

# GOA: CULTURAL TRENDS

(SEMINAR PAPERS)

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# Shuddhi : Reconversion to Hinduism movement in Goa

— Archana Kakodkar

Scholars and historians have long agreed that *Shuddhi* of the Gavda community became a significant force in the socio-religious history of Goa. Yet the detailed account of this reconversion to Hinduism is not available either in Portuguese or in English. The only book that provides information is K. S. Khirsagar's *Gomantak Shuddhicha Itihas* (1930) in Marathi. But there is a gap between *Shuddhi* of 1928 and the present position of Nav-Hindu Gavdas. This paper will try to fill this gap and discuss as to how they were persuaded to reconvert themselves and their present status in Goan Hindu society.

(Religious reconversions were taking place in India before the arrival of the Portuguese from earlier times.) Elliot and Dawson in their *History of India by its own Historians* provide ample examples. In part I, p. 126, they quote Arab historian Albiladuri, that several Hindus who were converted to Islam became Hindus in the 8th C. A.D.<sup>1</sup> This reconversion which started in the ancient times continues till the present day.

Now turning to Goa, Christianity spread there soon after the Portuguese consolidated themselves there. Albuquerque sent a metal crucifix to D. Manuel soon after the capture of Goa.<sup>2</sup> The Inquisition was established in 1560, and it led to the destruction of all Hindu temples in Goa. In 1566, nearly 13692 Hindus were forcibly converted. In 1578, a group of missionaries pulled down 350 temples and converted 100,000 people<sup>3</sup>. Many Hindus fled with their deities to neighbouring places. Persecution of the Hindus and the material benefits offered to the new converts induced many to embrace Christianity<sup>4</sup>.

Consequences of major historical significance which resulted from the methods and activities of the Inquisition were the



Parit family of Calapur (Santa Cruz) which had devoted wholeheartedly to the work of *Shuddhi*



Re-converted Gauda women and children from Tiswadi



Gauda leaders in *Shuddhi* movement in Tiswadi.



Re-converted Gaudas from Taleigão (Tiswadi) along with Ashram authorities and students.

profound misunderstanding of the nature of Christianity which was implemented in the Indian mind. The intolerance, ruthlessness, cruelty, tyranny which characterised its activities was removed from the spirit of Christian Gospel with its emphasis on compassion and love and it was only natural that its victims should have drawn the conclusion that the Christian God in whose name these activities were carried out was a punitive deity of vengeance and wrath<sup>5</sup>. The Hindus who welcomed the Portuguese to inflict revenge on the Muhammadans found that God of Christians was much more ferocious than that of the Muhammadans<sup>6</sup>. Portuguese believed in the theory '*Cujus regio Lillius religio*' (i.e. religion of the King is the religion of his subject)<sup>7</sup>. On 21 September 1667, Conde de S. Vincent issued an order that all the Hindus should vacate Bardez within a period of two months<sup>8</sup>. This resulted in large scale migration of Hindus to the neighbouring areas.

But these activities ceased for a while in 1774 due to the efforts of Marques de Pombal but were renewed in 1778, during the reign of D. Maria I, Queen of Portugal. This situation continued in Goa till the 19th century. The last century is known for the far reaching and revolutionary changes that came about in the continent of Europe which in course of time were to affect the entire world and the political philosophies of many nations. French Revolution brought the idea of democratic form of Government in the country, a Government of the people, by the people and for the people. Later the wind of change blew over almost the whole continent and Portugal was not left untouched. In 1820, parliamentary system of Government was established in Portugal and as Goa was ruled from Lisbon, Goans too were entitled to send their representatives to the Portuguese Parliament. By a Decree of 18 April 1821, Goa was authorised to elect six members to the Portuguese Legislative Assembly<sup>9</sup> amidst jubilation and scenes of popular enthusiasm for the first time in the history of Goa.

In 1822, only three representatives were elected and they were considered adequate enough for Goa. They were Dr. B. Peres da Silva<sup>10</sup>, Constancio Roque de Costa and Dr. José de Lima Leitão. All three belonged to the Liberal group. Thus the Liberal phase from 1822 to 1928 was marked by resistance movements against the Portuguese on religious, agrarian and other grounds. The

Goans expressed their resentment in the form of revolts against conversions, heavy land revenue and other taxes, racial discrimination and other acts of tyranny<sup>11</sup>.

