

Mutiny in the Portuguese Indian Army

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The nineteenth century was a period of intense political activity that witnessed campaigns in the press and protests in public in defence of the newly acquired political rights granted by the constitutional monarchy that governed Portugal at this time. In addition to this, there were recurrent outbursts of Rane revolts, interspersed with military mutinies, like those of Volvoi and Marcela, 1870-71, and the Maratha *Sipai* Mutiny of 1895. Having analysed the protests of the pen within the framework of the ideologies of Brahmanism and Indianness, and also discussed the revolts of the Ranes, this article seeks to present a critique of the mutinies.

Mutinies of Volvoi and Marcela, 1870-71

In the 1870s, the Portuguese Indian army had long outlived its utility. With the acquisition and consolidation of the 'New Conquests,' the combative functions of the army had practically come to a standstill. With regard to its defensive utility, the army had frequently proved itself to be incapable of doing full justice to the task before it and hence, in the wake of a serious law and order situation, expeditionary troops had to be ordered from Portugal and its African colonies and military assistance was solicited from their next-door neighbour on the Indian subcontinent, the British.

Besides possessing a low utility value, the army displayed a tendency towards luxury expenditure that the financially-weak *Estado da Índia* could ill-afford to incur. One-fifth of the income

of the state was spent on the army whose officers lived in pomp and splendour, drawing handsome salaries for themselves as well as for their sons and, sometimes even grandsons, whom they often subjected to ill-treatment at the hands of their European officers, denied an entry into officialdom, and the few that were in, were refused promotions, despite possessing requisite qualifications (in fact not a single Goan serving in the army had been promoted since 1865). In addition to this, the local soldiers were forced to perform odd jobs like washing the clothes and utensils of the officers and looking after their children.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the Viceroy, Count of Rio Pardo, had ordered an inquiry into the abuses present in the army. The inquiry had revealed the enlistment of 185 children as soldiers, cadets and officers, some of them being mere infants at the time of their enlistment. The Viceroy had immediately issued an *Ordem do Dia* on 27 December 1816,² dismissing the minors from their posts, except for those who had been enlisted by a royal decree; demoting illiterate officers; and reducing the size of the cavalry where some officers were drawing a maintenance allowance on horses that were dead or were too feeble to leave the stable.³

However, such abuses persisted long after the administration of the Count of Rio Pardo. It was being increasingly realised that the army had become "*excessivo e luxuoso*"⁴ and served as a serious liability on the Exchequer. A number of Goans, including the *deputado*, Bernardo Francisco da Costa, had been critical of this situation, both in the press as well as in public speeches. The appearance of such criticism in the Portuguese press had occasioned the reorganisation of the Portuguese overseas army in 1869.

On 2 December 1869, at the instance of the Overseas Minister, Luís Augusto Rebello da Silva, an order was issued by which the overseas army was reorganised with a view to trim the existing deficit of 95 *contos* to 17 *contos* by effecting certain reforms.⁵ The new decree proposed to reduce the strength of the Goan army from 6,250 to 2,694 by dismissing 63 commissioned officers, 64 non-commissioned officers, 224 corporals and 952 soldiers. The first battalion of Margão was to be disbanded along with two companies from each of the other battalions of Ponda, Bicholim

and Mapusa. The Arsenal, too, was to be closed down.

While such reductions in the strength of the army were to be effected to help bring the deficit down, the decree sanctioned a fifty percent increase in the *soldo*, the pay of the European officers. Then again, while the Goan soldiers and officers were being paid in the weaker local currency, their European counterparts enjoyed the benefits of the stronger Portuguese currency.⁶ Further, this decree had declared that the posts of officers in the army of Macau were an exclusive preserve of the Europeans.⁷ This was a cause of considerable concern to the Goan soldiers who were further upset with another clause of the decree that sanctioned the transfer of troops to any part of the Portuguese empire during times of war or emergency.⁸

Bernardo Francisco da Costa had waxed eloquent on the need to reorganise the army with a view to protect the interests of the Goan soldiers. He was now dubbed as the author of the decree of 1869 which introduced a scheme that was opposed to the principles which Bernardo Francisco da Costa had championed.⁹ It was, thus a reduction in their pay and strength, coupled with a denial of promotions and the threat of an overseas transfer that led to the mutiny of 1870.

In accordance with the decree of 1869, the Governor-General, José Ferreira Pestana, disbanded the first battalion of Margão; this sparked off the mutiny. The soldiers of the Bicholim battalion, fearing that their turn would be next, revolted on 19 February 1870 at 4 p.m. The 111 soldiers of Bicholim armed themselves, locked up their officers and trooped out of their quarters in the direction of Assonora where they awaited the arrival of the Mapusa battalião.¹⁰ On 21 February 1870, around 3:30 a.m. the Margão battalion also unfurled the banner of mutiny in spite of the strict vigil of its commanding officer, Major João Telles. The mutineers lowered the Portuguese flag from the roof of the *quartel* and helped themselves to arms and ammunition from the store. João Telles had offered some resistance and the other officers had tried to pacify the soldiers, but in vain.¹¹ The soldiers then marched to Durbate, via Ambora, where they waited for the Ponda battalion to join them. At 10:30 a.m., some of them visited the temple at Borim to offer prayers for the success of their endeavor. The same evening they were joined by the Ponda

battalion and the two then marched to Kurti.

The plan of action was for all the battalions to mutiny one after another and then gather at Cumbarjua from where they would proceed to the capital to get their demands met. Faced with this situation, the Governor-General ordered red alert in and around Panaji, and at the same time, proceeded to initiate peaceful negotiations with the mutineers. An official mission sent to Kurti to hold parleys with the mutineers met with no success. The Governor-General had also been advised to seek assistance from the British who had fortified their frontier on receiving news of the outbreak of the mutiny. The Governor-General, however, did not pay any heed to this counsel.¹²

The soldiers left Kurti on the 25th for Volvoi where they were joined by the Bicholim battalion.¹³ At this point the mutineers seemed to have lost courage; the Ponda battalion asked for pardon, while their colleagues from Margão requested their officers to be sent to take them back.¹⁴ The arrival of the Mapusa battalion, however, revived their fighting spirit and they continued to defy the government.

The Governor-General now sent a high-ranking peace mission to hold parleys with the mutineers. The mission consisted of the Baron of Cumbarjua, a member of the Council of Government, Ozorio de Albuquerque, the chief of the Military Department of the Secretariat, and Joaquim Correa, the assistant chief of this Department. The demands submitted to the mission by the mutineers were accepted by the Governor-General who granted amnesty to the rebels. By the Order of the Army, dated 1 March 1870, the Governor-General offered the following concessions to the mutineers:

- (a) the grant of amnesty to all those who had mutinied;
- (b) the cancellation of the order of disbanding the soldiers, and their continuance in service till their retirement or death, after which the posts would lapse;
- (c) a monthly wage of twenty *xerafins* to each soldier that was equal to what was drawn by a soldier of the army of Portugal, but paid in the currency of Goa and not of Portugal;
- (d) the guarantee that no Goan soldier or officer would be forced to take up an overseas posting;
- (e) the grant of retirement benefits to those who had put in long

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years of service and were now infirm; and

(f) the reward of twenty *reis* per day to those soldiers who had remained loyal to the government and had guarded the capital.

In addition to the above, the Governor-General also agreed to forward the following demands of the mutineers to the Home Government:

(a) that Goan soldiers and officers be paid in the stronger currency; and

(b) that the musicians of the local army band be eligible to receive all the advantages enjoyed by their counterparts in Portugal.¹⁵

On receiving this Order, the soldiers returned to their barracks, bursting crackers and playing music in celebration of their victory. But was it really such a great victory? Of the concessions given to them, only two seemed to have any value, that is, the grant of pardon, and the guarantee that they will not be sent on an overseas posting against their will. However, even these assurances were not valid till they were ratified by the Crown. Similarly, no guarantee of promotions to deserving Goan candidates was given and at the same time the Order of the Army remained silent on the issue of ill-treatment that Goan soldiers had suffered from at the hands of their European officers. The Hindu soldiers could have demanded protection of their customs and traditions, but they did not do so.

