

HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN GOA

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By

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CERTIFICATE
[Under O.19.8 (vi)]

This is to certify that the thesis entitled “ History of The Press in Goa ” submitted by Rekha Mishra for the award of the degree of Ph.D in History is a record of the original research work done by the candidate under our supervision and to the best of our knowledge, the thesis or any part thereof, has not been previously submitted for any other degree or diploma in any University or institution. We, hereby, certify that Rekha Mishra has satisfactorily pursued her course of research under the conditions prescribed by Goa University.

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DECLARATION

[Under O.19.8 (ii)]

This thesis is based entirely on the original work carried out by me under the guidance of (1) Professor Dr. K.M. Mathew, Former Head, Dept. of History, Goa University and (2) Dr. Pratima Kamat, (Co-guide) Reader, Dept. of History, Goa University. To the best of my knowledge, the present study is the first comprehensive work of its kind in the area mentioned. The literature related to the problem investigated has been surveyed and a list of references is appended. Due acknowledgements have been made wherever outside facilities and suggestions have been availed of.

I hereby declare that the thesis or any part thereof has not been published anywhere or in any other form. It has not been previously submitted by me for a degree of any university.

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
CERTIFICATE	II
DECLARATION	III
ACKNOWLEDGEMENT	IV
TABLE OF CONTENTS	V
INTRODUCTION	1-37
CHAPTER	
1] SOCIO-POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE PRESS IN GOA	38- 107
2] A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN GOA	108- 175
3] PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT AND THE PRESS IN GOA	176-228
4] PRESS AND THE LIBERATION OF GOA	229-304
5] THE PRESS AND SOME OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES	305-386
SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION	387-439
APPENDIX -I: CATALOGUE OF GOAN PERIODICALS FROM 1821 TO 1961	440-487
APPENDIX-II: LAWS THAT REGULATED THE PERIODICAL PRESS IN GOA	488-517
GLOSSARY	518-520
BIBLIOGRAPHY	521-540

INTRODUCTION

INTRODUCTION

The Indian Ocean was to the Christian nations of the West a closed sea before the last quarter of the 15th century, penetrated only by a few daring explorers. The Cape of Good Hope was unknown, and the routes overland from the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf had been barred to Christians by the advance of the followers of the Muhamedan faith. The whole of the carrying trade of the Indian Ocean, both to the east and to the west was in the hands of the Arabs and the Persians. The chief importance to the world at large of the discovery of the route to India by the Cape of Good Hope was in the blow that this discovery struck at the Muhamedan power. Spain and Portugal had freed themselves before Vasco da Gama sailed from the Tagus, yet, for many years after the Portuguese fleets had temporarily cleared the Indian Ocean of the Red Sea traders, the Turkish advance hung like a nightmare over Venice and Hungary. The main artery was, however, cut when the Portuguese took up the challenge of the Muhamedan merchants of Calicut and resoundingly defeated them.¹

The Portuguese, the first Europeans to arrive in India, established themselves in Goa fifteen years before Babur, the founder of the Mughal Empire, set himself up at Delhi. They adopted from the first a policy of securing political power in India. In 1506, Francesco de Almeida installed himself at Cochin as "Viceroy of the Indies"; in 1510 Affonso de Albuquerque established himself at Goa more modestly as "Captain-General and Governor of India." At the behest of the Papacy, they set about making converts and they used printing presses which they

imported into India to reprint catechisms. To the conflicts they provoked by these policies were added troubles in Portugal itself and the opposition of the Protestant Dutch and English. The Dutch who were the pioneers of the newsheet in Europe, were essentially traders in India and in any case they considered India but as a stepping-stone to the "spice islands".

This thesis is a study of "The History of the Press in Goa". The study will throw up words like "printing", "press", "printing-press", "journal", "periodical" and "journalist" very frequently as these words constitute an integral part of the vocabulary of the study. To a layman, the terms "periodical", "journal", "review", "magazine" and "digest" are interchangeable, although they have different connotations. For a better understanding of the subject, it is necessary at the outset to define these words as used in this thesis.² The word "press" gives different connotations. It means a printing or publishing company. The word "printing press" is described as the art or practice of printing newspapers etc. generally or collectively. A "journal" is defined as a newspaper or periodical; it also means a diary or a daily record, covers periodicals that provide such information. "Journalism" is the profession of writing for or editing newspapers etc. A "journalist" is a person writing for or editing newspapers etc. A "periodical" is a newspaper, magazine etc. issued at regular intervals. A "pamphlet" is a small usually unbound booklet or leaflet. "News" is information about important or interesting recent events, especially when published or broadcast; newly received or noteworthy information. "Newspaper" is a printed publication of loose folded sheets containing news, advertisements, correspondence, etc. A "censor" is an official authorized to suppress or expurgate books, films, news etc. on grounds of obscenity, threat to security etc.; act as a censor of; make deletions or changes. The term "press" refers to the establishment, which

undertakes to purvey news and opinion to the general public through regular periodical outpourings of the printing press.³ It is sometimes used, particularly in the discussions of "freedom of the press" to indicate the whole range of expression in print. It is also employed as a general designation for periodical publishing and publications.

The press unfolds through the daily or periodical publications. They are controlled and regulated by persons belonging to different social, economic, political and cultural ideals and ideologies and also reflect great differences in the aspirations and interests of the public to which they are addressed. The press is shaped by different government regulations. The term "periodicals" includes a wide spectrum of publications (illustrated or unillustrated, carrying advertisements or going without them) of periodical issues other than dailies and non-dailies of general interest, containing either general or specialized information. "Reviews" are periodicals, which contain literary material, critical articles and comments on current events. A "magazine" is a paperback periodical of writings by different authors and traditionally a medium of light entertainment. It is brought out regularly after an interval of time, often illustrated and containing advertisements. The word is derived from the Arabic *Makhasin* meaning warehouse and *Khazane* meaning "to store up. "Digests" as periodicals are pocket-sized.⁴

The Press through History

To trace the historical development of the press fully it would be necessary to go as far back as the middle of the 15th century when the device from which the name of the press is derived was introduced in Europe. The history of the press is closely linked to the development of

the printing press and the growth of communications. The Chinese, credited generally with being pioneers in using movable types, were also the first to manufacture paper. It was no coincidence then that the oldest continuing "newspaper" was the court gazette at Peking, which disappeared in the early twentieth century. The art of printing from negative reliefs was known in China around 594 A.D. and from there spread along the caravan routes to the West where taking impressions from wooden blocks became quite common. Somewhere between 868 A.D. and 1045 A.D., the Chinese developed movable type.⁵ The precise date of the European invention is not known but it was independent of the Chinese discovery and is generally given as about 1440.⁶

Germany, France, Holland and Italy have all claimed, at some time or other, to have been the birthplace of printing from movable types. Johann Gensfleisch zum Gutenberg, a goldsmith, is generally considered to be the inventor of printing. He developed movable type in Strasbourg. Gutenberg also invented ink for the metal types, which replaced the wooden blocks. Later in the Rhenish winepress, he found an instrument useful for impressing and flattening printing paper. Types cast in a mould at his foundry were used for certain letters of indulgence issued in 1454 and 1455 and a year later, the famous Vulgate Bible was published. The early printers followed the prevailing style of the scribes, for the simple reason that the reading public was familiar with it.

The invention of printing did not revolutionize the production of books. Individual patrons valued the manuscript book and often despised the printed product. In fact, it was the art of the bookbinder,

which won over connoisseurs to the printed word. The educated urban classes provided the best markets, and printing presses sprang up at all the flourishing centers of international trade and culture. With the development of printing, learning no longer remained the monopoly of those to whom manuscript texts were available. The Church was, of course, the chief patron of the printing press and some of the finest types were cut for use in mass-books, psalters, breviaries, bibles and rituals.

Soon after the Portuguese conquered Goa, the Jesuits arrived and brought the first printing press into India in 1556. It proved to be a great aid in their task of conversion. They utilized the press for printing religious books in Portuguese and in Tamil or Malayalam. The religious and secular authorities were apprehensive of the effect of printing and in several countries including England; repressive measures were taken against its advancement. The printing presses, which were brought in by the East India Company during the years 1674 to 1753, were neglected. It has been suggested that vested interest in the calligraphists employed by the Mughal Court was a barrier to the development of printing. It is probable that disturbed conditions in the country prevented the growth of so essentially peaceful a profession as printing. The art of printing is, however, only incidental to the main enquiry as it was only a phase in the intellectual and territorial expansion of the west.

The international character of the modern newspaper began in Europe in the middle of the 16th century. We first see the handwritten "newsletters" of trading houses appearing as printed news-sheets. These carrying political and economic intelligence were published by enterprising printers as of general interest and

supplemented the private exchange of information between merchants. In 1560, serially numbered news-sheets testify to continuity, if irregularity of publication in some German and Swiss towns, and in 1609 the first of these pamphlets to be published regularly was issued in Germany *the Avis Relation Oder Zeitung*.⁷ From Germany and Switzerland, the influence spread to the Dutch. From 1618, we see regular weekly publications from Amsterdam in English, French, Dutch and German. English printers around 1621 developed their own characteristics, predominant among them being closer ties between editors and readers, better display and more attention to national sentiment. In May 1622, was issued what is now conceded to be the first English newspaper, The Weekly News from Italy, Germany, etc., published in London by Nicholus Bourne and Thomas Archer. On the appearance of the Weekly News, Nathaniel Butter published a rival quarto sheet with the title Newes from most parts of Christendom and eventually the rivals combined their efforts in a venture named Newes of the Present Week. Printing presses were licensed and foreign news was taxed; nevertheless a number of news sheets relating to events in various parts of Europe were published from time to time and the roots of the press may be said to have been established.⁸

By the middle of the 17th century, the weekly publication had established itself, and in 1702, the first daily made its appearance in England. In the U.S.A., the first newspaper appeared as a weekly in Boston in 1704, though at least one earlier attempt had been made which ended with the first issue. The first American daily newspaper appeared in 1783, in Pennsylvania. Long before this time, however, in England and in America the Press had made itself

felt as a powerful force, the weekly newspapers being used with telling effect.⁹ Political restraint, regulation, suppression and persecution in both countries manifested themselves in the early infancy of the Press. The argument for freedom of expression, therefore, was developed before the Press became a power. It was basically an appeal for tolerance of criticism. Secondly, the growth of the influence of newspapers was helped by the weakness of the government or differences in the ruling class. The combination of strength and tolerance in a government is a rare phenomenon. It does not necessarily follow that a weak government tolerates the Press.

A newspaper, is primarily concerned with today. "As stale as yesterday's newspaper" is a common proverbial phrase. The newspaper has become a part of our daily lives. The proclamations of governments, the reports of spies on which rulers depended, the writers maintained by Mughal rulers to keep them informed of the doings of governors in provinces, even the exchange of gossip at the market place or round the village well—all these have been mentioned as serving the cause of the Press. Considerable confusion has been caused by applying the term, "the Press," to the communications of official news-writers who at the Mughal Court also occupied ministerial posts.

The Role and Responsibility of Press as an Institution

The press has so evolved that today it is considered to be a fundamental institution of a society.¹⁰ In a democratic polity, the press always plays a very vital role in creating, shaping and reflecting the public opinion. Intimately concerned with the functioning of the State and the policy it follows, its contributions to socio-economic and political development are quite significant. Influencing almost every aspect of life, and discharging five basic responsibilities i.e. to survive, to provide information, to offer guidance or interpretation of the news, to entertain and to serve the public, the press is rightly described as the fourth estate and occupies a commanding position as a medium of mass communication. A private business enterprise that functions as a public institution,¹¹ it acts as a watch-dog as well as a catalytic agent to hasten the process of social and economic change and secure people's participation and involvement in the country's all-round development. Acting as a public conscience the press digs up stories affecting the public welfare and publicizes injustice. It acts as a constant goad to elected and appointed officials by keeping its readers informed about government. It assists worthy causes by promoting them in news, stories and pictures.

In a democracy, it is expected that the people should play an active role in the formation as well as functioning of the government. Their participation, involvement and identification with or alienation from the government depends on their awareness of and information about the political system, political actors, decision-makers, social, economic and political environment. Their effective participation and desired role in the political system depend on the attitudes and values, which can, to some extent, be moulded, shaped and influenced by the press.

Source of Information

The dissemination of news and information is primary function of the press. It is a response to a fundamental human desire and indeed the right - the right to know. The press, particularly the newspapers, makes public different kinds of announcements. It states the time, place and the topic of meetings and publishes announcements of births, deaths and functions. The people are informed about current issues and upcoming events. Functioning like a community bulletin speed and accuracy in imparting information are its hallmark. Through it the people get knowledge and information far beyond the boundaries of an individual's own observation and experience. It is a source of information on wars, economics, geography, history, international relations, psychology, politics, medicine, meteorology, the weather, important and influential people. It provides such information that people following different professions and hobbies can use it to make appropriate decisions in their daily living. Such is the reputation for accuracy and reliability of information built up by the press

The editor interprets and paraphrases the thought of the community and the readers voice their response through the "Letters to the editor" page. Writers contribute features, stories, humor columns and other tid-bits. The participation of the public in the publication contributes to the popularity of the press. The press plays the role of a semi-public utility institution. In a community where the newspaper exerts a strong influence, it is as "important" as a telephone exchange, electricity, gas service, light

and power company or any other public utility organization.¹² The press in every democratic polity is called upon to protect the public and check any effort on the part of the authority to limit in the slightest degree the privileges of free expressions as defined in the Constitution. It also helps authority in good deeds of public service and threatens would-be offenders and criminals.

Duties of the Journalist.

The all India Newspaper Editors' conference in their memorandum to the first Press Commission stated that "Journalism should strive to inform the people of current events and trends of opinion, to create and sustain an ever widening range of interest, and to encourage discussion of current problems with due regard to all points of view, all of which involve accurate and impartial presentation of news and views and dispassionate evaluation of conflicting ideals."¹³ The journalist should not attempt to create unnecessary sensationalism by publishing distorted news and biased comments. News and views should be based on facts supported by evidence. The news should be truthful, objective, impartial and comprehensive.¹⁴ Public opinion is based on, and influenced by, information. Misuse of mass media or abuse of their power can strain social and international relationships. It can pose a threat to international security and may harm international progress and prosperity. On the other hand, a responsible media can create mutual understanding, feeling of peaceful coexistence and social harmony.

Journalistic Realism and Idealism¹⁵:

The Idealist in journalism lays stress on audience while journalistic realism emphasizes content. The former is subject-oriented and the latter, object-oriented. The former postulates that

- (i) A news event is basically what happens in the minds of the audience member.
- (ii) A news story is a device, which triggers a perception or image in the audience member's mind.
- (iii) There is no 'news' except that which is perceived by the audience member. For the idealist, news is not news until it is reported, that is, perceived by an audience member through a report.

Thus a realist is more object and event-minded than an idealist who tends to be a subjectivist when it comes to objective reporting. His own feelings, reactions, conclusions, judgments as well as those of the audience members find way into his reports. An idealist is more dedicated to involvement and advocacy. He is more prone to have an interest in audience analysis than in content analysis. He is more psychologically oriented than is the realistic journalist.

Ethics is usually individual or personal even when it relates to obligations and duties to others. We do right or wrong by ourselves in that part of our life lived individually or socially or in that part where we are reacting and responding to other persons. Thus, there are two

sides to individual and social morality implicit in the very concept of ethics. The journalist as one is not simply writing for the education of others. He is also writing for self-expression and he and his ideas ^{enter} into his journalism. What he communicates is in a very real way what he himself is. The journalist who has concern for ethics does care about good or right action. Such a concern indicates an attitude, which embraces both freedom and personal responsibility. It leads to the discovery of norms for action or as guiding directives in propagating the kind of life, which he finds socially meaningful and satisfying. However, what characterizes most journalists today according to Merrill is a lack of commitment and consistency. When a journalist chooses any particular ethics, he has certain social considerations in his mind. Ethics is a branch of philosophy that helps journalists determine what is right in journalism. It is very much a normative science of conduct--primarily determined voluntarily.

The Social Function of the Press

The functions of the press are to inform, to entertain, to educate and to activate the public. This was the spirit, which inspired, encouraged and goaded the nationalist papers during the struggle for independence. The press makes a significant contribution to the development of political awareness, promotes public cooperation and helps the people in understanding local, national and international issues and problems. It acts also as a link between the rulers and the ruled and thereby it becomes an integral part of the system of modern government and an essential "public service". Through the media, leaders influence as well as lead the people, but the latter can react and respond to the actions taken

by the former, and the government and the governed can become partners in progress. The press helps people to articulate their opinions, ventilate their grievances, put forth their demands on the system, and express their views on different issues and policies adopted by the Government. By developing a lively "Letters to the Editor" feature, newspapers encourage public participation in national affairs.

The press, in brief, performs the following functions:¹⁶

1. Widens The Horizons:

By bringing what is distant news, and making understandable what is difficult and strange, the media can help "bridge the transition between traditional and modern society" and convert the world into "a global village".

2. Focuses Attention:

The press acts as a mirror reflecting the opinion, impressions and reactions of the people toward different problems. The editorial discretion as to what events are to be reported, who are to be quoted and whom to write about, determines to a great extent what people know and talk about. This is certainly a significant matter for the developing countries because it "means that public attention can be kept on development tools".

3. Raises Aspirations:

The press is utilized with a view to raising national aspirations among the people. It inspires, encourages, motivates and stimulates them to strive for a better life and for national growth. And without this development, growth and progress are unlikely to

occur. The role of mass communication is, however, quite insignificant so far as changing of deep-set attitudes and values is concerned.

4. Stimulating change:

The standard of living of the people can be raised *inter alia* through the press. Dissemination of information on a variety of matters is indispensable to raise the living standards of the people. And this is possible through the press and other agents. Socio-economic development becomes possible when traditional values, which have hindered progress, are eroded, and substituted with ones that are more functional. The process of education is essentially a communication problem-of bringing new knowledge to those who are unaware of latest developments in different fields and motivating them to accept change and adopt new methods, techniques and measures in spite of a deep seated and traditional conservatism. People are not likely to give up the traditional values easily or quickly. Therefore, they need to be inspired, educated and motivated, to go for new values, accept the changes that take place around them and adopt new techniques and methods.

The press not only plays an important role in socio-economic development of the society but also acts as a powerful instrument of persuasion of political indoctrination and is also a forum of opinion for discussion of political issues. It acts as a main source of information about local, state, national and international events; is a medium of news and a means of establishing and promoting mutual understanding and cooperation. It develops social awareness; promotes political stability and fosters economic growth and development. It is a "multiplier" in the

communication process, providing information on different aspects and thereby ensuring national development. Creating a climate for change, the press changes opinion; influences attitude; shapes news and established norms. It acts as a promoter of human understanding; as a channel for the flow of ideas from the leader to people and carries the voice of the people back to the government. It also develops civic consciousness and its editorials provide leadership to the nation and guidance to its people.

J.A. Spender has set down three functions of a modern newspaper.¹⁷ Its first function is to supply the news, the second is to act as a medium of advertisements and the third is to furnish opinion and comment on affairs of public importance. In the year 1943, a commission was appointed in America to inquire into the present state and future prospects of the freedom of the press. The Commission in its report laid down five requirements of a free and responsible press for being a medium of information. Its first duty is the accuracy of news the second duty is to function as common carriers of public discussion'. Thirdly, the reports of the press must be in accordance with the society, which includes its vices as well as virtues. Fourthly, the press must discuss the values and goals of the society. "The press should be realistic in reporting the events and forces that militate against the attainment of social goals as well as those which work for them. The agencies of mass communication are an educational instrument; and they must assume a responsibility like that of educators in stating and clarifying the ideals towards which the community should strive." And fifthly, the report recommends the wide distribution of news and opinion to meet the daily increasing demands of the public.

The duties, functions and social goal of the press are interlinked. The press, therefore, must keep pace with the ideals and needs of society because the accuracy of news enlightens public opinion. Secondly, the press must focus attention upon certain issues and influence the public minds. Thirdly, the press criticism aids reforms, and the press discussions clarify public affairs and issues. Fourthly, Publicity improves the Government and the political affairs of the country. Fifthly, the press plays an important role in maintaining international amity. The role of the press in society is the role of a watchdog. Strong feeling, as a rule, provides ability to write powerfully.

In India, the press was born with the aim to make the rulers conscious of their misdeeds. Hicky aimed to root out the corruption of the East India. When Indians took to journalism, the struggle was intensified and the press had the courage to defy the authority. The earlier journalists were not merely newsvendors; they were crusaders for political and social reform. The leaders of public opinion as well as the press realized that the first task before them was to free their country from foreign domination. Though their methods were different, yet the goal was the same. Politics dominated Indian journalism. Journalism was a mission before independence. The journalists braved many risks, though the profession was not very remunerative.

Concepts of the press:

There are four major concepts of the mass communication as defined by Tyrus Butler of the University of Georgia School of Journalism.¹⁸

The first concept of a controlled press is that of a censored press, wherein the newspapers are allowed, but what is to be printed is controlled and regulated by the government. This control may assume the form of censorship, which is done after the newspaper is printed, but has the effect of preventing papers from printing material which might pose a threat to the government or create trouble for it. Licensing is another form of the controlled press. Only those newspapers, which are licensed by the government, are allowed to function and licenses are granted to those papers only which would blindly extend their support and cooperation to it. The motive behind imposing censorship or licensing on the press is to ensure that nothing unpleasant to the government appears in the newspapers. The second concept is that the press is used as a tool of the government. This is found in authoritarian or communist countries wherein the press publishes those events, which protect and promote the interests of the government. The third concept is one that struggled for existence in early America-that of complete freedom from government censorship. During the 16th and 17th centuries there developed an idea that the people had a right to know. John Locke argued that people have a right to freedom of thought and action so that they can go for a government, which can cater to their needs and interests. John Peter Zenger and his supporters believed that his paper the New York Weekly Journal had the right to criticize the government of New York. In the fourth concept which is an outgrowth of the third, the press should not only be free to print but also have the right to know. The fourth concept might be called the fully informed and responsible press.

Concept of Libel:

The best way to find the truth is to allow every newspaper to print its own version of it, however, different these may be. A controversial press, made up of many newspapers disagreeing with each other, and which tells the people both the good and the bad about themselves and their country, supplies the people with enough segments of the truth and variations on it to allow them to make intelligent decisions. No one paper will answer all the questions satisfactorily, but together they give information to the people that they need to find out their own answers. Each controversial story is balanced between two great aspects of our freedom. The first is the freedom to know, which is said to be the fundamental basis of any democratic polity. The second is the freedom to be let alone, which is believed to be the inherent right of an individual. If the former is the safeguard of democracy, the latter is that of the individual. Usually the Constitution guarantees the freedom to know and libel laws protect our right to be let alone.

The libel laws, which today differ from country to country are designed to protect an individual's the right to be let alone. In general terms, libel is anything printed or written which tends to humiliate, embarrass, harm or hold up to ridicule the person about whom it is written. It is obviously impossible to publish a newspaper that serves the public and not libel someone at some time or other. The essence of libel is exposure and everything printed in a newspaper is exposed to the world. It is generally believed that "the truth is a defense against libel," but this is only partly true. A newspaper may prove what it has published to be true. But it does not mean that it will be completely safe from a libel suit. It could

depend on what is printed and why-the motive behind the publication of the news.

A political system, irrespective of its nature, does not allow the press and other mass media to enjoy absolute freedom. In other words, government-whether it is democratic or socialist or Communist or monarchical, exercises its control over the media including the press through postal regulations, broadcasting laws, libel restrictions, and provisions against violent overthrow of the government. The press is such a powerful medium that any government may like to have its grip over it and regulate its dissemination of news and views.

Freedom of the press is in a special sort of relationship to a particular sort of freedom of speech, which is in fact the only sort that comes under sustained attack, namely, the freedom to talk politics. The dictator does not mind what people say about them and their own affairs, what he objects to are criticism of himself and his government. He calls it "subversive". Even in a free society, there are those among the rulers who do not like it; they call it unhelpful.

The value of the freedom of the press has been recognized by all nations as it has become an integral part of their Constitutions or been found in their body of laws. However, most of the countries in the world have not realized nor understand the importance and significance of freedom of the press. Freedom of press is certainly a symbol or sign of political development. Freedom of press as a concept differs from country to country. It means one thing in the US and something else in USSR and these meanings are found to be diametrically opposed to one another.

Media, including the press, are not very highly developed in developing countries. Press freedom here carries a different meaning. Often due to political instability, illiteracy, ignorance, parochialism and ethnic violence the media in these countries is called upon to develop a sense of nationhood among the people. In this situation, the press should be development-oriented rather than play the role of a watchdog. For some time the press may have to sacrifice its freedom for the sake of political stability

The role of the press, however, varies from one political system to another. The different and varied role that the press plays in different systems can be classified under four categories of theories of press. The degree of freedom that it enjoys can also be explained in the light of these theories.

Four Theories of the press:

One way to look at a nation's press system is according to the framework outlined by professors Fred S. Siebert, Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm in Four theories of the press.¹⁹ In 1956, Four theories of the press were published. Discussing the media's responsibilities and attempting to explain why they vary so significantly from one society to another, the authors, Siebert, Peterson and Schramm emphasized the close relationship that exists between the media and certain basic beliefs that each society holds. These beliefs are about the nature of humanity, the nature of society and the State, the relation of citizens to the State, and the nature of knowledge and truth.

(a) The Authoritarian Theory:

The term was given by Siebert and remains an appropriate one, as the theory identifies, first of all, the arrangements for the press which held in societies when and where the press first began, for the most part monarchies in which the press was subordinated to state power in the interests of a ruling class. The name can also refer to a much larger set of press arrangements ranging from those in which neutrality is expected from the press in respect of government and state, to those in which the press is deliberately and directly used as a vehicle for repressive state power. Under the absolute monarchies that prevailed in Europe at the time of the establishment and evolution of the press, it was believed that individual's liberty could be suppressed for the sake of progress and prosperity of the nation. The security of the nation was more important than the rights and freedom of the individual.

The rulers of the authoritarian states considered printing a threat to their power and the publishers were asked to apply for licenses before they started printing. The licenses were issued in favour of those who supported the rulers and the goals of the state. By doing this the number of press owners was limited. Later, printers were required to submit copies of everything they wanted to print to a government censor and only the copies approved by and acceptable to the censors were allowed to be printed. As the system of censorship was cumbersome, licensing and censoring of the press were done away with. Publishers, printers, etc. were, however, punished if any printed material was found to be offensive. Anything that went against the state or offended it was treated offensive and hence invited punishment. Any criticism of the policies of the government or the rulers was sufficient enough to prove their wrath. .

Authoritarians believed that leaders were more intelligent than the masses of the common people and the former were endowed with knowledge, intelligence and a capacity to lead the commoners. The authoritarians warned that society would degenerate if the commoners became powerful. Authoritarian states do not permit any kind of dissent, dissension or disturbance by the masses. Therefore, publication of anything that might provoke the people to vote against the authority was forbidden. To enforce compliance on the part of the press, a wide variety of measures were taken including legislation, direct state control of production and use of economic sanctions.

The press in an authoritarian society plays the role of an educator and is mainly used as an instrument to propagate the principles and policies of the state. A person engaged in journalism in such ^a kind of _n system should feel that it is a privilege granted to him by the state and therefore, he should oblige the leadership.

(b) The Libertarian Theory:

During the 16th and 17th centuries, political theorists began to challenge the very fundamental basis of the authoritarian theory. Established institutions were bitterly attacked and strongly criticized. The Protestant Reformation questioned the authority of the Catholic Church and authoritarian governments were shaken by political revolutions. At the same time, new discoveries and inventions in the field of geography and science expanded the horizon of knowledge. This intellectual revolution helped individuals to change their political perceptions, attitudes and values. They started thinking in terms of participating in the decision making process of the political system and realized the importance of playing a new role in the political system. Political philosophers and

theorists like Milton, John Locke, Erskine, Jefferson, John Stuart Mill, etc. began to feel that individuals are rational and moral beings and that they have every right to shape their own destiny. Earlier, people were simply considered as subjects to carry out the orders of the government or as servants of the state. Against this concept, the political thinkers began^a to argue that the state is a composite of autonomous and moral human beings who created a government for their own convenience. The government was supposed to provide security to the individuals, besides protecting their rights. Moreover, if the government failed in fulfilling its obligations and discharging its functions, then the people have the right to replace it.

The ideas that any society holds about what the press should be and do are shaped by the way in which the society has answered certain basic questions about the nature of man, the nature of truth and the ideal relationship between man and the State. The libertarians argued that before the formation of societies and governments, people lived in the state of nature and all of them were equal and free. However, there was the danger that their rights would be at stake if the strong bullies forced them to yield or coerced them to surrender. Therefore, men by common consent formed governments, which would ensure their rights and liberties. The best way that the Government could protect their rights was to leave the individuals as free as possible. Hence, the best government was that which governed the people least. If the Government failed to protect the rights of the people, the latter had every right to dismiss the former. The libertarians challenged the earlier belief that the Church or the State was the custodian of truth.

From these same answers came the traditional libertarian theory of the press. Under this theory, the press was to have 'only wide and scattered boundaries' to its freedom - laws against obscenity and libel, mild laws against sedition. Virtually everything the press printed or published was intended to discover truth. If anything were found to be false, the people would reject it. In addition, they would accept it if it was true. They would, often, find some truth amidst falsehood, some falsehood amidst truth. However, as long as they had free access to all information and ideas, they would definitely find the truth they sought.

The libertarian theorists also stressed the need for an "open market place of ideas" where conflicting opinions might be allowed to clash. John Milton believed that such a clash of ideas would give rise to the truth because men were intelligent enough to distinguish the right from the wrong. The idea of a free market place of ideas rested upon the assumption that every citizen has a right to articulate his opinions, air his ideas and place before the public his views. In other words, he must be given an opportunity to speak and the society has no right to ignore what he says. Freedom was conceived as a natural and inherent right of an individual. The libertarians argued that neither the State nor any institution has any right to interfere with the activities of the people.

John Stuart Mill argued that the society has no right to suppress even a single dissenter because he may be speaking the truth. And suppression of a single dissenter means suppression of the truth for a long time if not forever. And even if his opinion or view were found to be wrong, this would certainly strengthen the truth. The most unpopular ideas, therefore, according to Mill, are to be protected because they might help in

arriving at or finding out the truth and their protection was consistent with the belief in individual freedom.

In theory, a libertarian press is expected to present the truth, however, varied and diverse it may be, in a pluralism of voices. But it cannot be possible if something is imposed upon it from above or if it is subject to restraints. Press is now considered as the fourth branch of government supplementing the executive, legislative and judicial branches. The libertarian theorists also changed their attitudes towards the media. For the first time, the press and other mass media were expected to play the role of watchdogs over the government. They felt that the State should not be given undue power in the sphere of administration for there was every possibility of power being misused. The government must be watched properly. It must not be allowed to transgress its limits by abusing its power. To serve as an effective watchdog, the press should be completely free and the government should have no power to coerce it or dictate terms to it. Nor it should be allowed to suppress any statements, even though they were false, because men feared that the government would use its power to suppress statements critical of its own performance.

The libertarians did not accept the idea of imposing censorship before publication, because they believed that it violates man's natural right of free expression. It also provides those in power the means to perpetuate themselves in power and to deprive citizens of their freedom. It might also for a short time hinder the quest for truth by 'weighing the balance' in favour of one cause or another. Moreover, censorship implies a fear of ideas - a fear unwarranted, given man's rationality and his desire to know the truth.' Libel laws, but not

editorial censorship, were, however, acceptable since they protected, on the one hand, the individual from unjustified defamation and on the other hand they allowed the press to make its contribution to the market place of ideas. Expression of truth, public welfare and freedom of the press must go together and control of the press leads ultimately to irrationality and repression.

(C) The Communist Theory:

The older Authoritarian Theory with some significant variations was adopted by the Communists in the Soviet Union. The Communist Theory, like that of authoritarianism, rests on the premise that the masses are too fickle and too ignorant to be entrusted with any public responsibilities. Therefore, the media are not supposed to provide them any kind of information relating to the functioning of the government. In authoritarian States, while imposing censorship upon the press and regulating it through the system of licensing, allow it to be operated by private individuals. But in a Communist society the press is owned by the government and it is supposed to play a positive role in such a society. It is used as an ideological tool to indoctrinate the masses and help the system to fulfill its goals.

In the Communist theory and practice, the press is allowed to publish letters and articles criticizing minor bureaucrats, exposing instances of corruption and inefficiency. But the people are not supposed to challenge the basic system or fundamental beliefs about the government or its policies. Neither the people nor the press can criticize the communist ideology or the leaders of the Communist Party. More serious criticism reported by the media comes from the top - from party leaders – and conveyed down to the masses. There is no need for censorship, because the editors of the press are carefully

selected and watched. Interestingly the communists are of the opinion that the media in the capitalist countries is dominated by the rich. They further argue that capitalists try to promote and protect their own interests through the press and other media. The latter, on the other hand, have observed that the people are more likely to find expression of their class and individual interests within this diversity than they could ever find within the strict uniformity of opinion imposed by communist governments.

(d) The Theory of Social Responsibility:

Social responsibility as a concept is the product of mid-twentieth century America. Having its roots in the libertarian theory, it lays more emphasis upon the responsibility of the press to the society than on its freedom. "It is seen as a higher level, theoretically, than libertarianism - a kind of moral or intellectual evolutionary trip from discredited old libertarianism to a new or perfected libertarianism where things are forced to work as they really should have worked under libertarian theory." The exponents of this theory argue that they are libertarians, but socially responsible libertarians. The social responsibility theory of the press has been drawn largely from a report published in 1947 by the Hutchins Commission on the Freedom of Press appointed by the British Government.

The Social Responsibility theory attempts to reconcile independence with social obligation. It rests on the following foundations: an assumption that the press and other media have important functions to carry out in society; a view that they should accept an obligation to fulfill these functions - mainly in the field of

information and the provision of a platform for diverse views; an emphasis on maximum independence of media, consistent with obligations to society; an acceptance of the view that there are certain standards of performance in media work that can be stated and should be followed. The main principles of social responsibility theory are as follows:

- (1) "Media including the press should accept and fulfill certain obligations to society.
- (2) These obligations are mainly to be met by setting high or professional standards of informativeness, truth, accuracy, objectivity and balance.
- (3) In accepting and applying these principles, media should be self-regulating within the framework of law and established institutions.
- (4) The media should avoid whatever might lead to crime, violence or civil disorder or give offence to ethnic or religious minorities.
- (5) The media as a whole should be pluralist and reflect the diversity of their society, giving access to various points of view and to rights of reply.
- (6) Society and the public, following the first named principle, have a right to expect high standards of performance and intervention can be justified to secure the, or a, public good."

The press to be successful must look after the public interest. A responsible press subordinates self-interest and works for the public cause. The press in developing countries like India must decide to formulate and follow a pattern that is flexible and changes with time.

India is already considered to be one of the nations, which have a — sufficiently developed successful media.²⁰ This made Wickham Steed to say that, “the printing and selling of news is a social service.”²¹ If this responsibility is not forthcoming voluntarily, then in time it will be - absolutely necessary that it be imposed on the communication media by the government. The press has to be a responsible media for social good.

According to the Hutchins group, press freedom is limited by a social responsibility to report facts accurately and in a meaningful context. Since such thinking inevitably leads to the advocacy of a regulatory system to watch the actions of the press and to keep it functioning properly (i.e., to keep it socially responsible), the Hutchins Commission rightly suggested that some sort of government regulation might be needed to assure that the press accept its responsibility. The social responsibility theory implies recognition by the media that they must perform a public service to warrant their existence. The main parts of the commission's report which seemed to have antagonized many editors and publishers were those that instigated possible government involvement in the press system.

Survey of Sources and the object

The present thesis aims at studying the origin, nature and functioning of the press in Goa and this work entitled A History of the Press in Goa encompasses the period from the arrival of the first printing press in Goa in 1556 to the departure of the Portuguese when they were

forced out of Goa on 19th December 1961. The study purveys the period of Portuguese domination in the state of Goa. The other pockets of Portuguese occupation in India including the Daman and Diu find only a passing reference. The Bombay based Goa Press, which wrote on the state of affairs in Goa, will also find only a passing reference. The focus of this thesis is to study the history of the press in what is today the physical and political state of Goa.

It is found that a work of this nature has not been undertaken for a Ph.D. thesis in this university or elsewhere. A study of the history of the press in Goa will significantly contribute to and fill the gaps in Goan historiography. A number of scholars have undertaken doctoral studies of the growth and evolution of the press in British India with only a passing reference to the fact that the first printing press to be established in India was in Portuguese Goa. The first printing press in the East was set up at the College of St. Paul by the Jesuits as early as 1556. This piece of information itself provokes one's curiosity and begs the question, what happened then? In a preliminary survey of data, it is found that some journalistic articles have been written and published. The department of the printing press itself had published some material about itself and the works printed at its press at different times. There are some books written on the topic most notably A.K. Priolkar's The Printing Press in India- Its Beginnings and Early Development. These, have either focused on the printing press, the controversies around it, the types used etc. or have given a list of the early books and periodicals published by the early printing presses.

However, there is no comprehensive, detailed study of the press in Goa as a journalistic enterprise, from the angle of viewing it as an

institution for the collection and dissemination of news and views. There is no work done so far to analyze the functioning of the press and its contribution to Goan society as the most important means of modern mass communication. It is relevant and important to know the evolution of the press in Goa concomitant to the evolution of the Goan society and its socio-cultural and political structure. The present study exactly undertakes this task, namely, the task of :

a) Understanding the background in which the press in Goa evolved.

The Press develops out of the need to satisfy the natural curiosity of the human mind to know about his environment and to tell its story. In the primitive form, this curiosity is satisfied by gathering together at the village well or coming together at some familiar, comfortable spot and sharing information. The gathering and sharing of information of common interest through the printed word is only a more sophisticated means of satisfying the curiosity of humankind to know what is going on around it. Naturally, therefore, the content of the newspaper or periodical is influenced by its socio-cultural milieu. The press in Goa was definitely influenced by and probably influenced the social, political religious and economic conditions in which it functioned. The history of the press by its very nature cannot be isolated from its environs. If the press has been very active in moulding and influencing public opinion, in formulating and guiding movements, a study of the press becomes inseparable with the study of the history of that society. Chapter one surveys the background of the social, political economic and religious conditions in which the press functioned in Goa during the Portuguese rule.

- b) Tracing the beginnings of the press and press activity in Goa. This inquiry is undertaken in Chapter two, "A Brief History of the Press in Goa". It is important to know how and why the printing press, which had already been in existence for some years in many countries of Europe, reached the shores of Goa, where it was established and how it was utilized. This chapter also studies the beginnings of early periodical publication in Goa.
- c) Studying the nature of the relationship, between the government and the press. With the help of citations and an analysis of government regulatory legislations and actions through measures ranging from the mild warning to the harsh censorship and penal action, an effort is made to understand and present the nature of the Government-press relationship in chapter three called "The Portuguese Government and the Press". Whatever may be the nature of the political authority almost every government tries to regulate the functioning of the press. The concepts of the press, the concept of the nature of its responsibilities and the concept of the nature of the freedom of the press varies with the system of government and the same is noticed at different stages of the Portuguese rule in Goa.
- d) Finding out role-played by the press in Goa in different realms. This task is undertaken mainly to study the role played by the press in the freedom struggle or as it finally turned out the liberation of Goa. Did the press in Goa live up to the responsibilities of the press in understanding, leading and giving voice to public opinion on crucial political issues? In a colonized society, the issue closest to the heart of the colonized people is the question of freedom from

domination and the means to be adopted for achieving it. On the other hand, the interest of the colonizing power is to hold onto its control using all the tactics that its genius suggests. Was the press in Goa able to play a moderating role between the aspirations of the people and the will of the rulers? Was it able to generate these aspirations of freedom in the minds of the people or was it just a platform for voicing changing demands? Was the press in Goa like the press in India an opinion builder? Was it a “struggling press” or a docile, subservient press? An effort will be made to answer these questions by an examination of the “ Press and the Liberation of Goa” in Chapter four.

- e) Examining whether the press in Goa performed its social function of informing its readers about the social and economic circumstances of their existence. Was the press investigative, or merely informative? Both or neither? Was it bold in presenting the truth to its readers? Did it fearlessly castigate the government on its failings? Did it ventilate public sentiments on social and economic issues? Was it to any extent able to impact the policies of the government? Was it able to generate any movement on social and economic issues? Chapter five is a presentation of the findings of what the press had to say on socio- economic issues affecting the daily living of the Goans like education, the food situation and the economy.

The purpose of the entire thesis is to undertake an analytical-synthetic study of the different aspects of the press in Goa as an institution for the collection and dissemination of news and views and to understand to what extent it fulfilled the various responsibilities expected

to be undertaken by it. For the preparation of the research work, mainly the published primary and secondary sources have been used. The "Central library" of Panjim, the libraries of the "Goa University", "Azad Bhavan", Porvorim, "Jawaharlal Nehru University", New Delhi, "Central Secretariat", New Delhi, "National Archives", New Delhi, Nehru Memorial Library and Museum, New Delhi and the "Parliament House", New Delhi have been extensively visited for finding out the source material. Also, personal meetings and discussions with journalists including Dr. Carmo Azavedo, a journalist and freedom fighter, Mr. Antonio Noronha, editor and publisher of Diario da Noite, Amcho Gaum, Globo and other publications, Lambert Mascarenhas, freedom fighter and editor of Goa Tribune, Navhind Times, and Goa Today, and Flaviano Dias who gave interesting and personal insights into the working of the press in the pre-liberation period. of Goan history.

The Central library which has a large collection of many pre-liberation newspapers has been an important source of primary data i.e. newspapers. For many of the journals and newspapers there are complete or nearly complete holdings in the Central Library of Panjim. The Central Library has complete holdings of the *O Oriente Portugues*, the review of the Archeological Commission of Portuguese India. It also has complete files of the *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, which after liberation was renamed after Menezes Braganza. The second journal of Portuguese India, the *Chronica Constitucional de Goa* is also available in a complete form in the Central Library. *Gazeta de Goa* and the *Chronica Constitucional* were the first and second official journals respectively in Goa. The latter was followed on its demise by the *Boletim do Governo do Estado India*, which is complete in the CLP. In 1879, this journal became the *Boletim Oficial do Governo do Estado do India*, and lasted until liberation. *O Chronico de Tissuary*, a short-lived (1866-1869)

journal, edited by Cunha Rivara, is also found in complete form in the Central Library. As for newspapers, the Central Library has almost complete holdings of *A India Portuguesa*, the oldest journal in Goa. Another almost complete set is *O Herald* from Panjim. Also, issues of *Pracash* and *Herald* have been found and referred from the CLP. The only vernacular newspaper found with substantial available holdings is the *Vauraddcacho Ixxt*. Two religious journals are found in the Central Library: *O Crente* and *A Voz de Sao Francisco Xavier*. The former is complete from 1883 to 1926, except for a four-year gap, and the latter is complete from 1931 to 1942. The journal *O Debate* of Luis de Menezes Braganca, is almost complete in the CLP. The Central Library's holdings are from 1913 to 1917.

The library of the Goa University has been a useful source to get a large number of issues of *Bharat Mitra* and also its "Pissurlencar Collection", "Carmo Azavedo Collection" and "Nuno Goncalves Collection" have been of great help in the present study.

It is hoped that this thesis will contribute significantly to an understanding of the origin, evolution, functioning and the role of the press in Portuguese Goa and thus add to the corpus of knowledge on the press in the state of Goa and India. The facts stated in the present work are collected from, and based on, the available in the sources cited and the same are collated, systematized and comprehensively present^{ed} to prepare this thesis. To the best of my knowledge, no such comprehensive study on this subject has been made by any one and there lies the originality of this work.

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CHAPTER 1

SOCIO-POLITICAL-RELIGIOUS BACKGROUND OF THE PRESS IN GOA

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

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

The Historical Background

The earliest record about Goa available goes back to three centuries before Christ. In the 3rd century B.C., Goa became an important part of Ashoka's vast empire¹ and continued to be ruled by the Mauryas for a short time even after the death of Ashoka in 232 B.C. until it fell under Satavahanas, western Kshatras and Abhiras in quick succession. The Kadambas of Banavasi took over it in about 200 B.C. Trilochana Kadamba, was a powerful king of this dynasty and for many centuries, his descendents called the Batpuras, ruled over Goa. King Jayakeshi of this dynasty made Goapuri his capital and a branch of this family settled in Chandor. Although it acknowledged the Chalukya overlordship, it maintained itself more or less independent. It ruled over the part of Goa to the south of the Zuari, while the Silaharas of Bali held sway over the island of Goa with its great commercial centre at Goapuri. Dr. Pandurang Pissurlencar in 1934 deciphered some copper plates from Shiroda in Brahmi script bearing testimony to the grandeur of the Kadamba Kingdom of Dewraj in the 4th century with its capital at Chandrapura, the modern Chandor in Saxtti district. Except the Bhoja dynasty in the 6th century and the Shilaharas under the Rashtrakutas in the 8th century, the kingdom of Kadambas from Mysore ruled Goa the longest, for over nine centuries from the 4th to 13th century. The Kadambas ruled over the greater part of Goa, which they unified into a prosperous kingdom.²

Islam came to Goa with Malik Kafur, a general of Sultan Allauddin of Delhi, in 1312 A.D. The Muslim rule ended in 1367 when Goa was taken over by General Madhav, a minister of king Harihara of Vijayanagar kingdom of Mysore. The people of Goa succeeded in driving away the

Vijayanagar rulers and remained independent for 25 years. However, in 1469, the Bahmani king, Mohammed Shah III, ordered his General Khwaja Gawan to besiege Goa and it capitulated. In 1472, the king of Belgaum, Vikrama, encouraged by the ruler of Vijayanagar, made a bid to recover the territory from the Mohammedans but failed. The ruler of Vijayanagar himself made a similar attempt but in vain. After the death of Mohammed Shah III, the vast Bahmani Empire began to crumble and was broken up into five principalities, the most powerful being that of Bijapur, founded by Yusuf Adil Shah who assumed the title of Khan. The latter made Goa the seat of his government. Goa became an entrepot of treasures for Mecca, Aden, Ormuz, Cambay, Malabar, other hinterland kingdoms and for those from China to Genoa and Venice.

Arrival of the Portuguese

D. Henrique formulated the gigantic “Plan of the Indies”³ and in a little more than twenty years, 1440 to 1460, the Portuguese navigators reached Cape Verde. When Henrique died, the carrying out of his “Plan of the Indies “ was still far from completion. What was done, however, under his direction, represented the initial impulse, which culminated in the ultimate discovery of the sea-route to India under D. Manuel I who sent Vasco da Gama, with a fleet as far as India, which he reached in May 1498. The Portuguese were mainly motivated by political, commercial and religious factors in their quest to find a sea route to the East. One of the chief motives that spurred the Portuguese to undertake maritime

explorations, which culminated in the feat of Vasco da Gama, may be said to be the desire to circumvent Mohammedan control of the Red Sea.

Portugal's entry into the Indian Ocean represented a potential menace to Turkey and Egypt. The Papacy viewed the progress of Portuguese navigational activity with keen interest. The Papal Bull "Romanus Pontifex" (1454), issued only eight months after the fall of Constantinople, when the whole of Europe lay exposed to the threat of invasion and the markets of Venice and Antwerp were crying out for spices, that the idea of the expedition to India was envisaged as part of a global plan to stem the tide of Islamic expansionism⁴. In that bull, in which the so-called "Plan of the Indies" was for the first time devised, Pope Nicholas V enjoined on Don Afonso V of Portugal to "invade, conquer and subjugate all of the lands which are under the rule of the enemies of Christ" and confirmed his exclusive right to all the territories thus subjugated on condition that the christianization of the populations was undertaken as the main object of policy.⁵

To understand the Portuguese position on the Indian coast one has to consider their objects and the enmities, which they thereby excited. For many centuries, the Egyptians had held the monopoly of the Indian trade along with the Venetians closely connected with them as the chief carriers of Indian goods from Alexandria to Europe. The Portuguese after the discovery of the Cape of Good Hope and their first visit to Calicut in 1498, resolved to become the commercial masters of the East, and for that purpose they not only claimed the monopoly among European nations of trading by the Cape of Good Hope, but also undertook the enterprise of

conquering the whole coast of Asia, from the Red Sea round the Persian Gulf, along all the shores of India, and away to the Straits of China and Japan. This brought them into immediate conflict with Egyptians in the Red Sea, and with the whole body of Muslim traders, spread along the shores of the Eastern seas who felt threatened and therefore, felt to fight back. Thus the Egyptians, who were the first enemies of the Portuguese, were entirely supported by local traders; and the Venetians, realizing how seriously the defeat of the Egyptians would affect their prosperity, joined in the vain attempt to confine the Indian trade within its old bounds.⁶

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

Up to 1505, the Portuguese had captured trade and had made satellites of minor Indian states. Their empire building began when Francisco de Almeida became the Viceroy in 1505 and he was out to build

forts at Kilwa in Africa and at Anjediva, Cannanore, and Cochin in India.⁸ These strongholds would protect friendly people from attack the moment Portuguese fleets had gone home and would also provide places where spice could be safely collected and stored while waiting shipment. Almeida built the forts as directed and Portuguese power spread. Albuquerque took over power from Almeida. He was the real founder of the Portuguese empire.

Portuguese Consolidate Political Power

Alfonso de Albuquerque wished to consolidate the Portuguese holdings in the East by conquering the important ports of this region to maintain the supremacy over the seas and neighbouring kingdoms as well. In the meanwhile, Albuquerque was encouraged by Timoja, a Hindu sovereign of Honore to attack Goa. Timoja pointed out that this was the most opportune time to attack, as there were discords between its Muslim ruler and the neighbouring kingdoms. Albuquerque heeded this advice and entered Goa on 17 February 1510. Adil Khan, the ruling prince of Goa who was away, rallied his forces which under the command of Kamal Khan attacked Goa on 23rd May, with a 60,000 strong army. The Portuguese were forced to take shelter in their fleet, which lay anchor off Panjim. Provisions were scarce. Albuquerque, however, managed to survive the monsoons. In August, they escaped to Angediv Island, to the south of Goa, from where they sighted four and later on six ships coming from Portugal. Encouraged by Timoja, on 25th November 1510 Albuquerque once again attacked Goa⁹. The local inhabitants resisted Albuquerque's troops but he finally succeeded in subduing them after three days of fierce fighting. Goa fulfilled

Albuquerque's hopes and rapidly replaced the declining Calicut as the trade emporium of the Indian coast. In 1530, the Portuguese permanently shifted their capital from Cochin to Goa where they remained in power with varying fortunes until 19th December 1961.

The Portuguese established their factories all round the Arabian Sea from Mombasa and the Persian Gulf to the Malabar Coast and Bengal in India, Ceylon and even to Sumatra. Later on, they took possession by conquest of Macao and Timor in the Far East. The important strongholds of the Portuguese empire were Bahrein, Chaul, Ormuz, Goa, Calicut, Colombo, Pacem (Sumatra) and Malacca. Goa was the headquarters of the Portuguese Viceroy whose jurisdiction extended over all these territories in Asia and Africa. In the face of strong local opposition, Portugal managed to add many territories in India to her list of possessions. Bahadur Shah ceded Diu along with Bassein, islands of Salcette, Bombay, Karanja, Elephanta and Trombay around 1535, when he was persecuted by the Moghuls. In a later endeavour to regain Diu, Bahadur Shah lost his life. The Portuguese were frequently harried by the native population as well as by neighbouring princes in most of the areas held by them. In Goa, the forces of Assad Khan, a high dignitary of the Bijapur court, attacked them. In 1538 and 1546, they had to stave off the onslaughts of Khoja-Safar in Diu and of Ibrahim Adil Khan in Ponda and Cuncolim in 1547. Daman became a part of Goa in 1559. In 1570, the Portuguese defeated the combined attack of three rulers, Ali Adil Khan of Deccan, Nizam Shah of Ahmednagar and Zamorin of Calicut.

Albuquerque's original conquest had been of the island of Tiswadi on which the town of Goa is situated, and along with it, he took control of the provinces of Bardez, Salcete and Ponda. He again lost these provinces the following year to a counterattack by the Bijapur forces, but in 1530, they were conquered by Vijayanagar, and they promptly donated the same to the Portuguese. Once again, the Bijapuris attacked and reclaimed all three in 1533 only to lose Bardez and Salcete to the Portuguese again the following year. Until 1543 there followed a series of attacks and counterattacks, but after that they were almost permanently in the possession of Portugal, until after the treaty of 1571 they were definitely integrated into the Portuguese colonial territories. Bardez and Salcete were annexed in 1543. Tiswadi, Bardez, Salcete and also Marmagao are thus known as the 'Old Conquests' and form the nucleus of the territory of Goa. Bicholim was conquered in 1781, Sattari in 1782, while Pernem was ceded in 1788. Finally, after the treaty of 1791 the King of Sunda ceded Ponda, Sanguem, Quepem and Canacona, as well as the island of 'Cabo de Rama', which had already been captured in 1763. Goa thus assumed its full dimensions and constituted a much more compact territory than previously.

The New conquests, which include the provinces of Pernem, Satari, Bicholim, Sanguem, Ponda, Quepem and Canacona, came into the Portuguese possession, either by conquest or by treaty. The nearby presence of these provinces enabled many of the Hindus to find shelter there, both for themselves and for the sacred images, which were to be the particular target of the Portuguese. By the time that these provinces were eventually acquired there was a much greater spirit of tolerance, and the power of the Inquisition had been broken so that they did not suffer as much as had the

original territory. The Old Conquests were under Portuguese rule for nearly 450 years, whereas the New Conquests were in their possession for about 173 years. Goa was unable to escape the Napoleonic wars and British soldiers landed in Goa in 1798, 1799 and 1802 to protect Goa from the French and their ally Tipu Sultan.

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

Meanwhile, in Portugal, Prime Minister, the Marquis de Pombal, consolidated his power as a result of the great Lisbon earthquake. The King turned to Pombal to guide him and he held that position for the next twenty-two years from 1755 until the King's death in 1777. During this period, a number of sweeping reforms were made, mainly concerned with development of Brazil, but a number of them had equally important effects on Goa. The first most important decree was the confiscation of all Jesuit properties throughout the Portuguese world, and the imprisonment or

deportation of the members of the Society in 1759. This brought considerable quantities of land to the Crown, and effectively subordinated the religion to the royal ministers. Pombal abolished the Inquisition in Goa and ordered removal of colour prejudice exercised against Indian Christians in the Portuguese territories. A number of appeals had been made against this practice and Rome was convinced that the formation of a native clergy was essential for the sound development of Christianity in Asia. Pombal in 1761 promulgated a decree which informed that henceforth the Asian and East African subjects of the Portuguese Crown who were baptized Christians must be given the same legal and social status as white persons who were born in Portugal, since 'His Majesty does not distinguish between his vassals by their colour but by their merits'. He told the Indian Viceroy "to dispose matters in such a way that the ownership of land, the sacred ministry of parishes, the exercise of public affairs and even military posts, should be conferred mostly on natives of the soil or on their sons and grandsons not taking into consideration whether they be white or black"¹⁰. This decree was followed by another one in 1763 but to no avail. It was only when the Indian secular clergy sent a petition directly to Pombal that slavery was abolished in 1773. In 1774, he sent a new Viceroy and also a new Archbishop, with strict instructions not only to enforce the anti-racialist legislation but also to favour the claims of the Indian clergy above those of their European confreres. This was 18th century enlightenment at its best and fortunately the government of his successors was wise enough to continue the policy.

Even when in 1787 there was a plot by the native clergy to overthrow the Portuguese and establish a republic in Goa, there was no

subsequent change in the policy towards the native clergy. The plot itself was discovered at a very early stage and was ruthlessly suppressed, but the anti-racialist policy continued. By the time of the suppression of all religious orders throughout the Portuguese empire in 1834-35, out of some 300 regular clergy in Goa, only 16 were Europeans the rest being Indians. Pombal's anti-racialist policies were not so successful in East Africa, but in India they represented a major break-through which was much in advance of happenings in the rest of Asia.

In the nineteenth century, the capital of Goa was shifted from Old Goa to Panjim. The process of moving was a gradual one and as usual it was led by the Viceroys in an attempt to find the most salubrious quarters. In 1695, they had already moved to a palace in Panelim, a suburb of Goa, but by the end of 1759 they had decided to move to the old palace of the Adil Shahs at Panjim. It had obviously been kept in a reasonable state of repair because it was here that the new Viceroys landed and spent the nights before their official entry into Old Goa. The palace was large but was altered on a number of occasions, particularly in 1887 and later in 1900, but remained the residence of the Viceroy or Governor General until 1918, after which they moved to the Cabo Palace, formerly the convent of the Franciscans. In 1759, the viceroy had shifted his residence to Panjim and Jesuits were expelled from the region. With the departure of the Jesuits, the last sparks of commercial enterprise died out and Old Goa became a suburb of Panjim.¹¹

Trade Rivalry

The Portuguese had to compete for trade with the Arabs, who, for several hundred years, had carried on commerce with the East to the mutual advantage of the native rulers and of themselves. In their intercourse with the natives of India, the Arabs had established a strong bond of union, which Portuguese had to break so as to replace their predecessors in the possession of the Eastern trade and so lucrative was the trade that they were not likely to abandon it without a violent struggle.¹² Two methods lay open to the Portuguese for the accomplishment of this object, successful competition, or use of force. In the struggle for supremacy, the Arabs fought to death and they were strongly supported in their cause by the Grand Turk and the Soldan of Cairo, both of whom were deeply interested in preventing the trade of India from being diverted from their respective territories. The trade of the Arabs was a source of considerable profit to the native rulers of India. They, therefore, also intrigued with those Princes for the exclusion of the Portuguese from their territories. In this, they were in many cases successful for some time, and with none to a greater extent than the Zamorin of Calicut, then the most powerful ruler of the Malabar Coast.¹³ The capture of Goa by the Portuguese also forced the Adil Khan to offer strong opposition to them. He also joined the Moors or Arabs, whose influence with the King of Cambay induced him, too, to resist the establishment of Portuguese trading stations in his dominions. The main reason for the hostility of the Arabs and natives of India to the Portuguese aspirations in the East was caused primarily by a desire to retain the control of that trade which had for several centuries enriched all who had a share in it. The strong resistance offered against the Portuguese was also in reaction

to the inhuman barbarities too often resorted to by the Portuguese in order to crush their opponents and to drive them from the Indian seas.

The Portuguese enforced their naval supremacy in the Indian Seas. Local traders had to take licences for longer voyages which were granted by the crown. In addition, the Captains of fortresses were, under the Portuguese system, allowed to give licences and safe conducts for shorter voyages. These were often mere excuses for open piracy. The line between what was legitimate privateering and what was open piracy was so finely drawn that there was every opportunity for the enforced transfer of coveted property without any difficult enquiries into the justice of the proceeding, and, where the line was passed, a pardon was easily got.¹⁴ The only law in existence in the Indian seas was that of the strong. On the Malabar Coast except at Calicut, a custom was even enforced that a ship blown out of her course into a port to which she was not bound was lawful prize-she had been sent by God.¹⁵ As trade increased in this region without an effective policing of the seas being established, piracy thrived.

Attitude to Religion

The Franciscans¹⁶ were the first spiritual pastors of the Portuguese in Goa. Their Order was the first to be established in Goa as the members thereof were the chaplains of the first Portuguese vessels that came out to India. The Jesuits¹⁷ came next. Their contribution to education, language, literature and printing was significant. The Dominicans¹⁸ came to Goa shortly after its conquest but they did not form themselves into a community till near half a century after.¹⁹ The Augustinians, the barefooted

Carmelites, the Theatins or Order of St. Cajetan and the Congregation of the priests of St. Philip of Neri were some of the other orders which established themselves in Goa. Every fleet was followed by a large numbers of missionaries in whose hands, at times were found the Cross and the Sword.²⁰ In 1539 Goa was made the seat of a Roman Catholic bishopric, and João de Albuquerque was consecrated its first bishop.²¹

One of the reasons for the decline of the Portuguese power in India was the religious intolerance carried to extreme limits by zealous Jesuits who selected Goa as their second headquarters outside Rome soon after the founding of their order.²² From the time of Albuquerque, religion was the main instrument of Portuguese domination, except perhaps for a short period after the proclamation of the new republic in 1910. The Salazar regime recognized that the church enjoyed a special mission in the colonies. Both the Colonial Act and the Organic Charter of the Colonial Empire stipulated that "Catholic missions in the overseas territories are instruments of civilization and national influence."²³ In 1540, all the Hindu temples in the Island of Goa were destroyed,²⁴ due to direct orders of the King of Portugal. Lands and funds attached to these temples were appropriated by the ecclesiastics.²⁵

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

of Turkish officers. The officers, trusting his words, had accepted hospitality in his ship but had been murdered and their women converted.²⁶ Albuquerque himself was not particularly bigoted, although this in no way diminished his zeal for the slaughter of Muslims, but it did enable him to actively encourage these mixed marriages by providing dowries where necessary, and overriding any misgivings among the clergy. The temporal needs of the new colonists were met with grants of land to both soldiers and civilians. The majority of the converts were former low-caste Hindus who hoped by changing their religion to escape the laws of caste. St. Francis Xavier believed that conversions could not be made in India without the active participation of the Government. In a letter to Father Simao Rodrigues on January 20, 1548, he said: "If in the spreading of the Christian religion the authority of His Majesty and of the Viceroy is not made felt nothing can be done."²⁷ He submitted to the King a plan for conversion according to which Hindu temples were to be destroyed and other coercive methods would be adopted.

Another example of the political-cum-religious rule of the Portuguese is furnished by the Portuguese Political Constitution which states: "The Portuguese Catholic missions overseas and the institutions for preparing the personnel for their services and those of the padroado²⁸ shall enjoy juridical personality and shall be protected and assisted by the State, as institutions of teaching and assistance and under the terms of the concordats and other agreements signed with the Holy See."²⁹ Persecution of Hindus for conversion began in 1541. An order of the governor on June 30 stated: "All the Hindu temples be destroyed, not leaving a single one on any of the islands."³⁰ Property of the temples was taken away for the

maintenance of newly built churches and monasteries. Under Jesuit influence, King D. Joao III ordered Viceroy D. Joao de Castro to destroy Hindu temples, forbid Hindu festivals, banish their priests, punish makers of idols and give public jobs to new converts. Under another law issued on May 23, 1559, Hindus were prevented from holding public offices. In 1560, Viceroy D. Constantino de Braganza banished Hindus from Ilhas.

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

Under the constitutional regime, though some religious freedom was restored, yet Catholicism was the State religion. After the republican

regime in 1910, the Church and the State were separated, but this law was not extended to the colonies. Both the persecution of Hindus and the material benefits offered to the new converts induced many to embrace Christianity, but many others preferred to face exile rather than abandon their faith. "The Hindus who welcomed the Portuguese to inflict revenge on the Mohammedans found that the God of the Christians was much more ferocious than that of the Mahomedans."³¹ In Goa as more people became Christians, they retained their caste differentials. The missionaries wanted to secure a cultural conversion of the Christians in Goa which was partly achieved by force through the Tribunal of the Inquisition, from 1560 to 1812. During the period of Inquisition, the New Conquests were not under the suzerainty of the Portuguese except at the fag end of its life. Also, the Portuguese wealth and power in the East had greatly diminished and this factor had a sobering effect on their proselytizing activities. Therefore, the people of the New Conquests were spared the coercion for conversion and the terrors of the Inquisition. Moreover, a proclamation was issued by the Portuguese Governors guaranteeing to the people of the New Conquests the right to follow their own rites and customs. Thus, acculturation activities of the missionaries and the Portuguese government were confined to the Old Conquest where their sway lasted longer than their rule over the New Conquests. The Old Conquests were under Portuguese rule for nearly 450 years, whereas the New Conquests, only for about 173 years. Unfortunately, the destruction of the temples which began in 1541 in Ilhas, and was continued in 1567 in the other two provinces, destroyed many great shrines and superb works of art and the total destruction of this entire section of Goan life was an immense and cruel loss.

By 1534 there were sufficient Christians for the Pope, Paul III, to constitute Goa a separate diocese, and in 1538 the first Bishop, Juan de Albuquerque was installed. In 1558, it was raised to an archdiocese which for centuries held pride of place in the East and whose prelate also bore the proud title 'Primate of All India'. In 1532, Miguel Vaz, who arrived in Goa as Vicar General, was a particularly zealous Christian, anxious to eradicate all traces of any other religion in the territory. With the aid of the Bishop and the first Jesuits who arrived in 1540, Vaz was able to have a first law promulgated on the subject in June 1541 which declared that the king had ordered the destruction of all the temples on Ilhas, and Vaz even forced the Hindus to destroy their own temples. All of the temple properties were then listed, confiscated and handed over to the church. Not content with this Vaz returned to Portugal in 1545 and placed a similar plan before the king for the newly acquired provinces of Bardez and Salcete. Vaz returned to Goa with the King's agreement in 1546, and in March of that year a '*Carta Regia*' was published which formally ordained that idolatry should be eradicated in Goa by dismantling the temples, forbidding their festivals, exiling the Brahmins, and severely punishing anyone caught making an idol of wood, stone or metal. In a very short span of time he had accomplished the major part of this programme of destruction.

In 1557, non-Christians were excluded from public office; in 1559, it was forbidden to have idols in private houses; all orphans were entrusted to a Judge of Orphans who sent them to the College of St. Paul. In 1560, it was decreed that Brahmins were to be expelled from the lands of his Majesty and also in the same year the tribunal of the Holy Office, the Inquisition, was established in Goa. Under the wave of persecution that

followed those who could, fled to the lands of the neighbouring provinces, later to be the New Conquests. As a result, commerce and agriculture declined at an alarming rate, to such an extent that one of the Viceroy's attempted to entice them back by decree of immunity, but the Church resented this as prejudicial to Christianisation and the decree was declared null and void. Further decrees and laws followed making the lot of the Hindus worse, until by the early 17th century, with the exception of essential services such as, carpenters, blacksmiths and notably doctors, all Hindus were forbidden to live within Goan territory. Official and legislated discrimination against non-Christian Goans continued until the revolution of 1910.

The Goan Economy

In an attempt to police the seas, the Portuguese needed many ships. In 1631, there were 115 ships in service and the shipyards of Chaul and Bassein were required to build a galleon every year, while this would have been supplemented by a yearly fleet from Portugal³². A navy was required not only against the various enemies from Europe but also against the so-called 'pepper-ships'. These were privateers engaged in pepper smuggling, buying it in South India and selling it wherever possible. As long as these were merely privateers the Portuguese could almost cope with the problem but when it was taken up officially by the Dutch and English East India Companies the whole edifice of monopolistic protection collapsed. Money was usually short so that payment of salaries and subsidies was generally in arrears, no matter what the rank of the persons involved. Subsidies were even sometimes diverted, funds previously allocated for the support of

seminaries being switched to defence purposes and in march 1626 it was ordered that no new monasteries should be constructed, while the subsidy for the ruler of Cochin, known as the 'copas de *el-rei*', was frequently late necessitating a letter to the king of Portugal from his 'brother'.

In Goa local people, either Hindu or Christian, and usually with no Portuguese blood at all, continued to be in control of the economy.³³ Local Brahmins appear to have dominated in Goan trade and commerce, by the mid 17th century. The local administration of the villages was carried out on the principle of village autonomy the basic structure of which the Portuguese did not initially alter. The village community was variously referred to as *Gaonkaria* or *comunidades* in the Portuguese correspondence. The administration of the village was in the hands of the *gaunkars*³⁴ functioning through the village assembly which consisted of elders representing the different clans or *vangor*. The *gaunkars* were the primary landowners; the rest of the population were tenants or landless labourers. Agricultural methods remained primitive. Internal exchange was hindered by almost non-existent communications, and Goa continued to import considerable quantities of food. The commercial sector remained feeble and there was no industrial development at all. As early as the 1620s a Portuguese report noted that artillery and cannon balls could be made very cheaply in Goa as there were iron mines close to the city. A report during the British occupation, in 1802, reported there were mines, in the Province of Ponda, which could afford considerable quantities of very good Iron, if proper Engines were built; there was enough water in their neighbourhood to work Mills³⁵ Goa also possessed aluminum, cobalt and nickel. The iron ore deposits were found practically throughout the settle-

ment. In spite of the existence of these minerals in such vast quantities, the Portuguese did not carry out a geological survey of the colonies to exploit the mineral resources for the benefit of the people.

In 1947, Dr Salazar, faced with Indian claims to Goa, made an effort to develop these mines. Exports rose to 72,000 tons in 1950, and 6,500,000 in 1961,³⁶ the last year of Portuguese rule. Yet, the bulk of Goa's population derived little benefit from this expansion. Conditions for the miners were primitive. Licences to mine the ore were given to a handful of the Goan elite. In economic development, Goa and the other enclaves under Portugal were far behind the rest of India under the British. Though a predominantly agricultural area with a rich and fertile soil, Goa did not produce enough food for its small population and was obliged to import heavily from India rice, wheat, fruits, vegetables, meat, coke, cotton, textiles, soap, tobacco and tea. The Portuguese totally neglected not only the agricultural and industrial economy of the settlements but also elementary aspects of administration such as public health and sanitation. The strained relations between India and Portugal during the fifties forced the settlements to import coal, cotton textiles, tea and tobacco at higher costs from other countries. Food grains like rice and wheat were imported from other countries including Pakistan. Goa's two excellent natural harbours were not been improved or modernized.

Lisbon always determined Goa's trade policy. Goa hardly exported anything to Portugal but imported Portuguese wine, sardines and olive oil. Goa's connection with Portugal imposed certain peculiar economic disabilities. Goa had to join a Customs union, which obliged it to

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

Society and Culture

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

All classes of people, except Europeans, used the Konkani language with some admixture of Portuguese words, but the official language was Portuguese, which was principally spoken in the capital and the chief towns, as well as all educated persons.³⁷ The majority of the population were Roman Catholics and were subject, in spiritual matters, to an Archbishop, who had the title of Primate of the East, and exercised jurisdiction over the Catholics of all the Portuguese Colonies in the East, and of a great portion of British India. He was nominated by the King of

Portugal, subject to confirmation by the Pope. However, the population figures of the religious composition of Goa changed substantially over the period of Portuguese rule in Goa.³⁸ Christian population, which was in a majority in 1851, maintained their position till 1900. Then the decline started; from a majority community of 50.24% in 1900 they became a minority 38.07% in 1961.³⁹ The Hindu population replaced them as the majority group. Presumably, one of the reasons for the steep decline in the Christian population in relative terms over the years could be the stoppage of missionary activity of proselytizing. "Reconversion of a section of the Gauda community to Hinduism in 1928 maybe another reason."⁴⁰

Language and Education

In the early days of Portuguese colonialism in Goa, the Government hardly paid any attention to the educational needs of its subjects. It neglected the moral and intellectual growth of its subjects.⁴¹ During Albuquerque's time, a rudimentary school was established. As proselytisation efforts took root and the number of converts increased Christian parishes sprang up everywhere with a church and a parochial school attached to it. This structure was established by a decree of John III dated March 8, 1546. The medium of instruction was Portuguese. The instruction was in the hands of the priests and the aim was to teach reading, writing, arithmetic, Christian doctrine and church music. It was only in 1773 that the Government established public grammar schools with Portuguese as the medium of instruction. In 1812, the Government founded institutions to teach naval and military arts and mathematics. In subsequent years, these three institutions were amalgamated into one and

designated, Escola Mathematica e Militar. A medical school and pharmacy, were started in 1844. A Normal school for imparting training to primary teachers was established in 1854. The Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa was established in the same year. There was discrimination against Hindu students up to 1910 after which schools were open to everyone irrespective of colour or creed.

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

With the christianization of the territory, the Religious Orders met the demand for higher education; and Goa could soon boast of four universities. The most celebrated among them was the University of St. Paul, owing its foundation among others to St. Francis Xavier, modeling it on the University of Paris. Some of their alumni reached positions of high dignity. In 1840 when Governor Lopes de Lima opened schools for teaching English and French, his successor Joaquim Moura Garces Palha

started Marathi schools in the Novas Conquistas for the benefit of the Hindus who had long been cultivating this language. Portuguese historian, Cunha Rivara, testifies to the religious intolerance of the Portuguese and its effects on the Konkani language. He says: "In the first heat of conquest, temples were destroyed, all the emblems of the pagan cult were shattered into pieces and books written in the vernacular were burnt for being guilty or suspected of containing precepts and doctrines of idolatry."⁴⁴

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

November 21, 1745, ordained that the Brahmins, Chardos of Salcete and Bardez should learn Portuguese within six months, extending the time for other castes to a year under pain of “not being able to contract matrimony with any man or woman who might not know or not make use of and speak the Portuguese language.”

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

Thus the Portuguese adopted all means to suppress the use and development of Konkani and this in general affected Goan society educationally and culturally “The lack of Konkani schools is undeniably

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

Administrative Institutions:

Under Monarchy (1500-1820):

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

was generally limited to three years. The Viceroy enjoyed almost absolute powers and had complete control of the civil, military and judicial branches of the Government.

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

Under Constitutional Regime (1821-1910):

The Revolution of 1821 in Portugal was followed by the establishment of a Constitutional Monarchy in 1836. A large number of reforms were introduced in the Colonial Administration. The State of India was given political rights and was represented in the "*Cortes*" or Parliament in Portugal by its deputies. Catholic religion was declared to be the State religion. The right to franchise was very restricted. Hindus could not enjoy the full benefits of political freedom till the establishment of the Republic in 1910.

The Civil Administration of India was governed by the Administrative Code of 18th March 1842 as altered by the Provincial Portaria of 6th August 1847. It was further modified by the decree of 1st December 1869 and entitled as the organic charter of administrative institutions of Overseas Provinces (*Carta Orgânica*). The Code of 1881, which aimed at decentralization of administration, was considered by the Government of the Council of State in Portugal as incompatible with the existing conditions in India and so was not made applicable to India which continued to be governed according to the Code of 1869 till the Republic of 1910. The Governor General was appointed directly by the King and, assisted by a Chief Secretary in his administration, held office for five years. A Government Council composed of Chief ecclesiastical authority, Judge of the High Court, the two highest military authorities in Goa, the Attorney General, the Secretary of the Council of the *Fazenda*, the Health Officer, and the President of the Municipal Chamber aided him in the administration of the Provinces. There were three other Councils-General Council of Province, Council of the Province and Council of Public revenue. There were local divisions of the administration.

Under Republic and Dictatorial Regime (1910-1961):

Under the Republic Constitution of 21st August, 1911 (article 67) the principle of decentralization of the Colonial administration was laid down and in 1914 (15th August) Law No. 277 laying down the basis of the civil administration of the Colonies was passed which authorized the Government to make structural or "Organic" laws for each Colony as per its requirements. On 27 July 1917, Charter granting provincial autonomy to

the State of India (*Carta Organica do Estado da India*) was passed. The Governor General was appointed by the President of the Republic in the name of the Nation on the recommendation of the Ministry for Colonies and its approval by the Congress of the Republic. He had a five-year tenure of office. He was the chief executive authority of the Overseas Province in all branches of the administration. His personal staff consisted of two Aides-de Camp and Chief Secretary. A Government Council assisted the Governor General in the administration of the Province. It was composed of 10 official Members, Governor General, Chief Secretary and Heads of Departments and 10 elected Members representatives of the Councils of administration.⁴⁹

The Charter of 1917 was replaced by the Organic Law of 9 October 1920, which certified the existing Laws about the administration of the Colonies. In Portugal, by Law of 2nd October 1926 a new basis for the Colonial administration was laid down on 4th October 1926 (*Carta Organica do Estado da India*). In 1930, Colonial Act was passed and in 1933, a new Constitution was promulgated which deeply disappointed the people of the Colonies. The Colonial Act was newly published with new alteration to incorporate the provision of article 132 of the New Constitution. In 1951, the Colonial Act was incorporated in the Constitution of 1933 and the nomenclature of Colonies was changed to *Ultramar* or Overseas Portugal. In 1953, new law was promulgated laying down the basis of administration of Overseas Provinces. As provided under these Laws a Statute was passed in 1955 for the administration of the State of India. In all these changes, the final authority of administration continued to be concentrated in the colonial Minister in Lisbon.

The council functioned in a purely advisory capacity. After August 1955, a legislative council, consisting of 23 members, 11 of whom were elected, five nominated by the governor-general and seven by public bodies and associations, started functioning. However, the governor-general continued to be the unchecked authority with powers even to decide whether the measures proposed by the council should be placed on the agenda for discussion. In spite of such concentration of power, no bill adopted by the council and approved by the governor-general became law unless the Colonial Minister in Lisbon concurred. The council did not have the power to pass the budget. The governor-general used to submit it to the Colonial Minister who was the final authority in all matters. Laws adopted by the Portuguese National Assembly applied automatically to the settlements. The official language of administration was Portuguese.

In addition to the above machinery of administration, there were subordinate agencies for the local government of the different districts. Although there were more than 4,500 civil servants, the police, posts and telegraphs, agriculture, health services, treasury and public works departments were usually, manned by the Portuguese. The chief of the Cabinet and the head of the armed forces were Portuguese, and Goans and Africans could rise only up to the rank of corporal in the army. Only Portuguese were appointed to even minor posts such as district officers. All political parties, except the Uniao Nacional, the party in power, were illegal. This was in keeping with the one party dictatorial set-up in force in Portugal and in its colonies. Fewer than 25,000 persons out of a population of 637,000 enjoyed voting rights in the elections to the legislative council. Apart from the usual qualifications, the civil authorities were required to

certify that a person was "politically acceptable" before he became a voter. The effect of this was that only those who belonged to the Uniao Nacional were eligible to vote. Public meetings even for social purposes could be convened only with the permission of the authorities. Speeches, if any, were required to be approved by the official censor and a breach of these restrictions entailed heavy penalties, including long terms of imprisonment and deportation. Under these circumstances, it was almost impossible for the people to agitate even peacefully for minor civic or social liberties.

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

During the years of the Constitutional Monarchy and the Democratic Republic, the Portuguese Parliament had two deputies from Goa elected through limited franchise and one such representative rose to become a minister in the Portuguese government. Goans were, therefore,

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

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

However, during the period of Constitutional Monarchy some civil servants of Goan nationality were also given posts in the Portuguese

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

Since the local Government was required to be carried out for the benefit of the Portuguese rulers and since the higher echelons in all departments of administration were Portuguese, the administration adopted the language of the rulers and suppressed the culture and language of the local people. This involved the opening of Portuguese schools throughout Goa and the passing of Laws prohibiting the use of Konkani and enforcing

the Portuguese in its place. The language of the administration in Goa was Portuguese. The local bureaucracy, which assisted the administration mostly, consisted of the landed proprietors and those who accepted the Portuguese culture. The Goan higher castes were the first to dovetail themselves with the administration. The clergy had great influence on the government and this was in keeping with the state of affairs in Portugal. The political set-up of the Goan society during the Portuguese rule was typically of a colonial type. There was every endeavor to suppress the local culture and to impose on the people through civil, military and religious authorities, the culture of the rulers. The associations with the Portuguese Government familiarized the Goan people of modern political systems of administration. The application of the Portuguese Constitution, which was based on the written law, dealt a blow to the old customs and traditions and the Goan society experienced a direction of change.

Decadence and Decline

Amongst the difficulties that beset Portugal in her communications with India, by no means the least was the obligation placed upon her by the famous Bull of Pope Alexander VI, to propagate the Catholic Religion in all new lands discovered by her, as a condition of being allowed to hold them on conquest with the Papal sanction and benediction.⁵¹ Priests of different orders, therefore, accompanied the several expeditions to India, and large funds were appropriated for their services and maintenance. Unfortunately, at an early date, violent measures were adopted with the view of forcing the people to embrace the Catholic faith. Their temples were frequently destroyed. The resources at the disposal of the Portuguese

were not enough to match their missionary zeal. They failed in their missionary objectives. The priests, monks, and other members of the various religious orders, in course of time, multiplied in India out of all proportion to the requirements of the Portuguese populations or of the native converts. They harassed the Government by their assumptions and pretensions, and contributed to the difficulties the Government had in dealing with the natives. They abused their power and absorbed a large proportion of the revenues of the State for their maintenance and ecclesiastical purposes, so that the Government often lacked means for the proper support of their factories and military establishments.

The Portuguese had no extensive landed possessions from which rents might have been obtained in order to supplement the profits derived from trade. A favorite practice of successive Viceroys was to put a high customs duty upon all goods arriving at or leaving their ports. These high tariffs discouraged traders. They sought other places, which were not subject to Portuguese rule. Some of the most important emporia, which had for centuries been noted as the principal seats of trade in the East, were effectually ruined. Ormuz, Calicut, Cochin, Quilon, and Malacca, deprived of their commerce, sank under Portuguese mismanagement into places of secondary importance. They never recovered their commercial supremacy. A laxity of Government, and a general corruption amongst the servants of the State in which each one, regardless of the public interests, sought his own benefit and the accumulation of wealth, prepared the way for the downfall of the Portuguese rule in India.

Portugal and Britain maintained friendly relations to their mutual benefit. Portugal made a gift of their conquest, Bombay, as a dowry to Queen Catherine of Portugal who married Charles II of England. These relations and the subsequent treaties between the Portuguese and the British enabled the Portuguese, a small power, to continue their rule in India suppressing all movements for self-government. By virtue of this friendship, the British allowed goods and products of British India and that of Portuguese Goa to be exchanged without any restrictions and both the dominions, though under different sovereignties had a rupee currency, the value of which was kept on par. There was no passport system between Portuguese India and British India and the subjects of these colonies were not discriminated against.

The Portuguese remained undisputed masters of the western Indian Ocean for nearly a century during which they also enjoyed great prosperity. However, misfortunes began to affect Portugal and her Indian possessions late in the 16th century. Portugal lost its independence to Spain in 1580 and the crowns of the two countries were united in the person of Philip I of Spain, who assumed the title of Philip I of Portugal. Portuguese nationals remained in control of their administration and trade but the royal authority in Spain was not expected to show much sympathy for the difficulties of the Portuguese in the East. The enemies of Spain were also made the enemies of Portugal and Portugal had no foreign policy of its own. Spain showed no compunctions in using the financial resources and manpower of Portugal to put down Dutch insurgents against Spanish rule.

