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REVIEWING AND RECOVERING FIFTY YEARS

About the Editors

Dr. Savio Abreu is Director of Xavier Centre of Historical Research (XCHR), Goa. His PhD from Indian Institute of Technology, Mumbai was a sociological study on New Christian movements in contemporary Goa. He has published articles in various Journals such as Indian Church History Review, Seminar, Social Action, etc. He has published papers in edited volumes, the last one being on "Social Development of the Christian Community in India" in, *India Social Development Report 2012: Minorities at the Margins* (Oxford University Press, 2013). He is visiting faculty at Jnana-Deepa Vidyapeeth (JDV), the Pontifical Athenaeum in Pune since 2012. E-mail: savioasj@gmail.com.

Dr. Rudolf C. Heredia is an independent researcher residing at Campion School, Mumbai. His doctorate in Sociology is from the University of Chicago (1979), and he was the founder director of the Social Science Centre, St. Xavier's College Mumbai, 1980-1992 and director again from 1994-2003. From 1992-94 he was director, department of research, at the Indian Social Institute, Delhi and edited the institute's journal, Social Action, 1993-95. His publications include *Changing Gods: Rethinking Conversion in India*, Penguin, N. Delhi, 2007 and *Taking Sides: Reservation Quotas and Minority Rights in India*, Penguin, N. Delhi, 2012. He has also published in various journals such as the Economic and Political Weekly, contributions to Indian Sociology, New Frontiers in Education, etc. E-mail: rudiheredia@gmail.com

Edited by
Savio Abreu
Rudolf C. Heredia

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*Dedicated
to
Late Jenny Abreu
and
Late Dr. Sharon D’Cruz*

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CHAPTER 10

The Return to Indianness

Goan Nationalism in the 1920s

SANDRA ATAÍDE LOBO¹

From the time of its commencement in British-India, the development of the Indian nationalist movement was watched with great interest by Goan elites. It was, however during the initial decades of the 20th century that this observation began to mould the perspectives of these elites and have a significant impact on local (that is Goan) political and cultural thought. During these years, the local critique of the colonial Portuguese administration, a critique whose articulation was a permanent feature in the 19th century Goa, took on added dimensions—as a result of the observation by the Goan elite of the nationalist movement that was growing in the neighbouring colonial territories of British India.

As a result of the engagement with the nationalist mobilisation in British India, the Goan critique directed against the colonial administration was also accompanied by a self-critique directed by the Catholic elite against themselves. Its object was their civic inertia, and their marked inclination towards frittering their energies in 'internal' dissensions rather than furthering the cause of 'local interests' *vis-à-vis* the 'foreign' power. The model for emulation on which this critique was based was the comportment of their Indian 'brothers' in all fields of social and political action. On the political front, the demand for Indian autonomy that was being mounted by the Indian nationalists, found parallel with a similar discussion that was being conducted in Portugal; a debate that was largely moved by

the Portuguese Republicans in the metropolis. These Portuguese debates encompassed divergent strands, ranging from granting more powers to the provincial governments in the Portuguese colonies, to autonomy for those colonies that were 'more advanced'.

It is within these discussions that we see in early 20th century Goa the efforts towards mobilizing civil society to both study, and propose solutions to, the local social and political impasses. This influence of British Indian nationalist politics resulted in a shifting of the debate; away from the earlier focus on disputes between 'Nativists' and the 'Europeanists'², and moved towards more fundamental issues related to local autonomy.

By suggesting that the debates shifted, I do not mean to suggest that the discussions around local autonomy were not rehearsed in earlier times. On the contrary, these debates had a genealogy earlier to the emergence of this issue in British India. What I mean to suggest, is that in earlier times, these debates were politically suffocated thanks to the social disputes within the native Catholic elites; and between these and the Luso-descendants and European elites. Similarly, I am not suggesting that the contests between these groups disappeared entirely once the issue of autonomy grabbed centre stage, but that they eventually faded away and found other manifestations in a panorama marked by the growth of ideological diversity.

Simultaneously, in this same period, we notice an embryonic Hindu mobilisation.³ This mobilization was markedly different from the earlier reform movement that had emerged at the ends of the 1800s. This earlier reform movement, once more influenced by social mobilisations in British India, was concerned primarily with social mobility of the 'Hindu' community and had stressed the need to invest in education, as well as the need for reform of social and religious traditions that were considered "anachronic" in the modern era. As with the earlier reform movement, this larger Hindu mobilisation was a continuation of the intimate currents that flowed between the frontiers of British and Portuguese India.

What was different in the situation presented by this latest timid mobilisation was that it was marked by a number of demands that conflicted sharply with the confessional nature of the Portuguese State under the liberal monarchy, as well as the pressure of the most conservative segments of the native Catholic elite who sought to

confine the Hindu elites to their traditional spheres of activity. Drawing from, and creatively interpreting the guarantees of tolerance of ideologies embodied in the monarchical constitution, this slew of demands, included a demand for the right of Hindus to practice their cult in public, for an equal enjoyment of citizenship rights as those enjoyed by the Catholic subjects under the crown.