The soldiers appeared to be more interested in receiving a pardon than in protecting their interests. They had mutinied out of sheer desperation, threatened as they were with the spectre of unemployment. However, once they had stepped out of their barracks in open defiance of their superiors, the soldiers seemed to develop cold feet, especially when the Mapusa battalion had failed to appear at the appointed place. They had promptly made overtures to the government to unconditionally take them back. At no stage did the mutineers attempt to overthrow the colonial presence from their homeland. Further, when the peace-mission visited them, it was greeted by the mutineers with loud and enthusiastic cries of "Long live Portugal!"¹⁶ Moreover, throughout their march, the mutineers had never resorted to violence. Although they were well-armed and had even threatened the initial government envoy with injury, the soldiers had refrained from committing any act of violence as a proof of their anxiety to get

their grievances redressed without causing any inconvenience to the government.¹⁷ Later, they had promptly accepted the concessions offered by the Governor-General without insisting on an inclusion of all their demands and without waiting for the Crown's assent to the same. It was this lapse on their part which forced them to revolt afresh in 1871.

The reaction of the Home Government to the Order of the Army issued by the Governor-General on 1 March 1870 was swift and furious: the Governor-General was replaced, his Order was not ratified and his successor, the Viscount of Sam Januario, who took over the reins of the *Estado da Índia* on 7 May 1870,¹⁸ was instructed to implement the reorganisation of the army that had been proposed by the decree of 1869.

Instead, feeling the pulse of the people, on 13 December 1870, the new Governor-General submitted a fresh proposal for the reorganisation of the army which sought to replace the discriminatory decree of 1869 with one that assured Goans of improved promotional avenues, based on merit, as well as better service conditions.¹⁹ Lisbon, however, rejected all his proposals, except for the one which sought the promotion of the first and the second lieutenants. The sergeants who had hoped to be promoted into the commissioned ranks were now disappointed. The Governor-General, getting wind of the effervescent situation, imprisoned eight sergeants and two officers who were suspected of organising the soldiers to mutiny. This triggered off a fresh mutiny which, in fact, was a continuation of the previous one.

This time, too, the lead was taken by the third battalion of Bicholim. On 21 September 1871, at 11 p.m., the soldiers imprisoned their commander and marched to Old Goa where they encamped near the Basilica of Bom Jesus.²⁰ Three days later, the battalion of Ponda left their barracks, with one group headed towards Old Goa and the other proceeding to Margão to secure the support of the Margão battalion. By evening, they had joined the Bicholim battalion at Old Goa,²¹ from where the mutineers proceeded to Marcela the following morning. On the 28th, 170 soldiers of the Mapusa battalion, armed with their bayonets, reached the village of Marcela. Earlier, these soldiers had been sent to Panaji to augment the forces defending the capital. However, when they reached Porvorim, the soldiers had inquired

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about their destination. On learning that they were headed to protect the capital city against the mutineers, the Mapusa battalion retraced its steps and proceeded to join the other three battalions instead.²²

As history repeated itself within a year, the Governor-General readied the defence machinery with the meagre resources at his command. While the mutineers were 1600 strong, the government force stood at a mere 400 men who could not be totally depended upon for support.²³ Panaji was studded with barricades and canons with two steamboats anchored in the river Mandovi to provide extra protection. The defence of the capital was conducted under the personal supervision of the Governor-General.²⁴ In addition to this, an emergency meeting of the Government Council was convened²⁵ and a gunboat with a 200-strong expeditionary force was requested from Lisbon. Although the British support was not solicited, a British Indian newspaper reported that 500 soldiers were sent from Poona to Goa, a report that was promptly denied by the Goa Government.²⁶

On the 25th of the month, the Governor-General issued a proclamation that constituted an appeal to the general public to reaffirm their loyalties to the Portuguese Crown by not supporting the mutineers.²⁷ This proclamation was greeted by positive responses from several prominent Goans and the various municipal and village councils as also the parishes which sent letters of support.²⁸ A Hindu "well-wisher" even wrote anonymous letters to the mutineers, seeking to convince them that a protracted mutiny would only result in a loss of pay that would heap untold hardships on their families.²⁹ A similar emotional appeal was made by the administrators of the *concelhos* to the wives of the mutineers to plead with their husbands to resume duty.³⁰

The mutineers presented a list of their demands to the peace mission that had come to negotiate with them. They asked for:

- (a) in-service as well as retired Goan soldiers be paid in the strong currency;
- (b) a class of graduated second lieutenants to be created;
- (c) the pay and pension of the sergeants to be increased;
- (d) the service conditions of the army musicians be brought on par with those of their counterparts in Portugal;
- (e) a solemn assurance that the strength of the battalions would

not be reduced in the future;

(f) qualified Goans be promoted as officers, instead of recruiting officers from outside; and

(g) the officers and sergeants, who were imprisoned by the Governor-General on suspicion of being the leaders of the mutiny, to be released.³¹

These demands were in addition to the all-important one of being granted amnesty.

Assured of the backing of the people referred to above, the Governor-General sent a general of the brigade, Francisco Xavier de Pinho, to the mutineers, ordering them to return to the barracks within six hours, "submissive, obedient and without any conditions," if they were to avail of pardon. If they persisted with the mutiny, then they would be punished, "subjected to all the rigour of the laws."³² Faced with this threat, the soldiers returned to the barracks on 1 October 1871. The Governor, in consideration of their non-violent behaviour and the prompt obedience of his order, granted them amnesty on 3 October 1871, subject to royal confirmation.³³

The mutiny was thus brought to a close. The gunboat that the Governor-General had requested for reached Goa on 9 November 1871 and the *Infante*, D. Auguste, arrived at the head of the expeditionary forces on 10 December 1871, bringing with him the new Governor-General, Joaquim José de Macedo e Couto.³⁴ Some of the discontented *sipais* had planned another mutiny to coincide with the arrival of the expeditionary forces.³⁵ However, they were not able to muster sufficient support for this purpose. The *Infante* dismissed the four units of the mutineers, wound up the *Escola Mathematica e Militar* and replaced it with a Professional Institute. In addition to this, the garrison of Goa was reorganised into one unit of the artillery, another of the police, one more of the customs and the last unit was to consist of European troops.³⁶

The reduction in the size of the army was thus effected without any accompanying murmur of protest from the *sipais*, probably because it was implemented by the brother of the King of Portugal, for loyalty to the Portuguese Crown seemed to have prevented the soldiers from crossing swords with the *Infante*.

The *Sipai* Mutiny had already flashed across the political horizon of British India in 1857 and now, thirteen years later, the

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Portuguese were faced with two mutinies, staged by the four battalions of their Goan army. The latter were essentially a spontaneous reaction of the soldiers to the decree that threatened them with unemployment and failed to improve their service and working conditions. The mutineers had never attempted to liberate their homeland. On the contrary, they had been eager to return to the barracks at every stage and violence had been conspicuous by its absence; what had started with a bang, with the revolt of almost the entire army that had caused panic within Goa and also across the border, ended with a whimper with the extinction of the army in 1871. It was almost two-and-a-half years later that another mutiny broke out in 1895, this time with a different set of consequences as we shall see below.