The Portuguese regained their independent rule in 1640; however, it was too late to repair the damage. Decline and decay had set in the administration, economy and the fabric of the empire. Venality had struck deep roots in the empire. Since the days of the Governor, Lopo Soares (1515-18), the Portuguese officials had been permitted to engage in private trade, a practice against which the first Viceroy, Francisco de Almeida, had protested to the Portuguese Crown as far back as 1508 that 'no good can come so long as your officers of justice and revenue engage in trade.'⁵² And the Crown had heeded to his warning and prevented its officials from trading on their own account so that in the time of the Afonso de Albuquerque (1509-1515), the Portuguese, devoting themselves to the service of God and their King, had risen very high in the estimation of all the eastern people.⁵³ Fortresses and factories around the Arabian Sea, such as Molucas, Ormuz, Pegu (Indo-China), Malaca and few others were lost in the first half of the 17th century. In the midst of pomp and splendour, luxury and profusion, were seeds of premature decay and dissolution. Morals of the community were lax. Civic virtues of Albuquerque and Castro were supplanted by corruption and venality. While justice was bought, public offices were put up for sale. Instead of "martial spirit the nation degenerated into effeminacy, sloth and indolence".⁵⁴

The Portuguese began to face rivalry from the British and Dutch. The British fleet attacked the Portuguese off Surat, but did not achieve any gains. The Dutch fleet blockaded and attacked Goa in 1603 but withdrew before a fierce resistance. However, as they began now to command the trade of the East, they considerably annoyed and diminished that of the Portuguese: and it is from this period and not before that Goa began to

decline.”⁵⁵ The Dutch again blockaded the harbour in 1643, who about the same time also conquered Ceylon, Malacca and the Moluccas from the Portuguese, whom they excluded likewise by their intrigues and influence from the trade of Japan. Shivaji, the founder of the Maratha Empire, threatened Goa by land in 1674, and his successors continued to annoy the Portuguese. The fortress of Ponda, on the mainland, was then the chief object of their attacks, and “though taken and retaken, proved at that period the true bulwark of Goa.”⁵⁶ The Marathas wrested the fort of Thana with the whole island of Salcette, and the city of Bacaim through attacks in 1737 and 1739. They also invaded Bardez. Later peace was concluded between the Viceroy of Goa and the Peshwa, and a Resident was sent to Poona.

The liberal period from 1820 to 1851 was characterized by great political instability. This in turns meant even less control over Portugal's diminished colonial empire, something which was exacerbated by the anti-clerical tone of Portuguese governments in the 1830s. The clergy had always operated as a second arm of the state; now this arm also was weakened. In the second half of the century, more conservative elements at least ensured greater government stability. They were however increasingly opposed by liberal and republican supporters. Finally, in 1910 the monarchy was overthrown. A very important consequence for the empire was that discrimination based on religion was now outlawed. But Portuguese politics remained chaotic, until the ascetic strongman Dr Antonio de Oliveira Salazar took over in 1928. A much shrunken Portuguese India could expect little help from such a metropolis. As a result, politics in Portuguese India were characterized by theoretically autocratic governors presiding over a moribund and impecunious state.

Portuguese India's international position in the nineteenth century considerably deteriorated. The British occupied Goa from 1799 to 1815, during the Napoleonic Wars. The aim was to deny France a potential foothold in India. At first the Portuguese army was in theory not under British control, but from 1808 it was.⁵⁷ Worse could have followed: the forward-looking Lord Wellesley proposed that Portuguese India, a geopolitical absurdity from his point of view, be permanently ceded to Britain, perhaps in exchange for Malacca. Nothing came of this, and Goa was returned to peace in good, or at least no worse, condition. The idea of a British acquisition was revived in 1839. The British were annoyed that some British Indian rebels and outlaws had been using Goa as a sanctuary. The British ambassador in Lisbon offered the insultingly paltry sum of £500,000 for Goa, Daman and Diu. The Portuguese of course turned this down indignantly; yet even much later, in 1873-4, the annual revenue of this state was less than one-quarter of the British offer. Not for the first and certainly not for the last time pride and prestige in Portugal triumphed over cold economic calculation. Several metropolitan events had their repercussions in Goa. The failure of Pombal's reforms to produce racial equality seems to have sparked a quite large revolt in 1787, which was led by an alliance of clerics, army officers and other Indian Christian elites. Over a century later, in 1890, twenty-three liberals were killed in front of the Margao parish church.

Throughout the 19th century, indeed from the 1760s, the Portuguese authorities were faced with a series of revolts by inhabitants of the New Conquests called Ranes, or Rajputs. Twenty are recorded up to

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

The Church and the orders, shared in the general decay. The two most fervent, committed, and intolerant parts of the church were the Jesuits and the Inquisition. The Jesuits, it will be remembered, were suppressed (albeit temporarily) by Pombal in 1759. The Inquisition in Goa similarly was abolished in 1774, later revived in much attenuated form and finally ended in 1820. However a slackening of zeal even in the Inquisition seems to be discernible in the seventeenth century, while the Jesuits also by then had lost their earlier élan and enthusiasm, and seem to have concentrated on trade. Symptomatic of this and of Goa's decline in general, was the closing-down of the Jesuits' famous printing press in 1683. Extraordinarily, Goa then remained without any printing facilities until as late as 1821, when a government press was set up. Only in 1859 were a private press established.

In this period of decay, race relations remained uneven. The total population in the Old Conquests in 1750 was 208,000; by around 1800 this had shrunk further to 178,500, in all Goa in 1851, 363,750.⁵⁸ Of these only 1851 could claim to be European or descended from Europeans. About 63 percent were Christian, a much larger proportion than in the twentieth century. The largest town was Panjim with a modest population of 15,000. Pombal's decree laid down, on paper, the equality of all Christians, not all Goans. Only in 1833 were Hindus allowed to practice their rites and ceremonies in Goa, though in fact intolerance had long before then lost its teeth. But discrimination remained a problem. The orders were notoriously reluctant to admit Indians, or even sometimes *mestiços* or Portuguese born in India. These were forced to make do as only secular, not regular, priests. In this area at least Pombal's reforms had some effect, for when the orders were suppressed in 1834 only 16 out of 300 clergy in Goa were Portuguese.

The political situation in Portugal between the advent of the republic in 1910 and a military coup in 1926 was confused in the extreme. From 1928, *de facto* power in Portugal was exercised by Dr Salazar, who became prime minister in 1932, and remained so until 1968. Portugal tried by a sleight of hand to remove her colonies from the purview of the United Nations. In 1951, the term 'Colonies' was officially replaced by 'Overseas Provinces'; they thus became an internal Portuguese matter not subject to outside interference. Portugal in the 1950s also made belated efforts to develop Goa, with a view to making its people clearly better off than those in neighboring India. In 1952, a Development Plan was decreed. This boosted Goa's fledgling iron ore exports. Revenue from this, and from migrant remittances, meant that per capita income in Goa was some one-

third higher than in India. Education was expanded, sanitation was improved. Old Goa was cleaned up for the massive celebrations of the four hundredth anniversary of the death of St Francis Xavier in 1952. These had a clear political purpose. These measures were too little and too late. However, it is doubtful that any measure could have succeeded, for Portugal was swimming against a worldwide tide of decolonization. In 1950, the total population of Goa was 637,000; of this, only 517 were Europeans, and 336 Eurasians. Her support came almost entirely from the local Roman Catholic population, who by 1960 made up less than 40 percent of the total. Of the Christians, 83 percent lived in the Old Conquests. In the Hindu New Conquests, support for Portugal was minimal

'Assimilados' and Discrimination:

The Colonial Act of 1930 spoke of “the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to possess and colonise overseas territories”, a phraseology, which was changed under the new Constitution. It now read: “It is the organic essence of the Portuguese nation to fulfill a historic mission of colonizing the lands of the discoveries under its sovereignty”.⁵⁹ In fulfilling the *historic mission* the colonial people were divided into the “assimilated” (*assimilados*) and the “natives”. The former were those who could read and write Portuguese, the others were classified as natives. Discrimination between the colonial people and the “metropolitan” Portuguese was in ample evidence in both legislation and practice. For example while the law lays down that “military service is general and compulsory”⁶⁰ in the colonies, Portuguese subjects were compelled to pay a

yearly military tax which they could not avoid to pay even if they offered to be conscripted. There were no Goan troops nor were there Goan commissioned officers in the combat divisions. In the civil services, the key posts in the Administration of Goa were held by Portuguese Europeans. Occasionally there was a Goan chief of Department but care was taken that European officers were not posted subordinate to him. Discrimination was noted in the Church and even though there were several Goan bishops, none of them was appointed at the head of the Church in Goa.

Revolt and Reaction:

In 1583 the people of Cuncolim, Assolna, Velim and Ambelim offered bitter resistance in the defense of their idols and temples. They failed in their attempt and their properties were confiscated; their leaders were arrested and done to death. A few months later on 15th July of the same year when Fr. Rodolfo Aquaviva and other missionaries made another attempt at conversion, the inhabitants of the same villages fiercely set on these 50 priests and soldiers, most of who were killed.⁶¹ In 1654, a Roman Catholic priest, named Castro, raised the standard of rebellion.

As a result of the scramble that took place in the Maratha empire the Portuguese succeeded in adding to their Old Conquests by the end of the eighteenth century the talukas of New Conquests, belonging to the Maratha Chieftains Savant and Sunda, Pedne, Bicholi, Sattari, Ponda, Sange, Kepe and Canacona. Nagar Haveli near Daman was obtained *in jagir* from the Poona Court in 1781. The inhabitants of the newly acquired territories were

given a solemn assurance about the protection of their ancient customs and usages. They were more influenced by the freedom struggle that followed in the adjacent districts of British India during the nineteenth century. The Hindus before migrating to the neighboring districts engaged in a bitter struggle with the Portuguese for their religious freedom. The discontent caused amongst the Native Christians by colour differences initially encouraged by the Portuguese was manifested in the revolt of a Brahmin Christian priest, D. Mateus de Castro, and some others of Bardez in 1654. It was their scheme to oust the Portuguese from Goa and merge it in the neighboring Adil Shahi kingdom.

Another attempt at rebellion called the 'conspiracy of the Pintos' was made in 1787. Father Pinto of Candolim offered his place for the leaders of the revolt, and it was therefore known as the Revolt of Pintos (1787).⁶² The leaders of this revolt were two learned priests, Caetano Francisco Couto from Panjim and Jose Antonio Gonsalves of Divar. They protested against the practice of reserving the top ecclesiastical seats on racial grounds, as these were reserved only for European clergy. The two went to Portugal to seek redress from the higher authorities. They had no success but they met some Portuguese intellectuals of liberal outlook including Jose Castadio da Faria who later attained great fame in France. They were affected by the ideas of the French Revolution and were convinced that Goa could never breathe freely unless it was rid of the Portuguese rule. The two priests on return to Goa discussed their idea with their colleagues. They found ready response not only among the priestly order but also among the soldiers. The day, time and other details of the rising were planned. Unfortunately, a petty official from Aldona, Antonio

Toscano, divulged the scheme to the Governor. The government struck ruthlessly and arrested forty-seven persons who were accused of plotting to establish a republic of their own. Out of these, seventeen were priests and five military officers all of whom were punished and the rising was crushed. Their Goan advisor Fr. Jose Custodio de Faria known as Abade de Faria, father of Mesmerism, escaped to France from Portugal where he was exiled.

The revolution that occurred in Portugal and Brazil in 1820 affected the mood in Goa which witnessed a series of disorders and revolts lead by the natives demanding a fuller measure of autonomy. In September 1821, some of the officials and distinguished Goans deposed the Portuguese Viceroy in order to install a provisional board to rule Goa. The Goan acknowledged leader, Bernardo Peres da Silva took active part in this move. A new constitution, the *Carta Organica* granting constitutional powers to the Colonies was promulgated in Portugal. In 1822, the first three deputies of Portuguese India, including Bernardo Peres da Silva, were elected to the Portuguese Parliament.⁶³ In the same year a band of insurrectionists captained by Fr. Pedro Ribeiro marched on the fort of Colvale. In the year 1834, the Portuguese monarchy was restored with Maria II as Queen. The new government appointed Bernardo Peres da Silva, a Native of Goa, to the government with title of Prefect. He took over the administration on 14 January 1835 taking as his Chief Secretary another Goan Constancio Roque da Costa. His appointment was resented by the white bureaucracy in Goa. The Prefect, in compliance with the royal instructions, abolished several judicial tribunals and cancelled the military

promotions granted by his predecessor. The Prefect ruled for only 18 days and then escaped to Bombay.

A counter-revolution took place on 10th February in which the followers of Bernardo demanded his reinstatement. A bloody encounter ensued at Gaspar Dias between the two factions and most of his followers were massacred. The state troops then marched to Terekol and Gululem (Satari) and committed the worst atrocities on the popular forces. Bernardo Peres da Silva and Constancio Roque da Costa proceeded to Daman, and Goans acclaimed them as the undisputed rulers of Daman and Diu. There functioned for a few months parallel governments, one Portuguese, inside Goa, and another, Goan, at Daman and Diu. There was a third revolution, led by the Military Governor on 28th February, 1835. According to him, the step was necessary as a restraint upon the inhabitants of Goa who wanted to declare the Colony independent of Portugal and to massacre all the European Portuguese. The Bombay Government⁶⁴ rejected the request of the Provisional Government in Goa to treat the Prefect and his partisans as criminals. Orders were issued to the Magistrates of Ratnagiri, Belgaum, Canara and the Political Agent at Sawantwadi, not to permit the Portuguese soldiers to march through their territories and to disarm those discovered with arms. The Prefect retired to Daman, and from there tried to recruit soldiers in the Deccan, which was disallowed by the Bombay Government.

There was another revolt in 1842 headed by the Secretary of the Council and Military Commander. The Governor of Goa took refuge in Bombay. The British refused to recognize the government and at the same

time declined to help the Governor. In 1846, there was a conspiracy to murder the Governor on the occasion of the march past in which a Desai from Sawantwadi was implicated.⁶⁵ The Goans, brought up in the tradition of loyalty to Portugal, also expressed their burning desire for freedom and liberty. Father Jeremias Mascarenhas, citing the independence of Brazil, proclaimed in the Portuguese Parliament in 1852 that none should wonder if Portuguese India should also make a demand for her independence. A demand for "Liberty and Light" erupted in 1862. It was led by Francisco Luis Gomes, a statesman, economist, scientist, litterateur who believed that Goa was part and parcel of the great subcontinent of India, and Goan people, flesh of the same flesh, and blood of the same blood as that of the Indian people. He demanded in the Portuguese Parliament complete freedom for Portuguese India. The British too redoubled their pressure around Goa, as they felt the entire west coast in their possession would provide them with better advantages.

The Ranes, martial people of Satari, began harrying the Portuguese, offering them continual resistance in the New Conquests with redoubled vigour in the 19th century. There were 21 risings in a short span of 50 years or so. They adopted the means of guerilla warfare, such as attacking and kidnapping officials and their children.⁶⁶ If in the district of Bardez, Saxtti etc. the rulers' children comparatively overpowered the local people the last two centuries, it was the Ranes who offered them continual resistance in the New Conquests which were annexed by the Portuguese only in these three centuries. In all these insurrections, the Ranes brought to bear upon their martial prowess. They had their repercussions on the Indian inhabitants from the neighboring district of the then British India.⁶⁷ The

Portuguese realizing their own weakness tried to humour them with tempting promises, but all in vain.

The Ranes were the Jamindars of Sattari Mahal and when the same was handed over to the Portuguese by Sawant in 1788, the Ranes were given assurance by their new overlords that their special rights and privileges would be preserved. The promises were soon forgotten and encroachment began. The revolt of 1852 by Dipaji was serious and shook the Portuguese dominion to its foundation. For one or other reason, a number of *inam*⁶⁸ lands were declared to have lapsed to the Government. The Portuguese imposed new restrictions and levies on cultivable lands. A declaration was issued forbidding men not wearing trousers and women blouses to enter villages or towns. This was a great handicap to the poor classes as they could not afford these luxuries. The white troops in Goa made this an excuse for assault on women. Dipaji Rane rose in revolt on 26th January 1852 and challenged the Portuguese rule. He seized the Fort of Nanuz in Sakhali Mahal and making it their headquarters, Dipaji's troops made sorties in Bicholi, Ponda, Hemadbarsem and Kanakona, and drove out the Portuguese garrisons. The people flocked to the Rane's standard and the latter now advanced to Kumbhar Juve. The Governor led a force in person, but found himself beaten. The revolt lasted for three and a half years and the Government treasury became empty. Governor Auren could no longer face the situation. He retired handing over charge to the Government Council in 1855. The Council accepted Dipaji Rane's terms and he was presented with a dress and a sword, and the honorary title of Captain was conferred on him.

Later when the Portuguese wished to interfere in the elections in Divar in 1854, by sending there captain Garcez, he was done to death by popular forces. This incident is vividly recounted in a popular *mando* "Luizinha". The military detachments in Mapusa and Ponda without orders surrounded the island of Divar where they took revenge by slaying some of the popular leaders. Such was the indiscipline and chaos that four military contingents from Margaon, Ponda, Bicholim and Mapusa joined hands to stage an insurrection known as Volvoi Revolt. This was in 1870. Another mutiny took place the next year at Marcela in Ponda district. The spirit of revolt was kept simmering. In 1870-71, there were two attempts at mutiny among the troops. The strength of the army had been increased to meet Rane's threat. When attempts were made to reduce its strength and effect other economies, there was discontent. Don Augusto, the King's brother arrived with a company of white soldiers from Portugal and broke the mutiny. In 1869 Custoba Rane raised the banner of revolt to avenge the injustice meted out to him by implicating him in a rape case. He harassed the Government for quite some time till he was captured in 1871 with his colleague Shamba Desai. Custoba used to collect contribution from the rich to distribute them among his followers.

A serious rising took place in 1895 as a sequel to the rising of 1852. The policy of conciliation accepted by the Government was abandoned by the successive Governments. The ryots of Sattari were poor. The farming system, which the Government introduced for collection of revenue, proved harsh.⁶⁹ In 1895 when the metropolitan government ordered the transfer of Goans in the army from Goa to Mozambique, these troops refused to be transferred from their homeland. All of them marched

off up to the fort of Nanuz where their ranks swelled with Ranes and villagers. This is what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny. A priest, Francisco Alvares, wrote a series of articles in a leading journal, criticising the various acts of these foreign bureaucrats and exposing their highhandedness.⁷⁰ He was the editor of *Brado Indiano* (Indian Call). He had to suffer imprisonment for taking up their cause. The Portuguese authorities quickly withdrew whatever civil rights and guarantees he enjoyed under the new Portuguese constitution.

In October-November, the same year these forces led by Dada Rane launched a vigorous attack on Bardez and other places, but the Portuguese might succeeded once again to quell the revolt. When in the following year Ravji Rane, was killed by the Portuguese police, the Ranes, set furiously upon them. Around these years, Kustoba Rane, organized constant skirmishes against the rulers but was betrayed and treacherously slain in 1871. In the chain of Ranes' risings, after the turn of the century, a Portuguese commander met with the same gruesome fate at the hands of Ranes as a result of which in 1901, Dada Rane and few of his colleagues were deported to Timor. The European officers also roused popular antipathy by their unjust and overbearing conduct. There was an outcry against Father Alvares who was jailed and charged with complicity in the revolt of Dada Rane. Even though the charge could not be proved and he was released, yett the Governor on his own deported Alvares and several of his friends. For these reasons Dada Rane's revolt continued and he occupied the fort of Nanuz and Bardez. The Government treasuries were plundered and military outposts attacked. Martial law was declared in entire Goa and Captain Gomes da Costa ordered his men to capture the

insurgents. The entire *mahal* of Sattari was laid waste. Dada Rane's men, however, with greater vigour spread their activities right up to the capital. The King's brother with a regiment of Portuguese soldiers tried in vain to quell the revolt and decided to come to terms with the insurgents through the mediation, of the Shankaracharya (a Hindu religious leader). A general amnesty was declared and all proceedings against the rebels were dropped. A few years later Dada Rane was again implicated in another mutiny when Lt. Sival the military commandant at Valpoi was murdered. Dada Rane was deported to Timor.⁷¹ The last revolt of the Ranes occurred in Goa in 1912 as a result of high taxation on them. In order to subdue 400 men of Ranes two companies of European infantry and a battery of artillery arrived from Lisbon, and martial law was declared in the entire colony. The revolt was suppressed with the greatest ruthlessness, and the Ranes were deported to Africa.

The Portuguese constitutional charter though very late, had set in a fresh wind of liberalism in Goa. By 1890 the first Goan Political parties had come into their own: the *Partido Indiano* representing the popular forces and the pro-governmental *Partido Ultramarino*. On the crest of excitement and fervour of elections for Goan Municipalities, the officials wanted to seal the ballot boxes and declare elected the governmental candidates. The great stalwarts Jose Inacio de Loyola and Roque Correia Afonso created an upsurge of a movement. On the grounds of Margaon church they led a mass of Goans to launch a protest denouncing such an outrage. Portuguese troops shot down 23 prominent Goans. It was a baptism of fire in the exercise of Goans' civic rights and liberties. This is the Goan Jalianwalla Bagh. In commemoration of this historic date, the

event came to be fixed as 21st September Movement. In 1910, Portugal became a Republic. Catholic religion ceased to be the state religion and the Hindus enjoyed equal political rights as others. Goans were afforded some measure of autonomy till 1917 when a Dictatorship was clamped down on Portugal for a very short time. The new 'Carta Organica' curtailed all civic rights in 1918, and at an all-Goa mass rally in Margaon, Menezes Braganza denounced Portugal's new abhorrent legislation. The republican spirit was smothered once again by Salazar's Dictatorship in 1926 after which the elected representatives of the colony were sent to the Superior Council and not to the Parliament.

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

The Colonial Act of 1930 completely reduced the people of the colonies to a state of subservience. Meanwhile, Goans established an Indian Institute in 1926 at Coimbra (Portugal) to propagate Indian culture. The following year Tristao Braganza Cunha, the father of Goan nationalism, affiliated the Goan Congress party which worked underground espousing the cause of freedom, to the All India Congress Committee. The struggle for self-government continued, and the Government Council was

replaced by a regular legislative Council, composed of eleven non-official and seven official members. Despite the severity of the sentences and despite the hardships and indignities heaped on the nationalists, the movement continued. In fact, between the years 1954 and 1958 several hundred Goans, men and women, were arrested, tortured, detained and sentenced for participation in the freedom movement. Some were exiled to Africa and Portugal; others carried with them the marks and wounds or mutilations, caused by the brutal treatment received at the hands of the Portuguese police.

In the 17th, 18th, 19th and the early part of the 20th centuries the freedom movement in Goa had assumed essentially violent forms. However, with the emergence of Mahatma Gandhi on the Indian scene the pattern of the nationalist resistance to the Portuguese in Goa underwent a radical change. Liberation Struggle with the founding of the National Congress in 1928 by Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, non-violence was adopted as the guiding principle. The Portuguese constitution of 1933 and the Colonial Act of the same year continued and confirmed the inferior status of Portugal's overseas possessions in India. The arrogance of the Colonial Act was denounced by Menezes Braganza. In March 1946, the Goan Political Conference was held at Bombay by the Goans. It demanded immediate grant of civil liberties by the Portuguese. At a general meeting of the Goa Congress Committee held in the same month a resolution was unanimously adopted demanding immediate withdrawal by the Portuguese from Goa, Daman and Diu. From 18th June 1946, a campaign for civil liberties in Goa was launched under the leadership of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who was prevented from addressing a meeting in Goa,

subjected to various indignities and deported back to British India. The Portuguese police unleashed a reign of terror. The Goan leaders Braganza Cunha, Kakodkar, Hegde, Bhembre and Loyola were deported to far-off Portuguese prisons. In a famous letter, dated 18th July 1946, referring to this incident involving Lohia, Mahatma Gandhi wrote to the Portuguese Governor General, "He has commanded my admiration for his having gone to Goa and put his finger on its black spot. Inhabitants of Goa can afford to wait for independence, until much greater India has regained it... Your description of him as 'stranger' would excite laughter, if it was not so tragic. Surely the truth is that the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers."⁷²

The campaign for emancipation from foreign administration in Goa developed on Gandhian lines and came to be known as the *Jai Hind* movement. It took the form of civil disobedience or *Satyagraha*. The leaders of the movement were arrested and tried by specially assembled military tribunals, accorded savage sentences and some of them were deported to the island fortress of Peniche in Portugal. The campaign continued and during the months of June to November 1946, about 1,500 Goans were arrested, held in police detention for various terms, beaten or otherwise subjected to police excesses. In the year of Indian Independence, the Portuguese Government took strong measures to suppress the liberation movement in Goa and brought several thousand European and African troops into the colony. The Goan liberation movement therefore went underground, and a number of Goans fled to India to join the Goan community in Bombay. The Portuguese policy of arrest and deportation of freedom-loving Goans continued till 1954. In 1950 Nehru approached

Portugal, inviting them to discuss a time table for the transfer of Portuguese India to India. The Portuguese replied that there was nothing to discuss, as Portuguese India was part of Portugal.

In 1953, India closed its legation in Portugal, and next year took over the enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. In 1954 and 1955 Indian nationalists, supported by some exiled Goans, tried several times to launch a Gandhian style *satyagraha* campaign in Goa. These feeble efforts received little or no local support. The Portuguese were able to arrest the 'invaders' and even killed in August 1955, twenty-two of them. Portugal adopted a strategy to outwit the U.N. whose membership she sought. Since the charter of the United Nations had categorically rejected colonialism, Portugal called to her aid legal wit and wisdom, the jugglery of words and subtle quibbling to designate what were once termed 'Colonies' as 'Provinces'. The change of terminology took place in 1951 when the Colonial Act, which had been in force since 1930, was incorporated in Portugal's Political Constitution. From that year the Portuguese sought to present to the world that Portugal "no longer had colonies under her control; they were all part of a large free state, equal in every respect, enjoying the fundamental freedom, democratic in structure, and infact indistinguishable from a nation like the United States of America or Brazil, which in large geographical area had a population composed of various ethnic groups, religions, languages and the like"⁷³

Final days of Struggle

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

In December 1955, the Portuguese Government filed a complaint against India in the Hague Court, and claimed the right of passage of the Portuguese troops through Indian Territory between Daman and Nagar Haveli. Many of the Indians were either expelled or subjected to light prison sentences; many hundred Goans, on the other hand, were inflicted the maximum severity of the penal code and subjected to periods of imprisonment up to 28 years. Of these some were deported to notorious convict settlements in Africa and others to Portugal.⁷⁴ The International

Court totally rejected the Portuguese claim over Nagar and Haveli in 1960 and they were formally incorporated in the Indian Union in August 1961.

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

Portuguese rule was increasingly anachronistic. Nehru government sensing popular mood and indignation over Portuguese arrogance decided to act and for this it had support from nearly all Indian political parties, and internationally from the Soviet Union and its allies.

The Government of India decided to use force placing about 30,000 Indian troops around Goa, Daman and Diu in December 1961. Portugal faced them with 3000 rag-tag troops, no aircraft, a semiderelict frigate, and 900 Goan police, who promptly deserted. The Operation Vijay of Indian troops started on the 17th, and two days later on 19th December, it was all over, involving a casualty of just 47 including 45 Portuguese and 22 Indians. The armed forces were instructed to use minimum force required and not to use heavy weapons to avoid unnecessary loss to civilian life and property.

The Portuguese order for adopting scorched earth policy was not heeded by the Governor of Goa, General Vassalo da Silva and he surrendered without any significant fight. His surrender document reads:

“Eu General Manuel Antonio e Silva, Comandante –Chief das Forças Armadas do Estado Potugues da India ofereco e rendicao incondicional das Forças Armadas de Goa na minha qualidade de Comandante Chefe. Goa a’s 20H 30 De 19 Dezembro de 1961.- Manuel Antonio Vassalo e Silva.”(I Manuel Antonio Vassalo e Silva General Officer in Chief commanding the Armed Forces in state of Portuguese India hereby surrender unconditionally the armed forces of Goa in my capacity as Commander in Chief. Goa at 20.30 hrs on 19th December 1961). This surrender heralded a new phase in the history of Goa. The centuries old freedom struggle of Goans came to fruition and the teeming masses rejoiced with ‘Jai Hind’. Apart from the Indian Armed Forces and the freedom fighters, the Press too had its contribution to the struggle culminating in Goa’s liberation and rejoicing.

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- ¹ Hutt, Anthony, **A Traveller's Historical and Architectural Guide**, Essex, Scorpion Publishing Ltd., 1988, p11.
- ² Saldhana, C.F., S. J., **A Short History of Goa**, Imprensa Nacional, 1957, p30.
- ³ Prince Henry of Portugal, nicknamed 'the Navigator', was the son of King John I of Portugal, and great grandson of King Edward III of England. Early in the 15th century, he founded the School of Sagres, where he educated and prepared a legion of men for the sea. Here he gathered the best mathematicians, astronomers, cartographers and navigators of the day. He brought together every possible resource for forwarding his purpose: the gifts of science, the most highly perfected nautical instruments, and the strongest and swiftest ships constructed to brave the ocean and open up the sea lanes and from that date till his death in 1460 he sent out annual expeditions that slowly and painstakingly explored the African coast. The effort was to discover a sea route to the East. A few islands were discovered, but Prince Henry wanted to bring about the gradual opening up of the African coast, until then closed to navigators.
- ⁴ Azavedo Carmo-Salazar's **Bluff Called: The Goa Question**, India, 1956, p4
- ⁵ Ibid. p5

- ⁶ Nairne, Alexander Kyd, **History Of The Konkan**, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988 (Reprint), p43. First published in 1894 at the Government Central Press, Bombay.
- ⁷ Nowell, Charles, E., A History of Portugal, D. Van Nostrand Company Inc., New York, 1952, p74.
- ⁸ Ibid. p76.
- ⁹ Since 25th November was consecrated in the church to the memory of St. Catherine, virgin and Martyr at Alexandria, she was chosen as the patroness of Goa, and the protectress of the Portuguese in the East. The first Christian church or chapel was erected in her name, towards the center of the city and not far from the landing place.
- ¹⁰ Quoted in Richards, J.M., Goa, New Delhi, 1982, p69
- ¹¹ Rao, R.P., **Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961**, Asia Publishing House, Bombay, p18.
- ¹² Danvers, Frederick Charles, Op.cit., p. xxxiv
- ¹³ Ibid., p xxxv.
- ¹⁴ Whiteway, R.S., **The Rise of Portuguese Power in India 1497-1550**, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1989, p47.

¹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁶ Kloguen, Denis L. Cottineau de, **An Historical Sketch of Goa, The Metropolis of the Portuguese Settlements in India**, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1988. (First published in 1831, Madras). p 72.

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

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

- ¹⁹ Kloguen, Denis L. Cottineau de, op.cit., p34.
- ²⁰ Campos, J.J.A., **History of the Portuguese in Bengal**, Janaki Prakashan, Patna, 1979, p100.
- ²¹ Stephens, H. Morse, **Portugal**, T. Fisher Unwin, London, 1891, p209.
- ²² **The Cambridge History of India**, Vol.V, p17
- ²³ As quoted in **Goa and the Charter of the United Nations**, Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, New Delhi, p14.
- ²⁴ Ar. Port. Or., Fasc.5, p171, note, as quoted by Whiteway, R.S., op.cit., p60.
- ²⁵ In the villages of Goa some rent free plots or an amount of money from the common fund were set aside to meet the expenses of the local temple and to pay the servants who provided services to the deity. When the temples were destroyed, the ecclesiastics decided to appropriate these grants. An order to facilitate this was passed in June 1541, (Ar. Port. Or., Fasc.5, No.75 of June 30th, 1541, as given by *ibid.*, p60.) The Church enriched itself.
- ²⁶ Cunha, T.B., **Goa's Freedom Struggle**, p11.
- ²⁷ As quoted by Rao, R.P., op.cit., p42

²⁸ In return for the Zeal for and sacrifices involved in the propagation of the Faith, an integral part of her maritime enterprise, Portugal was awarded by the Holy See with the privilege of *Padroado* or patronage. This distinction resolved itself in concrete terms into the honor accorded by the Holy See to the Patron of the right to present a candidate for a bishopric or other ecclesiastical benefice in the newly discovered territories, and the corresponding duty to protect the Christians in the regions wherever Portugal would establish herself. Portugal acquitted herself of this latter task by getting the local princes to concede to her in their treaties the privilege to look after the Christians and protect their interests. This concession definitely expressed itself in the exemption from the exercise of the jurisdiction of the local courts.

²⁹ As quoted in *Goa and the Charter of the United Nations*, op.cit., p14.

³⁰ As quoted in Rao, R.P., op.cit., p42

³¹ Cunha, T.B., op.cit., p13

³² Hutt, Anthony, op.cit., p73

³³ Pearson, M.N., op.cit. p153.

³⁴ The *gaunkars* were the male members of the dominant caste, either brahmin or kshatriya, in a village. In theory, they were descended from the original settlers of the village. They could be either Hindu or Christian.

³⁵ Pearson, M.N., op.cit. p154.

³⁶ Ibid, p.155.

³⁷ Danvers, Frederick Charles, op.cit. pxiii

³⁸ See Table in Appendix

³⁹ Angle, Prabhakar, S., **Goa: concepts & misconcepts**, The Goa Hindu Association, 1994, p16.

⁴⁰ Ibid.

⁴¹ Fonseca, J.N., op.cit., pp58-59.

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

⁴³ Cunha-Rivara, J.H., "Essay on Konkani Language", translated and published in **Printing Press in India**, by A.K. Priolkar, 1958, p.216.

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

⁴⁵ Nowell, Charles, E., **A History of Portugal**, D. Van Nostrand Company Inc., New York, 1952, p170

⁴⁶ Cunha, T.B., op.cit., p28.

⁴⁷ Rao, R.P., op.cit., p54.

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

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

⁵⁰ Cunha, T.B., **Goa's Freedom Struggle**, pp48-53.

⁵¹ Danvers, Frederick Charles, **The Portuguese in India: Being a History of the Rise and Decline of their Eastern Empire** (vol. 1), New Delhi, Asian Educational Services, (Reprint) 1988. [First published-1984]. pxxxvi.

⁵² Correia, Gaspar, *Lendas da India, vol. I*, p.897, cited by Dr. Moraes, George, **St. Francis Xavier: A Tribute**, Monalisa Publications, Bombay, 1974, pp. 7-8.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, p.8.

- ⁵⁴ Fonseca, José Nicolau da, **An Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the city of Goa**, Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1986, P169.(Reprint). First published By Thacker & Co., Ltd., Bombay, 1878.
- ⁵⁵ Cottineau de Kloguen, Denis L., **An Historical Sketch of Goa, The Metropolis of the Portuguese Settlements in India**. Asian Educational Services, New Delhi, 1995.[first published in 1831]. p14.
- ⁵⁶ *ibid* p.15.
- ⁵⁷ Pearson, M.N., **The New Cambridge History of India: The Portuguese in India**, Orient Longman, 1990, p147.
- ⁵⁸ Figures as given by *ibid.*, p148.
- ⁵⁹ Article 135 of the Constitution.
- ⁶⁰ Article 54 of the Constitution.
- ⁶¹ A detailed account of this popular resistance is given by F.N. Xavier in his publication, *Bosquejo Historico das Comunidades*, Bastora—Goa, 1903.
- ⁶² The revolt is described in detail in the book, *Conspiracao de 1787*, by Cunha Rivara. Volume VIII of the *Collection of Portuguese Treaties* by Biker contains the original correspondence of the rebels.

- ⁶³ Original correspondence about this revolt was published by M. V. D'Abreu in his book *Alteracoes Politicas, Nova Goa*, 1862.
- ⁶⁴ Dr. Gune, V.T., "Goa", in Historical Writings on the Nationalist Movement in India, edited by S.P. Sen, Institute of Historical Studies, 1977, p241.
- ⁶⁵ For details, see Saldanha, P.E., *Historia de Goa*, Nova Goa (1925), Costa, A.A. Bruto da, *As Revolucoes Politicias* and Costa, A.A. Bruto da, *Goa sob a Dominacao Portuguesa*
- ⁶⁶ Braganza, Alfred, *The Discovery of Goa*, Brooks Publications, Bombay, 1964,p23.
- ⁶⁷ Original correspondence about the revolts of the Ranés will be found in the *Bulletin Official* series of the Portuguese Government.
- ⁶⁸ The hereditary officers of the village and guilds serving the village community were assigned lands by *inam Namus* or *Namoxim* tenure in lie of their services.
- ⁶⁹ Saldanha, P.E., *Historia de Goa*, Nova Goa, 1925.
- ⁷⁰ Dr. Gune, V.T., "Goa", in **Historical Writings on the Nationalist Movement in India**, edited by S.P. Sen, Institute of Historical Studies, 1977, p243.

⁷¹ Ibid.

⁷² Quoted in Ibid., p245.

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

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

CHAPTER 2

A BRIEF HISTORY OF THE PRESS IN GOA

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Victor Hugo rightly observed that "The press is a huge and sacred locomotive of progress. The diameter of the press is the same as the diameter of civilization." The history of the press in Goa has been closely intertwined with the general history of Goan society and culture during the Portuguese rule in Goa. For the purpose of a comprehensive understanding of the subject undertaken in particular and for that of Goan history in general, it is apt and necessary to examine the origin, evolution and functioning of the press in Goa.

The Origin of the Press in Goa: the first phase

The art of printing reached Goa within one century after the Guttenberg had produced the *Vulgata*. The Society of Jesus introduced the first printing press in Goa in 1556 and it is considered to be the first in the whole of the East. In the early days of the printing press, it was generally taken out of Europe as an aide to proselytisation¹. In Goa, however, it appears that no urgent need was felt for the printing press, because political support was strong enough to aid in the spread of Christianity. The area of the Old Conquest was small enough for the Christian priests to convey the message of God to the locals personally. The printing press, which reached Goa on September 6, 1556, was in fact on its way to help missionary work in Abyssinia. A letter in 1536 was sent by the Emperor of

Abyssinia to D. Manuel, king of Portugal, requesting the latter to send to Abyssinia some artisans "skilled in preparing books" *mestres para a fazer de livros*². Since D. Manuel, died before this letter was received, the same request was repeated to his son D. Joao and Portugal responded by sending technicians along with a printing press in 1556. Circumstances, however, so conspired that this press brought by the Jesuits never reached Preste (Abyssinia).

A letter written on April 30, 1556 by Fr. Gaspar Calaza to St. Ignatius shows that some ships carrying a printing press and some technicians left for the East in 1556. This letter was published in the tenth volume of Jesuits by Fr. Beccari³. A synopsis of this letter given by Fr. C. G. Rodeles is reproduced here: "The first batch of Jesuit Missionaries embarked at Belem on the Tagus, and left for Ethiopia on March 29, 1556, four months before the death of St. Ignatius of Loyola. It consisted of Fr. John Nunes, Patriarch of Ethiopia, Fr Andrew de Oviedo, Bishop of Hieropolis, and appointed as successor to the Patriarch; Fr. John Gualdames, three brothers of the society, and some young man. One of the brothers was Juan de Bustamante, who knew the art of printing. King D. Joao, the royal family and other friends had been munificent towards the members of the expedition. The King adjoined to the Patriarch an Indian of good character, an able and experienced printer; to help Brother Bustamente, who was taking with him a printing press to Goa. An eye-witness gives us this information."⁴

Most of the fourteen Jesuits who embarked on this occasion were on their way to "Preste" or Abyssinia, according to contemporary

documents⁵. The Patriarch designate of Abyssinia accompanied the printing press. As the Suez Canal did not exist in those days, persons going to Abyssinia from Portugal followed the Cape route to India, touched Goa, and thence proceeded to Abyssinia. The Patriarch with the printing press halted at Goa. The relations between the Emperor of Abyssinia and the missionaries appear to have been somewhat strained at this time and, therefore, in January 1557, the Governor of Goa asked him to stay back. The Patriarch complied and neither he nor the printing press he was carrying ever left Goa.

Negus David, the ruler of Ethiopia from 1508 to 1540 on learning about the discovery of the art of printing in Europe had desired to have some books and asked the king of Portugal, D. Joao III by a letter sent to the ambassador of Lima, in 1524, for "me mandeis homeens officiaes de fazer imageens e livros de molde"⁶ (send me artisans who can make moulded images and books.) At the end of 1549 St. Francis Xavier also wrote saying that he was interested in "making a declaration on the articles of the faith in the language of Japan, rather copious to be printed, for all the important people know how to read and write so that a holy faith may spread across many parts, for we cannot help everyone"⁷ It is thus clear that there were demands for the press from many quarters and it was considered a necessary instrument to spread the faith. It was in 1556 that King D. Joao III decided to send a group of missionaries with the intention of bringing back the great King Negus of Abyssinia to the Roman Church

Brother Joao Bustamante, a Spaniard of Valencia, born in circa 1536, who knew art of printing, was sent as a printer along with the

Patriarch Joao Nunes Barreto.⁸ Before the group of missionaries departed for Abyssinia on 27th March, 1556, the King presented to the Patriarch an Indian who was also a capable printer. “Lhe deu El Rey hum indio mui habil impressor pera que ajudasse em a prensa ao Irmão (Bustamante) que de quá levou.” (“The King gave him an Indian who was a very able printer to help Brother Bustamante whom he took for here”).⁹ From which part of India he was and where he had learned his art is not known. Probably he took part in the printing of Cartilha que contem “brevemente ho que todo o christão deve aprender pera sua salvação” (Pocketbook which contains briefly all that the Christian must learn for his salvation), which appeared in Lisbon on the orders of the king in 1554 “em lingua Tamul e Portugues” in the office of Germao Galhardo.

As stated above, the fleet left from Belem on March 27, 1556 and after halting for two weeks at Mozambique, reached Goa at the beginning of September of the same year. Negotiations began between the missionaries responsible for the mission to Ethiopia and the representative of Portugal Francisco Barreto and his advisers. To the good fortune of printing history in Goa, the Patriarch sent the bishop D. André de Oviedo with five Jesuits, to Abyssinia but the greater part of his missionaries, the printer and the press remained in Goa. Bustamante, who arrived in India along with the printing press, therefore, is considered as the pioneer of the art of printing in India. He lived most of his life in Goa being ordained in 1564 as a priest and died on August 23, 1588.¹⁰ In 1563, his name was changed to João Rodrigues.¹¹

There is some confusion in contemporary documents regarding the precise date on which the ships carrying the printing press reached Goa. Citing various documents, Priolkar concludes that the printing press reached Goa on September 6, 1556 and was installed at St. Paul's College, Old Goa¹² It appears that it was only by the middle of October that printing operations actually began. Fr. João Nunes Barreto, the Patriarch designate of Abyssinia, describes in a letter dated November 6, 1556, how soon after its advent in Goa, the press started functioning. He writes: "There were public discussions of theses which appeared as though they were held at Coimbra and were attended by a large concourse of people and priests. John printed these theses ("conclusões") and other things, which are doing good and will produce yet more fruit later on. The Indian is well behaved and is fond of going for confessions often; at sea he helped us a lot in the kitchen and has proved here to be competent in press work, and Father Francis Rodrigues is happy over it and desires to have another (press) in this College. Now they want to print Master Francis' Christian Doctrine, and I have hopes that this work will do much good in Ethiopia".¹³

Aires Brandão, a Jesuit priest, describes in a letter written on November 19, 1556, how certain theses on logic and philosophy were printed in this press on October 19: "... The *conclusões* were ordered to be printed here in the house and to be affixed to the Church doors, thereby giving to the Friars of St. Francis and other people desiring to be acquainted with them an occasion of reading them...."¹⁴ It is not clear whether the theses printed on this occasion were in the form of a book or loose sheets.¹⁵ Since they were affixed to the gates of churches, they were probably loose sheets. In that case the first known printed book in Goa would be the

Doutrina Christa by St. Francis Xavier, which was printed in 1557. No copies of the theses on logic and philosophy or *Doutrina Christa* are at present available.

The above facts show that other small works were printed and that the idea was to take this press to Abyssinia, which was its original destination and acquire another press for Goa. The phrase that “*em Ethiopia se fara muyto fructo*” (in Ethiopia it would be very useful) enables us to appreciate this new invention.¹⁶ The annual letter (*Carta Anua*) sent by Luis Fróis, S.J. on November 30, 1557 informs about what happened, how the press functioned and what purpose it served at that stage: “Here the Patriarch (Nunes Barreto) and Fr. Antonio de Quadros ordered during the Lent the printing of some confession aids, and an honourable man devoted to the Society offered to give the paper free of charge for the love of God, and that the college should bear the labour costs, and the collections were given to all those who wished to have them for the love of God. And they were also sent to all the forts for the Jesuits who live therein, to distribute them together with the doctrine which the Padre Mestre Francisco (Xavier) who is now with God, got here printed. This was a thing of greater benefit to the people, because of the few books and less knowledge which the men generally have for making a good confession.”¹⁷

This catechism was printed many times in Goa. Thus in 1557, some theses were printed on the feast of Saint Lucas as Fróis reported in the same above mentioned letter: “On the day of St. Luke Brother Francisco Cabral, student of Fr. Antonio de Quadros, defended here some public theses; I am sending herewith three printed copies of the same; ... Present

on the occasion were the Governor, Francisco Barreto, with many noble fidalgos and many Religious, high court judges and other legal entities from outside.”¹⁸ In 1556, Fróis talked about another application of the press, namely, to strengthen the image of Christianity among the neo converts: “The first Patriarch (Nunes Barreto) knowing this as he was very zealous for the honor of God and for the benefit of Christendom, ordered Fr. Francisco Rodrigues to print here, with moulds some images of crucified Christ with the Virgin Our Lady on one side and St. John on the other, to be distributed among these Christians, and thus to have with them a more fresh memory of the mystery of his redemption.”¹⁹ It would appear from the writings of Luis Fróis that by the year 1561, some work in Konkani was already printed in Latin characters though we do not have any examples.²⁰

Another early Jesuit printer was Brother João Gonçalves a native of Spain, who knew the art of founding types. He came to India in 1555. “He was the first who made in India Malabar types with which many books were printed”.²¹ It was with the types prepared by him that in 1557 Fr. Bernardino Ferrario and Pedro Luis put together a catechism, the first book printed in India in the Malabar language.²² The Patriarch Nunes Barreto wrote about him in 1559: “He made here moulds and matrixes and more artifacts of puncoes and other things from round letters (i.e. printed) and of the letters which are used in the kingdom of Preste and in which he has written his books, which I prize a lot to compose in them christian doctrines, confessions, and other necessary books, for it will not be possible to indoctrinate such a vast land except with many books printed in its language, which I will get printed in the press which I have here to take”; and further he wrote, “he knows also to manage the right hand press

(prensa direita) which is difficult, and to make other artifacts out of it, and many and varied things of his art and of other arts.”²³ In 1557 Gonçalves was appointed as “*Praefectus fabricae domesticae et faber ferrarius*”; and by the end of 1576 he was “*mestre da imprensa*”. He usually lived in Goa and died in 1578. In none of the works mentioned above does one find even the slightest mention of the poor Indian for being “*impressor habil*” (a capable printer) who had been sent by King D. João III to help Bustamante. He seems to have been deliberately ignored whereas he must have rendered valuable help to Bustamante who was then an inexperienced boy and to the Jesuit fathers who were busy printing a large number of religious books.²⁴

Most writers do not mention any other book published during 1557, besides the *Doutrina Christa* of Francis Xavier but the work “*Hist. das missões etc.*” mentions that one more book was published in that year. “The Patriarch Fr. João Nunes, Fr. Francisco Rodrigues and Fr. Antonio de Quadros composed in this year, 1557, a Confessionary which was very useful in India. As this was published, many Portuguese and Christians freed themselves through this means of much ignorance learnt their obligations what was legal and what was sinful and the mode of purifying their conscience through confession.”²⁵ There is evidence that no books were published during 1558-1559 because during this period the Jesuits were engrossed in other work including the reconstruction of the College of St. Paul which was finished in 1560. During this period the Order also had to face an internal agitation provoked by Fr. Antonio Gomes who having been appointed by Fr. Francis Xavier on the eve of his departure for Japan as his successor in the rectorship of this college, had dismissed from the Seminary all the local boys replacing them by the sons of the Europeans

and had received in the Society as novices 25 young men also Europeans who did not have the proper training for it. When the Apostle returned in 1559, he noticed these irregularities, reestablished the aims of the institution of the Seminary and replaced him by Fr. Gaspar Barzeu.²⁶ It appears that these conflicts in the Society prevented the priests from dedicating their time to the press in these two years.

Bustamante printed a treatise in Portuguese in 1560 in which Fr. Goncalo Rodriguez²⁷, with the support of the Councils and the Popes established the primacy of the Roman Church against the schismatic errors of the Abyssinians. The confraternity of the Holy Faith was established in 1541 in India, due to the efforts of the Fathers Diogo de Borba, and the College of St. Paul was established with the aim of imparting religious instruction and education of the youth. Later in 1560, during the rule of viceroy D. Constantino de Bragança and the Provincial of the Jesuits Fr. Antonio de Quadros, this college was reconstructed maintaining the same invocation. Fr. João Nunes Barreto who was Bishop of Hieropolis and first Patriarch of Ethiopia laid the foundation stone on January 25, day of the conversion of St. Paul.²⁸ Students came there to study literature and religion; at the same time the establishment of the printing press there helped the intellectual movement. Two famous printers João de Endem and João Quinquenio both Jesuits were incharge of the printing press established there.²⁹

D. Gaspar de Leao Perreira consecrated as the first Archbishop of Goa on April 15, 1560, presided over the destinies of the Archdiocese as well as the activities of the Press. He brought out the *Compendio Espiritual*

da Vida Christã in 1561.³⁰ According to the bibliographer, Innocencio Francisco da Silva this book was the first to be printed in Goa. However, Ismael Gracias refutes this. A second edition of this book was printed in 1600 in Coimbra by Manuel de Araujo. In 1563, João de Endem printed the *Colloquios dos Simples e drogas he cousas medicinaes da India* by Dr. Garcia d'Orta, who came to India in 1534.³¹ Its second edition was printed in 1872 by Francisco de Varnhagen in Lisbon which gives some information about the first edition including the fact that it was dedicated to Martim A. de Sousa and that it carried a sonnet dedicated to the Viceroy. It appears that this was the first printed poem of Camoes who was in Goa when Dr. Garcia D'Orta's book was published. This was another achievement for the printing press in Goa, which became the first to publish the verses of the national poet of Portugal.³² Dimas Bosque from Valencia, writes in the preface that the *Colloquios* was started in Latin but at the request of family and friends it was written in Portuguese in the form of dialogues. In the introduction to the second edition Varnhagen says that Garcia D'Orta "revealed in that century to Europe many truths which the same Europe was ignorant of or of which it knew only by less authenticated information of Greek and Arab writers and their commentators, who were all called to depose in judgment by the analytical spirit of the Portuguese observers."³³

The *Diccionario Bibliographico Portuguez* of I. F. da Silva states the purpose of the press publications. "The *Colloquios* are an admirable book for many reasons and a matter of pride for the Portuguese nation to have produced it. A monument to the intelligence and efforts of its author, in it appears the first and precise description of the epidemic *cholera*

morbis (as well observed by Dr. Lima Leitao) and various other equally notable and important diseases and of Oriental plants which until then were unknown".³⁴ The Archbishop of Goa D. Gaspar published in 1565 his *a Carta ao Povo de Israel com traducçao dos dois tratados contra os judeus de Mestre Jeronymo de Santa Fe*. The printer was João de Endem. It appears that this letter was written by the bishop with the aim of converting the Jews who had settled in Goa due to the commercial opportunities. Mr. A.C. Texeira d'Aragão mentions this book among others which were sent for a universal exhibition in Paris in 1867.³⁵

The Archbishop of Goa D. Gaspar de Leão Pereira held at the beginning of 1567 the first Provincial Council of Goa. When it was in session itself, the bishop of Cochin Fr. Jorge Themude succeeded him as Archbishop. Fr. Themude who concluded the Provincial Council decided that the actions of this council should be translated into Portuguese and printed so that all could read and understand. João de Endem, therefore, printed it with the title *O primeiro Concilio Provincial celebrado em Goa em o anno de 1567, trasladado de Latim em Linguagem, 1568*. The Archbishop issued an order on July 10, 1568, that "the volume of decrees (of the council) printed by João de Endem and signed by the Providor be given entire faith and credited as if they were original".³⁶ This *concilio* was published by councillor Cunha Rivara in *Archivo Portuguez-Oriental* in 1862. In the prologue to it he says that he published it according to the edition issued "in Goa in the new College of St. Paul of the Society of Jesus in 1649"³⁷. In the fourth issue he published the proceedings of the other four provincial councils held in Goa in the 16th century and also those of the Diocesan Synod of Diamper.

The second Provincial Council was held in Goa in 1575, and the next three in 1585, 1592 and 1606, all in the Sé Cathedral. The Diocesan Synod of Diamper was held in Malabar in 1599, by Archbishop Aleixo de Menezes. The proceedings of the five Councils were printed in 1721. In the light of the decrees of the first Provincial Council, the Bishop D. Gaspar ordered the *Constituicoes Synodales do Arcebispado de Goa* which was published on April 8, 1568, by Joao de Endem.³⁸ The second edition of this work was published in 1643. One of the two copies of this work kept in the Central Library, Panaji, belonged at one time to the college of *Populo* containing 115 pages. This edition bears the licenses for printing in 1640 and 1643 by the Inquisitors Antonio de Faria Machado and George Seco de Macedo. It was followed by the printing of the proceedings of the first Provincial Council and at the end of the second volume has been attached a manuscript copy of the fifth council.³⁹ This second edition was printed in the new College of St. Paul and its third and last editions were printed in Lisbon. A copy of the first edition featured in the Universal Exposition at Paris in 1867.⁴⁰ According to Antonio Ribeiro dos Santos after the "*Constituicoes Synodales*", *O Mappa Mundi* was published by the Portuguese cosmographer Fernao Vaz Dourado in 1571.⁴¹ This Marine Atlas figured in the International exhibition at Paris in 1867 among other Portuguese manuscripts and miniatures⁴²

The Archbishop D. Gaspar de Leao Perreira published *the Desenganos de perdidas in Goa* by Joao de Endem in 1573. This book is in the form of a dialogue in which enter two pilgrims, a Christian and the other a Turk who meet between the Suez and Cairo. It is divided into three

parts, the first deals with the disillusion of the Muslims, informing them about their total destruction according to the statement of St. John, the second disillusion of spoilt and sensuous men according to the declaration of the moral fable of the mermaids and the third deals with the spiritual life by which one can achieve perfection.⁴³ It was examined by father Francisco Rodrigues, Provincial of the Society and approved by Dr. Bartholomew da Fonseca, Inquisitor. I. F. da Silva informs that despite being examined by these competent authorities this booklet was banned by the Inquisition in Portugal since it was mentioned on the list of banned books in the *Indice expurgatorio de 1581*.⁴⁴ The year 1573 was the last year in the 16th century in which a book was printed at press in Goa from which since 1556 ten publications were printed.⁴⁵ From that year there was a long break and the literary activities of the Jesuits were restarted only in 1616 when another press was established in the College of Rachol.⁴⁶

It appears from the facts cited that there were available in Goa three different printers: Joao de Bustamante, who printed the *Conclusoes* in 1556 and the *Doutrina Christa* in 1557; Joao Quinquenio, 1561 and Joao de Endem 1563 to 1573. Amancio Gracias tells that "at first sight it appears that three printers existed in fact, but none of the letters of the Jesuits (*Litterae Annuae*), nor the Chronicles of the Society of Jesus nor any other contemporary books mention that any persons with the last two names mentioned above came to India, Bustamante was certainly the true printer of all the works mentioned above, helped, no doubt, by the Indian to whom we have already referred".⁴⁷ He further says that Bustamante was quite advanced in ecclesiastical studies in the College of S. Paulo, having

been ordained as a Presbyterian in 1564. Amancio Gracias concludes that "if we admit the existence of these two printers as facts then we will also have to admit that presses besides the one brought by the Jesuits in 1556 also existed when there are no documents to prove that there was any press other than the one brought by the Jesuits."⁴⁸ Most other writers on the subject accept the existence of three different printers.

Most of the books mentioned above were printed with the prior censorship and license including the books of the Archbishop D. Gaspar.⁴⁹ This censorship and the need for licenses for books written even by persons of recognized scholarship indicates the terrible power of the Inquisition. Censorship and license did not exist only in Goa as the same also existed in the metropolis. "No foreign book", writes D. Antonio da Costa in his *Historia da Instrucao Popular em Portugal*, "could come out, could not even be owned by private people without the prior license of the delegates of the Inquisition on the penalty of punishment by a tribunal of the Holy office; no government book could be published without three successive approvals, the state censor, the religious censor of the diocese and above all the censor of the Inquisition. The same tribunal severely punished transgressors." He further informs that "With the intention to get out of this miserable state two notable reforms gave scope to the possibility of reading and to the publication of thought."⁵⁰ The first reform consisted of substituting "the three censors by only one, where the religious element was represented, but where the secular element predominated, it was the royal court of censors tribunal. The other reform equally important and complementing the first was the creation of an imperial printing press incorporating in it a workshop for founding types which would also help

the development of the private press.”⁵¹ The effect was positive and soon there appeared a group of many political, social, scientific and literary writers whose works were born due to the new atmosphere created by these reforms.

Printing in the 17th century: The second phase

The literary activities of the Jesuits, as referred above, were then restarted only in 1616 after the break from 1573. This second phase started when another press was established at Rachol. This and the one located at *Casa Professa do Bom Jesus* in Old Goa, printed many books and booklets, which were largely religious in character. Out of such works which were printed between 1616 to 1669, nineteen were in Portuguese, nineteen in Konkani, one in Abyssinian, one each in Latin and Chinese (*Sinarum Scientia politico-moralis*, by Intorcetta). The Chinese section was published in Quamchen (China) in 1667 and the Latin in Konkani in Goa in 1669.⁵²

Vernacular literature

The first book in literary Marathi (*Brahmanamarasta*) published in Goa (1666) was the famous *Purana* of Father Thomas Stephens, an English Jesuit who had a good knowledge of Konkani and was a dedicated missionary. He died in Goa in 1619 at 70 years of age. He was in the Society of Jesus for 54 years, of which he spent 40 years as a missionary in

Salcete being the Rector of the *Colegio de Espirito Santo de Margao*.
 Father Thomas wrote and published following three books:

1) *Discurso sobre a vinda de Jesu Christo nossas Salvador ao Mundo.*

There appears to be some doubt about the language in which this work was originally written. According to Amancio Gracias “some say that it was first written in Portuguese and then translated into the vernacular”.⁵³ In the opinion of Prof. Mariano Saldanha, the book was first written in the vernacular and later translated into Portuguese. It was not translated in full but in summary to give some idea of its contents to the Archbishop and other authorities, who did not know the Konkani language. Amancio Gracias goes on to conclude that it does not appear that Fr. Thomas Stephens must have written the whole book in Portuguese and then translated it into the vernacular. He was an Englishman and definitely did not have mastery over the Portuguese language to write in Portuguese verse, whereas having studied the vernacular language deeply of which he even wrote a Grammar, it would appear that he was more fluent in this language than in Portuguese. As rightly noted by Prof. Mariano Saldanha, probably he must have written a summary in Portuguese for getting the approval of the ecclesiastical authorities.⁵⁴

This book had three editions. The first was brought out at Rachol with the license of the Inquisition and of the authority of the *College of All Saints of the Society of Jesus* in 1616. It was examined by Paulo Mascarenhas as ordered by the Inquisitors and by learned people of the Society. It was given the license to print by the Inquisitors, by the

Archbishop and by the Provincial of the Society by special permission of the *Prepositor Geral* (General Prefect) Fr. Claudio Aquaviva.⁵⁵ Its second edition began in 1646 and ended in 1649 at an unknown press. From censorship and licenses, it is seen that the book had begun to be called *Puranna*⁵⁶. It was examined by Fr. Gaspar de S. Miguel, a Franciscan who lived in Bardez and Fr. Manoel Baptista, rector of Colvalle. The Inquisitors who permitted the re-printing were Antonio de Faria Machado, Joao de Barros Castel Branco and Domingos Rebello Lobo. The third edition was printed in Goa with license of the Holy Inquisition and the Authority of the College of St. Paul in 1654. Inquisitors Fr. Lucas of Cruz and Paulo Castellino de Freitas assigned the license.⁵⁷ The *Puranna* was dedicated to the Archbishop D. Fr. Christovao de Lisboa by a letter dated April 29, 1616 (Rachol). This book was quite popular and Ismael Gracias tells that even in the 1880's, some people knew its verses by heart.⁵⁸

2) *Doutrina Christa* in Konkani (*Brahmana Canarim*) in the form of a dialogue for children. It was published after the death of the author in Rachol in 1622.

3) *Arte da Lingua Canarim* was expanded after his death by Fr. Diego Ribeiro another person fluent in the local language and was revised by four fathers of the Society. Fr. Stephens da Cruz examined it, with the prior license of the Holy Office. It was printed in the college of St. Ignatius in Rachol and 1649. It figured in the world exhibition at Paris in 1867.⁵⁹ It was reprinted by councilor J. H. da Cunha Rivara at the *Imprensa Nacional* 1857, preceded by a memorial on the geographical distribution of the main

languages of India by Sir Erskine Perry and a historical essay on the Konkani language.

Fr. Diego Ribeiro of the Society of Jesus, a missionary and Apostle of the Salcette mission also wrote the *Declaracam da Doutrina Christa* (A statement of the Christian doctrine) printed at the St. Ignatius college of Rachol in 1632. It was written in the Brahmin dialect of Goa. This work also figured in the Paris exhibition of 1867. Fr. Diego Ribeiro edited *The Arte* of Fr. Thomas Stephens and the *Vocabulario de Lingoa Canarim* prepared by the priests on the Society in Salcete in 1626. Fr. Ribeiro translated probably into Konkani the *Vidas dos Santos* written by Pedro Ribandeira and it was printed. In 1634, at the *Casa Professa de Bom Jesus*, the *Discursos sobre a vida do Apostolo S. Pedro*, (Discourses on the life of the Apostle St. Peter) were printed in which the author has refuted the main errors of the East, composed in verse in 'brahmana-marasta' by Estevão da Cruz in two volumes. . In December 1641, the *Discurso ou Falla* was published by Fr. Manoel da Cruz and the printer was a native of Coimbra. He was the Vicar general of the congregation in India, and an assistant to the Goa Inquisition appointed on March 7, 1633. It was a speech delivered by Fr. Manoel da Cruz when D. Joao IV was proclaimed the King of Portugal.

Printing in Abyssinian characters

As referred earlier, at the request of Preste in 1556, Lisbon was moved to send technicians who could make books in Ethiopia. But there is

no evidence to show that the printing press was introduced in Ethiopia. The missionaries there until the end of the 16th century continued writing to their superiors in Europe to send them a press. They wrote to their Cardeal Protector in Rome to send them a press with Ethiopian characters, as well as one or two individuals who knew the art of printing.⁶⁰ Since this request was not granted, Patriarch D. Afonso Mendes again wrote to the sacred congregation of the *Propaganda Fide*, which replied asking him to send to Rome the Ethiopian alphabets.⁶¹ This request was satisfied, because these Ethiopian types arrived in Goa with which was printed in Chaldean in 1642 a work titled *O Magseph assetatsive Flagellum mendaciorum*, (A Whip against falsehoods, a treatise against the Ethiopian Libel) authored by Fr. Antonio Fernandes, who was a missionary in Ethiopia and knew the languages of that land well. In this work, he refuted the errors in the book *Masysh Haymonot*, which means Treasures of the Faith written by a schismatic called Ras Athenabot. He wrote other books as well in the Ethiopian language at the request of Preste, the most famous was "*Vida da Santissima Virgem*" (Life of the most Holy Virgin Mary) dedicated to Fr. Vicente Carafa, Prepositor General of the Society of Jesus. It was translated into Portuguese by the Patriarch D. Affonso Mendes ten years after the death of the author and it was printed in 1652 in the College of St. Paul.⁶²

There is, therefore, no doubt that despite so many and so urgent requests from Preste to the king of Portugal to send technicians who could make books, the printing press was not introduced in Ethiopia and also none of the works above mentioned were printed there. For, when Ethiopian types founded in Rome were received in Goa, Catholicism in that

Empire was being violently persecuted and Preste had taken its sectarian hatred to the point of throwing out the priests who were missionaries there since a long time. It is therefore, certain that books meant for Ethiopia were printed in Goa in Ethiopian types.⁶³

In 1643 was published a letter by Manoel Jacome de Mesquita, *Relacam do que Socedo na Cidade de Goa....na felice acclamação del Rey Dõ Iaaõ 0IIII de Portugal....* which is a report on what happened in all the forts and cities of *Estado da India* regarding the celebrations at the time of the acclamation of King D. Joao IV of Portugal and the swearing in of the Prince D. Theodosio.⁶⁴ It appears to have been printed in the 17th century in Goa in the Jesuit press. Cunha Rivara calls it the *Puranna da Bibliotheca*⁶⁵ Fr. João de S. Mathias, a native of Lisbon, who was the eighth Provincial of the S Thome Province in Goa, wrote the *Vida de Christo* (Life of Christ) in the Konkani language (*lingoa brahmana*). Could this book be the one mentioned above (*Puranna da Bibliotheca*)?⁶⁶ Ismael Gracias says that three *Purannas* beginning with page 25 are known, the third being incomplete. This he says was published in the cited *Ensaio Historico da lingoa concani*⁶⁷

A distinguished priest of Salcete Antonio de Saldanha came to India from Mazgão, Africa, with the intention of joining the army but changed his mind and joined the Church. He could speak Konkani fluently and wrote: 1) *Archaryevanta Bragta Santo Antoniche or Tratado dos Milagres* (Life of St. Anthony). It was translated and composed in the local language in 1655 at the college of Rachol. Mr. A.K. Priolkar tells that this book was written in verse in Marathi and in prose in the spoken dialect of

Goa both printed in the Roman script.⁶⁸ 2) *Rosas e boninas deleitosas do Rosal de Maria e seu Rosario* translated and composed for moral profit and for the good of souls at Rachol. The year of printing is not mentioned.

Miguel de Almeida was another missionary of Salcete but a native of vila de Gouveia, province of Beira who entered the Society in Goa on 12th September 1624, at 16 years of age. He became rector of the college of St. Paul of Goa and later Provincial of the Society of Jesus. He published some books including: 1) *Jardim dos Pastores* (Garden of Shepherds) or *Festas do anno* in five volumes in the Konkani language (*lingua brahmana*). This doctrinal book containing lectures and sermons was published in the college of the Society in 1658. In an article published in the *Examiner* of Bombay in 1922, a detailed description of what is believed to be the first volume was given by Fr. Hosten⁶⁹ J.A. Ismael Gracias has given a detailed description of the third volume.⁷⁰ 2) *Sinco Praticas sobre as palavras = Exurgens Maria= Goa*. Another book attributed to Fr. Miguel de Almeida is *Diccionario da lingua Concanica* which Sotwell says is a translation of *Thesouro da lingoa portuguesa* by Bento Pereira; but what is more true is that this Dictionary and the *Vocabulario da lingoa concanica* which was added were one and the same work⁷¹

There is a book containing 270 pages in the Central Library, Panaji without the first and last pages and therefore the author, the place of printing and the year of publication are ^{not} known. It appears, however, to have been published at the Jesuit press in Goa and its author was a Jesuit because the sermons and lectures, which constitute this work were preached

in the churches of Salcete entrusted to the Jesuits.⁷² Fr. Bernardino de Villegas, of the Society of Jesus, professor of Theology in its college and an officer of the Inquisition composed *Soliloquios divinos*. It was translated into Konkani by Fr. Pedrosa of the same Society, a missionary in Salcete. The *Soliloquios* were revised by the fathers of the Society Antonio da Costa and Antonio de Saldanha. According to the author of *Bibliothèque des E'crivains de la compainie de Jésus*, the *Soliloquios* were printed in 1640. Amancio Gracias gives the date as 1660. According to most sources, this was the last book published in Goa from the Jesuit Press. Fr. Hosten says⁷³ that since 1616 when the second printing press was installed at Rachol to 1669, in all 30 books were published. Moreover, C.R. Boxer mentions⁷⁴ two more books, namely, A.P. Prospero Intorcetta's *Sinarum Scientia Politico-Moralis* (36 leaves in Chinese characters printed at Canton in 1667 and 20 leaves in Roman types at Goa in 1669) and *Regras da Companhia de Jesu* (Rules of the Society of Jesus) printed at Rachol in 1674.

First Printing Types of an Indian Script

The motivating force behind all the Jesuit printing had been proselytisation. The South had a sizable native Christian population including a large number of the Syro-Malabarise or St. Thomas Christians. An attempt was therefore made to popularise Christian teachings by printing in Indic characters of this region. Information about early Indic printing is not very prolific.⁷⁵ A Spanish, Juan Gonçalves, cut 'Malabar' types in 1577. Fr. Souza writes about him, "He was the first who made in

India types of Malabar letters with which the first books were printed". These types were used to print a Catechism by Fathers Bernardino Ferrario and Pero Luiz, a Brahmin priest.⁷⁶ Ismael Gracias cites Fr. Lucena who says that St. Xavier composed in the Malabar language the articles of faith and the commandments of the law of God with brief declarations after each one, a general confession and many prayers of Christian doctrine. It appears that this collection is the Catechism (*Doutrina Christa*), which was printed in 1577 about which Fr. Souza says, "*este foi o primeiro livro que a India nascer na sua propria terra e não ajudou pouco a novidade para grangeas o agrado dos naturais*". ("This was the first book which India saw being born in its own land and the good news helped to win over the approval of the natives.")⁷⁷

The Tamil characters were founded for the first time by Fr. João de Faria, the architect of the arches of the college of St. Paul in Goa. He died in Goa in 1582.⁷⁸ These characters were put to use in 1578 to print *O Flos Sanctorum*, (Holy Flowers), *A Doutrina Christa* a voluminous Confessionary, and other books by which the Fathers learnt to read and write.⁷⁹ The most expert in the Malabar and Tamil languages was Fr. Henrique, who was called the Apostle of Camorim, a distinguished companion of St. Francis Xavier. He came from Portugal in 1564 and died in India in 1582. Fr. Schurhammer concludes from these accounts that there were two contemporaneous centers of Indic printing in southern India, employing different alphabets. In the 16th century, the Portuguese applied the term "Malabar" both to the Tamil and to the Malyalam languages. Here, however, since Tamil is specified for Faria, the 'Malabar' of Gonçalves must be intended to refer to Malyalam.⁸⁰

The question is whether there were two presses at work simultaneously on either coast, one printing in Malyalam and the other in Tamil. "One might suppose, from the greater importance of Tamil, and the greater accessibility of the Malabar Coast, that the printing activity was concentrated in that language and centred on that coast."⁸¹ Evidence, however, is conflicting. A copy of the first Indic printing was found by Fr. Robert Streit, O.M.I. in 1928. The work was Fr. Marcos Jorge's *Doctrina Christiana* translated into Tamil by Fr. Henriquez and printed in Cochin in 1579.⁸² This work, in dialogue form, contains 4 unnumbered leaves and 112 numbered pages. Fr. Georg Schurhammer in his article in the Harvard Library Bulletin gives photographic reproductions of some pages from this work. Another copy of the *Doctrina Christiana* printed in the Malabar types was of 16 pages and was translated into Tamil by Fr. Henriquez and Fr. Manuel de São Pedro and printed at Quilon (Coulam) also on the Malabar Coast, in 1578.⁸³ It was a translation of St. Xavier's book of the same name. This book becomes the earliest example of printing in the character of one of the Indian languages and the earliest example of printing in a native language executed in India. Using Schurhammer's article, Priolkar concludes that the book published at Quilon was in the *Lingua Malabar Tamil*. He further says that the '*Lingua Malabar*' of which types were prepared by Gonçalves and the Tamil of which types were prepared by Faria were identical and infact both were used in the printing of this book⁸⁴

Priolkar also examines why types of the local language of Goa (Marathi) were not prepared at this stage. Citing Fr. G.C. Rodeles, he says

that Gonçalves did actually think of preparing "Canarese" types, but did not pursue the idea on account of the clumsy shapes of the characters, the irregularity of pronunciation and the limited area in which the language was spoken.⁸⁵ It appears that Fr. Gonçalves had actually started preparing types of the Devanagari script, but brother João Gonçalves who prepared them died in the following year, and his companion Fr. João de Faria also expired in the year 1582. Thus, there was none who was able to undertake the work. For this reason the *Puranna* was printed in Latin characters in the college of St. Paul in the year 1654.⁸⁶ Fr. Schurhammer made this assertion on the basis of what Fr. Chutte has written in this connection: "The first attempt to start a press for the Kanarim language had for a while miscarried, although about 50 letters or moulds were already prepared. The multiplicity and difficult reproduction of letters, also the meager prospects of a wide publicity of books (printed) in Kanarim types however finally scared away the Brother printer."⁸⁷ Priolkar concludes that, "Fr. Schurhammer has understood that Kanarim types mentioned by Fr. Chutte to mean Devanāgari types, and he is probably right in doing so. It must be remembered, however, that in Goa the Kannada or Canarese script was also in common use for writing Marathi. The fact that there were no subsequent attempts in this direction indicates that the need for Devanāgari types was not felt with sufficient urgency at this time."⁸⁸

The Printing Press in Goa held tremendous potential for proselytisation work. Initially, however, it was not exploited to its maximum capacity since it was felt that political and economic coercion was sufficient to herd people to the faith. The Inquisition established in 1560 also served as an aid to strengthen the bonds of the neo-converts to

the Church through the medium of terror and horror. In due course, however, it dawned upon the authorities concerned that physical coercion was not a satisfactory method to achieve the ends of the missionaries. This led to a reorientation of policy and now emphasis was placed on the value of religious education of the converts in the resolutions of the *Concilio Provincial* at its sessions of 1567, 1575, 1585, 1592 and 1606.⁸⁹

In this new programme for religious education, the indigenous languages were given priority and every parish priest was required to be conversant with, and Christian literature was also to be printed in, the local languages. The impetus provided by this policy led Fr. Stephens, Croix, Saldanha and others to produce the *Christian Puranas* and other literature written in the literary and spoken languages of Goa but printed in the Roman script. Father Thomas Stephens desired that such literature should be produced in the Devanāgarī script. In a letter addressed from Salcete in Goa on December 5, 1608, to his superiors in the Society of Jesus in Rome he wrote: "Before I end this letter I wish to bring before your Paternity's mind the fact that for many years I very strongly desired to see in this Province some books printed in the language and alphabet of the land as there are in Malabar with great benefit for the Christian community. And this could not be achieved for two reasons; the first because it looked impossible to cast so many moulds amounting to six hundred, whilst the characters are syllables and not alphabets, as our twenty four in Europe. The other because this holy curiosity could not be put into execution without the order and concession of the Provincial, and they have so many things to look after that they have no time to attend to this, much more to take it in hand. The first difficulty has its remedy in this that these moulds

can be reduced to two hundred. The second will vanish if Your Paternity thought it fit to write to Father Provincial, recommending him that he may do it if he feels that it will be for the greater glory of God, and edification and benefit of this Christian community. ⁹⁰ Fr. Stephen's appeals did not meet with favourable response and, therefore, his *Puranna* was published in the Roman script in 1616.

Interregnum to Printing Activity in Goa.

As mentioned earlier, the printing press was established in Goa accidentally but was subsequently utilized as an aid to proselytisation activities. A number of books were published in Portuguese, Konkani, Marathi, Tamil and Malyalam from 1556 to 1674. Then came a period of decadence when the printing press was neglected and in fact ceased to function. In Goa the last known printed work in the 17th century from the Jesuit Press appears to be the *Soliloquios* of Fr. João de Pedrosa. No work seems to be mentioned after it. Printing was then continued by the Jesuit missionaries for some time along the Malabar Coast. The earlier batch of Christian missionaries were motivated with religious zeal for conversion and did their best to master the local languages and to print literature in the vernacular to aid their missionary work. However, in course of time this missionary zeal declined and dissipated by affluence, avarice and lack of moral discipline. Priests in India succeeded in persuading the ruling powers that, Indian languages far from furthering were actually an obstacle in the work of proselytisation. For some time priests were urged to learn the local language as an aid to their missionary work.

The Provincial Councils and the Goan Constitutions recommended and ordered the use and the study of the language of the land.⁹¹ The first Constitution of the Archdiocese of Goa written in conformity with the first Provincial Council, which was held in Goa in 1567 contains the following, "We order that no catechumen who has not been instructed in the doctrines of our Holy Faith should be baptized. Before imparting baptism, he should be taught very clearly in his own vernacular all that he has to believe viz. the Commandments. Without this instruction, irrespective of the time to be spent for such an instruction, no catechumen should be baptized". The second Council of Goa (1575) in its Decree of the second Act recommended to the Prelates that they should use the services of persons who know the language to spread the word of God in private homes of the Hindus and at their public meetings. The third Council of Goa (1585) in its 25th Decree of the second Act ordered that a compendium of catechism be made in the Portuguese language, and the doctrine contained therein be taught in all parts of India with a view to maintaining uniformity. This catechism should be translated into the vernacular of the place and taught to the people where conversions may be taking place.⁹² This Council also ordained in its third Act the translation into Malabar languages of various books for the use of the Christian Community of St. Thomas and priests of the Angamalee.

The fourth Council (1592) in its fifth Decree of the Act two reiterated the need and desirability of teaching catechism to those about to be baptized and ordered that a compendium of Christian doctrine and instruction be made, and translated in the most common languages of the

province and that churches where all or a greater number of people were Christians be assigned to no one but to those priests who are well qualified and know well the vernacular of the place. The *Concilio Provincial* of 1606 (fifth Council) in the ninth Decree ordered that no cleric should be placed in charge of a parish unless he learnt the local language and further that parish priests who were ignorant of local languages would automatically lose their positions if they failed to pass an examination in the local languages within six months to be given for that purpose beginning from the date of publication of this Decree⁹³ Infact Cunha Rivara goes to the extent of saying that the Konkani literature, chiefly religious, owes its existence exclusively to the Portuguese missionaries.⁹⁴

However, in course of time missionary zeal abated and especially the Franciscans and Jesuits became very cavalier in their attitude and finding it inconvenient to learn local languages worked hard to get regulations demanding its knowledge removed. They finally succeeded when the Viceroy Francis de Tavora, Count of Alvor, on June 27, 1684, published a Decree of Law which stated, "in order to put an end to all inconveniences, it would be suitable to set aside the use of the vernacular idiom and to insist that all apply themselves to speak Portuguese since the use of both the languages at one and the same time gives cause to various inconveniences, including that of not being understood. Thereby the Parish Priests would be able to suitably explain the mysteries of faith which may not be properly explained as their importance demands, either because the Parish Priest cannot speak freely the vernacular, or the people are unable to understand Portuguese...and to make inter-communication easy, the people of the place shall try to learn the Portuguese language; the Parish

Priests and the school teachers shall impart instruction in that language so that in course of time the Portuguese idiom will be common to one and all, to the exclusion of the mother tongue; and to achieve this end the language used in sermons and meetings shall be Portuguese, until it comes into daily use; and, therefore, I assign three years, a period within which the Portuguese language ought to be studied and spoken. Moreover, this language alone should be used by the people in these parts in their dealings and other contracts, which they may wish to enter into, those using the vernacular being severely punished for not obeying this mandate.⁹⁵

The principal authors responsible for the promulgation of this order were the Parish Priests who were ordered to learn the vernacular and who being more interested in their own comforts than in the interests of religion gave the Viceroy to understand that it would be easier to force all the people to learn Portuguese and thus remove from the few the burden of the study of the vernacular.⁹⁶ This decree badly affected printing activity in India since the impetus to print in Indian languages to provide handy study and teaching material to the missionary friars was now lost.

The progress of the Press in India was brought to an abrupt end in the 17th century by a notable document. The Secretary to the Government, Diogo de Mendonça, Corte Real, wrote on March 20, 1754, the following letter to the Viceroy of Portuguese India, Count of Alva: "To his Majesty were made many representations according to which it was intended to set up in this Estado many printing presses to print books and to which the same lord did not agree and he orders me to advice you not to allow the establishment of any of these presses in this state not only by private parties

but also in the Convents, Colleges or any other community, however privileged."⁹⁷ It was during the ministerial term of the inimitable Marquis de Pombal, an implacable enemy of the Jesuits, that such an extreme and repressive measure was issued. By the order of September 3, 1759, the Jesuits were expelled from the Empire. Much later, the Pope Clement XIV banned the Order in the whole world by his **Brief *Dominicus ac Redemptor*** of July 21, 1773. Pombal added to the woes of the Jesuits by gradually undertaking measures to withdraw their influence from all sides. He was aware that the Jesuits were very powerful in India and the printing press, a handy instrument was in their control. In order to break their power he decided to issue the said Order. The missionary press as a "phase" in the evolution of printing activity in Goa was in this manner brought to an abrupt and compulsory suspension.

The Evolution of the Periodical Press.

The press reappeared in Goa only in 1821 as an indirect result of the prevailing atmosphere in Portugal and in Goa. On September 16, 1821, Viceroy Conde Rio Pardo was removed after a popular struggle and the new liberal regime took the initiative in bringing a press to Goa from Bombay. A weekly called ***Gazeta de Goa***, was published, which heralded a new phase of printing activity in Goa. Within five years, however, this policy was reversed and Viceroy D. Manuel de Camara "put an end to the existence of the press as well as of the Gazette by an order dated August 29, 1826"⁹⁸ According to the Order, "the government continued to exist without a press and without the Gazette until the unhappy epoch of the

revolution, and during these disastrous times they only produced evil results. Therefore, if at present the types are found to be unusable there would be no inconvenience in suspending the publication of the Gazette.⁹⁹

As mentioned above, the press brought from Bombay by the Provisional Government reached Goa in December 1821 and on 22nd of the same month the first official publication "*Gazeta de Goa*" appeared¹⁰⁰. It was installed in one of the godowns of Adil Khan palace. Since its establishment, until the present times the official press formed a department of the state called *Imprensa Nacional de Goa*. Its first editor was the chief physician Dr. Antonio José de Lima Leitão, followed by the chief Secretary (*O Official Maior da Secretaria*), Luis Prates de Almeida Albuquerque and finally José Aniceto da Silva. From 1821 to October 1876 this Press had printed 752 publications including books, pamphlets and journals,¹⁰¹ which also included the works of Councillor Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, the secretary general of the government and the works of Fillipe Nery Xavier, senior official of the same government. They were both great officials and profound researchers of the history of Portuguese India.

The official bulletin *Gazeta de Goa* reported in detail the discussions of the Government, the receipts and expenditure of the Public Treasury, the Municipality, Santa Casa de Misericordia, including local and international news. Goa was undergoing a difficult phase due to a change in the political regime in Lisbon. The language of the *Gazeta* was too high for the common people and hence it did not command a large circulation. It operated for just under fifty-six months and after this period was taken over by a new team of editors, Dr. Lima Leitão, Luis Prates da Almeida

Albuquerque, a senior official of the civil administration and José Anacleto da Silva, a military captain.¹⁰²

The *Gazeta de Goa* was suspended by the Viceroy D. Manuel da Câmara in 1826 under the pretext that “nestes tempos desastrosos só produziu males” (in these disastrous times it only produced ill effects). The government justified its actions by saying “sempre o governo passara sem imprensa e sem gazeta” (the Government always continued without a press and without a gazette)¹⁰³. The Council was presided over by Archbishop Fr. Manoel de S. Galdino. The *Gazeta* was reestablished on June 13, 1835, under the title *Chronica Constitucional de Goa* which lasted for two years uptill November 30, 1837. It was edited by José Aniceto da Silva. A ministerial decree of December 7, 1836, renamed this official publication as *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*. It was edited by Secretary Antonio Mariano de Azavedo helped by Caetano João Peres and Claudio Lagrange Barbuda. Like the *Gazeta* and the *Chronica Constitucional*, the *Boletim* was also a weekly except for the first five months when it was a biweekly and again weekly from 1856 up to August 1879. In 1869 its nomenclature was changed once again to *Boletim Official* and its periodicity was triweekly. It continued upto 1961. It was converted into a daily from 1882 to 1887, canceling space to news and history in 1889. From 1889 to 1939, it was a biweekly and a weekly since then.¹⁰⁴ Aleixo Costa on the other hand gives slightly different dates¹⁰⁵. According to him the *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* continued up to 1879 and the *Boletim Official do Estado da India* established in September 1879 was a weekly upto April 30, 1880; triweekly upto May 1, 1883, it continued as a daily up to November 30, 1887 and triweekly once again from December 1,

1887 to 1897 and finally biweekly since 1898. This was a Government Gazette. Historical information was published under the heading 'Non official'.