This period was prominently a period of cultural adjustment producing new forms of group consciousness which in turn generated social and political movements in the Indian sub-continent during the 20th century. Hindu tradition was not exempt from this development. It was reinterpreted primarily in key provinces such as Bengal, Punjab and Bombay Presidency according to regional culture and colonial experience<sup>12</sup>. These differing region expressions of the Hindu culture and religion were blended together in the 20th century because of an uniform Hindu consciousness which generated a Hindu nationalist movement. The organizational base of Hindu nationalism lay in the Akhand Bharat Hindu Mahasabha, which acted both to express and mould Hindu consciousness and in the process re-define the concepts of Hindu and Hinduism<sup>13</sup>.

As a result of centuries of Portuguese domination, the Gavda community in Goa, in spite of its majority status, adopted so many of the attitudes that are typical of suppressed minorities. Their sense of fear and helplessness took a turn for the worse by the challenges of a proselytizing and converting religion i.e. Christianity as Hinduism did not convert and had no method of competing with converting religions. Thus, Hindu leaders faced a future with numerical decline.<sup>14</sup> This threat was most acute amongst the lower castes for example, i.e. Gávdas, who comprised the lowest Hindu social structural base. The concern for numbers grew rapidly in India following the introduction of all India census in 1871. This issue of numbers was particularly crucial in Goa as can be seen from the table given below<sup>15</sup>.

#### POPULATION:

Year	Hindus	Christians	Muslims	Total
1900	210279	260755	4478	475512
1910	215083	266621	4961	486665
1921	218261	245550	5487	469298
1931	250443	247570	6981	504994



**Re-converted Gaudas and village leaders  
from Surla (Sanquelim)**



***Shuddhi* ceremony at Vantem, Sattari**



**Masurkar Maharaj**

It is clear from the above tables that the population of Goa increased very slowly during 1900 - 1910, and between 1910 and 1921 there was a marked decline in it<sup>16</sup>. If we go through it carefully, we find that the Christians and Muslims together were always more, which was one of the reasons of Hindu consciousness in Goa. And that may be one of the reasons why particularly the educated elite joined the Hindu movement of Maharashtra and that is why *Shuddhi* or reconversion of Gavdas was thought of.

### History of *Shuddhi* Movement in India

For the study of *Shuddhi* of Gavdas of Goa, we must consider two main aspects: (1) Evolution of Hindu consciousness in India; (2) History of *Shuddhi* movement in India.

Dayanand Saraswati, founder of Arya Samaj had used *Shuddhi* to reconvert individuals who had joined either Islam or Christianity. This movement gained momentum during 1880s and 1890s. By 1896, Arya Samaj began to perform *Shuddhi* with group of people, and by 1900 had extended this movement to a new area, such as the uplift of untouchables who were transformed into pure caste Hindus. This opened the door to both, winning back those lost to Hinduism as well as end of untouchability<sup>17</sup>. This concern for the lower castes was the realisation that this group of society was most likely to fall prey to the conversion tactics of other religion.

Gavdas are aborigines of Goa. They were converted to Christianity four centuries ago by the Portuguese but except for birth, marriage, and death they never went to the church or to a priest. They never understood Christianity. They followed Hinduism in all respects and in day to day life believed in Hindu deities, prayed to Sun God, did Tulsi Puja, wore Mangalsutra and never changed their traditional Hindu dress. Their food habits did not change with a new religion.

They attended Hindu fairs, festivals and *zattras*, but because they had embraced Christianity, Hindu Gavdas did not keep any relations with them. Of course, they were converted to Christianity

against their will and hence they did not like its doctrines. Most of the Gavdas were landless labourers, and it is a close-knit community. They wanted to join the Hindu faith but were afraid of doing so for the following reasons:- (1) Fear of their landlords, for whom they were working, and in whose lands (*Bhats*) they were staying; (2) Government and the Church.