Maratha *Sipai* Mutiny of 1895

*“Eka Setembrache rati
Panjeant zali re bobatti
Panjeak vazaunun corneti
Soldad sanddunun apleo kapoti
Commandant babdo marta re bobati
Soldad-Ranen ekttain zaun
Aile Mapshean dhobhajejan
Kalafurchi tari kaddun
Marcelant jevann korun
Colvalche kopell velan chorun
Fazendachem dar foddun
Mengu borreziak velo dorun.”³⁷*

The above *mando* describes the outbreak and progress of the Maratha *Sipai* Mutiny of September 1895. The banner of this mutiny was unfurled at the Panaji police headquarters (*quartel*), in the early hours of 14 September 1895, when some 298 Maratha *sipais*, with arms in their hands and the cry “*Har, Har, Mahadev!*” on their lips, threw open the portals of the *quartel* and trooped into the dark night.³⁸ The mutineers, later, pooled their grievances and resources with those of the Ranens and the *ryots* of Sattari and proceeded to stomp the path of a violent revolt, better known in the annals of the history of Goa as the Revolt of Dada Rane.

The overshadowing of the Mutiny by the Dada Rane Revolt's display of protracted violent action is primarily the reason why it is very difficult, almost impossible, to find a published secondary work devoted entirely to the Mutiny. There are books and articles on the freedom struggle, or, more specifically, on the revolts of the Ranes, that discuss this topic, but only in passing. Hence, one has to depend chiefly on the accounts of various personalities involved in this episode, on the newspapers and magazines of that year (1895-1896) for reports on the incident and on official documents stored at the Bombay and the Goa Archives.

In the former category, the predominant works include *Apontamentos para a História da Revolta em Goa dos Soldados, Ranes e Saterienses em o anno de 1895* by the Viscount of Bardez (an attempt at self-exoneration); *A Revolta de Goa e a Campanha de 1895/1896* by Gomes da Costa (an account of self-glorification) and *A Revolta dos Marathas em 1895* by the Governor-General, the Viscount of Villa Nova d'Ourem. The latter category constitutes a long list, including *O Ultramar*, *A Índia Portuguesa*, *A Convicção*, *Boletim Indiano*, *O Brado Indiano* and *O Povo Goano*.

This chapter, based almost entirely on primary sources, published as well as unpublished, aspires to shed light on the little-known Mutiny of 1895. It examines the veracity of the involvement of the "Portuguese official hand" and also of the "hydra of nativism" in the outbreak of this mutiny.

The genesis of this mutiny can be traced back, not to Goa where it erupted, but to Moçambique, where the outbreak of a revolt provided the *raison d'être* for the mass desertion. The last two decades of the nineteenth century had intensified the European 'scramble' for African territories and, in its wake, rekindled the colonial fires latent in the Lusitanian spirit, instilling in the Portuguese a desire to expand from the coastal regions of Angola and Moçambique into the African-controlled interiors. In the realisation of this goal, the Portuguese had to contend with several waves of local resistance. One such wave broke out in 1894 as a follow-up to a jurisdictional dispute between the Portuguese military command and the local chieftains.³⁹ The services of the Marathas from Goa were called for to participate in the expedition aimed at crushing the revolt in Africa.

On 26 July 1895, the Overseas and Navy Minister of Portugal,

Ferreira de Almeida, telegraphically asked the Governor-General, the Viscount of Villa Nova d'Ourem, to organise a contingent of four hundred "true Marathas" ("*verdadeiros Marathas*"). By a later telegram, the number of soldiers required was increased to 480, to be organised into two companies.⁴⁰

Who were the Marathas, and why were their services specifically asked for? These *sipais* were Goans of Maratha origin and also those who had come from neighbouring British India and enlisted in the Portuguese Indian army. The Portuguese were appreciative of the fighting spirit, devotion and sense of loyalty of the Marathas. They had witnessed the display of the Maratha courage when they had met each other on the opposite sides of the battlefield in the past; and more recently they had been at the receiving end of their loyalty. The Marathas had rendered yeoman service to the Portuguese Crown, whether in the preservation of internal security or in the expansion of the Portuguese empire as a part of expeditionary forces sent to Africa, Timor and Macau.⁴¹

If they had gone to Africa in the past, then why did they protest now? It was because this time the terms and conditions on which they were to be sent were not specified to them. The Viceroy's recommendation for the trebling of the salaries of the soldiers⁴² was turned down. The Home Government in its reply had stated that a decree unifying the eastern forces of Portugal was soon to be implemented in Goa. This would compel the colonial troops to accept transfers from one colony to another without any additional overseas allowance.

The news of such a highhanded decree, asking for new obligations, without any corresponding compensatory advantages, upset the Maratha *sipais*, who, in the past, had generally spilled their blood in the defense and the expansion of the Portuguese overseas possessions. They felt that they were being treated as the rabble of the nation (*ralé da nação*) and as a gang of scoundrels (*uma horda de malfeteiros*) to be shipped to any part of the Portuguese empire, without any rights or benefits,⁴³ and in contravention of the law of 1870, that assured Goan soldiers that they would not be obliged to serve outside Goa.⁴⁴

Thus, there was great discontentment in the ranks of the soldiers on account of various reasons. They were not guaranteed

all the benefits availed of by the Portuguese European force posted in Africa; they were denied an increase in salary, except for a campaign allowance; their demand for the payment of their earnings in strong currency was not met;⁴⁵ the maintenance of their families, in their absence, was not guaranteed; and their period of stay in Africa was not specified. Rumours to the effect that theirs was to be a permanent cadre posted in Africa were gathering momentum. This generated in them a fear that such a long stay across the seas would result in a loss of their caste status and would also hinder the performance of their duties towards their family and religion. The *sipais* were apprehensive of not being able to look after their families on the scanty monthly pay of Rs. 8/- that they received and hence, they demanded that Rs. 500/- be awarded to their families as assistance during their absence. They also sought an assurance that their overseas duty would be of a short duration.⁴⁶

The complaints of lack of good pay and other facilities by some soldiers who had returned from Moçambique added fuel to the fire. It appeared that on this former occasion, the government had gone back on the assurances that it had given to the soldiers with respect to the duration of their stay in Africa, their pay and the passage money for the return journey. These soldiers had complained that they had been denied facilities to cook and eat separately and had been forced to eat with other soldiers. Yet another grievance that they had against the Portuguese was the frequent beatings that were subjected to. Therefore, in 1895, the soldiers, fearing a repetition of this treatment, declined to obey the orders that asked them to move to Moçambique.⁴⁷

The final insult to the injury was given when these soldiers were subjected to physical violence and threatened to be sent to Moçambique by force.⁴⁸ In such circumstances, frightened by the gloomy prospect of an uncertain and insecure future, they decided to run away. This desertion of the Maratha soldiers was thus the "child of their despair" ("*filha do seu desespero*").⁴⁹

In addition to this despair did any other factor influence their decision to revolt? Were they inspired by any similar incident of the past? Were they instigated by any person or persons who had their own axe to grind in this matter? This was not the first time that Goan soldiers had unfurled the banner of mutiny against an

official action that they felt was detrimental to their interests. As has already been discussed above, the decree of December 1869, disbanding some companies in each of the battalions, had sparked off a revolt by the four battalions of Margão, Mapusa, Ponda and Bicholim, encamped at Volvoi, in the year 1870. Their demands had been accepted by the Governor-General, José Ferreira Pestana, and the soldiers had returned to the barracks. Pestana was recalled for having submitted to the rebels. His successor, the Viscount of San Januario witnessed a fresh mutiny in 1871 at Marcela because he had not honoured the commitments of his predecessor. Thus there were precedents for the mutiny of 1895.

At the same time, it has been alleged that some Portuguese officers, in pursuit of their selfish ambitions, instigated the soldiers to rise in arms. The Lisbon newspapers, *O Universal* and *Seculo*, attributed the mutiny to the officers of the battalion in question. Lieutenant Colonel Julio Luís Felner, its commander, had been accused of plotting a *coup d'état* to overthrow his brother-in-law, the Governor-General, the Viscount of Ourem. This plot is referred to as Felner's Revolt (*Revolta Felner*), in contemporary literature. Felner was also accused of aiding and abetting Fr. Alvares who had been tried by the government for 'inciting seditious' sentiments through his newspaper, *O Brado Indiano*.