The *Anuário do Estado da Índia Portuguesa* was published for the years 1929, 1930, 1932, and 1933. *Notícias do Estado da Índia* was a publication of the Central department of Statistics and Information brought out by the Information section. It consisted of sixteen illustrated pages and was published from August 1950 to December 1961. The chief editor was António dos Mártires Lopes. *Anuário da Índia Portuguesa* was published for the period 1936-1939, and in 1941. All these official publications were published in Nova Goa at the Government press i.e. Imprensa Nacional.

In 1886, Vicente João Janin Rangel established the *Tipografia Rangel*,¹⁰⁶ which became an important private printing press. It became a leading printing press due to the variety of services that it provided. It brought out various religious booklets and other works of scholarship, and introduced for the first time in Goa types for music to help students and preserved and defended regional sacred music, especially the popular mandó.

Political press

The first half of the nineteenth century witnessed a lot of political turmoil in Portugal as well as in Goa. The liberal regime that installed itself only served to divide the country into several groups which quarrelled

among themselves violently. Goa was administered by the Viceroy Conde do Rio Pardo. A group of liberal enthusiasts deposed the viceroy for having proclaimed the Constitution, because orders had not been received from the King to this effect. This was followed by a rapid succession of provisional governments. After varying fortunes of revolutions and counter-revolutions, Constitutionalism installed itself in Portugal, and Bernardo Peres da Silva, an eminent son of Goa who had taken an active part in the movement was named as Prefect of the *Estado da India*, in January 1835. The Prefect was a man in a hurry to introduce reforms. This annoyed the absolutists and others who could not adjust to the laws. Some of these antagonised people got together to plot his fall and they succeeded in overthrowing him by a military revolt on 1st February, 1835. The exiled Prefect after attempting some unsuccessful moves to come back, established his administration in Daman. His administration had lasted for just twelve days.

This period of political and ideological turmoil provided a very fertile ground for the emergence of a host of journals, being the mouthpieces of different groups critical of the political situation. The *Chronica Constitucional*, in its non-official section fought against the Portuguese papers in Bombay, which defended the cause of Perismo i.e. of Prefect Bernardo Peres da Silva.¹⁰⁷

The first political newspaper of Portuguese India without official patronage was *Echo da Lusitania*,¹⁰⁸ (Lusitanian Echo). It was printed in the Government press and it was edited by high Court Judge Manuel Felicissimo Lousada de Araújo with an orientation similar to that of

Chronica Constitucional. There were many other political periodicals ¹⁰⁹, all being printed at the Government press. These included *O Vigilante* (The Vigilant), of Army Major of Moçambique, João de Souza Machado; *A Voz dos Povos da India* (the voice of the people of India) brought out by José Aniceto da Silva and others; *O Defensor da Ordem e da Verdade* (The Defender of Order and of Truth), of José António de Oliveira and others; the *Abelha e os seus Correspondentes* (The Abelha and its Correspondents), a series of leaflets published in the *Imprensa Nacional*, or the Government Printing Press and signed by José Paulo Teles, defending the financial orders of the governor Vila Nova de Ourem against *Abelha* of Bombay.

. *O Português em Damão* (The Portuguese in Daman) was a political periodical founded by Prefect Bernardo Peres da Silva and Secretary to the Prefecture Constâncio Roque da Costa to take up issue against *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*; *O Investigador Portugues* and *A Sentinela da Liberdade na guarita de Damão* of João de Sousa Machado, who in Goa had distributed the manuscript paper the *Constitucional de Goa* (The Constitution of Goa); *O Mensageiro Bombayense* (The Bombay Messenger) of António Filipe Rodrigues; the *Investigador Portuguez em Bombaim* (The Portuguese Investigator in Bombay), of José Valerio Capela, later substituted by *Pregoeiro da Liberdade* of António Simeão Pereira; the *Índio Imparcial* (Impartial Indian) of António Filipe Rodrigues; *O Observador* of the same António Simeão Pereira; *A Abelha de Bombaim* of the militant journalist Luis Caetano de Menes. *Brado Indiano*, Panaji (1894-95), aroused the feeling of the people during Rane's Revolt of 1895. Its editor was prosecuted. *A Voz da India* (Margao), 1946,

annoyed the Portuguese Government in 1950 and its chief editor Gajanan Porob Desai and sub-editor Purushottam Gaonkar had to flee to Bombay in order to avoid arrest.

Private Press:

The first private Press in Goa was introduced by Bernardo Francisco da Costa. He also founded the first non-official journal *O Ultramar* (The Overseas).¹¹⁰ Its foundation was a landmark in journalism in Goa with repercussions on the social life of the territory. The *Ultramar* launched on April 6, 1859 from Margao, discussed political and economic issues. Press and literary life became intense in Goa, subsequent to its launch. It lasted upto 1905. In general it was pro-Government but liberal. Its editor was deported to Diu during Ranes Revolt of 1895 and its publication was banned for two years. He was a multifaceted personality and a strong defender of local interests in the field of cultural, economic and political interests. He was elected to the Portuguese Senate for two successive terms, from Daman and Goa. He was the founder of *Clube Harmonia* in Margao. He made his contribution to education as rector of the Lyceum and Inspector General of primary schools. Bernardo also founded the "*Montepio Geral de Goa*" and was responsible for linking Liverpool and Goa with a merchant fleet. As entrepreneur, he introduced machinery for extracting sugarcane juice, coconut oil and continuous distillation as well as setting up a canned foods industry.¹¹¹ By establishing the first private press, first nonofficial newspaper and with his publication

of several books he became a formidable force in the cultural life of the land.

Two years later, on January 4, 1861, the Journal *A India Portuguesa*¹¹² (Portuguese India) was released in Margao by Manuel Loureço de Miranda Falcão and after his death on May 13, 1865, it was transferred to Orlim and its publication was taken over by Dr. José Inacio de Loiola. He was a sharp journalist and an active politician with a good grasp of local problems, which was reflected in his writings. It was the periodical of the Christian masses. The conflict between aristocratic Christians and others was reflected in its writings. His brother Avertano de Loiola Furtado succeeded him and directed the publication from June 1902 to August 1911. Political activity led to the temporary suspension of this journal, but it reappeared the following year under the direction of Dr. Miguel de Loiola Furtado. When he died, the publication was stopped for some time. It reappeared under the direction of Vicente Bragança Cunha in the village of S. Tome in Salcete. *A India Portuguesa* expressed novel ideas and novel thoughts on various aspects of human life. The journal was an important organ of the popular party *Partido Indiano* (Indian Party) and survived with varying fortunes and under different directors for 114 years. After the liberation of Goa the Journal assumed the title *A India* and was directed by Ms. D. Leonor de Loiola Furtado e Fernandes from Majorda.

These two pioneering journals of the periodical press exercised great influence on the political life of Goa and were followed by a host of others which though of ephemeral duration adequately reflected the politics and thought of various groups and communities in Goa. *Nacionalista e*

Comércio (Nationality and Commerce), *Pracasha*¹¹³ (Light) (1918-1929) and *O Debate* (Debate)(1911-1921) were the periodicals through which the eminent Luís de Meneses Bragança displayed his nationalism, humanism and prodigious intellect. He was one of the closest to being a perfect journalist. Edited by Hindus *Pracasha* was in favour of social reforms, opposed dictatorial regime and was banned. *O Debate* advocated rural and religious reforms. *Horas Vagas* and *Gazeta da India* and some other journals, which highlighted social, religious, political and economic issues, were edited by another journalist of repute Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama.

Daily Press

The birth of the idea to start a daily press took place during the course of the Anglo-Boer war in 1889, when the Journal *O Portugues* published from Panaji used to sell printed news for six reis. Those printed pieces of news published and sold daily inspired the birth of a daily newspaper. The nascent 20th century saw the birth of the first daily press in Goa. *O Herald* was born on January 22, 1900. It was the first daily not only in Goa but also in all Portuguese territories¹¹⁴ and survives with varying fortunes to date. This daily was founded by Messias Gomes with the aid of a group of young enthusiasts like Dr. Costa Alvares, Tomás Botelho and others., Messias Gomes had before him the ideal of a journal with an impartial stance. However, it tended to be pro-government during the Portuguese regime. This publication maintained with greatest esteem the prestige of the Indo-Portuguese press giving ample coverage to the problems of the day and stressing the need for the economic growth of the

territory. With a clear approach, it could hold the interest of the public with its well-written editorials.

The main irritation for this daily was lack of funds. Dr. José Maria da Costa Alvares approached a well-known financier in this territory and was rebuffed with the excuse that a daily would not survive for long. Costa Alvares chasing his dream went to Europe and to Lisbon. After many discussions, the idea to found a library, print books of value and then go into the matter of taking up a Press took shape. At this stage, *Casa Luso Francesa* a bookshop came into being. In 1901 Messias Gomes the principal founder, moving spirit and the first editor of this first daily in *Estado da India* left Goa and Dr. Costa Alvares invited Dr. Antonio Maria D'Cunha to take over as editor. Under his stewardship, the circulation improved markedly and the newspaper evolved. The Journal became an instrument "*fazer do jornal um instrumento de educação popular, ensinar ao povo o caminho das actividades construtivas, levantar o nível mental das massas*", i.e. to make the journal into an instrument of popular education, teaching the people a host of constructive activities, raising the mental standards of the masses. **O Heraldo** proved to be a learning school where many young men received training, honed their skills and later made a mark in the annals of the Goan Press. From January 7, 1902 many noted journalists were involved as collaborators with this publication. Its contribution to the social and cultural life in Goa grew with the times.

On May 8, 1908 António Maria D'Cunha left **O Heraldo** and founded the second daily in Goa called **Heraldo**, on May 21, 1908. He had passed from *Escola Medica* of Goa and started his practice in Portuguese

Africa. Also a keen journalist and writer he has a few books to his credit in the field of Medicine and also two works of a historic nature including “**The Evolution of Journalism in Portuguese India**”, and “**The India of Ancient and Modern Times**”, with 500 pages and some illustrations.

The other great newspaper, which exercised a strong influence in Portuguese Goa, was *Diario da Noite* established by Luis de Menezes on December 1,1919. He was a man of uncommon ability and in his *Anotações*, (Annotations) he showed his argumentative and critical powers. It was the first evening paper not only in Goa but also in *Estado da India*. It enjoyed a comparatively long life of fifty years. When Luis de Menezes died on June 30,1962, the daily continued to be printed under the stewardship of his sons. Luis de Menezes in his columns discussed problems of public administration with great skill. *Diario da Noite* also played a key role in electoral campaigns for Parliament and Municipal corporations. It became the first Journal in Goa using automatic machines and the first to bring out issues in color with well-illustrated pages. There were other dailies as well which despite their ephemeral existence registered on the intellectual map of Goa.

Literary publications

Goa was never short on literary writers. Initially hesitant and timid the literary activities gradually gathered momentum. A group of young writers made their mark in *Tirocínio Literário* of Joaquim Mourão Garcês Palha (later Viscount of Bucelas). Another group showed its

initiative in *Ilustração Goana* of the brilliant writer L.M. Julio Frederico Gonçalves where artistic talents were displayed by Socrates da Costa, Antonio Ferreira Martins, Fernando da Cunha Pinto, Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda, J. Fernandes Arez, José Francisco de Albuquerque, J.F. de Assa Castel Branco, Gerson da Cunha, José Maria do Carmo Nazare, Manuel Joaquim da Costa Campos and others. Another association of studious youth of Margao had a monthly magazine, *Estrea Litteraria*. Father Narciso Arcanjo Fialho and Antonio Felix Pereira founded a monthly magazine, *O Album Litterario*, printed at the press of the *India Portuguesa* of Orlim. Leopoldo Francisco da Costa, who died at the young age of 22 years, founded *O Divan Litterario*, in which his brilliant poems revealed the fine sensibility of the poet. Another magazine of poetry was the *Revista da India*, directed by the great poet, Paulino Dias and by Dr. Adolfo Costa. An Ayurvedic doctor Ramchandra Pandurang Vaidya started a literary and scientific magazine called *A Luz do Oriente* (1909-1914) for the diffusion of oriental literature, little known until then.

Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda through his large volume of works published in the weekly *O Ultramar* and in the literary magazines and almanacs of Goa became one of the moving spirits of the literary movement in early 19th century. His elder son, Joaquim Vitorino Barreto Miranda, founded *O Cavaco Instrutivo* a fortnightly, the *Farpas*, the newspaper *Ortigas*, and finally *O Noticias*, which became in course of time a very good forum for literary and artistic expression. The literary press too reached its apogee in the establishment of the Instituto Vasco da Gama, which published works of a very high quality. The four volumes of the Instituto Vasco da Gama became a repository of valuable works of

literature, art and science besides being a rich source for a study of Indo-Portuguese history.

Scientific press

In a land and in an age in which there were scarce resources for the exchange of specializations, with few means for positive and experimental studies, it might appear that there would be few journals of a scientific nature. However, the truth is that there were many magazines devoted to the study and popularization of the sciences. The first publication was *O Jornal de Pharmacia e Sciencias Medicas da India-Portuguesa* (the Journal of Pharmacy and Medical Sciences of Portuguese India). Antonio Gomes Roberto a professor of Pharmacy in the Medical School of Goa edited this Journal. It was later substituted by the *Archivo de Pharmacia e Sciencias Accessorias da India Portuguesa* (archive of pharmacy and associated Sciences of Portuguese India).

These were followed by *Revista Medico-Militar da India-Portuguesa* (The Military-Medical Magazine of Portuguese India) edited by the chief surgeon Augusto Carlos de Lemos; *O Periodico Militar do Ultramar Portuguez*, (the Military Periodical the Overseas Portuguese), edited by Joao Philipe de Gouveia; *O Jornal de Pharmacia, Chimica, e Historia Natural Medica* (the Journal of Pharmacy, Chemistry, and the History of Natural Medicine), by the first pharmacist of the board of Health, Joao Herculano de Moura; *O Archivo Medica da India*, established by two doctors from Bardez, Luis Napolião de Ataide and Angelo Custodio Martins; *A Clínica Moderna* (practical notes on medicine and

surgery), published in pamphlets by Dr. Paulino Dias. In 1911, Prof. Froilano de Melo started a medical magazine *Boletim Geral de Medicina e Farmacia*, which through its original work by its contributions of high scientific value was well accepted by similar publications in the Metropolis and other foreign countries. In 1917, it became the official magazine of the *Associação Médico-Farmacêutica* of Portuguese India. In 1912, the same professor, who had a good reputation in leprology, started a publication, *Arquivos Indo-Portugueses de Medicina e História Natural* (Indo-Portuguese Archives of Medicine and Natural History), as the organ of the *Instituto Bacteriológico de Nova-Goa* (the bacteriological Institute of Nova Goa.) Prof. Wolfango da Silva initiated another valuable magazine in the field of medicine, *O Boletim Sanitário*, (The Health Bulletin) as the organ of the Health Services of Portuguese India.

Judicial Press

One of the aspects of intellectualism in Goa was the judicial culture. Many journals carried a judicial section. Judicial magazines included *Arquivos da Relação*, *Revista dos Tribunais* (Magazine of Tribunals) established in 1893 by Ascânio Sebastião dos Remédios Costa, famous advocate, who was a member of the association of advocates of Lisbon; *O Foro Indiano* under the direction of advocate Lingu Roguivir Dolvi; and the judicial magazine, *Gazeta Relação de Nova Goa*, organ of the association of advocates of Portuguese India, established in 1920, by the President of the Department, advocate José Maria Pereira.

The Historical -Archaeological Press

Goa has had the privilege of having had a relatively a large number of illustrious figures who have contributed to Goan historiography. Over the years these have included people like Camões, Cristovão Falcão, Bocage, Garcia da Orta, Diogo de Couto, João Lopes Leitão e Castanheda, Tomás Ribeiro, Cunha Rivara, Miguel Vicente de Abreu, Barreto Miranda, Filipe Néri Xavier, Francisco Luís Gomes, Gerson da Cunha, Bernardo da Costa, Ismael Gracias, Tolentino Ferrão, Nicolau da Fonseca and more recently people like Bragança Pereira, Amâncio Gracias, Pandurang Pissurlencar, Ricardo Micael Teles and many others who made use of unedited and unprinted material for a study of the Portuguese in the East. Filipe Néri Xavier published a useful magazine, *O Gabinete Literario das Fontainhas* (The Literary Cabinet of Fontainhas), which dug up from the dusty archives unpublished documents.

The Counselor Cunha Rivara, an excellent writer used his critical faculties in the service of history. His name is linked with immortal works like *Archivo Portuguez Oriental*, *O Chronista de Tissuary* and many essays, articles and chronicles published in journals, magazines and almanacs of the period. Another work of great value is the *O Oriente Portuguez*, to which is linked the name of another historian, José Antonio Ismael Gracias. Miguel Vicente de Abreu was the translator and annotator of *Bosquejo Histórico de Goa*, by Cottineau de Kloguen and *Narração da Inquisição de Goa* of Dellon and author of many articles of a historical nature. The first issue of *Quadros Históricos de Goa*, (The Historical Times of Goa) of Jacinto Caetano Barreto Miranda appeared in 1863. He

was a highly talented man and wrote in "*O Ultramar*", in the magazines *Ilustração Goana* (Illustrious Goan), *Arquivo Pitoresco* (Picturesque Archives), and *Revista Contemporanea* (Contemporary Magazine) and in almanacs of a literary and historical nature current at that time. Bragança Pereira was a true historian who submitted his facts to the rigorous examination of a historian. His outstanding contributions can be found in the pages of *Oriente Português*, organ of the Archaeological Commission of which he was a president for many years. Pandurang Pissurlencar and Amâncio Gracias have left behind invaluable contributions of historical investigation in *Oriente Português* and in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, especially on the doings and the administration of the Portuguese in the East.

Religious Press

The religious press played a useful role in the education of the Christian population in Goa in the fields of doctrine and apologetics. Father Casimiro Cristóvão de Nazaré, a missionary and a clergyman of Goa, established a college in Tuticorin, and started the first religious journal in Goa called *O Oriente Catolico* (The Eastern Catholic). He was the Vicar general of Canara. He enriched the archives of Goa with his valuable contributions. The *Jornal da Santa Igreja Lusitana do Oriente*, (Journal of the Holy Portuguese Church of the East) was committed to the support of the interests of the Padroado. The publication of *A Cruz* appeared in 1877, the editors being the military chaplain father Manuel Agostinho de Carvalho and father António Francisco Xavier Álvares. *O*

Crente (Believer) was founded in 1883 by Mons. Francisco Xavier de Loiola and later had as director Mons. Excelso de Almeida. In 1894, it became the official mouthpiece of the archdiocese. Canon Castilho de Noronha directed *A Voz de S. Francisco Xavier* (The Voice of St. Francis Xavier). Another religious journal published from Goa was *Boletim Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Goa* (Religious Bulletin of the Archdiocese of Goa). The religious press enjoyed a special place in Bombay city and other parts of India where a Goan Catholic population had settled. Two such journals included “**The Catholic Register**” and **The Angelus**” which had a Portuguese section under the direction of father António da Cruz, a Portuguese missionary who did a lot of religious work in these territories.

Vernacular press

Vernacular press developed more slowly as compared to the Portuguese press. The main reason cited is that the Marathi newspapers from Maharashtra especially from Pune and Bombay were able to satisfy the readers of Goa. *Kesari* was well received in Goa¹¹⁵. In fact, before liberation, there was no daily in Marathi published from Goa. Much before the arrival of *Kirloskar* and *Kesari* in Goa a number of weeklies and monthlies in Marathi were published here. The monthly *Deshasudharanecchu* published in 1872 was thought to be the first Marathi periodical to be published from Goa. The 1870 issue of *Keralakokila*, however, gives information about *Anandlahri* a monthly published from Panaji.¹¹⁶ Its editor is said to be Suryaji Sadashiv Mahatme. Therefore, the first Marathi periodical to be published from Goa was not

Deshasudharanecchu but *Anandlahri*. *Anandlahri* was a periodical devoted to the spread of different branches of knowledge¹¹⁷.

Soon after this first periodical in the Marathi stopped, in 1872 the second publication was started with the self-explanatory title of *Deshasudharanecchu* (Desire to improve the Nation). It was sponsored by a Portuguese citizen, Tomas Mourao Garcez Palha, also known as the Baron of Cumbarjua.¹¹⁸ Living in Ribandar, he took pride and interest in Hindu religion and culture. He was of the view that Goan Hindus should take to education, become aware of the new world and should progress along with the Christians.¹¹⁹ To help achieve these goals he established a Marathi printing press, published the literature of Marathi saints and set up Marathi educational institutions. Printed at his Oriental printing press at Ribandar, *Deshasudharanecchu*, initially a monthly, due to poor response from readers was stopped after three issues. However, it reappeared in 1877, as a weekly. Atmaram Narayan Sukhthankar of Sanquelim was the editor of the monthly periodical. The weekly had two sections, Portuguese and Marathi. The Baron himself edited the Portuguese section while the Marathi section was under the charge of Yeshwant Phondoba Naik Danait. It closed down after a year. In the issue of January 24, 1877 of this periodical the Baron wrote, "In order to bring the down trodden from the darkness of ignorance to the light of knowledge, Marathi primary schools should be established."¹²⁰

The foundations of the Marathi periodical press, especially the weekly press, were thus laid by these stalwarts. The Baron himself was deeply interested in Indian education and culture and Yeshwant Phondoba Naik Danait who was educated in Bombay brought to Goa the cultural

influence of Bombay. Having had personally witnessed the efforts at social reform through the media of language, literature, education and newspapers, he wanted similar efforts to be made in Goa¹²¹.

In the last quarter of the 19th century, a number of Marathi weeklies and monthlies began publication. Subray Lakshman Nayak started *Goa Mitra*, a Marathi monthly in 1882 from Margao with the aim of projecting the difficulties encountered by the Hindu Society. *Jornal das Novas Conquistas* (Journal of the New Conquests), a bilingual Marathi-Portuguese weekly, edited by Govind Bhaskar Parsekar (Ramkrishna Shriram Prabhu Parsekar Desai, according to Shinde) commenced publication on April 9, 1882, from Parse, Pednem. *Aryabandhu*, a weekly under the editorship of Raghuvir Kamat Parsekar started publication from Mapusa in 1885. Its Portuguese section was edited by F.J. da Gama Botelho, Ismael Gracias and others. *Goatma* edited by Subrao Nayak from Margao and *Goa Panch* from Mapusa under the directorship of Sripada Vencesha Wagle were brought out in 1885. *Shrikhand*, a monthly periodical was published from 1888 in Margao. *Nyayachakshu*, a monthly bilingual started publication in 1889 from Panaji. Its editors were C. Cadio, and Colvalcar. It started a Portuguese section from the fourth issue. *Gomantak*, a monthly with a Portuguese section, edited by Venkatesh Yeshwant Singbal, and *Suvichar* edited by Bhimjirao Deshpande came out from Panaji (Gazeta de Pernem) in 1890. *Pedne-Gazette* published in 1893, was a bilingual fortnightly edited and directed by Ramchandra Purshottam Deshprabhu. *Hitachintak* edited by Mangesh Mukundrao Deshpande (Martires Lopes gives the name of the editors as N.M. Rau.), started publication in 1900. *Sudarshan*, a monthly periodical published only one issue from Panaji in 1900 under the editorship of B.M. Rau

(Prabhakar Angle in **Goa: Concepts and Misconcepts** gives the name of the editor as Bhimaji Mukundrao Deshpande) . **Pathyabodh**, a monthly, on the subject of health appeared in 1888 from Keri under the editorship of Dr. Dada Vaidya. **Kala Darshan** published from Panaji was edited by R. P. Nagvekar.

Goa Panch, a periodical started by Ramanand Ajrekar with the assistance of Kakasaheb Danait, Shambarao Sardessai, Krishnaji P. Sakhalkar and Shriram Amonkar deserves a special mention for taking up social reform as its mission through its pages. Leopold da Gama looked after its Portuguese section. Befitting its name, its members were called *Panchmandali* (Association of Five). It survived until 1899 with small gaps in between. This periodical did good work in the field of propagating social reforms. This periodical finds a place in the educational work of Kakasaheb Danait. Ramchandra Pandurang or Dada Vaidya who was active in the field of social work for about fifty years brought out **Pathyabodh** which was his first publication. He started his Journalistic writing through *Jornal das Novas Conquistas*, which had started publication in 1882. The period 1882 to 1900 was the most active period of his social work and as a writer.¹²² He made efforts at the all round progress of Goa. This medical monthly Journal was started from Ponda with an aim to provide information and guidance for public health.

The ban imposed in 1895 affected the Marathi Press as much as the Portuguese. Once the ban was lifted, the second phase of Marathi press began. with the publication of two periodicals *Kalikadarshan* (1898) and *Sudarshan* (1900), both monthlies. Dada Vaidya started ⁱⁿ 1901 another monthly periodical in the name of his wife, Saraswatibai and named it

Haladkumkum. It discussed women's issues. He also started another magazine in the name of his wife called *Prachi-Prabha* (Light of the East), which was a bilingual weekly published from Ponda (1909-1914). Its goal was to introduce Indian culture, especially to the Christian and the European readers. Therefore *Luz de Oriente*, the Portuguese version of *Prachi-Prabha* was started. Dr. Vaidya's assistants included Sitaram Vishwambar Kerkar, Bhaskarrao Sardessai, Gopalkrishna Gude and Shambarao Sardessai who wrote Portuguese articles in the periodical.

Prachi-Prabha was published until 1914 after which Dada Vaidya brought out in 1915, a weekly called *Vidyaprassar* (Popularization of Science), which continued to be published until 1921. It was the organ of 'League de Propaganda da Instrucao em Goa', i.e. Literary Society of Goa' founded by Dada Vaidya and Sitram Kerkar in 1911. This periodical was the mouthpiece of the educational Trust started in Ponda, the Goa *Vidyaprasarak Mandal*. A number of writers like D. V. Apte, Shri Haribhau Phatak, Dada Vaidya, Ramchandra Kamat, Chandgadkar, Bhaskarrao Sardessai, B.B. Sawardekar, V.K. Priolkar and Raghunath Talwadkar wielded their pen through the *Prachi-Prabha* and *Vidyaprasar*.

Dr. Dada Vaidya, Dr. Ramchandra Waman Naik and Phondushastri Karande in 1902, started the monthly periodical *Satsang* from Kumbharjua. Karandeshastris brought out *Satsang* but Shrinivas Lakhu Bhandari of Cumbharjua had initiated its publication.¹²⁴ According to M. Lopes its editor was L.P. Bhandari. Dada Vaidya's work in Goa has been compared to that of Maharshi Ranade and the work of Karandeshastris has been equated with that of Chiplunkar of Maharashtra.¹²³ *Satsang* was like a smaller version of the *Nibandhmala*. The purpose and style of

writing was the same i.e. Indian culture, social reforms etc. Many writers like Dattaram Jagannath Borkar, Shambarao Sardessai, Purshottam Anant Salkar, Keshav Ladu Shiveshvarkar, Mukund Sadashiv Sheldekar and others found expression through it. It condemned opponents of social reforms and some religious institutions of the Saraswats. It advocated ban on liquor, national progress, independence, patriotism and *reformation*. "Ancient history" a series of articles written by Dattaram J. Borkar, affected the British so much that they brought pressure upon the Portuguese to ban this periodical in 1910.¹²⁵ An entertainment monthly periodical was started in 1906 from Panaji by Shivram Balwantrao Deshpande who was also its editor. The poet, Bhimaji Mukundrao Deshpande, Jivaji Dattu Mahatme, Ramchandra Sadashiv Wagle and Vinayak Karapurkar and some others regularly contributed their creative writings through this periodical which lasted for around five years.

The establishment of the Republic in Portugal in 1910 also inaugurated the third phase of the Marathi Press in Goa. This phase is marked by the establishment of the most important periodicals before the liberation of the territory. Many of these periodicals were of long duration and played an important role in bringing about social awareness. *Hindumat* was one of the first periodicals during this period. Sadashiv Manguesh Wagle and poet Bhimaji Deshpande started a weekly periodical called *Suvichar* which did not last long. An association called *Hitachintak* had been established in Panaji in 1890 and three years later started a weekly periodical called *Hitachintak*. The first writings of Karandeshastri were published through this periodical. He continued writing under the name "Dwiref" for the next 50 years. In 1895, *Hitachintak* closed down by order of the government. This same *Hitachintak* association made another

attempt in 1910 and brought out a periodical under the new title of *Hindumat*. It closed down after four years. Govind P. Hegde Dessai had his first articles published through this periodical.

Prabhat (Dawn) started by Dr. Purshottam Vaman Shirgaonkar in 1911, at Panaji was the first periodical which aimed at arousing political awakening in the Hindu society. At that time, he was the leader of the Goan youth whom he trained for social and political work. He welcomed the revolution in Portugal and provided shelter to many extremists from British India.¹²⁶ He was critical of the ways of the Luso-Indian community in Panaji. He was put in jail during the visit of the viceroy of British India. *Prabhat* published by such a bold person created history by providing a medium for a number of bold writers, including Dattaram J. Borkar, G.P. Hegde Desai and Shambarao Sardessai among others. A difference of opinion led to the breakup of the group. However, Dr. Shirgaonkar continued to publish the periodical until 1916. It was revived in 1930 by Janardhan N. Asnodkar and again revived in 1936 by Vinayak Parsekar.

The group, which left *Prabhat*, started *Bharat* weekly in 1912. It was shut down for some time and then was taken over by Adv. Govind Pundalik Hegde Desai who started its publication from Quepem. It continued upto his death in 1949. *Bharat* proved to be the longest lasting Marathi periodical in Goa. The periodical was bilingual and for some time trilingual and it had sections in Marathi, Portuguese and for some time in Konkani. The Portuguese and Konkani sections were looked after by Mr. Hegde Desai himself. His writings were so caustic that the government and opposition parties were wary of him. *Bharat* lasted for 35 years and during this period around 25 -30 cases were slapped against the editor for

expressing his views in a forthright manner and he was put behind bars on three occasions.¹²⁷ The Marathi section of *Bharat* does not seem to have been too effective. However, a number of famous writers of the period had their first writings published through this periodical. Dharmanand Kosambi was one such writer.

In 1915 two periodicals were published from Ponda. These included Dada Vaidya's *Vidyaprassar* and V.K. Priolkar's trimonthly, *Swayamsevak* (The Volunteer). The latter was shut down after one year and started again as a monthly in 1920 only to be converted into a weekly in 1930. Bhaskarrao Sardesai managed the Portuguese section and Mr. Priolkar, the Marathi section. The first prose and poetry writing of Mr. A.K. Priolkar were published through the *Swayamsevak*. Though the Priolkar brothers were staunch supporters of Marathi, the Konkani writings of Shenoy Goembab were also published. The popularity of this periodical like that of the *Satsang* stretched beyond the borders of Goa into Maharashtra. Other notable periodicals published during the period 1921-1930 included *Gayakmitra*, *Pragati*, *Navajeevan*, *Gadgadat*, *Napitodaya*, *Nabhikodaya*, *Vaishya*, *Bharatodaya* and *Hindu* among others. Like the Portuguese periodicals, some of them were supporters of their own caste interests. *Swadesh* started by Ramchandra Mangueshrao Deshpande in 1917, ran just for one year. *Navjivan*, a weekly, was started by Janardan Narayan Pai Asnodkar in 1920 in the memory of his teacher, Dr. Shirgaokar with the assistance of Vinayak Keshav Pai. A year later, it was transformed into a monthly in which form it survived for two years.

After the Republic, a lot of schools and libraries were set up and a number of caste-based organizations also came into existence. The *Maratha*

Gayak, today's *Gomantak Maratha Samaj* had its mouthpieces in the form of *Maratha Gayak Mitra*, a monthly periodical, which came out in 1918 and *Pragati*, which came out in 1920 as a weekly. Due to the efforts of people like Krishna Fatarpekar, Narayan A. Karwarkar, and Motiram Zambawlikar, these periodicals lasted for some time. The year 1928 saw the birth of a long lasting periodical, **Bharatmitra**, published from an interior village like Rivona. N.B. Naik started this monthly periodical of small format and despite the various obstacles posed by the Salazar regime continued to bring out this periodical. It was in the format of a magazine carrying essays, articles on Goan and Indian history, spiritualism, and write-ups about books, articles on diseases and health, poems, thoughts, news in brief about Goa and India, tips on life, health, biographies etc. The magazine must have been quite popular for it usually had over 20 advertisements. It was also a very readable magazine, informative but non-controversial because it was apolitical and small sized with between 20-28 pages. Dr. Pissurlencar's articles on history were very frequently published.

The *Hindu*, a weekly, was started in 1924 and the editors were originally Purushottam Sukerkar and later D.V. Pai. In its seven years of existence, it exercised a strong influence on government and society. Writers like Subrao R. Samant, Mr. Bhai Desai, Gajanan Savordekar, J.V.Kamat etc. wrote well-studied articles in this periodical. D.A. Kare and Mahabaleshwar Sardessai were assistants of Datta Pai. Datta Pai not only advocated the independence of Goa but also its merger into Maharashtra. The periodical was ultra nationalistic. The periodical strongly opposed the 400th birth anniversary celebrations of Vasco da Gama. Besides Goan political affairs, Indian political developments also found comment in the

Hindu. Its publisher Jaywantrao Sukerkar had to suffer for this nationalism. The periodical had to be closed down due to financial difficulties. With the closure of the *Hindu* the Marathi, weekly periodical in general ended as no new Marathi weeklies were issued until liberation.

Literary monthly periodicals.

The year 1913 was an important year in the cultural life of the Goan Hindus. In that year, the 15th session of the Maharashtra *Sahitya Sammelan* was held in Margao under police observation. Discussions on language and literature were held. The interest generated by this meet created a strong generation of Goan writers among the Hindus especially in creative literature.

Subodh brought out by S.G. Katak was the foremost among the creative periodicals, which emerged after 1930. It started the trend of the modern Marathi periodical. S. G. Katak had started this periodical earlier in 1928 with the title *Subodhmala* which was changed to *Subodh* in 1930. Lasting for a short duration of four years, nevertheless, *Subodh* provided the opportunity to the newly emerging group of creative writers to see their work in print. R.M. Pai was his associate and some of these writers included Jaiwantrao Sardesai, Lakshmanrao Sardesai, Kare, Borkar, Ghode, and Barve. Eminent writers of Maharashtra also contributed articles to the *Subodh*. Katak also took out a supplement to the periodical called *Kolhatkar*. Despite all efforts, the periodical had to be closed down due to lack of funds.

In 1933, *Prabhat*, a monthly and *Yugantar* a bimonthly were started from Panaji. Janardhan Pai Asnodkar and Sakharam P. Pissurlencar brought out *Prabhat* in memory of Shirgaonkar who used to run a periodical called *Prabhat* earlier. The assistant editor was B.D. Satoskar. Besides the group from *Subodh*, Bhai Dessai also wrote in this periodical. Manohar Sardessai published his first articles through the *Prabhat*. Dr. Pissurlencar's articles were regularly published. *Yugantar*, a bimonthly, was edited by Vishnu K. Shinkre. Its format was similar to that of *Subodh* and *Prabhat*. N.R. Kelkar started the monthly periodical *Brahman*. which was published from Mandrem. Mr. Patankar, an astrologer from Sanguem started a monthly periodical called *Aryavigyan*. A monthly periodical. *Kala* like *Subodh* was literary and artistic. It was started by Baburao Agshikar, Radhakrishna Shetye and Anant Samant in 1935, from Panaji. Colored front page, attractive interior, neat white paper, were adopted by this magazine. Besides Goan writers, those from out of Goa also contributed to the periodical. Older writers like Shambarao Sardessai, Samant, Sanvordekar, Krishnarao Keni, and younger generation writers like Kantik, V.A. Pai Raikar among others were contributors in this periodical. It lasted around ten years.

The period 1910-1935 was perhaps the best for Goan journalism, in terms of quantity as well as quality of the periodical press. After 1935, the features of the Portuguese Republic were destroyed and the Salazar dictatorship firmly entrenched. Censorship was imposed on the press. There were restrictions on thought, behavior, association etc. In the atmosphere of rigidity, many old newspapers closed down and it was difficult to start new

ones. A deposit of Rs.8000 had to be kept while seeking permission to start a new paper. To accept or to reject such a proposal lay with the governor. The deposit remained with the government as long as the periodical ran. The deposit was returned if the periodical closed. The fourth phase of the Goan Press lasted for the period 1935-1961. During this phase, with the exception of *A Voz da India*, not a single regular periodical emerged. The old Portuguese periodicals somehow managed to continue but there was a very negative effect on the Marathi periodicals.

In the earlier periods, even if Marathi periodicals closed down enthusiastic people started new ones. Under the Dictatorship, however, the enthusiasm to start new periodicals died. *Bharatmitra* the monthly periodical, which was apolitical, and *Bharat*, a weekly, which continued publication up to 1949 despite problems, were the only Marathi periodicals to survive under the Dictatorship.

Konkani Periodicals:

The Inquisition tried to suppress the local languages under pain of suffering to the users. In 1648 its efforts were rewarded when Viceroy Count de Alvor decided to abolish the use of the local languages altogether. However, Konkani and Marathi survived as they were the language of the masses. In 1745 Archbishop Lourenco de Santa Maria declared that all Christians should speak Portuguese or they would not be allowed to marry, or become priests. The coming to power of Marquis of Pombal, as seen earlier brought better days for these vernaculars. He banished the Jesuits

from the overseas colonies of Portugal and restored Konkani to its old position.

A few Konkani periodicals were published. *Udentichem Salik*, the first Konkani periodical in the Roman script appeared in Pune (Maharashtra) in the year 1889 under the editorship of Eduardo Jose Pereira. *Roti* 1914; *Ave Maria*, 1919; *The Goa Mail*, 1919; *The Goa Times*, 1930; *Vauradeancho Ixt (Ecvot)* 1933; *Udentichem Nakhetra*, 1946; *Konkani Dayz*, 1958; *Porjecho Avaj*, 1953; *Mirg, Novem Goem* were all published in the Roman script, with the exception of the *Porjecho Avaj* which was in the Devanagari alphabet. *Novem Goem* was published in the Roman as well as the Devanagari scripts. The publication of the latter was soon stopped. *Vauradeancho Ixt* has a peculiar story. It was published from Pilar under the editorship of a clergyman. Its first title was *Vauradeancho Ecvot*. But the dictatorial regime of Salazar saw Communism in the periodical and by a Government order the clergy of Pilar was forced to change the word *Ecvot* for *Ixt*.¹²⁸

Goan periodicals of short duration.

It will be observed from the foregoing paragraphs that generally the Goan periodicals were of short duration. Many periodicals were brought out during the period 1821-1961 by individuals, by families, by social reformers, social workers, political leaders, and others. Periodicals were often reflective of the opinions and interests of the caste to which the proprietor/editor/director belonged. They often got involved in

bitter duels with other castes through their newspapers. Papers also often served as the mouthpieces of political parties. This is especially evident in the Portuguese language newspapers. "Prominent among these were two Portuguese weeklies published at Margao, *O Ultramar* (1859) and *A India Portuguesa* (1861). These served as the mouthpieces of the two major communal parties among the Goan Catholics, Brahmins and Chardós."¹²⁹ Often periodicals supported one candidate or the other at the time of elections and there would be bitter criticism of the opposite candidate. Periodicals would also frequently be used to settle scores with a rival caste, family or party. A lot of personal criticism was noticed in the press. Landlords also started periodicals. Once their funds were exhausted the periodical stopped. In terms of news, besides local politics and gossip most local Portuguese language newspapers downloaded their news from Portuguese newspapers published in Portugal, All India Radio, and Voice of America.

In an attempt to analyze and understand the causes responsible for the short life of the periodicals in Goa, the *Subodh* started a series of articles of a contributory nature on this theme. Many writers contributed their opinions. The editor of *Subodh* wanted to learn from these opinions so that he could make *Subodh* a long lasting periodical. Unfortunately for him, it closed down even before the series got over. The series was continued in *Prabhat*, which also shut down soon.

One reason for the short life of the periodicals was the low level of literacy and a lack of the buying habit even among those who could read and write. Another reason perhaps was that these periodicals especially the

vernacular ones could not generate much revenue through advertisement and were almost entirely dependent on the resources of the owner/publisher. A third reason perhaps was the fact that most of the periodicals were started by individual persons due to interest in politics, social reform, literature or social status and therefore they were not professionally run. When the individual exhausted his funds or died, the periodical stopped. However, where there was continued interest shown by family members in keeping the periodical going, it enjoyed a longer life, for example *O Ultramar*, *A India Portuguesa*, *Bharatmitra*, and *Diario da Noite*.

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- 6 Wicki, Jose, S.J., **IV Centenário Da Primeira Imprensa De Goa**, Edições Brotéria, Lisboa, 1956. P.4.
- 7 Ibid. P.4. "hazer una declaracion sobre los artículos de la fe en lengua de Japán, algùn tanto copiosa para hazer la ymprimir, pues toda la gente principal sabe leer y escribir, para que se extenda nuestra Santa fe por muchas partes pues o todas no podemos acudir. "
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- 17 Ibid. "Hordenarão aqui o Pe. Patriarcha (Nunes Barreto) e o Padre Francisco Rodriguez e Antonio de Quadros nesta Quaresma huns confeccionarios que se mandarão imprimir, e offereceu se hum homem homrrado devoto da Companhia

a dar o papel de graça pelo amor de Deus, e que pusesse o collegio o trabalho da impressão de casa, e se davão a todos os que os pediao pelo amor de Deus. E também se mandarão por todas as fortalezas aos Padres da Companhia que nellas, rezidem pera la os repartirem, juntamente com a doutrina que o Padre Mestre Francisco (Xavier), que Deustem, cá ordenou empremada. Foi isto cousa de que o povo muito se aproveitou pelos pouquos livros e menos conhecimento que os homens comumente tem pera o modo de se bem confesarem."

- ¹⁸ Ibid P. 7. "Dia de sao Lucas sustentou aqui o Irmão Francisco Cabral, discipulo do Padre António de Quadros, humas conclusões publicas: dellas vai lá o treslado impreso por tres vias, nas quais presidido o Padre Antonio de Quadros. Acharão-se a ellas o Guovernador (Francisco Barreto) com muitos fidalgos nobres e muitos religiosos, desembargadores e outros letrados de fora".
- ¹⁹ Ibid P.8. "Acertando hum Irmão nosso de entrar en huma pobre casa destas novos christãos, achou lhe em lugar de retabolo hum rey d'ouros muyto enrramado e concertado pregado com belmazes, e elle muyto contente tendo para se que estava riquo com aquele imagem; em casa doutro estavam cinco cartas de jugar, postas tãobem na parede em cruz por oratoryo. Parece que as acharão pela rua, e, cuidando que erao santos e que os perdera alguém, determinrão aproveitar-se deles. Ho Padre Patriarcha (Nunes Barreto) sabendo isto, como tinha grande zelo da honra de Deus e do bem desta Christandade, ordenou com o Pe. Francisco Rodryguez que se imprimissem aqui, de forma, algumas ymagens de Christo curcificado com a Virgem Nossa Senhora de huma parte e São João da outra, para se repartirem com estes christãos, e asi terem com ellas a memorya mais fresca do mistério de sua redenção".
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- ²¹ Oriente Conquistado, 1, c, v, d11, pp22-67
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- ²⁵ Quoted in Ibid P.20.
- ²⁶ Vid. Pa. Gabriel Saldanha, **Historia de Goa**, Vol 11, P.50.
- ²⁷ Father Gonçalo Rodriguez was a Portuguese born in Calheiros in 1527, came to India in 1551, was a missionary in Goa, Hormuz and Ethiopia. He died in Goa on March 5, 1564. cf. Sommervogel, *Bibliothèque de la Companhia*.
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CHAPTER 3

PORTUGUESE GOVERNMENT

AND

THE PRESS IN GOA

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Of all the means of dissemination of information and education, the press has been the quickest, the most powerful and of the widest reach. The Jesuits who entered Goa for the sole purpose of spreading the message of God, realized the importance of the press. They were the first to introduce the art of printing into Goa. Not long after the foundation of their educational institutions, they brought from Europe a press, in September 1556, which they located in their college of St. Paul at Old Goa. In 1616, it was shifted to their Major Seminary at Rachol, Salcete, where it functioned up to 1660. The earliest book printed by them of which any record exists was a catechism composed in 1557 by St. Francis Xavier for the use of children. Subsequently on various occasions many other pamphlets, chiefly religious tracts, in Portuguese, Tamil and Konkani, were printed in the Roman character. These presses continued to work until 1683, as is proved by the books which issued from them up to that year. Since then little or nothing has been heard of them, and no record remains to show why and how they ceased to exist. From 1561 to 1573 there existed another Press run by Quinquencio Endem. These presses published around 30 books and continued to operate till 1683.

It appears that the Home Government was averse to the establishment of printing-presses in the territory of Goa, either by the local Government or by private individuals, and that accordingly, instructions

were issued to the then Viceroy, the Count of Alva, recommending the adoption of stringent measures in the matter.¹ For nearly a century, this narrow-minded policy was rigidly followed, regardless of the intellectual and moral advancement of the inhabitants of the settlement; and it was only in 1821, the same year in which the constitutional system of government was introduced, that a Government press was established for the first time. Till 1859 the Government press was the only one of its kind; but since then several private presses had been started.

The Jesuits had used the printing press since 1556 for religious purpose and published a number of religious and spiritual works.² The ban on publications in the mid-18th century lasted till the era of liberalism in Portugal. The lifting of the ban brought to the fore a flourishing press from 1821 onwards, and it was well used for promoting partisan political interests, creating social and political awareness and there was also a strong attempt to foster nationalist sentiments against Portuguese colonialism. In addition, the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* parties used it to full advantage to explain their respective points of view. An issue that afflicted the Press in Goa from the early years of its inception has been its censorship by the government. The Government always kept a close eye on the Press and at the first hint of aggression or discontent expressed against any Government or ecclesiastical institution or authority, the Government swooped down on the individual recalcitrant or the whole establishment and punished it.

In order to understand the evolution and functioning of the press in Goa, it would be relevant and useful to know how it was related to and

affected by the body-politic and the political set up at different stages in Portugal.

The Constitutional Period: (1821-1910)

Constitutional monarchy was proclaimed on 16th September 1821, by the administration of the first provisional assembly. A printing press sent by the same assembly reached Goa by the beginning of December along with a compositor whose name was Manuel da Cruz, with the necessary tools, oil and dyes. The printing press was kept in the storeroom of the Governor's palace, which was also the military department. This was the *Imprensa Nacional* or (the Government Printing Press). The second provisional assembly on 12th December 1821 ordered that an official paper called *Gazeta de Goa-* (Goa Gazette) a weekly would be published from this press. This weekly would carry news of government activities, a monthly dossier of the income and expenditure of the public treasury, of the municipality, of the Holy House of Mercy (*Santa Casa de Misericordia*) and other news, national and foreign. Dr. Antonio José de Lima Leitão, one of the members of the second assembly was appointed its editor and its first issue came out on 22nd December 1821.³ This was, therefore, the first secular periodical in Goa. Its second editor, and Director of the Printing Press who took over from 1st March 1822, was captain Luis Prates d'Almeida d'Albuquerque who was killed in a mutiny of the troops on 15th July 1822.

When the Viceroy D. Manuel de Camara died in 1825, he was succeeded by Fr. Manuel de S. Galdino. His administration lasted little more than a year and the 'Gazette' might have published some unsavory articles attacking some corrupt clergy and Government officials. It was the beginning of political awareness in Goa. On 29th August, 1826, Fr. Manuel issued a government order in which he said that the government had always functioned without a press and without a 'Gazette' till the unfortunate incident of the revolution, and ordered that from the end of the following September the work of this press would cease.⁴ By the order of 13th November 1826 the printing press, the types and the publication of the 'Gazette' were retired to the arsenal and the proceeds of sale were to be received in the public treasury.⁵ People expressed their resentment on the floor of the council.

The government press was revived in 1835 with the help of new types and other implements by the Provisional government. Jose Aniceto da Silva was appointed as the Director of the Press and the editor of the new *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, (Constitutional Chronicle of Goa), the new name for the government 'Gazette'. Certain conditions were imposed on the publication of the 'Chronicle' by the order of 12th June 1835. This was the beginning of official Press censorship in Goa. These conditions included the following:⁶

1. A manuscript of any matter pertaining to the doctrines and principles of the Roman Catholic Church had to be sent to the church authorities
2. Nothing should be published which in any manner would harm the person of the King or that of His serene Highness the Crown Prince.

3. No matter should be printed which might provoke or incite disobedience against political or civil laws and government officials.
4. Any articles on political, civil, penal or economic legislation must be seriously examined.
5. The activities of public functionaries should be watched and any accusations of crime committed in their public life should be factually determined.
6. Rules regarding the printing of accusations, imputations, or insults against private citizens or government servants.
7. Nothing should be printed which might destroy friendly relations with foreign countries, lower the respect which we must give to people of sovereign nations or harm their agents in Portuguese court.
8. No matter should be printed which would offend public morality or honesty.
9. Nothing should be accepted for printing which does not have the signature of the author or editor.

The 'Chronicle' was published from 13/6/1835 up to 30/11/1837. It became an effective weapon in the hands of its editors. It made a demand for better representation of Goans in the Parliament and in the Provisional Council. It made a demand for more educational institutions and avenues for higher learning. It also gave an opportunity to the educated Goans to make a demand for their rights. Later on, from 17/12/1837 this official Gazette came out under the name of *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* which was a weekly publication till 1856 and biweekly thereafter and finally it was renamed *Boletim Official* from 1839.

From 1835, the national printing press underwent several changes, which greatly improved and developed it. These changes made it one of the most important sources of revenue to the state. However, its unsuitable location considerably damaged its material and therefore the quality of the works printed there. The printing press was housed in several buildings. Originally it was housed in the ground floor premise of the government palace (secretariat); later due to many improvements and acquisition of more printing and other materials it was shifted to different government buildings and private premises. It was housed for some time in a building where at present is the *Instituto de Nossa Senhora de Piedade* in Panjim, opposite the Custom House. From 1900, it started functioning in its present ground floor premises of the police headquarters of Panjim, which was still far from meeting the requirements that its growth demanded. This instability to some extent contributed to the breakdown of the machinery, for the embezzlement of the print and for the precarious condition of the different branches of administration, and a lack of a skilled managerial staff. All these necessitated its reorganization which was the most important of all the National Printing Press had undergone due to the results obtained.⁷ Since 1900 it functioned regularly, catering to all the needs of the government. Its main task was the publication of the *Boletim Oficial* besides other printing jobs including other informative materials like *Noticias do Estado da India*, etc. The Government printing press was utilized by private individuals or groups of people to print their own publications as for many years this was the only printing press in Goa.

There are several instances of censorship and penal action being taken against newspaper editors and publishers during this period.

O Ultramar, published from Margao (1859-1905), was generally pro-Government. Its editor was deported to Diu during Ranes Revolt of 1895 and its publication was banned for two years along with other periodicals. In 1894, a weekly named '*O Brado Indiano*' (Indian Call) was started by Fr. A. F. X. Alvarez, a thorough nationalist, which used to strongly criticize the Portuguese leaders. In 1895 it exhorted the Catholics to be nationalist in their outlook and shun any Portuguese goods and the lifestyle. It suggested the use of coconut oil lamps in dance halls and *Feni* and *Madi*⁸ instead of Port, Madeira or champagne. In 1895 when the metropolitan government ordered the transfer of Goans in the army from Goa to Mozambique, these troops refused to be transferred from their homeland. This led to what is known as the Sepoy Mutiny. On the midnight of 13th September there was a revolt known as Dada Rane's revolt. The editor of *O Brado Indiano* took up their cause, but had to suffer imprisonment. The Portuguese authorities withdrew whatever civil rights and guarantees were enjoyed under the new Portuguese constitution. On 19th August 1895, Father Alvarez was arrested and the government closed down his weekly. Its last issue was published on 12-10-1895. During the Dada Rane revolt, government had put lot of restrictions on the newspapers⁹

On the occasion of the feast of St. Xavier, held on 3rd December 1902 in Old Goa, a missionary Fr. Saramento Ozorio made critical remarks in the course of his sermon to his catholic audience about their life style, customs and clothing. A critical report of this address was published by '*O Heraldo*' dated 6/12/1902 under the title 'Na Velha Cidade'.¹⁰ The paper attacked the sermon, and appealed to the Christians to revert to Indian customs and dress. The government arrested the publisher Antonio Maria

da Cunha and editor Alarico Mascarenhas, and filed charges against them. Some newspapers in Portugal condemned the arrest. The '**O Heraldo**' published even this condemnation and the government filed more charges against them. They were acquitted on the first charge but on the second charge they were sentenced to thirty days imprisonment in Aguada jail. This was the second charge filed against a Goan newspaper by the government, the first one being against the '**O Brado Indiano**' in 1895.¹¹ Thus the honour of being the first publisher jailed by the government went to Antonio Maria da Cunha of '**O Heraldo**'. Though the article '*Na Velha Cidade*' was written by Luis de Menezes Braganza, Antonio Maria da Cunha took the responsibility on himself. This episode created strong sentiments against the Europeans amongst the Goan Christians. Antonio Maria da Cunha started **Heraldo** on May 21, 1908 and went through tough times in the beginning. He was charged in the year 1909 for an article critical of the administration titled 'Cofres Do Ribandar' published in its 17-01-1909 issue. He was acquitted in the court.¹² In the same way **Satsanga** published from Kumbharjuvem (1902-1910) was highly critical of the British regime also and was banned at their request in 1911.

The Laws Regulating the Periodical Press during this Period [1821-1910]:

An issue that afflicted the press has been the mechanism of censorship imposed by the Portuguese government. It would, therefore, be appropriate to give here a gist of the relevant enactments governing the functioning of the press, the details of which are given in the Appendices.

(i) 20th April 1852

The enactment passed on 20th April 1852 states¹³ that it is made in accordance with the provisions of the *Portaria* No. 2181 of 5th January 1849, relating to the use of the freedom of the Press, and the suspension of the establishment of the Jurors in the Overseas Provinces. It stipulates that in the crimes for abuse of the freedom of the Press the respective Court Judges without the intervention of the Jury, shall follow the doctrine of the Laws of 10th November 1837 and 19th October 1840, with given modifications. It lays down the criteria for electing the Deputy for the State of India and states that the good repute of the publisher and that of its guarantors or mortgages was to be judged by hearing the Department of Justice in the Court of the Judicial Division of Ilhas. The guarantee or the mortgage required to be the publisher responsible for a periodical was eight thousand xerafins, two parts in silver and one in copper. The deposit for the same purpose of being the publisher responsible for a periodical was four thousand xerafins, two parts in silver and one in copper, and made in the manner prescribed.

(ii) 1st October 1856

This enactment issued as the order of His Majesty, the King¹⁴ lays down that the Judges of the first instance of the Overseas Judicial Divisions shall be competent to *de facto* and *de jure* judge the crimes committed by abuse of the freedom of the Press. These crimes shall observe, with the modification of the preceding Article, the order and procedural form established by the Laws of the 22/12/1834, 10/11/1837 and 19/10/ 1840. The deposit or guarantee or mortgage demanded by the last of the cited Laws, for the publication of a periodical, shall be calculated

overseas in the provincial currency. Only the citizen there eligible to be deputy to the *Cortes* can be Publisher responsible for a periodical.

(iii) 17th May, 1866

This law¹⁵ revokes all the laws relating to the guarantees and restrictions set for the periodical press and lays down that no periodical shall publish, without at least eight days prior notice of the name of the publisher, before the taluka or ward administrator and before the delegate of the Royal Attorney of the judicial division from where it is to be published. Then it lays down other conditions and procedure to be followed, the declaration to be signed by the publisher, and the documents to prove that the said publisher is: a major, a citizen fully enjoying his civic and political rights and domiciled in the judicial division. It provided that every stamped or printed or lithographed writing, containing the doctrine of an individual, and not exceeding nine printed pages, would be considered to be a periodical and laid down the penalty of three days to three months of imprisonment and corresponding fine, including the suppression of the periodical in case of false or incomplete documents.

This law also lays down that crimes against the expression of thought are punishable with the respective penalties as prescribed in the Penal Code. In case of injury to the representative system established in the Constitutional charter of the Monarchy, the penalty of three months to one year of imprisonment and corresponding fine is prescribed. However, there is no ban on the means of discussion and criticism of the provisions, both of

the basic law of the State as well as the other laws, aimed at clarifying and preparing public opinion for the required reform through the legal procedure which shall be in accordance with the provisions of the common law. The Office of the Attorney General was competent to intervene in the crimes against freedom of the press in case of defamation or injury against a chief of a foreign country, against their ambassadors or accredited representatives in the court of Portugal.

The enactment stipulates the situations under which the responsibility for these crimes would be undertaken: (a) by the publisher, (b) by the author, (c) the owner or manager of the press, lithography or other establishment in which the publication is made, and (d) the persons selling or displaying for sale the said publications, knowingly and willingly. The publisher of the periodical in which an individual, tribunal or corporation has been insulted, must publish free of cost the defense sent to it by the accused, in the first issue published upon receipt of it., Then it lays down other conditions to be complied with by the publisher etc. and provides that in the absence of compliance, the publisher of the periodical was liable for a fine of 10\$000 reis for every day when the said publication has been delayed, besides losses and damages. It also states that if a periodical publishes an article or news containing allusive or equivocal sentences implicating disrepute or offence to somebody, the affected person can demand from the publisher the express declaration in one of the three following issues after his complaint of whether or not the said sentences refer to the complainant. If the publisher refuses to declare or to do so in the prescribed format, he shall be liable for a penalty of 5\$000 reis to 30\$000 reis.

(iv) 29th March 1890.

This law was enacted in compliance with the representation received from ministers and secretaries of all the Ministers.¹⁶ In this enactment, the freedom of the press is safeguarded and the publication of any periodical is permitted in accordance with the current law. It states that the criminal as well as civil responsibility which go hand in hand in terms of the common law, for the abuse of freedom of the periodical press, belongs to the publisher of the periodical and to the author of the matter. Then it gives the details how the publisher, the owner or the managers of the workshops, be it a printing press, typography, lithography or any such establishment or the author was to be held responsible. It states that if the establishment used for the printing or stamping is not known, the responsibility falls upon those selling the issue of the periodical accused or who in some way or other might have contributed knowingly and willingly for its spread. It also lays down that the periodicals must carry in all their issues, the name of the publisher, the address of the office headquarters and that of the establishment/s used for the typesetting and its printing or stamping. The refusal of the editor to make known the author of the incriminated publication was considered as disobedience, punishable under law.

The enactment also lays down the penalties applicable to crimes for abuse of freedom of the press. The maximum term for corrective imprisonment provided for was reduced from one year to six months. The same term of imprisonment for three to six months, and also a fine of not less 100\$000 reis and not more than of 500\$000 reis was prescribed for the

crime of libel. The offence made by means of a publication or otherwise to legitimately constituted political powers, or to any authority or public employee etc exercising public authority, or public duties, was punishable with imprisonment of up to six months. To the incitement of any authority or public employee, any member of the Army or Navy, or any corporation or collective body exercising public authority or public duties, the penalty of imprisonment of up to six months was applicable. Expressions subversive of the safety of the state or the public order and published in any periodical, if constituting an incitement or provocation to crime, was punishable with corrective imprisonment of one to three months. The transcripts of offences, insults, injury or any article coming within the purview of the penal law was to be considered as an offence, defamation, insult, injury or punishable act.

The enactment provides that in crimes for abuse of freedom of the press the conviction to imprisonment is accompanied by penalty by way of fine of 30\$000 reis to 500\$000 reis. The penalty of fine would not be less than 100\$000 reis and in case of a relapse into crime or multiple offences, the penalty is maximum imprisonment, and also the fine penalty is 350\$000 reis or more. In the conviction for any of the crimes, the public sale of the respective periodical in the streets or public places is to be suspended for a period of three to thirty day. The Article 9 of the enactment prescribes that the complainant insulted/injured for crime of abuse of freedom of the press is entitled to claim indemnity or damages for the losses suffered, or a consideration upto 100\$000 reis. The title and property of the periodical and the typographic or lithographic material of the workshop/s where the respective composition, printing and stamping might have been done, are

responsible for the payment of fines, and for the indemnity for loss and injury.

(v) 27th December 1895.

This enactment¹⁷ making certain amendments to the earlier laws adds that no periodical may be published in the overseas provinces unless previously a competent person is appointed as the responsible editor. It also lays down the conditions for being appointed as an editor like major age, a Portuguese citizenship, enjoying civil and political rights and eligible for municipal office and domicile in the taluka where the publication is made. The applicant had to give a guarantee of 500\$000 réis by means of a deposit in cash or public funds in the treasury of the State. Then it lays down the further procedure to be adopted for finalizing the application¹⁸

(vi) 26th November 1896.

This law decrees that¹⁹ those crimes shall be punished in the Overseas provinces as being against the freedom of the Press which are committed by publicity through any means of impression or printing, periodical or non-periodical and any other law contrary was expressly revoked.

(vii) 11th August 1898.

This enactment²⁰ lays down that all crimes of abuse of the freedom of the Press, in the Overseas Provinces, would be tried by corrective police procedure, whatever the penalty applicable and laws contrary to this were revoked.

(viii) 20th September 1899.

By this enactment,²¹ some provisions of the Charter of Law of 7th July 1898 were made applicable to the criminal proceedings for abuse of the freedom of the Press in the overseas provinces and autonomous district of Timor. and the Laws to the contrary were revoked.

(ix) 17th September 1910.

On this date, a decree²² was passed granting general and complete amnesty for all the crimes of abuse of freedom of the press committed until this date, in which the only party is the Attorney General. The suits filed regarding the said crimes are rendered null and void, and all the persons who were in jail with suit or without it, were to be immediately freed.

The Republican Phase: (1910-1926)

The establishment of the Republic in Portugal in 1910 inaugurated the most liberal phase in the attitude of the Government towards the Press. In validation of the liberal principles the new Viceroy Joaquim Jose Machado revoked the laws, which had sought to curb the freedom of the Press. The Press thrived in the new political atmosphere of freedom. It was the golden age for the press when for the first time it could function without the Government constantly watching over its activities.

This liberal phase lasted for about 15 years. The overthrow of the Republic also ended the freedom of the Press.

Hegde Desai had started a bilingual weekly *Bharat* from Panjim on 6th November 1912. Though his weekly stopped publication from Panjim in 1917, it was restarted from Quepem on 25th March 1920. Its last issue came out on 11th August 1941. Since his bold editorials exposed the Portuguese administration and sought to awaken the Hindus, about twenty-five cases were slapped against him some of which resulted in his incarceration. However, he was not discouraged and replied to the government 'if the government uses the cheap methods to close down *Bharat*, we will start another Mahabharat. But we will continue to criticize the unlawful activities of the government where appropriate.' *Bharat* was compared with Lokmanya Tilak's *Kesari* in its fight against government injustice. Every time he was released, his editorials became more pungent and bitter against the Portuguese Government.²³ He did not care about government's reaction to his writings. There is an interesting incident involving Mr. Hegde Desai. Captain Feio Folque, the Governor for Diu, was known to be ruthless and arbitrary in his administration. Hegde Desai strongly criticized him in *Bharat*. To examine the situation himself he went to Diu and the house in which he stayed was twentyfour hours under police watch. Mr. Hegde Desai outsmarted the government and hoodwinked the authorities by slipping away from the house disguised as a maidservant.

T.B. Cunha contributed his articles to *Bharat* to bring a sense of unity and purpose to the Goan freedom movement. An article written by

Telo de Mascarenhas titled 'The Death of false Values' in Portuguese in 4th November 1926 issue of **Bharat** became very popular. The author condemned the false values and concepts being taught to the Goans especially Christians by the Portuguese thus alienating them from their true heritage. The author had to face a trial in Lisbon court. The owner and editor of **Bharat** were also tried in Goa. On December 2, 1926 it published a rejoinder "Will this action prove historical truth untrue?" Another publication, **Prabhat** demanded from the Portuguese government facilities for Sanskrit along with Marathi at the higher secondary schools.²⁴

Though the democracy was established, it did not reflect in behavior and attitude of the officials. The Government had built a bridge on the Banastarim river about which the editorial published in **Hindumat**, opined 'the bridge would collapse, somebody would lose life and all the money spent by the government in its construction would be wasted'. The government charged the editor and a fine was imposed by the court. If the fine was not paid, the editor would spend six months in jail. The **Hindumat** weekly lasted for two years. It was then irregularly published and finally closed down altogether in 1916. But right from the beginning it had been trying to expose the wrong policies and actions of the government and to arouse public opinion against the foreign rule.

The outbreak of World War I in 1914 made the administration very sensitive to what was published in the press. **O Herald** in its issue dated 2/12/1916 said, "The criterion of our censorship committees is more authoritarian than those in Portugal and we do not have to blame our counterparts in Portugal". In its issue, no. 4930 dated 3/12/1916, it wrote

that the Censorship Committee on its interpretation, can censor circulars, letters from one society to another, invitation cards and visiting cards. The daily further opined, "It is necessary that these committees consist of persons having good taste, good sense, though they are not journalists, writers or jurists".

The government could stoop to any level to take action against the critical journalists. A Portuguese weekly *A Terra* was started on 1st January 1917. Its editor Liberio Pereira was an aggressive journalist. This paper did not hesitate to criticize the government. Annoyed by the criticism, the Governor of Goa, Joaquim de Moraes had the editor beaten up by four people in 1921 on account of which his right hand was permanently disabled. He responded to this incident by writing a big article under the heading "*Assombroso*". This article was published in 3 parts by the weekly *A Terra* (issue no. 420,421 and 422). In the article he said, "They may have broken the editor's arm but they did not break his pen. (*Partiram – lhe o braco, mas nao lhe partiram a pena!*) Later this weekly became biweekly and lasted till 1932.

The Hindu was another bilingual weekly under the stewardship of Datta Venkatesh Pai in 1924 which had the guts to criticize the government. When the Government decided to celebrate the fourth centenary of Vasco da Gama's visit to India, the paper criticized the government asking whether Vasco da Gama was an Indian to celebrate the occasion. He was promptly arrested and imprisoned. Datta Venkatesh Pai, despite restraints, continued to fight through the weekly until 1930.²⁵ *Gomantak* was another vociferous Marathi newspaper from Bicholim

under Vaman Narayan Palekar. It was fearless in its reportings and comments. It started its publication in 1928 but soon went out of circulation due to financial hardship and Government harassment.

Pracash, (Light) was started in 1928 as a biweekly from Panjim with Venkatesh Sardessai as its editor for some time. It carried a crusade against the Catholic Church and the government, and especially supported the *Shuddhi* movement of the *Gawda* community. Luis Menezes Bragança wrote scorching articles in it criticizing the stance taken by the Catholic Church and the government. The Patriarch decided to boycott the weekly and asked the catholic community not to read it. However the catholic community secretly read the articles of Menezes Braganza published in *Pracash*. In 1929 the government put a ban on the weekly but those associated with it were not daunted and started *Pradip* from Bombay with Dr. B. D. Sakhardande as editor. It was distributed all over Goa for a year. The government felt that it could not control *Pradip* and its provocative writings. The ban on *Pracash* was removed and it was revived in the changed conditions. Since it was printed and published in Goa, it could be indirectly controlled. In the revived *Pracash*, Lusi de Menezes Braganza started writing against the blind faith of the catholic community. He was always aware of the need to maintain the religious and cultural freedom of the Goans and fought for political equality. He kept the Portuguese reader informed through *Pracash* of the day-to-day activities of freedom movement of India.

Salazar ended this freedom of the press when on 3rd January 1934, pre-censorship was imposed. All the newspapers had to submit their proofs

to the censor official and only after the censor approval they were allowed to be printed. In 1938 there was an attempt on the life of Salazar. All the newspapers condemned the attack and wished Salazar well, except **Pracash**. The government took the revenge by banning **Pracash** again. Through its columns Menezes Braganza sought to bring about a better understanding between the two major communities, the Hindus and the Catholics in Goa. He sought to bridge the gap created due to the lusitanisation of the catholic community, brought about by the Church and the State working in conjunction. His nationalist instincts, brought home to him the absolute necessity of the two communities coming together to achieve freedom for Goa and the same he tried to communicate to the readers of **Pracash**.

Marathi periodicals began to appear in Goa in the last quarter of the 19th century. Many of them were bilingual and carried articles in Portuguese. They were in general influenced by the Marathi Press of Poona and Bombay. The vernacular press was making its presence felt in British India. A few of these published in Marathi in the neighbourhood of Goa including Bombay, Pune and Belgaum found a readership in Goa. The Government introduced restrictions, censorship and bans on a number of these periodicals. The contents of these periodicals were usually critical of the administrative and other policies of the Portuguese government or attacked their institutions and officials. However, as these periodicals managed to find their way into the hands of Goan readers despite the bans, the government decided to lift the ban and imposed a heavy postal duty on letters and parcels with the connivance of the British government.

Despite many instances of Government action against the press, there was an efflorescence of periodical publications during this period.

The Laws Regulating the Periodical Press (1910-1926)

7TH September 1912.

On this date a law was passed to adopt for the colonies provisions restraining the abuse of the freedom of the Press committed by means of publications offensive to the prestige ^{of} the Republican institutions and to public morality.²⁶ It is laid down that 'the judicial, administrative and police authorities of the Colonies shall be entitled to seize or order the seizure of periodicals, posters, advertisements and notices, and in general, any prints, manuscripts, drawings or publications exhibited for sale or by any manner distributed, affixed or put up in any public places which lack in one or more requisites for the publication by the law of freedom of the Press in force in the colonies; that may contain insult to the Republican institutions and injury, defamation of or threat to the President of the Republic in or out of office; that may be pornographic; Or which may be edited in language indecent and provocative against the security of the State, order and public peace.' It is obvious that the law was wide enough to harass any editor or writer for the writing unpalatable to the authorities.

During the Dictatorship: (1926-1961)

Portugal came under the fascist dictatorship in 1926 when fundamental freedoms were suppressed and it was but natural that Portuguese India should be treated more rigorously in the manner of

suppression of fundamental rights and civil liberties. There was no freedom of the press, association, or political party, except the official party "Uniao Nacional": Prof. Antonio de Oliveira Salazar became the Prime Minister of Portugal in 1932 and soon wielded all powers and continued thus till his death in 1968. He imposed a strict censorship on all newspapers, publications and other printed materials. Under his dictatorship, there was no freedom of any kind in Goa and even the "metropolitan" Portuguese themselves did not enjoy the fundamental freedoms. There was no freedom of expression or thought, no freedom of association, nor freedom of the press in Portugal and it could not be expected that the *assimilados* or the *indigenos* of the colonies could enjoy higher freedoms. In Portugal's Political Constitution there was, however, a prescription extending to the *citizens of Portugal* the rights of the "freedom of expression and thought under any form" as well as the "freedom of association and meeting", but the same Article²⁷ goes on to circumvent, indeed nullify, these rights. It states "Special laws shall regulate the, freedom of expression of thought, meeting, and association, and as regards the first named, perversion of public opinion must be forbidden preventively or repressively".²⁸ The press in Portugal and its "overseas provinces" were regulated equally rigidly. The political constitution provided for prior censorship.²⁹

There were severe restrictions and strict censorship on all the publications, including newspapers, particularly in a language other than Portuguese. All newspapers and journals, and even a wedding invitation card had to be submitted for pre-censorship. If any one of them disobeyed this order, the Governor was empowered without making any reference to the judiciary, to close down the newspaper and the printing press and

punish the editor and the journals concerned. Newspapers and periodicals were to function only as mouthpiece of the government and those published in India were banned in Goa because, according to the Portuguese Government they contained seditious writings. Political restrictions and censorship of the press were so rigid that even social functions in clubs and villages on the occasion of festivals and auspicious days could not be organized without the permission of the local *Regedor* or other authorities. Under such political conditions any resistance movement against the State had to be organized clandestinely.³⁰ In respect of newspapers, a monetary guarantee acted as a deterrent against the misbehaviour of the editor or publisher or even a correspondent. In case an adverse comment escaped the notice of the Government censor, the newspaper was not exonerated from the criminal responsibility incurred. Under these conditions, which severely restricted individual and collective liberty, there could hardly be any free expression of opinion on such fundamental matters as the rights of citizens or the rights of the colonial people.

The Press was subsidized by the Government to publish only the news censored by the authorities. In order to guarantee the success of censorship, the Government needed newspaper publishers to deposit a huge amount of money, which was liable to be forfeited if undesirable news was published. If a publisher forfeited his deposit, his newspaper was discontinued. A former Portuguese Minister and one of the liberal intellectuals of Portugal, Antonio Sergio, felt strongly against these curbs on freedom. In 1954, he wrote to the Minister of Overseas Provinces "The launching of a civic intercourse campaign of real national unity, by abolishing the system of cold war, and by granting to the overseas

Portuguese, as well as those in Portugal, fundamental civic liberties, namely, to express their thoughts, to meet in an orderly manner, and to form associations, by putting an end to prior censorship, seizure of books containing legitimate doctrines, and by the release of political and social prisoners; divesting ourselves of the letter and spirit of the Colonial Act, and suppressing racial discrimination in Portuguese India..."³¹ Speeches, were required to be approved by the official censor and a breach of these restrictions entailed heavy penalties, including long terms of imprisonment and deportation. Though under these circumstances, it was almost impossible for the people to agitate even peacefully, the courage and love for liberty of the Goans were such that they could not be suppressed by highhandedness. Hundreds of Goan patriots, including doctors, lawyers, students and farmers, courted arrest and imprisonment in Goa, Daman and Diu.

The repercussions were felt in Goa by 1934. The freedom of the press was highly restricted. The copies of all the newspapers and publications in Goa were to be sent to the government before printing and publishing them and all the publications were asked to follow strictly the government policy. The freedom of the individual was, therefore, heavily circumscribed. The Government of Prof. Salazar was a dictatorship known for its harsh laws and severe forms of repression, where even a candidate for a presidential election had to pay the penalty of the "crime" for standing for election to the high office against the nominee of Salazar and was forced to seek asylum in South America.

Political Parties and Press:

The predominant position of the Governor-General in Goa, and thus of Portuguese rule, was apparent not only in his powers which the constitution vested in him but also in the political condition which prevailed in the enclaves. There was only one single political party, the *Uniao Nacional* which was allowed to function in Goa and it reflected only Portugal's official policy. All other political parties were banned and, therefore, illegal. Freedom of speech, expression and press was cut down by the authorities who had to give prior approval for all public meetings. "Even sports meets, literary gatherings and social functions, such as dinner parties or tea parties, require official permission...Advertisements, handbills, calendars and even wedding invitations require the censor's approval."³² When Salazar was attacked by a few youth of democratic ideals, the Goa government asked all the newspaper in Goa to congratulate Salazar. Almost all the newspapers gave more than ample coverage except two newspapers, *O Ultramar* and *Pracash..* Government closed down both the newspapers.

Later, the Goa Congress Committee used the press for the political education of the Goans, and brought out a number of pamphlets in Konkani, Marathi, English and Portuguese. The government, however, was suspicious of many of the publications of the time. The Consul General at Bombay declared two articles of the *Portuguese India Annual* to be offensive, and likewise warned the editor of the Bombay paper *O Anglo-Lusitano* regarding its contents.³³ The Second World War started on 3rd September 1939. Goa faced shortage of rice and other necessary

commodities. The Goa Congress Committee brought out two booklets called '**The Rice Problem In Goa**' and '**Portuguese India After 4 Hundred Years Of Foreign Rule**'. These booklets embarrassed the Portuguese government. T. B. Cunha also brought out the book '**Denationalization of Goans**'. Charging that this book defamed the Portuguese government, it filed the case against T. B. Cunha in Panjim court. The court accepted the defense that such a crime was committed outside Goa and the case was dropped. Later, through the Consul in Bombay, the government filed the case against the publisher in the Bombay High Court, where while dismissing the case, Justice Chagla said that people suffering under an alien rule had a right to protest. This ruling was like a free permission for Goans to start a Goa Freedom Movement on Indian soil.

Newspaper Distributors not Spared:

The Portuguese government did not even spare the newspaper distributors. For example, S. G. Kantak^a, newspaper distributor, was asked to make sure that no anti Portuguese material was contained in any of the newspapers that he sold. On the same grounds Mr Raikar, a distributor from Margao, was arrested. On 25th March the Governor issued an order that every distributor, whether Goan or non-Goan living in Goa, should carry an identity card issued by the police department.³⁴ In June 1944, the GCC in Bombay published *The Attack on the Indian Rupee* and *Denationalization of the Goans*. The first denounced the lowering of the value of the British Indian currency by the Portuguese in Goa during the

war. The second attacked the Portuguese imperialist policy of 'lusitanization'. The publications had an impact on the Goans, and the government reacted with clamping a ban on them. Many publications in Bombay and Poona kept the freedom struggle alive. Among them were the *Jwala*, *Amchem Goi*, *Porjecho Avaj*, *Resurge Goa*, *Azad Goa*, *Free Goa*, and *Dipagraha*.³⁵

Portuguese laws then current in the colonies assured freedom of expression in the press to all. The reality, however, was different. The rules for editorship of a journal meant that one had to complete the *curso superior* and the sixth year of studies at the Lyceum. The original number of pages and its format could not be changed. A huge financial bond was necessary to start a paper, and vernacular publications needed the permission of the government, which could withhold or retract any matter at will. It checked the proofs, and dropped articles or passages from them.³⁶ A publication could be forced to cease without recourse to a judicial process. They were usually victims of rumors, of allegations of being harmful to public interests and to the national dignity. Many of the publications from outside Goa could not enter Goa, and the law itself was in favour of the government and its designs at press suppression. Within the space of two years, four newspapers ceased to exist, for their failure to mention the abortive attempt on the life of the president of Portugal. Another had erred, according to the Government, in protesting against the inequality of political rights, while yet another for having two owners.

The *Anglo-Lusitano*, a Bombay-based paper, had incurred the displeasure of the government for denouncing the connivance of the

authorities and the scandals in the distribution of rice, and the various abuses of power. The government thus claimed to have power to interfere in the judicial process of British India. It also allowed no criticism of public figures or discussion on essential services. As a result, the Press had turned subservient and did not refer to the international events and freedom struggles in India and the world.³⁷ Caetano Mariano Vaz (1870-1950), a revolutionary and participant of the Satari revolt of 1896, helped in the editing of *A Patria* published at Candolim, and had to seek the safety of British India for his anti-Portuguese views and actions.³⁸

Heraldo, a Portuguese daily published from Panjim was pro government and pro-catholic. However, in 1947 in its 24th January issue it published an article under the title '*A Patina Secular Do Inercia*' (The Century Old Inertia). It depicted how Goa was suffering from political, financial and social decline and condemned the government. This somehow escaped the scissors of pre-censorship. Still the Governor General Dr. Bossa banned the paper from publication. Three months later the minister of colonies lifted the ban.³⁹ However, in 1948 the paper criticized the Goan budget and therefore it was banned from publication. The editor succeeded in getting the ban lifted after a lot of effort

In mid 1947 there was a division between the members of the National Congress Goa in Mumbai. The president of National Congress Goa, Dr. Vinayak Narayan Mayekar published a pamphlet in the 26th July 1947 edition of **Free Press Journal** for which he was arrested in Kutthal town in Murmagaon taluka on 4th Dec. and was transferred to Panjim where his statement was taken. When questioned on the objectives of National

Congress Goa, he stated that they wanted to establish a government on democratic principles. He was sent to Aguada jail.⁴⁰

The Portuguese Govt. was rigid in implementing the press regulations and was vigilant to see that no printed material banned by it entered Goa. Suleiman Yusuf Khan, a border patrol, caught Shri Waman Shankar Harmalkar on 5th June 1948 with 227 copies of **Jwala** the mouthpiece of National Congress Goa, while on his way to Bicholim taluka. He was handed over to Doda Marg Police Outpost and transferred to Panjim police headquarters where on his statement the police raided the house of Madhukar Bandodkar in Dhargal. The police recovered nine copies of a booklet '*Gomantakiyana Anavrutta Patra*' (Open Letter To Goans) written by Lohia and seven copies of a pamphlet signed by poet B. B. Borkar. Bandodkar was arrested. Harmalkar was sentenced by a military court on 1/10/1948 with two months of solitary confinement and two months of simple imprisonment or two rupees fine per day for two months. In the same month ban was imposed on the following periodicals: *Projecho Ulhas*, *Sunday Standard*, *Vikas*, *Ravivarchi Saka*. The total number of periodicals banned in Goa rose to twenty seven. They included: *Navakal*, *Navashakti*, *Lokmanya*, *Lokshahi*, *Loksatta*, *Lokshakti*, *Kesari*, *Rashtramat*, *Gyanprakash*, *Prabhat*, *Navbharat*, *Vikas*, *Ravivarchi Sakal (Marathi)*, *Goa Times*, *Gomantak*, *Amcho Sounsar*, *Projecho Ulhas*, *Amcho Gomantak*, *Amche Goem (Konkani)* and *National Standard*, *Blitz*, *Bombay Chronicle*, *Free Press*, *Goan Life*, *Anglo Lusitano*, *Indian People*, *Sunday Standard*.⁴¹(English).

The ruthlessness of the Portuguese authorities in interpreting and implementing the press regulations was so much so that they did not spare even innocent youth. On 5/5/1948, a military court sentenced 24 years old Manohar Cuncoliencar from Quepem and was a typesetter in a printing press. He was charged for distributing and selling a Marathi booklet 'Lohiyanche Govekarana Patra' (Lohiya's Letter to Goans) which was a NCG publication. It used to cost four annas but people used to pay five rupees for it. He had been arrested on 22 June 1947. The military court sentenced him to six months in solitary confinement and one rupee per day for six months fine. In addition, his rights as a citizen were withdrawn for five years.⁴² In the beginning of February of 1950 three more newspapers were banned in Goa. The number of newspapers banned from entry into Goa increased to 38.

