

HISTORY AND POLITICS OF ELECTIONS IN GOA (1821-1963): A STUDY

A Thesis submitted to Goa University for the award of the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY IN HISTORY

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January 2017

DECLARATION

I hereby declare that this Ph.D. thesis entitled, “**HISTORY AND POLITICS OF ELECTIONS IN GOA (1821-1963): A STUDY**”, submitted to Goa University, forms an independent work carried out by me in the Department of History, Goa University, under the supervision of Professor N. Shyam. Bhat, Department of History, Goa University, and this thesis has not previously formed the bases of award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, Fellowship or other similar titles.

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CERTIFICATE

I certify that this thesis entitled “**HISTORY AND POLITICS OF ELECTIONS IN GOA (1821-1963): A STUDY**”, submitted by Carmen Sharmila Pais for the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History, Goa University is a record of research work done by her during the period from May 2012 to January 2017 when she worked under my guidance. This has not previously formed the basis for the award of any Degree, Diploma, Associateship, or Fellowship to Carmen Sharmila Pais.

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

This thesis has evolved to its current status after an intense effort of over four and a half years from May 2012 to January 2017. The personal satisfaction of completing this work which I experience on this occasion has been shaped due to the contributions of several individuals to whom I express my sincere appreciation and gratitude.

My deep sense of gratitude goes out to my research guide, Professor N. Shyam Bhat, Department of History, Goa University for his valuable academic counsel and suggestions. I highly esteem his calm disposition and patience with which he meticulously went through my work, sometimes forfeiting his vacation in the best interest of this research. His guidance aided me to complete this work without any problem.

I express my gratitude to the members of the Faculty Research Committee; Professor A. V. Afonso (Dean up to 31st December 2012) and Professor N. Shyam Bhat, Dean Faculty of Social Sciences, Goa University; Professor Pratima Kamat, Head, Department of History, Goa University and Dr. Prakash Dessai, Subject Expert, Department of Political Science, Goa University. I am grateful to the other faculty members of the Department of History; Dr. Nagendra Rao, Shri Parag D. Parobo and Dr. Seema S. Risbud for their presence and suggestions during the annual seminar presentations. I am thankful to Shri Parag D. Parobo for his valuable suggestions.

I express my immense gratefulness to the Management of St. Xavier's College, Mapusa and Dr.(Fr.) Walter D'Sá, the then Principal of the College, for permitting me to avail the facility of Faculty Research Programme of the University Grants Commission for two

years. The good wishes and moral support rendered by my colleagues and friends at St. Xavier's College had always encouraged me to pursue this work.

I am also indebted to the authorities of University Grants Commission, New Delhi, and the Directorate of Higher Education, Government of Goa, for sanctioning the study leave for a period of two years which immensely helped me in completing this work.

I am extremely grateful to Dr. Sandra Maria Calvin Ataíde Lobo, post-doctoral researcher associated with *Universidade Nova de Lisboa*, whose kind assistance allowed me to travel to Portugal. She also generously shared some of the documents which she had collected, especially the list of *deputados* from 1895 to 1900, which helped me to fill in certain gaps in my thesis.

I thank Dr. Jason Keith Fernandes, post-doctoral researcher affiliated to *Centro de Estudos Internacionais - Instituto Universitário de Lisboa* for extending the much needed support in Portugal, and introducing me to several research scholars in Lisbon. In this connection, I remember my discussions with Dr. Angela Barreto Xavier of the *Instituto da Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa* which were very enriching. I am indebted to the former Portuguese Member of the Parliament, Mr. João Costa, for acquainting me with the former *Côrtes Gerais* of Portugal, which is currently the Parliament House. I am also indebted to Ms. Anabel Jara, the senior librarian of the *Arquivo Histórico Parlamentar*, Lisbon, for her kindness in providing manuscripts related to my work.

My gratitude is also extended to the staff members of various repositories visited by me in Goa and in Portugal. Some of these repositories include; the Goa State Archives, Panjim; Xavier Centre of Historical Research, Alto-Porvorim; Krishnadas Shama State Central Library, Panjim; Goa University Library, Taleigao Plateau; *Arquivo Histórico*

Parlamentar, Lisbon; *Arquivo de Assembleia Nacional*, Lisbon; *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino*, Lisbon and *Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon.

I express my profound gratitude to Mr. George Thadeus and Ms. Clelia Matos Thadeus for extending their hospitality in Lisbon during my stay at their residence. I also owe my thankfulness to Ms. Xanti Almeida and Mr. Oscar D’Mello who facilitated my stay in Portugal by introducing me to the Thadeus family.

I also acknowledge the moral support rendered to me by Ms. Olinda João in Portugal. Dr. Agnelo Fernandes assisted me in understanding the nuances of carrying out research at the Historical Archives of Goa. I also thank Dr. Sushila Mendes and Ms. Lourdes Bravo da Costa Rodrigues for their valuable suggestions and support.

I express my sincere thanks to the administrative staff of St. Xavier’s College, Mapusa, as well as the Department of History and Assistant Registrar (PG), Goa University for their cooperation in processing the official papers related to my research programme.

My family has been the backbone of my strength. I am thankful to my husband, Joffry Martins for allowing me the academic space I required to pursue my work. I am greatly touched by the cooperation of my children, Ian and Nadine Martins who allowed me to pursue my dream. Ian’s adept hand at photography, technical assistance and designs of charts eased my work considerably. I also remember my late father, Mr. Epiácio Pais, who sowed in me, an interest in reading, and encouraged research and writing.

Most importantly, I thank the Almighty with whose blessings and insights, I managed to complete my work.

Date: January 2017

Carmen Sharmila Pais

ABBREVIATIONS

AAN	<i>Arquivo de Assembleia Nacional</i>
AHP	<i>Arquivo Histórico Parlamentar</i>
AHU	<i>Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino</i>
ANTT	<i>Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo</i>
BDG	<i>Boletim do Governo do Estado da Índia</i>
CA	<i>Código Administrativo</i>
<i>CC de 1826</i>	<i>Carta Constitucional de 1826</i>
CL	<i>Carta de Lei</i>
CR	<i>Carta Régia</i>
D	<i>Decreto</i>
DE	<i>Decreto Eleitoral</i>
HAG	Historical Archives of Goa
L	<i>Lei</i>
LE	<i>Lei Eleitoral</i>
MR	<i>Monções do Reino</i>
PP	<i>Portaria Provincial</i>
PRP	<i>Partido Republicano Portuguese</i>
UC	<i>União Católica</i>
XCHR	Xavier Centre of Historical Research

GLOSSARY

<i>Abkari</i>	revenue obtained from the monopoly of manufacture and sale of liquor and spirits
<i>Alvará</i>	charter
<i>Ashrafi</i>	a gold coin
<i>Assembléas primarias</i>	primary electoral assemblies
<i>Assimilados</i>	assimilated
<i>Autos</i>	proceedings
<i>Aviso</i>	notice
<i>Barão</i>	a baron or a rank of nobility
<i>Batcara</i>	a property owner
<i>Bilhete de Identidade</i>	an identity card
<i>Boia</i>	a carrier of the palanquin
<i>Câmara</i>	municipal chamber
<i>Câmara dos Deputados</i>	chamber of deputies
<i>Câmara dos Pares</i>	chamber of peers
<i>Canarim</i>	an address for indigenous converts of Goa often used with scorn
<i>Capitalista</i>	a businessman
<i>Carta Constitucional</i>	the Constitutional Charter of 1826
<i>Carta Régia</i>	royal letter
<i>Cartistas</i>	supporters of the Constitutional Charter of 1826
<i>Caudilho</i>	local leader
<i>Chardós</i>	Catholics belonging to the kshatriya caste
<i>Chefe dos Salteadores</i>	leader of the highwaymen
<i>Cidadãos Activos</i>	citizens eligible to vote and contest elections

<i>Círculo Eleitoral</i>	electoral circle or a circumscription
<i>Comarca</i>	district
<i>Comunidade</i>	Portuguese nomenclature for the village community of Goa
<i>Concelhos</i>	districts
<i>Conde</i>	a count or one of the titles of nobility
<i>Côrtes</i>	the Portuguese Parliament
<i>Côrtes Gerais</i>	the Portuguese Parliament instituted in 1821
<i>Deputado</i>	member of the parliament
<i>Despacho</i>	order
<i>Dessaidos</i>	a honorary title
<i>Diabo</i>	devil
<i>Direito Eleitoral</i>	voting right
<i>Ditadura Nacional</i>	national dictatorship
<i>Eleitor</i>	voter or an elector
<i>Eligiveis</i>	candidates eligible to contest as representatives
<i>Estado da India</i>	the Portuguese State in India
<i>Fenim</i>	distilled spirit produced from coconut or cashew
<i>Fidalgos</i>	noblemen
<i>Fogos</i>	households
<i>Fomento</i>	foment
<i>Freguesias</i>	parishes or smallest administrative divisions
<i>Gaoncari</i>	village community system
<i>Gastador</i>	a spendthrift
<i>Gentios</i>	gentiles
<i>Igreza Filial</i>	affiliate church
<i>Igreza Matriz</i>	mother church

<i>Império Colonial Portuguese</i>	Portuguese colonial empire
<i>Indígenas</i>	indigenous or local inhabitants
<i>Juizo de Direito</i>	district judge
<i>Junta da Fazenda</i>	financial board
<i>Junta Preparatoria</i>	preparatory council
<i>Junta Provisional</i>	provisional council
<i>Ler e escrever</i>	reading and writing, or qualification of literacy
<i>Liberdade de voto</i>	freedom of voting
<i>Liberais</i>	liberals
<i>Mandó</i>	Goan folk song
<i>Mazanias</i>	temple associations
<i>Mestiços</i>	people of mixed race or the Luso-Indians
<i>Meza Difinitiva</i>	electoral board in charge of conducting elections
<i>Minguelistas</i>	supporters of the absolutist king, D. Minguel of Portugal
<i>Muncara</i>	tenant
<i>Nadcornim</i>	a brahmin scribe
<i>Não Catholico</i>	non-Catholic
<i>Novas Conquistas</i>	territories acquired by the Portuguese in Goa after the 1740s
<i>Nova Goa</i>	territory denoting the modern day capital of Goa, Panjim
<i>Ostentadores</i>	persons indulging in ostentation and self-display
<i>Padroado Real</i>	royal patronage of the King of Portugal over the Catholic missions in the East
<i>Panchayat</i>	local administrative body
<i>Parecer</i>	opinion
<i>Pasquim</i>	lampoon or a satire

<i>Plurinominal</i>	a system of voting or method of arranging the electoral circles
<i>Portaria</i>	notification or an order
<i>Prazeros</i>	landed estates
<i>Progressista</i>	member of the <i>progressista</i> party
<i>Raças infectas</i>	the infected races, a term used by Goans to address the Luso-descendants with scorn
<i>Regedor</i>	magistrate
<i>Reinol</i>	member of the Portuguese nobility or one born in the Reign
<i>Réis Provincial</i>	local currency in circulation in Portuguese India
<i>Réis/Real</i>	currency in circulation in the Portuguese dominions
<i>Regeneradores</i>	members of the regeneration party
<i>Sacerdoto</i>	priest
<i>Sardessai</i>	a feudal designation
<i>Senado da República</i>	chamber of senators established in 1911
<i>Sufrágio</i>	suffrage
<i>Suplente</i>	substitute
<i>Tanadar</i>	head of the local administrative unit
<i>Toroffo</i>	an administrative division
<i>Velhas Conquistas</i>	territories acquired by the Portuguese in Goa during the 16 th century
<i>Viradeira</i>	turnabout or to revert the stand in politics
<i>Visconde</i>	viscount or one of the titles of nobility

LIST OF TABLES/GRAPHS/ ILLUSTRATIONS

LIST NO.	DESCRIPTION	PAGES
I.	Participation of Voters in Elections in Goa (1860-1958)	48
II.	Indirect System of Elections in Portuguese Goa	60
III.	The List of Provincial Voters in the Elections of 1822	63
IV.	Elections under <i>Círculo Uninominal</i>	66
V.	Profiles of the <i>Deputados</i> Representing Portuguese India (1822-1961)	71-74
VI.	Luso-descendant Population in Colonial Goa	168
VII.	Luso-descendant <i>Deputados</i> Representing Portuguese India	170
VIII.	Statistics of Provincial Voters in the New Conquests (1847)	196
IX.	Voters in the Old Conquests and New Conquests	209
X.	Appeal of Candidates belonging to <i>Lista Popular</i> in the Election of 1945	242
XI.	Contestants under the <i>Lista Popular</i> and <i>União Nacional</i> (1945)	243
XII.	Hindu voters in Bardez who expressed their support to J. I. de Loyola in 1945	244
XIII.	Votes polled in the Presidential Elections (1918)	251
XIV.	Representatives of the Legislative Council (1919)	264
XV.	Representatives of the Legislative Council (1920)	265
XVI.	Representatives of the Legislative Council of Goa (1926)	270
XVII.	Municipal Commissions of the New Conquests	279

LIST OF APPENDICES

APPENDICES NO.	DESCRIPTION	PAGES
I.	Qualifications of Voters/Representatives (Year 1878)	322
II.	Letter of Recommendation Supporting a Candidate in the Parliamentary Elections (1925)	323
III.	Nominations of the Provincial Electors, Secretary and Scrutinisers in the Parliamentary Election of 1822	324-325
IV.	Minutes of the Meeting of the First Parliamentary Election in 1822	326-329
V.	Record of Votes Polled by the Parliamentary Representatives under the <i>Plurinominal</i> System (1853)	330-331
VI.	<i>Deputados</i> Representing Portuguese India (1822-1961)	332-338
VII.	Decision of the Apex Tribunal in 1892 in Favour of Christovam Pinto	339-340
VIII.	Official Document Explaining the Irregularity in the Election of 1827	341-342
IX.	Bernado Peres da Silva Under Vigilance of the <i>Minguelistas</i> in 1828	343
X.	Candidates Contesting the Parliamentary Election (1860)	344-345
XI.	List of Votes Polled at the Ballot (1878)	346-347
XII.	Order of Her Majesty Maria II to take Requisite Measures to facilitate Elections in the New Conquests	348
XIII.	Number of Parliamentary Representatives allowed for the Overseas Colonies of Portugal	349

CONTENTS

Title		i
Declaration		ii
Certificate		iii
Acknowledgement		iv-vi
Abbreviations		vii
Glossary		viii-xi
List of Tables/Graphs/Illustrations		xii
List of Appendices		xiii
Chapter -I	Introduction	1-22
Chapter -II	Historical Background	23-34
Chapter -III	Elections, Franchise and Issues of Participative Identity	35-83
Chapter -IV	Dynamics of Party Politics, Colonial Prejudice and Caste Rivalry (1822-1910)	84-150
Chapter -V	Power Elites of Goa: Collaboration and Conflict (1822-1926)	151-210
Chapter -VI	Elections under the Republican Regime	211-253
Chapter -VII	Decentralising Political Experiences in Portuguese Goa (Legislative Council or Government Council)	254-274
Chapter -VIII	Municipal and Parochial Elections in Portuguese Goa	275-311
Chapter - IX	Conclusion	312-321
Appendices		322-349
Bibliography		350-371

CHAPTER – I

INTRODUCTION

The system of elections and the representation of people in public administration in Portuguese Goa have remained at the periphery of historical understanding and have not been well researched. The political developments of the 19th century in the metropolis had influenced the Portuguese colonial policies and programmes in India. The system of elections in Portuguese Goa was introduced in the year 1821 and continued to exist until 1961, the year which witnessed Goa's integration into the Indian Union. The existence of a long drawn tradition of elections prior to 1961 in colonial Goa has baffled a substantial section of the people. The study of elections in Goa during the colonial regime is significant to extend the contours of historical knowledge in the form of a narrative. It also enables understand the dynamics of power equations between the colonisers and the indigenous class during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The colonial history of Portuguese Goa from 1821 to 1961 shows that elections to the Parliament of Portugal were conducted in Goa for a major part of this period, except for two short interregnums, from 1895 to 1900 and from 1926 to 1945. A section of Goans were permitted to share political space in spheres of public administration; municipal, parochial, legislative or the government councils, the colonial council and the presidential elections of Portuguese dominion during the republican period. Thus, this period of Goan history saw the twin themes of repression and reform. Though the Portuguese policy was largely colonial and exclusive, the system of election and representative institutions marked a change in politics and public administration.

The above scenario was in stark contrast to the politics in Portugal prior to 1821. The Monarchy in Portugal before 1821 was deeply rooted in its resolute notion of unlimited power. According to David Lindsay Keir, it was living in an ‘isolated splendour above the masses’ in all spheres of administration.¹ The politics and administration in colonial Goa during this period had depended exclusively on the metropolitan governance. The central administrative institutions introduced in Goa (1510-1820) were nothing more than the replica of what existed in the metropolis. Their functioning exhibited the prerogative of the executive and to some extent of bureaucratic elitism, features which were in congruence with colonial functioning during the contemporary times. The monarch of Portugal directed the administration of the colony through its central agencies and their representatives; the viceroy or the governor, his support staff, as well as the allegiance sought from the religious authorities. It may be noted that local administration in Goa was positioned to suit the administrative convenience of the Portuguese. The nomenclature of the *gauncari* was lusitanised to the *comunidades* or *gauncarias* along with those of their functionaries, and other attributes associated with it. The prevalent system of local administration, allowed a steady flow of revenue into the coffers, enforced administrative discipline and helped the colonisers to focus on empire building in the Orient and other aspects of administration.²

¹ David L. Keir, *The Constitutional History of Modern Britain* (London: A. C. Black Ltd., 1975), 4. The author refers to the period of absolute regime in Britain during the 16th century, which was no different from the rest of Europe.

² Filipe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas Salcette e Bardez*, vol. I (Bastorá: Tipographia Rangel, 1865), 167-68; J. H. da Cunha Rivara, “Foral de Usos e Costumes dos Gauncares e Lavradores desta Ilhas de Goa.” in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasciculo 5, parte I* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 118.

The long drawn political system was set to change during the 19th century in the wake of liberal influences which swept Portugal from other parts of Europe.³ King John VI also known as *O Clememte* had been bullied into signing a new constitution.⁴ It essentially meant the dilution of the older order in politics and confirming to the new rule of law. The transformation of the absolute monarchy to the constitutional regime had considerably diminished the weight of the crown and brought new players into the field, within this restricted framework of Portuguese polity.⁵

This thesis explores the history and politics of elections in the limited geographical configuration of Portuguese Goa and not the rest of Portuguese India. It places greater emphasis on the parliamentary elections of Portuguese Goa from 1821 to 1961.

Hypothesis

There are two suppositions put forward in this thesis. The first argument and one which constitutes the predominant premise of this study asserts that the introduction of elections in Portuguese India led to the promotion of the *Politics of Interests*, which governed the entire period of representative system in Portuguese Goa. This hypothesis helps in analysing the conflicting issues between the rulers and the ruled, to evaluate the assertive and confident role played by the indigenous actors in a colonial setup and assess the growth of liberal democratic ideas in Portuguese Goa.

³ After the death of the domineering Portuguese Queen Maria I, in 1816, the political climate too favoured a change. The revolt of Oporto which broke out on 24th August 1820 was the first major sign of the demolition of the bastion of absolute regime in Portugal. Consequently, the reins of government in Portugal were held by the first *Junta Provisional do Governo* of 1820. It convened the *Côrtes Constituintes*, the Portuguese Parliament and took upon itself the responsibility of holding new elections to the parliament, and drafting a new constitution for the country.

⁴ Albano Chaves, *Resumo de História de Portugal* (Porto: Editora Lda., 1946), 76.

⁵ *Constituição de 1822* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1822), Articles 125-126. These articles explained the restrictions imposed on the monarchy.

Secondly, this thesis also dismisses the arguments held by earlier researchers who maintained that the Catholic subjects alone were the beneficiaries of political reforms and socio-cultural changes after 1821, and the rest were treated on par with the Catholics after 1910.⁶ Contrary to such assertions, this work argues that political rights were not only bestowed upon the Catholics but extended to others in Portuguese Goa; Hindus and Muslims. Records of participation of Hindus in elections are available since the 1830s.⁷ In fact, the government made conscious efforts from the 1830s onwards to protect the interests of the people in the New Conquests which were largely made up of the '*não-Cathólico*' *eleitores* ('non-Catholic' voters) to suit its colonial designs.⁸

On the first argument regarding the issue of 'Politics of Interest', Allen Hays states that in modern times, the *Politics of Interests* is promoted by decentralisation of political power; from centralised institutions to local ones.⁹ In the context of Portuguese Goa, the liberal government established in 1821 in Portugal gave a greater scope for differing opinions, unlike an authoritarian regime, which was established after 1926 in Portugal and her colonies. Interest groups today, may be

⁶ Aureliano Fernandes, "Goa's Democratic Political Institutions at the Turn of the Century." in *Goa in the 20th Century*, eds., Pius M. and R. Dias (Goa: Institute Menezes Bragança, 2008), 319. The author states that "Hindus could not enjoy political freedom till the establishment of the Republic in 1910."

⁷ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56. The document provides evidence of the participation of Hindus in the elections of 1836. However, B. K. Apte states in his chapter, "Struggle for Freedom 1780-1947." 193, in the *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu*, ed. part I that Hindus participated in elections since 1845; See also *BDG*, No. 20 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, May 1853), 125; The Decree, "*Alterações do Decreto de 30 de setembro de 1852.*", Article 111 allowed the *Gentios* (Hindus) and the *Mouros* (Muslims) to record their names in the list of electoral census in oriental languages.

⁸ *BDG*, No. 17 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, April 26, 1845), 6. It was decreed that the Central Electoral Commission of Goa would send a translation of the following electoral decrees, the *Decreto Eleitoral de 5 do Março 1840* and that of the *Lei de 27 de Outubro 1840* in the vernacular language (*em língua gentelica*), to the five local census commissions from the New Conquests to facilitate the representative processes in these areas.

⁹ R. Allen Hays, "Democracy Papers-The Role of Interest Groups"
[www.ait.org.tw/Demopaper 9](http://www.ait.org.tw/Demopaper9), accessed on February 22, 2016.

understood from a different perspective, nonetheless, they exist for the purpose of protecting their wellbeing. In colonial Goa, the interest groups during the 19th and 20th centuries manifested in the form of local political factions and parties driven by conflicting ideologies having their nerve centres in Portugal, caste groups enticing voters along the lines of caste in elections, and religious or secular groups during the republican period and so on.

The announcement of the constitutional regime in the metropolis and the concession of representative institutions had animated the intelligentsia in Goa, both Europeans as well as Goans, without seriously delving into the implications of the new system. To the constitutional monarch in Portugal, it would imply some dependence on the elected legislature, not done hitherto, and whose willingness to do so, would be tested with time. To the colonial administrators in Goa, though indoctrinated with the liberal ideology current in Europe, it still meant repudiation of the existing traditions and accommodation of local interests in administration by popular vote. The indigenous class welcomed this change as some degree of empowerment which was non-existent before, and the same was held close to their hearts. Obviously, it gave rise to a number of political interests and groups who were eager to gamble in the new terrain and safeguard their prerogatives.

Primarily, the metropolitan government in Portugal itself was a major stakeholder in the politics of Goa throughout the period under study. According to D. G. Hitcher and W. H. Harbold, if the state is to be effective, it will find ways to express itself and influence the development of its policy.¹⁰ In Goa, the Home government operated through its agents; from centralised agencies based in Portugal, to governor generals, the members of the election commission, and the major

¹⁰ Dell G. Hitcher, and William H. Harbold, *Modern Government* (New York: Dodd Mead & Company, 1970), 236.

contributors of taxes and so on, to ensure the success of its policies in the colony. It was a fact that governors who went to the colonies lived in the shadows of the political parties and ideologies reigning supreme in Portugal. António Mattoso, in his *Compêndio de História de Portugal* says that the governors were deputed to the overseas according to political influences and not according to their competency or aptitude for colonial administration.¹¹ The governor general of Goa was bestowed with immense powers, but was also required to keep the monarch in the know of the issues affecting the province, and seek royal permission on all matters of importance, a trend which persisted during the 19th century.¹² However, the representative institutions introduced in Portuguese India since 1821 often had the effect of unsettling the official interests due to the formidable local challenges. The apprehension on the system of elections during the mid-19th century can be discerned from the expressions of Joaquim H. da Cunha Rivara, the General Secretary to the Government of Portuguese appointed in 1855. Cunha Rivara expressed that elections in Goa were the cause of inspiring patriotism, independence of character in the midst of rivalries among parties, insults, disorder and crimes, marked by arguments right from the governor to the magistrate, to the president of the assembly, to a drunken voter like that of Zé P'reira, to Júlio Diniz.¹³

The central government in Portugal was also conscious of the edge held by the indigenous elites in colonial Goa in their intellectual and political advancement

¹¹ António Gonçalves Mattoso, *Compêndio de História de Portugal* (Lisboa: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1949), 379, 394 and 425.

¹² Historical Archives of Goa (Henceforth HAG), “Carta da Lei da Dona Maria II de Abril 1843.” in *Monções do Reino* (henceforth MR), No. 216 A, fl. 193. This legislation authorised the governor of the overseas provinces to take provisional decisions in emergency circumstances, without having to wait for the sanction of the parliament.

¹³ “A Língua Concani-Correspondência Sobre concani, trocada entre Cunha Rivara e alguns concanófilose existente na Biblioteca Pública de Evora.” in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel), 46-47.

compared to their counterparts in the other overseas provinces of its Empire. Moreover, the metropolis had looked upon Portuguese Goa with esteem since the 16th century. During the 19th century, a similar vision on the City of Goa can be encapsulated in the statement of the Monarch of Portugal in 1852; “*A minha Cidade de Goa, nas partes da India seja regida e governada em tal maneira que della seya exemplo para todas as outras minhas cidades e fortalezas das partes.*” (My City of Goa, in India be governed in such a manner that it exemplifies a model for other cities and fortresses of the region).¹⁴ In 1899, the Minister of Overseas admitted in the parliament that Portuguese India was one of the *padrão glorioso* (standard memorials) of the Portuguese dominions. It was also declared that their conquerors did not encounter in India, like in many parts of Africa, savage people (“*Os nossos conquistadores não encontraram na India, como em muitos pontos da Africa, povos Salvagens....*”).¹⁵

The conflicts and politics of interest seen after 1910 stemmed from certain unfulfilled aspirations under the republican regime. The republican era beginning in 1910, which was even more glamorous than before, began with a more formal democratic tradition without a monarch.¹⁶ It had promises of devolution of power and autonomy, introducing yet another twist to power equations in Goan politics. Partha Chatterjee however states, that the desired political institutions, communitarian or republican cannot be made to work by merely legislating them into existence. They

¹⁴ J. H. da Cunha Rivara, “Livro dos Privilegios da Cidade de Goa.” in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasciculo 2* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 37.

¹⁵ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 3 (March 20, 1899), 32.

¹⁶ “Constituição Política da Republica Portuguesa.” in *Boletim Militares da Colónias de 1911* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1912), 355.

have to emanate from a genuine interest from the heart.¹⁷ Unfortunately, the issue of autonomy and decentralisation in the internal administration of Portuguese Goa became a subject of intense debate. The elections held during the first republican period also revolved around the conflicting secular and religious rhetoric.

Similarly, in an authoritarian centralised regime which was in practice in Goa after 1926, the government accepted nothing less than conformity. This period was marked by a rupture of the period of liberalism that was underway for over a century in Portugal with its consequent impact on Portuguese India. There was a sharp drift towards an authoritarian control, which discontinued the representative system in Portuguese India for a while. Parliamentary institutions had little appeal upon Salazar. Yet, Salazar did not shy away from stressing upon his decentralising measures in administration time and again, and flaunted the re-introduction of elections after World War II. It was a forceful means of reiterating his move towards a more liberal government and accommodating local interests in public administration. Unfortunately, the period which followed after 1945 was still vulnerable to an eagle-eyed vigilance and control, bearing its impress upon the power equations between the colonised and colonial regime. A regime which handpicked its representatives and legislators, and drove all opposition into the background, would leave little scope for resistance and opposition. The political experiences resulting from deprivations and challenges from the colonial regime helped the indigenous elites and the intelligentsia in colonial Goa to shape their vision and sharpen confidence in wider fora of public administration.

¹⁷ P. Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed* (USA: Cambridge Columbia Press, 2006), 33.

This thesis brings to light the politics of interests which was so pervasive during the period of study and assesses the role of elections in the spread of political consciousness and liberal democratic ideas in Goa.

Research: Aims and Objectives

The aims and objectives of this study are as below:

- to research into the trends of electoral reform, and the factors governing changes in them from time to time and assess their impact on colonial Goa;
- to analyse whether the representatives elected to power were accountable to their exalted positions or were pawns in the hands of the government to endorse its policies and programmes;
- to examine if elections were governed by electoral integrity or were tailor made to suit the colonial designs of the government;
- to study if elections brought about cohesiveness in Goan society or were a cause of a divide among various stakeholders in elections, and
- to delve into the issues of participative inclusion and exclusion.

Methodology

The methodology adopted in this work is a combination of historical, empirical, analytical and interdisciplinary methods. The historical method assists in studying the system of election and representative processes of Portuguese Goa in a chronological sequence by analysing the data in a critical manner. Much empirical data is collated on the topic of study from 1822 to 1961. Such information is useful to evaluate the participation of the indigenous community and the socio-economic profile of the candidates contesting the elections. Data available on voter participation in the

elections of the parliament help to understand the nature of suffrage and the percentage of people participating in the elections. The analytical method adopted in this work help to examine the multiple layers of racial prejudice, partisan attitudes, party politics and the role of caste in the elections of Portuguese Goa. An interdisciplinary approach has been adopted in this by consulting some works in the areas of constitutional history, public administration and legal history. The secondary sources consulted provide the historical background and direction for this study. The topic is also analysed by tapping the historical perspectives in the areas of colonial administration.

Theoretical Framework

The theoretical framework for this study has been provided by the works of scholars like Paulo Freire, Partha Chatterjee and Vilfredo Pareto. The argument on the issue of *Politics of Interest* has been influenced by the existentialist approach provided in the work, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* by Paulo Freire.¹⁸ The work of Paulo Freire focuses on education in the context of Brazil in the early 20th century. Nonetheless, it furnishes argumentative tool to transcend beyond an essentialist perspective. An essentialist, according to Freire becomes a ‘prisoner of certainty’ and succumbs to the unalterable reality. But, a recalcitrant, within a feasible situation, is not afraid to see the world unveiled, engage, dialogue and transcend beyond the impediments created by the hegemonic entities.¹⁹ The attitude of assertiveness distinct among the indigenous elites of Portuguese Goa since the 19th century, distinguished them from their counterparts in the Portuguese overseas colonies.

¹⁸ Paulo Freire, *The Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (New York: The Continuum International Publishing Group Inc., 1993).

¹⁹ Ibid.

Engaging debates in the Parliament of Portugal during the 19th century distinctly indicated that indigenous representatives of Portuguese Goa were far from being amenable to the commands of the metropolitan government.²⁰ Their debates reflected attempts to bargain for reforms and field the interests of their province, which in turn impelled the colonial regime to strategise moves to protect its interests.

Partha Chatterjee views the onset of ‘anticolonial nationalism’ in the context of British India, during the 19th century, from the time there was resistance from the colonial elites to prevent the colonial state from intervening in matters affecting the ‘national culture’.²¹ In the context of colonial Goa, one comes across sporadic challenges to the Portuguese colonial regime since the 16th century. But the 19th century challenges were set on modified terrains, where education and liberal ideas of the west spurred the indigenous elites to challenge the condescending viewpoint of the Portuguese elites and their collaborators in administration and politics.

The system of elections and representation in Portuguese Goa brings to the fore the differences created in physical spaces in administration among the elites of Portuguese India and the different power equations existing among the diverse groups. This work does not merely explore the history and politics of elections in Portuguese Goa against the background of the progressive liberal movement of the 19th century. It also critiques the responses towards the politics of elections in the changing political developments and reforms within the colonial space.

The responses of the elites of Goa towards the liberal regime after 1822 did not follow a uniform trajectory, but varied over time. These changes are explained by borrowing the concept of ‘Elite Cycles’ propounded by Vilfredo Pareto. Pareto

²⁰ The engagement of Goan *deputados* in the parliament of Portugal was more noteworthy during the first four decades of the constitutional regime.

²¹ P. Chatterjee, *The Nation and its Fragments* (USA: Princeton University Press, 1993), 6.

declared that over a period of time, the dominant elite groups themselves are prone to culpabilities, which renders them incompatible to other elite groups, as they also aim to assert their identity in a feasible situation.²² Thus, the concepts like politics of interests, diverse elite groups and elite cycles have been applied while analysing the conflicts related to history and politics of elections in Portuguese Goa.

Historiographical Survey

The survey of historical works carried out for this work reveals that substantial number of works have been published on the political, economic, social, cultural and other aspects of Goan history. Modern scholars like C. R. Boxer, M. N. Pearson, Sanjay Subramanyam, Teotonio R. de Souza, B. S. Shastry, A. R. Priolkar, P. P. Shirodkar and many others have researched and published on different aspects of Portuguese colonisation in Goa, its effects and regional responses. However, the study of elections and the system of people's representation have received scant attention, and therefore, offer great scope for research. Several contemporary works in Portuguese language provide insight into the number of elections and list the parliamentarians who represented the Parliament in Portugal during the 19th century. However, they provide little or no information on the electoral processes, the system of election or the number of voters who were enfranchised in Goa.

The historical works enlisted below assist in understanding the background in which Goa was introduced to the system of representation during the 19th century. The three works of Minguel Vincent D' Abreu namely, *Relação das Alterações*

²² Alasdair J. Marshall, *Vilfredo Pareto's Sociology, A Framework for Political Psychology* (England: Ashgate Publishing Limited, 2007), 7. See also, Vilfredo Pareto's, *The Rise and Fall of Elites: An Application of Theoretical Sociology* (New Jersey: Transaction Publishers, 1991).

políticas de Goa desde 16 de Setembro de 1821 até 18 de Outubro de 1822, *Noção de alguns filhos distintos da Índia Portuguesa* and *O governo do Vice-Rei, Conde do Rio Pardo, no Estado da Índia Portuguesa, desde 1816 até 1821* are important sources which provide useful data on the introduction of the liberal regime in Goa. Abreu also highlights the rise of several Goan men to a place of distinction in the society. *Noção de alguns filhos distintos da Índia Portuguesa* gives a fairly good record of several parliamentary elections and the laws which governed each of them. The burning issues of the contemporary times like the party politics or racial prejudice have received only a passing reference on account of the nature of his works.²³

Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa by António Anastásio Bruto da Costa is another valuable work which provides details on the electoral records of the parliamentary elections of Goa during the 19th century. It gives a fair understanding of the socio-cultural background of the elected representatives of Goa. Similarly, the *Revoluções Políticas da Índia Portuguesa, do Século XIX* by António Anastásio Bruto da Costa makes an interesting reading on the events leading to the liberal regime in colonial Goa and the way in which the first parliamentary election was held in 1822.²⁴ *A Hidra do Nativismo* by Roberto Bruto da Costa describes the opportunities availed by the Goans to represent their interests in the Portuguese parliament and the manner in which some indigenous *deputados* (members of the

²³ Mínguel Vincent D' Abreu, *Relação das Alterações Políticas de Goa Desde 16 de Setembro de 1821 até 18 de Outubro de 1822* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1862); *Nação de alguns filhos distintos da Índia Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1874); *O Governo do Vice Rei, Conde do Rio Pardo, no Estado da Índia Portuguesa, desde 1816 até 1821* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1869).

²⁴ António Anastásio Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa* (Margão: Typografia do Ultramar, 1897) and *Revoluções Políticas da Índia Portuguesa, do Século XIX* (Margão: Tipographia do Ultramar, 1896).

parliament) asserted themselves fearlessly.²⁵ *Neura O Grande* by J. S. D. Noronha provides information on the biographical sketch of Bernado Peres da Silva and his role in the elections in Goa.²⁶ Gabriel de Saldanha, in his work *História de Goa-Política e Arqueológica*, volume I provides a comprehensive history of the Portuguese rule in Goa, which greatly helps a researcher to initiate the preliminary investigative work.²⁷ Jacinto Caetano Miranda's *Quadros Históricos de Goa, Tentativa Histórica* in three parts, is a commendable work on the political history of Goa during the 19th century.²⁸

The *Manual Politico do Cidadão Portuguez* by Trindade Coelho deals with the political system of Portugal during the 19th and 20th centuries.²⁹ The works of Ismael Gracias such as *Carta Organica das Instituições Administrativas nas Provincias Ultramarinas* and *Legislação e Jurisprudencia do Supreme Tribunal Administrativo nas Questões Ultramarinas*, are noteworthy to investigate the laws on elections and other aspects of administration in Goa.³⁰ The works of the well-known historian of Portugal, Pedro Tavares de Almeida, help in understanding the system of election and electoral processes which prevailed in the metropolis. Almeida's compilation of electoral legislations, *Legislação Eleitoral Portuguesa*, is useful to

²⁵ Roberto Bruto da Costa, *A Hidra do Nativismo-Para a História Política da Índia Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Tipographia Bragança, & Co., 1920).

²⁶ J. S. D. Noronha, *Neura O Grande* (Nova Goa: Tipographia Bragança & C., 1921).

²⁷ Gabriel de Saldanha, *História de Goa-Política e Arqueológica*, volume I (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1925).

²⁸ Jacinto Caetano Miranda, *Quadros Históricos de Goa, Tentativa Histórica*, part I (1863); part II (1864) and part III (1865) (Margão: Typografia do Ultramar, 1863-1865).

²⁹ T. Coelho, *Manual Político Do Cidadão Portuguez* (Porto: Typografia A. VAP Da Empresa Literaria e Typografica, 1908).

³⁰ Ismael Gracias, *Carta Organica das Instituições Administrativas nas Provincias Ultramarinas* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1899); *Legislação e Jurisprudencia do Supreme Tribunal Administrativo nas Questões Ultramarinas* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1906).

understand the electoral laws in force during the 19th and 20th centuries. Similarly, the work *Res Publica: Cidadania e Representação Política em Portugal, 1820-1926* helps to gain insight into the aspect of citizenship in Portugal.³¹ The *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu* edited by V. T. Gune and *A Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa* by José Nicolau de Fonseca are also valuable for the study of Goan history. However, they provide only some scattered data on the theme of this research.³² The work, *Legal System in Goa, Laws and Legal Trends 1510-1961*, by Carmo D'Souza furnishes some vital details on trends of electoral legislation. Researched from the perspective of the developments of the legal system, the work concentrates on the evolution of various aspects of Portuguese laws since the establishment of the Portuguese rule in Goa.³³

The *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas, Salcette e Bardez*, vol. I of Filipe Nery Xavier helps to understand the local administration of Goa. The work is useful to understand the difference between the institution of *Comunidades* on the one hand, and the local administrative body called the *Junta da Parochia* on the other.³⁴ Similarly, “A evolução do municipalismo na *India Portuguesa*” by B. Correa Afonso throws light on the municipal administration since 1511 to its evolution and development during the 19th century.³⁵ Viriato A. C. B.

³¹ Pedro Tavares de Almeida, *Legislação Eleitoral Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Casa da Moeda, Imprensa Nacional, 1998); *Res Publica: Cidadania e Representação Política em Portugal, 1820-1926* (Lisboa: Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal, 2010).

³² V. T. Gune, ed., *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa, Daman, and Diu*, vol. I. (Panaji: Gazetteer Department, 1979); José Nicolau de Fonseca, *A Historical and Archaeological Sketch of the City of Goa* (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1986).

³³ Carmo D'Souza, *Legal System in Goa, Laws and Legal Trends 1510-1961*, vol. I (Panaji: New Age Printers, 1995).

³⁴ Filipe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas Salcette e Bardez*, vol. I (Bastorá: Tipographia Rangel, 1852).

³⁵ B. Correa Afonso, “A evolução do municipalismo na *India Portuguesa*.” in *A India Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923).

de Albuquerque's *Senado de Goa* gives a valuable account on the Municipal Chamber of Goa since the 16th century and the changes introduced in its structure during the period of liberalism. However, the work provides the structural framework on the municipality of Goa and the growth of this institution during the 19th century.³⁶

Sandra Maria C. A. Lobo's unpublished thesis, *O desassossego goes Cultural e política em Goa do Liberalismo ao Acto Colonia* is a very commendable work which helps in understanding the intellectual ferment of the Goan society during the 19th and 20th centuries.³⁷ Proença Cândida Maria in her *A Questão Religiosa no Parlamento, 1910-1926* throws light on the religious perspectives of the Portuguese Parliament. Her study chiefly focuses on the religious issues taken up for discussion in the Parliament of Portugal. The work of Susan Isabel Loureiro Costa Pinho titled, *De Constâncio Roque da Costa (1822) a Constâncio Roque da Costa (1894)* covers an extensive period of study from 1822 to 1894 on the parliamentary elections of Portuguese Goa. The nature of the work led the author to focus on the contribution of the *deputados* and not on the procedures of elections in Portuguese India. Luis de Menezes Bragança's collection of articles and essays compiled in the *Prosas Dispersas*, throws a brief insight into the functioning of Legislative Councils in Goa.³⁸

Most of the above and several other works, have covered a wide range of Goan history, but an analytical study of elections, the electoral processes and the system of election per se have not been provided much attention. Moreover, these works are

³⁶ Viriato A. C. B. de Albuquerque, *Senado de Goa-Memoria Histórico-Archeologica* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1909).

³⁷ Sandra Maria C. A. Lobo, *O desassossego goes Cultural e política em Goa do Liberalismo ao Acto Colonia, Tese de Doutoramento em História e teoria das Ideias, especialidade Pensamento, Cultura e Política*, run.unl.pt/bitstream/.../Lobo, accessed on January 10, 1915.

³⁸ Luis de Menezes Bragança, *Prosas Dispersas Política Administração Ensino I* (Panajim: Edditada pelo Comissão de Homenagem, 1965).

published in Portuguese language. There are no comprehensive works published in English which consider the history of elections, representative system and other elected bodies in Portuguese Goa. *Cabinet Government in Goa 1961-1993* by Aureliano Fernandes is an analysis of three decades of cabinet government and politics in Goa, but it concentrates on post-colonial Goa.³⁹

Thus, this is a comprehensive study on the history of elections in Goa and add to the existing corpus of knowledge and provides an insight into colonial working in Goa. The rules and ‘politics’ involved in elections, and the extent of indigenous participation and representation are also investigated. Besides, the role and hold of the Europeans and Luso-descendants are critically analysed. Likewise, the role of the church and clergymen in elections are also examined.

Sources for the Study

This study is primarily based on original manuscripts and official publications, both unpublished and published. Besides the secondary sources in Portuguese, English, French, Konkani and Marathi are also consulted. The Historical Archives of Goa (HAG), presently the Goa State Archives in Panjim is a rich repository of original sources for a study on the Portuguese rule in Goa. The *Monções do Reino (MR)* consulted for the period from 1819 to 1895 are valuable original records for the study of the 19th century politics and administration in Goa. The municipal elections of Goa have been studied from documents like *Livros das Actas das Sessões da Senado de Goa 1838-1841*, *Livro de Termos e Actas das Eleições de Senado de Goa 1822-1853* and *Termos e Assentos da Mesa de Senado de Goa (Protestos)*. Besides, certain Royal Orders (*Ordens Regias*) have also been consulted.

³⁹ Aureliano Fernandes, *Cabinet Government in Goa, 1961-1993: A Chronicled Analysis of 30 Years of Government and Politics in Goa* (Panjim: Maureen and Camvet Publishers, 1997).

A study visit to Portugal in July 2015 and the research carried out in the repositories there improved our understanding of this topic and its analysis. The *Arquivo Histórico Parlamentar* in São Bento, Lisbon, provided records relating to the proceedings on all electoral circles of Goa since 1836. It is also a repository of the *Diários das Sessões dos Senhores Deputados (Diaries of Sessions of the Deputados)* in the Parliament of Portugal from 1822 to 1961. Secondary sources relating to the electoral processes of the metropolis and parliamentary etiquette have also been referred from this archives. The *Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo* provided documentation on the electoral proceedings during the first election held in 1822. The *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* has a vast collection of the newspaper, the *India Portuguesa* and other secondary sources. A few of them are used in this study. The *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* has valuable documents on the overseas provinces of the Portuguese empire. Research undertaken in this institution assisted in gaining data on elections during the first republican period from 1910 to 1926. Similarly, the *Biblioteca da Assembleia Nacional* allowed substantial reading on secondary sources related to politics and administration of the metropolitan government.

A number of published original sources have been consulted. The *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* or later the *Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral da India* available in the Goa State Archives; Xavier Centre of Historical Research Alto-Porvorim, Krishnadas Shama State Central Library Panjim and Goa University Library have been explored to gather data on records of voters, provincial decrees pertaining to Portuguese India and important pronouncements on elections. Some constitutions of Portugal and administrative codes have been accessed to understand the legal perspective governing the electoral decrees of this period. The *Diário do Governo, Legislação Novissima do Ultramar* and contemporary electoral legislations

are also consulted for this work. The *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India* facilitated understanding the Legislative or the Government Council of the 20th century.

The collections of Nuno Gonsalves and P. S. S. Pissurlencar at the Goa University Library have also facilitated research on this topic. This study is also based on newspapers and periodicals published during the 19th and 20th centuries which are available in Goa and Portugal. The Krishnadas Shama State Central Library Panjim and Xavier Centre of Historical Research Alto-Porvorim deserve a special mention in this regard. The newspapers aided in comprehending the polemics of the contemporary times in Portuguese Goa. The bilingual newspapers in Marathi and Portuguese such as *Bharat* and *O Opinião Hindu* have also been referred. Secondary sources in Marathi language helped understand the views and aspirations of the Hindus in the elections of Goa during the 20th century.

Some Goan folk songs such as the *Mandos* reflect the rivalry in elections among the dominant caste groups of Goa and also between the Luso-descendants and the Goans. Such sources have been used in this study. This work has also used the first hand experiences of a few Goan voters who had the opportunity to contest the elections after 1945. The present study is divided into nine chapters as detailed below:

Chapter - I

Introduction

The first chapter provides the introductory details like hypothesis, objectives of research, historiographical survey, methodology, theoretical framework, sources and scope of study.

Chapter - II

Historical Background

This chapter takes the reader down the historical lane by briefing on the evolution of elections. It also introduces the circumstances leading to the beginning of representative institutions in Portuguese India beginning with the dawn of constitutional regime in Goa.

Chapter - III

Elections, Franchise and Issues of Participative Identity

The guidelines for inclusion and exclusion of participative identities in the parliamentary election of Portuguese Goa are explored in this chapter. The rules of suffrage privileged a select body of voters and contestants as participation depended upon multiple factors of citizenship, domicile, taxation, literacy, gender and prerogative of being the head of the family. It shows how the epoch was governed by its own traditions. This chapter also throws light on power structures that existed in the society. It deals with other aspects associated with elections such as the number of parliamentarians allowed for Portuguese India, the conduct of parliamentary elections, sessions and functions of the *deputados* in the Parliament, bye-election, conflicts of interests and mechanism involved in the settlement of disputes.

Chapter - IV

Dynamics of Party Politics, Colonial Prejudice and Caste Rivalry

The layers of politically oriented and ideologically dissimilar cliques and political parties, formed over the decades during a period covering almost a century are analysed here. They open up to an interesting historical narrative on colonial attitudes

towards the indigenous elite and their response, electoral and caste rivalries as well as political strategies aimed at victories in elections.

Chapter - V

Power Elites of Portuguese Goa: Collaboration and Conflict (1822-1926)

This chapter delves into the rivalry between the indigenous elites on the one hand and the Luso-descendants on the other which existed prominently in the field of elections in Portuguese Goa after 1822. It also delves into Catholic traditions involved in the conduct of elections in Goa. The involvement of the church in facilitating the representative process in Goa is also examined. The last part of this chapter explores the introduction of elections in the New Conquests after 1836 and analyses their impact on the politics of Portuguese Goa.

Chapter - VI

Elections under the Republican Regime

The ideological conflict between the secular and religious forces witnessed since the late 19th century across the Portuguese dominions, and the issues and developments in this field are analysed here. The changes which occurred during the authoritarian regime of António de Oliveira Salazar are also discussed.

Chapter - VII

Decentralising Political Experiences in Portuguese Goa (Legislative Council or Government Council)

This chapter examines the pressures on the colonial government from certain overseas provinces like Angola, Mozambique and Portuguese India to concede decentralisation

and financial autonomy in administration during the 20th century. Further, the functioning of the Legislative Council or the Government Council as a representative body is also studied.

Chapter – VIII

Municipal and Parochial Elections in Portuguese Goa

The municipal or parochial elections of Portuguese Goa are briefly studied in this chapter. It investigates the framework of the local government and the system of representation introduced in these bodies after 1822. It also analyses the challenges faced by these bodies during the colonial regime.

Chapter - IX

Conclusion

The findings of the research work are summarised here. It also highlights the limitations of this research work and provides suggestions for further study.

CHAPTER - II

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

Many political theorists look upon elections as the very nucleus of democracy because they provide the opportunity for the voters to elect their representatives and thereby participate in the formation of government. The system of elections was introduced in Portugal in 1821 and subsequently extended to Portuguese Goa during the same year. This trend of greater participation had become popular since the 17th century in England, when ideas of liberalism enlarged enfranchisement and permitted more people to participate in the political affairs of the state.

Elections and Democracy

A wide variety of definitions of the term elections have been put forward by various scholars. According to the Oxford dictionary, the term 'election' denotes a process of choosing or selecting a person to represent a group of population to hold public office and take decisions on behalf of them, by means of a vote. According to Andrew Heywood, elections are considered as procedures of measuring people's choices in a political system either to appoint a leader, or elect an assembly of people who will represent their aspirations for the benefit of their good.¹

The process of elections becomes more effective in a political system which allows the people the freedom to exercise their preference to select their representatives to hold public offices. In other words, the elections are one of the instruments in ensuring the success of democracy. The system of modern elections has grown within the framework of a democratic government, which itself has evolved

¹ A. Heywood, *Key Concepts in Politics* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 199-200.

over the centuries. Democracy as a form of government, has defied an universally accepted definition. Its meaning, concept and ideals have been subject of speculations in the works of thinkers over the centuries. This is because they reflected the age in which they lived and wrote.

Evolution of Election

The origins of election and people's participation in public matters are embedded in the functioning of the ancient Greek city-states and the political philosophies of several Greek statesmen who gave a push to the ideals of democracy and representative institutions. Around the fifth century B.C., the city-state of Athens exemplified a form of government where every 'citizen' in a polis directly participated in the decision making process of his state. The elections in Greece were laid on the premise of a more rational thought. Athenian democratic tradition allowed every citizen a right to participate in public administration.² They were empowered to vote on issues of importance, fill offices by lots, and rotate their offices. The system of elections followed in ancient Greece worked with some measure of success in the restricted area of the city-state, where the identity of every individual was probably known to the other. Pericles (c. 495-429 B.C.), the fifth century statesman of Greece was regarded as one of the greatest advocates of people's participation in government. He declared that Greek government was an example of a democracy, as it was in the hands of the many and not few, where people were given a chance to express their opinion and where their talent was respected.³ Herodotus, the famous historian of Greece (c. 484 B.C.) had remarked that democracy is multitude's rule or a society in

² Charles Merriam, and Elmer Barnes, eds., *A History of Political Theories of Recent Times* (New York: Macmillan, 1924), 11.

³ *Ibid.*, 12.

which there is equality of rights and the holders of political office are accountable for what they do therein.⁴ The principle that the multitude ought to be supreme, rather than the few best, finds a reflection in the work of Aristotle.⁵

If ancient Greece laid the foundation of elections, it was the Roman law which made provisions to safeguard the Roman citizens from abuse of power and gave a push to ideas of popular support. Marcus Cicero (106 B.C.) is best remembered among other aspects of his work to the emphasis he laid on the concept of law in the society (*iurissocietas*) to prevent a drift towards a dictatorship. Legal rights of an individual, according to Cicero, ought to be equal more than monetary or educational rights.⁶

The views stated above emphasise the right of choice exemplified in the mechanism of elections. However, the system of election also had its share of opposition. Some theorists had acknowledged the wisdom of empowering all men, while others had opposed it. For example, Titus Livy (59 B.C – 17 A.D.), the historian of Rome, remarked that nothing was more futile and inconsistent (in thought) than the masses. On the other hand, Niccolo Machiavelli in his *Discourses on the First Decade of Titus Livius*, laid stress on ‘Virtue’. It was in the exercise of virtues and in the regulation of his conduct by laws that a ruler or the masses could ensure a good government.⁷

⁴ Francis W. Coker, *Recent Political Thought* (Calcutta: World Press Pvt. Limited, 1966), 291.

⁵ Benjamin Jowett, trans., *The Politics of Aristotle* (London: Random House, 1943), 145.

⁶ William Ebenstein, and Allan Ebenstein, *Great Political Thinkers: Plato to the Present* (New York: Harcourt College Publishers, 2000), 128; J. R. Hawthorn, and C. Macdonald, *Roman Politics 80-44 BC* (London: Macmillan, 1965), 30.

⁷ Micael B. Foster, *Masters of Political Thought-Plato to Machiavelli*, vol. I (London: George and Harrap & Co. Ltd., 1971). 271. In this context, the term ‘Virtue’ is understood as a quality which makes a good man.

There is no definite evidence of elections in the middle ages in Europe though the church conducted religious parliaments within its domains. The medieval rulers also convened assemblies giving some representation to the church, nobility, territorial units and merchants of the cities.⁸ The bodies mentioned above did not in any way qualify to be called representative in nature, as they worked in the shadows of religious authorities and powerful monarchs. During the latter part of the middle ages, the right to vote was regarded as a vested privilege, and conceded to a person occupying a particular status, and usually associated with ownership of land.⁹ Besides, the maxim of the Divine Right Theory of Kingship which demanded passive obedience to the monarch had invested him with special sanctity.¹⁰ This principle had given legitimacy to autocracy and absolutism, where obeisance to political authority was often enforced through force or show of strength. Thus, these circumstances gave little scope for people to participate in public administration.

A new approach in thinking was unleashed during the period of Renaissance and Reformation.¹¹ A more humanistic approach was visible in many aspects of the society, including public administration. Simultaneously, the developments in trade, enhancement in money power, and education had raised the hopes of the neo-elite classes to assert their rights in the society. Since the 17th century, there has been a persistent and powerful body of opinion in the west attached to the idea that all men possess certain rights by nature, irrespective of particular social, legal or political

⁸ Robert Luce, *Legislative Principles: The History and Theory of Law-making by Representative Government* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1930), 54-56; John C. Wahlke, and Alex N. Dragnich, eds., *Government and Politics An Introduction to Political Science* (New York: Random House, 1971), 469; Carl J. Friedrich, *Government and Democracy Theory and Practice in Europe* (Calcutta: Oxford and IBH publishing Co. 1966), 262-263.

⁹ Raymond G. Gettell, *Political Science* (Calcutta: The World Press Private Ltd., 1950), 263.

¹⁰ G. H. Sabine, and Thomas L. Thomson, *A History of Political Theory* (Calcutta: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1937), 393.

¹¹ E. Cameron, ed., *Early Modern Europe* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2001), 124-143.

institutions, and can be demonstrated by reason.¹² Certain rights were considered as ‘natural’ as they were the intrinsic properties of men. Several writers advocated the belief that the behaviour of men would be determined by the *Law of Nature*, in which reason plays a fundamental role. Similarly, it was further stated that men were entitled for natural rights, which included the right to life, liberty and property.¹³ Baruch Spinoza, the acclaimed Dutch theorist said: “by natural right I understand the very laws of nature, in accordance to which everything takes place, in other words the law of nature itself”.¹⁴

England universally recognised as the home of modern representative institutions and the mother of parliaments, had given the historic *Magna Carta* (1215). This document had articulated the earliest, yet, rudimentary traces of representative institutions.¹⁵ Historical traditions of England over the centuries show that the Englishmen, armed with knowledge, money, and the existing liberal traditions were among the earliest in modern times to assert their rights against their absolute monarchs and build democratic foundations in Europe. It was upon the model of England that many other governments in Europe and elsewhere emulated its political structure.¹⁶ The English Revolution of 1688 as well as the American War of Independence of 1776 were also responsible for laying the foundations of reform and liberalism during the 17th and 18th centuries. At the same time, liberalism did not

¹² S. I. Benn, and R. S. Peters, *Social Principles and the Democratic State* (Massachusetts: Interlink Publishing Group, Inc., 2011), 95.

¹³ William Dunning, *History of Political Theories from Luther to Montesquieu 1905* (U.K: Macmillan Publishers, 1955), 345.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, 91 .

¹⁵ G. M. Trevelyan, *A Shortened History of England* (New York: Longmans, Green & Company Ltd., 1959), 132.

¹⁶ Coker, *Recent Political Thought*, 292.

advocate absence of restraint as people cannot live in a state without common rules. To compel obedience to them is not to make them un-free, as historical experiences have evolved rules of convenience.¹⁷

In modern times, the right of an individual to participate in the political decision making process has its distinct roots in the political thought emerging since the 18th and 19th centuries, when ideas of liberalism, based on the foundations of reason, equality and fraternity enlarged enfranchisement and permitted more people to participate in the political affairs of the state. However, it would be utopian to suggest that feudal and racial prejudices had been totally eliminated from the society.¹⁸ The traditional political elites had always considered themselves as the custodians of power and were unwilling to let go their coveted position in the society.

Suffrage in Elections in the West

The terms franchise or suffrage is synonymously used to refer to the right to vote in an election.¹⁹ Viewed from modern perspective, the nature of franchise followed from the eighteenth to the mid-twentieth centuries in most countries of the world was largely restricted. Even in the West, where such democratic traditions had flowered much earlier than other regions of the world, critics were divided upon the issue of who

¹⁷ Peter Laski, *A Grammar of Politics* (London: George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 1963), 142. In this context, Laski quoted John Locke (1632) who had anticipated abuse of power and envisaged the parliament to be a representative body and the executive to be subjected to law, and an independent judiciary to prevent the arbitrary misuse of power, autocracy and despotism. However, the monarch was empowered with certain discretionary powers in times of emergency.

¹⁸ The duplicity of the Occidental attitude towards the overseas colonies was shockingly visible in the speech delivered by Mr. Affonseca, the Portuguese representative of Madeira during the 1860s. Mr. Affonseca had insolently remarked that the overseas provinces ought not to be represented in parliament citing the example of England, the greatest colonial power of the world which had refused representation to her colonies in the British parliament.

¹⁹ *Illustrated Oxford Dictionary* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003).

should be allowed to vote and represent the community.²⁰ While some advocated the right of franchise to all adult citizens, others insisted upon the requisites of citizenship, education, competence and payment of taxes as criteria for franchise. The initial idea that every citizen had the right to vote had followed logically from Rousseau's doctrine of the 'General Will' in the *Social Contract*.²¹ But the leaders in Europe were not yet willing to experiment with this theory, primarily for many reasons. Firstly, the western world was not yet ready to commit itself with the power of the masses on account of their illiteracy. Secondly, the vested interests of the traditionally elite classes made them unwilling to let go their coveted positions from the society so easily.²² The concept of modern constitution or the rights of the sovereign, had evolved in the writings of Thomas Hobbes, Jean-Jacques Rousseau and John Locke. They had recommended certain limits on the power of the state and its officials. But, most importantly, they recommended only a select group of people a share in the government.²³ Moreover, acclaimed writers as well as theorists of the 19th century such as John Stuart Mill, Henry Sidgwick, Johann Caspar Bluntschli and others had not yet advocated universal franchise.

It was along these lines of restricted franchise that Portuguese politics functioned during the 19th century. Therefore, Goa as a colony of Portugal was bound by the rules of suffrage extended to it by the Mother Country.

²⁰ Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed*, 29. The author states that the world had to wait till the 20th century before the rights of man and citizens were extended to all.

²¹ Carole Pateman, *Participation and Democratic Theory* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 22. The author describes J. J. Rousseau as one of the best examples of theorists who advocated participation of people in administration.

²² R. N. Gilchrist, and C. S. Srinivaschariar, *Principles of Political Science* (Bombay: Orient Longmans, 1964), 284-85.

²³ John Plamenatz, ed., *Leviathan-Thomas Hobbes* (London: Collins Clear Type Press, 1972), 177-186; Giovanni Sartori, *Democratic Theory* (Calcutta: Oxford & IBH Publishing Co., 1962), 23.

Liberalism in Europe

During the period of liberalism of the 18th and 19th centuries, most monarchies of Europe had shed their absolute authority with reluctance primarily because they were forced into conceding the rule of consent, under duress by the asserting liberal forces, as is exemplified in the history of England, France, Spain and Portugal. It is for this reason that the constitutional monarch by and large was not willing to let go off his influence in public administration with ease. In this context, Jonathan Kwan gives an example of the Habsburg dynasty and says that the monarch Francis Ferdinand shared his powers with great reluctance, even a decade after the revolution of 1848, and employed 'Interest Groups' to defeat the forces of liberalism.²⁴

Liberalism in Portugal

In 1822, Portugal was declared a constitutional monarchy. The Constitution of 1822 had ended its age-old regime of Absolute Monarchy and provided for a legislature which enabled people to elect representatives of their choice to share the responsibilities of public administration. This document seen as an avant-garde piece of legislation for its time, had assigned the Portuguese Monarch a novel role; one of a constitutional and a hereditary monarch, who could exercise a cohesive and a dignifying influence over his dominions, yet, equally dependent upon the elected legislature. Traditionally, the Portuguese King who met the Estates of the Realm in the *Côrtes* or the Parliament at his will, was now dependent upon the elected representatives of the entire Portuguese dominions to exercise the legislative functions under the constitutional monarchy. Thus, from being controlled by absolute

²⁴ J. Kwan, *Liberalism and the Habsburg Monarchy* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013), 18.

monarchs for several centuries who believed that they were Vice-regent of God on earth, the period of liberalism in Portugal had curtailed the monarchical powers theoretically to a considerable extent.

As an overseas colony of Portugal, Portuguese India or *Estado da India* was made eligible to participate in the system of representation. A new system of administration was now introduced in the Portuguese dominions which reflected promising essence of the system of representation. Consequently, Goans too experienced the expected political process of conducting elections and represent their interests in the *Côrtes*, as well as to participate in the local administration of the colony.

Conflict of Interest - The Beginnings

The events preceding the announcement of the constitutional regime in Portuguese India, brings to light the conflict of interests between the liberal and absolutist forces fuelling in the Goan society, in the wake of the rebellious fervour which was spreading across Portugal.²⁵ The Governor General of Portuguese India, Conde de Rio Pardo, was seen as the vestige of the authoritarian regime by his detractors, many of whom were Portuguese men, along with a handful of Goans. His humanitarian measures evaporated into oblivion in the eyes of his opponents.²⁶ The punitive measures adopted by the administrator to restore order in the society were treated as

²⁵ The ideas of the French revolution had diffused in Europe with an electrifying speed during the late 18th and 19th centuries, making France a pivotal force of liberal ideas. These winds of change were felt in Portugal as well where the so called, *Os homens de 1820s* (the men of 1820s) had mobilised the lead in lighting the torch of liberalism. These men were influenced by liberal ideas from France and Spain and spread their ideas through books, newspapers and through several secret societies across Portugal.

²⁶ HAG, MR, 319, fl. 506, fl. 510, fl. 512. In this document, it can be observed that Conde do Rio Pardo established the military academy of Goa and it was approved by His Majesty's Government. The humanitarian nature of the Viceroy can also be evinced from among other measures, the patient hearing he lent to the problems of penury suffered by several widows who sought compensation from the state.

arbitrary (*absoluto e arbitrario*).²⁷ Fortunately for this rebellious group, some English periodicals as well as letters written from Bengal and Bombay had reported the revolt which had occurred in the city of Oporto in Portugal, the acceptance of a new constitution by King João VI of Portugal as well as the implementation of constitutional reforms in the Island of Madeira, and other Portuguese colonies.²⁸ Such encouraging revelations from the press had influenced the opposition to strategise measures against the Viceroy who saw it as an opportune moment to settle score with him. These ‘rebels’ coordinated their efforts and pressurised Rio Pardo to implement the liberal regime in Goa.²⁹ Contrary to their expectations, the Viceroy wished to tread a path of caution, and refused to oblige the adversaries, without receiving any official Order to that effect from Portugal. However, the opposition interpreted the above move as disobedience to the new regime and later reported to the King the hostile and unrelenting attitude of the Viceroy (*sua conducta hostil*) towards the liberal regime.³⁰ Consequently, Lt. Colonel Ferreira Marinho, a native of Oporto, who was eager to usher in the new regime, took the lead and spearheaded the revolt in Goa. In a well-organised coup, Rio Pardo was deposed from power on 16th September, 1821.³¹

The overthrow of Rio Pardo was followed by the establishment of a provisional administrative body to govern Portuguese India which took the name of

²⁷ HAG, MR, 199A, fl.14, fl.16. The ‘absolute’ rule of Viceroy Rio Pardo was described as *o triste quadro das desgraças, que os Portuguezes na India tinha supportado*. The chief among the disgruntled lot were Joaquim Pereira Marinho, António José de Lima Leitão and several others.

²⁸ HAG, MR, No. 199 A, fl.1. The reforms were implemented in Cabo Verde, Madeira, São Minguel and Mozambique.

²⁹ Ibid., fl.1.

³⁰ Ibid., fl. 1.

³¹ Ibid., fl. 9.

Primeira Junta Provisional do Governo in 1821.³² The *Junta* exhibited exhilaration at the change of guard which can be gauged from the address delivered by it to the military and the public, at a meeting convened to address the members of the municipalities of Ilhas, Bardez and Salcette.³³

Second Provisional Government

In the meanwhile, a new Viceroy, Manoel de Câmara reached Goa in November 1821. He witnessed a phase of unrest and division in the Goan society. The unpopularity of the first Provisional Government soon gave way to the establishment of the Second Provisional Government (*Segundo Junta Provisional*). Manoel de Câmara was offered the post of the President of this body on 1st December, 1821.³⁴ Other members of the *Junta* included Fr. Paulo António José de Melo, José de Sauto Maior Teles, João Carlos Leal and António Lima Leitão.³⁵ The new interim government initiated conciliatory measures which were meant to placate the ruffled feathers of the local military ranks, who were greatly disillusioned with the unjust measures introduced by the earlier *Junta*. It also announced the publication of an official bulletin of the government, the *Gazeta de Goa* or the Gazette of Goa. The landmark reform of the *Junta*, and the much awaited one, was the announcement of elections for *Estado da India*.³⁶

³² D' Abreu, *O Governo de Vice-Rei, Conde do Rio Pardo*, 139-140.

³³ D'Abreu, *Relação das Alterações Políticas de Goa*, 11. The fervent appeal of the *Junta* to the military read thus: "Soldiers of the Portuguese army, the day of our liberty has arrived...". The address to the public expressed that the tyranny had terminated in Goa after a period of 316 years, 95 despotic governors, each and most of them ignorant and fanatic and called upon the people of Goa to swear loyalty to the king, the constitution and the parliament.

³⁴ HAG, MR, No. 199A, fl. 16.

³⁵ *Anuário do Estado da India* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1930), 45-46.

³⁶ *Gazeta de Goa*, No. 6, February 23, 1822.

The Law of 8th November, 1821 passed in Portugal had entrusted the responsibility of the overseas colonies to the Secretaries of the State of the respective Provinces.³⁷ However, this law was revoked two years later due to *gravissimos inconvenientes* (grave inconveniences) and the responsibilities of the Overseas were entrusted back to *Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar* (Secretary of State of the Ministry of Navy and Overseas).³⁸

Thus, it was in these circumstances that the representative process was initiated in Portuguese Goa since 1821. This period marked an important watershed in the history of colonial Goa and the subsequent developments and issues connected with them are discussed in the following chapters.

³⁷ HAG, MR, No.3 22, fl. 573.

³⁸ Ibid., fl. 631.

CHAPTER - III

ELECTIONS, FRANCHISE AND ISSUES OF PARTICIPATIVE IDENTITY

A number of modern political analysts and thinkers concur that fair and free elections are to be conducted within certain parameters to be deemed a success.¹ It is important to remember that these desirable variables have evolved down the centuries in piecemeal. The rules of suffrage in Portuguese India, generally common to the other Portuguese territories during the colonial period, included some identities in the society and excluded others from its pale of privilege. Every epoch was governed by its own traditions regarding suffrage. They assist in understanding the nature of power structure that existed in the politics of a given society. The significance of this chapter lies not in merely studying the organisational structure of elections and variables governing franchise, but analysing them from the macro-level politics operating in Portugal.

The changing political structure from the absolute to a constitutional monarchy during the period of liberalism was often accompanied by resilience from the sulking monarch and his loyalists to surrender his paramountcy and their privileges respectively. The restrictions imposed on suffrage and representatives contesting elections were attempts to puncture the efforts of the legislature which sought a kind of partnership with the executive in matters of administration.² Therefore, the criteria governing the participation in elections, cannot be understood in a simplistic approach

¹ Sartori, *Democratic Theory*, 23. Sartori does not support the concept of perfectionism in a democratic government.

² Hatcher, and Harbold, *Modern Government*, 310.

as a descriptive narrative, but requires a more integrated perspective, which analyses the motives for inclusion of some and exclusion of others from the process of representation. According to Pedro Tavares de Almeida, the profusion of electoral reforms during the period under study is a reflection of the political condition in Portugal, marked by political and institutional instability, as well as fluctuations in the ideologies and strategies of dominant parties in power.³ Thus, the political scenario of the metropolis also left its impression on Portuguese Goa.

During the 19th century, Portugal was in the throes of a power struggle between the absolutists, liberals and the more conservative liberals. This struggle can well be understood from the course of reforms in suffrage, which did not conform themselves to a linear trajectory. The concession of reforms and their dramatic retraction within a short while was an indication of an ensuing ideological struggle at the helm of affairs. This can be inferred by comparing the provisions on suffrage in the Constitution of 1822 and that of the Constitutional Charter of 1826. The rigidity of the Charter of 1826 from the Constitution of 1822 reflects its attempt to strike a balance between the liberal and traditional forces and the unwillingness of the absolutists to concede ‘too much’ within a short span of time.⁴

Portuguese India, like many other colonies of Portugal was a mere recipients of these reforms and as such, had little say in policy decision, except for a small measure of modification allowed to adjust itself to the local needs or circumstances. These specifications were usually captioned as *disposições especiais para as Ilhas*

³ Pedro Tavares de Almeida, *Legislação Eleitoral Portuguesa* (Portugal: Imprensa Nacional, 1998), ix.

⁴ *Ibid.*, xiv. *Carta Constitucional de 1826* or the *Constitutional Charter of 1826* invited condemnation for restricting franchise by recommending an increase in taxation at every level of hierarchy involved in the indirect system of parliamentary elections.

adjacentes e provincias ultramarinas.⁵ Besides, regulations specific to Portuguese India were also sent to the colony from time to time explaining the procedures to be followed in the parliamentary elections.

Analysed from a deeper angle, they spoke volumes on the political stance adopted by the government towards the province. The well-defined regulations sent to colonial Goa were sought to facilitate the process of elections and eliminate conflicts of interest. It would have led one to assume that they would leave little scope for ambiguity and conflict. However, the situation in Portuguese Goa was far different from the above as the colonial regime was expected to serve the interests of the Home Government in the province.

The promising Portuguese legislations of the 19th century, driven from foreign influences across Europe had the effect of catapulting a section of the ‘qualified voter’ of Portuguese India to participate in the process of representative institutions of the metropolis as well as its local administrative bodies.⁶ The elections in Goa were not always quaint affairs. The period was pervaded by complaints against malpractices from various stakeholders in elections, at all levels of administration; parochial, municipal and parliamentary which kept the arbitrating bodies in Portugal and Goa quite preoccupied resolving issues of various kinds. The pall of gloom, as well as the infighting between the political cliques looming large in Portugal cast their shadows on Portuguese India.

⁵ HAG, MR, No. 199 B, fl. 419; M. V. D’ Abreu, *Relação das Alterações Políticas de Goa Desde 16 de Setembro de 1821 ate 18 de Outubro de 1822*, 88; *Constituição de 1822*, Article 30; Also the *Carta Constitucional de 1826*, Article 12; The *Decreto de 20 de Junho de 1851* and other legislations of the 19th and 20th centuries.

⁶ Portugal was inspired by the neighbouring countries of France and Spain during the 19th century.

Limited Franchise (1822-1878)

The rules of suffrage sent to Portuguese India, as in the rest of the Portuguese dominions, privileged a select body of people in Goa. In fact, they were similar to the pattern existing in other parts of Europe. The municipal and parochial elections were generally guided by the administrative codes of the 19th century. It is to be noted that rules governing franchise in the local elections (parochial and municipal) were almost similar to those in the parliamentary elections, but were sometimes modified to suit the local needs of the colony. Participative identity in elections was dependent upon citizenship, domicile, taxation, literacy and the prerogative of being the head of the family.

The rules governing the eligibility of the *eligiveis* (contestants) in the parliamentary election and the *eleitores* (electors or voters) remained largely consistent during the first five decades of the 19th century, but the methods of conducting elections varied at some intervals. In the overseas provinces, the respective governor general initiated the process of elections after receiving official instructions from Portugal. Notices to this effect, as well as the electoral regulations received from Lisbon were published in the government bulletin, or made available at important public places for the perusal of the concerned people.

A scrutiny of these criteria governing elections helps in understanding the composition of the Goan electorate and the representatives participating in the representative process of *Estado da India*. The rules of franchise in the parliamentary elections are described below:

Citizenship

Under colonial regimes, the conquered had the status of subjects.⁷ But citizenship uplifted the colonised from their servile status and they were theoretically conferred a status of equality, along with political and civil rights, which were previously denied to them. However, only ‘active’ citizens participated as electors and contested elections.⁸ In the Portuguese dominions they were called as *cidadãos activos*.⁹ The criteria of Portuguese citizenship were explained in all the constitutions of Portugal, the civil codes, as well as the electoral laws of the 19th century and 20th centuries.¹⁰ The issue of citizenship was made all the more liberal and inclusive by the Charter of 1826 which specified the extension of this right to all the citizens of all territories of

⁷ Chatterjee, *The Politics of the Governed*, 37.

⁸ James Wilford Garner, *Political Science and Government* (Calcutta: World Press Pvt. Ltd., 1951), 497. Citizenship had to be distinguished from active and passive citizenship. Those who fulfilled conditions of taxation, property and literacy were treated as ‘active citizens’ and were allowed to participate in elections.

⁹ *Instruções de 7 de Agosto de 1826*, Article 4.

¹⁰ As per the Articles 21-24 of the Constitution of 1822, persons qualified to be a Portuguese citizen had to possess the following attributes: 1. Children of Portuguese father, born in the United Kingdom of Portugal, or someone having born in a foreign country, but came to establish his domicile of at least one year in the place of his current residence within the Portuguese territory. He could lose his domicile if he is not in the service of the Portuguese nation. 2. Illegitimate children, born of a Portuguese mother within the United Kingdom of Portugal, or having born in a foreign land, but came to establish his domicile in the kingdom of Portugal. However, if recognised or legitimised by a foreign father, or being born in the United Kingdom of Portugal, or having a position of respect, and acquired domicile and wanting to be a Portuguese citizens. 3. Children born in any part of the Portuguese empire, but ignored by their parents. 4. Slaves who acquired a letter of enfranchisement. 5. Children of foreign parents, born within the Portuguese Empire and expressed their desire to obtain citizenship in the territory. 6. Foreigners who obtained letter of naturalisation. The criteria of citizenship as explained by the *CC de 1826* remained the same, except that Brazilians were excluded from it on account of its independence in 1822; *Constituição de 1838*, Article 6; *Acto-Adicional da Constituição de 1852*, Article 5; *Decreto Eleitoral de 30 de setembro de 1852*, Article 8; *Decreto No. 2679 de 1853 do Estado da Índia*, Article 2; *Código Civil Code de 1867*, Article 18; *Lei de 26 Julho 1899*, Article 1, as well as other legislations of the 19th and 20th centuries.

the Portuguese empire, irrespective of their religion and colour. This provision brought the 'non-Catholic' voters within the formal ambit of franchise in Goa.¹¹

The delay in implementing electoral reforms uniformly in all the areas of the *Novas Conquistas* became an issue of intense debate in the *Côrtes* of Portugal and the government councils of Goa since the mid-1830s.¹² It became a cause of creating subtle boundaries between the indigenous elites of the *Velhas Conquistas* (Old Conquests) and *Novas Conquistas* (New Conquests) in the parliamentary elections of Goa, during the 19th century. The conflict becomes relevant in discussing this issue between the two regions in the wider perspective of ideological differences which were simmering in the metropolis. The indigenous elites in Old Conquests largely toed the line of the liberals, while those in the New Conquests supported the official interests and aligned with the absolutist faction.

The issue of citizenship and election did not figure too frequently in colonial Goa. During the preparatory session of the parliament held in January 1879, the problem of the circle of Nova Goa in the election of 1878, was much debated in Lisbon and an opinion was sought on the issue of citizenship of António Gonsalves Crespo.¹³ The latter was born in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil to a Portuguese father and a mother of mixed birth. Crespo had contested from the circle of Nova Goa and obtained 2,335 votes, as against a more favoured candidate in Goa, Thomas de Aquino

¹¹AHP, *Caixa*, No. 52. Based on the records consulted, it cannot be said with certainty as to which election the Hindus of Goa participated in the parliamentary elections for the first time. But the election of 1836 has evidence of Hindu voters and candidates who were eligible to contest the elections.

¹² AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, fls.1-3. This document available in the parliamentary archives of Portugal has a record of complaints from a section of people in the New Conquests about the deliberate denial of their rights by the predominant group of elites from the Old Conquests.

¹³ Discussion occurred in the "Quarta Sessão Preparatória" January 1879, in *Câmara dos Srs. Deputados* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, January 1879). It was argued that the *Carta Constitucional* of 1826, in its Article 17.3, allowed a person born to Portuguese father, born in a foreign land but was domiciled in the Reign to be a Portuguese citizen. Therefore this criterion held good for Crespo and had right to contest elections.

Mourão Garcêz Palha, the Baron of Cumarjua, who got 2,011 votes.¹⁴ The outcome of this election held was not well received in Goa. The victory of a candidate, who was unfamiliar to the circle, did not go well with the electorate and the supporters of the baron. The issue of his citizenship became a matter of debate in Goa as well.

The issue of citizenship gained attention again with the passing of Salazar's Colonial Act in 1930, which came in for severe criticism from a section of the intelligentsia for creating a retrograde distinction between 'assimilados' and 'indigenas' in Goa during the 20th century.¹⁵ This Act remained in force till 1950.

