

Creole Societies in the Portuguese Colonial Empire

edited by
Philip J. Havik
&
Malyn Newitt



UNIVERSITY OF BRISTOL

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Table of Contents

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1. Introduction. Philip J. Havik and Malyn Newitt.	5
2. The Role of the Portuguese Trading Posts in Guinea and Angola in the 'Apostasy' of Crypto-Jews in the 17 th Century. Tobias Green.	25
3. Mary and Misogyny Revisited: Gendering the Afro-Atlantic Connection. Philip J. Havik.	41
4. <i>Lançados</i> , Culture and Identity: Prelude to Creole Societies on the Rivers of Guinea and Cape Verde. José Lingna Nafafe.	65
5. The Politics and Symbolics of Cape Verdean Creole. Luís Batalha.	93
6. Castaways, Autochthons, or Maroons? The Debate on the <i>Angolares</i> of São Tomé Island. Gerhard Seibert.	105
7. Between Two Worlds: the Bezerras, a Luso-African Family in Nineteenth-Century Western Central Africa. Beatrix Heintze.	127
8. Migration and Miscegenation: Maintaining Boundaries of Whiteness in the Narratives of the Angolan State, 1875-1912. Rosa Williams.	155
9. Atlantic Bridge and Atlantic Divide: Africans and Creoles in Late Colonial Brazil A.J.R. Russell-Wood.	171
10. Pirates, Malta, and the Betsimisaraka Confederation on the East Coast of Madagascar in the First Half of the Eighteenth Century Arne Bialuschewski.	219
11. Portuguese Impact upon Goa: Lusotopic, Lusophonic, Lusophilic? Teotónio R. de Souza.	235
12. The Portuguese Province of the North: 'Creole' Power in Urban Centres and their Hinterlands, ca. 1630-1680 Glenn Ames.	251
Contributors	275

PORTUGUESE IMPACT UPON GOA: LUSOTOPIC, LUSOPHONIC, LUSOPHILIC?

Teotónio R. de Souza

While it is not so difficult to identify and analyze the linguistic (lusophonic) and non-linguistic (lusotopic) influences of the Portuguese in Goa, it is much more difficult and touchy to deal with the issue of the lusophilic presence.¹ On this topic Dr. Sérgio Mascarenhas, the delegate of the Fundação Oriente in Goa, recently wrote, "this is a hot issue, with pro-Portuguese and anti-Portuguese groups often at loggerheads. But there is none in Goa who really stands up as Portuguese Goan or a Luso-Goan. It is so very different in Ceylon, Malacca and elsewhere. Lusophilia is certainly there, but hidden or under cover. It comes up from time to time as per conveniences."² This is the situation described by an ethnic Portuguese in Goa today.

Orlando Ribeiro, a renowned geographer, whose recently published *Goa em 1956: Relatório ao Governo* refers to "mestiçagem spiritual" in Goa, implying thereby what Gilberto Freyre, who had been on a Salazar-sponsored visit to Goa five years earlier, in 1951, to propagate 'luso-tropicalismo', defined it as "unidade de sentimento e cultura" (an expression appropriated by Orlando Ribeiro in his

¹ As a Goan, born and brought up in Goa for nearly half a century, before and after the end of the Portuguese colonial regime, my life experiences and my thirty years or so of research efforts as a historian of Goa, entitle me to respond with some confidence to the questions posed in the title of this paper. The expression 'Lusotopic' refers here to 'Lusotopie', made popular in the academic world by Michel Cahen and Dejanirah Couto through their annual seminars and publication of proceedings in Paris and Bordeaux since 1994. I had the opportunity of participating in the Paris session of 1996, and the Goa session of 1999. The issues related to our theme were discussed during both these seminars and the published proceedings provide excellent source material. *Lusotropicalisme: Ideologies coloniales et identités nationales dans les mondes lusophones*, Karthala (Paris, 1997).

² Private letter to the author.

