the primary section which includes an additional enrollment of 21,186 pupils of the primary section of the secondary school was about 100,868 which is about 98% of the total number of children in the age group six through eleven years.⁷ The increase to 113,088 in 1970-71 represents still a higher percentage. In the upper primary school that is in the age group of eleven through fourteen years, the enrollment in 1968-69 stood at 28,415 or 44%.⁸

⁶ Ibid.

⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Government of Goa, Statistical Pocket Book, 1969-70 (Goa: Government Printing Press, 1961-70), pp. 90-101-102.

Goa's integration with India brought her educational system within the purview of Article 45 of the Indian Constitution, which provides for (at least in theory) free and compulsory education for all children up to age fourteen. The Government was successful in accomplishing its main task of creating and increasing the number of educational institutions and facilities to make compulsory education meaningful and realistic. For, by 1965, 89% of the child population in the rural areas were served with facilities for primary education within its own village, within a distance of half a mile from their place of residence. The percentage for the urban areas was almost 100%. As the preceding examination suggests, the territory with its existing facilities for primary education is now able to enforce the process of Article 45 of the Indian Constitution, in respect to primary education.

The quality of primary education, however, suffered for obvious reasons. The sudden expansion of education without a corresponding number of trained teachers, meant a steady deterioration of the standard of education. The question was therefore to improve the efficiency of the teachers and thereby improve the quality of education. With this view in mind, the Government took measures to create facilities for teacher train-

ing programs. The minimum qualifications for entry to a teacher training school was a High School Diploma. However, teachers with ten or more years of experience without a High School Diploma, were given reorientation courses, and those with less than ten years of service, had to appear for a Special Certificate Examination, called the P.S.C. or Primary School Certificate Examination, to be eligible for admission to the training school. In order to provide institutional facilities, the Normal School was converted into Primary Teachers Training College with Marathi as the medium of instruction. The college was shifted in 1968 to its new location in Porvorim of Bardez district. Its capacity in 1969-70 was two hundred and is expected to be raised to 250 students.

A private primary teacher training college run by Seva Samiti was also started at Margao. Its present capacity is one hundred students. The college caters to the needs of recruitment of new teachers both in Government and private schools. As regards training for teachers in other medium of instruction for which adequate facilities do not exist in Goa, a system of deputation of teachers to institutions in other states of India, is followed. Teachers undergoing this training program are paid their full salary.

The Government also undertook the task of constructing new school buildings and improving other educational facilities. Before liberation, there were approximately 126 Government primary schools housed in their own buildings, since the liberation as many as 500 schools comprising of 960 class-rooms have been constructed. In addition, provisions have been made for residential quarters for teachers in villages which are considered economically backward.

Secondary Education

The expansion of secondary education after liberation was not as stupendous as that of the primary education. However, secondary education did register a substantial growth. In the year 1961-62, there were 96 secondary schools out of which five were run by the Government with a total strength of 10,181 pupils, as compared to 269 secondary schools, seventy-seven being Government schools with a total strength of 36,375 in the year 1965-66.⁹ In 1968-69, the number of secondary schools rose to 394 out of which 201 were Government schools with a

⁹ Varde, (November, 1972), p. 38.

total strength of 60,299 pupils.¹⁰

A cursory glance at this figure will reveal two striking developments. First, the overall increase both in the numbers of institutions and in the enrollment figures. The second development shows the increasing interest of the Government in the development of the secondary education. There has been a slow but gradual increase in Government schools since the liberation of the territory. The Portuguese Lyceum was converted into a higher secondary school with English as the medium of instruction and affiliated to the Central Board of Secondary Education, New Delhi. In the year 1968-69, the institution was offering courses in three areas, namely, Arts, Science and Fine Arts. Commerce was also taught earlier, but had to be discontinued due to an inadequate response. The existing Portuguese medium secondary schools were either discontinued or converted to high schools affiliated to the Secondary School Certificate Examination Board, Poona, Maharashtra.

It is the declared policy of the Government of Goa to entrust high school education to private enterprise. The Government, however, will step in and take the responsibility

¹⁰Government of Goa, Statistical Yearbook (Panjim: Government Printing Press, 1971), pp. 61-63.

of starting and running the high schools wherever and whenever private initiative is either not forthcoming or private efforts fall short to satisfy the need. Accordingly, the Government of Goa opened some ten high schools in rural areas, which had no secondary school facilities during the period 1966-68. The medium of instruction in the Goan schools is primarily English though some schools have Marathi and Urdu as the medium of instruction. Schools in the territory of Goa are affiliated to the Board of Secondary Education, Maharashtra, and follow the syllabus prescribed by the Board.