Domicile

At the beginning of the democratic experiment, the condition of domicile was applicable to the voter. When the parliamentary elections began in 1822, all citizens, except a few had to be residents of the electoral divisions in which they voted for at least one year.¹⁶ The requirement of domicile remained in force during the 20th century.¹⁷ Similarly, it was a requirement for a candidate to be elected as a representative in parliamentary, municipal and parochial bodies. A candidate (*deputado*) was also required to be domiciled at the place where he sought to be

¹⁴ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 7, January 11, 1879.

¹⁵ *Acto-Colonial*, Article 17; *O Estado Novo-Principios e Realizações* (Lisboa: Secretariado da Propoganda Nacional, 1933), 56.

¹⁶ *Constituição de 1822*, Article 33; *Lei de 11 de Julho de 1822*, Article 4. Public civil functionaries, were required to be domiciled in the area where they served, the military were allowed to exercise their franchise in the area of their military jurisdiction where they were posted. The citizen could transfer his domicile to another residence, within a stipulated period of time.

¹⁷ *Lei No 3 de Julho de 1913*, Article 1; *Decreto No. 3997 de 30 de Março de 1918*, Article 3. This decree required domicile of six months for a voter and this requisite remained in force in other legislations of the 20th century.

elected for a certain number of years.¹⁸ Lima Leitão, an European, who did not find a favour with the *reinoes* (Portuguese nobility in Goa), was accused of not satisfying the residential requirement in the first parliamentary election held in 1822.¹⁹ After 1826, domicile was considered for a voter, but not applicable for a representative in the parliamentary election.²⁰ A decade later, the Constitution of 1838 partially reinstated the condition of domicile for a candidate. It declared that half the members elected from an electoral circle should have domicile of one year in the province of that circle. While the other half could be elected from among any Portuguese citizens.²¹ A candidate could transfer his domicile to another district, after informing his native municipality in advance of his intention to vote in another circle.²² Consequently, this rule favoured many Portuguese men to contest and win elections in Portuguese India with considerable ease, and evidence shows that they won more seats than the Goans themselves. It was amazing that candidates with little or no experience in Goan politics could easily establish themselves as *deputados*. It was through the process of electioneering carried out through their powerful intermediaries and supporters in Goa on behalf of European candidates, that affected the success of many Goan candidates. In the election of 1858, António Rodrigues Sampaio, a Portuguese, contested from the electoral circle of Goa, because he was deliberately kept out from the politics of

¹⁸ The *Instruções de 22 de Novembro 1820*. As per the *Lei de 11 de Julho de 1822*, an eligible candidate had to be a resident of the place for five years.

¹⁹ HAG, MR, No.199B, “Actas da Eleição para Cortes.” fl. 419.

²⁰ *Instruções de 7 de Agosto de 1826*, Articles 3 and 9.

²¹ *Constituição de 1838*, Article 76.

²² HAG, MR, “Decreto de Vinte e tres e Vinte e sete de Maio 1846.”, No. 220 A, fl.325; *Instruções de 12 de Agosto de 1847*, Article 11 and the subsequent laws which were promulgated during the constitutional regime did not have reservations on domicile and decreed that a Portuguese citizen could contest from any electoral circle.

Portugal for political reasons. Interestingly, he polled 5,980 votes, and was the second most voted candidate in this election held under the *plurinominal* system of voting.²³

Taxation

The rules of suffrage privileged taxpayers to vote and contest elections in Goa. This practice was based on the tradition prevalent in Europe as well as the British colonies in America, during the 17th century.²⁴ Contrary to popular observations that participatory identity in elections of Portuguese Goa was exclusive to the Catholic elite, census records available in the parliamentary archives of Portugal prove otherwise. The right to vote and contest elections were bestowed upon all category of people; Catholic, Hindus and Muslims irrespective of their religion, as long as they satisfied the payment of the stipulated taxes to the state and other qualifications.²⁵ It was an indicator that financial standing had a bearing upon voting in Goa along with other qualifications. In fact, the profusion of taxpayers as seen in the electoral records especially after 1852 is bewildering. The electoral records make no mention of payment of tax by the clergymen; *parcho* or the *sacerdoto*, or the *clerigo* and were exempt from this criterion of paying taxes. However, they participated in elections.

The amount of taxes paid by voters and a candidates contesting the election greatly differed. It is also important to remember that parliamentary elections held

²³ *Diário do Governo*, No. 272 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, November 18, 1858); T. Coelho, *Manual Político do Cidadão Português* (Porto: Typografia A. VAP da Empresa Literaria, 1908), 505-507. In the *plurinominal* system, the allocated seats were filled on the basis of the maximum votes polled by candidates or contestants.

²⁴ James M. Buchanan, and Gordon Tullock, *The Calculus of Consent: Logical Foundation of Constitutional Democracy* (USA: University of Michigan Press, 2004), 77-79. According to these authors, voting meant sharing of power and decision making. However, the voter may have little role to play if the ruler acts as the sole arbitrator and may even be a single decision maker. On the other hand, if a person paid a tax to be allowed to be voted, he had every right to expect a profit for himself to the amount of his contribution, to make decisions, share power as a matter of right “bargain” on the part of the taxpayer to maximise his profit, since his money was at stake.

²⁵ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 520.

through an indirect system in Portuguese Goa until 1852, had various levels of voting and the taxes paid by the voters and the contestants varied according to the levels in which they participated. For example, until 1852, a voter who qualified to participate in the parochial elections was required to contribute less tax than a provincial voter.²⁶ The tax was levied on income from property, business and other approved sources.²⁷

The electoral census of Goan voters as well as the representatives eligible for elections provided in the electoral records of the parliament shows that taxes were generally paid in the local currency, either in the *Réis Provincial* or *Xerafins* (*Ashrafi*) or imposts on tobacco tax in *Tangas*.²⁸ The average paid tax in *Xerafins* is recorded at around 334, but the wealthier among the electorate paid a higher tax.²⁹

²⁶ *Instruções de 7 de Agosto de 1826*, Article 4; *Decreto de 4 de Junho de 1836*, Article 4.2; *Decreto de 28 de Abril de 1845*, Article 5 and Article 7. The voter in the parochial assembly had to possess a gross annual income of 100\$000 *réis* and paid an amount of 10\$000 *réis* to the government. A provincial voter had to have a gross income 200\$000 *réis* and paid an amount of 20\$000 *réis* to the government. The *réis* or the *real* was a currency of Portugal. It was in circulation in Portuguese India, minted either in copper or silver (depending upon its denomination) during the 19th century. It was usually written as 5\$000 (5000) *réis*, or 100\$000 *réis*. 300 *réis* were equivalent to 5 *tangas*. A higher denomination of 5\$00 or 1\$000 *réis* in Portugal was in silver.

²⁷ The Constitution of 1822; *C.C. de 1826*; *Instruções de 8 de Agosto de 1821*; *Decreto Eleitoral de setembro de 1852*, Article 7; *Decreto no. 2679 de janeiro de 1853*, Article 6; *Lei Eleitoral de 23 Novembro de 1859*, Article 2. All these laws stated that a person qualified to be a parochial voter had to possess a gross income of 100\$000 *réis* and show evidence of having paid to the government, a tax amounting to 10\$000 *réis*, from any of the legally approved sources of income listed as follows: (1) Proceeds from interests, rents and pensions or proceeds from the municipal council, Holy House of Mercy or Hospitals. (2) 5\$000 *réis* on proceeds from rural or urban properties leased out. (3) 1\$000 *réis* from proceeds on other direct contribution, from urban or rural properties not leased out, or any proceeds from the industry. (4) More than 1\$000 *réis*, from the rents on houses. (5) Regular employees of the state, retired, and pensioned or those who were employed with important and extinct offices, and were provided with remuneration, amounting to 100\$000 *réis*. (6) Egresses who possessed an income of 100\$000 *réis*. (7) Pensioners of the state who possessed an annual income of whatever nature of 100\$000 *réis*. At the provincial level, a voter had to possess gross annual income of 200\$000 *réis* from the sources mentioned above and paid an amount of 20\$000 *réis* as tax to the government.

²⁸ AHP, *Caixa*, No.1256. In Portuguese India, the *réis provincial* were in common usage. Ninety *réis provincial*, were equivalent 50 *réis forte*. See in *Goa Sob Dominação Portuguesa* by A. A Bruto da Costa, 300.

²⁹ AHP, *Caixa*, No.1256. The higher tax is paid anywhere from 334 to 500 *xerafins*. A hundred *réis* were almost equivalent to one *xerafim*.

Populist Identities in Elections (1852-1894)

The mid-19th century marks a watershed in the electoral processes of Goa. This was due to the extended suffrage in force after 1851 in Goa as in the rest of the Portuguese dominions. It was the outcome of the fall of a domineering figure in Portuguese history, a radical right wing supporter and the Premier of Portugal, António Bernado da Costa Cabral from power in 1851, who attempted to keep at bay populist elements from administration, during his regime. His ouster at the hands of the more liberal Duke of Saldanha was characterised by the implementation of new reforms which extended franchise for more than two decades.³⁰ Firstly elections ceased to be indirect and voters could directly participate in elections, leading to a significant increase in number of voters who directly participated, unlike earlier. Secondly, the reduction in the taxation slab to qualify as voters was also responsible for an increase in the number of voters in Goa.³¹ This period, seen as the phase of regeneration allowed a wider section of people to vote in Goa across caste and professional lines. Therefore, the period from 1852 to 1895, is marked by an increasing propensity of populist identities besides the elite section to participate in the elections of Goa namely; *proprietário* (landlord), *carpinteiro* (carpenter), *varzeiro* (agriculturist), *pescador* (fisherman), *pedreiro* (mason), *louvrador* (toddy tapper), *distilador* (distiller), *mainato* (washer man), *fiscal* (supervisor), *botiqueiro* (shopkeeper), *paneleiro* (pot-maker), *juiz de paz* (district judge), *emfermeiro* (male nurse), *taberneiro* (inn-keeper), *julgador* (judge), *cozinheiro* (cook)³², *boia* (a carrier

³⁰ David Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal* (Britain: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 124.

³¹ *Decreto de 30 de Setembro de 1852*, Article 5. According to the Decree of 1852, there was only one category of voters. They were required to possess a gross income of 100\$000 réis. The same provisions were retained even in the *Lei de 8 de Maio de 1878*, Article 1.

³² AHP, *Caixa*, No. 309 (Year 1855), fls. 6, 7 and 10.

of the palanquin), *trabalhador* (worker), *barbeiro* (barber), *azeiteiro* (oil-miller), *jornaleiro* (journalist), *ourives* (goldsmith), *senador* (senator), *sacerdote* (cleric or a priest), *parrocho* (parish priest) etc.³³

The Electoral Law of May 1878, yet another radical regulation, was the result of a protracted debate in the parliament between the political parties in Portugal spanning for over a decade. The groups with leftist leanings, especially the reformist party (later *Progressistas*) of Portugal favoured enlargement of franchise and reduction of royal privileges. This law was sought to be tailor-made to suit the plummeting financial fortunes of Portugal. Its provisions which considerably relaxed the demands on voting, revolutionised voting patterns in Goa as it did in Portugal for more than fifteen years.³⁴ More importantly, the head of the family (*chefe da família*) was also conceded the right to vote, without demands on literacy.³⁵

The statistics of voters depicted below show an increase of voters from 1860 to 1894. In the early 1860s, the voter statistics in Goa was over 6000. In the year 1865, it decreased considerable to 3,708 due to the caste rivalry and political tension in the circle of Salcette and the nullification of election in this circle.³⁶ There was a great leap forward in the number of voters in the year 1878 as it reached 17,469. Evidence shows that most of the voters registered had obtained the prerogative by virtue of being the Heads of Families, and only a few by their virtue of literacy.³⁷ The above

³³ AHP, *Caixa*, No.1256 (Year 1878). See Appendix I.

³⁴ This legislation stressed upon literacy (*saber ler e escrever*), a stipulated income of 100\$000 réis and 21 years of age for the general voter.

³⁵ Pedro Tavares de Almeida, *Das Urnas ao Hemíciclo (1878) Eleições em Portugal e Espanha -1874-1923* (Lisboa: Edição Assembleia da Republica, 2012), 21. In this context Pedro Tavares de Almeida said the following, “as the head of the family, it was expected that a person had the minimum subsistence to support his family”.

³⁶ *O Ultramar*, No. 1998, May 1899.

³⁷ AHP, *Caixa*, No.1256, Year 1878.

legislation remained in force till 1894. The subsequent regulation of March 1895, a move spearheaded by the Regeneration Party (*Partido Regeneradores*) in Portugal, adopted a retrograde move of disfranchising voters arguably on the ground that literacy was essential in voting. This law stressed upon factors of literacy and taxation to 5\$00 réis and the same was retained in the electoral legislations of 1899, and in 1901.³⁸

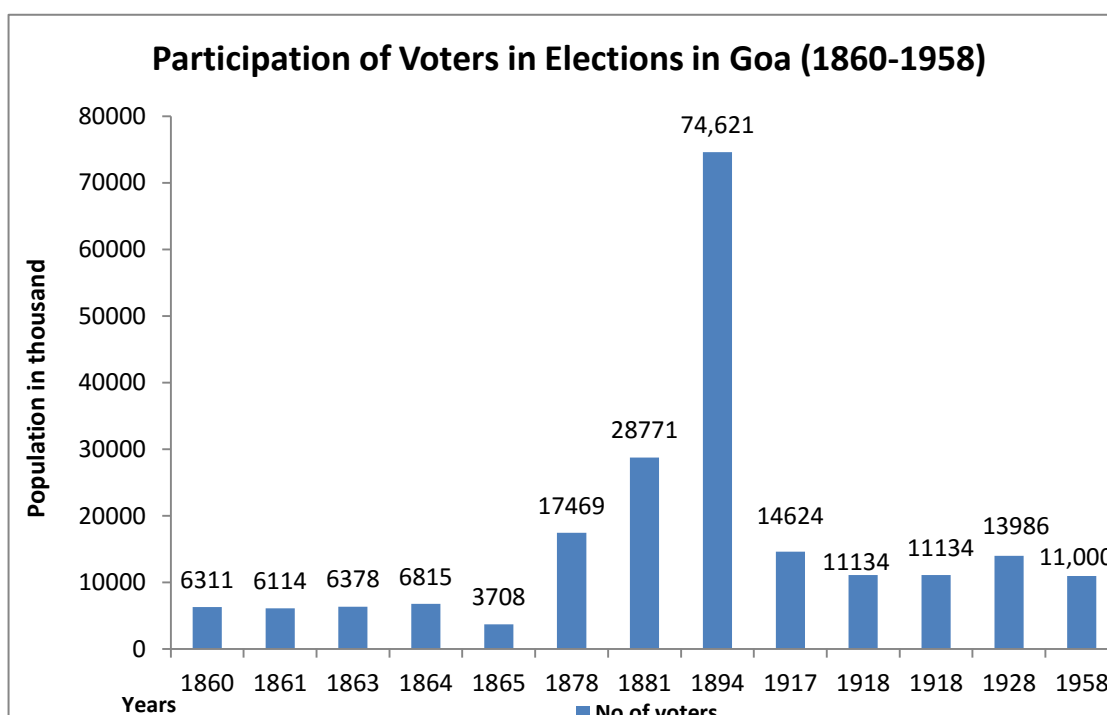
During the 20th century, money continued to play a role in the elections. The voters were the educated and moneyed lot.³⁹ In 1915, franchise was extended to military men, who had registered themselves as voters.⁴⁰ However, the number of voters during the republican period decreased remarkably and it could be attributed to the subtle and implicit restrictions on the qualifications to be a voter. Further, the disinterest in elections during the regime of Salazar after 1945 and interference from the government in elections also contributed to this down ward trend in the number of voters.⁴¹

³⁸ *Decreto de 28 de Março de 1895*, Article 1.2; *Lei Eleitoral aprovada por Carta da Lei de 26 de Julho de 1899*, Article 1.2 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1899); *Decreto de 8 de Agosto de 1901*, Article 1.2.

³⁹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 2176 (Year 1906). Proprietors featured as voters more commonly during this period in the electoral rolls of Goa.

⁴⁰ *Lei No. 314 de 1 de Junho de 1915*, Article 1 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, July 1915).

⁴¹ *BDG*, No. 66 (August 24, 1860), 544-46; *Analyse do Folhete Instilado O Visconde de Torres Nova e as Eleições em Goa* (1861), 62; *BDG* (1863, 1864); *Diário das Sessões dos Srs. Deputados* (February 1878); AHP, *Caixa*. No. 1915 A & B (for Nova Goa); *Caixa*, No.1917 (for Margão); *Caixa* No.1916 (for Mapuça); *BDG* No. 1918 (September 1918); *Prosas Dispersas I, Política Administração Ensino* (Panajim: Editada pelo Comissão de Homenagem, 1965), 34. The report on the presidential election of 1928 declared that the actual voters were 14,857 for Portuguese India, in *Heraldo* (1928); T. de B. Cunha provides statistics for the year 1958 in *Liberdades Cívicas em Goa*.



The representatives contesting the elections (*deputados*) in Goa, paid a tax three times higher than voters in *xerafins* or other local currency in circulation.⁴² The annual income of *deputado* contesting the elections had to be 400\$000 *réis* from property, business, employment, trade or other sources.⁴³ However, the gross annual income of 400\$,000 *réis* essential to meet his qualification, were in *réis fraco* or the weaker currency.⁴⁴ A higher possession of wealth demanded by a *deputado* was indicative the socio-economic status of the candidate contesting elections. It was believed that the rich alone had the time to spare to participate in public administration.

⁴² *Instruções de 7 de Agosto de 1826*, Article 8; AHP, *Caixa*, No. 52. In 1836, there is a record of a *deputado* paying 1336 *xerafins* (*mil trezentos trinta tres xerafins*).

⁴³ *Instruções de 7 de Agosto de 1826*, Article 8; *Constituição de 1838*, Article 74; *D. E. de 1852*, Articles 10-11; *L. E. de 1856*, Article 3; *Lei Eleitoral de November 1859*, Article 3; J. M. Magalhães, *De Codigo Eleitoral Portuguez*, 256; *Lei Eleitoral aprovada por Carta da Lei de 26 de Julho de 1899*. A person who claimed to have possessed an income of 400\$000 *réis* had to show evidence of having paid a tax of 40\$000 *réis* during the last financial year to the government.

⁴⁴ *Decreto de 12 de Janeiro de 1853*, Article 2; Also the “Decreto de Dom Carlos of 1899.” sent to the overseas colonies in *Boletim Oficial do Governo do Estado da India*, No. 67 (August 29,1899).

Power of the Purse: Role of the *Maior Contribuintes*

The *maior contribuintes* (major contributors) were the highest taxpayers of the province. By virtue of this fact, they were bestowed the prerogative of being associated with all the census commissions and the electoral boards which coordinated the electoral procedures in all administrative bodies of Goa.⁴⁵ As such, they enjoyed a heavy clout in the representative processes of Portuguese India. Since 1822, the major contributors played a crucial role in elections and their outcome.⁴⁶ According to R. Correia Afonso, their domination stemmed from the fact that majority of people in Goa were illiterate and belonged to the landless class.⁴⁷ Their weighty contribution of taxes to the state exchequer allowed them proximity to the government and other officials of the state. They were often consumed by political arrogance and this aspect became a subject of debate in the contemporary newspapers of the 19th century.

The politically driven agendas and the spirit of competition pervasive locally in Goa since the mid-1860s due to the emergence of local political parties, added further vibrancy to their presence. This was more so when the interests of the political parties backed by the barons of the local newspapers were at stake. The newspaper, *A India Portuguesa* published an interesting article in 1865 which questioned the people in unequivocal terms, on the silence maintained by them on the arbitrary decisions undertaken by the major contributors. This silence made this ‘elite’ group to believe that their judgement was superior to that of others.⁴⁸ It was universally accepted that

⁴⁵ *Instruções de 22 de Novembro de 1820*; HAG, MR, 263, MR, No. 227, fl. 63.

⁴⁶ R. Corrêia Afonso, “A evolução do municipalismo na Índia Portuguesa.” in *A Índia Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923), 421.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, 421.

⁴⁸ *A Índia Portuguesa*, February 15, No. 216, 1865. This article appeared in the background of the electoral debacle which occurred in the circle of Margão in 1865. The Major Contributors were

the major contributors used their money power to attain supremacy in the elections and exclude those candidates whom they opposed.⁴⁹

In another article published in the *O Ultramar* in 1889, the major contributors were addressed as the 'Grand Voters' who held the key to the electoral results in Goa and influenced the decision of the people during the last several years without a voice of protest. It went on to say that the decisions of these 'Grand Voters' were thrust upon all, and blindly, without any thought by the voter, in the choice of a candidate.⁵⁰ The electoral commissions were seen as gullible tools in the hands of these contributors and the electoral regulations were not justly implemented.⁵¹

A major contributor had to be registered as a voter in the electoral census. A person qualified himself to a major contributor on the basis of the taxes that he paid to the state exchequer. However, the final decision on this matter vested with the electoral commissions of the district. Their selection took place a few days prior to the general elections.⁵² The final list of the major contributors was affixed on the door of the municipality for the perusal of the public.⁵³ Thus, the power of the purse reigned supreme over the voters throughout the Portuguese rule in Goa.

blamed for arbitrary decisions and consternation in this circle. This issue was also caste based and generated much heat in South Goa.

⁴⁹ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 347, 1867.

⁵⁰ *O Ultramar*, No. 1604, December 28, 1889.

⁵¹ *O Ultramar*, No. 1601, December 7, 1889.

⁵² *Lei Eleitoral de September 30, 1852*, Article 21 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1852), 34.

⁵³ *Ibid.*, Article 21.3 and Article 22, 34. The municipal council, in its public session, examined and verified the authenticity of the list of these contributors presented by the secretary of the public treasury with the evidence of the documents submitted by them. Disputes if any had to be duly heard by the administrative authorities or other citizens present and accordingly prepared a list of the contributors. See *Lei Eleitoral de 23 Novembro de 1859*, Articles 6-7 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1860), 9.

Age and Educational Qualifications

Age

It was a commonly accepted principle in most countries which allowed elections that a certain amount of maturity was essential in voting. It was also important that a legislator was not motivated to join politics for the mere prestige offered by his position.⁵⁴ In Portugal and her colonies, most legislations of the 19th century allowed a voter to participate in elections at the age of 25 years.⁵⁵ However, it was relaxed to 21 years under certain exceptional cases to men who were married and completed a course in higher education such as the lyceum or acquired a degree in education.⁵⁶ In 1878, the voting age was reduced to 21 years and remained as such throughout the Portuguese period in Goa.⁵⁷ The election of 1892 shows that the youngest married voter was registered at 21 years of age.⁵⁸ In 1911, it was reiterated that a voter was allowed to vote at 21 years.⁵⁹ This requirement was retained till 1961. Similar rules on age were applicable to a candidate contesting the elections. It was required that a *deputado* completed 25 years, to be considered eligible for this position. But the age was relaxed at 21 years under certain circumstances.⁶⁰

⁵⁴ Laski, *Grammar of Politics*, 23-34.

⁵⁵ *Instruções de 18 de Agosto de 1821; Constituição de 1838, Article 72; Instruções de 12 de Agosto de 1847.*

⁵⁶ *Lei de 11 de Julho de 1822, Article 5.1; Decreto no. 2679, Article 7* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1860), 29.

⁵⁷ *Lei de 8 de Maio de 1878.*

⁵⁸ AHP, *Caixa*, No.1841 C.

⁵⁹ *Decreto-Lei de 14 Março de 1911, Article 7.*

⁶⁰ *Instruções de 22 de Novembro de 1820, Article 91; Instruções de 7 de Agosto de 1826, Article 8.*

Educational Qualifications

The *sufrágio capacitário* (suffrage capableness) demanded *saber ler e escrever* (literacy) and the same was considered an important requisite in elections.⁶¹ It was explicitly mentioned in the Regulation of 1878 and that of 1895.⁶² As mentioned earlier, the voting age was relaxed from 25 to 21 years of age, if a voter had acquired a higher degree in education.⁶³ After the historic legislation of 30th September, 1852 a higher degree in education obtained from *Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa* (the Medical School of Goa), *Escola Matemática e Militar de Goa* (the Military and Mathematical School of Goa) and *Escola de Engenharia de Goa* (the School of Engineering of Goa) were also recognised for voting.⁶⁴ In 1860, the Goan member of the parliament, Fransisco Luis Gomes declared that it justified to demand an educational qualification, as it guaranteed a judicious exercise of the vote, but to discriminate on the basis of the country of origin or the colour of the skin was unjustifiable.⁶⁵

Ironically, after 1910, the republicans who had earlier supported the widening of franchise went back against their promises. This move was seen as a result of the division in the Republican Party of Portugal (PRP) and the influence of the elite conservative faction in Lisbon. The republican regime encouraged the Hindu elites to protect the interests of their community in elections and express their aspirations with

⁶¹ *Instruções de 31 de Outubro de 1820*, Article 11 demanded that a voter to possess essential virtues and intelligence.

⁶² *Lei de 8 de Maio de 1878*, Article 1; *Decreto de 28 de Março de 1895*, Article 2.

⁶³ *Lei de 11 de Julho de 1822*, Articles 2 and 5; *Instruções de 7 de Agosto de 1826*, Article 4; HAG, MR, “Decreto de Vinte e tres e vinte e sete de Maio 1846.”, No. 220 A, fl.325; *Decreto de 30 Setembro de 1852*, Article 7 and all other legislations thereafter.

⁶⁴ “Portaria de Governador Geral Visconde Villa Nova de Ourem de Março de 1853.” in *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*, April 1853, 106.

⁶⁵ *Memorial Volume of Selected Works of Francisco Luis Gomes*, 353.

more confidence.⁶⁶ In 1911, the Hindu elites demanded recognition to vernacular languages as criteria to participate in the parliamentary elections on par with Portuguese. It was also stated by these elites that those who were proficient in Marathi language could hardly be compared in their intellectual wisdom to those ‘so called Portuguese literates’ who merely babbled and erred in their Portuguese language.⁶⁷ Despite this demand, the new legislation enacted in 1913, still laid a stress laid on literacy in Portuguese or *saibam ler e escrever português*.⁶⁸ This pre-requisite of literacy in Portuguese language disappointed a substantial section of Hindus who were literate in the vernacular languages and were now denied the right to vote on account of the language issue.⁶⁹

The subtle political agenda of the government can be perceived from legislations which insisted on *saber e escrever português*. The demand of literacy in Portuguese had the effect of drawing boundaries of inclusion and exclusion in Goa. It could disfranchise a large section of voters who did not know the Portuguese, despite their proficiency in the vernacular language. This provision which was considered as ‘Draconian’ by the educated elites in Goa.⁷⁰ It was withdrawn in the year 1918.⁷¹ The *saber ler e escrever* qualification was retained when elections were reintroduced in Portuguese India after 1945. However, the stress was on general literacy.⁷² During this

⁶⁶ “Homanagem Justa.” in *A Opinião Hindu* No. 10, February 1911. The date of this newspaper was not clear.

⁶⁷ “As futuras eleições e a nossa attitude.” in *A Opinião Hindu*, March 6, 1911.

⁶⁸ “Lei Eleitoral No. 3 de 3 de julho de 1913.” Article 1, in *Codigo Eleitoral* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1913).

⁶⁹ *Hindu* (Marathi newspaper), May 27, 1924.

⁷⁰ *Hindu*, May 17, 1925.

⁷¹ *Decreto N° 3907 de 11 de Março de 1918*. This decree aimed to enlarge franchise in the Portuguese dominions. In Portuguese India, this legislation allowed literacy in any language.

⁷² *Decreto Lei no. 34938 de 1945*, Article 3.

period, a voter had to prove his literacy through a handwritten application, the genuineness of which had to be attested by a notary. He was also required to provide his certificate of birth and proof of residence certified by competent authorities, like a *regedor* or the president of the executive committee of the municipal council or administrator of the province or the president of the village assembly.⁷³

The exalted position of a member of the parliament and the responsibilities associated with it, demanded higher educational qualifications. A degree of higher learning was one of the criteria for a candidate to contest elections to the parliament. The Law of 30th September, 1852 and the Decree of 12th January, 1853 had additional provisions regarding educational qualifications, which were more specific to Portuguese India. These regulations decreed that a candidate contesting the seat of a *deputado* could also have acquired a degree from institutions of higher learning in Portuguese Goa, besides those in the metropolis.⁷⁴ These qualifications of literacy for a *deputado* remained in force throughout the Republican period.

After 1910, it became mandatory for the aspiring candidates contesting the elections to present their nominations, backed by some voters from their circle, before the president of the Municipal Council.⁷⁵

⁷³ *Decreto no. 37570 de 1949.*

⁷⁴ “Portaria de Visconde Villa Nova de Ourem, Março de 1853.” in *BDG*, April 1853, 106. A *deputado* could have obtained his degree from the *Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa*, or a degree in engineering or artillery from the *Escola Matemática e Militar de Goa* or a degree in law or he could be a lawyer who was qualified to practice in the judicial court.

⁷⁵ “Lei Eleitoral de 5 de abril de 1911.” Article 4; *Código Eleitoral*, 1911, Article 41; *Lei no. 3 de 3 de julho de 1913*, Article 33; *Portaria no. 2800 de 1921*; *Lei no. 314*, Articles 8 and 9; “Lei no. 941 de 14 de fevereiro de 1920.” in *Legislação Relativa ao Estado da Índia*, 1921, Vol. XXI (1922), 161. .

Head of the Family

The heads of families had an esteemed position in the Portuguese society. There is a reference to the voting rights bestowed upon them in the Instructions of 31st October, 1820.⁷⁶ The electoral census conducted in Goa usually maintained a record on the number of households in the localities across Portuguese India, which probably assisted in ascertaining the numbers of representatives that could be assigned to a province. The electoral regulations refer to the term *fogos* which literally means fires, but in this context, it referred to hearths or households.

A person was recognised as the head of the family only when he had lived with the household for one year, and this fact had to be attested by a notary in the presence of two witnesses. The Decree of 12th January, 1853 which specially pertained to Portuguese India stated that a head of the family would not be allowed to vote if he had not paid six *tangas* as the tobacco consumption tax.⁷⁷ A joint family found commonly in the New Conquests was considered as one household, and this right was exclusively conceded to one person of the family.⁷⁸ The Law of 8th May 1878 the brain child of the Regeneration Party of Portugal served as a gigantic leap forward in the extension of franchise in Goa for the heads of families. Though it retained the qualifications of reading and writing for the voters, the heads of the families were exempted from these requirements.⁷⁹ This law became the main force behind the

⁷⁶ *Instruções de 31 de Outubro de 1820*, Article 9.

⁷⁷ *Decreto de 12 de Janeiro de 1853*, Article 112.

⁷⁸ HAG, MR, No. 220 A, fl. 391. “Decreto de Vinte e tres e Vinte e sete de Maio de 1846 e Disposições especias para as Ilhas Adjacentes e Provincias Ultramarinas.”, Article 89.4.

⁷⁹ “Lei Eleitoral de 8 de Maio de 1878.” in *Codigo Eleitoral Portuguez* by J. M. Barbosa de Magalhães, 275-276. The Head of Family also paid no taxes as per this law on the justification that if he could sustain his family financially, it amounted to possessing an income required for a voter and therefore, was eligible to vote. This justification was given in the Parliament by Marquis (Duke) of Avila and Bolama; See also “Compartamentos eleitoraes em Lisboa 1879-1910.” in *Analise Social*, vol. XXI, No.55 (1985), 115. According to Pedro Tavares de Almeida, this law played a crucial role in

enlargement of franchise in Goa during the third quarter of the 19th century. From 1878 to 1895, there were voters who were registered as heads of families and who paid no taxes and did not know to read and write.

After 1895, the franchise was restricted for the heads of the families as they were denied this prerogative of voting without literacy. This move was supposedly initiated with the well thought intent of suppressing the popularity of the republican supporters in Portugal.⁸⁰ The heads of families who paid a tax of 5\$00 *réis* alone were allowed to vote in the elections.⁸¹ However, elections were not held in Goa for a few years, although electoral regulations were sent to Portuguese India. It is to be noted that the members of the parliament were nominated by virtue of their experience and political connections with the metropolitan government. Probably as a result of the changes in the electoral qualifications, before the establishment of the Republic, the heads of families were inconsequential in the electoral census.⁸² The electoral regulation of 1911, allowed the heads of families to vote in the elections.⁸³

Gender

Franchise in Portuguese India as that of the Metropolis during the 19th and 20th centuries was restricted to males. The participation of women in elections was a non-

changing the equations in numbers of the electorate even in the metropolis. See Tavares de Almeida, *Das Urnas ao Hemíciclo* (1878), 21.

⁸⁰ Tavares de Almeida, *Legislação Eleitoral Portuguesa*, XX and XXI. This legislation of 1895 was introduced by the *Regeneradores*, at a time when their popularity was on the wane and Portugal was plagued by financial problems. The previous legislation of 1878 and its relaxed legislations had widely favoured the republican wave in Portugal.

⁸¹ *Decreto de 28 de Março de 1895*, Article 2.

⁸² AHP, *Caixas*, No. 2175 and No. 2176, for the election held for the year 1906 in the electoral circles of Mapuça and Margão. In these records, there is no mention of the head of the family.

⁸³ *Lei Eleitoral de 5 de abril de 1911*, Article 5.2.

issue both in the metropolis and Goa during the 19th century. After the first decade of the 20th century, there were discussions on women's franchise in Portugal. The Constitution of 1933 and the Law of 27th December 1933 allowed women with a secondary course or a higher degree in education to vote in elections. But women in Goa did not vote till 1961 although electoral regulations sent to Portuguese Goa conceded this prerogative on paper.⁸⁴ T. de B. Cunha applauded the efforts of a Goan lady Shakuntala Miranda, the daughter of Professor Lucio da Miranda who took active part in campaigning the cause of women in Goa.⁸⁵

Methods of Elections

A study of the methods followed in the parliamentary elections in Portuguese India shows that they were not always patterned along the lines of the metropolitan government.⁸⁶ Portuguese India followed more than one method in the election of its representatives. From 1822 to 1851, most of the parliamentary elections held in Goa were indirect in nature.⁸⁷ But after 1852, elections were conducted in a direct manner.

Indirect System of Elections (1822-1851)

The indirect system of parliamentary election involved phased voting; from the parishes at the lowermost rung of the administrative hierarchy to the parliament at the top of the order. It was patterned according to the guidelines laid down by the Spanish

⁸⁴ Agostinho Piedade Colaço, "O Systema da Colonização Portuguesa." in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No.4 (1940).

⁸⁵ *Goa's Freedom Struggle* (Bombay: T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961), 464-467.

⁸⁶ HAG, MR, No. 199B, "Actas da Eleição para Cortes." fl.419. The *Additional Act of the Constitution 1852*, Article 25 declared the following, *As provincias ultramarinas poderão ser governadas por leis especiaes, segundo o exigir a conveniencia de cada uma d'ellas.*

⁸⁷ *Direito Constitucional Portuguez, Estudos sobre A Carta Constitucional de 1826 e Acta Adicional de 1826 e Acto Adicional de 1852, 2ª parte*, vol.I (Coimbra: Livraria Portugueza e Estrangeira, 1879), 82.

Constitution. In the overseas provinces, the procedures of elections were required to begin in December, much in advance of the actual conduct of elections to the parliament.⁸⁸ In this system, the general electorate did not play a direct role in selecting the *deputados*. Rather, a small proportion of voters or electors representing each district played a role in the final choice of the member of the parliament. It required a three-phased voting process spread over a few weeks as described below.⁸⁹

Mode of Conducting the Indirect System of Elections in Portuguese Goa

Junta Eleitoral de Freguesia/Assembléa Parochial (Primary Electoral Assembly)

The indirect system of election commenced in every parish.⁹⁰ It necessitated the composition of the electoral commission and an electoral board.⁹¹ The electoral commission conducted the census of voters in the locality.⁹² This responsibility was officially thrust upon the parish priest, who was assisted by a few experienced and trustworthy men, who together constituted the electoral commission. A copy of the census report duly signed by members of the commission was made available in the parish for public perusal, while the original was sent to the municipality of the respective district.⁹³

⁸⁸ *Ibid.*, Article 38.

⁸⁹ *Instruções de 22 de Novembro de 1820*, Articles 11-21.

⁹⁰ A parish was called the *freguesia*. It was the lowest unit of administration in the district and was generally made up of 1000 households. This could be done by combining other smaller villages within its jurisdiction.

⁹¹ HAG, MR, No. 204 A, “Decreto de treze de Julho de 1826.”, Articles 14- 16, fl.23.

⁹² *Instruções de 22 de Novembro de 1821*, Articles 11-21. The report bore the name of voter’s residence, age, details on tax contribution, educational qualifications, employment and profession, and eligibility as a candidate (for parochial, municipal, district councils or as a *deputado*).

⁹³ HAG, MR, No. 204 A, “Decreto de treze de Julho de 1826.”, Article 10 and 15, fl. 22; *Lei Eleitoral de 1852*.

The next step involved the formation of the electoral board for every parish which facilitated the conduct of the parochial election. The members of the electoral board were appointed from among a specified number of highest taxpayers of every parish. The superintendent of taxes of the municipality established their status as the highest taxpayers.⁹⁴ These highest taxpayers thus constituted the *Mesa Eleitoral de Parochia* (Electoral Board of the Parish.)⁹⁵ The board then initiated the electoral proceeding to constitute the *Assembléa Primaria* or the *Junta Eleitoral da Freguesia*.⁹⁶ The number of elected representatives allowed for a parish depended upon the residents or population within the parish.⁹⁷ The parochial voters then voted in favour of representatives of their choice and presented their ballot papers to the president of the electoral board. The most voted representatives were declared the winners.

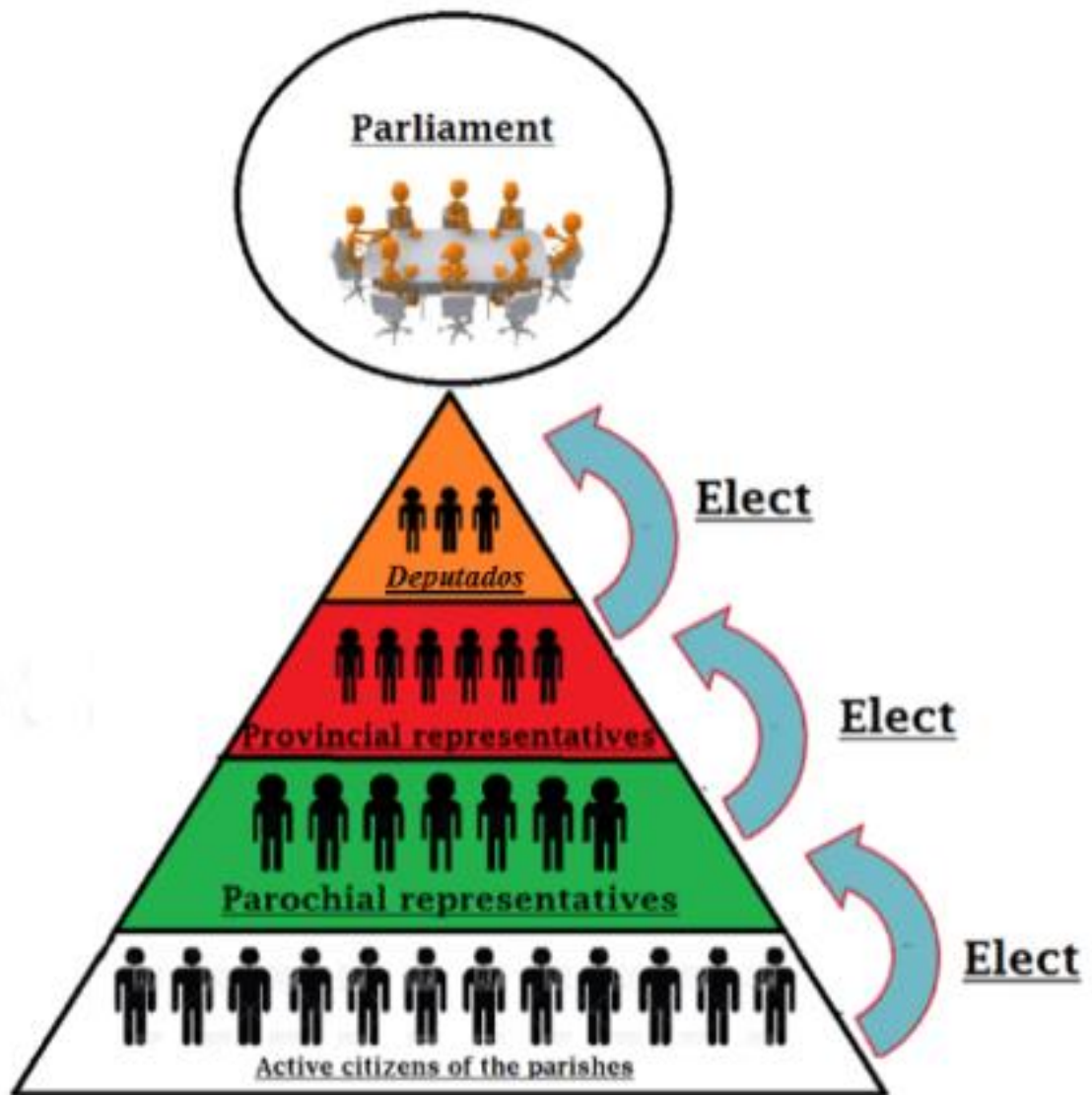
⁹⁴ It was based on the taxes paid during the preceding year, from the census records compiled lately, by the electoral commission.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 21.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.*, Article 1, fl. 22; *Instruções de 22 de novembro de 1820*, Article 35; *Instruções de 7 de agosto, de 1826*, Article 22; *Decreto de 3 de junho de 1834, e de 8 de outubro de 1836*, Article 37 and other laws. The number of representatives for a parochial assembly depended upon the number of households in the parish. This electoral body should not be confused with the *Junta da Parochia*, a local administrative body which was entrusted with public administration since 1822. The *juntas eleitoraes das freguesias* were entrusted with electoral responsibilities of the parishes in the parliamentary elections of Portuguese Goa.

⁹⁷ *Instruções de 22 de novembro de 1820*, Article 38. 200 households were represented by one elector.

Indirect System of Elections in Portuguese Goa



Junta Eleitoral da Comarca (District Electoral Assembly)

Further, the elected representatives from every *assembléa primaria* (primary assembly) within each *comarca* (district), met at their headquarters to elect amongst themselves, district representatives.⁹⁸ Generally, one provincial representative was allowed for a population ranging between one thousand to less than two thousand

⁹⁸ HAG, MR, No. 204, fl. 22.

households.⁹⁹ A list prepared well in advance by the electoral committee, identifying the voters and candidates who could participate in this election. No person was allowed to vote twice or without his name being registered on the voters list. The identification of the authenticity of the voter was entrusted to the census commission and authenticated by the parish priest or priests who were present at the time of elections.¹⁰⁰ The ‘*não-Catholic eleitores*’ (non-Catholic voters) were identified by the magistrate or the *regedor* in the respective parishes.¹⁰¹

Junta Eleitoral de Provincia (Provincial Electoral Assembly)

The final round involved the election of *deputados* to the parliament. The electors comprised of the elected representatives from all the districts assemblies or the *juntas eleitoraes das comarças* in the province of Portuguese India.¹⁰² This election was conducted at the provincial headquarters (initially at Cidade de Goa and later at Nova Goa).¹⁰³ The administrator of the district in which the provincial capital was located had a colossal task of supervising the entire proceedings. Besides, the Central Electoral Commission of the Province which comprised of the president, two scrutinisers, two secretaries and two assistant judges, directed the procedure of

⁹⁹ *Instruções de 7 de agosto, de 1826*, Article 26.

¹⁰⁰ HAG, MR, No. 204 A, “Decreto de treze de Julho de 1826.”, Article 22, fl.23. The other electoral laws of the 19th century also mention the same.

¹⁰¹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 309.

¹⁰² The Minutes of the first provincial election held in December 1821 are given in Appendix III and IV.

¹⁰³ HAG, MR, No. 204 A, “Decreto de treze de Julho de 1826.”

elections. The parish priest and the magistrate also constituted two other functionaries of this electoral process.¹⁰⁴

The election proceedings were carried out with all their solemnity by placing an urn on the table carrying ballot papers, bearing the names of the candidates in the electoral fray. The members of the electoral board had the privilege of leading the voting process, and were subsequently followed by the rest of the electorate.¹⁰⁵ The scrutinisers documented the number of voters who had participated in the proceedings and also of those who abstained from it. In the entire process, which was claimed to have been carried out by a system of a secret ballot, the voters had *liberdade de voto* (freedom of vote) in the exercise of franchise.¹⁰⁶ The proceedings were recorded by the secretaries and later read aloud by the president of the electoral assembly. The candidates who acquired more votes than the others, were declared as *deputados* of the province. The results were then displayed for public viewing.

After the completion of the entire electoral process, the central electoral board stood dissolved.¹⁰⁷ All the ballot papers which were of no significance were then burnt, except of those who had emerged victorious, or those, whose results were declared null and void. The records were preserved with caution. The president published the proceedings of the elections. A notary was required to make several copies of the proceedings, which were sent to different electoral divisions duly signed

¹⁰⁴ The *regedor* of the parish was nominated by the government, on the recommendation of administrator of the respective district. The *regedor* had to be the resident of the district, could read, write and count.

¹⁰⁵ Freitas da Costa, *Colecção de Textos Constitucionais Portugueses Desde as Actas dos Cortes de Lamego até a Constituição de 1933*, Articles 33 and 50.

¹⁰⁶ Coelho, *Manual Politico do Cidadão Portuguez*, 507.

¹⁰⁷ *Indice Remissivo da Legislação Novissima de Portugal Os annos de 1833 até 1865*, Article 64.

by the President of the Electoral Commission.¹⁰⁸ The governor general then communicated the results of the proceedings to the Minister and the Secretary of the Ministry of Marine and the Overseas.¹⁰⁹ Similarly, all proceedings related to the electoral processes were also despatched to the Metropolis. The list of provincial voters in the historic elections of 1822 in the three districts of Portuguese Goa is given.¹¹⁰

The List of Provincial Voters in the Elections of 1822

District of Ilhas

Padre, Paulo António Dias da Conceição	Vicar-general of the Archbishop, native of Cavelossim
Canon, António João d’Athaide	Sirula
José Maria dos Remedios	Murdá (Ilhas)
Luíz Filipe do Rosario	Piedade
João Fransisco Xavier da Costa e Menezes	S. Mathias

District of Salcete

Constâncio Roque da Costa	Margão
Benigno Xavier dos Anjos	Chinchinim
Fr. Cosme Camillo Valeriano	Raia
Fr. Agostinho D’Avé Maria Lourenço	Margão
Fr. Pedro Paulo de Carvalho	Chandor
Fransisco Salvador Gomes	Navelim

District of Bardez

Fr. Pedro António Ribeiro	Pilerne
Vitorino José Maria Lopes	Pilerne
António José Mariano de Noronha	Nerul
Fr. Camillo Lourenço Soares	Parish Priest of Socorro

¹¹¹

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., 65; *Lei eleitoral de 1901*, Article 77.2.

¹⁰⁹ HAG, MR, No. 227, fl.67.

¹¹⁰ “Termo da Eleição dos Deputados em Côrtes por esta Provincia.” in *Gazeta de Goa*, No. 2, January 19, 1822.

¹¹¹ Ibid. Apart from these electors and representatives of districts, there were two others, namely António Pereira de Guarda Colimão from the district of Daman and José Caetano da Cunha e Conceição of Diu.

Direct Election

Since 1852 elections in Portuguese Goa ceased to be indirect in nature. Instead, they were conducted through a direct method of voting.¹¹² In fact, for a long time there were debates in the metropolis that indirect elections were to be replaced by direct elections.¹¹³ The Additional Act of the Constitution 1852, finally incorporated the system of direct elections in its document. The new regulations were then despatched by Her Majesty's government to the overseas provinces. These regulations received by the Governor General of the State of Portuguese India were then published in the government bulletin in March 1853.¹¹⁴ The direct method allowed a voter to directly cast his vote in favour of a candidate. Though the qualifications of voters remained the same, this reform had greatly increased the number of voters participating in the elections. This direct system of election introduced in 1852 remained unaltered till 1961.

Círculo Plurinominal and Círculo Uninominal

All elections in Portuguese India conducted since 1822, either indirectly or directly, could be conducted through two modes of organisation of the electoral divisions; the *círculo plurinominal* or *círculo uninominal*.¹¹⁵

Voting under *Círculo Plurinominal*

Under the system of the *círculo plurinominal*, the entire territory of Portuguese India was considered as a single electoral unit and was not divided into any constituencies

¹¹² *Acto Adicional a Carta Constitucional da Monarchia Portuguesa*, Articles 4 and 5 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1866), 2-4.

¹¹³ *Diário Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, April 1848.

¹¹⁴ "Portaria do Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar." No. 2676 of January 20, in *BDG* (1852).

¹¹⁵ Coelho, *Manual Politico do Cidadão Portuguez*, 485 and 507.

as was done after 1859.¹¹⁶ Accordingly, Portuguese India conducted its elections through this method from 1822 to 1859. It was permitted to elect the number of parliamentarians as allowed by the Home Government.¹¹⁷ Generally, elections were held in two or three rounds of voting. Candidates who polled very less votes and fell below a certain margin during the first round were eliminated and not allowed to contest in the remaining rounds. Under the above system, the required number of candidates who polled more votes than others were declared elected.¹¹⁸ The entire procedure of voting was spread across several days. In the event of a tie, the seniority in age would determine the result of voting.¹¹⁹

Voting under *Círculo Uninominal*

Under the *círculo uninominal* system of voting, the entire colony or a province was divided into electoral constituencies.¹²⁰ Portuguese Goa followed the *círculo uninominal* in the polls held in 1860 because the electoral law of November 1859 had recommended a reform in the system of voting. Therefore, the *plurinominal* system which was in operation for several decades was substituted by an *uninominal* system of voting in the overseas provinces. Portuguese India was divided into four districts; three for Goa and one for Daman and Diu in 1860. The number of constituencies did

¹¹⁶ Portuguese India comprising of Goa, Daman and Diu was considered as one unit. However, this study does not cover Daman and Diu.

¹¹⁷ ANTT, *Cópia do Acto da Eleição dos Deputados em Cortes desta Provincia de Goa*, fl. 2. The *plurinominal* system of voting was adopted in Portuguese Goa since the first election in 1822.

¹¹⁸ HAG, MR, No. 204 A, “Decreto de treze de Julho de 1826.” Article 37, fl.25; AHP, *Caixa 52*, fl. 224. This source provides information on the conduct of election in some of the parishes of Pernem, Bicholim and Sanguem where the Minutes of the meeting stated thus; “Following the Royal Instructions were elected by plurality voting, the following candidate...”

¹¹⁹ *Decreto de treze de Julho de 1826*, Article 41. The results of election held under the *círculo plurinominal* held from the year 1853 for Goa can be seen in Appendix V.

¹²⁰ *Lei de 23 de novembro de 1859*, Article 27.

not remain the same. A few examples of the same are given below.¹²¹ It allowed a single representative for a constituency. A person who secured maximum number of votes (in relative majority) was declared the *deputado* of the constituency.¹²² This system continued to be in practice in Goa till 1961.

Elections under *Círculo Uninominal*

Districts	Electoral Groupings and Year of Elections
1860	
Nova Goa	Ilhas, Pondá, Embarbacém, Astragar, Bally Chandravady, Cacorá, Bicholim and Sanquelim (or Satary)
Mapuçá	Bardez, Perném and Tiracol
Margão	Salcette, Canacona, Cabo de Rama and Angediva
Damão	Damão and Diu
1878	
Nova Goa	Ilhas, Novas Conquistas and Angediva
Mapuçá	Bardez, Damão and Diu
Margão	Salcette
1896	
Nova Goa	<i>Estado da Índia</i>
1901	
Margão	Ilhas de Goa, Salsete, Pondá, Quepem, Sanguem, Canácona and Angediva.
Mapuçá	Bardez, Perném Sanquelim Daman, Diu and Pragana.
1911	
.Margão	Ilhas, Salsete, Pondá, Quepem, Sanguem, Canacona and Angediva.
Mapuçá	Bardez, Perném, Sanquelim, Damão and Diu.
1915	
Índia	<i>Província da Índia.</i>
1918	
Índia	<i>Província da Índia.</i>
1922	
Índia	<i>Província da Índia.</i>

¹²¹ BDG, No, 61 (August 7,1860), 471; *Lei de 8 de Maio de 1878*; *Lei de 21 de Maio de 1896*; *Decreto de 8 de Agosto de 1901*; *Decreto-Lei de 11 de Maio de 1911*; *Lei No. 290, de 11 de Janeiro de 1915*; *Decreto No. 3997, de 30 de Março de 1918.*

¹²² Coelho, *Manual Político do Cidadão Portuguez*, 484.

Nomination of Candidates in the Parliamentary Elections

The nomination of local candidates to contest the elections was generally done by active and influential citizens who had the right to vote. Besides the government also thrust its official candidates (*candidatos do poder*) in the electoral fray, who strongly competed with their adversaries. With the establishment of local political parties in Goa in the second half of the 19th century, loyalties became divided along party lines and the candidates were generally nominated by a common consensus among its leaders. During the period of the republic a candidate seeking to contest the polls had to be proposed by certain number of voters from his constituency.

The Parliament - The Nodal Centre of Polemics

The Parliament of Portugal symbolised the cohesion of the Portuguese dominions and its representatives enjoyed dignifying prestige associated with this institution. Yet, it became an epicentre of vehement debates during the greater part of the 19th and 20th centuries. During the period from 1822 to 1852, the politics in the parliament reflected a gamble for power between the middle class and the aristocrats. The second phase which began after the fall of the Portuguese Premier, António Bernado da Costa Cabral was distinct for the bourgeois nature of the monarchy in which the two parties representing the interests of the middle class; the *Regeneradores* and the *Reformists* (later called as *Progressistas*) vied with each other to control the government. The third phase was conspicuous by the growth of republican interests which dominated the scene since 1910.¹²³

It was under this changing political discourse described above that Goan interests got entangled with the politics of the metropolis. The *deputados* elected to

¹²³ Birmingham, *A Concise History of Portugal*, 125-126.

the parliament in Portugal carried an exalted badge of status and therefore, this position was sought by many aspiring candidates in Goa; European as well as the indigenous elite.

Composition of the *Côrtes*

From being a mere consultative feudal body protecting the interests of the upper classes, the Portuguese Parliament witnessed reforms since 1821, to constitute an elected body, whose members represented the entire Portuguese dominions, and were empowered to exercise the legislative functions under the constitutional monarchy.¹²⁴ The unicameral legislature of the Chamber of Deputies, provided as per the Constitution of 1822, was transformed into a bicameral legislature, in 1826.¹²⁵ The legislative powers were now exercised through the two chambers, the Chamber of Parliamentarians (*Camara dos Deputados*) and the Chamber of Peers (*Camara dos Pares*) subject to the approval of the monarch. It required the king and the parliament to work together in unison to make laws for the Portuguese empire. The bicameral legislature introduced in 1826, lasted till the end of the first republican period in 1926.¹²⁶ An unicameral legislature (*Assembleia Nacional*) was introduced in Portugal in 1933.¹²⁷ But Portuguese India was allowed to send elected parliamentarians under the regime of Salazar to the National Assembly, only in 1945. A candidate was permitted to contest in more than one electoral division, but could stake his claim only

¹²⁴ *Dicionário de História de Portugal*, vol. II (Porto: Livraria Figuerinhas, 1963-1971), 197-200; *Carta Constitucional de 1826*, Article 13.

¹²⁵ *Constituição de 1822*, Article 30; *C. C. de 1826*, Article 12.

¹²⁶ Eduardo de Faria, *Novo Dicionário da Língua Portuguesa*, Serie C-E. In 1838, the *Câmara dos Pares* were substituted by the *Câmara dos Senadores*.

¹²⁷ *Constituição Política da República Portuguesa de 1933*, Article 71.

on one seat. In such instances, the priority governing the choice of his seat rested upon the following conditions: place of residence, the naturalness of his birth and the division where he polled the largest number of votes over his rival.¹²⁸ To cite an example, since 20th May, 1861, Vincent Ferrer Neto de Paiva ceased to be a representative for Portuguese India as he was elected in the Continent, in the electoral circle of Louzã, the place of his birth. For every *deputado*, a substitute was also elected.¹²⁹

Profile of the Members of the Parliament Representing Portuguese India

The changing profile of representation in the parliamentary elections of Goa¹³⁰ from 1822 to 1961 depicts a trend favouring the local candidates of Portuguese Goa. From 1822 to 1961, a total of 126 were contested in the parliamentary elections of Portuguese India.¹³¹ The Portuguese nationals won 63 seats, while the Goans won a respectable tally of 52 seats. The Luso-descendants managed to win only 11 seats. It can be seen that the Portuguese men dominated the electoral scene of Portuguese India during the constitutional regime, winning most seats in elections.

Since the beginning of the republican period in 1911, the government adopted a conscious policy decision to nominate Goans in the electoral fray as against the constitutional regime, where most representatives supported by the government were

¹²⁸ *Constituição de 1822*, Article 39.

¹²⁹ *Ibid.*, Article 40. The election of having substitutes or disallowing them was subject to instructions from the metropolis.

¹³⁰ This profile has been compiled from several sources; primary and secondary and include some of the following works: *Noção de alguns filhos distintos da Índia Portuguesa*; *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*; *Boletim do Governo/ Boletim Oficial do Estado da Índia 1845-1911*; *Diário das Sessões dos Srs. Deputados, 1836- 1926*; *Diário das Sessões dos Srs. Deputado, 1945 to 1965*, and several other works.

¹³¹ See Appendix VI.

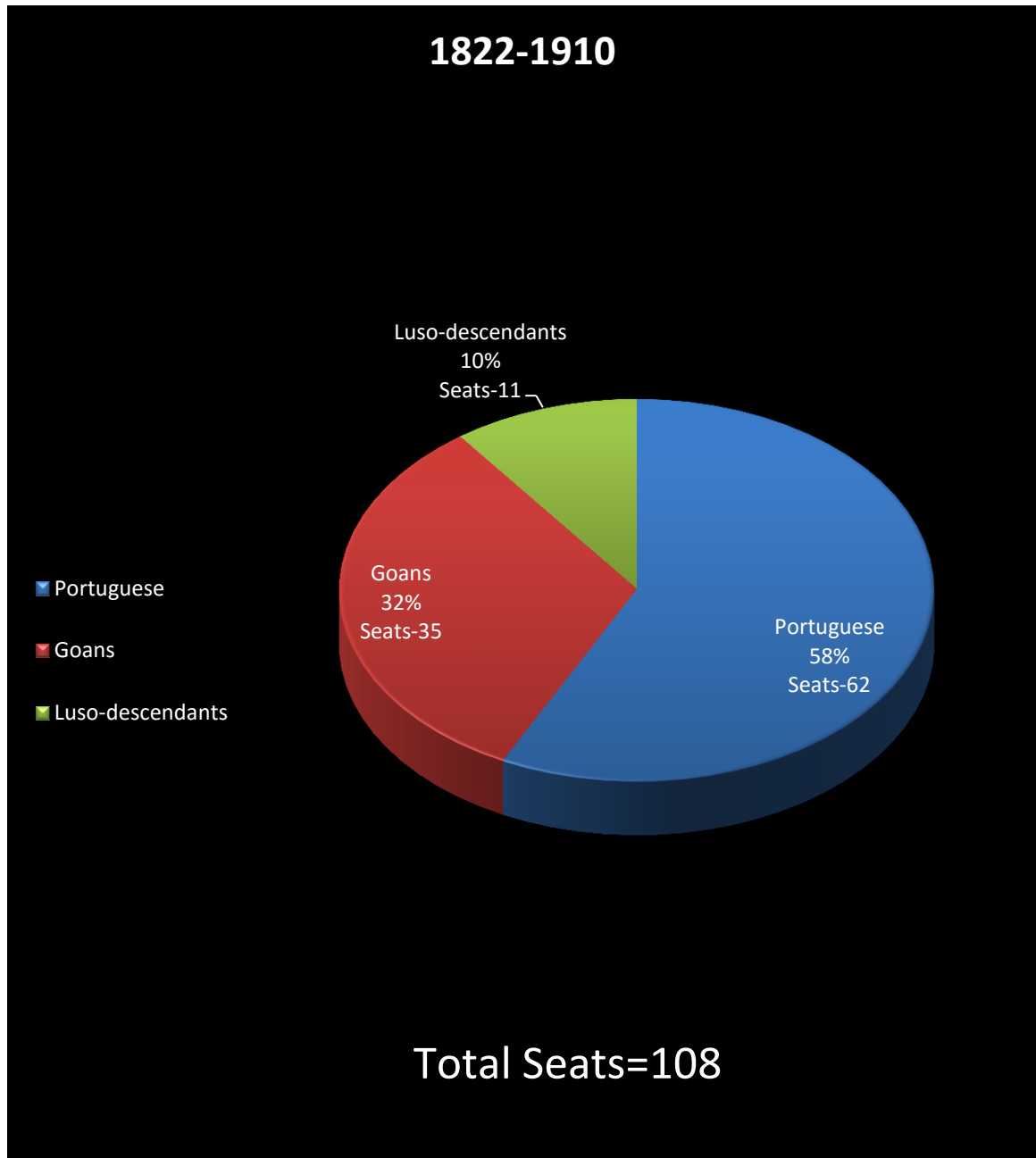
Portuguese men from metropole. The change in the vision by the government could probably be attributed to the new trend of thought which accompanied the republican thinking in Portugal during the 20th century. The republicans spoke of a nation where every member of the society was considered as an equal part of the sovereignty.¹³² A few Portuguese men contested elections during the first republic, but were unsuccessful in their endeavours except in 1918. After 1926, elections to the parliament discontinued for 19 years.

In 1945, Parliamentary elections were re-introduced by António Oliveira de Salazar. Goans won all elections to the National Assembly. All members elected to the parliament were hand-picked nominees of the official party of the Government, the National Union. The literature referred to so far did not show Europeans or Luso-descendants in the electoral fray. A few independent candidates also contested the elections during its initial years.

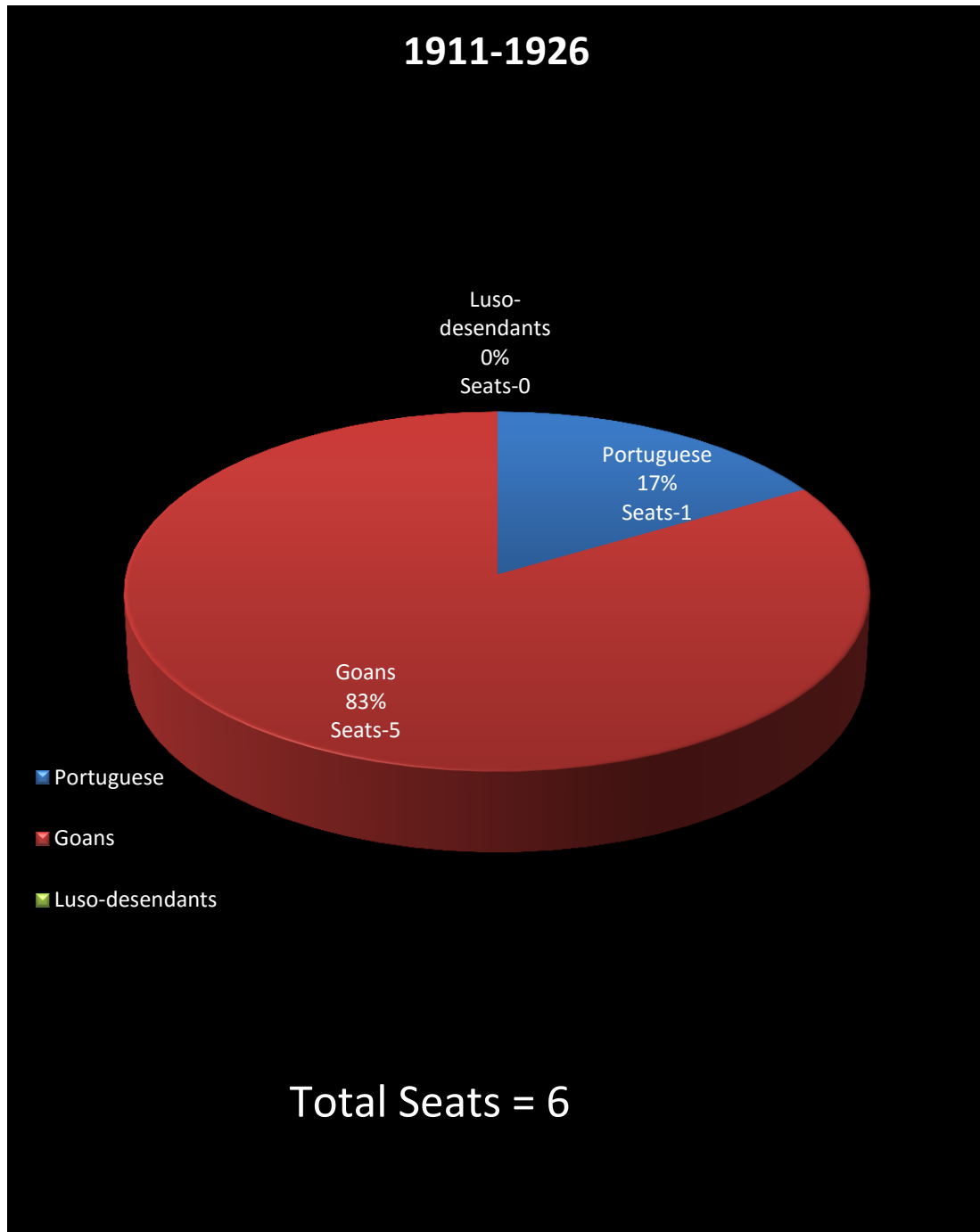
The changes in the electoral profile of the *deputados* are reflected in the following charts:

¹³² Susana A. S. Gomes Sousa Carvalho, “*Nationalism and Regime Overthrow in early Twentieth century Portugal.*” Ph.D. diss., The Department of Government, the London School of Economics for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London, March 1912, 121-122. <https://core.ac.uk>.

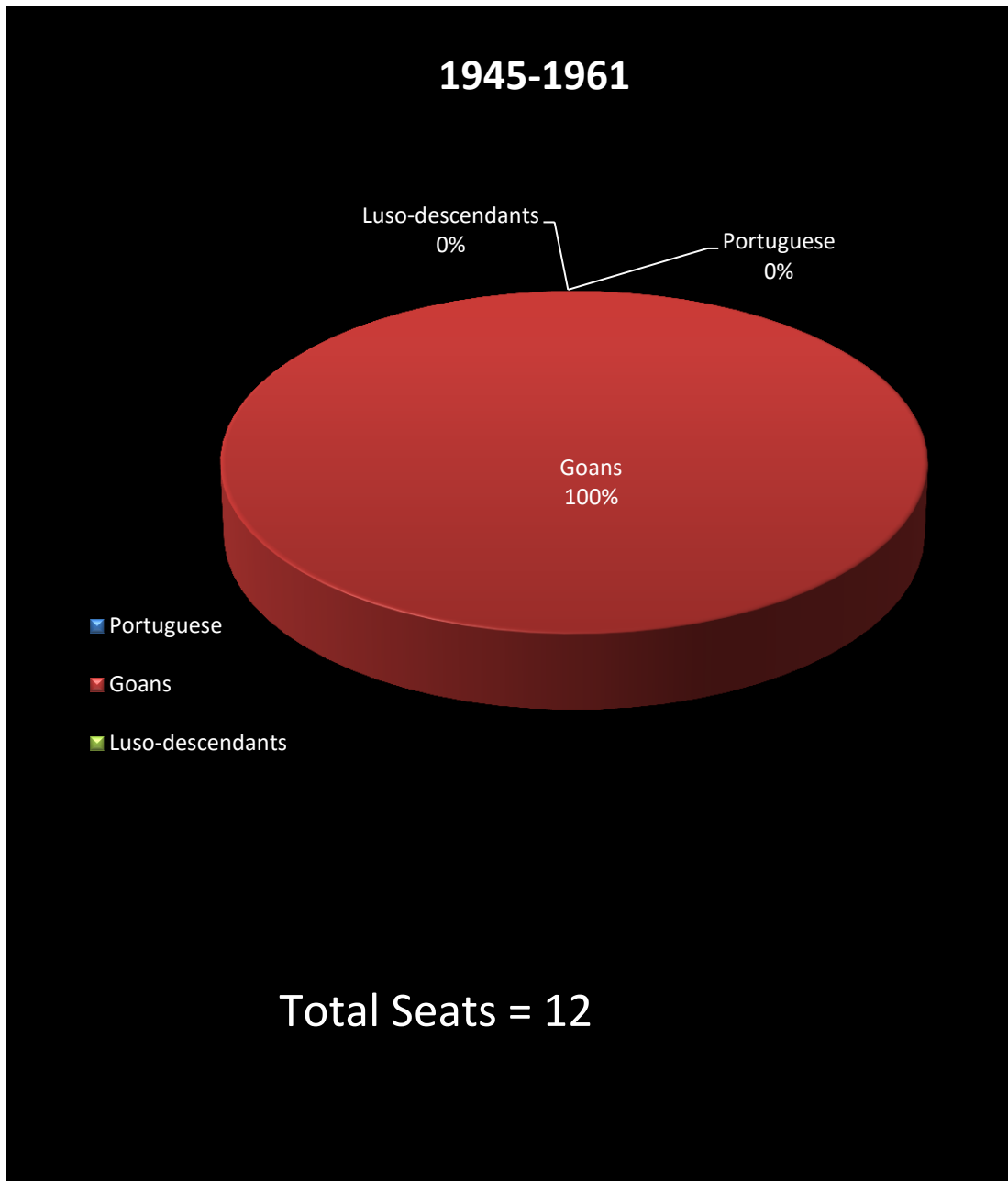
Profile of the *Deputados* Representing Portuguese India during the Constitutional Regime (1822-1910)



Profile of the *Deputados* Representing Portuguese India during the First Portuguese Republic (1911-1926)

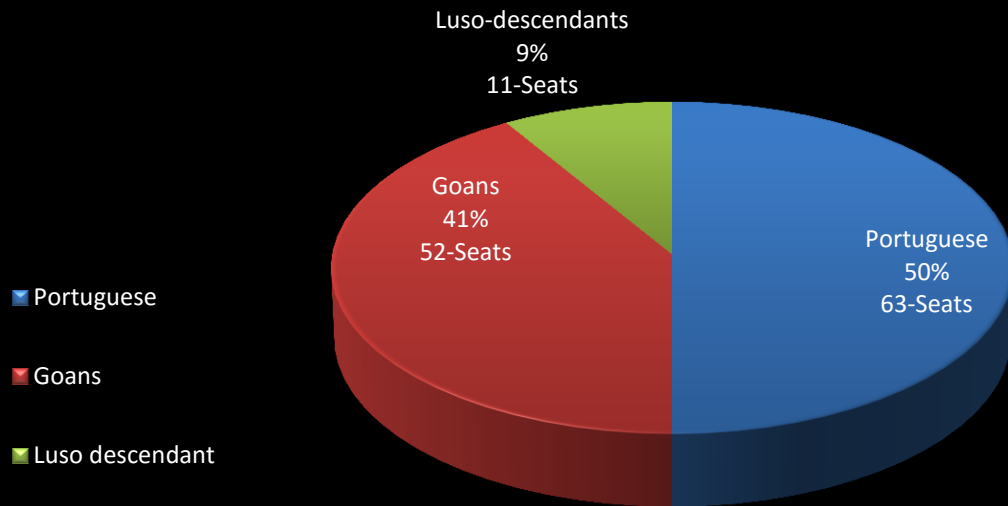


Profile of the *Deputados* Representing Portuguese India during the Second Republic (1945-1961)



**Profile of the *Deputados* Representing Portuguese India From
(1822-1961)**

Total Seats 1822-1961



Total Seats =126

Electoral Divisions and Number of *Deputados* Representing Portuguese India

The Portuguese colonial empire was divided into electoral divisions. The *Estado da India* constituted one electoral division.¹³³ In 1822, the number of parliamentarians assigned to a division was proportionate to the number of households or the population of the region.¹³⁴ The population of Portuguese India during the first half of 19th century was a little more than three and a half lakhs.¹³⁵ Portuguese India was allowed six parliamentarians for the election of 1822. The regulations sent to the overseas colonies allowed modifications to suit the local circumstances. This was exemplified in the Instructions of August 1821, the Constitution of 1822 and several other legislations of the 19th century.¹³⁶ In view of these provisions, a section of the members of the electoral board assembled at the capital of the province of Goa felt it prudent to exercise this discretion. In a formal decision taken by a plurality of votes, it was decided to elect three *deputados*, instead of the recommended six on the assertion that the province did not have the financial ability to sustain the expenditure of six *deputados*.¹³⁷

¹³³ The territorial expanse of the *Estado da India* stretched from Portuguese territories in the Indian Ocean, from the Southern Coast of Africa to South East Asia for almost hundred and fifty years of its rule in India. The Portuguese State of India shrunk in size after the 19th century to exclude Macau, Solor and Timor.

¹³⁴ *Instruções de 22 de Novembro de 1820*, Article 29. A population of 700,000 was allowed one *deputado*. The Instructions of August 1847 sent to Portuguese India also reiterated that the number of parliamentarians would be decided on the number of households. It stressed on one *deputado* for 60,507 households. The parliamentarians elected for one legislature would continue till they were legally substituted by the new representatives.

¹³⁵ *A Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, No. 15, March 24, 1836. This newspaper was the official organ of the government and gives the statistics of the population of Portuguese India in 1836, which stood at 3,56,618.

¹³⁶ HAG, MR, No.199 B, “Actas da Eleição para Cortes.”, fl.419. The *Instruções de Agosto de 1821*, Article 51 fl.419: *Constituição de 1822*, Article 45, which allowed such modification, depending upon the financial position of the province.

¹³⁷ HAG, MR, No. 199 B, fl.419; Minguel Vincent D’Abreu, *Relação das Alterações Políticas de Goa Desde 16 de Setembro de 1821 ate 18 de Outubro de 1822*, 81.

In 1839, the number of parliamentarians were raised to four and remained for more than two decades.¹³⁸ In the election of 1869, the number of *deputados* was reduced to two, in keeping with the modifications introduced with the new electoral decree in force.¹³⁹ The electoral circle of Bardez was combined with that of Ilhas or Nova Goa, and that of Daman Diu and Anjediva, with that of Salcette. In 1878, their number was raised once again to three. In 1896, Portuguese India was allowed one *deputado* and two in 1899.¹⁴⁰ During the republican period, two representatives were allowed for Goa, but since 1915, Goa voted for one representative.¹⁴¹ After 1926, colonial representation was discontinued by Salazar and consequently, no elections were held in Goa till 1945. When the election was reinstated in 1945, two representatives were allowed for Portuguese India.¹⁴² In the elections of 1957 and 1961, Goa voted for three deputies.

Bilhete de Identidade

An identity card or a *bilhete de identidade* was issued to all parliamentarians bearing the stamp of the parliament, during every annual session. This card indicated the immunities and prerogatives which were bestowed upon a *deputado*.¹⁴³ The identity

¹³⁸ In 1850, Portuguese India elected only one *deputado*.

¹³⁹ Barbosa de Magalhães, *Código Eleitoral Portuguez*, 268.

¹⁴⁰ Carmo Azavedo, "Parliamentary Elections in Goa." *Goa Today*, October 1968, 1.

¹⁴¹ "Decreto No. 1264 de 1915.", in *Collecção Legislação Colonial de Republica Portugueza*, vol. VI (Coimbra: Imprensa de Universidade, 1918), 161. Also in *Diário do Governo*, No. 35, 1ª serie, 1915; and in *O Estado Novo-Principios e Realizações* (Lisboa: Secretariado da Propoganda Nacional, 1940), 7.

¹⁴² *O Heraldo*, No. 12752, October 1945.

¹⁴³ *Appendice ao Manual para uso dos Srs. Deputados da Nação Portugueza* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1897). It was declared that the parliamentarians were inviolable by their opinion during the exercise of their functions: See also Article 25 of *C.C. de 1826*. A *deputado* would have a special forum or hearing if he was judged a criminal; *Novissima Reforma Judiciaria*, Article 1026; No *deputado* could be made to swear during his office. See in *Lei de 21 de Julho de 1855*, Article 2; No

of voters during the 19th century was carried out by the parish priest in the Old Conquests and the *regedor* in the New Conquests. During the early years of the 20th century, any person registered as a voter, had the right to request for an identity card.¹⁴⁴

The Goan *deputados* were usually conspicuous by their absence in the metropolitan capital during the inaugural sessions of the parliament, either due to the delay caused in conducting elections in Goa or the rigours involved during the long distance journey.¹⁴⁵ This issue was frequently taken up for discussion in Goa and the need to conduct elections on time was expressed.¹⁴⁶

Bye-Elections

In the event of death of a member of the electoral assembly or a *deputado* in the Parliament, re-elections were held to fill the vacant position. The earliest record of a bye-election in Goa is available for the year 1850 on the death of the Goan representative, Fr. João Pedro Correia elected as the *deputado* in 1848. The Governor General of Portuguese India, José Ferreira Pestana ordered a re-election to fill in the position on 3rd February, 1850, which resulted in the substitution of *deputado* Custódio Manuel Gomes from Portugal. The primary assembly involved in the

deputado could be imprisoned by any authority, except from the order of the parliament in *Lei Eleitoral de 1885*, Article 3; Also see Trindade Coelho, *Manual Politico do Cidadão Portuguez*, 84.

¹⁴⁴ *Decreto Eleitoral de 8 de Agosto de 1901*, Article 64.4.

¹⁴⁵ For example, the second parliamentary election of 1826 could be held in Goa only in 1827.

¹⁴⁶ During the elections of 1836, D. Manoel de Portugal writes a letter to the Municipality of Bardez dated 18 January, 1836 citing reasons that the delay in reaching the parliament in Portugal was one of the issues why the elections had to be hurried up. In reality, he aimed at keeping a majority of voters out of the electoral fray for ulterior political motives, in *Quadros Históricos de Goa, Tentativa Histórica*, 116-118.

conduct of this bye-election remained the same as per the provisions of law.¹⁴⁷ Similarly, the government also decreed to replace of Rev. Estevão Jeremias Mascarenhas as the voter of the primary Assembly of Ilhas for being elected as the *deputado* and having taken residence in Lisbon.¹⁴⁸ In 1856, the demise of António Affonso Mendes Coutinho, a Portuguese national elected as the *deputado* of Goa, led another man from the continent, Ferrer Neto de Paiva to take up the former's position.¹⁴⁹

Resolution of Conflict

Conflicts became too common in most of the elections of Goa. There were various reasons for these conflicts such as manoeuvring, employment of government machinery to win elections, working of powerful agents, presence of the military forces, the policy of disenfranchisement, exclusion of opposition and other similar issues. Looking at the positive aspect of these conflicts, one can look at the local resilience and their response to challenges and pressures from the government. The increasing pressure built by the *deputados* from Portuguese Goa during the last quarter of the 19th century and their frequent appeals to the apex tribunal, led the administration in Portugal to reconsider the conduct of elections in this Province.