There are others who hold the Administrator of Ilhas, Captain Gomes da Costa, responsible for the outbreak of the mutiny. It is said that he engineered the stage in such a manner that he could kill two birds with one stone – that is, compromise the position of his rival, Felner, by attributing this 'undesirable' state of affairs to the lack of military qualities on his part, and at the same time, play the role of a heroic officer defending national honour, and thereby climb higher on the ladder of success. However, Gomes da Costa, in turn, attributed this revolt to certain prominent Goans like the Viscount of Bardez and Fr. Alvares, who he claimed were instigating the masses and the soldiers to unite and fight for the cause "India for the Indians" ("*a Índia para os indios*"). It was for this reason that newspapers like *The Times of India* had termed the happenings of 1895 in Goa as "a sad tale of intrigue."

The garrison of Panaji consisted of one infantry battalion, one battery unit of the artillery and one company of the police, each under a different command.⁵⁰ These units were almost exclusively

made up of Maratha *sipais*. With a view to implement the ministerial order, all companies of the infantry battalion spread throughout Goa were asked to report to the Panaji *quartel* for selection. The two companies thus formed were to leave for Moçambique on 30 September 1895. The battalion had been ordered to march on 10 September 1895.⁵¹ Before this order could be implemented, the companies of the infantry battalion revolted, one by one, in the early hours of 14 September 1895, amidst loud shouting and random firing of shots. In the midst of this confusion, the commander of the battalion, Lt. Col. Felner, who had always treated the soldiers well and thereby earned their respect, tried to quieten things. His attempts to convince them that this was just a routine transfer, however, met with no success.⁵²

The mutineers, their number variously stated,⁵³ broke open the door of the munitions store, and helped themselves generously to arms and ammunition. They then stormed out of the gate, after shooting down the guard on duty and injuring a couple of others.⁵⁴ It is pertinent to mention over here that the mutiny was restricted to the *sipais* alone, for not a single officer or a sergeant was a party to it.⁵⁵ Later the mutineers gathered in the square of Afonso d'Albuquerque (at present, the Azad Maidan). Here they waited for half an hour, shouting slogans and firing shots in the air. It is not known for whom they were waiting. Soon, Gomes da Còsta arrived on the scene with ten men from the police force under his command. He stationed himself at the corner of the Government printing press and the two groups exchanged fire in the air. In the prevailing confusion, Gomes da Costa's cry of "Battalion halt!"⁵⁶ was not heard and certainly not obeyed by the deserting troops.

After 1 a.m., the rebels shouting in loud voices, "*Har, Har, Mahadev*" and "*Pundalik Varada Hari Vittal*" and firing occasional shots⁵⁷ proceeded towards the *Palácio do Governo* with Gomes da Costa at their heels. They robbed the *Palácio do Governo* of its arms and ammunitions and also took with them three of its guards.⁵⁸ Then, they proceeded towards the Ribandar bridge where Gomes da Costa, who was still following them, advised them to return to the barracks. The rebels demanded amnesty and a cancellation of their transfer. They stated that they would proceed to Marcela where they would await governmental orders

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to that effect.⁵⁹ Having failed to convince the mutineers to return, Gomes da Costa proceeded to Panaji. It is quite surprising that the police unit led by Gomes da Costa neither fired on the deserting troops nor was fired at, or captured, all the way from the *quartel* to the bridge.

The mutineers continued their forward march and arrived at Velha Goa at 3 a.m. Here they forced open the guard house of the military post and taking guns and fourteen cartridges marched towards Cumbarjua via St. Braz, where they arrived at 5 a.m. They stopped a steam launch on its way from Durbate to Panaji, carrying a detachment of troops from Quepem and asked all its passengers except for the officer, João Pedro, and two ailing soldiers to disembark at Tonca.⁶⁰ Their number as well as military supplies now swelled considerably with the former, according to some reports, crossing the five hundred mark. Next they proceeded to Marcela where they rested for some time, perhaps in the hope of receiving a positive reply from Panaji. Later they stopped at Amona, where they offered a goat to the local deity and consulted the oracle which gave them the green signal to proceed.⁶¹

Now, for reasons of safety, the mutineers directed their march towards the fort of Nanuz located in the the heart of Sattari. By a strange coincidence, the Fort of Nanuz proved to be a stumbling block in the path of both father and son – the first Viscount, during whose tenure the revolt of Dipu Rane had broken out, and now his son, the second Viscount, who had to deal with a *sipai* mutiny that had made the fort its headquarters. The Nanuz fort, on more than one occasion, had served as the fulcrum of the political tug-of-war between the Ranes and the Portuguese. Their exchange of shots in the forested environs of the fort of Nanuz has been vividly captured in a variation of the *dulpad*, *Farar Far*, called *Nanuz kotantum*.

Throughout the march from Panaji to Nanuz, the rebels did not indulge in harming or looting the local population.⁶² By and large, the public sympathised with the soldiers who, by their initial peaceful conduct and subsequent requests to the Government for pardon showed that the uprising was neither against public life nor against public property, but purely a protest against the government's harsh and unjust orders. This mutiny has been

ballardised in the nineteenth century mandde, *Eka Setembrache Rati / Panjeant zali re bobatti*; *Setembrache Choudave Rati* and *Saglea Sonsarak Khobor*. These songs narrate the outbreak and progress of the mutiny and also comment on the reaction of the people. The mutineers seemed to enjoy the sympathy of certain important persons of Goa, including the Governor-General.⁶³

The mutineers established themselves at the fort of Nanuz and equipped themselves with adequate arms and ammunition as also guards. There were patrols encircling the fort within the hearing distance of a trumpet, and also at Volvoi and Colmar Ghat, to guard against any surprise attack.⁶⁴ According to a "fairly accurate" British estimate from Sawantwadi, this fort housed 540 soldiers, of which 486 were Hindus and the rest being Muslims (27) and Christians (25). The mutineers did not have anyone above the rank of a Naik among them.⁶⁵ From the testimonies of the mutineers who were caught by the government, as well as from the correspondence between the British and the Portuguese governments, we learn that Abdul Usman Khan, Arjun Rawat, Balaji Porob, Narain Naik and Narain Samplekar were the leaders of the *sipais*, both at the *quartel* as well as at Nanuz.⁶⁶

Besides Gomes da Costa's attempt, what other measures were taken by the Government to check the advance of the mutineers and to ensure their return to the barracks? The Governor-General, on receiving news of the mutiny, immediately reached Panaji at 2.30 a.m.⁶⁷ He wanted to follow the rebels and bring them back but the lack of arms and men, the folly of leaving the capital at such a delicate moment, and the fact that the rebels had a headstart, made him give up this course of action. At 8 a.m., Major Lucio de Faria and two officers, Mendonça and Julio Roncon, were sent in search of the rebels.⁶⁸ These officers did not meet with any success because, on reaching Cumbarjua, they found that the rebels had already taken the road to Sanquelim.

The Governor-General forthwith conveyed this news to Lisbon. In his reply, the Minister of Navy and Overseas ordered him to crush the revolt at all costs, and immediately dispatch to Moçambique the requisite force of 480 men.⁶⁹ At the same time, the Minister assured the Governor-General that a warship with additional troops would be sent to Goa. On 19 September the Viscount of Ourem conveyed to the Home Government the plea

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of the rebels for a pardon and a withdrawal of the order of forcibly sending them to Moçambique. The Home Government refused this request and once again reiterated that the mutineers should be immediately caught and all, except the leaders, should be sent to Moçambique.⁷⁰

Unable to capture the *sipais* and implement the order of the Home Government, on the one hand, and unable to effect the voluntary return of the mutineers by offering them a general pardon on the other, the Governor-General proceeded to break this stalemate in two ways, firstly, by strengthening the capital's defences and, secondly, by sending a conciliatory mission to the rebels stationed at Nanuz.

