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Special Issue on Portugal



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# The *O Anglo-Lusitano*: in Search of Identity

Sandra Ataíde Lobo

(Member of CHAM – Portuguese Centre for Global History; Group for the Study of Colonial Periodical Press in the Portuguese Empire; Thinking Goa: a singular archive in Portuguese<sup>1</sup>)

This paper focuses on the early years of the bilingual weekly newspaper *O Anglo-Lusitano*, published in Bombay by the elite of the Goan native<sup>2</sup> Catholic migrant community between 1886 and 1955. Contrary to the purpose of dual-language native newspapers in British India, also found within this community, its bilingualism was not intended to bridge English and vernacular readerships but to span the *lingua franca* of both the British and Portuguese empires. By doing so, it at once widened the scope of its potential public and asserted a particular intellectual identity in a political context where clarification of the place of the community in British India became relevant to its social affirmation. Yet, the newspaper's profile evidences the difficulties facing a community that nursed both sentiments of belonging and conflicting loyalties. On the other hand, its profile also suggests this fluid place could offer intellectual advantages, namely with regards political analysis.

## Goans and Bombay

England's domination of India started when Bombay was gifted to King Charles II as part of Catherine of Braganza's dowry in a matrimonial alliance between the Crowns of Portugal and England

<sup>1</sup>This paper was carried out as part of the FAPESP thematic project "Pensando Goa" (proc. 2014/15657-8).

<sup>2</sup>I use the concept for the operational importance to discussions on colonialism, social profile of colonial societies, identity, anti-colonial thought and movements. In the concrete case I apply it to the population of Indian 'blood' (non-European) that assumed that affiliation or to whom it was attributed, choosing not to discuss its racist implications or its racial ambiguities born of actually happening miscegenation.

\*Author is a Post-doc Researcher financed by FCT – Portuguese Foundation for Science and Technology, SFRH/BPD/97264/20.

(1661). The Portuguese kept other surrounding territories until these were conquered by the Marathas in eighteenth century, which were followed the British in 1770. Those territories, which by the middle of the 19th century were being absorbed by the city, were dominated by the Catholic community, of Portuguese and native origin. Their links to Portugal continued through the Padroado, which was the right to administer the churches in the East granted by the Vatican to the Portuguese. A significant part of the clergy was Goan, as Goa hosted the seminaries that trained the local clergy. This right had other important implications, namely the use of the Portuguese language by the elites and the development of Portuguese dialects, as religious services were run either in Latin or in Portuguese and several Catholic schools had their curricula in Portuguese<sup>3</sup>. The elites of this community also stood out for their adoption of European dress and manners. For this reason, until late in the 19th century these people were known as Bombay Portuguese, Native Portuguese or simply Portuguese, alongside designations such as Norteiros (northerners, by comparison to Goans)<sup>4</sup>.

In the Portuguese Goan Old Conquests, the early Portuguese politics induced the majority of the population, through force and persuasion, to convert to Catholicism. The conversion of the elites of this community (Brahmins and Chardós) was closely followed by cultural and political conversion to the Empire. Contact with Portuguese and other European languages promoted an early dialogue between European and local intellectual debates. From the 18<sup>th</sup> Century onwards, the vanguard of this elite imbibed the ideas

<sup>3</sup>Aloysius Soares, 'Four centuries of education' in *the Mission Field: the Diocese of Damaun*. Bombaim, S. R. Santos, 1925, p. 181-241.

<sup>4</sup>Paulo Varela Gomes, "Bombay Portuguese": ser ou não ser português em Bombaim no século XIX" *iRevista de historia das ideias*, v. 28 (2007), p. 567-608; Teresa Albuquerque, *Goan pioneers in Bombay*. Saligão: Pangim, Goa 1556 & Broadway Publishing House, 2012.



and values that were reframing modern political thought, immersing themselves in this revolutionary atmosphere through print culture.