Theoretically, the electoral regulations had provisions to safeguard against the abuse of power and prevent malpractices in elections. A person aggrieved with the conduct of elections could appeal to arbitrating bodies with his problem weighed by evidence, within the approved period of time, and duly signed by him to strengthen

¹⁴⁷ The *Lei de 12 de agosto de 1847*, Article 117 decreed that the tenure of the primary assembly lasted till the end of the current legislature in session.

¹⁴⁸ *BDG*, No. 12 (January 14, 1850), 18.

¹⁴⁹ Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 205-208.

the case. The census commissions were expected to publicly deliberate upon these appeals with the assistance of local administrative authorities and arrive at a final decision.¹⁵⁰ A person with electoral grievance could also appeal to the governor, who in consultation with the district council decided on the representation.¹⁵¹ For instance, when the electoral list of Salcette was presented over to the Viceroy, Joaquim Lapa in 1853 for scrutiny, he pointed out to discrepancies in the organisation of electoral divisions in some parishes of Salcette.¹⁵² Further, he ordered a fresh census of voters in each of the villages of the parish to regulate the parochial distribution of voters to avoid confusion and create an equitable distribution of voters in the parish.¹⁵³ In another instance, several voters requisitioned the Governor General Pestana to extend the period of appeal against electoral abuses till 15th April, 1866 as it coincided with the Holy Week of the Christian Lenten season.¹⁵⁴ Any citizen could appeal to the district judge against illegalities in the electoral census or other related matters.¹⁵⁵ Criminal cases related to elections could be resolved by the *Juiz do Julgado*. In criminal cases, it was not mandatory to solicit permission of the government in arriving at a settlement or when deliberating justice.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁰ *Decreto Eleitoral de 1852*, Article 32; *Lei Eleitoral de 1883* sent to the overseas provinces, published in *Diário das Sessões*, No. 30 (April 1883) and other electoral legislations of the 19th century.

¹⁵¹ “Decreto de 27 de Dezembro de 1844.” in *Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino, Legislação Novissima*, vol. I (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1867), 7-10; *Portaria do Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar*, No. 2676, Article 118.1, January 20, 1852. It empowered the viceroy in the overseas provinces to intervene in its affairs when required.

¹⁵² Joaquim J. Lapa was better known in Portuguese India as Visconde de Villa Nova de Ourem.

¹⁵³ *BDG*, May 20, No. 20 (1853), 155.

¹⁵⁴ *BDG, Suplemento*, No. 24 (March 27, 1866), 221.

¹⁵⁵ *Decreto Eleitoral de 1852*, Article 52; *Lei Eleitoral de 1884*, Article 35.3; *Lei No. 3 de 3 Julho de 1913*, Article 22.

¹⁵⁶ HAG, MR, No. 555, No. 220 A, fl. 392. “Decreto de Vinte e tres e Vinte e sete de Maio de 1846.”, Article 110.

Tribunal de Verificação de Poderes

The *Tribunal de Verificação de Poderes* was the ultimate decision making body which was based in Lisbon and was constituted at the beginning of the legislative session.¹⁵⁷ This body had the authority to legalise or invalidate an election. Its decisions were binding on all authorities and could not be further appealed against. It was empowered to look into all electoral processes of the deputies, or the individual complaint levelled by any person.

Complaints against malpractices in elections from Goa were quite frequent and it kept this tribunal preoccupied in resolving them. It was noticed that a number of elections in Goa were marred by controversies and *deputados* from Goa could not take their seats in the parliament in time on account of controversies surrounding the elections. In 1848, the result of elections involving Jeremias Mascarenhas was embroiled in controversy for technical reasons.¹⁵⁸ When the issue was finally resolved by this tribunal in 1849, Mascarenhas could take his seat in the *Côrtes* and participate in the parliamentary proceedings. The tribunal arbitrated once again in 1853 on issues concerning the parliamentary elections of Goa.

The parliamentary election of 1878 for the circles of Nova Goa, Mapuçã and Margão got embroiled in controversies and the Parliament in Portugal echoed on the issues of electoral frauds and doubtful mandates. Several such appeals are noticed in the electoral records in the *Arquivo Histórico Parlamentar* in Portugal.¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁷ *Actas das Sessões Publicas na Primeira Sessão Annual Extraordinaria da Primeira legislatura da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados da Nação Portuguesa* (Lisboa: Impresão Regia, 1826), 2.

¹⁵⁸ Jeremias Mascarenhas was a member of the District Council at the time of his election as the *deputado* in 1848. Therefore, his election as the *deputado* in 1848 was not recognised as valid.

¹⁵⁹ AHP, *Caixa*, No.1256. To cite one instance of this kind, a voter Ambagy Sinai protested for not being allowed to vote, despite his eligibility in the election.

The intense rivalry in the elections between the *Partido Ultramarino* and the *Partido Indiano* and their affiliation to the parties of the Metropole since 1890 kept the tribunal preoccupied with issues from Goa from 1890 to 1894. The elections of April 1890 for the circle of Margão were fraught in electoral frauds and arbitrary measures of the Viceroy, Vasco Guedes.¹⁶⁰ The public outcry in this election against Guedes made the tribunal to acknowledge the electoral misdemeanours, and order a supplementary election for this circle. The apex body also had to intervene in the controversial results of the supplementary election held in April 1891.¹⁶¹ In a lengthy verdict, it acknowledged the serious discrepancies in the previously mentioned elections.¹⁶²

In 1892, Christovam Pinto, a candidate of the *Partido Indiano*, elected as the parliamentarian, sought to authenticate his victory in this parliamentary election. This was because his opponent, Constâncio Roque da Costa, a nominee of the *Partido Ultramarino*, along with his supporters had raised serious objections on his victory.¹⁶³ However, the judicial body took decision in favour of Pinto.¹⁶⁴ In 1894, the tribunal was called to decide on the election held for the circle of Mapuça.¹⁶⁵ It also intervened in the result of the first republican election held in 1911. This tribunal continued to

¹⁶⁰ This issue is discussed in chapter IV.

¹⁶¹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 1755, fl.15. Ironically, two controversial results had appeared in the press from the respective groups in which either of them declared the candidates backed by their parties as winners.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*, fl.22.

¹⁶³ *Ibid.* It was declared by Pinto's opponents that the above election for all the circles of Goa should have been held as per the census of 1892 and not according to the census of 1891.

¹⁶⁴ AHP *Caixa*, No.1844. When a review was conducted on this issue, it was adjudicated that the election of Pinto was valid, as the new census had not been completed yet. See the judgment in favour of Christovam Pinto in Appendix VII.

¹⁶⁵ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 1916 and *Caixa* No.1916 B. The election of Constâncio Roque da Costa was embroiled in controversy in Mapuça. The decision favoured Costa who was declared to have won by 32,940 votes.

deliberate on electoral controversies up to 1926.¹⁶⁶ After 1945 when the elections were resumed by Salazar, and the government employed its entire machinery to weed out opposition, appeals to arbitrating bodies were almost non-existent.

Travel and Honorarium

The travelling and honorarium expenses of the parliamentarians were defrayed by the Portuguese government. The Royal Decree of 1822 issued by King João VI explained this fact.¹⁶⁷ The amount paid under these two heads was quite substantial and was often seen as a burden on the state exchequer. It was a matter of conflict in the electoral politics of Goa. The Europeans and their supporters who had been side-lined in the first two parliamentary elections held in Goa raised allegations of wasteful expenditure incurred by the local deputies. They also declared that these elections had not brought any advantage to the people of Portuguese India.¹⁶⁸

In 1849, Jeremias Mascarenhas pointed out to the differential treatment meted out to the parliamentarians from the overseas colonies and those of the continent in matters of honorarium.¹⁶⁹ The government did not allow the families of the parliamentarians to travel at the cost of the state exchequer although there were petitions from the representatives at certain times. The Royal Decree of January 1868

¹⁶⁶ *Lei de 3 de Julho de 1913*, Article 108; *Decreto de 30 de Março*, Article 97.

¹⁶⁷ *Gazeta de Goa*, No. 9, “Decreto do D. João VI.”, December 29, 1822. The same was reiterated in subsequent decrees of the 19th century; HAG, MR, No. 204 B, 1827-1828, fl.408. Queen Maria II, also pronounced that the salary of the parliamentarians from India be regulated as per the established norms and they be paid the said amount.

¹⁶⁸ *Echo da Lusitania*, No. 4, September 1836.

¹⁶⁹ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 8. April 14, 1849.

declared that the state could not afford the burden of bearing the expenses of travel of the families of the *deputados*.¹⁷⁰

It can be observed that the issues of franchise and participative identity which reflected in Goan politics during the 19th and 20th centuries were manifestations of the power struggle between several political forces which were competing with one another in Portugal. The electoral rules and regulations were often modified to suit political strategies of the parties in power in Portugal. The dynamics of power in the metropolis which manifested itself in politics and elections of the 19th century are explained in the next chapter.

¹⁷⁰ The Royal Decree issued by the Monarch of Portugal on January 21, 1868 can be read in *Collecção da Legislação Novíssima do Ultramar* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1868-69), 2.

CHAPTER - IV

DYNAMICS OF PARTY POLITICS, COLONIAL PREJUDICE

AND CASTE RIVALRY (1822-1910)

The study of elections in Goa brings to light the different layers of politically oriented and ideologically dissimilar cliques and political parties formed from 1822 to 1910. They provide a scope for an interesting historical narrative on colonial attitudes towards the indigenous elites, and their reactions, electoral and caste rivalries as well as political strategies aimed at victories in elections. Most of the scholars have made passing references on the formation of the political parties during the 1860s, leaving much scope for historical investigation on this subject during the first four decades after 1822.

The political factions took their distinct forms after announcement of the constitutional regime in Portugal. They represented multiple interests and hues of intellectual thoughts current in the contemporary society over the decades. They could be identified with the constitutional monarch (in varying degrees; liberal, absolutist, conservative and later the bourgeois monarchy), liberals, absolutists, regenerationists, reformists, progressives and republicans. It was the co-existence of more than one dominant interest at one time, within a liberal setup, which brought them into a state of conflict with one another. It gave an opportunity to the local representatives of *Estado da India* to advance their stand towards a specific goal, bargain for reforms and dialogue at wider forum with ease generally not seen in other colonies of the Portuguese empire.

The emergent political cliques and factions in Portuguese Goa during the first quarter of the 19th century had their foundations rooted in socio-cultural differences

which were common to colonial situations. The disparaging gaps created between the colonial and the indigenous class also became evident in the Goan society, if not as visible as in the other overseas colonies of the Portuguese empire.¹ These pre-existing divides prevalent in Goa in the areas of religion and race become central to understanding the political events since 1822.

The collapse of the Absolute Monarchy in Portugal in 1820 due to a popular pressure for reform, and the announcement of certain privileges to its citizens were precursors to a face-lift in Goan politics. It was expected that the political equations between the Portuguese on the one hand and the Goans on the other, would transform at least partially, in certain spheres of administration. This was because Goans had been pushed to the fringes of its mainstream politics for centuries. The reigning monarch, King John VI himself had reiterated the importance of the process of elections in choosing representatives to administrative positions in 1822.² It is little wonder therefore, that the educated and the intellectual Goans eagerly looked forward to the implementation of the much awaited changes in their province.

The Cracked Beginning: Distinctions of Class and Ideological Shifts in Goa

This discourse on the formation of political groupings and parties in Portuguese India is discerned in distinct phases based on ideological shifts occurring in Portugal. During the short stint of time from 1821 to 1823, the main forces at loggerheads were the liberal and the absolutist factions. The liberal movement of *Vintismo* and the subsequent announcement of the constitutional monarchy in the metropolis had the effect of creating some sort of an ideological silos among the intelligentsia and

¹ The history of Portuguese colonialism in Africa is heavily loaded with stories of civilising missions unlike Portuguese India, where they had encounters with men of intellectual thought.

² *Gazeta de Goa*, No. 9, 1822.

polarising the political elites into two groups; the absolutists and liberals led by the two sons of King John VI.³ The eldest son, D. Pedro who supported the liberal rule (unfortunately, for the liberals he had his base in Brazil). The absolutists had a champion in the second son, D. Miguel, who defended the restoration of an absolute regime.⁴ The mother country itself got divided and categorically swung itself to the pulls of these forces. These developments had cast their imprints on Portuguese India and led to the formation of political groupings based on these two ideologies. It divided the people into three factions such as liberals, conservative liberals and absolutist factions. Most of the elite Goans were inclined towards the liberal ideology at the centre.

The euphoria caused among the intelligentsia of the province of Goa at the announcement of the new regime could be sensed from a report sent by the first Provisional Government to Portugal in October 1821. It kept the monarch informed about the jubilant manner in which the freedoms and liberties accorded to the people were received in Goa.⁵ However, the developments which followed thereafter greatly disappointed the indigenous elites of Goa

The composition and the pattern of functioning of the first Provisional Government or the *Junta Provisional do Governo* set up in September 1821 to hold the temporary reigns of the new regime, exhibited the interplay of two forces marked by distinctions of class. They included the dominant and more powerful clique led by the *reinol* faction, and the subordinate liberal faction led by indigenous

³ Zilia Osorio de Castro, et al, *Dicionário do vintismo e do Primeira Cartismo 1821-1823*, 1^o vol. (Lisboa: Edições Afrontamento, 2002), 1-12. The *Vintismo* was a liberal movement which started in 1820 in Portugal and lasted till 1823.

⁴ Idalino Ferreira da Costa Brochado, *Para a História do Liberalismo e da Democracia Directa em Portugal* (Lisboa: Parceira António Maria Pereira, 1959), 35.

⁵ HAG, MR, No. 199A, fl.1. It was stated, *O Povo de Goa recebeu com o mais interesse a primeira notificação da liberdade portuguesa.*

elites and a few liberal Europeans. Most members of this *Junta* had integrated the interests of the *reinois* with their collaborators (Luso-descendants), and ignored those of their ‘social subordinates’ or members of the liberal faction.⁶ Thus, when the Provisional Government convened a meeting of the Municipalities of Ilhas, Bardez and Salcette in October 1821, it reflected the hypocritical attitude of a powerful conservative coterie, which in principle had willingly accepted the responsibilities of the new regime, but immediately compromised the very ideals it stood for.⁷ This attitude was evidenced in the several arbitrary resolutions passed on the course of action to be adopted by the government in the near future.⁸ The discriminatory policies adopted in administration and the military establishment became the cause of turmoil and unrest during the initial years of the constitutional regime.⁹ Thus, announcement of the new regime and elections to the parliament, as can be seen below in this chapter were latent with intense heat. They widened the wedge between the major groups of stakeholders in the elections of Goa.

⁶ D’Abreu, *O Governo de Vice-Rei*, 139-140. Some of the members of the *Junta* were as follows: Marinho Pereira, Manuel José Gomes Loureiro, Manuel Galdinho de Mira, Joaquim Manuel Correia da Silva e Gama, Gonçalo de Magalhães Teixeira and Manuel Duarte Leitão. Initially their number was supposed to have been seven. Lima Leitão and Bishop Paulo de Aquino were excluded from the *Junta*, a move which was not approved by many and caused divisions between the liberals and the conservatives.

⁷ HAG, *MR*, No. 1618, “Assentos das Moções e Decisões da Junta Provisional do Governo, 1821-1837.”, fls.1-2. The *Provisional Junta* in its meeting had agreed to abide by the changes recommended during the new regime.

⁸ HAG, *MR*, No. 1618, “Assentos das Moções”, fl.1.

⁹ HAG, *MR*, No. 200 C, No. 319 fl. 32 and fl. 509. It effected promotions in the military department through its declaration passed on 18th October, 1821, signed by Joaquim Manoel Correia da Silva e Gama. Military officials could be transferred from one corps to another, with government approval. Similarly promotions were to be based on experience, without any distinctions in salaries. But it also dissolved several artillery and infantry regiments, cavalry battalions and other legions, disillusioning able and experienced military men of the soil. Such an act was also contrary to the earlier military regulation of 1763 which gave much attention to merit and years of service in the institution. A letter addressed by Dom Manuel Câmara to His majesty in January 1823, makes a reference to a petition placed by one Narana Anta Naique who was deprived of his military post to be re-instated to the same position.

First Historic Election in Goa (1822): A Reflection of the Dynamics of Power

In October 1821, the second Provisional Government of Goa for the first time announced its decision of conducting elections to elect parliamentarians (*deputados*) to the Parliament of Portugal.¹⁰ Theoretically, this decision was epoch making by its very nature, but in practice drove a wedge in Goan politics and society. The victory of two Goan candidates Bernado Peres Da Silva, Constâncio Roque Da Costa, and an European António José Lima Leitão by securing 16, 15 and 10 votes respectively in first parliamentary election held in 1822, created apprehensions for their adversaries.¹¹ The results reflected two aspects namely, the triumph of liberal ideology in this election and the acceptance of indigenous representatives by the local elites for Portuguese India.

The explosive situation resulting from the victory of indigenous interests was just the beginning of a trend which was to follow in the decades to come. This historic election had marginalised an insidious interest of a conservative European coterie, which was in the forefront of Goan politics. The unexpected sweep favouring the local candidates and the ouster of the *reinol* backed candidate, Thomas de Noronha, had the conservative group raising a flurry of written accusations addressed to the Provisional Government.¹² In the estimation of the *reinol* faction, the victorious candidates were representative of a layer in the society which had been led and dictated, and as such, deserved to lie outside the boundaries of public administration. Further, they reiterated that the three parliamentarians elected in the first elections did not possess

¹⁰ HAG, MR, No.199 A, fl.1.

¹¹ HAG, MR, No. 199 B, fl. 419. Lima Leitão, though a Portuguese man, was not a popular choice among the European coterie. See also MR, No.195-A, fl.133. Lima Leitão was transferred to Goa from Mozambique, by the Royal Order No. 124 of January 15, 1819 to serve the position of Chief Physician (*Físico-mór*).

¹² Thomas de Noronha had acquired only two votes, while another Goan Fransisco Salvador Gomes who also constituted the liberal faction, got eight votes. The first three who polled the maximum votes were proclaimed *deputados*.

the qualifications and zeal for public responsibilities required of such a position.¹³ In yet another letter addressed to the *Junta*, Bernado Peres da Silva was singled out and discredited for being bereft of qualities befitting a *deputado*.¹⁴ Besides, the candidatures of Constâncio Roque da Costa and António José Lima Leitão were requested to be invalidated for not complying with the electoral provisions.¹⁵

The aftermath of this election was series of violent incidents, visibly dividing the Goan society into political cliques.¹⁶ The Portuguese faction accused the local rebels of inciting unrest and disturbing peace in Goa.¹⁷ The assassination of Luis Prates, a liberal government official from Portugal and the editor of *Gazeta de Goa* in July 1822, bore a testimony to the unwillingness of the conservatives to accommodate the liberal faction in Goa.¹⁸

The *reinol* faction and its collaborators were still nursing their fresh wounds, when they experienced some consolation on learning the misfortune which awaited the elected candidates in the metropolitan capital. When the *deputados* reached

¹³ HAG, MR, “Actas da Eleição para Cortes.” No. 199 B, fl. 421.

¹⁴ *Ibid.*, fl. 419. This document stated that Peres da Silva did not have the qualities required to be a *deputado*; See also in António Bruto da Costa, *Revoluções Políticas*, 29.

¹⁵ HAG, MR, No. 199 B, “Actas da Eleição para Cortes.” fl.419. José Paulo de Bragança levelled charges that Lima Leitão did not possess the required years of residence and was liable to be imprisoned as per the penalty recommended by the law. Constâncio Roque da Costa was also accused of being a public functionary in the Department of Agriculture.

¹⁶ Gabriel de Saldanha, *História de Goa-Política e Arqueológica*, vol. I. (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1925), 246. Anticipating a reaction and fearing disturbances, from Goans in the northern region of Goa, the government disbanded the militia of Bardez as a precautionary measure which comprised of many local recruits. The disillusioned military contingent comprising of 500 men divided into two groups revolted. This incident caused much disturbance in Goa.

¹⁷ “Manifesto que o abaixo assignado fazo publico corroborando com document.” in *Gazeta da Goa*, No. 5, February 1822.

¹⁸ As an official of the government, the liberal views of Prates and his criticism of the arbitrary moves against the second Provisional government through the press cost him his life. He heinously fell a victim to the bullets of the grenadiers during the mid-day when he was returning home from Panjim to Ribandar.

Lisbon, there was already the reinstatement of absolute regime in Portugal in 1823 which had led to the dissolution of the elected legislature.¹⁹ The delay of the Goan *deputados* in reaching the metropolis was attributed to the political intrigues in Goa, coupled with financial tribulations en route in the province of Mozambique, and a short trial faced in Rio de Janeiro.²⁰

The *liberais* suffered a major setback, leaving the absolutist *Mingelistas* to control the political affairs of the Mother country. Slogans like ‘Hail the absolute King’, ‘Death of the Constitution’(*Viva El-Rei absolute! Morra a Constituição!*) which echoed in Portugal, following the immediate puncture caused to the liberal regime in 1823 had their repercussions in Goa as well.²¹

Positioning of the Political Factions in Goa

The Liberais versus Minguelistas

The positioning of the *liberais* of Goa against the powerful and threatening ideology of the absolutists representing the coterie of Prince Minguel after 1823 becomes fundamental to the understanding of Goan politics. Along with the common paradigm of critiquing the Goan response from the colonialist perspective, it is equally relevant to weigh and analyse the stand adopted by the liberals, particularly the indigenous groups which were kept at the fringes of historical investigation.

The resurgence of the absolutists back to power in Portugal in 1823 under Prince Minguel resulted in the natural subordination of the liberals in Goa. Bernardo Peres da Silva and Constâncio Roque da Costa, as well as enlightened men from other

¹⁹ The *reinol* faction opined that the ‘unfruitful journey’ of the Goan *deputados* to Lisbon was a burden on the state exchequer. The legislative sessions in Portugal were to begin in November 1822. However, the *deputados* made it to the capital only in 1823.

²⁰ *O Ultramar*, 1944. Brazil was passing through a period of agitation and turmoil due to its struggle for independence.

²¹ G. Mattoso, *História Eclesiástica de Portugal*, 425.

Portuguese dominions raised their voices of protests against the fall of the liberal regime in the metropolis.²² As expected, these protests did not go well with the *Minguelistas*. Worse still, such dissidence echoed in other European countries through the press causing an embarrassment to the absolute monarchy in Portugal. In view of such dissidences from different quarters, Dom Minguel issued an Order, loaded with threatening consequences against such forces.²³

The political upheaval and uncertainty in Portugal temporarily dented the representative experiment in Portuguese India. Goa experienced a short respite from the state of anarchy after 1823, when the Second Provisional government was dissolved by an Order from Portugal and Manoel de Camara assumed the responsibility as the Viceroy of Portuguese India.²⁴ Incidentally during this period of comparative calm, Bernado Peres da Silva was given the charge of the *Intendente de Agricultura* in 1825.²⁵

The announcement of elections in Goa for the second time in 1827 once again, became the cause of renewed political dissensions and factionalism in Goa.²⁶ The Goans did not have any formal political forum or a party through which they contested the elections. But they upheld the liberal regime and supported the liberal faction of the mother country as against the official interests in Goa, which were

²² Saldanha, *História de Goa-Politica e Arqueológica*, 246

²³ HAG, MR, No. 322 fl. 638. This Order issued by Dom Minguel proclaimed stern punishment for dissidence against the Monarchy of Portugal.

²⁴ HAG, MR, No. 322, fl.562. In 1825, it was communicated to Portugal that its Asiatic dominions could boast of perfect tranquility (*perfeita tranquillidade*) in this part of the province (India), except for some minor issues, was enjoying 'great peace' as possible. The Provisional Government was dissolved in October 1822, by a Royal Order sent from Portugal.

²⁵ HAG, MR, 204 B, fl. 463.

²⁶ The elections of 1827, the second of its kind, were held in the context of an intense struggle for power between the absolutists and the liberals in Portugal.

aligned with the conservative faction in the metropolis. The *reinol* faction which had performed miserably in the first election left no stone unturned to ensure victory in its favour. Its interests were represented by none other than the Governor General, Manoel de Portugal e Castro (1827-1835) himself as the candidate in this election. He claimed to be the protector of the *Carta Constitucional*, and a contender for the post of the *deputado*.²⁷ However, he had alienated the sympathies of the people of Goa by his attitude of nepotism and extravagant expenditure.²⁸ The nomination of Bernardo Peres da Silva as the candidate in this election by his supporters was approved once again in Goa, but it did not find a favour with the Viceroy. The latter employed his official influence and government machinery to ensure the victory of the official candidate in the election.²⁹ Despite vigorous efforts from the government, the victory favoured the indigenous elites, resulting in the triumph of Bernardo Peres da Silva. Notwithstanding all the measures from the government, Bernardo Peres da Silva had won the elections with an overwhelming majority by securing 32 votes as against 10 of his rival. It was an indication of the support that Peres had from the local elite. Amazingly, he along with his supporters had braved all odds against the combined and formidable opposition of the Governor, Archbishop and Judicial Magistrate.³⁰

²⁷ HAG, MR, 5258, "Documentos." fl.9. Justice Manuel Duarte Leitão, had also thrown himself in the lot as a contestant, but was objected to by Manoel Salvador da Silva and other voters. The other contestant, Manoel de Portugal e Castro took charge of Goa in 1827, but received the title of the Viceroy in 1829, by an Order received from Dom Minguel; A. A. B. da Costa, in the *Revoluções Políticas da Índia Portuguesa, do Seculo*, 49. The writer says that the Absolutist, Justice Manuel Duarte Leitão, was considered as an adversary of Bernardo Peres da Silva.

²⁸ D. Manoel is sometimes applauded as a great reformer. His measures led to the modification of Panagim city. However, the Municipality of Ilhas is supposed to have complained to the parliament at the time of submission of its annual financial report on the useless expenditure incurred by him during his tenure. See Gabriel Saldanha, 252.

²⁹ da Costa, *Revoluções Políticas da Índia Portuguesa do Seculo XIX*, 49.

³⁰ *O Ultramar*, February 22, 1941, 2.

The government hesitatingly announced the victory of Peres with a statement seemingly fractured with anger and dismay which read as follows: “not without its irregularities and transgressions of the electoral regulations” (“*não sem irregularidades, e transgressão das mesmas Instrucções*”).³¹ The electoral proceedings of this election, discerned from official documents distinctly indicate interplay power conflict between the representatives of the government on the one hand, and the indigenous interests on the other.³² Letters of protests registered by voters against the arbitrary actions of the president of the assembly help in substantiating this power conflict.³³ The political leverage sought as a matter of right by the indigenous elites on par with the Portuguese was disapproved by the colonial authorities.

Paulo Freire also argues that the participation of people in politics has never been a gift received from outside, but gained through action by people themselves.³⁴ This approach applied in this context shows how the dominant interest (absolutists) attempted to puncture the victory of the Goans in more than one way. For example, it was pointed out that Peres did not possess the stipulated income to become a *deputado*.³⁵ Besides, Peres da Silva was accused of adopting unlawful means in

³¹ HAG, MR, 5258, fl.9. See Appendix VIII.

³² Ibid., fl.9.

³³ The protest letter stated the following, “*Illmo e exm• Sr. levamos à presença de V. Ex^a o protesto justo, para vir no conhecimento das incurialidades, com que se procede na assembleá eleitoral, cujo president com abuso da jurisdicção dissolve as assembleás, quando quer, sem motive legal, pois dissolver, a de hoje a uma hora da tarde, e a de ante-hontem as tres horas, tendo acabado as tres escrutínios às duas horas, mui vencível a quarto, cuja demora tem acarretado nullidades, que podia moster demonstrado, se não nos fosse negada copia da acta com se mostra de despacho que acompanha.*” in Miranda, Jacinto Caetano, *Quadros Históricos de Goa, Tentativa Histórica*, parte II 107.

³⁴ Freire, *Pedagogy of the Oppressed*, in “Perspectives on Participation and Citizenship.” John Gaventa, *Participatory Citizenship Identity, Exclusion, Inclusion*, 54.

winning this election.³⁶ However, the Goan *deputado* justified his candidature by submitting the required documents as evidences of qualification and left for Portugal.³⁷

Bernado Peres da Silva under Vigilance of the *Minguelistas*

The sustained efforts made by the colonial government in Goa to favour the official candidates in elections stemmed partially from the insecurity it experienced from the indigenous elites. It is observed that a parallel to the situation prevalent in Goa was absent in other colonies of the Portuguese empire. Challenges if any, especially in Portuguese Africa, were against the encroachments in the economic and socio-cultural domains, than in engagements in politics with the colonial government.³⁸

The Portuguese concern about the defeat of the official candidates can be discerned from certain confidential moves initiated by the metropolitan government. Bernado Peres da Silva was brought under vigilance by the government in Goa under instructions from the metropole (issued in the name of the queen Maria II³⁹, but a step spearheaded by D. Minguel). Cited below is a translated version of the reply

³⁵ HAG, MR, No. 210 A, fl. 27. “Manifesto do Governo Provisional dos Estados da India Portuguesa em Nome de Sua Fidelissima Rainha, Senhora D. Maria 2^a.”, fl.7. This Manifesto accuses Bernado Peres of being responsible for unleashing scams in the elections of 1827, and occupying a position for which he was unqualified on account of not possessing the stipulated income that was required of a candidate contesting the election as per the requirements of the Constitutional Charter of 1826, Article-68.1.

³⁶ Ibid., fl.7; Also in *Echo da Lusitania*, No. 5, February 21, 1836.

³⁷ HAG, 204 B, fl. 682. Peres submitted his proof of being a landlord and a doctor by profession, and possessing an income of 20,000 *réis*. He was congratulated by his friends and compatriots over the victory in the elections. See also a report of this election in *Echo da Lusitania*, February 21, No. 5 1836; Also in *O Ultramar*, February 22, 1941.

³⁸ Mahmood Maddani, *Citizen and Subject, Decentralisation Despotism and the legacy of late Colonialism* (Calcutta: Oxford University Press, 1997), 87.

³⁹ It may be that Maria da Gloria was a child of less than ten years old and therefore, D. Minguel initially served as a regent to the Crown as per the agreement entered with her father, Pedro IV, and took all decisions on her behalf. Since 1828, Miguel declared himself as the absolutist King of Portugal.

which was being sent from Goa to Portugal by Viceroy D. Manuel de Portugal e Castro to the Minister of Navy and Overseas, António Manuel de Noronha to keep Peres under vigilance to an apparent previous instruction from the metropolis.⁴⁰

Notifying the reception of the Confidential Ordinance of your Excellency dated from 20 March of last year in which the Lady Princess Regent on behalf of the King has determined, that I should continue to put under vigilance the Doctor Bernado Peres da Silva, informing the Secretary of the State about his behaviour, it is my duty to inform Your Excellency that this person (Bernado) having been elected to represent this Province as *deputado* in the Parliament and transporting himself in this vessel= Princeza Real= to that Court. Your Excellency will have him there more close under your surveillance.

May God guard Your Excellency close friend Goa January 19, 1828
Most Eminent Excellency Sir António Manoel de Noronha.

Fortunately for the absolutists, the landing of the Goan *deputado* in Portugal coincided with the forceful restoration of D. Miguel to the throne who had forgotten the fidelity sworn to the Constitutional Charter of 1826, inaugurated an era of repression against the liberals, and dissolved the parliament for the second time on 13th March, 1828. The representative process once again became vulnerable to the forces of the absolutists led by Dom Minguel who had proclaimed himself the

⁴⁰ HAG, MR, No. 204 B (1827-1828), fl.471. For details see Appendix IX.

absolute monarch, the *Rei Absoluto* of Portugal.⁴¹ This event was communicated to the overseas colonies. The *Estado da India* received an Order communicating the same and approved D. Manuel de Portugal as the Governor General of Goa.⁴²

It was under these circumstances that Bernado Peres da Silva was confronted with the hegemony of the absolutists, much to the disappointment of his supporters. Adopting a dogmatic stance and regaling at the misfortunes of Peres, the *Minguelistas* of Goa interpreted the failure of Goan parliamentarians to take the seat in the parliament as natural consequence of an event which did not have ‘Royal Sanction’ of the Monarch.⁴³ Bernado Peres da Silva voiced his protest vehemently and dissatisfied by these events, he immigrated to Plymouth in England and sustained himself by giving tuitions. He continued his vociferous tirade against the absolutist regime through his writings.⁴⁴

The venom spilled against the Goan parliamentarians through the government backed press in Goa also aids in understanding the challenges that they had to confront from the government. Almost a decade after this election of 1827, several newspapers like *A Chronica Constitucional de Goa* and *Echo da Lusitania*, still published despicable reports which condemned the victory of Goan candidates and the unfair means employed in the first two parliamentary elections of Portuguese India.⁴⁵

⁴¹ Da Costa Brochado, *Para a História do Liberalismo e da Democracia Directa em Portugal*, 38; António G. Mattoso, 384. The Chamber of *Deputados* was dissolved by the Decree of March 13, 1828.

⁴² Da Costa, *Revoluções Políticas da India Portuguesa do Seculo XIX*, 50.

⁴³ HAG, MR, 210 A, fl.27. “Manifesto do Governo Provisional dos Estados da India Portuguesa em Nome de Sua Fidelissima Rainha, Senhora D. Maria²ª.” This document analyses the events and occurrences in elections and politics in Portuguese India from 1826 to 1835.

⁴⁴ Saldanha, *História de Goa-Politica e Arqueológica*, 253.

⁴⁵ *Echo da Lusitania*, No. 4, September 1836.

Bernardo Peres da Silva spent some time in Brazil and extended his support to Dom Pedro, and eventually returned to Portugal in 1834, at a time when the political changes favoured his entry in Goa. Elections to the Parliament were discontinued till 1834 and the political scene in Goa during this period was no different from the Mother Country

Accommodation of the Indigenous Interests in Politics: A Bone of Contention

The political condition of Portugal after 1830s had its repercussion in Portuguese India. The *Minguelistas* in Portugal were out of power and the liberal Queen Maria II had assumed the reins of monarchy by her own right. These developments marked the return of the much-awaited representative system after an interlude of six years. However, the elections were not held in Portuguese India as the climate of political turmoil did not favour them.

In view of the liberal changes which occurred in Portugal, a larger accommodation in politics was sought to be conceded to some of the overseas colonies. This move was in recognition for their loyalty towards the liberal faction of the constitutional monarchy.⁴⁶ Accordingly, the Law of May 1834 assigned administrative responsibilities of the provinces to local candidates with the designation of 'Prefect', a magisterial administrative office similar to the one implemented in France.⁴⁷ In view of this change, Bernardo Peres da Silva was elevated to the position of a 'Prefect' by the Royal letter of 7th May, 1834.⁴⁸ The document signed by the Duke of Bragança on behalf of the Queen admitted confidence on the

⁴⁶ Chagas Pinheiro, *Os Portuguezes na Africa, Asia, America e Oceania, tomo VIII* (Lisboa: Livraria de António Maria Pereira, 1980), 86; *Echo da Lusitania*, No.14, 1836.

⁴⁷ Pinheiro, *Os Portuguezes*, 86.

⁴⁸ HAG, *Ordens Regias*, 2402, fl. 92.

loyalty of Bernado Peres towards the Portuguese nation and his abilities to look after the interests of Portuguese India.⁴⁹

The conservative minded Portuguese in Goa were alarmed and felt insecure at the exalted space conceded to Bernado Peres and looked upon the same as detrimental to the traditional colonial interests. Harsh allegations were levelled against Peres for manipulating favours for him and his supporters.⁵⁰ Besides, strong condemnations were also expressed by the opponents of Peres who had labelled the system of Prefecture in Portuguese India (as well as other overseas colonies) as ‘infernal ‘and one which disturbed the peace in the colony.⁵¹ The volatile situation fomenting in Portuguese Goa due to the above incident resulted in the formation of two warring factions; *partidistas Perinos* and *Cartistas*.

Cartistas versus Perinos

The conflict between *Cartistas* and *partidistas Perinos* have to be studied within the larger framework of the ideologically opposing forces of liberalism and absolutism operating in Goa during the first decade of the constitutional regime. The *Cartistas* were the supporters of the Constitutional Charter of 1826, a document which was less avant-garde and more conservative than the Constitution of 1822. The political faction, which stemmed from this group was also called as the Chartists or the *Cartistas*. Among the liberal factions in Portugal, the *Cartistas* were more

⁴⁹ Ibid., fl. 93, The Royal Order called upon Peres to look into the demands of the people of Portuguese India and issues which affected their interests. It also stated that Peres was being appointed the Prefect for his unswerving fidelity to the cause of the Queen and the Constitutional Charter.

⁵⁰ *Chronica Constituicional de Goa-Extraordinaria*, December 12, 1835. This paper refers to March 1834 as the date of appointment as the Prefect of Goa. However the Royal Order sent to Portuguese India, refers to May 7, 1834.

⁵¹ *Echo da Lusitania*, No. 14, 1836. This newspaper refers to the introduction of Prefectures in Cabo Verde. However, they were also introduced in Mozambique, Angola, S. Tomé and Principe.

conservative in their approach. In Goa, they were represented by the conservative Portuguese class, who upheld the constitutional monarchy, but were reluctant to allow the locals, the vantage position they aspired for during the last centuries. The *Perinos* were the supporters of Bernado Peres da Silva and this address (*Perinos*) appeared to be used more with hatred and belligerence in the local press than with respect, by their opponents.⁵² The antagonism of the *Cartistas* against the *Perinos* stemmed from attempts of the local elites to seek an anchorage in administrative space in Goa.

The term *partidistas Perinos* or the partisans of Bernado Peres find a reference in the *Echo da Lusitania*, which had the backing of the government and the Luso-descendants.⁵³ The cleavage between the two groups was shaped since 1826. The conflict was reflected in the electoral processes and political events in Goa during the first two decades of the constitutional period.

The continuous victories of Bernado Peres da Silva in the first two elections, as seen above, evoked sharp criticism from the *Cartista* faction. It made them wonder how Peres sought legitimisation in elections after having failed to satisfy the required income needed to qualify in the same.⁵⁴ The appointment of Peres as the Prefect saw the highest watermark of party politics in Goa. Ironically, the *Cartistas* made a scathing attacks against Peres da Silva and his supporters for creating a divide in the province.⁵⁵

The *Manifesto of the Provisional Government*, a strongly worded critique issued by the Government in July 1835, serves as a very valuable piece of literature in

⁵² The *Perinos* derived their name from the surname of their leader, Bernado Peres da Silva.

⁵³ *Echo da Lusitania*, No. 5, February 21, 1836 and June 30, 1836.

⁵⁴ HAG, MR, No. 210 A, fl. 27. “Manifesto do Governo Provisional dos Estados da India Portuguesa em Nome de Sua Fidelissima Rainha, Senhora D. Maria 2.^a”

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* Also in *Echo da Lusitania*, No.5, February 21, 1836 and No. 31, June 30, 1836.

understanding the unpleasant political scenario which prevailed in Goa among the *Perinos* on the one hand, and the *Reinol* and the *Cartista* faction on the other. The document contained inflammatory taunts against Peres, reflecting the sense of mistrust and envy which prevailed in Goa against the *Perinos* and his supporters. Bernado Peres was denigrated with some of the most ungentlemanly motives of being *implacavel inimigo dos Brancos* (an implacable enemy of the whites), who had scheming designs of instigating a rebellion in Goa, following the example of Brazil against Portugal, which led to its ultimate independence. A volley of abuses, of being the greatest slanderer, the disturber of the social harmony of Goa, a man incapable of exercising his responsibilities, a pauper known for his arrogance, a character of immoral and perturbing disposition were hurled at Peres.⁵⁶ The Prefect was accused of filling his team with the indigenous class and allowing only three Portuguese men in his *Junta*.⁵⁷ This era was also seen as a horrible one where the satellites of the ‘ex-Prefect’ wanted to completely exterminate the Portuguese and their descendants.⁵⁸

The electoral maneuvering and factionalism between the two groups took a sharper turn during the third election held in Goa in 1836, as was visible from the intense political activity on the eve of this election.⁵⁹ The election was scheduled for January 1836, to be held in the Municipal Hall of Ilhas for electing three deputies.⁶⁰

⁵⁶ HAG, MR, No. 210 A, fl. 27, “Manifesto do Governo Provisional dos Estados da India Portuguesa em Nome de Sua Fidelissima Rainha, Senhora D. Maria2ª.” The representation also stated, “*Sabe Deos o que solicitara o Deputado Canarim, que para ahi vai, no caso que tem entrada nas Cortes, pois estes indigenas beijão os ferros por gostos, com tanto que possuem tambem por sua vez praticar violencias entre miser o povo muido.*”

⁵⁷ Ibid., fl. 27.

⁵⁸ Ibid., fl. 29.

⁵⁹ The elections were guided by the Regulation of January 11, 1836, and the Royal Notice of May 31, 1834 which were transmitted through the Prefect Bernado Peres da Silva.

⁶⁰ HAG, MR, No. 1618, “Assentos das Moções e Decisões da Junta Provisional do Governo-1821-1837.”, fl.17.

Shortly thereafter, it was decided by the government to postpone them by nearly a fortnight and limit the number of representatives to two parliamentarians instead of three.⁶¹ The president of electoral board justified the move for nominating only two parliamentarians by stating the following: *por falta da nomeação dos dittos três deputados.*⁶²

The interests of the *Cartistas* in the above election were firmly grounded in the person of the Viceroy Dom Manuel de Castro e Portugal, who for the second time showed his determination to ensure victory of the official candidates. He engaged himself in a series of astute measures to prevent the Goan candidates from coming to power. To begin with, the Municipality of Ilhas was transferred to the military quarters in Panjim, and firmly secured by military protection.⁶³ The census records show that the electoral base was substantially expanded by inducting more voters from Ilhas and the New Conquests where they expected a wider support than other districts.⁶⁴ The new electoral census was limited to the district of Ilhas and the New Conquests. The inclusion of the New Conquests for the first time in these elections was justified that voting was a right conceded to all citizens of the Portuguese dominion and therefore, was to be exercised by all.⁶⁵ Ironically, the district of Bardez was deprived of the census as it had always been a centre of rebellion and mostly harboured activities against the government. A series of letters written from the

⁶¹AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, fl.8.

⁶² *Ibid.*, fls. 8-10. (The statement meant, due to the lack of nominations of the three deputies).

⁶³ Miranda, *Quadros Históricos de Goa*, 115.

⁶⁴ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56.

⁶⁵ HAG, MR, No. 1618, "Assentos das Moções e Decisões da Junta Provisional do Governo, 1821-1837." fls.19-20: *Caixa*, No. 52, fl. 224, in the *Arquivo Histórico Parlamentar* in Portugal shows the electoral census undertaken in the New Conquests.

Municipality of Bardez bear testimony of the protest staged in this district.⁶⁶ The people of Bardez protested and disapproved the hurried manner in which the election was conducted without giving sufficient time to carry out the electoral census in their district.⁶⁷ In another conniving move, the government had also dissolved the municipal councils of Goa before time, for two reasons; Firstly, they held the keys to the electoral operations and secondly, they were dominated by the well-wishers of the ex-Prefect. The newly constituted municipal councils were dominated by the supporters of the government. As a result of all these measures, the voters from Salcette, Bardez, Daman and Diu did not appear in the municipal hall of Ilhas.⁶⁸ Consequently, two Europeans who were backed by the government were voted to power.

The people of Goa, especially those in Bardez were greatly perturbed by the manoeuvring role of the Viceroy, Dom Manoel de Portugal and raised queries on the illegalities and corrupt practices in the elections at several places.⁶⁹ The Provisional government met on 13th February, 1836, in the city of Panjim to deliberate upon the measures to be undertaken in the wake of complaints made by the Municipalities of Bardez, Salcette along with those of Daman and Diu. The government at its meeting justified the results of the elections and the number of parliamentarians voted to power in keeping with the inhabitants of India, and instructions governing these elections.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ HAG, *MR*, No. 210 B, fl. 403.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*, fl. 407.

⁶⁸ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, fl.8; See also the report published in the newspaper, *Echo da Lusitania*, No.9, April 11, 1836.

⁶⁹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, fl. 12. This document records illegalities raised in the village of S. Bráz of crimes of omission of names from the electoral census.

⁷⁰ HAG, *MR*, No. 1618, "Assentos das Moções e Decisões da Junta Provisional do Governo-1821-1837.", fl.17.

It was a well-crafted victory in favour of the government. The *Echo da Lusitania* proudly acclaimed the victory of the two Portuguese parliamentarians in the wake of attempts made by Bernado Peres and his supporters to frustrate the moves of the government.⁷¹

Attitude of the British Press towards the Goans

British India was often known to have shown inquisitiveness in the political happenings and elections in Portuguese India during the 19th century. This attitude was disapproved by the Portuguese administrators in Portuguese Goa.⁷² The British administrators in India as well as some of its newspapers, especially the *Bombay Courier* and the *Bombay Gazette* and a few others, keenly followed the events across Portuguese India. The English press did not exercise restraint in expressing its attitude in favour of the Goans.⁷³ A few English newspapers generated an animated discussion on some issues in Goan politics and electoral misgivings of the 19th century.⁷⁴ Their writings exhibited concern towards the Goans in politics. An interesting letter under the pseudonym of “Your servant”, and “an Inquisitive Man” which was published in the *Bombay Courier* and *Bombay Examiner* against the activities of the Portuguese viceroy, became an issue of great concern to government authorities in Goa as it accused the viceroy of his arbitrary moves in politics. Such incidents affected the Portuguese government and therefore, were counteracted by their Goan counterparts through the pages of *Chronica Constituicional* and the *Echo da Lusitania*. There are

⁷¹ *Echo da Lusitania*, No. 7, March 26, 1836.

⁷² HAG, MR, No. 210, fl.60.

⁷³ These English newspapers were frequently quoted in the issues of the *Chronica Constituicional de Goa* and *Echo da Lusitania* of the 1830s.

⁷⁴ A *Chronica Constituicional de Goa*, No.32, November 1836.

several articles in these two newspapers which made determined effort to salvage the image of the Portuguese government, especially the Viceroy, Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro in the elections.⁷⁵ The Portuguese administrators in Goa conveyed the disapproval of the involvement of the British in the internal affairs of their province. In a reply to an earlier castigation sent by the Portuguese Military Governor, dated 25th March, 1835 the British authorities addressed a letter to Mr. João Casmiro Pereira de Rocha Vasconcellos, the President and the Member of the Provisional Government of Goa, which stated the following:⁷⁶

Gentleman,

I Have the honour to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the ‘5th *ultimo*’ (last) and to inform that this Government will not offer an opinion to the proceedings attested to, in your letter which refers exclusively to the internal administration of Portuguese government as already intimated to you.” The letter further read, “In respect of your reference, in your concluding Para of the Treaty of Commerce between Portugal and Great Britain, I Have the honour to inform you.....it will not recognise the Portuguese in Bombay to whom you refer as criminals within the meaning of this treaty in question without instantly making itself a party in that very contest and their abandoning the neutrality which is as per laws”

⁷⁵ Ibid.

⁷⁶ HAG, MR, No. 210, fl.60.

Political Parties in Portuguese Goa

As mentioned earlier, the conflict in the parliamentary elections in Portuguese Goa centred around the absolute and liberal ideologies, drawing inspiration from their nerve-centres in the metropolis. It is difficult to draw definite lines of distinction between the liberal factions and parties operating in Portuguese Goa during the first half of the 19th century. These groups were interchangeably referred to as *Liberais*, *Partido Popular*, *Setembristas*, and *Partido Patuléa*. José Ignácio de Loyola had admitted in 1865 that initially ‘all’ constituted the *Partido Popular* and Goans were not divided along party lines.⁷⁷ At the beginning of the constitutional regime, local liberal interests in Goa were identified with *Partido Popular*. After 1836, they were also associated with the *Setembristas*, the liberal faction which controlled the government in Portugal. With the establishment of *Partido Patuléa* in Goa in 1842, the liberal faction was identified with this party as well.

The *Setembristas*

From 1836 to 1842, the liberals held a commanding position in the Portuguese Parliament under the banner of the *Setembristas*.⁷⁸ Many Goan candidates seeking to contest the elections were influenced by its ideology. It was the liberal political scenario prevailing in Portugal which also facilitated the advocates of this party in Portuguese India to win elections to the parliament from 1838 to 1842. Incidentally, Fr. João Xavier de Souza Trindade, the Goan *deputado*, who had won the election in

⁷⁷ Loyola implied that Goans had put up an united front under the banner of the *Partido Popular* in the elections before they divided along the party lines namely the *Partido Ultramarino* and the *Partido Indiano*.

⁷⁸ The *Partido Setembrista* was a liberal party of Portugal as against the conservative *Cartistas* and *Cabralistas*. The party got its name from the revolt against the conservative faction which occurred in Portugal in the month of September 1836, which allowed the party to gain a prominent position in the parliament.

1839 as a candidate of the *Setembristas* shifted his loyalties towards *Cartistas* much to the anger of his colleagues and supporters from Goa.⁷⁹

The ascendancy of the *Setembristas* in Portuguese Goa greatly distressed the *Cabralistas*. This is evident from a letter addressed by some military officials (*Cabralistas*) in 1840 to the Council of Government of Goa, which accused the local candidates, Bernado Peres da Silva and António Caetano Pacheco of being enemies of the European community (*inimigos dos Europeos*).⁸⁰ The letter also blamed Goan *deputados* of wanting to keep the New Conquests out of the electoral fray for their selfish motives. When the contents of this letter became public, it enraged the *Setembrista* faction in Salcette, provoking them to offer a fitting reply to such accusations. They condemned the inaccurate charges levelled against the Goan *deputados*, and retorted that a trivial matter of such nature should not have merited a discussion in a body like the Government Council of the Province.⁸¹ They further condemned the military men of spreading rumours against Goan parliamentarians who firmly believed in principles of liberalism and patriotism and made no distinction whatsoever, among the people of Goa.⁸²

The electoral contest held in 1842 proved to be even more competitive and nail-biting. The *Cabralistas* were determined to break the cohesiveness of their adversaries and deny them victory in the election. Many Goans were believed to have yielded to the pressure exerted by the *Cabralistas* and shifted their loyalties towards it.⁸³

⁷⁹ “Sacerdoto Goesos, Deputados pela India.” in *O Anglo-Lusitano*, May 13, 1950.

⁸⁰ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, fl.10.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² *Ibid.*

⁸³ Barreto, *Quadros Biográficos dos Padres*, 91.

In 1842, the *Cabralistas* supported Fr. João de Trindade and Claudio Lagrange Monteiro de Barbosa, Secretary to the Governor General of Portuguese India among the other candidates in the fray.⁸⁴ Claudio Lagrange appealed to Joaquim Lopes, a popular local *Caudilho* from Bardez to support his candidature and carry out electioneering on his behalf.⁸⁵ Unfortunately for Lagrange, Lopes is believed to have refused to oblige him due to his avid belief in liberal ideas. Probably anticipating a defeat, Lagrange retrieved himself from the electoral fray.⁸⁶ This election sprung a major surprise upon the *Cabralistas*, who suffered an unexpected defeat, despite their hold over the government in Portugal. An even more distressing fact in this election to the conservative faction was the victory of the Portuguese candidate Manoel da Silva Passos. Passos was the leader of the *Setembrista* party in Portugal, and incidentally was denied a seat in the metropolis by Costa Cabral, leading him to contest the election from the circle of Goa.⁸⁷

The triumph and ascendancy of the *Setembristas* in Portuguese India was marked by their serious engagement with the *Cabralistas* faction in the Parliament of Portugal. The Goan *deputados* fearlessly threw open a can of worms, which exposed the colonial malfunctioning in Portuguese India. To cite a few instances, Bernado Peres pointed out to the indifferent attitude shown by the metropolitan government towards the measures recommended by him for Portuguese India, which according to him was responsible for its decadence. Issues raised by Goan *deputados* embarrassed

⁸⁴ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, fl.10. The designation of Lagrange Monteiro de Barbosa is mentioned in this document.

⁸⁵ Christovam Pinto, *Fransisco Xavier de Bragança-Carta Biográfica* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1885), 6.

⁸⁶ *Ibid.*

⁸⁷ João Manuel Pacheco de Figueiredo, *António Caetano Pacheco* (Lisboa: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos da Junta de Investigação Científicas do Ultramar, 1975), 34-35.

the authorities. A finger was pointed to the financial burden thrust upon the public treasury of India due to excessive spending of the Governor General.⁸⁸ Goan *deputado* António Caetano Pacheco elected to the parliament in 1839, demanded to know the balance sheet of expenditure pertaining to the Overseas Provinces and suggested that the defaulters of payments to the public treasury be dealt with severely by imprisonment. Further, it was also pointed out that matters related to the overseas had to be taken up for discussion with as much interest as those of the continent. Pacheco demanded that matters of urgency concerning the internal administration of the province be resolved by the local government instead of having to wait for matters to be discussed in the parliament.⁸⁹ The observations made by Bernardo Peres da Silva during the parliamentary session of 1840 distinctly revealed the embarrassment faced by the colonial government due to the issues raised by the Goan parliamentarians.⁹⁰ It made some legislators from Portugal to take up a defensive stand and justify that Peres and the *deputados* from India could have empathised with the political turmoil faced by Portugal instead of finding faults and levelling accusations against the metropolitan government.⁹¹

Partido Patulêa and Partido Chafarica

A little later, the *Partido Patulêa* and *Partido Chafarica* of Goa were established during the 1840s. They were modelled along the lines of the two rival political factions of Portugal and represented liberal and conservative ideologies of their times respectively.

⁸⁸ *Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* No. 21 (June 22, 1840).

⁸⁹ Figueiredo, *António Caetano Pacheco*, 34-35.

⁹⁰ *Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados* (July 3, 1840).

⁹¹ *Diário do Governo dos Senhores Deputados*, No. 246 (October 16, 1840).

Partido Patuléa

The *Patuléas* found support among many Goans and a few liberal members of the Luso-descendent community. In Salcette it was led by advocate Joaquim Philipe de Piedade Soares.⁹² An important member of the party in Salcette was Fransisco Xavier de Bragança from Chinchinnim who was a close associate of Joaquim P. de Piedade Soares. This party safeguarded the interests of the local candidates in elections.⁹³ A branch of the *Patuléa* was also established in Bardez under the leadership of Fr. António de Sá and supported by well-known personalities like Estevam Proença, António Proença, Lopes de Verem, João da Rocha and several others.⁹⁴ António Ramalho de Sá, J. F. Pestana, Custódio Manuel Gomes and António Mello were among the other supporters of this party. The residence of Manuel Xavier in Ribandar served as a place of meeting for its supporters residing in and around the vicinity of the capital. Caetano de Souza Vasconcellos, Joaquim da Costa Campos and Jeremias Mascarenhas and others were often seen together at this place.⁹⁵

According to Jacinto Caetano Miranda, the author of *Quadros Históricos de Goa, Tentativa Histórica*, it was a common saying of the times, especially in the circle of Ilhas that the *Patuléa* had apportioned among themselves, the ‘keys of the Holy Arch of freedom.’ The *Patuléas* faced harassment from *Chafaricas* who were sheltered by the *Cabralistas*. The harassment led many *Patuléas* to either give in to the opposition, or flee the province of Goa. Fortunately, they found relief during the tenure of Governor General José Ferreira Pestana (1844-51). Pestana is recognised as one of the democratic administrators of Portuguese India and a true friend of the

⁹² Pinto, *Fransisco Xavier de Bragança-Carta Biográfica*, 5-6.

⁹³ *Ibid.*, 5.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.*, 6.

⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 6-7.

people of this province.⁹⁶ It was under his tenure that this party witnessed some buoyancy and was successful in forming a strong bulwark against the *Os Chafariqueiros*.

Partido Chafarica

Partido Chafarica was established in Goa almost simultaneously along with the *Patulêas* and its members were called *Os Chafariqueiros*.⁹⁷ Its main objective was to counter the popularity of the liberal faction and win victories in elections. The moves to establish this party in Goa had the blessings of the conservative Premier Costa Cabral, who came back to power in 1842. Costa Cabral, a close confidante of the Queen Maria II, attempted to establish a strong base of his supporters (*Cabralistas*) in Goa. The reasons for his eagerness to have an organisation which was in line with his political ideology were not far to be found. The victory of the *Setembristas* in the elections of Goa from 1838 to 1842 as seen above, had greatly discomfited the government authorities in Goa, as well as the conservative faction in Portugal. Cabral's moves were planned with much foresight and intended to be executed through his agents in Goa. Firstly, he sent a Portuguese official, António Maria Bouyart to establish a branch of *Cabralismo* in Goa. Bouyart was supported by José Câncio Freire de Lima (Portuguese national and the President of the High Court of Goa). Secondly, instructions were given to the Interim Governor Lopes de Lima (1840-1842), to take necessary measures in this direction.⁹⁸ Although the Governor had returned to Portugal after serving his short term in administration, he had

⁹⁶ Da Costa, *Goa Sob Dominação Portuguesa*, 88. Viceroy José Ferreira Pestana had openly supported of having at least one son of the soil (Goan) in the Parliament of Portugal as its representative.

⁹⁷ "Sacerdoto Goesos, Deputados pela India." in *O Anglo-Lusitano*, May 13, 1950.

⁹⁸ Figueiredo, 34-35.

instructed his agents and supporters to establish a new party in Goa.⁹⁹ The efforts of Costa Cabral bore fruit as branches of this party came to be established in different parts of Goa. The political hub of its activities in North Goa was at Ribandar in the vicinity of Nova Goa. In South Goa, the party came to be headed by Roque Corrêa from Salcette (Benaulim).¹⁰⁰ The branch of the *Chafarica* in Bardez (from Calangute) was led by Mariano de Goes and ably assisted by Joaquim Salvador Carvalho from Camurlim.¹⁰¹ It was made up of the so called *crème de la crème* of the Goan society. Some of its eminent members included José Câncio Lopes de Lima, Claudio Lagrange Monteiro da Barbosa, Joaquim Mourão Garcêz Palha, Caetano Mourão Garcêz Palha and António Maria Bouyrat.

For almost a decade from 1845 to 1855, the *Chafaricas* and *Patulêas* were engaged in partisan electoral contests, where the gains alternated between each other. The election of 1845 witnessed formidable electioneering moves from the *Chafariqueiros* which were necessitated due to their unsatisfactory performance during the last few years. This fact could be evidenced from the correspondence between authorities in Portugal and Goa, renewing their efforts to ensure the success of the representative system in the New Conquests.¹⁰² Voters from the New Conquests increased the statistics in favour of the official interests.¹⁰³ The magistrates

⁹⁹ Saldanha, *História de Goa-Política e Arqueológica*, 270-275.

¹⁰⁰ J. Benedito Gomes, "Resenha Historica, O Instituto Vasco da Gama." 1ã parte, No. 16 (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1932), 65.

¹⁰¹ Joaquim Salvador Carvalho was the father of Visconde de Bardez.

¹⁰² HAG, MR, No. 216 A, fl.167, fl. 173, fl.189.

¹⁰³ Barreto, *Quadros Biographicos dos Padres*, 122-125. The government published a record of 34 voters eligible to contest as provincial candidates in the New Conquests. Ironically, the government had reported in 1844 that the New Conquests were one of the miserable settlements or *torofos* of Goa. According to Jeremias Mascarenhas these figures of 34 voters were exaggerated and almost seemed impossibility.

who were steadfast to their principles and could not be controlled by the government were made to resign. The candidatures of Chief Justice Ramalho de Sá, a liberal Portuguese man¹⁰⁴ and the José Maria dos Remedios, the Attorney General who was also a Goan were disregarded as they did not toe the line of the *Chafaricas*. Instead, they were substituted by José Câncio Freire de Lima, an European, and Bernado Colaço, a Goan Brahmin who were likely to support their interests. The new Chief Justice gave a Lawyer's Charter to those candidates who would support the official candidate.¹⁰⁵ This time, the efforts of the premier Cabral bore fruit. The election of José António de Souza Azavedo, José J. Lopes de Lima, D. João Xavier de Souza Trindade and José Câncio Freire de Lima indicated the triumph of the *Chafaricas*. The moves of the *Chafariqueiros* did not go unchallenged by the *Patuléas*. The electoral misdemeanours in the election to primary assemblies of Goa rocked the Parliament in Portugal.¹⁰⁶

For the *Patuléas*, the death of Bernado Peres da Silva in 1844 created a huge political void. But shortly afterwards and to their good fortune, they found a champion in Jeremias Mascarenhas who held the interest of the province at heart. Besides, the *Patuléas* were able to gain some mileage from the temporary fall of Cabral from power from 1846 to 1848 and also due to the recall of António Maria Bouyrat back to Portugal.¹⁰⁷ Under these circumstances, the subsequent election held in 1848 favoured the *Patuléas*. According to contemporary eyewitnesses in the parliament, the debates of *deputado* Mascarenhas did not allow the Minister for Overseas to forget easily

¹⁰⁴ HAG *Ordens Regias*, No. 2402, fl. 181. António Ramalho de Sá was deputed to Portuguese India as the Judge of the High Court of Goa.

¹⁰⁵ Carmo Azavedo, "Elections in Goa." *Goa Today*, February 1967, 25.

¹⁰⁶ *BDG*, No. 27 (June 18, 1846), 167- 169.

¹⁰⁷ Bouyart was recalled from India due to the liberal revolt in Portugal led by Maria da Fonte. The period thereafter witnessed a temporary triumph of liberalism in Goa.

about Portuguese India. Mascarenhas also appreciated the concern of the Governor General José Ferreira Pestana towards Portuguese India.¹⁰⁸ The outspoken nature of Mascarenhas and his critique of the colonial rule made him the target of attack from authorities in Goa and Portugal. Consequently, he was ousted in the election of 1853.

The parliamentary election of 1853 once again got embroiled in a bitter contest between the *Chafaricas* and the *Patuléas* of Goa. The *Chafaricas* had the blessings of Costa Cabral, who was restored back to power, thus giving an edge to this party. The Governor General, Viscount of Ourem (1851-55) had succeeded in defeating Mascarenhas.¹⁰⁹ The sword of Damocles was directed towards Mascarenhas who had opened up a Pandora's box on misdeeds of the government during the last parliamentary elections of 1848. The Viceroy had probably received instructions from Costa Cabral to keep Mascarenhas out from the electoral fray.¹¹⁰ This election was held amidst a volatile political environment prevailing in Goa after 1852 due to the Rane rebellion. It was even alleged by some newspapers in Bombay that Mascarenhas had involved in the Dipu Rane revolt in Goa against the Governor General in 1852 and it had led to his defeat in the election.¹¹¹ The veracity of these statements cannot be ascertained, but when Mascarenhas was re-elected later, he demanded to know in the Parliament on the number of people who had died and imprisoned during the

¹⁰⁸ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No.10 (April 17, 1849).

¹⁰⁹ The following candidates received government support: Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz, Feliciano António Marquis Pereira and Augusto Xavier da Silva.

¹¹⁰ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, May 13, 1950. Visconde de Ourem was initially a supporter of the *Patuléas* led by Duke of Saldana. Later, he was inducted into the ministry headed by Costa Cabral. He did not want to displease the two leaders, having received political favours from either of them. Therefore, in 1851, when the Baron of Ourem was given the charge of Portuguese India by Costa Cabral, he had to keep the interest of his chief at heart in Portuguese India.

¹¹¹ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, May 13, 1950.

rebellion of the Ranis in Sattary. This had led the Queen to despatch a letter to India seeking information on this issue.¹¹²

The subsequent election held in 1855 was an indication of shifting political strategy adopted by the Governor General, Visconde de Ourem. He took a surprising step of including the name of Jeremias Mascarenhas in the election of 1855. This move only showed how the governor generals sent to the overseas swung to the dictates of their patrons in Portugal. The election is supposed to have been conducted without any contest (*luta*).¹¹³ However Jeremias Mascarenhas boldly condemned the Governor General for his partiality in the elections of Goa.¹¹⁴

The reign of Visconde de Ourem was characterised by violent activities. Such events were believed to have led the Viceroy to write a secret letter to the Ministry of the Overseas on the futility of holding elections in India. He also expressed his helplessness in controlling the political turmoil during elections and his dependency on the local agents who controlled electoral activity.¹¹⁵

Partido Regeneradores and Partido Histórico

The challenges in elections in Portuguese Goa after the mid-1850s were set on a slightly modified terrain. This was because electoral politics in the province was shaped by more formal parties in Portugal which were demarcated by their distinct political agenda. The period following the eclipse of the domineering and conservative Costa Cabral from the mainstream politics in 1851 had allowed the florescence of a

¹¹² HAG, MR, No. 227, fl.107.

¹¹³ *The Anglo-Lusitano*, July 1950.

¹¹⁴ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 4, February 8, 1856.

¹¹⁵ Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob Dominação Portuguesa*, 197. The Visconde declared that elections should not be held in India as the people choose their representatives who were hostile to the Governor.

more liberal era. This period which promoted stability in politics for nearly two decades, allowed the formation of two parties, the *Regeneradores* and *Históricos* (which in 1876 merged to form the *Partido Progressista*) in Portugal.¹¹⁶ It was seen that power in Portugal alternated between these two parties for more than two decades.¹¹⁷ The faction which held its preponderance at the centre also shaped the results of elections and politics in Portuguese India.

The *Regeneradores*, since their inception were imbued by a feeling of regeneration in politics and stood for a right wing ideology.¹¹⁸ They had an appeal upon the Goan *deputados*, Bernardo Francisco da Costa (henceforth Bernardo da Costa) and Francisco Luis Gomes, who supported the *Partido Regenerador* of the metropolis. Thus, for a substantial period of time, the former *Patulêas* of Goa exhibited their solidarity towards this party.¹¹⁹ This brought them in conflict with the *Partido Histórico*, especially when it dominated the scene in Portugal.¹²⁰ These two Goan parliamentarians together engaged themselves with ferocity against the injustice meted out to Portuguese India, putting forth various proposals when the *Históricos* were in power.¹²¹ They coordinated their efforts in Goa to win the elections and exhibited their solidarity in the parliament. Francisco Luis Gomes had the support of António Rodrigues de Sampaio who was the editor of the newspaper *Revolução de Setembro*, which was also the chief organ of the *Regeneradores*. Gomes won the election from

¹¹⁶ *Direito Constitucional Portuguez*, 56-79.

¹¹⁷ *Ibid.*

¹¹⁸ Gomes Sousa Carvalho, "Nationalism and Regime Overthrow in early Twentieth century Portugal." 58.

¹¹⁹ *The Anglo-Lusitano*, July 1950.

¹²⁰ *Direito Constitucional Portuguez*. The *Históricos* held the reins of government from 1856 to 1859, and later from 1860 to 1865.

¹²¹ *Ibid.*, 55-56.

Goa in 1858, as a candidate of the *Regeneradores*. He was backed by the metropolitan *deputado*, António Rodrigues Sampaio who was considered as a great friend of Portuguese India and defended the interests of the people of Goa, through the newspaper, *Revolução de Setembro*.¹²² The speeches of Fransisco Luis Gomes delivered in the Parliament resonated in Portugal and other parts of the empire through the *Revolução de Setembro*. But, they also increased the antagonism of the *Partido Histórico* against him, and its agents in Goa waited for an opportunity to dent into the solidarity of the *Regeneradores* in this province. In fact, the cohesion exhibited by the local representatives for about four decades had been an eyesore to their opponents in Portugal as well as in Goa. This was evident from the election held in 1861 in which the Goan voters elected Fransisco Luis Gomes against the official nominee and the government backed Brahmin candidate, Agostinho Vincent Lourenço.

Despite the prevailing social hierarchies among the indigenous elites of Goa, unity prevailed among the Goan electorate till 1865. In an interesting article published in 1861 in the *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India*, it was stated that the people of India preferred a son of the soil, than to the men from Portugal, as their parliamentarians in the parliament.¹²³ The critical piece of argument which surfaced on the horizon was the outcome of the domination of Portuguese men in the parliamentary elections in Portuguese India. Portuguese nationals who had little or no experience on Portuguese India often had a cake-walk in elections and won with astounding majority.

¹²² The newspaper, *Revolução de Setembro* was initially an organ of the *Setembrista* party.

¹²³ *BDG*, No. 46 (June 21, 1861).

The above phenomenon was promoted by several factors. Electioneering in favour of such candidates was vigorously carried out by the local administrators, the major contributors, and other agents who wielded tremendous influence upon the electorate in Goa. Besides the above, electoral laws allowed Portuguese citizens, to contest elections from any electoral circle within the Portuguese dominions. For example, *deputado* Vincent Ferrer Neto de Paiva (a former *Cabralista and Partido Histórico*) had managed to win elections for three terms, since 1858 despite possessing little support among the Goan electorate or experience of the political scenario in Goa. Not surprisingly, he was considered as the agent of Governor General Torres Nova, who had no sympathy for Goan candidates. Torres Nova held a special grudge against Gomes for having accused the Viceroy of mal-administration in Portuguese India.¹²⁴ The sarcastic taunt of Gomes that “the dead, either rich or poor in the *Estado da India*, during the reign of Torres Nova also paid the tax of 150 *réis*”, had immensely enraged the administrator.¹²⁵ In some places of Bardez, it was rumoured that the people could not openly speak about elections, lest they invited wrath of the governor general.¹²⁶ The governor general on his part accused Gomes of providing wrong information to the *Côrtes* on certain administrative issues of the *Estado da India* including the judiciary.

The election of 1864 was perhaps the last of its kind where the Goan electorate voted in cohesion, looking beyond the social barriers of caste. The observations made by Fransisco Luis Gomes on the heavy and unwarranted taxation on urban

¹²⁴ Carlos Pedro B. e Costa, *A Governação e Opção em Goa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1867), 29. The first Count of Torres Nova was the title given to António César Vasconcelos Correia.

¹²⁵ *A India Portuguesa*, May 8, 1861, 2-3.

¹²⁶ Costa, *A Governação e Opção em Goa*, 29-30.

land were appreciated in Goa by diverse section of the Goan intelligentsia.¹²⁷ The period after 1865 connected the electorate as well as representatives seeking to be voted to power by affinities of caste.

Caste in Elections: *Partido Indiano* and *Partido Ultramarino*

Despite the prevailing underpinnings among the Catholic upper castes namely, the brahmins and the chardós of Portuguese Goa¹²⁸, the issue of caste did not become a distinct subject of contention in the parliamentary elections during the first half of the 19th century. The predominance of the Catholic brahmin *deputados* can be recognised in the parliamentary elections from 1822 to 1864.¹²⁹ But this period did not reflect a serious attempt from the Goan chardós to assert their identity in the elections of Portuguese Goa, although some members of the community aspired to rise the higher echelons of political spaces in Portuguese Goa.¹³⁰ In fact, the period from 1822 to 1864 was largely notable for cooperation among the indigenous *deputados* in the parliament of Portugal. The unanimity visible among the Goan *deputados* in Portugal did not fail to capture the attention of the astute administrators in the metropolis.¹³¹ The victories of Bernado Peres da Silva, Jeremias

¹²⁷ *O Ultramar*, No. 352, October 1865; *Sentinella de Liberdade*, No. 65, December 1865.

¹²⁸ Teotonio R. de Souza, "The Rural Economy and Society in Portuguese India: Colonial Reality v/s Stereotypes." in *Vasco da Gama e Índia*, quoted in *Between Empires, Print and Politics in Goa* (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2008), 45.

¹²⁹ From 1822 to 1864, in the sixteen parliamentary elections held in Portuguese India, twenty one seats were won by Goan *deputados*. However, thirteen seats were won by the brahmin candidates, eight seats were won by non-brahmins, five chardós and three seats were won by Jeremias Mascarenhas who belonged to the gauddó caste.

¹³⁰ In the parliamentary elections of 1822, Fransisco Salvador Gomes, a chardó from Navelim who also constituted the liberal faction, got eight votes, while the brahmin candidates Bernado Peres da Silva and Constancio Roque da Costa got sixteen and fifteen votes respectively, and were elected as the *deputados*.

¹³¹ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No.8 (Abril 1849). Fr. Cana belonged to the chardó caste, while *deputado* Jeremias Mascarenhas belonged to the *gauddó* caste. (However, his caste should

Mascarenhas, António Caetano Pacheco, Fr. Salvador Baptista Cana, Bernado da Costa, Fransisco Luis Gomes and other representatives were chiefly attributed to the accord existed among the indigenous electors in the Old Conquests.

During the second phase of the constitutional regime, especially after the mid-1860s, one encounters noticeable barriers among indigenous elites which chiefly centred around the lines of caste. Factionalism was further intensified by the formation of two local parties, the *Partido Indiano* and the *Partido Ultramarino*. The *Partido Indiano* was identified with the kshatriyas (chardós) and the *Partido Ultramarino* with the brahmins. The *Partido Indiano* had its newspaper *A India Portuguesa*, and the *Partido Ultramarino* had its organ the *O Ultramar*. These newspapers widened wedge between these two caste groups.¹³²

The cleavage among the Goan elites evolved over a period of time. Initially, José Ignácio de Loyola Furtado, the leader of *the Partido Indiano* collaborated for some time with the *O Ultramar* led by Bernado da Costa as is evident from some issues of this newspaper. However, their amity did not sustain for long and the two local titans treaded on opposite paths. This was because the *O Ultramar* of Bernado da Costa found a rival in *A India Portuguesa* when José Ingácio de Loyola Furtado became its editor in 1865. Costa and Loyola Furtado were men of independent, forthright and opposite views, and often differed in political opinion on contemporary issues. Most importantly, they belonged to two different caste groups of society; Costa

not be mistaken with the *gauddó* tribe) Mascarenhas vociferously argued for the cause of the monetary remuneration that was rightly due to his compatriot, António Caetano Pacheco (a brahmin) who was elected in 1845. Mascarenhas was appreciated for the concern that he had for his colleague, but the government was of the view that Pacheco could not be paid more than he deserved due to his long absence from the parliamentary sessions.

¹³² J. Rangel, *A Imprensa em Goa* (Bastorá: Tipographia Rangel, 1956), 47; The *O Ultramar* of Bernado da Costa went into print on 6th April, 1859. The *A India Portuguesa* was first published on 4th January, 1861 from Margão and later shifted to Orlim. It was edited by Manuel Lourenço de Miranda Franco.

a brahmin, and Loyola a chardó. The divide altered the voting pattern in the parliamentary elections in Goa after 1865.

Till 1865, the Goan *deputados* Bernado da Costa and Fransisco Luis Gomes collaborated with each other as members of the *Regeneradores*. But it was the press which fuelled the rivalry between the caste groups with their critical comments and analysis of electoral events.¹³³ The visibly growing disunity among the Goan elites based on the caste factor aided the party in opposition to the *Regeneradores* to strategise its moves and prevent Francisco Luis Gomes and Bernado da Costa from winning the elections in 1865 in Margão and Bardez respectively. Being supporters of the *Regeneradores*, the candidatures of Fransisco Luis Gomes and Bernado da Costa were not favoured by the *Partido Histórico* and on the contrary, it announced its official candidates against the wishes of the people. The heat generated by Gomes and Costa in the parliament had made the government headed by the *Históricos* weary of its victory in the forthcoming election. Thus, several influential officials from the circle of Margão combined their might in allegiance with the authorities to form a strong ‘federation’ to reject the candidature of Gomes in Salcette and instead support a Goan brahmin, Agostino Vincent Lourenço.¹³⁴ It became public knowledge that the caste factor played an important role in keeping Gomes out from South Goa in the election of 1865. A military force stationed near the polling stations also backed the official candidate. Electoral frauds were reported at several polling stations and this matter was debated in some of the sessions of the Parliament in Portugal.

¹³³ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 347, August 1867. The reports published in this newspaper justified the defeat of Bernado da Costa in the elections of 1865. The *O Ultramar* on the other hand accused Loyola and A. J. Rodrigues of electoral maneuvering in the same election.

¹³⁴ *O Ultramar*, No. 1998, May 1899.

Consequently, the election for the Salcette circle was nullified.¹³⁵ Costa did not win this election in Bardez where he contested because the Governor General, Torres Nova had fielded António Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcelos as the official candidate. The *A India Portuguesa* passed sarcastic comments on Costa's defeat, which enraged his supporters.¹³⁶

The competing interests of caste politics became more marked with every passing year and were even more discernable during the elections of 1867. Fransisco Luis Gomes and Bernado da Costa became competitors in Salcette as both contested for the same seat. Gomes obtained 523 votes as against 1,358 votes polled by Costa.¹³⁷ The victory of Bernado da Costa was not taken kindly by *A India Portuguesa*.¹³⁸ But it found some solace in the victory of Gomes in Bardez against the government candidate.¹³⁹

The parties had their main base in Salcette taluka and it is for this reason that South Goa became the hot bed of electoral politics and resonated with electoral debates for more than a quarter of a century. But their supporters were spread in Nova Goa and Bardez as well, where they made attempts to capture votes for their respective candidates. In the wake of this prevailing divide, both parties outstretched their arms and accused the other of taking recourse to the caste factor in their electoral campaigns. The supporters of *Partido Ultramarino* placed the onus on José

¹³⁵ *O Ultramar*, No. 1604, December 28, 1889.

¹³⁶ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 246, September 1865. The newspaper reported that Costa had lost the elections inspite of all his might employed in this election and went to the extent of shifting his residence to Panjim from Margão.

¹³⁷ *BDG*, No. 67, August 30, 1867.

¹³⁸ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 347, August 1867.

¹³⁹ Gomes polled 1,406 votes as against his rival, and a government supported candidate, António Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcellos, who got 1,090 votes.

I. de Loyola for initiating the politics of caste and using it as a trump card to win elections in Goa. As proof to the above allegation, it made public a letter, written by Loyola to a close friend, João de Quadros.¹⁴⁰ Its contents read as follows;¹⁴¹

Understand my friend, that in my class there is more caste, and I am the first one not to contest this fact. Speaking with more frankness, want to tell to my friend, that it was the caste which was a more powerful weapon which was employed in the last election. Excited the caste factor because, I saw that there was no other path to dislodge the prejudice sufficiently ingrained, to suffocate the old divide between the *patulêa and chafarica* parties.

Loyola however denied the authorship to this letter. On the contrary, he made Bernardo da Costa an object of ridicule by addressing him as the betrayer (Judas), the visible leader of the *Cabralista* faction, a power monger who had abandoned the *Partido Popular* to form the *Partido Ultramarino* with the sole intention of wanting to lead the party.¹⁴² Bernardo da Costa was also accused of lacking the requisite aptitude needed for an administrative office on account of his unconstitutional principles.¹⁴³ The mutual accusations from both camps escalated into a bitter political rivalry.¹⁴⁴ The increasing animosity between the chardós and the brahmins in South Goa was more

¹⁴⁰ The contents of this letter were believed to have been originally published in another contemporary newspaper, *Sentinella da Liberdade*. The same letter was published in one of the issues of the *O Ultramar* in May 1899.