In order to prevent this 'virus' from infecting other Maratha soldiers present in the city, the Governor-General posted armed guards at strategic points in the city, like the Linhares bridge and the *Portas das Fountainhas*, which served as entrances to Panaji. Besides this, four guns were mounted at the four angles of the city *quartel*, manned by competent soldiers.⁷¹ The Governor-General also sent small detachments to different parts of the territory where he considered their presence necessary and wired Lisbon for a gunboat to be sent to Goa. The Portuguese also sought permission of passage to transfer soldiers from Daman to Goa from the British government of Bombay.⁷² At the same time, a committee was constituted with Norton de Maltos, as the President and Major Porphyrio Augusto, Captain A. V. da Costa Lermenho, Captain A. B. Coelho and Lt. A. A. de Sá as members to enquire into the circumstances attending the military revolt.⁷³

Considering the fact that the soldiers had camped in the heart of Sattari, the Governor-General feared that, after having exhausted their means of sustenance, they would make common cause with the Ranes, and that the two would attack the territories of the 'Old Conquests' on a plundering spree. To prevent this eventuality, he supplied food to the rebels and also dispatched the Viscount of Bardez, Inacio Caetano de Carvalho, and the Count of Mahem, with an armed guard to try and end this explosive situation through amicable means.⁷⁴ The mission reached a place called Choranchó Ambo, on the border of Sanquelim where they encamped. They even offered food to the rebels. The next day, at 9 a.m. negotiations commenced with the Desai of Lamgão and

Rauji Rane Sardessai of Nadora serving as intermediaries.⁷⁵

The rebels laid down the following conditions for surrender – that they should not be compelled to go to Africa; that amnesty be granted to them; and that those who wished to be released from duty be permitted to do so. Even the threat of the arrival of an expeditionary force to Goa, did not deter the *sipais*. The Government, despite its sympathetic disposition, was in no position to comply with their demands because it continued to receive strict instructions from Lisbon to restore order by capturing the rebels and then to send them to Moçambique. The Home Government refused to submit the mutineers' request for amnesty to the King unless discipline was restored by capturing the rebels. Hence, the stalemate continued.

As their supplies dwindled and the official aid came to a halt, the *sipais* took to seizing government soldiers, kidnapping civilians for ransom and ransacking houses of rich traders. The merchants as well as some of the other people now sought shelter in the neighbouring British Indian territory.⁷⁶ When the British learnt of the outbreak of the mutiny, they ordered the frontier posts between Sawantwadi and Goa to be strengthened. The number of refugees that took shelter in the British lands from 4 October 1895 to 13 October 1895 was 104, of which nine were from Valpoi and the remaining 95 from Sanquelim, including 25 members of the family of Datoba Nadkarni who had been kidnapped by the rebels. Interestingly enough, all 104 of them were Hindus. The Political Superintendent of Sawantwadi had been cautioned by his superiors in Bombay to follow a policy of wait and watch with regard to the rebels who may seek shelter in the British Indian lands.⁷⁷

At Nanuz, the ranks of the *sipais* swelled up to almost one thousand under the leadership of Abdul Usman Khan, supported by Balaji Porob, Arjun Rawat, Narain Porob and Narain Samplekar.⁷⁸ Drills were conducted on a daily basis and the mounted guns were frequently test-fired. Reconnaissance missions were also sent to Panaji to keep the leaders informed about the government's moves.⁷⁹ At the same time, the *sipais* sent feelers to the Ranés and the Desais to join them. Some of those who declined to make common cause with the *sipais* were captured. These included Govindrao Rane of Rivona and the Ranés

of Keri and Gululem, as well as the Desais of Tanem and Bocal.⁸⁰

The discontented Ranes, who were awaiting an opportunity to revolt against the unjust distribution of their lands to the Nadkarnis, as has been discussed in Chapter 6, joined the mutineers at Nanuz. A meeting had been held between the two in a temple at Valpoi and the merger of the force of the *sipais* into the prospective Rane revolt had been effected.⁸¹ On 14 October 1895, their combined forces, some eight to nine hundred strong, with Dada Rane Advaiakar in command, poured into Bardez, blowing their *shingas* (horns) and conchshells, looting and plundering, as they marched towards the capital.

Faced with the outbreak of yet another revolt of the Ranes, the Portuguese government granted amnesty, on 14 October 1895 itself, to "such of the *sipais* of the infantry battalions as have proved rebellious since the morning of the 14 September till this day," and declared that "those *sipais* will not be compelled to proceed to Moçambique but will be granted a discharge on their surrender to the government, with arms in their possession."⁸² The mutineers, however, refused to accept the amnesty unless it was simultaneously extended to the Ranes. The amnesty incidentally did not enjoy the approval of the Home Government and hence for all practical purposes was ineffective as past experience had proven. Governors came and went, but the revolt raged for months together, unabated. Although the capital remained untouched, the rebels eluded a decisive defeat at the hands of the Portuguese. This forced the Royal *Infante*, Dom Afonso Henriques, who had come at the head of the expeditionary force and remained behind as Viceroy for some months, to grant amnesty to the soldiers on 27 May 1896. The Ranes, however, continued with their struggle and the final amnesty was granted only in September 1897.

Saglea sanvsarak khabar
Pakle gheun ieta mhun vapor
Nativ tumkan kaddinhan re deru
Sanklle san korruya mhanta gherru
Bari nain re make sanvsara khabar
Combinad asa tatun commandanti choru
Hem revolt zanu cheaku.

saglo guneavu ministracho
Informasan daddhun re falsu
Apoun haddlo Dom Afonsaku.
Borem bhognaka saiba Gomes da Costaku
Bomb gain marrunk bhounla Goencheo lokaku.
Bongu bongun tea babddeachen
Visconde d'Ourem Governadorachen
Tanen aplo fuddar chintun
Ratiant gelo re pollun
Saglea sanvsara saiba kosolo abuzu
*Tajea fattlean pollun gelo Andrade juiz.*⁸³

Thus, the three *mandde*, referred to in this chapter (“*Eka Setembrache rati*,” “*Saglea sanvsarak khabar*,” and “*Setembrache choudave rati*”) narrate the outbreak and the progress of the mutiny (“*Setembrache Choudave rati / Panjeant zali re bobatti*” “*Salea sipai ekttain zaun / Bardezant guele marchar zaun*”); the involvement of commandant in the mutiny (“*Combinad asa tatun Commandanti choru*”); the responsibility of the Overseas Minister towards the outbreak of the mutiny (“*Hem revolt zanu cheaku / Saglo guneavu ministracho*”); the alliance of the mutineers under the leadership of Dada Rane (“*Soldad Ranem ekttain zaun*”... “*Dada Raneak kandun guetlo chefu*”); the failure of the Governor-General, Viscount of Ourem, to crush the revolt (“*Bongun, bongun tea babdeachem / Visconde d'Ourem Governaderachen*”); and the local government’s request for an expeditionary force (“*apoun haddlo Dom Afonsaku*”).

From these songs it is apparent that the public sympathy lay with the *sipais* and that the local Portuguese authorities were regarded with contemptuous pity for their inability to crush the revolt.

What was the nature of this mutiny? Was it a spontaneous outburst or a pre-planned one? Was “desperation” its sole cause or were there external factors that also influenced the decision of the *sipais* to revolt? Were they inspired by any such incident in the past or were they instigated by any person, official or private, who had his own axe to grind in this matter? If a Portuguese officer was indeed involved, then who was he? Lt. Col. Felner or Captain Gomes da Costa? If it was a Goan, who was he, the

Viscount of Bardez, Fr. Alvares or Dada Rane? Was the mutiny caught in the 'grip' of the "hydra of nativism"? Did it aim at the liberation of Portuguese Goa or was it an attempt to resolve the immediate grievances of the *sipais* that had been generated by their pending transfer to Moçambique?