The Marathi weekly *Dipagraha*, published in Mumbai was banned. Janardan J. Shinkre, a freedom fighter for Goa, was the editor of this nationalist weekly. Along with *Dipagraha*, a Gujarati daily *Janma Bhoomi* was banned from entry in Goa. *Ressurge Goa* a periodical in Portuguese, English and Konkani, was also banned. The first edition of this paper was published on the day India became a republic, i.e. 26th January 1950. The editor of this newspaper was Telo Mascarenhas, a freedom fighter of Goa. The Portuguese Government was so scared of him that it banned the paper in Goa as soon as it was published in Mumbai. In 1950, *A Voz da India* was also banned. However Salazar continued to claim that the press in Goa was free. On 29th April 1950, Sadanand Vishwanath Kudcharkar was arrested in Margao. Police raided and searched his house in which they found propaganda literature of NCG and

similar other literature. He was kept at the Margao police station for twenty days and spent one month in Panjim police custody. From there he was sent to Aguada jail where he spent one year. Then he was brought before the military court. The court on 22nd December 1952 sentenced him to two months solitary confinement and fine of 20 escudos⁴³ per day for sixty days or additional sixty days of solitary confinement *in Jail*. In addition, his political rights were suspended for three years.⁴⁴

Marathi Patrakar Parishad (Marathi Journalists Association) condemned the Portuguese government for banning Indian newspapers in Goa and the suppressive policies of the government. This resolution was passed at the Belgaum session of the *Marathi Patrakar Parishad* held on 11th and 12th of February 1950. This resolution was tabled by a fierce journalist and freedom fighter Mr. Dattatray Venkatesh Pai. A Goan Marathi Literary Association, founded in Mumbai, requested the *Parishad* to pass a resolution condemning the Portuguese government. This association was established in the same year in Mumbai.

The Forum, an English weekly, published under the editorship of Admiral Joaquim Alva, Sheriff of Bombay was banned from entering into Goa because it was critical of the functioning of the government in Goa and exhorted Goans among other things to develop love for Indian values and culture. With this the total number of periodicals banned reached 39. The Nationalist Papers in Goa used to come under trouble because of pre-censorship. However despite all these difficulties nationalist views regularly surfaced in some newspapers. Directors of such newspapers were ready to face the consequences.

On 6th February 1950, India's Prime Minister Jawaharlal Nehru made a statement in the Lok Sabha about Portuguese Colonies. The Portuguese government asked *A Voz da India* a Portuguese newspaper, to condemn the Prime Minister's statement. This newspaper was of Nationalist orientation and was formed in 1946 when the Goan freedom movement had started. The editor of this newspaper Anthony Sequeira refused to oblige. For the purpose of condemning Nehru's statement, the government through its sources organized a meeting in Panjim. Government employees and school children were forced to attend the meeting. The publicity department asked this newspaper to publish the news of this meeting, but the editor did not publish the press release. Due to this, the government banned this newspaper from May 1, 1950. During the Salazar dictatorship, this was the fourth time a ban was imposed on the newspaper publication. Almost all newspapers published outside Goa were banned from being brought inside its borders. In May 1950 two more were added to this already large list, namely, '*Bharat Jyoti*' and '*Saptahik Loksatta*' in April 1950. *Kirloskar*, a monthly literary periodical, was banned from entering Goa in October 1950 for publishing information about Goa's Freedom Movement. The number of periodicals banned, reached forty-two.

Thus under the dictatorial regime, due to censorship, the activity of the Free Press in Goa was practically wound up from 1935 onwards. The *Voz da India* from Margao however sustained itself against many odds. During this period Goans from Bombay published the following periodicals: **Ressurge Goa** edited by Telo de Mascarenhas; **Free Goa** by

Berta Menezes Braganza; *Porjecho Avaz* by B.B. Borkar, Poona; *Goan Age* by Geraldo Pereira; *Dudhasagar* by B.D. Satoskar; *Dipagraha* by Shinkre; *Kranti* by Azad Gomantak Dal, Belgaum, etc. *Diario da Noite* an evening newspaper published from December 1919 to 1967, was started by Luis de Meneses and continued by his equally able son Antonio Meneses. *Amcho Gaum*, a weekly in Konkani was also published by Luis de Meneses in 1929. Incidentally, the Governor had at first refused permission for the publication of this weekly simply because it was in Konkani. However, Luis de Meneses because of his good relations with Governor-General Craveiro Lopes, convinced him to allow its publication, arguing that the language of the motherland was Konkani and Portuguese was read by a limited upper class crowd.

Mr. Antonio Meneses, whom this writer met several times for Portuguese lessons and discussions to get information⁴⁵ about the press and journalism before liberation, informed how he had managed to perform his job under difficult circumstances. He related many incidents. "During the Salazar dictatorship, when Major Higinio Craveiro Lopes was the Acting Governor of Goa in 1937, *Diario da Noite* published, on the front page, a message from the Indian nationalist and patriot Subhash Chandra Bose. It read: "In spite of all efforts to divide India and her people, we are one and shall remain one. Let *Diario da Noite* preach the message of Indian regeneration for the benefit of Portuguese India. Cordial greetings." This message escaped the otherwise vigilant eyes of the censor, Captain Jose Miranda, who would have perhaps not permitted its publication. Once the message was published, the Governor made no secret of his displeasure and ordered *Diario da Noite* to be closed. However, his aides and close advisers

advised him against such a measure as they expected it to backfire. It would probably have provoked the Indian nationalists to agitate against the Governor and to hold public demonstrations in favour of the paper. These nationalists appreciated my courage in publishing the message. Political circles in Bombay and New York commented favourably on "one Portuguese language daily in Goa".

Mr. Antonio Meneses enjoyed being a reporter. He narrated one incident "One of my most sensational reports was the one I sent to *Diario Popular* in Lisbon in 1958. When the Portuguese Governor General, Chief of the army staff in Goa and other top officials had gathered in front of the Afonso de Albuquerque statue (at what is now called Azad Maidan) to commemorate the day of the Portuguese reconquest of Goa on 25th November, a member of the Goa Freedom Fighters from Bombay suddenly raised the Indian flag which she had managed to smuggle there under her sari. Nobody could do anything, as they were to remain still at that solemn moment. Mrs. Deshpande left the scene before the end of the salute and escaped and could not be traced. It meant that a Portuguese Governor had saluted two flags at the same time. I was a witness to the incident. I rushed by car to Bambolim to telephone the Lisbon daily of which I was a special correspondent. The news item became a sensation in Portugal. Lisbon-based correspondents of agencies like Reuter, France Presse and Associated Press picked up my message and thus newspapers in the world capitals like London, New York and Paris published the piece with my by-line.

However, that was not all. The Government of Goa ordered a Post & Telegraph departmental inquiry to check whether the news had gone

through an overseas telegram or through Bombay. The Director remembered me. I was called. I confessed and took full responsibility for it. Henceforth there was censorship applied to that department as well – a unique kind of censorship of the viva voce.” Mr. Meneses also talked about the financial difficulties due to a lack of advertisements, which forced him to close down the paper in 1968. Mr. Dayanand Bandodkar, the first chief minister of liberated Goa renamed the road where the press and office of the *Diario da Noite* was located as Luis de Meneses Road, according to Mr. Antonio Meneses.

In an article in *A Voz da India* titled Wrong Path⁴⁶, the writer groans over the blue pencil, referring to censorship, and says that it constrains the thought by cutting passages from articles. “This blue pencil”, he says “has functioned pitilessly against *A Voz da India* in recent times. Even the publication of a *Portaria*, which is an official document, has been forbidden. Why? It is to the benefit of one who is the target though from this fact, no prestige can be derived to the public administration. Blue pencil was not created for this purpose; its function is regulated by law and expressed in following terms: Censorship only aims at impeding the perversion of public opinion in its function as a social power and it shall be wielded to defend it against all factors disorienting it as contrary to truth, justice, good administration and common weal and avoiding the fundamental principles of social organization may be attacked. This legal precept does not authorize doing what is being done- Regarding *Portaria* and expression of our thought in the words, which unjust as they are hurt our patriotism. If the *Portaria* was followed by comments, these may well be suppressed, but to hush up an official document exceeds all bounds and

it is fully clear to realize. Yet it is asserted that there is full freedom of thought. If the blue pencil is functioning in this manner, it would have been much more convenient and much more elegant to say, "the Press in Portuguese India shall be restricted to the Information Section of the Department of Statistics; any other periodical publications are done without."

The writer further argued that even if the law of censorship is strict it must be applied uniformly which the authorities in Goa were not doing. He wrote "We cannot, however, agree to two norms: the blue pencil operates in one manner towards our paper and in another towards the others." He argued that he had the right to draw attention of the Government and the reader to the facts that matter to the public administration. The write-up concluded "Well, let it be known that if we have referred in this paper to those who have provoked us, it was not to our enjoyment, but ever led only by a sincere desire to assist the vessel of the state so that it may not incline to run aground certainly. But for this we would have been indifferent toward the barking."

Antonio Meneses provides further insights into the mechanics of the working of the censorship in Goa.⁴⁷ Press censorship by the Portuguese primarily involved the use of two colors- red and blue. The president of the Commission of Censors used a pencil of these colors with blue on one side and red at the other end. If the news item was censored, the red side was used to strike off the offending part, which meant its publication was not permitted. If the censors used the blue color, then the page was sent to the office of the Governor for approval. This was done through his Private

Secretary. Normally the Governor's office cleared 95 per cent of these blue-lined stories for publication. The first page of the newspaper was sent to the Commission of Censors at 2:30 p.m. at their office situated on the ground floor of the Secretariat, while the last page, which was sent at 3:30 p.m. for approval, was available for printing by 4:30 p.m. There was some delay in the entire censorship process, but notwithstanding these regulations the *Diario da Noite* normally could hit the stands at about 5:30 p.m.

When press censorship was first introduced, newspapers often tended to leave blank spaces on the pages wherever the news item was deleted. This was also followed by the Konkani weekly *Amcho Gaum* founded by Luis de Meneses- the first journal in vernacular (1930).

The fact of press censorship in Goa was referred to by Konkani journals based in Bombay such as *Goa Mail*, *Ave Maria* etc. after reading comments in *Amcho Gaum* (which had the largest circulation amongst Goans in Bombay). One such comment by a Bombay Konkani publication ran thus: "*Portuguese Governan mass khalem ani dovorlim addam*". (The Portuguese Government ate the flesh and left the bones.) After these comments appeared in the Bombay press the Commissioner of Censors ordered all the newspapers not to leave blank spaces on its pages. This measure surely was an attempt to make it difficult for readers to identify the censored parts. Following the new directive, the *Diario da Noite* decided to fill up the blank spaces with advertisements. This was in spite of the fact that the press did not usually publish advertisements on the front page. This measure did not succeed in hiding the censored parts, since readers noted that the advertisements were haphazardly positioned on the pages, evidently to cover the censored areas. At this, the Commissioner of

Censors ordered that the blank spaces be filled up with news items. With the new look, the newspapers now had some semblance of normalcy, but when the reader read the censored news item, article or even the editorial and found it disjointed without a smooth sequence, guessed that the story was censored. In spite of all this, the censors were not very strict. Even criticisms against the Government departments in the newspaper were allowed to be printed. Thus, it could be said that the censors were a mixture of strictness and tolerance.

Heraldo published a report⁴⁸, which exposed Salazar's views on censorship. Dr. Salazar had denied that the censorship was a negation of the freedom of expression. Defending censorship, he had said "So far I have only seen long discussions about the intellectual dignity of the journalist, which is supposed to be offended by the interference of an outside body. But the matter is more complex than it seems at first sight. Either the press or its younger sisters, the radio and television, have absolutely no influence on public opinion, and there is no point in wasting time over these discussions, or they do have an influence. In this case, governments like ours which constitutionally attribute the function of a social force to public opinion, must prevent it from being perverted and must also defend national interests. The rights of journalists or writers cannot be regarded as absolute and must be placed within the framework of those two essential needs. The problem is extraordinarily difficult and nowhere has an adequate solution been found for it, because, over and above the subjective aspect – my truth, your truth- there are very vast and disturbing economic and political factors involved in the formulation and sale of information and of doctrine, which are distributed to the homes and

which countries have at times to guard against, if they wish to save their souls and survive.”

Dr. Salazar admitted that ‘censorship may be somewhat irksome to journalists and that there may be flaws in its operation but he pointed out that it has resulted in greater freedom of action. There has been no case of arrest, less even of assault or damage to printing works as in former days; and it can be said that there has been no suspension of publications or cases to be tried by courts. At the same time, there are newspapers of various shades of opinion, Monarchical, Republican, Catholic, Protestant, political, favorable or tenaciously hostile, all of which exist independently of the government. “The press ought to know that the administration has innumerable possibilities of ‘innocently’ denying in practice, reducing or distorting the freedom granted by law”. Dr. Salazar emphasized that the government has to watch over national interest. This duty cannot be transferred to another and, in cases of doubt, the opinion of the government must prevail. He said that, if it is possible to arrive at a legal formula to suppress or extenuate the censorship, the government would not oppose it out of mere whim or stubbornness. He also said that he was himself a great reader of newspapers. Often the information they gave helped him to know the aspirations of the people or to check on things at the services concerned. But newspapers also ought to know their own limitations, arising from many causes, even independently of their goodwill and sacrifices.

The information and broadcasting services in Goa before liberation were largely propagandist in content, and no real attempt was made to provide the people with instructive and informative appraisal of

developments in the neighboring regions or in the foreign countries. The broadcasting services were overburdened with Portuguese programmes, which generally aimed at entertainment rather than wholesome instruction. There were no press and information services of the type known in democratic countries, as the Portuguese rulers believed in imposing rigorous prepublication censorship on the papers, which were also required to give security deposits of amounts equivalent to Rs. 2000 to Rs.5000, depending on their periodicity or on political considerations. Some of the papers before liberation were indirectly subsidized and induced through monetary or other incentives to publish material calculated to bring Indian and nationalist public leaders and the policies adopted by them into disrepute or disfavour with the people.⁴⁹

At the time of liberation, ten papers were being published in Goa- seven in Portuguese, two in Konkani and one in Marathi. Because of strict censorship and non-availability of objective news services, these papers resembled in some respects the news bulletins of the late nineteenth century.⁵⁰

Regulation and censorship of the periodical Press in Goa was undertaken almost from its inception. However, it would be here apt to quote Nehru, the first Prime Minister of independent India, to underline the futility of the Portuguese attempts at the suppression of public opinion, "By imposing restrictions you do not change anything; you merely suppress the public manifestation of certain things thereby causing the idea and thought underlying them to spread further. Therefore, I would rather have a completely free press with all the dangers involved in the wrong use of that

freedom than a suppressed or regulated press."⁵¹ It is apparent that a free press was incompatible with an alien rule.

Laws relating to Periodical Press: (1926-1961)⁵²

Enactment regulating the Freedom of the Press in the Colonies⁵³ made on 27th June 1927 justifies the provisions of the earlier enactment. It says, "Regulating the exercise of the freedom of the Press being a recognized need for the Colonies, where the coexistence of a large number of enactments promulgated under diverse political orientations has been the cause of confusion given the difficulty in reconciling their provisions and the resultant divergence of interpretation". The enactment states that the Press must be seen as one of the most important factors of order and progress and therefore it is imperative that the freedom for the functioning of the Press have an effective corresponding responsibility. It further says that it is absolutely necessary to prevent the rise in the Colonies of a Press that instead of living up to its high mission, might rather prove to be a real hindrance in social danger. It states that due to earlier enactment there has been considerable improvement in the overall functioning of the press, still there was a need for improvement in some provisions of the same law so as to: 'prevent the simulation of the periodical Press as non-periodical; better ensure the bonafides of the directors; prevent the possibility of editors or directors shirking their responsibilities; avoid that the prestige enjoyed by the colonial authorities be diminished by publications aimed at lowering it'.

The Article 1 of the first chapter of this enactment gives definitions. It defines the press as any form of printed publication, both periodical and non-periodical. The periodical Press or periodicals are publications being issued at certain periods of time or in a series of copies or fascicles. Then other Articles give the details regarding qualifications of editor etc as well as the procedure for registration. It is provided that the non-periodical Press shall have an editor who must be a Portuguese citizen enjoying civil and political rights, free from blame, having passed at least the fifth year of the lyceum and domiciled in the judicial division from where the publication is being issued. No non-periodical publication shall be put on sale or be circulated by any means without mentioning of the name of the owner of the establishment where it is printed, the name of the editor and his educational qualifications, on penalty of one to six months fine, to be increased in case of recurrence and imposed on the owner of the establishment where the printing was done. The similar qualifications are also prescribed for being the director of periodical Press. It lays down that 'no periodical can be published without inserting in all its issues, at the top of the page, the name and qualifications of the director, the name of the owner, the address of the office and that of the establishment where it is being printed, under penalty of corrective imprisonment of three to sixty days and a corresponding fine imposed on the owner of the establishment.' It prescribes also the suspension of the periodical until these penalties are paid, and the director of the periodical had to pay a fine of \$ 1000 for every fault. Nobody could simultaneously act as a director of more than one periodical. No civil or military public employee in active service in the colony could become director or editor of any periodical. One copy of

every periodical publication had to be handed over to the specified authorities.

The enactment declares, *inter alia*, that the introduction or circulation in a colony of periodicals published outside, in any language whatsoever, could be disallowed by the Governor on the advice of the Special division of the Government Council. The publication in any colony of periodicals written wholly or partly in a native or foreign language was allowed with prior permission from the Governor, on the advice of the special division. The Governor could withdraw this permission at any time on the advice of the said division. The infringement of the ban and publishing without permission was made punishable with corrective imprisonment and fine. It also provides for penalty to be imposed on any one for wrongfully obstructing the circulation of a legally sanctioned publication. The law prohibits 'affixing or displaying on walls or putting on sale at any public place or by any other means publicly spread posters, advertisements, notices and, in general, any printed matter, manuscripts, drawings and publications offending Republican institutions or injury, defamation or threat to the President of the Republic or Governor of a colony, or advising, instigating or provoking Portuguese citizens to fail in the exercise of their military duties or to commit acts threatening the integrity and independence of the Motherland or containing rumour of information capable of alarming the public feeling or causing damage to the State or containing statement that may offend the dignity of national decorum and also any publications either pornographic or written in an indecent or provocative language against the security of the State, of the order and public peace.'

The law lays down that the periodical must carry, within two days of the date of receipt, the rejoinder from any individual or institution offended by the publication by direct offence or reference to untrue or erroneous facts that might affect his reputation and good name; or the denial or official correction of any news-item published or reproduced by it. Then the law lays down further details about charges, reply, limitations, mode of petition, rejoinder and the period within which the judge must give his verdict. The judge was to decide within 24 hours condemning the accused with the imposition of a fine of \$1000. No appeal against the decision of the judge was allowed. If the rejoinder was carried with some change that might twist the meaning, or in some other place, or in a different font, the periodical had to carry it again the following day, duly corrected and in the proper place, and if again there was the same change or any other one twisting its meaning, the editor of the periodical was imposed a fine of \$2000 and the periodical suspended for two months. If after being notified the periodical failed to carry the reply or correction within the stipulated date, it was to be suspended for three months and the director was to be fined for disobedience. In case of any periodical making references, allusions or equivocal sentences that might mean defamation or insult to somebody, the affected person could, in terms of the Civil Procedure Code, notify the author of the writing, if he was known, and, if not, the editor or the director, that he may declare, within five days, whether or not these references, etc. refer to the applicant by clarifying them through the Press. It laid down the further procedure including a fine of \$1000 in case of default and suspension of the periodical for two months.

As per the enactment the crimes considered to be abuses of the freedom of the Press are provided in relevant Articles of the Penal Code, and in the decree of 28th December 1910, in the laws of 19th and 12th July 1912 and in the decree no. 2270 of 12th March 1916, when committed by the Press. Abuses committed through writings edited and published in terms that may be designed to tarnish, mock at, ridicule or debase any public employee are punishable with corrective imprisonment up to three months and a fine of up to \$2000.. It clarifies that there was no ban on the means of discussion and criticism of legislative enactments, political and religious doctrines, acts of the Government or corporations and of all those exercising public functions, with the objective of clarifying and preparing public opinion for reforms required by the legal proceeding and working toward the execution of the law, norms of public administration and the respect for the right of the citizens.

The law also has a provision that the accused must prove the truth of the allegations whoever may be the person defamed and whether or not this offence has a relation to his functions. If the insult, however, is directed against private persons, the accused is only obliged to prove the basis for the insult when the offended applies for it. Neither proof for defamation nor for insult is permitted when directed against the President of the Republic, the sovereigns and heads of foreign states, the governor of the colony, governors of neighboring foreign Colonies and any diplomat of a foreign state. In case of defamation, if the accused proves, the truth of the allegations, there is no penalty on him. If the accused declines to prove the allegations he is to be punished as a slanderer, with corrective

imprisonment up to two years but never less than three months, and a corresponding fine, besides fine for losses and damages which the judge shall fix at \$4000 without need for proof, or any amount that the court may determine, never less than \$4000. A fine of not less than \$2000 is to be imposed on the periodical, for which the proprietor or the enterprise and the owner of the establishment where the printing was done shall be answerable. "The periodical condemned thrice for crime of defamation shall be closed down and the director of the periodical condemned thrice for the same crime shall be disqualified for five years for directing any periodical. In the last sentence of condemnation the judge shall declare the periodical as closed down or its director disqualified."

The editor and director of the publications and the author of the writing are civilly and criminally responsible as authors of the abuses of the freedom of the Press. If the author of the writing or drawing be known, the editor or the director of the periodical can be saved from criminal responsibility by declaring in the documents and through the Press that they did not have knowledge of the writing or the drawing before its publication and would not have published it if they had had knowledge of it, and that they had employed all reasonable care to prevent its publication. The compositors, printers, ordinary distributors and vendors shall not incur any responsibility for the acts they practiced in the exercise of their profession save in cases of Article 11, if they knew the contents of the publication: Toward the payment of the fine and the damages in which the agents of the crime of abuse of freedom of the Press, the responsibility will fall, besides the agents, on the proprietors of the accused publications and the establishment where the printing was done. These amounts shall have

special privilege on the movable assets of the publication and on the material of the establishment where it was printed and legal mortgage of the immovable in which the printing has been done if it belongs to any one of those responsible.

The judicial procedure as regards the crimes of the abuse of freedom of the Press, other than when the Penal Code makes the charges dependent on the application of the party, and for the contraventions to the provisions of this enactment, shall always be promoted by the Ministerio Publico without depending on instructions from the higher authorities. The procedure demanded in the Article shall be, as regards crimes of abuse of the freedom of the Press committed by periodicals, undertaken within ten days of the publication. Failure to comply with the provision in the Article and its para 1 shall be punishable with any disciplinary action and even dismissal, in keeping with the gravity of the case. The duty imposed on the Ministerio Publico by the present Article does not take away from the accused the right to, on his own, take due action as long as there is no loss of rights in terms of Article 30. As regards chiefs of foreign states or their representatives in Portugal the judicial proceeding will only take place on their application.

The proceeding against the contravention of the provisions of this law shall neither prevent nor hamper the proceeding against any crime for abuse of freedom of the Press as and when required. The judicial proceeding is forfeited for offences after a lapse of one year and as regards infringement, by the lapse of six months; the penalties are forfeited after a lapse of three years and for infringements by the lapse of one year,

calculated in both the cases from when the sentences have become executors sentences.

The enactment provides that judging crimes relating to the abuse of freedom of the Press is the competency of the criminal court of the judicial division in whose area the printing was done, and as regards the periodical Press, that of its office headquarters. The transgressions shall be judged in the criminal court of the judicial division either where the publication was printed or where the periodical has its office or where the clandestine printout was sold, affixed or distributed. Then it elaborates the details of the proceedings for abuses of the freedom of the Press, including the petition, written statements, affidavits, cross examination, the sentence, appeal against the judge's decision and other details related with the abuses of the freedom of the press.

Ministry of the colonies by Decree NO.14544 decreed the law under which the proprietors of the private enterprises intending to edit or publish scientific, literary or artistic works and not having the qualifications required under Article 3 of the decree no. 13841 of 27th June 1927, may be authorized by the governor of the colony, after the special division of the Government Council is heard, to be editors of non-periodical publications. Legislation to the contrary is revoked.

In the "*Legislação ano 1933*" i.e. "Legislation of the year 1933", Page no.241 there is an Order no. 1893 which states that the Governor General of the State of India, upon the approval by the Standing Committee of the Governing Council determines the following⁵⁴: "Freedom of

expression of thought by means of any graphic publication, in terms of Press Law and the Decree no. 22.468 dated 11th last April. Prior censorship shall be applicable to the periodical publications as defined in the Press Law, as well as to the pamphlets, booklets, posters and other publications in all cases topics of social or political character. The sole aim of censorship shall be to prevent the perversion of public opinion and its social function, and it shall be exercised so as to defend it against all factors which may misguide them, contrary to truth, justice and morals, efficient administration and common weal and to avoid the attacks against the fundamental principles of social organization. The censorship shall be performed by committees appointed by the Government. The censorship committees shall be subordinate to the Home Ministry's office, through the Lisbon Censorship Committee, which shall function as the Central Body limiting itself to eliminate texts, or passages, which it may deem as inconvenient. Clearance by Censorship Committee, to the publication of any piece of writing does not absolve their authors of civil and criminal responsibility on account of the written piece, in times of press law. Appeal against the decisions given by the Censorship Committee may lie before the Civil Governor of the respective district, barring Lisbon and Porto, where the appeals will be decided by a committee consisting of Civil Governor, by the chairman of the concerned Committee for Censorship and by a third party appointed by the Government. A press representative shall be attached to each Censorship Committee." Then there is detail about the appeal and compensation etc. In the same "*Legislação Ano 1933*" on page no. 401 there is a Decree no. 22.756, which repeats what is stated above with some modifications.

Thus it can be seen that the Portuguese Government had a tight control over the press in Portugal as well as in the Colonies through various legislations including censorship. It had elaborate mechanism of the judiciary and the policing to deal with the cases of transgressions related with freedom of the press. It did not permit the publication of any matter of critical comments against its authorities or officials contravening the provisions of the said enactments which were invariably rigid and harsh with the press in Goa.

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⁴⁹ Goa, Daman & Diu : A Review of Activities of the Government in 1962-63, **Government of Goa, Daman & Diu**, Panjim, 1963, p. 95

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⁵² Editor and Director correspond to the present-day Publisher (that is, the legally responsible entity) and Editor, respectively, of present-day English-language newspapers. *Delegado* has been translated into "delegate" for convenience only, even though, being an office with no counterpart in Indian jurisprudence, the original word can be used just as well. *Recurso*, Appeal, which is of different types in Portuguese jurisprudence, has barely one equivalent in the Indian jurisprudence. *Relacao* is High Court, which is the Court of Appeal. *Ministerio Publico* refers to the office of the Attorney General.

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CHAPTER 4

PRESS AND THE LIBERATION OF GOA

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The people of Goa had risen against the Portuguese political domination and their policies on a number of occasions. These uprisings were however limited to particular disgruntled groups protesting against policies or actions taken which were perceived not to be in their interest. They were not broad based movements to free the people of Goa from the colonial domination of the Portuguese. It was only after India gained her independence that Nationalists based in Goa and Bombay began to make a concerted effort to persuade the Indian Government to take necessary action and as quickly as possible to integrate Goa with the rest of the Indian Union. The press played its role in such a movement either by supporting or by criticizing it.

A strict censorship was imposed on the press during the course of the II World War and newspapers published in Goa carried the message "*visado pela censura*" i.e. seen by the censors. The Press was now sharply divided into two groups, one which supported and actively propagated the end of Portuguese colonialism in Goa and its integration with the Indian Union and the other which became very shrill in its support of the continuation of the Portuguese regime. The papers based in Goa could not be very bold in their support of ending the Portuguese regime and integration of Goa with the rest of the Indian Union due to the harsh

editorship in effect. It fell upon the Bombay based Goa Press to take up the cause of Goa's liberation from the Portuguese Political domination. Papers like **Ressurge Goa**, **Goan Tribune** and many others espoused the nationalist cause. Other Goan papers in Bombay were the *Anglo Lusitano*, *the Ave Maria* and *Maim Desh*.

A fresh Goan freedom movement was launched in 1930. Mahatma Gandhi's silent and non-violent revolution in India inspired Goan nationalist leaders. The Goan nationalists thought that in the existing circumstances it would be better to fight for freedom from outside the territory. In 1930 Dr. Tristao Braganza Cunha, the Goan nationalist, established the Goa Congress Committee and got it affiliated to the Indian National Congress, which too was fighting for India's freedom from the British Empire. Henceforth, the Goan freedom movement took the shape of non-violent civil disobedience. On June 18, 1946, for the first time Indian patriots and the Goan nationalists joined hands when Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia appeared on the scene. He launched a non-violent struggle, which stirred Goan public as well as the authorities. There was a new sense of action among nationalists in Goa. The Portuguese police were prompt in suppressing the movement. Hundreds were arrested, many were beaten up and tortured. Many Goans were tried by military Tribunal and given harsh sentences. The Goan leaders like T. B. Cunha, Kakodkar, and Bhembre were deported to far-off Portuguese prisons.

The 1946 movement in Goa continued till India attained independence. Goans watched anxiously to see what efforts the new Government of India would make for a solution of the Goa problem. The Government of India tried to persuade Portugal to withdraw peacefully but all its proposals were rejected by the Portuguese government. The freedom movement gained momentum. A number of political parties, with a coordinating party under the chairmanship of T. B. Cunha, were formed and a peaceful satyagraha movement was launched. In 1954, a number of satyagrahis from India reached Goa to defy the Portuguese authorities; and on June 18, 1954, the nationalists demonstrated and hoisted Indian flag in Goa. A large number of demonstrators and suspected nationalist sympathizers were arrested. The liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli on July 21, 1954, further strengthened the movement. On August 15, 1954 a mass satyagraha movement was launched when hundreds of young people from all over India decided to enter the territory of Goa which the Government of India did not favour and made it clear that satyagraha should be undertaken only by the Goans. They asked the Goans to refrain from acts of violence. But this appeal could not check the satyagrahis, and on August 15, 1954 a number of them defying the Government of India's ban, entered into Goan territory in batches at a number of points. The Portuguese army killed many such entrants.

Relations between India and Portugal, thereafter, became even more strained. Diplomatic relations were severed on August 19, 1955 and the Posts and Telegraphs Department announced that the money order

service between India and Portugal was suspended till further orders. This made nationalists in Goa more violent in their action and Indian nationalists urged the Government of India to take retaliatory action against Portugal. The Government of India tried to pacify the people and made diplomatic efforts for peaceful withdrawal of the Portuguese from the Indian soil. The Portuguese government did not show any inclination to withdraw. Between 1955 and the Liberation on 19th December 1961 hectic efforts were made by Portugal to preserve their colonial prestige in the East. The Salazar regime continued its atrocities against the nationalists and killed hundreds of them. The Indian Prime Minister, Nehru made a pointed statement in Parliament that a time might come when India would have to send army into Goa. Great Britain and the United States and other countries tried to persuade Portugal to retreat peacefully from Indian soil, but this had little effect on Salazar's attitude. This convinced the Government of India that the problem of Goa could not be resolved by talking reason to a fascist dictator. The Government of India had to take cognizance of the situation and to send army to liberate Goa.

The Newspapers in Goa reflected the evolving political developments within the limits of strict censorship laws applicable to the Press. In Goa, *Heraldo* became almost rabid in its criticism of the Indian Government and its officials. It would frequently quote articles from 'The Times of India', 'Current' and other papers either relating to Goa or some domestic issues of India like communal riots or shortage of food supplies and then sarcastically criticize it. The cultivation of good relations between

Portuguese Goa and Pakistan were lauded and any interactions between the two were written about in the *Heraldo*. The policy and actions of the Indian Government toward Kashmir were criticized. The outbreak of the II World War led to the imposition of press censorship in Goa. *Vauraddeancho Ixtt* (Friend of Workers) reported that “on account of commotion caused by war the Government has proclaimed that all papers shall be subject to press censorship in Panjim and to that purpose one committee has been appointed”.

Civil Liberties Movement

The conscious effort towards the liberation of Goa with the help of neighboring India began in 1946. The movement was inaugurated on 18th June 1946 in Margao with the address of the Indian Socialist leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. His speech created a ripple among Goan leaders and aroused public as well as the local authorities. His speech, which encouraged Goans to fight for freedom, was followed by a series of demonstrations. This was a momentous event in the history of liberation movement in Goa.

A Vida, commenting on Lohia's address at Margao, wrote¹, “The day before yesterday around 1600 hours a mob gathered at the old bus stand of this city to listen to the Socialist leader of the Congress Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia – who is on a visit to Goa. As the organizers were inquired

about the purpose of meeting, the authorities sought to disperse the multitude, for it was ascertained that the speaker had the lawful permission. When Mr. Lohia accompanied by Dr. Juliao de Menezes, was getting down he was advised by the local administrator that he was not allowed to make a speech in public, and as he was insisting, he was detained, along with his companion, and taken to the police station for due declarations and next he was sent to Panjim. The mob expressed its protest giving "hurrahs" to Mr. Lohia and shouting other slogans. The shops were closed since the afternoon the day before yesterday. Yesterday at the same time, the multitude gathered at the same place manifesting its protest in the same manner, the police did not wish to use violent means immediately to disperse them. One and half hours after they were informed that Mr. Lohia and his companion were already set free the multitude dispersed in an orderly manner and the police withdrew to the stations."

Heraldo in 1946 published articles almost every day on the Indian freedom movement either in the form of news on the activities of the Congress or other parties and their leaders or in the form of articles on Swadeshi, Swaraj, partition etc. It is seen that at this stage it adopted a noncommittal stand on the liberation movement and often wrote about other issues like R. N Tagore, Churchill's views on India, his fear of a civil war in India, international events including UNO mandate system, spectre of famine, postwar economic problems etc. On 4th August 1946, *Heraldo* explained the meaning of swaraj and the meaning of the use of Gandhi cap and other philosophies and concepts associated with India's freedom

struggle under Congress. It started taking anti-Indian stand only after India's independence in 1947.

While initiating the Civil Disobedience movement in Goa, Lohia, in an open letter to the Goans made it clear that the aim of the movement was to win civil liberties, but that the methods followed were those of mass awakening, an action short of violent rebellion. The extraordinary step of Dr. Lohia led the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Wardha to pass a resolution condemning the high-handedness of the Portuguese Government and to back fully the Goans in their struggle for the restoration of civil liberties. It reminded the Portuguese Government that Goa had been, and must inevitably continue to be, part of India and the Goans must share the freedom with other Indians. But the Portuguese rulers without realizing the signs of the time, called the Civil Disobedience movement as '*movimento da rua*' (roadside agitation).

The Civil Disobedience movement instilled a sense of boldness among the Goans and boosted their morale. It encouraged many Goan patriots and fence sitters to participate in the movement. It pushed all the political groups and nationalists to come under the banner of the National Congress (Goa), which was formed on 17-18th August 1946 at the historic meeting at Londa. The National Congress (Goa) was the main political party under which the political workers of all shades and opinions rallied and at times fell apart from it resulting in the proliferation of several small parties and groups which too contributed to the cause with a great measure.

All these events were reported and commented upon positively or negatively in the papers like *Diario de Noite*, *O Herald* etc. For example, *Diario de Noite*² wrote about and commented negatively on the visit by Dr Ram Manohar Lohia and the Civil Disobedience Movement in an article published in three parts. It wrote, "On last 18th June, a month or so ago this cry rent the air Jai-Hind. What does this cry mean, which has risen up in processions on public roads, let out from young lips, which were brought to the same streets by hands, which are now hiding?"

The issue of *O Herald* dated 28th June, brought out a write-up about the goal of this movement "What is desired are public liberties which the people deserve in a democracy (without prior deposits, censorship etc) freedom of expression by spoken or written word, freedom of meeting dispensing with prior permission, freedom of associating without the requirement of approval by the Government and finally a Government representative, with a Governing Council, Administrative bodies elected by the people. The demands are minimum and proper and quite so." Regarding the raison d'etre of the movement it wrote: "One more thing is desired: that India and the Indians may not be dishonored in their own land, that in official speeches and ceremonies, our legitimate honor as Indians may not be injured, our history, our customs, our traditions; that the Indians of any part of India may have the right to love their land (India), be proud of their history and of their common traditions respecting and revering their great men, alive or dead ones, from any part of India. This does not amount to making an attack on the Portuguese

sovereignty nor the functioning of government. Let honor be bestowed on him, Dr. Lohia is a great politician and in those parts away is fighting for independence of India. But here in Goa when the population told him that it has no civic liberties he wished that the people demanded them. It devolves on the Government to hear him or fail to hear him."

As this movement unfolded itself, its intentions and aims became quite open. Its *raison d'etre* became very clear and its purpose could not have been better expressed than what is expressed in the **O Herald** which initially adopted a positive view of the movement. It wrote that the demand made was civic liberties, or public freedom. What was desired was the natural evolution of the people for nobody could be entitled to oppose it and it was the duty of one and all to make it easy.

On the other hand, *Diario de Noite*³ was against the movement and taking a negative view it wrote, "For a better perception of how the "movement" started on 18th June last, how it is deviating from its origins and changing its form, and colour within a brief period of two months, we have to put it in its true highlight as in the moment it unfolded itself it was defined. To that purpose we have to take recourse to unsuspected sources." **Diario de Noite** then published the translation of what the **O Herald** wrote on 28th June 1946 and criticized it. It wrote: "In order that the reader locates the aspects as were defined we are transcribing here from the said issue of "O Herald" the following passages: "The thought which is prompting these movements is the Indian thought and not the Portuguese

thinking. The soul of these people remains purely Indian. The tactics of Albuquerque and Xavier failed. One of them by dint of mixing of races; the other wished to change the Indian soul into Portuguese soul by conversion. But both failed. The efforts made by Albuquerque came to an end with a few Luso-Indian families and even these seem to sympathize with the movement, as was said by Mr. Carlos Pires. I believe that one of the members of this family was from Ponda. Xavier by ascetic life as an example and other missionaries using violence converted a large part of population of this land and transmitted unto them western habits. But if they sought to change the soul of the people they also failed. The Christian possesses an Indian soul under a light foreign mantle. It is, as some one who adheres unreservedly to this movement of the people of Goa, as the Mohammedans too. But here is the definition of the ideology, which encouraged the 18 June movement.”

In the said article in **Diario da Noite**, the writer further wrote that the Goan people do not abjure the road to Swaraj, do not disown their great men living or dead of India and in the philosophical and ideological spheres, they do not allow barriers within India. But, the article lamented, the movement, instead of having ideology, is governed by other interests and the worst of it is that no one knows who "governs it". According to the writer it turned into a movement which was born without a head or legs. and it metamorphosed from being started by "thinking persons" to becoming a movement of "popular masses" and from a movement "of gaining civic rights" to an agitation also for "civil supplies". It wrote⁴ that

the goal of the "nationalist movement in Goa" within a few days underwent a metamorphosis. "How or where did this change come up from? Cowardice came in at once - the worst of them, which is moral cowardice - in order to cover the movement by the mantle of irresponsibility. When from the other side an instruction was given that without sacrifice, rights are not re-vindicated, advising therefore that the way was to fight till death, the "thinking persons" felt that they should shrink because to make sacrifices there is a guinea pig, the people...The movement which was brought to the streets with the purpose "of gaining civic rights" or "public freedom", as it was proclaimed over there at the top of the voice, turned to be also of civil supplies. It means that political question underwent a metamorphosis, it became an economic problem. The transfer of responsibilities, which no one wishes to take up, - no one absolutely - did not find another justification. Whether it be economic issues or political problem and aspiring for civic rights or supplies and even admitting that the movement has started from the masses of the people - it is ever necessary that someone is there speaking or representing the people. Where are they?"

Diario de Noite adopted verbal jugglery and used harsh language to distort the ideology and objective of the movement and thus debunked its pro-government stance. It wrote: "In truth the mutation of the political movement into supplies issue is fraudulent and malicious, because as it could not succeed by other means the "thinking elements" intended to excite the flames, by deceiving the good faith of the same

people. And then instead of Congress flag they raised the supplier's flag, insinuating that in the case of merger of Goa into greater India, we would have abundant supplies, and we would not bear any shortage. They told lies, deceived, falsified the truth for no one is unaware that there is acute crisis of supplies in the neighboring India, where in some places during the war and even now deaths occur for lack of food. Thanks to God, with all our insufficiency in the production and notwithstanding all difficulties caused by the crisis, which is worldwide, here and till now we are not in a tight corner.

The justification which is alleged for the change in the movement represents therefore the correction which is worse than the sonnet, and certainly it comes to uncover the intentions of those who desired and desire to their own ends, to disorient the people in a movement of its natural sadness, which is even more condemnable."

A report which appeared in *A Voz da India* makes it clear that Nehru as a central figure in Indian politics was appraised of and was being asked about his policy towards Goa even before India's independence.⁵ It wrote, "Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech regarding diplomatic posts, referring to foreign possessions in India, and Goa among them, said that he is not resolved to take any governmental action because, though it is a small state, the action would raise international disputes which he does not intend to provoke for the time being, as he has more important problems to solve. "

Bharat, commenting on the visit of Lohia, wrote⁶, "Juliao quite aware that in Goa no one would take him seriously dragged up to these parts Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, drumming into his ears falsehood, such as he has been singing in the *Gomantak*. The reader knows what happened later. Juliao vainly tried to hoist himself as a hero but no one took him seriously. A ridiculous imposter, he was driven off the police station, as he had no status!" *Bharat* stooped so low as to condemn Juliao Menezes on the grounds of his belonging to a low caste.

Like other Indian leaders, Mahatma Gandhi also took interest in the "case of Goa" and published a letter to Dr. Bossa, the Governor-General of Goa, in *Harijan*, which was reproduced by *Heraldo* with its critical comments⁷. Gandhi reveals through this letter that he was well informed about the political developments in Goa. He wrote: "It was kind on your part to send me your reply to what I wrote in *Harijan*, about the Goan issues. I believe that you are aware that I have visited Mozambique, Delagoa, and Inhambane. I have not seen there any government of philanthropy. I was truly surprised to note the discrimination done by the government between the Indians and the Portuguese and among the natives of Africa themselves. Neither the history of the Portuguese establishment in India proves the point of view, which is defined by your Honor. In truth what I see and know the state of affairs in Goa, is little edifying. The fact that the Indians in Goa have been without being able to speak out is not a manifestation of philanthropic nature of the Portuguese Government, but a reign of terror. You will excuse that I do not subscribe to your declaration

that there is full freedom in Goa, and that agitation is limited to some disgruntled persons. All reports, which have been examined by myself personally, and seen in the papers here, in this part of India, do confirm a contrary opinion. I presume that a conviction for eight years imposed by your military tribunal, upon Dr. Braganza Cunha, and his projected exile in a distant Portuguese settlement, is by itself confirmation of the fact that civil liberty is a rare article in Goa. What can be the reason that an ordinary citizen might be selected as a very dangerous one to be exiled?

Though Dr. Lohia's politics may be different from mine, he won my admiration because he went up to Goa to put a finger in the wound. The inhabitants of Goa may wait till the great India has regained its freedom. But no person or group of persons can so remain without civil liberty without losing its dignity. He lit a torch, which the inhabitants of Goa cannot without risk allow to burn out. I presume that your Excellency as well as the Goans should have thanked the doctor for having lit this torch. Hence, your description that he's a foreigner would provoke laughter, were it not so tragic. Certainly, the Portuguese coming from Portugal are strangers, whether they have come as philanthropists or rulers exploiting the so-called weak races of the world. You have referred to the abolition of caste distinctions. What I observe is that not only the caste distinctions were not abolished, but another more terrifying caste than the castes in the tradition was added by the Portuguese rulers. I do hope then, that you will change your views on philanthropy, civil liberties and caste distinctions, remove all African police, declare from your heart in favor of

civil liberties and if possible leave even the inhabitants of Goa to form their own Government and invite more Indians who are better experienced to assist the inhabitants, and even to your own self to form such a Government.”

At this stage, **Heraldo** took upon itself the task of defending and justifying the Portuguese administration by refuting all the points of Mr. Gandhi's letter in the same report. It sums up as follows, “Whatever Mr. Gandhi knows about the "conditions of matters in Goa" we are persuaded that his knowledge is limited merely to the information given by the elements whose main purpose is to create confusion and to discredit the Portuguese Administration in Goa. Besides, all that he could read in the papers belongs positively to these sources, which are opposed to our administration. It is not therefore surprising that Mr. Gandhi may say that the "Indians of Goa have remained dumb". In case he would read our papers which are in considerable number as for example "Heraldo", "A Voz de India", "O Heraldo", "Diário Da Noite", "A Vida", " Bharat" etc. etc. some of them belonging to the opposition as for example " Bharat" which is pro Congress paper, none of which were silenced, you would realize how erroneous are your opinions and in case you visit the country, you would be convinced that what was said by Dr. Bossa is pure and simple truth.

Regarding the deportation of Mr. Braganza there's no corroboration of the point of view of Mr. Gandhi who affirms that in Goa there do not exist civic liberties. It is an isolated case of rebellion against

the state and the law; *dura Lex sed lex* (law is strict, but it is law which must be enforced)-it prescribes exile for such crimes. Which is why Mr. Braganza-not Dr. as Mr. Gandhi otherwise best knowledgeable about facts calls him-was deported. Moreover, Mr. Braganza used to shout slogans-Death to Portugal-on the face of authorities, with clenched fists, threatening the agents of the public order who were advancing towards him. What is strange is that Mr. Gandhi calls Mr. Lohia a citizen who abides by law when all are aware, and it was conclusively proved, during his hearing that he was an agitator and the authorities could not have acted in another manner, than to arrest him and to act juridical against him. This man cannot be called a "respector of law".

Moreover, it is known that the Goa movement was restricted to a small number of persons who nourished a personal grudge against Portuguese Administration. It is however emphatically denied that there are no civic liberties in Goa. There is freedom of the press and public speech, but not the licentious liberty of the jungle. It is true that Dr. Lohia was arrested but it is only proved that he was a mass agitator and had challenged law and order. Dr. Bossa did not call Dr. Lohia a foreigner but a stranger, as any Goan would be in Baroda or Bengal. He came certainly as a stranger and even addressed the people in a language, which they could not understand, because people's language is Konkani. The Portuguese Government had the right to forbid Dr. Lohia from delivering speeches, and it shouldn't be surprising that he should be treated by this Government as an agitator, whereas he himself in Lucknow was recently jailed by Congress

authorities. If, however, Mr. Gandhi shows himself to be unaware of this fact we are not aware of this whether it is consciously unconsciously.”

Thus **Heraldo** criticized the cited letter of Gandhi point by point and showered praise on the Portuguese, their race and their Government. It wrote: “Mr. Gandhi views the matters through a personal prism. When he declares that "governors come to exploit the weak races of the world", he should have realized that Portugal linked historically its destinies with Goa, and consequently, ethnic problems are arising here, as well as historical, social, economic, class and political issues which cannot be assessed so lightly, as it is done by Mr. Gandhi. The historical and political realities cannot be viewed and resolved with so much passion as done by Mr. Gandhi. It passes our comprehension how the Portuguese rulers added a more terrible caste unless Mr. Gandhi conceives a different notion of the caste system, which prevailed in Goa, which the Portuguese succeeded in eliminating by peaceful and educational methods.

Afonso de Albuquerque himself gave an impetus to marriages between Portuguese soldiers and inhabitants of Goa with no racial prejudice.

The Portuguese are not a strange race in Goa, where they are for over 400 years which is a period sufficient enough to create a new spirit and to modify the psychology of the people, during which many Indian monarchies flourished and disappeared. The Portuguese who are born and brought up here in Goa, form a reasonable number, who hold a prominent

part in the local administration, and the same can be said of the Hindus and the Christians (Goans). The European Portuguese are in a very limited number, and Portugal has not been administering the country with the purpose of exploitation, but it has rather assisted Goa financially and not only in these aspects but also in many other ways. Hence there could not be Portuguese system of castes in Goa, as Mr. Gandhi says; but if it were there, it would have so remained as the matter refers to Goans and Hindus, who have reached the status of judges of judicial division, high Court judges, heads a department and other similar ones. The judge who convicted Mr. Braganza is a Goan.”

Heraldo further wrote that “Mr. Gandhi was described by Dr. Ambedkar as the greatest enemy of the *Harijans* who's number is counted as 60,000,000 among other 400,000,000 souls of India. The small number of the Portuguese in Goa can in no way be compared with hundreds of existing castes in India. To think of calling the Portuguese in Goa, one caste, is really surprising. But as he is the enemy of *harijans*, no wonder that he may also be of the same caste of his own invention. Dr. Bossa said and said it quite well, that Mr. Gandhi is ignorant of history and his letter confirms this assertion of his Excellency the Governor General.”

The whole write-up indicates that the **Heraldo** was writing for and on behalf of the Portuguese government. The paper wrote that “in Goa there are no African police as it was emphatically denied in the press, absolutely no posse of Negroes stationed here. This is what Mr. Gandhi

should have known. Mr. Gandhi's reference to the fact that Dr. Lohia has lit the torch in Goa is absurd. Dr. Lohia only obscured the milieu. It is surprising that Mr. Gandhi says that he admires Dr. Lohia. Mr. Gandhi may erroneously applaud Dr. Lohia, in regard to his intervention in the Goan issues. But that he is paying homage to an agitator is astonishing. It is a paradox that Mr. Gandhi who is a leader who commanded respect of the Indians and is considered an apostle of nonviolence might admire Dr. Lohia. It was clearly demonstrated that Dr. Lohia is an agitator, by the congress authorities themselves, who arrested him in Lucknow. In regard to his Excellency the governor-general inviting the experienced Indians from greater India, it sounds strange, and short of sense, and even more insulting to the prestige of the Goans. It directly leads to the suggestion that in Goa there is shortage of experienced persons and it lies in a low level of culture in political matters while the fact is that there are Goans in Goa and in Portugal holding privileged positions, two of whom are deputies of India in the Portuguese National Assembly who frame laws for Portugal and all colonies. There are also many Goans in the governing council in Goa who are cooperating with the Governor General in solving more urgent problems of this country."

The paper went on to say that Goans neither wanted expulsion of the Portuguese from Goa nor its merger with India as if it was expressing the general will of the entire community. It wrote in the same rejoinder to Gandhi's letter: "These problems, since they relate to Goans, can only be assessed entirely and justly by those who have undertaken the

sacred task of administering the territories of Portuguese India. The Goans themselves do not wish to merge Goa in greater India of Mr. Gandhi, and even recently a letter was sent to Mr. Gandhi signed by more than 60 persons of all sections of opinion, condemning his interference in Goan affairs and manifesting the desire to continue under the Portuguese flag."

The paper quoted Dr. Antonio B. Braganza Pereira , as having written that - "Portuguese India has the right to assert its personality not to be lowered to the level of a simple district of India, swallowed by millions we are not living with, and hence we cannot be eye to eye, millions who have other traditions, cultures and other collective conscience. Our land is very small, but beautiful. We can say as Alfred de Musset said: *Mon vive n'est pas grand mais je bois de mon vive*". Portuguese India is a Portuguese creation. Its culture is universalistic, like Christianity we were educated in hovering above the dissolute Hindu communalism, which has a terrible reality more terrible than the *Rudra* or *Bhairavi* , the obstacles wherein the national aspirations of Gandhi are wrecked, who complains of lack of light, perhaps lack of Grace. So says one who considers Portuguese India a province of Portugal and Portugal as the intellectual fatherland of his mind."

The strong anti-Indian and pro-Portuguese pronouncements of **Heraldo** are prominent through out the write-up. It wrote further; "The millions, who surround us dominated by the concept of nonviolence and self-determination, are bound to respect our liberty. What right do the

neighbors have to violate our domicile? We are the masters of our house. Now it is high time to ask Mr. Gandhi if he still remembers what he said about the Portuguese in 1921. We shall quote his words, which were a sincere expression of his enthusiasm for the Portuguese Administration in Goa. "Happy are our Portuguese brethren who at least enjoy the privileges of having a constitution and the liberal rights of citizenship." What Gandhi said in 1921 was true, not only then but even now, and there is no change up to this moment but in the mind of Mr. Gandhi. These are the facts, which Gandhi never sought to examine."

The Satyagraha:

Adopting the Gandhian path of non-violence and satyagraha, Goan and no-Goan of satyagrahis wished to convince the Portuguese to leave Goa peacefully and gracefully. Two satyagrahas were launched against the Portuguese authorities in Goa from the territory of the Indian Union, the first in September, 1954 and the second in August 1955. These provoked reaction in the press. *Heraldo*, taking anti-Indian stand, in an editorial⁸ on page one in 1957 wrote, "If the Indian Prime Minister expected that Goa would oblige him by collapsing, like the wall of Jericho at the command of Joshua, the sooner he gives up that illusion the better. We do not boast but we have every right to tell whomsoever it may concern that, after nearly three years of all manner of pressure, Goa is definitely looking up, not only stronger in her resolve to resist Nehru's oppressive tactics but resolved also

to continue building up her own internal life with a view to the greater prosperity and greater happiness of her population.”

The editorial of **Heraldo** listed a number of development tasks undertaken in 1957 to impress Goans. It tried to prove that life in Goa was normal despite the *satyagraha* and that the economy was being improved and that Goa was very much Portuguese. It wrote: “It is no exaggeration to say that Goa is bristling with enthusiasm for progress in every direction. The year 1957 began with two far-reaching steps: more decentralized municipal and village administration and the establishment of a limited company for building a ship yard. Other major schemes, which can be taken as certainties, are the mechanization of dock No. 6 of the port of Mormugao, the development of the deep sea fishing and the establishment of a fish meal factory. There are other outstanding works - to mention only a few which have been completed or are well under way: water supply to the capital is ready and supply to Margao, Vasco da Gama, Mormugao and Ponda is making rapid progress. Quepem and Sanvordem- Curchorem have been supplied with electricity and work is going on to give the same benefit to Ponda; the export of iron ore is increasing and mining equipment is being improved as rapidly as possible, the latter as an equipped industry; a technical school has been set up, the fishing company of Diu has been placed on a sound basis, and of course we have our own air service. If we add the enthusiasm of our youth to join the army, we have a picture, faint though it is, of the determination of our people to resist Indian ambitions and to bend every ounce of energy, aided always by the generous support of

the central government towards making our land less vulnerable to Indian pressure...”

Heraldo also published a note on the release of the imprisoned Indian *satyagrahis*. “The Lisbon Government has issued a decree releasing Indian "satyagrahis" undergoing imprisonment in Goa for offences against Portuguese Sovereignty, provided they were not guilty of more than one offence.”⁹ Its editorial of 28th January 1957¹⁰, presented the release of the imprisoned *satyagrahis* of the Indian Union as an act of generosity and magnanimity of the Portuguese authorities against the subversive activities of the *satyagrahis*. It wrote, “By granting amnesty to Indian citizens undergoing imprisonment in Goa for certain offences against Portuguese sovereignty in the state of India, the central government has once again affirmed the tradition of the noblesse which has characterized the Portuguese nation. Intransigent in the defense of its rights, while conscientiously respecting the rights of others, Portugal has ever been magnanimous in the treatment of its adversaries, the released. The Portuguese government has shown the superiority of spirit, which may not be fully appreciated in the Indian circles, where the so-called “case of Goa” has been artificially created with bases on falsehood and sustained with a large dose of cynicism. But nobility of soul does not wait for applause.

The concession made to the Indian prisoners should not be construed as a revision of the sentence justly awarded by the competent court. On the other hand, the decree in question stresses the intrinsic

culpability of the so-called *satyagrahis* whose work was political subversion. It also takes into account the circumstances that the Indians under reference had been misled by the false propaganda carried on in these countries, that they committed no violence and that the Indian government has since advised its citizens against the use of such methods as well as the fact that the prisoners have already served a part of this sentence. All these factors have been taken together and considered sufficiently to justify the act of clemency which is signified by the amnesty - a free act of grace, which is further enhanced by the fact that it has come when the Indians, the prisoners as well as the other political leaders, needed it most, namely on the eve of the Indian general elections..."

Heraldo had become stronger than any Portuguese Government agency in name calling the Indian policy and the Goan nationalists and their Indian supporters. In an editorial dated 25th February 1957, it held India responsible for disturbances in Goa and for many of the colony's troubles.¹¹ It wrote, "Terrorism may allege an ideal, but this is only a window dressing. In this century, when even regular war is sought to be outlawed, terrorism has no possible justification. Here in Goa it could at most be an attempt on the part of a minority to force its will on the majority. But it is not even that, the few Goan mercenaries, who have hired themselves out for terrorism, stand self-condemned before the Goan public, not only because they are engaged in a dastardly work which every decent person abhors but also because they are seeking to destroy their own kith and kin at the service of a foreign master.

There is not the slightest shadow of doubt that the destructive devices used in Goa are sent here from the Indian Union. The batteries used for terrorist acts leave the mark “made in India”; they are not available in Goa. In one case, the paper, in which the explosive charge was wrapped, was a Marathi newspaper published in Bombay – also now available in Goa. If these indications are not sufficient, there is the conclusive fact that the gun cotton found in various charges which did not explode cannot definitely be found in Goa. This fact, together with the make of the batteries, leaves no doubt whatsoever that the explosives are prepared in the Indian Union. . The explosives therefore come from the Indian Union. They are a sequel to the frustrated attempts to conquer Goa by the economic blockade, “*satyagrahas*” and other so called peaceful means.... The terrorist activity, which followed the nullification of the blockade and of the so-called *satyagraha*, is another flagrant illustration of the same phenomenon. The Indian Union is resorting to terrorism in an attempt to avenge her previous disappointments. But to no avail. Violence or non-violence, Goans will never surrender to the pressure tactics of the Indian Union, because they have a high sense of their own dignity and a love for their nationality, which is as strong as death itself. Terrorism will go the way of the economic blockade and of the “*satyagrahas*”. It will only provide another instance to expose the black soul of Indian leadership.”

When the Government of India banned the mass *satyagraha* movement in 1955, it assumed the responsibility of freeing these pockets.

Between 1956 and 1961, many resolutions were adopted by Indian parties demanding the early liberation of the settlements; and seminars were held, public meetings organized and 'Goa Days' and 'Goa Weeks' were held at regional and all-India levels. Hundreds of adjournment motions were moved in the Lok Sabha to discuss matters pertaining to Goa. The nation was uneasy over the state of affairs in Goa and the Government's silence. India would have attempted to obtain a peaceful solution through the United Nations. However, Portugal maintained that Goa was no colony and refused to supply the U.N. with the information it called for under the Charter. It was unyielding in spite of the U.N.O.'s decision that Goa was a colony and reports should be submitted about its progress.

Fear of Loss of Identity:

Heraldo through its writings tried to arouse various kinds of fear in Goan masses against possible merger of Goa in Indian union. In an editorial *it* wrote that the Goans and Goan identity would be submerged if Goa were integrated into that mass of humanity that was India.¹² “ ‘We're convinced that it is only by unflinching loyalty to the (rulers), which we have held sacred for more than four centuries past, that we shall be saved from being absorbed in that nameless mass of (humanity) which is sought to be evolved today. The first page of that lurid process would be absorption into that Indian union where we would be lost in the ocean of her heterogeneous millions. Our traditions, all that we hold dear and precious,

not excluding the blessed peace and tranquility of our homes, would disappear. And this golden Goa would be transformed into an oriental bazaar for the benefit of the Indians. It is not difficult to see -witness the harassment of Goans in the Indian Union- that we would be enslaved in our own homes, if indeed we would be left with any homes in the event of rapacious outsiders gaining a foothold in our land. We refer to the material aspect of absorption into the Indian Union. But there are other aspects of a far higher importance. Our Portuguese nationality has imprinted on us a character and given as a hierarchy of values which is precious heirloom to be jealously preserved and handed over intact to our children.”

Heraldo gave its verdict¹³, “Let Nehru devise what "concrete measures" he will; let his agents who are paid to call themselves Goan leaders continue their machinations and false propaganda, let the communists all over the world support the Indian Union-the people of Goa, Daman and Diu will resist. And, while resisting, will forge ahead in the pursuit of their own ideal even as they have been doing since they began to be persecuted by the Indian Union.”

In another issue **Heraldo** condemned what it called Indian imperialism and wrote that Goans are proud of their Portuguese nationality:¹⁴ “In recent years, the imperialism of New Delhi has brought Goa into the limelight of publicity. Intellectuals, journalists and even simple students of world affairs have become interested in what has come to be known as the "case of Goa".... Except for three or four journalists, all

of leftist brand, all the visitors to Goa have spoken the truth as they found it. The exceptions only served to reinforce the verdict of the overwhelming majority. What is the secret of this unique fellowship? The answer will not come easily to those who do not understand the traditions of Portuguese India or better, the work done by Portugal in Goa, Daman and Diu during the past four centuries. In fact, the miracle of Portuguese India is repeated in every one of Portugal's overseas provinces, where white or black or yellow is equally the citizen of the one, indivisible fatherland, not merely by virtue of registration but by the imperative of a national consciousness fostered by that Christian idealism which Portugal practiced in every land where its flag was planted. The Goans have ever been proud of their traditions, which ^{is} intimately bound up with their Portuguese nationality. They know that, [^] apart from Portugal, there can be no Goan. Integrated in the Indian Union, the Goan will be like an unlaid ghost, restless forever, because he will be cut off from the source, which has nourished his culture and social life without being able to find a substitute in the Indian life to which he is an alien. In other words, the integration of Goa can never lead to the integration of the Goans, who have four centuries of Portuguese culture and tradition behind them. That is why the Goans resist and will resist all the Machiavellian Indian move to deprive them of the spiritual values which form the main spring of their very existence."

The editor and other writers of **Heraldo** tried to enumerate the advantages of Goa remaining a Portuguese colony as well as the disadvantages of Goa being taken over by the Indian union and all this to

arouse Goan mind against India and for continuation of Portuguese rule in Goa. A frequent contributor of articles to *Heraldo* with the byline Phoedrus wrote¹⁵ :“If Goa were taken over by the Indian Union, it is the Indians who would swarm in and dispossess the Goans not only materially but also culturally. For, 600,000 Goans could not hope to survive as a community in the melting pot of humanity that is the Indian Union. The Goans would just be swamped. There is no need to possess any special powers of foresight or prophecy to see that worse still would be the plight of Goans, if Goa were integrated into the Indian Union. The small Goan landowners would be tempted, cajoled and even forced by circumstances to sell their plots to the newcomers. As for the businessman, what chance would they have of competing with the wealthier Indians? As for the rest of Goans, they would have to go out of Goa even as they are doing now, because the Indian government would not obviously be able to give jobs to all the Goans in their own land. No matter how much improvement would take place, the bulk of the advantages would go to the Indians and not to Goans. Is anyone so foolish as to think that the Indians would make improvements in the benefit of Goans?

The question is often discussed from the purely material point of view. But it is never too much to insist that the material aspect is the least part of the problem. Not by bread alone doth man live. but since bread is also necessary we add-and this is our answer to Indian propaganda-that in recent years there has been a substantial increase in jobs available in Goa. And what with the development plan about to be started, there will be another

considerable increase in jobs. Moreover-and this is an important point -the Portuguese citizenship of Goans gives them the advantages of emigration which the Indians do not possess. Finally, we would like to stress that Goa integrated into the Indian Union would not be Goa-the land of peace, tranquility and pleasant social life that it is now. And Goans would seek to emigrate from an Indian occupied Goa out of sheer disgust, even if not for jobs-just as many Goan emigrants return home from the Indian Union today out of sheer disgust.”

Economic Blockade

Since the Portuguese government continued its nonchalant attitude towards India and persisted on the maltreatment of Satyagrahis and other freedom lovers and continued to maintain unfriendly postures against Indians, Government of India imposed the economic blockade of Goa in 1957. **Heraldo** reacted sharply and condemned this act in strong language. In an editorial in 1957, it wrote¹⁶: ”It is unnecessary to refer to the effect of the ignominious Indian blockade on the total economy of Goa, except to say that it has stimulated local talent and served to canalize it towards new profitable trades. The import market has not been affected. Goa is provided with the commodities, which have been traditionally imported. The difficulties created for the export market have been largely overcome.” In another editorial it wrote¹⁷, “An instance in point is the economic blockade of Portuguese India. This criminal method of starving whole

populations into surrender was first tried by New Delhi in the French possessions in India. Crazed by its success there, New Delhi decided to apply it to Goa, Daman and Diu. This was in 1954. Before the year was out, in fact soon after the dismal failure of the march against Goa on 15th August 1954, Indian imperialism consoled itself with the make believe that at least its economic blockade would achieve results. By September 1954, Indian newspapers carried bold headlines giving fantastic stories to prove that the economy of Portuguese India was on the verge of collapse; for a long time Mr. Nehru himself seemed to lay the same flattering unction to his frustrated soul.”

The paper wrote that the ‘Indian imperialists’ finally realized that economic blockade had been practically defeated long ago by the united effort of the government and the people of Portuguese India. “As a result of this realization, New Delhi decided to change the tune; and its propaganda machine was switched on to play it to the four winds advertising that "certain curbs had been removed on humanitarian grounds.”

In a letter to the editor, a writer expressed some of the problems faced by the people of Goa¹⁸ and justified the Portuguese position that Goa, Daman and Diu constitute overseas province of Portugal. He wrote “Goans in the Indian Union are undeservedly harassed in various ways and even Indian Frontier customs authorities have many times instigated them by saying "dirty Goans". The Goans are well aware that if Goa should separate from Portugal, the Indian Government would pounce upon Goa (as

they did in Hyderabad) on some pretext or other. Mr. Nehru wishes to allure us by saying great improvements will be made in Goa and trade and employment will be increased. How can we give credence to such promises, when we already know the dire treatment meted out by the Indian Union to Goans and Christians? The Indian government has not only violated the Indian constitution but even the U.N.O. charter....In fine, I have to state that though Goans in India are greatly affected by the persecution by the Indian government, the Goans in Goa are happy because the government has been able to provide food and employment to people in spite of the difficulties etc. mainly created by the Indian government.”

The editorial of **Heraldo**¹⁹, on January 25, noted the extraordinary efforts already made by the central and local governments to solve the difficulties created by the Indian Union, many of which it said had already been satisfactorily resolved, particularly by the creation of the air and steamer services to Karachi. **Heraldo** was skeptical on the lifting of restrictions on travel across the Indo-Goa border.²⁰ In its section, “Roundabouts and Swings” it wrote, “The Press note, issued by Indian Government in connection with the lifting of restrictions on movement of Goans across the Indo-Goan borders, seemed at first sight to be an honest attempt to make amends for an unwarranted piece of cruelty because Goans residing in the Indian Union were prevented from joining their families in Goa. This notification says, amongst other things of interest to Indian citizens that the “Indian police will have full authority to prevent the passage of any persons who may carry arms and wear uniforms, who may

belong or are believed to belong to Portuguese armed forces, military and paramilitary formations police of security services and who may be suspected of being Portuguese agents".

In another issue **Heraldo** wrote²¹, "Now the "permit" system has been removed but the travel of Goans across the border has been made a matter of the unfettered discretion of the Indian police! The "*satyagraha*" ended in a dismal failure as far back as August 1955, because few Goans could be hired to take part in it. Since then, the "peaceful movement" has been carried on by means of terrorist acts perpetrated by agents coming from the Indian Union.

These are the facts. In the face of these facts, the recent moves to lift the "permit system" and the "state of *satyagraha*" are no more than propaganda stunts to deceive foreign countries."

In yet another editorial **Heraldo** warned that Goans should not be lulled into a false sense of security by the lull in Indian Circles, for the removal of "permits" to move across the border far from being dictated by any humanitarian consideration, was it self a tactical move and carried with it greater possibility of infiltration and subversion.²² **Heraldo** published another analysis of the removal of travel restrictions by the Indian Government.²³ "The terse press note issued by the government of India reads as follows: "The Government of India has decided to abolish with immediate effect the restriction on travel to and from Goa and other Portuguese possessions in India. To many Goans, on either side, the above,

communiqué came as a relief from the sufferings inflicted on a peace loving people by the Indian Government without the least justification or compunction. It took the Indian Government more than three and half years to come to the realization that the policy pursued was not only puerile and hare-brained but unworthy of any government that has any claim to civilization”.

The paper with its Portuguese predilection and anti- Indian posture presented the Indian action as a tactical move to befool the Goans. It continued in the same write-up: “As a tactical move, the measure has certain well defined advantages to the Indian Government. No one is so gullible as to believe as the Indian Government evidently desires, that the action was prompted by compassion towards the long-suffering Goans. According to the statement made in the "Lok Sabha", the restrictions were removed out of the deference to the wishes of the Goan leaders. As the saying goes, this is too big a pill for the intelligent Goan to swallow. In false pride the "Goan leaders" might pat themselves on the back as a result of the fulsome acknowledgment of this leadership, little realizing that they had been made scapegoats. Indian Government ostensibly imposed the restrictions on the desire of the "Goan leaders" and abolished them at their bidding. At least this is what the Indian government wants us to believe! This leads one to the only logical conclusion that the Indian Government has abdicated its jurisdiction over the 80,000 Goans in Bombay and placed them at the tender mercy of the "Goan leaders".

“That there has been no change of the heart on the part of Indian Government is demonstrated by the sporadic armed raids carried out at the Goa frontier, ostensibly by terrorists though in fact by fully trained Indian Army personnel with arms and ammunition supplied by the Indian Government. This has been proved to the hilt leaving no room even for the shadow of a doubt. If the Indian Government still chooses to deny its association with the acts of terrorism, it must admit its impotence or incompetence to prevent such acts, which is not only moral but the legal duty of any civilized Government.”

The Government of India decided to abolish the permit system on travel between India and the Portuguese possessions in India, and notified certain regulations for the convenience of the general public. The **Heraldo** published the details of these regulations and condemned the Indian Government for the same. It wrote: “On studying the above regulation one is irresistibly driven to the irrefutable conclusion that the Indian Government, after formulating its basic policy on travel to and from Goa, has left its administration completely in the hands of the police. The regulations have a strong smell of having been cooked at Mahalaxmi, from ^h _^ were the Parsi Deputy Inspector General of Police is supposed to decide the destinies of the Goan emigrants. The unhappy draftsmanship and the confusion of thought are self-evident. Regulations containing information to the "general public", standing orders to the police and the currency regulation are all rolled into one. The regulations have made confusion worse confounded.” The write-up continued to point the flaws of the

regulations and difficulties it would cause. It wrote that the wide powers, which the regulations give to the Indian frontier police in effect, nullify the abolition of restrictions on travel to and from.

The paper not only condemned Indian actions but also went to shower praises on Portuguese Government for its so-called Goan friendly measures. It wrote: "Our readers are aware that a sum of over Rs. 35 million has been allocated for various projects to be carried out during the next six years in Goa, Daman and Diu. Like the previous development plan, which terminates at the end of this year, the present plan has nothing to do with the Indian blockade. Such plans were on the cards as part of the normal effort of the whole nation towards better economy. Suffice to say that the plans are made for the entire nation and not only for Portuguese India. But though not specifically planned for the purpose, some of the projects carried out under the current plan, (1953-1958) fitted in admirably-providentially, we might say with the condition created by the Indian Union. For instance, the airport of Dabolim and the airstrips of Daman and Diu which had been planned before the Indian blockade came, deserve to maintain links with the outer world." Then the write-up enumerated other development plans (1959-1964) including the equipment of the Port and the Railway and water supply to schools and hospitals, agriculture, and stated that the government proposes to obtain the result in the shortest possible time.

In order to placate the public the write-up concluded "we are earnestly engaged in improving our internal economy so as to benefit every sector of the population, particularly those who live by manual labor. Besides the National development plan, there are various local projects, for example improvement of the fishing industry (the scheme is well under way); industrialization of coconut, a naval yard, etc. Determination to see these projects through is not lacking. Nor is money, for which we do not depend on foreign loans. All that may be needed is a little patience, for time is an inevitable factor."

The lifting of the boycott of ships touching Goa was received by *Heraldo*²⁴ in the following tone, "The recent turns in Indian attitude towards Goa does not relieve - on the contrary it enhances-the impression of the forces, which we have been witnessing since 1954. The latest news is that the boycott of ships touching Goa "will be lifted from May 23", if the recommendation of the Bombay Port workers union is accepted, presumably by the other units of the all India Port and Dock workers Federation. At the time of writing, we do not know exactly how the land lies. But it does not matter; we wish to record the fact that there is a move afoot to lift the boycott of ships touching Goa. The boycott was started with a big fanfare of trumpets to buttress the infamous economic blockade. The protagonists expected that the boycott would keep every foreign ship from Goa, those dealing a decisive blow to Goa's trade. But, as usual, there was a slip in the Indian calculations (ambition is all the reason). Lines without interest in Indian trade-and therefore beyond the reach of Indian

boycott- plied their ships to Goa! Thus, the boycott was defeated, even as the rest of the economic blockade was defeated. All that remained-and will remain forever-of these coercive tactics is another big black blot on the name of the Indian Union.

Indian propaganda is that boycott was 'successful in operation, though not in effect..'"

Some time later *Heraldo* wrote, "The official Indian radio announced on Monday morning, June 9, that the Indian government was considering the restoration of the coastal shipping between Bombay and Goa. The disclosure is reported to have been made by the Indian Communication Minister, Mr. S.K. Patel. Earlier, on June 6, telegraphic communications between Belgaum and Goa, which had been interrupted by the Indian government since 1955 were established. These measures, following close upon the easing of the traffic across the frontier, indicate that the Indian government has fully realized the futility of its efforts to force Goans into surrender. This fact has already been recorded by history and whatever effort the Indian government may now make to undo its misdeeds, the Goans will never forget that the Indian^s tried their level best, for a period of nearly 4 years to squeeze Goans into submitting to Indian imperialism."²⁵

Propaganda War

Heraldo, until 1947, printed reports about the political and other developments in India based on reports appearing in Indian newspapers, mainly **Times of India** or **All India Radio**. Infact many other local newspapers did the same. But it launched a bitter propaganda war against India soon after its independence. It wrote in an editorial²⁶ "Occasionally, lest, it should be said that the propaganda is entirely baseless, the Indian Union stages an incursion into Goa. Formerly it was the ill formed *satyagraha*; now it is the infamous terrorist raids. Whatever the outcome of the attempts, Indian propaganda blares out fantastic reports, involving murders of Portuguese policemen and soldiers by "underground nationalists". Thus after staging a raid on Daman on August 2, Indian propaganda reported as many as six Portuguese soldiers killed and three outposts destroyed. A full account of the raid appeared in our last issue. But there are more amazing aspects of Indian propaganda. In the second week of August, it headlined a story of an explosion, which is supposed to have occurred "last week" in our Sirigao mines with ghastly details of the destruction wrought. The cautious reader, who has followed the criminal exploits of Indian terrorism in Goa, would have detected the fraud. The story of the explosion is six months old and was duly reported by us at the time. It was also reported by the Indian propaganda agencies. The same story is now repeated, saying that the explosion occurred "last week". The purpose of this bluff is not far to seek. In the absence of positive

achievements, Indian propaganda invents fanciful stories. When even fancy fails, it repeats old stories.”

Heraldo gave another example of its servility towards the Portuguese authorities when in an editorial it wrote²⁷, “Towards the end of the last century, certain small minds, tried to insinuate that in Goa there was a moment against the metropolitans and pointed to the article published by an apostate priest. The situation was sized up by the late Constancio Roque da Costa, of Margao, representative of Portuguese India in the Parliament, who wrote in his newspaper *Universal* of October 1, 1896, “No Anti-Metropolitan Movement

We have always maintained and we do not hesitate to repeat it here aloud; we think that the more important posts in our Indian Province ought to be held by qualified metropolitans; we want cultured Europeans, with knowledge of public administration and comparing favorably with the officials in British India, to go to India on good salaries. We ask that metropolitans should be sent to "Europeanize" India, by taking with them the light of Western civilization.”

Heraldo painted a black picture of Indian economy by saying that the foreign exchange reserves of the Indian Union has sunk to an unprecedented low. At the same it painted rosy picture of Goan economy. It wrote: “On the other hand, Goa, in spite of the Indian blockade, has a balanced budget and has made provisions for development scheme without either increasing taxes or asking for donations of jewellery. Goa’s foreign

exchange position is comfortable.” *Highly* critical of the Indian declarations it wrote²⁸ “Time and again for the last three years, Indian leaders have been promising their people that the Goa problem “will be solved soon”. The latest to make this promise is Indian Defense Minister Mr. Krishna Menon... so when, Mr. Menon said recently in Bombay that the Goa problem would be solved “soon”, Indian propaganda headlined the statement and there was great pretence of the glee in anti Goa circles, who however did not even realize that it was devoid of any definite meaning and that in the mouth of politicians particularly of the Mr. Menon and Mr. Nehru variety, it means only “I do not know”. But there is another aspect of the statement to be considered: When the Indian leaders promise to solve the Goa problem “soon”, they implicitly admit that it is they who are trying to solve it-not the Goans. In other words, the Goans do not count, even though New Delhi has hired a few Goan agitators to throw dust in the eyes of the world. But it is also remembered that the Indian leaders promised to solve the Goa problem by “integration into the Indian Union”, it is not difficult to see who is at the bottom of all that Goa trouble, who plans to profit by the integration of Goa and what is the ultimate fate reserved for Goans.”

The Indian and Portuguese Governments threw barbs at each other and the propaganda was also carried out by the press. **Heraldo** wrote²⁹, “Indian propaganda has of late poured a number of stories of “violation of Indian territory by Portuguese troops and police of Goa and Daman, together with the comment that Portugal is trying to provoke the Indian

government into action. In other words, Indian propaganda would have the world believe that, notwithstanding all the difficulties of defending Portuguese India, Portugal is foolish enough to provoke the Indian Union! What for? Indian propaganda gives no answer but it is not difficult to see through the game. This simple though stupid logic, which Indian propaganda seeks to foist upon the world, is that the Indian government would be justified in taking arms against Portuguese India on the plea that such action becomes necessary to safeguard the inviolability of Indian territory! Of course, Mr. Nehru and defense minister Mr. Menon would shed a few crocodile tears and tell the world that they could not help resorting to violence in defense of their legitimate interest, even though they stoutly pledged nonviolence!

Goa cannot be another Hyderabad. Even apart from the verified and easily verifiable fact that it is actually the Indian Union that is violating Portuguese territory by sending armed raiders across the frontier, no one in his senses believed that Portugal can have any interest or advantage in violating Indian Territory. Portugal is not unaware of the difficulties of an armed conflict with the Indian Union. In his speech of 30 November 1954, Salazar ruled out the usefulness of war when he said: "The smallness of the territories and the weakness of the local resources, the disproportion of strength, the length of the line of communication, the distance to bases and supply points-for all these reasons a war in India would serve no useful purpose for us, would be inglorious for the union, and what is worse would have no conclusion, that is to say, no peace, it is inconceivable that any

Portuguese government would one day be found to recognize the spoliation".

In another issue *Heraldo* wrote³⁰, "Indian Congress Party meeting at Gauhati passed a resolution reiterating its objective of integrating Goa into the Indian Union. The resolution is couched in language which is stock-in-trade of political propaganda and takes it for granted that the Goans want integration. In this context it is not difficult to see why the Congress is passing resolutions and why congressmen are specifying about the eventual annexation of Goa. Faced with a triple crisis, the ruling party finds itself in need of offering a sop to the disillusionment of the Indian people over their own independence. In more than ten years of uninterrupted rule, the Congress has failed to deliver the goods. The people are disappointed over the internal situation. The opposition is clamorous. In such circumstances, the classical method of entertaining the discontented masses is to divert their attention to an external problem. The Congress Party needs the cause of Goa to remain in power, while the opposition needs it to belabor the Congress and come into power. Thus, the case of Goa has become a Peron in the game of Indian politics."

Heraldo published many rhetoric accusations against India and condemned it as the promoter of terrorism. It wrote³¹, "Indirect aggression consists in inciting nationals of another country and providing them with the means to subvert the established order in the interest of a foreign power. Being thus disguised as an internal rebellion, indirect aggression escapes

the censure of the United Nations while the purpose it serves is the same as would be achieved by open warfare...The so-called "case of Goa" is a good instance in point... the Indian Prime Minister cannot resort to open unprovoked aggression against Portugal. Hence the tactics of setting up and loudly advertising a few Goans-some long since established in the Indian Union, others fleeing from Justice for ordinary crimes-as leaders of an anti Portuguese movement. Thus, when the Portuguese enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli were invaded in 1954 by armed men proceeding from the Indian Union, the world was asked to believe that the attacks were carried out by Goans. Similarly, in August 1954, Indian propaganda made frantic efforts to advertise a "*satyagraha*" march of 10,000 Goans: the plan was to send Indians across the border, but when foreign journalists arrived to witness the show, the Indians had to be kept off and not more than 50 Goans, mostly jobless emigrants could be persuaded to cross the frontier. In 1955, out of over 5000 pseudo-*satyagrahis*, who tried to penetrate into the Portuguese territory, not a single one was a Goan. Thereafter the Indian Union tried to promote terrorism in Goa by sending men and explosives across the border or by attacking frontier posts under cover of darkness."

Heraldo often wrote about Indian Imperialism and was always critical of India's role in Kashmir. "Leaders, who are familiar with the methods adopted by Indian imperialism against Portuguese India, will not fail to notice how closely alike they are to those adopted against Kashmir. In other words, Indian imperialism is rampant on the subcontinent now trying to subdue the people of Kashmir, now the people of Portuguese

India. It has already subdued the people of Junagadh, Manavadar, Hyderabad and French India."³² **Heraldo** also talked about the unfriendly Indian attitude, the transport restrictions and economic blockade of Goa by India.³³ "Hoping to drive the Goan emigrants in the Indian Union to despair, Indian Government cut them off from their homeland, from their wives, children and parents and prevented them from sending money to their dependents in Goa ...Three years of cruel harassment of Goans, however, convinced the imperialists of New Delhi of the futility of that policy".

Heraldo wrote³⁴ in a derisive language about the decision taken by the National Congress (Goa), established in Bombay, to stop "*satyagraha*" against Goa. "The decision of the "National Congress (Goa)" coming as it does at this late stage, can therefore be no more than a propaganda stunt. The "National Congress (Goa)" and other anti Goa organizations, set up in the Indian Union, have long since been carrying on terrorist activities in Goa and Damao in lieu of the so-called "*satyagraha*"."

A Vida almost kept itself away from taking a stand either for or against the freedom movement and in fact did not have many references to India. Matters dealt with therein included more general topics such as age, employment, *comunidades*, education and religious matters. Politics, or counter propaganda against India's policy i.e. merger of Goa with the Indian Union did not occupy much space. It neither lauded nor condemned

India's position, and as in all cases the matter was cleared by press censorship.