The Goan native Catholic population maintained links with Bombay, namely through migration. The place of Bombay in the Oriental maritime economy and its transformation into a cosmopolitan metropolis spurred this movement, which became massive in the second half of 19<sup>th</sup> Century. Being the core of the first migrant movement, the elites from Catholic upper castes were able to capitalize on their formal schooling through European languages and their experience of dealing and working with Europeans. They easily integrated into the job market of the city and found employment as clerks or opted for liberal professions, ending up participating in its burgeoning intellectual life, namely through the publication of Bombay's first native periodicals. Bombay University and the city's Catholic education institutions received children from the migrant community or directly from Goa. The in-migration of other castes also grew, eventuating the formation of an urban petit bourgeoisie willing to assert itself within the community.

### **Tensions in the Bombay Catholic communities**

The *OAnglo-Lusitano* appeared in a moment of transformation of the patterns the press run by the migrant community, which was previously written solely in Portuguese and focused on internal debates and colonial tensions in Goa. Its contents began to treat migrant affairs and the reality of India under British rule. The new profile of this press also included the adoption of bilingualism, though Portuguese/English press had first been created by the aforementioned Bombay Portuguese.

The first bilingual newspaper founded by the Bombay Portuguese had been *O Patriota (The Patriot)*, started in 1858 to defend the community in face of Bombay's changing reality. According to Paulo Varela Gomes, it was guided by two convergent concerns: to compete with the Goan migrant elite, which was being preferred by the British for white-collar positions that had previously been the virtual monopoly of this community and the tensions surrounding the Portuguese Padroado<sup>5</sup>.

In an effort to convince the British that it was in their national interest to reconsider their preference for Goans, *The Patriot* stressed the political loyalty of the Bombay Portuguese by trying to prove that, despite the name by which the community was called, they were Anglicized in all aspects except religion<sup>6</sup>. By contrast, the newspaper presented the Goan migrants as Portuguese nationals, bound by Portuguese interests. This social tension helped the community, and its newspaper, to review its earlier loyalty to the Padroado in its ongoing conflict with the Vatican, who wanted to move over to direct administration through the Propaganda Fide. This conflict had direct impact on the spiritual and social life of the Catholic communities, as in several locations the Padroado's and the Propaganda Fide's jurisdictions overlapped.

The different actors had diverse motivations. The British showed discomfort with the Padroado's jurisdiction in their dominions. The Portuguese felt that this secular right represented the last remnants of their past greatness and believed that its survival ensured sentimental and cultural ties vaster than the actual political frontiers. Goans expressed ambivalent feelings, for if they protested against its cost to the treasury of the State of India, they

<sup>5</sup>Ibid.

<sup>6</sup>Idem, p. 579.



also had direct interest in its being upheld. Not only did the local elites provide abundant ecclesiastic vocations, but the Padroado also allowed Goans to continue to play a central role in the management and guidance of the Catholic Church in the region. The successive efforts to solve the conflict had important moments in the Concordats of 1857 and 1886, both followed by intense conflicts between the two parties, particularly in Bombay.

In this process the Bombay Portuguese increasingly severed their links to the Portuguese by affirming their Indianness and their fidelity to the British rule and to the Propaganda Fide. On Queen Victoria's Golden Jubilee (1887) they officially adopted the designation of East Indians and created the East Indian Association. The bilingualism of their newspapers, which would continue for some years yet, was an expression of this process of political and cultural reconfiguration.

### **Discussing political identity**

This atmosphere also surrounded the birth of bilingual newspapers published by the Goan Catholic community in the late 1860's, as it did to some extent to the appearance of the *O Anglo-Lusitano* = *The Anglo-Lusitano* on 1<sup>st</sup> July 1886. The adoption of English became crucial to the community's participation in the social, cultural and political world of British Bombay, and in particular its ability to influence its public opinion. It also helped enlarge its audience in migrant communities around India and in other parts of the British Empire, some of which were now only literate in English. Portuguese was still assumed as the common language of the Goan elite resident in Bombay, constituting a social and cultural marker with ambiguous political effects. If it was

advantageous in their position as Portuguese citizens, this citizenship could cause discomfort in a British Indian context, as demonstrated by the tensions with the Bombay Portuguese. Nevertheless, their Portuguese citizenship justifies why Portuguese occupied the first pages of the *O Anglo-Lusitano*.