In the cultural sphere, this period also sees a reaching out, between the first Hindu intellectuals who were looking for recognition within the Portuguese sphere, and the first native Catholic intellectuals who expressed in their creative works a desire to return to their Indian roots. In so extending themselves, both these sets of intellectuals torched the communal barriers that marked Goan society in those days, barriers that were especially constructed and consecrated in the public sphere of print journalism.⁴

This identification by these Catholic intellectuals, with a Hindu cultural imaginary and the local environment, constituted a definitive rupture with the project of the Catholic elite of the 1800s, that had marked by a distinct turn towards 'Occidentalising' themselves. This shift was marked by a conviction that what was required to impel Goan creativity, was not the external orientalist gaze that marked nineteenth century Orientalism, a gaze that did not contribute substantially to their cultural creativity. What was required, they now believed, was an internalization of the local sensibility, a reunion with their cultural roots and with the sensorial appeal of the local environment.⁵ The first result of this encounter resulted in the most long-lasting non-institutional⁶ Goan cultural journal: the Portuguese edition of the *Luz do Oriente* (1907-1920).⁷

This publication was a Hindu initiative that was the result of significant cooperation with native Catholics, Luso-descendants and of metropolitan notables. Its list of subscribers indicates that it enjoyed a notable reception among the Goan Catholics. Despite the fact that it was a cultural journal, the magazine followed the political movements in British India actively. Thus, affirming its participation in Portuguese nationality did not prevent the magazine in its inaugural number in matter-of-factly affirming its support to Bal Gandadhar Tilak's candidacy for the presidency of the Indian National Congress, addressing this matter in British India as if a subject internal to Portuguese India ("Noticiário". 1907. *Luz do Oriente*, August 6).

It was, however, only after the First World War, when the fight for British Indian independence gained a new strength, that there was a marked shift in the position of Goan intellectuals who had been sympathetic to the nationalist movement in the neighbouring colonial territory. This shift involved a movement from merely sympathy for similar attempts, into being a nationalist intervention where these Goan nationalists stressed a single Indian national identity, this identity being actively affirmed as transcending circumstantial colonial divisions.⁸ The signs of this transformation were initially dispersed, and it was only in the middle of the twenties that it became obvious that these interventions were in fact symptomatic of a systematic development of a political movement for Goan liberation from colonial power.

One of the more significant of the Goan nationalists who articulated this position was Tristão de Bragança Cunha (1891-1958).⁹ A member of the Third International, Bragança Cunha left Goa for France in 1914, with the objective of gaining a degree in Electrical Engineering. In Paris, he collaborated with a range of leftist periodicals, like the newspaper of Henri Barbusse's movement *Clarté*, and Louis Weiss' *L'Europe nouvelle*. Both of these newspapers were linked with the internationalist, and post-war pacifists' movements. In these periodicals he wrote in favour of the Indian movement, being responsible, for example, for informing the French public of the Jallianwala Bagh massacre in 1919 (Bragança 1992, 9). His brother, Francisco de Francisco de Bragança Cunha (1887-1954) left India in 1908 to study in London and subsequently in Paris, where he gained a Licenciante in Letters and then went on to lecture at the Sorbonne. Like Tristão, he collaborated actively with the French press, and being a friend of Sylvain Levy¹⁰, interacted in the same environment of anti-imperialist neo-Orientalism, that was in its turn the result of the confluence of streams ranging from the spiritual, cultural, political and academic. In 1923 he collaborated as a translator for Rabindranath Tagore. Tagore was engaged at this point in time, in a journey across Europe seeking to educate the public and drum up support for the Indian nationalist cause. For his services, the elder de Bragança Cunha obtained an invitation from the poet to teach at Shantiniketan.

In the same period, António Aleixo Santana Rodrigues (1887-1966), who had been involved in the Goan Republican press since his youth, left for Lisbon to study medicine. In September 1921, in

face of the persistence of the Portuguese press in equating the nationalist movement with Bolshevism, and their ridiculing of the Indian leaders, Santana Rodrigues granted two interviews to the Lisbon newspaper *Imprensa da Manhã*. In these interviews, Santana Rodrigues clarified the Gandhian position, recalled the ancient glories of Indian civilization, presented a critique of the British dominion, and referred also to the nationalist objectives of the constitution of a future Indian federal democracy. The importance attributed to these interviews is reflected in the fact of their translation into English, and their publication in the form of a bilingual flyer that was aimed to convey to the British Indians the Goan interests in the victory of the Indian movement (Rodrigues 1923). Later, Santana Rodrigues published a series of articles in the newspaper *Dia* dedicated to countering the negative Orientalist myths regarding Indian civilization, and Indian nature, as well as to highlighting the role of Indian intellectuals in the creation of a new humanism that was being drawn from the Orient as well as the Occident. These articles were eventually collected into, and published as, a book that was enthusiastically received in the circles of metropolitan and Goan intellectuals (Rodrigues 1926).

In 1921, this intellectual initiated in the newspaper *Bharat*, a series of articles dedicated to the theme of autonomy. In these articles, Santana Rodrigues affirmed that "the sentiment of autonomy is a persistent tradition of the Indian people" ("Autonomia" 1921. *Bharat* March 21). Condemning the disastrous effects of the Portuguese model of centralisation of governmental power, he proposed the resumption of the traditions of self-governance, namely the empowerment of the *Comunidades* of the Goan villages, as the only manner in which the "country could return to its antique splendor" ("Pela Índia: as razões da sua autonomia" 1921. *Bharat*, April 7). Finally, he denounced the "mise-en-scene" of the new autonomy law that had recently been promulgated, denouncing in particular the inequality that it subjected the Hindu population to, whom he described as "by chance the only inheritors of the Indian tradition and the instinct for autonomy" ("Pela Índia: a sua autonomia" 1921. *Bharat*, April 14). In July, Santana Rodrigues returned to the theme of autonomy to defend a federal model for the Portuguese Empire, agreeing to an arrangement that proposed substantial autonomy to

the colonies and proportional representation for the electorate (“A representação parlamentar da Índia”. 1921. *Bharat*, July 14 and 21).