But **Heraldo** became, as it were, a mouthpiece of the Portuguese government to condemn India and to convince Goans that their interest would be best served by remaining with the Portuguese government. In an editorial it wrote³⁵ "The traditionally intimate demographic, economic and financial intercourse between the Metropolis and Portuguese India has been steadily increasing in recent years. If the situation created by the Indian Union has brought more metropolitans to Goa, most of these receive their pay from the Metropolitan Treasury and spend at least a large part of it in Goa-and an undoubted help to local trade. Apart from this, the number of Goan officials in the metropolis and other Overseas Provinces far exceeds the number of metropolitan officials who receive their salaries from the Goa Treasury; and the amount of the salaries is far less than those drawn by the Goan officials in other Portuguese lands." It enumerated the projects completed and planned by the Portuguese government for the welfare of Goa and how it was spending huge amount on different schemes. It wrote that the overseas ministry donated cold storage chambers, launchers, fishing tackle, etc. and gave large financial aid to the last Development Plan: "These are only a few of the facts worth knowing. They reveal beyond a shadow of doubt that Goa is not a case of economic and financial colonialism, since it is Goa that draws substantially upon the Metropolitan Treasury... Today, thanks to Salazar, the Metropolis is

financially strong, and, having the wherewithal, it gives generously without so much as bothering to announce its bounty.”

Heraldo often quoted from Indian newspapers to justify its claims that conditions in India were not good either in terms of literacy, financial condition, democracy, housing problem in Bombay, dependence on foreign loans, the food situation, the lack of leadership, Communist successes, violence and crime, riots over linguistic redistribution of the states, the agitation over language issues communal riots, inflation and apathy of the people. The papers quoted included **The Examiner of Bombay** (a Bombay Catholic Weekly) and **The Times of India**. *Apart from conveying to Goans the dark picture of India, **Heraldo** was also planting fears of religious insecurity in the minds of the Goans if it were to be integrated into India. Highlighting some anti-catholic demonstrations in India in an editorial it argued that the Church was in danger in the Indian Union.*

Towards Liberation

As the years passed the tension between the Governments of India and Portugal mounted and there was increasing irritability between the two as well as the nationalists on both sides of the border. This was reflected in the Press.

Heraldo blamed India for this and published the following under the byline of Phoedrus saying that the graph of tension over Goa was a

function of New Delhi³⁶, "The graph began to rise in February, 1954, when the press in Bombay received orders to publish front page dispatches with startling headlines, about supposed anti Portuguese disturbances in Goa. The dispatches were shown as sent from Goa. The first propaganda blast of the Times of India, on 11 February 1954, gave colorful details about a meeting of 2000 people, said to have been held in the small fishing village of Chapora. Those 2000 people were supposed to have taken an oath to offer "Satyagraha" against Portugal. Actually nothing at all had happened! The dispatches, it may be added, continued as long as the Indian consulate was in Goa. Then they ceased!"

The paper squarely blamed Indian government for what it called the terrorism against Goa. It wrote: "August 1954 to August 1955 was the period of the so-called "*satyagraha* marches". They came from the Indian Union, made up by Indians and led by Indians. The Indian Government, while ostensibly disclaiming responsibility gave the "*satyagrahis*" all encouragement, even to the extent of threatening Portugal with "dire consequences" in case the so-called "peaceful invaders" were interfered with. The climax came on 15 August 1955, when over 5000 Indians tried to cross into Portuguese India. Portugal dealt with them in keeping with international law. The frustrated invaders demanded from Mr. Nehru the "dire consequences" which he had promised, and created an unprecedented pandemonium in Bombay. The Indian government called off the "Satyagraha" marchers, which accordingly ceased. The intelligent student of the "case of Goa" will not fail to draw his conclusions from these facts.

Then came the phase of terrorism. The "*Azad Gomantak Dal*" and the "National Congress (Goa)"-with headquarters in the Indian Union, as we saw above-became the protagonists of this movement. Terrorists crossing into Goa had the protection of the Indian frontier police who actively aided their "Goa Liberation work". The terrorists attacked frontier outposts and, when chased away, fled back into the Indian Union. Indian propaganda reported their activities as heroic exploits of "underground Goan nationalists"-even to the extent of giving as facts purposes which were frustrated by the timely action of the Goa police. From the above brief out line of the tension over the "case of Goa"-based on facts which cannot be contested-it may be seen that the graph of tension rose and fell according as the Indian government decided to step up or call off the anti Portuguese campaign, whether false propaganda, "*satyagraha*" or terrorism, all carried out from the Indian Union and advertised to the world as activities of Goans.

For effect, the Indian Government has hired a few persons of Goan origin-most of them Indian nationals living in Bombay. But there could be no better evidence of the Indian government's hand than the fact that those hirelings as well as the Indian politicians insist that the case of Goa cannot be "solved ", unless the Indian Government adopts more "positive" measures, they mean armed action, which the Indian government is reluctant to take both because of its own precarious internal situation and because it wants to keep up its appearance of pacifism. In other words: "the

case of Goa "is a function of the Indian government's will, not of the will of the Goan people."

*Heraldo*³⁷ frequently covered also the Dadra and Nagar Haveli controversy. It was very prompt in reporting, and commenting upon, what was happening in India. It reported that the parliamentary secretary for external affairs Sadat Ali Khan revealed that the Indian Union has decided to sanction a "limited trade" with Goa from April. Lisbon and New Delhi severed diplomatic relations in 1954, and since then, there had not practically been any commerce between Indian Union and the State of Portuguese India. It wrote that the decision to restore the trade was the last action ^{of} the Government of India which was involved in a policy of making the economic blockade of Goa progressively soft. "In regard to offering us the gift of lifting the restrictions about the commerce no one is unaware that this measure is not taken on account of love for us, but because these restrictions brought in insurmountable losses to the Indian commerce above all in surrounding border areas. Their pitiless blockade failed squarely - we shall return to this subject as soon as the space allows it to us - as it leaves scope for continuation."

Heraldo analyzed every statement of the Indian leaders relating to Goa. In the name of Phoedrus, an article examined whether Goa could survive as an autonomous state.³⁸ "Would full autonomy be a solution for the so-called "case of Goa"? We wish to face this question squarely, because the idea of full autonomy for Goa is being canvassed in Bombay by

the agents of Indian propaganda. What is meant by full autonomy? Surely not administrative decentralization which Goa enjoys already subject only to the fundamental unity of the nation and solidarity among all its past. What Indian propaganda means by full autonomy is obviously Dominion status with the right to secede from the Portuguese Republic. Can Goans accept this proposition? In theory, Goans, as citizens of dominion would be full masters of their future-they and they alone would be able to decide whether to continue as a Dominion of Portugal or to become an independent nation or to merge with the Indian Union. However, all this is mere theory.”

The editorials and other articles in the **Heraldo** consistently argued against Goa being separated from Portugal. The same article cited above wrote: ”An independent Goa is a utopia. It is just not feasible without outside economic aid. From whom? Moreover, what guarantee would there be of aid without strings? The ultimate controller of Goa would be not Goans but some outside power holding the purse strings - independence would be a mockery-a slavery.

The other alternative of a dominion with the right to secede from Portugal would not be feasible either. When Portugal considers Goa as an integral part of the nation on the basis of equal footing with any metropolitan province, it makes no sense to ask Portugal to give Goa the lower status of a Dominion. Moreover, Portugal cannot logically accept such a proposition to the detriment of its unitary structure. Colony may be converted into a Dominion; a province may not. Portugal has always

regarded Goa as an integral part of the nation... Dominion with the right of secession from Portugal, can have only one result: the Indian Union would contrive by means of bribes, blockades, *satyagrahas* and other known pressure tactics to force Goans to exercise the right of secession in her favour, that this, in favor of merger, with the Indian Union.”

The article referred to above warned Goans that they should not fall in the Indian trap and that they would lose their identity in case of Goa's merger into India. It wrote: “The so-called full autonomy for Goa, canvassed by Indian propaganda with the help of its usual cat's paws, is nothing more than a trap set for Goans. Full autonomy would mean absorption of Goa by the Indian Union by two stages. The direct merger stunt having failed, the Indian Union is inclined to try the indirect method. But the ultimate aim is unchanged, namely, absorption of Goa. Which means liquidation of Goans as a community because the Goans cannot hope to survive as a community once they are dissolved in the flood of 370,000,000 Indians.”

The paper quoted what Nehru and other Indian leaders uttered about Goa whether in or out of Parliament. It wrote: “The Indian leaders have never ceased to demand the merger of Goa. In fact, no other option has been so much as mentioned, in the Indian Parliament-not even by Mr. Nehru. Yet, speaking to Goans on June 4, 1956, Mr. Nehru said that he would be satisfied with "Goa minus the Portuguese". This is what Mr. Nehru said to Goans, as if trying to stimulate an ambition to form an

independent Goan nation. But the same Mr. Nehru speaks a different language in the Indian Parliament and in the all India Congress sessions. What does it show? It shows that Mr. Nehru is trying to lead Goans into a trap. "Goa minus the Portuguese" means Goa exposed to all the wiles and tricks of the Indian Union. If the Portuguese flag should be removed from Goa, the Goans would be just pawns in the Indian game-helpless before the dictates of Indian imperialism."

As the year 1961 unfolded, the nervous tension over Goa was visible in the press on both sides of the border. The press reported on the actions and speeches and comments of the leaders involved in the "case of Goa" and also generally supported their respective Governments. Propaganda through the press and by the press continued to grow shrill as the year passed. *Heraldo* wrote³⁹, "The Indian press certainly inspired by the government has been insisting each time in a more forceful language, that the military action should be undertaken against Goa. And the Indian leaders, instead of as it should be their duty, opposing, have contributed to sustaining the tension, and are trying to encourage and divulge which they are aware, are not based on facts or realities.....The Indian Government calls itself a great defendant of UN Charter. I believe, the use of military forces is not the means foreseen by the charter to solve any disagreement that may lie between points of view of the various governments. The government of India affirms that it is pursuing a peaceful policy and solely through peaceful methods. On this point I do not deem that the belligerent attitudes assumed by it may reconcile with such policy.

The Indian government declared repeatedly that it has always abided by the decisions of international organizations. In this line of thinking we hope that the government will abide by the decision of International Court of Justice dated 12-4-1960, which was favorable to Portugal, in regard to the issue of Portuguese territories of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. The Indian government proclaims itself defendant of self-determination and people's independence. We feel that the annexation of Goa by Indian government does not conform with those lofty concepts and it would be no more than a violation of the charter of UN and the principles of morals and international conduct. Above all the Indian Government proclaims that people's desires should be fully respected. Now, the inhabitants of Goa have demonstrated through centuries, their determination that they are and will remain as Portuguese-that the prime minister himself affirmed on 6th September 1955, that he would not tolerate the Portuguese in Goa even though the Goans desired their permanence."

Heraldo kept a vigilant eye on what was happening about Goa at different fora in or out of India and commented upon the same. On December 8, citing reports from Lisbon it wrote,⁴⁰ "Reports coming from various sources have been received in the last days and according to these reports-the Indian Union must be preparing for an aggressive action against Goa. Indian warships have been moving at Goan ports and military forces have concentrated in the areas adjoining Goa borders." On December 10, 1961, **Heraldo** reported,⁴¹ "A complaint made by Portugal was put

before the Security Council of UN against Indian Union which intends to annex Goa Daman and Diu forcibly what amounts to a threat to peace and safety.⁴² An official note from overseas ministry was received by us as follows "the organs of information, dependent on the government of India, have launched a campaign which is aimed at confounding international public opinion, regarding aggressive policy which was adopted by that government towards the Portuguese State of India."

The **Heraldo** rebutted the reports published in Indian newspapers that Portuguese troops are authorized to shoot down anyone who contravenes the hour of returning home; that Portuguese soldiers crossed the border of the Indian Union and fired shots against its population, that churches in Goa and Diu are used as police stations; that Portuguese frigates with thousands of persons on board are anchored at a distance from Daman and so onwards. It wrote that there is perfect unity among the Portuguese, and that there has been no aggressive act on their part in provoking the Indian Union. "As against this, our territory has been illegally over flown by planes, which have yet remained unidentified, and concentration of troops and tanks are taking place near our border. At the same time, warships of Indian union crossed on the limit of territorial waters of the Portuguese...Our authorities did not reply to any provocations but it is necessary to realize that this situation can involve serious consequences."

Heraldo on 10th December 1961 published an official communiqué from the armed forces-headquarters sent by the Information department of the State of Portuguese India⁴³, "It is informed that on 7th, 8th, and 9th December, fire was opened from the Indian Territory near the border outposts of Patradevi, Focupato and Polem. There were no casualties on our side, the garrison is maintaining the fullest calmness and not counter firing. On the night of 8-9 one military vehicle was damaged by a trap which was laid on a road and one of the occupants was seriously injured."

Martires Lopes in a long article in *Heraldo* criticized the policies of Nehru. He wrote⁴⁴, "At the start of the so-called "Goa case" Mr. Nehru declared saintly that the movement of liberation of Goa Daman and Diu should start from within, not from outside for expressing sovereign wish of the people. The Goans inside as well as outside have shown eloquently, through its press, and in large-scale gatherings in all the talukas, their unconditional loyalty to Portuguese sovereignty. The Indian Prime Minister turned furious like a lion, and did not conceal his bad temper feeling sorry that one of his Goan adherents declared that economic blockade was motivated as a reprisal against press policy and popular gatherings in Goa. When the crime at Dadra was committed Mr. Nehru washed his hands off, affirming in open parliament that he came to know about the case through the press. Time, acts and facts came to reveal however that it was an ambush, cowardly prepared to their ends which cannot be confessed. And his mask fell down when in one stroke defying the verdict of the international court he sought to annex to his territory what

others had stolen. On the other hand, he said in the Indian Parliament that he would not permit the "*satyagrahis*" to enter Portuguese territories of India; months later on, the same Nehru said in the same Parliament that he could not prevent Indians from invading our territory. Mr. Nehru proclaimed to the world his political ideology of *Panchashila* that is the five principles of peaceful coexistence; in the meanwhile, the world saw that the same master encouraged terrorist acts in the border outposts of our territory and even the involvement of Indian police. Mr. Nehru, right from the beginning of his crusade, declared that he would never use force for absorbing the Portuguese parcels of India, and yet....declared that he would not exclude the idea of taking over Goa Daman and Diu on the strength of arms. Where does coherence lie Mr. Nehru?".....

The article went on to refute the charges levelled in the press and in the Indian Parliament against the Portuguese government in Goa and stated that Portugal did not derive any material interest not even one *paisa*, on the contrary, it was spending large amounts, with the sole objective of seeing that *India Portuguesa* was progressive in the fullness of its aspirations, that the administration of the land was handed over to the sons of the soil. It also enumerated beneficial measures adopted by the Government in Goa. After giving rosy picture of the Portuguese government, the article described the poor conditions in India. "But if an impartial observer crossed the border of Goa, Daman and Diu, he would witness a depressing image in the Indian Union of Mr. Nehru, where the majority of the people do not have a level of life befitting human dignity.

There is neither shelter nor habitation where one can feel the atmosphere of a home. They are leading a fluctuating life, at the mercy of everything and everybody, sleeping in the fields, or in the jungle, where the wild beast poke their human flesh on the foot paths from where the police picks up early morning dead bodies for the morgue.” The write-up went on and on to paint a very dark picture of Indian conditions and concluded that “This means that only 13% of the urban population drinks potable water; the rest from pools from dirty streams of the rivers and here the backward situation of Nehru's country can be conceived.”

The article went on to say that Goa was inalienable from Portugal and that no power could disturb the Portuguese empire. “In the face of this image so clearly differentiated neither the explosive politics in the UNO nor the weapons of Mr. Nehru nor the barbarian preachers in Africa shall be capable of breaking up the Portuguese world, which wearing the impenetrable shield of its spirituality will know how to face the attacks of the enemy however powerful may he be.”

The Goans believed that St. Francis Xavier was a protector of Goa and had saved the State earlier from an attack by the Maratha ruler, Sambhaji, when Goa was in a vulnerable position. The people of Goa once again put the fate of the land in the hands of the saint when large number of people as reported by *Heraldo*⁴⁵ went to Old Goa. The daily reported, “Once again as in all serious and threatening occasions we are journeying to the feet of the Saint, to pray for his valuable protection for the peace and

calm in this land of which he made himself the defendant. We shall go on 14th instant, Thursday, at 5.30 dawn, from the Matrix church at Panjim square and there will be mass at the saint's tomb at 8 o'clock. Only a humble and a penitent heart is acceptable before God and hence before the Saint. We are going repenting our faults and trusting in the great importance of the Saint, who remained in Goa to protect and defend us."

On the 14th of December, the **Heraldo** reported⁴⁶ "The threats and provocations are stirring up the "war of the nerves" and creating a tense climate.

Vasco Garin handed over to the Security Council of the UNO a letter in which he conveyed that the Portuguese Government has obtained confirmation that Indian Union admits the eventual annexation of the state of India. Important movements of naval units near the territorial waters of Goa were noticed. The assault plan, the letter says, would comprise an action by five frigates, the cruiser "Mysore", and the aircraft carrier "Vikrant". Air strikes are foreseen. The Defense Minister said on 7th instant that Air Force was alerted gathering five squadrons. Trains were requisitioned for transporting troops to Goan borders and big columns of troops are found, their men totaling 30,000. The letter describes next the violations of air space and tells that the merchant ship carrying goods and passengers on its way to Goa was overflowed by an Indian military plane. The Liberation Movement of Goa, decided to launch terrorist operations in the Portuguese State of India and ordered 500 commandos to sabotage all that is possible for them, so was declared at Belgaum city 15 km from Goa

border, by an informer of that movement. As per the statement, which was read by those informed, it was decided to start sabotage activities in order to prevent in Goa a genocide of Angolan type. According to the same statement the decision to launch terrorist assaults was taken on last Sunday, by the leaders of the Liberation Movement.”

Almost the whole of page 1 of **Heraldo** contained reports related to the impending threat to Goa. One can feel the sense of anticipation through the columns of the paper. On December 15, 1961, **Heraldo** reported⁴⁷, “Goa prayed on knees before the holy relics of its protector and defendant Saint, begging for peace. Yesterday at dawn countless faithful walked up to the Basilica de Bom Jesus in pilgrimage chanting and paying to beg the protector saint and defender of Goa St. Francis Xavier, peace to this land, which is threatened by Indian Union. Those included his Excellency the Governor General, Vassalo e Silva, His reverend Excellency the Patriarch, Dom Jose Vieira Alvernaz, high official entities of big business and industry and vast number of people.” The paper gave details of this pilgrimage in one and half columns. Almost full page was devoted to the Indian threat and war preparations by India.

In the same issue of **Heraldo** it was reported,⁴⁸ “During dawn yesterday the following events took place- A terrorist group attempted to attack a police station at Margao but was repelled. The Indian Union forces stationed at Araundem fired in the direction of the river which separates that territory from ours, near Quiranpanim. Blasts of shots were fired and

red rock was seen near Polem post. One Indian plane over flew at low height from the ship "Lurio". Five jet planes arriving from the sea overflow Goa territory. Replying to some questions from journalists about the action which the Government intends to take in the case of an attack by Indian Union, the Governor General, Vassalo e Silva said, "we shall fight with all our strength, clearly aware of disproportionate numbers, recollecting the famous phrase of Francis I in the battle of Pavio: " We may lose all, except the honour, and this honour is Goa continuing to be Portuguese."⁴⁹ *Heraldo* reported England's stand as it was reported by the BBC,⁵⁰ "At the last hour (BBC at 18: 30 hours) England holds that it is committed to abide by the treaties to support Portugal in the event of an attack by India against Goa. Foreign office declared yesterday that it is accepting any Portuguese proposal so as to send impartial observers. It said further that the threat of possibilities on the part of Indian union against Goa, caused high apprehension in London. The Portuguese Ambassador at Saint James, met Lord of the Privy Council to discuss the topic. England hopes that tension between Portugal and India may not aggravate, both parties refraining themselves from any provocation."

Heraldo reported on the increasing skirmishes and build up of tensions based on BBC, Voice of America and All India Radio broadcasts. It wrote⁵¹, "An attack against Goa will be a great shock to the world and will bring in most serious consequences, declared state secretary for commonwealth Duncan Sandys. The British and American governments through their ambassadors in India brought to the notice of the Indian

union, their apprehension as to the use of arms against Goa. England he added is united with Portugal by various treaties since 1373, but its intervention will arise only in the case of an armed conflict and it is not committed in regard to hostilities, which may occur against India. The British government hopes-official sources reveal, that India will not take recourse to arms, and gave the impression that requested Portugal to avoid any gesture, which may be interpreted as a provocation. BBC correspondent in New Delhi informed that the British High Commissioner and the American Ambassador brought to the notice of Indian government apprehensions of their respective governments in regard to the use of arms against Goa.

In the meanwhile, in New Delhi texts were published in regard to replies to the letter of the Portuguese government, sent to the president of the Security Council, concerning violations of Portuguese territorial waters on Goan coasts by Indian Naval units and aerial space by Indian planes. India rejected allegations of protest by Portuguese Government saying that it seeks to cover its "aggressive maneuvers" in Goa ridiculing them as "malicious and baseless".

On the contrary, "Portuguese planes have flown provocatively over Indian Territory-it is alleged in India's reply that the Portuguese have made belligerent preparations, bringing in large reinforcements. The Indian government, the reply says further, has taken serious note of the firing by Portuguese soldiers, against a merchant ship and repeatedly and openly

fired like skirmishes. Any consequence that may arise shall be entirely Portuguese responsibility.”

It is clear from these reports that the local papers definitely reflected the growing anticipation of action from India after its independence in “the case of Goa”. While some papers as referred above were sympathetic towards liberation movement but could not come openly in its support under the prevailing circumstances and a few others were non-committal perhaps for the same reasons; papers like *Heraldo* chose to react with sycophantic pro- Portuguese propaganda. *Heraldo* consistently persisted in its vituperative attack on Government of India and its policies towards ‘Goa Issue’ and called those involved in the liberation movement ‘Indian agents’ and ‘terrorists’. It continued publishing in exaggerated form darker side of India describing how Indians in general and Goans in India in particular were suffering under poverty. At the same time it never failed in showering praises on Portuguese government in Goa. The Press was silent when the curtain fell on December 19, 1961.

Reaction to Liberation:

Most papers welcomed the military action after the Portuguese surrender. *A Vida* exulted on the liberation of Goa⁵² and reflected the general mood of the people who rejoiced at the termination of the Portuguese rule over Goa. The following editorial is an example of its

stance."All the Portuguese lineage and vanity, pride, down the four and half centuries which had been exacerbated in these last years collapsed within less than 24 hours. The discouraging lapse of time which they (some people) were whiling away in Vasco de Gama would lead them to look into their own hearts and beating their own contracted chests. On the other hand from the north to the south of Goa often heaving a sigh of relief, the Goan population indulges in merry-making to celebrate the victory. It is the triumph of right over abuse of power, human dignity, inequity and barbarism painted in white color. It is this victory that is being celebrated peacefully in spontaneous manifestations of enthusiasm and joy of the old and the young boys and girls. It seems that from nature itself up to their souls of men was gained a new life. Multitudes of people join happily in comradeship and brotherhood in the squares of cities and towns; jubilant groups of people, moving in cars and Jeeps and pedestrians track in train the roads of cities and villages. Small boys and girls, students of private schools are organizing marching in procession all of which is far fetched from staging parades forcibly under orders of those in power to do so and transportation in carriers provided by *regedores* (the village administrative authority) and police stations.

But what we are now face to face with is not these physical ruins only, which are calculated as the damages consequent upon Portuguese domination. More serious are the economic ruinations, the moral depressions, and social injuries. In a few lines it is possible to summarise the line of action, which is imminent. In the economic field we were

victims of a sort of politics which were an absorption which was centered only in the interests of Portugal and the bureaucracy at the service of Portugal and to the service of the land, lastly, this economic war against the people of Goa was centralized in the conduct of Board of External Trade, coupled with economic theories which were eccentric and propagated in the Information Bulletins. Also the taxation policy, which weighed down with all brunt on a defenseless population was based on an immoral doctrine, which was not possible to combat because the press censorship would not allow it. The multi-secular ruination of Agricultural Communities and all our old social organizations as well as of the Governance are the more obvious symptoms of the damages which have been caused in the course of centuries as a result of the conquest by Albuquerque.

The Portuguese Government was through centuries exploiting alcoholism. As said by Roque Correia Afonso the entire country was transformed into a "licensed tavern". The Portuguese Government had no scruples in undermining the health and morals of the people for no other interests than accrual of their incomes. The illiteracy revealed that our country was among the worst world indices. The new system of primary education initiated four years ago and implemented in an unique incompetence came to worsen the situation mainly because of the quite wrong pedagogic doctrine on which it was based. Its aim was to teach the Portuguese language, the disregard of regional languages was full. In moral and civic spheres imminent task is among the more grave and serious. The Portuguese turned us into a boneless people. Servile obeisance was

instituted as a ruinous grass among the most ruinous qualities. Restoring the civic temper of our people is one of the most urgent problems faced by the country. Just by contemplating it, this hour of our civic victory turns sour. The Police instead of a body for protection of the people and properties had become a means of harassment and intimidation; it had caused destruction in the morale of the people and its sense of discipline, the bureaucracy and the police have been up to now the more undisciplined because of abuse of power."

*A Vida not only expressed and reflected public jubilation over Indian victory but also offered its pages to the Indian army for conveying messages to the people and authorities necessary to maintain peace and order. It wrote,*⁵³ "The events dropped on us in a fantastic hurry. The surprising rapidity of the Indian army's advance, the immediate collapse of the of opposition from the Portuguese troops resulted in the situation that the last 36 hours became an occasion for festive rejoicing all over Goa. The Portuguese are disarmed, expelled from the position of predominance that they have been occupying for the last four and half centuries. The Indian Army saved the population of Goa from the approaching catastrophic situation. A delay of a mere 24 hours could have resulted in complete chaos through the break down of the administrative machinery. Great are therefore our reasons for gratitude towards the Indian troops. No less deep are the reasons why we owe them the most serious cooperation, in Goodwill. A sector in which the cooperation must be frank, prompt and effective - it is in the matter of the policing of our towns and villages, in

keeping watch over the possessions of the citizens and the public property. In no other sector did the chaos that followed the abandonment in which the fleeing Portuguese left us has been so great and so ominous

Our columns are at the disposal of the authorities for intercommunication between them and the population. To begin with, the authorities wish to be made public that any help needed by families and individuals should be at once and without delay communicated to the police headquarters in Margao or to any police station in your neighborhood. There is however a sector in which street watch by persons of goodwill is required by the authorities. The Portuguese troops while abandoning their camps had left behind enormous quantity of ammunition, guns, pistols, jeeps, cars, typewriters, radio sets, cutlery, furniture, safes, crockery, stationery and a variety of other articles. In the wanton and indiscriminate blowing up of Quepem Bridge by the Portuguese, the roofs of all public buildings collapsed. That night the safe of the finance department was rifled by so far unknown thieves. The authorities therefore seriously warn those in possession of this military property that they must within the next eight days surrender the same to the police authorities and take a receipt from them. If such persons fail in surrendering such property voluntarily within the time limit prescribed, the military authorities would have to make a search of any of the suspected premises and the holders of such property will have to deliver it to the officer in charge and defender would be punished with a fine or imprisonment or both according to law. These are

the rules that the military authorities desire us to be made known to the public.”

Heraldo appeared to vacillate between showing support for the new regime and continuing its support for the previous administration. It had been so vocal in its support of the previous Government that it appeared ridiculous when soon after liberation the paper began to applaud Nehru for the liberation of Goa writing that earlier the paper had to support the Portuguese because of the prevailing censorship. However, by January, 1962, the paper again showed its negative attitude towards the new system and its appreciation of the Portuguese regime in a number of articles. It questioned the motives of the new system while reminiscing fondly about the policies and life under the previous Government.

A retrospect into the historical process of the liberation movement in Goa while summing up the chapter reveals that many Portuguese language papers adopted an anti-Freedom stance, since they felt that the Goan way of life would be affected. The English weeklies especially the Bombay based Goa press like *Goan Tribune*, *Free Goa*, were pro-merger ^{and} anti Portuguese. The *Heraldo* started by Antonio Maria de Cunha in 1908 fought for the emancipation of Goans but became a pro-Portuguese paper later under its editor Santa Rita Vaz, who after liberation of Goa went to Portugal. The *Heraldo* of 2nd April 1957 criticized Pandit Nehru's speech in the Indian Parliament, where he mentioned the inevitable integration of Goa with the Indian Union. The editorial decried Nehru's speech and

termed it as hollow, vain and arrogant.⁵⁴ In the editorial of 26th June, 1957 titled 'The Fraudulent Indian Propaganda', *Heraldo* carried yet another criticism of the Indian government.⁵⁵

Due to censorship constraints, the newspapers within Goa were not able to satisfy the need of the readers for real news. The people tried to meet this need by buying papers published from outside Goa. However, the government imposed bans on their entry too. There were many papers published by Goans in Bombay and many of them upheld the cause of Goa's liberation. The most aggressive of them in the beginning were *Ressurge Goa* (Wake Up Goa) of Telo Mascarenhas and *Free Goa*. Through the columns of *Free Goa* T. B. Cunha attacked the Church and the Portuguese administration for not granting freedom to the Goans. T. B. Cunha also started a Konkani newspaper *Azad Goem*. His book *Denationalization of Goans* was banned by the Portuguese government as he attacked the colonization and lusitanization of the Goans. *The Goan Tribune* at first edited by Aloysius Soares and later by Lambert Mascarenhas exposed the lie that Goa was a province of Portugal and Goans Portuguese. The fortnightly was circulated abroad and kept the international audience informed about the conditions prevailing in Goa.

The Goa Liberation Council was formed in 1954. The Goa Liberation Council did not adopt any particular ideology and was to be automatically disbanded as soon as the goal of liberation of Goa was achieved. The Goa Liberation Council upheld the cause of Goa's liberation

by invoking the right of self-determination for the people of Goa. The Liberation Council was determined to throw Portugal out of Goa by counteracting the Portuguese propaganda on the internal front. This it did with a measure of success through the *Goan Tribune*, a fortnightly magazine, which came into existence following the formation of the liberation Council, with Mr. Aloysius Soares as its Editor-in-Chief. *The Goan Tribune* developed a wide readership both among Goans in India and abroad and reached Indian parliamentarians, important politicians, leading men in public life and influential international parliamentarians and statesmen. "In time the **Goan Tribune** became the mouthpiece of the entire Goan freedom movement and presented Goa's case internationally. Its coverage of leading events received acknowledgement from the press of many countries. The Angolan revolt was soon to blow-off the lid of Portugal's volcanic colonialism."⁵⁶

The arrest of the leaders of the Civil Disobedience movement during 1946-47 created a lull in Goa and the centers of action shifted outside Goa. The movement again got momentum after the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in 1954. The National Congress (Goa), Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti, the Azad Gomantak Dal, the Rancour Patriotica, the United Front of Goans, the Goan Peoples' Party, the Goa Liberation Army and Quit Goa Organization adopted different methods including violence and engaged themselves in brave, risky and valiant fights to free Goa from the ruthless Portuguese rule. The publications of many of the parties set up to fight for Goa's liberation gave voice to the wishes of

the people which would not be tolerated in the daily Press. The *Azad Gomantak Dal* (AGD) set up a secret printing press and the popular "**Jwala**" Bulletin was printed for wide circulation. The bulletin was published in three different languages and political matters, featured therein, often captured the imagination of the people. "The range of distribution machinery of the organization had spread right from Bicholim in the north to Canacona in the south."⁵⁷ Among the popular clandestine literature issued and distributed by "Quit Goa" were "**Jowala**" and "**Quit Goa**" a cyclostyled regular bulletin in Marathi, English, Konkani and Portuguese, edited by Janardan Shinkre. Another ingenious method used by "Quit Goa" was the prototype publication of the Portuguese daily "**Heraldo**" with nationalist messages and news which caught the credulous and many unsympathetic subscribers unaware. "Quit Goa" Organization, vowed to fight with every means the fascist Portuguese domination, carried out several armed raids inside Goa and succeeded in instilling fear into the unwilling police personnel and mercenaries of the Portuguese intelligence.

Meanwhile, Portugal became a member of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization and in a joint statement Mr. John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, and Mr. Paulo Cunha, Portuguese Foreign Minister, stated that Goa was an overseas province of Portugal. The statement angered Indians, who condemned it. In the existing circumstances, they interpreted this statement as interference of NATO in India's internal affairs. They feared that NATO's colonial members such as Portugal would make use of the organization to cling to their colonies. India saw a new

danger in this regional defense pact. Indians thought that in any future world war, Goa would become a base of operation and any such step would drag India into that war. At the same time, Indian public had become restless and critical of the Government over the slow pace of freeing Goa. The Indian authorities could not ignore the wishes of the people for long. Ultimately, when the Portuguese resorted to shooting at Indian ships and fishing craft and trespassing into Indian territory in November 1961, the Government moved troops into Goa. In a swift action Indian troops entered Goa on 18th December 1961, and liberated Goa without much resistance from the Portuguese colonial Government on 19th December, 1961.

It is seen that the press had been quite alive to the movement for liberation of Goa having either a positive or negative stand towards it. While a few papers, like **Avida**, supported the movement, they were careful in not irritating the authorities under the circumstances and under the strict press regulations including censorship, and others kept up a non-committal stand. But the papers like **Heraldo** took a bold and clear anti Indian and pro-Portuguese stand. **Heraldo** consistently continued its vituperative attack on everything Indian condemning government of India and its policies towards 'Goa Issue'. It went on publishing stories to paint rosy picture of the functioning of the Portuguese Govt. in Goa. Its negative attack on India and positive praises of the Portuguese had only one motive of arousing public mind against the liberation movement and continuation of the Portuguese rule which it considered best in the interest of Goa. It called the liberation movement 'terrorism' and those talking of it 'Indian

agents' 'terrorists' 'hirelings' of 'Indian Imperialism'. Its editorials and other articles aimed at arousing public sentiments including religious, communal and regional feelings against any thought of 'liberating' Goa and its 'usurpation' by India. It published day-to-day happenings in India and elsewhere concerning 'Goa Issue' and conveyed to its readers that 'Indian Imperialism' and its 'Goan stooges' will never succeed in breaking the unbreakable bond that existed for more than four centuries between Portugal and Goa.

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- ³⁹ *Heraldo*, 7-12-61, p.1
- ⁴⁰ *Heraldo*, December 8, 1961, p.1
- ⁴¹ *Heraldo*, December 10, 1961, p.1
- ⁴² *Heraldo* got this information from Voice of America, BBC and All India Radio. *Heraldo* and many other papers of Goa freely quoted from and based their comments on reports appearing in Times of India, Voice of America, BBC and All India Radio.
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CHAPTER 5

THE PRESS AND SOME OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES

A retrospect into the history of the press in Goa reveals that the press was alive to various issues that affected Goan life, society, culture, religion, or body politic from time to time. Apart from the editorials, several contributing writers got their articles published in periodicals, newspapers or booklets etc. that highlighted matters of public concern. A critical reading of these published materials shows that more often than not the relevant issues were presented and discussed by the editors and writers with a particular purpose of public opinion formation, public awakening or for influencing the government and its authorities in favour of, or against, the subject matter of the write-up. It is found that the press gave equal importance to the writers expressing for and against the matter of controversy. The issues like emigration, education, government policies, problems of women, food, price rise, conversion and reconversions of people and many such issues got adequate coverage by the press and it would be worthwhile to present here how the press dealt with some of them.

Emigration

Emigration has been a part of Goan life for centuries. The outward movement of the population was due to a number of factors but

CHAPTER 5

THE PRESS AND SOME OTHER IMPORTANT ISSUES

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- ⁴⁵ 'Large peregrination to the feet of St. Francis Xavier', *Heraldo*, December 12, 1961, p.1
- ⁴⁶ 'Full calm prevails in Goa' *Heraldo*, December 14, 1961, p.1
- ⁴⁷ *Heraldo*, December 15, 1961, p.1.
- ⁴⁸ 'Provocations which are not answered', *Heraldo*, December 15, 1961, p.1
- ⁴⁹ "We may lose all, less honour which is that Goa continues to be Portuguese"-*Heraldo*, December 15, 1961, p.1
- ⁵⁰ *Heraldo*, December 15, 1961, p.1
- ⁵¹ *Heraldo*, December 16, 1961, p.1
- ⁵² 'A Solemn Moment' *A Vida*, December 22, 1961, p.1.
- ⁵³ 'Welcome to the Indian soldiers' *A Vida*, 23 Dec. 1961, p.1
- ⁵⁴ *Heraldo*, April 2, 1957, p.1.
- ⁵⁵ *ibid.*, June 26, 1957, p.1, 2, 5.
- ⁵⁶ Lobo, Cajetan - 'Lisbon Fraud and Deception Exposed' in Mascarenhas, Lambert (ED) *Goa Freedom Struggle*, Freedom fighters Association, Panaji, Goa, 1972 p.7
- ⁵⁷ Lawande, V. N. 'Armed Resistance to Portuguese Rule' in Mascarenhas, Lambert (Ed) *ibid.*

mainly in search of employment. There were not many employment opportunities in Goa itself as besides mining, which also developed mainly in the 20th century, there were no significant industries in Goa. The rice grown was insufficient to meet the needs of the population. Facilities for higher education were also insufficient. These factors mainly contributed to a regular outflow of Goan population.

The press frequently discussed the causes and consequences of emigration and other issues surrounding it. J.B. Pinto writes that the origin of Goan emigration¹ can be traced from the year 1779, when the then British Indian Government stationed their naval fleet in Goa against a projected attack on their Indian Possessions by the French Revolutionaries. It was rumoured that Tipu Sultan had invited the French to drive out the British from the Indian soil by way of Goa. This occasioned a windfall to the Goans to supply the requirements of thousands of British naval personnel, who found the Goan Christians, just the sort of people they wanted to work for them owing to the mode of their western dress, food, drinks, social customs, etc., which they could not find in the whole of the Indian Sub-Continent, with the result that the Goans, became their best source of supply and demand. Thus, Goan cooks, butlers, pantry boys, dhobis, bakers, tailors, shoemakers, musicians, clerks, ayahs, etc., were given exclusive monopolies throughout the length and breadth of the then undivided India. When the British Fleet was withdrawn from Goa after a few years and spread out to Bombay, Karachi Madras, Calcutta, Ceylon, Rangoon, Singapore etc., Goans followed them at all these places, and made the best of these opportunities by educating their children in the English language and getting them employed in the then British Indian Government service, Royal Indian Marine, Railways, Posts and Telegraphs,

Commercial firms, Factories, etc. The exodus of Goan emigrants was at first confined to the labouring classes and to musicians only, while the Goan elite, known as 'Bhatkars' i.e. Landlords and the 'Decendentes,' the counterpart of the British Indian 'Eurasians' or Anglo-Indians, remained in Goa and looked upon the emigrants with scorn and sneers and nick-named them 'Bombaistas' or 'Mumoicares'.

After the removal of the religious bias in 1910 when Portugal became a Republic and the non-Christians were admitted into Portuguese Schools, practically the whole of the Government service and the independent professions in Goa passed into the hands of non-Christians. Thus, all Goan Christians, high and low, rich and poor, bhatkar and mundcar, looked upon emigration as the only hope of their survival. The Portuguese Government in Goa did nothing to stem the tide of this exodus of Goan emigration, but actually encouraged it, as they found that it was the chief source of revenue flowing into the Goan Treasury by way of the foreign remittances received from the Goan emigrants. The Goa Government, in addition, imposed a Military Tax upon those termed 'Assimilados' (i.e. Portuguese knowing Goans), and 'Emigration Tax' upon everyone both 'Assimilados' as well as 'Indigenos' (i.e. natives who do not know the Portuguese language) who left the country to seek some employment in India or elsewhere. The Military Tax was supposedly in lieu of compulsory Military service, which was neither enforced nor even wanted, but was payable by every 'Assimilado' (Cidadao Portuguez) leaving Goa. The 'Emigration Tax' of annas ten was payable by every emigrant which in realty most of the Goan emigrants evaded to pay.

During and immediately after the First World War, the Goans in India found themselves ousted from several of their monopolies, and thrown out of employment. European liquor shops, bakeries, tailoring, hoteliers, Bandsmen, Shipmen etc. passed into the hands of other communities owing to competition and other reasons. Thousands of Goan Bandsmen throughout India and Overseas were thrown out of employment by the advent of Cinema Talkies. Goans had reached the culmination of their prosperity just prior and during the First World War, after which they faced the problem of finding a bare existence in any of the avocations they had been used to. They could not return to Goa and turn their hands to any other avocation of their forefathers as their bodies, hands and feet had become too tender to undertake such manual work. Nor, could they take up business, as they could not stand the competition with Hindus and Muslims, who had monopolized practically every trade and avocation in Goa. The Hindus in Goa were in complete control of the grain shops, groceries, cloth, wearing apparel, and in skilled labour such as tailors, carpenters, masons, tanners, shoemakers, iron, copper brass, tin and gold smiths, firework makers, image makers, carvers, motor and general repairers, welders, distillers, boatmen etc. Although most Hindus did not eat or drink any of the European foods and liquors, and consumed hardly any country liquor, they traded in practically every kind of European provisions, wines and spirits and local commodities, including tinned pork, bacon, ham etc.

Articles upon articles started appearing in the Goan newspapers in Bombay stressing upon the depressing and distressing conditions of the Goans in Bombay and Overseas, and calling upon the Goa Government to do something to alleviate their sufferings by taking some measures in Goa for their rehabilitation. The Goans in Bombay sent out a deputation to

General Craveira Lopes, the newly appointed Governor General of Goa, in order to acquaint him with the deplorable condition of the unemployed Goans in India and elsewhere. He was very sympathetic and undertook some measures in order to solve this problem. He appointed Legal, Agricultural, Industrial and Development Commissions in Goa, in order to find ways and means of encouraging home industries, trade and commerce, formulated a scheme for the development of the barren tracts in Novas Conquistas and another scheme for the relief and amelioration of the unemployed Goan Emigrants in Bombay, and invited suggestions from the Goan public to help him in his efforts.

In these circumstances, J. B. Pinto made a survey of the conditions obtaining in Goa and amongst the Goan Emigrants. He suggested solutions of the various problems confronting the Goan Emigrants. A Standing Committee was appointed in Bombay known as 'Goan Emigration Committee' with an office at Dhobitalao, Bombay, with funds amounting to Rs. 45,000 per annum to carry out some relief work. This Committee formulated the following programme for the unemployed Goans: 1. Work for the unemployed so as to utilize their time in economically productive occupations. 2. Raising the level of efficiency of cooks, butlers, tailors, etc. to enable them to earn higher wages. 3. Introduction of new occupations like carpentry, ladies' tailoring. 4. Appointment of a trained missionary for the moral and social uplift of the masses by meeting the poor, studying their requirements, rendering them monetary assistance and placing before the Committee their needs as well as a Scheme for reform. 5. Establishment of free dispensaries in localities. 6. Organization of Social Purity movements and the uplift of the fallen women. 7. Scheme of Agricultural employment in the Novas Conquistas

for the unemployed prepared to return to Goa. 8. Development of the Commercial and Technical education. 9. Establishment of Portuguese and Konkani classes and development of education for the adults. The drafting of this Petition² by Mr. Pinto was a long drawn out process involving a good deal of research into the conditions of the Goan Emigrants both in Goa and elsewhere, and visiting several Government Departments and Establishments, clubs and Institutions in quest of the necessary data.

A Vida often discussed the issue of emigration in its pages. Prof. Francisco Correia Afonso had organized a discussion on the theme in the city. The paper published his discourse as well as that of Dr. Narcinva Naique supporting emigration and that of Mr. Antonio Colaco and Dr. Baronio Monteiro opposing it. Francisco Correia Afonso said³, "The Emigration has been the largest factor of the welfare of the people. This thesis is mine as well as of the comrades who are along with me, that the emigration to British India has proved itself to constitute the most assiduous and fruitful among the factors making an impact on our welfare, and that its influence, though not devoid of flaws, has been beneficial from all points of view-materially, intellectually, spiritually and morally". Stressing on the importance of his thesis, he went on to say⁴, "We are persuaded that it is out of emigration that we derive the development of the best of the elements which make the economy of this land, and our mental makeup, as a whole people. Recognition of this glaring fact is to pay off a debt of gratitude, towards a movement which till today has been misunderstood and poorly evaluated; at the same time we have to seek inspiration to promote our progress, our aggrandizement in future, within the land and in the comity of peoples."

F. Correia Afonso argued: “Our thesis is that the emigration has promoted the welfare of the territory, through its effect on both the emigrants and the non-emigrants; the emigration is not merely a demographic change of place. It is a morally forceful wave made up by varied influencing factors, which we will go on analyzing. The grand task of rejuvenation, which is being fulfilled by the emigration –as much through those who stay in as through those who leave- it may generally be taken for granted, to return. Its effect is felt among all our classes, to the most remote localities of the territory. ...Materially, emigration has been gifting prodigally like a March harvest. The emigrants will not irrigate, but are irrigating our soil, with the sweat of their brow. It is their remittances in cash and kind, which fill in the deficits and the shortages in the territory. The savings of our emigrants have been useful for our agricultural exploration. The emigration has remarkably boosted our commerce and industry by fostering entrepreneurship among our people, by technical experience, which it gained abroad, by way of investment of emigrants’ capital. It is emigration which by way of imparting a better and more practical training to the children of the soil, in science and arts, raised the level of our competence in medicine, engineering, agronomy, mechanics and other avocations resulting thereupon far reaching advancement in public services and professional activity. It is emigration that has fostered the welfare of our people, the working classes in particular, expanding the cult of sport and qualifying the middle class and the proletariat to ameliorate their modus vivendi.”

He further argued that the faculties of Goans are so varied and pliable, that he can grasp any culture and succeed in any sphere of life. He has shone bright in the pattern of Portuguese culture, but this frame was

very narrow for Goan's aptitudes. Emigration broadened this frame since it introduced emigrants to the great civilization, to the culture of ancient India, with its superb creations in philosophy, politics, science, literature and arts, which astonish and charm the European Orientalists. However, its highest cultural work is to have put Goans in contact with the intensive life of modern India- the Indian Renaissance. Under all such influences allied to that of sports, emigration has qualified the Goan to become an integral man, a sound mind in a sound body, master of western and eastern culture. Thus, the emigration trained the Goan for the historic mission -the fulfillment of grand synthesis of cultures.. "But this grand cultural venture can be based only on the awareness of our own culture, and that too was bestowed on us by emigration. The emigration made us cognizant not only of the great Indian culture, but also of our regional culture. The emigrant loves from the bottom of his heart, and carries on the cult of his traditions. By dint of new views he gained from emigration, he enjoyed in a better manner the charms and fineness of these traditions and generated a new culture consisting of our traditions, renewed, shorn of its flaws. The culture, which was the pride of past-westernized generations, was largely an artificial culture and as such some of its aspects were in bad taste. The voice of brides of those times was quavering simultaneously, from the wedding to the grave. ...".

Enumerating the benefits of emigration, he further said that it has also aroused Goans to be proud of their own culture including folk art, music, dance etc. "Culturally, emigration led us to the discovery of Goa. Emigration restored the Goan woman to the Indian gracefulness, commuting the despicable *Kapod* into the appreciable *sari*. Emigration taught us to cultivate the Konkani language and literature; the fine works of

Valaulicar⁵ were begotten from it. His recent death was a great loss to Goan letters. It provided larger opportunities for success of the talented Marathi writers; it recovered the Indian dance and song from the degradation it had reached in the old Hindu society. It is emigrants who by sweet voices of the amateurs that constitute Goan folksong and Choral Society presented Mando and Dakhni to regale the cosmopolitan society of Bombay; it is that rather than the scandalous *zagores* presented to us in vernacular drama, which possesses art, innocent grace and humor of the mysteries of the middle ages; it led to sculpture and painting with original inspiration, in the works of Kamat, Angelo Fonseca, Angela Trindade Constancio Fernandes. As a cultural element an original one of Angelo Fonseca is much more valuable than hundred reproductions of Michael Angelo.”

He went on giving arguments in favour of emigration saying that it helped also in the spread of Christianity through western education. “This education allied to catholic literature in modern English, created in those lands a catholic society of living and dynamic faith. It was there that Christianity attempted to make its appeal to Indian temper. Emigrants also studied the Indian philosophies, the languages and literatures. This also led to religious upsurge. “The spiritual influence of emigration is allied to its moral influence. By dint of its religious and secular educational system and sports discipline, emigration has exacted for its youth an environment wherein the ideal of simplicity, soberness, willpower, joy and chastity is predominating. By the love of the home intensified by nostalgia, by the pride, which was revived in us for traditions, by revitalizing contact with the great reformist movements and introduction of Indian renaissance, emigration imparted unto us a better concept of public duty, which we owe to our country. It taught the working classes the concept of forming

associations and mutual assistance. By dedication to literature, which is profound in thought and graceful in form and by reading the modern journals and magazines in the best meaning of the word, it has broadened and deepened the mind of our cultured classes, making it more tolerant and correct in the manner of expressing its ideas. Above all it has instilled in our proletariat the bent and opportunity for wrenching us from inaction, which has been the fountainhead of our evils, the alcoholism being the supreme among them, which our people are drowning in."

In the absence of emigration, he argued, apart from economic problems, other serious evils that kill the soul would overpower society. The youth devoid of sports would loiter in wasting their time stretching themselves on the benches in the squares, with a cigarette hanging from their lips. "The adults shorn of purpose in life and lacking in work would have been engaging themselves in squabbles of no importance, in idle chatter at the counters or in politics in the derogatory meaning of the word. It is in order to wipe out the people's tedium, alcohol, tobacco, unrestrained dancing etc. Vultures of laziness, lewdness and gluttony would have snatched the land. Till now, amongst us, is the mere aim of enjoyment, a life of eternal feasts and plentiful menus not prevailing? ..Emigration placed an aim before our eyes and the will and the ability to attain it."

Dr. Antonio Colaco's comments opposing the stand of Prof. F. C. Afonso on emigration were published in the same paper.⁶ Dr. Colaco, to prove his point, quoted from a study undertaken by a few youth who had reported about the life of Goans in Bombay. "We ended our visit to the Cuddas (Cuddas may mean Kuddis i.e. small rooms) under painful experience of absolute lack of hygiene, and among them, 3000 tailors,

musicians and bakers, 2000 carpenters and fitters, 10000 servants (kitchen etc.), 3000 ayahs and perhaps a large part of 12,000 clerks/officers who are in Bombay. They are going to breathe in their turn the morbid exhalations exuded by the rotten litter surrounding them within the four walls of their "cudda" to end their days on straw beds of the hospital- counting the beads of their rosary of ailments, or to return to the motherland, to become the focus of ailments which were unknown to him over there"! Dr. Antonio Colaco refuted what he calls Prof. Afonso's proposition that "emigration has been the biggest factor of the welfare of this land" and instead considers it as a "necessary evil". He adds, "The immorality is rampant and unrestrained, in the midst of a repulsive absence of cleanliness. After questioning priests and medicos, visiting hospitals, crossing the sacred boundaries of maternities-the horrors of female and male emigrants were noticed in certain zones and environment, which was not utilized formerly, rather the contrary-it was a despicable sector in the thick Goan agglomeration of the times."

Dr. Colaco also referred to⁷ the views of Dr. Socrates de Noronha, and Fr. Caetano Pereira about the evils and immorality that crept in the youth and the women due to emigration. He wrote: "When the character and morals become corrupt, in the heart of the social group- the whole social fabric is broken. And repercussions come in full swing, in successive waves, in the very same land from where the tentacles of emigration came off." He further wrote that " Prof. Correia Afonso is generalizing what is best, he is converting fantasies into Facts, he portrays a picture of youth, which is almost contrary to the reality, he keeps busy with the cream and is not mindful of the people, he ignores them in their silence, or lessens the slow devastation of our great ancestral virtues, in and out of the territory;

the very faith itself, honour, the spirit of unity and making sacrifices, the integrity and dignity of the households, noble ideals which are drowned deep in increasing sensuality.” According to him, tuberculosis played havoc with the health of the emigrants and their vitality and vigour is adversely affected because of alcoholism, tobacco, and idleness, overeating and drinking. He also cites this as a reason for the emigration of the Goan Doctors. But he clarified⁸ that he was not suggesting that Goans should not emigrate at all. What he was suggesting, was to tackle the problems of evils that go with emigration.

Talking about the economic repercussions of emigration, Dr. Colaco lamented that the emigration was a movement without coordination, non-scientific and disorderly. “Goa is today almost evacuated. Half our useful male population, one fourth or above of our females are absent here. In cultural, social and physical aspects, we are thus enormously short. It was a drain. But those who depart are remitting here large sums of money... Avertano Correia Fernandes had calculated as 16 million rupees per year, as the emigrants’ contribution around the year 1935. These 16 millions are breathing life and fostering vigour in our weak social fabric. What riches!..... Otherwise, a study made by Froilano de Melo and Sertorio Lobo showed that here in Goa, there were many households of the emigrants in glaring misery and numerous in a tight corner or just self-sufficient. Hence, many reservations are to be taken into account about distribution of this enormous amount. May as it be, it is to be admitted forcibly, that the frightening avalanche which fell on the territory greatly disrupted normal life. The spending increased dizzily, no discrimination whatsoever. There was a phenomenal increase in the imports. People’s education did not run parallel to the increase of finances.

In general, luxury and exhibitionism (in the absence of a norm) living conditions did not much improve in the households. More often, the façade sacrificed the interior. I would not return to dwell on tobacco addiction, alcoholism and other absorption pits where emigration gave a great whip. In general, the money was not well used."

Dr. Colaco further argued that emigration has produced paradoxes in Goan society. In the villages, many vast constructions came up, though they are monotonous and executed with little art, the necessities of life multiplied and the number of feasts increased leading to high expenditure. "The money which is squandered in profane festivities, in ungainly constructions, in the raising of our life standard, in many other expenses incurred by those who can afford and may do and by those who cannot afford nor should they, are pathological aspects of our social education, this system of our wrong evolution is at present wrapped up in a burning container of ostensible progress and prosperity but the evil is spreading up to the Goan colonies of Karachi, Nairobi, Mombassa, not to speak about Lourenco Marques.... The emigration so far "was "laissez faire", no direction, nor orientation, no organization nor planning," the ostensible Goan prosperity has created very bad sub-products, not to speak about the return and expatriation of so much capital, manpower, intensive materialization of life- of the anti-economic, anti-social, anti-moral of our economy etc". .

On behalf of the opposition Dr. Baronio Monteiro⁹ said at the same seminar: "Mr. Professor Correia Afonso and Dr. Narcinva Naique have stated emphatically- it is broadcast in Goa like a dogma that our emigration is the strongest factor of our public economy." He said."Without doubt

more families would have suffered from shortages if there were no remittances from the émigrés; but Economic science has taught us and it is confirmed by the present day crisis of subsistence, that the economy does not really consist of possessing moneys which are mere intermediary in the exchange of enough supplies, which are useful, or for getting services done". He pointed out that emigration harms the economy of the country since the money sent by the émigré to Goa creates demand, which have to then be met from neighboring states. In addition, emigration harms the economy since these emigrants are not available to work in the land. Just having money to buy goods did not constitute a good economy. Moreover, the emigrants exposed themselves and often their families to various diseases. Also, the emigration stole many hands from many professions, so that the services alone became more costly, as practised by respective professionals-who do not emigrate.¹⁰ "Far from bearing losses, this economy would have gained if most of this emigration were oriented in such a way that the emigrants after completing their professional training abroad and their apprenticeship in a useful profession is over would return to their homes in order to carry out here their activities... Such a permanent return is not seen in some cases, because the emigrants and their families, disgusted with the difficulties they find in this land and feeling an attraction for the comforts of living in the land of their emigration, have settled down over there forever, thus causing a shortage of demographic increase, what amounts to a loss to our society." He complained that emigrants did not return until they were old and invalid and thus unable to make any contribution to the local economy.

He also pointed out to the social problems created by the emigration of Goans. "The social aspect of our emigration is not more

encouraging for parallel to it has multiplied the diseases and diminished the vitality of our race, it has violated morals and public safety, by dint of the absence of the husbands or of the women of respective households and they and their daughters have been placed abroad in houses of doubtful reputation and by full apprenticeship which they undergo in the lands of emigration as cheats and wanderers do...The emigration has also led many emigrants to a dislike of our land and consequently settling abroad as domiciled." He offered several other arguments against Mr. Narcinva Naique's support of emigration.

Supporting the proposition Mr. Narcinva Naique argued¹¹: "Undoubtedly emigration has been the biggest factor of the welfare of the land; if we are living in this land it is due to emigration. If we spend our life as human beings, that too is due to it. Our possessions are very poor in proportion to our needs. We do not own industries deserving the title- national industries. . One cannot expect it to expand in industries. We have forcibly to restrict it to the utmost its activity in this field, to local needs, as peeling off the paddy and oil extraction (coconut) etc. Land was exploited to the maximum, in its cultivable area in the old conquest areas and if in the new conquests some area still remains cultivation requires prior sanitation, colonization, investigation –technical and so many other things which are beyond us. Again the question arises whether cultivation would be rewarding... In the meanwhile, it so happens that the cultural level of our people is above the natural productive capacity of the land... The lotteries that charitable institutions were authorized to issue were covering up to a certain extent this deficit and the other part was filled up by emigration. After lotteries were prohibited in British India- this burden

rests entirely on emigration and hence the emigration is not only the biggest factor it can be said to be the single factor of the welfare of the country.”

Naique argued that¹² “in case we do not intend to rely on emigration, it is necessary to reduce our needs, to bring them down to the value of our exports. By reducing our consumption of rice, it will be viable to reduce its purchase to the value of exports and thus incase we purchase only rice, we can balance the deficit. But restricting ourselves to live only on this rice, no scope will be left for anything else; we shall be able to live only as irrational animals do. Hence if we are living in a manner as moving along the world’s progress it is due to the emigrates. It was not they who caused the rise of the cost of living- it was westernization which purveyed unto us new habits of artificial living; mainly the beers and whiskeys increased the cost of living so that these caused ruination of many people. The emigration is not responsible for it. Therefore, emigration largely sustains the bureaucratic machinery, maintains order and discipline, justice and culture. . If we have been living, it is certainly because the emigrants paid off our deficit”. He also talked about girl emigrants saying that the girls of the *Gaeca* class were emigrating to Bombay to earn but once they landed there formed an association called *Gomantak Maratha Gaeca Samaj*, which is engaged in arranging their marriages and provides cultural facilities to all girls of their class, not only to the emigrates but also to those who remain here. He felt that in certain cases, emigration puts an end to the existing vices. Classifying emigrants into intellectual and illiterate groups he said that usually it is the former, which returns to settle in Goa while the latter, specially the sailor does not. He pointed out the difficulties being faced by those who return to Goa in their old age, like lack of roads, medical facilities etc.¹³ He also suggested the ways to help those who return to Goa

in their old age and concluded “emigration has been the largest factor of the welfare of the land”.

Other papers also highlighted the socio-economic necessity and benefits or otherwise of emigration from Goa. *A Vida*¹⁴ published an article written by Nelson highlighting the evils of emigration. “The population exodus which increased above all during war times carried away the adults and the adolescents, the consequence besides others was absence of personnel for manual work, domestic servants, artisans and why not agricultural land owners themselves of earlier times? Thence the disruption of domestic life, stability of the village and above all large deficiency in the cultivation of fields and consequently the shortage of production. The lack of production as it is but natural, lessened the abundance of the territory leaving the consumer even more dependent on importation and money. This is a vicious circle, which shall drive the land to ruination.”¹⁵ The writer viewed emigration from economic point of view and made an appeal to the authorities to inquire into its causes. “ We have to view emigration from an economic point of view... However, emigration cannot be considered as the vital organ of the country’s economy or as the vital organ of the economy of this land. If, perhaps it is, -as it is said- it is a clear indication that the system is anomalous and is in very bad situation.”¹⁶ The author wrote that emigration has caused deep concern among Goans.¹⁷

¹⁴ There are many causes for this alarm, but those which strike the eye are the apprehension, firstly of imports and proliferation of serious ailments; secondly shortage and near absence of labour force for agriculture, domestic services etc. Almost always, due to illiteracy, the Goan has rehearsed the use of tie and shoes, and attracted by this snobbery of dress

he has moved away or despised the fieldwork. He finds that they are unpleasant and not remunerative.”

A *Voz da India* published an article, which condemned emigration,¹⁸ and counteracted the arguments of Francisco Correa Afonso, supporting the emigration. The depletion of population and shortage of hands, according to the writer, were important evils. He observed that though the population of Goa consisted of Hindus and Catholics it was mainly the Catholics who emigrated. “In principle, we are not condemning the emigration; but we do condemn it when it is excessively increasing and in these circumstances it has to be restrained by the Government to avoid depletion of a territory’s population. We are quite aware that emigration produced financial drainage from abroad and the amounts of remittances to their families work out to lakhs of rupees. We are aware that this is true. ...However, the deserted Goa which showed itself in the trail of emigration is presenting an ever more threatening face. The worst part of it is that on a large scale, the emigrates established their domicile abroad in striking detriment to their native land. Moreover, it is a curious issue: while on one hand increasing emigration of Christians comes to the notice, on the other side non-emigration of Hindu element strikes the eye. The former crosses the boundaries to make a living, the latter makes his living remaining within the frontiers.”

Calling upon the government to study the causes of emigration the writer also addressed the citizenry to help the government by availing themselves of the facilities provided by the latter. “The Hindus know how to solve their life problems without leaving the country. This is not all. They also know how to earn at the cost of the emigrates who nostalgically

comes to Goa. The majority of carpenters, masons, shoemakers, cobblers, blacksmiths and tailors are Hindus. The grocers who go about knocking at the door of the rich emigrate who has returned to his household are Hindus. What is worse is that the Christian man squanders his money in luxuries and extravagance-things that the Hindu will not do. Suits of fine woolen cloth (casmere), chamois shoes (animal skin available in the Alps), stockings of silk, poplin shirts, beautiful saris, scents, lotions, powders, batons, rouges, European wines on the table, servants, taxi trips, all this is the practice of the Christian man, at the cost of money earned abroad and on better thought could have allocation. Let there be no doubt that emigration has been the worst evil to this land. It has reached such heights that it is quite fashionable nowadays that a *mundcar* is not working for his landlord, but often leaving for Bombay to remain idle for months together in the *cudda* awaiting a job. Once for all let all be convinced that money is not excavated outside Goa and there are abundant resources within our own territory for earning and exploring.”¹⁹

Pracash published the report of the Committee appointed by the local government to investigate into the condition of emigrates in British India. By publishing this report, the paper drew public attention to the momentous problem of emigration. It always adopted a very rational analysis to socio-economic or any other issue it chose to discuss in its pages. Commenting on the report it said²⁰ that its repercussions were felt in the economic, social, moral and political life. The committee has estimated that the number of Goans living in neighbouring India is between 55 and 60,000. Certainly there are Goan emigrates outside India, scattered in other places of Asia, Africa and America. However, 60,000 emigrants in India or 80,000 all over the world are not little. Is it a normal

phenomenon or pathological? ...The emigratory exodus is much more acute in the Old Conquests than in the New Conquests. And Bardez Taluka is more densely populated, which provides the emigration with the largest contribution." The writer says that though the Stanley Law had fixed 86 inhabitants per square kilometer as the maximum limit beyond which emigration forces itself imperatively to prevent misery, it was clear that there was no rigid character of a mechanical rule.. With hardly any industrial activity and low agricultural production and limited territory, emigration to British India, was more than a normal phenomenon. It became absolutely natural and organic.

Goan emigration to India was likened to the Italian who moved to an adjacent area in southern France, which was ethnically and socially akin. The difference in the colors of the flags represented only a conventional barrier imparting to the exodus the shades of emigration. Quite natural a phenomenon like a river which when it was over flooded overflowed to adjacent lands. The writer dismissed the Committee's suggestion that the Goan emigration in British India converged towards Bombay and such places where Portugal was exercising its *Padroado* as an "intention to ascribe to a coincidence a causative relation placing in a subordinate plane the natural and organic determinant of this emigration."

Menezes Braganza writing in *Pracash*²¹ was critical of the "House of Portugal", to be built at a cost of five lakhs of rupees. This amount was to be collected in the form of a loan to be refunded in 20 years. "It will be infructuous thing, which the governing council will not fail to vote together with profuse patriotic effusions.... Besides this "instrument" which is destined to intensify "the pride of nationality" we shall have in Bombay a

school of Portuguese language and a commercial course, which shall be exclusively tutored by teachers of Portuguese nationality.” In its report, the committee envisaged creating schools of teaching Portuguese and Konkani, with the objective of “spreading the knowledge of Portuguese language and to reduce illiteracy among the emigrants”. These schools were to be subsidized by the Emigration Fund and by institutions of Goan community, which existed in British India. “One can hardly understand its suggestion in regard to schools of Portuguese language, the uselessness of which it is first to admit. We do not embark on making the emigrates a legion of erudite polyglots teaching them languages which they have no occasion to speak. The Konkani schools, however, had the advantage of being an efficient means of wiping off fast the illiteracy in the emigrants’ circle. Yet our government felt that between the two suggestions made by the committee it should opt precisely for that one which represents to the emigrant what is useless.” He also condemned the proposed commercial education at the proposed Portuguese schools.

Pracash, alive to the problem of emigration, **published** almost the full write up of Menezes Braganza about an institution of the Goan Club in Bombay²². “The club is a home which is transplanted from the fatherland. The newly arrived find there, roof and companion, friends, his countrymen; in it he is initiated into the world of a great city; he gets information and assistance to obtain employment; it is for those who are working at a suitable distance from them; the club is the cheapest residence and therein are accommodated and fed those who are in transit to their native land; if unemployed the emigrant takes shelter in the club being sure that he will not be denied shelter, food, assistance till he obtains service or he returns to Goa; if he is sick, he is treated with all care; if he is overcome

by death, the club informs the family, buries him in a decent manner, even at its own cost and provides help to the family so far as its resources permit. The club was not a mere boarding mess, like the students' hostels; it was an institution sprung out of circumstances in which the first emigrants from Goa, were in and founded on an economic principle, cleverly adapted to the special needs of the situation." Then the write-up gives details of the management of the club, conduct of the members, system of maintaining discipline, order, peace and harmony as well as the source and management of its finances. He wrote that the members of the clubs belong to the workers' class, cooks, hotel servants, and other menial servants, tailors, musicians, carpenters, bakers, sailors and office staff. Their style of living is better than that of ordinary labourers in Goa. "The clubs or *cuddas* were havens for the working classes and revealed foresight, thrift, the sense of solidarity, the capacity of adapting." Menezes Braganza advised that the Government should have focused its attention on the improvement of these Clubs and providing sanitary accommodation to the workers.²³ He wanted the Government to financially assist these Clubs without destroying their innate structure and independence of action.

O Herald published a write-up regarding the problem of unemployment among the Goan emigrants in Bombay. The administrative committee of the Emigrants' Fund had been attempting to find out new avenues for them. The article states; "As one of the ways of fighting unemployment, the committee felt that the emigrants must be given incentive to agriculture and after a deep study was made of the problem it resolved to establish an agricultural Colony in Sanguem district in conformity with state law Decree (*Diploma Legislativo*, no. 604 dated 1932).²⁴ .. The committee requested His Excellency the Governor General

of Goa to grant his consent to send an agricultural expert to Goa. The purpose, which the committee had envisaged in sending a technical person, was to find out if colonization in Sanguem would adapt itself to the Goan emigrants in British India. The other reason, which moved the committee, was that it could carry on propaganda among the emigrants about the project, which had been framed and sanctioned by the Goa Government. The Governor General acceded to this request of the Committee. The Committee then contacted the director of Agriculture of Bombay Presidency, which recommended H.P. Paranjape and the committee selected him as its technician. The Directorate of Agriculture in Goa was immediately consulted and furnished the committee with many valuable data, maps/charts, and statistics including the Kelkar report. The Committee settled the general lines of the project and met several times with Mr. Paranjape.”

The article published in detail other facilities to be provided²⁵ in the programme as planned by the Committee including loans, houses, medical facilities, supply of seeds, mode of holding the lease of land, training in farming, safety and other infrastructure. “The colonizers after they are selected by the Committee, among the Goans, unemployed, in British India shall have a right of passage fare as defrayed by Government, to the colony site at Dhat. A subsidy will be granted to the needy for food supplies as deemed necessary by the committee. The period of subsidy shall not exceed two years. Implements, seeds, cattle and anything else which may be necessary for a regular cultivation, shall be also supplied free of cost, by the committee, to the needy colonizers. A practical agriculturist with a lot of experience, of various kinds of cultivation shall be appointed by the committee to assist and supervise over the colonizers, in their

agricultural activities.” The article reported that the administrative committee of the Emigrants’ Fund also appealed to the Goan emigrants in British India, to derive all benefits of this special opportunity which was before them for the first time, to devote themselves to a salutary and lucrative profession which not only would provide them with means of living but would make them economically independent.

Pracash in its write-up wondered what the Government planned to do about the social welfare of the emigrants in Bombay.²⁶ “It has created “An Emigration Fund” which consists of a levy on going out of this territory of Goa and of the net income of the lottery, per year, of each one of the two institutions of assistance - the *Misericordia de Goa* and the *Hospicio of Margão*. And to what purpose is it earmarked? 1. For construction of a House of Portugal and land to that purpose; 2. The setting up of a Portuguese school and a commercial course in Bombay exclusively tutored by teachers of Portuguese nationality. 3. Maintaining an information office “providing guidance” in regard to their job and assisting them to search out employment. 4. Humanitarian help programs for the poor and ill; and programs of assistance for emigrant women and children.”

Pracash threw more light on the House of Portugal.²⁷ It quoted from the “report” the *raison d’etre* for the *Casa de Portugal*: - “This edifice (the House of Portugal) will be the Home for all the community. Therein all our social institutions will be installed, therein we shall gather in a fraternal living together, to confabulate over matters and celebrate events of our collective interest. There from, as the center of diffusion of our activity, advice, example will issue, the word of order to all the Portuguese centers spread over India. This House shall also be the symbol of fatherland and above it noble blazon in the background, its noble hall, library and reading

hall and equipments for our fraternity, schools and adjacent ground for sports.”

About the status of the Goan emigrants who were employed in the British administration, Pracash wrote: “It is presumed from the passage that in order to participate in the community life they must belong to any one among the Portuguese groups. But while creating the “Emigration Fund” which will outlay 5 lac rupees to “House of Portugal”, it may not matter whether the moneys came from Goans who are still Portuguese or from Goans who have ceased to be so. It is not important to know whether the rupees are Portuguese or British. Artificial creations produce such paradoxes. The British have in London an India House; they did not name it House of England. It was created out of money accrued from India in order to deal with the interests of India. Here lies the logic of one who does not lose sense of realities. Our logic is governed by submissive policy. To this effect, there are no realities because they live with fantasies.” The writer feared that this “House of Portugal” would be a club for fashionable gatherings, a literary institution for intellectual revelations such as discourses, talks and other scholarly works and a sports association too. The writer wonders at the urgency and the need to set up this edifice. He also wonders at who would be issuing the orders from this Government building. He concluded, “Hence the House of Portugal far from fraternizing and joining together all Goans will be another dissociating factor. It will divide them in the 1st place according as they are Portuguese or ceased to be so and it will divide them whenever someone is there who doesn’t wish to measure his steps by official trot.”

The writer in **Pracash** stressed that the Government should be concerned with the high import duties on the coconut at its entry in British India. It was neighbouring India, which fixed the price of Goan rice. This betrayed Goa's undeniable economic dependence. The Indo-Portuguese was intelligent, hardworking, honest and hence he could reach better remunerative positions. Most of them who were working in the European commercial firms found themselves downgraded in their rise by Europeans whose merit in many cases was inferior to theirs. "In most of the cases, the most dangerous outgoing among our emigrants is the literate population which coming out of the universities and schools is reconciled to the salaries which suffice to their simple life do not fit in to those who have been accustomed to live in better conditions. Formerly our educated emigration was entering into and rising in all public services where its ability and faithfulness were making it desired and well accepted. Sadly, the present day conditions of Indian Administration closed this recourse to some of the departments of administration." The writer fretted that the Government was inattentive to the formidable political transformation of India, which would give rise to a new world and did not care to reflect for a moment on the social and economic repercussion which the new political regimen of India whatever maybe its shape at the end of struggle would bear on the emigrate's life.

*O Heraldo*²⁸ opined that the poverty of the land was the cause of emigration and that the density of the population was responsible for it. It reported that more than 60,000 Goans lived outside Goa out of which 50,000 lived in British India, the rest, were dispersed to the five corners of the world. The Emigrant population of Goa was, therefore, almost 1/10th of the population of the country. The writer appreciated the fact that Goa was

able to sustain around 1,200 people per thousand squares. In British India, more than 40,000 people died almost everyday. On the other hand, for the last nine years Goans had eaten three meals a day. Then the writer highlighting the problems being faced by the emigrants wrote that many Goan seamen lost their lives during the course of the Second World War. Another hardship on Goan emigrants during the II world war was in the shape of money exchange between Bombay and Goa, between Portuguese Rupees and the then British Indian Rupees, which had been the stable currency of Goa side by side with the Portuguese currency. The Banco Nacional Ultramarino, the State Bank of Portuguese India, was the sole arbiter in this money racket. All accounts of the emigrants with the bank were overnight converted into the then British Indian Rupees and a high premium was put on the Portuguese Rupees. All Money Orders received from Overseas Emigrants were paid in Goa in the then British Indian paper currency, and any Money Orders sent out of Goa had to be paid for in Portuguese currency. The Banco Nacional Ultramarino refused to change Indian Currency notes and the Portuguese currency notes completely disappeared, and the premium on them rose to as much as 20 per cent. The Government of Goa remained a passive spectator to all these swindling, and instead of coming to the rescue of the public, they demanded payment of their taxes, postal and telegraph fares, and even railway and steamer fares in Portuguese currency.²⁹

Amcho Goa in its issues dated 7/11/1929, 5/12/1929, 9/1/1930, 23/1/1930, 13/2/1930, 20/2/1930, 27/2/1930, 13/3/1930, 20/3/1930, 3/4/1930, 24/4/1930, 19/6/1930, 24/7/1930, 16/10/1930, 23/10/1930, 4/12/1930, 11/12/1930, 18/12/1930, 22/1/1931, 29/1/1931, 18/2/1932, 25/2/1932, 14/9/1932, 22/9/1932, 13/10/1932, 15/12/1932, 16/2/1933,

23/2/1933, 13/7/1933 discussed the different issues concerning the matter of emigration of Goans and drew public attention to it.

Food Supplies

The Goan economy was in the main based on agriculture and the main produce was rice, which was not enough to feed Goa's population even in good times and therefore rice was imported from India. The press as well as a number of writers wrote about the conditions of shortage, analyzed the causes and offered solutions. During the Second World War, undivided India being a British Dominion was completely cut off from food supplies from abroad, causing famine conditions throughout the country. Goa being part of the Indian sub-Continent, was automatically drawn into this famine stricken orbit, and suffered terribly for want of foodstuffs. There was acute shortage of rice, wheat, sugar and kerosene oil in Goa, resulting in wholesale Goan emigration into the neighboring Bombay Province in search of food. The little supplies which the then British Indian Government could send to Goa from its depleted stocks per month, could hardly last for one week out of the four and for the remaining three weeks Goans had to eat anything to sustain their lives. A number of deputations from the various villages waited upon the Governor- General of Goa demanding food, but were turned back without even giving them a sympathetic hearing or comfort in their tribulations.³⁰

Before the War, a lot of propaganda used to be published in the Goan Portuguese newspapers that a lot of foodstuffs and sugar were being produced in Portuguese East Africa, but during the war Goans could not get

even jaggery to eat. The periodical referred above reported that the local paddy in Goa, which used to be about Rs. 7-50 per *kandy*³¹ before the war, shot up to Rs. 26/- per *kandy* during the middle of the war, and the price went on increasing every year. 15 years after the war, the official rate was Rs.40/ per *kandy*, the black-market rate was double that figure and the annual rentals of the village *comunidades*' paddy fields rose 500 per cent. **Amcho Goa** reported that the paddy cultivation became an uneconomical proposition for ordinary cultivators, who had no oxen or ploughs of their own, and even to those who had these implements. The cultivators preferred surrendering their holdings owing to their inability to pay the exorbitant rentals. It is worth noting that Portugal was not at war, and her ships could navigate all over the world freely with full lights on as in peace time, without any fear of enemy action, yet she did nothing to alleviate the sufferings of the Goan people. It further reported that Goa started some sort of rationing towards the end of the war, and distributed whatever could be got locally and from India, but the shortage continued unabated throughout the greater part of the post war period. Rice, Coconut and areca nut were major items of export from Goa. They were also major items of consumption within Goa. They, therefore, found frequent mention in the local newspapers.

A Vida often discussed the food situation in its pages, sympathetically and rationally. In one of its issues it wrote: "As we have often stressed our regional economy is not much different from that of like regions of neighboring India- and thus, the various measures taken over there and the suggestions which appear in the Indian press, can be indications which are pertinent to our case of procurement and distribution of rice."³² **A Vida** talked about a report of the Doodhead Committee

published in India on this issue and in concurrence with the Hindu of Madras, it suggested how by offering an attractive price to the producers of surplus rice may motivate them to declare the produce and to sell it to official agencies, and not to sell it clandestinely. It wrote: "Prices of all articles that the rice producer has to purchase in the market have enhanced and they will stay high for a much longer time. It does not sound reasonable that the officially fixed price is not raised to the same comparative measure. We may say that the imbalance between the selling price of rice and that of purchase of all other kinds and articles is one of the reasons for reluctance in handing over rice and selling it clandestinely... The system, which we would suggest is to restrict the procurement in the case of those who really are the rice producers for sale, this would solve the problem fully. The details we took from the Hindu reveal to us that our orientation is far away from the wrong path."

A Vida offered solutions to agrarian issues in Goa in conformity with those suggested and published in Indian newspapers. The acute problem of food shortage in India during and after the II World War had its repercussions in Goa since the rice produced here was not sufficient to meet its needs. *A Vida* reported "We are particularly and directly interested in the situation in neighboring India, from where we are getting a large part of what we are consuming and almost all that we are dressing and all our footwear. In case penury comes over there, within two months, these are not sentimental declarations or rhetorical exaggerations but foresight based on objective data- what shall we hope for?"³³ Other local newspapers frequently published the reports on the food situation appearing in Indian newspapers. Some like *A Vida* reported India's struggle to feed its

population sympathetically while others like *Heraldo* adopted a negative approach.³⁴

Jesus Gomes, writing on agrarian scene in Goa, in *A Vida*.³⁵ suggested that the control by supervisory fiscal stations and by "bonafide persons" of the localities must continue over most of the merchandise, which are of everyday use, about the price and elimination of hoarders, and speculators. In regard to rice, according to him, the prevailing system was inconvenient as much to the cultivator as to the consumer. "In places other than the cities and mainly in the capital, before the war all those who were not cultivating rice and were not in receipt thereof by way of rents and yet they had been consuming it in their everyday life, mainly those who were feeding on boiled rice, or rather the local rice, provided themselves, once in a year or half year, purchasing directly from the cultivator of the paddy, or rice with husk in proportion to domestic consumption." The writer then went on to enumerate merits of this system. He argued that advantages of this system were threefold; it was beneficial to the cultivator, the non-cultivator and the industrial mill owner. Giving details of how the system of intermediaries was not beneficial to any party, he concluded. "Therefore the territory, the rice cultivation, and the consumer, the *comunidades*, the *confraries* (fraternity associations of church/chapel in the city/villages), *fabricas* (administrative bodies of church/chapel), *mazantias*³⁶ (fraternity organizations of each Hindu temple), and other associations, possessing rice fields or receiving rents from those suffered a loss."

The writer also suggested that, except in the cities and in Nova Goa, the bearer of the ration card can go directly to the cultivator or proprietor of rice destined for sale and acquire from him sufficient paddy,

corresponding to the rice with husk, as indicated in the card or rather double the quantity if it was not *corgut* for six months or one year. He also offered detail suggestion for the proper distribution of rice on the ration card. He wrote that this regimen was not meant for the cities, Panjim in particular, where there were from immemorial time, people who purchased on a monthly basis husked rice, which the rice sellers, men and women on predetermined days of a month brought to the cities, the rice which was produced at Neura, Dongrim, Goa Velha and neighboring parts where the ration cards were to be subject to another regimen i.e. for example, the collection of monthly rice could be done by agriculture department or distribution by stations, as in the case of sugar and kerosene or through offices, associations, clubs and cooperatives.

Gomes wrote that the most competent persons were those who lived in Nova Goa, as well as the landlords and the cultivators in the areas surrounding the capital city which in common agreement with the agriculture department, could have organized a practical regimen, so as to benefit the cultivator, the consumer, the worker and others. The state and the comunidades, the cultivators and consumers of rice, the superintendents and the executives concerned with the resale of rice, were to be guided by only one objective, to arrive at a pragmatic solution of only one problem, rice should not be left to be spoilt and deteriorated. Jesus Gomes, put some suggestions for the Supply Committees, which were published by *A Vida*.³⁷ In an earlier article he had suggested that a central committee for supplies be appointed, which under Police supervision, in agreement with municipal authorities, may look after this foremost problem, outlining a model for its Constitution. Parallel to the Central Committee functioning under the presidentship of an entity with full faith

and Supreme State Authority, local committees would be needed, formed by entities which normally looked after various rural and urban activities, in order to supervise personally in respective administrative and economic and social sectors.

The writer reported that the local bonafide persons had formed into committees and tightened the supervision. However, the structure was weak right from the outset. Moreover, not all items of mass consumption were brought under the purview of these local committees. These committees were to centralize under Police supervision, the whole supply problem and oversee in cooperation with the people and authorities. The periodical reminded that these committees for supplies would look after all the necessities of living and deal with all products and their by-products which are immediately needed, with cards, for rice or *nachnim*, bread and meat, wheat and millet, sugar and kerosene, petrol and edible oil, coconut and fish, medicines in common use and cloths needed by all. Supply Committees composed of seven local entities would thus assist the Police and other authorities in identifying blackmarketeers. The writer warned that "There will not be sufficient rice in the *Khariff (vangana)* crop, the ragi is disappearing from the market, water is becoming scarce, the coconut production was very low, the price of copra and edible oil is rising high. Cashew and Jack Fruit are also in poor production. All this requires that our life is organized as early as possible to produce more and save more, collecting and rationing, distributing and nothing to be squandered, which can be successfully implemented by the Supplies Committees spread over every nook and corner of Goa." If heed was not paid to these suggestions there could be famine and flu as happened in 1916, the author warned.