Regarding the newspaper's linguistic make up, the Portuguese and English sections diverged yet also dialogued with one another. Each language had its own editor. Rather than bilingualism implying translation between languages, there was rather a thematic continuity: sections tended to replicate themes but seldom offered the same articles. Quotations and the cross-pollination of ideas and arguments disclose that bilingual composition did not undermine bilingual habits of reading. This pattern extended to the abundant collaboration of occasional and regular correspondents. The newspaper's bilingualism may have contributed to its ability to attract a considerable network of Goan correspondents within a few years, which covered the Portuguese and British empires in Asia and Africa, including of course the Hindustan subcontinent. Arguably *O Anglo-Lusitano* ended up performing a pivotal role between the Goan Catholic migrant communities in Bombay and those spread around the world, making no little contribution to fortifying a sense of Goan identity and creating an image of the same.

The birth of the newspaper immediately followed the 1886 Concordat, which was signed on 23<sup>rd</sup> June. The tensions surrounding the signing of the treaty counted were decisive here: its pro-Padroado positions were considered aggressive and disturbing enough to be noted officially by the Holy See and directly censured by the Secretary of the Propaganda Fide, Cardinal Mariano Rampolla. I will not dwell on the ins and outs of this polemic although its

relevance to the newspaper's agenda must be borne in mind. Instead I prefer to focus on other dimensions of its politics of identity.

The newspaper's own name seems to be a statement of identity, bridging the community's Portuguese citizenship and cultural influences and its insertion into the British Empire. The impulse to construct such bridges was surely not foreign to a wish to disavow the raising Anglophobia in Goan political circles after the 1878 Anglo-Portuguese treaty, which was considered in Goa to be fatal to the fragile local economy. Beyond doubt is the importance of addressing the community's political identity. Apart from the tense atmosphere with the Bombay Portuguese, the newspaper's concerns must be linked to the effort to organize, classify and describe the Indian populations in community frameworks, which was promoted by the British in their commitment to transfer the management of India's social and political complexity from the domain of politics to the routine of administrative affairs<sup>7</sup>. The resulting pressure for self-definition had been significant to the Bombay Portuguese/East Indian process. It was also reflected in the organization of the first Indian National Congress on 28<sup>th</sup> December 1885 in its aim to represent the interests of the different communities of the Indian 'people'.

The fact is that this concern with the social and political consequences of this changing panorama inspired the editor of the Portuguese section, Leandro Mascarenhas, to open a discussion about this matter in his editorial *The Portuguese Community in India, right on the newspaper's second issue*<sup>8</sup>. The article departed from a

<sup>7</sup>For an Anglo-Indian critic of this approach see Sir Henry John Stedman Cotton's *New India or India in transition* (1885). I recall that Henry Cotton had a relevant role in the Indian National Congress.

<sup>8</sup>[Leandro Mascarenhas], 'A comunidade portugueza na India' 2 (15.07.1886). Neither editor signed the editorials as it was current in Goan periodicals of the period, but this use and editorial responsibility allows us to attribute them with a high degree of certainty. The translation of the titles and quotes that follow is mine. In all quotes of the newspaper I will dispense referring its title, signalling only the number and date of edition.

social delimitation of the Portuguese Community to approach the tensions that divided it and appeal to reform. According to the editor, the 'Portuguese Community' comprised two elements: the 'sons of the North' and the 'sons of Goa', both of which had converted to Catholicism under Portuguese rule and now formed two factions. He believed that it was the change of ruler, in the case of the Northern people, which had fed dissention, to which the recent step of the 'sons of the North' regarding their denomination had contributed. In addition such dissention was aggravated by the idea that subjection to different political and ecclesiastical jurisdictions was sufficient grounds for separate political representation. He considered this view particularly scandalous as it offended the very concept of a Catholic community, which ought not to be touched by profane considerations. In his description of the situation, Mascarenhas chose to hush up the contribution of Goans to dissent<sup>9</sup>.