¹⁴¹ *O Ultramar*, No. 1998, May 1899. “Entende o amigo, que na minha classe ha mais castismo,- e eu sou o primeiro a não contestar este conceito. Para fallar com mais franquez a direi ao amigo, que foi o castismo a arma mais ponderosa que manejei na ultima eleição (a de 1864). Excitei o castismo por que vi, que para desalojar preconceitos e affeições já bastante arraigadas, para sufocar antigas diferenças de patulêa e chafarica não havia melhor meio...”

¹⁴² *A India Portuguesa*, No. 211, January 11, 1865.

¹⁴³ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 221, March 22, 1865.

¹⁴⁴ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 217, February 22, 1865.

predominant in the municipal elections, where the two parties contested with each other for more than a quarter of a century since 1865. Caste based politics in elections continued visibly in Portuguese Goa till the end of the 19th century.¹⁴⁵

Regeneradores, Progressistas and Guedian Politics in Elections

From 1870 to 1888, nine parliamentary elections were held for Portuguese India. In a total of twenty three seats contested during this period, the results show a radically disproportionate balance in favour of European candidates. Local candidates were largely conspicuous by their absence, but the Luso-descendants won three seats. It is difficult to speculate the reasons for this phenomenon, but the active involvement of the indigenous elites in the municipal elections could have led to this shifting trend.

With the establishment of the *Partido Progressista* after 1876, the electoral contest centred around *Progressistas* and the *Regeneradores*.¹⁴⁶ Generally, the party at the helm of affairs in Portugal won elections in the overseas provinces. For example, in June 1879, the *Progressista* candidates in Goa, Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha, the Baron of Cumbarjua, and Jorge Augusto de Mello, a Portuguese won the election due to the blessings of their patrons in the metropolis who were at the helm of affairs. The same was repeated in the election of 1887. This trend also was true of the *Regeneradores* in Goa.

During the last quarter of the 19th century, the caste divide was further exploited by the political parties, both in Goa and Portugal. As discussed earlier, for a long time, the *Partido Indiano* and the *Partido Ultramarino* had focused on local electoral politics of Portuguese Goa. But after 1889, they found themselves at the centre of controversy for involving in the politics of the metropolis. On the eve of the

¹⁴⁵ *O Ultramar*, No. 1684, July 11, 1891. The article published in the issue accused the *Partido Indiano* of wanting to increase the voters for their selfish reasons.

¹⁴⁶ The Historic party was merged to form the *Progressista*.

election to be held in November 1889, the *Progressistas* headed the party in Portugal.¹⁴⁷ It was natural that the situation in Goa too would favour this party. It was under these circumstances that Governor General, Vasco Guedes played a Machiavellian role in Goan politics and elections.

Role of Vasco Guedes in Elections

To most scholars of Goan history, Vasco Guedes Carvalho de Menezes (henceforth Vasco Guedes) evokes memories of the ‘*sanguinário governador*’ (bloody governor) due to the dishonour he invited upon himself during the tragic events of the 1890s.¹⁴⁸ Vasco Guedes took over as the Governor General of Goa in June 1889, a position entrusted upon him by the *Progressista* party which was in power in Portugal, although he himself was a *Regenerador* at heart.¹⁴⁹

In the parliamentary elections held in November 1889, Guedes had proposed the name of the Luso-descendant Baron of Cumbarjua, Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha, as the candidate in South Goa. This was in accordance with the instructions received by him from Portugal (*Progressistas*). The *Partido Indiano* on the other hand had resolved: ‘never more to return a government nominee’. Loyola Furtado is supposed to have communicated this resolution to the Governor General, and instead, fielded Christovam Pinto as the candidate of his party. Loyola’s decision was respected by Guedes who had committed himself, till then, to be a supporter of the free exercise of franchise. The policy of non-interference, followed by Guedes in

¹⁴⁷ José Luciano de Castro, the leader of the *Progressista* headed the party in Portugal.

¹⁴⁸ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 237, January 15, 1891. The parliamentary election of April 1890 as well as the municipal election of Salcette which took place in September 1890. The tragic event is explained in Chapter VIII.

¹⁴⁹ *Ibid.*

such matters, was supposed to have been informed through a letter to Loyola.¹⁵⁰ The non-partisan attitude exhibited by the Governor General had raised him further in popular estimation.¹⁵¹ Guedes earned reputation of being an impartial administrator in Portuguese Goa and across British India.¹⁵²

But shortly thereafter, the Governor General sprung a surprise by retracting his support to the official candidate (Baron of Cumbarjua). Instead, he backed the candidature of Christovam Pinto of *Partido Indiano* of José Inácio de Loyola. It was apparent that much water had flown under the bridge before the Baron of Cumbarjua had been unceremoniously disfavoured from the electoral fray in Goa, in a sudden twist of events. The key players of this drama were none other than Vasco Guedes and José Ignácio de Loyola. It appeared that Loyola had managed to convince Guedes to support Christovam Pinto.¹⁵³ As per the agreement, it was believed that Loyola would extend his support to the party in Lisbon (*Progressistas*) if his candidate (Christovam Pinto) was voted to power in this election.¹⁵⁴

It was obvious that the sudden change in attitudes and new political alliances were motivated by substantial gains. In Mapuça and Nova Goa, the sailing was smooth for the government, where the two official candidates D. Jorge Augusto de

¹⁵⁰ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 242, February 19, 1891.

¹⁵¹ *Ibid.* It was even reported that when Guedes was called home to be promoted to the rank of a Minister for War, all sections of people in Goa, united themselves in asking his retention in the province.

¹⁵² *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 237, January 15, 1891.

¹⁵³ *O Ultramar*, No. 1599, November 23, 1889; *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 245, March 1891. It was reported that Guedes denied his role in disfavoured the Baron. But when a letter containing details of the agreement signed between Guedes and Loyola was exposed and printed in the press, even the 'blacks' of Africa had laughed at the Governor General.

¹⁵⁴ Valmiki Faleiro, *Soaring Spirit, 450 years of Margão's Espirito Church* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2015), 215.

Mello and José Julio Rodrigues, won the election in 1889.¹⁵⁵ But in Salcette, the situation was different as the *Partido Indiano* held a substantial hold over this circle. As seen above, Guedes also shared a favourable rapport with Loyola. The victory of a representative backed by him in this circle would consolidate his prestige in the metropolis and gain political mileage back home. Such considerations had led to the turnabout (*viradeira*) of the Governor General in favour of *Partido Indiano*. For Loyola, with a mind of a seasoned political tactician, the victory would decimate his local adversaries. Secondly, he believed that his astute moves could be utilised to influence the Lisbon government for promoting economic reforms which would favour Portuguese India.¹⁵⁶

The above issue can be understood in the context of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1878. This treaty had been working to the detriment of local industries in Goa, but the metropolitan government was looking forward for its renewal in 1892.¹⁵⁷ It was rumoured that the government was likely to renew the treaty and wanted to impose fresh taxes on coconut, spirits and salt. However, opinion among the intelligentsia in Goa was divided on this issue, though most were convinced of its negative repercussion on Goan economy. Therefore, it became an issue of debate in the election of 1889. The *Partido Indiano*, favoured the renewal of the treaty after demanding the modification of its clauses on salt and *Abkari* rights, believing that it would benefit the Goan economy.¹⁵⁸ On the other hand, *Partido Ultramarino* was

¹⁵⁵ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 1690 (Mapuça), 2-5; *Caixa*, No. 1689 (Nova Goa). Incidentally, Christovam Pinto who had also contested from Mapuça got only four votes, while Constâncio Roque da Costa got 101 votes. José Julio Rodrigues acquired an astounding majority of 23,837 votes.

¹⁵⁶ *O Anglo-Lusitano* No. 255, May 1891. The government favoured the renewal of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty. Loyola believed that the treaty with its modification would benefit Portuguese Goa.

¹⁵⁷ *Oriente Portueze*, No. 27 (September, 1940), 85.

¹⁵⁸ *Diário dos Senhores Deputados*, No. 88, July 26, 1890; See also in *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 255, May 1891. In the above parliamentary session, Christovam Pinto's stand on the treaty becomes

against its renewal, and stood by this stand in the forthcoming years.¹⁵⁹ This explained the initial outburst of the *Partido Ultramarino* which condemned the moves of chicanery of Vasco Guedes in Goa and the *Partido Indiano* in this election.¹⁶⁰ It also sarcastically declared that the government manufactured parliamentarians and determined who its friend was.¹⁶¹ The government's support to Pinto could also be evinced from the reports published in Bombay press which pointed to the warm reception accorded to Christovam Pinto at hotel Victoria in Bombay by Portuguese representatives on the eve of his departure to Lisbon.¹⁶²

The supporters of the Baron especially in the New Conquests felt betrayed by Guedes, who from a sharp contrast of his former self, had unexpectedly morphed himself into a traitor.¹⁶³ The laments of the people and the defeat of their Baron are expressed in a dialogue between a local inhabitant, Gonnes Porobo Suttlicar and God Manguesh. The distraught devotee sought an explanation from the Almighty (God Manguesh) on the disastrous defeat of their Baron and the betrayal by their own supporters.¹⁶⁴

Since 1889, the *Partido Indiano* had backed the candidature of Christovam Pinto who contested the seat of Margão Circle. Pinto hailed from Santa Cruz, but was well acquainted with the people of Salcette taluka for having served as an inspector of

clear, “*Eu não posso deixar de votar pela continuação d’aquelle convenio.*”. “*....ganhou, o regimen da liberdade commercial.*”.

¹⁵⁹ *O Ultramar*, No. 1696, October 1891.

¹⁶⁰ *O Ultramar*, No. 1599, November 23, 1889.

¹⁶¹ *O Ultramar*, No. 1601, December 7, 1889.

¹⁶² *O Ultramar*, No. 1602, December 14, 1889. The Portuguese authorities in Bombay accompanied Pinto to the church of Dabal, accompanied by the musical band and the national hymn of Portugal.

¹⁶³ *O Ultramar*, No. 1599, November 23, 1889.

¹⁶⁴ *Ibid.* Further details of this conversation are provided in Chapter V.

the Confraternities of the Church (*Confrarias*). More importantly, he had also endeared himself to Dr. José Ignacio de Loyola and Martinho de Menezes of the *Partido Indiano*.¹⁶⁵ A *mandó* dedicated to depict the popularity of Christovam Pinto, reads as follows:¹⁶⁶

Partidatso chefi (referring to Loyola) *mukary sol'lo*

Naveli campary comisy (*comicio*) *re kelo*

Christovão Pint deputado porgottu num dilo

Soglelokach' monantre gelo.

This folk song explains the announcement of the nomination of Christovam Pinto as the candidate in the parliamentary election by the chief of the party at a meeting held in the village of Navelim. Pinto's choice was approved by the people. Christovam Pinto was hardly able to enjoy his first stint as the Goan *deputado*. In January 1890, the *Progressista* party in the metropolis resigned from power, and the *Regeneradores* were asked to lead the government.¹⁶⁷ Simultaneously, the elections were also announced to choose new *deputados* to the Parliament. In Portuguese India, the election was scheduled for April 1890, at a time when the *Regeneradores* were holding the temporary reins of government in Portugal. Vasco Guedes, a *Regenerador* in spirit and a diplomatic strategist, chose to abandon the interests of the *Progressistas*, a move facilitated from the tutelage of his party in the metropolis.¹⁶⁸ Under these circumstances, Guedes felt confident of openly supporting the

¹⁶⁵ *Heraldo*, March 9, 1926.

¹⁶⁶ José Pereira, *Konkani: A Language-A History of the Konkani Marathi Controversy* (Dharwar: Sharada Press, 1971), 132.

¹⁶⁷ The *Progressistas* had resigned from power in Portugal on account of the 'Ultimatum' issued by Lord Salisbury, the British Prime Minister in the African dispute between Portugal and Britain. The *Regeneradores* led by Serpa Pimentel were asked to take charge of government. They held the reigns from January to October 1890.

¹⁶⁸ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 242, February 19, 1891.

Regeneradores in Goa. This move was perhaps imminent sooner or later, as the earlier alliance with Loyola was motivated by personal gain. Thus, the marriage of convenience forged between the *Partido Indiano* and Vasco Guedes proved short-lived. Guedes defended his stand that he was acting on the peremptory orders from Lisbon.¹⁶⁹ Guedian *Política* was at its best in the year 1890. This was more so because two elections, parliamentary and municipal were held within a stint of five months.

Guedes also entered into negotiation with Loyola, Martinho Menezes and other members of the *Partido Indiano*. This time, he solicited the support from the *Partido Indiano* to accept the candidature of João da Costa Brandão d'Albuquerque, a Portuguese national, whose name was probably heard for the first time in Goa.¹⁷⁰ Loyola who had a few months earlier agreed to another settlement with the Governor General, refused to be coerced into this arrangement, and expressed his determination to field Christovam Pinto as the candidate of his party again. Guedes did not take this refusal too kindly and made up his mind to use his might to ensure the success of his party.¹⁷¹

The *Partido Ultramarino*, on the other hand decided to support the official candidate. The Bardez and the Nova Goa circles posed no major challenges to the government as it was ensured support from the administrators of Bardez and Nova Goa. Caetano Fransisco Henriques, the Administrator of Bardez, along with his father-in-law, Joaquim Salvador Carvalho were tools in the hands of Guedes and supporters of the *Partido Regenerador*.¹⁷² In the circle of Nova Goa, Arthur Urbano Monteiro de

¹⁶⁹ Ibid.

¹⁷⁰ Ibid.

¹⁷¹ Ibid.

¹⁷² *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 237, January 15, 1891.

Castro, a candidate of the *Regeneradores* came to power while in Mapuça (Bardez), Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sepulveda of the *Regeneradores* won the election.¹⁷³

It was the seat of South Goa, which caused concern for Guedes. As a part of an aggressive winning strategy adopted by the government, it appointed officials and magistrates who would favour the party. Luís Carneiro was appointed as the Administrator of Salcette. The new administrator attempted to lure Loyola with lucrative offers which could be availed by supporting the candidate of the government in election. On the contrary, Loyola was also warned of the consequences if he persisted in his stubborn determination to go ahead with his scheme of fielding his own candidate. Loyola appeared undaunted by such threats and went ahead with his moves with the support of his party.¹⁷⁴ Vasco Guedes was not amenable to disobedience to his orders. The election was scheduled for 20th April 1890. Three days before the election on 17th April, 1890 a large force was stationed at Margão. Captain Macedo Pinto accompanied by several officers entered the municipal hall and ordered the Electoral Committee headed by Pestaninho da Viega (supporter of the *Partido Indiano*) to vacate the premises. On his refusal, he along with J. J. Roque Corrêa and others were evacuated forcefully out of the hall.¹⁷⁵ The government officers seized the ballot papers and election registers. When the committee sought the protection of the judiciary, Caetano Figueiredo, the Judicial Magistrate, disappeared without delegating his powers to his substitute. However, the members of the electoral committee possessed duplicate records of the electoral papers, which allowed them to

¹⁷³ AHU, *Caixa*, No. 1755 A. Arthur Urbano Monteiro de Castro polled a record of 12,501 votes, while most other contestants had to be content with insignificant votes, some of whom did not cross a two figure mark. For example, J. A. Ismael Gracias got one vote, while José Henriques de Mello recorded eight votes.

¹⁷⁴ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 237, January 5, 1891.

¹⁷⁵ *Ibid.*

carry out the electoral proceedings as scheduled. As a precautionary measure, the government had deployed troops from Margão to other polling stations across Salcette. Official agents appeared shortly thereafter and held the proceeding with the original set of papers which were in their custody. However, the supporters of *Partido Indiano* had cast their votes in favour of their candidates. In the midst of this electrifying situation, the government agents forcefully took possession of the municipal hall on 27th April, 1890 and arbitrarily proclaimed victory in favour of João da Costa Brandão d' Albuquerque. The Governor General took no notice of the complaints registered by the supporters of *Partido Indiano*. The *Partido Indiano* in the meantime had appealed to the Lisbon authorities against abuses in elections. Reports of public outrage echoed through the press across British India and Portuguese Goa could not be disregarded in Lisbon. This period also coincided with a new ministry heading Portugal.¹⁷⁶ The *Liga Liberal* or the No-Party government had formed the government in Portugal. The Tribunal for the Verification of Powers conceded to an electoral fraud in the above election. It also admitted that a section had voted in favour of Pinto and the other in favour of Brandão d'Albuquerque. Therefore, the results of the elections for the circle of Margão were invalidated.¹⁷⁷ Consequently Christovam Pinto continued to hold the office of the *deputado* by virtue of his previous victory in 1889.¹⁷⁸ The decision to retain Pinto was seen by the *Partido Ultramarino* an act of partiality from the No-Party government which was in power.

¹⁷⁶ *Liga Liberal* or the No-Party government took charge of the government and the *Regeneradores* were out of power.

¹⁷⁷ AHU, *Caixa*, No. 1690.

¹⁷⁸ *O Ultramar*, No. 1683, July 4, 1891.

In view of the melodramatic situation occurring in Salcette, a supplementary election was announced to be held in April 1891, only for the circle of Margão¹⁷⁹

The increasing rivalry between the *Partido Indiano* and *Partido Ultramarino* led to the coinage of the phrases, 'Popular' and 'Anti-popular'. Ironically, the *Partido Indiano*, which had supported Guedes and government interests, considered itself the *Partido Popular*. Its interests were affiliated with the *Progressistas* in Portugal. But subsequent, when Guedes shifted his allegiance to the *Regeneradores*, Guedes and his supporters of *Partido Ultramarino* were termed as anti-Popular by the *Partido Indiano*.¹⁸⁰

Ouster of Guedes from Goa

Before a fresh election (supplementary) could take place in Margão, it was necessary to have a duly elected municipal chamber in place to conduct the electoral proceedings to the parliament. The Provisional Committee appointed by Vasco Guedes during the last parliamentary election (April 1890) had to be replaced by a legally constituted municipal chamber. This incident explained why the municipal elections were scheduled for 21st September, 1890. Unfortunately, the municipal election came to be epitomised in history as the 'Bloody Election' of Goa, leading to public outrage against Vasco Guedes.¹⁸¹

Public indignation against Vasco Guedes in the municipal election raged like a wild fire in contemporary newspapers of this period; *A Voz do Povo*, *O Correio da India*, *O Vinte e Um de Setembro*, *A India Portuguesa*, *O Anglo-Lusitano* from

¹⁷⁹ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 242, February 19, 1891.

¹⁸⁰ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 334, November 1892.

¹⁸¹ The details on the municipal election are provided in Chapter VIII.

Bombay, and *O Damanesense* from Daman. The press was vociferous in asking the demotion of the Governor General from his administrative position. A few exceptions of support to Guedes were reflected in the newspapers like *O Jornal do Commercio*, *O Ultramar* and a handful of sympathisers from the government.¹⁸²

Guedes acted his vile self once again. He decided to hasten the supplementary election to the Parliament in Margão on 19th October, 1890, instead of conducting it the following year on 26th April, 1891 as decided by the central government. Guedes had seen the field clear from the point of view of the supporters *Partido Indiano*.¹⁸³ In the midst of full-scale preparations for this event, an Order of suspension to this effect reached Goa and re-scheduled this election for a later date.¹⁸⁴ For Guedes, the Decree of his removal from office was signed in Portugal on 8th January, 1891. The Order of his eviction provided a small measure of relief to Goans, though not good enough to compensate his undignified moves in the elections of Goa under his tenure.¹⁸⁵

Supplementary Election in Salcette (April 1891)

The supplementary election for Margão was scheduled for April 1891. The main contestants in the fray were Christovam Pinto of the *Partido Indiano* and Constâncio Roque da Costa of the *Partido Ultramarino*. They were opposed to each other on the renewal of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty.¹⁸⁶ A great disadvantage was experienced by

¹⁸² *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 237, January 15, 1891.

¹⁸³ Ibid. J. I. Loyola, J. J. Roque Corrêa and other leaders of this party had fled to British India in the wake of charges of sedition levelled against them by the government.

¹⁸⁴ Ibid.

¹⁸⁵ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 245, March 12, 1891. The arrival of the new Governor, Fransisco Maria da Cunha was an occasion of celebration in Goa and was marked by speeches, masses and *Te Deuns*.

¹⁸⁶ *O Ultramar*, No. 1696, October 1891.

the *Partido Indiano* as the party was without its stalwarts, who fled to British territories for safety.¹⁸⁷ Many supporters of the party were also imprisoned in Goa. Later, some were released on bail, but were declared ‘pronounced’. The ‘pronounced’ were denied their civil rights and therefore, could not vote. The Guedian influence still loomed large on the judiciary even after his departure from Goa. The Chief Justice, António Annes, a Guedian well-wisher, was reported to have made all attempts to increase the list of ‘pronounced’ in Goa to deny them the right to vote.¹⁸⁸

The *Regeneradores* supported Constâncio Roque da Costa, who also attempted to gain sympathy from different quarters.¹⁸⁹ It may also be noted that this election coincided with the toddy tappers strike (in wake of new taxes imposed on them) and the new Governor General had deputed a military force to ensure law and order situation in South Goa. The move was interpreted as deliberate, that is rig the elections in favour of Costa. The Administrator of the *Comunidade* of Salcette, J. M. Pacheco along with the Administrator of Salcette were said to have used their official positions to favour Costa. This election too witnessed a repeat of the events of 1890.¹⁹⁰ Duplication of votes and malpractices were reported once again in Margão

Ironically, both groups claimed victory in this election, leaving the Goans baffled on the realities of the situation. One report claimed that Christovam Pinto had won the election by obtaining 9831 votes as against 1531 obtained by Costa.¹⁹¹ Costa

¹⁸⁷ Leaders like J. I. de Loyola, Roque Corrêa Afonso, Jacinto Brás Corrêa Afonso, Barreto Miranda and others were defended by Dr. Barbosa de Magalhães Pinto, while Luciano Monteiro did the same for Constâncio Roque da Costa.

¹⁸⁸ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 250, April 1891.

¹⁸⁹ *Ibid.* It was alleged by his adversaries that Costa was trying to show that he was supported by the new Governor General who took over from Guedes and had even visited the Archbishop’s palace and was trying to influence the voters.

¹⁹⁰ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 252, April 1891.

¹⁹¹ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 253, May 1891.

refuted the claims of *Partido Indiano*, and instead despatched two telegrams to Portugal, one of which was published in *Gazeta de Portugal* announcing his victory in the election. The *Partido Ultramarino* in the Apex Tribunal challenged Christovam Pinto's claim of victory. It was rumoured that Costa had relied upon the support of Julio Vilhena, the former Minister of the Marine and a *Regenerador*, to support his cause.¹⁹²

In view of the conflicting reports and electoral abuses reported in Portuguese Goa once again, this election was also annulled for a second time in a row by the tribunal.¹⁹³ The supporters of the *Partido Indiano* decried Costa's vile and ambitious moves of using his influence to deny a deserved victory to Pinto.¹⁹⁴ Consequently, Christovam Pinto was once again asked to retain his seat in the Parliament. The *Partido Ultramarino* criticised the *Partido Indiano* for its double standard and its expression 'never again' (*nunca mais*), a stand which it had expressed earlier not to support the government (*Liga Liberal*) and hideously falling at the feet of the government to retain the seat in the parliament.¹⁹⁵

Portuguese Goa continued to be a field of contest between the local parties in the parliamentary election of 1892. This is evident from the complaints recorded in the Apex Tribunal in Portugal after the election.¹⁹⁶ This time, the supporters of *Indiano* in Goa lived in the shadows of the *Liga Liberal*. The metropolitan party was also keen to have an independent majority in the forthcoming elections to implement some of its financial policies, including the renewal of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty. By this time,

¹⁹² Ibid.

¹⁹³ *O Ultramar*, No. 1687, August 1891.

¹⁹⁴ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 263, July 1891.

¹⁹⁵ *O Ultramar*, No. 1678, May 1891; *O Ultramar*, No. 1683, July 1891.

¹⁹⁶ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 1844.

Salcette had come to be considered as a strong bastion of the *Partido Indiano* and the victory of Christovam Pinto was considered as a foregone conclusion.¹⁹⁷ Therefore, it was futile for the agents of the *Liga Liberal* in Goa to field a rival candidate.

The focus of rivalry shifted to Nova Goa and Bardez. The press highlighted of a tacit understanding arrived at by the supporters of the *Indiano* and those of the government. Further, it reported that Christovam Pinto would not be opposed in Salcette if the official candidates in Bardez and Ilhas were not challenged by *Partido Indiano*.¹⁹⁸ The *Partido Ultramarino* denounced government moves in elections. For them, the dismissal of Caetano Henriques, the Administrator of Bardez (supporter of the *Ultramarino*) was an indication of the impending outcome of the contest.¹⁹⁹ In the circle of Nova Goa, the government fielded José Fernandes Arrez, the Custom and *Abkari* officer as the official candidate, who had just returned from Portugal, while in Bardez, D. Luis Caetano de Castro was announced as its official candidate.

The *Regeneradores* were equally eager to win the elections in Goa and therefore, they fielded Luso-descendant Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sepulveda for Nova Goa and Constâncio Roque da Costa in Mapuça circle.²⁰⁰ Victory favoured Costa in Mapuça circle. However, it was attributed to the muscle power of the bands of armed retinue employed by Costa's supporters which belonged to the Hindu Grandees of Pernem. These so called 'roughies' were often reported to be employed by the government at the time of elections to take over police duties on behalf of the

¹⁹⁷ Ibid. The results of elections show that Christovam Pinto won a majority of 11,101 votes, while Costa polled a paltry sum of 11 votes.

¹⁹⁸ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 328, October 1892.

¹⁹⁹ *O Ultramar*, No. 1752, October 1892.

²⁰⁰ It was reported that Costa had the support of *Regeneradores*, Julio Vilhena and Hintz Ribeiro in Portugal.

government.²⁰¹ Allegations and counter allegations were reported in this election in Salcette and Nova Goa. In consequence of the re-election of held in May 1893, João António de Brissac das Neves Ferreira was voted in this circle.²⁰²

Suspension of Franchise in Goa

The election of 1894, the last of its kind in Portuguese India during the 19th century, had its share of strife and rivalry. It was also an indication that the Goans keenly contested elections and became involved in the politics of the metropolis. Complaints of frauds and misdeeds reported in the election held in 1894 affected its fortunes shortly thereafter.²⁰³

After 1895, Portuguese India was reeling in the shadows of political chaos looming across the Portuguese empire. Elections were suspended for Goa although electoral decrees were despatched at regular intervals. The reason behind the sudden rupture of the representative system after 1895 was found in the turmoil reported in Goa during elections of the last few years.²⁰⁴ It implied the inability of the Portuguese government to take on the pressure exerted on it due to power conflicts existing in Goa. In 1895, the metropolitan government engaged itself in discussions on the political upheavals related to elections of the overseas provinces. An increasing number of parliamentarians in the Lisbon *Cortes* were reported to have favoured the stand on the suspension of the representative processes.²⁰⁵ The suspension of election had also found support in the Minister for Interior, who affirmed the increasing

²⁰¹ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 332, November 1892.

²⁰² AHP, *Caixa*, No. 1842 D.

²⁰³ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 1915, A and 1915 B.

²⁰⁴ *O Ultramar*, No. 1993, April 1895.

²⁰⁵ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 517, May 1896.

'*Politica*' inaugurated by the parliamentary elections in the colonies as detrimental to the interest of the metropolis. Portuguese Goa in particular, was brought into the focus of discussion.²⁰⁶ It was agreed by many metropolitan legislators that Goa was one of the most *peccant* (culpable) of all its colonies.²⁰⁷ The Rane revolt of 1895 and the alleged involvement of the Visconde de Bardez had also created disturbances in Goa.²⁰⁸ The Lisbon based newspaper *Novidades* had made curious revelations that the loot secured by the rebels in Bardez was reserved for the expense in Lisbon. The *Novidades* published letters of Constâncio Roque da Costa addressed to Viscount of Bardez to use the administrative machinery in his favour.²⁰⁹ The electoral law of 1896, reduced the electoral circles of the overseas provinces.²¹⁰ It was however, admitted that there should be some political organisation to look after the colonial interests, which could comprise of the colonists themselves.²¹¹ But for several years there were no elections held in Portuguese India. The *deputados* were nominated by virtue of their experience and seniority, as in the case of Christovam Pinto and other considerations.²¹² It may be noted that the *Regeneradores* won most of the elections till the establishment of the Republic in Portugal in 1910.

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ Ibid.

²⁰⁸ *O Ultramar*, No. 1994, April 1895.

²⁰⁹ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 526, June 1896.

²¹⁰ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No.4 (January 17, 1899)

²¹¹ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 518, May 1896.

²¹² *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No.4 (January 17, 1899); *Anuário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados, Anno, de 1900* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1901). See in *Parecer no° 3, da comissão de reclamações e vacaturas, aprovada em sessão de 30 janeiro*. The following was stated about Pinto, "foi chamado a representar o circulo n° 136 de Margão."

Engagement of the *Deputados* in the Parliament of Portugal

The period of the constitutional regime marked by its distinct shifts in power dynamics, was arguably one of the significant phases of its history in Goa. The representative processes initiated during this period introduced the indigenous elites of Portuguese India to the mainstream politics of Portugal. Portuguese India distinctly held an edge over other provinces of the Portuguese empire in this respect. This phenomenon can be understood in the wider context of the events preceding the constitutional regime. The public domain opened up to Goans during the era of Marquis the Pombal, the distinct Prime Minister and statesman of Portugal after the mid-18th century. It was due to secular education which created a class of intellectuals and professionals, though small in number, but were conscious of the intellectual trends of Europe, and many of whom earned acclaim in Goa as well as different parts of the world. It allowed them advantage to debate and articulate their independent views in public. Now they demanded the concessions denied to them by the government. Education helped them to take to journalism and writing with natural ease, and convey their stand on many pressing issues of the day. It is no wonder therefore, that many political newspapers were actively involved in polemics governing the times. Such spirit was not forthcoming even from the *assimilados* of other overseas colonies, leave alone the *indigenas*, who lived in complete servitude of their colonial masters.²¹³ The government in Portugal always lived in the knowledge of this fact, and was conscious that the indigenous elites in Goa, especially from those of the *Velhas Conquistas* could not be taken for granted. This awareness led the administrators in Goa to re-orient their policies and promote a bulwark of supporters to protect their interests. On the contrary, the overseas colonies of Portugal did not

²¹³ Nugent, *Africa Since Independence A Comparative History*, 17.

face the heat of the parliamentary elections mainly because the *deputados* were chiefly from the metropole. The Commission of the Overseas looked after the interest of these colonies. In fact, the Goan *deputados* constituted a part of this commission and argued in favour of reforms pertaining to the other overseas colonies.²¹⁴ In most of colonial Africa, there was hardly a concern of challenge from any overly educated Africans, given the pitiable state of education in that region. While colonial Africa could count their graduates on their fingertips on the eve of their liberation from Portugal, Goa had certainly an edge in this field.²¹⁵

An analysis of the electoral history in colonial Goa since 1822, as attempted in this chapter, reveals the moves of the government to protect its interests in administration and excluding those who threatened its colonial edifice. The Goan *deputados* emerged as strong rivals to their European counterparts and won acclaim for their passionate views and concerted efforts towards safeguarding the interest of their province. At the inception of this process, Portuguese India had found an enigmatic leader in the person of Bernado Peres da Silva, who during the first two decades exposed the inadequacies of the government. He initiated a debate in the *Côrtes* with such fortitude that his aura over the parliamentarians who were subsequently voted to power lingered throughout the 19th century. The greatness of Peres lay in addressing the local issues in parliament with fearlessness and daring to

²¹⁴ AHU: *Actas de Duas Conferências do Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar Com o Conselho Ultramarino e Deputados*, Lv. 4981, DGU. 638, 5^a (1852). From September to 30th October, 1852, Jeremias Mascarenhas and other Goan parliamentarians attended two conferences organised by the Ministry of Navy and the Overseas Council.

²¹⁵ Luis de Menezes Bragança, “A Educação e O Ensino.” in *A Índia Portuguesa*, vol. II. (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923), 200-204. In 1921, the number of students seeking admission in Lyceum in the capital stood at 166; 103 men and 63 women. The numbers of students registered in *Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa* in 1919-20 were 70 and those who completed the course for the same year stood at 57.

challenge the government authorities.²¹⁶ During the late 1830s, Goan *deputados* like João Xavier de Souza Trindade Celestino Soares and Pacheco and others raised pertinent issues concerning Goa on wasteful expenditure, reforms in education and so on.²¹⁷

João Xavier de Souza Trindade, during his initial years as the *deputado* (before he shifted loyalties to the *Partido Chafarica*) reminiscenced upon the glory of Goa in the past, and recalled it being a repository of wealth in Asia, which unfortunately had degenerated to a miserable state.²¹⁸ He also spoke about the need of having a jury, educational reforms and drafting a budget for the overseas colonies.²¹⁹ The system of education in Goa was far from encouraging, a fact which was admitted by the Portuguese administrators themselves.²²⁰ This aspect was debated time and again during the constitutional regime by deputies. Bernado Peres da Silva was among the first Goan *deputados* to discuss this subject.²²¹ A project on education discussed by the Goan *deputados*, eventually bore fruit with the introduction of the Decree of 20th September, 1844.²²²

During the closing years of 1840s, Goa had found a well-wisher in Jeremias Mascarenhas. His barrage of queries on various aspects of administration of Goa province and debates in the parliament caused embarrassment to the government in Portugal. A major problem which plagued Goa for years was that of rice deficit and

²¹⁶ *Actas das Sessões da Câmara dos Senhores Deputado, da Nação Portuguesa, na Sessão Ordinaria de 1840* (Lisboa: Impresão Regia, 1840), 33.

²¹⁷ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 21 (June 22, 1840).

²¹⁸ *Ibid.*, No. 21 (June 22, 1840); No. 2 (July 2, 1840).

²¹⁹ *Ibid.*, No. 2 (July 2, 1840).

²²⁰ Benedito Gomes, *Anuário Escolar* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1925-26), xi.

²²¹ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 3 (July 3, 1840).

²²² Menezes Bragança, *Prosas Dispersas*, 83.

the Portuguese dependency upon British territories. Mascarenhas ironically pointed out that a part of it was later exported by the government in Goa as her own produce (*com tudo é baptisado de Goa*).²²³ He also highlighted the issues of contraband goods (rice and wine) which entered Goa from the neighbouring territories and the need to implement measures by the government to prevent these activities.²²⁴ Another issue taken up for discussion by the *deputado* was the differential treatment experienced by the military officers of the overseas provinces compared to their European counterpart in wages.²²⁵ However, no satisfactory reply was given on this issue for a long time. Jeremias also demanded to know the reason behind the burden of 96\$00,000 *réis* to be borne by Portuguese India alone on the construction of two ships which were under construction since 1844 when they were meant for the benefit of the entire Portuguese nation. This issue was also postponed and admitted to the budgetary commission for discussion.²²⁶ In 1852 Jeremias was quick to support the freedom of the press in the colonies.²²⁷ Yet another interesting issue raised for discussion and deserves special mention is that of slavery in overseas provinces of the Portuguese Empire. It had angered Mascarenhas for he was of the view that the issue on slavery raised by him previously should have taken months for discussion, but was admitted was only as a Project of Law.²²⁸ Further, several objections were

²²³ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 8 (April 14, 1849).

²²⁴ *Ibid.* Jeremias Mascarenhas pointed out that the ships leaving for foreign lands, after all commenced their journey from the shores of Goa, implying that the government could not have been unaware of such activities.

²²⁵ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 14 (June 1850).

²²⁶ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 06 (June 1850).

²²⁷ AHU, *Actas de Duas Conferências do Ministro da Marinha e Ultramar Com o Conselho Ultramarino e Deputados*, Lv. 4981, DGU. 638, 5ª 1(1852).

²²⁸ *Projecto de Lei: Artigo 1• os filhos de Mulheres escravas, que nascerem nas provincias ultramarinas desde de a publicação d'esta lei em diante, ficarão considerados de condição livre, do mesmo modo que para o continente do reino dispoz o alvará de 16 de janeiro de 1773. Artigo 2• E o*

raised on the above project by a *deputado* Santos Monteiro which angered Mascarenhas.²²⁹ The objections raised by the metropolitan parliamentarians on this subject led to bitter debates and created an unpleasant situation in the parliament. Jeremias Mascarenhas expressed his utter disgust on the promotion of slavery in the 19th century which was against the Catholic religion and the natural right of man. He declared that this idea of freedom from slavery was introduced by Marquis de Pombal and the same was being implemented in the Reign (Portugal) and Brazil. On this subject, he was supported by his Goan fellow-colleague Bernado da Costa on this matter. Metropolitan *deputado* Mello Soares, retorted angrily that the illustrious *deputado*, (Mascarenhas) has launched an attack of stigma against the parliament and it required him to provide an explanation on the matter.²³⁰ A historic speech of Jeremias Mascarenhas related to emancipation of mankind and Brazil in particular is given below:

Independence gentleman,.... love for independence is the inherent right of man-for the lover of freedom, and a person convinced of this force and the right to live independently without any tutelage.... unworthy would be the people who possessed the force and intelligence necessary to live independently and did not want it or did not employ all means to achieve it; will give evidence of its stupidity, of its illustration. No gentlemen, if Portuguese India was in such circumstances of being independent, nobody

governo authorisado a crea quaes quer esta clerimentos, e a fazer a respective despeza, assim para dar a devida protecção aos filhos dos mulheres escravas de que esta lei tenha a mais prompta e inteira execução. Artigo 3• Fica derogada a legislação em contrario.

²²⁹ These objections recommended the following: (1.) The Minister of Overseas had to be present during this discussion. (2.) To ascertain the number of slaves and their nationality in the overseas provinces. (3.) What was to be the source of expenditure to fund the establishments (4.) What is the time required to organise and start the said establishments. If the Commission of Overseas had been consulted on this matter.

²³⁰ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 19 (May 24, 1855).

should wonder if she wanted so, just as nobody wonders what a son should be, in his academic career, and often, what one has, emanates from the father. This is a natural progress, with individuals and colonies...”.²³¹

Mascarenhas spoke about the changing times when nations were seeking independence from the Mother Country, like America had done from England and Brazil from Portugal. He admitted that the province which he represented was still not in the circumstances of acquiring freedom and that he would not want Portuguese India to come out of the tutelage of Portuguese rule to be under the domination of the English despite the tremendous progress registered by Britain.²³² His views invited the wrath of the metropolitan parliamentarians particularly José Maria do Casal Ribeiro.²³³

Bernardo Fransisco da Costa, who represented Portuguese India five times since 1853, was another Goan *deputado* known for his stimulating views, which either won him applause from his well-wishers or scorn from his opponents. Costa was disheartened by the scant attention paid by the overseas provinces in the parliament than it deserved. He placed before the *Côrtes*, a proposal demanding that a day in a week be reserved for discussing the budgets or projects pertaining to the overseas colonies of the Portuguese empire. This led to a prolonged heated debate and was challenged by several parliamentarians who were of the opinion that such reservation was not only inconvenient but equally unfair for other provinces which

²³¹ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 14 (May 24, 1853).

²³² *Ibid.*

²³³ *O Ultramar*, June 4, 1873.

were not allowed such prerogative.²³⁴ Bernardo da Costa expressed his disappointment on magnifying an issue raised by him and trivialising a grave problem concerning the overseas when it could have merited immediate attention. He declared that when problems of the overseas were being discussed, it was said “Now it is late, there is no space, no time for debate ... some other time, now it is too early...” (*Agora é Tarde, não ha espaço.... outras Vezes agora é cedo*). Bernardo da Costa pointed out that the issues of the Continent were treated with priority, while the issues of the Overseas, no matter how serious, were treated with scant attention and after a prolonged debate. It was said, “*é preciso estudadas e discuti-las profunda e largamente.*”²³⁵ Bernardo da Costa’s petitions resulted in the establishment of the *Monte Pio Geral de Goa* (a saving or a banking institute), which since then was engaged in humanitarian services to widows and orphans of Goa.²³⁶

A distinct journalist of the 19th century had commented with awe the nature in which the parliamentarians of the overseas defended the interests of their provinces. In this respect, the name of Fr. Salvador Baptista Cana had also received a special attention.²³⁷ During the mid-19th century, a contemptuous issue surging the *Estado da India* was the conflict between the *Padroado* clergy and the *Propaganda* religious ranks leading to an increased bitterness between Portugal and Rome for several

²³⁴ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 13 (January 1856). *Deputado* Pinto d’ Almeida, was the first to challenge this issue.

²³⁵ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No.1 (February 1, 1856). Costa also vehemently declared that if such discussions caused boredom, if there are more vital issues to be discussed, they could confess their impotence, declare that the parliament cannot occupy itself with the overseas provinces, send the parliamentarians of the overseas out of this place as there was nothing to be done for them here.

²³⁶ *O Ultramar*, No. 1604, December 28, 1889.

²³⁷ Barreto, *Quadros Biographicos dos Padres*, 7.

years.²³⁸ The Goan *deputados* raised this problem in the Portuguese parliament and hoped for a speedy resolution. On 21st December 1858, Fr. Caná passionately defended the rights of the Portuguese *Padroado* in the Parliament. He declared that this matter had exhausted the Goan ecclesiasts and hoped that it would be resolved as early as possible.²³⁹ This was supported by *deputado* Xavier da Silva and several others.²⁴⁰

During the 1860s, the issues concerning Portuguese India were aggressively expressed by Francisco Luis Gomes. His greatness lay in his vociferous arguments in the Parliament in favour of Goa. Gomes has been described as a man of great character and integrity, for whom politics meant reason, morality and virtue.²⁴¹ A fearless speaker, Gomes had declared, “I have already stated it in this house and I repeat it today, that I am an enemy of slavery. I am so in principle, and because of the historic tradition of my country, whose ancient civilization, although it admitted of the lowest caste, never permitted slavery; its code is free from this strain.”²⁴² Gomes argued against injustice and racial prejudice of the Portuguese in Goa. His extensive knowledge on a wide variety of subjects and politics of the contemporary times helped him to brilliantly argue in the Parliament. In a speech addressed in the Parliament on 13th March, 1861 he brought to the notice of the Minister of Marine the indifferent manner with which Portugal treated the overseas colonies. Gomes also argued in

²³⁸ José Nunes da Costa, *Pelo Clero de Goa* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1939); Venancio Fonseca, *The Patriarchate of the East Indies* (Mumbai: Heras Institute of Indian History and Culture, 2009), 46.

²³⁹ Barreto, *Quadros Biográficos dos Padres*, 17.

²⁴⁰ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 8, 11 and 16 (February 1856). Vincent Ferrer Neto de Paiva, an European, elected as the *deputado* of Goa brought to the fore this issue in March 1858; *Diário do Governo* (March 2, 1858).

²⁴¹ Evagrio George, “Francisco Luis Gomes-The Great Goan Parliamentarian.” *Goa Today*, August 1968, 17.

²⁴² *BDG*, No. 22 (January 18, 1861), 177.

favour of economic and judicial reforms in Goa, the need to treat Goans with respect and avail of same opportunities as their European counterparts.²⁴³

The duplicity of the Portuguese attitude towards the overseas colonies was shockingly visible in the speech delivered by Affonseca, the representative of Madeira. He remarked insolently that the overseas provinces, ought not to be represented in Parliament. He cited the example of England, the greatest colonial power of the world and had yet refused representation to her colonies in the British parliament. In Canada too, the decisions of the local government were subject to the decisions of the Metropolitan Government.²⁴⁴ Affonseca arrogantly declared that the base of the representative system lay in elections and the moment this base turned false, the moment an inappropriate person was voted to power, the sincerity of representative system disappeared.²⁴⁵ Fransisco Luis Gomes brilliantly refuted the views of Affonseca and emphasised his strong disapproval on the views expressed by the metropolitan *deputado*. Gomes pointed out that Canada was still provided with an Assembly whose members were elected.²⁴⁶ Gomes further remarked, “I do not know all colonies, but I Know Macau, and I know Goa, where I was born and bred. Macau is a city almost European in Civilisation..... In India there are no banquets of human flesh; on the contrary, there are sects, whose hands are innocent of all blood; who abstain from meat diet; who show compassion even towards animals; in India there are 30,000 inhabitants who know to read and write; In India, finally, there was in the sixteenth century a chamber, which was governed by the same rules as the Chamber of

²⁴³ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 54 (March 13, 1861); *A India Portuguesa*, May 8, 1861 and May 8, 1861.

²⁴⁴ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 11 (January 18 and 19, 1861).

²⁴⁵ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 11 (January 18, 1861).

²⁴⁶ *Ibid.*

Lisbon....”²⁴⁷ Newspapers in Lisbon, particularly the *Revolução de Setembro* acclaimed the speech of the young *deputado* and commented that the people of India had found a noble defender in Gomes who had a loftiness of thought, a fluency of speech and correctness of style, with which he refuted the ideas of Affonseca.²⁴⁸

Since 1870, for a period of ten years, the representatives elected to the parliament were Portuguese nationals. But, when Goans began to be re-elected once again, they continued to place their demands in favour of their province. The financial and the despicable consequences of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1878 became an issue of discussion among the Goan *deputados* in the Parliament. The *deputados* argued that British were quick to safeguard their interests in Goa and the same is seen from their communication between Portuguese India and British India.²⁴⁹ They observed the economic stance favourable to British interests and their dealings with the Portuguese were immediately taken up for discussion in the parliament. Luso-descendant *deputado* Elvino Brito pointed out to the Minister of Navy, the suffering of *Estado da India* on account of the *Abkari* act of the English.²⁵⁰

In July 1891, Luso-descendant Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sepulveda also cautioned the Portuguese government to be careful in their dealing with the Anglo-Portuguese treaty.²⁵¹ Sepulveda also recommended that the port of Mormugao

²⁴⁷ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados* No.11 (January 18, 1861); *Memorial Volume of Selected Works of Francisco Luis Gomes* (Bombay: The Centenary Committee, 1931), 352.

²⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

²⁴⁹ HAG, MR, No. 9200, fl. 355. The letter written by Lord Ripon, reminded the Portuguese authorities in Goa of the need to increase the tax on coconut trees in the ‘Goanese’ territory to bring it on par with what existed in British India, which was supposed to have come into effect, but not come yet, and therefore it expressed its urgency to make it effective from August 1, 1882.

²⁵⁰ Christovam Ayres Sepulveda, *Discursos Proferidos na Câmara dos Senhores Deputados nas sessões de 22 de junho e 3 de Julho de 1891* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1891), 6, 11-21.

²⁵¹ *Ibid.*

should benefit the Portuguese, be converted into centre of Portuguese activity, and not be allowed to be obstructed due to the agreement signed with the British.²⁵² In 1893, Elvino Brito declared that the British government had to pay an amount of Rupees 400,000 and a subsequent increased amount of Rupees 600,000 as per the agreement. However, the British were satisfying this demand through their back-door policy imposing of *Abkari* dues on Portuguese Goa. Brito commented that the Portuguese authorities indirectly fell a prey to the English gimmicks, when in reality, they did not have substantial to gain from them. The Minister of Navy downplayed these remarks by declaring that the issues relating to *Abkari* could not be discussed in the Parliament of Europe when majority of people did not understand them. The replies given by the Minister to Brito evaded matters related to Portuguese India.²⁵³

Towards the last quarter of the 19th century, Goan parties namely the *Partido Indiano* and *Partido Ultramarino* became involved in the political discourse of the metropolitan government. But the loyalties of Goan parties were divided along the lines of political developments in Portugal. The arguments of Christovam Pinto and Constâncio Roque da Costa also evoked substantial interest in the contemporary press in Portugal and Goa. Their stand was influenced by the dictates of the metropolitan parties which they were affiliated. They also articulated several reforms for the betterment of their province. The interests of Christovam Pinto in improving education in India can be conceived from his work, *Plano da organização Administrativo do Ensino Public em Portugal*.²⁵⁴

²⁵² Ibid., 11-21.

²⁵³ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 13 (January 27, 1893).

²⁵⁴ *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 30 (1936), 87.

Deputado Constâncio Roque da Costa placed before the parliament the need to improve financial condition of Goa and make Mormugao a great commercial centre to explore its benefits to Portuguese Goa. Further, in the session of 27th August, 1891 he highlighted the constant migration of the people of Goa to British India due to better options. Costa pointed repercussions of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty on Goa, especially the provision which obliged Goa to comply the tax regulations in the British dominions.²⁵⁵

It was argued by a section of the intelligentsia that the parliamentarians representing Portuguese India since 1860 were a pack of cocking hens unable to carry even a mild measure of reform.²⁵⁶ However, the system of elections in Portuguese Goa cannot be judged merely from their victories or failures at the ballot. The significance lay in the stand adopted by the Goan representatives towards the colonial regime. The indigenous representatives of Portuguese India engaged themselves in the larger political processes and decisions of the metropolitan government. The representations and arguments of the *deputados* of Portuguese Goa as highlighted in this chapter were indicative of the growth of liberal ideas in this territory. It was this aspect which distinguished Portuguese India from the rest of the overseas provinces of the Portuguese dominions.

²⁵⁵ *O Ultramar*, No. 1698, October 17, 1891.

²⁵⁶ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 521, June 1896.

CHAPTER - V

POWER ELITES OF GOA: COLLABORATION AND CONFLICT

(1822-1926)

The study of elections in Goa becomes crucial in understanding the dynamics of power among the elites of Portuguese Goa during the 19th and 20th centuries.¹ The participative inclusion in election and spaces in public administration promoted antagonism and a competitive spirit among elite groups in Portuguese Goa based on distinctions of race and culture.

This chapter explores the election driven conflicts between indigenous elites which consisted of Goan elites and the Luso-descendants (*mestiços* or the *decendentos dos Europeus*)² of Portuguese Goa which existed over a century.³ The addition of the New Conquests (*Novas Conquistas*) between 1740 and 1788 to the Portuguese territory in India added another dimension to this rivalry. The New Conquests were different in their socio-cultural traditions and conventions vis- á-vis the Old Conquests. Therefore, the consolidation of colonial influences in the New Conquests required negotiated deals which were beneficial to the Portuguese administrators and elites of these territories. This aspect is best understood by exploring the system of parliamentary elections in the New Conquests. The religious issue examined in this chapter also aids in understanding the role sought from the Church in facilitating the

¹ Studies on Power Elites have occupied many contemporary scholars since the time Vilfredo Pareto, T. B. Bottomore and others popularised theories on the Elites since the 19th century. For details see *Elite Theory and Administrative System* by Rudranand Thakur (New Delhi: Sterling Publishers 1981), 1-15; Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).⁴; *Political Elites* by Grant Perry: (Britain:George Allen and Unwin Publishers, 1976), 30-63.

² In colonial Africa, Alex Thompson makes use of the term Proto-elite to refer to the indigenous elites (creole) created by European colonisers. For details see, *An Introduction to African Politics* (2010).

³ The term *Descendentos dos Europeus* is commonly found in the contemporary press and other documentation of the 19th century.

representative process in colonial Goa. The collaboration and conflict between the Goan elites and the Home Government on the one hand and the mutual conflict between the Goan elites themselves on the other are discussed here.

Positioning of Luso-descendants and Goan Elites

The additional strains of foreign identities added to the Goan society after 1510 further stratified the existing social structure in Portuguese Goa.⁴ The Goan society was structured by multiple layers of diversity in its socio-cultural sphere. It also created barriers between the colonial and the colonised class (common to colonial encounters) and made the local elites inferior in their own society. Much to their indignation, the Goan elites were positioned even below the Luso-descendants. A large section of the common men in Portuguese India was not aware of the dramatic changes introduced in Portugal and its administrative institutions in 1821, or cared less for issues beyond its domain and interest. This was not so among the indigenous elites of Portuguese Goa. For them, it implied a rupture of the existing political institutions and an opportunity to share power in administration. The Goan elites in particular looked forward to this change with eagerness. During the 19th century, the Goan elites emerged as a force to reckon with and posed as formidable contenders with the Luso-descendant community of Portuguese Goa.⁵

The Luso-descendants or the *Mestiços* were the racial credo promoted by the great *conquistador* Afonso de Albuquerque as a politico-cultural strategy (*O plano de*

⁴ The *reinol* or *reinois* were born in Portugal or the Kingdom, but did not stay in India; *Castiços* born of pure Portuguese lineage and who stayed in India; *Mestiços*, mixed lineage; *Canarins*, inhabitant of Canara, but in this context, the indigenous Catholics of Goa; *Naturais* were the natives or the indigenous population of Portuguese Goa; and the *Gentios*, the gentiles. The term was particularly used chiefly to address the Hindus of Goa. For details see the work of Jorge Forjaj and José Fransisco de Noronha, *Os Luso-Descendentes da India Portuguesa*, vol. I. (Lisboa: Fundação Oriente), 31.

⁵ Carmo Azavedo, "The Casados." in *Goan Society through the Ages*, ed., B.S. Shastri (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1987), 105 and 113.

Albuquerque ... sobretudo o plano de Portugal) to sustain the Lusitanian empire in the East.⁶ This class was encouraged during the succeeding centuries for the benefit of the Portuguese Empire.⁷ The *mestiços* were called so on account of their assimilation of blood due to mixed marriages. This well perceived strategy had led to the formation of a community which was assimilated and acculturated, yet neither wholly European, nor well integrated into the local system. And yet, they considered themselves a part of the elite milieu of Goa, just like the creole community in other parts of the Portuguese empire.

The undercurrents of a long rooted animosity between the Luso-descendants and Goan elites came to the forefront during the 19th century. Both groups had built their coarse textures of images of the other and they stemmed from a combination of factors. For the Goan intelligentsia, it hinged upon the political handicaps and the disparity in privileges experienced by them at different points of time.⁸ The preponderance of the Luso-descendants in administration over the Goan elites began

⁶ António da Silva Rego, *História das Missões do Padroado Português no Oriente, Índia, 1500-1542*, 1^o vol. (Lisboa: Agência Geral das Colónias, MCMXLIT, 1948), 52; *Commentários do Grande Afonso Dolboquerque*, part III (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1925); S. J. H. da Cunha Rivara, *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasciculo 5*, part I (New Delhi: Asian Educational Services, 1992), 42-43. The policy of mixed marriages was encouraged because not many Portuguese men and women were willing to settle in the orient during the early years of the Portuguese rule. During the 17th and 18th centuries, Brazil attracted majority of immigrants from Portugal and therefore, the *mestiços* had been increasingly employed in Portuguese India in various positions. For details see C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1963), 78.

⁷ “A Mulhere Indo-Portugueza.” in *Boletim do Institute Vasco da Gama*, No.3 (Nova Goa: Tipografia Bragança, 1928), 45. The Municipality of Goa which was made up of the Europeans and the descendants of Europeans, wrote a letter to the King of Portugal in February 1650, to allow the viceroy to encourage such marriages in Portuguese India. Similarly, as per the Royal Decree of 27th June, 1684 and the Decree of 17th March, 1687 Viceroy, Conde de Alvor, Fransisco do Távora, promoted such alliances proclaiming benefits for the Portuguese nation.

⁸ Cunha Rivara, *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasciculo 2, parte I*, 124; “A Mulhere Indo-Portugueza.”, 45. This article highlights some examples during the seventeenth century on preferences given to children of Luso-descendants in public offices than those who were not of mixed marriages; M. N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India* (New Delhi: Concept Publishers, 1981), 52. The administration of the Municipality of Goa before the 19th century shows the preponderance of the Crown, the Portuguese nobility and the *Casados* and the exclusion of the indigenous population from its administration.

since the establishment of the Portuguese regime. The Luso-descendants had benefited from their proximity to the government and were employed in the prestigious ranks of administration.

The Goan elites felt that they were more worthy of holding positions in public administration than those who were ‘half-breeds’ or ‘half-castes’ who were insensitive to the problems faced by *Estado da India*.⁹ The indigenous elites also disparagingly and sarcastically addressed their contenders as men of ‘High Life’, who overlooked the fact that they (luso-descendants) actually stood below the men of ‘Road Life’ (Goans).¹⁰ Cunha Rivara acknowledged the existence of an exclusive group of indigenous elites who wished to exercise their control over the ballot and make known their might in the society during the 19th century.¹¹ Thus, the notion of purity of blood (*pureza de sangue*) held social significance in the society and continued to weigh heavily in Goa throughout the Portuguese rule. It cannot be denied that the Luso-descendant community had often been the subject of discussion in Goan circles for wrong reasons. A few Luso-descendants confessed to have endured aggressive prejudices from the upper castes among the Goans; both Hindu and Catholic.¹² It was a topic for discussion among many Goan elites before 1961 that the Luso-descendants belonged to the infected race (*raças infectas*) and were therefore underrated as their social inferiors, or worse still, were sometimes considered ‘aliens’

⁹ Gilberto Freyre, *The Portuguese and the Tropics* (Lisboa: Portugalliae Monumenta Carthographica, 1961), 21. The term half-breed finds a mention in the above work. In Portuguese Goa, it was used with scorn to refer to children of the mixed race in the Portuguese empire. In some places of the Portuguese dominions, it was made a criminal offence to use such derogatory terms against the class.

¹⁰ *O Ultramar*, June 2, 1877.

¹¹ Bruto da Costa, *A Hidra do Nativismo*, 23.

¹² C. T. Mattos Sequeira (Lisbon), interview with the researcher, July 2015.

to Goa. Thus, they were viewed with scorn and disdain by the educated and the elite inhabitants of Goa for being half-castes.

The Luso-descendants were no less opinionated than their Goan counterparts and considered themselves as belonging to the aristocratic families (*familias aristocraticas*).¹³ They were intensely proud of their culture in Portuguese Goa and even perceived to think of themselves superior to the European born *fidalgos* prior to the 19th century.¹⁴ It is no wonder that they lived their lives King-Sized like the *Gastadores* (Great Spenders) and *Ostentadores* (living life of ostentation) in their massive houses clustered around the former City of Goa.¹⁵ The concession of a representative system during the 19th century, which allowed the participation of people in public administration across lines of class and religion in Portuguese India, widened the divide between the two communities. An association with the Goan elites in public administrative offices was disfavoured by them. The Luso-descendants too felt that they were plotted against, especially by the Goan *deputados* to be unsettled from their coveted bastions.¹⁶

The widening wedge between the two groups was also closely linked to the preponderance enjoyed by the Luso-descendants in the military establishment of Portuguese India. What perhaps irked the Goan elites was the lifestyle of grandeur lived by the Luso-descendants in their palatial houses imitating the colonial masters.

¹³ Alberto Correa Gracias da Silva, *Os Luso Descendentes da India* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1920), 70.

¹⁴ Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1415-1825*, 41.

¹⁵ The descendants lived in their palatial and magnificent houses in and around the cities of Velha Goa and Nova Goa. *Visconde de Bucellas*, *Barão de Cumbarjua* and Manuel de Carmo Lobo in Ribandar; Souto Maior Teles and Conde de Vila Flor in S. Pedro, and others in Choraó, St. Ignez and Dandim.

¹⁶ L. A. Rodrigues, "Noteworthy Luso-descendants of Portuguese India." in *Boletim de Instituto Menezes Bragança*, No. 111 (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1976), 74. The military establishment had been the forte of the Luso-descendant community in Goa till 1871. There were accusations that Goan parliamentarians were responsible for disbanding the military in 1871.

The titles of honour such as the *Barão* (Baron), *Conde* (Count) or *Visconde* (Viscount) conferred upon some of the members at different intervals of time, might have also fuelled this divide.¹⁷ It was this fragmented social structure marked by racial animosity that was responsible for shaping party preferences and candidates in the elections of Goa during the 19th century. Interestingly, the relationship between the Portuguese administrators of Goa and the Luso-descendants was not consistent. It varied from being frosty to lukewarm or overtly friendly, depending upon multiple factors of colonial requirements and parties in power in the metropolis.¹⁸

Election Driven Conflicts Among the Power Elites

The breakthrough provided by the constitutional regime in 1821, marked the beginning of election driven conflicts between the Goan elites and Luso-descendants. The functioning of Provisional Government in Goa since September 1821 (explained in the previous chapter), served as the beginning of a political divide between the two groups.¹⁹ The acts of the first Provisional Government were considered as arbitrary and against their interests by the Goan elites.

¹⁷ HAG, MR, No. 219, fl.9. This document mentions the award of the *Merces de Grace de Commandor da Ordens Militar de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Villa Vieusa* through the Decree of 16th December 1897 to Joaquim Mourão Garcêz, Palha. The latter was also given the title of the first Baron of Cumbarjua. Similarly, the title of a baron was also conferred upon Tomas Aquino Mourão Garcêz, Palha. Among other recipients of such honours were bestowed upon Candido José Mourão (*Visconde de Bucellas*) and Dom José Joaquim de Noronha (*Conde de Mayem*).

¹⁸ C. R. Boxer, *Portuguese India in the Mid-Seventeenth Century* (Bombay: Oxford University Press, 1980), 9. Several viceroys of Goa were full of complaints against the Luso-descendants and complained that they lacked high moral standards compared to the Europeans and the Portuguese bred during the 17th century. During the 19th century, the Portuguese viceroys often collaborated with the Luso-descendants to win some elections against the local candidates; See the *Diário das Sessões dos Srs. Deputados*, No.4 (8th February). This session exhibits the rapport shared between the Viceroy of Goa and the Luso-descendant *deputado*.

¹⁹ HAG, MR, No. 1618, “Assentos das Monções e Decisões da Junta Provisional do Governo-1821-1837.” fl.1.

The results of the first parliamentary election held in 1822 disappointed the Luso-descendants. To their utter dismay, the representative favoured by them was not voted to power.²⁰ The enraged group in collaboration with the Portuguese representatives expressed its strong disapproval of the result of elections to the Provisional Government in Goa through some letters of appeal.²¹ Taking a partisan attitude with Portuguese men who were equally nursing their deflated political egos after this setback, the Luso-descendants appealed to the government seeking for justice. These letters accused the two local candidates and their supporters of “rejecting the candidate nominated by the government, and of wanting to destroy the European community”.²² This was the beginning of mutual suspicion in election and politics between the two communities during the 19th century.

The election of António José Lima Leitão as one of the parliamentarians in 1822 necessitated a replacement of his position in the second Provisional Government in Goa. But the choice of Luso-descendant, Joaquim Mourão Garcêz Palha as the substitute to Lima Leitão invited opposition from Goan elites. The appointment of Garcêz was interpreted as an act of highhandedness and against the wishes of the people, especially in Bardez.²³ Disapproval to the above ‘arbitrary’ move was expressed through an insurrection among a section of local population which was supported by some Goan clergymen.²⁴

²⁰ Bruto da Costa, *Revoluções Políticas da Índia Portuguesa*, 1-8. The Bishop of Cochin, Thomas de Noronha was defeated in the election of 1822 and the victory of two Goan representatives was viewed with disfavour by the Portuguese and the Luso-descendants.

²¹ Bruto da Costa, *Revoluções Políticas da Índia Portuguesa*, 29-30.

²² Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 118. For details see Chapter IV.

²³ Saldanha, *História de Goa-Política e Arqueológica*, 246.

²⁴ *Gazeta de Goa*, No. 6, February 23, 1822.

Election Conflict Fuelled by the Press

An analysis of the contemporary press lays bare the simmering conflict of interests among the elites of Goa during the 19th century. A cause for worry among the Luso-descendants can be found in the repeated victories of Bernado Peres da Silva as a *deputado* to the Parliament.²⁵ It was further intensified by the appointment of Peres as the Prefect of Goa in 1834, a title equivalent to the Viceroy. The *Carta Régia de Sete de Maio do 1834* (Royal Letter of May 1834), which bestowed this position upon Peres, the first of its kind to an indigenous Goan, became the cause of avowed hostility since this period.²⁶ His Prefecture was not taken too kindly by a section of the colonial administrators and the Luso-descendant community. This combined opposition consumed with racial considerations, was unreceptive to a Goan placed at the helm of administration. They evicted Peres from his Prefecture barely within a fortnight, forcing him to take refuge initially in Bombay and later in Daman. The press inflamed the rivalry between the Luso-descendants and Goans in elections. The two antagonistic groups fought battles of wits through their newspapers and periodicals. Bombay became a base for the supporters of Bernado Peres da Silva to espouse the cause of the Prefect.²⁷ The indigenous elites of Portuguese Goa did not lie low to challenges from their contenders. Many Goans settled in British India more notably in Bombay, responded to these scathing allegations sharply, through their own press. The *Mensageiro de Bombaim (Bombayense)* edited by António Filipe Rodrigues (17th March, 1831 to 26th January, 1832), and later the *Pregoeiro da*

²⁵ *Echo da Lusitania*, No. 5, February 21, 1836.

²⁶ HAG, *Ordens Regias*, 2402, fl. 92. The notice (*Aviso*) stated “*Por Carta Regia de sete de Maio do corrente anno, foi servido nomear Bernado Peres da Silva para lugar do Prefeito dos Estados da India.*”

²⁷ Pia de Menezes, “Interactive Relationship Between Goa and Bombay Journalism.” in *Goa’s External Relations*, ed., P. P. Shirodkar (Panaji: Rajhauns Offset, 1992), 91.

Liberdade (6th January, 1838 to 28th June, 1846) were considered as defenders of the Prefect.²⁸ The *Indo-Imparcial* was among the first to elevate the rich cultural ethos of Goa.²⁹ *O Portuguez em Damão* (July 1835, to August 1835) was founded by Bernado Peres da Silva and Constâncio Roque da Costa to counter the onslaughts on the Goan elites in the *Chronica Constituicional de Goa*.³⁰ But the *O Portuguez em Damão* did not survive long time. Later on, its role was taken over in Bombay by *O Investigador Portuguez*.³¹

The *Chronica Constituicional de Goa* (13th June, 1835 to 30th November, 1837), the second official weekly of Portuguese Goa, supported the Luso-descendent community against the Goan elites. The official publication was especially started to respond to the attacks of the indigenous community outside Goa.³² It was also wondered how the family of Peres had reigned over the small territory of Goa, when there were so many qualified and deserving Europeans or the Luso-descendants, and none of them merited a small bait of the big bite.³³ It accused Bernado Peres da Silva of promoting nepotism, misuse of power and arbitrary actions during his Prefecture. It was also expressed that the reforms of Peres were mainly directed against the Luso-descendants and the white class who were disdainfully referred as ‘*Mistiços*’ and the ‘*Castiços*’.³⁴ Further, the Goans were accused of being ungrateful towards a heroic

²⁸ Cunha, “A Evolução do Jornalismo na Índia portuguesa.” 512.

²⁹ P. J. Perigrino da Costa, *Expansão de Goês Pelo Mundo* (Goa: Edição da Repartição Central da Estatística e Enformação, 1956), 162.

³⁰ J. Rangel, *A Imprensa em Goa* (Bastorá: Tipographia Rangel, 1956), 47; *Chronica Constituicional de Goa*, No. 15, March 24, 1836.

³¹ Forjaj, and Noronha, *Os Luso-Descendentes da India Portuguesa*, 266.

³² Rodrigues, “Interactive Relationship between Goa and Bombay Journalism.” 91.

³³ *Chronica Constituicional de Goa*, No. 3, June 22, 1835.

³⁴ *Chronica Constituicional de Goa*, No. 31, June 30, 1836.

nation (Portugal) which had allowed them to enjoy equal rights in administration.³⁵ This period was considered as a horrifying epoch in which the ‘satellites of the Ex-Prefect’ were singing praises of their victory for completely exterminating the Portuguese and their descendants.³⁶

A Sentinela da Liberdade (4th September, 1837 to 16th December, 1837) and *Abelha de Bombaim* (September 1848, to August, 1861) were the two other political weeklies published from Daman and Bombay respectively, which promoted the interests of Peres da Silva and his supporters.³⁷ At times, the newspapers published in British India such as the *Bombay Courier*, and *Bombay Gazette* and others, earned the backlash from the Luso-descendant supported press for their involvement in the politics of Portuguese India and supporting the cause of Goans during the 19th century.³⁸

The ‘defamatory attacks’ of the *Partidas Perinos* was a major concern for the Luso-descendants. In a bid to counter the measures of their competitors especially in Daman and Bombay where Bernado Peres da Silva had a strong base, the Luso-descendants also employed the weekly, *Echo da Lusitania* (7th January, 1836 to 5th March, 1837) to achieve their objective. This paper regularly published articles which accused the Goan *deputados* of adopting fraudulent practices in elections and ridiculed their ability in administration. Descriptions filled with sarcasm such as ‘*Os dias da Anarquica e Perseguidora*’ (days of anarchy and persecution), or ‘Os

³⁵ Ibid.

³⁶ HAG, MR, No. 210 A, fl. 29.

³⁷ Aleixo Manuel da Costa, *A Dicionário de Literatura Goesa*. (Macau: Instituto Cultural de Fundação Oriente, 1998),16.

³⁸ *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, August 5, 1835.

Acontecimentos de Goa’ to name a few found their way in print.³⁹ Bernardo Peres da Silva in particular was the target of their attack. Some issues of this weekly lampooned the extraordinary fidelity exhibited by his supporters (*fidélissima extraordinário das partidistas Perinos*) towards Peres. They were accused of inventing lies and adopting immoral means as the only resort to win the elections and defeat their enemies.⁴⁰

The *Echo da Lusitania* accused Peres da Silva of bribing the government in Portugal to win the prestigious position of the Prefect in 1834, and of adopting corrupt practices in the parliamentary elections of 1836. The *Chronica Constitucional de Goa* as well as the *Echo da Lusitania* published an article under the heading of *Pasquim* (a Lampoon), a satire which disparaged the Goans. They were paradoxically addressed as ‘Honourable’ and ‘Gentlemanly’, and yet of being the ‘Exterminators’ of the European and the Luso-descendent community.⁴¹ The coterie of the Prefect was addressed as an assembly of five donkeys who wanted to belittle the Portuguese and the *mestiços* (*A Junta de cinco burras*), and who were determined to bulldoze the Luso-descendants and the Europeans.⁴²

The *O Correio de Nova Goa* (4th January, 1844 to 8th March, 1844) and *Defensôr da Ordem e da Verdade* (24th August, 1852 to August 1853), were seen by the Goan elites as the mouthpieces of the *mestiço* community though European writers also contributed to these weeklies. They viewed that these newspapers were employed

³⁹ *Echo da Lusitania* was a weekly publication. Its main contributors were the Luso-descendants and Portuguese men.

⁴⁰ *Echo da Lusitania*, February 21, 1836; No. 31, June 30, 1836.

⁴¹ *Echo da Lusitania*, No. 6, March 6, 1836; *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, No.37, July 28, 1836.

⁴² *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, No. 37. Copies of the *Chronica Constitucional de Goa* were retrieved from HAG in MR, No. 210 B, fl. 16.

by the Luso-descendants to enhance their image and interests in the society.⁴³ The Luso-descendant, José de Noronha, Viscount of Mayem, was the owner of *Era Nova* and *Jornal do Povo*. From 1899 to 1902, Francisco Mourão Garcêz Palha edited a weekly, *O Portuguez*.

The Luso-descendants had also acquired fame as men of letters. They brilliantly espoused the cause of their race in politics and elections through their works. Noteworthy among them were Frederico Diniz d’Ayalla, Anibal Correa Mendes, Alberto Carlos Germano da Silva Correa and Moniz Barreto to name a few.⁴⁴ Moniz Barreto’s literary outbursts against Bernado Peres da Silva bring to the surface the contempt that he had towards the indigenous community. Moniz Barreto stated that ‘Bernado Peres unmasks his factionalism by arbitrary appointments and demotions, inflamed proclamations, giving an idea of his plans.’⁴⁵

Preponderance of the Luso-descendants in the Military: A Cause for Rivalry in Elections

The rivalry in elections in Goa between the two elite groups can be best understood from the wider perspective of the age-old rivalry fuelled from the military preponderance of the Luso-descendants in Portuguese India. The Luso-descendants followed the career of arms in which they excelled the most and formed the backbone of the Portuguese army in Portuguese India. The *Estado da India* was increasingly dependent upon the Luso-descendants because not many Portuguese men were willing to settle away from their homes. Another fact not widely known was the contribution

⁴³ Da Cunha, “A Evolução do Jornalismo na Índia portuguesa.”, 510.

⁴⁴ Joaquim Guilherme Moniz Barreto was born in a Goan family in 1863 to an Azorean mother. He was an acclaimed writer who spent most of his life outside *Estado da India*.

⁴⁵ Pedro Avelar, *História de Goa* (Portugal: Texto Editores, 1912), 185.

of this community in the consolidation of the New Conquests of Goa under the Portuguese since the 18th century. They had distinguished themselves in various military operations in Ponda, Bicholim, Pernem, Canacona, Sattari and so on. Consequently, many of them were bestowed with prestigious military ranks in Portuguese India, and were also the recipients of some honorific ranks of peerage, which was the cause of envy among the Goans. During the 19th century, Viceroy Conde de Rio Pardo had also observed several abuses and extravagance in the military establishment in Portuguese India and reported the same to the Home government.⁴⁶ The measures of the Viceroy to tighten the strings over the military were not received well by the Luso-descendant community. The Luso-descendants felt that they were being plotted against, especially by the indigenous elites. They accused the Goans of being envious of their military ranks like that of the marshals and brigadiers in the military establishment of Portuguese India.⁴⁷ It was believed by the Luso-descendants that Goan parliamentarians were defaming the military establishment due to their envy. The initial finger of accusation was pointed against Bernado Peres da Silva. He was accused of defaming this organisation through a pamphlet published in Rio de Janeiro in 1832.⁴⁸ It was also pointed out that Peres da Silva was responsible for the increasing attacks directed against the military organisation of the state.⁴⁹ Similarly, the reforms implemented by Bernado Peres da Silva in 1835 as the Prefect of Goa did not have an approval of this community.

⁴⁶ HAG, MR, No. 195, fl. 844-47.

⁴⁷ *Echo da Lusitania*, February 21, 1836.

⁴⁸ *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, No. 31, June 30, 1836. The pamphlet was titled *Dialogo entre um doutor em philosophia e um portuguez da India sobre a constituição política de Portugal*.

⁴⁹ *Echo da Lusitania*, February 21, 1836.

Peres da Silva was labeled as the tyrant who caused injustice to the military officers of Goa.⁵⁰ Yet again, on 21st July, 1835 in a Manifesto addressed to the Queen Maria II, Peres was accused as the slanderer of all civil and military authorities of Portuguese India (*caluniador de todas autoridades Civil e Militares da india*).⁵¹ Peres's concern on the functioning of the military of *Estado da India* expressed in the parliament during the 1840s might not have been taken too kindly by the Luso-descendants.⁵²

Since the 1850s, it was increasingly felt among a section of Goans that the military establishment was more of a liability on the state exchequer and its existence was not justifiable. In this respect, Goan *deputado* Bernado da Costa had often raised the issue on the military establishment of Portuguese. Costa had expressed how his good intentions on military reform were misconstrued.⁵³ A little later in June 1845, Costa had also expressed his resentment against the frequent military rebellions in Goa.⁵⁴ The Luso-descendants were quick to read into the motives of the local *deputados* and assumed that the success of the military had been an eyesore to Bernado da Costa and his companions. Costa was accused of employing his newspaper, *O Ultramar* to defame the community and the military system of Goa.⁵⁵

⁵⁰ HAG, MR, No. 210 B, fls. 348-350. The Military Commander under the Prefecture of Bernado Peres da Silva, was Furtunato De Mello who shared such views against Peres da Silva. De Mello's antagonistic attitude can be perceived from letters exchanged between him and some military officials against the Prefect.

⁵¹ HAG, MR, No. 210 A, fl.27.

⁵² *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 24 (October 5, 1840).

⁵³ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 21 (May 24, 1854).

⁵⁴ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 1 (June 1, 1855). Bernado Fransisco da Costa had expressed his disillusionment at the functioning of the military in Goa. According to him, it was not the first time that the military had disturbed public peace and caused terror everywhere in the state and demanded a solution from these frequent rebellions.

⁵⁵ Forjaj, and Noronha, 265. Bernado da Costa had pointed out that Captain João J. Pereira Garcêz, was using his position in the military to seek government favours towards the military class.

Strictly speaking, their luxurious way of living was often condemned by the Goans, especially the brahmins of *Estado da India*.⁵⁶

Since the ascendancy of the *Regeneradores* in Portugal, the long-standing unease experienced by the Luso-descendants towards the Goans was further intensified.⁵⁷ The affiliation and proximity of some Goan parliamentarians to the *Regeneradores* of the metropolis led some Luso-descendants to believe that the ‘anti-national faction’ which had been operating in Portuguese Goa for a long time was aiming to undermine the Portuguese rule.⁵⁸

The bitterness between the two communities took a more sharper turn when Bernado da Costa and the Luso-descendant Caetano Garcêz Palha were openly pitted against one and another in the parliament on certain occasions. In 1855, Bernado da Costa accused Caetano Garcêz Palha of creating a racial barrier between the people of Goa, the descendants and Europeans. This charge was leveled in the background of the comments of *deputado* Caetano Garcêz in the Parliament lamenting the ghastly murder of his brother Captain, Joaquim Garcêz Palha in the municipal election of Diwar in 1854.⁵⁹ Costa disapproved the use of the phrase used to describe the people of the Piedade electoral circle as ‘*Ilhes gentios e barbarous*’ (they gentiles and barbarous) ⁶⁰ On one occasion, Costa and Palha argued on the wisdom of continuing the age-old institutions of *Comunidades*. The discussion took an ugly turn and

⁵⁶ Bernado Fransisco da Costa wrote several articles in the *O Ultramar* against the prejudice meted out to Goans in the military establishment. Frederico Diniz D’Ayalla, the reputed writer of the Luso-descendant community declared that the brahmins exhibited more antagonism against the community than the chardós of Goa.

⁵⁷ Bruto da Costa, *A Hidra do Nativismo*, 22. These views were expressed by F. Diniz Ayalla.

⁵⁸ *Ibid.*

⁵⁹ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No.17 (January 24, 1855).

⁶⁰ *Ibid.*

degenerated into personal vendetta, much to the embarrassment of the onlookers.⁶¹ Similarly, in September 1865, Caetano Garcêz Palha indirectly accused Bernado da Costa of attempting to work against him in the elections of Nova Goa. Garcêz Palha attributed the victory in the election to his supporters despite his adversaries working strongly against him.⁶²

In a major reform enacted in 1871 by the government⁶³, the military establishment of Portuguese India was disbanded. This move, and the consequent closure of the Military and Mathematical School was seen as the making of Goan *deputados*, especially the brahmins of Goa who were eager to reduce their preponderance of the Luso-descendants in the *Estado da India*.⁶⁴ Bernado Francisco da Costa, in particular was at the receiving end of backlash from the Luso-descendants. Costa was accused of his manipulative role in the disintegration of the military establishment. This was because Bernado da Costa served as a *deputado* affiliated to the *Regeneradores* from 1865 to 1869. He was re-elected again in the subsequent election and occupied his seat from 1868 to 1870, at a time when the *Regeneradores* were in power in Portugal.⁶⁵ Costa also enjoyed a substantial clout

⁶¹ On the contrary, an opposing view was expressed by Bernado da Costa; *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados* No. 2 (April 2, 1856).