Prior to the liberation of Goa, secondary schools were maintained from the proceeds of the tuition fees. Consequently the salaries of the teachers were poor, and the schools in general were poorly equipped. After liberation, the situation changed. In the year 1963, the Grants-in-aid code for secondary schools was formulated and approved by Government. Accordingly, grants were made available to private schools. All rules and regulations concerning recognition and administration of schools as well as pay scales were spelled out in this Grant-in-aid code. Later, Central Government pay scales were made applicable to Goa teachers. The salaries of teachers in Goa today, are much higher than teachers teaching in the State of Maharashtra.

The increase in salary scales necessitated an upward revision in Government grants to private schools. The rate of grant on salaries for teachers was increased from fifty percent to sixty percent with an additional two-third percent of admissible expenditure. A number of other grants were also made available to private schools with a view to effect an all round improvement in the schools instructional capacity and educational and administrative facility. These grants were made for such items like school buildings, equipment, development of playgrounds and for teacher training programs.

Grants for School Buildings

These grants were made with a view to encourage private schools to construct their own buildings rather than have them rented as was the case with many schools prior to liberation. In fact, in the year 1965-66, only forty schools were reported to have been housed in their own buildings. The Grant-in-aid code had set the grant at 25% but this was lately raised to 50%.

Equipment Grant

A special grant was created for the purchase of school equipment for laboratories. According to this grant, schools were reimbursed for their purchase of laboratory and other

equipment at the rate of almost 100% of the amount expended.

Grant for Playgrounds was started in 1967, with a view to develop playgrounds. This grant has not been very popular among school authorities since the rate of grant is low and since it is difficult to secure suitable sites for playground development.

Before liberation, there was no Teacher Training school in Goa. After liberation the Jha Committee recommended that a secondary teachers training college be established. This recommendation was approved by the Government. However, a secondary Teacher Training college under the designation of Institute of Education was founded by the Nirmala Niketan, a Christian Missionary Society of Nuns, in 1965. Initially, it was a ladies college but in 1965 it became co-educational. Recently, it has also started a graduate degree teaching course, or M. Ed. Initially, the Institute was given a maintenance grant by the Government amounting to one-third of its admissible expenditure which was later raised to two-thirds and made effective since 1966-67. In addition, the Government also supports the teacher deputation scheme according to which teachers deputed for training receive full pay during their period of training. Twenty-six

teachers were deputed in 1965-66; thereafter the number has fluctuated between forty and fifty. The scheme is also applicable to Government schools.

On the basis of S.S.C. Examination results, the quality of Goan secondary education has increasingly improved and is now satisfactory. Much the same is true of higher education.

The ills of the Goan education are the same as those suffered by the rest of India. The educational system of the country has become sterile and is not at all responsive to the needs of the country. It may be of interest here to examine some of the relevant recommendations of the Kothari Commission, which had thoroughly examined the educational system of India. According to the Education Commission it was necessary (a) to strengthen the teaching of science as a basic component of all education; (b) to introduce work experience as an integral part of general education; (c) to vocationalize education especially at the secondary level to meet the needs of industry, agriculture and trade; (d) to improve scientific and technical education at the University level with special emphasis on agriculture and allied sciences.¹¹ The Commission also recommended an addition of

¹¹V. Signbal, Education in Goa (Goa: by the author, 1968), P. 4.

one more year to the degree course, making it of three years duration after the intermediate level.¹²

It is felt that our present educational structure which is eleven years of school education, plus two years of intermediate and two years of degree education, could be restructured by saving one year from the school education. This could be effected without sacrificing the standards of education through proper utilization of time and by using modern and more effective methods of education. The year thus saved could be added to the degree phase. The new educational structure would now comprise ten years of school education plus two years of intermediate and three years of degree education.¹³

The Kothari Commission further recommends that the pre-University course be located in selected schools instead of colleges on high priority bases.¹⁴ This pattern of education has been accepted both by Maharashtra and Goa. Goa's first products of ten years school education will graduate in 1975. The second phase will be to select ten or fifteen schools which

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., p. 5.

