

**A GOAN READING OF THE CULTURAL IMPACT OF THE
COLONIAL ACT: INTRODUCING INTELLECTUALS AND
PERIODIC PRESS THROUGH THE ANGLO-LUSITANO OF
JULY 7, 1934**

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Abstract:

The Portuguese colonial legislation summarized in the segregating measures of the Colonial Act of 1930, the year that inaugurated Salazar's dictatorship in Portugal after the 1926 military coup, had unavoidable consequences. Our goal is to demonstrate the importance of this political measure through the journalistic production of the Goan intellectuality, that is, the political culture that arose from the clash between the defenders of the regime and those who advocated solutions of freedom and democracy in autonomy or independence. After a comprehensive Goan press survey, the choice of a special issue of *O Anglo-Lusitano* to present as historical foundation in this study was due to the fact that owing to its broad spectrum of cultural and political participation, it served as medium for ascertaining the existence of a crossroad of visions of the imperial whole, in the construction of intellectual networks of opposition and resistance, both from Goa and exile, enunciating the end of the Portuguese empire.

Keywords:

Resistance; Colonial Periodical Press; Democracy; Portuguese Colonial Empire; Goan Intellectuals.

Resumo:

A legislação colonial portuguesa sumarizada nas medidas segregadoras do Ato Colonial de 1930, ano que inaugurou a ditadura de Salazar depois do golpe militar de 1926, teve consequências incontornáveis. O nosso objetivo é demonstrar a importância desta medida política através da produção jornalística da intelectualidade goesa, isto é, a cultura política originada pelo embate entre os defensores do regime e aqueles que advogavam soluções de liberdade e democracia em autonomia ou independência. Após um levantamento detalhado da imprensa goesa, a escolha do número especial de *O Anglo-Lusitano* para apresentar a fundamentação histórica neste estudo aconteceu pelo facto de que devido ao espectro alargado de participações culturais e políticas serviu como meio de apurar a existência de um entrecruzamento de visões do todo imperial, na construção de redes intelectuais de oposição e resistência, de Goa e do exílio enunciando o fim do império português.

Palavras-chave:

Resistência; Imprensa Periódica Colonial; Democracia; Império Colonial Português; Intelectuais goeses.

The Colonial Act was the first constitutional law that come into force after the 1926 military coup in Portugal at the start of Salazar's dictatorship and aimed to institute two things: an organic relationship of submission of the colonies to the metropole and the stabilisation of the difference between first class citizenship for people from metropole, and a colonial second class citizenship for assimilated natives subject to the same duties but without the same rights. What was the cultural impact of the colonial act of 1930 in the Portuguese empire seen from a Goan vision? It is a study yet to be done, both locally and globally, and which this article proposes itself to introduce and debate. Our aim is to demonstrate the importance of the cultural consequences of this political measure read in the journalistic productions of the Goan intelligentsia, that is, at the core of a political culture which came about during the clash between the supporters of the new dictatorship regime

and the proponents of solutions involving freedom and democracy, in autonomy or independence. With this study it is intended to demonstrate the existence and substantiate the participation of groups of Goan intellectuals in the construction of an autonomous culture of opposition and resistance to the Portuguese Estado Novo (New State dictatorship).

After a systematic survey of the periodic press that was most relevant to the subject in question, the choice of a special issue of *O Anglo-Lusitano*⁽¹⁾, to present as historical foundation in this study, was due to the fact that owing to its broad spectrum of cultural and political participation, it served as medium for ascertaining the existence of a crossroad of visions of the imperial whole, of an intellectual network of opposition and resistance, announcing the beginning of the end of this empire. We would like to emphasise the importance of the theoretical and methodological perspective that has been adopted, which will be contrary to the hierarchisation of the various outlooks and cultures in conviviality and rupture. In this sense, we highlight the interconnection and relationship between histories and cultures, unveiling mediators, as way of further developing the raised issues. In the presented context, the press will occupy a central place in the establishment of this political culture of opposition that we intend to situate and define, and of the intellectual network connected to it that we intend to map.