Much of what Santana Rodrigues affirmed in his essays was not new to the discourse of the Catholic autonomist. What was new however, was the insistence on the integration of Hindus in the citizenship equation; and above all, the affirmation that constitutional equality in the Republic impacted on the practical inequality in its practice. In question was the unequal treatment that had been meted out to the populations of the territories of the New Conquests, the territories where the Hindu population dominated.¹¹ In this aspect, Santana Rodrigues went much further than did António Floriano de Noronha (1873-1931) in his celebrated monograph *Os hindús e a república portuguesa* (Noronha 1922). In this monograph Noronha, a magistrate, traced a gloomy history of the condition of the Hindus under Portuguese dominion, while at the same time defending the redeeming character of the Republican regime that has committed itself to a laicized state.

It was not by chance that Santana Rodrigues chose *Bharat*, a weekly publication published from Quepém, and directed by a Hindu, to make similar affirmations. This bilingual journal published in Marathi and Portuguese, was founded in 1912 in Panjim, and directed until his death, by the pharmacist, advocate and journalist Hegdó Dessai (?–1949). It turned out to be one of the most important and long-lasting Hindu publication with a section written in Portuguese. Between February 1914 and May 1915, Dessai suspended the newspaper in the sequence of Couceiro da Costa’s attempt to limit its freedom of expression (“Bharat”. *O Ultramar*, February 9, 1914). When he resumed the project he took the newspaper from his original location to the New Conquests. Again he suspended the newspaper between 1916 and 1920 due to financial problems. From this time, the newspaper grew in terms of radicalising its points of view, and in opening itself to collaboration with the intellectuals of the Catholic Left. It was because this journal was the first place of confluence between Hindu and Catholic nationalism, that I chose *Bharat* to trace the evolution of this movement.

Enthusiastically contesting the idea that Goa was essentially a Catholic ‘country’, in the subsequent years Hegdó Dessai fought for the affirmation of Hindu citizenship (“Goa é um paiz essencialmente

catolico?”. 1920. *Bharat*, April 8). In this spirit, in June 1920; the newspaper supported the proposal of Bascora Sar Dessai (1889–1979) for the creation of a Hindu Provincial Congress “in the manner that one sees in the case of the Indian National Congress”. The attempt was to consolidate the Hindu population so as to enable the demand for “their social, moral and economic well-being (...) [seeking] to put the Hindu on par with his Catholic brother” (“Congresso Hindu”. 1920. *Bharat*, June 10). This idea evoked strong apprehensions from Luís de Menezes Bragança (1878-1938), the cousin and brother-in-law of the Bragança Cunha brothers. By virtue of his consistent defense of secular and democratic values, Menezes Bragança was a much respected personality within the Hindu community. At this time the director of the newspaper *O Debate*, Menezes Bragança could not understand why, in a secular republican State, the Hindus should feel the need to attempt an identitarian-political association of this kind, especially since such a step would only intensify the communal tensions that already vitiated Goan society.

In a series of successive articles, the *Bharat*, and particularly Bascora Sar Dessai, engaged in a polemical debate with the republican Menezes Bragança trying to demonstrate that “if the Republic did treat Hindus as equals to Catholics, politically it did nothing, however, to ensure that we may, equally, benefit from Republican Equality. And what the Republic could not do, will be done by the Hindu class movement, initiated much before the implantation of the [Republican] regime” (“Movimento Hindu”. 1920, *Bharat*, September 2).

Sar Dessai defended that the specificity of the problems of the Hindus justified an internal debate prior to a dialogue with the Catholics, which could and should take place in the common Provincial Congress that had been organized since 1916 (SAR DESSAI 1920. “Em pratos limpos”. *Bharat*, October 7).

Additionally, and in continuation of its response to Menezes Bragança, the newspaper clarified the concept of Tilakism that it has been using by pointing to the influence that the Maharashtrian politician Bal Gangadhar Tilak exercised over the Goan Hindu community through the writings in his journal *Kesari*. The *Bharat* credited Tilak and *Kesari* with ridding the Goan-Hindu community of “the political stagnation in which they vegetated and instilled in

them a civic sense that the Indo-Portuguese press—it is unpleasant to say so, but even worse to hide it—had not been able to create in them” (“Tilakismo”. 1920. *Bharat*, September 2). It was as a result of this role that Tilak played as a rouser of their consciences, Bascora Sar Dessai pointed out, that the Goan Hindus hailed him as the apostle of the religion of the motherland, “the culmination of civic and moral virtues” (Sar Dessai 1920. “Em pratos limpos... Tilak e o Tilakismo”. *Bharat*, October 21). Sar Dessai also recalled the indifference with which the Catholic elite still treated the claims of their “Hindu brothers”. Referring to the new and regressive law that granted autonomy to the territory and restricted the right to vote in local elections to only those with a command over written Portuguese, he pointed out how the barrier of language was used to restrict their rights, since this law effectively excluded a good part of the Hindu citizens who were proficient only in written Marathi (“Tilak e o tilakismo”. 1920. *Bharat*, November 4).¹² This article made it clear that the Tilakism of the Goan Hindus signified the incorporation of the civic activism and patriotism, positions that had defined the British Indian leader who was the first nationalist leader to defend the need of the Indian nationalist movement to abandon its hitherto elitist position.

Sometime later, agitated by the growing general indifference surrounding the meetings of the Provincial Congress, and inspired by the examples of Tilak and Gandhi, (“Gandhismo”. 1920. *Bharat*, October 12), *Bharat* initiated a campaign in favour of a new link between the Goan elites and the masses, charging the elites as culpable for the lack of civic spirit in the population (“Verdades amargas”. 1921. *Bharat*, January 6 and 18).