¹⁴ Ibid.

will have to be raised to the status of Higher Secondary School in which the pre-University course will be taught. The Goa Government will have to take definite steps if it is to enforce this recommendation. If facilities for the location and instructions of pre-University courses are not made available by the academic year 1975-76, then the very purpose of reverting to ten year school education would be defeated. The pre-University course will continue to be conducted in the college precincts through University methods and in crowded classes of 150 or more. It is time that these pre-University courses are taught by modern school methods and in classes of fifty to sixty or less, so that a meaningful rapport is established between the teachers and students. The commission also recommends that there should be internal evaluation of students with due weight given to the students day-to-day work along with external examinations.¹⁵ This reform would remedy some of the educational ills to the extent that students who enter the University would be better prepared to better adapt themselves to University life, its methodology and curriculum and thereby avoid unnecessary wastage of time and resources.

¹⁵ Ibid., p. 6.

The next recommendation of the Commission which applies to Goa, is the introduction of work experience in schools.¹⁶ This would entail the creation of vocational courses and also provide facilities for practical work, in terms of machinery and equipment. At present, Goa is not in a position to implement the provisions of this recommendation since the Goa Government has no control over decision-making because the Goan schools are affiliated to the S.S.C. Board, Poona, Maharashtra.

In the ten years since Goa's liberation and substantial development and progress has been made in the educational field. Furthermore, a decision was made to start a Goan University. The author of this dissertation believes that Goa should have its own Board of Education which could be entrusted with academic matters such as curriculum, text books, guidance and evaluation and administration and supervision. Because of circumstances beyond her control, Goa has had to develop educational facilities rather rapidly and in an haphazard manner. Now is the time to consolidate the existing system, and to make needed improvements, and to draw up future educational plans, which can be implemented systematically.

¹⁶Ibid., pp. 6-7.

Higher Education in Goa

Liberation provided great impetus for the organization and development of higher educational institution. Prior to liberation, the only higher educational institutions worth the name were the Medical School and the Normal School. Immediately after liberation the Jha Committee after thoroughly examining and evaluating the equipment, library, hospital facilities and quality of training imparted in the Medical school decided to upgrade the Escola Medica into two independent colleges, namely, the Medical College and the College of Pharmacy.

In addition, a number of Arts and Science Colleges also sprang up immediately after the liberation. The first two which were established within six months of liberation of the territory, were the Dhempe College of Arts and Science, started by the Goa Education Society, at Panjim, and the other was started at Margao, in the Salcette district, called the Chowgule College of Arts and Science, started by the Chowgule Education Society. Both these colleges founded by private initiative, opened in June 1962. These were followed by yet another college, St. Xavier's College, started by the Diocesan Society of Education, in 1963, at Bastora, Bardez, which was later transferred to its own spacious building at Mapuca, in the

same district. This was followed by the opening of the Secondary Teacher Training College of Education in the same year. Still another Arts and Science college for women was started near Margao, Salcette, by the Carmel Education Society, in 1966. This was followed by the college of Commerce founded in 1966 by the Goa Education Society. The Government also started an Engineering College at Panjim in 1967. A new Arts and Commerce College was started at Vasco da Gama in 1972, by private initiative, as was a Fine Arts college in Panjim. For the purpose of research in post-graduate education, a Center of Post-Graduate Instruction and Research was started in Panjim.

In 1962, 879 students were enrolled in the Arts and Science Colleges. In 1964, the number of colleges increased by nine and the student enrollment rose to 1,656. Both the number of colleges and enrollment increased by eleven and 5,739 respectively during the period 1970-71.¹⁷ An examination of the figures reveals a good and continuous response to higher education in Goa. During the Portuguese period, Goans had to leave Goa to obtain higher education. The establishment of these facilities

¹⁷Bureau of Economics and Statistics, Statistical Pocket Book, 1971 (Goa: Government Printing Press, 1971), p. 102.

in Goa are bound to have a profound effect on the socio-economic life of Goa. Immigration for one, to the neighboring territories will be sharply curtailed.

The colleges of Goa were affiliated to the Bombay University in keeping with the cultural and educational relations of Goa with Bombay. The affiliation with Bombay University paid rich dividends, not only in the matter of starting new colleges but also in developing a post graduate facility in Goa. The post graduate education and research was started in Goa in the year 1965-66 by the University of Bombay with financial assistance from the Goa Government.