Text and contextualities: theory and methodology

A broad idea of culture (Cuche 1999) shows us that, from unity to diversity and vice versa, a dynamic relationship is built that structures the concept of culture that presides over the study which is now here presented. Within this complex dynamic, it is important to continually update the debate, which shows us that in addition to the critical genealogy of the term (Kuper 2002; Eagleton 2007), it is important to have a network level outlook to define and understand the culture(s)

(1) Directed at the time by the freedom fighter Carlos da Cruz (1907-1958), as celebration of the 48th anniversary of the publication *O Anglo-Lusitano* [*The Anglo-Lusitano*] (1886-1955), the bilingual (Portuguese and English) newspaper, published in Bombay, issued a number in 7th July 1934, with a large participation of Goan intellectuals both from Goa and living in Bombay.

in a comprehensive and connected way. The tension between different scales that culture tends to represent in the interpretation of the world (Garcia 1994: 123-143), will only begin to be resolved if the adoption of one single perspective is overcome, which necessarily implies the capacity to complement the situations under analysis, by contemplating the diversity of the visions of the other. In this sense, according to which the one and the multiple are two faces of the same coin, culture is seen as something which is living, dynamic and as such comprehensive, in a context in which plural perspectives, interconnected in the analysis of the complexity of the reality complete and are complemented by syntheses, which are not definitive, but are state of the art in constant updates.

Edward Tylor (1832-1917) broadly defined culture as the fruit of human creation, as something that contained within itself that complex whole that included knowledge, beliefs, art, morals, law, customs, and any other habit and acquired ability of man (Tylor 1865). From his experiences in contact with various cultures, Tylor drew unity from the term culture as a common singular. Soon after, Franz Boas (1858-1942) complemented this notion, starting from the certainty of the plurality and diversity of existing cultures and arriving at concepts of particularity of a local culture, but as a product of the acceptance of several different cultures, recomposed in something unique and particular (Boas 1966). From these early definitions that marked the beginning of the modernity of the term culture⁽²⁾, we arrive at what we understand to be the contemporary concept of culture which, assimilating tension and the dynamic relation between unity and diversity, at the crossroads between pluralities and singularities, seeks, above all, the non-hierarchisation of cultures (Gandhi 2014).

The connected histories of Subrahmanyam (Xavier 2007: 253-268) follow this line, by which, as in Gruzinski (2003), intended to escape eurocentrism, which reduced the comparison by looking at the western model in the mirror and confronting or matching with it. The line of post-colonial studies aiming the decolonising of the deconstruction of

(2) With not enough space here to develop the theme, we emphasised the founding definitions that allowed us to understand and improve the genealogical construction of the idea and the concept of culture over the last hundred years. In this sense we could mention yet Ruth Benedict, Clifford Geertz, Margaret Mead, Victor Turner, Terry Eagleton, among others.

ideas (Mignolo 2000) by recognising the continued hegemony of western thought to impose itself as the only one, rather than rejecting it, has assigned it a different place, the place of one among others (Chakrabarty 2008), to open paths to configurations more aware of the paths of diversity. In this way, the analyses initiated by the Subaltern Studies Group continue to prove stimulating. Its theoretical legacy is recognised in several geographies by those who have thought local democratic and transnational issues in a globalised world (Santos 2004, Perez 2016). In truth, even these new relationship models (Zimmermann, Werner 2003) that we have been referring to – comparativism, interculturality, crossroads, interconnections or interlinking – only become valid if they are situated within a critical observation perspective. In other words, if efforts were made to question traditional hierarchies and viewpoints, because the success of, not only of correct theorising and methodologies, but also of the constant renewal of knowledge depends on this scientific attitude.

Next, we must pay attention to the peculiarity of the support, which is the periodical press, one of the quintessential vehicles of the written culture, which opens for the role attributed to the written word to the forms/means of it, and to the ways of reading. The importance of the materiality of the written word, in this case the newspaper and the journal, is demonstrated by the place it occupies in the production of knowledge and in the relationships, it establishes among the agents involved, writers, journalists, editors, readers, and of these with the power(s). Periodical publications, seen as a source, but also as a matter of study, helps us to understand the text produced in this medium as an object of various appropriations (Chartier 2014), which leads to different attributions of meaning, reflected in the publication decisions, in external interventions and in the various types of mediation that are possible, which are fundamental to unveil the meaning and intelligibility of the work proposal. Continuing to follow Chartier, we want to unveil «the meaning of the texts between transgressed restrictions and restrained freedoms» (Chartier 2014: 46).