Towards the end of January 1921, this campaign resulted in the creation of the political party named the Pragatica Sangh (Sanga). The Sangh was envisioned not only to “contest elections” but above all to “create in the masses through oral propaganda effected by volunteers at the service of its directorate, a self-motivated urge towards what is called the civic conscience” (“O nosso movimento”. 1921. *Bharat*, February 10).

The newspaper progressively developed a relationship to the movement in neighbouring British India. In April 1922, the newspaper gave prominent space to reporting the visit to Goa of N.C. Kelkar

(Narasīha Cintāmana Keļakara), the new principal editor of *Kesari*. In addition to reproducing Kelkar’s address at the Saraswat Braman Samaj in Margão, where other Indian nationalists also held forth, the editor concluded his report by repeating the central argument of Kelkar’s address: “India is one and indivisible should be the slogan of all the movements concerned with the prosperity of India and the happiness of her inhabitants. And we believe that no one would wish us harm for this, for no one condemns a just aspiration, a legitimate desire, and one that at the end of it all, is natural” (“O Sr. N. G. [sic] Kelker. India is one and indivisible”. 1922. *Bharat*, April 6).

The following years were replete with ever growing examples of this connection with Indian nationalism and its instructive influence on the political developments in Portuguese India. This process resulted in a multiplication of the polemic exchanged with the Catholic press and contemporary Hindus, bringing with it a spate of confrontations with the colonial power expressed in law suits where *Bharat* was charged with abusing the freedom of speech.

In 1923, this would result in outrage and polemic within the heart of the Hindu community, when Hegdó Dessai took a position against the commemoration of the Centenary of Vasco da Gama in 1924. Dessai argued his position saying: “We are Hindus and Indians. This is to say: we are not the Portuguese of Portugal, nor the converted Portuguese of India, we consider ourselves just as Hindus and Portucalised [aportuguesados] Indians by the power of Destiny. (...) This circumstance, nevertheless, does not prohibit us from being friends and admirers of the good Portuguese of Portugal and of India (...) Why, therefore is there so much noise [chinfrim] in response to our protest against the celebration of the centenary of a bad Portuguese?” (“Much ado...” 1923. *Bharat*, April 5).

The article ‘Centuries later’, for its evaluation of Portuguese colonization—“In sum, we are morally, economically, intellectually and physically devastated”—earned the newspaper another law suit (“Séculos depois”. 1924. *Bharat*, December 18).

In July of the same year, *Bharat* published an article of a group of Catholic and Hindu students that intervened, contrary to the position of Pereira Batalha’s newspaper *Província*, in a polemical debate around the theme of independence within the context of Republican egalitarianism. In this text, the youths argued that to want “an

independent India did not offend the Portuguese Republic, on the contrary it proved that the Indians were so worthy of the republican ideal that in spite of the fact of their being dominated, they had the conviction of civic ideals and sufficient belief in their principles to loudly proclaim their aspiration to live now, or later, or in the remote future free and independent" (Um Grupo De Académicos. 1924. 'Agora nós', *Bharat*, July 10).

Demonstrating the emergence of a new political atmosphere in Goa were the statements of the chemical engineer Fernando de Costa (1906-?) at the 6th Provincial Congress, in March 1924. Fernando da Costa seems to have greatly agitated the proceedings of Provincial Congress, having been particularly booed in the session discussing administrative and financial autonomy. A report on the discussions held at the Congress indicated that Costa stated "that it is for the fourth time, if we are not mistaken, that he is a member of the Third International and declares himself a partisan of [demands for] an expanded autonomy, with members and a council composed purely of Indians, following the example of Canada; he wants instruction in the vernacular language; a Sanskrit school; and that schools teach above all, Indian History, especially of Portuguese India, because this history being better understood, will directly influence the character of the child (These considerations provoked much hilarity and were frequently interrupted with boos by the assembly). The President observed that Mr. Costa was out of order, the point that he raised being outside the scope of discussion. He therefore, requested from the members, permission to avoid putting his proposals to the vote (Approvals from the assembly)" (Cunha 1928, 198-9).

Later, Fernando da Costa would recall the session at a dinner party in Lisbon on December 25, 1925 ("Uma festa de união e paz". 1926. *Bharat*, February 4). It is through his address at this dinner that we are able to reconstruct the course of his intellectual trajectory. In this address he pointed out that when he was a student leaving for the metropolis, "I considered myself Portuguese, but with a fervent regionalism. Arriving in Lisbon this regionalism transformed itself into nationalism. I discussed with my compatriots, my colleagues, almost all being by then 'Portuguese'"¹³.

From Lisbon, he left to Germany where he gained his Licentiate and was a part of the Third International. At this point, disagreeing

with the ideology of Gandhian non-violence, he joined the International Communist Party; this party "being the only group that wants to, and can aid us in the exercise of war and provide armaments". In the Goan case, Fernando da Costa considered that the first step to take ought to be the demand for progressive autonomy. Suffering only deceptions (to use his own words) after his arrival to Goa, he returned to the metropolis the following year.

The dinner party where Fernando da Costa made this address was not simply a meeting among friends to celebrate Christmas. It was in fact a meeting of nationalists, almost all, if not all, being scions of well-known families from among the Goan Catholic elite, most of who were in Lisbon as students. The objective of the dinner was to discuss the founding of an 'Indian National Party'. Amongst others who spoke at this meeting, were Zacarias Antão, Benedito Fulgêncio Brito, Aires Gracias, Druston Rodrigues and Cunha Gomes. Fernando da Costa recollected that the idea had emerged some days before, at a dinner offered to the 'patricios'¹⁴ from British India who were studying at Oxford and were visiting Portugal.