The grant-in-aid code of the Government is also applicable to private colleges which receive a maintenance grant at the rate of one-third of the admissable expenditure. The maintenance expenses of the Post-graduate center, is entirely borne by the Government. The University Grants Commission also makes grants to affiliated colleges and institutions, for various development programs.

University of Goa

The idea of the establishment of the University of Goa first came from the Jha Committee and was later approved by the

University Grants Commission.¹⁸ Accordingly, the Government appointed a committee under the chairmanship of Professor G. D. Parikh, then Rector of the Bombay University, to consider and recommend the steps needed to establish a University in Goa. These recommendations were to include the progressive development of the post-graduate center of the University of Bombay and were to recommend the type, location, powers and composition of the University and overall development of higher education in the territory.¹⁹ The Committee made the following recommendations for the development of the post-graduate center: (1) The Center was to be developed as a nucleus of the University over a period of five or ten years. The question of the establishment of a University would be reviewed at the end of five years; (2) The Center was to be administered by a Board to be set up by the Government with the collaboration of the University of Bombay; (3) The day-to-day administrative work of the Center was to be entrusted to the Executive Committee of the Board with the director of the Center as its executive head; (4) The Center should move as soon as

¹⁸G. D. Parikh, Report of the Goa University Committee (Goa: Government Printing Press, 1969), p. 10.

¹⁹Ibid., p. 1.

possible to buildings constructed for its own use. These buildings should be constructed on the site selected for the proposed University; (5) The Board should be empowered to take decisions on matters of education and finance. However, control over academic matters was to be vested with the University of Bombay; (6) The Director of the Center should be in charge of the day-to-day work of the Center, and it should be his responsibility to build the Center on sound lines with a view to develop it into a future University; (7) The Center should also seek to develop activities such as Inter-Collegiate sports, develop student welfare covering both the under-graduate and graduate student's vocational guidance and employment services. The Center should also try to develop in cooperation with other colleges, programs of extramural teaching.²⁰ In regards to the academic issues, the general recommendations of the Committee is that the future development of the post-graduate Center is to be determined by the Goans themselves. It was, however, the Committee's belief that because of its geographical position or as a harbor Goa is somewhat unique. No other part of the country can be said to have the same histor-

²⁰ Ibid., pp. 43-45.

ical background as Goa. This background coupled with the traditions inherited from it can be therefore regarded as unique feature of the territory. It indicates an obvious direction for the academic activities of the University.²¹

The Committee made a few suggestions in respect of the study of history, for the study of which Goa possesses the rich records in the archives and the Central Library in Panjim and in the Post-Graduate Center itself.²² The collection of the late Dr. Pissurlenkar, which was donated to the Bombay University is located in the Post-Graduate Center. This collection could be microfilmed before locating it in the Bombay University. The study of Latin languages and Latin culture could provide another fruitful area of study. Another field for which there is a long tradition in Goa is the study of Music and Fine Arts. Among the Goan artists to have reached international fame are: A. P. D'Cruz, Kamat, Trinidad and Newton D'Souza. In the field of western music, Goans have produced conductors of international fame. For example, the music conductor, Anthony Gonsalves has

²¹V. Signbal, Education in Goa (Goa: by the author, 1968), p. 4.

²²Ibid.

succeeded in blending the Indian Raga music with western music. Also the study of local languages such as Konkani and Marathi and the National language Hindi and Sanskrit could also be subjects that could be studied at the University. The Committee also made suggestions in respect to the promotion of Environmental studies and conservation of Natural Resources with local applications to subject disciplines such as Marine Zoology, Botany, Geology and Geography.²³ The study of these subjects is considered to be important in view of Goa's future development which is increasingly linked with natural resources and planned development and utilization.

Administration

The composition of the Board which was to consist of the representatives of the local community and Goa Government along with those of the Bombay University, would, it was felt remove certain weaknesses that were prevalent in the organization and operation of the Center. One of these weaknesses was the non-involvement of the local community in the life and activities of the Center. There was also the question of the

²³ Ibid., pp. 4-6.

temporary status of the Center which made teachers reluctant to accept positions with the Center. In addition, there is the question of the teachers being isolated from the academic world and also the lack of suitable residential accommodations for teachers.