In Goa, S. S. Phondushastri was the first social reformer to speak publicly about the *Shuddhi* of Gavdas on the occasion of annual day celebration of library of Carambolim. 'Bharatkar' Govind Pundalik Hegde Desai, his associate Dada Vaidya and Yeshavant Pandurang Prabhu Lawande were the trio behind the success of this movement. Yeshwant Lawande got in touch with G. B. Vaidya from Maharashtra who in turn visited Goa in 1918 and surveyed the Gavda community. Dr. Trivikram Yelekar, Govind Pundalik Hegde Desai and Ramchandra Lawande kept in close touch with the Gavdas of Chimbél and found out that they were eager to come back to Hindu fold.

### Vinayakbuva Masurkar and his role

Vinayakbuva Masurkar created religious consciousness amongst the Hindus in Goa. In 1927, he visited Goa from Karwar alongwith his disciples. He entered Goa singing devotional *Bhajans*, *Slokas* of Ramdas and Eknath<sup>18</sup>. He used to halt at the villages, perform *Agni Puja*, *Suryanamaskars* there and played with Hindu psychology to bridge the gap between the local Hindus, Gavdas and ashramites. He used to deliver discourses fluently on *Bhagvadgita* in a simple language. This created love for their religion amongst the Hindus. He travelled from Canacona to Pernem and met people especially Gavdas. On his way, he used to distribute pictures of Hanuman (God of strength) and in the temple of Mahalaxmi at Panaji, he distributed 100,000 copies of *Dasbodh* (Religious hymns by Ramdas) and thus left Goa after showing the seeds of religious change amongst the Hindus in general and Gavdas in particular.

After a few days, he deputed to Goa his three disciples Vishnu Ramchandra Modak Shastri, Amandamurti and Ganapatbuva as preachers. They also travelled and revived their old contacts and

created religious consciousness. Then came president of Hindu Mahasabha, Dr. Siddheshwarshastri Chitrav. His arrival was partly responsible for creating favourable atmosphere for *Shuddhi*. This time ashramites adopted psychological methods again by inquiring about the Gavdas, their families, work and food. This helped them to come nearer and create intimacy.

*Hanuman Jayanti Utsav* was celebrated at Calapur in 1927. It was a great success as many Christian Gavdas attended the celebrations. Vasudev Maharaj arrived with fresh batch of preachers. The time now was thought to be ripe for reconversion. Many Christian Gavdas started holding their *bhouns* (meetings). Leader of each *Vado* (ward) attended *bhouns*. One Victorine (Vithal) put the proposal of reconversion but the elders rejected it. Two eminent lawyers were consulted for legal aspects in the reconversion. The lawyers advised the ashramites to take the individual consent in the form of affidavit before reconversion. Affidavits were prepared and they were signed by every one. This was the most difficult task because all the Gavdas were labourers and had to be contacted during night time only. Sometimes ashramites were beaten by those who opposed reconversion. Finally it was decided that only after collecting 2,000 affidavits, the reconversion process should be initiated. Rich *Bhatkars* (landlords), Government officers, were contacted to gain sympathy and support. Shri Shankarcharya of Nasik (Dr. Kurtakoti) was also intimated and he gave his consent and blessings to go ahead.<sup>19</sup>

Several local leaders came forward to render assistance to the historic social landmark. Those who promised to help were: Keshav Pundalik Kamat (Chimbel), Vishnu Giridhar Dhempe, Rayu Anant Prabhu Nachinolkar, Lolibab Kenkre, Sonu Bhonsle, Rayu Mahambre all from Calapur, Vishwanath Kamat Panvelkar (Dhulapi), Vishnu G. Naik Panvelkar (Nagzar), Yeshwar Prabhu Lawande (Panaji), Ramchandra Lawande (Calapur), Kamalakar A. Ghodekar (Taleigão), Shridhar Prabhu Mahambre (Carambolim), Pandurang V. Borkar (Bori), Vinayakshet Lanjekar (Mapusa) and Vicount of Pernem.

The preachers then returned to Sajjangad in Maharashtra for a

meeting with Masurkar Maharaj on *Shuddhi* in Goa. Affidavits were examined and it was decided to go ahead as early as possible with *Shuddhi* in Goa. Every detail was planned meticulously like (1) which preachers would perform *Shuddhi* ? (2) In case if they were arrested and any unwanted situation arose who would take over? (3) Provision for money till the end and (4) Publicity.