Report), meaning a common heritage of feelings and culture.³ Orlando Ribeiro's academic credibility and relatively high degree of impartiality and critical perspective makes his observations about the *lusotopic*, *lusophonie* and *lusophilic* impact of the Portuguese in Goa of special significance.⁴

"Unlike elsewhere where the Portuguese, attracted by the coloured females had produced very quickly a mestiço population (*população mestiçada*), the rigidity of the caste system in Goa forced the Portuguese to produce only a new caste of *descendentes*. Albuquerque's dream of creating a Luso-Indian population, as insistently recommended by D. Manuel, vanished very early. Only a few women, whose caste condemned them to low social status, sought to marry these foreigners to gain upward social mobility."

"Unlike in Brazil, where so many illustrious and humble families proudly acknowledge their Portuguese origin and mixed descent; unlike in Cabo Verde, whose creole population feels very close to us, because of their old African slave-ancestors who shared the blood of their white masters, the Goans have preserved the purity of their caste, but yet reveal a surprising degree of assimilation of our habits and living style. Here we have only a spiritual miscegenation (*mestiçagem espiritual*). It is hard to believe though that no Portuguese blood runs in the veins of the rural aristocracy of Salcete or the old Christian families of Margão."

"Meantime, it is surprising to note the meagre presence of the Portuguese language among the Goan Christian population. Only the educated inhabitants speak the Portuguese language correctly and fluently, and not rarely with remarkable eloquence. Many families in Margão use the

³ Teotónio R. de Souza, *Gilberto Freyre na Índia e o 'Luso-Tropicalismo Transnacional'*, Lisboa, CEPRSA, 2000 p.1.

⁴ *Goa em 1956: Relatório ao Governo* (Lisboa, CNCDP, 2000), pp. 82, 119. Orlando Ribeiro was in Goa from 8 October 1955 till 27 February 1956.

Portuguese language to converse among themselves. But they invariably use Konkani with their servants, just as it happens with the generality of the village population. However, during feast celebrations, in the roadside conversations, in the dramatic performances, it is not difficult to pick up Portuguese words, like *pai*, *mãe*, *família*, *casamento*, *sacramento*, which reveal the deep influence of Portuguese language upon day-to-day lives of the people."⁵

Orlando Ribeiro then sounds what must have come as a shocking piece of news to his home Government and to all those who at home entertained a mythical image of the capital of their erstwhile empire in Asia as sung in their national epic. However, he prepares the Portuguese reader to swallow the bitter truth: "My intimate being and my way of going about force me to be very frank and not to hide those aspects which are less pleasant, or to avoid those aspects which hurt our national feelings. I think that it is good to face the hard reality, however painful it may be to us. It is only in this way that we can avoid ambiguities, illusions and hesitations, and can know for sure upon whom we can depend and what should be the ground for our decisions."⁶

He continues:

"I have known reasonably well the adjacent Islands and have a small book written on Madeira; I have visited all the Portuguese territories in Africa, starting from Mozambique, and have studied better Guinea and the islands of Cape Verde; I have spent four months in Brazil and observed its deep recesses; I have known something about the Muslim world since my days as a student and after my visits to Morocco, Egypt and West Africa. I had thus acquired a good preparation to initiate my research in Goa. Goa appeared to me as the *least Portuguese* of all the Portuguese territories I had seen so far,

⁵ Orlando Ribeiro, *op.cit.*, pp. 49-50.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 65.

even less than Guinea, which was pacified in 1912! I have witnessed a near total ignorance of our language, the persistence of a society, not only strange and indifferent, but even hostile to our presence, our limited influence, encrusted as a schist in the body of renascent Hinduism. All of this has left me very disillusioned about Goa.”⁷

Nevertheless, Orlando Ribeiro admits that he “encountered intelligent Goans at every step, and he never saw the kind of uncouth behaviour (*boçalidade*) that he was accustomed to see among the Portuguese at home”. He goes on to describe how the traditional Goan Hindu society avoided beef and pork in their diet, and looked with suspicion at travel overseas as a safeguard of their caste purity. A Portuguese was kept at a distance, particularly by women who dared not even look at him. He was a *pacló*, meaning uncouth (*boçal*), who only spoke nonsense (*só diz asneiras*), and knows nothing of Hinduism. This was the popular image to scare the children and women as a “man-eater and women-molester.”⁸