As has already been discussed, this was not the first time that the *sipais* had unfurled the banner of mutiny in protest against an official order that they found detrimental to their interests. In fact, in 1879, when the Governor-General, Caetano de Albuquerque, had been asked to send a contingent to Moçambique, some of the soldiers had run away. Others who had been forced to board the ship, had tried to commit suicide by either jumping in the sea or by hitting their heads against the railings of the ship.⁸⁴ Then again, the period, 1870-71, had witnessed the outbreak of two mutinies, at Volvoi and Marcela. Thus there were precedents that the Maratha *sipais* could emulate.

At the same time, it may be mentioned that some Portuguese officers, in the pursuit of their selfish ambitions, could have fanned the latent rebellious sentiments in the *sipais* that had been caused by the transfer order, and thus prompted them to rise in arms. *The Times of India* had termed the happenings of 1895 in Goa as "a sad tale of intrigue."⁸⁵ Two newspapers published from Lisbon, *O Universal* and *Seculo*, had attributed the mutiny to the selfish cunning of the officers of the battalion in question.⁸⁶ Lt. Col. Julio Luis Felner, its commander, had been accused of being the brain behind this revolt. It was alleged that Felner, described as an ambitious officer who was given to seeking popularity, was aiming at the overthrow of the Governor-General, the Viscount of Villa Nova d'Ourem, who, incidentally, was his brother-in-law, and have him replaced with Custodio Borges. In exchange for his support, Borges would hand over the charge of Daman to Felner, upon the transfer of its Governor, Duarte Ferreira, to Panaji as the Secretary-General.⁸⁷ This 'plot' is therefore, referred to as Felner's Revolt (*Revolta de Felner*) in contemporary literature.⁸⁸

The easy camaraderie that Felner enjoyed with his soldiers and their reciprocal loyalty made him 'most eligible' to don the mantle of the 'instigator' of the mutiny. In addition to this, Felner was also accused of aiding and abetting the 'seditious' Fr. Alvares. His visiting card had been found in the possession of Fr. Alvares

and he was known to voice a word in defence of the 'protesting priest' when the latter published his critical writings in *O Brado Indiano*.⁸⁹

Captain Gomes da Costa, on the other hand, has also been accused of being responsible for the outbreak of the mutiny. Circumstantial evidence is cited in support of the view that this ambitious, power-hungry and unscrupulous officer used the mutiny as a stepping stone to further his career prospects. He set the stage in such a manner that he was able to (a) compromise the position of his rival, Felner, by attributing the outbreak of the mutiny to him, and (b) play the role of a 'heroic' officer in defence of the honour of his government. Incidentally, his 'heroic' deeds in Africa later earned for him the title of Marshal and he even became the President of Portugal. It must also be noted that it was Gomes da Costa who, in his capacity as the correspondent of the *Seculo* in Goa, spread the news of "Felner's Revolt" in Lisbon.⁹⁰ Moreover, in his memoirs, Gomes da Costa has stated that the soldiers took this drastic step only after feeling the pulse of their officers, notably Felner who, they thought was sympathetic to their cause and hence reluctant to execute the orders received from Lisbon.

When interrogated by the inquiry committee, Gomes da Costa confessed that he had knowledge of the mutiny four days before its outbreak. Questioned as to why he had not apprised the commandant of this situation, Costa claimed that he had informed the Governor-General of the same.⁹¹ He also blamed certain prominent Goans like the Viscount of Bardez and Fr. Alvares for instigating the *sipais* and the general public to unite and fight for the cause of "India for the Indians."

The Viscount of Bardez, Inacio Caetano de Carvalho, had attracted a lot of publicity, favourable as well as adverse, in the last decade of the nineteenth century. Being officially appointed as the "principal instigator of and the real brain" behind the mutiny of 1895, the Viscount was the subject of rabid polemics. An advocate, the Viscount had gained fame beyond the boundaries of Goa as one who had wielded the editorial pen of newspapers like *O Mensageiro*, *O Oriente*, *A Gazete de Bardez* and *Pátria*. The Viscount was accused of having 'plotted' the mutiny with a view to throw out the Portuguese and replace them with the British

instead.

From the confession of an imprisoned mutineer it was learnt that on 12 September 1895, two retired *sipais*, Babaji Gounço and Ladu Gounço, who had sons serving in the contingent, had sought the advice of the Viscount for a way out of the predicament posed by the transfer order. The Viscount had advised them to refuse to comply with the order. The soldiers had then expressed their conviction that such an act of disobedience must be followed by mass desertion of the troops. When faced with doubts about the proposed course of action, the Viscount allegedly extorted them to mutiny, without taking recourse to violence, and proceed to Sattari with a view to join the Ranés. He is said to have cited the examples of the mutineers of Volvoi and Marcela who had been granted pardon, inspite of their rebellion.

Rama Porob and Narain Naik had testified to the effect that Balaji Gounço, the retired *sipai*, had served as a intermediary⁹² between the Viscount and Abdulla, the leader of the mutiny. However, on interrogation, Balaji denied these accusations. The Viscount, too, refuted these charges and instead put the blame on Gomes da Costa. He claimed that his social and professional interests lay on the side of peace and that any involvement with a mutiny would surely deprive him of his high social and political standing that he could ill-afford to risk. Instead, he explained, the charges were trumped-up at the instance of the Governor-General, Rafael d'Andrade, who wished to take revenge on him for having made a representation against him during his (d'Andrade's) previous tenure that had led to his recall.⁹³ Although he challenged his accusers to substantiate their charges of his involvement in the mutiny with even a single piece of evidence, it cannot be denied that the Viscount was close to the Ranés. Even the British reports refer to him as the advocate of the Ranés in their litigation matters. It is said that Dada Rane used to frequently consult him during the course of the revolt as has been discussed in Chapter 6.

The association of the Viscount with the Ranés provides a new dimension to the issue of identifying the "real brain" behind the mutiny. The fact that the *sipais* had mutinied with their arms and then marched straight to Nanuz, halting on the way only to recoup their haul of arms, seems to suggest that the Ranés had

got them to set the stage by leaving the barracks with arms that would come in handy for their own revolt. If the Ranés had indeed engineered the mutiny with a view to equip themselves with additional human and ammunition power, why then did they wait for a month before they launched their own attack? The *sipais* must have taken the decision to mutiny in utter desperation and then moved towards Sattari to not only seek the support of the Ranés, but also because most of the *sipais* belonged to this *taluka* and the neighbouring areas.

Fr. Alvares is yet another person to whom the course of these events has been attributed. This 'swadeshi-minded' priest was, according to Gomes da Costa, instigating the soldiers and the general public to unite and fight for the cause of "India for the Indians." It was alleged that he was spreading such 'seditious' ideas through the agency of his newspaper, *O Brado Indiano*. However, an analysis of the nature of the mutiny reveals that the *sipais* were more interested in putting their transfer order on the back-burner, rather than striving towards the goal of an independent Goa.

It must be stated over here that the committee of inquiry that was set up to investigate into the cause of the outbreak of the mutiny, had declared that it was solely motivated by the reluctance of the *sipais* to proceed to Moçambique on duty, without guarantees of financial and employment security.

The mutiny was not a military manifestation of the spirit of nationalism that was said to be in the air at this time, especially in the pages of *O Brado Indiano*. If this had been the case, why had the rest of the army not joined the mutiny? Why was no attempt made to take over Panaji, the seat of the colonial government? Instead, the *sipais* proceeded to Nanuz, at every stage being ready to return to the barracks if an assurance of a pardon and the cancellation of their transfer order were to be granted to them. Later, when they joined hands with the Ranés, the mutineers refused to hand over their arms to the latter, intending to return these to the Government in exchange for amnesty.⁹⁴ Again, they had displayed their loyalty to the Portuguese Crown when they had expressed their reluctance to fight against the royal prince, D. Afonso, the brother of the Portuguese King, D. Carlos.⁹⁵ Further, it is incorrect to state

that the mutiny was engineered by the Ranes to acquire additional strength in their anti-imperialist struggle, because, although the revolt of Dada Rane did unleash severe panic in the Portuguese camp, it was not aimed at the liberation of Goa from foreign domination.