It was decided that the entire Hindu community of Goa should take part in this historical movement. Hence invitations were sent to them, the press and the local leaders. At this time Central and Presidency Legislature meetings were to take place in Delhi and Bombay respectively and it was decided to get support from the Hindu members of the Legislative Council. Leaders like N. C. alias Tatyasaheb Kelkar, Shankarrao Dev were also informed and they were to attend the function in Goa. Hindu Mahasabha leaders from Bombay, editors of *Kesari* and Marathi dailies in Pune and Bombay and prominent personalities like S. Chittrav, Anna Bhopatkar, D. V. Gokhale, Babarao Savarkar, Dr. Savarkar, D. Gogte and Adv. Tuljapurkar, and Baroda Swami, Anand Priya were extended invitations. Besides, consent was obtained from Shri Shankaracharya of Nasik (Dr. Kurtakoti) who gave the final signal for reconversion.

All preparations for the historic event being made, Anandmurti established a reconversion centre at Calapur, which was centrally located. Again the Gavdas called a *bhouns*. Everyone was eager to be reconverted, but no one was willing to be the first in the list. But finally, the lead was taken by Santan Karner (Carneiro) of Chimbel. It was Chimbel village which took the lead and the date was fixed as Sunday 26 February 1928 for the great occasion. Special invitation cards in Marathi were printed for the celebrations. They read thus:

*Shri.....*

*Gavdas were converted to Christianity before centuries. But except birth, marriage and death we do not know Christianity. Our soul and mind are still Hindu. Our customs are Hindu. We are Catholics. So far no one came forward to reconvert us to Hinduism. We requested Musurkar Maharaj to take us into Hindu*

*fold. He has no objection to it. Hence the entire Gavda community has decided to become Hindu and join the religion of our forefathers. The date fixed for this occasion is ..... Kindly try to be present on the occasion with your family and friends and we hope to get sympathy from leaders of Hindu community from Goa<sup>20</sup>.*

*Yours sincerely,*

Santan S. Carneiro	K. M. L. Fernandes
Piedade E. Fernandes	Manuel J. Saldanha
Domingo Souza	Bhikaro Diogo Fernandes
Pedro B. Fernandes	Vitorina S. Baptisa
Joze B. Fernandes	Caitano Pereira
Xavier N. Fernandes	

### **Historic Day (26 February 1928)**

People from neighbouring villages started gathering from Saturday evening (25-2-1928). *Mundan* (Shearing of hair) ceremony started on Saturday night and then the baths were taken. The place was decorated with mango leaves and flowers. Pedestal was erected and on it Sri Masurkar Maharaja's photo was displayed and the *homekund* was constructed. Persons who were to be converted were asked to sit around the *homekund*. Then S.S. Shastribuva requested all the Gavdas to take a joint oath thus:- "*We were in Christian religion and we are entering Hindu faith again. Kindly accept us*". The entire gathering was requested to give its consent. All those who were present said *Tathastu* (as you wish) and with a great applause the actual religious ceremony started followed by chanting of Vedic mantras and hymns. Later on, *Kumkum tilaks* were applied on the foreheads of women-folk, *Gopichandan tilak* for male members. P. V. Virginkar of Margão and Parvatibai Nagueshkar performed this ceremony.

Photographers had a hectic time. Pictures of Sri Hanuman were distributed amongst the Nav-Hindu members and a congratulatory message of Sri Shankaracharya of Nasik (Dr. Kurtakoti) was read out. It was followed by the speech of V. R. Naik Karande Shastri, P. V. Virginkar, J. V. Kamat, B. Pai Dhungat and Anandmurti.

D. V. Raiturkar recited a song of integration. All those present engaged themselves in *bhajans* and the ceremony was over. Total 800 Gavdas were reconverted.

On the same day, in the afternoon, Nagzar (Curca) witnessed the second *Shuddhi*. Pandurang Vaigankar and Jagannath Vernekar (Gavda convert) took the lead to organize the successful reconversion at Nagzar. Nearly 350 Gavdas became Hindus. It was indeed a very memorable day, as in all 1150 Gavdas came back to the fold of Hinduism. Soon, Masurkar Swamy was informed telegraphically about the successes of *Shuddhi*.