The journalist's argument against separatism is particularly interesting for the elements in which he rooted the community. First of all, India was their motherland and this shared cradle should be considered the primary marker of their identity. In other words, the human territorial unity called India prevailed over all others comprised by it, be they Bombay, Goa or Kolkata. Not only that, it also prevailed over the circumstantial 'political nationality' and was compatible with overlapping loyalties, such as Goans experienced regarding the Portuguese and the British. The immutable fact was that, before being Portuguese citizens or British subjects, they were Indians, that is, 'natives' (*naturais*) of India. Secondly, they were united and at the same time distinguished from other Indian communities by their religion, habits and customs, as well as by

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<sup>9</sup>Paulo Varela Gomes, 'Bombay Portuguese'.

their language. He felt that it was fair to attribute the birth of this socio-cultural profile to the 'nation that taught all others the path to Orient'.

Mascarenhas's aim of course was to foster unity, which he considered achievable by 'a patriotic effort, dedicated, sincere, sustained by an unshakable will and guided by the serene light of reason'. Patriotism in this case refers to the defence of the 'Portuguese' Catholics interests within the political reality of British India. He acknowledged British rule as a 'constitutional government', by which he meant a political system where the Government pondered the collective needs and interests of its subjects, as embodied by their different communities. Consequently, each community had the 'right and the duty' to represent those needs and interests to the Government, an action that entailed a previous delimitation and mobilization of communities. In fact, in such cases, representation grounded its 'value and constancy from the force, influence and importance of the community which is its expression'. Thus, for him it was beyond doubt that the union of the 'two classes' would ensure the importance of the 'Portuguese' community and allow it gradually to constitute a 'party in Indian politics', that is a political organization formed to represent its particular interests. Mascarenhas proposal was mainly political as he firmly emphasized when defending the need to overcome the total abstention of Catholics from the Indian reformist movements that agitated Bombay, bringing together 'Hindus, Mohammedans, Parsis and others, [who] so different and opposed by their race, religion, uses and traditions, were able to hold arms for their common progress'.

This editorial had a considerable impact and consequently the newspaper announced it had received a significant number

of letters either of support or rejection, some of them published in subsequent issues. The tone of the critical responses provoked Leandro Mascarenhas to write a new editorial, *The Portuguese Community in English India*, to clarify his ideas<sup>10</sup>. Again he insisted on the need for a political alliance and organization of a community that only in Bombay numbered some twenty thousand Goans and six to seven thousand natives of the city. According to him, the lack of organization these 'Portuguese' had just recently had practical consequences during the first meeting of the National Congress, where all the 'classes of India' were supposed to be represented but which featured no elected 'Indo-Portuguese' deputy. Such misrepresentation was not to be taken lightly given the political importance of the Congress. The founding of this movement had already been recognized through India and England as a turning point in the demand for political regeneration that was agitating the 'Indian nation'.

Mascarenhas suggested that the members of both 'sections' of the community had to ask themselves why as sons of India they were being left behind by history though they had been the first Indians to experience political modernity. Furthermore he insisted on the Indianness of the Goans to answer those who classified Goan migrants as foreigners to British India due to their Portuguese citizenship. Against such an exclusory approach, he argued:

The [Portuguese constitutional] Charter offers nationality to Goans and its political and civil prerogatives "in the most perfect equality, both evangelic and liberal"<sup>11</sup>, but it does not give them their birthplace [naturalidade]. They may be Portuguese

<sup>10</sup> 'A comunidade portugueza na India ingleza' [*The Portuguese community in English India*] 7 (19.08.1886)

<sup>11</sup> There is a degree of irony in the statement under brackets as just before he distinguished law from the derogatory social attitudes and discriminatory practices of the successive governments in Goa.



citizens, but they may never cease to be natives [natais] of India. Goa is their cradle and India their homeland [Pátria]. It is frequently said that they are foreigners in this town. As Portuguese citizens, yes; but as sons of India, no.