“Unlike in Portuguese Africa, where the expressions *Metrópole* and *metropolitano* are used with some discretion, in Goa it is common to hear the binary use of Province / Portugal and Goan Christian / Portuguese. That is how Portugal and the Portuguese are mentioned by Goans who share our language and customs, but not our feeling of patriotism. *Pátria* for a Goan is his Goa, not Portugal, and it is in Goa that they want to experience their freedom and their privileges. The Hindus in general and many Goan Christians as well, entertain ideas of closer relations with India and autonomy for their land.”⁹

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 64.

⁸ *Ibid.*, p. 92, 96.

⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 119.

To end, here is what Orlando Ribeiro had to say about Goan lusophilia or the absence of it:

“Twenty-three years ago I had gone on a boat-cruise to our Atlantic islands, and I remember the affection and warm welcome that was accorded to the Portuguese by the African populations. My longer visits to Guinea, Cabo Verde and São Tomé confirmed that experience. In Goa it is different. The predominant relationship is of distance and suspicion, when it is not an outright or camouflaged antipathy.”¹⁰

What went wrong with lusophilia?

Goa was the first territory in Asia where the Portuguese claimed full sovereignty after they had reached Calicut in 1498. Afonso de Albuquerque saw Goa in his strategy for the empire as the “key to the whole of India” (*chave de toda a Índia*), as he described it in a letter he wrote to his king in December 1513.¹¹ A year later he was reporting about the grand success of his policy of mixed marriages. In a letter dated 4 November 1514, he told the king: “In the eyes of the people in India, we have come to settle down, because they see our men planting trees, putting up houses of stone and lime, marrying and having sons and daughters”.¹² Satisfied with his early achievements and progress of his policy he even wrote to the king with great enthusiasm: “Goa, podeis nela ordenar e fazer tudo o que quiserdes” (In Goa you may order and do whatever you wish). That is what the Portuguese thought they could do, but the results were not what they wished. Not even the return of the *‘terribil’* could possibly help.

At the start the Portuguese had met with generous collaboration by the native Hindu population. The initiative and cooperation of Timoja (or Timmayya) in the capture of Goa had played its part in the policy of strategic accommodation adopted

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 132.

¹¹ Catarina Madeira Santos, *Goa é a chave de toda a Índia: Perfil político da capital do Estado da Índia (1505-1570)*, Lisboa, CNCDP, p. 105.

¹² *Arquivo Português Oriental*, ed. A. B. de Bragança Pereira, Bastorá, Tome IV, Vol. I, Part I, p. 842.

by Afonso de Albuquerque towards the Hindu population of Goa. The Portuguese chronicler João de Barros has recorded the first encounter of Afonso de Albuquerque with Timoja in the following terms: "When Afonso de Albuquerque heard these things from Timoja, he listened very carefully, and could hardly believe they were coming from the mouth of a gentile, because he sounded more like a messenger of the Holy Spirit."¹³ Several other prominent Goan Hindus, who had been deprived of their lands by the Turks, had descended from the Ghat region, where they had taken refuge, to complete the job of decimating the Muslims who were trying to escape. These Hindu leaders and their militia vied with each other to hunt down the Muslim forces that were in occupation of their land and to present their chopped heads to the new Portuguese masters for collecting prize rewards. It is even recorded in the payment receipts issued by the Treasurer of Afonso de Albuquerque that several Goans were playing in his military band. There is also ample documented evidence of many native women willing to satisfy the sexual needs of, or to accept matrimonial alliance with, the Portuguese soldiers, probably to break away from their traditional social oppression. For instance, when the Portuguese were thrown out of Goa after their first capture of the city and were having a hard time in surviving in their ships without fresh supplies of food, the natives of Divar and Chorão islands, and those who had their daughters married to the Portuguese, were doing their best to assist. "That was the best and most timely help the Portuguese received", João de Barros tells us.¹⁴