*Shuddhi* movement was going on till the end of May 1928 in Goa. Prominent Indian leaders in Delhi like Pandit Madan Mohan Malviya, Dr. Munje, Taltyasaheb Kelkar, Bapuji Ane, Lala Lajpat Rai were informed and all were jubilant. Congratulatory letters and money started flowing in the Masurashram.

Local newspapers like *Bharat*, *Hindu*, *Pracasha* supported the *Shuddhi* and published in bold print information and editorials. But *Heraldo* ignored the entire episode. *Diario da Noite* started instigating the Government and issued wrong statements about the *Shuddhi* through its columns. It accused this movement as political and said its aim was to throw out the Portuguese Government alleging that it was started by the British Indians.

*Diario da Noite* succeeded in instigating the Archbishop of Goa. He therefore felt that the action of the Portuguese Government of increasing the age of marriage to 20 years for a boy and 16 years for a girl (which was originally 14 and 12 respectively) was responsible for this *Shuddhi* movement. He contacted the Governor-General of Goa, Dr. Pedro Massano de Amorim, who felt that the Republic should grant Goa religious freedom. But if the age of marriage had this effect, he promised to write to Lisbon and get the clearance which he got within eight days. To avoid any legal hindrance to *Shuddhi*, a committee was formed of some leaders of the Hindu society. They were Jivaji Mahatme, Shiva Fatu Pai Angle, Vitthal Sukhtankar, Adv. Shankhwalkar, Dubhashi, Vyankatesh Sardessai, K. M. R. Deshpande. *Bharat* and *Hindu* periodicals were requested to take out special

supplements on the issue. *Diario da Noite*, continued to instigate the Government to act and hence the Government ordered for the information about preachers of Masurashram. On 11 March 1928, *Shuddhi* was fixed at Keri. The Catholic priest of Keri threatened those who were ready for reconversion.

They were taken to Ponda at Dr. Almeida's House where Police Commandant Silva, Government Attorney Figueiredo and several high officials were present. Gavdas from there were warned that they would be put into Aguada jail and forcibly made them sign a document which stated that the Ashram was forcing them to get converted. They were paid Rs. 10/- each for liquor and released.

Police Commandant Silva, Capt. Sequeira, R. A. Pegado and Amaral came to Vijayadurga temple and arrested Ganapat Buva, who was in the possession of affidavits. But he clearly handed them to Raghunath Bhandari. They warned the crowd that if they got converted, they would be jailed and the temple would be demolished. Dada Vaidya was also arrested and both of them were brought to Panjim. Anandmurti and Shashtribuva were also arrested. This action infuriated the entire Hindu society. Nearly 1000 newly converted Gavdas mustered courage to march to the Governor-General's residence to demand release of Anandmurti, Shashtribuva and Ganapatbuva. As a result Dada Vaidya was released but was not allowed to go out of Panjim city. The impasse continued for about 25 days and he had to present himself at the police station at least twice a day. All the leading Hindu Sabha leaders were informed. *Kesari* gave information in detail of the arrest of three ashramites. Hindu Mahasabha leaders all over India sent telegrams to the Governor-General of Goa for their immediate release. This created a favourable public opinion in British India. The Portuguese Government was charged for the suppression of civil rights and was condemned all over India. Bombay Provincial Legislative Council, the Legislative Council at Delhi, Shri Shankaracharya and others sent telegrams to the Governor - General. All this resulted in the immediate release of all those who were arrested and they were deported to the British territory.

As stated before, reconversion continued all over Goa till the end of May 1928. But in the meantime, the Hindu Mahasabha

appointed an inquiry commission about *Shuddhi* in Goa. It was headed by Dr. B. S. Munje, S. Chitrav, Adv. Jathar and included Tatyasaheb Kelkar and V. P. Mahajan of *Kesari* as members. This commission met the Governor - General of Goa on 26 May 1928 and convinced him that *Shuddhi* was a purely religious movement.

On 27 May 1928, José Manuel and his wife who were forcibly baptised again were again reconverted to Hinduism at a special ceremony in the Mahalaxmi temple of Panjim by S. Chitrav. This action was treated as a prestige issue.