In other words, being Indians by birth they could never be considered foreigners on Indian soil. The idea of an Indian nation formed by individuals, Indian by birth irrespective of their origin<sup>12</sup>, regardless of political nationality and Imperial boundaries, emerges from his argument. Developing it, he argued that even for those migrants who kept Portuguese citizenship; this affiliation became irrelevant in a British Indian context. Having clarified that issue, he waxed expansive about the future designation of the community. Mainly political as we have seen, the name should jettison any allusion to Portugal so as to avoid misinterpretations. That didn't impede the community as a whole from paying tribute to its Portuguese religious and cultural roots. It didn't even prevent Goans maintaining their Portuguese political links, when these did not interfere with public sphere of British India and British interests. Mascarenhas, himself, found the name 'Indian Catholics' adequate, as it was open to all Indian Catholics and not only those with direct Portuguese influences, yet closed to other Christians.

Among the correspondence published during this discussion<sup>13</sup>, those in the English language were more sympathetic to the idea of open even more such organization through the concept of 'Christian community', of more embracing spirit. We may identify different positions according to the origin of the contributor. The letter of

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<sup>12</sup>Against the exclusory view, he observed that if the argument was to be taken seriously then one could hardly point a 'true' native of Bombay as the city evolved along the centuries supported by wide migration from all corners and races.

<sup>13</sup>The editors recognized that most were not published for space problems.

a correspondent using the pseudonym Vox indicates that although the newspaper was mainly related to the Goan community, it had a broader public since its beginnings<sup>14</sup>. This correspondent clearly positions himself as an outsider, an Anglo-Indian or, less probably, an Englishman.

Vox's argument against the name 'Portuguese' is telling. According to him, the community's 'wretched position' among 'the races in India' and the contempt of Englishmen towards it, was a consequence of the effort to pass for something it was not. That is, native Indians should never self-identify otherwise and even less so allow themselves to be recognized as such. Not only was 'Portuguese' a self-designation lacking social acceptance, but it was also abusive due to its national resonances. In his definition:

A man's nationality is determined by two considerations, viz, that of his parentage, and that of the country of his birth, and when it is thus determined it is no more in the power of the man to alter it otherwise than by naturalization.

That is, outside the exceptional case of naturalization, nationality was an organic unchangeable condition determined by birthplace or immediate origins, irrespective of political or other environmental factors. Consequently, Goans as 'Portuguese subjects' could not be included in the Portuguese national community. Vox preferred to ignore that Goans were constitutionally Portuguese citizens, a status that blended nationality and citizenship<sup>15</sup>, as he diverged from the voluntarist and essentially political concept of nationality defined by the Portuguese constitutional tradition, under

<sup>14</sup>Vox, 'To the Editor of the "Anglo-Lusitano" 6 (12.08.1886).

<sup>15</sup>Cristina Nogueira da Silva, *Constitucionalismo e império: a cidadania no ultramar português*. Coimbra, Almedina, 2009; Sandra Ataíde Lobo, *O desassossego goês: cultura e política em Goa do liberalismo ao Acto Colonial*. Lisbon, FCSH/UNL, 2013.

French inspiration. A tradition that emphasized the distinction between nationality and birthplace (*naturalidade*), as Mascarenhas arguments well illustrate. He also diverged from the historical, cultural and religious affiliation that justified the designation 'Portuguese' by which the Catholics of Bombay and surrounding territories had been long known. Even if Mascarenhas and Vox converged in the rejection of the designation 'Portuguese' for the community, they grounded their position in quite different ideas.