Goa witnessed a brief period of construction of a Luso-Indian community as a result of Albuquerque's policy whereby Portuguese men, many of them exiled convicts, married «fair and good looking» (*alvas e de bom parecer*) captive Muslim and Hindu women of low caste, giving rise to a social group of *casados* or married settlers. Unlike what is called the imperial policy of 'divide and rule', the Portuguese had adopted a more catholic policy. They preferred to 'multiply and

¹³ João de Barros, *Décadas da Ásia*, II, Lisboa, Ed. Livraria Sam Carlos, 1973, p. 429

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, pp. 131-2

dominate'. However, the sexual appetite of the Portuguese was not always satiated within the bounds of Christian marriage. Afonso de Albuquerque wrote to the king: "Some of your men are tired of sleeping with the Christian women and are seeking Hindu women."¹⁵ These were the '*kolvontam*' (*bailadeiras*) of the Hindu temples, and others who lived as prostitutes. Fr. Gonçalo Martins, a Jesuit procurator of missions in Goa in the mid-seventeenth century, got the bright idea of purchasing the island of Combarjua, in the neighbourhood of the capital, and making it the haven of prostitution. He charged a fee that brought in revenues for the Society of Jesus.¹⁶ The minutes of the pastoral visitations of the Archbishops of Goa refer frequently to prostitution in the villages where the Portuguese had their military bases, such as in Rachol and Tivim. Other documents reveal frequent cases of prostitution in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In 1858 the Secretary of the State addressed a memo to the President of the Health Board describing the gravity of the problem of venereal disease among the Portuguese military personnel in Goa.

Dr. Germano Correia has studied the intensity of prostitution in Goan colonial society and relates it to the military expeditions to Goa in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁷ It is in this context of the sexual behaviour of the Portuguese soldiers that one should interpret the native reactions referred to by Orlando Ribeiro and expressed in some folk songs that warn the women to watch out against bearded '*paklé*' that roam at late hours of the night («*Êdê ratiché pakle bonvtai khaddache...*»), or try to peep through the key-holes). In the folksong entitled *Moddgovam thoviager* (In the house of the carpenter of Margão) a Portuguese is told to stop peeping through the key-hole. He is further informed that the lady he was trying to look at was a widow, not a young girl («*Teka ek paklo choita burkan ghalunu tonddu....Arê paklea choinaka rê, cheddum*

¹⁵ *Cartas de Afonso de Albuquerque*, ed. A. Baião, Lisboa, 1942, p.40.

¹⁶ Teotónio R. de Souza, 'Gonçalo Martins: A Jesuit Procurator, Businessman and Diplomat in the Estado da Índia', *Mare Liberum*, 1993, 5, July, pp. 119-128.

¹⁷ A. C. Germano da Silva Correia, *Prostituição e Profilaxia Anti-venérea*, Bastorá, 1938.

tem bailu randdu»¹⁸. The composer seems to have forgotten, or not known, that the Portuguese had enacted legislation in the late seventeenth century inviting the poor Portuguese to marry rich local widows, despite the prevailing native tradition against widow-remarriage. Obviously there were hardly any takers and, despite the limited marital or extra-marital Luso-Indian activity, the instances that have been cited are sufficient to indicate that the process of Luso-Indian miscegenation was a trickle, but yet an on-going process throughout the four and half centuries of Portuguese colonialism. The community of *casados*, though small, was the main support of the structures of the Portuguese colonial society. They controlled the militia, the municipal organization and the charity organization known as the Holy House of Mercy (*Santa Casa de Misericórdia*). All these were positions of prestige and power as long as the Portuguese had their hold and the natives did not have other alternatives.

The need to care for the orphan daughters and widows of the Portuguese men who died in the wars of conquest and overseas expansion had led to an imperial strategy of supplying white women to the Portuguese soldiers in Goa and elsewhere in the empire. While full statistics are hard to come by, Timothy Coates has given a fairly good picture of the numbers and circumstances that brought convicts, orphan-girls and women from *recolhimentos* (asylums for prostitutes) to different parts of the empire.¹⁹ Silva Correia's *História da Colonização Portuguesa na Índia* was a first large-scale effort to gather archival documentation to trace the origins of Luso-Indian society, particularly its female component made-up largely of the orphan-girls from Portugal.²⁰ Charles Boxer expressed some reservations about the consistency of the data collected by this Goan doctor-anthropologist of *mestiço*

¹⁸ Teotónio R. de Souza, 'Lusofonia e Lusotopia no Oriente: O caso do folclore goês', *Revista Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias*, No1, Lisboa, pp. 109-116.