The setting up of a Joint Board of Control to manage the Center's affairs would provide it with some stability and enable it to plan its activities on a long term basis rather than on a year-to-year one. Also the present accommodation in which the Center is located is inadequate and unsuitable both for its present and future development. In order to remedy this situation, the Goa University Commission recommended the immediate acquisition of a suitable site for the future University, and construction of adequate buildings for the Center and hostels for staff and students with a view to future development. The Goa Government has already acquired a site for the proposed University and surveying work was going on, at the time the writer visited Goa in 1972.

It should be pointed out that the proposed administrative organization for the Post-Graduate Center did not materialize since it was not acceptable to the University Grants Commission because of certain technical difficulties involving the

releasing of grants to the Center. The Center, however, has shown considerable progress during the past few years. It has not only succeeded in consolidating its existing departments of studies but has also sought approval for the starting of new departments. These departments would consist of the department of Physics and Biological Sciences in the faculty of Sciences and the departments of Sociology, Political Science, and Applied Psychology in the faculty of Arts. At present, the Center is contemplating the establishment of the new department of Oceanography and Geology. In respect to the recommendation, of the Center taking over the responsibility of a Central Coordinating Authority, considerable success was registered. The Center took over the responsibility in respect of University Examinations and organization of Inter-Collegiate games and sports. The Center also organizes seminars on the educational problems of the territory for the benefit of the local Colleges and Schools. Another area in which commendable work has been done in the Center, is that it has taken into account the socio-economic needs of the region in formulating development schemes. The schemes have been formulated with a view to create a sound basis for the launching of future programs of instruction and research in disciplines such as Metallurgy, Mineralogy, Industrial Chemistry,

Technology and Marine Biology.

It is now felt by all concerned, that the establishment of Goa University is merely a matter of time. The Goa Government has expressed its intentions to have the University as soon as possible. The actual work is now left to the Center which has to plan its future and shape its organization so that it is capable of becoming a full-fledged University.

Technical and Vocational Education

In the field of technical education, the only facilities that were available before the liberation were the Escola Technica, Technical Schools at Panjim, Margao and Mapuca. Soon after the liberation the Escola Commercial and Industrial at Panjim was developed into a Government Polytechnic, which now offers instructions in the three year Diploma Course, in Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. The Mapuca Escola Technica was converted into Technical High School. An additional Technical High School Center has also been established in Panjim.²⁴

Another important development in the Vocational education at the School level, was the starting of the Industrial Training Institute in the year 1966. The total capacity of the Industrial

²⁴Government of Goa, Ten Years of Liberation (Goa: Government Printing Press, 1971), pp. 94-95.

Training Institute is sanctioned at 328 students. The Institute imparts instruction and has training facilities for on-the-job training in the trades of the carpenter, fitter, electrician, turner, welder, motor mechanic, machinist, stenographer, hand-composer and proof-reader, and tailor and cutter. The courses in the trades were progressively introduced on the bases of student demand. The Institute began with three trade courses: Turner, Fitter, and Welder. As many as thirty students enrolled for these courses. Later in 1968, two additional trade courses of Tailoring and Cutting and that of Electrician, respectively were also introduced. At that time, the total strength of the Institute had reached the fifty-six student mark. In 1969, stenography was introduced and the total number of students increased to 120. Attempts were also made to introduce courses in other trades but had to be discontinued due to lack of adequate response from the students.

The most important development in the field of technical education, however, came with the establishment of an Engineering College with a capacity of sixty students per year. The Engineering College began functioning in June 1967 on the premises of the Government Polytechnic, Panjim. The College moved to its own buildings at Ponda in 1971. Both the Polytechnic and Engin-

Engineering Colleges offer courses in Civil, Mechanical and Electrical Engineering. The Institute has been sensitive to the needs of industry of the territory. Accordingly, it had proposed the introduction of three additional trade courses, namely, (1) Structural Fabricational and Erection Engineering; (2) Stenography, private, secretarial practice; (3) Industrial Electronics. However, these proposals did not materialize since the Government of India did not sanction the necessary funds at that time.

In addition, to the Technical Institute the multipurpose schools, and the technical high school centers under the Education Department, a few other institutions were also started. The common facility centers were started under the Directorate of Industries and Mines in different localities including rural areas. The Food Craft Center was also established in 1967. This Center began teaching in July 1968 with the following craftsmen courses: Bakery, Waiting-at-tables, Reception, Book-keeping, Canning and Food Preservation. The Institute is adequately equipped to conduct the courses and is soon expected to move into its own building constructed for the purpose.