⁶² *A India Portuguesa*, No. 248, September 27, 1865. The adversaries referred to by Garcêz, implied Bernado da Costa and his supporters.

⁶³ This move was enacted by the government led by the *Regeneradores*, who were close to some Goan members of parliament.

⁶⁴ Ayalla, *Goa Antiga e Moderna*, 21; Carlos Gomes da Costa, *A Revolta de Goa, e a Companhia de 1895-1896* (Lisboa: Livraria Eclética, 1938), 13-14; Saldanha, 283-285. After the 1860s, the military establishment of Goa was seen as a financial burden to the public exchequer of Goa, and as an unprofitable enterprise. The rebellion of Volvoi had been one of the factors responsible for the reorganisation of the military in 1869. Governor General, José Ferreira Pestana who was considered sympathetic towards the Goans had considered disbanding military before 1870. His successor, Visconde Januário Correia de Almeida executed the representations of Pestana in 1871.

⁶⁵ *Direito Constitucional Portuguez*, 79. The period from 1865 to 1868 was a period of fusion between the two parties, *Históricos* and *Regeneradores*.

with the *Regeneradores*. Metropolitan *deputados*, Jaime Moniz and Fontes Pereira Melo (leader of the *Regeneradores* in 1871), were close associates of Bernado da Costa. It was during tenure of Fontes Pereira Melo that the military reform was executed. In 1872, the *Regeneradores* also defended their reasons for not sustaining the military regiment of Goa.⁶⁶ It was for all these reasons that Bernado da Costa became a suspect for his hand in disbanding the military. Bernado da Costa immediately went on the defensive to deny such allegations in a letter written to one António Sales de Andrade (*'Amigo Sales...Não tive nenhuma parte na reforma do exército...'*) and another, to Luso-descendent Constantino José de Brito.⁶⁷ The suspicion against Bernado Francisco da Costa had been further strengthened as he was supposed to have scornfully predicted that the heroes of the conquest of Goa (the Luso-descendants), would see a day when their daughters would be wet-nurses to the grandchildren of the 'natives'.⁶⁸ The Luso-descendants did not reconcile to the military reform for a long time and attributed their calamities to it. The newspaper *Phenix* reported on miserable state of the *mestiço* community after 1871 and pointed out how their women-folk of this community were even forced to vend their modesty in the village of Marcella.⁶⁹

Carlos Gomes da Costa, the author of *A Revolta de Goa e A Companhia de 1895/1896* had remarked, 'When the descendants had power (military), a *canarim* could not dominate the situation'.⁷⁰ The statements of Gomes da Costa were

⁶⁶ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 72 (April 10, 1872).

⁶⁷ Da Costa, *A Hidra do Nativismo*, 99-101.

⁶⁸ Gomes da Costa, *A Revolta de Goa e a Companhia de 1895-1896*, 4.

⁶⁹ *Phenix*, No.32, quoted from F. D. De Ayalla, 60. The community was reported to be '*pobre, humildade e sem future não possui o brilho que o deslumbrava. A miseria leva-a-á deshonra, eos as orgulhas Mestiças irão a Marcella, onde as bailadeiras vendem o pudo.*'

⁷⁰ Gomes da Costa, *A Revolta de Goa e a Companhia de 1895-1896*, 14.

indicative of an important assertion; the displacement of the Luso-descendants from their military bastions alone would promote the rise of the indigenous elite to an indomitable position in the society. It seemed to indicate that the local elites were only too eager to see the downfall of their contenders.

Our study of the census data shows the population of this mixed race as a negligible minority in relation to the rest of the population. However, as planned and expected by the colonial authorities, they wielded tremendous influence upon the society, culture and polity of Portuguese India until 1871.

Luso-descendant Population in Colonial Goa⁷¹

Year	<i>Mestiço</i> Population in Goa	Total Population of Goa
1829	976	-
1831	1014	-
1844	1067	3,83,934
1845	1161	-
1864	2440	3,85,124
1878	1437	4,16,120
1917	2193	-
1921	-	4,69,494
1927	1498	-
1940	1378	5,40,925
1950	336	5, 47,448
1960	-	5, 89, 997

The table depicted above shows the population of Luso-descendant population and Portuguese Goa for certain years.⁷² The statistics show that the population of the

⁷¹ Ibid., 43; *BDG*, January 1846; A. Lopes Mendes, *A India Portuguesa*, vol. I (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1886); *BDG*, No. 106 (December 4, 1879); Also in *O Heraldo*, No.292 (January 26, 1901); “Os Luso-descendants da India.”, by Alberto C. Germano da S. Correa, in *Boletim Eclesiastica da Arquidiocese de Goa*, August 1946, 61; *India Portuguesa* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1950), 50.

⁷² *Chronica Constitucional de Goa*, March 24, 1836. In 1836, the population of Goa was reported to be 3,56,618; See *Anuário do Estado da India 1930*, for the population for the year 1920;

Luso-descendants had drastically declined between 1864 and 1878. A. C. G. Silva Gracias, the author of *Os Luso-descendentes da India* did not attribute this decline to the climate, pestilence, pandemics, epidemics, or war, but rather to the extinction of the military in India. The Portuguese government by disbanding the army in 1871 was also held responsible for leading the community to its miserable and pitiable condition.⁷³ After 1871, the Luso-descendants took up civil jobs in the Treasury Office, Post and Telegraph, Customs House and other similar positions in Goa.

Luso-descendant *Deputados*

Despite being a minority under the colonial set up, the Luso-descendants aspired to play a major role in politics of Goa and proved themselves to be strong contenders to the Goans in the parliamentary elections. Much to their dismay, they remained unsuccessful during the first three decades of the constitutional regime. The local candidates had greater support than the Luso-descendants.

From 1822 to 1961, around 126 seats were contested in the parliamentary elections of Portuguese India.⁷⁴ The findings show that the Portuguese dominated the electoral scene in Goa, followed by the native Goans and the Luso-descendants. Portuguese won 63 seats, Goans got 52 seats while the Luso-descendants won 11 seats.

Demografia do Estado da India (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1953). In 1931, the population of Goa was 5,052,81.

⁷³ Visconde de Ourem, *A Revoltas dos Marathas em 1895* (Lisboa: TYP. Mattos Merceira, 1900), 34-38.

⁷⁴ For details see Chapter III.

From 1822 to 1961 the Luso-descendants shown in the table below won the parliamentary elections.⁷⁵

Luso-descendant *Deputados* Representing Portuguese India

Year	Names of <i>Deputados</i>
1838	João José Pereira Garcêz (elected as a substitute)
1839	João José Pereira Garcêz (elected as a substitute)
1853	Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz
1855	Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz
1861	Joaquim Manuel de Mello e Mendonça
1864	Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz
1865	Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz
1879	Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha
1887	Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha Elvino José de Souza e Brito
1890	Christóvam Ayres de Magalães Sepúlveda
1894	Christóvam Ayres de Magalães Sepúlveda
1900	Christóvam Ayres de Magalães Sepúlveda
1918	Constantino do Santos (elected to the Senate)
Total Nos.	Eleven (11)

The Luso-descendants and the *Novas Conquistas*

For the first three decades no Luso-descendant won the parliamentary elections and therefore, they were quite keen to have their own representatives elected to the *Cortes*.⁷⁶ The enfranchisement of the New Conquests was likely to facilitate this

⁷⁵ D'Abreu, *Noção de alguns filhos distintos da Índia Portuguesa*, 50-65. A similar version is available in Bruto da Costa, *Goa sob Dominação*, 200-208; *BDG*, from 1853-1890; and in *O Ultramar* for the years, 1890-1891.

⁷⁶ The Luso-descendants won as substitutes in 1838 and in 1839.

objective. As seen earlier, the New Conquests were familiar terrains to the community. Besides, census reports of the 19th century show the demographic distribution of many Luso-descendant families in Ponda and Bicholim talukas.⁷⁷ Many elites from the New Conquests reposed greater trust on the goodwill of Majesty, Queen Maria II, the Luso-descendants and the Portuguese, than on the elites from the Old Conquests.⁷⁸ It was wished by the intelligentsia of the *Novas Conquistas* that descendants had to win elections in this circle and thereafter utilise their good offices for the betterment of this region.⁷⁹ Politically too, the elites from these territories were anxious to be brought on par with the Old Conquests.⁸⁰ Such sentiments from the elites of these regions were sought to be exploited by the metropolitan government and the Luso-descendants.

Joaquim Mourão Garcêz Palha, a prominent member of the Luso-descendant family, was highly esteemed in the *Novas Conquistas* for his interest in promoting vernacular education.⁸¹ Palha had served Portuguese India for thirty years in various

⁷⁷ *BDG* (January 1846).

⁷⁸ AHP, *Caixa*, No. fl.3. A letter addressed by the representatives of the Municipality of Ponda to Her Majesty accused the representatives of the Old Conquests of deliberately wanting to destroy the affection that the Europeans and their descendants had towards the New Conquests, by keeping these provinces away from being enfranchised.

⁷⁹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 52

⁸⁰ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, fl.3. For some time, the New Conquests could not contest wholeheartedly in the parliamentary elections as these areas were more recent additions of the *Estado da Índia* and its administration was yet to be streamlined. This document gives evidence of the representation from the New Conquests addressing Her Majesty that they were deliberately kept out of the elections for political reasons by the representatives of the Old Conquests. After 1840s Portugal was eager to allow enfranchisement to win their vote in the election.

⁸¹ Felipe Nery Thomé C. do Rosario e Souza, *Notícia Histórica e Legislação da Instrução Pública, Primária, Secundária e Superior* (Nova Goa: Typografia da Cruz, 1879), 132; *BDG*, No. 53 (1843) The Luso-descendant Governor of Goa, Joaquim Mourão Garcêz, Palha, supported the cause of Marathi education in Nova Goa and in the New Conquests, during his short tenure after he took charge from Interim Governor Lopes da Lima in 1843. He also encouraged instruction to be imparted in *língua Canará* (Konkani), to those who wished to avail education in this language.

administrative positions.⁸² Evidence showed that he shared a good rapport with the metropolitan government.⁸³ Similarly, *deputado* Caetano Pereira Garcêz defended the political and electoral rights of the people of the New Conquests in the *Cortes* when he was elected to the parliament.⁸⁴ The New Conquests were allowed to vote in elections since 1836, but the electoral processes were fraught in several impediments.

Some metropolitan parliamentarians also debated the recurrent triumph of the Goan *deputados* from the Old Conquests from 1838 and the deliberate obstruction perceived to have been created by the elites of the Old Conquests towards the New Conquests in the parliamentary elections.⁸⁵ Bernardo Peres da Silva and other Goan *deputados* from the Old Conquests were viewed with suspicion. Diniz Ayalla declared that Peres da Silva wanted only the brahmins to occupy public offices and not the pagan inhabitants of the New Conquests.⁸⁶ The supporters of the enfranchisement of the New Conquests in Portugal too were curious to know the reasons behind the repetitive ineffectiveness in implementing electoral processes in these areas.⁸⁷ Some even expressed their helplessness on being unable to prevent the continuous victory of the *deputados* from the Old Conquests in elections. It was also believed that the

⁸² HAG, *MR*, No. 478; Palha had served as the Captain of War and Sea; *MR*, No. 218A. He was the Chief of the Division of Diu.

⁸³ HAG, *MR*, No. 218 A, fl. 283. Joaquim Mourão Garcêz, Palha was conferred a military rank, *O Habito da Ordem da Nossa Senhora da Conceição de de Villa Viçosa*, by Queen Maria II.

⁸⁴ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No.19 (February 23,1854). Caetano Garcêz, Palha was elected as the *deputado* in the election of 1853 and lamented the humiliation subjected upon the people of the New Conquests and preventing these regions from voting in elections by the elites of the Old Conquests.

⁸⁵ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 22 (January 27, 1843).

⁸⁶ Ayalla, *Goa Antiga e Moderna*, 220.

⁸⁷ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 22 (January 27, 1843).

presence of diverse parties⁸⁸ in Portuguese India was responsible for this lop-sided representation ('*Sempre as Velhas Conquistas estiverem triunfo: e Não sei como se possa contraiar esse triunfo continuo, quando na India estado Governadores de diversas Partidos.*')⁸⁹

The *Setembrista* influence in Goa from 1838 to 1845 was a concern for the elites of *Novas Conquistas*. Many prominent Luso-descendants aligned themselves with the *reinol* faction and exhibited their inclination to the *Cartista* and the *Chafarica* parties.⁹⁰ Caetano Pereira Garcêz accused the Goan elites from the Old Conquests and their supporters in the metropolis for creating hindrances for their ulterior motives.⁹¹

Despite all efforts and their alliance with the *Cabralista* faction, the Luso-descendants began to win the elections only after 1853 chiefly from the electoral circle of *Nova Goa* where they had a strong base.⁹² In the elections of 1853, Caetano Francisco Pereira Garcêz became the first *deputado* of this community to be elected to the Parliament and won this election with a leading majority.⁹³ It was visible that Goan elites attributed this victory merely to the crucial role played by the Viceroy, Visconde Villa Nova de Ourem in favouring of official candidates and adopting

⁸⁸ The metropolitan *deputado* was referring to the influence of the *Setembristas*, which was responsible for causing the victory of Goan representatives from the Old Conquests.

⁸⁹ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 23 (January 28, 1843). Metropolitan *deputado* José Estevão (a *Setembrista*) quoted those laments which were expressed by some legislators who had the interests of the New Conquests at heart.

⁹⁰ Bruto, Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 177.

⁹¹ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 19 (February 23, 1854). Garcêz, accused metropolitan *deputado* José Estevão and other members of the *Setembristas* of supporting the dubious designs of preventing New Conquests from being enfranchised.

⁹² *BDG* (January 1846). The census report carried out for the year 1844 indicated the concentration of the Luso-descendant community around Ilhas (896 inhabitants) and Ponda (105 inhabitants), which incidentally constituted parts of the circle of Nova Goa circle in elections. Bardez did not report a single inhabitant, while Salcete reported 135 inhabitants.

⁹³ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 19 (February 23, 1854).

deceitful means in elections.⁹⁴ However, Caetano Francisco Pereira Garcêz vociferously defended the unfair accusations directed against him by his opponents and exalted the humane qualities of Viceroy in the parliament.⁹⁵ The collusion of the official interests of the Luso-descendants in elections can be understood from the dependency of government on the community during situations of emergency. In 1852, Viceroy Ourem ordered Luso-descendant José Paulo Oliveira Pegado, to lead the Dipu Rane rebellion in 1852.⁹⁶

Evidence also shows that the Luso-descendants won more elections from the circle of Nova Goa, which was aligned with major areas of the New Conquests. In 1860, this circle constituted the territories of Ilhas, Ponda and Embarcem, Astragar, Bally, Chandravaddy, Cacora, Bicholim, Sanquelim or Sattary.⁹⁷ *Deputado* Caetano Francisco Pereira Garcêz himself attributed his victory in the elections of 1865 to several notable Catholic Goan families, *Sardessais* and *Dessais* of the New Conquests, Judges of the High Court of Goa, Europeans and the descendants. In this regard, Garcêz held businessperson Purxotama Sinai Quencró, the Baron of Calopor in more popular estimation for his support and fondly called him, Capitalist Quencró as the Rodchild of our India, (*Capitalista Quencró, O Rodschild da nossa India*).⁹⁸ As a representative of the New Conquests, Garcêz, expressed the need for calming the province of Sattary and providing new opportunities in agriculture and industry for the benefit of the people of these area. Such benefits, according to him would have a

⁹⁴ Ibid.

⁹⁵ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 19 (February 23, 1854).

⁹⁶ Forjaz, and Noronha, *Os Luso-Descendentes da Índia Portuguesa*, 126.

⁹⁷ *BDG*, No. 14 (February 14, 1860), 102.

⁹⁸ *A Índia Portuguesa*, No. 207 (December 14, 1864). The Rothschild was one of the well placed families of Europe and was known for its financial strength and business acumen, which Garcêz, sees in the businessman, Purxotama Sinai Quencró.

calming effect upon the violent attitude of the people.⁹⁹ Such views were in contradiction to the opinions expressed by Francisco Luis Gomes on Sattary. Gomes felt that Sattary was already peaceful and that it was the *Deputado* (Garcêz) who thought otherwise.¹⁰⁰

The eagerness of the Luso-descendants to have a representative in the Parliament of Portugal belonging to their race is clearly evident from the letter of Anibal Augusto da Costa Campos, written to his cousin, the first Baron of Cumbarjua, Joaquim Mourão Garcêz. This letter was written in March 1868, explaining a strategy by which they could win the elections. A similar letter written by Anibal Campos to Garcêz, two months later in May 1868 expressed that the Luso-descendants had the capacity to win elections on their own to represent their interests in a dignified manner, without any external help.¹⁰¹

The Luso-descendants were envious if governor generals or viceroys deputed to Portuguese India exhibited a soft corner towards the Goan elites. Viceroy José Ferreira Pestana's open declaration of having at least one son of the soil in the parliament, found written in a document, dated 23rd June 1869, annoyed the mixed race.¹⁰² The Goan *deputados* on their part despised the victories of the Luso-descendants in elections. In June 1861, an article was published in the *Boletim do Governo do Estado da India* written under the pseudonym of 'The friend of the

⁹⁹ *Diário de Lisboa* (March 18, 1865), 837. The area was known for the Rane rebellions.

¹⁰⁰ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 232 (June 1865).

¹⁰¹ Sandra Maria C. A. Lobo. Letters written by Anibal Augusto da Costa Campos to the first Baron of Cumbarjua, Joaquim Mourão Garcêz, on 23rd March, 1868, and 30th May, 1868 retrieved from *O desassossego goes Cultural e política em Goa do Liberalismo ao Acto Colonia, Tese de Doutoramento em História e teoria das Ideias, especialidade Pensamento, Cultura e Política* run.unl.pt/bitstream/.../Lobo. Accessed on January 10, 1915.

¹⁰² Da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 88; José Ferreira Pestana served as the Governor General of Goa for two terms, from 1841 to 1851, and again from 1864 to 1870.

country' (*Um Amigo do Paiz*) which clearly highlighted the undercurrents in the relations between the Goan elites on the one side, and the Luso-descendants on the other. The article stated that no one could represent India better than the sons of the soil. The writer also stated that Fransisco Luis Gomes and Jeremias Mascarenhas, the two well-known and outspoken parliamentarians from Goa could not be substituted by any 'idiots', even if they were born in Goa or Portugal.¹⁰³ This letter was based on the background of the result of the elections of 1853 where the representatives voted to power in Goa were two Europeans, Feliciano António Marquis Pereira and Augusto Xavier da Silva, a Luso-descendant (Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz) and a Goan, Bernado da Costa. Jeremias Mascarenhas had not won the election due to the intervention of Governor General, Visconde de Ourem.¹⁰⁴ The article also incorporated the queries posed by several newspapers which were demanding to know how the foreigners had climbed the gallery of the *deputados* of the parliament when Jeremias Mascarenhas should have been in this position.¹⁰⁵

Upheavals in Elections after the 1860s

The most explicit manifestation of this rivalry and violence in the parliamentary elections between the two groups occurred in the parliamentary elections held in 1861. This election held in 1861 came to be popularly known as the *Election with Bayonets*. The government backed a Luso-descendant candidate, Joaquim Manuel de Mello e Mendonça, against the local choice of José Julio Rodrigues, much to the annoyance of

¹⁰³ *BDG*, No.46 (June 21, 1861).

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

the people of Bardez.¹⁰⁶ The administrative machinery of Bardez was employed by the government to ensure victory in its favour. The polling centre at Nagoa village in Bardez *taluka* witnessed ugly scenes when the polling agents made attempts to rig the elections in favour of the government nominee. A Portuguese correspondent present at the scene provided evidence to the helping hand of Governor General Torres Nova to rig the election in his favour. The correspondent wrote that general consternation reigned the people and that the press was condemning the arbitrary attitude of His Excellency, (Governor General, Torres Nova) which deprived the people of Goa, the electoral liberty that was guaranteed to them by the Portuguese electoral laws.¹⁰⁷ A force of 300 bayonets was used to carry out this agenda.¹⁰⁸ It was alleged that the government candidate had won by resorting to terror and employing the government machinery to its advantage.¹⁰⁹ In a ploy to throw dust on this issue and down play the whole incident, the Luso-descendant *deputado* Caetano Garcêz Palha wrote an article countering these accusations against the government backed *deputado*, Joaquim Manuel de Mello e Mendonça.¹¹⁰ The argument put forward by Garcêz Palha was that the two constituencies (Reis Magos and Nagoa) where no elections were held, could not have changed the electoral results and that the flaws pointed out during this elections were unfounded. It was further argued that if the voters of Salcette and

¹⁰⁶ “Communicado do Sr. Ferrer e a Eleição.” in the *BDG*, No. 44 (1861).

¹⁰⁷ Bruto da Costa, *A Hidra do Nativismo*, 280.

¹⁰⁸ *O Ultramar*, No. 1604, December 28, 1889.

¹⁰⁹ *Ibid.* 57.

¹¹⁰ Pereira Garcêz Palha, *Analyse do Folhete Intitulado O Visconde de Torres Nova e as Eleições em Goa*, 56. Garcêz Palha explained that there were 38 electoral circles which went to polls in this election. In two circles (Goa Velha and Sanguem), no elections had occurred for want of voters, but in the remaining 36, elections were conducted in a peaceful manner, without major incidents, except in the two assemblies of Reis Magos and Nagoa in Bardez. Therefore, when 34 electoral circles conducted the elections without any violence it could not be proved that there was tyranny against the public by the governor general only because two circles exhibited disturbances.

Nova Goa had elected their respective candidates, the voters of the Mapuça circle too had the right to make a similar choice. Such oral submissions, according to Garcêz without any evidence, were not sufficient enough to take action as justice totally depends upon evidence.¹¹¹ A study of the debates of the sessions of the parliament shows that the contribution of Joaquim Manuel de Melo during his stay in Portugal was insignificant. Interestingly, the newspaper *O Ultramar*, was full of sarcasm against the unfruitful role played by Joaquim Manuel De Melo Mendonça and commented that his trip Portugal and back exemplified a leisurely walk, bereft of any positive results for the province he represented.

The trails of political upheavals in Portuguese Goa in the *Election of the Bayonets* were caught by a few periodicals across British India, and triggered sympathy waves towards the Goans. At least two such newspapers, *The Times of India* and the *Bombay Gazette*, were vociferous in their attempts condemning the rigging of elections in Bardez Taluka in 1861.¹¹² Ironically, the empathy exhibited by the British press made the Luso-descendants more suspicious of the Goan elites. It led them to believe that the brahmins and chardós in Goa envisaged establishment of an ‘anti-national league’ against the dominion of Portugal, and favoured Goa to be a part of the British dominion. The Luso-descendants considered some rebellious natives as the Jacobins who had an ambition of eliminating the ‘White’ element from Goa, and preventing their pre-eminence.¹¹³ The disjointedness experienced by the community in this respect, can be confirmed time and again in the views expressed by Diniz D' Ayala. The latter admitted the presence of a fearsome section in Goa who

¹¹¹ Pereira Garcêz, *Analyse do Folhete Intitulado O Visconde de Torres Nova e as Eleições em Goa*. 83-86.

¹¹² *O Ultramar*, October 3, 1861.

¹¹³ Ayalla, *Goa Antiga e Moderna*, 27.

sought to expel the Portuguese from the state, a group which hated the ‘whites’, and who desired the rule of the English.¹¹⁴

The *O Ultramar* was quick to deny any such possible alliance of Goans with British India and reiterated its solidarity with Portugal. It carried an article which stated that the destiny and future of Goa were closely connected with that of Portugal. Goa was a dot of Hindustan, but nonetheless, Portugal had in its Parliament several Goans who were always highly esteemed and treated with a distinct consideration. The vast British dominion, till date had no fortune of sending a single Indian to the British Parliament.¹¹⁵

The Luso-descendants shared a greater contempt against the brahmins than the chardós. Diniz D’Ayala himself affirmed this fact and believed that the chardós were kinder to them than the brahmins, although there was a subtle and a historical rivalry with the former as well. In fact, in 1871, when the military was disbanded, the *A India Portuguesa* exhibited an air of sympathy towards the Luso-descendant community. It lamented the views expressed in the *O Ultramar* disregarding the sentiments the military and the support extended to the reform of 1871.¹¹⁶

The Luso-descendants too had their press to defend their interests. The *Jornal de Noticias* was owned by the family of Mourão Garcêz Palha, and edited by Tomas Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha and Placido da Costa Campos. It was the first journal exclusively owned by the Luso-descendant family and published from October 1, 1868 to April 30, 1869. Similarly, this family also owned *A Imprensa* printed at Ribandar. An important challenge to the Goan newspapers came from the *O*

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 27.

¹¹⁵ *O Ultramar*, October 3, 1861; *O Ultramar*, September 13, 1890.

¹¹⁶ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 202, November 12, 1864. A similar article was written in the issue of the same newspaper, No. 277, January 20, 1872. This article declared that the *O Ultramar* was the only periodical from the locality which stood for the reduction of the military.

Progresso (1875), a weekly, edited by Luis Correia Silva. *A Civilização* (1887) was another newspaper edited by the same community. Possibly, these publications were employed by the Luso-descendants to oppose the Goan elites. The *Nova Goa* was yet another newspaper published from the capital and primarily directed its attacks against the *O Ultramar* of Margão.¹¹⁷

Interestingly, the politics of elections had taken another turn during the last quarter of the 19th century. Though the Goans continued to contest parliamentary elections, the focus was shifted to the municipal elections. Moreover, the bond of cohesion which held the Goans together for several decades was slowly withering, and votes began to be polled on the arithmetic of caste after 1865. The rivalry between the Luso-descendants and Goan elites became less pronounced during the closing years of the 19th century, nonetheless, it continued to exist behind the scenes in a subtle manner. From 1870 to 1887, in the nine elections held, no Goan elite succeeded in winning the parliamentary elections. But the Luso-descendants saw success and won three seats during this period due to the patronage of the *Progressista*.¹¹⁸

The second Baron of Cumbarjua, Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha became a regular contestant during this period and was successful in 1879 and 1887 as a candidate of the *Progressistas*. However, in 1884 he saw dismal failure by polling only one vote in the New Conquest.¹¹⁹ This was an indication of how votes could tilt in favour of one candidate with the backing of the government, the party in power and

¹¹⁷ Rodrigues, "Note Worthy Luso-descendants of Portuguese India.", 74.

¹¹⁸ During this period Portuguese nationals held a greater sway and won most seats in Portuguese India. Some leading members of the community aligned themselves with the *Partido Progressista*.

¹¹⁹ AHP, *Caixa*, No.1537. Henrique da Cunha M. Mendes, a Portuguese won by an astounding majority.

their local supporters in the province.¹²⁰ In 1887, two Luso-descendant *deputados* Elvino José de Souza e Brito and Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha affiliated to the *Progressista*, along with a Portuguese, Jorge Augusto de Mello emerged victorious.¹²¹ In the election held in 1889, it appeared once again that the Baron of Cumbarjua, Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha would triumph in the contest. But Guedian politics led to the defeat of the Baron, a fact which greatly distressed his supporters in the New Conquests, the traditional vote bank of the *Mestiço* community. Tomás de Aquino Mourão Garcêz Palha enjoyed substantial respect in these regions and was considered their well-wisher. It was seen that the New Conquests of Goa generally remained marginalised compared to the Old Conquests. The sympathy shown by some influential members of the Luso-descendant community gratified the people of these regions. Tomas Garcêz Palha promoted the Konkani language and vernacular culture including Marathi.¹²² Most importantly, Palha empathised with the religious feelings of the Hindus of Goa. When the assets and wealth of their temples, chiefly those in the New Conquests became an eyesore to the government authorities, he intervened on their behalf.¹²³ The twentieth regulation of the *Mazánias* of Goa promulgated in 1886 allowed government intervention in the internal administration of the *Mazánias* of the temples.¹²⁴ Garcêz Palha, had intervened with the government and appealed to the Provincial Council of Goa to restrain its exorbitant demands and

¹²⁰ See Appendix X and XI.

¹²¹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 1616. Elvino Brito got 17117 votes in Ilhas (Nova Goa).

¹²² Pereira, *Konkani: A Language-A History of the Konkani Marathi Controversy*, 38.

¹²³ Ismael Gracias, *Legislação E Jurisprudencia do Supreme Tribunal Administrativo nas Questões Ultramarinas* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1906), 76; In 1851, Shree Purshottam Baba Kenkare, was commissioned by the Government to make an inventory of the temple's assets and enrolment of the member associates of the *mazanes*; Christovam Pinto, *A India Portuguesa*, vol. I (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923), 160.

¹²⁴ *Regulamento para o service Interno da Direcção Militar da Secretaria do Governo Geral do Estado da India*, Article 1 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1887).

to be judicious in its dealings with the Hindus of this province. Therefore, the defeat of ‘their’ Baron in the parliamentary elections of 1889 disappointed them.¹²⁵

In 1891, Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sepulveda, a candidate of the *Regenerador* won the election in Mapuça circle. Similarly, in 1892, José Fernandes Arrez, a stalwart of the *Liga Liberal* which was leading the ministry at that time was nominated as the official candidate of the party for Nova Goa. Interestingly, he contested against a fellow Luso-descendant, Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sepulveda, a supporter of the *Regenerador* party. These candidates represented two different parties and supported opposing ideologies.¹²⁶ However, a re-election ordered by the Tribunal for the Verification of Powers for electoral misdeeds prevented both the candidates from taking their seats in the parliament.

In 1895, some Luso-descendants once again expressed their anguish that the Goans wanted to exclude them from the society, as a little earlier they were deported to Mozambique and the provinces of North, so that the ‘natives’ could then earn more success.¹²⁷ During the republican period a few members of the Luso-descendant community were inclined to contest the parliamentary elections. For example, Constantino José de Brito contested the first Republican election in 1911, but without success.¹²⁸ But the Goans had a far edge over other contestants. In fact, they came to be favoured by the republican government in Portugal. This period was

¹²⁵ *O Ultramar*, No. 1599, November 23, 1889. One Gonnes (Ganesh) Porobo Suttlicar questions God Manguesh for the disastrous defeat of their Baron, a great friend of their community, and the betrayal by their own supporters. The following was the reply of God Manguesh, “*Té ballié, rasau tachêa baplleauche, valveant guenso garlo nam:zabor tradução.*” The newspaper reported that the response of the deity was miffed with arrogance, and it implied that the actions of the Portuguese could not be contested.

¹²⁶ José Fernandes Arrez was deputed with an express objective of pushing forward the new regulations on *Abkari*, while Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sepulveda of the *Partido Regenerador* opposed the renewal of this treaty and its regulations.

¹²⁷ Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 118.

¹²⁸ *Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral da India*, No. 58 (July 21, 1911).

rather bereft of the spirit of competition between the two groups which was so marked during the constitutional regime. Rather, the Count of Maêm, the leader of the *Centro Democrático Indiano* in North Goa, espoused the cause of republicanism in Goa along with several other indigenous elites of Portuguese Goa during the period of the first republic. In 1950, the population of the community was reported to be 366.¹²⁹ After 1961, many of their families of the Luso-descendant community chose to emigrate outside Portuguese Goa.

Gilberto Freyre observed that the Portuguese were the first in Europe who had deliberately darkened their skins, for the benefit of their empire.¹³⁰ However, ‘the small Portugal Asia’ created by Albuquerque, and encapsulated in the writings of Alberto Germano da Silva Correia,¹³¹ was equally responsible for conflict and discord in Portuguese Goa for almost eight decades after the establishment of the constitutional regime. During the first half of the 19th century, prominent Luso-descendants played the role of political collaborators of the conservative faction of the government, to which most Goan elites were opposed. However, they were not as successful as the Goans in achieving victories at the ballot, as evidenced by the statistics available in records. Despite the intense rivalry between the power elites of Goa, the Luso-descendants promoted the larger interest of Portuguese Goa. Studies on the diaries of sessions of the parliamentarians of the parliament demonstrate goodwill of most of its community towards Portuguese Goa. The Luso-descendants campaigned for reforms and recommended changes beneficial for the province. To

¹²⁹ *Anuário da Índia Portuguesa*, 1953, quoted from *Legal System in Goa*, by Carmo D’ Souza.

¹³⁰ Gilberto Freyre, *The Portuguese and the Tropics*, vol. III, 21. Freyre says that this was also true in Africa, America and other colonies spread around the world where the Portuguese sought to sustain the demands of their empire by creating a class of neo-elites who advanced their interests in these territories.

¹³¹ *Ibid.*

name a few, Caetano Garcêz Palha campaigned for the continuation of the *Comunidades* in Goa. In 1856, Garcêz Palha, emphatically subscribed himself to the identity of Portuguese India when he declared that issues related to his land (*coisas do meu paiz*) should be discussed on a daily basis.¹³² Elvino Brito, raised pertinent queries on the problems the *Estado da India* suffered due to its subjection to the *Abkari* Act of the English.¹³³ Christovam Ayres de Magalhães Sepulveda also demanded answers from the government on this issue.

Religious Issues and Elections

The elections in Portuguese India modeled along the lines of the mother country were essentially Catholic in its traditions, conventions and procedures. All decrees and regulations sent to Portuguese Goa continued to be prefixed with religious sobriquets, subtly defining the significance of religion in politics of Portugal and its overseas colonies.¹³⁴

Role of the Church in Elections

Theoretically, the function of the church in elections aimed to harmonise the representative processes within the Portuguese dominions. The church was assigned with a significant role in facilitating the conduct of all elections in the province of Goa. This role was a reflection of its position and role in Europe during the contemporary period. The Portuguese constitutions of 1822 and 1826 also mirrored the religious stance adopted by the constitutional regime. With the change in the

¹³² *Diário do Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 12 (January 29, 1856).

¹³³ *Diário do Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 13 (January 27, 1893).

¹³⁴ The decrees commenced with, '*Dona Isabel Maria Infante Regente, em Nome d' ELREI o Senhor Dom Pedro Quatro, por Graça do Deos*'.

nature of politics in Portugal, the role of the church was substantially curtailed.¹³⁵ Nonetheless, the above-mentioned legislations retained Roman Catholicism as the official religion of Portugal.¹³⁶ Theoretically, the representative system introduced after 1821 wore a secular outlook, but practically, it did not discard its religious garb in totality. The church was also involved in elections and made to intervene in the electoral processes of Portuguese Goa. Similarly, it keenly followed the political events in Portuguese Goa and bolstered government interests. The seriousness of the grim political scenario of Portuguese Goa in 1822 became a cause for concern for the religious patriarch of Goa (São Manuel Galdinho). His apprehension could be gauged from the use of the phrase, 'risky' (*arriscada*) to describe the situation in Goa in one of his letters communicated to Portugal.¹³⁷ Further, the patriarch also expressed that the formation of political groups had perturbed public peace, to the extent that the constitutional monarchy itself stood threatened.¹³⁸

An analysis of the electoral regulations sent to Portuguese India during the 19th century bring to light the aura of Catholic conventions followed in elections in colonial Goa. In Portuguese Goa, the church was still a force to be reckoned with. Its intervention was sought to facilitate the electoral processes and perhaps endorse the official interests to some extent. This was more so in the Old Conquests, which was dominated by the Catholic population. The church was instructed to make pronouncements related to elections and was required to assist the conduct of electoral

¹³⁵ Manuel Gonsalves Cerejeira, "A Igreja e a Constituição Política." in *Obras Pastorais*, vol. III, 1943/1947 (Lisboa: Gráfica Lisboa, 1947), 187. In Portugal, the coveted place enjoyed by the church was subordinated to political authority.

¹³⁶ *Constituição de 1822*, Article 25; *Carta Constitucional de 1826*, Article 6.

¹³⁷ *Documentos para História das Côrtes Gerais da Nação Portuguesa, 1820-1825*, Tomo I (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1883), 501.

¹³⁸ *Ibid.*, 501.

census in the parish. All notices related to elections as well as the records of the census of voters were affixed on the doors of the churches.¹³⁹

All elections; parochial, municipal or parliamentary, as well as elections to the legislative councils in Goa during the 20th century were conducted on Sundays. Although there is no specific reason mentioned for holding elections on this day, in Christendom Sunday is considered as the Lord's Day and enjoyed religious sanctity. In October 1945, when J. I. de Loyola (Fanchu) was interrogated on the expected result of the election to be held on 18th November, 1945 (on a Sunday), he reminded of the age old adage by tactfully declaring that on Sundays, everyone feels it is a Holy Day. (“*pelos domingos sentiram os dias santos.*”)¹⁴⁰

The Catholic tradition of seeking blessings of the Lord was considered essential in elections. The members of the electoral board as well as voters commenced their procedures after attending a religious service dedicated to the Holy Spirit. The locale of election in the Old Conquests was usually the main church (*Igreza Matriz*) of the Parish. It was also customary to chime bells in this church and thereby announcing the time of the electoral process to the public.¹⁴¹ Incomplete proceedings were continued on the following day, but its records were guarded in a treasury of the church.¹⁴²

¹³⁹ *Lei de 23 de Novembro de 1859*, Article 33.

¹⁴⁰ “Eleições de Deputados, Uma Entrevista Com o Candidato, J. I. de Loyola.” in *O Heraldo*, November 11, 1945, 1.

¹⁴¹ Freitas da Costa, *Colecção de Textos Constitucionais Portugueses Desde as Actas dos Cortes de Lamego até a Constituição de 1933*, Article 53.

¹⁴² *Ibid.*, Articles 69-70.

Singing of *Te Deum*

The *Te Deum*¹⁴³ was a solemn hymn of praise sung at important occasions and a manner of invoking the blessings of the Holy Spirit upon the event. The entire electoral process was brought to a conclusion by singing the *Te Deum*. A similar ritual was performed in Portugal on the eve of the preparatory Sessions of the Parliament.¹⁴⁴ The parliamentarians present in Lisbon for sessions were required to participate in a religious service conducted in the Cathedral. The main religious celebrant led the president of the session into taking an oath upon the Holy Bible and declaring the following: “I take an oath to preserve the Roman Catholic religion, to defend and preserving the Constitution of the Portuguese Monarchy and the Constituent Assembly of 1821, and understanding the responsibilities with loyalty to the same Constitution.”¹⁴⁵ This oath was repeated by the vice-president and the parliamentarians by placing their hands on the Bible and declaring in harmony, “I agree.”

After the establishment of the Portuguese Republic, it was hoped that secular principles would replace the religious conventions which were in practice in politics and elections. While Portugal adopted a more secular approach in political matters, the same was not followed in her colonies. For example, taking a religious oath by all

¹⁴³ *Dicionário de Língua Portuguesa*, 1195. *Tedéu* or *Te Deum* (Latin) was a popular religious hymn sung by the Catholics in praise of God for a special occasion of thanks giving and invoking the graces of the Catholic Church. It began with the words, *Te Deum laudamos*.

¹⁴⁴ T. Coelho, 86-87. The preparatory session of the parliament or the *Junta Preparatoria* was a preliminary session convened before the definite parliamentary committee was established.

¹⁴⁵ “Projecto de Regulamento Interno.” in *Diário do Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, Articles 17-27 (June 25, 1856), 77; See also *A Questão Religiosa no Parlamento, 1910-1926*, by Candida Maria Proença, vol. II (Lisboa: Edição Assembleia da Republica, 1911), 129-130. Candida Maria Proença says that the parliamentarians took the following oath before the bible: “*Juro ser inviolavelmente fiel á religião catholica apostolic romana, ao rei, à nação e à carta Constitucional.*”

representatives according to their respective conventions was still recommended in Portuguese India.¹⁴⁶

Role of the Parish Priest

Since 1822, *o parcho* (a parish priest) shouldered additional responsibilities associated with electoral procedures in certain parishes of Goa.¹⁴⁷ The religious attributes associated with his vocation, gave him an added advantage of being recognised as a man whose integrity and judgement were credible. All the electoral regulations during the constitutional regime clearly indicated the active role played by him during the meetings of all electoral assemblies. The moral guidance of the churchmen was still seen as essential, in all the deliberations of representative experiments in Goa since 1822.¹⁴⁸ His homily (sermon) was expected to lead the electorate in making judicious decisions, guided by Catholic conscience to cast their votes upon the deserving candidates.¹⁴⁹

The priest assisted in the conduct of elections and endorsed the authenticity of the voters and candidates who contested the elections.¹⁵⁰ His acquaintance with the populace within the parish was expected to act as a deterrent against fraudulent

¹⁴⁶ Proença, *A Questão Religiosa no Parlamento*, 129-130.

¹⁴⁷ *Instruções de 22 de Novembro de 1821*, Articles 11-21.

¹⁴⁸ HAG, MR, No. 204 A, “Decreto de treze de Julho de 1826”, Article 16, fl.23; *Codigo Administrativo de 1842*, Article 55, and Article 291; *Decreto de Março de 1869* and *LE de 1901*, Article 21.

¹⁴⁹ HAG, MR, No. 204 A, “Decreto de treze de Julho de 1826.”, Article 22, fl.23; “Decreto de 30 de setembro de 1852.” Article 55 and Article 291. In their absence, other appropriate people were appointed to conduct this activity.

¹⁵⁰ AHP, *Caixa*, No.309. One such example is as below: “*Padre Sebastião José Fernandes, Parcho de Igreja de Orlim, cofirmado por Sua Magestidade, Fidelissima dou a minha Commissão ao Mesoriste João Piedade Anacleto de Almeida, Morador de orlim, tomar o a frento no altura Elleitoral dos Deputados de Orlim, de Varca, para dar identidade dos meos Parochianos Cathollicos, em Conformidade dos Leis Eleitoraes....*”.

practices in the electoral proceedings. The process was not likely to commence without the presence of a priest and in his absence, the assembly nominated a substitute or a man of experience to replace his duties. The priest also ensured that the voters as well as the eligible candidates contesting the elections satisfied the requisite qualifications. Every parish was required to maintain a register which was attested by the president of the electoral assembly. Thereafter, the parish priest entered the names of the eligible voters in an alphabetical order, stating their residence and occupations. These details were later verified by the municipality and amended if required, well in advance of the elections.¹⁵¹

The president of the electoral board awaited a positive nod from the parish priest in appointing scrutinisers and secretaries to assist the electoral process. This practice explained dependency of the government on the wisdom of clergymen in making important decisions. But the electoral assembly was at liberty to either abide by his counsel or disagree in the matter.¹⁵² The influence of the clergymen permeated in the municipal and parochial elections of Goa. It is pertinent to note that the elections in Portuguese Goa were supervised by government representatives like the magistrates and administrators of the district.¹⁵³ The magistrate was also entrusted with the responsibility of verifying the identity of the voters, and more so the number of ‘non-Catholic’ electorate participating in elections.¹⁵⁴

¹⁵¹ *Constituição de 1822*, Article 43 (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1822).

¹⁵² Eduardo Freitas da Costa, *Colecção de Textos Constitucionais Portugueses Desde as Actas dos Cortes de Lamego até a Constituição de 1933*, Articles 53 and 54.1.

¹⁵³ Fransisco de Lencastre, *Índice Remissivo da Legislação Novíssima de Portugal os annos de 1833 até 1865*. The magistrate (*regedor*) was nominated by the governor on the recommendations of the administrator of the district, and generally belonged to the parish or even outside it. Similarly, the administrator of the district was also an appointee of the government and was in charge of the overall administration of elections in each district.

¹⁵⁴ “*Noticia de Palacio do Governo.*” in *BDG* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, February 9, 1849).

As the priest was nominated by the government it was likely that he had the interest of government at heart. Fr. Paulo António Dias da Conceição, a Goan priest from Cavellossim served as the President of the Electoral Board during the first three elections held in 1822, 1827 and 1836. He was accused by the *liberais* for protecting the interest of the *reinol* faction and subordinating the interests of the indigenous class.¹⁵⁵

In a Royal Letter sent to Goa by the Queen of Portugal D. Maria II, dated 19th September 1846, Her Majesty expressed her desire to restrict the role of the priest and to keep his moves in politics under control. This was done to prevent him from imposing his conscience upon the people. The letter further clarified that the priest was entrusted a role in politics exclusively in a magisterial capacity, and implied that he had no right to thrust his personal opinion upon the people.¹⁵⁶ Nonetheless, the presence of the priest was sought till the establishment of the Portuguese Republic.¹⁵⁷ Therefore, the instructions of Her Majesty have to be understood with a pinch of salt.

On the other hand, one also comes across some Goan ecclesiasts who were in the forefront of electoral politics supporting the liberal regime of the 19th century. One of them was Fr. Pedro António Ribeiro.¹⁵⁸ In February 1822, two priests Fr. Pedro António Ribeiro of Pilerne and Fr. João Mariano Cardoso from Candolim and the parish priest of Panjim were accused of inciting unrest in Bardez against the government.¹⁵⁹ A number of local clergymen from Goa contested parliamentary

¹⁵⁵ Miranda, *Quadros Históricos de Goa, Tentativa Histórica*, 107.

¹⁵⁶ HAG, MR, No. 220 A, 374.

¹⁵⁷ AHP, *Caixas*, No. 1461.

¹⁵⁸ Correia Luis de Assis, *Francisco Luis Gomes 1829-1869* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2011), 4.

¹⁵⁹ The unrest among Goans in Bardez occurred due to several reasons. The government was accused of rigging the bye-elections to fill the vacant post left by Lima Leitão after he was elected as *deputado* to the Portuguese parliament in its favour.

elections. A few of them who were elected as representatives in the parliament vehemently argued for the betterment of this province, disregarding the wrath of the government. The names of Fr. Baptista Cana and Jeremias Mascarenhas stand out in this respect. Fr. João Xavier de Souza Trindade elected in 1839, initially exhibited a populist stand but eventually shifted his loyalties in favour of the *Cabralista* supporters and sided the government interests. After the establishment of the Portuguese Republic, the role of the priest was markedly replaced by government authorities. However, the law of April 1911 stated that the parish priest and other functionaries could assist in the elections if required.¹⁶⁰

Primary Electoral Assembly Grouped along the Religious Divisions

Goan villages were grouped together to form parishes which were commonly known as *freguesias* or *parochias*. They represented a fraction of a territory within a diocese and were linked to the *Igreza Matriz* (mother church) or in its absence to the *Igreza filial* (affiliate church). The electoral constituencies organised from 1822 to 1910 in the Old Conquests were grouped along the parochial lines. The electoral assembly met in the church premises. In the New Conquests, the electoral assemblies were centered around the precincts of the temple.¹⁶¹ This was more so during the mid-19th century. Later, one also comes across other public places, besides the premises where the electoral assemblies met.¹⁶²

¹⁶⁰ *Lei Eleitoral de 5 de abril de 1911.*

¹⁶¹ *BDG*, No. 38 (September 23, 1853) 291. For example, in 1853 the electoral assembly of Pernem met in the temple of Deusa Bogovoty. In the circle of Bicholim and Satary, at the temple of Vittol at Vittolapur. In the province of Ponda, they met at temple of Xanta-durga in village of Queula and the temple of Mhalsa of Mardol in the village of Priol. In the circle of Astragar, Balli and Chandravady, they met in the temple of Xry Damodar of Zambaulim, Xry Vittol of Sanguem in the village of Cortaly and in the temple of Xry Mallik of Canacona.

¹⁶² *Boletim Oficial do Governo*, No. 52, May 17, 1890.

The 'N \tilde{a} o-Catholic' Voters and Representatives

An examination of electoral legislations sent to the Portuguese dominions and those pertaining specifically to *Estado da India* bring to light new political perspectives and political actors which remained largely unexplored so far in historical writings on Goa. The position held by the Hindu and Muslim subjects (*n \tilde{a} o-Catholics*) in the representative institutions of Portuguese Goa has been an issue which remained unanswered. It is precisely with this objective in mind that an attempt has been made in this section to explore all the beneficiaries of the representative institutions of Portuguese India. -

The first two constitutions of Portugal (1822 and 1826) served as important cornerstones of the representative system in the Portuguese dominions. But the Constitutional Charter of 1826 was more accommodative and specified the grant of citizenship to all the subjects of the overseas colonies.¹⁶³ In theory, it implied that all people of the Portuguese dominions were to be treated equally in all aspects of administration. But the reality was far different. Cristina Nogueira da Silva, stated that citizenship had not crystallised in all overseas territories of Portugal and was laid on a fragile foundation.¹⁶⁴ Although each colony had laws specific to its territory, the more common peculiarities between the *civilizados* and *assimilados* (civilised and the assimilated), in contrast to the *indigenas* (indigenous) were visible in all societies of

¹⁶³ *Constitui \tilde{c} o de 1822*, Articles 21-24, explained the criteria for citizenship. The *Carta Constitucional de 1826*, Article 7 was more specific about the status of citizenship bestowed upon all the subjects of the Portuguese Empire. This article spelt that every one, within the Portuguese dominions, irrespective of their religion and colour were to be treated as citizens and were guaranteed of civil rights.

¹⁶⁴ Cristina Nogueira da Silva, "Natives who were citizens and Natives who were Indigenous in the Portuguese Colonial Empire (XIX-XX Centuries)." The author avers that frequent doubts were raised in Portugal during the 1830s if people of the overseas provinces belonged to the nation or not, given the vast difference in their cultural identities.

www.upf.edu>iuhjvv>_pdf>Cristina__english version, accessed on February 16, 2016.

the Portuguese colonial empire. In colonial Africa, a person became qualified to be termed as an *assimilado*, if he exhibited his proficiency in Portuguese language, adopted Christianity and followed a civilised lifestyle. The inability to do so qualified him the status of an *indigena*.¹⁶⁵ However, assimilation was considered as a practical impossibility for the general masses in Mozambique, Angola, Guinea-Bissau, Cape Verde, São Tomé and Príncipe, since there was little access to education. Such gaps continued to exist till the revocation of the *Estatuto das indigenas Portugueses das Provincias da Guiné Angola e Moçambique* in 1961.¹⁶⁶ It was almost impossible for the indigenous Africans to obtain citizenship and were treated as subjects and not as citizens.¹⁶⁷ An indigenous person in Africa neither rose to position of political merit nor constituted a part of colonial administration. The situation in Portuguese India was far different from other overseas colonies of Portugal. Despite the prevailing socio-cultural barriers,¹⁶⁸ political privileges like the right to vote and contest elections were bestowed upon all the people of Portuguese India (Catholics, Hindus, Muslims and others) subject to certain qualifications. A change of this kind was particularly welcome in *Estado da India*, which was a home to people of diverse religious beliefs. By virtue of the Constitutional Charter of 1826, 'non-Catholic' subjects were extended with the privileges which were so far enjoyed by the Christians. The political rights were conceded to all subjects of the Portuguese dominions who fulfilled the criteria

¹⁶⁵ Nugent, *Africa Since Independence Comparative History*, 17.

¹⁶⁶ "Estatuto das indigenas Portugêses das Provincias da Guiné Angola e Moçambique- Decreto Lei Nº 30:666, 1954." in *Agência Geral do Ultramar* (Lisboa:1954), 1. This statute was promulgated in 1954.

¹⁶⁷ "O Indigena Africano e o colono Europeu." in *A Construção do deference por processos legais*, Maria Paula Menezes (Coimbra: Centro do Estudos Sociais), 2.

¹⁶⁸ HAG,MR, No. 207, fl. 49. The Archbishop, S. Galdino decried support lent to idolatry. The regulation, of March 1830, issued by the religious patriarch enforced his stand on this issue; See also *A Concordata Sobre O Padroado Portugueza nos Indias Orientaes*, 1. This work helps to discern the voices of protest raised by the local elites against the discriminatory religious practices of the Portuguese in Quepem Taluka.

laid down by the legislations of the period. In 1833, the Minister of Marine issued an Order concerning the Muslim and the gentile residents of the Portuguese dominions and specifically to those residing in Africa and Asia. The Order reiterated the political benefits incorporated in the Constitution of Portugal upon all residents of the Portuguese dominions.¹⁶⁹

In the political field, Hindus, Muslims and other communities of Portuguese India were brought on par with the Catholics in the domain of suffrage. It is not known whether Hindus had participated in the first two parliamentary elections held in 1822 and 1827 in Goa. The evidences indicate Hindu participation in the parliamentary elections held in 1836.¹⁷⁰ The census records enlist for the year 1836, a number of Hindus in the Old Conquests and New Conquests. They were eligible to vote and contest every level of election; parochial, provincial and parliamentary.¹⁷¹ The electoral census record a considerable number of Hindus who participated in elections. Details on the names of electors and representatives, along with professions, residence and taxation were written in the *Devanagari* script, but simultaneously recorded in the Portuguese language. A sizeable number of voters who participated in the elections in 1836, both in the Old Conquests and New Conquests were Hindus. In Bicholim, out of the ninety voters qualified in the parochial assembly, forty four were Hindus. Similarly, seven Hindu electors were qualified to vote in the provincial

¹⁶⁹ “Portaria de 7 de Novembro de 1833” de Ministro de Marinho, Visconde de Sá de Bandeira discussed in *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 19 (February 23, 1854).

¹⁷⁰ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56. These records provide evidence of the participation of Hindus in the elections of 1836.

¹⁷¹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 52. In São Mathias (Diwar), Govinda Chatim and Dorma Xette were qualified to vote in parochial elections. Similarly, in Piedade, Lonó Xette and Saxovo Xette, qualified in the parochial assembly, while Gopala Xette qualified in the Provincial assembly; In Pernem, Rangunata N. Porobo Dessai, Dexa Porobo, Atmarama Nagueça Porobo Dessai, Narana Xama Sinay Dessay, Ramacustam Naique Dessay Panduranga Porobo Dessay elected Xamagi Ganeça Narcornim as a provincial representative in the parliamentary elections.

assembly of Bicholim out of a total twenty persons registered in the electoral census.¹⁷² Ponda and Zambaulim together reported the qualification of seven Hindu voters among nine electors registered in the census.¹⁷³ Likewise, in 1845 five Hindu electors out of the nine were qualified in the provincial elections in Ponda.¹⁷⁴

Statistics given below provide records of provincial voters in the New Conquests for the year 1847 and help to understand the position held by the Hindus in this election.¹⁷⁵ The historic Decree of 30th September, 1852 sent in a modified form to Portuguese India reiterated once again that Hindus and Muslims would not be prevented from voting.¹⁷⁶ It also recommended a few modifications to suit the local circumstances.¹⁷⁷

From 1878 to 1894, the electoral rolls of Portuguese Goa recorded more voters across the lines of caste and professions etc. (Gaudo, Loundo, Ganticar, Xetti etc.)¹⁷⁸ As mentioned earlier, the relaxation of electoral regulations after 1878 was responsible for the profusion of participation of Hindu electors and representatives aspiring to contest the elections.

¹⁷² AHP, *Caixa*, No.52.

¹⁷³ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 52.

¹⁷⁴ The names of these electors were José Maria da Costa Maia, Narba Sadassiva Naique Sardessai, António Sebastião Borges da Costa, Siurama Sinai (Cundaim), Fransisco Xavier Henriques, Rognata Ramachondra Porobo (Borim), António Xavier da Silva, Essoba Sinai (Borim), Porxotoma Sinai Quelecar (Priol).

¹⁷⁵ BDG, No. 12 (March 17, 1848), 69-78.

¹⁷⁶ *Alterações do Decreto de 30 de setembro de 1852*, Article 111. It was added, “*no Estado da India ter se ha em vista, igualmente, que os mesmos prasos sejam compatíveis com as funções religiosas dos Gentios e Mouros, a fim de que não sejam privados de tomar parte nos actos eleitoraes.*”

¹⁷⁷ BDG, No. 20 (Nova Goa: May 1853), 125. See the *Decreto de 12 de Janeiro de 1853*, Article 41. This decree was based on the historic *Decreto Eleitoral de 30 de setembro de 1852* and specially pertained to Portuguese India. It recommended a few modifications to suit the local circumstances.

¹⁷⁸ See Chapter III for details.

Statistics of Provincial Voters in the New Conquests (1847)	
Ponda	
Ramagi Ballagi Naique Sardessai, Givagi Sinai, José Joaquim Henriques, Luis João da Costa, Irba Srinivas Naique, Estevam da Silva.	

Zambaulim	
Zambaulim	Vencetexa Sinai Oddorcar, José Paulo Nogueira.
Surla, Sancordem	Surioba Ragobá Dessai, Narana Pocó Botto.
Callem, Collem	Xaba Saunto Dessai, Vitoba Saunto Dessai.
Salaulim, Tuddou	Rudragi Sinai Salecar, Ragoba Usno Sinai.
Coda and Barcem	Pacó Saunto Desai, Xamba Gunó Sinai Nadcornim.
Bandorbarcem	Naraina Sinai.
Balli, Maina, Sulcona	Babu Purse Fotto Dessai, Mortó Siva Fotto Dessai
Barcem, Arali	Babu Mono Naique Porobo, Velguencar Poquea Porobo.

Canacona and Cotigão	
Siva Paica Naique Dessai, Apá Xaba Naique, Ezzo Camotim.	

Bicholim and Sattari	
João Casmiro Pinto de Oliveira, António Sepulveda Pimentel, António Fransisco de Sá, Valeriano Benjamim Mascarenhas.	

Pernem	
Naraina Balcustom Sevensuorcar, Zoirama Porobo Dessai, Rama Porobo Dessai, Rangunata Ballagi Dessai.	

Hindu Representatives

The right to contest elections in Portuguese Goa was granted to all citizens who qualified for the same as per the existing legislations. It implied that Catholics, Hindus, Muslims and others could compete in the electoral fray. Evidence of Muslim contestants in elections (legislative assembly) is available during the 20th century.¹⁷⁹

Since 1836, the names of several Hindus featured in the records of the census as

¹⁷⁹ Muslim participation in elections is evident in the reports of vernacular newspapers during the republican period. For details see *Prachi Prabha*, May 8, 1924. Similarly, in 1955, Kazi Muhammad Mustafa was elected as the member of the Legislative Assembly. For details see, *Sessão Inuagural Legislativo do Estado da India Portuguesa*, September 6, 1955 (Goa: Edição da Repartação Central da estatística e Informação, 1955), 9.

contestants, both in the Old and New Conquests of Goa.¹⁸⁰ In the province of Bicholim and Sanquelim, Morteia Naique from Bicholim, Satoba Dolvy from Pollem, Rama Custom Senay from Mulgao and Rouloba Rau Dessai were qualified to contest the parliamentary election as *deputados*.¹⁸¹ The electoral assembly of Ribandar included members such as Purxotoma Porobo Sinay, Sridora Porobo Sinay, Narayana Porobo Sinay, Bascora Porobo Sinay, Seguna Camottim, Suba Porobo Loundo and Anta Camotim, as eligible candidates for parliamentary election.¹⁸² Thereafter, all census records provide names of Hindus who were qualified to contest the elections.

The electoral record of 1853 indicates the participation of two Hindu candidates; Balcustom X. Collopo from Mapuça and Dipu Rane designated as the *Chefe dos Salteadores* in the parliamentary elections.¹⁸³ Similarly, the election held in November 1857 also records a single Hindu competitor from among the predominantly Catholic contenders in the fray. Unfortunately, a large majority of the contestants in this election did not cross the double figure mark.¹⁸⁴

Similarly, in the election held in 1860, the name of Givagi Sinay Cundoicar featured in the electoral circle of Ilhas.¹⁸⁵ The name of Balcrisna Givagy Sinay

¹⁸⁰ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 52.

¹⁸¹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 52, fl. 201.

¹⁸² AHP, *Caixa*, No.56. It is noticed that these are predominant surnames among the *Saraswats* in Goa.

¹⁸³ “Mapa de Apuramenta da eleição para Deputados, em 10 de Outubro de 1853.” in *BDG* (1853). *Salteadores* literally means Highwaymen. In this context it could mean chief of the rebels as the Ranes organised several revolts against the Portuguese. See Appendix V.

¹⁸⁴ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 370 in “Pauta de Apuramento dos votos pelo Circulo Eleitoral de Gôa, no mez de Novembro de 1857.”

¹⁸⁵ *BDG*, No. 66 (August 24, 1860), 544.

Cundoicor from Cundoim (Kundaim) appears in the electoral record in the election of 1890.¹⁸⁶

A Aurora de Goa, newspaper published from Calangute had expressed its dissatisfaction in 1864 that the gentiles (referring to the Hindus) were not elected to power as *deputados* in the parliamentary elections.¹⁸⁷ Consequently, *A India Portuguesa* counteracted the Aurora's argument by stating that if the Hindus were not voted to power, it was because they lacked in education.¹⁸⁸ The votes polled by Hindu candidates were miserable and did not cross a two-figure mark. It may be pointed out that most other contestants too (Catholics and Portuguese men) in the elections who also contested elections barely managed to poll a respectable number.¹⁸⁹ Another newspaper, the *Aryabandhu* also grieved the predicament of the under-represented electorate in Goa and highlighted the apathy shown by the elected representatives towards their constituencies. This was because most of the *deputados* spent their time in Lisbon.¹⁹⁰ The appalling performance of Hindus in elections and many others can be attributed to lack of patronage from the government, local parties and influential members of the society. For example, during the election of 1894, in the circle of Ilhas, the Count of Maêm, the otherwise influential and popular personality acquired barely 219 votes as against Christovam Ayres who won of 29,734 votes.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ AHP, *Caixa*, No.1755A (year 1890), José António Ismail Gracias from Pangim got one vote, José Henrique de Mello eight votes, Sertório Coelho twenty votes, Ascanio Sebastião da Costa five votes. The winner got 12 501 votes.

¹⁸⁷ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 207 (December 14, 1864).

¹⁸⁸ *Ibid.*

¹⁸⁹ See Appendix No. V and Appendix X for statistics of votes polled by the contestants for the year 1853.

¹⁹⁰ Pinto, *Between Empires*, 132.

¹⁹¹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 1915 A.

Though both Hindus and Catholics contested the elections from the very beginning, the Catholics had an advantage over the Hindus throughout the Portuguese rule in Goa. There was no single Hindu *deputado* elected to the parliament until 1957. It was only during the last few years of the colonial rule that two Hindus were elected as the Members of the Parliament. It is a paradox that the government favoured the enfranchisement of the Hindus in Goa, but were not preferred as candidates in the parliamentary elections. Except for a few stray thoughts expressed in the local press supporting the *gentios*, the Hindus themselves took a backseat in elections, most likely due the inclination of the Portuguese administrators towards the Catholics and the lack of their popular base alongside the Catholic elites in the society during the 19th century. But many Hindu elites enjoyed a respectable position in the society and liaised with the official interests in elections.

Hindu Elites and Elections

Many Hindu elites were involved in the process of elections since the 19th century in the Old Conquests and New Conquests. Electoral documents provide evidence of their appointment as members of the electoral boards, scrutinisers and secretaries. The contemporary writers recount mutual feelings of goodwill between many Hindu elites and the Portuguese in the Old Conquests and New Conquests during the same period. Such goodwill served mutual interests in politics and socio-economic mobility of the community.

The government policy of continuing with the system of *Dessaidos* for the benefit of its official interests won the Portuguese many collaborators in the New

Conquests.¹⁹² Prominent *Dessais*, *Sardessais* and *Nadcornis* who aided the electoral procedures during the 19th century dominated the census commissions and electoral boards in the New Conquests.¹⁹³ In the Old Conquests too, the Portuguese government shared cordial relations with notable Hindu families who lived in the vicinity of Nova Goa. The Camotins of S. Pedro shared amicable relationship with Viceroy Dom Manoel de Portugal e Castro.¹⁹⁴ Viceroy Castro was a *Minguelista* and supported the absolutist ideology in Portugal and in Portuguese Goa. The Camotim house lay in close proximity to the palatial house of the Luso-descendant, António Souto Maior Teles and they shared a harmonious relations.

Some notable Hindu elites were engaged in lucrative trade and shared a very amicable relationship with the Portuguese and high Portuguese officials. These included Guiri Sinai Dempó and his brother, Raiú Sinai Dempó. Incidentally, Raiú Sinai Dempó along with his wife was frequent visitors to the palace of the Governor, J. Ferreira Pestana and his wife Dona Matilde Lecor Pestana. A little later, Purxotama Sinai Quencró and Guiri Sinai Dempó were bestowed with the title of the Baron of Quencró and the Baron of Dempó respectively by D. Augusto, the Duke of Coimbra. The relationship between Purxotama Sinai Quencró from Cumbarjua (later, the Baron of Calapor) and the Portuguese was very cordial. Quencró was reported to have be a regular companion every evening at what was called the *five-o'clock tea*, at the residence of Count of Sarzedas, and was received as a person of the house.¹⁹⁵ It was also reported that Portuguese government in Goa considered the Quencrós as

¹⁹² Remy, A. D. Dias, “*The Socio-Economic History of Goa with Special Reference to the Comunidade System: 1750-1910*”, Ph.D. diss., Goa University, 2004, 187-189.

¹⁹³ *BDG*, No. 20 (May 1853), 106. The Bulletin gives the list of names who constituted the census commission.

¹⁹⁴ Christovam Pinto, *A India Portuguesa*, vol. I (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923), 160.

¹⁹⁵ *Ibid.*, 160.

genuine businessmen with whom they could conduct their business.¹⁹⁶ Similarly, Roulu Porobo Loundó and Pundolica Camotim were the other beneficiaries of prestigious titles from the Portuguese.¹⁹⁷

The allegiance of some Hindu elite families with the government was a well-known fact and could be ascertained from comments of Luso-descendant *deputado*, Caetano Fransisco Garcêz Palha during the elections held in 1864.¹⁹⁸ In 1864, the Luso-descendant candidate, Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz himself attributed his victory to prominent Hindu families including *Sardessais*, and the *Dessais* of the New Conquests and in particular to Purxotama Sinai Quencró.¹⁹⁹ Similarly, the honorific title of *Visconde de Pernem* and other benefits were bestowed upon the Porobo Dessai family of this province. It was a recognised fact that the family of *Visconde de Pernem* enjoyed the goodwill of the Portuguese administrators during the 19th and 20th centuries. Such instances of camaraderie aided to buttress the official interests of the colonial administrators in Goa during the elections.

Election-Driven Barriers between *Velhas Conquistas* and *Novas Conquistas*

A deeper examination of the electoral processes in the Old Conquests and New Conquests of Goa reveals election-driven boundaries between the elites from these territories since 1836. Although, Hindus constituted a bulk of the population in the New Conquests, a sizeable number of Catholics and Luso-descendants were also

¹⁹⁶ Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 91.

¹⁹⁷ Pinto, *A India Portuguesa*, 160-161.

¹⁹⁸ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 207, December 14, 1864.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibid.*

found. Therefore, the elites of the New Conquests comprised of all these communities.

The New Conquests being later additions to the Portuguese dominions of India, had not yet streamlined their administrative machinery to match the developments and advancements of the Old Conquests.²⁰⁰ Many districts in the New Conquests did not have their municipal commissions.²⁰¹ Nor did they have an organised system of local administrative boards to initiate an electoral census in these areas. Therefore, these regions remained largely dependent upon the Old Conquests for procedural guidelines in administration and elections.

The metropolitan government considered the enfranchisement of the New Conquests since the mid-1830s and recurrently conveyed its concern to induct voters from these areas.²⁰² The Provisional Government of Goa, in one of the meetings held on the eve of the third election in 1836 deliberated upon the need to enfranchise voters from the New Conquests, with those from the Old Conquests.²⁰³ Therefore, the New Conquests were introduced to the parliamentary elections for the first time in 1836.²⁰⁴ The foremost move in this direction required a record of qualified voters and representatives. But this exercise was confronted with several bottlenecks especially in Ponda, Panchmal, Canacona and Colla, Pernem, Bicholim and Sanquelim which

²⁰⁰ Francis Ernesto Xavier Fernandes, *India Portuguesa Estudos Economico-Sociaes* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1906), 5.

²⁰¹ The *Câmara Geral* was established in the New Conquests in 1840, by the Provincial Decree of 21st December, 1840.

²⁰² HAG, MR, No. 1618, “Assentos das Moções e Decisões da Junta Provisional do Governo-1821-1837.”, fls.19-20.

²⁰³ *Ibid.*, fls.19-20.

²⁰⁴ The information provided above contradicts the facts mentioned in the *Gazetteer of the Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu*, part I. “Struggle for Freedom 1780-1947.”, 193 which stated that the New Conquests were extended with the right to elect their representatives in 1845.

impaired the success of this novel experiment.²⁰⁵ In February 1836, the president of the central electoral board complained of its inability to progress with electoral procedures in some of the areas mentioned for want of voter census, inadequate electoral notices and other similar problems.²⁰⁶

The colonial requirements under the *Cabralista* faction in Portugal since the mid-1830s necessitated a base of voters in Portuguese Goa which would extend support to its official candidates. This move would also keep at bay *deputados* from the Old Conquests from attaining victory in elections and prevent an embarrassment to it in the parliament. Therefore, decrees sent by Her Majesty to the overseas colonies time and again were expressive her concern for egalitarian reforms for all subjects of the empire. The Provincial Decree of 23rd May, 1837 and that of 7th November, 1838 declared all Asians and Africans were equal irrespective of their religions and castes.²⁰⁷ The people from the New Conquests interpreted such acts as measures of good will and felt deeply inclined towards the government.

In spite of the discerning benevolence enjoyed from government, the parliamentary election of 1838 could not extend franchise to all the territories much to the apprehension of the elites from New Conquests. Such hurdles were construed as deliberate manoeuvrings from the elites of the Old Conquests, who cited reasons of the unpreparedness of the New Conquests to enter the electoral fray.²⁰⁸ The agonising experiences of the people were represented to Her Majesty two years later, by the

²⁰⁵ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 52, fl.7. “...Declarão, que não podem legalmente progredir nos seus trabalhos, por faltam os receancements e editaes das Provincias de Ponda, Panchmal, Canacona e Colla, Pernem Bicholim e Sanquelim, faltando igualmente o edital da Câmara desta Provincia...”

²⁰⁶ Ibid.

²⁰⁷ The Provincial Decree of 23rd May, 1837 and the Decree of 7th November, 1838 in *Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino, Legislação Novissima*, vol. I (Portugal: Imprensa Nacional, 1867).

²⁰⁸ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56.

administrative bodies of the New Conquests. These representations reported on the unlawful decisions taken by the Governor General of Portuguese India (Baron of Sabroso) of excluding their inhabitants from participating in the elections.²⁰⁹ Such deterrents according to them, were in contrast to the noble motives of Her Majesty, who in Her ‘*Sua Bondade*’ (goodwill), desired these provinces to be enfranchised. The moves of the Queen of ordering the Government Council²¹⁰ in Goa to conduct an electoral census through its *Câmara Agraria* or the *Câmara Geral* (municipal body) were appreciated and held the Monarch in high esteem.²¹¹ The representation further expressed that the municipal organisations from New Conquests were capable of accomplishing such electoral responsibilities.²¹² The Municipality of Salcette was also targeted and was accused of impeding the New Conquests from exercising their franchise due the insecurity experienced by it and their supporters.²¹³ Finally, it was also lamented that the three provinces of Bardez, Salcette and Ilhas had unheeded the Royal determination of Her Majesty to enfranchise the people in the New Conquests.²¹⁴

²⁰⁹AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, fls.1-3. This representation was sent by the municipality of Ponda. It also complained the unlawful measures supported by the Governor General on 31st January, 1838. Similar representations sent from Canacona, Sanquelim and Bicholim are also available in records.

²¹⁰ It may be noted that the Government Council was entrusted with the administration of Portuguese India from September 29th September 1838 to 14th March 1839, and was led by Archbishop D. António Feliciano de Santa Rita Carvalho in the absence of the governor general in Goa. For details see *Anuário do Estado da Índia*, 1930, 46.

²¹¹ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56-No.1, fls.1-3; It may be noted that the New Conquests were represented by *Câmara Geral*, established by the Provincial Decree of 21st December 1840, and approved by the Ministerial Decree of 16th April 1850. Independent municipal commissions in most districts were created a few decades later in 1880.

²¹² Ibid.

²¹³ Ibid.

²¹⁴ Ibid. The representation also stated the following “*As trez Comarcas de Bardez, Salcete, e Ilhas pretendem por todos meios ate offendendo o pacto social e as Reaes determinações de vossa majestade, que não sejam recenceados os habitants das Provincias das Novas conquistas....*”.

In view of the vehement protests raised by the elites from the New Conquests, the Government Council of Goa at its general body meeting held on 13th August, 1840 took a firm decision to make effective the electoral process in these areas. Any hindrance or non-implementation of the decision was likely to be interpreted as an act of disobedience to the Order of the Queen.²¹⁵ A Royal Letter from the Ministry of Overseas to Portuguese Goa dated 14th August, 1840 assured the people (especially the New Conquests) that the Queen did not ignore these territories or any one for that matter (Muslims, Parsis, and Gentiles) and were allowed to vote as per law.²¹⁶ Consequently, in 1840, the Municipality of Ilhas received commands which instructed it not to discontinue the New Conquests from being registered in the census (*Não deixam de ser recenseados, os habitantes das Novas Conquistas*).²¹⁷ However, the question of the New Conquests remained unresolved and continued to pose a problem, much to the irritation of authorities in Portugal during the elections of 1840 and 1842. Technical difficulties and administrative challenges hindered its success repeatedly.²¹⁸ In January 1843, the Parliament resonated with animated discussions on this subject. This matter caught the attention of several metropolitan parliamentarians who

²¹⁵ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, No. 904.

²¹⁶ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 2, fl.5.

²¹⁷ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56, No. 147, fl. 7.

²¹⁸ BDG, No. 27, 1840; “*Despacho No. 169 de Junho 8 de 1842.*” in BDG, 1842. On account of certain difficulties, the New Conquests could not be made a part of the electoral processes in 1840 and the matter was reported to Portugal. During the election of 1842, similar issues surfaced once again and hindrances were reported through a Dispatch of 8th June, 1842. Consequently, a letter was directed to the Governor General, Conde de Antas to constitute a commission and probe into these issues. Accordingly, a commission was appointed for this purpose by the governor general.

demanded accountability from Goan *deputados* present during the sessions, on the above subject.²¹⁹

The interest shown by the government in Portugal to induct voters from the New Conquests was to serve their colonial interest.²²⁰ According to Jacinto Caetano Miranda, the author of *Os Quadros Históricos de Goa*, the parliamentarians of Portuguese India, brahmin as well as chardó from the Old Conquests were forthright and fearless in demanding reforms for Portuguese India.²²¹ They laid bare the colonial misdeed much to the embarrassment of the government. The debates of the *Goan deputados* in the parliament since 1839 bore testimony to the fearless stance adopted by them in demanding satisfactory answers to delays in reforms. It was believed that António Bernado da Costa Cabral, the Premier of Portugal was eager to induct the ‘uncivilised’ voters from the New Conquests (*Massa brutas das Novas Conquistas*) in the elections with the hope that they could be easily influenced by the Government.²²² The government also procured assistance from the Luso-descendants who were influential in these regions.²²³

The failure of the government to make an advance in the election of 1842 against liberals of Goa, as seen in the previous chapter was disappointing. But it did not deter the government from pursuing its efforts again. This is evident from the extensive communication exchanged between Portuguese Goa and Lisbon after 1843.

²¹⁹ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 22 (January 27, 1843); Susana Isabel Loureiro da Costa Pinho, *De Constâncio Roque da Costa (1822) a Constâncio Roque da Costa*, vol. II (Lisboa: Universidade Lusófona de Humanidades e Tecnologias, 2004), 86.

²²⁰ See Appendix XII.

²²¹ Miranda, *Quadros Históricos de Goa*, 144-46.

²²² *Ibid.* 176-177; Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 202-5.

²²³ AHP, *Caixa*, No. 56. The representatives of the New Conquests considered the Europeans and the Luso-descendants as their well-wishers and expressed these sentiments in their representation to the government.

When the Queen was acquainted with the hurdles in the New Conquests, due instructions were issued to the Governor General to facilitate the electoral process.²²⁴ Her endeavour led the local Government in Goa to devise a method to carry out the electoral procedures.²²⁵ Since the inhabitants of New Conquests differed from the Old Conquests in their religious beliefs and usages, electoral regulations were modified to suit them.²²⁶ The government allowed concessions to people in the New Conquests which were not generally conceded in the Old Conquests. For example, the *Sardessais*, or *Dessais* assisted the electoral assembly in every division, or an official called *gauncar da governança*. The assembly was assisted by four interpreters (*Intérprete do Comissão*) to translate the legislations for the benefit of the people. The list of voters and the details of their qualifications in elections could be submitted in the vernacular language (*letra Asiatica*), along with their translations in Portuguese.²²⁷ In 1845, these areas were designated as *concelhos*, an electoral division laden with more dignity and advancement, given their vast expanse and the large landholdings owned by some of the proprietors, instead of the *toroffos* recommended earlier.²²⁸

The distinct divide existing between the Old Conquests and New Conquests can be discerned from the views expressed by the Goan *deputados* and indigenous elites belonging to the Old Conquests. These Goan *deputados* lamented the condition

²²⁴ HAG, MR, No. 216 A, fl.167, and fl. 173.

²²⁵ “Decreto de setembro de 1844.” in *Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino* (1867), 17.

²²⁶ BDG, No.8 (April 1845), 1. It was stated that these regions were to be governed by the *Decreto do 5 de março de 1842* as well as the *Portaria do 27 de dezembro de 1844*.

²²⁷ “Instruções, para intelligencia e execução do Decreto Eleitoral de 5 de março de 1842 e do de 27 de dezembro de 1844.” in *BGD*, No. 7 (April 1845), 4-8. These instructions explained the rules of governance in the New Conquests; “Instruções do Governo Geral do Estado da India por conducta da Eleição.” in *BDG* No. 38 (September 23, 1853), 293.

²²⁸ *BDG*, No.30 (April 1845), 24.

of backwardness in the region and condemned the inflated statistics of voters published in the official records. Jeremias Mascarenhas highlighted these facts in the *Côrtes*. Mascarenhas declared that it was not long ago that the government had acknowledged the miserable condition of these territories. Therefore, the record of 34 provincial voters published in the official list was far exaggerated than the reality.²²⁹ It was declared that the New Conquests, notwithstanding their large expanse in territory, would have still found it difficult to justify this record of 34 voters. Similar views also echoed in the parliament in 1843 by Bernado Peres da Silva. Jeremias Mascarenhas further explained that these statistics of voters in the New Conquests were inflated by including beggars as voters in allegiance with government authorities who desired to paint a different picture.²³⁰ It was pointed out that Ponda with its population of 25,000 inhabitants could provide barely four voters in 1845. But there were complaints that statistics of provincial voters of Ponda in 1845 showed more than the actual number.²³¹ Mascarenhas added that the inflated figures were accepted as legal and there was no one to question the government. On the contrary, the government challenged census reports made public from the district of Bardez.²³²

The election of 1855 was the only election which denied the electorate from Bicholim and Sattary their right to vote was suspended, as the same was suspended due to the revolt of Dipu Rane in 1852. This suspension was later revoked by the

²²⁹ Barreto, *Quadros Biographicos dos Padres*, 122-125.