From this meeting emerged a telegram of solidarity to the Indian students, and a motion, that affirmed that given that there "exist in Goa, various parties committed to the nationalist ideal, and believing the constitution of an 'Indian National Party' necessary and urgent, we appeal to the patriotism of our citizens to unite forgetting our religious differences and castes, cooperating in the resurgence and progress of our Hindu Homeland."

Between these two meetings, the promoters of this initiative had sent messages to the student groups in Coimbra and Porto. Having received patriotic messages from these groups, the promoters immediately sent the motion to the principal Goan newspapers, appending a list of names of all students associated with nationalist ideas. On February 4, 1926, *Bharat* dedicated a special issue to this event. The tenor of the text was received with some amount of shock, causing a surge of demands from a number of families to their children to distance themselves from this initiative.

As was to be expected, a text that set out as an objective the construction of a future Hindu Homeland had to deal with a good amount of resistance from large segments of the Catholic community, even though it was later clarified that in this case 'Hindu' was being

used to signify Indian. On the other hand, over the following months, as the protests from those involved made obvious, there had been a certain amount of over enthusiasm on the part of the promoters of the initiative in adding the list of the students from Coimbra and Porto. Among these students, however, there were also some who did not hide their nationalist convictions, as was the case of Adeodato Barreto, leader of the students in Coimbra. As a result of this initiative, the leaders of the movement found themselves obliged to present multiple explanations, proffering these explanations particularly in *Bharat* and *A Índia Portuguesa*. This latter newspaper, under the direction of Padre António Gregório da Costa, would in latter times turn into one of the important supporters of the democratic Republican and Marxist opposition to the then recently installed Portuguese dictatorship.¹⁵

From among the proponents of this initiative in Lisbon, it would be Fernando da Costa, António Furtado, Telo Mascarenhas, António Noronha, and Druston Rodrigues, who, either under their own name, or Hindu pseudonyms, attempted to clarify the ideological quadrant within which they operated, and explain that they were not trying to create an anti-Catholic movement, but were attempting to integrate, or transcend the religious question. The principal message of this movement was synthesized by Druston Rodrigues: "What is it that we are attempting? (...) The complete independence of all of India, untied from all imperial connections and free of all foreign supervision; the establishment of a Republic of the United States of India, where Goa would be a federal state. Thus, what is at stake is not the emancipation of a people apt for self-government. We hope to achieve this yes, but more particularly we see their political liberty" ("Pela Pátria". 1926. *Bharat*, April 15).

A reading of these different texts allow us to see that the movement encompassed a Gandhian wing, as well as a branch of activists who were close to the more radical positions associated with the group that gathered around Jawaharlal Nehru. In an attempt to demonstrate to his fellow Goan citizens that this was not a movement of eccentrics, the Gandhian Druston Rodrigues published a series of interviews with Portuguese personalities: Eduardo Frias, Reinaldo Ferreira, Rocha Martins, Ferreira de Castro, Campos Lima, Mário Domingues, who, despite the diversity of their political positions, shared in common a sympathy for the Indian cause and the Goan

initiative ("Sempre é tempo". 1926. *Bharat*, April 15; "Um inquerito". *idem*, May 6; "O nosso inquerito". *idem*, May 20, June 1)¹⁶. In September, Fernando da Costa brought to the newspaper a contribution of substantial weight; the recollections of the historically significant intellectual and republican politician Sebastião de Magalhães Lima of the lectures Costa had given at the Free University of Lisbon. In these recollections Magalhães Lima affirmed that the conference that Fernando da Costa dedicated to Gandhi, over which he had presided on June 30 of that year ("Em defesa da Índia". 1926. *Bharat*, July 29), had "the effect of being a veritable resurrection (...) It was a veritable flight of idealism" (quote by Costa 1926, "O nosso ideal". *Bharat*, September 9).

By this time, Druston Rodrigues had parted ways with the "party", but not with militant nationalism. He was shocked by the two articles of Fernando de Costa who, in an intolerant reaction to the criticism that the movement was suffering, categorized the Goans into "the nationalists, the fearful, the fanatics and the rogues" ("PNI". 1926. *Bharat*, April 8); and even insulted Menezes Bragança ("Ainda a moção". 1926. *Bharat*, April 13), a figure who was much respected in nationalist circuits.

It was into this convulsive environment that Tristão de Bragança Cunha arrived in Goa in July that year. Soon after his arrival he granted some interviews to the newspaper *A Índia Portuguesa*, elaborating on the international political moment ("Política europeia: uma entrevista". 1926, August 28; "Política asiático-europeia: 2ª entrevista". November 9). Towards the end of November he began associating with this weekly, dedicating his first articles to the theme of Indian nationalism and offering therein a Marxist reading of the movement ("O Nacionalismo indiano". 1926. *A Índia Portuguesa*, November 27, December 14). After this, and in the following years, T.B. Cunha collaborated regularly with periodicals associated with the opposition to the Estado Novo, such as *Bharat* and *Pracasha*. This latter newspaper was founded in 1928 by Venctexa Sar Dessai to spread awareness about the shuddhi movement, and relied on the aid of Menezes Bragança who soon became its principal editor.