Thus, it was the reluctance of the soldiers to proceed to Moçambique on personal, family and religious grounds, prodded on as it were by the fear that this overseas appointment might be a permanent one, that led to the outbreak of the mutiny. The *sipais* may have been emboldened to take this step prompted by the sympathetic attitude of the officers who, too, were not eager to leave for Africa. The Viscount of Bardez apparently played no mean a role in advising the 'discontented *sipais* on the course of action to adopt. However, it must be reiterated that throughout the mutiny what was uppermost in the minds of the *sipais* was a prompt redressal of their grievances and not the liberation of Goa from colonial rule.

What success did the mutiny attain, if any? On the one hand, the soldiers were granted pardon in September 1897, and, on the other, the government considerably revised its recruitment policy in the light of these happenings. A conciliatory notification was issued inviting four hundred soldiers to serve in Africa for a period of three years, at a pay of 12 *annas* per diem and with assurances that their customs would be respected and that they would be allowed to cook and eat separately.⁹⁶

Thus, like a comet, the mutiny of 1895 flashed across the political horizon of Goa, followed by the more widespread, violent and protracted Revolt of Dada Rane.

*"Setembrache choudave rati
Panjeant zali re bobatti
Saglea rati vazoun corneti
Sipai sanddun guele bayoneti
Daran dhapun sarjent aslo gaurdaki*

*Sagle sipai ekttain zaun
Bardezant guele marchar zaun
Tannin gupit korun paktu
Bhair sorun guele Sattaricu*

*Dada Raneank mandun ghetlo chefu
 Portugalak khabar diun
 Forsu ailo tarvar borun
 Dom Afonso Sattaricu vossun
 Bassau tankla korunc
 Saglea Raneak hadle re dhorun.*⁹⁷

Notes and References

1. Roberto Bruto da Costa, *A Hidra do Nativismo* (Nova Goa: Tipografia Bragança e cia., 1920) 19-20.
2. *Livro das Monções do Reino*, DAAG, no. 195, fl. 845.
3. *Ibid.*, fl. 64.
4. *O Ultramar Suplemento*, no. 517, as quoted in F.D.d'Ayalla, *Goa Antiga e Moderna* (Lisbon: Typographia do 'Jornal do Comercio,' 1888) 238.
5. *Boletim*, 28 January 1870 (no. 8), pp. 77-86 and 1 February 1870 (no. 9) 93-96.
6. *Ibid.*, article no. 25, decree of 2 December 1869.
7. *Ibid.*, article no. 2.
8. *Ibid.*, article no. 3.
9. *O Ultramar*, Margão, 25 March 1870, contains a letter from Bernardo Francisco da Costa to António Francisco Salles d'Andrade, absolving himself of any blame for the passage of this decree. Also see, *Jornal do Comercio*, Lisbon, 30 May 1870.
10. *O Ultramar*, 25 February 1870.
11. The Margão battalion had mutinied at a time when a grand ball was underway at the house of Filippe Nery Colaço. It was attended by almost all the prominent citizens of Margão, including the top army officials. When the mutineers sounded the bugle, the soldiers and musicians present at the ball, promptly left to join their colleagues, *O Ultramar*, 25 February 1870.
12. A. A. Bruto da Costa, *As Revoluções Politicas da Índia Portuguesa do Seculo XIX* (Margão: Typographia do 'Ultramar,' 1896) 91.

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13. *O Ultramar*, 5 March 1870.
14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.*
16. F. D. d'Ayalla, *op. cit.*, 239.
17. There are, however, references to a few acts of violence committed in the vicinity of the route taken by the mutineers (a gang robbery, burglary in the house of a rich landlord of Khandola who was beaten up by the thieves), though their link with the soldiers was not established, A. A. Bruto da Costa, *op. cit.*, 93.
18. Visconde de Sam Januario, *Duas Palavras Acerca da Ultima Revolta do Exercito do Estado da Índia* (Bombay: Typographia de 'Economist Steam,' 1872) 2.
19. *Ibid.*
20. Waman Narayan Palekar, *Shatratejacha Pratap atha Govyantil Rannyacha Bandhachi Dhamdhum* (n. p. n. d.) 99.
21. A. A. Bruto da Costa, *op. cit.*, 98.
22. *Ibid.*, 97, 100.
23. Visconde de Sam Januario, *op. cit.*, 5.
24. For details of the defence arrangements see, "Report of the Governor-General on the Revolt," *Boletim*, 14 November 1871 (no. 88) 466.
25. This session was held on 22 September 1871, *Boletim*, 14 November 1871 (no. 88) 465-466.
26. *Star of India*, 28 September 1871. This news item was refuted by the Goa government in *Boletim*, 6 October 1871 (no. 78) 421.
27. *Boletim*, 26 September 1871, (no. 75) 391.
28. For the text of these letters see, *Boletim*, 27 September 1871, *supplemento* (no. 75) 401; *Boletim*, 28 September 1871, 2nd *supplemento* (no. 75) 403-404; *Boletim*, 30 September 1871, *supplemento* (no. 76) 409; *Boletim*, 1 October 1871, *supplemento* (no. 76) 411-413; and *Boletim*, 3 October 1871, (no. 77) 418.
29. These letters were written by "a Hindu who wishes the well-being of the soldiers," *Boletim*, 28 September 1871, 2nd *supplemento* (no. 75), p. 404 and *Boletim*, 1 October 1871, *supplemento* (no. 76) 413.
30. A. A. Bruto da Costa, *op. cit.*, 100.
31. Visconde de Sam Januario, *op. cit.*, 5.
32. *Ibid.*, 8. for the full text of this notice see *ibid.*, doc. no. 30; 39.
33. *Boletim*, 3 October 1871, (no. 77) 417.

34. Visconde de Sam Januario, *op. cit.*, 19.
35. F. D. d' Ayalla, *op. cit.*, 248.
36. A. A. Bruto da Costa, *op. cit.*, 106.
37. Translation of the *mando* is as follows:
 One September night
 amidst loud shouts and bugle sounds
 the soldiers left, despite the poor Commandant's
 shouts to contain them.
 The soldiers and Ranés joined forces
 and attacked Mapusa, Marcela and
 the chapel of Colvale which they robbed.
 They broke open the door of the Treasury
 and took with them Mengu.
38. "Revolta Militar em Goa," *Boletim Indiano* (=BI), Bombay, 20
 September 1895, 29; *Livro das Monções do Reino*, DAAG, 1895, 9214,
 fl. 41.
39. This was a revolt of the ruler of Magaia accompanied by the people
 of Zixaxa. The revoltees took the post of Angoane and attacked the
 city of Lourenço Marquês on 14 October 1894. The Portuguese
 repulsed the insurgents and mounted a full-scale attack on certain
 tribes whose leaders, after suffering a defeat at Marracuene in
 February 1895, fled to Gungunhana, the great chief of Gazaland, for
 protection. Encouraged by this victory, António Enes, the local
 Portuguese Royal Commissioner, decided to end the power of
 Gungunhana who had, at that time, been toying with the idea of
 converting his kingdom into a British protectorate. James Duffy,
Portuguese Africa (Massachusetts: Harvard University Press, 1959)
 230-2; *Grande Enciclopédia Portuguesa e Brasileira*, no. 17, 455.
40. Visconde de Ourem, *A Revolta dos Marathas em 1895* (=A *Revolta
 dos Marathas*) (Lisbon: Tipographia Mattos Moreira e Pinheiro,
 1900) 8.
41. Um Português, *Cartas à Sua Alteza O Senhor Infante D. Affonso
 Henriques sobre os Ultimos Acontecimentos da Índia* (=Cartas)
 (Lisbon: Antiga Casa Bertrand, 1896) 5, 40.
42. *A Revolta dos Marathas*, 8.
43. *Cartas*, 6.
44. A. A. Bruto da Costa, *Goa sob a Dominação Portuguesa* (=GSDP)
 (Margão: Tipographia do "Ultramar," 1897) 211, 251.
45. "Revolta Militar em Goa" and "Bad News from Goa," BI, 20
 September 1895, 29, 31.