It is from the constructive advance of the various perspectives exposed that this work will seek to answer its central question, placing, as previously mentioned, a level and non-hierarchical outlook as a starting point for the analysis and summary of the study, hoping therefore to provoke debate, and thus contribute to the advancement of historical and cultural knowledge.

Empires, colonies and intellectuals: contestation and resilience

The imperial idea, throughout history, implied a long distance relationship, which was always hierarchical, between the centre with the periphery; a subaltern relationship between the base to the top (Singaravelou 2011). Notwithstanding the complexification suggested in the relationships of subalternities assumed in the colonial empires of contemporary times (Gandhi 2006) on the contrary, to highlight it, we witnessed that the figure of the emperor was replaced or diluted in the idea of imperial state/nation.

In this context, the press regarding the colonial period, incorporated several discourses. As a space of colonialism propaganda, as an ideological support to the various forms of subordinating the other and, from there, to create the diverse representations of the colonial world that have been perpetuated (D'Andurain 2017). As a place for other cultural and political imaginaries, the press opened public debates and created a public sphere of opinion on the colonial theme. In times when the practice of democracy could be partially exercised, the colonial press allowed itself to present consensus and ruptures around different concepts of metropole and colony, of different forms of autonomy, such as self-government or the federative empires, as ways for true independence.

In this framework, the beginning of the 20th century brought a new place on the agenda for the Dreyfus Affair in France, regarding the modern definition of intellectual (Charle 1990). The nomenclature of the term *intellectual* arose, therefore, from the awareness that, despite the prestige that was attributed to them, the scientist and the man of letters were increasingly losing the control of political decisions, who were determining the profile of a society in which they no longer recognized themselves as citizens, but which would, without even wanting to do so, provided them the image of their own collective strength (Winock 1997). Not as a sum of individualities, but as *we*, with a political connotation of intervention. They were not interested in directly taking power, but in influence it beneficially and to moralise it, as pressure and opinion group, so they could constitute a valid bridge of contact and understanding, between society and political power (Gramsci 1949). Contact that they intended to cement and extend, either as a spokesperson or as organisers of new discussion spaces. In the times of the dictatorship, censorship, clandestine operations and exile, these networks and their periodicals

often operated on the front line, as intermediaries for the transmission of information and for disseminating and criticising ideas, as well as calls for action, through the written word.

From the intersection of ideas that defined these two concepts, the colonial press and the intellectual engaged, a new understanding of the colonial dimension was born for this period. Through the survey of agents, as cultural subjects, a network of powers and resistances (Foucault 2008) was discovered that were manifested and uncovered while discourse, thought and culture.

The study of the colonial press, by means of an outlook that assumes starting points without hierarchizing them (Guha 2002), often dismantling the history of historiography itself, is taking its first steps. Understanding the present and the relations it establishes with colonial history will not be complete nor reach its potential without a thorough and comparative reflection as defined above.

Imperial framework of the Colonial Act of 1930 and its immediate impact on the intellectual elite

We are placing the chronological start of this study with the promulgation of the Colonial Act of 1930, as this constitutional legislative measure coincides with the start of the implementation of the Portuguese dictatorship's colonial project. In addition to the idea of empire, which presides over the chosen period, there was a metropole that lived from the certainty of its civilising indispensability, and thus, from its cultural and political responsibility that defined the Portuguese nation as intrinsically coloniser (Alexandre 1993). To empire as a territorial sovereignty product of the Portuguese explorers' maritime discoveries, assumed as justifications of historical right, was joined the empire as national sovereignty and, with it, the moral and of belonging issues, from which *the uncivilized* were excluded (Meneses 2010). The Colonial Act became a constitutional law by later incorporation into the 1933 Constitution, initiating the so-called Estado Novo, which ended the military period and legalized the coup of 1926 and Salazar's new dictatorship, for the rest of the world.