What this chronology of events suggests, and the testament of the daughter of Luís de Menezes Bragança (Bragança 1992) confirms, is that this series of interventions, both in Goa and the metropolis,

were coordinated and served to introduce the Pro-Indian Nationalistic thematic in Goan public debate. Later on, in 1928, the movement took a symbolic step forward with the creation of a Goan section of the Indian National Congress. The pertinence of this gesture, as is well known, was not evident to the British India national movement at the time. Nevertheless, what the interventions in the press, namely in *Bharat*, confirm for us, is that while this action united different political sensibilities of Goan nationalism, it was with difficulty that they could manage to keep these actions coordinated.

The papers that survived of the vast intellectual estate of Adeodato Barreto (1905-1937) elucidate clearly the crossroads in which the metropolitan movement found itself in its relation with the Goan elites to which they also belonged.¹⁷ Among his manuscripts we encounter extensive fragments of letters that he wrote in 1927 to his colleagues in Lisbon. In these letters, the young intellectual, who presented himself as being of the "School of Gandhi", traced what he considered necessary for a nationalist strategy, recording that the movement depended on the support of the Goans to the cause. To his mind, capturing these sympathies was going to be impossible with the presence of incendiary declarations that sought "a sowing of the seeds of hatred and vengeance". Adeodato Barreto had in mind an article written by Telo Mascarenhas where the student labelled the Portuguese conquerors "pirates and tyrants that we should disdain and forget as the only form of vengeance for our ancestors" (Mascarenhas 1926, "A morte dos ídolos" *Bharat*, November 4).

The road pointed out by Adeodato Barreto was the pedagogy of nationalism, a method to "teach the Goans to love India". Within this framework, he considered it fundamental to join indoctrination with creativity, placing his hopes on the creation of a literature that would insinuate nationalism into the public spirit "even if it was contrary to their will". In other words, Adeodato Barreto articulated a route that would stress a cultural intervention with political roots, a route that, being less prone to polemic, could in time prove much more efficacious. In time, the idea would be converted into the project *India Nova*, an academic newspaper published in Coimbra, which was able to gather Goan nationalists not only from the Coimbra academy (which by that time had been enlarged by the presence of several Goan students, such as Telo Mascarenhas, who

moved from the capital) but also from the Oporto and the Lisbon academic groups.

The activity of the proposed party in the metropole, converted into the Hindu Nationalist Centre, would diminish in the subsequent years. However, the nationalists continued to intervene in the Goan and metropolitan press in defence of the Indian cause. The above cited figures joined forced with other intellectuals, like the much-forgotten Carlos da Cruz (1907-1958), another collaborator of *Bharat*, who, first in Daman, and then in Bombay, engaged in intense political activity.¹⁸ Most significantly, the list of intellectuals who converted to the cause grew after the enactment of the Acto Colonial.

Some of these young intellectuals, like António Furtado, Telo Mascarenhas and T.B. Cunha would end up playing a critical role in the movement for the integration of Goa into the Indian Union. At the moment of its birth, that was the moment of the start of the decades-long Portuguese dictatorship, the activity of the Goan nationalist, both in the metropole, and in Goa, interlaced itself with opposition at the Estado Novo, as well as opposition to the other anti-democratic movements that assaulted the world at the time.

This was a position that Menezes Bragança had already pointed out in his pamphlet titled *À margem duma ideia* (1927) concerning the creation of the Instituto Indiano de Coimbra, under the leadership of Adeodato Barreto. In this pamphlet, Menezes Bragança, alerted the young students to the critical turn that the country and the world was to take in a fundamental conflict of ideologies that required them to take clear political positions and be militant about their causes. At risk were "the principle of liberty, and the emancipation of the people. It is the ideal of democracy, the destroyer of acquisitive imperialisms, of dictatorships murderers of the people's claims, especially in the colonies, where they seek to restore the regime of subjection and subalternism".¹⁹ By different routes, most of these intellectuals demonstrated that they internalized these notions significantly, dedicating a substantial part of their lives to interventions in the public cause.

The example of Adeodato Barreto would make a fine case in point of the commitment and agenda of these intellectuals. Barreto would intervene consistently from 1926, until his death in 1937, in the metropolitan press, and from time to time in the Goan press, not

only in defence of the Indian nationalist point of view but equally on the values of democracy, of social solidarity, and of human fraternity. Engaging himself in lively polemical debates with some of the principal figures of the reactionary movement "Integralismo Lusitano" such as António Ferro, João Ameal and Alfredo Pimenta; Barreto defended these principles of political-philosophy, in newspapers such as *Voz da Justiça*, *Liberdade*, *O Povo*, *Seara Nova*, and *Círculo*. He defended these ideals not merely in the polemical debates but practically, offered free lessons to the mine-workers in Alentejo. For their part, as evidence of their gratitude for his solidarity, these workers gathered all their savings to ensure Barreto's treatment of the disease that would be responsible for ending his life.

Accompanying the development of this movement allows us to see the manner in which the Goa question could come to be transformed through the cultural and political actions of a significant minority of Goan intellectuals, both Catholic as well as Hindu, many years prior to the independence of India. These intellectuals would be joined in the subsequent years by others, thanks to the decisive role that these intellectuals played in augmenting a favourable opinion towards a future integration of Goa in the Indian federation, to the psychological rupture that was effected among the Goan elite thanks to the introduction of the Acto Colonial, and to the hardening of the position of the dictatorship and the kind of colonialist discourse that it permitted.