²³⁰ *Ibid.*, 122-125 Mascarenhas pointed out that the statistics of voters in the New Conquests were fake and that there was no person who could challenge these figures as the government itself was involved in providing such data to public.

²³¹ *BDG*, No. 37 (September 13, 1845). The number of provincial voters published in the official bulletin have a record of nine electors namely, José Maria da Costa Maia, Narba Sadassiva Naique Sardessai, António Sebastião Borges da Costa, Siurama Sinai (Cundaim), Fransisco Xavier Henriques, Rognata Ramachondra Porobo de Borim, António Xavier da Silva, Essoba Sinai (Borim) and Porxotoma Sinai Quelecar (Priol).

²³² Bardez was allowed to have 22 voters instead of 29.

Governor General Visconde Villa Nova de D'Ourem. Viceroy Torres Nova was also considered as the well-wisher of the New Conquests and tried to pacify its inhabitants with conciliatory favours.²³³

The table depicted below shows statistics of electors in the Old Conquests and the New Conquests for the years from 1863 to 1867. It is clear that the voter population of the Old Conquests was far superior in number to the New Conquests. Nonetheless, the numbers recorded for the *Novas Conquistas* were substantial.

Voters in the Old Conquests and New Conquests²³⁴

Old Conquests	Voters for the Following Years		
	(1863)	(1864)	(1867)
Ilhas	2,059	2,235	2,608
Bardez	2,904	3,017	3,133
Salcette	1,413	1,511	1,582
Total Voters (Old Conquests)	6,376	6,763	7,323
New Conquests	(1863)	(1864)	(1867)
Bicholim Sattari	-	466	439
Pernem	409	399	481
Ponda	542	535	535
Astragar Balli Chandravady Embarcem Cacora Canacona Cabo de Rama	480	413	590
Total Voters (New Conquests)	1,897	1,813	2,045
Total Voters in Portuguese Goa	8,273	8,576	9,368

Source: *BDG* (1865).

Most municipal commissions were established in the New Conquests in 1880 through several provincial decrees, which helped to streamline its administration more

²³³ *O Ultramar* (December 28, 1889).

²³⁴ "Sala das sessões da comissão revisora do recenseamento de 1864." in *BDG* (1865).

effectively than before.²³⁵ However, more than seven decades later, there were outcries during the Second Provincial Congress held during the 20th century that the New Conquests continued to be the ‘New Conquests’ in their literal sense, despite being under the Portuguese rule for more than a century, and lacked progress, in terms of civilisation and ferment (*fomento*).²³⁶

It can be surmised that indigenous elites, especially from the Old Conquests of Goa left a distinct imprint of their presence in colonial Goa. Though they constituted a microscopic minority in the population of Portuguese Goa, they were dominant in the administration, economy and society. According to Wright Mills, the author of *The Power Elite*, it is not so vital if the power elites make important or less important decisions, the fact that they occupy important positions by itself is noteworthy.²³⁷ The cultural and regional barriers prevalent in Goa between the different groups prompted conflicts among them. The Goan elites especially from the Old Conquests exerted tremendous pressure on the colonial administration in Goa during the constitutional regime. Such spirit was not forthcoming from the *indigenas* in other provinces of the Portuguese empire as they lived in complete servitude of their colonial masters.²³⁸ The Home Government in Portugal always had knowledge of this fact, and was conscious that the indigenous elites in Goa, especially from those of the Old Conquests were not to be taken for granted. This awareness led the administrators in Goa to re-orient their policies and promote a bulwark of supporters to protect their interests in the New Conquests.

²³⁵ *Anuário da Estado da Índia* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1932), 289.

²³⁶ 2^o Congresso Provincial-Secção II.

²³⁷ C. Wright Mills, *The Power Elite* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000), 4.

²³⁸ Nugent, *Africa Since Independence A Comparative History*, 17.

CHAPTER - VI

ELECTIONS UNDER THE REPUBLICAN REGIME

This chapter aims to explore new ideological underpinnings in the politics and elections of Portuguese Goa after 1911. They are analysed against the background of a significant power shift in the nature and structure of government, in Portugal from the Monarchy to the Republic. The executive authority was now vested with the President of the Republic and his ministers.¹ The ideological mind-set of the intelligentsia in Goa during the first Republic (1910-1926) can be discerned from polemical discourses made public in the local press and the available official documentation. During this period, new textures of power dynamics prevailed in Portuguese Goa. The religious and secular conflicts of this period made it different from the constitutional regime. It was around the conflicting ideologies of religious and secular interests influenced the voters, while contesting and contesting in the parliamentary elections in Goa.

The republican value-system had been on the upsurge in Portugal since the last quarter of the 19th century. Its leading members were aggressively attempting to stimulate an interest in Goa especially among the younger generation and mobilise additional support in this territory. A sizeable section of the monarchists in Portugal had joined themselves with the republicans and this trend was visible in Portuguese India. The ideological shift can be perceived from the following statement: “Are not

¹ “Constituição Política da Republica Portuguesa.” In *Boletim Militares da Colónias de 1911* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1912), 355.

the republicans of today, the descendants of the old aristocratic Portuguese class?” (*não são hoje republicanos tantos descendentes da velha aristocracia Portuguesa?*).²

The new trend of thought which was gaining ground in Portuguese India during the early decades of the 20th century was the result of the influence from metropolis. The constitutional regime in Portugal had increasingly earned bad repute during the closing three decades of the 19th century due to its inability to tide over the political and economic problems. Moreover, its disastrous foreign policy weighed the scale heavily in favour of the republicans.³ Thus, the Revolution of October 1910 finally brought to an end, one of the controversial phases of Portuguese history. Portugal was declared a Republic on 5th October, 1910. J. Teófile Fernandes Braga headed the Provisional Government which was established during the same month, until the new Constitution was drafted in 1911. In view of these constitutional changes introduced in Portugal, it was officially declared that the President was the executive authority of the state.⁴ Legislative powers were vested with the Parliament or the Congress of the Republic.⁵

It was in 1911 that Goa received the official intimation on the declaration of the Republic in Portugal and was informed about the ban imposed on the monarchy under the dynasty of Bragança.⁶ The Hindus in particular, welcomed this change.⁷ It

² *Jornal do Povo*, No. 103, August 1916. In this context, it was also pointed out that some of the conservatives who had strong constitutional beliefs had transformed and inclined towards democratic ideals in Portugal. (*Não são democraticos o Conde de Tojal e o Visconde de Ribeira Brava?*).

³ The ghastly assassination of Monarch Carlos I in Lisbon in 1908, served as the penultimate whistle against the constitutional regime. King Dom Manuel II, the successor to the assassinated king was unable to withstand the pressures exerted by the republicans. Fearing for the lives of the royal family and other members of the royalty he chose to go into exile to England, thus clearing the way for the transfer of power and a change in the system of government.

⁴ Article 31.

⁵ Article 7.

⁶ “Supplemento.” in *Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral da India*, No. 49 (June 21, 1911).

filled the community with hope and envision benefits which they were deprived during the previous epoch. This news excited a large section of people in Goa and the enthusiasm was expressed through the lyrical composition, the *mandó; Sontos Bokta re Jivako*.⁸

This folk song expresses the elation of the Goans on the declaration of the Republic in 1910 in Portugal. It also highlights the circumstances leading to the event. The political changes effected in Portugal are also expressed.

1. *Sontos Bokta re Jivako*

Aikun novidade aich' disako

Marinhanun palasy cercar kelo

Republic kelem proclamara

2. *Banquete zauchako cabaro*

Revoltak dily' sinalo

Zuzari-zuzo kornum Portugalako

Prezu kornum patxako

3. *Presidente kornum Teófilo bragako*

Ministr kelo y Almeidako

Expulsaro adlea patxeako

Liberdade diuchako povako dom manuel gelo pollun tronu sanddunum.

Congress of the Republic

The Republican Constitution of 1911 designated the Parliament of Portugal (formerly *Côrtes*) as the *Congresso da República* (Congress of the Republic).⁹ It continued to be made up of the *Câmara dos Deputados* (Chamber of Representatives) elected for three years and the *Senado da Republica* or *Câmara dos Senadores* (Chamber of Senators),

⁷ M. Hirba Sardesai, *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas* (Goa: Purogaami Prakashan, 1994), 60.

⁸ José. Pereira Martins, and A. da Costa, *Song of Goa Crown of Mandos* (Panaji: Broadway Publishing House, 2010), 296.

⁹ Manuela Ferrão, and Susana Oliveira Teresa Fonseca, *As Cortes e o Parlamento em Portugal 750 Anos das Cortes de Leiria de 1254-Actas da Congress Internacional* (Portugal: Edição de Assembleia de Republica, 2006), 298-299.

elected for six years. The *Câmara dos Deputados* as seen earlier, was a representative body whose members were elected from among the people of the Portuguese dominions. However, the numbers of elected representatives allowed in this chamber were reduced, keeping in view the changed political circumstances of this period. Portuguese India was allowed to elect only two *deputados*.¹⁰ The Chamber of Senators which was largely a nominated house was now made a representative body whose members were elected directly by people of the Portuguese dominions including Goa.¹¹

Traditional Values and Secular Trends (1910-1926)

From 1910 to 1926, the parliamentary elections in Portuguese India were mainly contested upon two premises; One grounded on the value-based argument of Christian ethics, and the other on emerging secular ideals of republican principles. The secular group appealed across all religious groups in Goa and based their discourse on principles similar to Moral Relativism.¹² Their appeal reflected a scenario similar to ‘Goan space (in politics) reconciled and fused.’¹³ The role of religion in politics was subordinated to equal opportunities, free thinking, clean conscience, scientific and

¹⁰ *Decreto-Lei de 20 de Abril de 1911.*

¹¹ The *Câmaras dos Pares* was the upper chamber of the parliament and its members were nominated by the monarch of Portugal from 1822 to 1885. The *Additional Act of the Constitution of 1885*, Article 6 and the *Additional Act of the Constitution of 1896* introduced some modifications in this house. Some members of the Chamber of Peers were elected for six years; After 1910, the *Constituição Portuguesa de 1911*, Article 8 decreed that each overseas province was allowed to be represented by one Senator elected directly by popular vote.

¹² Moral relativism is a viewpoint which judges an issue on the basis of a particular context and is not based on an universal value system. See the views of Luis de Menezes Bragança in *O Debate*, December 15, 1913 in his article “O Livre Pensamento”.

¹³ Alexander Henn, ‘The Becoming of Goa-Space and Culture in the Emergence of a Multicultural Life World.’ in *Lusotopie*, Paris 2000, 8.

rational thought, thereby adding a new dimension to electoral politics in Portuguese Goa.¹⁴

Portuguese India had become acquainted with republican ideas since the last quarter of the 19th century. The Republican Party of Portugal served as a crowd-puller among the educated and younger generation who were disillusioned with the constitutional monarchy. The party sustained during its initial years due to the support rendered by the lower middle classes, but soon came to be dominated by the upper middle class. The Republican Party experienced success from the anti-clerical stand adopted by it.¹⁵ Similar influences were experienced in Goa, drifting a large number of people towards the new ideology. Moreover, the zeal for republican values demonstrated by Afonso Augusto da Costa, the charismatic leader of Portugal and others in the parliament cast their imprints upon the youth in the Portuguese dominions. Consequently, this sweeping wave of republican ideals attracted a section of the supporters of the *Partido Ultramarino* and *Partido Progressistas* of Goa towards its side. Together, the new creed operated through the local republican organisation in Portuguese Goa, the *Centro Democrático Indiano*.

Centro Democrático Indiano

The background of the *Centro Democrático Indiano* in Goa can be traced before the establishment of the Republic. As early as 1909, the *Partido Democrático Português* from the metropolis foresaw the necessity to establish a local republican organisation to promote its ideas and build a base in Goa. But its endeavours did not make an

¹⁴ Luis de Menezes Bragança, *O Debate*, December 15, 1913.

¹⁵ Birmingham, 149.

instant headway as its doctrine was still unpopular in this territory.¹⁶ Dr. Bernardino Machado, one of the republican leaders from the metropolis, was among its initial campaigners in Portuguese Goa. He was seeking new members who could be the torchbearers of republican ideas and lead the way in this territory.¹⁷ Eventually, these influences fructified in the formation of a political organisation called the *Centro Democrático Indiano* in 1911 which worked towards widening the democratic base in Goa.¹⁸ In keeping with the wider secular ideology promoted by the parent organisation in the metropolis, the local organisation of Goa estranged itself from taking recourse to religious dialogue in elections and politics.

The *Centro Democrático Indiano* soon became a driving force of the republican base in Goa and had its adversaries grappling with anxiety on account of its popularity.¹⁹ In Ilhas, the organisation was led by António Xavier Gomes Pereira and his supporters. Luis de Menezes Bragança mobilised support in favour of republicanism in South and North Goa through the press. Menezes Bragança advocated religious liberty, tolerance and other similar aspects through his writings.²⁰ In North Goa, the party was also steered by Count of Maêm. The Count played a crucial role in spreading its ideals among the Hindus. In general, the *Centro* promoted the interests of the republican and democratic candidates in all elections held in Goa during the first republican period; parliamentary, elections to the Senate, the

¹⁶ Luis de Menezes Bragança, *Prosas Dispersas I, Política Administração Ensino* (Panajim: Editada pelo Comissão de Homenagem, 1965), 26.

¹⁷ Bernardino Machado, a former member of the Regeneration Party of Portugal, and later the President of the Portuguese Republic in 1925, was one of the champions of the democratic ideas in Portugal. He showed interest in establishing a base of democracy in Goa.

¹⁸ Sushila Sawant Mendes, *Luis de Menezes Bragança Nationalism Secularism and Free Thought in Portuguese India* (Panaji: Directorate of Art and Culture, 1914), 221.

¹⁹ *Jornal do Povo*, No. 103, August 1916.

²⁰ *O Debate*, April 7, 1914.

legislative council, municipal and parochial elections.²¹ The supporters of this party saw their victory in elections as a cultural triumph. They revelled in suppression of religious domination and stood for promotion of secular education in Goa.²² From 1911 to 1926, five parliamentary elections to elect representatives to the Chamber of Deputies were held in Goa. The Republican Party of Portugal (*Partido Republicano Português*) and its splinter groups which emerged thereafter were at the centre stage of political events, exerting an influence on the political activities of Portuguese India.

***União Católica* and Elections**

The traditionalist group held its grip over religion to cast an appeal over the conventional section of people who still were steadfast in their value system and hostile to irreligious (secular) ideas. It also served as a strategy to leaders of the traditionalist group to cope up with the increasing pressures of the changing political vicissitudes of this period. This group was promoted by the Catholic Union and had the support of the church which was also grappling with the oncoming wave of republicanism in the territory.

The *União Católica* (Catholic Union) was a Catholic organisation which catered to the interests of the Catholics in Goa. It upheld value-based ideals and promoted *Candidatos Católicos* (Catholic candidates) in the electoral fray.²³ The republican principles did not appeal to all intelligentsia in Goa and were still shunned by many people. Many monarchists were still unwavering in their support to monarchical institutions and were not ideologically open to new trends in politics.

²¹ *Boletim do Comércio*, No. 42, August 1914; "A Insidia." in *O Heraldo*, May 31, 1918.

²² *Jornal do Povo*, 2^o Supplemento No. 103, August 1916.

²³ *A India Portuguesa*, July 1911.

Although some monarchists took a backseat in politics, a formidable section brazenly spurned republican values and showed their inclination to engage themselves in ethic-based politics. The Catholic Union used the phrase ‘Democrats from here’ (*Democráticos de Cá*) to refer to members of the *Centro Democrático Indiano*, a statement which was loaded more with ridicule than admiration. It also accused the democrats of their double standard of subtly using religion to win votes in parliamentary elections.²⁴ It found a collaborator in the *Partido Indiano* which also shared similar precepts on politics.²⁵ The *Partido Indiano* also reposed its faith in ‘Catholic Conscience’ and argued that the secular rhetoric adopted by the Democratic Party in its campaigns was a mere veil to cover inconsistent policies.

Catholic Conscience versus Secularism

The parliamentary elections held during the first Republic brought back some euphoria which had been swept to its fringes from 1895 to 1910.²⁶ The announcement of the first election under the Republic in 1911 set the ball rolling for a renewed competitive contest in Goa. Elections chiefly centred on two contrasting polemical discussions; ‘Catholic Conscience’ and ‘Secular ideals’.²⁷ The *Partido Indiano* and *União Católica* in collusion with each other placed their discourse around the

²⁴ Ibid.

²⁵ *A India Portuguesa*, July 1911.

²⁶ After 1895 elections were discontinued for Portuguese India and parliamentarians were nominated by the government. The re-introduction of elections in 1900 coincided with political problems, lawlessness, the loss of prestige of the monarchists in Portugal. Therefore, the parliamentarians voted to power after 1900 were almost nominated by the government and the elections were devoid of competition worthy of their name.

²⁷ *A Memória do Dr. António Xavier Heráclito Gomes* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1936), 21. Heráclito Gomes, a popular member of the *Partido Indiano*, whose credentials were described to be impeccable, and a man who was not motivated by any political ambition, also spoke about the issue of Catholic conscience. Gomes hoped that Catholic conscience would take precedence over the hateful electoral politics of Goa during the republican period.

‘Immoral’ who lost and the ‘God-fearing’ who won. Such stance would also have the sanction of the church in Goa during the 20th century, which was grappling with the oncoming wave of republican ideas in Portuguese Goa. The Catholic Union popularised the slogan, *Ou Votaram por Deus, ou Votam pelo Diabo*” (‘Either voted for God or voted for the Devil’).²⁸ Most supporters of the Catholic Union condemned the secular approach adopted by the republicans as idolatry.²⁹ On the other hand, secular ideals were promoted by *Partido Ultramarino*, *Centro Democrático Indiano* and newspapers like *O Debate* and *O Comércio*. The republicans decried clericalism and domination of the church in public life, but did not condemn the doctrines of Christ.³⁰

In 1911, during the first parliamentary election, six candidates were announced in the electoral fray. Salcette was on the throes of excitement as two notable contestants, Prazeres da Costa and Minguel de Loyola Furtado belonged to this circle.³¹ The *Partido Ultramarino* backed Prazeres da Costa, and Minguel de Loyola Furtado was supported by *Partido Indiano*. Furtado was projected as the most prestigious candidate of the district by his supporters.³² The *Partido Indiano* looked upon the democrats as embodiments of the Satan and rebuked them for being morally abhorring and propagating a materialist view. It also warned the secularists of the enormous risk invited upon themselves by supporting Prazares Costa, who espoused the cause of the Satan. Instead, the *Partido Indiano* offered another alternative, which

²⁸ “A Insidia” *O Herald*, May 31, 1918.

²⁹ *A Memória do Dr. António Xavier Heráclito Gomes*, 21.

³⁰ *O Debate*, April 3, 1911. An article in this issue propagated the cause of democracy and tolerance towards mankind.

³¹ *Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral da Índia* No. 49 (June 21, 1911). Luis de Menezes Bragança presented the names of these two candidates for the circle of Margão.

³² *A Índia Portuguesa*, July 1911.

according to it was morally accurate and one which pleased God, that was to cast their votes in favour of Minguel de Loyola Furtado.³³ It accused the *Partido Ultramarino* of adopting an immoral stand, one which was against the morality embedded in the Catholic religion.

The *Partido Ultramarino* as mentioned earlier, supported the Republican Party of the Metropolis (*Partido Republicano Português* later *Democrático*). It did not lie low to the allegations levelled against it by the *Partido Indiano*. Its candidate, Prazeres da Costa accused Minguel de Loyola Furtado of being a creation of the Jesuits and the author of the Miracles of St. Francis Xavier. Costa also levelled charges that Furtado was merely using religion as a means to establish his popularity among the voters. Further, attacks were also directed against Avertano de Loyola, the editor of *A India Portuguesa* who was addressed as a reactionary and a *Monarchico Enrage*.³⁴ Some republican Hindu elites condemned the stand adopted by the *Partido Indiano* and accused the party of preaching the ‘religion of Christ’ to win votes in elections. The newspaper, *A Opinião Hindu*, which supported the republican candidate Prazeres da Costa, declared that Costa was being demonised and considered a Satan (*Satanaz, um Demonio*) by his rivals.³⁵

The press sensationalized the electoral issues. The interviews of Prazeres da Costa to republican newspapers from Portugal such as *O Seculo*, *A Republica* and *O Mundo* became objects of scrutiny from his opponents who left no opportunity to expose the ‘true colours’ of Costa. The *Partido Indiano* took objections to Prazeres da Costa being called as a popular *deputado* (*deputado popular*) by his supporters. Its

³³ *A India Portuguesa*, May 31, 1918.

³⁴ *A India Portuguesa*, October, 1911.

³⁵ *Ibid.*

newspaper, the *A India Portuguesa* expressed that such statements were too pretentious and considered Costa of being a nominee of the Republican Party and not a candidate who was elected by popular vote.³⁶ An article entitled *Políticos de barriga! Compra de votos!* which featured in the *A India Portuguesa* revealed the use of money in electioneering by the *Partido Ultramarino*.³⁷

Despite the support enjoyed by Prazeres da Costa from the government, the challenge posed by Minguel de Loyola Furtado was no less formidable. Loyola's reputation as a well-known medical practitioner and his association to the founder of the *Partido Indiano*, J. I. Loyola, were equally advantageous to the *Partido Indiano*. Moreover, Minguel de Loyola Furtado drew support from a large section of the Catholic supporters in the Salcette circle, who were still resolute in their Christian beliefs and had not yet swayed in favour of secular principles. Prazeres da Costa on the other hand, relied on his well-wishers in South Goa and on the overwhelming support from Hindus in the Old and New Conquests. The Hindu community had not fielded any candidate of its own in the election and was inclined towards a candidate with secular leanings. Most importantly, Prazeres da Costa benefitted from the backing he received from the local government in Goa. This election favoured the republicans, despite contentious issues surrounding their results. The verdict of the Tribunal of the Verification of Powers in Portugal favoured Prazeres da Costa, much to the disillusionment of Minguel de Loyola Furtado.

³⁶ *A India Portuguesa*, October 1911.

³⁷ The above newspaper accused Brás da Costa of having been employed by *Partido Ultramarino* for a sum of 400 rupees for begging votes in the villages of Salcette.

The circle of Bardez also witnessed a solid contest between four candidates³⁸ and had its own share of controversy.³⁹ The republican candidate Fransisco Jovino Gouveia Pinto won the election with a comfortable majority.⁴⁰ Jovino Pinto managed to get support from the Hindus of the Bardez circle, where they formed a majority. The *Partido Indiano*, on the other hand extended its support to Joaquim Xavier.⁴¹ In 1915, the name of Luis de Menezes Bragança was being spoken for the post of the *deputado*, but the re-election of Prazeres da Costa was accepted as a foregone conclusion.⁴²

It is interesting to see how the newspapers during this period fell into ideological groupings taking a partisan attitude towards candidates of their choice. The *A India Portuguesa*, *Jornal da India*, *O Jornal do Povo*, *Anglo-Lusiatano*, *Rebate*, *Laterna* and *Opinião* among others addressed issues which were more conventional in elections. On the other hand, *O Herald*, *O Comércio*, *O Debate*, *Prabhat*, *Bharat*, *A Opinião Hindu* and others not only exhibited a soft corner towards republican candidates but also actively campaigned on their behalf in elections. The stalwarts of republican journalism like António Maria da Cunha, Amâncio Gracias, Nascimento Mendonça, Xambá Sardesai, Leopold da Gama, Sitarama Quercar, Hegdo Dessai and Luis de Menezes Bragança, to name a few had shared strong convictions about the vantages offered by the republican and democratic ideas. A series of letters written

³⁸ *Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral da India*, No. 58 (July 21, 1911). These candidates were Constantino José de Brito, Jovino Fransisco Gouveia Pinto, Joaquim Xavier Ottó de Siqueira and Coutinho Thomas Maria de Noronha.

³⁹ *Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral da India* No. 58 (July 21, 1911).

⁴⁰ "Chronica da Semana." in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 38, July 31, 1911. It was reported that Jovino Pinto acquired majority votes (11, 017), in Bardez.

⁴¹ Lobo, *O desassossego goes Cultural e política em Goa do Liberalismo ao Acto Colonial*.

⁴² "Acto Eleitoral." in *Bharat*, No. 14, August 18, 1915.

by Luis de Menezes Bragança to Dr. A. Afonso da Costa, the leader of the Democratic Party of Portugal indicated his sincere and fearless stance adopted during this period.⁴³ When the *Partido Democrático Português* was on the hunt for democratic and republican enthusiasts in Goa, Menezes Bragança was esteemed for his devotion and zest to republican values and the following was said about him (*é o grande republicano, A sua adesão há de ser de grande valor para o Partido*).⁴⁴ Newspapers like *O Debate*, *O Comércio*, *O Pracasha* served as important organs of promoting a fraternal spirit, goodness of all religions, republican values among the public and as instruments of electioneering in elections.⁴⁵ The support extended by the Governor General, Couceiro da Costa, towards the Republican cause was immense.⁴⁶

Couceiro da Costa and Elections under the Republic

During the initial years of the republican period in Goa, its first republican Governor General, Dr. Couceiro da Costa became the main spokesperson of the party. According to João Baptista Amâncio Gracias, this meant the *right man at the right place*.⁴⁷ Couceiro da Costa was a thorough republican at heart and thought. His charismatic appeal bolstered the popularity of the Republican Party and won a significant following among the Goan electorate. His speeches which are found in the contemporary press attracted many Goan intelligentsia for their rational and secular

⁴³ Menezes Bragança, *Prosas Dispersas*, 18.

⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁵ *O Debate*, May 22, 1911.

⁴⁶ *O Debate*, April 7, 1914.

⁴⁷ João Baptista Amâncio Gracias, part II, *História Económico-Financeira da Índia Portuguesa*, 1910-1947 (Lisboa: Agência Geral das colónias, Divisão de Publicações e Biblioteca, 1950), 25.

contents.⁴⁸ Although the Governor General himself was sometimes cautious in making open declarations in favour of the republican party and declared the neutrality of the local government in elections (*O Governo Neutro*), the opposition was only too quick to read into his strategic moves.⁴⁹ It was this stance which led the opposition in accusing Couceiro da Costa as a thorough diplomat, and further declaring that his non-partisan façade sheltered a soft-corner towards the republican candidates in elections.⁵⁰ The *Jornal da India* edited by Fanchu Loyola of the *Partido Indiano* was suspended by the Governor General on the ground that it threatened security and order in Goa⁵¹, a move which highly disturbed the *Indiano* supporters in Goa.

Within a year of the establishment of the Republic, the Republican Party in Portugal saw dissidence within itself, which led to the formation of three splinter groups (Democrats, Unionists and Evolutionists) from the parent organisation, based on ideological differences. However, the *Democrático* faction which believed it to be the true offspring of its parent organisation, led by Afonso Costa in Portugal dominated the system of representation in Portuguese Goa. But, Portuguese India could not totally distance itself from this divide in the metropolis. These differences found an expression among some of its leading members in Portuguese Goa who debated on the choice of representatives and *modus operandi* to be adopted in campaigns.⁵² This situation was further aggravated by the local press; both vernacular as well as Portuguese, and several political and cultural associations.

⁴⁸ “Dr. Couceiro da Costa.” in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 31, July 17, 1911.

⁴⁹ “Governo Neutro.” in *A India Portuguesa*, October 1911.

⁵⁰ “A Attitude do Governo nas Eleições.” in *Jornal do Povo*, 2^o Supplento, August 10, 1916.

⁵¹ D’Souza, *Legal System in Goa-laws and legal trends 1510-1961*, xxix.

⁵² In 1916, the election of the senator for Portuguese India led to a sharp divide among the supporters of the Democrats and the Unionists in Portuguese Goa.

Prazarian Era in Elections (1910-1926)

For almost a decade and a half, the republican interests in Portuguese India were represented and asserted upon by José Lamartine Prazeres da Costa. During the period spanning from 1911 to 1926, no other Goan representative evoked as much curiosity and controversy at the same time, as Prazeres da Costa. He admittedly became a household name among the Goans; Catholic, Hindu and Muslim since 1911 and won most of the elections to the parliament. Much to the contentment of the Hindus, Prazeres da Costa accommodated their interests when he bargained for reforms in the parliament, which endeared him further to the community for several years.⁵³ It was for this reason that Prazeres da Costa was fondly remembered by the Hindus across Goa on the occasion of his birthday on 13th March, 1913. It became an event of rejoicing in many parts of the New Conquests like Ponda, Pernem, Sanquelim, Quepem, Bali, Sanvordem, Cacora and Canacona.⁵⁴

A critical evaluation of his career and his political moves reveals more traits of his personality, than made out to be from books and journalistic records. His strategic moves in politics gained him advantages with the republican government in Goa and won supporters during elections for a greater part of his political career. Costa emerged as a political icon during the first quarter of the 20th century among many of his supporters. The awe with which he was looked upon in several territories of Portuguese Goa during electoral campaigns and even among the Hindus was sometimes bewildering.⁵⁵

⁵³ Sardesai, *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas*, 182; See also in *Prabhat*, May-June 1912.

⁵⁴ "Prazeres da Costa." in *Bharat*, No. 19, March 12, 1913 and No. 20, March 19, 1913.

⁵⁵ *Luz do Oriente*, vol. VIII, No.1, 1915.

In contrast to the above, the opponents of Costa painted him as a traitor and severely condemned his political moves. He was also addressed as an atheist, supporter of the Satan, and anti-Christ.⁵⁶ Prazeres da Costa was initially a supporter of the *Partido Indiano* and had shifted his loyalties to the republican platform, along with many other of his contemporaries. This backdoor exit from the party which he had initially supported was not well received by his former companions. Therefore, Costa was often at the receiving end from his opponents for being a former *Progressista*, who had jumped his loyalties towards the *Regeneradores* to suit his selfish motives.⁵⁷ He was also accused of lacking moral conscience, launching thunderbolts against the Catholic Union and debasing the character of respectable people.

From 1911, Prazeres da Costa won elections recurrently and earned an image of being a proactive *deputado*, unlike many of his predecessors before him.⁵⁸ In 1913, Costa was applauded for promoting schools in the New Conquests, although it was also expressed that much more was needed to be done to promote education in these regions.⁵⁹ Costa's engagements in the parliament from 1911 to 1917 were expressive of secular concerns. These moves favoured him once again in the elections of 1918. His popularity could be evidenced from the exhilaration he generated in certain parishes of Salcette; Velim, Assolna and Cuncolim in December 1917, which organised ostentatious felicitations to acknowledge his contributions towards

⁵⁶ "Eleições." in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 30, June 10, 1911.

⁵⁷ The newspaper, *A India Portuguesa*, accused Prazeres da Costa of shifting his loyalties from one party to the other in the following manner, "*Nem sabemos os milhares de vezes que dançou contradança entre as duas fileiras, progressista e regeneradores!*"

⁵⁸ *Luz do Oriente*, vol. VIII, No.1 (1915).

⁵⁹ "Pela Instrução." in *Bharat*, No. 26, April 30, 1913; No. 29, May 21, 1913.

Portuguese India.⁶⁰ Unfortunately, the revolt of Sidónio Pais in December 1917 against the Democratic Party of Portugal and the expulsion of the Evolutionists and Unionists caused a setback to the representative process in the Portuguese dominions.⁶¹ It led the republican parties in Portugal to call for an abstention from elections as a mark of dissent against the dictatorship of Sidónio Pais. Consequently, the republican candidates in Goa namely, Prazeres da Costa and Cupertino de Andrade, the senatorial candidate withdrew from the election of 1918 in Portuguese India too.⁶² This withdrawal facilitated Tomás Aquino de Almeida Garrett, an engineer by profession and a resident from Portugal from winning the election in Goa in 1918 to the Chamber of Deputies and José Constantino Santos to the Chamber of Senators.⁶³ The republicans also adopted an abstention in the presidential election held in 1918 and, its impact was also reflected in Portuguese India. The voter count in Portuguese Goa was very low and stood at a mere 3739 votes.⁶⁴ Prazeres da Costa was back in power as a *deputado* of India in 1922, reaffirming his hold on the electorate of Portuguese India. Incidentally, a small section of the Muslims in Ponda also participated in the elections during the republican period.⁶⁵

The period thereafter saw a change, and Costa's popularity diminished considerably during the election held in 1925. The Hindus too, who for so long, had identified their interests with Costa shifted their loyalties towards another republican front-runner, Indalencio Froilano de Mello. The reasons for the shift can be

⁶⁰ "Demonstração ao Sr. Prazeres Costa." in *O Herald*, January 5, 1918.

⁶¹ B. Gomes, "Instituto Vasco da Gama." No. 38 (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1938), 195.

⁶² *Herald*, April 27, 1918.

⁶³ *Ibid.*

⁶⁴ "As Ultimas Eleições." in *O Herald*, May 5, 1918.

⁶⁵ *Prachi Prabha*, May 8, 1924.

discerned from a series of articles published in the bilingual newspaper *Bharat*. Firstly, the Portuguese Republican Party in Portugal itself was now championing the cause of Indalencio Froilano de Melo, through its press, *A Provincia* and *A Pátria*.⁶⁶ Secondly, many Hindu elites, by this time, reconsidered and favoured Froilano de Mello instead of Prazeres da Costa. This was reflected in the significant shift in perceptions made by the community towards Prazeres da Costa. The *deputado*, who had endeared to the Hindus for almost a decade, now became a target of intense criticism. This was reflected in the observations made by *Bharat* towards the end of the first republican era. It declared that Prazeres da Costa's reforms as a *deputado* were clouded by financial losses than concrete benefits.⁶⁷

The election of November 1925 was the last of its kind before the establishment of the dictatorship in Portugal. The following five candidates were announced in the electoral fray: Prazeres da Costa, Helander Serezedilo, Idalino Guizado, Froilano de Mello and Tomaz de Aquino Rafael Miranda.⁶⁸ Froilano de Mello had polled 5251 votes as against Prazeres da Costa who got 3611 votes.⁶⁹ Froilano de Mello began his political voyage in all his earnestness. He despatched letters to several newspapers attempting to evince public opinion on matters which could be taken up by him for discussion in the parliament during the forthcoming

⁶⁶ *Bharat*, No. 30, October 28, 1926.

⁶⁷ *Suplemento a Bharat*, No. 30, October 28, 1926. A series of articles appeared in the *Bharat*, written in 1926, almost ten months after the last parliamentary elections. These articles provide an insight on the declining popularity of Prazeres da Costa among the Hindu community during the last few years. It was declared that the creation of the Commercial Institute was seen as a non-profitable venture of Costa, costing India a sum of Rupees 15:000. The tax audit initiated by him was abandoned during the revolutionary period, which cost the exchequer a sum of 40:000 rupees. The reforms introduced in the Lyceum, cost an additional expenditure of 100:000 rupees. As a parliamentarian of Goa, he had raised the salaries of judicial magistrates, military officials, functionaries of the Medical College, all amounting to 150:000 rupees. The increase in the pensions of the military servicemen had cost the exchequer another 90:000 rupees.

⁶⁸ AHU, *Telegramas Eleições Nas Colónias*, ACL, MU, SG, Cx, nv, 715.

⁶⁹ *Ibid.*

sessions.⁷⁰ However, the Goan representative could not take his seat in the parliament due to the establishment of the dictatorship in Portugal (*Ditadura Nacional*) on 28th May, 1926. The elections were declared void and Portuguese India was not allowed to send representatives for almost two decades thereafter.⁷¹ It marked the end of the representative system for almost two decades. The prerogative of the overseas colonies to participate in the parliamentary elections was withheld.

Hindus under the Portuguese Republic

The republican rule in Goa, by the very nature of its ideals was divested from the *Politics of the Cloak* which overrode the political and socio-cultural aspects during the constitutional regime.⁷² As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the Hindus of Goa rejoiced in jubilation the announcement of the new regime.⁷³ The increasing number of socio-religious, cultural and educational organisations which emerged during this phase was an indication of two facts; firstly, their new-found confidence (not withstanding their eventual disappointment) and secondly, their need to safeguard and promote their interest.⁷⁴ The republican rule fuelled the aspirations of the community and changed the trajectory of thought among the Hindu elites. This shift was explicitly

⁷⁰ *Heraldo*, No. 215, March 18, 1926.

⁷¹ J. B. Amâncio Gracias, *Portugal Na India* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, Institute Vasco da Gama, 1946), 96.

⁷² "Homanagem Justa." in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 10, February 1911. The Hindu elites now confidently expressed how they had been persecuted cruelly under the monarchical regime on account of religion and hoped the situation would be different.

⁷³ Sardessai, *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas*, 60.

⁷⁴ António de Noronha, "Os Indus e A Republica." in *A India Portuguesa*, vol II (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923), 352-53. Some of the the organisations established during this period were Mustifand Sauntha, Sarasvati Vachana Mandir, Mahalaxmi Vachana Mandir, Xarvachana Mandir, Sarasvata Vidyalaya, Dnana Prassaraka Mandir, Indu-Sabha, Xilonati Samaj, Ravalnati Prassadu Mandir and many others.

reflected in the bilingual and vernacular press published in Goa during the republican period.⁷⁵

A question which baffled many Goans was the absence of Hindu representatives in the electoral fray in parliamentary elections of Goa. The Hindus were not altogether devoid of their inclinations to contest the elections, as seen from their endeavours to contest other local representative bodies of this period. The Portuguese Republic had soared their hopes even higher. Some Hindu elites believed that they were in no way subordinate to the Catholics in their intellect.⁷⁶ Since the new government had laid its foundation on equality, it was hoped that their interests would be safe guarded in politics and administration.⁷⁷

Although the Hindus had contested parliamentary elections repeatedly during the 19th century in sparing numbers, they were conspicuous by their absence from 1911 to 1926. According to the census of 1910, the Hindu population stood at 2,20,000 out of a total population of 5,40,551.⁷⁸ Financially too, several Hindu families had distinguished themselves for their acumen in business ventures and featured among the highest contributors to the state exchequer. In the list of the 90 Major Contributors, published by the government for the elections of the legislative council in 1922, the Hindus constituted the dominant group.⁷⁹

⁷⁵ “Um Justo Pedido.” in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 7, January 30, 1911. It was hoped that the Governor General, Couceiro da Costa, would recognise the religious aspirations of the Hindus and decree just measures to this effect.

⁷⁶ “Pela Classe Hindu.” in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 7, February 6, 1911.

⁷⁷ Ibid. In this article, it was hoped that three members, would be made a part of the new municipal commission, instead of the single member allowed in the commission by the governor general.

⁷⁸ *Censo da População do Estado da Índia 13 de Dezembro de 1910*, vol. I (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional).

⁷⁹ *Boletim Oficial do Estado da Índia* (November, 1922). Atmarama Vassudeva Porobo Dessai, Visnu Sinai Dempo, Santbá Gonoxama Sinai Cundoicar, Govindagi Zosvonta Rau Dessai, etc. were some of the highest major contributors in the list published for the year.

When the parliamentary elections were announced under the republican regime, some Hindu elites hoped that the number of deputies and electoral circles allowed for Portuguese India would be further raised. They aspired for six electoral circles and six *deputados* for Portuguese Goa; three for the Old Conquests and three for the New Conquests which according to them was proportionate to its population and advancement.⁸⁰ It was an indirect pointer that some elite Hindus were inclined to participate in the parliamentary elections under the Republican period. Although the literature surveyed so far did not indicate the presence of Hindu candidates in the electoral fray in the parliamentary elections, many Hindus elites explicitly revealed their orientation to republican candidates and to those who were willing to respect the wishes of the Hindu community.⁸¹ In 1911, the Hindu elites expressed their preference towards Prazeres da Costa over Minguel Loyola Furtado as they viewed Costa as the promoter of solidarity between the Catholics and the Hindus, and one who made no distinctions of caste and religion.⁸² Their inclination towards Costa was reflected in vociferous appeals made upon the electorate through the press, to support Costa's candidature in elections.⁸³ However, it cannot be totally concluded that the Hindu community did not support the Catholic dominated *Partido Indiano*. In the first election held in 1911, Minguel Loyola Furtado expressed his gratitude to Hindu supporters from the Old Conquests and the New Conquests, who, though in

⁸⁰ "As futuras eleições e a nossa attitude." in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 12, March 6, 1911.

⁸¹ *Ibid.*

⁸² "Apoz As Eleições." in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 34, August 7, 1911.

⁸³ "A Urna, pelo sr. Prazeres!." in *A Opinião Hindu*, No. 29, July 3, 1911.

small number, had voted in his favour in the midst of opposition from republican supporters.⁸⁴

The republican era gave the Hindu community an opportunity to question their deplorable situation. A small section among the Hindus came to occupy respectable positions in government service, but there were laments that they did not rise beyond such situations.⁸⁵ In all likelihood, the victory of Catholic candidates backed by the government in the parliamentary election was considered a forgone conclusion. More importantly, the government too did not promote the candidature of Hindu representatives in these elections, without which it was almost impossible to be elected as a *deputado*. The influential Hindu organisation *Pragatic Sanga* which was established in 1920 was greatly inclined towards politics.⁸⁶ The Republican League also held the interest of the Hindu community at heart. These two organisations comprised of educated and progressive members of the Hindu society. However, they did not shield their own candidates in the elections.⁸⁷ Infact, the Republican League extended its support to the Catholic candidates of the Republican Party. Years later, Venctexa S. Dessai reminisced the assistance rendered by António Xavier Gomes Pereira, a popular republican member affiliated to the *Pragatic Sanga* when there were conflicts and phases of difficulty in this organisation.⁸⁸

In 1911, the republican candidate, José Lamartine Prazeres da Costa for the Salcette circle and Jovino Francisco Gouvea Pinto in Bardez received enormous

⁸⁴ Minguel Loyola Furtado, "O Meu Agradecimento." in *A India Portuguesa*, August 1911.

⁸⁵ *Hindu*, May 6, 1924.

⁸⁶ Sardessai, *Gomantakache Ase Te Diwas*, 177.

⁸⁷ Carmo Azavedo, "Elections in Goa." *Goa Today*, February 1967, 30.

⁸⁸ António Xavier Gomes Pereira *Sua Actuação Na Sociedade, No Foro, Na Política* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1964), 123.

support from the Hindu community. The Hindu organisations and the Hindu backed press, supported these republican candidates in elections. The republican *deputados* of Goa kept the interests of the Hindus in the parliament, a move which also endeared the Hindu populace towards these candidates. It is astonishing to read the arguments of *deputado* Jovino Pinto who tried to empathise with the feelings of the Rane rebellion in 1912. He requested the government in Portugal to probe into the roots of the Rane rebellion in 1912 instead of merely suspending the rights of the people in the *Novas Conquistas*. He passionately declared that the people of India were docile, orderly and could be governed without the use of force.⁸⁹ It was also argued that the cause of these rebellions lay in the immense injustice meted out to the community who were once the lords of their territory.⁹⁰ Such arguments painted a more positive image of India in the eyes of the metropolitan representatives.

As mentioned earlier in this chapter, the candidature of Prazeres da Costa was also approved by the Hindu electorate. During the initial years, Prazeres da Costa had taken a secular stand in the Parliament. He expressed his disapproval on the endeavours of the government in continuing the religious institution of the *Padroado* in the orient in an age dominated by secular ideals. In his view, the expenditure spent on this institution could be diverted to other beneficial works.⁹¹ His representations in the parliament concerning the *Padroado* of the orient signalled a significant shift in the religious perspective of the Goan *deputados* from the previous epoch of the 19th

⁸⁹ *Diário da Câmara dos Deputados* (March 8, 1912), 4.

⁹⁰ *Ibid*, 4.

⁹¹ *Diário da Câmara dos Deputados* (May 28, 1912).

century, which had seen it as of utmost importance for the well-being of Catholics.⁹² Perhaps this stand of Costa helped him in gaining the confidence of the Hindus.

When the number of *deputados* for Portuguese India was reduced to just one in 1915⁹³, Goan electorate once again voted for Prazeres da Costa. Incidentally, he had built up a reputation of being an activist who placed several issues before the parliament which were of great relevance to Portuguese India. The cause of education taken up by him was appreciated by the people.⁹⁴ In the sessions of February 1916, Costa raised pertinent and long-standing issues of the Medical College of Goa, the *Escola Médico-Cirúrgica de Nova Goa*. He introduced a Project of Law in the parliament which demanded that one third of the members of the Board of Health of the Medical College should comprise of its own alumni. The magazine *A Luz do Oriente* of Ramchandra Waidya, devoted a special article on Prazeres da Costa exalting his achievements. The article hailed him in high esteem for what he had achieved within less than five years and much more than what his predecessors had gained in a long time.⁹⁵

Similarly, in the elections of 1916, held to elect a representative to the Chamber of Senators, the Hindus were reported to have unequivocally supported the republican candidate, José Paulo Lobo.⁹⁶ The death of Prazeres da Costa in 1949, was mourned by Catholics and Hindus alike. The newspaper *Bharat*, admitted the change

⁹² Goan *deputados* like Fr. Sebastião Baptista Cana, Jeremias Mascarenhas, Fransisco Luis Gomes, Vincent Ferrer Neto de Paiva and others had supported the cause of the *Padroado* during the 19th century and more particularly during its conflict with the *Propoganda Fide*. See, *A Concordata Sobre O Padroado Portugueza nos Indias Orientaes*, 1.

⁹³ “Decreto no. 1264 de 1915.” in *Collecção da Legislação Colonial de Republica, Portugueza*, vol. VI (Coimbra: Imprensa de Universidade, 1918), 161.

⁹⁴ *Prabhat*, May 13, 1912 and May 13, 1913.

⁹⁵ *Luz do Oriente*, vol. VIII, No. 1, 1915.

⁹⁶ *Jornal do Povo 2º Supplemento*, No. 103, August 1916.

of heart it had towards this Goan *deputado* in 1925, but at the same time, acknowledged the superior talents and virtues of this great republican.⁹⁷

Over a period of time, the Hindus of Goa realised the indifferent attitude shown towards them by the Portuguese government.⁹⁸ Right at the beginning of the republican rule, they had realised the need to improve the level of literacy among the community.⁹⁹ Some of Hindus expressed their disappointment on being denied benefits of the new political system on account of their inability to comprehend the Portuguese language.¹⁰⁰ Some of the electoral legislations demanded the knowledge of literacy in Portuguese language, *ler e saber portugêes* and deprived them the right to vote in the elections of Goa.¹⁰¹ An interesting play published in the *Luz do Oriente* entitled “Os Pequenos Republicanos”, conveyed the lamentable state of illiteracy persisting among the Hindu community, six years after the establishment of the Republic. The protagonist of the play calls upon the stalwarts of the Portuguese republic in Portugal, Dr. Augusto Afonso da Costa, Dr. António José de Almeida and Dr. Alexander Braga to save them from this horrifying situation.¹⁰² Many Hindus attributed their inadequacies to participate in suffrage to the deplorable state of education.¹⁰³ They demanded recognition to be given to regional languages on par with the Portuguese.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁷ *Bharat*, No. 8, May 28, 1949.

⁹⁸ *Hindu*, May 14, 1924.

⁹⁹ *Prabhat*, May 19, 1912.

¹⁰⁰ *Hindu*, May 20, 1924 and May 17, 1925.

¹⁰¹ “Lei Eleitoral no° 3, de 3 de Julho de 1913.” Article 1 in *Codigo Eleitoral* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1913).

¹⁰² *Luz do Oriente*, vol. IX, 1916. The protagonist exclaims, “*Mas seis anos da Republica, não surgiram aqui republicanos que nos protegessem: que nos instruissem, que nos educassem....*”.

¹⁰³ *Bharat*, No. 4, May 28, 1949. According to official statistics, reported in the *Bharat* in 1910, the percentage of illiterates stood at 87.2 percent. Three decades down the line, in 1940, it had not

The Hindus themselves were conscious that they were not in a position to put up an united front to improve their political situation of Goa during the republican period.¹⁰⁵ Divisions and bickering in the community were brought to the fore by several contemporary newspapers. In the election held to elect representative to the *Concelho Superior das Colónias* (Superior Council of the Colonies) on 31st October, 1926, the name of one Upendra Caculo featured among the list of candidates.¹⁰⁶ However, it was reported that Hindus supported the Government candidate Mariano Martins and were canvassing his candidature in the New Conquests. In a Manifesto published in the Marathi language, which was circulated across Goa, the *Pragatic Sanga*, had also decided to support the government backed candidate.¹⁰⁷ The results showed that Mariano Martins obtained a majority in the New Conquests, though he lost the elections.¹⁰⁸

The Hindus were more active in the elections Legislative Assembly and Municipal Councils as candidates and as substitutes. The Hindu community of Goa had to wait until 1957 to see a *deputado* of its community walk the portals of the National Assembly under the regime of Salazar. The political upheavals and instability in Portugal during the first republican period clouded the political atmosphere in Goa. This left the Goans highly disappointed. The Hindus in particular experienced a sense of unease as the government could not sustain their aspirations.

made a deep impact on the situation, it stood at 79 percent. The newspaper lamented that the problem increased due to inadequate number of schools. In a metaphorical statement it declared, it was like wanting to have an omelet without eggs.

¹⁰⁴ *Hindu*, May 27, 1924.

¹⁰⁵ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁶ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 21, October 1926.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*

¹⁰⁸ *A India Portuguesa*, November 16, 1926.

Dr. Heraclito Gomes, an astute Goan and a member of the *Partido Indiano*, commenting on the functioning of liberalism during the first republican period remarked that the elections had not yielded any fruit. In a metaphoric style, Gomes condemned that this period had converted the people into bureaucrats from being agriculturists.¹⁰⁹ The establishment of the counter coup in 1926 by General A. O. de Fragoso Carmona in Portugal had led to the discontinuation of colonial representation.

The denial of the basic civil rights after 1926 during the second Republic under Dr. António de Oliveira Salazar, left the Goans in a state of humiliation in Portuguese Goa. And yet, the government did not shy away from stressing upon its decentralising efforts from time to time. The infamous *Acto Colonial* or the Colonial Act of 1930 which regulated the functioning of the indigenous population in the overseas provinces was one of the first instances of government duplicity during this period.¹¹⁰ The *Estado Novo*, established by Salazar in 1933, re-enforced an authoritarian regime in Portugal and her colonies. Similarly, the national plebiscite held to approve the Constitution of 1933 was also carried out throughout the Portuguese colonial empire.¹¹¹ The *Carta Orgânica do Império Colonial Português* implemented in November 1933 assured the indigenous people of the overseas territories respect as Portuguese citizens, without any distinction of race or social conditions and access to the benefits of civilisation.¹¹² However, many Goan leaders and a section of the intelligentsia were able to see beyond the façade of such pale

¹⁰⁹ *Memória do Dr. A António Xavier Heráclito Gomes*, 71.

¹¹⁰ *O Estado Novo-Princípios e Realizações*, 56.

¹¹¹ D'Souza, *Legal System in Goa-laws and legal trends 1510-1961*, vol. I (Panjim: New Age Printers, 1995), 215.

¹¹² Bossa, J., *Resumo dos Princípios Constitucionais porque se rege o território Ultramarino de Portugal* (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954), 48.

measures, which were aimed to reinforce the official policy of the government under the cover of infusing autonomy in the territory.¹¹³

The Second Republic (1926-1961): Conformity in Participation

This section probes into the issues concerning the parliamentary elections in Portuguese Goa which were recommenced in 1945, under the dictatorship of António de Oliveira Salazar. Since the World War II, an enormous section of people around the world were looking forward towards the democratisation of regimes and implementation of new reforms. The international scenario after World War II demanded the liberalisation of the regime in Portugal, in keeping with the exigencies of time.¹¹⁴ Salazar, now almost two decades into his political journey in Portugal, had accumulated considerable political experience in politics. He adopted a pseudo-democratic stand under the pressure of external forces. Salazar realised that elections would help to substantiate a more generous profile of himself and his nation and therefore, announced his intent of transforming towards a more democratic conduct.¹¹⁵ Therefore, after 1945, Salazar invested considerable effort in presenting a more benign image of Portugal and of himself as a response to pressures from external forces. This necessitated the re-commencement of parliamentary elections in Portuguese Goa which were not essentially out of his free will. Elections held in

¹¹³ Tom Gallagher, "Controlled Repression in Portugal." in *Journal of Contemporary History*, vol.14 (London: Sage Publishers 1979), 384-402. Under the *Estado Novo*, Portugal preserved a vast, centuries-old empire. Portuguese authoritarianism consistently displayed a high degree of rationality in the area of internal security. For many years, an extremely efficient undercover security police apparatus kept down opposition, without resorting to total repression.

¹¹⁴ Rita Carvalho de Almeida, *A Assembleia Nacional no Pó Guerra 1945-1949* (Lisboa: Assembleia da República, 2002), 29.

¹¹⁵ Susan D. Hyde, *The Pseudo-Democratic Dilemma* (USA: Cornwell University Press, 2011), 3-10. The author states that the State complies with international norms which are consistent with its material benefit.

Portuguese Goa after World War II can merit the appellation of authoritarian elections. Such representative procedures would expect conformity from contestants and the electorate. The author of *Oposição e Eleições No Estado Novo*, Maria Matos e Lemos also avers that Salazar had introduced a cosmetic change in Portugal to demolish the reputation of the dictatorial Corporate State held in the eyes of the public. Therefore, to prove that his efforts were genuine, it necessitated the holding of free elections in the country.¹¹⁶

In one of the public speeches delivered by Salazar on 18th August, 1945 he spoke of the approaching elections in Portugal. Similarly on 7th October, 1945 in yet another speech, Salazar declared that voting was a major obligation (“*Votar é um grande dever*”).¹¹⁷ Such pronouncements were seen as attempts to toe the line of the western democratic nations and retreat from the aggressive situation of World War II.¹¹⁸ The above assertions were in sharp contrast to his thinking some years before, when he had insisted that he admired the parliamentary party system, but was convinced that it did not suit Portugal. He said that there was no place for the old swindling professional politicians in the *Estado Novo*. However, these were only tall statements made by him without genuine commitments. The reality showed that Salazar found free and fair elections incompatible to his authoritarian philosophy.

The National Assembly as propounded under the *Estado Novo* had provided for a representative body which comprised of 92 parliamentarians to be elected by direct franchise. It was entrusted with legislative functions and was constituted for a

¹¹⁶ Lemos e Matos, *Oposição e Eleições No Estado Nova*, 32.

¹¹⁷ Carvalho de Almeida, *A Assembleia Nacional no Pó Guerra 1945-1949*. 29.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 33.

period of four years.¹¹⁹ However, most laws came from the government and the role of the Assembly was minimal. A Corporative Chamber composed of representatives of the corporators, the municipalities, the church, and the bodies of administration assisted the National Assembly in administration.¹²⁰

One Party System: *União Nacional* (The National Union)

The National Union of Salazar was established in 1933. It was the official party of the *Estado Novo* and the only political party which was recognised in Portugal. It was not allowed to have a competitor on any count.¹²¹ In other words, there was little space for opposition to survive. No other parties, other than the National Union, were allowed to take part in electioneering campaigns. But sometimes, independent candidates contested such elections. The great majority of voters were not acquainted with the candidates contesting elections, either in Portugal or the colonies. Voting was not influenced by the merits of the candidates and the electorate were reduced to automatic machines which recorded their votes mechanically for the nominees of the Union.¹²²

According to J. D. Derbyshire and Ian Derbyshire, the authors of the work, *Political Systems of the World*, the difference between multiparty and one party system lies in the choice of policies and representatives. In the multiparty system, there is a choice in policies as well as the representatives. While in one-party system, a representative may be changed, but the basic policy as derived from the party remains

¹¹⁹ *O Estado Novo Principios e Realizações* 7. Later the number was raised to 120; See in *Decreto Lei No. 34938*, Article 1.

¹²⁰ A. H. Oliveira Marquis, *Synthesis of Portuguese Culture, History of Portugal* (Portugal: Imprensa Nacional, 1991), 151.

¹²¹ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. B. 132, October 1949.

¹²² *Ibid.*

the same. The authors further state that the important work of selecting candidates in a single party system has already been done, within the party machine. The election just legitimises, behind the scenes decisions.¹²³

Parliamentary Elections under the Regime of Salazar (1945)

The intelligentsia in Portuguese Goa looked forward to a change in electoral politics after World War II. In 1945, the government announced its intent to hold parliamentary elections for the colonies and were scheduled to be held in November 1945.¹²⁴ Portuguese India was allowed to be represented by two parliamentarians in the National Assembly of 120 members elected by direct franchise.¹²⁵ In view of the above, candidates desirous of contesting the elections were allowed to present themselves before the government till 18th October, 1945.

This announcement encouraged a handful of Goans to contest the election.¹²⁶ It grouped the contestants into two camps; The *União Nacional* and those belonging to the *Lista Popular*. From the reports appearing in the press, Froilano de Mello and Luis da Cunha Gonsalves represented the *União Nacional*.¹²⁷ Three candidates showed their inclination to contest under the group of *Lista Popular* and they included: Vincente

¹²³ J. D. Derbyshire, and Ian Derbyshire, *Political Systems of the World* (New Delhi: Allied Publishers Ltd., 1990), 88.

¹²⁴ *Heraldo*, October 13, 1945; *Decreto No. 34972* in *Diário do Governo*, No. 222, October 6, 1945, also in the *Boletim oficial*, No.12, March 21, 1946, and the *Legislação Relativa ao Estado da Índia, 1946* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1947), 166.

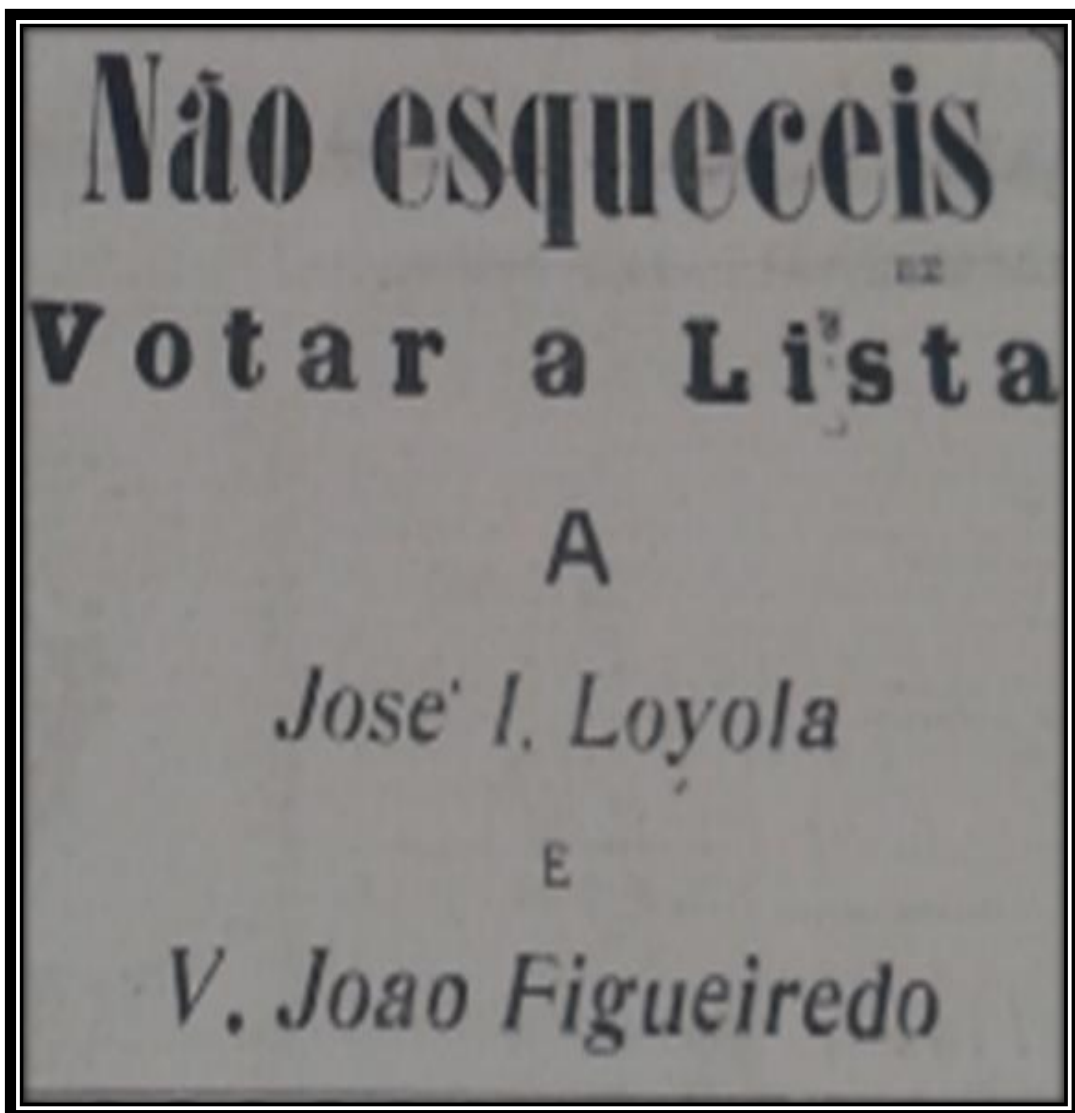
¹²⁵ *Decreto Lei No. 34:938* (1945).

¹²⁶ Carmo Azavedo, "Elections in Goa." in *Goa Today*, February 1967, 30. The author of this article had also declared his intent to contest this election, but later, withdrew from the fray on realising the farcical nature of this exercise.

¹²⁷ Alfredo Froilano de Mello, the son of Froilano de Mello says the following about his father, "Out of 120 members of the Parliament in Lisbon, the only one who was not handpicked member of Salazar's *União Nacional* was my father." See Alfredo Froilano de Mello "Froilano de Melo." in *Boletim do Institute Menezes Bragança*, No. 153 (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1987), 1-2.

João Figueiredo from Loutolim, Fransisco Xavier Furtado from Benaulim and José Inácio de Loyola from Orlim (Fanchu). But eventually two contestants of this party remained in the electoral fray. The candidates and their supporters appealed the electorate through the press to cast votes in their favour.¹²⁸

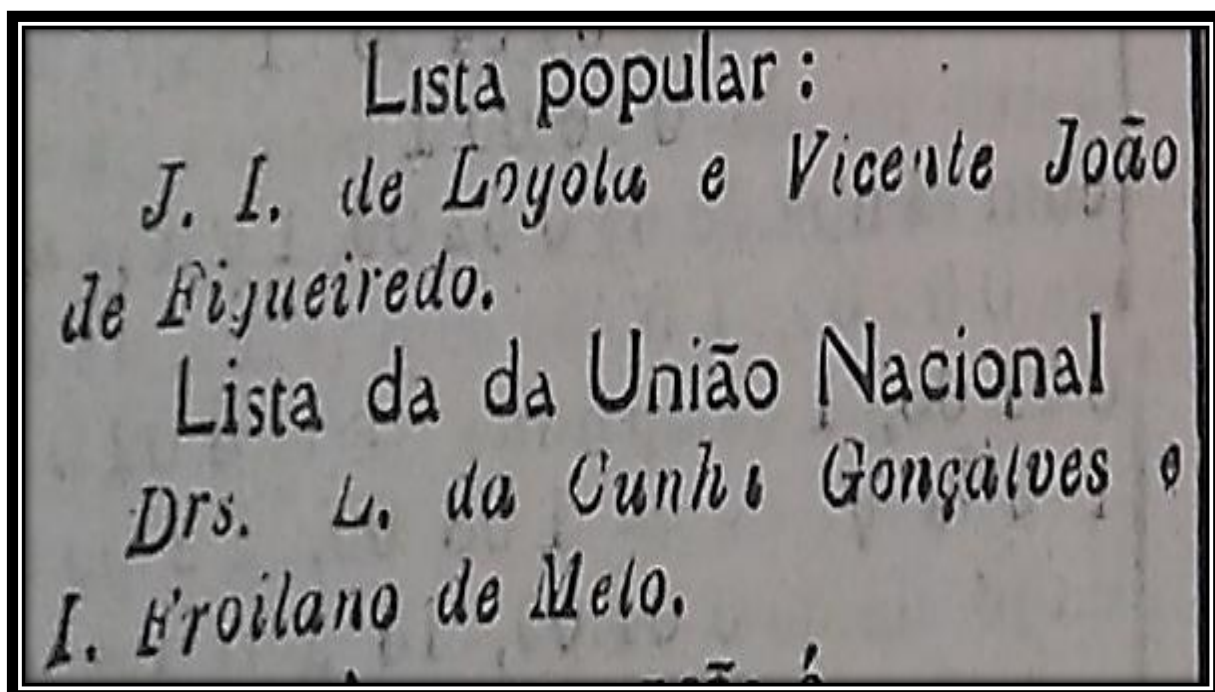
Appeal of Candidates belonging to *Lista Popular* in Parliamentary Elections of 1945



Source: *Heraldo*, October 13, 1945

¹²⁸ Ibid.

Contestants under the *Lista Popular* and *União Nacional* in 1945



Source: *Heraldo*, October 13, 1945

José Inácio de Loyola, candidate of the *Lista Popular* expressed his optimism in elections by declaring, “I have confidence in the civility of the electorate”. Loyola also expressed that the people were well acquainted with his ideas and policies, and therefore did not require a manifesto to express his views publicly. Loyola had pointedly remarked, “I want my elections to be perfectly clean, without cheating, without substitution of votes...”.¹²⁹ It was believed that his candidature was approved by Catholics and Hindus alike.¹³⁰

¹²⁹ *O Herald*, November 11, 1945. Loyola declared the following, “*Eu quero minhas eleições perfeitamente limpas, sem chapeladas, sem tranqüibérmias, sem substituições de votos...*”. “*Não quero a favour da minha lista um só voto que não seja genuino: nenhum voto que não seja espontâneamente dado pela consciencia livre do eleitor!*”.

¹³⁰ *Ibid.*

Hindu Voters in Bardez who expressed their Support to J. I. de Loyola in 1945



Source: *O Heraldo*, November 11, 1945

The results of the elections disappointed many. José Ignacio de Loyola expressed his extreme disappointment in the following assertion, “The electoral farce of 18th November took away the last hope that the people of this land had in democracy.”¹³¹ His statements enraged the government. Loyola was accused under Article 149 of the Penal Code, for endangering the external security of the state and was tried by the

¹³¹ P. P. Shirodkar, ed., *Trial of José Ignacio de Loyola*, vol. 4 (Panaji: Goa Gazetteer Department, 1944), i-ii.

military tribunal. The result was that he was deprived of his political rights for 15 years and subject to rigorous imprisonment for four years.¹³²

As a result of the above incident and bitter experiences in politics, many Goans bemoaned the futility of elections and exhibited disinterest in electoral concerns. The representative process introduced after 1945, operated within the established directions of Salazar. Two representatives were allowed for Portuguese India and elections were to be conducted regularly, once in four years. But, all elections held during this period bore the authoritarian imprint of Salazar and exposed the farcical side of the entire system. The *União Nacional* left no space for contenders to survive the race. A few experiences were captured from veterans, some of whom participated in the elections since 1945 and a few others during the subsequent polls. They had a tale of disenchantment to narrate. It was reported that most people voted for the candidates nominated by the government, leaving little choice for the electorate. Government employees in particular, had to be steadfast in their loyalty to the regime.¹³³ Apparently, a list of candidates was prepared by the government, a day was fixed for elections and the people had to vote for them.¹³⁴ It was reported in 1949, that the names of the two parliamentarians of India were included in the list of the National Union and the entire list was voted jointly. In this manner, the aura of the metropolis influenced the outcomes in the colonies.¹³⁵ It is relevant to note that independent candidates also contested these elections. A few aspirants partook in the

¹³² Ibid., i-ii.

¹³³ Mr. Epiácio Pais. Interview with the researcher and family members before his demise in 2009 and Mr. Percival Noronha, interview with the researcher in May 2013. Mr. Pais had voted in the elections of Portuguese India from 1945 to 1961, along with his elder brother Sidónio Pais and a host of other acquaintances of the contemporary times.

¹³⁴ Joseph Barros, "Glimpses of Portuguese Colonialism in Goa." in *Goa Wins Freedom*, ed., Sheik Ali (Panaji: Government Printing Press, 1986).

¹³⁵ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, November 19, 1949.

contest in their individual capacity and at the risk of inviting inherent displeasure from the government. Initially, a handful of Goan candidates as seen below exhibited their grit to bid in the contest and felt confident of achieving a victory in the contest.¹³⁶

The victory of official candidates was a foregone conclusion. The opposition had negligible chances of winning against the invincible government candidates. It was visible that the entire electoral process was manipulated by the government with the assistance of its supporters (who comprised of few businessmen, government employees, landlords and members of the legal and medical professions and others), ignoring the principle of universal suffrage. The elections held under these circumstances only endorsed the policies of the government.

All the parliamentary elections held in Goa from 1945 to 1961 inevitably favoured the *União Nacional*. Numerous Goan voters, who were enthusiastic with the revival of the system of representation, soon became nonchalant with the entire process. The absence of competitive resulted in an overwhelming victory in favour of the official candidates and the electoral manipulations were condemned outside Goa.¹³⁷ Once elected as representatives, the Goan representatives affiliated to the *União Nacional* were expected to toe the line of thought of the dictatorial regime of Salazar.

In the first election held in 1945, as pointed above, the mandate favoured Froilano de Mello and Luis da Cunha Gonsalves. Both representatives were initially viewed with suspicion by their political opponents. The stand adopted by Froilano de Mello in the Parliament became the subject of debate during the contemporary times. Consequently, two images of Froilano de Mello became etched in public memory,

¹³⁶ *Heraldo*, October 13, 1945. J. I. de Loyola expressed his confidence of winning the election in this newspaper.

¹³⁷ These reflections are found in the newspaper, *O Anglo-Lusitano* published in British India.

one which saw him as a man who prided himself in Portuguese culture, and the other, with his persuasive disposition, highlighted pertinent concerns related to Portuguese India.¹³⁸ Generally, the representatives of the National Union had no other recourse than to safeguard the interests of the regime of Salazar. But, contrary to government expectations, both de Mello and Cunha Gonsalves disappointed Salazar. This was evident from the exclusion non-consideration of both candidates in the subsequent election held in 1949. Addressing the Portuguese Parliament on 17th January, 1946 in his first speech, de Mello proudly acknowledged his Indian roots, despite his affection for Portuguese culture, and voiced the aspirations of his fellow compatriots.¹³⁹ A little later in March 1946, Mello passionately highlighted the basic developmental activities and amenities lacking in Goa despite an increase in the allocation in the budget.¹⁴⁰ He also called upon the government in Portugal to consider the aspirations of the people of Daman and Diu.¹⁴¹ The other *deputado*, Cunha Gonçalves who had maintained his silence for a considerable length of time in the National Assembly eventually spoke in February 1947. He announced to have broken his silence for not being able to be a mere onlooker when certain issues in Goa required to be highlighted in the parliament. He moaned the suspension of the newspaper *Heraldo*¹⁴² in Goa by the Governor General for publishing certain news items which were considered anti-national and anti-Portuguese. Luis Cunha Gonçalves also declared that his intention was not

¹³⁸ *Diário das Sessões*, No. 59 (November 29, 1946). In a speech delivered during this session, Froilano de Mello endorsed the confidence that Goans had in the principles of justice of Portugal, the political rights bestowed upon the people and being respected in the integrity of the Portuguese nation. He also declared that Portuguese India rejoiced being a part of the Portuguese nation, and acknowledged the sentiments that Goans shared with the Portuguese nation.

¹³⁹ *Diário das Sessões*, No.15 (January 17, 1946); Alfredo F. de Mello, *From Goa to Patagonia-Memoirs spanning times and spaces* (Panaji: Broadway Book Centre, 2006), 192-194.

¹⁴⁰ *Diário das Sessões*, No. 176 (March 18, 1949).

¹⁴¹ *Diário das Sessões*, No. (April 30, 1949).

¹⁴² Luis da Cunha Gonçalves was the director of this newspaper.

merely to propagate the wellness of his newspaper, but to bring to light certain undeniable truths which were reflected in abuses in public administration and the wastage of public money in Goa. Commenting on the subject of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty taken up for discussion in Portuguese Goa by the Governor General, Cunha Gonçalves also declared that the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1878 and the construction of the railway line were issues that were never approved by the colony.¹⁴³

The implications of the assertions of these representatives were as expected. It marked the end of the political stint of the two incumbent parliamentarians of Portuguese India. Froilano de Mello desired a re-run in the parliamentary elections in 1949, but he was denied the seat.¹⁴⁴ During the second election held in 1949, the government nominated two faithful stalwarts of Salazar namely, Castilho de Noronha and Socrates da Costa. The public displayed little or no interest in these elections.¹⁴⁵ The announcement of these names set afloat humorous anecdotes among the intellectual circles of Goa, more specifically among those who did not take too kindly to their nomination. It was stated that the dictator (Salazar) who had realised that the overseas province of Goa was nearing its end, required a notary (Socrates da Costa) to make a will and a priest (Canon Castilho de Noronha) to perform the last rites.¹⁴⁶ As expected, the speeches of these two *deputados* in the parliament were full of admiration towards the Portuguese regime. It was perhaps for this reason that their adversaries contemptuously addressed them as the ‘Siamese Twins’.¹⁴⁷ *Deputado* Castilho de Noronha glorified the Portuguese traditions and all that Portugal had stood

¹⁴³ *Diário das Sessões*, No. 87 (February 12, 1947).

¹⁴⁴ de Mello, “Froilano de Melo.” 2.

¹⁴⁵ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, November 19, 1949.

¹⁴⁶ Carmo Azavedo, “Elections in Goa.” *Goa Today*, February 1967, 30.

¹⁴⁷ *Ibid.*

for in a discourse delivered in January 1950, for which he won tremendous applause from the audience.¹⁴⁸ The Speech of *deputado* Socrates da Costa also reflected the same, as he affirmed his patriotism to the Portuguese nation.¹⁴⁹ However, both parliamentarians voiced issues of local interest related to Goa. Socrates da Costa broached the reform of the *Comunidades*. He also advocated the need to have a Government Council which was deliberative than the existing consultative body.¹⁵⁰

Castilho de Noronha and Socrates da Costa continued to be patronised by government during the two subsequent elections held in 1953 and 1957. As members of the parliament of Portuguese India, they advocated a number of beneficial reforms for the territory.¹⁵¹ Socrates da Costa supported the measures recommended by the Ministry of the Overseas for Portuguese India for the development of Goa.¹⁵² Most importantly for the Portuguese government, Costa renewed his protests against the possibility of the Indian Government using force to merge Goa with India.¹⁵³

Appeasing the Hindu Interests in Goa (1957-1961)

The political climate of Goa during the early 1950s kept Salazar preoccupied with the problems confronting this territory. During a speech delivered by Salazar on 10th July, 1953 to a select audience in the Parliament House in Lisbon, he expressed his anxieties concerning Asian possessions. Salazar declared that the concerns of India

¹⁴⁸ *Diário das Sessões*, No.17 (January 20, 1950).

¹⁴⁹ *Diário das Sessões*, No.23 (March 2, 1950).

¹⁵⁰ *Diário das Sessões*, No. 44 (April 15, 1950).

¹⁵¹ *Diário das Sessões*, No. 30 (February 12, 1954).

¹⁵² *Diário das Sessões*, No. 38 (March 9, 1954). The measures included several public works beneficial to Goa including the foundation of first phase of the airport in Mormugao.

¹⁵³ *Diário das Sessões*, No. 48 (March 23, 1954).

and particularly those related to Goa were foremost in his mind.¹⁵⁴ Rightly so, the *Satyagrahas* of 1954 and 1955 which followed shortly thereafter were a clear indication of the increasing discontentment against the Portuguese rule in the territory. In an attempt to win the goodwill of the Hindus of Goa, the National Union approved of a Hindu candidate Purshottam Quenim in 1957. This was an unique and an uncommon instance of the official party of Salazar backing a Hindu candidate in the entire electoral history of Goa. Incidentally, Portuguese India was allowed to elect three candidates in 1957. Purshottam Quenim was also elected in the next election held in 1961, along with Prisiónio Furtado and Voicunta Srinivas Dempó.¹⁵⁵ However, the political events which followed in Goa on 19th December 1961 leading to its integration into the Indian Union, brought to an end the system of representation system under the Portuguese rule.

Presidential Elections in Goa

The Goans were also involved in the presidential elections of the metropolis. The presidential elections had a uniform programme for Portugal and her colonies and were regulated by common rules. This prestigious office was filled directly by popular vote by all citizens of the Portuguese empire. The elections were meticulously worked out to suit the agendas of the metropolis. During the presidential election of 1918, the supporters of the *Centro Democrático Indiano*, *Evolutionistas* and other republicans supported the official republican candidate, Bernadino Luis

¹⁵⁴ *O Pensamento de Salazar, Os Problemas e o Próximo Acto Eleitoral* (Lisboa: Secretariado Nacional da Informação, 1953), 7.

¹⁵⁵ *O Heraldo*, November 11, 1961. On 9th November, 1961, a public session was organised at *Clube Vasco da Gama* in the capital by the Provincial Commission of the National Union Party. It gave an opportunity to the candidates contesting the elections to voice their objectives. Purxotoma Quenim and Advocate Voicunta Srinivas Dempó read their electoral agenda and discourse during this session.

Machado.¹⁵⁶ But the revolt of Sidónio Pais in 1918 changed the result of this election and a substantial section approved the leadership of Sidónio Pais.¹⁵⁷

Votes polled in the Presidential Election held in Goa (1918)

District	Sidónio Pais	Bernadino Machado
Ilhas	650	1
Salcette	972	-
Bardez	1436	3
Pernem	46	2
Sanquelim	116	-
Sattari	30	-
Ponda	51	-
Quepem	96	39
Canacona	9	19
Daman	126	-
Nagar Haveli	52	-
Diu	56	-
Total	3640	64

Source: *O Herald*, May 5, 1918

The low turnout of 30% in the above election in India was attributed to the abstention of the democrats as a protest against the revolt of Pais in Portugal, and the heat of summer, which prevented the voters from moving out of their houses to vote.¹⁵⁸

Portuguese Goa participated in presidential election thereafter. Commenting on the presidential election in 1958 of Rear Admiral Américo Thomas, T. de B. Cunha declared, “I am not surprised that the official victory was a foregone conclusion. Everyone including those who fought for the opposition expected it.”¹⁵⁹

¹⁵⁶ *O Herald*, April 21, 1918.

¹⁵⁷ “Eleições.” in *O Herald*, April 27, 1918.