A *Vida* wrote that the main agricultural products such as rice, coconut, salt, betel nut, mango and other fruits underwent price fluctuations, as the productivity from the land reduced. The Government did not take any concrete measures to remedy the situation and private initiative was not the forte of the Goans.³⁸ It wrote about the shortage of rice supplies in Goa. "We have expressed, some days ago, our doubt that our shortage in the matter of food grains is as big as we believed so far. And we held forth that we could perhaps solve it on the basis of our regional resources without major difficulties. A retrospective examination of measures taken in the last four years, in regard to the supplies of rice and visible results thereof enable us to arrive at some conclusions which are practicable in regard to this topic."³⁹ The paper wrote that the zones of large production of rice were clearly located; where the cultivation was carried out not for the supplies to the families of the cultivators themselves and that of the landowner, but with an eye on the profits by sale. It advised the Government to put aside all the complicated procedures and to simplify the scope and the incidence of the measures to be taken. According to it, it was sufficient to supervise and to duly rout only the sale of surplus rice. "This action, in coordination with the daily or weekly supervision of dehusking mills, would put an end once for all to all these complicated procedures, and centralization. The Government needed to pay attention to surplus production of farmers growing rice on a commercial level. "

O Herald dated 14/12/46, referring to the global food crisis reported that a resolution sponsored by the five Great Powers was mooted before the Security Council asking the U.N. to remedy immediately the situation regarding food items. In India, the Central and the provincial governments geared their machinery to preclude the painful experience

Bengal had. The writer showed his concern of an impending shortage when he asked, "We are an essentially importing country. Shall we be condemned to die of hunger, when the cereals which are entering via the borders would cease?" He stated that during five years of war food shortage was acute but Goa overcame the crisis by controlling production and consumption of rice and nobody cared to deal with the systematic production, sale and regulated consumption of other kinds of articles. "If rice cultivation had not been systematic through centuries, we would not be alive through the war. Our incompetence in solving the food problem was so deep." The writer raised several questions about different aspects of farming to find a solution to the food crisis in Goa and suggested that illiterate cultivators were the proper persons who can determine the solution of this problem.

A Vida reported⁴⁰ about a large meeting of citizens, which was held upon lawful permission in the Margao Club to draw a comprehensive plan conducive to the social, economic and political progress of Goa. Present were landowners, doctors, advocates, pharmacists, academics etc. coming from all parts of the territory. According to the report, the advocate Vicente João de Figueredo explained the reasons to hold the meeting saying that the same would be expatiated by the Hon. President. The select audience acclaimed the advocate and professor Francisco de Paulo Ribeiro who invited the advocates Eufemiano Alvares and Narcinva Damodar Naique to act as secretaries. The President said that the sponsors convened the meeting to fulfill the need to organize themselves and to bring about the uplift of this territory. According to the report, the matters discussed were the need to revitalize the comunidades, the factors responsible for emigration, the mechanism to prevent emigration from harming the

economy and the need for education to be imparted in an international language.

A Voz da India ⁴¹ published a bulletin handed out by the Government, expressing the Government concern on the shortage of rice supply in Goa. The bulletin read, "As it is foreseen that consequent upon the shortage of rice all over the world, only that quantity which can be produced here can be considered as certain, whereas according to the international report in which the cereals are rice, the quantities possessed the world over do not come up to 2/5 of consumption requirements, so that it is imperative to utilize for the consumption of this cereal all the lands capable of this kind of cultivation in Goa and Daman, in a manner to face the crisis which again is breaking out in an aggravating trend. This Department makes an appeal, therefore, to the landowners in particular, to the agricultural communities, and leaseholders of their field in the direction of developing the largest activity in the production of rice and other cereals. It is also necessary to avoid that the vast fields of the *comunidades* remain uncultivated, in consequence of floods of salt waters in the rice fields due to poor maintenance of bunds and their doors. These are frequent occurrences, in these times when a beginning is made in the fields to prepare them for cultivation of *Kharif*."

In this connection, this department advised in the propaganda bulletin no.1 of 1941: -"If the majority of cultivators followed more sincerely the advice given in the "propaganda" which have been carried into effect, caring more about their cultivations and the entities who are responsible for *comunidade's* fields could give them proper support in a real help to the small producer of rice, the harvest would undoubtedly be

much encouraging.” The bulletin went on to encourage farmers to use manure and proper care subsequent to sowing like removal of weeds, proper distribution of rainwater etc. and said that the government would do its best to assist the farmers.

A Voz da India, not only published the above referred *Government Bulletin for public cause* but also discussed the position of rice in its issues dated 29/8/1946, 4/9/1946 and 5/9/1946. Adequate supply of rice was of major concern to the people and government in Goa and this concern was found mirrored by the local press. Editors, contributing writers and the Government gave expression to their concern in the press. Coconut was another major horticulture produce, item of consumption and export. Almost every part of the coconut was also useful around the house and in producing oil and objects of handicraft. The local papers frequently reported on the conditions of supply and market fluctuations in its price. For example, *A Voz da India*⁴² reported that the export of coconut was suspended and criticized this as a thoughtless measure. The apprehension that coconut shortage will arise for domestic consumption was not based on realities. “The collection this time is the most important of the year and the price of coconut above Rs. 200/ is for select coconuts. In Salcete and in the new conquests twenty to twenty-five percent production out of this collection and a much higher percentage of other collections are not exported. In Bardez the export is null and in Ilhas 15% remain for local use. . Since not all coconuts were meant for export, there was no apprehension, no fear in regard to the shortage of coconut for local use.” The author wrote that since the exportable coconut was fetching a higher price, suspension of its export was wrong.

Criticizing the suspension of the export of coconut the writer further wrote that the labour for sustaining the production was very costly. "The suspension should be urgently lifted. This is what we are requesting the competent authorities in favour of the economy of the country." The impact of the suspension of the export of coconut on the market was also highlighted by the paper.^{43f} The steps taken by the Customs department prohibiting the export of coconut made its immediate impact, causing unrest among the concerned parties. The cost price, which was not of selected coconut, had risen up to Rs. 215 and there was enough demand. These reasons led people to believe that the prices would rise even higher. However, the action of suspension of export led to the declining prices. The Government of Madras had not yet suspended the ban on export of coconut; other provinces were therefore seeking to supply themselves from other markets that created a demand for coconuts from Goa."

In these circumstances the writer made suggestions: "The coconut industry should be industrialized, above all the extraction of their oil. This could yield the following advantages: As the coconut oil was in demand even outside India, the price was sure to rise. Any apprehension about coconut products suffering from deep fall in prices in case the Madras product might be placed in other provinces can be laid to rest because one can take for granted that the oil of Goan coconut might find markets outside India. If instead of coconut Goa could export its oil, it could obtain coconut coir in a much larger quantity than at present, and this was sure to redound favourably. The shell could be utilized as combustive material and the coir for industrial purpose in a much greater quantity than at present. This was also an industry creating more work to our proletariat. Every time the customs department felt it convenient to take any action,

which was restrictive or prohibitive, above all in refusing permit, was to inform the public to avoid confusion, which would have an adverse effect on the country's economy. If the export of products was restricted by quota system, the same office, the same Department, should at least weekly if not daily, make public the quantity of each produce, which was exported until the date of publication. This would help the interested parties for regulating their transactions.²⁴⁴

Similar sentiments were expressed by another writer, Silvestre de Costa.⁴⁵ He wrote, "I was informed that the monthly quota of a million coconuts has been authorized for sale and I do not feel that the apprehension that there will be a shortage for local consumption is correct. If I am not wrong, a few years ago, our customs statistics revealed our annual export of coconut had reached 36 million, and the figures, I am referring to pertain to a period when the price of the coconut in our land had come down to a point without exaggeration, to a rate of Rs. 6/- for one thousand as I was informed on that occasion, and it is to be presumed that the export during this period must have been very less as compared with our agricultural resources because on one hand these prices were not, competitive and because on the other hand there were not a few landowners to whom in such conditions, it might be convenient to keep up stock of coconut awaiting better prices. . . The writer hoped the Government would publish the export quotas at least half-yearly so that the exporters could be prepared. Moreover, the current opportunities for export of coconut was the outcome of the prohibition of exportation in Madras, and the unusual demand could disappear any moment, if Mysore coconut came to fill in this prohibition."

Another writer, Oscar from Chandor, expressed similar views in **A Voz Da India**.⁴⁶ "The freedom of exporting coconut, which is insistently demanded by the press, is not a topic to be ignored. Rather, to the contrary, in a territory whose economic balance shows a big deficit, in a territory where every day one regrets and moans the absence of industries which may export their products, so as to compensate the large amounts of money which is drained towards abroad, in exchange of imported goods, in a territory where the total amount of exports does not reach even half the cost of imports, and for this reason it is forced to export human hands, not to speak of bankruptcy, export of coconut which is our only worthy wealth, should deserve on the part of our rulers the maximum attention, seeking to enhance its value, without losing the chances of securing high price, which luckily are offered to us by markets abroad. Now the intermittent system of prohibition which is in force since some time ago up to now which was introduced by the Central Customs Office is not conducive to enhancing the value of the coconut, since, in times this produce had the highest price so far reached, in the neighboring market in Bombay, and there was relative facility in transporting it, it was precisely on this occasion that the Customs Department had the idea of blocking its exit which occurred from fear of the thought that free export could result in the shortage of coconut in the local market and rise of its price."

The press, he wrote, had written about the groundless apprehensions about the shortage of coconut, the cause of the comparative rise in its price and the consequences of suspension of its export. "The result was that the dealers did not dare purchase coconut, and it continued to stagnate in the shops of the landowners who sometimes appeared with high prices to make their provisions for the monsoons and to meet their demands of revenue

when the time limit was due to terminate. The monsoons are about to begin, as soon as it starts river transportation will be hampered...It is therefore urgent that the government authorizes the outward movement of coconut, freed of all the obstacles.”

Silvestre de Costa writing in *A Voz de India* once again on the agricultural situation in Goa.⁴⁷ reported the problems being faced by the Comunidade and others involved in agriculture. He wrote that 80% of the rice fields were in the possession of comunidades. On the occasion of regulating the elections to the Governing Council, it was officially affirmed that these agricultural and economic associations, represented more or less 40,000 interested persons as shareholders and Zontaeiros⁴⁸ making it clear that their number is not restricted to a few persons, but it is reasonably high and worthy of account. Since long, it was affirmed in long literary tirades in the press, that these associations were maintaining hundreds of orphans and widows and provided relief to their poverty. These century old agricultural institutions especially between 1930 and 1935, by virtue of economic crisis, the world over, were going through one of the worst period. Goa was over filled with cheap rice, imported from outside and consequently the comunidades' income, had come to low ebb-at 20% of their usual rents. There were two dangers. On one hand the rice cultivation fields ran the risk of being abandoned and on the other hand the local labour would remain without work”

The Government was seized of these issues and took measures to tackle them. Silvestre de Costa wrote: “True in the year 1934, the crisis of the prices of coconut reached an acute stage in regard to its availability in

the local market and even at Rs. 6/- and Rs.8/- by the surplus of overcharges the proprietors of coconut were given a compensation of Rs. 10/- per declared thousand and if this means favouring the producer/proprietor we shall see to what extent this protection stretches. Coconut cultivation is another foremost aspect of our agricultural life together with rice cultivation and if its producer receives quickly cash by exporting his produce this income merges with money circulating in the territory though up to a certain limit, helps balancing our imports and exports." The writer argued that the declining prices of the coconut could deprive the producer of purchasing power for getting manure and defraying the cost of cultivation services of the respective fields. Consequently, the local worker who was performing it would remain devoid of his wages on the one hand, and on the other, in the absence of agricultural work the production would be small, this would attract reduction of taxes towards the state.

Freppel Cotta, another contributing writer in *A Voz de India*, expressed his concerns about the coconut export.⁴⁹ "Should the export of coconut be completely free? Or should it be subject to, in public interest, certain limits? It is necessary to have statistical data regarding production and exportation, during the last 10-15 years, so as to enable one to answer this question." The writer complained that Production and export statistics were never carried out properly. He wrote, "One of the biggest obstacles, which is to be discussed in public in regard to economic questions of this land, is the lack of statistics, or when they are available in the archives of the Government offices, it is difficult, or it is rather impossible that a common man may obtain them." Freppel Cotta⁵⁰, giving the statistics which were published about the average export in the five year period,

argued in favour of. Fixing the limit of export at 30 million, i.e. the average of two five-year periods. He also made some relevant suggestions as to what should be the nature of the administrative set up to deal with exporters.

O Herald made a thoroughgoing analysis of the food situation in Goa. It wrote⁵¹ that the wealth and strength of the state depended on rice and coconut, which were the major products of the land. "It is insufficient to meet the needs of the local population and therefore every year we import twenty lakhs rupees worth of rice which is the staple diet of the people.... On the other hand, Goa sent to neighboring India some millions of coconuts where, for some years its price had been falling day by day. . Till now we were the only ones exporting in such bulk to the markets of Gujarat and Kathiawar. Today, due to encouragement from the British Government the cultivation of coconut has increased notably in Ratnagiri, Karnataka, the Malabar Coast and they had started exporting to the same markets. Goa's agrarian problems, therefore, consisted in augmenting the cultivation of rice and to assist coconut industry to overcome this crisis." The socio-economic matters were also discussed in another issue of *O Herald*⁵² in which the writer said that the rice produced in Goa was not enough to satisfy the consumption needs of even 1/3rd of the local population. It also reported that the country possessed vast uncultivated lands in the New Conquests which if cultivated would satisfy the needs of the people, but proper agricultural facilities did not exist in that area. He felt that the Government would have to assist in the cultivation efforts.

Some of the Goan papers like *O Herald* which had become by then extremely anti- Indian and shamelessly pro- Portuguese especially

after the independence of India, always watched and commented in a derisive manner on the food shortage or any other small issues or problems which faced the Indian Government in the wake of its independence and the consequences of the second world war. The press reported that the rice problem was compounded by the fact that the Goa Government had arbitrarily increased the rent of Comunidade paddy fields. This prohibitive rent hit not only the tiller of the soil but also a large number of middle class landless families who acquired a lease on these fields and cultivated them with the help of hired labor. The increase in land rent ruined many Goans. Only a handful of landowners, the big shareholders of the Comunidade and Government, derived considerable revenue from the land. Many cultivators were behind bars because they could not pay the rent on the land. Agricultural products like mangoes, coconuts, betel nuts, cashew nuts etc. suffered primarily because of the economic blockade imposed by India.

Thus, the press was not a silent spectator of the problems, like food shortage, being faced by the local community. The food situation was discussed in issues of *O Heraldo* dated 5/1/1936, 16/1/1935, 24/7/1935 (rice), 6/8/1935(rice), 22/11/1935(rice), 15/12/1935 (cultivation of rice). The periodical *Noticias* also discussed the issue of rice on 3/9/1929. *Correio de Bardez* discussed the situation of rice in its issues dated 20/12/1929, 27/12/1929. *Amcho Goa* discussed the position of rice in its issues dated 16/4/1931, 24/9/1931, 29/10/1931, 12/11/1931, and 26/10/1933.

Economy

The economic situation was a source of concern to the Press. A **Voz da India** expressing this concern and criticizing the administrative machinery ⁵³ wrote, “ The economic conditions of this land did not fail to deserve the attention of the Government, which since long time ago, made efforts to transform this land into a self-sufficient body. However, their efforts became fruitless in view of a poor administrative system. Decrees, diplomas and laws that are not up to the mark and devoid of practical sides, will never ensure a good administration. And then what can good laws yield if there are no good executives? The various administrative measures taken by Government have yielded no results at all and are far from arriving at the realities of subject matters. Progress continues to be a dead letter. In fact where have we made any progress?”

A **Voz da India** made a thoroughgoing analysis of the economic situation in Goa and put blame on the government. It wrote that in regard to industries, agriculture, commerce, transportation, merchant navigation, aviation, bank loans, Goa had not achieved anything. “This land was essentially agricultural and it was in agriculture that it declined greatly. . It was necessary for Goa to achieve economic self-sufficiency. The economic and social phenomena of this land were not duly studied and the result was great loss to economy of the country. The increasing emigration, the pernicious effects of which were felt, if it were wisely contained or reduced, would have transformed this land into a paradise of prosperity. It was thought that by developing the new conquests the emigration would reduce. In keeping with this line of thinking, the General Craveiro Lopes who had knowledge of the needs of this land, initiated development works

in New Conquest areas, ordering expansion of transportation by a large network, building bridges, clearing jungles, granting land for cultivation and changing into reality the old aspiration of this land, which in the Press was vociferous declaring that our prosperity was dependent on New Conquest areas, where there were vast uncultivated areas. However, a work of so far reaching effect did not produce expected results.”

The problems connected with the coconut and areca industries were also often discussed in the press. *A Voz da India* wrote⁵⁴ that the world was passing through an unparalleled economic crisis and the statesmen were deeply involved in taking measures to prevent full chaos. In Goa the crisis did not reach frightening proportions. Coconut and the areca, among others, were in high demand abroad, consequent upon the imbalance caused by the war in the supply markets of countries, which were then being provided with Goan products. This was truly what saved Goa. The coconut and areca, soon after the war were sold at a comparatively higher price, which earlier had been fetching a paltry price and consequently, hard times had to be faced by the landowners, who had to bear all kinds of grief. They had to borrow to meet their expenses and they could not see its bad effects on agriculture.

The writer suggested some preventive measures to check depreciation in prices. “The development of modern technique of preserving tasty fruits and keeping them fresh, more or less in a natural condition, could be utilized in the preservation, sale and novel uses of the coconut. As the coconut and areca were two most important export products, it was necessary that, a stable price be maintained for them. An important industry was salt. Once a flourishing industry, it had almost

become extinct. All attempts of the Board of External Trade in Goa to boost up this industry badly failed. The Board of External Trade was desperately buying surplus salt and selling it to the cultivators much below the cost price. Still considerable quantities of salt remained unsold. One of the factors, which contributed to the decline of the salt industry, was India's economic blockade. Much of Goa's salt was exported to Belgaum and to many parts of Karnataka. This exportable salt remained idle, and attempts by the Portuguese to find markets elsewhere failed. It was in 1947 that manganese ore was first exported. 100 tons of ore then fetched £300. In 1949, 50,000 tons of iron ore valued at £85,000 were shipped. The manganese ore export reached its peak in 1953 with a total export of 207,000 tons. Goa's export of iron ore rose from 3,686,209 m. tons in 1959 to 5,651,950 m. tons in 1960. The mining industry employed some 30,000 men. About 10,000 were Indians".⁵⁵

Similar searching articles regarding the status of Industry and economy were published in **Amcho Goa** in its issues dated 23/4/1931, 9/7/1931, 16/7/1931, 24/9/1931, 22/10/1931, 14/9/1932, 20/10/1932, 27/10/1932, 27/4/1933, 4/5/1933.

Education

Education and the manner of its dispensation provoked a lot of critical writing in the Press. Interestingly, it is noticed that while the Portuguese language newspapers discussed and evaluated the system of education prevalent in the Lyceum, female education, teachers' training

etc., the Marathi newspapers did not pay much attention to these themes. This reflects the interests of their respective readers. The overwhelming majority of the students taking advantage of the Lyceum were Catholic men and to a lesser extent Hindu men. Ladies were hardly found in the Lyceum. Hindu ladies studied in the schools attached to temples or at home.

The need to reform the primary education was felt in 1916 in Goa and the local papers reflected the developments through the writings of contributing authors. **O Herald** published an article by Fr. Francisco Xavier Araujo who wrote "All that is done abroad is not to be imitated by us by any means."⁵⁶ He wrote, "three years back, a committee of teachers elected by the Assembly of teachers submitted a project of reorganization of Primary education. Another Committee next year presented its report, which was unanimously approved by the Teacher Community. This report was published in a booklet form at the cost of teachers and distributed by them among the public for their comments. Two years ago, a Committee of teachers representing their class submitted and discussed some presentations on the topic School hygiene in the Sanitation Seminar of Portuguese India. Some months ago, some teachers submitted a memorandum on Primary education in the first *Congresso Provincial* and some important resolutions were taken then. Five years ago, various articles were published in two dailies of the capital, written by some teachers. Any reforms in Primary education were to be based on all the above mentioned milestones."

In the second part of the seven-part evaluation of Primary teaching in Goa,⁵⁷ Fr. Araujo wrote that the "regrettable" condition of the country in education occasioned the establishment of numberless primary

schools, in order to wipe out the ignorance in which people lived. It was after the revolution that the masses ceased to live in this unhealthy atmosphere of the past. Education of girls, which was almost non-existent or restricted ten years ago, ceased to be so, and a new era dawned. He also wrote about the need for physical and moral hygiene of the child, about the climate, physical conditions, the walking distances, and time spent in different activities. He was of the opinion that full day classes would be inconvenient and that classes should be held only in the morning. In the third part⁵⁸ of the same critique he discussed the usefulness of mobile schools for a shifting population and Sunday schools for carpenters and farmers in order to wipe out illiteracy. He also discussed the factors responsible for resistance among the working classes towards even primary education.

In the sixth part⁵⁹ writing about admission, attendance, conduct and progress etc., he referred to earlier Regulations of 1907 regarding these matters and said that the Provincial Order number 504 dated 16/11/ 1911, modified these provisions. "It allowed special admissions to all classes even more exceptionally in second grade (4th standard) which besides adding to the neglect on the part of the parents, was harming the systematic teaching of each class and school discipline, since no child would come prepared equally in all the subjects of a class which was achieved only in primary schools attending it from the beginning of the year. Admission implied naturally the schooling age- the said Order laid down the limit of sixteen years maximum to the first grade so for the second grade in the fixed schools the Regulations of 1907 fixed twelve and sixteen respectively as per article 2. Unless better counsel prevails it, will only foster neglect on the part of parents and indolence of the students. For where will the child

spend the years 16 to 20? Will it remain warming the benches of the primary school until this age? At what age will it learn to provide for the stomach?" He further argued that if the intention was to make the primary teaching easy and to spread primary teaching as it appeared, long hours were not the means to achieve it.

In a continuation of the critique of the Reorganization of Primary Teaching in Goa ⁶⁰ Fr. Araujo expressed his views on the examination system. He said that it was necessary to simplify and to improve the system of admission to the exams. in both the grades. "In the first grade the teacher himself examined the candidate. This left much to be desired. The best way was to arrange for examination by three teachers as was being done some time back. For exams. of the second grade, the Provincial Order prescribed that the students of the third year of Normal school may be preferred as chairman of the jury, wherever necessary. It was noted that some teachers were appointed every year as examiners and some others never. It was necessary and so it was to be prescribed that the written and oral tests may be held on the same day as before. The written test in arithmetic should be common to all to gauge the comparative. Those passed may be classified as passed, distinction, first or second-class."

In another issue⁶¹ of **O Herald**, Fr Araujo discussed the instilling of discipline and moral training of the child and wrote that this should be brought about through reward and punishment. He said that based on devotion to study, attendance, progress and behavior prizes in the form of books, merit cards, medals could be awarded. Punishment according to him could include reprehension, deprivation from games and other punishments, which should be imposed in a fatherly manner, not

offensive to the health of the pupils and in accordance with the rewards and punishments defined from Articles 24 to 32 in the Regulations of 1907. Many aspects of primary teaching like the medium of instruction, allotment of teaching time were addressed by Fr Araujo.⁶² He wrote that Portuguese language teaching from the first standard deserved attention. The teacher had to spend a lot of time in explaining the meaning in Konkani, line by line. However, the student was not usually able to answer questions about what had been explained. He suggested a few remedies like teaching the language for fifteen-minute durations but twice in the day and that in fourth and fifth grades language should be taught by translating from Portuguese to Konkani and Konkani to Portuguese. He felt that the standard of the syllabus had fallen and that school hours needed to be fixed.

Writing about physical education in primary schools⁶³, Fr. Araujo quoted Dr. Claparde, Peter Altenberg, and Rousseau, and cited cases of the situation prevailing in advanced countries and concluded by contrasting them with conditions in Goa. He took an overall view of the conditions in which a child was taught. He recommended that the teachers exercise the students in evenings. In another article titled, "The reorganization of primary teaching", he wrote about the duration of school exercises and lamented that physical and moral hygiene of the child is not cared for. He gave the details of duration of exercises, the start and end and quoted Arnold from his book "Hygiene". He also discussed the conditions in Goa, like climate, physical condition, other circumstances, walking distances, time spent in school, number of hours spent in mental work, rains etc. He also talked about the interval between two classes and suggested that only morning classes would be more convenient.

The **O Herald** published an article, which discussed the regrettable condition of the country in education, which occasioned the establishment of numerous primary schools in Goa. It was after the revolutionary change that the mass ceased to live in this unhealthy atmosphere of the past. Education of the girls, which was almost nil or restricted ten years ago, ceased to be so and a new era dawned.⁶⁴ The writer⁶⁵ quoted João de Barros as saying that the primary school had a triple purpose, to provide the first basis of fighting illiteracy; invigorating the physique by physical and mental training, and preparing the child. He did not support the view that to fight illiteracy only a system of mobile schools as in Portugal would be fruitful. He wrote that this system of mobile schools would be practicable among adults who were shifting places as per local convenience. Such conditions as plagues, unsanitary conditions and other crises during a part of the year, temporary emigration, which existed among the labouring class, inspired the adoption of such a system. No such circumstances existed among Goans, according to the writer, and the regular schools were meeting the needs of education.

The writer further wrote that although, primary education was compulsory, a large proletariat mass never attended a school. "To fight illiteracy among the carpenters, the objective would be best achieved by Sunday schools, as their activities would not leave them time for night schools. The working class was generally reluctant to attend primary school for which the writer gave two reasons. The belief that the primary school did not impart skills to face the struggle in life. Secondly, the impact illiterate parents had on their children. The imparting of professional education would fulfill the first aim.. The impact of illiterate parents on their children could be overcome in two ways, under a compulsion by

penalty and imprisonment and fine, which would be possible by propaganda in favour of education. Imparting of education through rewards, punishments and school festivals was another suggestion.⁶⁶ He elaborated that the rewards could be books, merit cards, medals, and punishment could include reprehension, deprivation from games and any others imposed in a fatherly manner and which did not harm the health of the pupil, as it was well defined in the Order (Regulamento) of 1907⁶⁷, where other prizes and punishments were also defined." The writer also elaborated on various kinds of prizes and complained that the teachers were not respected as before and that favouritism prevailed.

A contributing writer Veneslau Soares wrote⁶⁸ in *O Heraldo* about the importance of school libraries in the educational field and quoted Kant as saying that entertaining reading was as useful for health as physical exercise. He also suggested School Savings Banks, for supplying books to poor students, creating libraries and other measures, which would help create solidarity between the students and teachers. Further more, these banks may promote small patriotic feasts, to impart to the student patriotic fervour.

The theme of Primary education was also discussed in the issues of *O Heraldo* dated 10/6/1909, 27/9/1916, 3/10/1916, 8/10/1916 and 16/12/1916. Indeed, it is found that primary education, the need for teacher's training, and the various aspects of education like attendance, reward, punishment, etc. were frequently written about in the Press.

Giving importance to education, *O Herald* published the discourse of the Principal of Lyceum, Prof. Ludivico S. Ribeiro, delivered on 1/7/1916, on the opening day of the classes.⁶⁹ The Principal dwelling on the importance of education, which was the key to social progress by providing man with the necessary equipment for struggle in life, said it was equally necessary that the educated public was involved at par with teachers and legislators and may suggest useful improvements in raising the level of education. The Principal said that the secondary school system required changes. However, replacing the system of classes by the system of single subject exams., as desired by sons of the soil was difficult, if not impossible. The Committee opposed this system of single subject exams., because the class system represented a legitimate reaction against the disorganized secondary educational system. No country in Europe to his knowledge followed single subject system. On the contrary, the class system brought Goa's system closer to the cultured nations, which were engaged in educational issues.

O Herald, in response to the reported speech of the Principal wrote an editorial titled, "In the interest of National Lyceum".⁷⁰ It said that the speech read by the Principal of the Lyceum made the impression that the need of reforming the educational system was ever more felt. "...But the honorable Principal is happy with what will be carried out by the experts committee appointed in Portugal which he hopes will meet what experience has revealed. The worst defect of our new educational organization has been, regrettably, since long ago, in a manner synergetic which is adopting old elements for new organizations, for which they are not trained, not adaptable, without any kind of transition." The editorial gives the example of The Professional Institute which it said never

produced a worthy professional. The teachers had difficulty in finding students for their courses, which were abandoned.

A couple of days later the same paper again commented on the speech delivered by the Lyceum Principal, Prof. Ludivico S. Ribeiro.⁷¹ “The Hon. Speaker wished that the examining jury might consist of persons other than those who were teaching in Lyceum. In support of his thesis, he advanced various arguments... In the first place, he seeks to contradict that the secondary teaching system in Bombay Presidency is exemplary. He quotes the Director of Public Education, Mr. Sharp, whom he calls Doctor, and the University itself, saying that he (Mr. Sharp) seeks to introduce reforms. True, changes are sought to be introduced, such as increase of syllabi, change in the timings of exams of matriculation. The managers of teaching are always thinking on these issues, all of which is towards improvement of teaching. This does not signify that, the system may not be a suitable model for us, nor does it mean that it can be improved. From his personal experience as it may happen that he may so desire, not to admit the teachers in the examiners body, in order to meet the reasonable demands of the people. The Principal believes that there is a triple advantage, variety in questioning, sameness of yardstick and less influence of the Godfathers.”

Mr. Menezes Braganza expressed his preference for primary education at least to be imparted in the mother tongue. Commenting on the proposed construction of the ‘The House of Portugal’ in Bombay and the proposed setting up of Portuguese medium schools in Bombay he wrote, “Thanks to the learned pedagogy which are the felicity of this land, and are assuring unto our government a unique place among the colonizing people,

we are here over a century involved upon fighting illiteracy by means of a language ignored by the people which they do not need to know to make their living and expelling from primary schools in a nationalistic desire the mother tongue which is Konkani. Now, over there, opening Konkani schools in British India, the pleasant norm dictated by the famous law of English schools was applied to this case.”

O Herald reported⁷² that a post of teacher of Konkani language was created in the Teachers' Training College (*Escola Normal*), which carried a salary equal to that of other teachers of the same college. The writer supported the teaching of Portuguese to primary children whose mother tongue was Konkani through the Konkani medium. “It is not a question of using the vernacular idiom or Konkani as the case may be, “as a means of teaching the Portuguese language”, but “definitely” to make the Konkani language parallel to the Portuguese language and without prejudice to the latter. In other words, it can be said, that just as there is the official primary teaching the Portuguese-Marathi language, Portuguese-Gujarati, Portuguese-Urdu, in which the children are taught two languages, so it is foreseen that in the official primary schools of teaching Portuguese another language may come to be taught- the Konkani, without prejudice of the Portuguese.” This was the reaction of the press to the provisions of section 96 of the Statutes of the State of India, which stated, “In the primary schools teaching Concanim language is allowed, without prejudice to Portuguese language, which (teaching Concanim) shall be allowed in the training for primary teaching.” The writer argued that it was not a question only of teaching to speak Konkani, which children learnt from birth at home. It was, therefore, a matter of teaching them how to read and write,

giving them the first notions of grammar and consequently setting up in the Normal School a systematic and developed teaching of the language.

Issues concerning education were also discussed in **O Herald**o dated 19/9/1900, 24/9/1900 (Female education), 25/9/1900, 28/9/1900, 12/10/1900 (religious education), 22/11/1900 (maternal influence on education), 23/11/1900 (reforms in secondary education), 23/12/1900, 6/1/1909, 5/3/1909, 6/3/1909, 17/9/1916, 27/9/1916, 3/10/1916, 8/10/1916, 16/12/1916, 3/1/1935, 15/1/1935, (usefulness of education in the family), 12/3/1935, 13/1/1935, 25/4/1935, 26/4/1935, 27/4/1935, 1/5/1935, 3/5/1935, 5/6/1935, 6/6/1935, 7/6/1935, 12/6/1935, 29/6/1935, 3/7/1935, 17/3/1936, 29/3/1936, 10/5/1936 (reforms in teaching), 17/6/1900 , 17/7/1936.

Amcho Goa discussed 'English schools in Goa' in its issues dated 6/3/1930, 5/6/1930, 27/6/1929, 11/4/1929, 1/8/1929, 5/9/1929, 12/9/1929, 19/9/1929, 3/10/1929, 24/10/1929, 4/7/1929, 11/7/1929, 21/7/1932, 31/3/1932, 13/10/1932, and 20/10/1932.

Pracash ⁷³ also promoted primary education through the vernacular. It argued that to turn an individual into a capable person it was necessary to give him education in a language that he understood well; the social progress of a people was linked to their education and the medium through which it was imparted. The writer blamed the system of education where education is imparted in a medium, which is foreign to the student for lack of a sense of initiative in work among Goans. The love for employment killed the spirit of enterprise, which adversely affected

industry, and commerce, which hampered employment generation and resulted in large migrations in search for employment. The writer quoted Indologist Sylvain Lévy and Lord Ronaldshay ex Governor of Bengal to strengthen his contention that education should be imparted in the vernacular. The writer also quoted Cunha Rivara to promote Marathi, the study of which would help in the understanding of other Asian and European languages.

A Voz da India discussed education in its issues dated 6/6/1946 (Technical Education), 9/6/1946 (Physical Education), 12/6/1946 (Reforms in Medical School-I), 2/6/1946 and 13/6/1946 (Education), 13/6/1946, 14/6/1946, 16/6/1946, 19/6/1946 (Reforms in Medical School – II-IV). The Konkani language was discussed in issues of *O Heraldo* dated 14/1/1936, 17/1/1936. *Diário da Noite* discussed language issue on 30/7/1931. *A Voz da India* also discussed the issue of language in its issues of 14/7/1946, 16/7/1946, 20/7/1946, 11/9/1946, 20/9/1946, 27/9/1946. *Amcho Goa* discussed the importance of Konkani language in its issues dated 14/8/1930, 21/8/1930, and 28/8/1930. 22/5/1930, 8/8/1929, 3/7/1930, 25/12/1930.

The official Gazette published the new regulations of Teachers' Training Course, together with the respective syllabi.⁷⁴ Teachers' Training was regulated by a decree (*Decreto*) dated 23rd May 1907. The system of Normal teaching in force was already quite old. The Governor-General was advised in seeking the reformation of this teachers' training institution. The *Diploma Legislativo* (charter) no. 784 was the outcome of the need to remedy the state of affairs. It modified mainly the rules of admission, duration of the course, determined the individual subjects to be taught, the

examination system and also regulated the period of transition of the enrolled and failed students. The writer in *O Heraldo* offered a critical comment on this official scheme and wrote, among other things, that in the necessary educational document to the admission purpose, there must be a declaration that the candidate has attended and made progress in physical training and music since in the regimen for Lyceum a student can be relieved by exemption from these two disciplines. He criticized the inclusion of History of Portugal to be included in the syllabus of Teachers' Training since it had been studied in the earlier classes of Lyceum. The writer suggested to remove the textbook prescribed for the study of history and geography in the primary teaching. He also said that the examination system introduced in the state of India was similar to the one prevailing in Portugal but changes should have been introduced taking into consideration the local conditions. He was generally critical of the official scheme and was of the opinion that the new regulations were not satisfactory.

O Heraldo published the second part of its comments on the New Regulations that had been published in the official Gazette.⁷⁵ The article is generally critical of the regulations regarding grouping of subjects, allotment of timings to different teachers and subjects, the structure of the examining jury and the method of handling failed students. "The syllabus of our Normal teaching before its reorganization was an absurd anachronism. That was surviving only to give more shades of culture to the students than to train the teachers capable of teaching the children. The teaching was not much different from what is ministered in the Lyceum Course, which aims at the students acquiring general culture, very elementary and not in order to specialize in any subject. There was of

course the subject Pedagogy. However, this was not fulfilling integrally the purpose of Teachers' Training Course. The teaching of methodology in isolation and empirically in primary schools without the necessary and full scientific knowledge of psychology and physiology of the child, the rules that govern its intellectual and physical growth, its personality build up, all in all had become without exaggeration fruitless. Including in the syllabus the subject Pedagogy had become a need, which was met. The tasks of a primary teacher and secondary teacher are quite different while the latter works on a plane, which is sufficiently prepared; the former is done on an entirely virgin soil. In addition, in order that the sowing may produce the fruit corresponding to the efforts made, it is necessary to know at least summarily if not fully the plane of work."⁷⁶

Mr. Da Costa wrote that "the primary school should aim at building up a child's personality, administering elementary notions, in a very small degree, of all gains of the human mind through the centuries, channeling appropriately its inborn tendencies towards progress, suppressing the harmful hereditary manifestations of its character and awakening in it the germ of curiosity, interest, spirit of initiative which later on will help it after development, to triumph in life. In short, the aim of primary school is to prepare the child for merging itself in the society of the times as a useful member. The teacher would not be able to perform this job without knowing the nature of the child, without knowing how the human organism develops the intellect, without knowing how ailments, certain defects of the organs and various other external causes have an influence on the development of intellectual and emotional faculties of the child. Without knowing the method, the means to combat these retarding causes he would not be able to help the growth of those faculties." He

argued that the syllabus of Normal teaching was lengthy in the Teachers' Training College. "Consequently, demanding a vast knowledge of the history of Portuguese literature with all details exhibited in the syllabus amounts to taking this subject too far. We do not want an army of literate men. We are in need of teachers who know the Portuguese language. Moreover, to know Portuguese language, to know it well, there is no need to know the books, which are old, dusty and have little use. A brief knowledge of the evolution which the language underwent through generations, the knowledge of language acquired up to fifth year of Lyceum, which is the minimum requirement for admission to the Teachers' Training Course, exhaustive study of grammar and applying it to reading some books which bring out the features of each one of the literary stages is as it seems to me more than enough."

Agricultural Education

The press was quite aware of the importance of agriculture for Goa and gave adequate coverage to its different aspects stressing the need for its systematic education. "What Goa is lacking in and this is a big truth is agricultural education, which is so much necessary for economic self-sufficiency and prosperity of this land. Our children are getting theological, juridical, forensic, medical, pharmaceutical education etc. However, the lack of agricultural education is ever more felt. Agricultural policy should be the pitch of all Governments."⁷⁷ Writing that it was high time Goans got rid of the notion that agriculture was for rustic people, the writer Lisandro Grey said that long ago, advice was held out that in primary

schools teaching of agriculture should be introduced but objections were raised in the press itself even by informed minds. The aim of primary teaching seemed to be to produce intellectuals. "The primary teacher should carry a spade and a small pick-axe, and at least twice in a month, he may impart to his pupils lessons in small agricultural and horticultural works in cultivation plots. We are quite aware that not all the schools have appropriate lands to do this practice. However, in the near future, they may come to have them, addressing an appeal to the private parties or comunidades which in a noble impulse of benefiting the student population will not fail to agree to the teachers' request. Education in agriculture has to begin at the primary school level and other schools, if we desire to see this land prospering visibly."

Female Education

The press reflected the settled attitude of society towards role and status of the fair sex, which generally was orthodox. The conservative view towards the education of women is typified by the following: "Hundreds of girls are attending now days the convents, English schools, Normal School (Teachers' Training diploma), Lyceum, medicine and pharmacy courses. The modern girl can speak French, Portuguese and English. She knows how to play piano, mandolin, fiddle, dance slow fox trot and other modern modes. She can discuss medicine, pharmaceutics, literature and geography. What else? She also applies lipstick, makeup and colors her nails. Besides, she knows how to charm those around by singing in her appealing voice. What is it that she does not know? Only one matter

that is cooking. She cannot fulfill the main need of the society. The culinary art does not attract her. The girl of today is capable of becoming anything less than a fit housewife and a fit mistress of the house. Our mothers, grandmothers and great grandmothers were the opposite, that is, excellent mistresses of the house. Perhaps they could not dance fox trot but they knew how to fulfill their duties towards their husbands. The modern girl besides the education she acquires, has to merge with the older breeding of our mothers and grandmothers in all matters.”⁷⁸ The writer was of the opinion that the education imparted to the girl should make her a good spouse, obeying her husband and a fine company of the household. “What worth is there in a B.A. or M.A. girl if she tomorrow is not aware of the most rudimentary obligations of a house mistress?” He suggested that the woman should learn the culinary art, tailoring, embroidery, as much as literature and science. “It is in the household that the woman must bring her fondness to bear on her spouse and children. A girl should be educated in the science and practice of tailoring, sewing, with knowledge of Portuguese or English languages as much as it was necessary to engage herself in full conversation and something of arithmetic rather than equipping herself with diplomas.”

During Portuguese rule, children in primary schools were compelled by law to learn Portuguese. The majority of the literate population read and wrote Marathi and English. Children attended Marathi and English schools run by various institutions. At the time of Liberation of Goa, about 40 schools were affiliated to the Secondary School Board of the Bombay Government. Over 400 Marathi Primary schools were in existence. Nearly a thousand students appeared for the S.S.C. Examination of the Bombay State every year, special facilities being extended to them at

centers in Bombay. Several hundred students also appeared for the examination^s in language, which were conducted at centers in Bombay. On the other hand, the facilities offered by the only Portuguese High School, the Lyceum, which catered to the need of the Portuguese, and other local officials were not fully utilized.⁷⁹

This is a sampling of what the press wrote on education in Goa. Neither the press nor any contributing writer offered any well thought out or broad based plan for an overhaul of the prevailing system of education in Goa. However, there does appear to have been discontent on the ability of the educational system in Goa in terms of facilities for mass education especially through the vernacular and also the lack of facilities for higher education. The press echoed the need for primary education through the Konkani medium and the need for a more suitable syllabus for primary education in keeping with the local ethos. Unhappiness was also expressed over the structure, organization and syllabus of the Teachers' Training College. The press highlighted the fact that due to a lack of facilities for higher education in Goa and to enable them to be employable in British India, many Goan families who could afford the money, sent their children to Belgaum or Bombay for college and University studies.

Shuddhi⁸⁰

The press in Goa also gave coverage to various social and religious issues like the problems of conversion and reconversion, called shuddhi. Shuddhi as a movement for the reconversion of Hindus who had been converted to other faiths had been started by the Arya Samaj in India. This

movement gained momentum in the 1880s and 1890s. In Goa, a large number of Hindus had been converted to Christianity especially after the establishment of the Inquisition in 1560. In 1566, nearly 13692 Hindus were forcibly converted. In 1578, a group of missionaries pulled down 350 temples and converted 100,000 people to Christianity.⁸¹ Conversion was brought about by persecution of the Hindus and offer of material benefits to the converts to Christianity. Many Hindus fled with their deities to neighboring places in the new conquest areas or to neighboring states of British India. Gavdas, who are aborigines of Goa had been converted as Christians four centuries back by the Portuguese but except for birth, marriage and death they hardly went to church or to a priest. They had not understood Christianity and followed Hindu practices in most respects in their daily lives.⁸² Most of them were landless labourers. They were eager to join the Hindu faith but hesitated for the fear of their landlords, for whom they were working and in whose lands (*bhats*) they were staying, Government and the Church.⁸³

S.S. Phondushastri was the first social reformer to speak publicly in Goa about the *Shuddhi* of *Gavdas* on the annual day celebration of the library of Carambolim. Govind Pundalik Hegde Desai, Dada Vaidy and Yeshavant Pandurang Prabhu Lawande were behind the success of the movement. A favourable atmosphere for *Shuddhi* was created by the visits and preachings of some religious leaders from British India. The *Shuddhi* was carried out in Chimbél and Nagzar (Curca) on 26th February 1928.⁸⁴ It went on until the end of May 1928 at different places including Querim, Ponda. The press in Goa covered this movement. T.B. Bragança Cunha wrote in support of the desire of some Catholics to revert to the Hindu religion.⁸⁵ “As some thousands of our countrymen were not feeling at

home within the Catholic agglomeration into which they were forced in other times, by those in power, by coercion and violence prefer to return to the primitive religion of their forefathers, which is more dear to their heart, because having origins in this country, it is more agreeable to their temper. The government which pretends to be neutral in the matter of faith tried to obstruct by all means within their reach the realization of this legitimate and elementary right. They (the Government) gave orders to arrest and to expel the ministers of Hindu religion who solemnized the religious performance "*Shuddhi*", under the excuse that they were foreigners. With scant regard to the religion of the majority of our population, the police submitted the "*Shastris*" (Hindu priests), whether Goans or arriving from outside to a humiliating treatment. All in all the government hoisted itself to protector of Catholic religion and adversary of Hinduism."

T.B. Bragança Cunha wondered why the Government took such strong action ^{against} the Shuddhi movement. "All are aware that they are not Catholic and do not profess any religion and it is not possible to ascribe their persecution to doctrinary intolerance or religious fanaticism. On the part of Catholic population, there was not the smallest gesture of protest or indignation against the reversion ceremony the scope of which was exaggerated by none, whereas nothing reprehensible was there in the matter in which it was conducted and was restricted to a small class whose religious affiliation was ever doubtful." T.B. Bragança Cunha provided the explanation for this attitude of the government by saying that the Government considered the Catholicism as the religious creed of a dominant country, i.e. as a political instrument of lording over. "This was its real character, which was visibly naked through the disastrous action on

the part of authorities. The Catholic religion was and continued to be an instrument of domination.”

T. B. Braganca Cunha giving a historical background pointed out ^{that} the Portuguese Government was favouring Christianity and persecuting the Hindus. “In the century of “conquests”, he wrote, “when the civil and ecclesiastical powers were mixed up, there was no compunction here in converting people en masse, forcibly, to Catholicism, persecuting the Hindus, depriving them of their belongings and committing nameless cruelties. When, later on, the supremacy of civil power was established, the Catholic religion became a helpmate of the state. Its representatives had seats in the governing councils and expenditure of its services was defrayed from moneys of the taxpayers among whom Hindus were in a majority. Even after the Republic was proclaimed in Portugal, when the Republicans declared an open war against the clergy considering it as obnoxious to the country the Catholic religion continued to enjoy in the colonies the privileges of state religion. The Catholic ritual and its institutions continued to be subsidized by public treasury. Even the atheistic Governors participated in pageantry in church ceremonies with no concern for the sentiments of the non-Catholic people. In addition, all this was done under the veil of religious neutrality. All of a sudden, the “reversions” came on the scene to destroy this legend of liberty of faith. Taken by surprise the Governors betrayed the incapable manner they conducted the real character of relationship between the State and the Catholic religion. They went all the way to its aid as if their own existence was in danger. They carried their patronizing zeal to the point of treating a Hindu prelate like a vulgar wrong doer.”

He further wrote that the Government's action against the Shuddhi . activists did not get the approval of the Christian public itself. "The Press where this Christian element predominates remained indifferent to the sudden religious zeal of the authorities. Someone or another journalist who cast his dissonant note was either directly inspired by ecclesiastical authority or he wished by this means to lend his services to the authorities and he cannot for this reason represent general opinion. The reason is that the craze of persecution which weighed on the *Shastris*, besides being an offence to Hindu population is humiliating the catholic population which in this manner came to be considered as a domesticated element requiring alien protection for defense of its religious convictions which are otherwise little firm. We are in a different epoch. We will not rest content on mere verbal affirmation that we are living under a Republican Government, neutral and secular- that we are free citizens of a free Fatherland. We have yet to see that this ideal is fulfilled in practice. This disastrous intervention on the part of authorities on the "reversions" issue was so short of harmony with the spirit of the epoch, that it aroused an indignant protest on the part of Hindu associations in India, where though a little liberal regimen is in force they are carrying on their activities without the smallest hindrance from the British Government. The arbitrary actions of our local masters in the house caused astonishment even in a country where there is a regimen which is far from egalitarian, the abusive action of the powers ended in provoking a natural intervention of nationalist forces." This action of the Portuguese authorities against the Hindu priests was noted not only in India but also in the British Parliament.

Pracash commented on an editorial on *Shuddhi* published in *A India Portuguesa* dated 17th January last.⁸⁶ "Perform *Shuddhi*, so the

Indian Apostles are screaming, those who are preaching that meat as an article of food should be abolished. Thus the article begins and goes on further in almost three columns of massive prose, analyzing the mathematical calculations carried out by Satyamurti of Madras, and by Swami Chidananjli, Delhi and it concludes in the following manner: "In the face of these eloquent figures and statistics where will there be a good Indian who loves his country who may not have a strong desire to reconvert himself through *Shuddhī*". The writer of the article wished to highlight ironically the excesses in the affirmations made by those illustrious Indians and he did not apply his mind to inquire into the significance of the movement known as *Shuddhi*."

The write-up in **Pracash** condemned the above editorial of **A India Portuguesa** by saying that it has made absurd affirmation based on wrong notions. "The *Shuddhi* or *Shuddhikaran* means as it is known to all the "purifying" or "purifying ceremony", thence the words *Shuddhi* or *Shuddhikrit* meaning "pure" or "purified" and are respectively used to mean "converted to Hinduism" or more appropriately "Hinduisation" and "Hinduised". The *Shuddhi* movement, although it was intensive in recent times thanks to the activities of Arya Samaj and Hindu Mahasabha, is not an entirely new movement. In all the historical epochs, there have been reversions to Hinduism. Not intending to recall times very long ago, already in 17th century the General Court of Salcete was alleging that the "gentiles" were detrimental to the Catholic religion because they were leading our Catholics to abandon the Holy Faith that they were maintaining many Pagodas (Hindu temples) with money collected in Salcete. The King Shivaji himself, had ordered that many people converted to Muhamadanism

might be reverted and it was so under consent on the part of the *Shastris* in his court.”

The article also gave the modern examples of mass reversions of castes, which earlier had been Muhamadans or Christians. These were *Urap Agris*, *Varão Agris* and the *Kirpal Bhandaris*. The former two castes were scattered in various villages of Salcete and Baçaim in the Thana district. These *Agris* had been Christians and were reverted to Hinduism, some in 1818 and others in 1828. The *Kirpal Bhandaris* also found in the Thana District were converted by the Portuguese to Christianity but soon after Baçaim was conquered by the Marathas (around 1739) they reverted to Hinduism. The same took place between Rajput *Jadeja* who were Muhamadans until 1818 and later on reverted to Hinduism. The writer also stated the cases of Shuddhikaran by the Hindu Missionary Society and the Arya Samaj. The objective of *Shuddhi* was, to admit or to enter into Hinduism those who because of any reasons were lying outside it.

Pracash further wrote that the orthodox and conservative sections of the Hindu Society were for a long time rebellious if not strongly hostile to reversions, because it was generally believed that the persons converted to Christianity and Islam or born in the midst of these religions were not susceptible to purification. However, the stigma of pollution was washed away due to new ideas. The government and its police reacted excessively to Shuddhikaran programme and this can be seen by an incident as reported by a Correspondent⁸⁷ At Kerim, Ponda, in the house of Mr. Govinda Bhat Agnihotri, a priest in the temple of Vijayadurga, the *Shuddhi* ceremony of 118 Gaudes was to be performed. The arrangements had been made over several days. The Police appeared almost at the start of

the ceremony and irreverently intimated him to give up the ceremony, and march up to Ponda. The spectators intervened arguing the disorder would result if the ceremony were not allowed to be completed. They argued that the conscience of the Hindus gathered will be hurt and that Givind Bhat had to complete the ceremony of *Sôd Munj* (thread ceremony) of his two sons and he had not committed any crime, nor would he refuse to go up to Ponda after the ceremony. The *Gauddes*⁸⁸ themselves asserted that they had come of their own free will to receive absolution. They also recalled that Govinda Bhat who was domiciled in Querim, was not a stranger, nor was any other person present there a foreigner. But the Police brandishing its verbal order threatened that they would drag up to Ponda all those who would talk about the subject. When the matters came up to this point, Mr. Govinda Bhat surrendered himself to the Police, and they were taken to Ponda and released in the evening on the condition that they may be summoned again.

Diario da Noite argued against the reconversions. It wrote⁸⁹, "On the occasion of the first *Shuddhism* in Goa or the reversion of *Gauddes* to Hinduism, we have brought to the notice of the public its disadvantages from the social point of view, as it would create sub-castes, where caste division has been so obnoxious, the reason is that the reverted will after all not remain either Hindu or Christian properly. The result will be hindrances to them in the matters of marriages, burials etc." The paper was predicting future confusions arising especially at the time of important life rituals. "The reconverted would have to procure another reconverted for marriage because the orthodox Hindus would not accept them into their fold with good wishes as has been noticed. Similarly in regard to burials or cremations, the genuine Hindus would not accept in good will the dead

bodies of the reverted in their sites or crematoriums. Consequently, the sponsors of *Shuddhism* need to provide in advance for all these cases, which will come up naturally and logically as Infact they have. "However, we have seen that this Infact has engaged the least attention of the promoters, because, on their part perhaps there was no sincerity whatsoever about their end purposes, even as so far there are none on the part of their defendants who restrict themselves to raising incidents in the Press. Their intentions are easy to guess. Otherwise, the *Shuddhism*, which entered here through penetration of the movement from neighboring India, did not respond to another intention, as it was amply proved in the same neighboring India. And the facts which happened amongst us were sufficiently elucidating."

The paper defended the action of the Government in the case of the burial of a reverted *Gaudina*, and blamed the press for overreacting and suggesting that the Government intervened in a special direction, which was not in conformity with the state neutrality in matters of religion or that one administrative authority acted in excess of his powers since he did not show regard to the beliefs of a dead person or the wishes of her family. It wrote, "The Government did not violate the rights of anyone, nor any administrative authority tried to interfere to commit reprisals, for the simple reason that there was no room for reprisals. On the contrary, action was taken so that the dead body in question may not be deserted or remain unburied or cremated at an odd place. Was there any coercion to bury the body in a Christian graveyard? Not the real truth. There are difficulties to receive dead bodies in private places of Hindus and as the reverted ones do not have their own what is done is to bury in the cemetery which as is known to all is not exclusive to Christians since therein a place is also

available for non-Christians, free thinkers etc. The Government cannot allow nor will anyone agree that the dead bodies maybe left as abandoned or buried or cremated wherever anyone may desire, but on sites which are specially reserved to that purpose." It wrote that the promoters of *Shuddhism* should remove the hitches, which crop up among the reverted Hindus or should work towards providing them their cemeteries or cremation sites, because in such a case, circumstances requiring the intervention on the part of authorities would not crop up.

Local newspapers like *Bharat, Hindu, and Pracasha* supported the *Shuddhi* and published in bold print information and editorials. *Heraldo* ignored the topic. *Diario da Noite* started instigating the Government and issued incorrect statements about the *Shuddhi*. It accused the movement as being political and said that its aim was the ouster of the Portuguese Government. The paper alleged that Indians from British India were behind the *Shuddhi* movement.

Diario da Noite succeeded in instigating the Archbishop of Goa. He concluded that the *Shuddhi* movement was in response to Portuguese Government having increased the age of marriage to 20 years and 16 years for a boy and girl respectively from the earlier 14 and 12 years respectively. He contacted the Governor-General, Dr. Pedro Massano de Amorim, who felt that the Republic should grant religious freedom in Goa. He wrote to Lisbon and got clearance on the age of marriage. *Bharat* and *Hindu* periodicals took out special supplements on *Shuddhi*. *Diario da Noite* called upon the Government to act against the *Shuddhi* movement. When 11th March was fixed for *Shuddhi* at Keri. The Catholic priest there threatened those who were ready for reconversion.⁹⁰

Thus, it is found that papers like *O Herald*, *A Vida*, *Diario da Noite* and others discussed socio-cultural, economic and political issues very frequently. The matter of emigration was mainly discussed in the Portuguese language dailies, as the Catholic population of Goa was more susceptible to emigration than the non-Catholic population. As seen earlier there were social and economic factors prompting emigration, which the Portuguese language newspapers discussed together with the causes as well as the difficulties, faced by the emigrants and their families. They also suggested measures that the Government could take to alleviate the conditions of the emigrants and reported the measures that the Government did take to improve the lot of the emigrants. The vernacular language newspapers did not totally ignore the issue but spent much less space on it.

The issue of education also excited the local press. Portuguese language newspapers as well as vernacular newspapers reported on and wrote editorials about the system of education prevalent in Goa. Primary education, Teachers' training, Female education involved the minds of editors and regular intellectual contributors to the columns of local newspapers. Through the writings in the local newspapers it is seen that the writers were always critically comparing the system and facilities for education available here with those in Portugal and sometimes even in neighboring India. By publishing such critical contributions, newspapers played a role in keeping in the public eye and reminding the Government of the need to evolve the system of education to provide quality education for the moral, physical and intellectual development of the students. As far as the education of girls was concerned it is noticed that the stress laid by most writers was that besides learning the basics of regular subjects taught in

schools the education provided to girls should enable them to develop qualities to take care of home and children.

Social issues like Shuddhi or re-conversion were reported and discussed more often in the vernacular newspapers than in the Portuguese language newspapers. Issues of local economic interest like the situation of rice supplies, rates of coconut, export of coconut and tourism were frequently reported on and discussed by newspapers published in Goa. Rice being the staple food of Goa, and the fact that the local produce was sufficient to meet with difficulty the Goan requirement of rice for only six months was very often discussed in the press. Pro Portuguese papers like Heraldo never missed an opportunity to be sarcastic towards India handling her post war problems including at times very acute shortage of food supplies and aggressively supporting Portugal and her colonial policies.

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- ² *Ibid*, pp., 65-87. The Petition was drafted by Mr. Pinto "on the problem of Goan Emigration and its solution." The drafting of this petition was begun during the tenure of office of General Joao Carlos Craveiro Lopes, late Governor General of Goa and as he had retired it was submitted to his successor, his son Major Craveiro Lopes, the Acting Governor General of Goa. The petition is dated 15 January 1937, Saligao, Bardez-Goa.
- ³ *A Vida*, 23/5/1946, issue no. 2220, year VIII, p.1
- ⁴ *A Vida*, *ibid*, p.3.
- ⁵ Varde Valaulikar was an eminent Konkani writer.
- ⁶ *A Vida*, 23rd May 1946, issue no. 2220 Year VIII, p.1.
- ⁷ *A Vida*, 23rd May 1946, issue no. 2220 Year VIII, p.3.
- ⁸ *A Vida*, 23rd May 1946, issue no. 2220 Year VIII, p.5.
- ⁹ *A Vida* , 2nd June 1946, year VIII, No.-2228, p.1.
- ¹⁰ *A Vida* , 2nd June 1946, year VIII, No.-2228, p.2.
- ¹¹ *A Vida*, 17th May 1946, Issue no. 2215, p.1.
- ¹² *A Vida*, 17th May 1946, Issue no. 2215, p.2.
- ¹³ *A Vida*, 17th May 1946, Issue no. 2215, p.3.

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²⁸ *O Herald*, No. 126 dated 5 July 1900, p.1.

²⁹ Pinto, J.B., **Goan Emigration**, Printers Boa Sorte, Panjim-Goa, pp14-27.

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³¹ Unit of measurement.

³² 'More Information About Rice Supply', *A Vida*, 5th Feb. 1946, p.1, issued by Arthur Fialho Leonardo, Temp. Head of Department, Development Office in Nova Goa, 24-4-1947.

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SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSION

The study of the history of the press in Goa has been a study in the history of Portuguese colonialism in Goa. There is no doubt that the coming of the Portuguese to India linked the destiny of this country to the rest of the world in a more intense manner and paved the way for the arrival of other European colonists like the English, the Dutch and the French. The study also confirms that despite attempts of a conservative and tradition bound people to segregate themselves into groups of various denominations the forces of innovation and discovery do influence and impact their lives. No corner of the world is too remote for a man of will to reach, affect and influence others. Throughout the history of humankind, the culture, the discoveries, inventions and new ideas of a group of people in one part of the globe have traveled by various means to affect the living conditions, means of production, distribution and exchange as well as the thinking, life style, religion and philosophy of other groups of people in other parts of the globe.

Socio-political-religious background

The discovery of the sea route to India opened up unlimited opportunities of influence and impact of the cultures of different groups of people in different geographical settings on each other. In political life and commercial prosperity, the people of Portugal had been at home becoming more civilized, more self-controlled and wealthier during the fifteenth

century. Its sailors were growing more adventurous. The Portuguese tasted success in the sixteenth century. Lisbon took the place of Venice as the depot for all the products of the East; the trade of Persia, India, China, Japan, and the Spice Islands, fell into their hands. They produced great captains and writers, and went on to become the wealthiest nation in Europe. The beginning of the decline of the Portuguese power also ironically began in the 16th century. Portugal, which had been the greatest nation of its time, declined in its fame, and become a mere province of Spain. Hand in hand with increased wealth came corruption and depopulation, and within a single century after the epoch making voyage of Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese people, tamed by the Inquisition, and enervated by wealth were already having difficulties facing tough international competition for territorial and trading power.

The Inquisition was introduced in Portugal in 1536 as a consequence of religious intolerance which increased not only in Portugal but also in her overseas territories. The mass destruction of Hindu temples in Goa, four years after the establishment of the Inquisition in Portugal was the beginning of the horrendous persecution of the Hindus later. The Portuguese authorities enacted exceedingly harsh laws with the sole aim of destroying or creating difficulties for those following a non-catholic religion in Portuguese territories. Laws were enacted favouring new converts to Christianity and against those who resisted conversion. The mission was to show light to the 'pagans' groping in darkness of ignorance. The Inquisition was introduced in Goa in 1560. The successive Ecclesiastical Councils, which met regularly from 1567 onwards, formulated the main lines of the Missionary policy. This was based on the

assumption that the only true religion was the Roman Catholic faith as defined by the Council of Trent, and that all other religions were false and harmful. King Manuel of Portugal was vested with the exclusive privilege of establishing Missions in the Indies by Papal dispensation. The Crown of Portugal used its secular power to support the spiritual power of the state. In conformity with this principle the Viceregal decree of 1567 stated that all the heathen temples in the Portuguese territory should be demolished, that all the non-Christian priests and teachers should be expelled, and that all their sacred books should be destroyed.

The Inquisition in Portugal was primarily intended to deal with the offences committed by the New Christians converted from the Jewish and Muslim religions. The Inquisition in Goa, had to deal mostly with the offences of the New Converts from Hinduism. The Edict of the Goa Inquisition published in 1736, that is, two centuries after the establishment of the Portuguese Inquisition, makes it abundantly clear that "the whole system of the Inquisition aimed not only at the extirpation of superstitious and idolatrous beliefs but also of innocent usages and customs retaining even a trace of the Asiatic Society which existed previous to the conquest by the Portuguese." The Inquisition in Goa was first abolished in 1774, during the reign of D. Jose I, when Marquis de Pombal came to power and was revived for a short period after the death of D. Jose I and finally abolished in 1810.

The spread of the catholic religion and Portuguese language was accompanied by the diffusion of some western techniques such as the printing press, which was then needed to print a large number of

catechisms. Similarly, in warfare, architecture, town planning, farming and education, the Portuguese introduced western techniques and tried to change the nature of life in the western coast of India. The policy of 'assimilation', which was synonymous with 'lusitanisation' and the greed for material prosperity, divided the Goan population into two distinct segments. In addition, the onslaught on the local language alienated Hindu and Christian communities. The converted segment became alienated in its religious, cultural, historical, traditional and linguistic links with the rest of the country. Since education in Marathi was banned, the Christian community could not study this language and hence could not make use of Marathi literature, drama and other institutions of social education for their cultural development. Though learning in Portuguese was made compulsory, the masses among the community were not able to study and hence this major segment of the Christian population remained illiterate and less cultured compared to the masses in the Hindu community.

In 1773 the Government established in various parts of the country public grammar schools with Portuguese as the medium of instruction. In 1812, the Government founded three separate institutions to teach naval and military arts and mathematics which in subsequent years were amalgamated into one and designated, *Escola Mathematica e Militar*. A medical school, which also conducted courses in surgery and pharmacy, was started in 1844 and a Normal school for imparting training to primary teachers was established in 1854. The *Liceu Nacional de Nova Goa* was established in the same year. There was discrimination against Hindu students up to 1910 after which schools were open to everyone irrespective

of colour or creed. During the first three centuries of Portuguese rule, therefore, the education imparted to the Goan society by convents and seminaries was mainly of a religious nature.

The Hindu population of Goa maintained a close link with the social life prevailing in the former Bombay Presidency, specially in cities like Bombay and Pune. Practically every village in Goa had a primary Marathi school, functioning either in a temple or in a residential house. Sometimes, the teacher was remunerated in kind in the form of supply of rice, coconut, jaggary, flakes etc. Society respected him. The subjects taught by him were limited to primary reading, writing, letter-writing, elementary arithmetic, accounting and learning by heart meaningful verses of old renowned poets. Till the end of the 19th century, there were no facilities of secondary education in Marathi in Goa. The Portuguese Government tried in vain an experiment in having schools in 'Luso-Marathi'. An important aspect of Marathi education in Goa was that it was imparted through private initiative and expense of the Hindu community.¹ As far as the religious barrier was concerned, the principle of "*Cujus regio, ejus religio*" was unsuccessful throughout Asia and the dream of St. Francis Xavier remained unfulfilled.

In such a social setting in Goa, the press got its entry initially for religious purpose only, though not so much by planning as by accident, It came to be used by the Church for publishing pamphlets and booklets containing religious doctrines to be distributed among the new converts.

A Brief History of the Press in Goa

The rudimentary art of printing, including the movable types, developed by the Chinese was improved by Johann Guttenberg to such an extent that he is credited with the invention of the printing press. St. Francis Xavier and others exercised considerable pressure on Portugal in letters to the mother Mission, urging the dispatch of printing presses to outpost areas such as in Abyssinia and Japan. The *Ephistolae S Francisci Xavierii II*, edited and published by Georgius Schurhammer and Josephus Wicki records such requests.² Persistent requests from Abyssinia to the King of Portugal requesting for " *mestres para a forma de livros*", meaning artisans skilled in printing books, to Portugal resulted in some ships being dispatched with a printing press and technicians to the East in 1556. The Jesuits and technicians, who accompanied the Patriarch-designate of Abyssinia along with a printing press, were going to "Preste"- the name that the Jesuits gave to Abyssinia. The long route via the Cape obliged them to touch Goa and then proceed to Abyssinia. As preparations were being made at Goa for continuing the journey to Abyssinia, news reached them that the Emperor of Abyssinia was no more anxious to receive the Missionaries.

The Patriarch -designate of Abyssinia was anxious to prepare moulds and matrices for Ethiopic types, which he intended to take personally with him to Abyssinia, but he very soon passed away in Goa and the press stayed here printing literature to be supplied to Abyssinia. Thus Goa got the honour of becoming the first country in Asia to have a printing press. This press was kept in the College of St. Paul in

Old Goa. It was used for printing a number of religious works to help in proselytisation. The first work to come out of this press was a Catechism *Doutrina Christa* by St. Francis Xavier printed in 1557.

If the location of the earlier printing presses in India are plotted on the map, it will be found that they all hug the coastline of the Peninsula. Goa, Cochin, Punnaikkayal (a few miles from Cape Comorin), Vypicottai (a mile south of Cranganur), and Ambalakkadu (a village 20 miles south of Trichur), are the places along the West coast which saw early printing activity. Tranquebar, Madras, Fort William Calcutta, and Serampore along the East coast represent the shaping of Indian printing.

The Fathers in Goa realized the necessity of printing Christian literature in Indian languages. Josephus Wicki, in his *Documenta Indica*, prints a letter from a certain Father Johannes de Beira a Jesuit priest in Goa, attached to an institution meant for converts to Christianity, which emphasizes the potential educational value of printing religious literature in Indian languages. Priolkar³ quotes a relevant extract: "In this College, known as the House of Holy Faith, live sixty young men of various nationalities and they are of nine different languages, very much distinct one from another; most of them read and write our language, and also know to read and write their own. Some understand Latin reasonably well and study poetry. Due to the absence of books and a teacher they cannot derive as much profit as they need. The Christian doctrine could be published here in all these languages, if Your Reverence feels that it may be printed"

In 1754 Marquis de Pombal, the Prime Minister of Portugal banned all kinds of printing activities in Portuguese India as a part of his

plans to suppress the Jesuits. The press and printing activity remained quiet till 1821. The missionary press as a “phase” in the evolution of printing activity in Goa was in this manner brought to an abrupt and compulsory suspension. The beginnings of the newspaper press in India were made in British India. Infact news journalism began in India even during Moghul times. Thus we find that news journalism had started in this country even before press journalism. The advent of the British started a new era in journalism only in the sense that the printed newspaper made its appearance not until after the British had come to India. The history of printed newspapers or periodicals may be said to commence with the year 1718 with the starting of *Hicky's Gazette* in Calcutta by an Englishman for Englishmen.

For the sake of convenience the role of the press in the history of Goa can be studied under three distinct political phases.

The Constitutional Phase (1821-1910)

The Republican Era (1910-1917)

Under the dictatorship (1926-1961)

The Constitutional phase (1821-1910)

The last decade of the 18th century and the first quarter of the 19th century brought to the fore the revolutionary ideas of the French

philosophers and revolutionary political upheavals in Europe. Portugal also underwent a change when a constitutional monarchy was established on the throne in 1820. Goa too felt the ripples of this change. On September 16, 1821, Viceroy Conde Rio Pardo was removed after a popular struggle and a liberal regime was established. The enlightened Government took the initiative in bringing a press to Goa from Bombay and a weekly called *Gazeta de Goa* was published. It not only carried government orders and regulations but also the latest political and socio-economic news in its non-official section. Thus, if in British India the beginning of newspaper publication was as a private enterprise, in Goa it began as a government initiative. However, in Goa, too, a number of individuals started periodicals, which in the beginning were printed at the government printing press. Periodicals were also published by private individuals and printed at the Government press.

The first paper to come out of a private press was the *Ultramar* launched on April 6, 1859 from Margao. It discussed political and economic issues and lasted up to 1905. In general it was pro-Government but liberal. Its editor was deported to Diu during Rane Revolt of 1895 and its publication was banned for two years along with other periodicals in Goa. Press and literary life became intense in Goa, subsequent to its launch. The first daily newspaper in Goa was *O Heraldo* which was started in 1900 and continues in publication till today. Thereafter many others followed for different durations.

The Republican Era (1910-1917)

The establishment of the Republican regime in Portugal was followed by a sudden increase in the number of newspapers published in Goa. The Hindus, long suppressed by the pro-Catholic and anti-Hindu policies of the clergy influencing government, now came forward to join as well as start educational institutions, newspapers, publish books and participate in the political life of the colony. The social and cultural life of the Hindus began to show promise of blossoming once again. The liberal atmosphere of the republic however, was short lived and the period from 1917 to 1926 was a witness to a lot of political upheaval. In 1926 Salazar was appointed as finance minister of Portugal. He brought the finances of the country under control and under his direction Portugal's budget began to show surplus instead of deficits. In 1917 was promulgated the *Estatuto Politico* which sought to curb the freedoms enjoyed by the colonies under republicanism. The Colonial Act of 1930 which was incorporated in Portugal's Political Constitution of 1933 completely reduced the people of the colonies to a state of subservience and later became the basis of Portugal redesigning her 'Colonies' as 'Overseas Provinces' to outwit the U.N.O in 1951.

During the years of the Constitutional Monarchy and the Democratic Republic, the Portuguese Parliament had two Goan representatives elected by the people through limited franchise and one such representative rose to become a minister in the Portuguese government. Goans were, therefore, obliged to look to Lisbon as their capital and since their grievances could be voiced in the Portuguese

Parliament, they looked to it with hope and trust for the solution of their grievances and the amelioration of their socio-economic conditions. In addition, some members of the Governor's Council were also elected. However, the franchise was exercised by those who had knowledge of Portuguese and paid a certain amount of taxes to the government. Thus, an element of public sanction although on a restricted scale, was introduced in the administrative bureaucracy of the State. The Goan people came in contact with the Parliamentary procedures of the Portuguese Government and associated themselves with the modern political systems, which association gave a direction of change to the Goan society from the pre-Portuguese traditional political system to a modern one.

Under the dictatorship (1926-1961)

Portugal came under the iron grip of fascist dictatorship of Antonio Olivier Salazar in 1926. Fundamental freedoms were suppressed and it was but natural that Portuguese India should be treated more rigorously in the manner of suppression of fundamental rights and civil liberties. There was no freedom of the press and association. No political party could be formed, except the official party *Uniao Nacional*.

The first instance of ban under Salazar dictatorship took place in 1932. In that year some democracy loving youth had thrown a bomb on Salazar in Portugal, but he survived the attack. The Goa government asked all the newspapers in Goa to congratulate Salazar. Almost all the newspapers gave more than ample coverage except two newspapers,

namely, *O Ultramar* and *Pracash* which did not publish a single line. Government closed down both the newspapers. The Press was subsidized by the Government to publish only that news which was censored by the Portuguese authorities. In order to guarantee the success of censorship, the Government needed newspaper publishers to deposit a rather huge amount of money, which was liable to be forfeited if undesirable news, as far as Portuguese standpoint was concerned, was published. If a publisher forfeited his deposit, his newspaper was mostly discontinued and put out of circulation.

Censorship and scrutiny of the press continued to terrify the press during the Portuguese administration. Infact, the press was so concerned about being banned, losing its deposit or facing the courts that in the last decade before liberation the surviving papers in Goa were in a pathetic state of genuflection before the colonial authorities. A publication could be forced to cease without recourse to a judicial process. They were usually victims of rumours, of allegations of being harmful to public interests and to the national dignity. Many of the publications from outside Goa could not enter Goa, and the law itself was in favour of the government and its designs at press suppression. Within the space of two years, four newspapers ceased to exist for their failure to mention the abortive attempt on the life of the president of Portugal. Another had erred according to the Government in protesting against the inequality of political rights, while yet another was charged for having allegedly two owners.

The press, through all these evolving phases in the history of Goa, tried to reflect the struggles and aspirations of the Goans. Having

been curbed and curtailed by various regulations and laws enacted by the Portuguese government, the Goan Press was generally loyal but expressed the current socio-economic or political thoughts of the people. During the years of the democratic Republican Government a large number of papers were started and they freely wrote on different issues. There was no real defiance against authority. A few attempts at an objective analysis of the Portuguese political presence in Goa were made. For example, in its issue dated 24th January, 1947 *Heraldo* published an article under the title '*A Patina Secular Do Inercia*' (The Century Old Inertia) which depicted how Goa was suffering from political, financial and social decline and condemned the government. This had escaped the scissors of pre-censorship. Still the Governor General Dr. Jose Bossa banned it from publication. Again, in 1948 the paper criticized the Goan budget and therefore it was banned. The editor succeeded in getting the ban lifted after a lot of effort.

There was a total ban on any kind of publication from 1895-1897 and during the Second World War, no newspaper could be printed unless it had passed through the hands of the censors. Most papers printed the approval "*visado pela censura*" (seen by the censors) prominently on the first page. A few papers retaliated by carrying blank spaces in place of the censored articles, some others filled them with advertisements. By printing stories with 'holes' or 'gaps' created by censored pieces the reader was often able to get a sense of the story, even though parts of it were censored and, of course, he became aware that the piece was partially censored. Papers were required to submit their proofs to the censor's office and collect it back by evening. Press censorship by the Portuguese

primarily involved the use of two colours red and blue. The president of the Commission of Censors used a pencil of these colours with blue on one side and red at the other end. If the news item was censored, the red side was used to strike off the offending part, which meant its publication was not permitted. If the censors used the blue colour, then the page was sent to the office of the Governor for approval. This was done through his Private Secretary. Normally the Governor's office cleared 95 per cent of these blue-lined stories for publication.

No paper published in Goa was able to give a strong leadership to the liberation movement. The press in Goa did not sway the public opinion on the liberation or any socio-economic issues with the power that the press in India was able to do. However the press in Goa did comment on these issues. The press in Goa especially in the early days remained as elite as the political masters. The large majority of the papers were owned by Portuguese educated elite landlords who had cultivated a unique, if somewhat artificial, indo-Portuguese ethos and lifestyle. Many of them were lusitanised Goans. Most of the early papers were started by wealthy landlords to give voice to the political and social beliefs of their own caste groups. Owning and publishing a newspaper was prestigious and contributed to their social and political standing. The early papers, therefore, engaged in polemics and condemned the social and political affiliation of the opposite caste group. There was an ongoing tussle for social and political prestige among the Catholic *Chardo* (*kshatriya*) and *Brahmin* elite families of Goa through the Press. In the early days of the private owned press, long obituaries were published when an important member of one of the elite families died.

It was the Bombay based Goa Press, which initiated a more free public discussion on issues affecting Goans in a major way especially the question of liberation of Goa and its merger with India. The underground press of the militant nationalist groups also tried to excite the Goans to drive the Portuguese away. These papers of the militant groups as well as Goan papers from Bombay and some Marathi papers which carried Goa related news were clandestinely distributed and read as most of them were banned entry into Goa. While the Portuguese language press in Goa was published and read by the elite knowing the Portuguese language, the bilingual papers of Goa as well as the Bombay based Goa Press and the vernacular newspapers reached the masses. The earliest press corps in India consisted of either nationalists or social reformers; this was true even of the Englishmen who were among the founders of the daily press. The pioneers of journalism did not so much want to satisfy their natural curiosity of man for his fellow men, as to use the power of the printed word to fight an alien authority or their East-India-Company-kind, as the case might have been. The second aim was to combat the evils of the society.

In Goa the newspapers were not started to satisfy the curiosity of man to know about his fellow men. Periodicals were started more as a forum to ventilate the owner's views and the contributors' erudition and as a status symbol for the owner. The periodicals were in the most family owned. It was the vernacular and bilingual periodicals which made use of the press as a platform to influence readers in favour of social reform. Nationalist views found favour with a small group of people after 1910 which became more crystallized after 1946. The press in Goa was not able

to express these nationalist opinions or lead any mass movement due to the suppressive press laws and ordinances. The press of Goa did not function as a crusading agent for the freedom of Goa. Its contributions in assisting the nationalist movement to fruition were not very significant.

A newspaper, for its effective functioning, has to take a keen interest in the problems of its environment and the matters of public interest. The press in Goa as well as the Bombay based Goa press did write and show concern about education, economy and migration of Goans. Many writers and editors contributed their thoughts and analytical writings on these themes. Space was devoted to home and foreign political developments. Political developments in Portugal and especially developments having a bearing to Portuguese India were faithfully reported. The press in Goa expressed curiosity and interest in the political, social and economic developments taking place in India. There were regular reports of these developments in the Goan papers culled from Indian newspapers, All India Radio, Voice of America and the B.B.C. One can venture a guess that the circulation of Goan newspapers must have increased in proportion to the growth of educational opportunities, political consciousness and improvement in economic conditions after 1910.

The press of India was involved in the developments of the country leading to its independence. It did so by a good deal of editorializing and learned argumentation. The leading articles in Indian Newspapers were mostly meant to educate the masses. Moreover, the newspapers during the freedom movement carried lengthy speeches of political leaders which provided fuel to the freedom movement. The press

in Goa did not play the same dynamic, educative and leading role in the liberation of Goa. On the contrary, due to the press laws of the Salazar dictatorship in the last decade before the liberation of Goa papers like *Heraldo* became shrill in their support of a continuation of the Portuguese regime and criticism of freedom or integration of Goa into India. Other papers did not dare to openly support the nationalist cause since the sword of Press regulations was always pointed at them and they could be booked on flimsy grounds.

A large number of newspapers were started in Goa but most of them had short lives. Finance was always an issue since most of the papers were financed by personal funds. Since Portuguese was the language of administration and the elite, there were a large number of Portuguese newspapers in the land. Many journalists were imprisoned or otherwise penalized for the expression of views even slightly critical of the administration. Even ignoring or not openly supporting the government stand could invite punitive action against the editor, author or manager, including suspension of the publication. Under these circumstances it was well nigh impossible to exercise the so called freedom of the press without being punished. The press had compulsorily to toe the line of the Government and be in their good book for smooth functioning.

The Portuguese Government and the Press

The Portuguese Government was very wary of the press. Through legislation and punitive actions it sought to control the printed page. More than two dozen newspapers and periodicals were banned at one point of time. Pro-Indian and pro-Congress Goan newspapers were always suppressed. Others were obliged to change their policy, and were subsidized to carry on pro-Portuguese propaganda. Even the subsidized press was not trusted. Large sums of money were demanded from newspaper proprietors and publishers as security. Censorship was strictly enforced. The "copy" was required to be submitted to the Censor by 11 P.M. The Censors were military officers, innocent of the rules of journalism. The case of *Heraldo* was typical of how the Censors performed their duties. *Heraldo* wrote a leading article on the 1948-49 budget and submitted it to the Censor. He passed the article. However, when it was published the next day the police seized all the copies of the paper, and confiscated the security of the publisher.⁴

The Portuguese called censorship as "benevolent and educative." Important political events in India such as the inauguration of the Republic were blacked out. The news papers had to strictly follow the official regulations for printing any material. Official comments and statements were to be displayed prominently. Refusal to do so resulted in the suppression of *A Voz da India*, and its editor Mr. Antonio Sequeira had to flee from Goa. Advertisements, calendars and even wedding invitations were all censored before they could be printed. Even a slight laxity or deviation was enough to invite official wrath.

Social responsibility of the Press

In modern times, the press has become a powerful social institution to mould opinion, to educate, inform and entertain. The press in Goa tried to perform these functions even during the Portuguese period.

Many lead articles and other scholarly contributions sought to address, ^{and} highlight or focus attention on social issues which needed redress like the problems faced by emigrants, travelers, agrarian and other economic problems, education and social reform. It also sought to make the Goan public aware of the methods of social, economic and political exploitation and suppression practised by the Portuguese authorities

As an example of the use of the press for arousing public opinion against the Portuguese atrocities and for making Goans proud of Indian culture, an article of Telo de Mascarenhas, a renowned freedom fighter and revolutionary, published in *Bharat* of 4th November, 1926 would be relevant here. In this article under the title of 'Death of Idols'⁵, condemning the looting, piracy and atrocities committed by the Portuguese, he wrote: "The people teach the religion of Christ, the religion which was born in Asia and was monopolized by Europe. Why to commit barbarous acts in the name of religion? The religion was there much before the arrival of Portuguese in India. Goan students were not taught history of Portugal lest they nourished hatred towards Portugal. Right from the first standard, we are being taught that we are Portuguese and Portugal is our country. What is not being taught to us is that India is our only Motherland. This country is one of the most beautiful countries in the world and our culture was beaming light to

the world at a time Portugal was inhabited by nomads and barbarous groups. We are taught to respect the courage of the Portuguese but we are not told that they committed atrocities on us, broke our laws, burnt our homes and attacked our country and that they sowed the seeds of social disputes whilst introducing their culture in our land. It is proper that these people are hated; they made our ancestors suffer.”

Bharat was bold enough to published the above article of Mascarenhas who was equally brave in those circumstances to write the same expressing his deep rooted wish to see Goans to revert to their roots.

"The day, the cult of our own traditions and customs and our language are inscribed in our hearts will be the day when the false idols imposed for our worship shall have died."⁶ Quite predictably, the article caused a flutter in official dovecotes and a criminal proceeding was launched against the writer of the article and the publisher of *Bharat*. Undeterred by the pending prosecution, *Bharat* in a subsequent issue carried an open letter from Telo's friends and colleagues in Portugal. Antonio Furtado, Benedito Fulgencio Brito, F. Piedade da Costa, Antonio Prazares da Costa, Antonio Jose Antao and Druston Rodrigues, praising the writer of the article and its publisher, condemned the attempted prosecution and expressed their sense of solidarity with them. In Portugal, Telo was summoned to the criminal court of Boa Hora in Lisbon to answer the charge. He was defended by his colleague Antonio Furtado who argued that Telo after all had said nothing that was not said before and that he was only repeating what a good many Portuguese historians themselves had said. Telo was let off with an admonition and for the time being that was the end of the matter. The

authorities probably thought he was too callow a youth to be taken seriously. This was in 1926. Thirty six years later in 1962 he was to go to Boa Hora again, to answer much more serious charges.