It would be correct to affirm that after the First World War there were two currents of thought in Goan public opinion as regards the future of the territory. The autonomist current had a politically relevant tradition since the beginning of the 20th century, and its more radical branch argued for dissolution of the colonial relationship and the inauguration of a federal solution for future relations with Portugal and her overseas territories. This current, composed of a variety of different sensibilities, was predominantly Catholic and it considered the continuation of a relationship with Portugal as necessary for the definition of Goan identity, and to continue the relationship with Western culture and Catholicism that had commenced *via* Portugal as a route. The feeling that this segment of the population entertained in relationship to a Portuguese identity was, however, fairly fluid, given that while on the one hand they demanded the equality due to

citizens of Portugal, and partook in the sentiment of 'Portugalidade', at the same time, they did not hesitate to warn of a loss in these feelings of affection to Portugal in the events when local aspirations were not met.²⁰

The second current that has been discussed in this article, proposed to the Goan public that they join issue with the struggle for Indian independence. This position alerted the Portuguese public opinion and the colonial authorities to the necessity to be alive to the possibility that such future of an integration of the territory to an independent India was seen by many as a natural course of events. This current saw Goa's future as one of the states of a future federative State of India. In addition to this general proposition, it was a position that emerged out of the self-critique by the Goan elite. This critique affirmed the need to move beyond the communal dissensions that marked the public sphere, if they were to resolve the differences between the two communities. Additionally, it introduced the themes of social reform, influenced by socialist and libertarian thought. Realizing the importance of forming a public opinion on the matters related to the exercise of the citizenship ensured an appeal to groups outside of the traditional sphere of the elites who mattered.

With respect to this nationalist current that was pro-Indian, the chronology of texts discussed in this article demonstrates that contrary to the nationalist narrative that consecrates T.B. Cunha as the pioneer of the Indian nationalist sentiment in Goa, the public sphere was already inclined in this direction and marked by a diversity of positions in the debate. Cunha was but one of the final, though important elements that held this position. Finally, the interventions of these intellectuals, both in Goa, and especially in the metropole,²¹ was central to the opening of the debate in Portugal as regards the movement for Indian independence, contributing decisively to the formation of a current of public opinion in Portugal, especially among the left intellectuals, favourable to the Indian cause. Until these interventions, public opinion had been dominated by perspectives offered by the pro-British news agencies.

Through this intervention, these intellectuals integrated into the general debate around the problems of colonialism, the issue of the rights of people to self-determination, of the profile of states resulting from the battles for liberation, and of the future relationship

among the population in these territories. In this case, they read the movement for Indian independence not only as a nationalist movement but as an exercise in philosophical humanism, that they punctuated with the spiritual references of Rabindranath Tagore and Mahatma Gandhi. They also involved in this process a diversity of intellectuals from both hemispheres, to reflect on the issue of a construction of a better future for all of humanity. There was an idealism that emerged among these persons, one that animated and moved them, possessing a tangibility that seems difficult in our times that is marked by a disbelief in the transformative capacity of ideals.

NOTES

1. I want to thank Jason K. Fernandes for his generous offer to translate this paper, and for his critical reading which greatly helped the improvement of the text.
2. The debate around the "Nativism" and "Europeanism" was particularly vibrant at the end of the 19th century. To cast this debate simplistically, the contest emerged from the charge levelled by segments of the European (that is metropolitan) functionaries of the colonial state, and the Luso-descendants in the territory, that there existed of a 'Nativist' design among the native Goan Catholic elite. This design, the 'Europeans' charged, was the desire of the 'native' elites to exclusively dominate the governmental offices, and the promotion of racial hatred towards achieving this end. This accusation was particularly directed against the Brahmin elite and occasionally towards the Chardo elite. The 'native' elites responded to this charge in similar coin, charging that it was in fact the 'European' elites that sought to exclude the 'native' elite entirely from public office. The debate manifested itself, therefore, in demands for quotas for the each group within public office, as well as a constant 'native' elite critique against the efficiency and capacities of the European colonial functionaries. This entire polemic had at its base on the one hand the new colonial ideologies that were being proposed and defended by the colonial functionaries, and on the other the earlier existing disputes between the native elites who aligned themselves for this latter purpose with diverse factions in the metropole, themselves implicated in metropolitan contests for power. The complex intertwining of these various interests, therefore, requires a particular amount of care in decoding this debate and is not given to easy interpretation.

3. I use the word 'Hindu' here in a very restricted sense, referring primarily to the largely Brahmin and brahmanised Hindu upper castes of the territory. This usage is not very different from the sense in which this word was used at that time, where it was used to largely signify the castes that formed the reading public of the time, who were involved in both crafting and consuming the popular debates that this paper focuses on.
4. As is well known, Marathi was the dominant language of written communication within the Hindu community, and in the 19th century, the few bilingual newspapers that catered to the Hindu community had relied on the talents of Catholic journalists to ensure the presence of sections in the Portuguese language.
5. It is true that a decade earlier, Francisco João da Costa had presented a critical take on the cultural transformations of the nineteenth century. However, this critique was filled with "Kilpingesque" resonances, and focused more on the burlesque effects of the hybridity that resulted from this effort.
6. Only two other cultural magazines had longer lives during Portuguese domination, both of them published by colonial cultural institutions: the *Oriente Português* published by Comissão Arqueológica da Índia Portuguesa, and the *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*.
7. After 1920 the title was still maintained but in the form of a newspaper.
8. Symbolic of the new environment resultant from the liberties permitted by the Republic is the description offered by Maria Aurora Couto of the *Jornal das Férias* of the Correia Afonso family. In this handwritten newspaper, particularly relevant to the present subject, is a description of the invitation to her father's birthday party that Propércia Correia Afonso made for her colleague Ramachondra Naique, the first Hindu teacher at the Escola Normal (Normal School). In her laudatory presentation reproduced in the journal, Propércia introduces Naique as a "genuine Indian" opposed to the "Indo-Portuguese immersed in this hybrid civilization that produces nothing", concluding the discourse with the Indian nationalist salutation: "*vande mataram, Comrade and Master*" (Couto 2004, 245). As we see, and other examples could be also presented, T. B. Cunha's thesis about Goans' cultural "denationalisation" is the culmination of a politico-cultural discourse that had preceded him.
9. A good number of the interveners referred to in this paper left published writings. I would suggest the work of Aleixo da Costa (1997) for bibliographic details.
10. It was probably this friendship that allowed Menezes Bragança's *O Debate*—with which Chico (the pen name that Bragança Cunha used)