¹⁵⁸ “As Últimas Eleições.” in *O Herald*, May 5, 1918.

¹⁵⁹ T. de B. Cunha, *Liberdades, Cívicas em Goa* (Goa: Publicado Pela Congress Nacional, 1947), 464-65.

Theoretically, the presidential elections reflected attempts to bring the colonies on par with the people of the metropolis, but in reality, it was far different. The colonial contradiction manifested itself in this as well.

The Voice of Dissidence Against the System of Elections

The dictatorship of Salazar allowed little scope for the expression of dissent against the regime. The Goan leaders and nationalists across India questioned the rationale behind the dictatorial measures of the government. It was done at their own risk of inviting the veritable displeasure of the government. The valour to question and criticise the policy of the government went along with a willingness to endure an exile or court arrest. As is commonly known, Pundolice D. Gaitonde's statement of 'I Protest' (*eu protesto*) in 1954 had the distasteful effect of being forcefully deported out of the state. Such measures did not cow down many Goans and other nationalists from expressing their concerns for Goa.

T. de B. Cunha was among the most vociferous critics of the representative system of Portuguese Goa. Cunha fearlessly accused the dictatorship of Salazar for his double standards in all elections of Goa. T. de B. Cunha pointed out that elections were carried out in Goa only to flaunt to the world that Goans were given the right to participate in the central government, when in reality, they were a farce, a fact which was well known in Goa. It was declared that the National Union or the *União Nacional*, the official party of the dictatorship captured all votes, and, not a single one was left for the opposition. It was also declared that when India was ruled by many of its retrograde *rajās*, people enjoyed more rights and liberties, than what Goa was allowed now.¹⁶⁰ It was therefore high time, according to Cunha, that Goans

¹⁶⁰ Cunha, *Liberdades, Cívicas em Goa*, 6-7.

mended their ways.¹⁶¹ He asserted that the Goan electorate voted for the official candidate and that there was no secrecy of vote and those who vote against the official candidate are invariably sent to jail soon after the elections are over for having attacked the government during the electoral campaign.¹⁶² It was not without reason that T. de B. Cunha was prompted to comment that, “Very few in Goa go to polls in the first place, but every silent voter is supposed (thanks to the dictum, silence is consent) to have voted for the government candidate. According to the well-known dictatorial convention, the bigger the number of absentees, the greater is the official majority. The representatives voted in these elections were cautiously handpicked by the agents of Salazar in Goa to do the bidding of the regime.”¹⁶³

The system of election re-introduced by Salazar in 1945 was more retrograde than the system which prevailed in Goa during the constitutional regime and the first republic. Salazar re-introduced elections as a pre-emptive move to present a more benign image of the dictatorial regime after World War II. Thus, a representative process cultivated without a genuine intent, was likely to show its true colours sooner or later.

¹⁶¹ *Civil Liberties in Goa*, 104.

¹⁶² *Ibid.*

¹⁶³ *Ibid.*

CHAPTER-VII

DECENTRALISING POLITICAL EXPERIENCES IN

PORTUGUESE GOA

(Legislative Council or Government Council)

The study of the Legislative or the Government Council during the 20th century enables to comprehend the decentralising political and administrative experiences in Portuguese Goa. This analysis throws light on the surge of political consciousness and comprehension of the concept of devolution of power among the indigenous elites which became characteristic of the early 20th century.

The Legislative Council or the Government Council conceded to the overseas colonies of the Portuguese empire during the 20th century was in fact a response to heightened democratic spirit and external influences of the 'Home Rule' in many parts of the world. Obviously, the essence of decentralisation found its expression in the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic in 1911.¹ In Portuguese Goa, this reform implied that some decisions pertaining to the internal administration would not depend exclusively upon metropolitan resolution and the undisputed arbitration of the local executive authority of this territory. Rather, it would be inclusive, and take into consideration the aspirations of the people through their elected representatives and allow the colony more freedom in matters of internal administration.

Portuguese Goa, as seen in the previous chapters was no stranger to representative institutions, but autonomy in internal administration was yet to be achieved. The demand for autonomy in the internal administration of the territory

¹ *Constituição Política da Republica Portuguesa 1911*, Article 67.

became a dominant discourse during the early 20th century under many colonial regimes. In this respect, it marked a distinct break from the past. The changing political scenario of the 20th century and the power structure under republican regimes allowed a more democratic way of governance in many countries of the world and therefore autonomy in internal administration was aspired in many colonies. Some overseas colonies of Portugal, including Goa articulated their feelings of neglect to the metropolis. There was an increasing demand upon Portugal to toe the line of Britain or Holland in evolving a system of decentralisation in administration. Further, it was also expressed that the colonies had to be conceded autonomy for its effective administration.² Some indigenous elites of Portuguese Goa had voiced their displeasure on the practice of appointing governors with a military background who failed to comprehend the civil administration of a territory. They felt that this shortcoming could be overcome by appointing administrators from a civilian background, which would also facilitate the promotion of autonomous institutions in Goa.³

The Legislative Council

The Legislative or the Government Council⁴ of the 20th century had some semblances to the earlier Council of State which was established in the late 16th century.⁵ This

² *O Herald*, No. 73, April 27, 1900; No. 74, April 28, 1900; No. 87, May 15, 1900.

³ *O Herald*, April 27, 1900.

⁴ *Carta Organica do Estado da India, 1917*. By this decree the administrative body was designated as the *Concelho do Governo*. In 1921, it came to be called the Legislative Council. See "Regimento do Concelho Legislativo." in *Legislação Relativa ao Estado da India, 1921*, 55-95. Similarly from 1826 to 1961, it came to be addressed either as the Legislative Council or the Government Council.

⁵ J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Decreto de 1 de Dezembro de 1861, Carta Organica das Instituições Administrativas nas Provincias Ultramarinas* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1899), viii.

Council had been restructured in the 19th century.⁶ The earlier councils were constituted to serve as advisory bodies, and the government nominated their members. The councils of the 20th century were representative in nature and some of its members were elected.

The recommendations incorporated in the first Republican Constitution were announced in 1914 through the historic regulation, *Bases Orgânicas de Administração Civil e Financeira do Conselho Legislativo do Estado da Índia*. The same was communicated to the overseas colonies of Portugal. The legislative body approved by this regulation was titled as the *Conselho Legislativo*.⁷

The *Conselho Legislativo* or *Conselho do Governo* was considered a vital administrative organ of the government. The elected member or his substitute remained in office for two years.⁸ Its significance could be gauged from the position accorded to it in the administrative hierarchy of Portuguese Goa. It was considered next in importance to the Governor General of Portuguese India.⁹ It derived its strength from two significant features. Firstly, a section of its members were voted to power.¹⁰ Secondly, the elected legislators could discuss and debate on issues affecting

⁶ J. A. Ismael Gracias, *Membros Electivos do Antigo Concelho do Governo e do Concelho de Provincia* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1882), 34. During the 19th century, the Decree of 1836 had nominated Vicar Capitular, Fr. Paulo António Dias da Conceição along with Dr. Fransisco Salvador Gomes to the Council. The Council became functional from 2nd December, 1837. It was reformed further by the *Código Administrativo de 1842*, the *Portaria Provincial de Agosto de 1847* and the *Decreto de 1869*.

⁷ “Bases Orgânicas de Administração Civil e Financeira do Concelho Legislativo do Estado da Índia.” of *Lei No. 277*, in *Legislação Relativo ao Estado da Índia* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1914), 351-360; *Leis Orgânicas da Administração Civil e Financeira das Provincias Ultramarina*, Base No.23 (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1914), 11.

⁸ “Regimen do Concelho Legislativo.” 1921,55.

⁹ “Bases Orgânicas de Administração Civil e Financeira do Concelho Legislativo do Estado da Índia.” Base 22, *Lei No. 277*; Carmo D’Souza, “Goa’s Legislative Institutions in the twentieth century a Historical Perspective.” in *Goa in the 20th Century*, eds., P. Malekandathil, and R. Dias, 1-22.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, Base 24 of *Lei No. 277* (1914).

the interests of their territory.¹¹ The members of the Council had the freedom of expression and they could take part or involve themselves in discussions.¹² They could propose additions, amendments, substitutions, recommend eliminations, and question the president or the commissions of the Legislative Council on issues which needed attention in the territory.

In the beginning, Portuguese India was allowed to vote for ten legislators who represented the following territorial divisions and interests:¹³ (1) One legislator for Ilhas. (2) One for Salcette. (3) One for Bardez. (4) One for Mormugao. (5) One for the New Conquests. (6) One from Daman and Diu. (7) One member represented the Industrial and Commercial Associations. (8) One member represented the Agricultural and Proprietors Association. (9) One member was elected by the 40 major contributors of the *Estado da India*.¹⁴ (10) One member represented the interests of the Procurators of the *Comunidades*.

A novel aspect of the Legislative Council was the representation provided to various organisation mentioned above. Although the powers of the executive authority in Goa were indisputable, the legislative council accommodated the aspirations of the local intelligentsia in Goa at least in theory. The Viceroy or the Governor General chaired all its inaugural sessions.¹⁵ Similarly, the speech of the Governor General during its inaugural session became a tradition during the 20th century.¹⁶

¹¹ Ibid., Base 23; Also in *Lei de 278* (1914), Base 20, 36.

¹² *Lei No. 57 de 1918*, Article 69.

¹³ *Carta Orgânica do Estado da Estado da India, promulgado por decreto No. 3266 de 27 de Julho de 1917*, Article 100, 29.

¹⁴ During the subsequent legislations, the number of taxpayers electing their representative was raised to 90.

¹⁵ *Bases Orgânicas de Administração Civil e Financeira do Concelho Legislativo do Estado da India Nos. 10-14*; "Diploma Legislativo Provincial No. 282." in *Legislação Relativa ao Estado da India -1927*, 250.

The First Leap into Autonomy

The year 1918 marked a turning point in the implementation of autonomy in Portuguese India. Incidentally, the year 1918 was politically significant with three different polls in Portuguese Goa; Parliamentary (April 1918) Presidential (May 1918) and the Legislative Council (June 1918).

The elections to the Legislative Council were initiated in June 1918. Local parties in Goa geared themselves for the electoral contest of the legislative council which was scheduled for 2nd June 1918.¹⁷ The atmosphere was similar to the competitive spirit that existed during the parliamentary election. Foremost in the contest were the members of the *Centro Democrático Indiano* led by the Count of Maêm and his supporters. The Count of Maêm promoted the interests of his party in North Goa. António Xavier Gomes Pereira stirred the interest of the republican voters in Ilhas. Prudente da Menezes of *Partido Indiano* led another group and Luis de Menezes Bragança led the third.¹⁸ Interestingly, this election also reflected the nuances of secular and religious dynamics among its participants, which were pervasive during the republican period in Goa. As discussed in the previous chapter, the *Partido Indiano* stood as the champion of the Catholic Union and promoted ideals of the Catholic conscience. The *Centro Democrático* and its supporters from the *Partido Ultramarino* were the exponents of secular ideas. Yet, the republicans were a divided house with divergent political standpoints among its members. The undercurrents of their differences were reflected in the local newspapers in Goa. For Instance, in Ilhas,

¹⁶ *Portaria Provincial no. 57*, Article 39 (February 1918); “Diploma Legislativo Provincial no. 282.” Article 10 in *Legislação Relativa ao Estado da India 1927*, vol. III (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1928).

¹⁷ “A Nossa Vitoria.” in *O Herald*, June 4, 1918.

¹⁸ *Ibid.*

the contest was chiefly focused upon Luis de Menezes Bragança and his republican colleague António Xavier Gomes Pereira.¹⁹ Luis de Menezes Bragança contested himself independently while António Xavier Gomes Pereira represented the *Centro Democrático Indiano*. In a closely fought contest, Luis de Menezes Bragança obtained 783 votes against his competitor António Xavier Gomes Pereira who got 703.²⁰ The overall results reflected the victory of candidates supporting the republican ideology. Some of the prominent personalities elected in this election were; Luis de Menezes Bragança (Ilhas), Dr. Vincent Barbosa (Salcette), Caraciolo de Sá (Bardez), Roberto da Costa (Damão), Visnú Sinay Dempó (Commercial Association), Filipe José de Gama Botelho (*Comunidades*), J. J. Roque Corrêa Afonso (Agricultural and Landlord's Association) and Caetano de Figueredo (Major Contributors).²¹ Diu did not participate in this election.²²

The Goan intelligentsia had pinned their hopes high on the above election and looked forward to a change in politics. The newly constituted Legislative Council of Portuguese India was planned to be inaugurated on 1st July, 1918.²³ But the much-awaited reform of autonomy and decentralisation was struck by an unexpected blow in the wake of the dictatorship of Sidónio Pais in Portugal. Three days prior to the inauguration of the Council, the Minister for Overseas dispatched a telegram to the Governor General of Goa, and ordered the suspension of autonomy in Portuguese India by citing reasons of its unpreparedness to implement the same. (*Determino V.*

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Ibid. Heitor Felicissimo do Carmo Noronha Colaço, a substitute of Menezes Bragança got 772 votes as against José Caetano de Xavier de Noronha who got 704 votes.

²¹ *O Heraldo*, June 11, 1918.

²² Ibid.

²³ Gune, *The Gazetteer of the Union Territory, Goa Daman and Diu*, vol. I 195.

*Exa. não pôr em execução Carta Orgânica Colónia, pois muito breve será comunicado legislação a aplicar”.)*²⁴ The unequivocal declaration of the Governor General of Goa, José Freitas Ribeiro that the Goans were not prepared for such a political exercise was an affront to the sentiments of Goans, who looked forward eagerly to autonomy in administration. Their disappointment was reflected in the newspapers and meetings of protest which were held at various places in Goa. It was an indication of a mounting democratic spirit and political maturity among the Goan intelligentsia.

A meeting of protest was held in the Municipality of Ilhas presided over by Luis de Menezes Bragança. The meeting reverberated with speeches from well-known personalities of Goa like J. M. da Costa Alvares, Dr. A. M. Cunha, Menezes Bragança and Sales de Andrade who demanded the restoration of *status quo ante* and withdrawal of the Ministerial Order.²⁵ The decision of the government was also condemned through intensely expressed speeches distinctly indicating that Goans could not be taken for granted. The deliberations on the aforesaid meeting were dispatched through a telegram to the metropolitan government. They expressed the transgressions experienced by Goans on account of the insensitivity showed by the government to local demands.²⁶ Likewise, several Goans in Bombay expressed their solidarity towards their compatriots in Goa. The President of the Goan Union in Bombay, Dr. Blasio Pais also sent a letter to the Minister for Overseas expressing his disappointment over the political events in Portuguese Goa.²⁷

²⁴ Menezes Bragança, *Prosas Dispersas*, 30.

²⁵ *Heraldo*, July 29, 1918.

²⁶ *Ibid.*

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 197.

The political fracas generated over the issue of autonomy in Portuguese Goa led the metropolitan government to issue instructions to the Governor of Goa to settle the unrest in the colony. Consequently, the government modified the reforms and announced them to the colony. However, the republican leaders in Goa led by Menezes Bragança were unreceptive to the dilution of the reforms on autonomy.²⁸

In the meanwhile, election to the Legislative Assembly with reduced elected members was scheduled to be held on 8th December, 1918. The success of this election was hindered by a major public meeting held in Margão on 1st December, 1918 under the leadership of Vincente Caetano Barbosa. Its main aim was to outline the subsequent course of action in Goa. This meeting reflected solidarity among the Goan electorate. The Goan activists voiced their steadfastness on autonomy and demanded equal weightage to the elected members in the Government Council on par its official members.²⁹ For example, António Xavier Gomes Pereira insisted on the rightful claim of Goans over autonomy and maintained that they were not willing to accept favours from the government. Luis de Menezes Bragança's passionately delivered speech wielded great influence upon the Goan electorate. The meeting unanimously voted upon four major issues, one of which included a notice to boycott the elections of the legislative assembly to be held on 8th December 1918.

Electoral Absenteeism: A Move Against the Encroachment of Democratic Space

An important strategy adopted by the Goan intelligentsia to indicate their dissidence against the government action concerning modifications on autonomy was abstention in the elections to the Legislative Assembly to be held on 8th December, 1918. This

²⁸ Gomes, "Institute Vasco da Gama." 197.

²⁹ Menezes Bragança, *Prosas Dispersas*, 244-245.

call was initiated by Luis de Menezes Bragança and strongly backed by the republican supporters and a large section of the Goan intelligentsia. This move was also influenced from the metropolis where the democrats had adopted a path of boycott in the polls held in 1918 against the dictatorship of Sidónio Pais. Incidentally, the weapon of boycott was also catching up in British India during the early 20th century among the nationalists and was being spoken of to reject the arbitrary moves of the colonial regime.³⁰

Electoral absenteeism proved to be a sensational stance adopted by the local elites and strengthened Goan demand for autonomy. This move also significantly aided in bridging the gulf among the leading republican members in Goa. For instance, Luis de Menezes Bragança and António Xavier Gomes Pereira exhibited considerable political compatibility and played a major role in shaping the success of electoral boycott along with other supporters. The boycott evoked tremendous response and in some villages, the abstention was a total success. According to the available statistics, out of the total 11,134 electors, a fraction of 888 voters had exercised their rights.³¹

The government on its part employed all its might and machinery to rupture the solidarity among Goan elites. It hinged upon the government employees like *regedors*, judges and their relatives who had no other recourse, but to vote in favour of the government. Subsequently, the following candidates were voted to power; Adolfo Sinval da Costa in Ilhas; José Vincent António Alvares (Salcette and Mormugão), António C. M. Nascimento de Mendonça (Bardez), Octaviano Borges Vás (Daman and

³⁰ Bipan Chandra, et al., *India's Struggle For Independence 1990* (Gurgaon: Penguin India, 2000), 124.

³¹ Menezes Bragança, *Prosas Dispersas*, 33.

Nagar Havelli), Sivelal Emotrana (Diu) Atmarama Vassudeva Porobo Dessai Desporobo (New Conquests).³² Despite the triumph of the government backed candidates, abstention was seen as a great triumph for India and Goan solidarity.³³ The preparatory council held its first session on 8th January, 1919 and functioned for a few months until April 1919.³⁴ An interesting discussion held in the Assembly in January 1919, centred on the traditional distinctions existing between the Old Conquests and New Conquests, dividing some legislators on this matter.³⁵ The shortages of rice experienced in Portuguese Goa shortage and restrictions imposed by the British government to export its rice to the territory were among various other issues deliberated during these months.³⁶

The political stalemate with the government was brought to a sudden halt with the change of guard at the helm of affairs in the metropolis. The assassination of Sidónio Pais in Portugal led to the restoration of the republican regime in the Portuguese dominions and consequently, a new Order announcing this change was received in Goa. In view of the vehement opposition exhibited by the Goan electorate to the legislative council held under the period of dictatorship, a new administrator, Augusto de Paiva Bobela Mota, was placed in charge of Portuguese India. As per the official directives received from his superiors, Bobela Mota announced elections to the

³² “Acta da Se Sessão Preparatória.” in *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India Janeiro de 1919* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1919), 1-3

³³ *O Debate*, April 24, 1919.

³⁴ “Acta da Se Sessão Preparatória.” in *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India Janeiro de 1919* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1919), 1-3

³⁵ *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India 1919, Janeiro de 1919, Acta No.3*, 28. The procurator of the republic felt that the distinctions should be abolished, but Adolfo Sinval da Costa observed that such differences were historical and there were indeed differences between the two regions.

³⁶ *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India, 27 de Janeiro 1919, Acta No. 9* (January 1919), 256-257.

Legislative Council in July 1919.³⁷ These elections were implemented as per the Decree no. 3266 of July 1919.³⁸

Representatives of the Legislative Council (1919)³⁹

Legislators	Representing
Luis de Menezes Bragança	Ilhas
Dr. Vincent C.de Santano Barbosa	Salcete
Atmarama V. Porobo Dessai Desporobo	New Conquests
Advocate José Fransisco C. D. de Sá	Bardez
Roberto da Costa	Daman and Diu
Visnúm Sinai Dempó	Commercial Association
J. J. Roque Corrêa Afonso	Agricultural and Landlords Association
Felipe José de Gama Botelho	<i>Comunidades</i>
Fransisco Filomeno de Figueiredo	90 Major Contributors
Filoteio Pereira de Andrade	Mormugao

The new Council was congratulated by many of its well-wishers from this territory and their greetings were read out during its inaugural session.⁴⁰ In 1920, yet another decree was despatched to Portuguese Goa which further reiterated the structure and functioning of this body.⁴¹ This time the Goan intelligentsia greeted it with cordiality. At this juncture, Luis de Menezes Bragança also rebuked any criticism which held that Portuguese India was not ready for autonomy. Such statements according to Menezes Bragança were baseless, as India had to make a modest beginning somewhere. Further, he was also argued that if the Goan representatives were denied

³⁷ *Decreto No. 5779 de 10 de Maio de 1919.*

³⁸ "Acta da Sessão Inaugural." No. 1, in *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India* (July 1919), 2.

³⁹ "Acta da Se Sessão Preparatória." in *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India* (July 1919), 1-3.

⁴⁰ "Acta da Sessão Inaugural." in *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India 1919, Actas Nos. 2-3* (July 1919).

⁴¹ *Decreto no. 7030* (1920), 118-119; The working of the Legislative Council was also elaborated in the *Regimento do Conselho Legislativo* in *Legislação Relativa ao Estado da India, 1921*, vol. XXI (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1922), 55-95.

an opportunity to be a part of the council on grounds of their naivety and inexperience, such an approach would act to the detriment of representative institutions in Goa.

Representatives of the Legislative Council (1920)

Name	Representing
Luis de Menezes Bragança	Ilhas
Vincent Caetano de Santano Barbosa	Salcete
José F. Caraciolo A. Domingos de Sá	Bardez
Filoteio Pereira de Andrade	Mormugao
Roberto da Costa	Daman and Diu
Atacama V. Porobo Dessai Desporobo	New Conquests
Visnu Dempó	Commercial Association
Roque Corrêa Afonso	Agricultural and Landlords Association
Felipe José de Gama Botelho	<i>Comunidades</i>
Caetano Fransisco Filomeno Figueiredo	Major Contributors
Filipe Nery Fernandes	Medical and Pharmaceutical Associations

Source: *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India, 1920*

Working of the Council

An examination of the legislative or the Government Council of Goa brings to the fore two distinct phases of this body. The first phase from 1911 to 1926 under the first republic and the second, under the regime of the dictatorship from 1926 to 1961.

Although the debates of Governor General's Council from 1919 to 1926 reveal stimulating issues raised by the elected members of the Council in Goa. The discussions ranged from an array of subjects extending from inflation, subsistence of living, transportation, education, budget deficit, taxation, and a host of other matters related to Goa. The issue of education and the need improve its quality to meet the standards of European and America was debated among the official and elected members.⁴²

⁴² *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India, Acta No. 7 (July 1919), 137.*

It is pertinent to note that the shortage of rice and inflation in its price in Goa, and in Daman became issues of repeated discussion during the first phase. It was an indication of the worsening agricultural crises and negligence of agricultural activities in the state. In this regard, Visnúm Dempó and Roberto Bruto da Costa recurrently raised issues on the shortage in rice, compelling the President of the Council to concede to the seriousness of the problem.⁴³ It was pointed out that some of the people of the New Conquests were unable to buy rice on account of their poverty, thereby exposing another facet of poverty and unemployment in these regions.⁴⁴ The despondent situation of unemployment in the territory led many to migrate to British India. Therefore, the problem of migration came to be viewed as of serious nature.⁴⁵

Many Goans looked forward to the consolidation of a democratic base in this territory during the republican period. But, their rather optimistic expectations became the very reasons for their disillusionments and decreasing confidence in the government. The diplomatic stance adopted by the Governor Generals disillusioned the Goan elites. In 1920 Governor General Jaime de Morais, acknowledged the proposals forward by Roque Corrêia Afonso and Menezes Bragança on the need for the economic and financial reconstruction of the territory. But he defended the inability of the colony to have a balanced budget as the deficits of the state were ‘quasi-traditional’ and declared that such modifications required far sighted planning and study.⁴⁶

⁴³ *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India 1919* (July 1919); *Acta No. 2* (January 1920), 10.

⁴⁴ *Ibid*, *Acta No. 4* (July 1919), 53.

⁴⁵ *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India*, No. 16 (October 1922), 10.

⁴⁶ *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India, 1920*, No. 1 (January 2, 1930), 2.

Commemorating ten years of the republican rule in Goa in 1920, there were laments expressed that the republican ideals were still an illusion, a political error, and idealism where much had not been achieved.⁴⁷ Luis de Menezes de Bragança, who was himself a member of this Council, bemoaned its subservient nature in his discourse delivered in the Provincial Council of Goa in 1920.⁴⁸ A series of articles written by J. I. Loyola (Fanchu) in this newspaper, *A India Portuguesa* exposed the vulnerabilities of the members of the elected members in the face of unrelenting government attitude. Governor-General Jaime de Morais's manipulative role in politics were also exposed by him. Loyola minced no words to express the disillusionment experienced by Goans as the Portuguese authorities retracted back on the reforms assured, at the beginning of the republican rule. He stated that the Legislative Council was not able to maintain the dignity of its position.⁴⁹ Loyola also attributed the failure of the 'Autonomy' to the political incapacity of the people's representatives in the Legislative Council and the wasteful expenditure of the bureaucrats.⁵⁰ Another article voiced the disappointment over the 21st session of the legislative council as it failed to enact a law, lowering the taxes in the *Estado da India*; a demand which was long overdue. Loyola attributed the failure of this body to lack of cohesiveness, acts of betrayals and defections among the members of the Council.⁵¹

Over a period of time, a sizeable Hindu elites of Goa too expressed their rancour over the functioning of Government Council. Unlike the parliamentary

⁴⁷ "5 de Outubro" in *O Debate*, No. 489, October 3, 1920.

⁴⁸ "Inelegibilidade dos Funcionarios." in *Diário da Noite*, No. 26 (January 5, 1920). Menezes Bragança was also elected to the Council after during the second republic (1929).

⁴⁹ Charles Borges, ed., *Goa's Foremost Nationalist, José Inácio Candido de Loyola. The Man and His Writings*, XCHR Series, No. 9 (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2000).

⁵⁰ *Ibid.*

⁵¹ *Ibid.*

elections, the Hindus were inclined to participate in the elections of the Government Council. From 1919 to 1926, they regularly contested the elections to the assembly. From some of the records highlighted above, and those available in the proceeding of the legislative assembly support this fact. It could be observed that Hindu representatives and their substitutes had a hold over the New Conquests. They also frequently won the seat allocated to the Major Tax Payer or the Commercial Association.⁵² For the first time in 1925, there were three representatives belonging to the Hindu community; Zoirama Xete Colopo (Bardez), Sacarama Sadasiva Suriá Rau Dessai (New Conquest) and Ramachondra Pundolica Sinai Quencró (Major Contributors).⁵³ In the elections to the Legislative Council held in December 1926, out of the 42 names in the electoral list, three were Hindus; Bandorcara, Sridora Sancoalcar and Venctexa Dessai.⁵⁴ It was often expressed by some of the Hindu elites that the New Conquests merited two representatives, as these regions were almost similar to the Old Conquests in terms of development and financial contribution to the state exchequer.⁵⁵ But this request remained unheeded. The Desporobo family of Pernem had a significant influence in the New Conquest and members of this family were elected in this region right from 1919. In 1939, Sridóra Janardana Camotim Sancolcar represented the New Conquests.⁵⁶ In 1955, the new regulation sent to Goa provided a wider representation to the New Conquests, probably as an attempt to

⁵² In 1922, the Council was represented by Venctexa Vinaeca Rau Dessai (New Conquests) Fotú Babú Sinai Quencró (Major Contributors).

⁵³ “Sessão Extraordinaria.” in *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India 1925-1926, Acta No.2* (February 18 1925), 3-4. Loximona Bandari was the substitute of Sinai Quencró.

⁵⁴ *Diário da Noite*, No. 1985, December 7, 1926; *India Portuguesa*, December 11.

⁵⁵ *Bharat*, No.4, April 1926; *A India Portuguesa*, December 11, 1926.

⁵⁶ *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India 1939, Acta No. 1* (March 16, 1939), 1.

placate the ruffled feathers of the Goans in the wake of nationalist movements in the territory.

Legislative Council (1926-1961)

The dictatorial regime established in 1926 in Portugal, rendered an immediate setback to autonomous institutions in Portuguese Goa. The executive authority gradually encroached upon the political space conceded to the elected members of the legislative council in Portuguese Goa.⁵⁷ This fact was evidenced from the reduction of the elected members of the council following the announcement of a new regulation in 1926.⁵⁸ The number of elected members was reduced to five, from the existing ten. It provided for five nominated members. This phenomenon also undermined the benevolent intentions laid down in the Republican Constitution of 1911. Consequently, Portuguese India was provided representation for the three circles; one representative for Daman and Diu, one representative for the New Conquests and three representatives for the Old Conquests as shown in the table below:

⁵⁷ “Carta organica, aprovado por Decreto com forza de Lei no. 12,499, de 4 de Outubro de 1926.” Capitulo II, Articles 11-13 in *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India 1927* (January 1927).

⁵⁸ Ibid.

Representatives of the Legislative Council (1926)⁵⁹

Legislators	Representing
Visconde de Pernem Bascora Pratap Rau Sardessai (substitute)	New Conquests
Roberto Bruto da Costa	Daman and Diu
António Xavier Gomes Pereira Dr. Lazaro Agostinho Marcelino da Costa Dr. Caetano Rosário de Faria	Old Conquests

Source: *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India, 1927*

The above move of the government invited a flurry of condemnation from some Goan elites. Fanchu Loyola Furtado's forthright and stimulating articles in the *A India Portuguesa* rebuffed the working of the Government Council. It was pointed out that the earlier councils had provided for ten elected members, while the above *Carta Organica* of 1926 had provided for five elected and five nominated members. Loyola questioned the logic behind such a measure and wondered in what manner the organisation of the council had improved by the recent law.⁶⁰

Many Goan elites saw the legislative council as an expensive enterprise. The increase in the salary of the Governor General as proposed in the legislature on 26th July, 1924 to cover the cost of gasoline, oils, lubricants, and parts of the automobile of the Governor General invited condemnation. This move was seen as an attempt to please the governor general, while ignoring its additional burden on the treasury of Goa. The above measure was not in accordance with the Decree of 28th December 1882 which prohibited the allowance on lights and servants.⁶¹ Roberto da

⁵⁹ *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India, 1927, Acta No. 1* (January 19, 1927), 1. Due to the absence of Visconde de Pernem, Bascorá Pratap Rau Sardessai represented the Council as his substitute.

⁶⁰ *A India Portuguesa*, December 11, 1926.

⁶¹ *A India Portuguesa*, January 31, 1927.

Costa questioned the President of the Legislative Council, Mariano Martins of not being able to understand the logic of increasing the allowance to the Governor towards lighting and water, from the state treasury, when the people were asked to sacrifice for their state. Further, Costa stated that such sacrifices had to be forthcoming from those who gave, and from those who received.⁶²

Although many Goan elites had complained the functioning of the council from 1919 to 1926, yet the more liberal tone of the first republic, distinguished this phase from its functioning under period of the dictatorship from 1926 to 1961. This was more so with the definition of a new state under Salazar in 1933. During this time, the trend towards decentralisation was reversed and a more centralised system was restored in Portuguese India.⁶³ The Constitution of 1933, made provisions of decentralisation and financial autonomy, based on the earlier provisions, but the government council was transformed into a merely consultative body.⁶⁴

Time and again the new legislations sent to Portuguese Goa repeated the functions of the Legislative Council. It could be observed that the legislators continued to debate upon issues affecting the province giving their recommendations, raising objections, demanding explanations or reforms and so on. But, they did not challenge the metropolitan government and its measures. Internal issues pertaining to Goa, especially those which did not challenge the executive authority were debated and unanimously accepted. For instance, in 1934, it was felt that the office of the sanitary

⁶² Ibid.,1.

⁶³ Marquis, *Synthesis of Portuguese Culture, History of Portugal*, 157.

⁶⁴ *Constituição de 11 de Abril de 1933*, Article 26 and Articles 34-47; Augustino da Piedade Colaço, "O Sistema da colonização Portuguesa." in *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*, No. 47 (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel,1940),12.

police should be created and placed under the Department of Health and hygiene. This matter was placed before the Council for a prolonged and was eventually unanimously accepted.⁶⁵ It was this attitude of the legislators which made Goan nationalists like T. de B. Cunha and others to term the council as a submissive body which only endorsed the policies of the government.

In 1947, it was reminded by the government that the functions of the members of the Council were honorary and obligatory. It was incumbent upon all the member of the council, without distinction, to work towards the unity of the Portuguese dominion, for the good of the colony and his own moral and material progress.⁶⁶ In 1955, the existing statute⁶⁷ was modified. It provided for a Legislative Council as well as a Government Council. The legislation of 1955 provided for 23 legislators, out of which 18 were elected, two were nominated and three were ex-officio members.⁶⁸ It was also declared that during the intervals of the Legislative Council, the government could enact legislations after hearing the Council of Government.⁶⁹ Interestingly, a Muslim candidate was elected in the election of 1955, Kazi Muhammad Mustafá was elected as one of the legislators of the council.⁷⁰

⁶⁵ *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da India 1935, Acta No. 1* (January 2, 1925), 6-7.

⁶⁶ *Decreto no. 11802 de 19 de Abril de 1947*, Articles 67, 69, 43-44.

⁶⁷ *Lei no. 2066 de 27 de Junho 27 de 1953*. The Statute of 1953 existing earlier was replaced by that of 1955.

⁶⁸ "Decreto No. 40216." in *Nova Legislação Ultramarina* (Lisboa: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1955), 313 -343 of 1955.

⁶⁹ *Lei No. 2076, Base LVIII, 2; Decreto No. 40216 de 1955*, 313-343. The government council assisted the governor general in administration and was made up of the secretary general, military official, procurator of the republic, director of the revenue department and two elected members of the legislative council.

⁷⁰ *Sessão Innuagural do Conselho Legislativo do Estado da India Portuguesa, 1955*, 1-11.

As stated above, it was felt by many Goan elites that the main work of the Council from 1926 to 1961 was to endorse the work and measures adopted by the government and the people had no say in the legislative proceedings. At a lecture delivered on 7th April 1946 by T. de B. Cunha, at the Institute *Luso-Indiano* Hall in Bombay, at the request of Goan youth League, it was expressed by Cunha stated that that the antecedents of the Legislative Councils during the first phase of the republic were far better than what followed later. In the words of Cunha, “Before the dictatorship, there have been in Portuguese India Legislative Councils with an elected majority, though their functioning was intermittent and subject to constant interference from the Minister for Colonies. At present, it is irresponsible officialdom that retains all power. In this respect, Portuguese India has gone backwards in contrast with the British India and even the Indian states.”⁷¹ Cunha further declared that a minority of members elected by a very restricted electorate had only a consultative voice in public administration where they can only discuss and not decide. The eagle-eyed Minister for Colonies supervises the administration of the colonies and administrative decentralisation is a myth. The Governors are responsible to the Minister for Colonies.⁷² It was further declared that this council ratified all government proposals and measures and voting had been invariably unanimous. The Government Council provided for a fraction of elected representatives who voted by a limited electorate and had only a consultative voice in public administration, where they can only discuss and not decide. Cunha also stated that Portuguese Goa did not represent the common man and therefore the Council was not responsible to the people. All rights were

⁷¹ Cunha, *Civil Liberties in Goa*, 16.

⁷² *Ibid.*

practically in the hands of the foreigners and that Goans have to leave in their own territory like human cattle.⁷³

The decentralising experiences in administration of Portuguese India shows that they started on a note of optimism, but deviated from its original path only to disappoint most of its aspirants in Portuguese Goa. Many Goan writers, journalists and nationalists exploded the claim of devolution of power which was institutionalised in its legislations by the colonial government. The Legislative Councils or the Government Councils served as suitable window dressings to preserve the authoritarian control over Portuguese Goa, especially from 1926 to 1961.

⁷³ Cunha, *Liberdades Cívicas em Goa, Publicada pela Congresso Nacional Goa, 1947*, 5.

CHAPTER - VIII

MUNICIPAL AND PAROCHIAL ELECTIONS IN PORTUGUESE

GOA

The municipal and parochial elections in Portuguese Goa constitute a part of the local governmental framework of Portuguese Goa and yet, they had an important connection with the mainstream politics of the metropolis. This chapter explores two dimensions; firstly, a brief historical and a conceptual framework of the municipalities and parochial bodies and secondly, issues of their accountability and performance in the administration of Portuguese Goa.

Municipalities in the Old Conquests

The municipality as an unit of urban administration in Goa, shows its antecedents rooted in the 16th century. Prior to the constitutional regime, it was characterised by the preponderance of the Crown, Portuguese nobility, the *casados* (later Luso-descendants) and the exclusion of the local elite from its administration.¹ The 19th century viewed as the period of liberalism in Portugal and her colonies, introduced striking changes in the urban administration within the established structures of governance.² The municipal bodies of Goa donned a new look after 1822. The elections of the municipal bodies of Portuguese Goa paved way for inclusion of the indigenous elites in municipal spaces, which were hitherto outside their bounds. This

¹ Cunha Rivara, *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental, Fasciculo 2, Parte I*, 1-12; M.N. Pearson, *Coastal Western India* (New Delhi: Concept Publishers, 1980), 52.

² The Constitution of 1822 conceded a municipal council for each district comprising of councilors and their substitutes, elected annually in a direct manner and presided over by a member who obtained the maximum number of votes. Later legislations decreed that elections would be conducted after every two years.

transformation gradually undermined the importance of the traditional political actors who had dominated the municipal bodies before the constitutional regime.

By 1822, the *Estado da India* had become more 'India-focused' and comprised of Goa (the Old Conquests and New Conquests), Daman and Diu. The entire geographical domain of Portuguese India was further divided into twelve *concelhos* or districts for its effective administration.³ Thus, it is within this limited area of Portuguese India, that one has to understand the elections to the municipalities of Goa.

For a very long time the Municipality of Ilhas (*Senado da Goa*), established in 1511 was the only municipal chamber of Portuguese Goa. The exclusiveness of this municipality was broken by Marquis de Pombal in 1774 when he permitted the establishment of municipalities in Margão and Bardez, and since then Portuguese Goa had three municipalities; Ilhas, Salcette and Bardez. But the Municipality of Ilhas was the leading municipal body in the province and enjoyed the precedence over other municipalities of Goa during the 18th century. The municipal chamber functioned from the City of Goa (today Old Goa) for a long time. But, the increasing problems of epidemics led the administrators to reconsider a new place for the *Senado*. Therefore, by the end of 1835, the institution was shifted from the *Cidade de Goa* to the modern day capital of Goa (Panaji). In 1843, Panaji was elevated by a Royal Decree to the status of a city and was called Nova Goa, lending more credence to this place and its

³ A. R. Disney, *A History of Portugal and the Portuguese Empire*, vol. II (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009), 321. The Portuguese State of India had lost many of their former possessions to their political adversaries. After the mid-18th century (1752) Mozambique became independent of Portuguese India. Since 1844, Macau, Solor and Timor also ceased to be a part of the *Estado da India* and its territory was limited to Goa, Daman and Diu. The Administrative Code of 1842, incorporated the Island of Anjediva and its fortress in the district of Salcette for the purpose of municipal and parochial elections.

institutions.⁴ The municipality functioned at several places, but in 1869, it had a permanent edifice in Nova Goa.

By the Law of 15th January, 1774, Marquis de Pombal established the Municipal Chamber of Salcette (*O Senado da Câmara de Salcette*). A few years later, the Royal Decree of 3rd April, 1778 made Margão the capital of the province of Salcette and elevated it to the category of a town.⁵ Angediva in Konkan region was included as a part of the district of Salcette. The Municipality of Salcette operated from its house which stood in close proximity of the church of the Holy Spirit during the 19th century and currently wears a ramshackle look. Its current location found its place during the opening years of the 20th century. The Municipality of Bardez (*Senado de Bardez*), was established in Mapuça in 1774. Mapuça was officially elevated to the status of a ‘Vila’ by the Decree of 14th November, 1858. The functions of this municipality were much more limited compared to the municipality of Ilhas because it was still subjected to the jurisdiction of the *comunidade* of Mapuça.

Theoretically, the municipalities of Margão and Mapuça functioned along similar lines, alongside that of the Ilhas. But the administrative body of Ilhas was looked upon as a premier institution of urban administration in Goa by virtue of its previous historical traditions. The Municipality of Mormugão was created on 27th July, 1917 but elections to this municipal chamber were conducted only in January 1919⁶.

⁴ HAG, MR, No. 210 A, fl. 149: The Decree of Her Majesty declared, “*Manda a Augusta Senhora pela Secretaria d’Estado dos Negocios da Marinha e Ultramar, comunicar aó referido Governador Geral (Tenente geral Conde das Antas), para seu conhecimento e para afim o fazer constar a comarca municipal da Ilhas de Goa, que por Alvara de 22 do corrente, houve por bem elevar a cathegoria de cidade com a denominação de Nova Goa...*” 30 de Março de 1843.

⁵ Saldanha, *História de Goa-Política e Arqueológica*, vol. II, 466.

⁶ *Decreto No. 3.288 de Carta Organica do Estado da India de 27 de Julho de 1917*; “*Portaria Provincial de 1919 de 20 de Janeiro de 1919.*” in BDG, 1919.

Municipalities in the New Conquests

The New Conquests formed a part of the Portuguese dominion much later than the Old Conquests and hence their involvement with municipal traditions and representative institutions were delayed than their counterparts in the Old Conquests. The administration of these regions was largely dependent upon the Old Conquests for procedural guidelines in administration. The New Conquests were governed through their administrative body called *Câmara Agraria* or the *Câmara Geral*.⁷ In 1852, the New Conquests came to be divided into four administrative and fiscal divisions.⁸ Almost three decades later in 1880, the administration of these areas was restructured.⁹ The municipal commissions with nominated members were established in most territories of the New Conquests during the 1880s through several provincial decrees. However, Ponda and Sattari came to have their nominated bodies only during the early twentieth century. There was only one elected municipality of Pernem in 1886. The elected municipalities became common during the first quarter of the 20th century.¹⁰

⁷ As stated previously in Chapter five, the New Conquests were represented by *Câmara Geral*, established by the Provincial Decree of 21st December 1840, and approved by the Ministerial Decree of 16th April 1850. Independent Municipal Commissions in these districts were created a few decades later in 1880.

⁸ *Anuário do Estado da Índia* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1932), 162-179.

⁹ *Decreto de 14 de Dezembro de 1880*, 162-180.

¹⁰ The municipal commissions in the New Conquests were created for first time during the years shown against the districts in the table below. They were elected for the first time in the years shown in the same table.

Municipal Commissions of the New Conquests

Municipal Commissions		
Districts	Nominated	Elected
Pernem	1880	1886
Sanguem	1880	1919
Quepem	1881	1919
Sanquelim	1881	1920
Pondá	1917	1919
Sattari	1909	1922

Administrative Structure

The municipal administration came to be restructured by various legislations passed during the 19th century.¹¹ The area within the jurisdiction of the municipality was called the municipal territory and was made up of several parishes.¹² Generally, each district had a municipality. It was also decreed that the functions of this body were restricted exclusively to territorial jurisdiction.¹³ The government representatives like the viceroys, district governors and other government officials like the administrator of the district supervised its administration.¹⁴ The despatches of the governor generals or the viceroys or from the secretary of the government sent to the municipality were read in its chambers. Similarly, it sent replies to the government on pertinent issues

¹¹ *Carta Constitucional de 1826*, Article 133; *Acto Adicional de 1852*, Article 11.

¹² Coelho, *Manual Politico Do Cidadão Portuguez*, 126.

¹³ *Boletim do Conselho Ultramarino, Legislação Novissima* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1867), 467.

¹⁴ HAG, *Termos e Assentos da Mesa (Protestos)*, Ms.7807, fls. 21. The *Juiz de Direito* or the District Judge attended some meetings of the municipal sessions, especially when important decisions were under consideration. These meetings were also attended by another dignitary called *Delegado do Procurador Regia* when matters of extreme importance were heard in relation to the municipality of Goa.

affecting its jurisdiction.¹⁵ The administrator of the district was the representative of the government and was entrusted with functions of the municipalities which were of political nature. The financial administrations as well as matters of local interest were entrusted to the municipal chamber. However, the administrator did not constitute a part of the municipal organisation.¹⁶

The Constitution of 1822 had transformed the municipalities of Goa into representative bodies and elections were conducted only in the three municipal chambers of Ilhas, Salcette and Bardez. Their representatives were called *vogais da câmara* or *vereadores* and were elected directly by the people of the district. Their number depended upon the nature and size of the district. Under the Constitutional Charter of 1826, the municipal chamber was called the *Câmara Municipal*.¹⁷ It comprised of six councillors and a president. The member who polled the highest number of votes was appointed as president. When elections were not held in a municipality, the president was nominated by the governor general.¹⁸

The rules governing participative inclusion and electoral procedures of the municipalities were decided by the administrative codes and other legislations sent to Portuguese India. They were almost similar to instructions pertaining to the parliamentary elections in Goa.¹⁹ Initially, elections were decreed to be held annually.

¹⁵ HAG, *Livros das Actas das Sessões da Senado de Goa (1838-1841)*, MS. 7822, fls. 1-33.

¹⁶ Coelho, *Manual Politico Do Cidadão Portuguez*, 125-126.

¹⁷ In 1835, the municipal chamber was abolished and was substituted by *commissões municipais*.

¹⁸ *Carta da Lei de 25 de Abril de 1826; Decreto No. 26, 27 de Novembro de 1930; Decreto No. 23, 16 de Maio de 1832; Decreto de 9 de Janeiro de 1834, Article 4; Lei de 25 de Abril de 1835; Código Administrativo de 31 de Dezembro de 1836, Article 25; Constituição de 1838 and Lei de 29 de Outubro 1840; A. C. B. Viriato de Albuquerque, Senado de Goa-Memoria Histórico Archeologica (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1909), 4.*

¹⁹ For details see the *Código Administrativo de 1836 and Código Administrativo de 1842; Decreto de 30 de setembro de 1852, Article 373; Lei de 23 de novembro de 1859, Article 46; Portaria de 28 de março de 1895, Article 14.* A voter had to pay an annual income of 10\$000 réis to the state

This trend was modified over time and they came to be held after two years.²⁰ Every voter in a parish participated in the municipal elections.²¹ On certain occasions, elections were not held in a particular parish within the municipality for want of qualified voters.²² In such cases, the governor general had the right to nominate the councillors to the municipality.²³

Municipal Councils of Portuguese Goa: Hierarchies of Power and Party Politics

For several centuries, the *Senado de Goa* of Ilhas had traditionally been the bastion of the Portuguese elite and *casados*, and was associated with opulence and power. It was commonly uttered in the elite circles of Portuguese Goa that whoever wanted to live high, and handsomely should try to become a councillor in the Municipal Council or the Holy House of Mercy.²⁴ The municipalities of Goa had their share of upheavals over the centuries, but encounters which surfaced after 1822 were of a different political texture and sometimes, were more daunting than those seen before this period. As seen previously, the modifications introduced in the structure of the government under the constitutional regime did not enable the smooth functioning of

exchequer. A candidate contesting the municipal elections had to possess domicile in the area of his contest.

²⁰ HAG, *Livro de Termos e Actas das Eleições, 1822-1853*, No. 243, fls.19-21; HAG, “Acta da Eleição do Vereadores de Câmara Municipal de Câmara da Ilhas de Goa.” in *Livros das Actas das Sessões do Senado de Goa, 1838-1841*, MS. 7822, fls.31-41; HAG, *Livro de Termos e Actas das Eleições, Nos. 243 (1822-1853)*, fls.2-4, 6-7.

²¹ HAG, “Acta da Eleição do Vereadores de Câmara Municipal de Câmara da Ilhas de Goa, 1838-1841.” Ms.7822, fl. 31.The election of *Meza Definitiva* was usually held after the election of preliminary board called *Mesa Provisoria*.

²² *Ibid.*, fl. 18. An instance of this kind was reported in the circle of Piedade in Diwar in 1845

²³ *Código Administrativo de 4 de Maio de 1895*, Article, 229.1.

²⁴ António Anastásio Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 286.

the municipal council as they resulted in a divide between the Portuguese and their supporters on the one hand, and some of the indigenous elites on the other.

It is pertinent to note that the municipal elections stood second in importance to that of the parliamentary elections and caused strife among the stakeholders. The municipality in every district played a significant role in the conduct of parliamentary and parochial elections. It was essential to have the municipal chamber in place before the conduct of other elections in the province of Portuguese Goa. Thus, the municipal elections in Portuguese Goa, similar to the parliamentary elections were also interspersed with concerns of class distinction, ideological underpinnings and party politics. The complexities of caste politics among the indigenous elites, visible after the mid-19th century added another dimension to the politics of power.

Generally, the municipal elections in Portuguese Goa conjure memories of vehemence and conflict between the official and indigenous interests. This is so because violence and bloodshed which accompanied a few municipal elections were focused than others by academics and its spectre still loom large across the political horizon of Goa. Nonetheless, such occurrences reveal an important fact, hierarchies of power and conflicts among the stakeholders in these elections.

During the first four decades of the constitutional regime, distinctions based on race and ideological leanings played a crucial role in the municipal administration of Portuguese Goa. The thought of losing their prestigious positions in municipal administration to the indigenous elites through elections was not amenable to the privileged classes, namely the Portuguese and Luso-descendants in Goa. Therefore, an atmosphere of animosity and discord prevailed among the elected members during the initial decades of the constitutional regime in Goa.²⁵

²⁵ HAG, *Termos e Assentos da Mesa (Protestos)*, Ms.7807, fl.26.

The municipal elections intensified conflicts between the Goans and the Luso-descendants. The influence of the Luso-descendants in the Municipality of Ilhas was deeply rooted since the 16th century. It was not expected to be passé immediately after the establishment of the new regime. Obviously in 1822, the Municipality of Ilhas was dominated by the Luso-descendants.²⁶ It was seen that for more than a decade after 1822, they held a commanding position in this administrative body. Moreover, the Luso-descendant community had a strong base in Ilhas and as mentioned in chapter V, their population in this district was also sizeable compared to other locales of Portuguese Goa. A study of the Minutes of the electoral records of the Municipality of Ilhas (*Livros das Actas das Sessões*) also helps to reiterate the above stand.²⁷ Several Luso-descendants served the municipality in their capacity as the councillors, presidents and as other officials.²⁸ José Francisco da Noronha, a Luso-descendant, recurrently figured as one of the councillors from 1830 to 1835.²⁹

The growing presence of the indigenous elites of Portuguese Goa in the municipal administration was also looked down upon by the conservative Portuguese elites and the Luso-descendants in Goa. This is evident from a letter written in November 1840, to the Minister (of Overseas) by the governor general of Goa³⁰ which

²⁶ HAG, *Livro do termos e Autos das Eleições, 1823-1853*, No. 243, fl.1.

²⁷ HAG, “Acta da Eleição do Vereadores de Câmara Municipal de Câmara da Ilhas de Goa.” in *Livros das Actas das Sessões da Senado de Goa* (For the years 1823-1825, 1827-1828 and 1829-1831).

²⁸ HAG, *Livro de Termo e Autos das Eleições*, No. 7897 (years 1822-1853); Also in *Actas da Eleição Geral do Presidente e Vereadores na Senado de Goa*, for the years 1826-1828. The names of Luso-descendants like José da Costa Campos, Manuel Pereira Garcêz, Bernado José de Ayalla (*Escrivão*), José de Noronha, José António Lemos, Francisco António Lemos, Assis da Costa Campos and others feature in the records for being elected as the councilors of the Municipality of Ilhas.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, fl.1-6.

³⁰ The Governor General of Goa in 1840 was José Joaquim Lopes da Lima, a supporter of the Portuguese Premier, Bernado da Costa Cabral who enjoyed the sympathy of the prominent members of the Luso-descendant community in Goa.

stated that the *Senado* (Municipal Corporation of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries) comprised of the *fidalgos* (noblemen), while the Municipal Council of the 19th century was elected among the members of the common people (*gente baixa*) belonging to the ‘*canarim*’ race, instead of any ‘*fidalgo*’, or at least a lesser noble, and it was an immense shame to mix with them. Another letter addressed to the same Minister on 21st March, 1842, stated, “... and if there is a consent, it means that a few black men are daring to direct His Majesty?....”.³¹ Many prominent members of the Luso-descendant community supported absolute ideology in Portuguese Goa and therefore, gained support initially from the *Minguelista* faction, and later, from the conservative premier of Portugal, António Bernado da Costa Cabral. Racial affinity as well as the dependence of the Portuguese on the Luso-descendants for military security often forced many Portuguese administrators to side with the community during elections.³²

The elected representatives from the municipality of Bardez and Margão posed greater challenges to the government, than that of Ilhas. The Portuguese government in Goa too reposed greater trust on the Municipality of Ilhas and relied on its loyalty (*lealdade*). Its members, many of whom were Luso-descendants, readily endorsed the policies of the government than the other members of the municipalities of the Old Conquests. In 1836, the Municipality of Ilhas was placed under the protective cover of the military security in Panjim in view of the turmoil expected in the parliamentary election.³³ Similarly, since 1861, its president was also nominated as the member of the Governing Council of Portuguese India. This move promoted greater proximity between with the Municipality and the Governing Council. Traditionally too, the

³¹ António Anastásio Bruto da Costa, *Goa Sob a Dominação Portuguesa*, 91.

³² Martins Pereira, and Costa, *Song of Goa Crown of Mandos*, 23.

³³ Miranda, *Quadros Históricos de Goa*, 115.

municipality of Ilhas also collaborated with the government in commemorating days of festivities and important occasions in Portuguese India.³⁴

In contrast, the municipalities of Bardez and Salcette were known to be the focal points of rebellion. Many of their elected members did not allow themselves to be taken for granted by the absolutist forces or factions which opposed them in politics. They demanded accountability from the viceroys on several occasions, especially when the electorate were side-lined from the parliamentary elections held in Portuguese Goa.³⁵ This attitude was visible when the municipalities were involved in the conduct of the parliamentary election of 1836.³⁶ There was also a general feeling expressed that the elected members of the municipalities of Salcette and Bardez together were determined to keep the New Conquests out of the electoral fray in the parliamentary elections of Goa.³⁷

The ideological influences of the political parties like the *Partido Popular*, *Patulêa*, *Chafarica*, *Setembrista*, *Cabralista*, *Regeneradores* and *Progressistas* exerted their influence on the municipal elections of Goa.³⁸ The party politics in began in 1822 and escalated after 1850s. The municipal elections of 1854 in Diwar and that of 1890 in Margão were singled for the magnitude of their consequences and received much attention from the researchers of Indo-Portuguese history.³⁹ It is difficult to find

³⁴ “Câmara Municipal, Noticias do Estado da India.” in *Boletim da Repartição Central de Estatistica e Informação* (January 1953), xii.

³⁵ HAG, MR, 210 B, fl. 407.

³⁶ Ibid., fls. 403- 410. A similar protest is also recorded in AHP, *Caixa* No. 56, fl.12.

³⁷ AHP, *Caixa* No.56, fl.10. This document describes the conflict between the elected members of the municipalities of the Old Conquests and the New Conquests during the parliamentary elections of 1836.

³⁸ Christovam Pinto, *Francisco Xavier de Bragança-Carta Biographica*, 5. This work mentions that councilor Francisco Xavier de Bragança, elected to the Municipality of Salcette was a strong supporter of the *Partido Patulêa*.

³⁹ Martins Pereira, *Song of Goa Crown of Mandos*.

parallels to these two incidents in the history of municipal elections in Portuguese Goa. However, conflicts of lesser magnitude abound in plenty and have remained in oblivion. For example, in 1850, the Governor General of Portuguese India in a meeting with the District Council of Portuguese India, and in conformity with the Administrative Code of 1842 nullified the municipal election for the circle of Ribandar and ordered another one to be held on 22nd December, 1850.⁴⁰ A similar verdict was also given for the electoral circle of Sé Primacial.⁴¹ It was apparent that there existed a divide between the president and other members of local assemblies in these circles.

Municipal Election of Diwar (1854)

The municipal election of 1854 held in Diwar was also linked to the larger political processes of exclusion and inclusion of the indigenous elites in public administration of Portuguese India and that of the metropolis. The macabre death of the Luso-descendant Captain, Joaquim Garcêz Palha on the eve of the municipal election of 1854 in the island of Diwar was a manifestation of conflicts of power between the Goan and Luso-descendant elites. This election was also linked to the wider politics of the parliamentary elections in the metropolis. This municipal election had occurred when the racial animosity and party rivalry among these elite groups of Portuguese Goa were at their peak. For the Luso-descendants, it was a period when they were seeking to establish a niche for themselves in the parliamentary elections of Portuguese India which had eluded them for a long time.⁴² Fortunately, the Luso-

⁴⁰ *BDG, Suplemento*, No. 50 (December 17, 1850), 405.

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, 405.

⁴² *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 19 (June 28, 1856). Luso-descendant *deputado* Caetano Garcêz, Palha (brother of the deceased captain) complained about the aggressive nature of the indigenous people in Diwar who were responsible for the tragedy of his deceased brother.

descendants had won a seat in the Parliament of Portugal in 1853, when Caetano Garcêz Palha was elected as one of the *deputados* of Portuguese India. Caetano Garcêz Palha was the brother of the Captain Joaquim Garcêz Palha who went to Diwar in 1854, on the eve of the municipal elections.

The Viceroy in Portuguese at this time was Visconde de Ourem, who himself was a great political strategist.⁴³ During the election, Visconde de Ourem took a stand which favoured the Luso-descendant community, because they were affiliated to the official interests, a party which the Viceroy patronised, in contrast to the *Partido Popular* or the *Partido Patuléa*, which was favoured by the local candidates.⁴⁴ The island of Diwar became the centre stage of violent scenes in 1854. Traditionally, the Luso-descendant community had an unassailable position in and around the City of Goa and the Municipality of Ilhas. It was also period when the Luso-descendant community enjoyed favourable political circumstances in Portuguese Goa and Portugal.

The village of Piedade in the Island of Diwar was one of the polling centres of Ilhas and this centre was combined with the villages of São Bartholomeu, Graça, and São Mathias to constitute one circle. There was a fierce contest between the local candidate, who was a nominee of the *Partido Popular* and the government backed nominee who also had the support of the Luso-descendant community.⁴⁵ It was under

⁴³ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, May 13, 1950. Some details on the personality of the Viceroy and his political strategies are described in Chapter - IV

⁴⁴ For more details on the rapport shared by the Viceroy and the Luso-descendant *deputado* Caetano Garcêz Palha, see *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 19 (June 25, 1856); No. 19 (June 28, 1856). The sessions of the parliament reflect emphatic arguments of the *deputado* in favour of Visconde de Ourem.

⁴⁵ The Luso-descendant Caetano Garcêz Palha, elected as one of the parliamentarians of Portuguese India in 1853, spoke highly of the Viceroy Visconde de Ourem in the Portuguese parliament.

these circumstances that Captain Joaquim Garcêz Palha treaded his way to the Island of Diwar to inspect the electoral process in the parish. The visit of the Captain Joaquim Garcêz Palha stemmed more from the mutual suspicion shared by the Luso-descendant community and the indigenous elites of Goa. This visit of Captain Garcêz was against the then electoral regulations which strictly prohibited the presence of the military force near the venue of polls or within its close proximity, unless sought for by the president of the electoral assembly.⁴⁶ In fact, Viceroy Villa Nova d'Ourem had also issued an Order in 1853 strictly prohibiting the presence of an armed force during the elections.⁴⁷ The defiance of electoral regulations by Captain Garcêz Palha was later highlighted by the Goan *deputado* Fransisco Bernado da Costa in the Parliament of Portugal. Costa pointed out that the Captain should have been in his military quarters instead of being present at the venue of the municipal elections.⁴⁸

Captain Palha's visit was also governed by another consideration. The *Meza Difinitiva* (Electoral Board) in charge of conducting the polls was dominated by members of the *Partido Popular* which supported the indigenous candidates. The President of the *Meza Difinitiva*, Custódio Vincente Pereira, a Goan from the hamlet of Piedade, was in charge of the municipal election.⁴⁹ For the Luso-descendants, the appointment of an indigenous elite to the commanding position of the president of the *Meza Difinitiva* was not acceptable. It was because there always existed a conflict

⁴⁶ *Decreto de 30 de Setembro de 1852*, Article 59. The article read, "A nenhuma força armada é permitido apresentar-se no local onde estiverem reunidas as assembleas eleitoraes ou na sua proximidade, except a requisição feita em nome do Presidente. O Presidente consultará a Mesa antes de fazer a requisição. A força só poderá ser requerida quando seja necessario dissipar algum tumult, ou obstar a alguma aggressão dentro do edificio da assemblea..."

⁴⁷ *BDG* (April 14, 1853), 125. The Order was issued in April 1853, on the eve of parochial elections and the same applied to all elections in Goa.

⁴⁸ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No.17 (January 24, 1855).

⁴⁹ *António Xavier Gomes Pereira, Sua Actuação Na Sociedade, No Foro, Na Política* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1964), 65.

between the two groups and each group tried to take advantage of the political situation in its favour. Cunha Rivara also explained the vital role played by the local electoral magnets in shaping victories in their favour when he commented on the electoral system during the 1850s. He categorically stated that the elections were anxiously guarded by the influential locals (*aguardadas assiosamente pelos influentes locais*).⁵⁰

It was under the above circumstances that Captain Joaquim Garcêz demanded that the keys of the ballot boxes be given to one of his trusted men fearing that during the night, the boxes might be interfered with by the polling officers. However, the presiding officer refused to obey his orders. Enraged by such an attitude, Captain Garcêz ordered the magistrate, a government representative to allow the troops to guard the boxes.⁵¹ The village folk, who had witnessed these scenes, were suspicious of Garcêz and the presence of soldiers and therefore, began tolling the bells of the church. A large crowd of villagers rushed to the churchyard. This incident occurred at dusk, which also coincided with the return of labourers from toil and their usual practice of gathering near the tavern for a drink. The labourers were also enraged by the presence of the Portuguese officer and his troops. Garcêz tried to defend himself with a wooden plank, assuming that the people would run away in fear. The labourers were so excited after the drink that Joaquim Garcêz became a target of their attack, resulting in his instant death. It was believed that the Luso-descendent community was so infuriated with the episode, that they attempted to terrorise the people of Diwar with brutal measures. However, when the news reached the Governor

⁵⁰ “Correspondência Sobre concani, trocada entre Cunha Rivara e alguns concanófilose existente na Biblioteca Pública de Evora-A Lingua Concani.” 46.

⁵¹ The safety and security of the proceedings were ensured by the president by preserving the ballot papers in a chest, secured by three sets of keys, one in possession of the president and the other two, with the senior most members of the assembly.

Visconde de Ourem in the night, a police escort was sent to the village of Piedade which cordoned off the entire area. Fourteen prominent people were arrested, four of whom were well-known property owners and the rest were labourers. Around 26 people were declared guilty.⁵² The dreadful incident later inspired Goan lyricists to compose folk songs, one of which was captured in the lyrics of *Luizin, mojea Luizin*. This incident was later discussed in the Portuguese Parliament.⁵³ *Deputado* Caetano Garcêz Palha, condemned the barbarous murder of his brother by a belligerent section of people operating in Portuguese Goa and stated that a section of people Goa desired to control power and truly aspired to be 'a state within a state.'⁵⁴

Several other municipal elections in Goa were also embroiled in conflicts due to reported incidents of fraudulence, interference of the government and rigging of polls. For example, the municipal election of Salcette held in January 1859 was challenged by Fr. António do Rozário Luiz, Aleixo Fransisco Moraes and Anastásio Queterio on grounds of electoral misconduct.⁵⁵ However, the District Council approved the elections for the said Municipality and dismissed the above allegations as unfounded.⁵⁶

Power Conflicts and Tax Payers

The municipal elections in Goa were riddled with power conflicts during the 19th century. On several occasions, the paternalistic and interventionist role played by

⁵² Gabriel Saldanha, 280.

⁵³ *Diário da Câmara dos Srs. Deputados*, No. 19 (June 25, 1856).

⁵⁴ *Ibid.*, No. 19 (June 28, 1856).

⁵⁵ *BDG*, January 31, 1859, 57

⁵⁶ Decree issued from the *Palácio do Governo* on 31st January, 1859 by Visconde de Torres Novas, published in *BDG* February 8, 1859, 59.

the major taxpayers towards their preferred factions which fuelled power conflicts came to be severely condemned. The major taxpayers were looked upon as the major role players in the municipal elections of Portuguese India and many writers on Goan politics of the 19th century have also acknowledged their pivotal role in elections.⁵⁷ The influence of the taxpayers was all-pervasive. They constituted the *Meza Definitiva* and were members of the electoral commissions which conducted the census of voters in Goa. Consequently, they wielded tremendous influence upon the decisions of voters.⁵⁸ The voters in Goa were sometimes made instruments in the hands of this dominant clique, and swerved to the emotional appeals of these influential men in the society.

Caste in Municipal Elections

The municipal elections in Portuguese Goa were influenced by group identity based on the caste factor after the mid-19th century. The caste rivalry among the indigenous elites appears to have taken a definite shape after 1865, when the two local parties, the *Partido Ultramarino* and the *Partido Indiano* were established almost simultaneously during this period. In the elections held so far in Portuguese Goa, there was no visible conflict among the indigenous community in elections. However, after 1860, the prominent caste groups among the Catholics of Portuguese Goa, the brahmins and chardós were at loggerheads in the municipal elections.⁵⁹

It was reported that the delimitations of electoral circles in the municipal elections especially in Salcette were manipulated and drawn on the basis of caste to

⁵⁷ Correia Afonso, "A evolução do municipalismo na Índia Portuguesa." in *A Índia Portuguesa*, 421.

⁵⁸ *A Índia Portuguesa*, No. 216, February 15, 1865.

⁵⁹ This rivalry has been discussed in Chapter IV.

retain power by the dominant party.⁶⁰ The polemics of this period, drawn along the lines of caste, were reflected in the contemporary newspapers. They help to understand the orientations of Goan electorate in the municipal elections, the tactical moves adopted by the local parties and ideological differences existing between them.

Over a period of time, the local parties were distinguished from each other not merely by the divide of caste, but from the ideological gulf existing between the two political groups. During the 1860s, the *Partido Ultramarino* shared proximity with the *Regeneradores*. The *Partido Indiano*, shared a rapport with the *Partido Histórico* (later, *Partido Progressista*). The ideological differences between the two parties can be perceived from an article published in the *O Ultramar*. The *Partido Ultramarino* accused the *Partido Indiano* of protecting its stakes when it (*Indiano*) supported enfranchisement of the tenants, who were marginalised under a feudal set up.⁶¹ It was further reported in the newspaper that the idea was good for the system of representation, but the illiteracy of most tenants, along with their lack of knowledge on human rights and the system of administration would negate the efficacy of this reform.⁶²

As in the case of parliamentary elections, in the municipal elections also, a more aggressive contest was witnessed in Salcette where *Partido Indiano* led by José Ignácio de Loyola and *Partido Ultramarino* led by Bernado Fransisco da Costa had their powerful base. The *Partido Indiano* was victorious in the municipal elections in Salcette for almost 25 years much to the disillusionment of the *Partido Ultramarino*.

⁶⁰ *O Ultramar*, No. 1641, September 14, 1890. This accusation was leveled by the *Partido Ultramarino* against *Partido Indiano* which had managed to dominate the municipal elections in Salcette for more than two decades.

⁶¹ "Direito Eleitoral." in *A India Portuguesa*, July 1891, quoted from the excerpts published in *O Ultramar*, No. 1684, July 11, 1891.

⁶² *Ibid.*

Its exasperation was also evident from reports in the *O Ultramar* which accused the *Partido Indiano* of 25 years domination of the municipal elections in Goa.⁶³ The *Partido Ultramarino* accused the *Indiano* of kneeling at the heels of the government (*Partido Histórico* and the *Progressistas*) to get itself elected in the municipal polls. It also alleged that the *Partido Indiano* had managed to retain the 'keys' of the municipality year after year, by consenting to all the conditions of the metropolitan party, thereby, reducing the electoral liberty in Goa.⁶⁴ Further, the success of the *Partido Indiano* was attributed to its conniving measures. Francisco Xavier de Bragança, the President of the Municipality of Salcette and the member of the *Partido Indiano* was held responsible of arranging the villages of Salcette along the lines of the caste, to advantage his party, a move which had also facilitated José Inácio de Loyola, to enter the Municipality as its member for the first time.⁶⁵

Municipal Election of September 1890

The municipal election of 21st September, 1890 saw the heightened frenzy of rivalry prevailing between *Partido Ultramarino* and *Partido Indiano*. This election was not merely a reflection of the traditional caste rivalry as generally assumed so far by the scholars. It was also intertwined with the political and economic despondency plaguing the metropolitan government and Portuguese India during the last quarter of the 19th century. It is crucial to note that the years 1890 and 1891 were gripped with two elections; one parliamentary and the other municipal. Therefore, the caste and political rivalries between the two groups influenced both these elections. Likewise,

⁶³ *O Ultramar*, No. 1641, September 13, 1890.

⁶⁴ *O Ultramar*, No. 1644, October 4, 1890.

⁶⁵ *Ibid.*

the economic problems faced by the *Estado da India* in the aftermath of the treaty of 1878 became an issue of contention during both these polls. In fact, the two political parties adopted rival stands on the renewal of the Anglo-Portuguese treaty of 1878.

As seen earlier, the parliamentary election of April 1890 for the Salcette circle was invalidated by the apex electoral tribunal in Lisbon for gross irregularities. Subsequently, a new parliamentary election was scheduled for April 1891. However, the parliamentary election could take place only if the duly elected municipal chamber was in place.⁶⁶ Under these circumstances, it was required to hold the municipal elections in Salcette at the earliest and accordingly, they were scheduled for 21st September, 1890.

The nexus between the *Partido Ultramarino* and Viceroy Vasco Guedes in the municipal election of September 1890 has been emphasised by scholars. But an aspect which has largely gone unnoticed, was the rumoured alliance reported between Viceroy Guedes and the *Partido Indiano* before this election.⁶⁷ It was reported that Guedes was initially convinced by his friends to enter into an agreement with *Partido Popular (Partido Indiano)*. An understanding to this effect was supposed to have been arrived between the *Partido Indiano* led by Avertano de Loyola Furtado, General Pestana and Major João d' Mello Sampaio on behalf of the government. But, within a few days, Guedes retracted from the alliance as done on earlier occasions. It was also reported that the Viceroy was impelled to change his mind by government officials and judicial functionaries, who convinced the Viceroy to support the *Partido*

⁶⁶ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 242, February 1891. In April 1890, the municipal chamber had been dissolved by the governor general and a provisional municipal committee, packed with the supporters of government (*Partido Ultramarino*) had conducted the elections. Thus, it was deemed necessary to constitute a legal municipal committee of elected members and the same was scheduled for September 1890.

⁶⁷ *Ibid.*

Ultramarino.⁶⁸ If the ‘clandestine accord’ between the Viceroy and the *Partido Indiano* as reported in press was true, it exposed how moves of political opportunity were looked upon as right choices, made in the interests of the public.

The *Partido Ultramarino* was critical of the victories of the *Partido Indiano* in the municipal election. This can be gauged from a report published in the *O Ultramar* which declared that for the last 25 years, the elections did not express the wishes of the people and it hoped that in the elections of 1890, the result would be different.”⁶⁹ For the Viceroy, a victory of the candidates backed by the government in the ensuing municipal elections was likely to affect the results of the parliamentary elections. Therefore, Vasco Guedes lost no stone unturned to ensure a victory in favour of the official candidates. The government ordered a new circumscription of the electoral circles in Salcette. For example, the circle of Margão was extended to incorporate some neighbouring villages, and thereby added another 5000 electors to the municipal chamber. The government appointed new magistrates to support its interests. The electors were prohibited from taking walking sticks to the polling booths. A force of hundred military men was stationed at Margão Ligório da Cunha of the *Partido Ultramarino* was entrusted with the responsibility of drawing the names of the official candidates.⁷⁰

On the day of the municipal polls, electors had flocked from the neighbouring villages despite their engagement in agricultural activities.⁷¹ The *Partido Ultramarino* accused the *Indiano* supporter, R. C. Afonso from Benaulim of instigating the voters

⁶⁸ Ibid.

⁶⁹ *O Ultramar*, No. 1641, September 13, 1890.

⁷⁰ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 242, February 1891.

⁷¹ Ibid.

as well as non-voters from the villages of Benaullim, Colva, Sernabatim and Navelim to flock to Margão at six o'clock in the morning on the day of the election, armed, and in large numbers to create confusion in elections. It was also alleged that the people were offered the local *fenim* at several places which had the effect of intoxicating them as they reached Margão.⁷²

An air of unease seemed to have descended the polling centre. The official candidates and supporters of the *Partido Ultramarino* were allowed an access to the municipal hall, while the general voters in the crowd were denied entry. A few voters (apparently supporters of the *Partido Indiano*) who attempted to force their way inside found themselves repulsed and kicked out of the building. On hearing the cries of the people, the agitated crowd resorted to pelting of stones on the building and damaging its structure. The Administrator of Salcette had requisitioned military assistance from the capital anticipating disturbance in the district. The agitated crowd signed a document of protest against the manhandling of the peaceful Goans and unarmed Goan patriots, in the presence of the public notary, Silva Coelho, at the residence of Salvador Philipe Alvares.⁷³ A letter of protest was written in the presence of a public notary and three parish priests. After the people had retired from the municipal hall, the administrator called upon the military, and ordered shooting on thousands of people who had gathered in front of the church of Holy Spirit, near the Municipal building without giving any warning. Thirteen people were killed on the spot and hundreds were wounded. The death toll touched twenty three. One innocent

⁷² The *O Ultramar*, No. 1700, October 31, 1891, claimed that evidence to this fact was given by four witnesses who affirmed that *boias* who carried wine to Benaullim, shared this news on their return in a tavern. Similarly, one of the promoters of this disturbance also claimed to have confessed to a landlord of Loutolim of having taken a decision at a meeting held at Navelim to promote disorder, if the election did not promote their interests.

⁷³ Alvaro de Loyola Furtado, "The Salcette Municipality, An Institution with a Glorious Past." *Goa Today*, June 1979, 23.

martyr among others included Ponciano de Albuquerque, who was a mentally challenged person. The victory as expected went in favour of *Partido Ultramarino*.⁷⁴

Despite the victory of the *Partido Ultramarino* in the above election, it blamed its rival for the above tragedy.⁷⁵ In order to undermine the gravity of this ghastly incident and protect the actual perpetrators of the crime, the government of Vasco Guedes invented charges of sedition against the members of the *Partido Indiano*. As the Government unleashed terror and initiated action against the ‘rebels’, several members of the *Partido Indiano* escaped British India to take asylum. Vasco Guedes on his part requested the Governor of Bombay, Lord Harris, to extradite such Goan fugitives under the Anglo-Portuguese Treaty of 1878. Severe charges were also framed against these fugitives. The total number of accused had touched 150.⁷⁶

The public outrage against the government in Goa was expressed through the newspapers in Portuguese Goa and British India. The news of this dastardly act of Vasco Guedes, flashed outside Portuguese Goa, and led to angry protests through the newspapers and meetings of protest were held at many places in Goa and British India.⁷⁷

The metropolitan government in Portugal (the *Liga Liberal*) could not turn a blind the eye to letters of protest from the aggrieved parties in Goa. It deputed a delegation to enquire into the incidents in Salcette. Consequently, a new election was ordered in the same year. This time, the victory favoured *Partido Indiano*. Dr. António Xavier Heráclito Gomes was elected as the president of the Salcette

⁷⁴ Ibid. This reminds one of the Jallianwala Bagh of 1919 of British India.

⁷⁵ *O Ultramar*, No. 1642, October 4, 1890.

⁷⁶ Furtado, “The Salcette Municipality, An Institution with a Glorious Past.” 23.

⁷⁷ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 245, March 12, 1891.

Municipality.⁷⁸ In the meanwhile, in the wake of the political changes which had occurred in Portugal, it was decided to remove from Goa, the author of barbarous atrocities-Vasco Guedes. The Viceroy made strong moves to retain his position in Goa, but without success.

In the meanwhile, the case filed against the ‘rebels’ belonging to the *Partido Indiano* failed to hold ground before the Court of the Magistrate of the Madras Presidency.⁷⁹ The *O Ultramar*, was not receptive to this verdict and declared that a process annulled did not necessarily reflect a fair trial.⁸⁰ It also declared that the *Indiano* had created an atmosphere of mistrust and disgust to win the elections and that these acts of cannibalism which took place in many villages could not be justified.⁸¹ The gruesome events of the polls during the year were in some Goan *Mandos like Setembrache Ekvisveri kamrachim foddlemeru; Partidcho Chefi Mukar Sorlo and Kitem re Zata Konnom re Fobor*. These compositions reflect the mutual animosity and personal vendetta between the two local parties of Goa.⁸²

As soon as this incident was over, the government took some measures of rectification. The Administrator of Salcette, Lieutenant Colonel Luís Carneiro, was removed from Salcette at his own request, but was promoted to the rank of the colonel.

⁷⁸ Valmiki Faleiro, *Soaring Spirit 450 years of Margao's Espírito Santo Church*, 224.

⁷⁹ *Ibid.*

⁸⁰ *O Ultramar*, No. 1696, October 1891. It was declared, “*O processo annullado não e o processo julgado*”.

⁸¹ *O Ultramar*, No. 1700, 1891. In the village of Vaddem, Ambrosio de Conceição, a member of the assembly was beaten up and an urn was stolen. In Assolna, Dr. Luis Gonzaga Ferrão tried to rob an urn along with some electoral papers and was wounded. In the village of Dramapur, the editor of the *O Ultramar* along with his son were beaten up and were almost arrested. In Curtorim, the members of the assembly were beaten up and an attempt was made to rob the papers. In Raia, Luis Caetano Figueiredo, José Baptista, Erasmo Sebastião Pimenta e Barbosa, gentlemen who were incapable of any disorder were slapped. The urn was taken away, which was eventually saved from the hands of the aggressors by some courageous patriots. Similar was the situation in the village of S. Thomé.

⁸² Martins Pereira, *Song of Goa Crown of Mandos*, 283-284.

Lieutenant Raymundo de Assa Castel Branco, the officer in command of the troops was placed under suspension for some time.⁸³ Strong condemnations of Caetano de Figueiredo, the Magistrate of Salcette, also appeared in the press for toing the line of Guedes and shirking his judicial responsibilities appeared in the press.⁸⁴ Likewise, the municipalities of Bardez and Ilhas were not free from the dynamics of class and caste politics, prevailing in Portuguese India since the mid-19th century.