Vox did not elucidate the motives that inspired the adoption of the 'Portuguese' designation, but I venture that he believed natives aimed an upgrade in the hierarchy of races by pretending to have European roots. What he clarifies is English disgust, rooted in ideas of the irrevocable nature of nationality and the associated duty to hold nationalist pride:

Not only is it beyond our power to alter it [nationality], but honour, truth and patriotism demand that we vindicate it, and it is not surprising, therefore, that proud Englishmen should despise those who, as they suppose, are endeavouring to pass for what they are not.

Vox proposed the designation 'Native Christians', contrary to the community's writers who favoured the name 'Indian Christians'<sup>16</sup> or, as in the case of Mascarenhas, 'Indian Catholics'. His problem was with the criteria that delimited the community. According to him the term Indian Catholic 'sounds neither euphonious nor rational' because it largely exceeded the bounds of the 'proper sphere' of the so-called 'Portuguese' community. Even if the writer does not develop the argument, his statement points in a clear direction. Having in mind what we may call *natural communities* of

<sup>16</sup>An Indian Catholic, 'To the editor of the "Anglo-Lusitano"' 6 (12.08.1886).

a society, in the present case Indian society; it would be acceptable and even convenient to embrace coherent religious diversity, as in the case of Christianity, but not racial diversity. In fact race was seen a natural marker of community, for which reason the national (Indian) connection sounded so unmelodious. Vox's apprehension most probably regarded temptations to amalgamate natives with Anglo-Indians. The latter didn't need any more wood to fuel the fire of British contempt for their claim to be privileged actors, due to their Indian experience and British roots, in the establishment of an equilibrium between British and Indian interests. Simultaneously, he either did not recognize the existence of Luso-descendents in the 'Portuguese' community or was suggesting that those too should not integrate the proposed group.

### **The social interest of cultural identity**

The political unification of the communities did not occur, as I have already suggested when referring the East Indians, although the newspaper occasionally returned to the subject<sup>17</sup>. The term 'Portuguese' regarding the migrant community would be increasingly replaced by 'Goan', but the process was far from being closed in the following decades. Its continuation was due to migrant's elite own active maintenance of political and cultural links with Portuguese India, and its cultivation of distinctiveness in Bombay society. In the last case its defence of the Portuguese language was significant, while the second generations, educated for the British India professional market, increasingly chose English as its literary language.

The battle was assumed from its beginning by the *O Anglo-Lusitano*, once again in particular by Leandro Mascarenhas who

<sup>17</sup>[José Manuel da Silva], 'Indian Christians' 569 (12.06.1897).

defended that Portuguese language had a social and cultural importance for the community similar to Gujarati for Parsis or Marathi for Hindus. That is, it should be understood as the equivalent to any literary vernacular. For that reason, he defended it was worth campaigning for Catholic schools to teach it and for the Goan Catholic youth to cultivate it alongside English<sup>18</sup>. Regarding the social and intellectual ‘improvement’ of the community, Mascarenhas praised the role of ‘Portuguese’ associations<sup>19</sup>. In particular, he highlighted the Luso-Indian Institute founded in 1883 on the initiative of the migrant elite, of whose board he was a founding member<sup>20</sup>. He emphasized its investment in cultural bilingualism via familiarity with Portuguese and British literatures and the instrumental role of its library, which though it had started out with holdings in Portuguese was already planning an equal investment in English-language works<sup>21</sup>.

### Colonial experience as instrument of political analysis

The cultural intervention of the newspaper, which paid particular attention to educational problems and to the politics of language, ran alongside critical political discourses regarding the realities of Goa and India. Goan colonial experience could be drawn upon to analyse the British Indian process. Two editorials in the English section, which was edited by José Manuel da Silva, are particularly illustrative of this approach. Published in January 1887<sup>22</sup>, they commented on the second meeting of the Indian

<sup>18</sup>[Leandro Mascarenhas], ‘A lingua portugueza na India ingleza’ [The Portuguese language in English India] 6 (12.08.1886).