¹⁹ Timothy Coates, *Convicts and Orphans: Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755*, California, Stanford University Press, 2001.

²⁰ A.C. Germano da Silva Correia's *História da Colonização Portuguesa na Índia*, 6 vols, Agência Geral das Colónias, (Lisbon, 1948-58).

descent.²¹ Silva Correia left several other studies of an anthropological nature, aimed partly at proving the racial purity and the high level of fertility of the women of the social group to which he belonged but both his numbers and fertility claims have been questioned by Boxer in the light of other contemporary official and missionary evidence. In his recently published M.Phil dissertation, Ricardo Roque has thrown some more light on the "selective anthropology" of Silva Correia.²² According to Boxer, in the late nineteenth century there were no more than 2500 *descendentes* in Goa and, from my knowledge, on the eve of the Portuguese loss of Goa in 1961, there were fewer than one hundred families of *descendentes*. Almost all of these moved out of Goa fearing reprisals from the local society which they had never treated with respect. This is an issue that is crucial to an understanding of what lies behind the observations of Orlando Ribeiro and to an explanation of what went wrong with 'lusophilia' and, consequently with 'lusophony' as well.

Colonial superiority and lack of cultural respect and reciprocity

Timmaya's offer of help was very useful in the capture of Goa. Timmaya knew the political set-up that prevailed in India and in Goa and had his own ambition to become a *jaggirdar* under a new sovereign lord, the Portuguese. He could hardly have imagined the New Order that the Portuguese established with a direct command based in far away Lisbon. He was soon disillusioned, and so were the Portuguese. From "a messenger of the Holy Spirit", Timmaya became a nuisance and was quickly replaced with another more pliant collaborator.

The continued presence of the Portuguese colonial regime in Goa in a small enclave that was limited to the four provinces of the Old Conquests till the late eighteenth century, left a lasting impact upon the local social and cultural lives of the native population. By the middle of the seventeenth century these four

²¹ C.R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, London, 1975, pp. 63-84.

²² Ricardo Roque, *Antropologia e Império: Francisco Cardoso e a expedição à Índia em 1895*, Lisboa, ICS, 2001, pp. 319-324.

provinces were coerced into converting to Christianity, with pressures and allurements, but the results were not achieved without some show of resistance, and even some sporadic outbursts. The Third Provincial Council in 1585 admitted with annoyance that "almost all the temples that had been demolished in our territory, have been rebuilt with the same names and dedicated to the same deities" in the territories just outside the Portuguese jurisdiction in Goa.²³

The change of names and dress were the external and visible signs of the new social order while the rupture provoked in the traditional family structure, the traditions of inheritance, and the village community organization had a far-reaching effect. The threats of the Inquisition, the decrees of the Provincial Council and the State legislation favouring Christianity, all contributed to weakening the traditional social relationships, replacing several older questionable disharmonies with new ones that were more in tune with the colonial interests and the life-style of the colonizers. The 'lusotopic' impact through architecture, dress, sculpture, music, culinary style and diet, entered the Goan society, affecting the Christian and the non-Christian sections of the society in different degrees.

However, some of this cultural impact could be considered as 'christianotopia romana' rather than 'lusotopia'.²⁴ This is because a large and influential proportion of the missionaries that worked for the Portuguese *Padroado Real* in Asia were of diverse European ethnicities, predominantly Italians and Germans. This was particularly true of the composition of the Jesuits in Asia. Neither of these two national groups were fanatical about the imposition of western culture on the Asiatics. Roberto di Nobili and Matteo Ricci stand out as paradigms of cultural tolerance and adaptation. However, whatever the differences of attitudes among the missionaries, the Portuguese missionary drive in Goa was not seen by all sections of the population in the same way. For many Goans of higher caste, it

²³ *Arquivo Portuguez-Oriental*, IV, ed. J.H. da Cunha Rivara, New Delhi, AES Reprint, 1992, p. 123.