During provincial congresses, as well as the sessions of the legislative councils held in Portuguese Goa during the 20th century, it was expressed that the municipal bodies needed to be seriously overhauled. It was felt that they were like exotic plants which never took roots in the soil.⁸⁵ The situation was even more despairing in the New Conquests, where most elected bodies were sanctioned only after 1917.⁸⁶ Unfortunately, even after this period, the government nominated many councillors in the New Conquests for want of qualified people to occupy these positions. The New Conquests found a voice in Atmarama Vassudeva Porobo Dessai Desporobo, the representative of these regions in the Legislative Council since January 1919.⁸⁷ Desporobo, demanded more efficiency from the municipal bodies and a wider representation of elected members in the municipalities of Pernem, Sanguem and Canacona. It was also pointed out that it made no sense to distinguish the

⁸³ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No.239, January 19, 1891. Severe charges were also framed against these fugitives. The total number of accused had touched 150.

⁸⁴ *O Anglo-Lusitano*, No. 237, January 16, 1891.

⁸⁵ Proceedings of the fifth Congress Provincial Congress held in Portuguese Goa.

⁸⁶ *Anuário do Estado da India*, Imprensa Nacional (1932), 162- 179.

⁸⁷ Desporobo was elected as the representative of the legislative council consecutively from 1919 to 1923.

Municipality of Ilhas with more representatives than those allowed to Bardez and Salcette.⁸⁸

Financially too, the municipalities of Portuguese Goa suffered from financial deficit. Often they sustained themselves from the funds of the *comunidades* or even from those of parochial assemblies. It was asserted that little or almost nothing was done by any resolute or courageous president or a councillor whose name could be remembered by posterity.⁸⁹ In 1935, the issue of financial constraint of the municipality was once again acknowledged in the Legislative Council. It was accepted that the municipalities were already burdened with financial liabilities and that it was almost impossible to bear the additional expenditure of maintaining the Sanitary Police that was approved for city administration.⁹⁰ During the parliamentary session of 1947, the Goan *deputado*, Froilano de Mello, pointed out to the maladministration of the municipalities of Goa. He commented that the progress of a region depended upon the measures undertaken by the municipality, but Portuguese India did not have the finances to carry out this mission, and the little that was done, was on unproductive activities. It was stated that the municipality was burdened with expenditure. It was also decried that the municipalities could have done so much better, but were not able to do much.⁹¹

An examination of the municipalities in Portuguese Goa shows that they did not evolve themselves as truly representative institutions. According to T. de B. Cunha, the activities of the municipalities under the Portuguese regime were limited to

⁸⁸ “Acta da Sessão Inaugural.” No. 1, *Actas do Conselho do Governo do Estado da Índia 1919* (January 11, 1919), 30.

⁸⁹ A. Furtado, *As Comunidades* (Bastorá: Tipografia Rangel, 1944), 36.

⁹¹ *Diário das Sessões dos Deputados*, Session No. 87 (February 12, 1947).

a few towns where Europeans the lived, the numerous villages were quite neglected, and did not possess institutions of their own to look after their most elementary needs.⁹² The towns were administered according to the whims of those who succeeded in gaining the sympathies of the governors, the public concerned had no voice in that matter.⁹³ Although by 1955, Portuguese India had 14 municipalities, eleven in Goa and other three in the city of Daman, Nagarhavelli, and Diu⁹⁴, most municipalities of Portuguese Goa attained their truly representative nature after 1961.

Junta Da Parochia

The *Junta da Parochia* also designated as the *Junta Local* during the 20th century was essentially the local representative body of the parish in Portuguese Goa. It has its origins during the constitutional regime and continued to be exist until 1961, when its functions were later taken over by the village *Panchayat* system. In the wake of representative institutions introduced within the Portuguese dominions after 1822, the parochial body was established to promote the interests of the people within a parish. The *Junta da Parochia* was made up of the President, elected members, scrutinisers, treasurers and the secretary. Its work was supervised by the government official or the *regedor*. Regrettably, this institution failed to take firm roots in Portuguese Goa and its dismal state of affairs could be perceived from the proverbial Portuguese expression, *Sem rei nem roque, sem lei nem Codigo*.⁹⁵

⁹² Civil Liberties in Goa, 17.

⁹³ Ibid.

⁹⁴ *Lei No. 2076*, Base LVIII, 2; *Decreto No. 40216 de 1955*, 313 -343, 336.

⁹⁵ *A India Portuguesa*, No.11, October 1926. This expression meant neither 'No King nor Castling' and was used by J. I de Loyola (Fanchu) to describe the state of affairs of the parochial assemblies in Portuguese Goa.

Much of the administrative responsibilities of the villages were traditionally looked after by the village *comunidades* in colonial Goa. Yet, a local representative body in the form of a Parochial Assembly was introduced in Portuguese Goa after 1822 to administer certain aspects of the village administration. Although the village *comunidades* and the parochial bodies were markedly distinct from each other in their composition and responsibilities, the parochial assembly remained largely marginalised for the greater period of its existence under the colonial regime.

Theoretically, the parochial assemblies became functional since 1822. But many parishes did not have these elected bodies due to want of sufficient voters and representatives even during the 20th century. The number of elected members allowed in a parochial body depended upon the number of households or population within a district.⁹⁶ The Administrative Codes of 1836 and that of 1842 explain the constitution of the parochial assembly. Generally, the assembly would have three elected representatives for a population of one thousand inhabitants, or five representatives if the number of inhabitants exceeded one thousand.⁹⁷ The parishes which did not have sufficient number of citizens to constitute the parochial board were administered by the government.

The parochial elections were held every two years and were conducted in the same way as the municipal elections.⁹⁸ The parochial representatives were elected by

⁹⁶ *Constituição de 1822*. The parochial assembly represented a group of villages, with a population ranging between one thousand to six thousand inhabitants; *Código Administrativo Português 1836*, Article 9 (Lisboa: Imprensa da Rua de S. Julião, 1937). 5; See also the Administrative Codes of 1842, 1878, 1886, 1895, and 1896; “Instruções de 12 de Agosto de 1847.” in *BDG*, No. 43 (October 16, 1847).

⁹⁷ Magalhães, *Código Administrativo*, Article 155.

⁹⁸ *Código Administrativo de 1842*, Article 297.

the qualified voters.⁹⁹ The president, who directed its administration, headed the assembly.¹⁰⁰ The president served as an important link between the parish and the administrator of the district. The *regedor* was the local magistrate and was a representative of the government, and as such, represented the interests of the government in the parish. Issues beyond the purview of the *Junta da Paróchia* were resolved either by the administrator of the district, or by the district governor or the Governor General.¹⁰¹ Illegalities of any nature within the parish were brought to the notice of the *Junta da Paróchia* for rectification.¹⁰² The Law of 26th June 1867 was a noteworthy reform in the administration of the parish. It not only concerned itself with the interests of the people in the parish, but also aimed at enlarging the sphere of public participation in the village.

Sessions (*Sessões*)

Generally, the sessions of the parochial assembly commenced at the beginning of every year. The assembly was required to have its ordinary session every fifteen days, and an extraordinary session, whenever it was felt necessary by the president or the *regedor* or a higher administrative officer. However, the parochial assembly could alter the time of the meeting after a prior notice.¹⁰³ The meetings of the assembly were attended by the *regedor* who rendered valuable assistance in its deliberations.¹⁰⁴

⁹⁹ Ibid., Article 311. A voter qualified on the following grounds: (1.) Having an annual income of 100\$000 *réis*, from property, commerce, industry, employment. (2.) Having attained majority.

¹⁰⁰ Ibid., Article 291 and the *Decreto de Março de 1869*.

¹⁰¹ The position of the Administrator of the District was created by the Law of 7th December 1836. The administrator replaced the position of *tanador mor* who exercised functions of a similar capacity prior to this period.

¹⁰² *Código Administrativo de 1886*, Article 187.

¹⁰³ Ibid., Article 183.

¹⁰⁴ Lencastre, *Índice Remissivo da Legislação Novíssima de Portugal Os annos de 1833 até 1865*, 162.

The administrative responsibilities assigned to the parochial bodies in Goa were limited in nature. They were entrusted with the administration of the properties of the church and other activities which were beneficial to the parish.¹⁰⁵ An issue of priority taken up for deliberations by the assembly was the administration of the *fabrica* of the church.¹⁰⁶ It looked after the granaries or barns of the church, properties gifted to the church to support pious works, administration of the chapels affiliated to the church and movable properties of the church. It also undertook repair work and conservation of the church properties.¹⁰⁷

The Governor General of Portuguese India could take arbitrary decisions concerning the dissolution of the parochial assembly or announcing new elections for its constitution. To cite an instance, in 1859, the elections to be held in the villages of Carmona and Chandor were postponed from 16th January as they coincided with the elections of the municipality. They were scheduled for a later date with the approval of the Governor General, Visconde de Torres Nova.¹⁰⁸ The election had to be conducted within a period of one month after the dissolution of the assembly. During the period of this interlude, the governor entrusted the existing assembly to continue with its responsibilities.¹⁰⁹

¹⁰⁵ António Ribeiro da Costa e Almeida, *Elementos de Direito e Administrativo* (Porto: Livraria, Portuense, 1885), 162.

¹⁰⁶ The *fabrica* of the church looked after the income acquired from rents. This income was utilised to undertake repair of the church and to meet other expenses. Before the creation of the *Junta da Paróchia*, these functions were administered by other authorities of the parish under the direction of the parish priest and the supervision of the Bishop.

¹⁰⁷ Costa e Almeida, *Elementos de Direito Publico*, 162-164.

¹⁰⁸ *BDG*, March 1859, 26.

¹⁰⁹ The exiting assembly had to continue till a new assembly was constituted.

Parochial Assemblies: Victims of Circumstances

A deeper analysis of the parochial assemblies reveals that they did not rise as premier units of local administration in Portuguese Goa. Excessive political interventions from the executive authorities in Goa and their apathetic attitude, as well as the existing traditions of local administration in Goa (*comunidades*) hindered the growth of the parochial institutions. Such limitations on the parochial bodies were also experienced in other parts of the Portuguese empire. Therefore, during the mid-1850s, the metropolitan government had also recognised the need to bolster attempts to make these local bodies more effective. In the parliamentary session of 14th June, 1856, it was observed that parochial assemblies were increasingly subjected to the authority of the municipal councils. A resolution was admitted in the parliament to allow more freedom to the parochial assemblies in the construction of cemeteries in their respective parishes.¹¹⁰ The Code of 1870 favoured decentralisation of the parochial bodies.¹¹¹ But the provisions of this Code were not executed. The functions and responsibilities of the parochial assemblies did not alter much despite several debates concerning their welfare in Portugal.

A section of the intelligentsia in Portuguese Goa lamented that the parochial assemblies had not risen to their potential. The strongly rooted antecedent of local governance found in the system of *gauncarias* or the *comunidades* was viewed as a hindrance to the parochial body. But the effectiveness of the parochial assembly can be best gauged in the wider context of the functioning of the *comunidade* system. In spite of the positive attributes of the *comunidades* of Goa, they affected the local parochial assemblies during the 19th and 20th centuries. It was a common knowledge

¹¹⁰ *Diário da Câmara dos Senhores Deputados*, No.1 (June 14, 1856).

¹¹¹ *Código Administrativo, aprovado por Decreto de 21 de julho de 1870* (Coimbra: Imprensa de Universidade, 1870), 5.

that the local administration in rural Goa was managed by *gauncarias*.¹¹² The *gauncari* system, popularly named as the *comunidades*, largely served as a means to satisfy the ends of the Portuguese government. The colonial regime often depended upon these institutions for funds and relieve the government of its financial burden. The Viceroy of Goa, Baron Vila Nova de Ourém acknowledged in 1851 that the *comunidades* not only paid taxes to the government, but also sustained other responsibilities of public administration.¹¹³ Some *comunidades* took upon themselves the responsibility of even constructing the cemeteries.

Since the mid-19th century, in the existing literature, there is an intensive debate centred around the conflict between the parochial assemblies and the *comunidades*. One of the major arguments related to the empowerment of the parochial assemblies over the *comunidades*.¹¹⁴ This debate reflected fissures among the Goan intelligentsia on local administration. A section of the intelligentsia favoured the promotion of the parochial assemblies over the *comunidades*. This group argued that the parochial assemblies should be allowed a breathing space to bloom without a competitor. On the other hand, its contenders favoured the continuation of the *comunidade* system in Portuguese Goa. In 1847, Filipe Nery Xavier, the renowned writer of the *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades* himself was involved in drafting reforms for the *comunidades* and defended their growth. This matter caught the attention of the government which issued a circular of 26th April, 1849 and allowed

¹¹² The *Tanadar* was the head of the local administrative unit in Goa. See the work of Filipe Nery Xavier, *Bosquejo Histórico das Comunidades das Aldeas dos Concelhos das Ilhas Salcette e Bardez*, vol. I (Bastorá: Tipographia Rangel), 167.

¹¹³ Correia Afonso, "A evolução do Municipalismo." 438. The responsibilities pertained to sustenance of the divine cult, agriculture, repair of public structures within its jurisdiction, maintenance of village streets, health and various other functions.

¹¹⁴ Furtado, *As Comunidades*, 36-37.

a discussion on the contentious matter among its stakeholders.¹¹⁵ Accordingly, the significance of the *comunidades* and parochial assemblies came to be debated at various fora. These debates were attended by the governor general, district administrators and the intelligentsia. By 1854, the rhetoric on this subject had reached its feverish heights.¹¹⁶ It polarised the disputants into groups, and little progress was registered in resolving this row. One group advocated empowerment of the parochial assemblies.¹¹⁷ A. B. Bragança Pereira advocated that the parochial representative bodies should be entrusted with certain public responsibilities like transportation, health and so on.¹¹⁸ The views of Bragança Pereira did not find merit among many of his opponents, who found the recommendations impractical, given the financial constraints of administration. In this regard, it was expressed that the municipalities themselves suffered from paucity of funds and could not attend to all the financial requirements of the village.¹¹⁹ In fact, the parochial assemblies depended upon the municipality of their respective districts for financial assistance. In 1849, Governor General Pestana had announced that the parochial assemblies were not empowered to exceed their expenditure beyond 25 *xerafins*.¹²⁰ Similarly, the parochial assembly had to receive the approval from the municipalities for undertaking works of

¹¹⁵ F. Nerry Xavier, 138.

¹¹⁶ This debate echoed in the Portuguese *Cortes*. The Luso-descendant *deputado* Caetano G. Palha and Goan *deputado* Bernado da Costa had heated arguments on this issue in the parliament.

¹¹⁷ Furtado, *As Comunidades*, 36. The group supporting the institution of the *comunidades* with certain modifications was led by Francisco Luis Gomes, Joaquim Heliodoro da Cunha Rivara, Filipe Nerry Xavier, Ismael Gracias, Dr. António Floriano de Noronha and others. The second group which opposed the continuation of the *comunidades* included Constâncio Roque da Costa, Joaquim Catão da Costa, Bernado da Costa, Bruto da Costa and others.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, 293.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, 442.

¹²⁰ Pronouncement of Governor-General Pestana in February 1849 from the Governor General's palace in *BDG* (1849). In the event of urgent necessity, they had to take the approval of the municipalities by presenting their requirements.

repair and other tasks within their jurisdiction.¹²¹ When the income exceeded the stipulated amount of 25 *Xerafins*, the parish council had to make arrangement to defray the cost from the income generated from its properties.

The fortunes of the parochial assemblies did not alter much during the 20th century. There were many parishes and localities in Portuguese Goa which did not have parochial assemblies for want of sufficient voters and eligible representatives. This was more so in the New Conquests where the tradition of representative institutions had not taken their firm roots. In 1911, the Constitution of the Portuguese Republic promoted decentralisation of local administrative bodies in the overseas provinces, according to laws specific to each colony.

In 1913, the *Junta da Paróchia* was called the *Junta Local* or *Comissão da Paróchia*.¹²² The above legislation allowed certain concessions to the parochial bodies. For example, a professor of primary instruction could constitute a parochial assembly along with two elected members.¹²³ The parochial assemblies became subject of discussion in the provincial congresses convened in Portuguese Goa since 1915.¹²⁴ Their deliberations help to infer the diminutive role played by the parochial bodies during the republican period. To begin with, the first Provincial Congress held

¹²¹ Ibid.

¹²² “Decreto No. 186, 24 de Outubro de 1913.” in *Legislação Relativa ao Estado da Índia*, 1927, vol. XXVII (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1928), 41. This legislation had all the attributes of the Administrative Code of March 4, 1896, except in connection with the administration of the *fabrica* of the church or the management of its properties or its revenue.

¹²³ “Decreto No. 186 de 24 de outubro de 1913.” in *Legislação Relativo ao Estado da Índia 1914*, 1; *Leis Orgânicas da Administração Civil e Financeira das Províncias Ultramarinas*, Base 42-45, 22. Their responsibilities as per this legislation involved establishing and maintenance of nursing homes, markets and other local responsibilities peculiar to the province; See also, “The Bases Orgânicas de administração civil e financeira do Conselho Legislativo do Estado da Índia, Lei no. 277.” Base 42 in *Legislação Relativo ao Estado da Índia* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1914).

¹²⁴ The Provincial Council was inaugurated on 15th December, 1915, but the inaugural session commenced only on 2nd April, 1916. These councils were called to discuss issues of regional interests related to Portuguese India.

in 1915 strongly grieved at lack of development of parochial bodies, and led some members to suggest that they be integrated with the *comunidades* of Goa.¹²⁵ The second Provincial Congress also engaged itself on this subject and observed that much was left to be still desired from the parochial assembly. It recommended a greater role to be assigned to the parochial bodies on issues of local importance such as policing, education, credit system, vigilance on emigration, organisation and revision of land records and similar other functions.¹²⁶ Recognising the immense contribution rendered by the *comunidades* to local administration in Portuguese Goa, it was still felt that the parochial assemblies had to carry out their own administrative responsibilities, given the distinct tasks assigned to these two institutions.¹²⁷ It was also observed that many parishes did not have local assemblies even during the 20th century and therefore the benefits of decentralisation were not enjoyed by all parishes of Goa. Similarly, the third Council voted for universal suffrage allowing voting rights to all majors in age, in Portuguese Goa. It also recognised the advantage of allowing the parochial bodies to arbitrate upon contentious issues within their jurisdiction as they best understood the local problems of the village. Therefore, the third Council voted for a local tribunal made up of a judicial officer and a *regedor*, to arbitrate upon matters of local importance.¹²⁸

¹²⁵ *Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa*, vol. I (Nova Goa: Casa Luso Francesa Editora, 1924), 301. The members who were of such opinion were R. Correia Afonso, Teodore da Miranda, Luis de Menezes Bragança, António Maria da Cunha and Leandro Pereira; See also António Maria da Cunha, *Congresso Provincial da India Portuguesa, Subsídios, para sua história (1º e 2º Congressos)*, vol. I (Nova Goa: Tip. De Bragança e Cia, 1924).

¹²⁶ 2º *Congresso Provincial*, Secção II, “Discurso do Leonardo Manuel Condorcet Pereira.” 67-70.

¹²⁷ *Ibid.*

¹²⁸ B. Correia Afonso, “A Evolucao do Municipalismo.”, 454-455.

Judging from the above discussions, the working of the parochial bodies of Portuguese India was far from satisfactory. The well-known journalist and political activist of the 20th century, J. I. de Loyola, observed that the parochial assemblies could have been valid instruments of progress during the 20th century, but with the exception of a few examples, ‘they were in a vegetative state for God to give’.¹²⁹ He was also critical of the Governor General of India when he observed that the latter had not realised the significance of these bodies, and that they functioned without any direction and guidance(‘*sem pés nem cabeça*’).¹³⁰

The working of the *Junta da Paróchia* from 1926 to 1961 had not altered much.¹³¹ This can be perceived from the assertions of T. de B. Cunha in 1946. Cunha declared that the parochial bodies in the villages had been ‘abolished’ after having worked for a few years without even possessing definite rules and consequently, the villages were kept to their own fate.¹³² Subsequent legislations enacted during the regime of Salazar only reiterated the administrative functions of the *Junta Local*. In 1955, they came to be called as the *Juntas Locais Aldeanas*.¹³³

The integration of the territory of Goa into the Indian Union in 1961 marked an important watershed in its history. The Indian sovereignty was upheld by replacing the vestiges of the Portuguese regime.¹³⁴ The period which followed after 1962 saw the Union Territory of Goa adapting itself with engaging issues pertaining to its civil

¹²⁹ *A India Portuguesa*, No. 11, October 1926.

¹³⁰ *Ibid*, 2.

¹³¹ *Anuário do Estado da Índia* (Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1929), 170.

¹³² *Civil Liberties in Goa*, 17. ‘Abolished’ may be understood as ineffective in this context.

¹³³ *Decreto No. 40216*, 313 -343 of 1955.

¹³⁴ *Government Gazette*, Series I, No. 22 (Panaji: Government Printing Press, 1962). This Order was to be effective since 29th December, 1961, though it was made public in May 1962.

administration.¹³⁵ The first panchayat elections were held in Goa in 1962, as per the Directives of the President of India. The *Lei de Panchayats Aldeanos de Goa Damão e Dio de 1962*, No. 9, was promulgated by the Order of the President of India and executed by the Lieutenant Governor, Tumkur Shivshankar. It highlighted the working of the *Panchayats* in the Union Territory. Every village was conceded a *Panchayat*.¹³⁶ Its members were elected and were designated as '*Panch*'. The President of the Panchayat was called the *Sarpanch* and the vice-president was the deputy-*Sarpanch*. A representative was required to complete 25 years to be voted to this body. Every Indian citizen who had completed 21 years of age and whose name was included in the voters census was eligible to vote.¹³⁷ It also provided reservation of a seat for one female member. If no lady came forward to contest the election, it was decreed that the elected members would still appoint a lady member to be a part of the local body. In 1963, the Delimitation Commission in its Final Order No. 18, divided the Union territory into two single member parliamentary constituencies; Panjim and Mormugao. Similarly, the Union territory was provided with an elected legislative assembly of thirty members. The law also defined the extent of each constituency.¹³⁸ The new legislation reflected an extension of franchise. It marked the beginning of parliamentary democracy in Goa.

¹³⁵ *Government Gazette*, Series I, No. 27 (1961), 121. The Removal of Difficulties Order 1962, was issued to facilitate the civil administration in the Union Territory of Goa Daman and Diu.

¹³⁶ *Government Gazette*, Series I, No. 33 (October 3, 1962). A group of villages could also be grouped to constitute the village *panchayat*.

¹³⁷ *Government Gazette*, Series I, No. 33 (September 28, 1963).

¹³⁸ *Government Gazette*, Series I, No. 34 (August 29, 1963), 265.

CHAPTER – IX

CONCLUSION

The beginning of the constitutional regime in 1822 was a landmark in the history of Portugal. It had ushered in significant political and constitutional changes not only in the home government but also in the colonies, including Goa. Theoretically, its significance lay in restructuring the system of administration and providing a promising vision based on equal prerogatives, to all the citizens of the Portuguese dominions. It implied that those eligible were granted with citizenship, voting rights in elections and could contest the elections. They could also appeal to judicial bodies to adjudicate in contentious issues affecting their interests. It was due to the initiation of representative institutions in the colonies of Portugal, that Portuguese Goa scored better than British India in this front. As these historical developments were of great historical ramifications and have not been researched so far. This thesis titled *History and Politics of Elections in Goa: (1821-1963): A Study* has addressed these issues in a historical and analytical perspective. The present thesis is based on the study of a wide genre of literature available for the study of Portuguese Goa during the 19th and 20th centuries, mainly primary sources consulted from the various repositories in Goa and Portugal. This research work fills in a noticeable gap in the area of Indo-Portuguese historiography.

This thesis analyses history and politics of elections in Goa from 1821 to 1961 and briefly highlights the changes implemented in the territory up to 1963. It is contended in the introductory chapter of this work that the elections in Portuguese Goa led to the promotion of the politics of interests which dominated the greater phase of

representative system. Such conflicts of interest of political groups assist in understanding the extent to which democratic ideas and practices were prevalent in Portuguese Goa during the 19th and 20th centuries. The pervasiveness of the idea of politics of interests has been analysed in this thesis at various levels of elections namely the parliamentary, legislative council, municipal and parochial. The above feature was predominantly present in Portuguese Goa from 1822 to 1961 and it largely distinguished this territory from other overseas colonies of Portugal. The subject of representative system and elections have not received much attention of the scholars and this thesis has filled in a noticeable gap in the historiography of Indo-Portuguese history.

Elections and the system of representation are important hallmarks of democratic government today, but laws governing them have changed significantly over the centuries. Every era was governed by its own traditions regarding suffrage. Colonial Goa was introduced to the system of representation in 1821 which was based on the Iberian model. The rules of suffrage privileged a select body of electors and contestants as participation depended upon the multiple factors of citizenship, domicile, taxation, literacy, gender and the prerogative of being the head of the family. The rules of suffrage and the methods of conducting elections varied over a period of time. They mirrored the interplay of various ideological forces operating in Portugal during the 19th and 20th centuries.

Right from the beginning, the constitutional regime was marred by divisive forces and political feuds within the royal family of Portugal. The divergent political forces of liberalism and absolutism working in the metropolis played vital role in shaping the trajectory of the electoral reforms in the metropolis and their execution in the overseas provinces of the empire. Portuguese Goa was vulnerable to the political

forces operating in the metropolis and they were largely responsible for shaping the course of electoral outcomes and responses during the 19th and 20th centuries.

The reforms introduced in matters of suffrage did not follow a consistent trajectory. They were relaxed under the pressures of liberal forces, but also reversed, to meet the exigency of the dominant party in power. Electoral regulations which were implemented in colonial Goa were not necessarily a replica of procedures followed in the metropolis, but were modified to adapt to the local circumstances of the colony. Theoretically speaking, the system of representation was introduced in all earnestness in Portuguese Goa. The electoral regulations or administrative codes along with the modifications pertaining to the overseas provinces found their way into Goa and the same were notified in government bulletins and newspapers. Similarly, notices on impending elections were read out in the church or pasted at places of public interest in Goa. However, actual political experiences often differed from theory. The practices adopted in Portuguese Goa were often far removed from the political ideals enshrined in the electoral regulations and constitutions of the 19th and 20th centuries. But the system of representation lacked credibility. The colonial regime aimed to sustain the interests of the mother country and adopted the modus operandi of quasi-authoritarian parameters.

The method of conducting parliamentary elections in Goa differed from time to time. From 1822 to 1851, the elections were carried out through an indirect mode, where a select group of voters were involved in electing the *deputados* to the parliament. They generally belonged to the affluent classes of the Goan society. This method was replaced by a direct system of election after 1852, in the wake of increasing pressure for reform from the liberal factions in Portugal. Thus, the period from 1852 to 1895 was noteworthy for relaxing rules of franchise and allowing more

participation of people in Goa. However, the representatives contesting the elections were from the more privileged sections of the society throughout the colonial regime. The higher demands on educational qualifications and taxation mainly privileged the indigenous elites to contest the parliamentary elections. Portuguese Goa largely followed the *plurinominal* system, in contrast to the *uninominal* system commonly followed in many electoral districts of the metropolis.

Portuguese Goa was grouped into electoral constituencies in 1860 and it marked the beginning of constituency-based politics. The number of constituencies conceded to Portuguese Goa varied from time to time depending upon the colonial requirements of the metropolitan government. The number of representatives allowed for Portuguese India was not consistent, and varied from time to time, according to the regulations in force. The number of representatives allowed for Goa was comparatively higher than what was allowed to the other overseas colonies of the Portuguese empire.

The parliamentary elections in Portuguese Goa were characteristic of their political theatrics and sensationalism. The explosive electoral scenario was reflected from the polemics generated in contemporary newspapers, the debates in the parliament and frequent verdicts of the apex tribunal in Portugal on issues concerning Goa. Elections were marred by recurrent turbulence and tensions, polarising the stakeholders into various factions.

The elections were contested by sizeable number of candidates. But the results of most elections often swung to an opposite extreme, depicting a disproportionate imbalance at the ballot. Frequently, the victorious representatives won by an unprecedented landslide victory of several thousands, decimating most

other contenders to a discreditable margin which did not, sometimes, cross a two figure mark. This was because the source of political power emanated from the Portuguese Crown to the political parties and from the latter to the local elites. Under these circumstances, the voters in Goa became gullible instruments at the hands of the powerful local *caudilhos* in elections. In most cases, the *deputados* for Goa were decided from the metropolis and often, they were the influential men who had some connections with the local territory. The colonial administrators promoted a set of intermediaries and collaborators to promote the interests of the government. The success of the indigenous elites of Goa in elections depended upon their political and social status and connections.

The exalted position of *deputados* associated in the parliamentary elections gave rise to partisan rivalry among the elite groups and created barriers based on distinctions of race, culture and socio-economic position. The traditional elites comprising of the Portuguese officials and the Luso-descendants had established their hold over political spaces and could not reconcile to the loss of their indomitable position. They were unwilling to share power with the indigenous elites, who were considered subordinate to them. There was a strong contention for power between the Luso-descendants and the indigenous elites during the constitutional regime. This contention had resulted in political rivalries which sometimes were pushed to the extreme by incidents of violence and mudslinging, especially among the leading groups. There were countless instances of vote-rigging, violation of electoral procedures and intervention of the government officials to protect their interests. Elections in Goa came to be mockingly termed as *Eleições Pintadas*, a concept which combined manoeuvring, revelry and political heat.

The introduction of parliamentary elections in the New Conquests after 1836 promoted political differences between elites of the Old Conquests and New Conquests. The constant rifts between these two regions provided opportunities to the Crown to respond to their demands keeping in mind the advantages of the government. The Queen of Portugal, Maria II took keen interest in the New Conquests and gave constant assurances to its elites to resolve their long-standing issues.

During the constitutional regime, the Catholic Church in Portuguese Goa endorsed the interests of the Crown. However, a section of the indigenous clergy was actively involved in the politics of elections and adopted a stand, which aimed to promote the local interests of the colony. After 1910, the church was officially prevented from intervening in politics, but its sentiments were affiliated with the *União Católica* and the *Partido Indiano* in elections. During the regime of Oliveira Salazar, the church supported the official regime. This stand of the church was visible from its frequent appeals in the press, which worked upon the conscience of the people to maintain their distance from socialist and communist forces looming large across the horizon.

During the first four decades of the constitutional regime, the parliamentary elections revolved around personalities and the ideologies supported by them. Bernardo Peres da Silva, António Caetano Pacheco, Estevão Jeremias Mascarenhas, Salvador Batista Cana, Bernardo Francisco da Costa, Francisco Luis Gomes and others emerged as indomitable personalities among the indigenous *deputados* during the 19th century. The Goan representatives in the parliament exerted tremendous pressure upon the ministries which opposed their interests. The lead in this direction was initially provided by Bernardo Peres da Silva. His influence pervaded the indigenous elites even during the 20th century. The arguments of Estevão Jeremias Mascarenhas

were a constant source of embarrassment to the metropolitan government. After 1852, the Goan *deputados* like Bernado da Costa and Fransisco Luis Gomes affiliated themselves with the *Regeneradores* and discomfited the *Partido Histórico*. They demanded attention to pertinent issues concerning Portuguese India. The Goan *deputados* made their presence strongly felt in the Parliament of Portugal. They kept the government in opposition to their interests on its toes, forced it to re-orient its moves to positively respond to issues raised by them. These local parliamentarians placed the interests of the province above their own interests. They did not always endorse the policy of the government, especially when they were detrimental to the interests of Goa. The issues of the overseas colonies did not receive immediate attention in the parliament. But the indigenous *deputados* from Goa adopted an unrelenting attitude in opposing the colonial policies of the government.

After 1860s, the political parties gained prominence in Goa. The *Partido Indiano* and the *Partido Ultramarino* were affiliated to the parties of the metropole. Caste-based underpinnings created wedges among the indigenous elites in the elections of Goa during the second half of the 19th century. The metropolitan parties won allegiance from the opposing local groups to win seats in their favour. Christovam Pinto and Constâncio Roque da Costa emerged as stalwarts of their parties, *Partido Indiano* and *Partido Ultramarino* respectively. During the first republican period, the charisma of Prazeres da Costa and his political moves endeared him to people across all sections in the society. After 1945, the candidates of the National Union had to work in the shadow of the party and endorse the official interests of Salazar.

After 1910, there was a radical shift in the structure of government in Portugal. The wave of republicanism swept across colonial Goa and influenced a fairly large

section of people towards its ideals. The republican government converged its interests with the local elites who were willing to espouse its ideology. This period was largely devoid of competition from Portuguese nationals in the elections of Goa. But the secularists were strongly matched by the traditionalists and the latter maintained their political conservatism and applied their religious values in elections and politics of Goa during the twentieth century. Thus, polarisation among the local elites in elections during this period was based on secular and religious ideologies.

The Hindu intelligentsia pinned their hopes on the newly established republican regime and hoped for a more judicious treatment towards them in society and politics. They became more assertive now than earlier and confidently expressed their views in the press. A shift in the paradigm was visible among a section of the Catholic elites as well. They showed their willingness to accommodate the aspirations of the Hindu community after 1910. Most importantly, some leaders like Luis de Menezes Bragança even took a universal viewpoint of religion which appeased the Hindu community. The *deputados* of Goa elected after 1911 empathised with the sentiments of the Hindu community in the parliament. Consequently, the Hindu elites found some sort of solace in the secularist thinking of the republican party and gravitated towards it in the elections of Goa.

After 1945, the parliamentary elections were recommenced by Salazar to present a more benevolent image of Portugal in the eyes of the western allies like England and France. But the Goan intelligentsia could see beyond the façade of such measures. The parliamentary elections held after 1945 greatly disappointed a large section of people in Goa due to their authoritarian nature.

Autonomy in internal administration was made effective in 1918 through the introduction of the elected legislative council or the government council in Portuguese Goa. The legislative councils of the 20th century were distinguished from the ancient council of State of the 16th century as well as Council of Government of the 19th century. But the working of the legislative councils was far from satisfactory and disappointed many Goans. The Goan elites echoed the displeasure towards the indifferent attitude of the government on autonomy and decentralisation through protest meetings and electoral absenteeism observed in 1918. They also condemned its functioning in the press. Such attitude among the Goans was an indication of the rising democratic spirit during the republican period.

The municipalities of Goa were also transformed into elected bodies. They comprised of councilors or *vogais da câmara* or *vereadores*, who were elected directly by the people of the district, according to the provisions of constitutional law and electoral decrees which were passed from time to time. The municipal elections were contested with fervour similar to the parliamentary elections in Goa. They were also ridden with conflicts and rivalries among the various elite factions in the society.

Since 1822, the parish was provided with an elected body called the *Junta da Parochia* or the *Junta Local* to look after its public administration. But it largely fell short of emerging as an exemplary local administrative body due to the existing *comunidade* system which carried out most of the functions of the village. The evolution of the parochial bodies as premier local bodies were also hindered due to the attitude of indifference shown by the government towards them.

The issue of women's franchise did not receive attention until the last few decades of the colonial regime. The women were enfranchised in Portugal in 1930s. The Constitution of 1933 and subsequent laws introduced during the same year had

restricted the suffrage. Nonetheless, it had allowed the voting of women. Those who possessed a special course, secondary or superior could vote. But it had not been implemented in Goa. Most women, including the educated lot remained in the hearth of their homes. T. de B. Cunha applauds the efforts of Shakuntala Miranda, daughter of Prof. Lucio da Miranda for taking active part in the electoral campaign and pleading for equal rights for women. She spoke fearlessly in public meetings, thereby inviting applause from many sections of the society. The women of Goa had the right to franchise only after liberation of the territory in 1961.

This work has its limitations. Given the vast nature of this field, the thesis has laid greater emphasis on the parliamentary elections. The decentralising political experience in Goa in the form of legislative council or government council offers great scope for further research. Similarly, the specifics in rural and urban administration can be taken up for investigation by researchers. This thesis has focused primarily on Portuguese Goa. However, there is a great scope to compare and contrast the system of elections between the other overseas colonies of the Portuguese empire and colonial Goa. In the same way, investigation can be carried out on the nature of representation in other parts of Portuguese India like Daman and Diu. It is hoped that such historical themes would be taken up for research in future.

Appendix - II

Letter of Recommendation Supporting a Candidate in the Parliamentary Elections (1925)

Informação

A Declaração esta documentado com o Certificado eleitoral de 1925 do 3º Bairro de Lisboa donde consta que aquêlê cidadão o eleitor e tem mais de 25 anos de idade e participação constituindo seus procuradores para efeitos eleitorais com poderes de substabelecer, os seguintes individuos; Visnu Sinay Dempó, Fransisco Xavier Sales De Andrade, Luis Matias De Menezes, Alberto Emanuel Ferreira Martins, Christovam Fernnades, José Ignácio De Loiola, Lourenço Caetano Monteiro, Caetano Do Rosario Faria, Minguel Caetano Dias.

Póde fazer, pois, a respective comunicação ao Governador da India afim de a transmitter ao President d'Assembleia d' Apuramento. Repartição Central, em 1/de Novembro de 1925

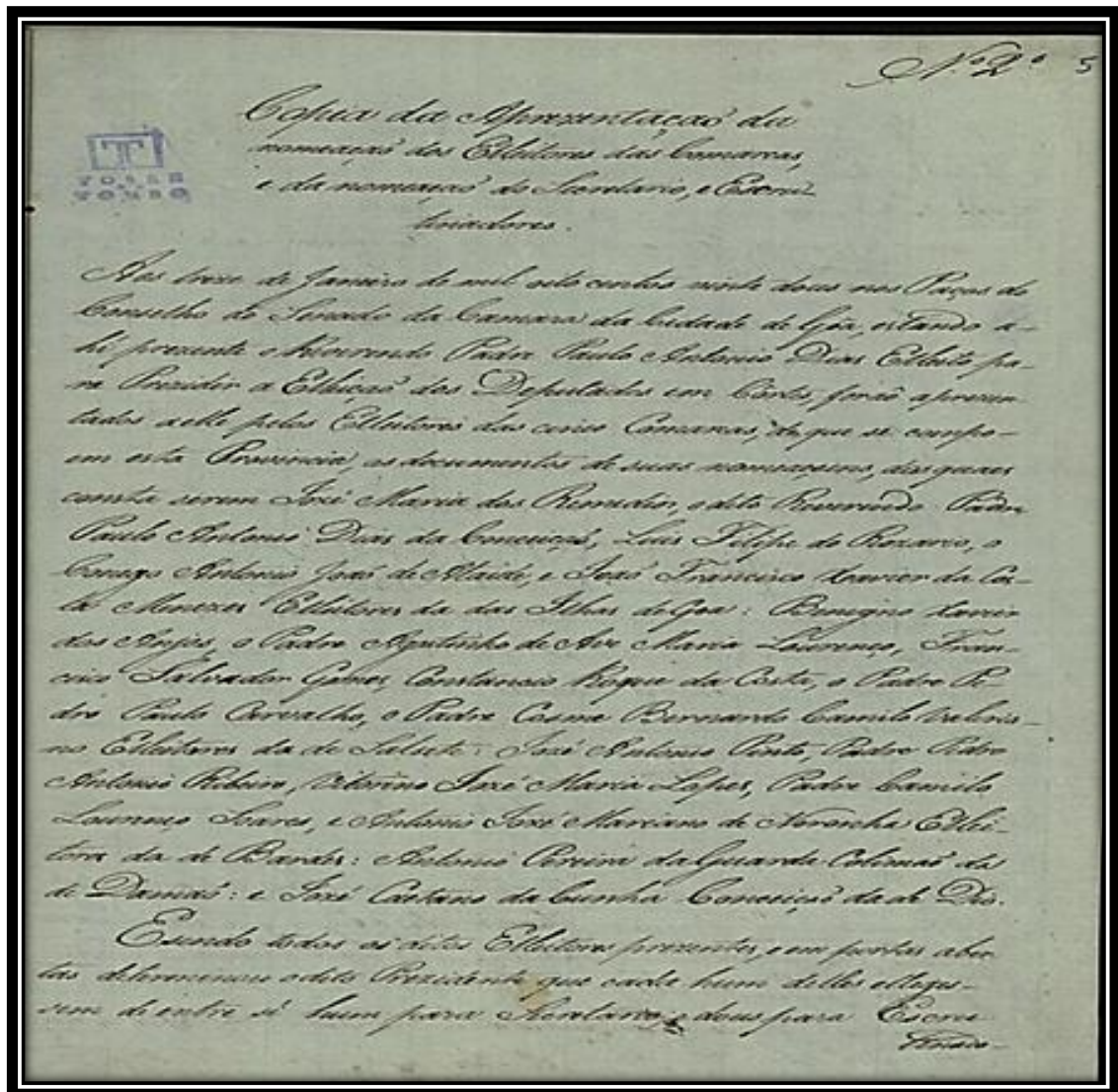
Pelo Chefe de Repartição.

(In the parliamentary election of November 1925, the contest was between Froilano de Mello and Prazeres da Costa. This letter however does not state the name of the candidate supported by the members of the circle mentioned in the document.)

Source: AHU: *Telegramas Eleições Nas Colonias*, ACL, MU, SG, Cx, nv, 715

Appendix - III

Nomination of Provincial Electors, Secretary and Scrutinisers in the Parliamentary Election (1822)

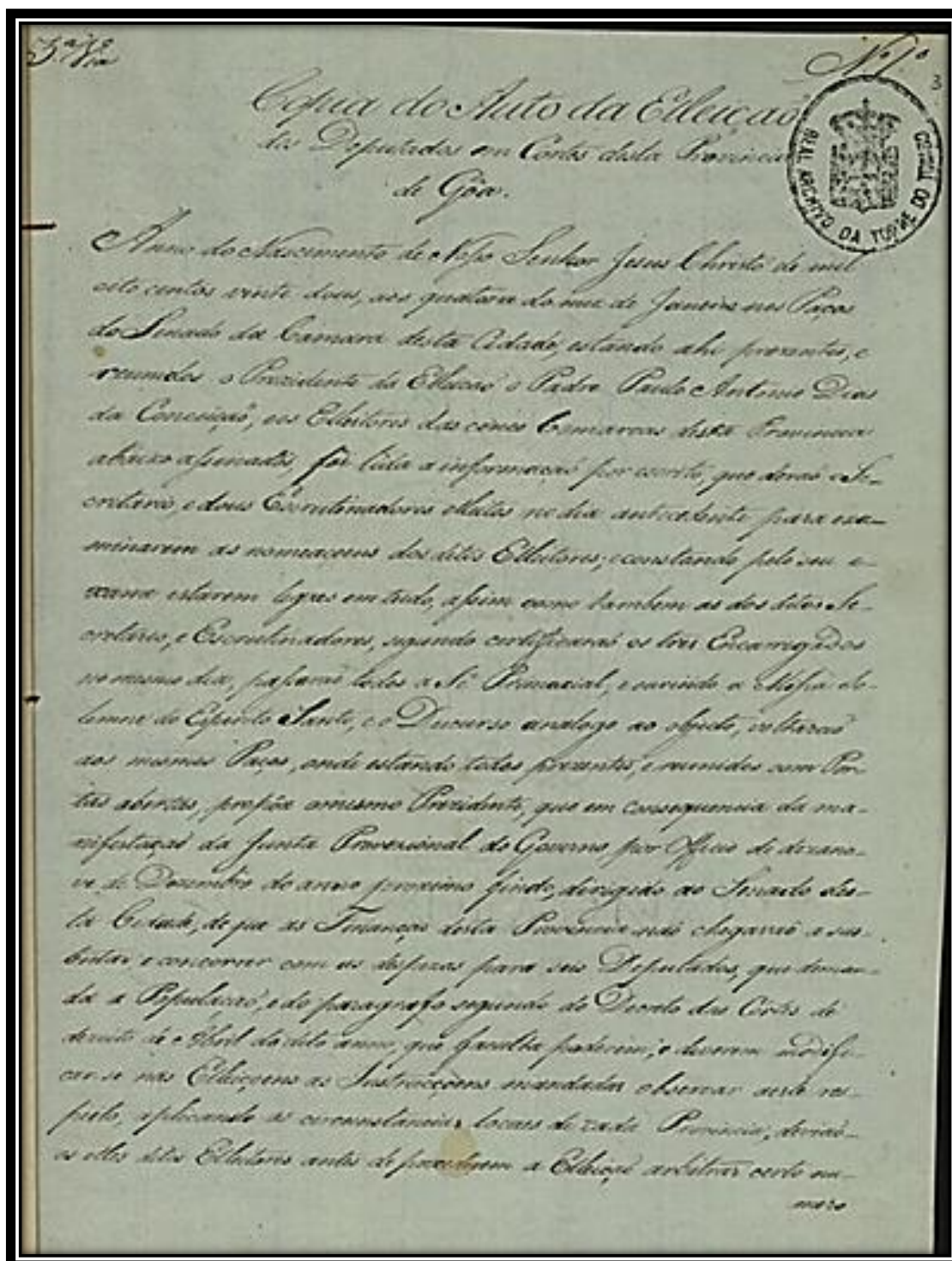


Executores na forma das Instruções, o que fôr sa-
 tuas' e lidas pela unanimidade de votos, Pedro de Ine Ma-
 na Lopes para Secretário, e o Padre Antonio José de Almeida,
 e Padre Casimiro Bernardo Camilo Malheiro para Execu-
 tórios, os quais, e atalés os mais Electores sendo lido o Ca-
 pitulo quarto das Instruções relativo as Elições dos Co-
 munes, e d'elles Presidente abrenham, que os documentos das
 referidas summações dos Electores fossem entregues aos d'ellos
 Secretário, e Executores, e cada nomeação d'elles a Padre
 Pedro Antonio Ribeiro, Frei Manoel das Penitencias, e Constan-
 cio Roque da Costa para se examinaarem, e relatarem no dia
 seguinte, tudo quanto acharem sobre a sua legalidade, por
 bem do que se fez este termo em que se assignaram todos Presi-
 dente, Secretário, Executores, e todas Elitores - Paulo
 Antonio Dias da Conceição Presidente - Manoel José Ma-
 na Lopes - Antonio José de Almeida - Padre Casimiro Ber-
 nardo Camilo Malheiro - Frei Antonio Pinto - Padre
 Pedro Antonio Ribeiro - Antonio José Manoel de Con-
 stancia - Padre Apolinario de São Maria - Luciano - Ca-
 milo Laurindo Soares - Luis Filipe de Roxas - João
 Francisco Xavier da Costa Moraes - Frei Manoel das
 Penitencias - Benigno Xavier dos Anjos - Padre Pedro
 Paulo de Carmello - Francisco Salvador Gomes - Con-
 stancio Roque da Costa - Antonio Pedro de Guedes
 Colinas - Frei Estevão da Cunha Conceição, e fixaram
 nos, e me referir
 Pedro de Ine Ma-
 na Lopes

Source: ANTT, 1822.

Appendix - IV

Minutes of the Meeting of the First Parliamentary Election in 1822



numero dos Deputados, que fosse preferendo a favor de Te-
nente, e que assim fizesse os ditos Elitores, secretarios, e plebeo
deixar de votar, e não fossem eleitos os ditos Deputados, sem mais
substituto, e isto que está, segundo as Instruções suas devidas
semear tempo, em isto insubstituível na pessoa de hum Juiz ordinario
da Província, e que fizesse propozita ao ditto Presidente, e alguns dos
representantes locais que quizesse, na forma de numero quinze da
Instrução, e de alguns de outros, ou ambos, que houverem na presen-
ta Elição, e respondendo todos uniformemente, que nada tinha que
dizer, nem oppor sobre a illegitimidade d'ella, determinou que
cabe hum dos ditos Elitores procedesse a Elição de tres Depu-
tados, e em caso de conformidade procedendo a mesma leyendo se
as formalidades das ditas Instruções, e fundado as ditas razões
d'elto Bernardo Pires da Silva como de assos orales, Comilan-
cio Roque da Costa como quizesse, e Doutor Antonio José de Li-
ma Leite como de, e immediatamente foi publicada a mes-
ma Elição perante os ditos Elitores, e mais Congresso de Povo,
que se achou presente, em tal occasião acto levantou-se o Cidadão
José Paulo de Aragão, dizendo que a dita Elição relativa-
mente a pessoa do ditto Doutor Antonio José de Lima Leite,
era inconstante com o Artigo corrente e hum das Instruções, por
não ter sido a continuação de ple annos que expuzo d'elto Artigo, e
que delisthe o Cidadão Francisco Salvador Gomes, que iguali,
e outros Artigos das mesmas Instruções, como o termo sobre o nu-
mero dos dits Deputados, podendo, e devendo ser modificados se-
gundo as circumstancias locais, como determinam os mencionados De-
cretos

4
Pretende das Cortes de devese de 1808 de mil e setecentas e vinte e hum,
e achando elles ditas Cortes, que o Elito dito Doutor Antonio
Joze de Luna Seixas tinha concorrido para se proclamar nesta Pro-
vincia o Governo Constitucional se tinha aposto a ditas Cortes, e
des no ponto de fazer prego, e por esse, e pelas circumstantias que tinha
de particular desta Provincia, tinha sido eleito por hum dos membros
do Governo Provisorial no cumprimento de cujas deveses tinha dado
publicas provas de seu talento pelas cartilhas publicas desta Provincia,
tinha sido eleito, e outras muitas razões que se tinha obrigado a so-
lar no dito Elito, sem que lhe sobreviesse de obstaculo a falta de re-
sistencia de sete annos, visto que pelo decurso de tempo que tem
estado neste Paiz no exercicio de Intendente Geral da Agricultura,
e no do referido Governo, tinha elle adquirido o necessario conhecimento
para util, e superabundantemente exercer o Cargo de Deputado.

Neste mesmo acto o outro Elito Conde de Riquelme da Costa a-
prouvou hum papel de Protesto por elle affirmado, que em virtude
deia, se considerava impedido de ser Deputado, ja porque lhe pa-
recia ser Funcionario publico em qualidade de ajudante da
Intendencia Geral da Agricultura, ja porque sendo condemnado
por Acordão da Real Audiencia em suspensão de officio, e prisão de tres
mezes na causa de injuria estava apòs esta Sentença a Sublevaria
e quem havia recebido, em cuja consequencia lhe era facultado por
Portaria do Governo enviar hummunto, ja finalmente porque se
não considerava com requeridos exigidos por Officio do Governo de
quatro de devese, e no caso de não ser attendido protestava peren-
te contra as Aclorandias, e Cortes Sublevarias para não responsabi-
lizar.

APPENDIX – V

Record of Votes Polled by the Parliamentary Representatives under the *Plurinominal System (1853)*

Apuramento Geral da Meza da Assembléa 1853

Velhas Conquistas (Old Conquests)

Novas Conquistas (New Conquests)

Nome	Ilhas	Bardez	Salcete	1 ^a	2 ^a	3 ^a	4 ^a	Total
Caetano F. Pereira Garcêz	1293	1497	304	5253	2562	963	1288	13160
Feliciano A. Marquis Pereira	1253	1399	204	5252	2569	799	1192	12663
Augusto X. da Silva	1177	627	94	5903	2583	993	1191	12563
Estevam Jeremias Mascarenhas	2340	3227	6204	50	70	56	142	12039
Joaquim M. de Mello Mendonça	2372	2664	6146	99	70	58	149	11558
José M. Falção de Carvalho	2097	2471	6037		62	3	20	10690
Luis X. Corrêa de Graça	28	1783	30	1001	50	4	7	2903
José M. de Carvalho	18							18
António Maria Bouyrat	13	118	16	126		199	35	507
Lourenço Lobo	3							3
Joaquim Pereira Garcêz	2							2
Custódio Manoel Gomes	2							2
Bispo Eleito de Malaca	3	50	31	25		85		194
B. C. de Sousa e Faro Junior	2							2
Caetano Pereira Garcêz	1							1
Joaquim José C. Kol	1				4			5
Pr. Sebastião S. Baptista Gama	1	7	6				2	16
António S. Borges da Costa	1							1
Conego Estevem Jeremias	1							1
Fransisco Bernado de Noronha	1							1
Manoel de C. Lobo	1							1
Bernado Heitor Silveira Lorena	1							1
Candido José M. Garcêz Palha	1							1
Fransisco Xavier Lourenço	1							1
Jeremias Mascarenhas	1							1
Dr. Raimondo V. Rodrigues	1		2					3
Paulo Telles	1							1
August Xavier de Mello	3							3

August Xavier da Silva	1						1
António Maria Bouyrat	1						1
António Mariano de Bragança	1						1
Alberto P. Garcêz	1						1
Balcustom X. Collopo de Mapuça	1						1
Eusebio M. L. de Goes	1						1
Franco A. Marques	1						1
Joaquim M. F. de Carvalho	1						1
José Julio Rodrigues	1						1
José F. Pestana.		2			1		3
Padre Jeremias Mascarenhas		1					1
Lourenço C. R. Lobo		1					1
António J. Santimano			6				6
António João Flores			2				2
Caetano V. S. A. Barboza			1				1
Dipu Rane (<i>Chefe dos Salteadores</i>)			1				1
Caetano Francisco Garcêz			2				2
José Maximiano					3		3

Source: *BDG*,1853.

Appendix – VI

Deputados Representing Portuguese India (1822-1961)

ELECTION OF 1822	
Bernado Peres Da Silva	Goan
Constâncio Roque Da Costa	Goan
António José Lima Leitão	Portuguese

ELECTION OF 1827	
Bernado Peres da Silva	Goan

ELECTION OF 1836	
Manuel Duarte Leitão	Portuguese
Sebastião Xavier Botelho	Portuguese

ELECTION OF 1838	
Bernado Peres da Silva	Goan
Francisco R. Leitão Castel Branco	Portuguese
TWO SUBSTITUTES	
João de Menezes	Goan
João José Pereira Garcêz	Luso-descendent

ELECTION OF 1839	
Bernado Peres da Silva	Goan
Joaquim Pedro Celestino Soares	Portuguese
Fr. João Xavier de Souza Trindade	Goan
Advocate António Caetano Pacheco	Goan
FOUR SUBSTITUTES	
José Joaquim Duraens	Portuguese
Joaquim Felipe de Piedade Soares	Goan
João José Pereira Garcêz	Luso-descendant
José Joaquim Salinas Benevidas	Portuguese

ELECTION OF 1842	
Bernado Peres da Silva	Goan
Manuel da Silva Passos	Portuguese
Advocate António Caetano Pacheco	Goan
Joaquim Pedro Celestino Soares	Portuguese

ELECTION OF 1845	
José A. Maria de Souza Azavedo	Portuguese
José Joaquim Lopes de Lima	Portuguese
João Xavier de Souza Trindade	Goan
José Cancio Freire de Lima	Portuguese

ELECTION OF 1848	
Estevão Jeremias Mascarenhas	Goan
Fr. João Pedro Correia (died in service)	Goan
António José Maria Campelo	Portuguese
Custódio Manuel Gomes	Portuguese (substituted by) João Pedro Correia

ELECTION OF 1850	
Custódio Manuel Gomes	Portuguese

ELECTIONS OF 1853	
Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz	Luso-descendant
Feliciano António Marquis Pereira	Portuguese
Augusto Xavier da Silva	Portuguese
Bernado Fransisco da Costa	Goan

ELECTION OF 1855	
Augusto Xavier da Silva	Portuguese
Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz	Luso-descendant
Estevam Jeremias Mascarenhas	Goan
Bernado Fransisco da Costa	Goan

ELECTION OF 1856	
Estevam Jeremias Mascarenhas	Goan
António Affonso M. Coutinho (death)	Portuguese (substituted by) Vincent Ferrer Neto de Paiva
Bernado Fransisco da Costa	Goan
António de Azevedo e Cunha	Portuguese

ELECTION OF 1858	
Vincent Ferrer Neto de Paiva	Portuguese
António Rodrigues Sampaio	Portuguese
Salvador Baptista Cana	Goan
António Azavedo e Cunha	Portuguese

FORMATION OF ELECTORAL CIRCLES SINCE 1860

ELECTION OF 1860		CIRCLES
José Pais de Faria Pereira	Portuguese	Nova Goa
Vincent Ferrer Neto de Paiva	Portuguese	Nova Goa
Francisco Luis Gomes	Goan	Margão
Ricardo Guimarães	Portuguese	Margão

ELECTION OF 1861		CIRCLES
José Pais de Faria Pereira	Portuguese	Nova Goa
Joaquim Manuel de Mello e Mendonça	Luso-descendant	Mapuça
Francisco Luis Gomes	Goan	Salcette
Ricardo Guimarães	Portuguese	Daman

ELECTION OF 1864		CIRCLES
Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz	Luso-descendant	Nova Goa
Francisco Luis Gomes	Goan	Margão
António Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcellos	Portuguese	Mapuça
Ricardo Guimarães	Portuguese	Daman

ELECTION OF 1865		CIRCLES
Caetano Fransisco Pereira Garcêz	Luso-descendant	Ilhas
António Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcellos	Portuguese	Mapuça
João Tavares d' Almeida	Portuguese	Daman

ELECTION OF 1867		CIRCLES
António Maria Fontes Pereira de Mello	Portuguese	Ilhas
Bernado Fransisco Costa	Goan	Salcette
Vincente Frederico Scarnichia	Portuguese	Daman
Fransisco Luis Gomes	Goan	Bardez

ELECTION OF 1869		CIRCLES
Bernado Fransisco da Costa	Goan	Nova Goa
António Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcellos	Portuguese	Salcette

ELECTION OF 1870		CIRCLES
D. Luis da Camara e Lima	Portuguese	Nova Goa
António Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcellos	Portuguese	Salcette

ELECTION OF 1871		CIRCLES
José Maria Lobo de Avila	Portuguese	Nova Goa
António Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcellos	Portuguese	Margão

ELECTION OF 1873		CIRCLES
Jayme Constantino de Freitas Moniz	Portuguese	Nova Goa
António Augusto Teixeira de Vasconcellos	Portuguese	Margão

ELECTION OF 1877		CIRCLES
António A. Teixeira de Vasconcellos	Portuguese	Margão

ELECTION OF 1878		CIRCLES
António Gonsalves Crespo	Portuguese	Nova Goa
António Lopes Mendes	Portuguese	Bardez
Jeronimo Osorio de Castro Cabral	Portuguese	Margão

ELECTION OF 1879		CIRCLES
Jorge Augusto de Mello	Portuguese	Nova Goa
José Maria da Ponte e Horta	Portuguese	Mapuça
Tomas de Aquino M Garcêz Palha	Luso-Descendent	Margão

ELECTION OF 1881		CIRCLES
António Gonsalves Crespo	Portuguese	Nova Goa
D. Luis Maria da Camara	Portuguese	Bardez
Augusto de Castilho Barreto e Noronha	Portuguese	Margão

ELECTION OF 1884		CIRCLES
Henrique da Cunha Mattos Mendes	Portuguese	Nova Goa
Joaquim J. C.de Carvalho (substituted by) Frederico Ressano Garcia	Portuguese	Mapuça
Pedro Augusto Corrêa da Silva	Portuguese	Margão

ELECTION OF 1887		CIRCLES
Elvino José de Souza e Brito	Luso-descendant	Nova Goa
Jorge Augusto de Mello	Portuguese	Mapuça
Tomas de A. Mourão Garcêz Palha	Luso-descendant	Margão

ELECTION OF 1889		CIRCLES
José Christovam Fransisco Xavier Pinto	Goan	Nova Goa
D. Jorge Augusto de Mello	Portuguese	Nova Goa
José Julio Rodrigues	Goan	Margão

ELECTION OF 1890		CIRCLES
Arthur Urbano Monteiro de Castro	Portuguese	Nova Goa
Christovam Ayres de M. Sepulveda	Luso-descendant	Mapuça
José Christovam F. Xavier Pinto	Goan	Margão

ELECTION OF 1892		CIRCLES
Constancio Roque da Costa	Goan	Mapuça
José Christovam F. Xavier Pinto	Goan	Margão
João António B. das Neves Ferreira	Portuguese	Nova Goa

ELECTION OF 1894		CIRCLES
Constâncio Roque da Costa	Goan	Mapuça
José Christovam F. Xavier Pinto	Goan	Margão
Christovam Ayres Sepulveda	Luso-descendant	Nova Goa

ELECTION OF 1895		CIRCLES
José Christovam F. Xavier Pinto	Goan	Margão

*From 1895 till 1901, Christovam Pinto was retained as the *deputado* for India as no Elections had taken place for Portuguese India.

ELECTION OF 1899		CIRCLES
Christovam Ayres Sepulveda	Luso-descendant	Mapuça
José Christovam F. Xavier Pinto	Goan	Margão

ELECTION OF 1900		CIRCLES
Alfredo Augusto José de Albuquerque	Portuguese	Mapuça
José Christovam F. Xavier Pinto	Goan	Margão

ELECTION OF 1902		CIRCLES
Alfredo Augusto José de Albuquerque	Portuguese	Mapuça
Augusto Cesar da Rocha Louza	Portuguese	Margão

ELECTION OF 1905		CIRCLES
José Christovam F. Xavier Pinto	Goan	Margão
Joaquim Hilario Pereira Alves	Portuguese	Mapuça

ELECTION OF 1907		CIRCLES
Guilherme Ivens Ferraz	Portuguese	Margão
Joaquim Hilário Pereira Alves	Portuguese	Mapuça

ELECTION OF 1908		CIRCLES
Tomás de Aquino de Almeida Garrett	Portuguese	Goa

ELECTION OF 1911		CIRCLES
José M. Lamartine Prazares da Costa	Goan	Salcette
Jovino Fransisco Gouveia Pinto	Goan	Bardez

ELECTION OF 1915		CIRCLES
José M. Lamartine Prazares da Costa	Goan	India

ELECTION OF 1918		CIRCLES
Aquino de Almeida Garrett	Portuguese	India

ELECTION OF 1922		CIRCLES
Luis da Cunha Gonsalves	Goan	India

ELECTION OF 1925		CIRCLES
Froilano de Mello	Goan	India

ELECTION OF 1945		Circles
Froilano de Melo	Goan	India
Luis da Cunha Gonsalves	Goan	India

ELECTION OF 1949		CIRCLES
Castilho de Noronha	Goan	India
Socrates da Costa	Goan	India

ELECTION OF 1953		CIRCLES
Castilho de Noronha	Goan	India
Socrates da Costa	Goan	India

ELECTION OF 1957		CIRCLES
Castilho de Noronha	Goan	India
Purshottam Ramanata Quenim	Goan	India
Socrates da Costa	Goan	India


ELECTION OF 1961		CIRCLES
Prisonio Furtado	Goan	India
Purxottam Quenim	Goan	India
Voicunta Srinivas Dempó	Goan	India

*The integration of Goa into the Indian Union in 1961 brought the representative process to an end.

Appendix - VII

Decision of the Apex Tribunal in 1892 in Favour of Christovam Pinto

3



En ABAIXO ASSIGNADO, foi Christovam Intercinco de A.
Francisco Maria Pinto, deputado de estudo pelo condado de
Chargal, Casado, e residente em Lisboa

constitua-se _____ em _____ bastantes _____ procuradores, e _____ Comendador da
Ordem do Rio de Janeiro, advogado honorario, e do
deputado em nação, luctual e luctual Lavado de, e
de advogado,

Itaq _____ os poderes necessarios para que em _____ nome _____ como se presente _____ fizesse _____
possa _____ em qualquer Tribunal cu Juizo requerer e allegar toda a _____ justiça em todas as causas
civileis ou criminaes em que for _____ author _____ ou ré : defender a _____ e _____ per
o Tribunal apual de _____ de _____ no _____ de _____
para o _____ de _____ : fazer citar; intentar acções
e processos summarios; offerecer libellos e replicas, excepções, embargos, suspeições, artigos de ha-
bilitação e quaesquer outros; contrariar, triplicar, dar prova, juntar documentos e tornar a recebê-los,
contradictar testemunhas, requerer justificações, exames, victorias, e deduzir artigos de falsidade; jurar
em _____ alma de calumnia, decesso e supletoriamente, e deixar estes juramentos na alma das par-
tes; assignar requerimentos, autos, protestos, contraprotostos, termos de confissão, aprovação, ne-
gação, desistencia, ratificação, do processado, de responsabilidade por perdas e danos, de identidade
de pessoa, de escolha de domicilio e outros; nomear peritos, Juizes arbitros e partidores; assistir
da intervenção do Jury, quando lhe parecer; apellar, aggravar, embargar qualquer sentença ou
despacho, seguir aquelles recursos, nas instancias superiores, interpor e seguir a de revista; tirar
sentenças, promover a sua execução, requerer liquidações, arrestos, penhoras, avaliações, arremata-

ções; adjudicações e poses; requerer e receber mandados e precatórios de levantamento e entrega de dinheiro e objectos depositados; vir com embargos de terceiro senhor, e possuidor, e de executado, com artigos de preferencia, de fraude e dolo, de erro de conta e contrariar os adversos; receber custas, dando quitação; assignar termos, manifestos ordinarios e por lembrança, suas alterações e distratos; promover registos nas conservatorias de toda e qualquer especie, previsorios e definitivos, e cancellamentos, usando d'esta procuração ou substabelecendo-a em um ou mais procuradores, e estas em outros, reservada porèm a nova citação em qualquer causa. São testemunhas _____

os quaes assignam comego perante o Tabelião *Joaquim Bernardino Castro*
nesta *cidade de Lisboa*
aos *15* dias do mez de *Junho* do anno do Nascimento de Nosso Senhor
Jesus Christo de mil oitocentas e *noventa e tres*.

José Christman Antunes de S. Thomaz 21/6/1893

José Ant. de Albuquerque e Silva

José Gomes de Almeida

Certifico que foram feitas perante mim as _____ assignaturas acima, as quaes re-
conheço _____
era ut supra.



Appendix - IX

Bernado Peres da Silva Under Vigilance of the *Minguelistas* in 1828

Anno Jano. fr. 471
 N.º 2

Accusando recibida a Cartoria Recorrida de V.ª
 datada de 20 de Março do anno proximo passado
 pela qual a Superior Superioridade requere em nome
 de El Rey Sr. D. Fernando VII.º, que em
 consequencia a fazer Vigiar o Medico Bernar-
 do Peres da S.ª, dando parte por esta Secre-
 taria de Estado da sua Conduta, sempre me-
 dante a V.ª que este sujeito tendo sido eleito p.
 Deputado em Cortes por esta Provincia, e trans-
 portando-se agora nesta Charrua Príncipe
 Real para esta Corte, V.ª até o ter o mais
 parte de baixo da sua Vigilancia.

D.º J. P. da S.ª. mt. ad. Gra.ª de Janeiro de
 1828
 Manoel de Almeida
 Antonio

Portugal

Source: HAG: MR: No. 204 B (1827-1828), fl. 471.

APPENDIX - X

Candidates Contesting the Parliamentary Election (1860)

Ilhas

<i>Nomes</i>	<i>Total (Votos)</i>
António Salvador do Rosário e Miranda	13
Bernado Fransisco da Costa	1
Caetáno Xavier Diniz, residente em Portugal	14
Custodío Manoel Gomes	28
O Conego Eugenio Pereira	1
Fransisco Luis Gomes (Navelim)	9
Givagi Sinai Cundoicar	7
José Paes de Faria Pereira	1893
Joaquim Manuel de Mello e Mendonça	216
João Maria de Siqueira Pinto	41
João Bernado Tolentino Ferrão	6
João Joaquim d' Oliveira Nogar	10
Luis Xavier Correia de Graça	16
Piedade Custódio Pinto	1
Conego Querobino Martins	25
Romulo Salvador de Noronha	12
Vincente Fransisco Pereira	1

Bardez

<i>Nomes</i>	<i>Total (Votos)</i>
Vincente Ferrer Neto de Paiva de Portugal	2114
Custodío Manoel Gomes de Portugal	13
Padre Felipe Caetono Piedade da Conceição, de Margão, existente em Puném	1
Izidoro de Noronha, Prelado de Moçambique residente em Lisboa	1
Padre Caetono Felipe Maciel Marques, residente em Saligão	2
Raimundo José Da Gama, Natural de Goa, residente em Lisboa	4
António P. Floriano Rodrigues, Parocho de Ribandar em Ilhas	4
Joaquim Manuel de Mello e Mendonça, natural de Goa	12
Fellipe Dias- Natural de Goa	1
Raimundo F. Da Gama natural de Goa, residente em Lisboa	65
João Goarberto de Barros e Cunha Proprietario em Lisboa	2
Padre João Manoel d' Expectação e Sousa de Siolim	1
O Conego Querobino Martins residente em S. Pedro	1
Rosario Sant' Anna Baptista de Assagão	1

Salcette

<i>Nomes</i>	<i>Total (Votos)</i>
Francisco Luís Gomes Natural de Goa (Navelim)	1749
Joaquim Manuel de Mello e Mendonça, Natural de Goa	2
Vincente Ferrer Neto de Paiva Coimbra (Portugal)	5
Duarte Pacheco de Margão	-
Padre J. M. d' Expectação e Sousa, Coadjutor de Parocho de Majorda	-
Padre António J. I. Santimano, Governador do Arcebispado de Cochim	-
Salvador Felipe Alvares de Margão	-
Benjamin Piedade Pimenta de Curtorim	-
Pascoal Salvador de Mello de Curtorim	-
José Pedro Novarro de Menezes de Curtorim	-
António Luiz da Costa de Curtorim	-
Francisco António da Silva de Curtorim	-
António Lourenço Pereira de Utorda	-
Padre Querobino Martins de Taleigão	-

Source: *BDG*, No. 66, Agosto de 24, 1860.

Appendix - XI

List of Votes Polled at the Ballot (1878)

Appenamente dei votos per deputato

Thomas S. Stephens Abnatis Jurey Palha Ovarai S. Lumbayua proprietarii residentia in Richardar 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36, 37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94, 95, 96, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 102, 103, 104, 105, 106, 107, 108, 109, 110, 111, 112, 113, 114, 115, 116, 117, 118, 119, 120, 121, 122, 123, 124, 125, 126, 127, 128, 129, 130, 131, 132, 133, 134, 135, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 141, 142, 143, 144, 145, 146, 147, 148, 149, 150, 151, 152, 153, 154, 155, 156, 157, 158, 159, 160, 161, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 167, 168, 169, 170, 171, 172, 173, 174, 175, 176, 177, 178, 179, 180, 181, 182, 183, 184, 185, 186, 187, 188, 189, 190, 191, 192, 193, 194, 195, 196, 197, 198, 199, 200, 201, 202, 203, 204, 205, 206, 207, 208, 209, 210, 211, 212, 213, 214, 215, 216, 217, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 223, 224, 225, 226, 227, 228, 229, 230, 231, 232, 233, 234, 235, 236, 237, 238, 239, 240, 241, 242, 243, 244, 245, 246, 247, 248, 249, 250, 251, 252, 253, 254, 255, 256, 257, 258, 259, 260, 261, 262, 263, 264, 265, 266, 267, 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 273, 274, 275, 276, 277, 278, 279, 280, 281, 282, 283, 284, 285, 286, 287, 288, 289, 290, 291, 292, 293, 294, 295, 296, 297, 298, 299, 300, 301, 302, 303, 304, 305, 306, 307, 308, 309, 310, 311, 312, 313, 314, 315, 316, 317, 318, 319, 320, 321, 322, 323, 324, 325, 326, 327, 328, 329, 330, 331, 332, 333, 334, 335, 336, 337, 338, 339, 340, 341, 342, 343, 344, 345, 346, 347, 348, 349, 350, 351, 352, 353, 354, 355, 356, 357, 358, 359, 360, 361, 362, 363, 364, 365, 366, 367, 368, 369, 370, 371, 372, 373, 374, 375, 376, 377, 378, 379, 380, 381, 382, 383, 384, 385, 386, 387, 388, 389, 390, 391, 392, 393, 394, 395, 396, 397, 398, 399, 400, 401, 402, 403, 404, 405, 406, 407, 408, 409, 410, 411, 412, 413, 414, 415, 416, 417, 418, 419, 420, 421, 422, 423, 424, 425, 426, 427, 428, 429, 430, 431, 432, 433, 434, 435, 436, 437, 438, 439, 440, 441, 442, 443, 444, 445, 446, 447, 448, 449, 450, 451, 452, 453, 454, 455, 456, 457, 458, 459, 460, 461, 462, 463, 464, 465, 466, 467, 468, 469, 470, 471, 472, 473, 474, 475, 476, 477, 478, 479, 480, 481, 482, 483, 484, 485, 486, 487, 488, 489, 490, 491, 492, 493, 494, 495, 496, 497, 498, 499, 500, 501, 502, 503, 504, 505, 506, 507, 508, 509, 510, 511, 512, 513, 514, 515, 516, 517, 518, 519, 520, 521, 522, 523, 524, 525, 526, 527, 528, 529, 530, 531, 532, 533, 534, 535, 536, 537, 538, 539, 540, 541, 542, 543, 544, 545, 546, 547, 548, 549, 550, 551, 552, 553, 554, 555, 556, 557, 558, 559, 560, 561, 562, 563, 564, 565, 566, 567, 568, 569, 570, 571, 572, 573, 574, 575, 576, 577, 578, 579, 580, 581, 582, 583, 584, 585, 586, 587, 588, 589, 590, 591, 592, 593, 594, 595, 596, 597, 598, 599, 600, 601, 602, 603, 604, 605, 606, 607, 608, 609, 610, 611, 612, 613, 614, 615, 616, 617, 618, 619, 620, 621, 622, 623, 624, 625, 626, 627, 628, 629, 630, 631, 632, 633, 634, 635, 636, 637, 638, 639, 640, 641, 642, 643, 644, 645, 646, 647, 648, 649, 650, 651, 652, 653, 654, 655, 656, 657, 658, 659, 660, 661, 662, 663, 664, 665, 666, 667, 668, 669, 670, 671, 672, 673, 674, 675, 676, 677, 678, 679, 680, 681, 682, 683, 684, 685, 686, 687, 688, 689, 690, 691, 692, 693, 694, 695, 696, 697, 698, 699, 700, 701, 702, 703, 704, 705, 706, 707, 708, 709, 710, 711, 712, 713, 714, 715, 716, 717, 718, 719, 720, 721, 722, 723, 724, 725, 726, 727, 728, 729, 730, 731, 732, 733, 734, 735, 736, 737, 738, 739, 740, 741, 742, 743, 744, 745, 746, 747, 748, 749, 750, 751, 752, 753, 754, 755, 756, 757, 758, 759, 760, 761, 762, 763, 764, 765, 766, 767, 768, 769, 770, 771, 772, 773, 774, 775, 776, 777, 778, 779, 780, 781, 782, 783, 784, 785, 786, 787, 788, 789, 790, 791, 792, 793, 794, 795, 796, 797, 798, 799, 800, 801, 802, 803, 804, 805, 806, 807, 808, 809, 810, 811, 812, 813, 814, 815, 816, 817, 818, 819, 820, 821, 822, 823, 824, 825, 826, 827, 828, 829, 830, 831, 832, 833, 834, 835, 836, 837, 838, 839, 840, 841, 842, 843, 844, 845, 846, 847, 848, 849, 850, 851, 852, 853, 854, 855, 856, 857, 858, 859, 860, 861, 862, 863, 864, 865, 866, 867, 868, 869, 870, 871, 872, 873, 874, 875, 876, 877, 878, 879, 880, 881, 882, 883, 884, 885, 886, 887, 888, 889, 890, 891, 892, 893, 894, 895, 896, 897, 898, 899, 900, 901, 902, 903, 904, 905, 906, 907, 908, 909, 910, 911, 912, 913, 914, 915, 916, 917, 918, 919, 920, 921, 922, 923, 924, 925, 926, 927, 928, 929, 930, 931, 932, 933, 934, 935, 936, 937, 938, 939, 940, 941, 942, 943, 944, 945, 946, 947, 948, 949, 950, 951, 952, 953, 954, 955, 956, 957, 958, 959, 960, 961, 962, 963, 964, 965, 966, 967, 968, 969, 970, 971, 972, 973, 974, 975, 976, 977, 978, 979, 980, 981, 982, 983, 984, 985, 986, 987, 988, 989, 990, 991, 992, 993, 994, 995, 996, 997, 998, 999, 1000.

Antônio Gonçalves Injeiro residentia in Curitiba 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15

Lista dos nomes para deputados pelo Circulo do Rio Grande assidos a lista
de San Bartholomeu de Chorão

Thomaz Aquino de Moura, Juven. Polho, Carlos de Coimbra, proprietarios e residentes em
Ribeirão 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 14, 15, 16-

Antonio Generalo Crepiti residente em Lisboa 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13,
14, 15, 16, 17, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 30, 31, 32, 33, 34, 35, 36,
37, 38, 39, 40, 41, 42, 43, 44, 45, 46, 47, 48, 49, 50, 51, 52, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59,
60, 61, 62, 63, 64, 65, 66, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77, 78, 79, 80,
81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 86, 87, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 94-

Source: AHP, AEM, Cx., No.1256 (Year 1878).

Appendix - XII

Order of Her Majesty Maria II to take Requisite Measures to facilitate Elections in the New Conquests

NOVAS CONQUISTAS

Sendo presente a sua magestade a Rainha, o officio do Governo Geral do Estado da India, No. 189 de 20 de Maio proximo passado acompanhando as copias de dois requerimentos nas comarcas gerais nas Provincias das Novas Conquistas, em que pedem ser admittidos a eleição de Deputados ás Côrtes, formando um Circulo perante, e independente: manda a mesma Augusta Senhora pela Secretária d'Estado, que para o requisseste este negocio, se torna necessario que remette a copia nas actas em que se busca o parecer no Commissão relative á concorrancia d'estas Provincias no eleição de deputados, com ihe foi ordenado em Portaria no 998 de 5 documento.

Paço nas Negociados, 22 Maio de 1843

Source: HAG, MR, 216 A, fl.189

Appendix - XIII

Number of Parliamentary Representatives Allowed for the Overseas Colonies of Portugal

Year	Cabo Verde	Bissau	Angola	Benguela	Moçambique	S. Thome	Principe	Estado	Da India	Macau	Timor Salor	Source
1838	2		2		2	2		4		2		<i>L E. de 1838</i>
1846	2		2		2	2		4		1	1	<i>DE. de 1846</i>
1847	2		2		2	2		4		1	1	<i>BDG, 1947</i>
1851	2		2		2	2		4		1	1	<i>D de 1851</i>
1858	2		2		2	2		4		1	1	<i>BDG, 1858</i>
1884	1		3		2	1		3		1	1	<i>J. M. Magalhães</i>
1896	1		1		1	1		1		1		<i>LE. de 1896</i>
1899	1		1		1			2		1	1	<i>LE. de 1899</i>
1901	1		1		1	1		2		1		<i>LNU</i>
1911	2		3		3	1		2		1	1	<i>DL. de 1911</i>
1915	1		1		1	1		1		1	1	<i>DDG, 1915</i>
1918	2		2		2	1		1		1	1	<i>DL de 1918</i>

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