<sup>19</sup>[Leandro Mascarenhas], ‘Instituições portuguezas em Bombaim’ [Portuguese institutions in Bombay] 8 (26.08.1886).

<sup>20</sup>*Relatorio e contas da gerencia do Instituto Luso-Indiano desde Agosto de 1886 até 31 de Dezembro de 1887*. Bombaim, s.n., 1888.

<sup>21</sup>The services of the Institute to the promotion of Portuguese culture in Bombay would be recognized in 1902 by King Charles I by granting it the benefit of becoming a Royal Institute (National Archive Torre do Tombo, Registo Geral de Mercês de D. Carlos I, liv. 15, fl.164).

<sup>22</sup>[José Manuel da Silva], ‘Indian aspirations’ 32 (13.01.1887); ‘Natives under Portuguese rule’ 33 (20.01.1887).

National Congress (December 1886), held in Calcutta.

The editor criticized the radical resolutions adopted by the Congress':

Even those who sympathize most hardly with the cause have not been quite satisfied as to the moderation and opportuneness of the demands. A subject conquered nation may ask anything, but it is to be seen whether the conquerors are likely to concede it even in this enlightened nineteenth century, so long as it is in their power to withhold it.<sup>23</sup>

Silva vouched that his position was not guided by 'a spirit of hostile criticism' as he was a native entirely sympathetic with the reformist ideas of the Congress. Nevertheless, though agreeing that native grievances were altogether just, he considered it premature to fully address them. To support his views he invoked the Goan process as a comparator for British India. He described the situation in Goa at that time:

At the present day Goa is not governed by Portugal, so much as by herself, as an integral part of the Portuguese Kingdom. The vast majority of the people of Goa are natives of the country, but in Goa the difference of race is seldom felt so far at least as the Government concerned.

Through this description Silva transmitted an idea about Goan ethnic and political identity, based both on the formal status of its natives under the Portuguese liberal Monarchy and on the actual local reality. That is, a political configuration by which the territory became a province of Portugal, participating in the representative government through an electoral system in which local citizens, mostly natives, exercised their political rights. This configuration

<sup>23</sup>[José Manuel da Silva], 'Indian aspirations'.



allowed Silva to affirm that Goa had reached self-government, given that 'race' was seldom a basis for inequality. He considered of the utmost importance the *fact* that the 'vast majority of the people of Goa were Christians three hundred years ago'. A point of view that disregarded that at present 4/5 of Goan territory was formed by the New Conquests of the 18<sup>th</sup> Century, whose population, almost equal in number to that of the Old Conquests, was overwhelmingly Hindu. In other words, he identified Goa as the Old Conquests and its people. This was a lasting image founded by the Catholic population based on local historical process, which even resisted Portuguese government practices to promote political amalgamation with the New Conquests<sup>24</sup>.

Regarding the Congress' demands, Silva alerted his readers to what he characterized as the colonial mind-set, or the nature of conquerors to impose their will for as long as possible. Such a mentality ensured that unless they became less powerful, as in the Portuguese case, the conquered should expect resistance when demanding rights:

India may be prepared to take as much as England can give, but the previous question is whether England is yet prepared to forego her real or imaginary rights of conquest and grant all that India may be disposed to ask.

In his view overly ambitious claims could provoke defensive attitudes. Considering the Goan reality, he recalled that the Portuguese 'generosity' regarding native rights came only with the 1820 liberal revolution, after more than three hundred years of domination.