46. *GSDP*, 251; *Cartas*, 7; Letter of the Viscount of Bardez to the Governor of Bombay dated 25 February 1896, *Political Department*, Bombay Archives, 1896, vol. I, no. 102, 319-320; mss of *An Account of the Mutiny and the Dada Rane Revolt*, JRC; See Appendix 2, Chapter 6 and Article 1, Order no. 257 of 14 September 1895 in *Conselho de Guerra Permanente*, DAAG, *Processo Crime sobre a revolta Militar e Deserção* (Processo no. 4), 1446/1354 (=PCRMD).
47. *A Revolta dos Marathas*, 12; Letter of Col. H. L. Nutt, the Political Superintendent of Sawantwadi, dated 23 September 1895, to G. W. Vidal, the Acting Chief Secretary to the British Government Political Department, Bombay, *Political Department*, MSA, 1895, vol. II, no. 99, 4.
48. Visconde de Bardez, *Apontamentos para a História da Revolta em Goa dos Soldados, Ranes e Saterienses em o anno de 1895* (=Apontamentos) (Bombay: Nicol's Printing Works, 1896), 18.
49. *Cartas*, 8.
50. Gomes da Costa, *A Revolta de Goa e a Campanha de 1895/1896* (=A Revolta de Goa) (Lisbon: Livraria Popular de Francisco Franco, 1939) 21.
51. *Ibid.*, 30-1.
52. *O Vinte e Um de Setembro*, 14 September 1895.
53. The figures cited are 230, 244, 298 and 430 in *Apontamentos*, 14; *A Revolta de Goa*, 33 and; Gabriel Saldanha, *A História de Goa*, vol. I (Nova Goa: Casa Editora, Livraria Coelho, 1925) 295, respectively.
54. *A Convicção*, Saligão, 21 September 1895; letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal, *op. cit.*, 5; and PCRMD, 86 (testimony of Francisco Xavier d'Oliveira Pegado).
55. *A Revolta dos Marathas*, 10; letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal, dated 23 September 1895, *op. cit.*, 6. *
56. *A Revolta de Goa*, 36; "Deserção da Tropa," *O Ultramar*, Margão, 21 September 1895.
57. *BI*, 20 September 1895, 29. Testimonies of soldiers and officers who witnessed the outbreak of the mutiny, PCRMD, 58, 61, 62, 67, 71.
58. *A Convicção*, 21 September 1895.
59. *A Revolta de Goa*, 36.
60. *BI*, 20 September 1895, 29, 45 and "Deserção da Tropa," *O Ultramar*, 21 September 1895.
61. "The Mutinous Troops at Goa," *BI*, 27 September 1895, 45.

62. *The Times of India*, Bombay, 3 October 1895; *Cartas*, 65; *GSDP*, 252; and letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 23 September 1895, *op. cit.*, 5.
63. The King of Sunda, the Viscounts of Bardez and Pernem, the Count of Mayem and the Municipalities of Bardez and Salcete sent representations to Lisbon, pleading for the grant of pardon to the *sipais* and for a cancellation of their transfer order: letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 14 October 1895, *op. cit.*, 56; *A Revolta em Goa*, 15; and *Apontamentos*, 16.
64. "The Mutinious Troops at Goa," *BI*, 27 September 1895, 45.
65. Letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 30 September 1895, *op. cit.*, 18-19.
66. Letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 14 October 1895, *op. cit.*, 56; *PCRMD*, 45, 53, 65, 91.
67. *A Revolta dos Marathas*, 10.
68. *BI*, 20 September 1895, 45.
69. *A Revolta dos Marathas*, 11.
70. *Ibid.*, 14-15.
71. *BI*, 20 September 1895, 45.
72. British permission was sought to send fifty armed men along with their commanding officers to Bombay by rail and thence to Goa on the "Shepherd" steamer, *Political Department*, MSA, 1895, vol. II, no. 99, 33.
73. This Committee was set up by the Portaria no. 642, *Boletim Official do Governo* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional), no. 101, 17 September 1895, 856; also "The Mutinious Troops at Goa," *BI*, 27 September 1895, 45.
74. *Apontamentos*, 16-7.
75. *Ibid.*, 19-20; letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 30 September 1895, *op. cit.*, 19, 20; Letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 23 September 1895, *op. cit.*, 5.
76. Letters of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 5 October 1895 and 14 October 1895, *op. cit.*, 27, 57, respectively.
77. *Ibid.*, 26, 58. Reply telegram from the Political Department, Bombay, to the Political Superintendent, Sawantwadi, *op. cit.*, 45.
78. *PCRMD*, 45, 59, 65 (testimonies of Musa Beg, Vicente Bandeira de Lima and Luiz Augusto Frederico de Souza e Menezes).
79. Letter of Col. H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 14 October 1895, *op. cit.*, 56.

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80. *Ibid.*, 58.
81. *An Account of the Sipai Mutiny and the Dada Rane Revolt*, mss (Without any mention of the name of the author or the date), JRC, Appendix 2, Chapter 6; also *PCRMD*, 45, 53 (testimonies of Musa Beg and José Francisco Furtado).
82. *Boletim Oficial do Governo*, 14 October 1895, *suplemento*.
83. "The entire world knows
that the Portuguese are coming by steamboat
The natives are not opening the door to them
wishing to fight from Sanquelim.
The news is not good
The Commandant is involved in the plot.
This revolt took place
because of the fault of the minister
He sent false information
Dom Afonso was sent for.
Don't wish well for Gomes da Costa
Because he is out to kill the people
Pity the poor Viscount of Ourem,
The Governor who escaped in the night
What an abuse for the entire world
Judge Andrade has fled behind the former."
84. *GSDP*, 233; "A Revolta," *BI*, 27 September 1895, 38 and *A Revolta dos Marathas*, 12.
85. As quoted in *Cartas*, 47.
86. *Cartas*, 14, 19. To quote the relevant sentence from the *Seculo*, "The officers were greatly responsible for the revolt acquiring these proportions."
87. *A Revolta de Goa*, 26; *Apontamentos*, 12.
88. *Apontamentos*, 11-3.
89. José Inacio de Loyola (?), *O Visconde d Contrabando* (title page missing), MDC, 19.
90. Paulo André, *O Europeismo e a Revolta* (n.p. India Portuguesa, 1896) 27. Also Sertório Coelho, *Uma Página Negra para os Anos da História Colonial Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Tipografia Hitachintak, 1895) 130.
91. *Apontamentos*, 21.
92. *PCRMD*, 91, 96; *A Revolta de Goa*, 31; and *An Account of the Sipai Mutiny and the Dada Rane Revolt*, mss, JRC.
93. *Apontamentos*, *passim*; Letter of the Viscount of Bardez to the

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- Governor of Bombay dated 25 February 1896, *Political Department*, 1896, vol. I, no. 102, MSA and letter of H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 7 January 1896; *op. cit.*, 47.
94. Letter of H. L. Nutt to G. W. Vidal dated 21 October 1895, *op. cit.*, 131.
95. Letter of H. L. Nutt to the Secretary, Government Political Department, Bombay, *op. cit.*, 360; also, *An Account of the Sipai Mutiny and the Dada Rane Revolt*, mss., JRC.
96. Letter of H. L. Nutt to the Secretary, Government Political Department, Bombay, dated 19 November 1895, *op. cit.*, 351.
97. Translation of the *mando* is as follows:

"During the night of 14th September
There were a lot of shouts in Panaji
Throughout the night the soldiers
blew the bugles and left.
The *sipais* got together and
marched into Bardez
They made a secret pact with the Ranes,
accepting Dada Rane as the chief.
Portugal was informed
and a force arrived by ship.
Dom Afonso went to Sattari
Burning the place,
brought back the Ranes as captives."

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