²⁴ Teotónio R. de Souza, "Some contrasting visions of luso-tropicalism in India", *Lusotropicalism: Ideologies coloniales et identités nationales dans les mondes lusophones*, ed. M. Cahen & Dejanirah Couto, Paris, 1997, pp. 377-387.

was an opportunity to collaborate profitably with the new rulers, even though there were more conservative elements among the converts to whom a change in the habits of food and dress, as demanded by the Church and Inquisition, was not acceptable. There were many such Goans who preferred to go into exile in the neighbouring territories of Kanara and Malabar. A Jesuit visitor, who traveled through Kanara in the second half of the seventeenth century, calculated as 30,000 the number of Goans, chiefly Hindus, who had migrated to that region to escape the religious and other pressures in Goa. It was among these communities of emigrants in Mangalore that appeared the proverbial saying "Goem firngi na mhunno khoim?" (Who dare say that the Portuguese are not in Goa?). It was a rhetorical question, which did not require an answer from the Goans who had experienced the heat of the conversion drive in Goa and had run away from there. The expression implied sarcasm and criticism aimed at those who stayed behind, hoping to resist the Portuguese control and pressures, the 'lusotopic' and 'lusophonic' impact.

The Portuguese missionaries had manifested great interest in learning the language of the locals, not only the Marathi language that was used for religious texts and rituals, but also the spoken language of the people, namely Konkani. This missionary effort was seen in the boys' school attached to the College of St. Paul, which trained the Jesuit candidates in the East. The initiative of setting up that school came from none other than St. Francis Xavier, who saw the need for training native interpreters who could accompany and assist the Jesuit missionaries in their endeavours in the East. In 1563 the boys school had 645 pupils, and some years later the register showed 800 boys of various ethnic origins.²⁵ It was during this initial phase that several books were composed and published in Konkani for training the missionaries, and as manuals of devotion for the converts. However, this missionary zeal had grown dimmer in the latter half of the seventeenth century. The trend had reversed. There was missionary pressure upon the State

²⁵ Teotónio R. de Souza, "O ensino e a missão jesuíta na Índia", *A Companhia de Jesus e a Missão no Oriente*, Lisboa, Brotéria / Fundação Oriente, 2000, pp.117-132.

administration to enact legislation that would force the natives to learn and speak the Portuguese language under penalty of not being allowed to celebrate their weddings in the Church, or not having their sons ordained as priests. The attempts were fruitless, because the natives were already used to liturgy in the local language and had no great interest in hearing sermons in Portuguese.

Practically till the end of the Portuguese colonial presence in Goa the total of those who could speak and understand Portuguese language did not exceed 3 per cent of the population, and this was the case at a time when primary education in Portuguese was made compulsory. The compulsory education did not raise the level of literacy and, as noted by Mariano Saldanha, it only succeeded in creating "a unique class of illiterates who could read and write, a strange breed in the history of education."²⁶ The need to migrate to British India and the dependence of Goans upon the remittances of the emigrants proved beyond doubt the futility of learning the Portuguese language with any degree of seriousness.

The socio-political relationship of dominance and subordination formed the essence of the colonial regime, and it is but natural that some sectors of the native population should have expressed their unhappiness about it from time to time. The Konkani language, spoken by nearly 90 per cent of the population, was regarded pejoratively as the language of the '*criados*'. The Goan elites who spoke Portuguese at home always spoke in Konkani to their household servants.

The resistance to the colonial domination came from native priests who were sons of the rural population and had great influence over them. By their seminary training they were the most important carriers of 'lusophony' to the interior and distant places of the Portuguese *Padroado*.²⁷ However, these same priests had been experiencing a sort of racist discrimination when it came to promotions. The white clergy dominated the church with their ethnic and political links with the

²⁶ M. Saldanha, 'A língua Concani: as suas conferências e a acção portuguesa na sua cultura', *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, Bastorá, Goa, 1953*. Offprint.