Elated by the success of the *Shuddhi* movement, Masurashram opened schools in Goa at various places like Chimbél, Panvel, Carambolim, Dhulapi, Taleigão (Bandar), Calapur (Madyant), Caranzalem, Pale, Savai etc. Religious education was also imparted there. The system adopted was co-educational. Adult literacy classes were started in the night. The work of renaming converts was pursued vigorously and arranging their marriages was also done by the Ashram.

### Goan *Shuddhi* in British Parliament

A prominent Member of the House of Commons, Shapurji Saklatwala raised several questions at the meeting of the House of Commons on 4 April 1928 regarding Goan *Shuddhi* such as the arrest of Masurashram preachers in Goa, Portuguese priests instigating the Government against *Shuddhi* and harassment of reconverts.

### Reaction of Legislative Council, New Delhi

Hindu leaders wrote a letter to the Governor-General of Goa on 16 March 1928 requesting him to protect the reconverts and not to obstruct reconversions. Signatories to this letter were Pt. Madan Mohan Malaviya, Sri Purushottam Das Thakur, Mukundrao Jayakar, Ghanashyam Birla, Dr. B. S. Munje, Lala Lajpat Rai, Srinivasa Aiyangar, Ganesh K. Khaparde, N. C. Kelkar and others.

Bombay State Law Commission and Bombay Municipal

Committee Members on 15 March 1928 sent a telegram to the Governor-General of Goa which read thus: "*Learnt reliably Anandmoorti with two of Masur Math arrested at Panjim by Goa Authorities, viewing arrests with great concern, request Goa Government to inform reasons. Believe arrested persons will obtain human treatment and full opportunity to defence. Please wire reply to Dr. Sawarkar, Girgaon.*"

The signatories were — B. R. Ambedkar, N. B. Chandrachud, V. H. Pataskar, H. J. Amin, Dr. N. D. Savarkar, S. L. Silam, S. K. Puppala, Dr. M. B. Velkar and others.

Jagadguru Sri Shankaracharya (Dr. Kurtakoti) too sent a telegram to the Governor-General which read thus:- *Governor-General, Panjim, Goa. Jagdguru Shankaracharya (Dr. Kurtakoti) regrets unjustifiable detention of our religious Shuddhi workers in your provinces at Panjim. Such unfair interference in legitimate work of our peaceful workers will create ill feeling in British India against Portugal Republic. His Holiness therefore desires Your Excellency to investigate into matter immediately.*

Governor-General of Goa replied telegraphically to Masurashram thus:-

*To Kshirsagar, Manager of Brahmacharyashram, Masur, Karad No. 50.*

*I am charged His Excellency Governor General that Hindus referred to in your telegram were not arrested but were at disposal of police for enquiries as police was given a report their being in connection with persons who acted criminally threatening and coaching natives in case they do not follow Hinduism. This being done in opposition law and absolute liberty creeds while his Excellency desires and wants to be maintained.*

Today, there are three types of Gavdas in Goa.

- 1) Gaud Gavdas — who are Hindu Gavdas, claiming to be the descendants of Parashuram.

- 1) Christian Gavdas who were converted during the Inquisition and
- 2) The Nav-Hindu Gavdas who are twice converted during the Inquisition first to Christianity and then to Hinduism in 1928. They have family surnames as Aldonkar, Mulgaonkar, Shirodkar, Borges, Bandoḍkar etc. It is clear that some have changed their surnames after *Shuddhi* and some prefer their original Catholic surnames like Fernandes etc. The houses of these Nav-Hindu Gavdas are built wall to wall but nicely arranged in a square. There is an open space (or quadrangle) in front of all the houses, and the Nav-Hindus arrange their religious and cultural activities in the centre of this open area. There is generally a big cross in quadrangle and also *Tulsi Vrindavan* in front of each house. Even today some of them offer prayers at the cross and light candles and also perform *Tulsi Puja* and *Ganesh Puja*.<sup>23</sup> It is a very close community and the marriage takes place among Nav-Hindus only. While Gaud-Gavdas consider them as untouchables, Christian Gavdas do not have any marital relations with them. Today, they are not on any side, but are socially alienated from both the other Gavda communities.