Despite the admonition, Telo persisted in writing for *Bharat and* occasionally he also sent articles to *A India Portuguesa*. Govind Hegdo Dessai of *Bharat* and father António Gregorio da Costa of *A India Portuguesa* watched with growing interest and admiration the activities of young Goan enthusiasts in Lisbon and gave them a wide publicity in Indian journals, risking their all. *Bharat* wrote⁷, "European culture has been responsible for the mental and economic degradation of Indian people. Whereas it is the objective of any religion to establish love and peace in the world, the Portuguese have done the opposite in Goa under the facade of religion. Through conversion, they have established two powerful groups in the same society. However, even without religious unity, the Hindus, the Christians and the other communities are capable of achieving their political and cultural advancement."

Many newspapers conducted serious "Letters to the Editor" columns, which covered a wide variety of subjects and provided a valuable forum for the reader. Many readers sent in their opinions on emigration, education, administrative policies, difficulties encountered while traveling to and fro Bombay, agriculture and many other topics of interest. Some, but not all, attempted to enlighten their readers on the conditions under which the bulk of the population in villages lived. They published educated articles by scholars on *comunidades* and the state of cultivation and industry. The speeches of Salazar were reported-often at great a length.

Articles on Rabindranath Tagore, Jawaharlal Nehru and the philosophy of Mahatma Gandhi often found their way to the front pages. Editorial writing or the lead writing was often of a very high standard. The Portuguese language press by and large wrote more on emigration, Goan politics and issues of concern to the Christian community while the vernacular press focused more on issues of social reform, education, health, philosophy and general topics.

The Portuguese republic was folded up in 1926 when freedom of speech was taken away and publication of any writing became subject to pre-censorship. However, the Hindus continued with their social activities till a few years before Goa's liberation. When the freedom movement became active in Goa and every social activity began to be looked upon as a suspected subversive activity, the press came to be under strict surveillance and scrutiny.

The Press as a mediator between the public and the administration

The Press, as it were, acts as a mediator between the public and the administration. The former gets its facts and ideas from the press and the Administration largely provides, by its actions and policies, a substantial part of the facts and views purveyed by the press and its policies are influenced by the reactions of the public and the press to what it does or intends to do. The press in Goa also tried to perform this function as an effective mediator. The newspapers of Goa carried news about the changes in the policies and other activities of the Government. The press of

Goa also tried to express the socio-economic aspirations of its readers; whether the government took note of these expressions and whether it acted on them could be the subject of another study. The bulk of the Goan press largely devoted itself to presenting serious news in a serious manner. They covered also sports, entertainment and other human-interest stories.

The press for an efficient functioning depends both on the general public and the administration and it is the former more than the latter that provides strength to it. It can serve its purpose well only with the general support of its readers. In this sense, while the elected member of a legislature may be responsible to his constituents and becomes answerable to them perhaps from one election to another, a daily newspaper renews its suffrage every 24 hours. Such power as the press has is essentially derived from this obligation to retain the allegiance of its readers and extend it. No paper can possibly maintain the continuous support of a large body of men unless they felt that it broadly satisfied them as a source of fact and opinion. However, during the Portuguese period, the press which claimed and commanded public support usually not only did not get support from the administration but also was usually got banned by it.

What was the role of the press? Did it reflect public opinion? Did it mould public opinion? Did the press carry out any crusade? Or was it a free press or a censored press? How did the press handle the news? How did the press get its news? Were there any news organizations? What was the nature of news and journalism? The answers

to these questions varied at different periods in the history of the press in Goa depending upon the nature and structure of the Government policies.

Female journalists were rare. The editorial was not always written by the editor. Articles by prominent writers were often published in place of an editorial. Journalists were keenly aware of the social, economic and political situation of Goa. They wrote very sympathetically and emotionally on issues. The purpose of the press was not only to inform but also to educate and enlighten the masses while taking care that nothing annoyed the authorities. Writers here were keenly aware of the socio-political developments in India and had some news or communication about India in their papers whenever possible. *Heraldo* published many sympathetically written features on Tagore, satyagraha, Gandhi and other themes related to India before 1946.

Factors in circulation

Circulations were very small and advertisements were scarce. The overall meager circulation of the Goan Press, was due largely to illiteracy and partly to the poverty of the people. Therefore, the reach of the press was limited to a small section of the population who had the ability to read newspapers and the capacity to buy them. But the actual area of influence of newspapers was much wider. Some of the Portuguese language papers were subsidized by the Government and yet only a limited number of people were able to read them. The most important

limiting factor was the limited number of people who were able to read and write Portuguese, Marathi or Konkani.

Political Role

The history of the freedom movement and that of journalism in the subcontinent are inextricably woven with each other. The journalists like their freedom fighting compatriots, suffered at the hands of the foreign power. A significant aspect of the subcontinent's journalism is that important battles of the war of words against the alien rulers were fought in the language of the rulers. Press and persecution in this part of the world were born together with few intervals of freedom depending upon the circumstances.

In the first two decades of the 20th century the *Kesari* and the *Maratha* of Lokmanya Tilak inspired the Goan minds and moulded the opinions of the Marathi newspaper readers in this territory. Thereafter the *Hindu* of Dattatraya Venkatesh Pai and the *Bharat* of Govind Pundalik Hegde Desai campaigned vigorously, awakening the masses. The columns of Luis de Menezes Braganca, in the *Pracasha* crusading continuously the cause of republicanism, liberalism and self-determination, stirred the hearts of the Goan literates who prepared themselves to get rid of the mental enslavement to which they were subjected for long. When the Colonial Act was imposed on the territories, he had tabled a Motion, which said that Portuguese India "does not renounce the right that all people possess of attaining the fullness of their individuality till they are able to constitute

units capable of guiding their own destinies, since this is the birth-right of their organic essence."

Intellectual youths like Dr. T. B. Cunha sought to identify the Goan aspirations with that of Indian nationalists and founded the Goa Congress Committee in 1928, which was affiliated, to the Indian National Congress at its Calcutta session. It confined its activities to educating the people about colonial economy, calling upon Goans to demand freedom and identifying and seeking solutions to important issues of Goa. Though it functioned from Goa, its main centre of activities was in Bombay, where Goans were concentrated and from where it was easier to carry out their activities as well publications for general reading.

With the advent of the republic in Portugal in 1910, Goan Christian youngsters studying there became acquainted with modern thoughts. They were influenced by the prevailing circumstances to find out what would be the direction of their future progress. This led to the formation of an organization named *Centro Nacional Indiano* in December 1925 which adopted the slogan 'Goa's freedom is a part of India's freedom'. In the aims and objectives of the institution, they referred to India as '*Patria Hindu*' meaning 'Fatherland of Hindus' and they started their activities by chanting of *aum*. Some of the members changed their Portuguese names into Indian names. The essence of the few speeches, which were delivered on the foundation day, could be summarized as follows: The mode of thinking of Goans in respect of nationalism and politics is putrefied and to change it radically, there is a need for the formation of a disciplined and organized party. In the words of Fernando

Costa, one of the founders of *Centro Nacional* published in the Hindu⁸, “When I was considering myself to be a Portuguese, I was nourishing love towards my region. When I came to Lisbon, my love towards my region was transformed into love towards the nation-towards India. I went to Germany, but German people were not prepared to consider me as an Indian because of my Christian name. From Germany I went to India and there I visited *Instituto Luso-Indiano*. Here I witnessed the quadricentenary celebrations of Vasco da Gama. Even animals lose their right of freedom when they are helpless, but here I was witnessing people who were celebrating the loss of their freedom and then I could imagine the degeneration of my community.”

These words, when published in Goan newspapers, were criticized by the pro-Portuguese elements. Newspapers like *Heraldo* and *Ul tramar* were critical of the institution and their founders. The words ‘Fatherland of Hindus’ upset them. Another founder of *Centro Nacional*, Antonio Furtado, replied to the criticism of *Heraldo* and *Ultramar* in the following clear terms: “In future Goa, students will be taught to call themselves Hindus and not Portuguese. Just as inhabitants of Portugal cannot be called Hindus, inhabitants of India cannot be called Portuguese. Moreover, just as inhabitants of Portugal cannot be called “Luso-Indian”, inhabitants of India cannot be called ‘Indo-Portuguese.’”

The members of *Centro Nacional* tried to draw the attention of the outside world towards India and the condemnable situation in Goa. A pro-Portuguese stance on the lines adopted by *Heraldo* and *Ultramar* was also evident when Prof. Araujo Mascarenhas, a well-known writer and

lawyer, was defending P.Sukerkar, the owner of *Hindu* periodical, in a court case concerning the periodical's criticism against the quadricentenary celebrations of Vasco da Gama. The lawyer is stated to have said⁹: "I wish to bring to the notice of the Hon'ble Judge that the person (lawyer himself) who is defending Sukerkar is Indian and Portuguese and if there is a conflict between my Portuguese and Indian relationship, I shall kick my Indian relationship and accept my Portuguese relationship. In spite of my nourishing such an attitude, I do not find any statement in the *Hindu* periodical to be objectionable." This statement of the lawyer may have been a part of his defense strategy but also clearly exhibited his loyalties to Portugal.

The ideology of the *Centro Nacional* received full support from enlightend thinkers and media in Portugal. Mr. Rocha Martins, ex-member of Portuguese Parliament, journalist, historian, member of Science Academy of Lisbon, in an interview published in *Bharat*¹⁰ states: "I look upon, this nationalist movement with great sympathy, since the movement is based on justice. Everybody should be free. No colonies should exist. India has its own culture. There is nothing that India can learn from Europe." The periodicals *Hindu* and *Bharat* critically presented the objectives, policies and limitations of such an organization. It created an impact on the youth in Goa. However, the establishment of Salazar's dictatorship in Portugal led to radical changes in the political set up so as to suppress any opposition to it.

A non-official committee was constituted to organize the birth centenary celebrations of Francisco Luis Gomes. The Christian members

of the committee, ignoring the opinion of its Hindu members, included a Christian religious ritual in the programme. The periodical *Pracasha* expressed the protest of Hindu society through its columns.¹¹ Tristao Braganca de Cunha in a letter published in this paper dated 3rd July 1929 supporting the protest wrote¹²: "It has become a regular practice in Goa to treat Hindus with disrespect and meanness. Hindus should stop tolerating this and come forward to make the government aware of their rights. The local Christians' interference in introducing religion even in functions of social character is not due to their pride of religion; it is only to please the government. The republican constitution has provided for a divorce between religion and politics; but this has come into effect only in Portugal and care is taken to see that it is not effective in the colonies. In spite of the fact that the Hindu society and their temples are members of the village bodies, only churches are given grants from the income of such bodies. It is an order of the day to accord special facilities to Christians and to give an undue importance to the Christian religion. The reason behind this is to appease the Christians and through their help keep Goa permanently under the Portuguese rule."

Under the dictatorship people were rudely denied freedom of speech and association in Portuguese India. No public meetings could be held without the permission of the authorities or a talk given without a visa from the Censor.

A number of individuals and groups had risen in revolt at different times throughout the history of Portuguese colonialism in Goa. The Pinto Conspiracy, the Rane revolts and other rebellions were however, just rebellions by individuals or groups when the colonial authorities curbed

their respective aspirations. Under the then prevailing circumstances and ruthless administration no mass uprising could take place.

The heat generated by the freedom movement in India had its impact in Goa. The leaders and the masses both in Goa and India realized that a mass movement was needed to liberate Goa along with India. The meeting of Ram Manohar Lohia at Margao on 18th June 1946 initiated the civil disobedience movement in Goa and started the modern phase of the liberation movement of Goa. In association with and the cooperation of Indian leaders and sympathizers, Goan nationalist leaders initiated a number of movements to put pressure on the Portuguese government to quit Goa. In 1953 India closed its legation in Portugal and Dadra and Nagar Haveli were liberated in 1954. In 1954 and 1955 Indian nationalists, supported by some exiled Goans, tried several times to launch a Gandhian style *satyagraha* campaign in Goa. The Quit Goa movement of the *Azad Gomantak Dal* and the economic sanctions imposed by India on Portuguese Goa also sought to put pressure on the Portuguese to leave Goa. When all these methods failed to persuade the Portuguese to give up Goa, India took military action and Goa was liberated on 19th December 1961.

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia infused a new sense of urgency and direction in the liberation movement of Goa. Indeed it can be said that his visit to Goa proved to be a watershed in the political history of the land. Nationalist Goans in political circles were enthusiastic and generally supportive of his visit and public meeting in Goa. His movement for civil liberties inaugurated the modern phase of the freedom movement of Goa. From 1946, the struggle to oust the Portuguese from *Estado da India* is

clear, connected and vigorous. Evagrio George was in charge of the daily *O Herald* for a few days in June 1946 as Mr. Amadeu Prazeres da Costa had gone to Bombay. Dr. Lohia arrived in Goa on 10th June, 1946. As soon as Evagrio George learned that Dr. Lohia was in Goa, he reported about Dr. Lohia's arrival in Goa in *O Herald*. On the next day he handed in for composition a biography of Dr. Lohia and left for the house of Dr. Juliao Menezes at Assolna to pay him a visit.

Among others, who visited Lohia at Assolna were Purushottam Kakodkar, Dionisio Ribeiro and Dr. Antonio Sequeira, editor of the paper *A Voz da India*. Evagrio published in *O Herald* a detailed report of the meeting on the 17th of June held in the house of Jaganlal Shah in Panjim. Various gentlemen addressed the meeting including Dr. Juliao and Dr. Lohia. A detailed report of the meeting in Margao, was also published by *O Herald*.

In the aftermath of 18th June some local leaders continued organizing rallies and giving speeches. The Governor General of Goa Dr. Jose Bossa softened and the ban on public meetings was lifted, and instructions were issued to the Press Censorship not to use the blue pencil on the "matter" intended for publication in the newspapers.¹³ Evagrio writes¹⁴: "Availing of the extraordinary energy which the movement had generated into my fragile body, I would also repair to Panjim and look after the "matter" required to bring out the paper. The favourite subjects those days were some articles I had written over my signature on the aim of the movement. I don't have the articles for reference, but I well remember this bold passage: "If the movement is to demand civil liberties and a

representative Government, why will the Tricolour and the slogans, which are the same as those used in the rest of India, not be allowed? The thought which underlies this movement is Indian. The spirit of this people continues to be, as it has always been, purely Indian. The people of Goa do not renounce the right to *Swaraj*, they did not repudiate the great sons, dead or alive, of India. In the philosophical and ideological field, they shall not accept any barriers within India. For the present, they only demand civil liberties and leave the rest to the mercy of the revolution, which nothing will stop.”

Mr. Evagrio George writes on the reaction of other periodicals:¹⁵ “On the following day (19th June) a Margaum newspaper carried some comments on our meeting with Mahatma Gandhi at Panchgani, and called us false informants of people, like Gandhiji, and irresponsible; it said that we had concealed ourselves somewhere and sent out small boys who did not know to weigh the responsibility of their actions. I pitied the writer of these comments or these journalists, as they were without freedom to express all points of view. They had the liberty to write only against us, but not a word in favor of us, even if they felt it as their duty. In these circumstances, their choice was either silence on the matter or to write what was strictly necessary for the survival of the paper....”

The writers of articles not palatable to the authorities were tried and severely punished most often on flimsy grounds. A very sensational trial was that of Tristao de Braganza Cunha on 28th July who was finally awarded eight years of rigorous imprisonment. Goa became the focus of

world attention. The World Press reported on the trial. The **Times of India**, of Bombay, then an organ of British imperialism, expressed surprise that such a severe sentence had been inflicted for a "technical breach of law". A detailed account of this trial and sentence was published by the *Heraldo* of Dr. Antonio Maria Da Cunha, in a few editions.

Vicente Joao de Figueiredo had founded the daily *A Voz da India*, to be the organ of the 'League of the State of India' which he proposed to organize. The Government denied permission to found it. Mr. Figueiredo retired from political life and from the management of the paper he founded. However, by 18th June the Loyola-Figueiredo group approached Lohia for the postponement of his satyagraha. Jose Inacio Francisco Candido de Loyola, was the nephew of Dr. Jose Inacio de Loyola, the leader of Partido Indiano who led the battle for civil rights, when the Governor of Goa General Vasco Guedes had violated the electoral laws of the land in 1890. He was also called Fanchu Loyola. The critical articles that he wrote about the Goan society disturbed the Portuguese authority in Goa. The various newspapers that he founded were suspended, and the presses where these papers were printed were often destroyed. But he continued to fight vigorously for the freedom of thought and expression. In 1913, *Journal da India* that he was editing was suspended by F. M. Couceiro da Costa, the Governor of Estado da India. Fanchu Loyola condemned the suspension of the paper in a letter called Carta Politica, addressed to the Governor and also proposed to start another new journal called *Rebate*. The colonial authority in Goa also filed a case against him for a speech and the newspapers that published it. In the interim, Fanchu

Loyola had escaped to Bombay, and from there he launched, *Portugal e Colonias*.

Portugal E Colonias was banned in Goa, but Fanchu Loyola continued publishing it. It was closed after five years of publication, and he returned to Goa to practice law and also launched the journal *Rebate*. When he gave a press statement to a journal in British India, complaining of the lack of freedom of press in Portuguese India, he was brought into the hall of the Military Library in Panjim and was given many strokes on his buttocks by Captain Almeida Eca. A forced written statement was taken from him, warning him not to publish again untrue reports concerning Portuguese India in the English Press.¹⁶ But undeterred, he went on fighting for the freedom of thought, which he called the natural law, the birth right of all human beings. He also took part in various elections, which were often rigged, the most notorious cases being that of *chapeladas*, attacks on the election officers, violation of the ballot boxes and so on.¹⁷ The little freedom that there was, died away with the coming of the dictator Salazar. As a guest speaker at a function to celebrate the anniversary of Goa's conquest by Afonso de Albuquerque on 25th November 1932 he praised the Conqueror but condemned the colonial establishment in Goa. He warned that "It could happen that the whole overseas Portuguese Empire, might be set on fire against the hostility of Portuguese domination. In order to save the little that is left of the great empire founded by Albuquerque, I want to believe that it is time for us to shout, 'Enough is Enough!'"¹⁸

Fanchu Loyola supported the movement for civil liberties launched by Dr. Lohia by writing articles in *O Herald* and *A Voz da India*. He wrote in *A Voz da India*,¹⁹ "It isn't in the hands of man to blockade the natural laws ... the introduction of new laws have done away with our civic privileges. What is happening now is the direct result of that. It's a moral-duty of all of us to put in clear terms before the Governor General the recent incidents. We must help him to interpret these incidents correctly, and make him aware of what is going on in this land. In a way, what is going on here, is nothing but history taking its unavoidable course. And this has started because of the recent government ineptitude..."

The British withdrawal and a peaceful transfer of power in 1947 led Jawaharlal Nehru to hope that Portugal would have the good sense to follow suit. It was hoped that Portugal would at least be willing to hold talks on the future of the Portuguese pocket in India. With that hope India had opened a legation in Lisbon in 1949 to establish contact for a negotiated peaceful settlement. Telo de Mascarenhas was skeptical of the diplomatic efforts. He wrote in **Ressurge Goa** which he had started in Bombay : "It would be excessive good faith to hope that the Portuguese will restore to India as a mere diplomatic gesture that part of it which they have despoiled in the name of God and civilization."

Salazar would not admit to the existence of any problem in Goa which in 1951 he stopped referring to as colony. Portugal by law no 2048 of June 1951 amended the Constitution and the word colonia was substituted by provincia Ultramarina. They began to call Goa and other Portuguese colonies as "the overseas provinces of Portugal" and therefore

an integral part of Portugal herself. This change in nomenclature was necessitated to hoodwink the U. N.O which was against colonialism. The Portugues blatantly refused to talk of quitting and even threatened to take stern action including scorching Goa. Faced with such intransigence, India close down her legation in Lisbon in June 1953. Commenting on this rigid stance of Portugal, Telo wrote, "The case of Goa, is a litigation between two sovereign nations-Portugal, which, alleging reasons of sentiment and culture wishes at all cost to maintain its power over Goa, Daman and Diu and India, which, alleging reasons of historical, ethnical, geographical and cultural nature wishes to reown that which rightfully belongs to her. And between two litigants there cannot exist amity and goodwill."

Failure of the diplomatic method drove Goans to seek fresh initiatives and tackle the situation on their own. An Action Committee was formed aiming to mobilize diverse forces working for liberation from within and without Goa and to coordinate their activities was formed. The Committee at once drew up an action plan for a mass satyagraha to be offered in Goa. Telo was of the view that "Satyagraha is a good measure for Saints and Martyrs, a method always victorious when employed against an adversary who knows to respect its noble spiritualism but would give the authorities in Goa excellent opportunity to display their most inhuman methods. The Goan nationalists are neither saints nor martyrs, but men capable of giving and taking even in an unequal fight. The satyagraha would give our adversary the idea that we are mendicants and as such they would treat us, when our intent and purpose is not to beg but to wrench from their hands a patrimony that is ours by right".²⁰ The proposed March was to take place on the 15th of August, 1954, anniversary of Indian

independence and a large number of people, Goan and non-Goan, came forward to enroll themselves as volunteers.

Meanwhile, in July 1954, a small group of commandos occupied the Portuguese enclave of Dadra near Daman and hoisted the Indian flag and within days, the adjoining bigger territory of Nagar Haveli with its capital at Silvassa fell to the militant nationalists. Meanwhile, the satyagrahis were ready to begin their scheduled march on August 15. Their enthusiasm was slightly dampened when on the eve of the "D-Day", the Government of India barred Indians from participating in the March. Three batches of unarmed Goans holding aloft the tricolor entered Goa from three different points at the border. The marchers from Majali and Banda were arrested and taken into custody. but the Tiracol batch of marchers penetrated fairly deep into the territory, occupied the Fort after overpowering the guards on duty and hoisted the tricolour. The following day the Portuguese reoccupied the fort, killing one satyagrahi and injuring twelve others in the encounter. Scores of volunteers offered satyagraha at various points inside Goa and courted arrest on August 15, 1954. It was a new phase of the freedom movement and was wholly a Goan affair.

An All (India) Parties Goa Liberation Committee was formed at Poona on May 14, 1955 with the aim to liberate Goa by direct participation in the struggle. On 18th of May, 1955 the first batch of Indian satyagrahis, marched into Goa and more batches followed in quick succession and all of them were arrested, roughed up and put in prison. Three of them fell to Portuguese bullets. On 15th August, 1955 about four thousand unarmed men and women crossed the border at various points.

The Portuguese police and military resorted to indiscriminate firing killing thirty-two *Satyagrahis* instantly and wounding hundreds of them. During this critical period Telo's "**Ressurge, Goa!**" and other Bombay based Goan newspapers played the role of friend, philosopher and guide to the Nationalist movement.

The visit of Dr. Lohia to Goa generated a lot of political activity. Fanchu Loyola and Vicente Joao de Figueiredo held a public meeting at the Dr. George Barreto Park, in Margao. Fanchu Loyola addressing the public asked that Portugal should not treat *Estado da India* as a colony, but to accommodate it as a State within the *Estado Portuguesa*. He wanted a new political status for *Estado da India* to be worked out by Goans themselves, a status that would reflect the legitimate aspirations of the people. Proposals based on his speech were passed at the meeting and brought to the attention of the Governor of *Estado da India*. The Colonial authority ignored the recommendations made, and no political gains come out of this either.²¹ But the heat created at the meeting did not subside and the struggle became more vigorous.

The defiance of the ban on public meetings and the launching of the non-violent movement for civil liberties in Goa by Lohia and his words produced a deep impact on the mind of every Indian. Even Mahatma Gandhi wrote in his *Harijan* on 30th June, 1946, "He has thereby rendered a service to the course of civil liberty and especially to the Goans. The little Portuguese settlement which merely exists on the sufferance of the British Government can ill-afford to ape its bad manners." Though Gandhi extended moral support to Dr. Lohia in his movement, he wanted the active

participation of the Goans for its success. Gandhi expected them to fight first only for civil liberties as the broader question of independence could be taken up later on as British India was yet to be free. He appealed to the Goans to carry on the struggle through non-violence with open means. The extraordinary step of Dr. Lohia led the Working Committee of the Indian National Congress at Wardha to pass a resolution condemning the high-handedness of the Portuguese Government and to back fully the Goans in their struggle for the restoration of civil liberties. It reminded the Portuguese Government that Goa had been, and must inevitably continue to be, part of India and the Goans must share the freedom with other Indians.

The Portuguese rulers called the Civil Disobedience movement as 'movimento da rua' (roadside agitation). The Civil Disobedience movement instilled a sense of boldness among the Goans. It prompted numerous Goan patriots to join the freedom struggle in Goa and outside in self-exile. It inspired all the political groups and nationalists to come under one banner of the National Congress (Goa), which was formed on 17-18th August 1946 at the historic meeting at Londa. The National Congress (Goa) was the main political party under which the political workers of varied political persuasions rallied and at times fell apart from it resulting in the proliferation of several small parties and groups which too significantly contributed to the cause. Many patriots lost their lives in the struggle. Some were deported to Portugal, Angola and Cabo Verde for long terms of imprisonment and hundreds were jailed and tortured.

The nature of local politics, dissensions and strong caste prejudices which hampered liberation movement were some times

published in the press. For example, *Bharat*²², soon after Lohia's visit wrote, "Juliao quite aware that in Goa no one would take him seriously dragged up to these parts Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia, drumming into his ears falsehood, such as he has been singing in the *Gomantak*. The reader knows what happened later. Juliao vainly tried to hoist himself as a hero but no one took him seriously. A ridiculous imposter, he was driven off to the police station, as he had no status! We were informed that as he rushed to Tristao de Braganca Cunha, he was shivering very much as he thought about the consequences of contravening the law forbidding gatherings without permission of the authorities. The panic which engulfed this brave *kshatriya* was such that never did he dare put his foot in Goa along with Dr. Lohia when the latter returned, was arrested and dispatched to the border.

It is much more comfortable to accommodate himself in Bombay insulting the Brahmins and the most representative persons in Goa! Assured by irresponsibility, it is possible to insult all the people because Juliao possesses only the stock of his services to the country, insults to one and all and his father. Hatred of the Brahmins is the product of his infinite envy, of his inability to be shoulder to shoulder with them, of the tortuous pettiness of his *sudra* origins, which he tries to cover up intending to align himself beside *chardos*, projecting himself as defender of the *Kshatriya* thought. But the fear and trembling in the jail brought out that Julians are not made of *Kshatriya* stuff and he has now come to intimidate us with people's court."

The reluctance of Jawaharlal Nehru to commit himself to any course of action in Goa immediately is evident from the following extract

from *A Voz da India*²³ “Jawaharlal Nehru in his speech regarding diplomatic posts, referring to foreign possessions in India, and Goa among them, said that he is not resolved to take any governmental action because, though it is a small state, the action would raise international disputes which he does not intend to provoke for the time being, as he has more important problems to solve. Mr. Nehru's declaration implies admission of two facts: that Goa is a foreign possession and that any interference of the interim Government of greater India, can provoke International conflicts which that government does not intend to raise at least at the present stage. In these conditions, to Mr. Nehru himself who is the prime Indian figure in the interim Government of greater India, as Goa is a foreign possession, all those are foreigners who are not merged with the State of India and since it is so we cannot recognize whosoever is not the son of this soil, the right to come up to the State of India to agitate the public opinion in a foreign territory.”

The arrest of the leaders of the Civil Disobedience movement in 1946-47, created a lull in Goa and the center of action moved outside Goa. However, the movement got a shot in the arm with the liberation of Dadra and Nagar Haveli in July - August 1954. A mass *Satyagraha* movement was launched by the National Congress (Goa) in 1954 and again in 1955 by the NCG and the *Goa Vimochan Sahayak Samiti* in Goa. The Portuguese suppressed the movement with brutality. The brave, risky and valiant fights put up by the groups like the *Azad Gomantak Dal*, the *Rancour Patriotica*, the United Front of Goans, the Goan Peoples' Party, the Goa Liberation Army and Quit Goa Organization are to be reckoned with, though they adopted violent methods of action. By the end of 1956, while the deadlock

on the Goa front continued, the focus of the movement moved to the United Nations where India contended that Goa was a clear colonial problem. India also mobilized the support of the freedom loving nations in Africa and West Asia apart from the full support of the USSR and other Socialist countries. The press in Goa continued to publish these developments on Goa issue

The Goa Liberation Council was formed as a broad political front in 1954. It was not tied down to any particular political ideology and was to be automatically disbanded as soon as its goal of the liberation of Goa was achieved. It demanded the right of self-determination for the people of Goa. The principle itself was enunciated by the United Nations applying to peoples of non-self governing countries, who, having reached a sufficient state of maturity and development, could easily fend for themselves in freedom, making the presence of a foreign colonial power in their midst unwanted and unnecessary. The Liberation Council sought to counteract the pernicious Portuguese propaganda on the internal front. This it did with a measure of success through the **Goan Tribune**, a fortnightly magazine that came into existence following the formation of the Liberation Council. Though the Goa Liberation Council did not embrace any particular ideology it was closer to the undivided Congress than any of the other Goan political organizations in the field in Bombay at the time. Nevertheless the Goa Liberation Council put across at the international level a firm policy relative to the peculiarity of the Goan Freedom movement operating from India.²⁴

Salazar had converted the Goa Question into a knotty international dispute as one between an aggressive India, bent on territorial aggrandizement, and a peaceful Portugal. Portugal in Goa was no threat to India, just the reverse according to the Portuguese propaganda. The Goa Liberation Council through the **Goan Tribune**, sought to focus the dispute on the international scene as one between the Goan people, fighting for the right of self-determination, and Portugal, seeking to deny that right by repressive method. The **Goan Tribune** developed a wide readership both among Goans in India and abroad and reached Indian parliamentarians, important politicians, leading men in public life and influential international parliamentarians and statesmen.

The Azad Gomantak Dal (AGD) set up a secret printing press and started *Jwala* bulletin for wide circulation. The bulletin was published in three different languages and political matters, featuring therein, often impressed the people. By August 1948, the AGD made its position stronger organizationally with *Jwala* as its organ. The range of distribution machinery of the organization had spread throughout Goa. More cells had come into existence and the armoury had become richer by at least additional twenty 12-bore guns acquired through smaller actions. All this did not pass unnoticed by the Portuguese police. Sometime in June 1948, one Portuguese police spy called Sukdo Xetkar had successfully infiltrated into the organization and continued undetected for a month or so. However, before he could get into the inner circle, he was arrested by the vigilance squad of the *Dal* and for reasons of safety the headquarters of AGD were shifted to "No Man's Land" near Ambegao on Indian border. During the shifting, when the last parcel was in transit a 40-

man squad of armed Portuguese police under one *Agente* Diogo pursued the volunteer's right into the Indian territory and ordered them to surrender under the threat of being killed one and all.²⁵

Among the popular clandestine literature issued and distributed by "Quit Goa" were "*Jowala*" and "Quit Goa" a cyclostyled regular bulletin in Marathi, English, Konkani and Portuguese edited by Janardan Shinkre. Another ingenious method used by "Quit Goa" was the prototype publication of the Portuguese *Heraldo* daily with nationalist messages and news, which caught the credulous and many unsympathetic subscribers unaware. "Quit Goa" Organisation, vowed to fight with every means the Portuguese domination and carried out several armed raids inside Goa and succeeded in instilling fear into the unwilling police personnel and mercenaries of the Portuguese intelligence.

The liberation

India found herself in a difficult situation. On the one hand, it adopted the stand that Goa was a colony of Portugal on the Indian subcontinent, and on the other it held the view that Goa was geographically, linguistically and ethnically a part of India. The latter view was admitted as valid by almost everyone. The UN, the US, the USSR, and practically the whole civilized world was opposed to colonialism, and favored the freedom of colonies from their foreign rulers. Countries friendly to India and Portugal saw no chance of persuading her to withdraw peacefully, and to negotiate on that basis. However, everybody was

requesting India not to take recourse to force in the cause with which they all seemed to sympathize. India herself was opposed to the use of force, and had refrained from using it for fourteen years, in the hope that a peaceful solution of the problem might be found. A situation had now been reached when no other course seemed feasible, particularly in view of the intransigent attitude of Portugal and the failure of friendly powers to effect a change in that attitude.

The government of India had been reluctant to take military action against the Portuguese enclaves in spite of persistent demand in the public and Parliament. But when in November, 1961, the Portuguese in Anjediv Island resorted to provocative action against Indian ships and fishing boats in the vicinity of the island, the decision to retaliate could not be postponed any further. It is significant, however, that even at this stage the initial reaction of the government appears to have been to act against Anjediv Island only. The takeover of Goa was also favoured. On further consideration, to obviate the possibility of the Portuguese retaliating from the enclaves of Daman and Diu, it was found necessary to include these two territories also in the proposed action.²⁶

On 17th November, the Indian Steamship Sabarmati, was fired upon by the Portuguese garrison in Anjediv island and the chief engineer of the vessel, Mr. Penha was injured by this action. A week later, during the night of 24-25th November, a group of Indian fishermen in about 20 boats were fired upon by the Anjediv garrison about the same area between the island and the mainland. One of the fishermen died the next day as a result of the injuries. This made the local fishermen nervous and hesitant to

venture into the sea for normal fishing activities. In order to infuse confidence in them one frigate and one destroyer-the *Kirpan* and the *Rajput* were sent from Bombay to Karwar on 27th November. The ships were directed to exercise off Karwar, keeping clear of the Portuguese territorial waters, which was to be considered as 10 km wide. Both these ships arrived at Karwar during the afternoon of 28th November and later naval headquarters instituted what was known as "operation *chutney*", which involved the maintenance of a linear patrol by two ships at a distance of not less than 13 km off the Goa coast. The ships on patrol were required to report shipping, air and personnel movements in and out of Portuguese territory, and retaliate with necessary force if engaged by any surface or air units. Other ships were alerted and ordered to be operational at the earliest possible date. Meanwhile, the political decision to take action against all the Portuguese territories was taken on 30th November and the Indian Army was sent into Goa on 18th December. Goa was finally liberated by the troops on 19th December 1961.

The national and international press apparently was disappointed with the lack of adequate information and inadequate arrangements for the press to cover the impending operations. The responsibility for the poor press coverage of the events in Goa's liberation by India should be laid largely at the door of the government, which means in this case, the Defense Minister himself. For, it is a well-known fact, and a major grouse of all concerned, that Mr. Krishna Menon kept the public relations men at a distance, and insisted upon personally handling the publicity of the police action against the Portuguese enclave. Mr. Menon's methods and ideas about the press being what they were no wonder things went awry so far as

the press coverage went.²⁷ “Mr. Menon has subsequently confessed to this charge and declared with considerable warmth that the interests of the country's security required that the press should be kept at arm's length in the Goa operation. That contention only betrayed his misconceived notions of publicity, which are completely out of joint with the role allotted to the press in a modern Democratic state. His assumption that the press cannot be trusted to keep confidence where the country's security is involved, further underlines his own well known anti-pathy to the press as well as his ignorance of newspaper practices.”²⁸

Mr. Mankekar in his well written book **The Goa Action** expresses the general feeling that the press ought to have been allowed to cover the armed action in Goa. He blames the defense ministry and Mr. Menon for this lapse, which he calls an offence. Again, “If only Mr. Menon was conversant with the usual P.R. practice in such situations, he could have organized a pooling arrangement among the correspondents and allowed a small representative group to go in with the liberating forces entering Goa, Daman and Diu. If he had only consulted the public relations machinery men retained by the government at so much cost to the taxpayer, it would have advised him what to do in the circumstances and how to ensure a good press coverage and press goodwill.”²⁹

“The defense ministry's offense in the Goa operation was two fold, on the one hand, it kept the correspondents out of an important story in which that nation was intensely interested; and on the other, it miserably failed to fill the breach, as what it handed out was woefully inadequate, puerile stuff. If the Defense Ministry did not want the correspondents on the assignment, it

was its duty to make adequate official arrangements for a thorough journalistic coverage of the important event.”³⁰

Effects of the press

With the aid of the printing press were published journals, newspapers and magazines. These influenced the public opinion and projected before the people the public problems and their solutions. This mass medium served to harmonize and integrate the Goan society. The rise of nationalism in the society was the outcome of such integration. The Goan journals, newspapers and magazines were read not only in Goa but also in the places of Goan settlement, in India, Africa and Portugal. These publications, therefore, integrated not only Goans in Goa but also all Goans. This is how Goans began liberation movements in other countries of their settlement and showed their kinship with their struggling brethren in Goa.

In modern times, the press has become a powerful social institution. The press moulds and influences public opinion. It facilitates exchange of thought on a mass scale. In a democracy it keeps the people informed about the activities of its directly elected representatives and indirectly elected government. The press also reflects public opinion on different issues. It thus acts as a facilitator in the working of democratic governments. The press is used to settle controversies, organize events, inform the public and garner public support. The press is a powerful censor of all actions of those who occupy positions of authority in society and hold

the destiny of peoples in their hands. It therefore helps to establish popular democratic control over them. As the Press Council of India has laid down about journalism, the press has to serve the people with news, views, comments and information on matters of public interest.

The introduction of the printing press in Goan society, aided the dissemination of knowledge among the people. Journalism became a powerful communication medium and influenced public opinion. Since Goa was only a colony of the Portuguese, the Press, which had made a great advance in Portugal and other western countries, had its ramifications in the colonies. The revolutionary thoughts of the western intellectuals were made available to the Goan people through the medium of the printed word. These ideas stirred the intellectuals among the Goans and they began to clamour for liberty, and freedom from foreign oppression and colonization. There was an intellectual intercourse between the intellectuals of Portugal and other European countries and those of Goa. At Strasburg, there rises in its eminence a statue of Guttenberg bearing the French words, *El la Lumiere fut* (and light was made). This light has shone in the Goan society since 1556. The press survived many upheavals, suspensions, and bans. It was the printing press, which enabled quick and efficient communication of knowledge between Goa and other countries and, within Goa itself.

It enabled the preservation of knowledge for posterity and reduplication in the form of books, which facilitated and inspired the advancement of knowledge and the spread of education. It produced centripetal social forces, harmonized ideologies, and created a public opinion, which facilitated the redress of public grievances. It was a

potential power in generating nationalism among Goans, which manifested itself in a struggle against social and political discrimination, a renaissance movement for the revival of the Konkani language and culture and the movement for the liberation of Goa. A few Goans used the press to attack the reactionary Portuguese rule, which was propped up by irrational reasoning characteristic of the 15th and the 16th centuries.

The religious fanaticism displayed by the missionaries and the Portuguese rulers in the 16th and 17th centuries and, the utilization of the press for religious propaganda and proselytisation during those centuries served to imprison the Goan society in medievalism. The liberal regime during the 19th century, which lasted upto 1925 greatly helped to undo the reactionary use of the press. But with the establishment of dictatorship in 1926 the press and all other media of communications were placed under the strictest censorship. The Goans, in whom the spirit of liberalism and the love of liberty had sunk deep, were determined to lead struggles to achieve freedom from exploitation and to liberate their land from colonialism, paving the way for the grant of fundamental rights including the freedom of the press and speech. This was achieved in 1961 when Goa was liberated. This was, in some measure, the triumph of the press.

The press in Goa went through different vicissitudes of its existence, but even under the then prevailing conditions imposed by foreign rule and at times tyrannical administration with its unfailing machinery of censorship and other press regulations, it did reflect the social, religious, cultural, political and economic aspects of Goan society and its unflinching aspirations. Both in open and clandestine manner the press played its role in

social structure and function in Goa by enlightening the people , informing them, providing them the platform for opinion expression and opinion formation and by awakening them about the varied existing and imminent problems confronting them as well as by suggesting solutions.

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Thought and Democracy, International Conference on Goa- Continuity and Change, Toronto, 1991, p.11, who has taken this note from Dr. Joseph Barros' manuscript who worked on the Biography of Fanchu Loyola.

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¹⁹ Loyola, J.I. de (Fanchu), 'Governar', *A Voz da India*, July 9, 1946.

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²² 'Dr. Lohia and the Political Movement', *Bharat*, 24 July 1947, p.1.

²³ 'Understandable', *A Voz da India*, 8th Oct. 1946, p.1.

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APPENDIX -I:
CATALOGUE OF GOAN PERIODICALS
FROM 1821 TO 1961

Official Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Gazeta De Goa	Weekly	Nova Goa	Dec.22 1821 to Aug 1826	Editors – 1. Chief Physician, Dr António José de Lima Leitao upto no.8. 2. Louis Prates de Almeida Albuquerque upto no.27 3. José Aniceto da Silva	Official	Government (Imprensa Nacional)	Small size
Chronica Constitucional De Goa	Weekly	Nova Goa	June 1835 to Nov 1837	Editor - José Aniceto da Silva	Official	Imprensa Nacional	
Boletim Do Governo Do Estado Da India	In the main weekly except the first five months when it was biweekly. Again biweekly since the beginning of 1856 to August 1879.			Secretary António Mariano de Azevedo helped by Caitano João Peres and by Cláudio Lagrange Monteiro Barbuda	Official	Government Press	By ministerial decree of Dec. 7, 1836
Boletim Official Do Estado Da India	Weekly - Sep. 1879 to April 1880. Tri-weekly up to May1, 1882. Daily-After May1, 1882 to Nov30,1887. Tri-weekly – Dec.1,1887 to 1897 and finally biweekly since 1898.	Nova Goa	1879 and still continues as the Goa Gazette.		Official	Government Press (Tipografia do Governo)	
Anuário Do Estado Da India Portuguesa	Annual	Nova Goa	1929, 1930, 1932 and 1933			Imprensa Nacional	In 8° large with pictures

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Anuário Da Índia Portuguesa		Nova Goa	1936-1939			Imprensa Nacional	25x17cm, 370p with illustration.
Notícias Do Estado Da Índia			August 1950-December 1961	Chief Editor- Antonio dos Martires Lopes	Bulletin of the Central Dept. of Statistics and Information, Information section, Goa.	Imprensa Nacional	In 8° large size, 16 pages illustrated.

Informative Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Correio (O) De Nova Goa	Weekly	Nova Goa	Only 2 issues are known, that of Jan. 4, 1844 and Jan. 11, 1845 (12 months)	Editor- Bento Zeferino Gonçalves da Macedo. Responsible editor- Francisco de Assis Rodrigues.	Political Journal	Imprensa Nacional	Small size
Mosaico (O)		Nova Goa	6 months Jan. 1848-July 1848	Editor - Manuel Joaquim da Costa Campos.	Literary Journal	Imprensa Nacional	
Ultramar (O)	Weekly from April 6, 1859 to Nov 1, 1905, biweekly form 1905		April 6, 1859 to beyond 1911. Exact date when it ceased publication is not known. (More than 50 years.)	Editor- Bernardo Francisco da Costa up to Aug. 15, 1867. He was succeeded by António Anastásio Bruto da Costa, who was director up to April 24, 1911. When he died his son Brás Condorcé Bruto da Costa assumed directorship and he was followed by adv. António Bruto da Costa		O Ultramar	First newspaper to come out of a private press.
Recreio	Biweekly	Margao	Oct. 1859-June 1860 (8 months)	Augusto Estanislau Xavier Soares and others		O Ultramar	

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Índia Portuguesa	Weekly. On Nov.11, came out as a biweekly after a suspension of seven months.	Margao, later Orlim, S.Tomé and Majorda	January 4, 1861 to beyond 1950. Later after liberation it continued to be published under the title A Índia (Over 90 years)	First Editor was M.L. de Miranda Franco. He was succeeded by José Inácio de Loiola, Avertano de Loiola, Miguel de Loiola Furtado, Vicente de Bragança Cunha and father António Gregório da Costa. From Nov 11, 1950 Ms D.Leonor de Loiola Furtado e Fernandes			Small size. 8 pages. Large size since January 1862. Founder- M.L. de Miranda Franco. From Nov. 11, 1950 the director was Dr. Joaquim Manuel de Aires Gomes.
Phenix (A) de Goa	Weekly	Calangute	April 6, 1861 to Dec.30, 1862 (20 Months)	Responsible editor-Benjamin W de S. Proença. Diogo Aleixo A. Góis.			Small size. Collaborator-Antonio Faustino dos Santos Crespo.
Harmonia (A)	Weekly	Nova Goa	April 12, 1862 to Oct. 27, 1864 (30 Months)	Gustava Adolfo de Frias	Political literary and commercial	Imprensa Nacional	
Aurora (A) de Goa	Weekly	Calangute. Nova Goa since September 14, 1864	January 6, 1863 to July 1, 1865 (30 Months)	Benjamin W De S Proença		Own Press	129 issues were published. Successor of <i>A Phenix de Goa</i>
Anglo-Portuguez (0)		Mumbai	March 3, 1866 to January 26, 1867 (Issue no. 47). Reappeared on 9.11.1867 with issue no 48 (10 months)	The Portuguese section was edited by João Filipe de Gouveia. Edited by Manuel Pedro de Sousa Franklin from 9.11.1867.			
Jornal de Notícias	Weekly	Ribandar	October 1, 1868 to April 30, 1869 (6 months).	Plácido da Costa Campos and Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garces Palha, second baron of Cumbarjua			Big size. Founded by first baron of Cumbarjua
Sentinela (A) da Liberdade	Weekly	Benaulim	October 7, 1869 to December 31, 1869 (2 months).	Editor-João Joaquim Roque Correia			Big size. Exec.ed Agostinho Caetano Brás da Costa Afonso.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Paíz (O)	Weekly	Margao	Feb.4, 1873 to Oct.27, 1874 (20 months)	Publisher- Caetano Manuel Ribeiro. Editor- C.J. Aristides da Costa			Small size.
Progresso (O)	Weekly	Pernem	April 7, 1873 to June 21, 1873 (2 months)	Editor-Luis Correia da Silva			Small size.
Opinião Publica	Weekly	Orlim	July 2, 1873 to Dec.22, 1875	Editor- Avertano de Loiola			Small size. Collaborator- Besides others was Brás Pereira Alemão.
Oriente (O)	Weekly	Camorlim of Bardez	March 7, 1874 to Nov. 27, 1874	Publisher – J.P. Pires. Editor- Inácio Caetano de Carvalho (Viscount of Bardez)			Small size.
Gazeta de Bardez	Weekly	Assagao	Oct. 17,1874 to Jan.22, 1884. Reappeared in Jan. 1877 for a short while	Editor-João Caetano Avelino do Rosário Nazaré			Large size
Nova Goa	Weekly	Nova Goa	May 4,1876 to March 12,1878	Editor-António J.G. Nunes de Oliveira			Big size. The name of the editor was published only from the edition of April 6, 1877.
Pátria (A) (Motherland)	Weekly	1) Mapusa 2)Camorlim	Jan. 10 1877 to Dec. 14,1894. Oct. 6,1900 to Sep.27 1901.	Editor-Inácio Cartano de Carvalho Publisher- José Maria Lobo. Editors-Carvalho and Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama			Big size. 2 series, from Mapusa and Camorlim
Imparcial (O)	Fortnightly later monthly	Mapusa	July 1, 1878 to Aug. 1899. Irregularly published	Editor-Filipe José da Gama Botelho			Small size. Director- Tolentino Gabriel Fernandes.
União (A)	Weekly	Calangute	Sep.5, 1878 to Oct. 18,1880.	Editor-Wenceslau Proença and M.P. de Souza Franklin			Small size.
Semana (A)	Weekly	Margao	March 4, 1880 to Sep.10, 1880. (6 months)	Editors-António João Rodrigues and Filipe Néri da C. Rodrigues.			Large size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Progresso (O) de Goa	Weekly	Nova Goa	Began and ended in 1883				small size. Instrument of Father A.F.X Alvares.
Correio (O) da India	Weekly. After it reappeared on Sep. 14 1911 it was a daily up to Nov.31 1912 and later a weekly	Nova Goa	Aug. 4, 1883 to Dec. 28, 1892. It reappeared on Sep. 14, 1911 and lasted till April. 18, 1913 (9 years 4 months).	Editors-Adetino dos Santos Fernandes Vaz. M.P. de Sousa Franklin, Frederico Dinis de Aiala and others. José Luís de Sousa Franklin was incharge of the journal after its reappearance up to Aug 12, 1912. The editor was Sanches Fernandes. Since Oct. 29, 1912, the editor was Joaquim António Valadares.		Own Press	Large Size. One of the founders was Dr. Bernardo Wolfango da Silva.
Correio (O) de Goa	Weekly		Aug.7, 1883 to April 14, 1888 (5 years 8 months)	Editor-Hipólito Caetano Pinto	Political and news	Presses were in Porvorim and Mapusa	
Periódico do Povo	Weekly	S. Tomé	Oct.25, 1883 to Dec. 11, 1886 (3 years, 2 months)	Editor-Joaquim da Conceição Antão and from Oct.17, 1885 Phavorino Antão.			Large size.
Convicção (A)	Weekly	Saligao	Jan. 15, 1887 to 1895 (8 years).	Gustavo A de Frias, Leopoldo C. da Gama, Pascoal João Gomes and others.		Own Press	Small size.
Farpas (Chronicles)	Weekly	Margao		Editor-Joaquim Vitorino Barreto Miranda	Critical and militant	Own Press	Small size. Only one known issue that of Sep. 1887.
Reporter (O) da India	Weekly	Nova Goa	Oct. 3, 1888 to Mar. 22, 1889 (5 months)				Large size
Democracia (A)	Weekly	Margao	Oct. 11, 1888 to Oct. 3, 1889	Editor-J. B. Catão da Costa		Own Press	Large size
Ortigas	Weekly	Margao	Started on Jan. 1, 1889.	Editor-Joaquim Vitorino Barretto Miranda			Small size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Almanach Curioso	Annual	Nova Goa	1890 to 1893	Manuel José Maria de Gá and Vencesh Eshvont Singbal		Indo-Portuguesa Press	Annual, came out in January giving information about feasts, festivals, holidays etc.
Mandovy	Weekly		First issue in July 1890, date of suspension is not known.	José Maria Pereira was the editor till Oct. 27, 1890.			
Voz (A) do Povo	Weekly	Calangute	Nov. 7, 1890 to 1907. Publication was stopped in 1895, but reappeared in 1898.	Editor of first series – Piedade Sertório Martins and director of the second series was Francisco Xavier de Assunção.			Large size.
Tribuno (O)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Started in 1891. Date of suspension not known	Editor-Advocate Francisco Xavier Sales de Andrade			
Boletim Colonial	Fortnightly		Vol. 2, nos. 1-12 (Jan. 6, 1891 to June 21, 1891).	Chief editor – Aleixo Jerónimo Sócrates da Costa.		In the Press of the journal “As Colonias Portugueses” in Lisbon. Finally published in Machado Press in Lisbon.	8 pages
Correspondencia De Goa	Weekly	Nova Goa	Only 3 issues were published from June 30 to July 31, 1891.	Anonymous	News	Hindu Portuguesa	Administrator Francisco Xavier Mascarenhas.
Mala Da India (Postal Bag of India)	Weekly	Santa Cruz	Jan. 17, 1892 to Nov. 1892 (10 months)	Publisher-António Francisco Dias		Own Press	

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Gazeta da India	Weekly	Candolim and later Arpora	Feb. 1, 1893 to Aug. 18, 1894. (21 months)	Editors-Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama and others		Own Press	8 pages. Director-Francisco Pinto.
Investigador (O)	Fortnightly magazine	Margao	Jan. 29, 1894 to July 21, 1894 (6 months).				Directed by J. F. Néri Soares Rebelo.
Brado Indiano (O) (The Indian Cry)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Dec. 15, 1894 to Oct. 12, 1895 (10 months)	Publisher-Bernardo da Silva. Editor-Fr. António F. X. Álvares.			Small size.
Paiz (O)	Fortnightly	Nova Goa	Jan. 1, 1895 to Oct. 1895 (10 months)	Editor-Francisco Mourão			Large size
Evolução (A)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Jan. 2, 1895 to Nov. 13, 1895 (10 months).	Editor-Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama		Own press	Large size. Owner-Conde de Maem (Dom José de Noronha).
Bibliotheca das Notícias	Monthly	Margao	First issue in Sep. 1895.	Barreto Miranda brothers.		Press of "Noticias"	Issue of 44 pages, illustrated.
Portuguez (O)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Dec. 16, 1897 to Aug. 30, 1900 (2 years 8 months)	Francisco Mourão Garcês Palha			Large size.
Athleta (O)	Weekly	Mapusa	1899 to Dec. 22, 1906 (7 years)	Publisher- Joaquim Casimiro de Araujo.			
Nacionalista (O)	Weekly	S. Tomé	Oct. 11, 1904 to Dec. 12, 1910 (6 years 2 months).	Editors-Besides the director Ligório da Cunha, Fr. Isidoro da Cunha and Luís de Meneses Bragança.			Large size. Director - Ligório da Cunha
Índio (O)	Weekly	Margao and later Chinchinim	Nov. 9, 1904 to April 6, 1908 (4 years, 5 months)	Editor-Raimundo Torres Dias. Publisher-Bernardo António Gomes.		Own Press.	
Oriente (O)	Weekly	Mapusa	March 9, 1905 to Dec. 22, 1905.	Publisher-Aleixo Jerónimo e Bragança			Small Size
Reforma (A)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Oct. 16, 1905 to Jan. 1, 1906				Very large size. Director - Dom Tomás de Noronha.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Imparcial (O)	Weekly	Nova Goa	May 5, 1906 to Aug. 18, 1906	Frederica Dinis d'Aiala	Political, Religious and Literary	Own Press	Large size.
Colonial (O)	Weekly		1907		Protected the interests of the overseas colonies		Director – Prazares da Costa
Convicção (A)	Weekly	Saligão	Jan. 1908 to May 18, 1912 with a small interruption in between.	Publisher-António Xavier Serrão.	News	Own Press	
Ariano (O) (The Aryan)	Weekly	Chinchinim	July 16, 1908 to Dec. 27, 1911. Restarted on Aug. 19, 1914 and continued till Dec. 25, 1915.	Publisher-Albano Francisco Dias. Editor-Lourenço Caetano Monteiro.		Own Press	
Futuro (O)	Monthly. Biweekly from April 13, 1910 to June 1, 1912 and from July 5, 1912 to Sep. 19, 1913.	Vaddem in Bardez	April 11, 1909. Last issue came out on Jan. 12, 1917.	Publisher-A. A. M. João de Gouveia e Noronha			Large size but small when biweekly. Director- José Francisco Henriques (son-in-law of Viscount of Bardez).
Debate (O)	Weekly	Nova Goa	April 3, 1911 to Dec. 16, 1921.	Luis de Meneses Bragança		Bragança e Cia Press.	Large size. Director- Luis de Menesas Bragança.
Popular (O)	Weekly	Varca	Oct. 4, 1911 to May 20, 1912.	Publishers-Camilo Estelita Furtado and later José I. F. de Loiola. Editor-Avertano de Loiola			Big size.
Povo (O)	Biweekly	Margao	July 26, 1912 to Feb 12, 1913 (7 Months)				Small size. Dir.- P.M. Teófilo Álvares.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Bharat	Weekly	First at Nova Goa later at Quepem.	Nov 6, 1912 to March 8, 1916. Again from Mar. 25, 1920 under the direction and editorship of the same Hegdó Dessai and with a Portuguese section. Publication was suspended with the death of the editor on Aug. 11, 1949. (33 years , 9 months)	Publisher-Givaji D. S. Matmê.	Marathi with a Portuguese section	Own Press	Large size. Dir. - G. P. Hegdo Dessai.
Revista Industrial	Monthly		From 1913	Editor- Caetano F.N. Gracias	Industrial and Commercial.		
Boletim do Comércio	Weekly	Nova Goa	Mar. 29, 1913 to Mar. 29, 1915. Later 13 more issues came out from Jan. 11, 1922 to Jan. 27, 1922 under the editor António X Gomes Pereira (2 years).	Publisher- F.X. Fortunato de Bragança. Editor- António X Gomes Pereira		Braganca and Cia Press	Small size.
Revista da India		Nova Goa	July 1913 to June 1914 (11 months).			Braganca and Cia Press	Large size. Dir. - The poets Paulino Dias and Adolfo Costa (son-in-law of Aiala, Count of Mayem).
Rebate (Reply)	Weekly	Orlim	Oct. 1, 1913 to June 12, 1914 (8 months)				Very large size. Dir. - Jose Inacio F. de Loiola.
Jornal Do Povo	Weekly	Nova Goa	July 14, 1914 to Oct. 10, 1918 (4 years 3 months)			Own press	Dir. - Prudente de Meneses (Advocate from Batim).

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Lanterna	Weekly	Orlim	Oct. 1, 1914 to Dec. 2, 1916.	Publisher-J. de Deus Gelásio Furtado.	Political magazine. Instrument of the Partido Indiano.	Indiana Press	Small size. Dir.- J. I de Loiola.
Terra (A)	Biweekly	Margao	Started on Jan. 1, 1917	Editor-Libério Pereira (from Raia).			Large size.
Progresso (O)	Weekly	Mapusa	Mar. 10, 1917 to Nov. 15, 1919.	Caetano do Rosário Faria (a leading medical practitioner of Bardez).			Small size
Opinião	Weekly	Orlim and Vasco da Gama	Nov. 12, 1917 to March 29, 1919.				Large size. Dir.-J.I. de Loiola
Boletim de Agricultura	Quarterly	Nova Goa	Jan. 1919 to Dec 1920.	Issued by the Directorate of Agriculture and Forest Services of Goa.		Imprensa Nacional	25x16cm. With the collaboration of Fernando Cesar Correia Mendes, Pedro Correia Afonso, Ricardo Correia Mendes and others.
Português (O)	Weekly	Nova Goa	June 8, 1919 to Sep. 26, 1919				Large size. Dir- T. de A. Rafael de Miranda.
Nacional	Weekly	Nova Goa	Nov. 3, 1919 to Mar. 9, 1920				Large size. Dir- T. de A. Rafael de Miranda.
Jornal (O)		Santa Cruz	July 10, 1920 to Aug. 27, 1921.			Sri Ramanath Press	Small size. As a supplement to the journal "Pigmeu" of Nova Goa.
Tribuna (A)	Weekly	Calangute	First Issue came out on Jan. 2, 1920	Publisher-António de Sousa Proença. Editor-Lino Valério de Sousa.			Small size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Colonial (O)		Lourenço Marquis.	Began in 1921.	Publisher-Miguel António S.F. N. Meneses. Editorial Body-João Luis Cesário de Nazaré (Secretary), Francisco da Costa (Administrator).			
Província	Weekly	Nova Goa	June 7, 1920 to March 27, 1922 (One year and nine months.)				Large Size. Dir-Pereira Batalha. In continuation of a journal from Luanda for some time it published 8 pages.
Verdade (A)	Weekly	Mapusa	Feb.2, 1923 to Nov.14, 1925 (2 yrs, 9 months)	Publisher-Francisco José de Sousa. From Aug.3, 1923 the editor was Adv. Zoirama Xete Colope.		Own press	4 pages.
Índia Portuguesa	Weekly	Margao	It had 3 series. 1. The first issue was published on Aug.15, 1923 and the last on Sep.20, 1925. 2. In the second series it was a daily from Oct.6, 1926 to Dec. 30, 1929. 3. In the third series it was an evening newspaper from Jan. 27, 1930 to Nov. 15, 1930.	Director & Publisher-José Inacio de Loiola.		Own Press	Organ of the Partido Indiano.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Estado da Índia	Weekly	Nova Goa.	Nov. 3, 1923 to Dec. 14, 1931	Director and Publisher-Ladoba Ananta Silvescar.		Sri Manguexa Press.	Small size. Successive Directors included Caetano F. X. Gracias, A.F. Carneiro de Sousa e Faro and Eugénio Filemeno Pio de Noronha. For some time there was a marathi section.
Época (A)	Weekly	Mapusa	Sep. 16, 1924 to Dec. 24, 1930	Publisher and Editor-Manuel Nascimento de Abreu		Own Press	Small size of 4 pages each. Since 1927 the Dir. was Sacarama Sinai Lada and then Themis de Sá.
Tribuna (A)	Weekly	Calangute	Aug. 16, 1925 to Sep. 29, 1926.			Own Press	4 pages each. It had a section in Konkani.
Acção Nova		Chinchinim	Only one issue Aug. 15, 1926	Publisher-Cristovão Furtado	Newspaper		Pamphlet of 2 pages.
Luso Colonial			Since 1927	Publisher-António Alemão Carvalho			The first newspaper published in Portuguese in English East Africa.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Boletim De Educação e Ensino	Monthly	Nova Goa	The first issue appeared in April 1927 and the last (5 th) in August 1927.			Bragança e Cia Press	Instrument of the primary teachers of Portuguese India. Secretary- Prof. Laurente Cota Collaborators: Among others, Dr. Wolfango da Silva, Prof. Garcia da Silva, Prof. Mariano Correia Afonso, Dr. Benedito Gomes, Prof. Araújo Mascarenhas, Prof. Wenceslau Soares and Pedro A. de Sousa.
Filha, Esposa e Mãe no Lar e na Sociedade	Quarterly	Margao	Oct. 1927 to Dec. 1938	Editor-Lúcia Vaz e Lima. Publisher-Caetano Vaz e Lima	Magazine for women	"Nacional" Press and for some time in Own Press	In the final years it had a section in Konkani.
Luz-Pracasha	Biweekly		Mar. 22, 1928 to July 28, 1937	Chief editor-Meneses Bragança	Political and informative	Rau and Irmãos Press and later Own press	4-6 pages. It had Sunday page "Pagina do Domingo" of general culture of its readers.
Oriente	Biweekly	Nova Goa	July 26, 1929 to May 15, 1930	Joaquim da Rosa		Rau and Irmãos Press	4 pages. Dir. - Dr. Avelino Policarpo Pereira
Correio de Bardez	Weekly	Mapusa	Sep. 10, 1929 to May 1948		Defended the cause of the Taluka of Bardez.	Popular Press	Dir. - Dr. Vamona S. Borcar. Prop. Estrócio Xavier do Rego

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Pradipa	Biweekly	Nova Goa	It was published for a short period when the "Pracasha" was temporarily suspended from Dec. 4, 1929 to Oct. 25, 1930.		Political news	"Pracasha" Press	Small size. Prop & Dir. - Balcrisna D. S. Sacardandó
Jornal Do Comércio	Biweekly	Nova Goa	Nov. 1, 1930 to Jan. 21, 1931.			Minerva Indiana Press	8 pages. Dir.- Emídio Afonso. Prop. - Augusto Cândido Sertório Jorge.
Correio de Bicholim	Trimonthly	Nova Goa	Jan. 20, 1931 to Feb. 10, 1932.			Sri Manguexa Press.	Small size. Dir.- Damodar Sinai Mulgãoncar. Prop. Bascora R Lavonis.
Tempo (O)	Weekly	Mapusa	Feb.6, 1931 to May 8,1933	Editor-F.X. Roldão Zuzarte		Own Press	Small size. In English, Konkani and Portuguese. Dir.- Themis de Sá.
Sandalcalo	Weekly	Vapi, Daman	April 1931				Dir. - Carlos da Cruz
Oriente D'Africa (O)	Monthly	Lourenço Marques, Minerva Oriental.	Began on July 15, 1932.				8-10 pages. Successor of "O Oriente" established in 1919. Dir. - Luís V. Álvares.
Reforma (A)	From 1937 it was a fortnightly	Verna, Salsete	Sep. 1932 to Mar.1942	Director and Editor - C. Barónio Monteiro		Académica Hindu e Católica Press.	16 pages each. Organ of the Economic - Social League.
Luta (A)	Weekly	Margao	Jan. 10, 1933 to July 28, 1937.			"Progresso" Press.	Small size. Dir.- Inácio Xavier Trifónia Godinho. Prop. and Administrator - Salvador Pinto.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Mascotte		Nova Goa	Apr. 9, 1933 to Dec. 25, 1937.		Journal for Women and Children	Sadananda and later Mahasagar Press of Ribandar.	6-8 pager. Dir- António Colaço. Secretary- Álvaro de Santa Rita Vaz.
Independente (O)	Weekly	Bastorá	Dec. 25 1933 to Sep. 9, 1946.		Information and propaganda.	Rangel Press	4 pages. Dir. & Prop. Dr. Jaime Rangel.
Jornal Das Comunidades	Weekly		Sep. 22, 1935 to Dec. 26, 1937			"O Bharat" Press	Prop.- Comunidade of Quepem, Carambolim and Velim. Dir.- Gervásio Teotónio Colaço. Administrator – António Francisco Colaço.
Regional (O)	Monthly	Quepem	Apr. 1934 to Nov. 1935.			"O Bharat" Press	Dir.- José Maria Furtado.
Portugal e Colónias	Weekly	Mumbai	May 5, 1937 to May 7, 1938.	Dir. and Editor- José Inácio F. de Loiola.		"O Anglo Lusitano" press	Large size in the beginning and small later on.
Voz (A) de Mormugão	Fortnightly	Margao				"Filha Esposa e Mãe" Press	8 pages. In English, Konkani and Portuguese. Dir. & Prop. Solon de Quadros.
Temp (O)	Fortnightly	Nova Goa		Wenceslau Soares (Primary teacher and prolific writer).		Bragança e Cia Press	Small size. Continuation of "O Tempo" edited by F. X. Roldão Zuzarte.
Jornal Das Colónias	Weekly	Lisbon		Publisher-Maciél Marques. Dir. and Chief editor- Prazares da Costa.	Defended the cause of Overseas possessions		4 pages. Administrator – Nazário da Costa.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Luz Da Infancia	Fortnightly		Established in 1952.	Prop. and Editor- Wenceslau Soares	Educative for children		
Vanguarda (A)	Weekly		Established in 1954 and continued till liberation.	Chief Editor-Carlos Pegadoe Sousa (after liberation left for Portugal).			Section in Konkani.

Daily Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Heraldo (O)	Daily	Nova Goa	Jan. 22, 1900 and continues to date with changes in ownership and management.	First editor-Messias Gomes. Dr. António Maria da Cunha took charge as editor in 1901.	First daily founded in Portugues e India. News.	Own press	Many formats, ultimately large size. Dir. - Messias Gormes. Other directors included António Maria da Cunha, F.X. Sales de Andrade, Zacarias Dias and later Amadeu Prazeres da Costa.
Era Nova (A)	First weekly and since Jan. 7, 1902, daily.	Nova Goa	Nov. 3, 1897 to April 30, 1903.	Publishers-Jose Maria Periera up to Aug. 30, 1902 and later F. X. Bismark Rodrigues.		Own press	Large size. It was an instrument of the Count of Maem
Echo da Índia	Daily in the beginning and later weekly	Margao	Sep. 9, 1905 to June 28, 1907	First published by Bernardo A. Gomes and later by Damasceno Isaac da Costa			Small size
Diário De Goa		Nova Goa	Oct. 16, 1905 to Nov. 22, 1906.	Publisher-Elizabeth Rodrigues.			Large size
Heraldo	Daily	Nova Goa	May 21, 1908 to March 1961.	Chief editor-Dr. José Maria da Costa Álvares at the beginning and later Álvaro de Santa Rita Vaz.		Own press	Large size. Dir.- António Maria da Cunha

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Comercio (O)	Daily Evening	Nova Goa	Oct. 1, 1909 to Dec. 30, 1912	Editor-A. X. Gomes Pereira, M. F. Publisher-Teodomiro de Sá.		Minerva Indiana Press. Later it was published from Arture Viegas Press	Small size.
Pygmeu (O)	Daily in the first series from Feb. 4, 1908 to Dec. 31, 1909. Triweekly in the second series from June 1, 1910 to Oct. 14, 1910	Nova Goa	Feb 4, 1908 to Dec. 31, 1909 and June 1, 1910 to Oct. 14, 1910				Small size. Dirs.- J.M. da Costa for the first series and José de Castro Gavinha in the second.
Diário Da Noile	Daily Evening	Nova Goa	Dec. 1, 1919 to 1967	Founder and Chief Editor – Luís de Meneses. After his death the direction of the journal was taken over by his sons António de Meneses and Luís de Meneses		Empresa Nacional and later Own press	For many years it had a section of Anotações (Notes) under the pseudonym of Lucas in which Luís de Meneses showed his knowledge and critical qualities.
Diário da Tarde	Daily Evening	Nova Goa	July 1, 1931 to June 26, 1933.	Chief editor-Joaquim da Rosa		Sadanand a. Press. Later published in Artur e Viegas Press	Dir.- Dr. Caetano A. do R. Rodrigues.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Ideal (O)	Morning Daily	Nova Goa	1933	Editors-Tomás Mascarenhas and Joaquim da Rosa.		Sri Santadurga Press	4 pages, Small size. Dir.- Loreto de Sousa. Proprietor and administrator – José Maria, F.S. Cardoso (A tailor who made some money and started a paper.).
Jornal Da Índia	Daily	Nova Goa	July 15, 1933 to Sep. 6, 1945.	The Chief editorship was taken by Dr. Carmo de Azevedo from Sep. 8, 1941	Political and news.	Own press	4 pages. Proprietor and founder – J. Damaso Rebelo. Dir.- Aquino de Noronha.
Vida (A)	Daily	Margao	Began on Sep. 15, 1938.	Editor-Sales da Veiga Coutinho who also became the director after the death of Dr. Lourenço. Later on the agrarian engineer Pedro Correia Afonso was the editor.	General information and religious doctrine.	Press of Empresa	Large Size. Dir – Francisco X. da C. Lourenço. In 1950 the directorship was taken over by father Nicolau de Noronha and then by Dr. José Jesus Maria Gomes.
Voz (A) da Índia	Daily		May 4, 1946 to March 31, 1950	Chief Editor and Owner Vicente João Filomeno de Figueiredo			Dir.- António Sequeira.

Literary Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Biblioteca (A) De Goa		Nova Goa	Only one issue – Jan 1839			Imprensa Nacional	Small size. 24 pages.
Enciclopédico (O)	Monthly	Nova Goa	July 31, 1841 to June 1842.	Chief Editor - Cláudio Lagrange Monteiro da Barbuda	Educational and recreative journal	Imprensa Nacional	Small size.
Compilador (O)	Weekly in its first phase and Fortnightly later.	Nova Goa	Oct 7, 1843 to Dec. 28, 1844 and from July 15, 1847 to Dec. 1, 1847.	Editor – João Antonio de Avelar.	Literary journal	Imprensa Nacional	Small size, illustrated.
Revista Ilustrativa	Monthly	Nova Goa	Nov. 6, 1854 to July 16, 1855.		Literary journal published by an association of literary scholars.	Imprensa Nacional	Small size.
Tirocínio Literário	Fortnightly	Nova Goa	Jan. 1862 to Feb. 1863.	Joaquim Mourão Garcês Palha and others		Imprensa Nacional	It was a literary publication of an association of youth of Ribandar under the direction of the said Garcês Palha and which was circulated only in the ward of Ribandar.
Recreio Das Damas	Weekly	Nova Goa	May 9, 1863 to Oct 8, 1863	João Filipe de Gouveia		Imprensa Nacional	
Ilustração Goana	Monthly	Nova Goa	Nov. 30, 1864 to Dec. 31, 1866.			Imprensa Nacional and "Ultramar" Press.	Dir. and founder – Luís Manuel, Júlio Frederico Gonçalves. Many eminent men of the period from the fields of literature, arts and science were associated.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Harpa Do Mandovy		Nova Goa	Only 6 issues were published from June 7, 1865 to Nov. 20, 1865.	Ubaldo da Costa Campos	Journal of Poems	Imprensa Nacional	
Recreio (O)	Monthly	Nova Goa	Oct. 2, 1865 to April 1, 1866.		Literary and Educational journal.	Imprensa Nacional	Dir. and Proprietor – Joaquim Vitorino de Noronha Rodrigues.
Goa Sociavel	Monthly	Nova Goa	March 1866 to Nov. 1866.	Manuel Joaquim da Costa Campos		Imprensa Nacional	11 issues.
Instituto Vasco Da Gama		Nova Goa	Jan. 1872 to Dec. 1875.		Literary and scientific	Imprensa Nacional	Organ of the Institute bearing the same name established by Tomás Ribeiro. Formed 4 series or volumes with which were associated eminent men like the poet Tomás Ribeiro, Cunha Rivara, Manuel de Carvalho, Júlio Gonçalves, Tolentino Ferrão, Cristóvão Aires, Leopoldo da Gama, Barreto Miranda, Abranches Garcia, Manuel de Campos and others.
Album Literario	Monthly	Orlim	April 1875 to Dec. 1875. Nine issues.	Editors-Narciso Arcanjo Fialho and António Felix Pereira.		Press of “A India Portuguesa” 1875 at Orlim	Large size.
Estrea Litteraria (A)	Monthly magazine	Margao	April 15, 1877 to Oct. 15, 1877 – seven issues.	Eminent men of the period were its editors.		Press of “O Ultramar”	24 pages.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Divan Literario (O)	Fortnightly magazine	Nova Goa	On Dec. 15, 1883 its prospectus was issued. Its first issue was published on April 15, 1884 and it ceased 12 issues later on Nov. 15 1884			Imprensa Indiana Press	Dir – Leopoldo Francisco da Costa. Large size. 8 pages. Besides the Director others associated with it were Paulino Dias, Soares Rebelo, Crisólogo Borges, Camilo Pereira and others.
Revista Moderna	Monthly	Nova Goa	March 1909 to Feb. 1910		Religious, scientific and literary.	Artur and Viegas Press	Illustrated. Dir. Paulinio Dias, Eminent writers of the period were associated with it.
Revista Académica	Monthly	Nova Goa	Began in Sep. 1919.		Scientific, literary and artistic.	Minerva Indiana Press	It was a literary supplement to the “Boletim do Comércio” edited by F. J. Fortunato de Bragança.
Pátria (A)	Monthly	Nova Goa	Oct 1923 to March 1924	Ramachandra M. Rau.	Magazine for the youth literary, Scientific and artistic	Press of Rau and Irmãos.	In the form of pamphlets. Associated with it were Cordato de Noronha, Ermelinda Gomes, Joaquim da Rosa, A. de Noronha Rodrigues, Álvaro de Santa Rita Vaz. Aguiar de Quadros, Adolfo Costa and others.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Boletim De Instituto Vasco Da Gama	Quarterly	First at Nova Goa and later at Bastora	1926-1961			The first issue published in 1926 was printed in Imprensa Nacional and the following issues at the Press of Bragança e Cia of Nova Goa and Rangel press at Bastorá where it was printed till 1961.	Instrument of the Instituto Vasco da Gama. Till 1961 80 issues had been published. It had a "Indice Onomastico" (1926-1938) (authorwise index) organized by Aleixo Manuel da Costa.
Académico (O)	Bimonthly magazine	Nova Goa	Nov. 1940 to July 1943.	Editorial Body. P.S. Varde, Jorge de Ataide Lobo. Datá Folo Dessai, Datá Caxinata Naique and Xencora Babusso Camotim		Sadananda Press	Instrument and property of União Académica. Dir.- Quensoa Mortó Bandari.
Alvorada	Biweekly journal	Margao	Sep. 1943 to Oct. 1943 (8 issues were published)			Gomantak Press	Dir- Dondú Sinai. Proprietor - Jasso Pereira.
Ala		Bastorá	Started in 1944 and continued with the name of Revista do Centro Escolar No. 1. De Mocidade Portuguesa up to 1950.			Rangel Press	Magazine of the Students' Association of the Lyceum Afonso de Albuquerque of Nova Goa, 1944. Large size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Vida Nova	Only one issue of 54 pages.	Nova Goa	1946		Cultural Magazine	Sadananda Press	Large size. Dir. - Dr Adolfo Costa. Proprietor - Custódio Manuel Gomes Pereira.
Mocidade	Monthly	Cidade de Goa	Publishing began in Oct. 1948	Vassanta Tambá		Central Press	Journal of the Portuguese youth of the Estado da India. Illustrated.

Literary Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Mensageiro Bombayense	Weekly	First journal published in Mumbai	Mar. 17, 1831 to Jan. 26 1832	Editor-António Filipe Rodrigues			
Investigador Portuguez	Weekly	Mumbai	Aug. 6, 1835 to Dec. 28, 1837	José Valério Capela	Political and Literary		It was later substituted by the periodical "Pregoeiro da Liberdade"
Portuguez (O) em Damão		Nova Goa	Jul. 18, 1835 to Aug. 8, 1835.		Political Journal	Imprensa Nacional	
Echo Da Lusitania	Weekly	Goa	Jan. 7, 1836 to Mar. 5, 1837	Editor-Manuel Felicíssimo de Araujo de Azavedo.	Political Journal	Government Press.	
Sentinela Da Liberdade Na Guarita De Damão	Weekly	Nova Goa	Sep. 4, 1837 to Dec. 16, 1837	Editor-Joao De Sousa Machado	Political Journal	Lithography of Gustava Henrique Oom.	
Vigilante (O)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Jul. 13, 1838 to Oct. 22, 1838.	Editor-Major João de Sousa Machado	Political Journal	Imprensa Nacional	Small size
Pregoeiro Da Liberdade	Weekly	Mumbai	Jan. 6, 1838 to June 28, 1846.	António Semeão Pereira			
Observador (O)	Fortnightly and later Monthly	Nova Goa	Feb. 15, 1839 to Oct. 31, 1840	Canon Caetano João Peres and José Aniceto da Silva	Political Journal	Imprensa Nacional	Small size
Voz (A) dos Povos da India.	Weekly	Nova Goa	July 3, 1845 to March 3, 1846.	João Aniceto da Silva and others.	Political Journal	Imprensa Nacional	Small size
Abelha de Bombaim		Mumbai	Sep. 1848 to Aug. 31 1861.	Luis Caetano De Meneses , José Francisco Correia.		Own Press	3 columns per page.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Abelha (A) e Os Seus Correspondentes	The first paper is dated Apr. 22, 1852 and has pages numbered 1 - 4. The second is undated and its pages are 5 -10. The third is undated and its pages run from 11-16. The 4 th carries the date of Aug. 11 and the pages are numbered 17-22.			Work of Caetano Francisco Pereira Garcês		Imprensa Nacional.	A series of papers with this title and signed by José Paulo Teles, defending the financial provisions of the governor, baron later Viscount of Vila Nova de Ourém against the "Abelha" of Bombay and its correspondents which contested them. They were loose papers.
Defensor (O) Da Ordem e Da Verdade	Fortnightly	Nova Goa	Aug.24, 1852 to Aug. 31, 1853	Editor-José António de Oliveira and others. Responsible editor-JoséPaulo Rebelo	Polotical literary and recreative journal	Imprensa Nacional	21 issues.
Portuguez (O) Em Bombacim		Mumbai	March 1868 and lasted for six months	Editor-Luís Correia da Silva			Small size. The last issue was lithographed because its editor was charge sheeted.
Mensageiro (O)	Weekly	Mapusa	Aug. 16, 1872 to Dec. 12, 1873.	Editors-E. Vicente Xavier Vaz and the Viscount of Bardez Inácio Caetano de Carvalho.	Political, Literary and commercial	Francisco Xavier de Gois Press	Large size.
Vinte e Um (O) de Setembro	Weekly journal	Nova Goa	Oct. 28, 1890 to Dec. 29, 1892.				Large size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Defensor (O) Do Real Padroado	Monthly	Nova Goa	Sep. 1, 1853 – July 1854	Editor-Filipe Nery Xavier, Domingos Camilo Mendes and others	Political and ecclelstastical paper of his majesty the King.	Imprensa Nacional	Small size. Published articles in defence of Padroado
Journal Da Santa Igreja Lusitana Do Oriente	Weekly	Nova Goa	1846 to March 1849	Editor-Cónego Caetano João Peres and others	Official journal of the church	Imprensa Nacional	Small size. Dir.- Archbishop D. José Maria da Silva Torres. The archbishop had established this paper to answer the propaganda of Bombay Catholic Examiner.

Scientific Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Jornal de Pharmacia e Sciencias Medicas da India Portuguesa	Monthly	Nova Goa	Jan. 15, 1862 to Dec. 15, 1863. In Jan. 1864 the title was changed to Archivo de Pharmacia e Sciencias Accessorias da India Portuguesa which ended in Dec. 1871.	Editor-António Gomes Roberto, Pharmacist and professor of pharmacy in the Medical school of Goa.		Imprensa Nacional	
Revista Medico - Militar da India Portuguesa	Monthly	Nova Goa	Oct. 1, 1862 to Jan. 1, 1864.	Editor- Chief Physician, Augusto Carlos de Lemos.		Imprensa Nacional	
Periodico Militar do Ultramar Portuquez	Weekly	Nova Goa	Mar. 16, 1863 to Oct. 16, 1863.	Editor-João Filipo de Gouveia.	Political and Scientific	Imprensa Nacional	Small size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Arquivo de Pharmacia e Sciencias Accessorias Da India Portuguesa	Monthly	Nova Goa	Jan. 1864 to Dec. 1871	Editor and Proprietor-António Gomes Roberto.		Imprensa Nacional	It was a continuation of "Jornal de Pharmacia e Sciencias Accessorias da India Portuguesa". The collection forms 8 volumes. Associated with it as collaborators were – Cunha Rivara, Stuart Fonseca Torrie, António Nunes de Oliveira, José Gerson da Cunha and others.
Jornal da Pharmacia, Chimica e Historia Natural Medica	Monthly		Jan. 1872 to Dec. 1873.				Established by João Herculano de Moura, first pharmacist of the Dept. of health of the Estado da India.
Arquivo (O) Medico da India	Monthly		Began in July 1894 and ended with no. 23 of May 1896. It was accompanied by a study entitled "Vires Plantarum malabaricarum" extracts of the work "Hortas Malabaricus" of H. Von Rheede, compiled by Dr. Gelásio Dalgado.	Publisher- Pantaleão Ferrão, Bastorá	Journal of Medical and pharmaceutical studies.	Rangel Press.	Dirs.-Luis Napoleão de Ataíde and Angelo Custódio Martins. 24 pages. Collaborators besides others included Caetano do Rosário Faria, V.P. de Sá, Pitágoras da P. Lobo, C. Martins, Napoleao Ataíde, A.X. H. Gomes, A.P. de Andrade and Caetano Gracias.
Clínica (A) Moderna. Notas de Medicina e Cirurgia Práticas		Nova Goa	January to June 1908	Editor-Dr. Paulino Dias			

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Boletim Geral de Medicina e Pharmacia	Monthly	Nova Goa	Began publication in January 1912 forming 20 volumes.			Minerva Indiana Press	50 issues of 60 pages. Associated with it were a chosen group of pharmacists and doctors. Its medical section was established and directed by Dr. Froilano Melo and its pharmacy section by Francisco da Silva Amorim. Since 1917 it was issued as an instrument of the Medical – Pharmaceutical Association of Portuguese India. Since Vol. XXI it changed its title to “Boletim Geral de Medicina.”
Arquivos da Escola Médico Cirurgica de Nova Goa		Bastora		Publisher-Jaime Rangel.		Rangel Press	Established by Dr. Froilano de Melo. It consisted of two series. Series A – exclusively contained the investigative works of its professors and students and of some scientists of eminence. Series B – contained a record of the school life, statistics interesting lessons given by professors, a record of the activities of the library, a summary of the minutes of the council and health bulletins referring to the state of the health organized by the Directorate of Health and Hygiene.
Arquivos Indo-Portugueses de Medicina e História Natural.						Imprensa Nacional	Instrument of the Bacteriological Institute of Nova Goa. Established by Dr. Froilano de Melo.
Boletim Sanitário	Monthly	Nova Goa	Sep. 1916 to Dec. 1918.	Established and edited by Francisco António Wolfango da Silva.		Imprensa Nacional	

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Médico (O)	Monthly	Bastora	The first issue came out in Jan. 1935.		Scientific, Medical pharmaceutical.	Rangel Press	50 pages. Founder – José Meneses. Dir. - Hari M. Vernencar.
Boletim Geral De Medicina			Began with Vol. XXI. 1939.			Rangel Press	Instrument of the Order of Doctors of Portuguese India. Large size. It was published in continuation of “Boletim Geral de Medicina e Pharmacia”.
Esculápio	Monthly	Bastora	March, 1941 to June 1941		Medical and Humanitarian.	Rangel Press	Instrument of the Association of Students of Medicine and pharmacy. Large size. Four issues. Dir.- Dr. Wolfango Da Silva.
Medical Reporter (The)	Quarterly	Nova Goa	Only one issue of Sep. 1936.	Publisher-Captain M. Azevedo	Journal of Medicine and allied subjects		

Judicial Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Discussão (A)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Aug. 19, 1886 to Dec. 1889			Own Press	8 pages. Published under the direction of Martinho António de Meneses who directed the section “Assuntos Políticos Jurídicos” and of Cristóvão Pinto who directed the section “Assuntas literários e científicos”. Martinho António de Meneses became the only editor from no 578 of Feb. 25, 1888.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Revista Dos Tribunais		Nova Goa	April 15, 1921 to Dec. 31, 1922.			Minerva Indiana Press.	4 Pages. It was the continuation of the magazine of the same name established by Advocate Ascânio Sebastião dos Remédios Costa, the first issue of which came out on April, 2 1893 and only 6 issues of it were published.
Gazeta da Relação de Nova Goa	Fortnightly		July 1, 1922 to June 15, 1933.		Judicial magazine		Organ of the Association of the Advocates of Portuguese India. Dir. - Advocate José Maria Pereira, President of the same Association Associated with it were noted consultants judges and advocates.
Revista de Direito	Monthly	Nova Goa	Oct. 1942 to Dec. 1947.			Sadananda Press	Large size. Dir. – Venctexa S. R. Sardesai. Later, the director was justice Agostinho de Piedade Colaço.
Foro (O) Indiano	Monthly	Quepem	Sep.1, 1909 to Jan. 18, 1912				Dir. – Advocate Lingu Raguvir Dalvi.