The editor introduced yet another point of view into the discussion when he argued that, in fact, 'Goa now enjoys more

<sup>24</sup>Sandra Ataíde Lobo, *O desassossego goês*.

privileges than she can well exercise', after centuries of religious conversion and exposure to European developments in culture and politics. With this statement, Silva echoed current colonial political discourses regarding native lack of preparation to enjoy modern political rights and exercise self-government. The argument was generally supported by allying historical evaluation with social and cultural observation, and adapted to the colonial context much of the conservative argumentation against revolutionary voluntarism. The singularity of the article under analysis came not from the appreciation, but from the fact that it was penned by a Goan native. In his second article, Silva expanded this perspective to the British Indian situation<sup>25</sup>. He offered a panorama of coeval Goa and of 'lessons of history' provided by its evolution, where he discussed the egalitarian policies of the Portuguese in detail. The comparative exercise allowed him to question preparedness of Indian society to deal with the Congress's full demands and with the social problems that radical change might bring, especially at the political level:

Suppose India obtains representative assembly – a sort of Parliament of her own. Whom will that assembly represent? Will it represent only the educated and the rich, or also the poor and illiterate? Will the uneducated classes form part of the electorate, and if so, are the masses capable of electing at all? Is there a guarantee that representative institutions will not be the occasion of giving rise to small parties perpetually engaged in internecine quarrels? Popular representation is a very good thing in its way, but like every other good it is liable to be abused and we think that it is yet to be shown that

<sup>25</sup>José Manuel da Silva, 'Natives under Portuguese rule'.

it will not be abused in India, in the existing state of society; that it will not be popular representation only in name.

Silva's conservative line of questioning was mixed with a patronising elitist attitude represented by the newspaper in its readiness to claim Goan authority to counsel fellow Indian natives. Such positioning was grounded on Goa's prior experience of the European civilizing mission and the problems adjacent to liberal dynamics. The image that it reflected was that of natives that although sharing colonial subjugation with other Indian natives, had a different historical experience and were better prepared to disentangle the complexities of the civilizing process. Here, as on other occasions since the 1820s, their status of Portuguese citizens occupied a relevant place in the construction of Goans' political identity.

This self-perception was in fact starting to be confronted by the evolution of British India. An evolution that led to compare colonial models and practices and reflect about practical achievements. I shall not dwell on this phenomenon here, as it justifies its own paper. Nevertheless, it is worth noting that this comparative exercise started in the newspaper as soon as 1888, with the editor of the Portuguese section targeting the defaults of Portuguese style of administration and its impact in local development. Soon, the debate extended to discussion with Goan based newspapers, some of which accused the *O Anglo-Lusitano* of being Anglophile. Portuguese liberalism in granting rights and its less distant attitude regarding race relations, as compared to the British, continued to largely justify this elite's repeated affirmation of preference for Portuguese domination. But when political conflicts with the Portuguese authorities arose the

threat of voluntarily swapping of masters would henceforward be a rhetorical weapon.

Independent of these emotional moments, the fact is that British Empire and its style of colonial administration was becoming an unavoidable point of reference, even if not the sole one, to think though colonialism and the construction of colonial societies, a fact that was acknowledged by the Portuguese colonialists and the Goan political and intellectual circles, as the newspaper amply testifies. On a different tack, although this particular newspaper maintained a cautious position against political radicalism, only a few years later the evolution of the Indian nationalist movement started to be taken as an example of civil mobilization, namely for the effects of its persistent action for self-improvement<sup>26</sup> and pressure for rights. In this process authoritative posture of the Goans gave way to a more critical self-image, which contributed to reflections on the concepts of citizenship and political identity in a colonial context. This reflection was particularly disturbed by the somewhat schizophrenic coexistence of a growing theorization and practice regarding the constitution of colonial difference within the Portuguese egalitarian Constitutional tradition, which even suggested the inexistence of colonies and consequently of colonial relations within the Portuguese pluricontinental territory.

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<sup>26</sup>Social reform and the promotion of national self-esteem became relevant issues of the newspaper. For instance, the links between economic and cultural patriotism were enthusiastically defended ('O luxo na sociedade goense' [Luxury in Goan society] n° 464 (16.5.1895); 'Repressão do luxo' [Repression of luxury] n° 478 (29.08.1895)).