²⁷ Teotonio R. de Souza, 'A língua portuguesa em Goa: As dificuldades da sua implantação', *Língua e Cultura*, Sociedade da Língua Portuguesa (Lisbon, 2000) pp. 64-78.

colonizers. Even though Portuguese colonialism is often proclaimed by the Portuguese to have been non-racist, racial discrimination was never entirely absent. As the natives adapted themselves to western ways and proved their competence, or even their superiority, as compared to many Portuguese who served in the East, references to colour and patriotism became increasingly necessary for the Portuguese from the eighteenth century onwards. This was noticeable in the attitude of the white friars and the *mestiços* (*descendentes*) who felt threatened in their careers, and invited nationalist reaction from the natives. The Franciscan friars resented and resisted the pressure of the native clerics who wanted to take over the control of their parishes in Bardez with the backing of the Archbishop Fr. Ignacio de Santa Thereza in 1724-28. By 1705 the number of native clerics is estimated as 2500.²⁸ One cannot help noting the overtly racist language utilized by the friars on that occasion against the native clerics: "All these black priests (with the exception of some by miracle) are by their very nature ill-natured and ill-behaved, lascivious, drunkards, etc. and therefore, most unworthy of receiving the charge of the churches". They continued their accusations: "It must be pointed out in the fourth place that these natives naturally hate the Portuguese and all 'white-skinned' people, and their hate is directed more against the parish priests, because these live in their villages and watch keenly their behaviour. That is why white priests and religious are a burden to them."²⁹

The motives that caused the *mestiços* to behave arrogantly and to manifest racist tendencies were not very different from those of the friars. Under Pombal's reforms, the equality of social status for colonial natives had been decreed but the

²⁸ Teotonio R. de Souza, 'The rural economy and society in Portuguese India: Colonial reality v/s stereotypes', *Vasco da Gama e a Índia*, vol. II, Lisboa, Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, pp. 101-107.

²⁹ Biblioteca Nacional (Lisboa), Cod. 179: *Memórias e documentos para a história eclesiástica na Ásia, 1728-1729*, fls. 11-13v: «Todos estes clérigos negros (exceptuando alguns como por milagre) são ex sua natura mal inclinados e mal procedidos, lascivos, bebados, etc... e por isso incapacíssimos de que se lhes entregue a administração das Igrejas... Deve-se notar em 4º lugar ser em estes naturais natural o ódio e antipatia à gente Portuguesa e a tudo o que hé pelle branca, sendo este mais excessivo e entranhável a respeito dos párocos, porque como estes vivem e residem nas aldeias, e entre os naturais são atalayas vigilantes que poem todo o cuidado, assim em lhes investigar os seus designios, como em notar-lhes as suas obras (.....) faz-se-lhes muito pesado o terem párocos brancos e Religiosos».

viceroy in Goa had issued an ordinance that put a finger on the wound. It said: "the pride that dominates in this part of the world is the chief reason for the misery of these natives... By Portuguese I also mean *mestiços*, and these suffer more from the diabolic vice of pride than the Europeans proper."

In 1739 the Marathas conquered the Northern Province of India where the *descendentes* owned vast resources and enjoyed opportunities to parade their self-importance. They were forced to take shelter as refugees in Goa. Something similar had happened earlier when the Dutch had taken over Malacca, Ceylon and Cochin. For the wealth they had lost they sought to make up with control of the militia and a display of 'lusophonic' and 'white skinned' patriotism, behaving with insolence towards the Goan natives. The above mentioned decree had to warn them against calling the natives '*negros*' (niggers) and '*cachorros*' (dogs) under penalty of fines and punishment.³⁰