Especially the Goan intelligentsia, which is central to our study, but also Republican exiles, as well as the so-called *filhos da terra* (*sons of the*

land, natives, mestizos) in Africa, stood out for the speed with which they perceived the segregationist consequences of the colonial project of the future Estado Novo, at the same time that they constructed an alternative message that crossed the whole empire and obtained several degrees of awareness and, consequently, several levels of solutions, since the idea of federated autonomies to the desire of complete independence. It is the journalistic production that reveals this impact⁽³⁾, from which a culture of opposition and resistance was formed, that we intend to analyse. The Goan case (Lobo 2013), which we are uncover here, within the afore mentioned context and parameters, presents itself as paradigmatic of all the relational dynamics defined here, since it is a crossroads of histories and cultures with innovative results that are important to ascertain, understand and disseminate. Among the most significant press of Goa's initiative, both in the metropole and in colonies and places of exile outside the empire, there is the possibility, by the delimitation and connection of several points of view, of outlining a general panorama of a new cultural and identity framework, resulting from the impact produced by the Colonial Act of 1930, involving places with their own times and different geographies, which were fed by this constant exchange between histories and cultures that intersected each other. There the whole conceptual profile of the themes that defined the era can be found, as the nationalisms of various nuances confirming its emergence in response to the theorisations of ethnic and civilisational superiorities, embodied in the colonial legislations.

In connection with what has been said, we intend to substantiate the existence of the figure of the intellectual in Goa, who, through the newspapers that have been outlined, linked the consciousness of the situation of subalternity with the intellectual opposition and resistance. They did it in defense of the tolerance and the democracy from a place that they wanted autonomous and/or independent in connection with the Portuguese empire or in connection with the struggle for independence of India against the British empire. The periodical press and the cultural production published in the colonial period must first

(3) This impact was also the translation of the confrontation between a censored or clandestine periodic press coming from that mobility of exiles inside and outside the empire, and another more-or-less governmental that intended to express the goodness of the dictatorial regime.

be seen from this perspective, that is, as the expression of a culture of its own, the Goan one, with all the implications that colonialism and, later, nationalism provided.

The Anglo-Lusitano of the 7 of July 1934: colonial relationships

By way of example, and as a basis for much of what was said, we chose the commemorative issue of the newspaper's 48th Anniversary, edited by Goans in Bombay, *O Anglo-Lusitano* (1886-1955). Published in Portuguese and English, this Catholic newspaper was first published in the 19th century (Lobo 2015) assigning itself the mission of defending the right of «Padroado» (patronage – an arrangement between the Holy See and the Kingdom of Portugal) of the Portuguese monarchy, against the expansion of the influence of the missionary Congregation of the Roman Curia the Propaganda Fide created in 1622, in the framework of the wars between *Throne and Altar*. Summarising the last 48 years in defense of their religious ideals, the 7th of July 1934 English editorial of *The Anglo-Lusitano* reiterated:

Forty-eight years are a considerable period in the life of a newspaper, but it is a period over which it is possible to look back without regret [...] Founded by a small group of enthusiasts to defend the Padroado, it had the satisfaction of rallying Catholic opinion in this city to the support of that institution. The Padroado survived but only to meet its doom four decades later [...] The men at the helm of affairs in Portugal no longer cherished the memory of Portugal's work in the Orient for the Catholic faith and were by no means anxious to maintain the Padroado in the East. In the circumstances the protest of *O Anglo-Lusitano* fell on unheeding ears (Forty-eight years, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 12).

At the end of the 19th century, in 1887, the *Bombay Portuguese*, as the native Catholics of that city were known, decided to change their name to *Bombay East-Indian community*, through the creation of the *Bombay East Indian Association* founded by 27 members (Gomes 2007: 569), and whose direction assumed, despite their Catholicism, the loyalty to the British Empire. This association provoked disapproving reactions among the Bombay catholic believers, and as a result, there was an unsuccessful attempt to create an association entitled *Bombay Portuguese Association*,

and a newspaper called *Português Britânico* (Portuguese British) was launched with some success⁽⁴⁾. One of the *East-Indian's* objectives was precisely to dissociate themselves from the Goan migrants, and since the mid-19th century a time when the Goans migrated in greater numbers, the existing Catholic community felt threatened in its identity, and also by the loss of the privileged access it had until then, on the part of the British authorities, to certain positions in the functionalism with the consequent social prestige. Some disputes are known in which attempts were made to discredit each other, and if in the matter of the *Padroado* versus *Propaganda Fide* the majority of the East-Indians leaned toward the former, the truth was that the elites from both communities were progressively creating zones of permeability, that made possible reconcile interests in political and cultural terms.