The exact figure of the total number of Gavdas in Goa is not available. As per the Goa Gazeetter, the number of Nav-Hindu Gavdas is approximately 25,000. B.D. Satoskar in his book *Gomantak Sahitya Sanskriti and Prakriti* states that it is about 66,000. Gavda leaders of Goa when contacted claim it to be 1,05,000. The rate of literacy amongst them is very low. In their community, today they have 3 lawyers, 2 doctors and a few teachers. The progress made by Nav-Hindu Gavdas during the last 60 years is pathetic. Their position in Goa is just the same as the position of Nav-Buddhists in Maharashtra, who are still treated as untouchables by the caste Hindus. This mass conversion in fact has not lessened the decades - long embittered relationship among all types of Gavdas. There is hardly any sociable or religious contact between all the three types of Gavdas.

Therefore, it is felt necessary that the Government should try and conduct the survey of these converts, give them special

facilities or treat them like other backward communities (lately this is done) for national integration and social harmony and to avoid the future communal and caste tensions in Goa. It should take the lead to end such social disparities. The conversion in fact has not done any good for this community. In fact it has created one more caste in their social hierarchy.

Thus, the case of Nav-Hindu Gavdas shows that no community tolerates the conversion of its members to other religious fold and it is a historical fact.<sup>24</sup>

## APPENDICES

### Shuddhi figures & facts. Tiswadi and some other places

<u>Name of village</u>	<u>No. of people</u>
1. Chimbhel	800
2. Nagzar	350
3. Calapur	285
4. Nagali	250
5. Pale	270
6. Bandhar	170
7. Malbhat	125
8. Dhulapi	100
9. Caranzale	100
10. Savle	70
11. Madyant	85
12. Navshe	70
13. Panvel	50
14. Siridão (Palyant)	135
15. Karmali	690
16. Kakra	6
17. Santan	350
18. Jinant	150
19. Panaji	9
20. Diwadi	11
21. Chodan	100
22. Londha	26

23. Sukerwal	34
24. Beti	50
25. Murgão	75
26. Dona Paula	61
27. Navshi (Vhadlebhat)	175
28. Calapur, Chimbhel, Nagzar and people from neighbouring places	303
Total	4,851

### Antruj Mahal

1. Aakar	86
2. Kusmane	40
3. Khede	56
4. Mangueshi	52
5. Kone	58
6. Gaothan	17
7. Khede	9
8. Pisagal	11
9. Majilwada	187
10. Kunkoliem	301
11. Tamshi	3
12. Ambad	137
13. Arle, Vangal	169
14. Karmati	281
15. Arle	14
16. Sankav	43
17. Madhlawada	19
18. Sankavwada	139
19. Panchmi	36
20. Murdi	141
21. Bori	26
22. Banastari	12
23. Wadi	9
24. Ghonshi	162
25. Kurti tembi	4
26. Savai	162
Total	2174

## Sattari Mahal

1. Pali	175
2. Surla	75
3. Vante	284
4. Usgaon	<u>45</u>
	579
5. At several places	<u>211</u>
Total reconversions	<u>7815</u>

**Balance Sheet of re-conversion from 1927 to 1930.  
Brahmacharyashram, Masur (Satara)**

CREDIT		DEBIT	
51	Balance	7352-1-6	Travel
1437-8-0	Dasbodh Monthly	1631-8-3	Postal
10703-0-9	Brahmacharyashram, Masur	262-2-3	Celebration
<u>1517-0-0</u>	<u>Dasbodh Office</u>	1322-1-9	Bhandari
13657-8-9		253-0-0	Printing
10577-6-0	People's Contribution towards Shuddhi	1621-11-9	Food
		419-15-3	Misc.
		1302-6-0	Publicity
1. Kesari		2734-8-0	Literature
2. All India Shuddhi Sabha		548-6-0	Conversion Dept.
3. Ratnagiri Hindu Sabha		2837-7-9	School
4. Shraddhanand Smarak Shuddhi Fund		1065-0-0	Salaries
		2000-0-0	Payment of Dept.
5. Hindu Sabha		1400-0-0	To Dasbodh
6. People		600-0-0	To Dasbodh Office
		50-0-0	Misc
		813-10-3	Balance
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24,285-14-9		24,285-14-9	

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