collaborated as a correspondent in Paris—to promise soon after it was initiated, the future collaboration of the well-known orientalist (“Sylvain Lévy”. 1911. *O Debate*, June 5). The tone of this article, published on the occasion of the release of the *Melanges*, which paid tribute to Sylvain Lévy’s 25 years as a teacher, suggests that Bragança Cunha was its author and that he was probably one of Lévy’s students.

11. The laws, No. 1005 of August 7, 1920 and No. 1022 of August 20, 1920 instituted new rules for the civil and financial administration of the colonies. In conformance with these laws two councils, the *Conselho Executivo* (the Executive Council) and *Conselho Legislativo* (Legislative Council) were constituted substituting the previously existing *Conselho de Governo*. It was only the second council that would have elected representatives. The Decree 7030 of October 16, 1920 indicated the number of elected representative in each colony. In accordance with this decree, the *Conselho Legislativo* of the State of India was to have 11 elected representatives: 1 representative for the Concelho of Ilhas, 1 for Bardês, 1 for the combined territories of Mormugão and Salcete, 1 for the Concelhos of the New Conquests, 1 for the district of Daman, 1 for the Diu, 1 for the Comunidades, 1 for the commercial and industrial associations, 1 for the farmers’ associations and landlords, 1 for the other class associations, and 1 for the 90 largest taxpayers.
12. The discussion is in reference to base 46 of the law that set up the rules for the future Autonomy Laws of each colony (dec. 7008/9.10.1920). In Goa this article would originate a long polemic regarding its applicability to the natives of Estado da Índia (see Rau 1926). It is to be noted that apart from the year of 1918, during which it was imposed a law of universal suffrage to all Portuguese citizens (law of 11.3.1918), since the law of 3.7.1913, the right to vote for general elections was restricted to the citizens who read and write in Portuguese, which means that it excluded most Hindu literate citizens. This was a clear step back in face of previous electoral legislation. Since 1878, when for the first time that capacity was introduced as one of the criteria to be a voter, any citizen that could read and write was considered regardless of the language of this literacy (PRESIDÊNCIA DO CONSELHO DE MINISTROS 1998).
13. A similar path is described by Telo Mascarenhas in his memories: “The wonderful knowledge about India that we gained awoke in us nationalistic feelings” (Mascarenhas 1976, 60). It is interesting to compare this trajectory from ideas to sentiments, with the one described by Aluisio Soares, who was living in British India at the time of these events. Aluisio Soares describes his awakening to Indian-ness as linked

- to the events of Jallianwala Bagh and the climate of terror which subsequently was installed through the Empire: “On reading about these terrible events, my soul was filled with horror and indignation. (...) The point I am making is that for the first time I felt deeply involved in what was happening in India. The people who had been murdered and humiliated were no longer strangers to me. They became my flesh, blood of my blood. From a Goan I evolved into an Indian, even though owing to a historical accident I continued to be an alien” (Soares 1971, 1, 93-4).
14. “Patrícios” (originally from the same homeland, Pátria) was, and still is, a common way of Portuguese speaking Goans to refer to other Goans. The expression is hardly used by metropolitan Portuguese, which makes it very “Goan”. In this case they were not referring particularly to Goans, but to Indians in general.
 15. A position that would be maintained until Father Gregório da Costa was obliged by the Patriarch, in term under pressure from the civil authorities, to give up his direction of the newspaper (“Fusão deprimente” 1933. *O Anglo-Lusitano*, March 4).
 16. The persons referred to were journalists, writers, and politicians who occupied a variety of positions in the political spectrum, ranging from republicans to anarcho-syndicalists.
 17. I thank Kalidas Barreto for access to the papers of his father. I would also like to draw attention to the fact that I was dealing with a number of fragments of copies of his correspondence. This fact made it difficult to prepare a formal bibliography for the documentation. As such, based on its relevance I opted to include some informal citations.
 18. In Bombay he arrived to lead the influential *O Anglo-Lusitano* and was eventually obliged to cease this activity by the British authorities, thanks to the pressure applied by Portuguese diplomacy (Faleiro 2010; *Source Material for a History of the freedom movement in India* 1978).
 19. Bragança, 1927, 14—quoted in *Índia Nova*, July 3, 1928. In the sequence of this statement, Menezes Bragança alerted: “I do have to call the attention to the consequences of this medievalism, to the numerous devotes that this doctrine has in this land, whom, with an astounding unconsciousness, are giving it large publicity, missing the fact that they are smelting the chains of servitude. “Voluntary slaves, said Tacitus, make more tyrants than tyrants make slaves”.
 20. Critical moments that promoted these threatening postures were the Massacre of September 21, 1891; the events of 1895-97; and the implantation of the Republic in 1910.
 21. By virtue of its proximity to British-India, Goa had easier access to alternative fonts of information, early on having formed a large body

of opinion sympathetic to the fight on the other side of the colonial border.

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Legislation

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