A number of Pre-vocational Centers were also established in Goa under various schemes sponsored by the Government of India.

Technical vocational education in Goa, especially at

the school level, has been unsatisfactory. The major reason for this weakness is that the present facilities are not utilized to their full capacity by the people. The pre-vocational centers for example were unable to attract students. The common facility centers were also under-utilized and some of them had to be closed. A number of reasons may be attributed to the lack of interest among people in the vocational and technical education:

- (1) The importance of formal training has yet to be recognized by the people in certain trades such as carpentry and smithy. The traditional method of on-the-job training still persists where the father hands down the trade to his son.
- (2) The importance of role status of middle level technicians and skilled workmen is not yet appreciated in Goa. The prejudice against manual work still persists. The middle school and high school graduates prefer to take up unskilled jobs such as office boys rather than highly paid skilled jobs that involve manual work.

The technical schools of Goa cannot be blamed for being ineffective since the existing Technical Schools were immediately converted to a new pattern without proper planning and organization. Most of these schools lacked accommodations in the first place. Secondly, they did not possess the essential equipment. It was only during the period from 1965-66 to 1968-69 that these

schools were transferred to their own building and provided with essential equipment. In the near future, one should expect good and effective teaching programs from the schools now that they are fully installed and properly equipped. The Industrial Training Institute has been improving steadily. In the year 1962, the Institute received 316 applications out of which only eighty-nine could be admitted against the seats that were available. The Institute has a bright future now that it has moved into a new building. It will soon be able to function to its maximum capacity of 328 students, when teaching in the other five courses begins. Finally, the activities of the Multipurpose High School at Margao should be diversified properly. At present, it provides instruction in two areas: the academic and commercial. Other useful courses should be progressively introduced if the Institute is to be effective and productive.

The most glaring deficiency in Goa's vocational and technical education lies in agriculture. Despite the fact that Goa is a predominantly agricultural region, there are no facilities for agricultural training at any level with the exception of some centers of training under the Agricultural Department. The Kothari Commission had suggested the establishment of a Polytechnic School instead of an agricultural one. Such an

Institute should be established as soon as possible to provide vocational education to High School graduates and impart technical training in agriculture and skilled workers in trades and industries with a strong agricultural bias.

The examination of the educational system of Goa after liberation reveals: (1) the paucity of educational facilities in Portuguese Goa; (2) the inability of private enterprise to undertake educational activities at the primary school level; (3) a predominance of the public system of education at the Primary level. Quantitatively there were tremendous increases in the primary school population after liberation. The Government was able to provide adequate educational facilities throughout the country and is now able to make primary education compulsory throughout the State. Quantitatively, however, education suffered, both because of the rapid increase in school going children and because of shortage of trained teacher and also for other socio-economic reasons. However, the Government has provided adequate facilities for teacher preparation.

After liberation, substantial quantitative improvement was registered in the secondary school system. The quality of education was also found to be fairly satisfactory. In the area of higher education, a number of colleges in Arts, Science,

Commerce, Education and Engineering, including a Post-Graduate Center was founded after liberation. All these Institutions had problems, but they are now established on a sound basis. However, the response of the people to the Post-Graduate Center, in particular, and other higher facilities in general has not been enthusiastic. When the administrative changes have occurred and when the Center includes local representatives on the Administration Board, the situation is expected to improve. Goa is likely to have its University earlier than predicted.

CHAPTER XI

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

Goa's history of education has been viewed in terms of the social, economic and political forces. Each of these forces have, at one time or the other, in some measure, influenced the education of the Goan people. The Caste system, the Village Community system, and the Catholic Church, have all played an important part in the determination of the socio-economic status of the Goan people.

In the first three hundred years of Portuguese rule in Goa, only the higher caste Catholics found Portuguese education rewarding, as economic opportunities in Goa and the other Portuguese possessions were made available to them. This situation, however, changed with the advent of the Republic in Portugal in 1910. The Republic changed the political status of the Goan Hindus, who were now guaranteed equal political status along with the Catholic Goans. This change resulted in an unprecedented increase in the school enrollments. The large increase in enrollments came from the Hindu Brahmins and Catholic Chardos. The Goan Shudras, both Hindus and Catholics did not take to Portuguese education because of strong social sanctions that gave

them a lower social status in the community.