The discontent among the native clerics had seen outbursts from time to time. In mid-seventeenth century it was Bishop Matheus de Castro Mahale from Divar, who entered into an alliance with Bijapur and the Dutch in 1654, and tried to instigate people from inside Goa to oust the Portuguese and put an end to their spiritual domination of the Goans. The second major incident took place in 1787, the 'Pinto Conspiracy', in which Goan priests joined a few Goans serving in the military and some others to attempt to end the Portuguese rule in Goa. The conspiracy was denounced and resulted in summary executions, forced labour and the exile to Portugal of most of the priests who failed to escape, where they were kept under house arrest for years together, without any judicial hearing.³¹

The arrival of liberal institutions and the printing press at the end of the first quarter of the nineteenth century gave the Goan natives new opportunities for

³⁰ Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisboa), Cod. 446, fls. 75-75v: "a soberba que domina nesta parte do mundo, é a causa originária do abatimento destes miseráveis naturais... chamo também Portugueses aos mestiços porque nestes ainda mais que nos mesmos Europeos reina mais aquelle luciferino vicio."

³¹ Teotónio R. de Souza, 'Christianity and Cultural Conflict in Goa: 16th to 19th centuries', *Congresso internacional de História: Missão portuguesa e encontro de culturas*, 1993, IV, Braga, pp. 383-93.

training and for self-expression. The unwillingness of the *descendentes* to do the same, rather than rely upon their heavy-handed tactics and patriotic slogans, made their situation untenable following military reforms that abolished the militia. It was then that the social tensions between the *descendentes* and the natives reached new heights. A Goan priest, Francisco Xavier Alvares, who edited the weekly *Brado Indiano*, was ferocious in his criticism of the Portuguese Church in the service of the colonial regime. The priest even left the Roman Church to be consecrated as Bishop Mar Julius I of the Antiochian Orthodox Church.³² The proclamation of the Republic reduced the discrimination experienced by the Goan Hindus for a brief period, but very soon the policies of the Estado Novo, and particularly its *Acto Colonial* in 1930, reduced the natives of colonies to downgraded citizens as "*assimilados*" and "*indígenas*". That was seen as the climax of 'lusophonic' arrogance. The degree of '*assimilação*' was measured largely in terms of capacity to master the Portuguese language. Goans, who in increasing numbers earned their bread and exercised civilian and ecclesiastic jobs of responsibility and prestige in British India, desired to learn English and had little use for the Portuguese language. Goans had begun to experience 'lusophony' as a tool of colonial exploitation rather than as a lusophilic bond.

Since 1830, and particularly after the establishment of the Institute Vasco da Gama in 1870, there had been a spurt of literary productions in the Portuguese language by talented Goans working as journalists, historians and poets. The two volumes of *Literatura Indo-Portuguesa*, edited by Vimala Devi and Manuel Seabra and the more recent work of Aleixo Manuel da Costa,³³ provide us with information about some hundreds of Goans who cultivated the Portuguese language (and also English, French and Marathi) with great success. The tradition did not die even in the worst of times after Goa's liberation. The journal of the Institute

³² *Ibid.*

³³ Aleixo Manuel da Costa, *Dicionário de Literatura Goesa*, 3 vols., Macau, Instituto Cultural de Macau & Fundação Oriente, 1997.

Menezes Bragança (the old Institute Vasco da Gama renamed in 1961) continued as *Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança* and included essays in Portuguese language up to 1999, when it was replaced with *Govapuri* as a reaction to the latest commemoration of Vasco da Gama's voyage to India.

It could be said that the failure of 'lusophony' in Goa and the limited lusophilic ambiance was caused largely by Portuguese inability to maintain a cultural dialogue of mutual respect, without utilizing the Portuguese language to marginalize the others in their own home ground. This process did not start and end in the recent times of Estado Novo and Salazar is not to be blamed for the behaviour of the Portuguese down the centuries. The Goan folksongs and proverbs are not a product of the Salazar period. They represent a sedimentation of centuries-long experiences and feelings of discontent of the Goan natives to the point of saying in one them: "Sorop mhonncho nhoi daktto, ani pakló mhonncho nhoi amnhó", that is, "never say a snake is too small to harm, or a Portuguese is our friend. Both are to be equally distrusted."³⁴

³⁴ S.R. Dalgado, *Florilégio dos Provérbios Concanis*, Lisboa, 1922, p. 246.