Historico-Archaeological Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Gabinete Literario Das Fontainhas	Monthly		From 1846 to Dec. 1848. From 1848 it became irregular losing its character. In 1850 it came to be known as Esboço de um dicionário historico-administrativo.		Informative, it also contained statistical information and described the customs and traditions.		It constituted three volumes of great historical importance. In 1850 under the new title “Esboço de um dicionário histórico – administrativo, it contained only letters A and B and “Coleção das Leis Peculiares das Comunidades Agricolas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salsete e Bardês, the first part of which was published in 1852 and the second in 1855. The Director was Filipe Nery Xavier.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Arquivo Portuguez Oriental		Nova Goa	The first issue was published in 1857 and the sixth and the last in 1875 (the first part) and 1876 (the second part)			Imprensa Nacional	In the form of pamphlets.
Chronista de Tissuary	Monthly	Nova Goa	January 1866 to June 1869	Publisher-Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara	Information and Documents	Imprensa Nacional	
Oriente Portuguez (O)	Monthly	Nova Goa	In the first series from Jan. 1904 to June 1920. 17 Vols. were published. In the second series from Dec. 1931 to 1941 28 issues were published.			Imprensa Nacional. From 1931, first at Imprensa Gonçalves and later at Rangel Press.	Magazine of the Archaeological Commission of Portuguese India. Large size. Founded and directed by Dr. Alberto Osório de Castro. Cap. José Alves Rocadas and J. A. Ismael Gracias. Ismael Gracias directed the periodical till his death. He was succeeded as director by José Frederico Ferreira Martins. It commenced publication in Dec. 1931 under the direction of Dr. A. B. de Bragança Pereira. Jerónimo Quadros organized the volumes 1 to 18 of the first series in an alphabetical index. Ricardo Micael Teles arranged the second series in alphabetical index.

Religious Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Oriente Catolico	Fortnightly	Nova Goa	March 15, 1867 to Dec. 31, 1870			Imprensa Nacional	Large size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Cruz (A)	Fortnightly	Nova Goa	July 15, 1876 to July 18, 1882.	Editor-Fr. Manuel Agostinho de Carvalho and Fr. António F. X. Álvares	Religious Journal. Dedicated to the defense of religious and social interests of the country.	Imprensa Nacional and later at Oriental Press	
Verdade (A)	Weekly periodical	Nova Goa	July 16, 1882 to Dec. 31, 1885.			Imprensa Nacional	Large size. Instrument of Fr. António Francisco Xavier Álvares in succession to A. Cruz.
Anuario do Arcebispado de Goa e das Missões do Real Padroado Portuguez na India.		Nova Goa	1 st year 1884. 2 nd year 1885			Imprensa Nacional	Large size.
Anuario da Archidiocese de Goa e das Dioceses sufraganeas.		Nova Goa	1889, 1893, 1897, 1901 and 1907.				
Crete (O)	Weekly	Orlim	The first issue appeared on Aug. 9, 1883 and the last in Aug. 1928	Editor-Mons J. Excelso de Almeida. It was edited at Nova Goa since 1895 and at Ponda since 1921. Since 1887 its editor was João Crisóstomo E. de Souza and since Nov. 30, 1911, Francisco Xavier do Carmo Vaz.	Religious	Press of "India Portuguesa"	Founder- Mons. Francisco Xavier de Loiola.
Anuário Do Seminário De Rachol De Goa.			Was published in the years 1906, 1915, 1916, 1928 to 1950.				

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Anuário da Arquidiocese de Goa.		Nova Goa	1913, 1914, 1923 and 1928			Artur and Viegas Press	Issue of 1928 carried an article on "The Martyrs of Thana" and the date of their martyrdom.
Ave-Maria	In its first phase it was a monthly. Since 1924 it was Fortnightly and since 1931 it became Weekly.	Mumbai		Since 1919 it was published under the directorship and editorship of A. V. da Cruz of Siolim.			First it was published in English, Portuguese and Konkani later only in Konkani.
Concanim Catholic Almanac		Mumbai	1929	Publisher- D.F. Sequeira and Martinho Fernandes.		Taine Art Printing Press, 1928	134 pages
Almanaque De Ven. José Vaz.		Bastora	One year 1929.	Publisher- "Casa de Nossa Senhora da Saúde da Intercessão do Ven. Pe. José Vaz." of Sancoal		Rangel Press	104 pages.
Esplendores Da Religião.	Monthly	Nova Goa	Jan. 1928 to Dec. 1930.	Publisher-Fr. Castilho de Noronha with the assistance of a select group.		Brangança e Cia Press	Large size. Instrument of the Rachol Seminary. Dir. – João Filipe Figueiredo, replaced by João de Sousa since Oct 1930.
Voz (A) de S. Francisco Xavier	Weekly	Nova Goa	Sep. 8, 1931 to June 24, 1942	Publisher and Director- Fr. Castilho de Noronha.		Rangel Press.	8 pages. Boletim of the Primatés Archdiocese of Goa and Daman and the Partriarchy of India.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Anuário da Arquidiocese de Goa e Damão.		Nova Goa	1933			Press of "A Voz de S. Francisco Xavier"	Large size, with illustrations. Carried a precise account of the parochial churches, missions and chapels of the archdiocese, the universal hierarchy of the Catholic Church, the religious hierarchy of Portugal and its colonies and the hierarchy of India.
Concani (The) Catholic Daily.		Mumbai	Since August 1937	Publisher-J. L. da Cruz.			Edited in Konkani.
Boletim Eclesiástico da Arquidiocese de Goa.	Monthly	Bastora	July 1942			Rangel Press	Dir. – Canon Castilho de Noronha. Published from July 1942 in continuation of "A Voz de S. Francisco Xavier". Published with the collaboration of its Director and of Archbishop D. José da Costa Nunes and other well known writers of the land.
Portugal Missionário		Margao	1943	Publisher-Data Caxinata Narque.		Gomanta Press	12 pages.
Avante		Bastora	One issue Oct. 1946			Rangel Press	Instrument of the Catholic Action of Goa. Dir.- Fr. Joaquim Abranches S. J. Administrator – César da Rocha Pinto
Voice (The) of Goa			April 1947	Publisher-Fr. Luís Rovalico.			English edition of the magazine "Oratório Salesiano Dom Bosco" Dir. Dr. Wolfango da Silva.

Bilingual Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Ramalhetinho		Nova Goa	1866. Only three issues were published.	Miguel Vicente de Abreu	Journal of some hymns and profane songs in Portuguese and Konkani.	Imprensa Nacional	
Concanim (O)	Weekly	Mumbai	Jan. 1892 to 1894	Edited in Portuguese and Konkani by J. C. Francisco and S. S. de Jesus Dias.	Weekly of News and represented the people of Goa		
Luso-Concanim (O)	Weekly	Mumbai	May 7, 1892 to Nov. 24, 1894.		Independent	Indian Printing Press	Instrument of the people
Intransigente (O)	Fortnightly	Mumbai	Oct. 12, 1894		Portuguese and Konkani		
Luz (A)	Weekly	Mumbai	Nov. 4, 1894 to June 24, 1916. From Jan. 1, 1917 it was edited as an organ of "People Educational Society"		Political, literary and news in Portuguese and Konkani.	Nicol's Printing Works	Large size.
Defesa Nacional (A)	Weekly	Mumbai	Began on Jan. 7, 1894 and was suspended in the same year	Founder and Editor- José Joaquim de Carvalho of Carmona.	Portuguese and Konkani		Large size.
Opinioao (A) Nacional	Weekly	Mumbai	Sep. 8, 1894 to 1895		Portuguese and Konkani		Small size.
Udentechém Salok	Fortnightly journal	Mumbai	1894	Editor-Eduardo Bruno de Sousa			Small size. Lithographed. It was written in Mariano alphabets invented by its editor Eduardo Bruno de Sousa.
Echo (The)	Biweekly	Mumbai	1897 – 1922	Editor-José Caetano Francisco de Sousa	Portuguese and Konkani		The first biweekly of the Indian Christian Community in Mumbai.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Goano (O) Defensor dos Interesses dos Goanos	Monthly	Mumbai	Jan.3, 1908 to 1919	Publisher-Francisco Pascoal Fernandes	Portuguese and Konkani	Furtado's Printing Press	
Niz Bhavarti	Weekly	Bastora	Dec. 3, 1929 to Dec. 18, 1931.	Chief editor and Proprietor – Fr. Marcos António Gomes	Religious and informative. In Konkani with a Portuguese section.	Rangel Press	Large Size. Dir.- Dr. Teófilo de Sá.
Voz (A) do Goano	Weekly	Mumbai	April 5, 1930	Publisher-S. S. Vaz.	For the defence of Goans in Bombay. In Portuguese and Konkani		
Porjechó Adar	Weekly	Bastora	Jan. 1, 1931 to 1962.		Portuguese and Konkani	Rangel Press	Small size.
Vauraddeanch o ixtt (Amigo Dos Operários)	Weekly	Margao	Dec. 20, 1933	Editor from 1944 was Fr. Conceição M. Rodrigues	Portuguese and Konkani	“Filha Esposa e Mãe” Press	Dir. – Fr. Arsénio Lúcio Fernandes. In 1944 it became an organ of the Society of Pilar, the director being Fr. Graciano Morais.

Luso-Marathi Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Jornal Das Novas Conquistas	Weekly	Pednem	Apr. 9, 1882 to Jan. 17, 1886		Marathi and Portuguese Journal	Own Press	
Goa Mitra	Monthly	Orlim	1882 to 1883		Had a Portuguese section		Small size.
Arya – Bandu (O)	Weekly	Mapusa	Aug. 1885 to July 30, 1886	Editor-F. J. da Gama Botelho, Ismael Gracias and others.	Marathi with a section in Portuguese	Own Press	Large size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Goa Pancha	Monthly	Mapusa	1885 - 1888		From Feb. 1888 it started a section in Portuguese.		Large size. Dir. - Sripada Venctexa Vaglô
Niaya Chacxu	Monthly	Nova Goa	1889 - 1890	Editor-C. Cadió e Colvalcar	Had a Portuguese section from the 4 th issue.		Small size.
Gomantac	Monthly	Nova Goa	1890 - 1891	Editor-V.E. Singbal	Had a Portuguese section		Small size.
Gazeta De Perném	Fortnightly	Perném	Mar. 27, 1893 to 1894		Had a Portuguese section		Small size. Dir. - Ramachondra Purxotoma Porobo Dessai Desporobo
Luz Do Oriente	Monthly	Ponda	Aug. 1907 to Aug. 1920	Dir. and Editor Ramachondra Panduranga Vaidya		Sri Atmarana Press	32 pages. From Sep. 28, 1921 it was published as the organ of "Lige da Propaganda de Instrução em Goa" a weekly in Portuguese and Marathi. It was suspended with the edition of Sep. 18, 1926. Associated with it were the poets Nascimento Mendonça and Paulino Dias, Bascora Dessai, Xambá Sar Dessai, Sridora Mambro, Adolfo Costa, Severo Portela, Nogar Prudente Lourenço, Mariano Saldanha and others.
Opinião Hindu (A)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Dec. 12, 1910 to May 6, 1912		Political and informative in Portuguese and Marathi.	Hitachintak Press	Large size. Director and Proprietor Manguexa Mucunda Rau.
Pátria	Weekly	Nova Goa	1917 to 1918	Editor-R. M. Rau	Marathi with a section in Portuguese		Small size
Pátria (A)	Weekly	Nova Goa	Aug. 6, 1913 to Oct. 29, 1914. It had a second series which began on July 6, 1919	Editor-Rau. Chief Editor- Alberto Meneses Spinola. Chief editor of the second series was Adolfo Costa.	It had a section in Marathi.		Small size

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Renovação	Weekly	Santa Cruz	Jan. 16, 1920 to Dec. 20, 1920	Publisher-Narcinva S. Bounsuló	Portuguese and Marathi.	Own press and Press of Rau & Irmãos	Small size
Voluntário (O)	Weekly	Ponda	March 12, 1930 to Oct. 15, 1930		Portuguese and Marathi.	Own press	10 pages. Continuation of the magazine "Swayan- sevak" Dir. – Bascora M. Borcar. Prop. – Vinaeca G. S. Priolcar.
Gomanta (O)	Weekly	Bicholim	July 10, 1933 to July 31, 1937	Publisher-Purxotoma Moroscar Talvodcar	Section in Marathi.	Own press	Medium size. Dir. – Mahableswar Pratap Rau Sar Dessai.

Luso English Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Índia	Fortnightly magazine and later monthly	Bastora		Publisher-Rev. A. F. Lopes	In English and Portuguese.	Rangel Press	
Estrela do Norte (A)	Weekly	Mumbai	Nov. 9, 1862 to July 1864.	Editor-José António de Viveiros	Mercantile Press. Portuguese and English		Small size
Índio (O)		Mumbai	July 4, 1872 to Nov. 7, 1872		Journal in Portuguese and English	Artificial Press	Dir. – Justiniano Couto.
Gazetta (A) de Goa	Weekly	Nova Goa	July 16, 1872 to Dec. 30, 1873.	Byramjee Pestonjee	Had an English section		Large size. Responsible Director-Sertório Coelho with the collaboration of M. P. de Sousa Franklin and Pedro António Coelho
Patriota (O)	Monthly periodical	Mumbai	Began in 1874	Editor-V. J. Silva	In Portuguese and English.		Small size

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Anglo – Lusitano (O)	Weekly Journal	Mumbai	Began on July 8, 1886 and the last issue was dated Mar. 19, 1955	Leandro Mascarenhas, the founder, edited the Portuguese section upto his death and José da Silva the English section.	In Portuguese and English.	Own Press	Large size of 8 pages. Established to protect the interests of the Portuguese community in Mumbai as well as those of Portuguese India. Dir. – Willibaldo Pais. He was succeeded by brother Blasco Pais. After them it was edited by Inácio da Fonseca up to its last issue.
Portuguez Britannico (O)	Weekly periodical	Mumbai	Began in 1891. Its end is not known	J. S. Pimenta was the editor of the Portugues section.	In Portuguese and English.		Large size. Prop. – J. da Silva.
Horas Vagas	Weekly	Mumbai	March 8, 1890 to March 27, 1891	Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama was editor of the Portuguese section and Júlio Ribeiro of the English section and after his death Frank Saldanha.	Portuguese and English	Nicol's Printing works	8 pages. Dir. – Nicolau d' Almeida
Colonia (A) Goana	Weekly	Mumbai	April 4, 1891 to April 1892	Leopoldo Cipriano da Gama edited its Portuguese section	Portuguese and English	Nicol's Printing Works	Proprietor – Dr. Franzoni A. de Faria. 12 pages.
Boletim Indiano (O)	Weekly	Mumbai	First issue was released on Sep. 9, 1895	Lourenço de Sa edited the Portuguese section and Júlio Ribeiro edited the English section.		Albert Printing Works	12 pages.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Indispensável (O)		Bastora	Apr. 1, 1894 to Jun. 18, 1895. Restarted publication on Oct. 1, 1909 with a section on music. On Jan. 29, 1909 it became weekly with an English section. On July 17, 1914 the journal reappeared with the title "Indispensável" It ceased publication on July 3, 1915.	Pithagoras Lobo.		Rangel Press	Journal dealing with Science, Arts and Industry aimed at the family. Dir. - V. J. Janin Rangel.
Vida Nova	Weekly	Mapusa	Nov. 17, 1913 to Sep. 22, 1917		With an English section		Large size. Dir. - Leopoldo Cipriano Da Gama and later Mazoni Rosa da Gama.
Jornal Da Índia	Weekly	Orlim	Mar. 14, 1913 to Aug. 26, 1913		Political and Religious. Had an English section	Own Press	Large size.
Liberal (O)	Weekly	Saligao	Oct. 5, 1916 to March 12, 1919		Political and informative. In Portuguese and English	Own Press	Large size.
Goan Tribune (The)	Monthly	Mumbai	1934 only 3 issues		In English and Portuguese		Dir. - João Varela Rodrigues
Goa		Cidade de Goa	Jan. 1949 to June 1952		Magazine in English and Portuguese	Saldanha Press.	Proprietor - J. R. Saldanha. Illustrated.

Konkani Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Concanim Magazin	Trimonthly	Mumbai	Since 1904	Editor-Joaquim Inácio de Campos		Albert Printing Press	16 pages.
Sanjechem Noketr	Daily	Mumbai	1907	Publisher-Barreto Franklin Cabral	Konkani		
Catholic Sovostcai	Fortnightly	Mumbai	Jan. 1, 1908	Editor-B. F. Cabral	Konkani Literary magazine		
Gulistan	Weekly	Mumbai	1924 – 1934	Publisher-João Lázaro de Sousa	Konkani	Joel Printing Press	Dir.-António Fonseca
Amchó Gão	Weekly	Nova Goa	Jan. 1, 1929 to Nov. 16, 1935		Supplement to “Diario da Noite”	“Diario da Noite” Press	4 pages. Proprietor- Luís de Meneses. Besides the proprietor who was the editor of “Diario Da Noite”, other well known vernacular writers collaborated with the periodical. These included Caridade Damasceno Fernandes, Costa Bir, Júlio E. Sequeira, M.F. Nunes, F.F. Balistor and João Luís Carvalho
Gomanta	Monthly	Mumbai	Began in 1981	Publisher-Luís das Dores Silva	A Goan Family Review in Konkani		
Novem Goem	Triweekly	Mumbai	1934 – 1937	Founded and edited by Caxinatha Sridhar Naik	Konkani		
Mojem Magazin	Fortnightly	Mumbai	Since 1936	Publisher-Joaquim Rosário da Silva	Konkani		
Konkani Jornal	Weekly	Karachi	Since 1937	Publisher-G. de Sousa			
Amcho Sounsar	Weekly	Mumbai	1939		Konkani		Under direction of Júlio Fernandes
Goenkaranc hó	Weekly	Mumbai	1939	Publisher-Romeu Fernandes	Konkani		

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Gova Kamgar	Weekly	Mumbai	Began publication since May 14, 1939		Konkani		Dir. - M.S. Dessai
Novem Goem	Weekly	Mumbai	Since 1940	Publisher-D. A. Mascarenhas	Konkani		
Goenchim Jasmim Phulam	Monthly magazine	Mumbai	Began publication on Oct. 3, 1947	Publisher and Editor-Julieta da Costa	Konkani	Ave Maria Press	
Aitarachem Vachop		Cidade de Goa	Began in Feb. 1947	Editor-Fr. Caetano Lobo, Fr. Álvaro Renato Mendes		Popular Press	Brought out by Salesian Oratory of Don Bosco. Dir.-Dr. Wolfango da Silva, Dr. António do Rego.
Udentechem Neket	Weekly	Mumbai	Began in 1949	Publisher-Rev. Ayres Fernandes	Konkani	Gloria Press	
Soth	Weekly	Mumbai	1949	Publisher-J.L. Araújo Ricardo	Konkani	Nootan P. Press	
Soth Uloi	Weekly	Mumbai	1950	J. M. Araújo	Konkani	Sri Mahalakshmi Press	Small size of 12 pages
Novem Jivit	Weekly	Mumbai			News and opinions in Konkani	The Indo - Portuguese Publicity Bureau.	Dir. Prof. Justino de Sousa
Nacionalista (O)	Weekly	Mumbai			Konkani		Small size

Marathi Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Dexasudarantxo			1872		First Marathi journal in Goa		
Goatma	Weekly	Margao	Aug.3, 1885 to 1889	Editor -Venctexa Naique.	Marathi journal had a Portuguese section.		Small size
Kalikadarshan	Monthly	Nova Goa	1898 to 1899	Editor -R. P. S. Nagvencar			Small size
Sudarshan	Monthly	Nova Goa	Only one issue -1900	Editor-B. M. Rau.			Small size

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Hitachintaka	Weekly	Nova Goa	1900 – 1901	Editor - N. M. Rau.		Own Press	Small size
Halad Cuncu	Monthly	Ponda	1901 – 1912		Marathi magazine for Hindu ladies.		Dir. – Socubai Vaidya
Sat-Sang	Monthly	Combarjua	1902 – 1907	Editor - L. P. Bandari			Small size
Pathea Bōdh	Monthly	Ponda	1904 – 1908	Editor - R. P. Vaidya			Small size
Prachi Prabá	Monthly	Ponda	1909 – 1914	Editor - R. P. Vaidya. In its second series, which began in 1912, its editor was Sarasvati Vaidya.			Small size
Hindu Mat	Weekly	Nova Goa	1914 – 1916	Editor - S. B. Rau		Own Press	Small size
Svayamsevak	Tri-monthly	Quepem	1915 – 1918 It had a second series, which was monthly from 1919 and published from Ponda as a supplement of the journal Bharat.	Editor - V. R. Priolcar			Small size
Prabhat	Weekly	Nova Goa	1913 – 1917	Editor - P. V. Shirgauncar			Small size
Vidiaprassar	Fortnightly	Ponda	1915 – 1921	Editor - R. P. Vaidya and Sitaram Kerkar	Published as a supplement of “Luz do Oriente”.		Small size
Gaeca Mitra	Monthly	Ponda	Began publication as a supplement of the journal Bharat in 1918 and ended in 1919.	Editor - Hegdo Dessai		Own Press	Small size
Pragati	Weekly	Nova Goa	Began in 1920	Editor - M. B. Zambaulecar			Small size
Navagivan	Weekly and later monthly from 1921	Nova Goa	Began in 1920	Editor -G. N. P. Asnorcar			Small size.
Napitoday	Monthly	Nova Goa	Began in 1920	Editor - V. F. Kalekar			Small size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Bharat Mitra	Monthly	Rivona	December 1921				Small size. Dir. - N.B. Naik with collaboration of different people.
Bharatoday	Monthly	Nova Goa		Editor - Hegdó Dessai	Marathi – came out as supplement to Bharat.		
Srikhand	Monthly	Margao	Began and ended in 1921				Small size.
Gadgadat	Fortnightly	Nova Goa	Began and ended in 1921.	Editor - J. O. Desai	As a supplement to Pragati, (Only one issue).		Small size. Only one issue was published.
Hindu	Weekly	Margao	Jan. 27, 1924 to Mar. 18, 1930	Editor - Mableswar Sar Dessai and Datatraia Venctexa Pai.		Own press	Dir. – Upendra Govinda Zoixi
Patitpavana Mala	Monthly	Sanguem	1931	Prop. and Editor – Ramachandra Parab Loundó.		Sangamodya	
Aria Vidnyana	Monthly	Sanguem	May 15, 1932	Prop. and Editor - N. A. N. Pattanaçar.	Scientific and religious	Sadananda Press	Dir. and Publisher- Trivicrama G. Ellecar. 98 pages.

English Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Indio Imparcial	Weekly	Mumbai	Aug. 16, 1843 to Nov. 9, 1844	António Filipe Rodrigues			
India Catholica (A)	Weekly	Mumbai	Began on Jan. 24, 1874	Responsible Publisher-José Inácio Fonseca		Examiner's Press	
Times (The) of Goa	Weekly	Nova Goa	Sep. 21, 1885 to 1889				Large size. Organ of Fr. A.F.X. Alvares.
Family Magazine	Monthly	Mumbai	1909	Publisher-V.B. Fernandes			Organ of "Temperance Society"

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Indo – Portuguese Review (The)		Calcutta	The first issue came out in 1919 and it was suspended in 1933		The Record of the Indo. Portuguese Association		Large size. 60-70 pages. Dir. - D.M. Terreiro. Collaborating with it were eminent men of the period.
Week (The)	Weekly		Founded in Jan. 1927. Last issue came out on Feb. 25, 1932				Founder – Dr. H. C. E. Zacharias. It was continued from July 19, 1928 by Prof. Aluisio Soares.
Literary Review	Monthly	Nova Goa	May 1934.	Publisher-Mário Nazaré and R. Sepúlveda Fontes	Portuguese and English	Santadurga Press	Large size. Only issue of 16 pages.
Catholic Action			Aug. 1934	Publisher-Prof. F. Correia Afonso	Journal of the Catholic Students' Union.		
Goan World (The)	Monthly	Mumbai	Jan. 1924 to 1942	Editor-Justino de Souza, Prof. of Portuguese Literature in the college of St. Francis Xavier, Mumbai.	Social, Political and Historical Review		Edited by "Indo-Portuguese Publicity Bureau" Mumbai.
Goan Life	Monthly	Mumbai	First issue in Sep. 1947		English magazine illustrated		30 pages. Dir. Mário Afonso, A. Francis and Lambert Mascarenhas.
India	Monthly	Pilar, Goa	Began in 1950	Publisher-Fr. C. Rodrigues			Illustrated magazine. Published by the Missionary society of St. Francis Xavier, Pilar, Goa. Dir. – Francisco Sequeira
Goan Observer		Mumbai	1950	Charles F. S. de Sousa		National Gardian Press Ltd. 1950	12 pages

Marathi Konkani Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Amchem Gõem	Biweekly	Mumbai	1947 –1949	Publisher-B.B. Borkar	Konkani and Marathi		

Konkani English Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Goa (The) Mail	Weekly	Mumbai	Began in June 1919	English section editor was Crisólogo de Lima	Konkani and English		First Dir. – B. J. Francis and later Dr. Vasco da Gama, Respício Afonso and Cristie Fonseca.
Amigo (O) Do Povo Goano	Fortnightly	Mumbai	Since 1920		Konkani and English		Adm. S.X. Vaz. Dir. – M. A. Fernandes. It was born as a result of the merger of “Goano” with “O Amigo do Povo”
Agnus Dei	Monthly magazine	Mumbai	1925 to 1943		Konkani and English		Dir. – Fr. Alarico Pereira and later Joaquim Félix Pereira
Goa Times	Weekly	Mumbai	Started in 1930		Konkani and English		Founder – Respício Afonso and continued by R. A. Pereira
Emigrant (The)	Monthly	Mumbai	April 1, 1932 to March 1937	Editor-Caridade Damasceno Fernandes	English and Konkani		Proprietor – T.O. Carvalho
Goan’s Own Magazine (The)	Monthly	Mumbai	1932	Publisher-Peter C. Pereira	English and Konkani	Ubelinda Printing Press	20 pages
Goan Observer	Daily	Mumbai	1932		Konkani and English		Founder – João Lázaro de Souza
Aspirant (The)	Monthly		Since March 1937	Bento de Sousa was editor both in English and Konkani			Published as an organ of the Academy of Ven. Fr. Joseph Vas.
Catholic (The) Konkani Weekly	Weekly	Mumbai	Since 1937		English and Konkani		Dir- Laurence Prudente.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Catholic India		Mumbai	Started in April 1938	Publisher-F. N. de Oliveira	Magazine in English and Konkani		A variety of people were associated with the magazine
Goenkar - The Goan	Weekly	Mumbai	Started in 1950	Editor-Enio Pimenta	Konkani and English	Unity Printing Press	8 pages.
Uzvadd	Weekly	Nairobi	Initiated on Oct. 14, 1950		Konkani and English	Majestic Press	12 pages.

Portuguese - Konkani - English Press

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Liberal (O)	Monthly	Calangute	Jan. to Oct. 1859			Own Press	Small size. Dir. - Aleixo Casimiro Lobo. The Konkani section was directed by Francisco Xavier Fernandes
Povo Goano (O)	Weekly	Mumbai	1892-1895				Small size.
Leituras Amenas	Weekly	Mumbai	July 5, 1893 to Dec. 1893	Editor-J.J. de Carvalho	News, Literary, Scientific and Artistic.	Albert Printing Press	Administratior - J. R. da Silva.
Bombaense (O)	Weekly	Mumbai	Jan. 1901 to Dec. 1907	Editor-The Konkani section was edited by Francisco Xavier Fernandes Liberal and Carlos da Gama edited the Portuguese section.	Historical, Literary and news.	Vijava Printing Press	Since 1903 it had an English section.
Lua	Weekly		Sartred in Jan. 1904	Founder and editor Laurecinho Dandas.		Vijava Printing Press	4 pages. Prof. J. A. Rodolfo Dias directed the English section.
Amigo (O) do Povo	Weekly	Mumbai	July 2, 1916 to 1920	Anonymous	Literary, News and Social journal.	The Karnatak Printing Press	Small size.

Publication	Periodicity	Place of Publication	Duration	Editor / Publisher	Status	Press	Miscellaneous
Popular Magazine (The)	Monthly	Mumbai	Jan. 1919 to Dec. 1925.	Publisher-J. J. Silvester de Sousa.		Silvester's Printing Press	Larg size. Important writers of the period were associated with this Press
Goan Herald (The)	Weekly	Mumbai	Oct. 5, 1929 to Dec. 28, 1929	Publisher-Amadeu Prazares da Costa.			8 pages. The only weeky in English, Portuguese and Konkani in Mumbai.
Konkanni Boletim	Daily	Mumbai	Began on Aug. 1, 1930			Ave Maria Press.	4 pages. Supplement of the magazine "Ave Maria".
Goa Nova	Weekly	Mumbai	Began in 1936	Venktex Alvencar			

APPENDIX-II:

ORIGINAL DOCUMENTS: LAWS THAT

REGULATED THE

PERIODICAL PRESS IN GOA

Boletim do Governo do Estado da India**No. 17. Year 1852. Friday, 23rd April.**Official Section**The Naval and Overseas Ministry**

No. 2181 - Notice No. 188 of 18th December 1847 having been presented to Her Majesty the Queen, wherein the Governor General of the State of India solicits the declaring of the Law which regulates the exercise of the freedom the Press in Goa, stating the difficulties he faced by the lack of measures harmonizing the provisions of the Law of 22nd December 1834, ordered therein to be observed in the *Portaria* [Rule] of the Ministry of the Kingdom dated the 30th of the said month and year, with the principle of the Decree by act of law of 16th January 1837, which ordered the discontinuation of the Jury in all the Overseas Provinces; and that at the same time would obviate the disadvantages and defects of the said Law of 1834, which having been removed from the Continent of the Kingdom by the Laws of 10th November 1837 and 19th October 1840, remained terrible and threatening against the Society in those remote stations, where the weakness of governmental action and the uniqueness of the elements constituting the Society make it imperative to use stronger and more effective protective measures: The Same August Lady accepted the opinion issued by the Counsellor Attorney-General of the Crown who was heard on this important detail, ordered through the Secretary of State of Naval and Overseas Affairs that the above mentioned Governor-General have the Laws of 10th November 1837 and that of 19th October 1840 put into execution in the referred State, which regulate the matter with the modifications that in council are found necessary in view of the Decree of 16th January 1837 which ordered the discontinuation of the Jury in the Overseas; and which being an act of law can only be altered by the Legislative Power. And as the said Governor-General, authorized by the special knowledge which his residence in India offers him, presents the idea of the possible formation of a Jury appropriate for the circumstances, to whom is entrusted the burden of knowing in reality the crimes of the abuse of the freedom of the press by the prescription of the referred laws; Her Majesty similarly orders that the same Governor-General develop this idea, contained in his earlier cited Notice of 18th December 1847, with the aim of converting it into a Bill and be submitted to the Legislative Body. Paço das Necessidades, the 5th of January 1849. - *Viscount of Castro*. Boletim do Governo do Estado da India

No. 17. 1852. Friday, 23rd April 1852.

The Governor General of the State of India determines the following:

In accordance with the provisions of the *Portaria* No. 2181 of 5th January 1849, from the Naval and Overseas Ministry, which declared the laws that ought to regulate in this State the use of the freedom of the Press, and in view of Article 15 of the Decree of 16th January 1837, which ordered the suspension of the establishment of the Jurors in the Overseas Provinces: I deem it convenient, with the opinion of the Government Council, and on hearing the Attorney of the Crown and Revenue, to determine that in the crimes for abuse of the freedom of the Press the respective Court Judges or their substitutes judge *de facto* and *de jure* without the intervention of the Jury, following the doctrine of the Laws of 10th November 1837 and 19th October 1840, with the following modifications:

- 1) Only a citizen having reason and other necessary requisites to be elected Deputy for the State of India he can be the Publisher responsible for a periodical, qualified as such in accordance with Article 7 of the Law of 10th November 1837;
- 2) The good repute of the publisher responsible for any periodical and that of its guarantors or mortgages shall be judged by decision upon hearing the Department of Justice, in the Court of the Judicial Division of Ilhas.
- 3) The guarantee or the mortgage required to be the publisher responsible for a periodical in accordance with the Articles 4 or 5 and their paras of the Law of 19th October 1840 shall be eight thousand xerafins, two parts in silver and one in copper.
- 4) The deposit for the same purpose of being the publisher responsible for a periodical shall be four thousand xerafins, two parts in silver and one in copper, and made in the manner prescribed in Article 6 of the Law of 19th October 1840 and its paras.

The authorities and persons to whom the execution of the presents belongs may so have it understood and executed. Palace of the Governor General, Nova Goa, 20th April 1852. -*Baron of Villa Nova d'Ourem*.

Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia

No. 95. Year 1856. Nova Goa, Tuesday, 2nd December.

No. 3239

His Majesty the King orders, through the Secretary of State of Naval and Overseas Affairs, that the Governor-General of the State of India be sent, for his knowledge and timely execution, the enclosed true copy of the Decree of the 1st of the current month, whereby the motto was, by virtue of the faculty granted by para 1 of Article 15 of the Additional Act to the Constitutional Charter of the Monarchy, to set in the Overseas Provinces the mode of processing the wrongs committed by the abuse of the freedom of the press. Paço, 4th October 1856 - *Sá da Bandeira*.

It being the acknowledged necessity to regulate the mode of processing in the Overseas Provinces the wrongs committed by abuse of the freedom of the Press, given that the institution of the Jurors is there non-existent, and that the bill was not yet discussed by the *Cortes* which on this object was presented to them by My Government, on the second of April of the current year; I deem it well to decree the following, in accordance with the consultation of the Overseas Council dated the thirty-first of August of the last year, by virtue of para one of Article 15 of the Additional Act to the Constitutional Charter of the Monarchy and upon hearing the Council of Ministers:

Article 1: The Judges of the first instance of the Overseas Judicial Divisions shall be competent to de facto and de jure judge the crimes committed by abuse of the freedom of the Press.

Article 2: These crimes shall observe, with the modification of the preceding Article, the order and procedural form established by the Laws of the twenty-second December one thousand eight hundred and thirty-four, tenth of November one thousand eight hundred and thirty-seven, and nineteenth October one thousand eight hundred and forty, which are declared in force Overseas in the portions that were not altered and are found in force in the Kingdom.

Article 3: The deposit or guarantee or mortgage demanded by the last of the cited Laws, for the publication of a periodical, shall be calculated overseas in the provincial currency.

Article 4: Only the citizen there eligible to be deputy to the *Cortes* he can be Publisher responsible for a periodical Overseas.

Article 5: The referred Laws stand thus altered and revoked in the part which they contradict the present Decree.

The Viscount of Sá da Bandeira, Peer of the Kingdom, Ministry and Secretary of State of Naval and Overseas Affairs, may so understand and have it executed. Paço, the first of October one thousand eight hundred and fifty-six. = KING = Viscount of Sá da Bandeira.

Presidency of the Council of Ministers

Dom Carlos, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, etc. We make it known to all our subjects that the general courts have decreed and we approve the following law:

Article 1: The Government is exempted from the responsibility undertaken by it in the exercise of its legislative functions.

1. As long as the provisions of legislative nature promulgated by the government are not revoked or altered by law, they shall continue in force from 10th February 1890 to 5th April of the current year, both days inclusive, except for the following changes:
2. The title and property of the periodical and typographical or lithographic material of the workshop/s in which the respective composition and printing or stamping has been done, shall, notwithstanding any privilege, be responsible for the payment of fines, and for the payment of indemnity for losses and damages for which those responsible for the periodical have been incriminated, when the same has not been complied with by other means. The provision of Article 10 of decree no. 1 of 29th March 1890, published by the Ministry of Justice, stands hereby substituted.

Article 2: All the laws to the contrary stand hereby revoked. We order, therefore, all the authorities, to whom the knowledge and

execution of the said law may concern, that they should comply and it complied with and keep in toto.

The President of the Council of Ministers, Minister and Secretary of State of the Affairs of the Kingdom and the acting minister of War, and the ministers and secretaries of state of the different ministries, may print, publish and enforce it. Given at the Palace of Belem, on the 7th of August 1890. EL REI, with initials and seal= António de Serpa Pimental= Lopo Vaz de Sampaio e Mello= João Ferreira Franco Pinto Castello Branco= Júlio Marques de Vilhena=Ernesto Rodolpho Hintze Ribeiro=Frederico de Gusmão Corrêa Arouca= João Marcellino Arroyo (Place of the large seal of the royal arms).

Charter of law, by which Your Majesty, on sanctioning the decree of the general courts of the Portuguese nation on 15th July last, exempting the government from the responsibility undertaken by it through the promulgation of legislative provisions since 10th February ultimo upto 5th April, both days inclusive, has ordered the compliance and upkeep of the same decree as contained therein, in the manner described above.

For Your Majesty.=Aleixo Tavano wrote it.

Ministry of Naval and Overseas Affairs

2nd department — 2nd Ministry

Whereas the law relating to the periodical press was changed by the charter of law of 17th May 1866 till then in force; Whereas the said charter of law aimed at improving and perfecting the earlier legislation; Whereas the legislation ought to be the same, as far as possible, in all the territories belonging to the monarchy; Whereas the special circumstances also call for special steps and provisions;

Using the powers given by para 1 of Article 15 of the additional Act of the Constitutional Charter of the Monarchy; Having heard the overseas council and the council of ministers; We deem it fit to decree the following:

Article 1: The charter of law dated 17th May 1866 relating to the periodical publications is hereby enforced in all the overseas provinces;

Unico: The words "with the intervention of the jury in accordance with the law of 18th August 1853", in para.1 of Article 6, are omitted;

Article 2: The laws to the contrary stand revoked.

For the information and action of the acting Minister and Secretary of State for Naval and Overseas Affairs. Palace, 1st October 1867. = KING = Visconde da Praia Grande. (From the Diário de Lisboa, number 230, dt. 11th October 1867).

THE ABOVEMENTIONED LAW

Dom Luiz, by the grace of God, King of Portugal and of the Algarves, etc. We make it known to all our subjects, that the general courts have decreed and we approve the following law:

Article 1: All the guarantees and restrictions set for the periodical press by the laws presently in force stand revoked.

Article 2: No periodical, however, shall publish, without at least eight days prior notice of the name of the publisher, before the taluka or ward administrator and before the delegate of the Royal Attorney of the judicial division or jurisdiction from where it is to be published.

Unico: That declaration shall have to be signed by the publisher and duly acknowledged, and shall carry documents that prove that the said publisher is:

1. a major, or considered as such by the law;
2. a citizen fully enjoying his civic and political rights.
3. domiciled in the judicial division from where the publication shall be made.

Article 3: Every stamped or printed or lithographed writing, either published at regular intervals or irregularly, containing the doctrine of an individual, and not exceeding ix printed pages, calculated on the size of the stamp-paper used for legal purposes, shall be considered to be a periodical.

Article 4: In the absence of statement from the publisher, covered by Article 2, or by the declaration foreseen in para. unico of the same Article, given with incomplete documents, the owner or

the manager of the press, lithography or establishment in which the publication is made shall be liable to a penalty of three days to three months of imprisonment and corresponding fine, and the judicial sentence shall always provide for the suppression of the periodical, all done without the respective penalties for the crime against expression of thought.

1. If the documents be fake, as dealt with para Unico of Article 2, the owner or manager of the press, lithography or establishment where the publication be made ceases to be responsible by this Article.
2. The absence or supervening incapacity of the publisher attracts only the suspension of the periodical, but if the owner or manager of the press, lithography or establishment carries out the publication, despite knowing of that absence or incapacity, he shall be subject to the penalties prescribed in this Article, and the judicial decision shall always order the suppression of the periodical.

Article 5: Crimes against the expression of thought are punishable with the respective penalties as prescribed in the Penal Code.

1. In case of injury to the representative system established in the Constitutional charter of the Monarchy and the additional act of the same charter, the penalty of three months to one year of imprisonment and corresponding fine shall be applicable.
2. However, there is no ban on the means of discussion and criticism of the provisions, both of the basic law of the State as well as the other laws, aimed at clarifying and preparing public opinion for the required reform through the legal procedure.

Article 6: The procedure shall be in accordance with the provisions of the common law.

1. In the case of Articles 408 and 409 and para Unico of Article 410 of the Penal Code, whenever the law permits the defamation or injury to be proved, and the defendant offers to provide the proof, the ordinary process will be followed with the intervention of the jury, in accordance with the law of 18th August 1853, and in case proof is not allowed, in

accordance with Articles 407 and 410, the corrective procedure will be followed.

2. The Office of the Attorney General is competent to intervene in the crimes against freedom of the press in case of defamation or injury, if the same is directed:
 1. Against a chief of a foreign country, when his government applies for it;
 2. Against their ambassadors or accredited representatives in the court of Portugal, when the defendants apply for it.
 3. The intervention provided for in the earlier paragraph shall only take place when, by virtue of the treaty or the law of the respective country, the principle of reciprocity be established.

Article 7: Responsibility for these crimes shall be undertaken:

1. By the publisher, while he does not declare the name of the author, if the latter be domiciled in Portugal at the time of the publication of the printout, and if he be liable for criminal accusation.
1. By the author, in the absence of a publisher, or if the latter does not show up, or when the publisher declares the author's name in court and assigns him the responsibility, in accordance with the earlier paragraph.
2. The owner or manager of the press, lithography or other establishment in which the publication is made, when in the absence of the publisher, the name of the author is not made known.
4. The persons selling or displaying for sale the said publications or reproductions or affixing in public places or distributing, or contributing in any manner, knowingly and willingly, for the publication, when in the absence of the publisher they do not make known the names of the persons foreseen in paras. 2 and 3.

Article 8: Responsibility can be disowned in accordance with the earlier Article only before the hearing of the judgment in the process of the corrective police and within the time limit conceded for the appeal against unfair accusation, and new summons are sent to the substitute and the process will continue against the latter as deemed fit upon the judge's order accepting the

refusal.

- Unico:** The responsibility once accepted cannot be disowned.
- Article 9:** The publisher of the periodical in which an individual, tribunal or corporation has been insulted, is obliged to publish free of cost the defense sent to it by the accused, in the first issue published upon receipt of it, only if when printed in point-size and format identical to that of the accusation, it is not more than twice as long, or one thousand printed letters, at the choice of the accused.
- Article 10:** Every time a periodical publishes or reproduces news that has been officially denied or corrected in the official paper of the government, the publisher of the periodical in which such publication or reproduction is made, is obliged to transcribe the denial or correction in the same print as the one in which the news was published or reproduced, on the first page of the first issue published after the said official paper has been received in the locality of the periodical.
- Article 11:** When the abuse of expression of thought is determined in the sentence, the publisher of the condemned periodical shall be obliged to publish in toto and in the same type in which the abusive article was published or reproduced, on the first page of the first issue published after the said sentence is notified to them or a true copy of the same is shown by the offended party.
- Article 12:** If the three preceding Articles are not complied with, the publisher of the periodical is liable for a fine of 10\$000 reis for every day thereafter by which the said publication has been delayed, besides losses and damages.
- Article 13:** Where a periodical publishes an article or news containing allusive or equivocal sentences implicating disrepute or offence to somebody, whoever may consider himself/herself affected by it can demand from the publisher the express declaration in one of the three following issues after his complaint of whether or not the said sentences refer to the complainant.

1. If the publisher refuses to declare or to do so in the prescribed format as shown in this Article, he shall be liable for a penalty of 5\$000 reis to 30\$000 reis.
2. Whatever be the declaration made in accordance with this Article, or in the absence of it, the injured party has the right to penal action.
3. In case of injury or defamation by means of pseudonyms, allusive or equivocal sentences, aimed at obscuring the legal responsibility, the accusation shall proceed if it is proved that the said injury or defamation refer to the complaining party.

Article 14: No periodical or other publication shall be suspended except by virtue of Article 4 and the suspension of constitutional guarantees as in paras. 33 and 34 of Article 145 of the Constitutional Charter.

Article 15: On the introduction and sale of the periodical, books or any other publications made or reproduced in a foreign country, the present law shall continue to apply.

Article 16: All laws to the contrary stand revoked.

We therefore order all the authorities to whom the knowledge and execution of the said law belong, that they comply, keep up, and have it complied with in toto. The Minister and Secretary of State of Ecclesiastical and Judicial Affairs may have it printed, published and executed. =KING= with the initials and seal. Augusta Cesar Barjona de Freitas. (Place of the large seal of the royal arms)

Charter of law by which Your Majesty having sanctioned the decree of the general courts dated 5th instant, which on abolishing all the guarantees and restrictions set for the periodical press, and determining the formalities needed so that it may be possible to publish any periodical, it is declared that the penalties applicable to crimes against expression of thought, which is the due procedure for judging the same crimes and which are responsible for the same, order the compliance and upkeep of the same decree as contained therein, in the manner stated above.

For Your Majesty. João Carlos de Valladas Mascarenhas wrote it.
4(From the *Diario de Lisboa*, number 114, dated 22nd May 1866)

known to all our subjects, that the Cortes Gerais have decreed and we pertains, that they comply with and guard it, and have it complied with and guarded as completely as contained therein.

The Minister and Secretary of State for Ecclesiastical Affairs and Justice to have it printed, published and enforced. Given at Paço da Ajuda, on the 17th of May 1866. = KING = with the initials and arms - Augusto César Barjona de Freitas. — [Place of the big seal of the royal arms]

Charter of Law by which Your Majesty, having sanctioned the decree of the Cortes Gerais of the 5th instant, by which all the security deposits for the periodical press are abolished and the necessary formalities making possible the publication of any periodical are determined, states the penalties applicable to the crimes of the abuse of expression of thought, the competent procedure for the judgement of the same crimes, and the ones responsible for them, orders to comply with and guard the same decree as contained therein in the form earlier declared.

For the perusal of Your Majesty. - João Carlos de Valladas Mascarenhas made it.

(From the *Diario de Lisboa*, no. 114, of 22nd May 1866)

MINISTRY OF THE COLONIES

Enactment regulating the Freedom of the Press in the Colonies

(Decree no. 13841 of 27th June 1927)

Nova Goa, Imprensa Nacional, 1927

Ministry of the Colonies

Secretariat-General

Decree No. 13841

In the preamble to decree no. 12271 of 3rd September 1926, which approved the enactment regulating the freedom of the Press in the Colonies, the provisions of the said enactment were justified thus:

"Regulating the exercise of the freedom of the Press being a recognized need for the Colonies, where the coexistence of a large number of enactments promulgated under diverse political orientations has been the

cause of confusion given the difficulty in reconciling their provisions and the resultant divergence of interpretation;

"Whereas the Press must be seen as one of the most important factors of order and progress; whereas, for this end, it is imperative that the freedom for the functioning of the Press have an effective corresponding responsibility

"Whereas it is absolutely necessary to prevent, as all colonial nations do, the rise in the Colonies of a Press that, hardly living up to its high mission, might rather prove to be a real social danger."

The execution of the said enactment has shown its salutary effects. The abuses of the freedom of the Press have become less frequent and the publication of periodicals continue being numerous in the Colonies.

It is, however, true that experience has it that, in order to achieve the objectives in view, some provisions of the same law need to be perfected so as to:

- a) prevent the simulation of the periodical Press as non-periodical;
- b) better ensure the bonafides of the directors;
- c) prevent the possibility of editors or directors shirking their responsibilities;
- d) avoid that the prestige enjoyed by the colonial authorities be diminished by publications aimed at lowering it;

Therefore, and exercising the powers conferred on me by no. 2 of Article 2 of the decree no. 12740, of 26th November, 1926, and exercising the powers conferred on me by no. 2 of Article 2 of the decree no. 12740, of 26th November, 1926, as per the proposal of the Ministers of all the Ministries, I deign hereby to decree as law the following:

Chapter I

On the Press

Article 1: Press, for the purpose of this enactment, is any form of printed publication, both periodical and non-periodical.

1. I. The periodical Press or periodicals are publications being issued at certain periods of time or in a series of copies or fascicles.

2. For the purpose of this enactment, periodical Press means publications which, finally having one single, or analogous, objective, are distributed within intervals of not more than thirty days, albeit published under different names and with some change in the editorial contribution.

Article 2: The name of any publication is part of this, and it shall not be allowed, under penalty of losses and damages, to adopt some other that may clash with any of the legally suitable ones. The right to the name of the periodical is forfeited after a lapse of six months counting from the date of the last publication.

Article 3: The non-periodical Press shall have an editor who must be a Portuguese citizen enjoying civil and political rights, free from blame, having passed at least the fifth year of the lyceum and domiciled in the judicial division from where the publication is being issued.

1. No non-periodical publication shall be put on sale or be circulated by any means without mentioning of the name of the owner of the establishment where it is printed, the name of the editor and his educational qualifications, on penalty of one to six months fine, to be increased in case of recurrence and imposed on the owner of the establishment where the printing was done.
2. Exception to this article and para 1 are electoral lists, tickets, invitations, letters, circulars, notices and analogous papers.

Article 4: The periodical Press shall have a director who must be a Portuguese citizen enjoying his civil and political rights, free from blame, domiciled in the judicial division from where the publication is being issued, holding a qualified with a higher or special degree or found competent for this end in the court of law of the same judicial division.

1. Only they are considered special degrees, for the purpose of this article, whose admission, as per the legislation in force, may depend upon the qualifications demanded for enrolment in a higher degree.

2. The fitness undertaken in the court of law aims at knowing if the applicant has moral and technical competence to be a director.
3. No periodical can be published without inserting in all its issues, at the top of the page, the name and qualifications of the director, the name of the owner, the address of the office and that of the establishment where it is being printed, under penalty of corrective imprisonment of three to sixty days and a corresponding fine imposed on the owner of the establishment.
4. In the sentence the judge shall decree the suspension of the periodical until these penalties are paid, and shall impose on those entities and on the director of the periodical together a fine of \$ 1000 for every fault, without prejudice to the responsibility for the abuses committed in the published issue or issues.
5. Nobody shall simultaneously act as a director of more than one periodical.

Article 5: No civil or military public employee in active service in the colony where the publication is being made shall become director or editor of any periodical.

Para Unico: The public employee, be he civil or military, who when out of service is the director of any periodical, will not be entitled to return to service nor hold any other public office in the colony where the publication is being made before the lapse of the term of one-year counting from the day in which he is no more the director of any periodical.

Article 6: Whoever falsely makes the indication foreseen in Articles 3 and 4 will attract penalty under Article 242 of the Penal Code.

Article 7: One copy of every periodical publication must be handed over or sent by post on the same day in which it is made, or on the following day, if at night, to each of the following entities: Minister for Colonies, Governor of the colony, Republic Attorney of the Judicial District and his delegate in the judicial division where they have their headquarters, under penalty of fine of 50\$ which shall be imposed on the owner for every transgression

and in his absence to the owner of the establishment where it was published.

Article 8: Two copies of the non-periodical publications, except those mentioned in Article 3 para 2, shall be sent within a maximum term of fifteen days, under the same penalty set in the earlier Article, to the Minister of Colonies and another two to the Governor of the colony.

CHAPTER II

On the exercise of the right to the freedom of the Press

Article 9: It is lawful for all to freely express their thoughts through the Press without bond or censorship.

1. The introduction or circulation in a colony of periodicals published outside, in any language whatsoever, can be disallowed by the Governor on the advice of the Special division of the Government Council.
2. The publication in any colony of periodicals written wholly or partly in a native or foreign language can only be done with prior permission from the Governor of the colony, on the advice of the special division of the Government Council. The Governor may withdraw this permission at any time on the advice of the said division.
3. The infringement of the ban referred to under para 1 and publishing without permission required under para 2 is punishable with corrective imprisonment and corresponding fine.

Article 10: No authority shall under any pretext or reason be; allowed to apprehend or by any other means obstruct the free circulation of any publication, on penalty of dismissal and a fine of 2000\$ to 10000\$, being further subject to indemnization against losses and damages, except in the following cases:

1. When the guarantees have been suspended or the periodical suspended by virtue of Article 4 para 4, Article 12 paras 7 and 8, Article 13 para 2 and Article 20 para 3.

2. When the editor of the publication or editor of the periodical does not have the qualifications required by Articles 3 and 4 of this enactment.
3. When any of the hypotheses foreseen in the following Article are found to be true.

Article 11: It is prohibited, under penalty of corrective imprisonment and corresponding fine, to affix or display on walls or put on sale at any public place or by any other means publicly spread posters, advertisements, notices and, in general, any printed matter, manuscripts, drawings and publications offending Republican institutions or injury, defamation or threat to the President of the Republic or Governor of a colony in office or outside, or advising, instigating or provoking Portuguese citizens to fail in the exercise of their military duties or to commit acts threatening the integrity and independence of the Motherland or containing rumour of information capable of alarming the public feeling or causing damage to the State or containing statement that may offend the dignity of national decorum or even any of the offences foreseen in the Articles 159, 160, 420 and 483 of the Penal Code and also any publications either pornographic or written in an indecent or provocative language against the security of the State, of the order and public peace.

Para Unico: In case of imprisonment for the transgression of this Article in flagranti delicto, the accused will be judged summarily.

CHAPTER III

On the Right to a Rejoinder

Article 12: The periodical is obliged to carry, within two days of the date of receipt, the rejoinder from any individual or institution who might have been affected by the publication of the same periodical by direct offence or reference to untrue or erroneous facts that might affect his reputation and good name; or the denial or official correction of any news-item published or reproduced by it.

1. If the periodical is not a daily it will be obliged to carry the rejoinder or correction to which this Article refers in the very first issue, if asked for within three days before the date of its publication, or in the following issue, if asked for later.
2. The right to a reply can be exercised within three months by the very person affected by the offence, by his legal representative or by his heirs.
3. The reply shall be carried all at once free of charge, on the front page of the periodical, using the same font as in the issue that provoked it and must not exceed the length of the latter. If it goes beyond the difference shall be paid for at ordinary rates which shall not be more than the rates for the publication of court-advertisements in the Boletim Oficial [Official Bulletin] of the colony.
4. The payment must be made within the following 48 hours under penalty of fine for losses and damages.
5. Carrying of the rejoinder can only be refused
 - (i) When it has no relation with the facts referred to in the said publication;
 - (ii) When it contains expressions that might amount to a crime against the freedom of the Press.
6. If the periodical fails to carry the rejoinder within the stipulated period, when presented by the interested party or sent by post duly registered, the latter can apply to the criminal court of the judicial division where the headquarters of the offices of that periodical are situated, to notify the editor of the periodical to carry the rejoinder within 48 hours.

The application for the notification must be accompanied by a copy of the issue carrying the publication referred to by the rejoinder and by two copies of the latter, one of which shall remain in the case-papers and the other to be given to the notified.

The judge shall decide within 24 hours condemning the accused with the imposition of a fine of \$1000 while ordering to carry it. There shall be no appeal against the decision of the judge.

7. If the rejoinder is carried with some change that might twist the meaning, or in some other place, or in a different font, the periodical shall have to carry it again the following day, duly corrected and in

the proper place, and if again there is the same change or any other one twisting its meaning, the editor of the periodical shall be imposed a fine of \$2000 and the periodical suspended for two months.

8. If after being notified as per para 6 of this Article the periodical fails to carry the reply or correction within the stipulated date, it shall be suspended for three months and the director will incur the penalty for disobedience.

Article 13. When in any periodical there are references, allusions or equivocal sentences that might mean defamation or insult to somebody, whoever considers himself affected by it may, in terms of Articles 645 and 649 of the Civil Procedure Code, notify the author of the writing, if he is known, and, if not, the editor of the publication or the director of the periodical, that he may definitively declare, within five days, whether or not these references, allusions, or equivocal sentences refer to the applicant, clarify them and make known the same declaration and clarification through the Press. In case of periodicals, the declaration shall always be published on their front page.

1. If the notified declares in writing and publishes that the references, allusions or sentences do not refer to the applicant nor have any purpose of insulting or defaming, the latter shall be forbidden to carry out the respective criminal and civil suits.
2. If the notified fails to make the declaration in the manner specified by this Article, he shall incur a fine of \$1000 which shall be immediately imposed on him by the judge, the periodical shall be suspended for two months and the complainant shall have the right to the due criminal and civil suit.
3. The case-papers of the notification shall be appended to the suit that might be filed.

CHAPTER IV

Of Abuses and their Responsibility

Article 14: Those crimes are considered to be abuses of the freedom of the Press which are foreseen in Articles 157, 159, 160, 181, 182, 407, 410, 411 and para, 412, 414, 420 and 483 of the Penal Code, in Articles 3 and 4 of the decree of 28th December 1910, in the laws of 19th and 12th July 1912 and in the decree no. 2270 of 12th March 1916, when committed by the Press.

1. Abuses committed through writings edited and published in terms that may be designed to tarnish, mock at, ridicule or debase any public employee are punishable with corrective imprisonment up to three months and a fine of up to \$2000.
2. Crimes foreseen in Articles 159, 180, 181 and 182 of the said Code consist only in the publication of the writing that may contain insult, defamation or threat against the persons mentioned therein.

Article 15: There is no ban on the means of discussion and criticism of legislative enactments, political and religious doctrines, acts of the Government or corporations and of all those exercising public functions, with the objective of clarifying and preparing public opinion for reforms required by the legal proceeding and working toward the execution of the law, norms of public administration and the respect for the right of the citizens.

Article 16: The publication by the Press of an insult, defamation or threat against public authorities shall be considered to have been made in their presence for the purpose of this enactment.

Article 17: Besides the cases in which the Penal Code allows proof of the truth of the alleged defamatory facts, proof shall also be allowed against administrators and supervisors of any civil, commercial, industrial or financial society or enterprise having had recourse to public subscription for issuing actions or obligations when the alleged facts refer to the respective functions.

Article 18: The crimes referred to in this decree come in the purview of the respective penalties fixed in the Penal Code and other legislation in force with the exception of the one relating to the crime of calumny referred to in the following Articles; but the penalty can attract imprisonment except in case of multiple offences of the freedom of the Press it shall be replaced with fine if the perpetrator of the crime has not suffered earlier any

condemnation for Press crimes, the said fine being not less than \$1000.

Article 19: The accused is always obliged, in all cases relating to defamation, to prove the truth of the allegations whoever may be the person defamed and whether or not this offence has a relation to his functions.

1. For the purpose of this enactment, the injury shall amount to defamation when it targets or attempts to target any of the persons mentioned in Article 181 of the Penal Code, in Article 17 of this law or to others exercising public functions.
2. If the insult, however, is directed against private persons or against some of the persons mentioned in the earlier para, but not referring to the exercise of his public functions, the accused shall only be obliged to prove the basis for the insult when the offended applies for it.
3. Neither proof for defamation nor for insult shall be permitted when directed against the President of the Republic, the sovereigns and heads of foreign states, the governor of the colony, governors of neighbouring foreign Colonies and any diplomat of a foreign state.

Article 20: In case of defamation, if the accused proves, as is always required of him, the truth of the allegations, there shall not be any penalty on him. If the accused declines to prove the allegations, whatever the reason or pretext, he shall be punished as a slanderer, with corrective imprisonment upto two years but never less than three months, non-redeemable, and a corresponding fine, besides fine for losses and damages which the judge shall fix at \$4000 without need for proof, or any amount that the court may determine, never less than \$4000 if the calumniated applied for a higher amount.

1. A fine of not less than \$2000 shall be imposed on the periodical, for which the proprietor or the enterprise and the owner of the establishment where the printing was done shall be answerable.
2. The periodical condemned thrice for crime of defamation shall be closed down and the director of the periodical condemned thrice for the same crime shall be disqualified for five years for directing any periodical.

3. In the last sentence of condemnation the judge shall declare the periodical as closed down or its director disqualified.
4. For the purpose of the earlier paras, notes relating to the author of the writing, the director of the periodical and its proprietor shall be sent to the criminal record.
5. If it be a public accusation, it falls upon the respective delegate to claim the compensation.
6. In the case of Article 19 para 2 the accused who fails to explain the basis of the insult shall be condemned to half the penalty fixed for the slanderer.
7. Only the penalty of reprimand shall be imposed on the accused, who, in the case of Article 19 para 2, explains the basis for the insult.
8. The delegate of the Attorney of the Republic shall send to the Ministry of the Colonies, the governor of the colony, as soon as are made an executory sentence, a copy of the sentences that judged the defamations or insults, considered as such, attributed to the entities mentioned in Article 181 of the Penal Code or to others exercising public functions.

Article 21: If the allegation be referring to facts on which there is a sentence that has become executory the proof of the offence shall be made only with this sentence.

In the case of a criminal charge pending at the time in which the charge is made the defamation suit will cease until final decision on the criminal act.

Article 22: The editor and director of the publications and the author of the writing are civilly and criminally responsible as authors of the abuses of the freedom of the Press.

Article 23: If the author of the writing or drawing be known, the editor or the director of the periodical can be saved from criminal responsibility by declaring in the documents and through the Press that they did not have knowledge of the writing or the drawing before its publication and would not have published it if they had had knowledge of it, and that they had employed all reasonable care to prevent its publication.

Article 24: The compositors, printers, ordinary distributors and vendors shall not incur any responsibility for the acts they practiced in the exercise of their profession save in cases of Article 11, if they knew the contents of the publication.

Article 25: Toward the payment of the fine and the damages in which the agents of the crime of abuse of freedom of the Press, the responsibility will fall, besides the agents, on the proprietors of the accused publications and the establishment where the printing was done.

1. These amounts shall have:
 - (i) Special privilege on the movable assets of the publication and on the material of the establishment where it was printed.
 - (ii) Legal mortgage of the immovable in which the printing has been done if it belongs to any one of those responsible.
2. The privilege set under no.1 of this Article will be preferred to any other of the same type.
3. The persons mentioned in this Article hold the right to claim from the authors of the crime the amount they paid on their behalf.

Article 26: The fines and indemnities will be applied in Metropolitan escudos and paid in the currency of the colony at the exchange rate or value of the day on which the sentence was applied to them.

CHAPTER V

On the Judicial Procedure

Article 27: The judicial procedure as regards the crimes of the abuse of freedom of the Press, other than when the Penal Code makes the charges dependent on the application of the party, and for the contraventions to the provisions of this enactment, shall always be promoted by the Ministerio Publico without depending on instructions from the higher authorities.

1. The procedure demanded in the Article shall be, as regards crimes of abuse of the freedom of the Press committed by periodicals, undertaken within ten days of the publication.
2. Failure to comply with the provision in the Article and its para 1 shall be punishable with any disciplinary action and even dismissal, in keeping with the gravity of the case.
3. The duty imposed on the Ministerio Publico by the present Article does not take away from the accused the right to, on his own, take due action as long as there is no loss of rights in terms of Article 30.
4. As regards chiefs of foreign states or their representatives in Portugal the judicial proceeding will only take place on their application.

Article 28: For the accused who has no required means to bear the expenses of the lawsuit it is licit to ask for the benefit of legal assistance for the purpose of proposing the proper judicial proceeding for the crimes of the abuse of freedom of the Press.

Para Unico: Public functionaries, be they civil or military, defamed or insulted, and when the offence relates to the exercise of their duties, shall always enjoy all the benefits of legal assistance.

Article 29: The proceeding against the contravention of the provisions of this law shall neither prevent nor hamper the proceeding against any crime for abuse of freedom of the Press as and when required.

Article 30: The judicial proceeding is forfeited for offences after a lapse of one year and as regards infringement, by the lapse of six months; the penalties are forfeited after a lapse of three years and for infringements by the lapse of one year, calculated in both the cases from when the sentences have become executors sentences.

CHAPTER VI

On the competency and the type of case

Article 31: Judging crimes relating to the abuse of freedom of the Press is the competency of the criminal court of the judicial division in whose area the printing was done, and as regards the periodical Press, that of its office headquarters.

Para Unico: Whenever the printing be clandestine the court of the area in which it was sold, affixed or distributed shall be competent.

Article 32: The transgressions shall be judged in the criminal court of the judicial division either where the publication was printed or where the periodical has its office or where the clandestine printout was sold, affixed or distributed.

Article 33: The proceedings for abuses of the freedom of the Press shall be initiated through a reasoned petition in which the author shall express his participation, attaching therewith the print-out and furnishing witnesses, whose number shall not exceed ten.

1. If the author of the printout be unknown, the one responsible (editor of the publication, or director of the periodical) shall soon be asked to declare the name and domicile of the author of the print-out within twenty-four hours.
2. If the summoned fails to make the declaration referred to in the earlier para, he shall incur the penalty for disobedience, and if he mentions as the author who through investigations is known not to be so or that he did not have the technical qualifications to be so, he shall incur the penalty for false declarations as imposed in Article 242 of the Penal Code.

Article 34: If the author of the print-out be known or comes to be known through the declarations referred to in the earlier paragraph, the responsible or responsables shall be asked to, within three days, sign the personal bond and furnish statements. In this act they shall be given notice of the argumentation, to be able to follow the proceeding if he so desires.

Article 35: If through the declarations referred to in Article 33 the author of the printout does not come to be known, the proceedings will be followed against whom the law considers responsible and against those who in the proof of evidence appear to be responsible.

Article 36: On the petition being distributed and a written statement drawn up, the judge shall order, within twenty fours, the intimation of those responsible to appear and make statements referred to in earlier Articles and, then, proceeds to the proof of evidence. The proof of the publication of the print-out shall be deemed to have been done as soon as one of the following happens: distribution of copies to more than six persons, voluntary affixation of one or more copies in public places, and public exhibition or sale of the print-outs.

Article 37: Once the proof of evidence is established, the author shall have an examination of the case-papers in the registry within forty-eight hours, to deduce by articles the charge against whom he shows himself to be at fault, by mentioning witnesses.

Article 38: Once the charge is drawn up, the accused shall be intimated or summoned if they have not been as yet; for within eight days to prepare their defense and offer there roll of witnesses.

Para Unico: The summons shall be made in the domicile of the summoned, or, if not found there, he shall be given a certain hour the following day.

Article 39: Next, the documents will be put before the judge who shall, within forty-eight hours, receive or reject the charge and declare if he admits the proof of defamation or insult, to have knowledge of any nullity and see to the continuance of the proceedings.

Para Unico: This order is eligible for appeal with stay, which will go forward in the very proceedings and will be judged as appeal in civil matters. Against the sentence of the Court of Appeal there shall be no appeal whatsoever.

Article 40: Within eight days, counting from the time when the order which admitted the proof of defamation becomes an executory sentence, the author shall, without depending on the order, be allowed to impugn the imputations, for which he will be allowed to examine his case-papers in the registry for his reply. The impugnation and the reply will be in duplicate.

Para Unico: If an appeal is lodged against the order, which rejected the accusation, the term for the impugnation will begin from the day on which the notice is given of the return of the case-

papers, which shall be done within five days counting from the receipt of the case-papers by the clerk.

Article 41: The list of witnesses, whose number shall not exceed ten for each party, shall be given along with the accused persons and shall not be received later, whether altered or replaced; the witnesses from outside the judicial division shall be questioned by means of a mandamus, if the parties do not choose to present them to depose in the court where the case is on; the inspections, tests and any other diligences outside the judicial division shall only be granted for proof of facts pertaining to the defamation or of those who oppose it and the mandamus shall be dispatched for these acts only if they have been applied for in the indictment.

Article 42: Once the indictments are done, mandamus applied for shall be despatched assigning the shortest notice, considering the distance, difficulty in communications and the nature of the act to take place and proofs shall be produced and the depositions of the witnesses written down. When the witnesses have been produced and the term expired, the examination of the case shall be allowed in the registry by each party for five days, first to the author and then to the culprit, to state in writing, also attaching documents, if any.

Para Unico: If the culprit attaches any documents to the allegations he makes, a new examination of the case shall be given to the author for forty-eight hours, to examine them and say whatever he wishes, but shall not be allowed to attach any more.

Article 43: Then the proceedings shall be put before the judge who shall give the sentence within fifteen days.

Article 44: Appeal against the judge's decision may be made to the Court of appeal of the district, which shall be judged like the appeal petition in civil matters.

Article 45: Against the sentence of the Court of appeal there shall only be appeal for review.

Article 46: Transgressions against the provisions of this enactment shall be judged as per procedure by the corrective police.

Article 47: The fitness for the purpose of Article 4 (2) shall only be judged after the applicant shows good conduct and his idoneity in tests for public proofs given before the jury comprising the criminal judge, his first substitute and the delegate of the Attorney of the Republic, who will dwell on the applicant's writings drafted on the occasion, on two current issues selected by the judge on general public administration and two of local administration picked by lots from among six subjects for each party, a time of four hours being given for the writing. A record* of full contents (teor) shall be drawn up on the questions and answers of the subject matter of the writings.

1. The judge before whom fitness is applied for shall order its announcement in two consecutive issues of the Folha Oficial, making it known that thirty days from the date of the second publication objections shall be received to the fitness based on the bad moral or civil conduct of the applicant, and on the lack of identity because of his lack of qualifications, prudence, moderation or social discipline, presenting also supportive documents. At the same time, the Ministerio Publico shall investigate if in the court of that judicial division cases of abuse of the Freedom of the Press relating the writings of the applicant are pending or recorded, and copies of the same shall be attached to the papers relating to his fitness, knowledge of which may help to know the character or the identity of the applicant.
2. Against the jury's decision on the test, and the of the judge on the conduct of the applicant, appeal of final judgment shall be made to the Appeal Tribunal of the respective judicial district, which may be lodged by the interested party, by the Ministerio Publico or by any of the persons who might have prepared their objection in terms of the para 1. The appeal for the granting of the request for fitness shall only be admitted without stay.
3. Request for fresh fitness cannot be considered before the lapse of three years beginning from the rejection of what was earlier applied for.
4. The indictment in three offences of the one found fit, committed in abuse of Freedom of the Press in diverse writings, within a period of three years, though judged in the same case proceedings, involves the annulment of the earlier fitness and consequently the suspension of the publication, and a fresh fitness shall not be applied for before the expiry of the end of five years.

Article 48: All laws on Freedom of the Press shall stand revoked as also legislation to the contrary as regards past happenings after the period of validity of the present enactment, whereas the earlier ones relating to the events that took place during the respective period of validity.

Hence all authorities to whom belongs the knowledge and execution of the present decree with force of law are ordered to obey it and have it obeyed and protected to the fullest.

May it be printed, published and enforced by the Ministers of all the Ministries.

Given at the Palaces of the Republican Government on 27th June 1927 - Antonio Oscar de Fragoso Carmona - Adriano da Costa Macedo - Manuel Rodrigues Junior - Joao Jose Sinel de Cordes - Abilio Augusto Valdes de Passos e Souza - Jaime Afreixo - Antonio Maria de Bettencourt Rodrigues - Julio Cesar de Carvalho Teixeira - Joao Belo - Jose Alfredo Mendes de Magalhaes - Felisberto Alves Pedrosa.

(D.G. - 1- series, no. 133, de 27-6-1927)
(B.O. no. 60, de 29-7-1927)

Legislação ano 1933

Order no. 1893

In due compliance with the implementation of Law, Decree no. 22.469 dated 11/4 last (Govt. Gazette supplement no. 41);

The Governor General of the State of India, upon the approval by the Standing Committee of the Governing Council granted in its meeting dated today- determines the following:

Article 1. Freedom of expression of thought by means of any graphic publication, in terms of Press Law and the Decree no. 22.468 dated 11th last April.

Article 2. Prior censorship shall be applicable to the periodical publications as defined in the Press Law, as well as to the

pamphlets, booklets, posters and other publications in all cases topics of social or political character.

Article 3. The sole aim of censorship shall be to prevent the perversion of public opinion and its social function, and it shall be exercised so as to defend it against all factors which may misguide them, contrary to truth, justice and morals, efficient administration and common weal and to avoid the attacks against the fundamental principles of social organization.

Article 4. The censorship shall be performed by committees appointed by the Government; the respective function may be remunerated if deemed fit.

Article 5. The censorship committees shall be subordinate to the Home Ministry's office, through the Lisbon Censorship Committee, which shall function as the Central Body limiting itself to eliminate texts, or passages, which it may deem as inconvenient, in conformity with the provisions of Article. 3.

Sole Para: Clearance by Censorship Committee, to the publication of any piece of writing does not absolve their authors of civil and criminal responsibility on account of the written piece, in times of press law.

Article 7. Appeal against the decisions given by the Censorship Committee may lie before the Civil Governor of the respective district, barring Lisbon and Porto, where the appeals will be decided by a committee consisting of Civil Governor, by the chairman of the concerned Committee for Censorship and by a third party appointed by the Government. A press representative shall be attached to each Censorship Committee.

Para 1. The appeal shall be submitted by means of a grounded presentation, on common paper, supported by proof or the censored original, indicating the Committee for Censorship, which prohibited the publication.

Para 2. When following an appeal, the censored written piece, the entity who passes the decision on the appeal, considering the attendant circumstances, may in its discretion propose to the Government that the journalistic enterprise, or the owner of the publication may be granted compensation for his losses, also indicating the amount of compensation.

Article 8. The Government shall issue, through the Home Ministry, adequate instructions, in regard to the implementation of this Decree (Order).

Article 9. This decree comes at once into force.

For publication and compliance thereof.

Headquarters of the Republican Government, 11th April 1933.

Antonio Oscar de Fragoso Carmona, Antonio de Oliveira Salazar, Albino Soares Pinto dos Reis junior, Manuel Rodrigues junior, Daniel Rodrigues de Sousa, Anibal de Mesquita-Guimaraës, Cesar de Sousa, Mendes de Amaral and Abranches, Duarte Pacheco, Armindo Rodrigues Monteiro, Gustavo Cordeiro Ramus, Sebastião Garcia Ramires.

(Diario do Governo-I series, no.83, and dated 11/4/1933.)

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH WORDS

GLOSSARY OF NON-ENGLISH WORDS

<i>Alvara</i>	A decree issued by King, Viceroy or Government official and valid for one year without the royal confirmation.
<i>Bhatkar</i>	Landlord
<i>BIMB</i>	<i>Boletim do Instituto Menezes Braganza</i>
<i>BIVG</i>	<i>Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama</i>
<i>Boletim</i>	Report
<i>Carta</i>	Letter
<i>Dekhni</i>	<i>Dekhni</i> in Konkani language means beautiful. This Goan Konkani dance displays a blend of Indian and Western cultures. The dance is set to western rhythms and Indian melody.
<i>Delegado</i>	It has been translated into "delegate" for convenience only, even though, being an office with no counterpart in Indian jurisprudence, the original word can be used just as well.
<i>Dir.</i>	Director
<i>Fazenda</i>	Treasury
<i>Folheto</i>	Pamphlet, booklet, leaflet.
<i>Imprimir</i>	To print, to impress .
<i>Indígenos</i>	Natives
<i>Kshour</i>	Ritual shaving of the head

<i>Mando</i>	Is a group song-cum-dance of Goan Catholics. <i>Mando</i> represents the mingling of Indian and Western traditions. The songs are set to Latin American tune with a local theme.
<i>Mahal</i>	Administrative Unit
<i>Ministério Público</i>	Office of the Attorney General.
<i>Mundcar</i>	Tenant
<i>Padroado</i>	<i>Padroado</i> is the Portuguese word for " Patronage" which essentially consisted in the privilege of nominating a candidate for some ecclesiastical office - - in this case the Bishop of the diocese. Given to a king, it is called a Royal Patronage. When the diocese of Goa was erected in 1534 the right of patronage that went with it extended to all the places discovered or yet to be discovered by the Portuguese.
<i>Portaria</i>	Government decree, order, or regulation, official diploma or document.
<i>Propaganda Fide</i>	Derived from <i>Congregatio de propaganda fide</i> (Modern Latin), known in English as the Congregation (or College) of Propaganda (literally "Congregation for Propagation of the Faith"). This committee of cardinals, established by Pope Gregory XV in 1622, was in charge of the Catholic Church's foreign missions. Portuguese insistence on exercising the right of patronage clashed with the missionary efforts of the Roman Congregation for the Propagation of the Faith: Hence the "Padroado- Propaganda" conflict.
<i>Quartel</i>	<i>Quarter, barrack</i>
<i>Recurso</i>	Appeal, which is of different types in Portuguese jurisprudence, has barely one equivalent in the Indian jurisprudence.
<i>Regimento</i>	Regulations
<i>Regulamento</i>	Order

<i>Relação</i>	High Court, which is the Court of Appeal.
<i>Relatório</i>	Written report, account, information, protocol, minute.
<i>Ryots</i>	Peasants
<i>Ultramar</i>	Overseas
<i>Zagores (Jagar)</i>	The earliest form of drama in Goa. There are two forms. The <i>Perani Jagar</i> , is performed exclusively by the Hindu Perani community. The other form known as <i>Gawda Jagar</i> is enacted by the Christian <i>Gawda</i> community in different villages in Goa.

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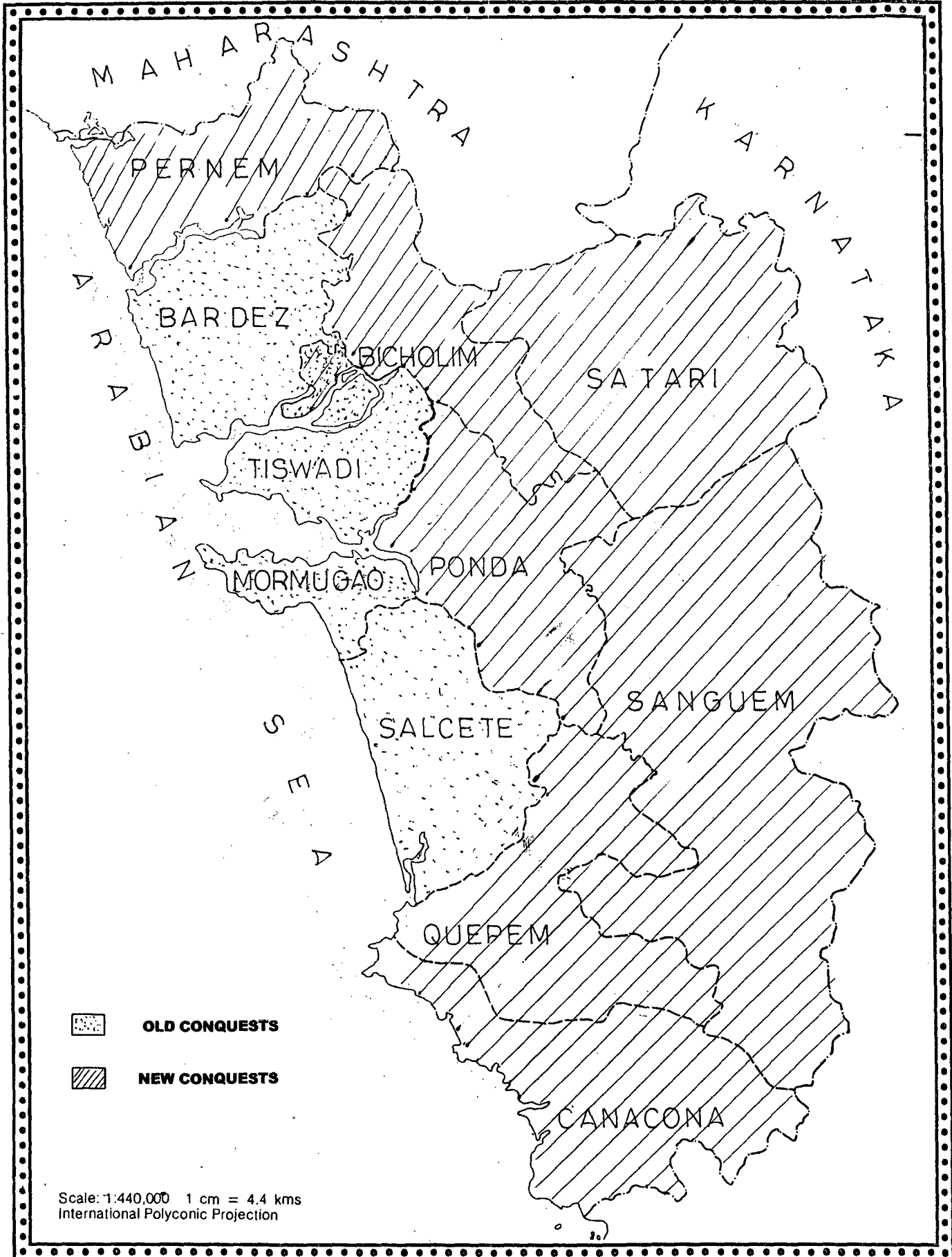
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TALUKA MAP OF GOA STATE
SHOWING OLD PORTUGUESE CONQUESTS & NEW PORTUGUESE CONQUESTS



THE PORTUGUESE SEA ROUTE TO INDIA(GOA).