Our examination of Goa's history of education reveals, that the impact of Portuguese policy of westernization was also felt in the informal education of the Goans. The Catholic Church was the major instrument of influence. Its influence may be construed as both direct and indirect. The Goan Catholics who came under the direct tutelage of the Catholic Church and its missionaries were brought in direct confrontation with western culture. The outcome of this confrontation became visible in the language and folklore of the Catholic Goans. The Konkani language, as spoken by the Catholic Goans, became highly Lusitanized, as it began to absorb more and more Portuguese words into its vocabulary. The Goan folk songs and music of the Catholic Goans became highly Romanized or westernized.

Indirectly, the Catholic Church also exerted great pressure on the Hindu Goans. Hindu Goans were forcibly severed from the mainstream of Goa's socio-political life. The social and political prohibitions imposed on them forced some Hindus to adopt the culture of the neighboring state of Maharashtra. The result was a significant impact of Marathi culture on the Konkani language and folklore. Konkani language of the Hindus came to be highly influenced by the Marathi language and a number of

Marathi words, came to be absorbed into its vocabulary. The Hindu folk songs and music also became highly Marathized. The Hindu drama was highly Marathized. In fact, some historians attribute the development of the Marathi drama to Goa and Goan actors and playwrights.

The history of formal education in Goa, has been viewed in three separate educational contexts, namely, the pre-Portuguese, the Portuguese and the British or the Anglo-Indian systems of education. Each of these systems operated in complete insulation from each other and had very little in common with each other, in respect to their philosophy of education, content and methodology. Even the British or the Anglo-Indian system, which operated parallel to the Portuguese system since 1890, had little in common with the Portuguese system of education. The Anglo-Indian system, however, continued to grow and develop side by side with the Portuguese system and at the time of the liberation of Goa, it was found to be the most successful in terms of enrollment and attendance as compared to the Portuguese system. The British or Anglo-Indian system also served to provide continuity in Goa's history of education.

The pre-Portuguese or the Goan system of education, which was an indigenous system, with the Konkani language as the medium

of instruction, was completely uprooted and destroyed by the Portuguese policy of Christianization and by the Holy Inquisition of 1560. The Goan system of education was replaced by the Portuguese system of education. This system which continued to impart education to Goans for three hundred years, was administered and supervised by religious orders who for all practical purposes monopolised the system. Some of the important institutions like the Seminary of Santa Fe, and the famous University of St. Paul, were established during this time. The Parochial Schools started by the religious orders helped to educate a large section of the Goan people. However, the education imparted in these institutions had a high religious bias. The missionaries continued to operate in the same manner even after the Renaissance and Reformation in Europe.

Marquis de Pombal attempted to cleanse the educational system of its religious bias and rigor in 1771. Although, his attempts were not completely successful, the period 1771-1910, witnessed the establishment of some of the important educational institutions in Goa, like the School of Military and Mathematics, the Lyceum Schools and finally the establishment of Medical School. While the Lyceum and Medical School continued to operate the School of Military and Mathematics was disbanded and a new

school called the Professional School of Nova Goa was started in its place. The closing of the School of Military and Mathematics sounded the death knell of technical education in Goa, for thereafter, the technical education imparted in the Professional School was of a very poor quality.

The major shortcomings of the educational system during the period, 1771-1910, was the absence of a full-fledged autonomous department of education. Although the Governors and local authorities were sympathetic towards Goa's education, their efforts at educational reforms were frequently discouraged by the Central Government in Portugal whose sanction or previous approval was essential for any changes that were to be made in the educational system of Goa.

The Republic Period 1910-1961, may be considered to be a period of educational development. This period is known not only for its higher enrollments, but also for the consolidation of the existing educational facilities and the creation of new ones in areas where previously there were no educational facilities. Another important feature of this period was the encouragement of agricultural education and the upgrading of the Lyceum Schools to the level of Central Lyceums. This upgrading gave the Lyceum schools in Goa equal status with that of the Lyceum Schools in

Portugal. Despite these reforms the Portuguese system of education failed to attract large number of Goan students to their schools, who were now attending the schools conducted by the British or Anglo-Indian system of education. The popularity of the English Medium Schools can be explained by the fact, that these schools served the emigration needs of the Goan people. Portuguese education, however, was not popular with the Goan people, for the simple reason that it did not lead to employment opportunities. The Portuguese could not provide employment opportunities to educated Goans, either in Goa or in other Portuguese possessions, due to lack of industry in these territories.