Thus, throughout the 20th century, several transversities of insurgence came to facilitate the communication between these two communities, and appeals to Christian unity were presented through the periodical press in Bombay, this time to ensure place, not only in public functionalism but in the Indian Congress that was to be composed, still with the agreement of the British authorities, by the various political forces, communities and beliefs in India, with representations within it. Also, the unity with the Hindu community from Goa happened, in what it respected the protests against the Portuguese colonial legislation, organized by the intelligentsia that traditionally chose Bombay as a place of extension of the higher studies or career projection, but also as a place of exile (Servants and indigenes by the Colonial Act, *O Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 9)⁽⁵⁾. This porosity extended to the lower classes, a terminology that was in match at first, and later emancipated itself, from that which referred to the castes, that is, without mutual exclusion, the two categories, classes and castes, were creating their own functionalities. Among the Catholics and Hindus in Bombay, occupying high places in the civil service, the university, in

(4) For the study of this community and its interaction with the Goan migrants in the 19th and 20th centuries, this newspaper and above all, *O Patriota*, discontinued in 1882, as well as *O Anglo-Lusitano*, from which we have already highlighted Sandra Ataíde Lobo's study for the XIX century, are fundamental pieces to apply to a cross-study with the intellectual biographies of both the newspapers and their authors that will certainly explain the eighteenth-century disagreements and the nineteenth-century encounters.

(5) Of course, these exiles became more frequent after the establishment of the Estado Novo dictatorship in Portugal.

medicine or justice⁽⁶⁾, there was a cultural and political connection that was displayed in the periodical press, with these examples highlighting the Goan identity. The same was true for the lower migrant classes they encountered, in mutual associations (Goan Association of Mutual Aid, *O Anglo-Lusitano* of the 7th of July 1934:7, 11) in the so-called Cuds or Clubs, which received and supported the most disadvantaged from Goa, the reasons for solidarity that functioned as a basis for the creation of a class consciousness. The impact of the colonial Act had yet the merit of establishing the connection between these several realities, in protest movements that ranged since the demand of respect for human dignity to the right to full citizenship and to the equality and emancipation of the Goan people. These connections were highlighted by the intellectuals and, disclosed by the corresponding press. While telling us the context of its existence and scope of action, *The Anglo-Lusitano* showed that it was well within the framework of this engaged intellectual reality. As we shall see, this commemorative issue shows the connection of the Bombay newspaper with the Goan writers and journalists with the Goan community in Mozambique and the identification with the Portuguese republican intellectuals in opposition to the Estado Novo.

The 7th of July issue responding to the legislative wave stemming from the dictatorship: the inclusion of the colonial act in the 1933 Constitution, and the imperial organic charter that went in the same direction aggravated by the colonial reforms, administrative and military, which had brought to an end the little autonomy left to each colony and the replacing of local public tenders with metropolitan nominations, including the officers and professional soldiers. *The Anglo-Lusitano* opened its pages to the protestation of the Goan intelligentsia of the various tendencies, between opposition and resistance, sheltered from the censorship in force in the state of Goa. To culminate, that same year, the colonial exhibition in Oporto, that would be the first imperial presentation of the Salazar era, with the representation of Goa on the ethnographic level of exoticism, left the Goan people in revolt. The Bombay newspaper issued on the matter an article that was to

(6) This title was also an answer to the newspaper *Notícias* of Lourenço Marques, Mozambique, which entered in the polemic about the Oporto Colonial Exhibition, with the declarations of a Portuguese journalist, saying that all Goan he knew were either servants or shoemakers.

be published in the Goan *Pracasha* (1928-1937) but was banned by the censorship in Goa, written by Luís de Meneses Bragança⁽⁷⁾, that spoke up against the so-called Goan representation at the exhibition. The Colonial Act appeared in the discussion, in the same article, as an attack on the true citizenship of equality before the law and the respect due to the Goan identity. The false citizenship that the legislation offered was a never carried out attempt to legislate for the Empire in a Constitutional way, and consequently uniformly, in disrespect of the cultures and history of the various colonised peoples.

After the manner in which our civil rights were trampled on, especially with the promulgation of the Colonial Act against which the emigrant, through the Goan Union of this city, threw a vibrant protest in a great rally, in addition to one of the Geração Nova (New Generation)⁽⁸⁾, and given the increased inequalities with the Regulation on the recruitment of the military service, we have nothing left over from the political rights (Our administrative and political situation, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th of July 1934: 3).