The impact of education and other Portuguese cultural institutions have been explained in terms of the concepts of Denationalization of Goans, of Cultural Metabolism and of Marathization of Goans. Each of these concepts have been viewed in the context of the historical forces, which were mainly political, social and economical. As a result of this examination, it was found that some small segment of the Goan community were denationalized and Marathized. The bulk of the Goans, however, preserved their Indian identity, despite their being subjected to the process of cultural metabolism. The result was a cultural blend

between the Indian and the western culture, the Indian culture being preponderant. In terms of religion, the Catholics came more under the influence of western culture than the Hindus, who were more influenced by the Marathi culture. Castewise, the Catholic Brahmins and Chardos were more influenced by the western culture than the Shudras. However, the small segment of denationalized Goans came mainly from the Catholic Brahmins. As regards the Hindus, the Brahmins came more under the influence of the Marathi culture than the other castes.

The ramifications of these cultural changes under the impact of the historical forces became visible in the leadership and participation of Goans in the freedom movement. Most of the revolts organized against the Portuguese rule came from the Kshatriyas and the Chardos, the Catholic Brahmins either remained silent spectators, or were totally loyal to the Portuguese Government. During the Republican period, however, the Hindu Brahmins joined forces with the Catholic Chardos who led the Goa liberation movement. The Chardos continued their leadership till the eve of the liberation.

With the liberation of Goa, Goa's educational system had to be changed so as to bring it in conformity with the educational pattern, generally prevalent, in the rest of the country.

A number of educational commissions were appointed to investigate into the education in Goa with a view to bring about a well-planned and systematic transition between educational systems. As a result of the recommendations of these commissions, the Portuguese schools were gradually converted into the Anglo-Indian system of education, which were affiliated to the Maharashtra Board of Education. In addition, a number of Arts, Science and Engineering colleges were started in Goa. The former Medical college was upgraded to a full fledged Medical Institution, with post-graduate facilities. Also, a number of Industrial Institutes of Technology, Polytechnique Schools and other educational and cultural centers were started throughout the country. A Post-Graduate Center of Studies was also established. This Center was to provide a nucleus for the future University of Goa. The liberation of Goa brought tremendous developments and improvements in the educational facilities of Goa, however, many of these facilities were not fully utilized by the people and some of the newly opened educational and cultural centers had to be closed down due to lack of response. The lack of enthusiasm among the local population has been attributed to the lack of sufficient knowledge of the existence of these educational facilities. It is hoped that this situation would change with better and improved

communication, and with the local participation on the Administrative Boards of the Post-Graduate-Center -- the future University of Goa.

"Goa's history of education," a Case Study on Portuguese Colonialism, is more of a survey than a detailed and comprehensive study of the various aspects of Goan life. Except for the study of Portuguese education in Goa, which is quite exhaustive, the rest of the areas dealt with need further investigation and research. The topics for further research should comprise the following: (1) The Caste System in Goa; (2) The Village Community System; (3) The Goan Class System; (4) A detailed and more comprehensive study of the Goan folklore both Catholic and Hindu. Professor Lucio Rodrigues has written extensively on the folksongs of the Catholic Goans; (5) The Growth and Development of the Goan Hindu Drama; (6) A study of the Goan Proverbs. Rev. H. O. Mascarenhas, and others have done extensive research on the Konkani language; (7) History of pre-Portuguese Education in Goa; (8) A further and detailed examination of the concepts of Denationalization, Cultural Metabolism and Marathization, as applied to Goans; (9) Goans contribution to Portuguese Literature; (10) Goans contribution to Marathi Literature; (11) The Konkani Literature and its future.

These are some of the topics that need further investigation and research. However, Goa provides a virgin field for research. Although Goa lacks modern facilities like Photostats, etc., it has well equipped libraries, and a well-organized archive, in which are found all kinds of historical documents that date to antiquity.

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APPROVAL SHEET

The dissertation submitted by Verissimo Coutinho has been read and approved by the following Committee:

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The final copies have been examined by the director of the dissertation and the signature which appears below verifies the fact that any necessary changes have been incorporated and that the dissertation is now given final approval by the Committee with reference to content and form.

The dissertation is therefore accepted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy.

August 23, 1974
Date

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