Respect for the diversity, and the autonomy so often promised as a guarantee of equality in Portuguese citizenship in the past, was now clearly denied and replaced by a citizenship of imperial uniformity that distinguished the various categories of indigenous and assimilated. In the same sense, the Portuguese dictatorship was betting on the weight of metropolitan power and on the progressive emptying of the intermediate colonial powers, whose composition consisted of elected members (in smaller numbers) and nominated members.

As we have seen, the newspaper presented itself not only as the defender of the Goan community as whole in Bombay, but at the same time as a focus of union of the region's Catholics. So, if the Portuguese version summarised the connection between intellectuals and newspapers from various political quadrants within the opposition to the Portuguese regime in Goa and, was in dialogue with all those who opposed the dictatorial regime and its political and legislative measures in Portugal and in the empire; the English version, in addition,

(7) Luís de Meneses Bragança (1878-1938), a Goan intellectual, respected journalist, and a nationalist democrat. Was the editor of *Pracasha*.

(8) In connection with the movement led by Gandhi, *Young India*.

established a link with the various catholic currents, in Bombay, that reflected about critical comparisons between empires and about the solutions to which the pressure groups and governments were arriving to in the whole of India.

The Anglo-Lusitano has time and again deplored the division of the community into small groups, each separated in water-tight compartments. *The Anglo-Lusitano* stands for the fusion of the various groups into the unit, closely knit together by the ties of a common religion, common ideals and common interests. The various groups of Catholics must meet on a common platform and devise a common programme for the advancement of their interests [...] The outlook will be more hopeful if we learn to think as Catholics and not as members of a group or section. *The Anglo-Lusitano* has endeavoured to the best of its ability to promote unity among Catholics. As in the past, so in the future, it will continue to work for the cause of Catholic unity, convinced that its efforts will someday be rewarded with success (Forty-eight years, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 12).

Although the majority, including the editorial current, had appealed to the old liberal-democratic republican spirit and to the self-government, aiming to closely follow the debate and the path taken by the Indian *freedom fighters*, and finally, the current which declared that the only road to Goa was the future Indian Union. On the other hand, in this issue we find the attack on the Portuguese dictatorship as a response to the attack on Goan identity, demonstrating that there was a historical and cultural interconnection that gave rise to Indo-Portuguese journalistic, artistic and literary production, but such did not prevent, on the contrary, would never be able to counteract the millennial origins of Indian culture and its, non-hierarchical, admission into Goa's identity equation.

Advancing in parts, we can demonstrate the paradigmatic importance in cultural and political terms of this issue of *The Anglo-Lusitano*, for our understanding of the period, and at the same time, fit it into the theoretical presuppositions presented, outlining from there the intellectual biography of the newspaper. The admission of a shared history between Portugal and Goa allowed us to understand the reasons for the political existence of a republican and democratic line since 1910, which had claimed the 1820's liberal revolution heritage, and that it had been gaining supporters in Goa, as we have seen before, and that in

Portugal and in the rest of the empire there were opponents who, like the Goans, were resisting to the dictatorship⁽⁹⁾.

Ever since D. Pedro⁽¹⁰⁾ proclaimed by Charter the civic equality of the Portuguese colonies with the mother country, Goans have enjoyed racial and political equality as citizens of Portugal. Time and again this fundamental equality of rights and status has been reiterated [...] Whatever may have been the political storms that have arisen on the Portuguese horizon, right down to the constitution of 1911, the rights of the colonies to share equally in the political destinies of the Motherland have remained an unchanged article of political faith despite attempts on the part of some short-sighted responsible politicians and statesmen to deprive Goans of the rights our ancient culture and civilisation entitle us to (J. Varela Rodrigues, Recent legislation in Portuguese India, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 21).

This assessment made by Varela Rodrigues⁽¹¹⁾, a Goan intellectual in Bombay and a collaborator of the newspaper, shows that even when it comes to political analysis, centuries of colonisation led to the fact that the Goan identity was part of all the histories which had crisscrossed the place: that of Portuguese colonisation, the British colonisation in the case of the islands of Bombay, and another older empires that had populated the region long before. If the right to participation in politics in the destinies of the metropole was an important fact for the author, remembering the principles of equity and Goan participation in the national parliament in Lisbon, on the other hand, there was an awareness that it was a colonial relationship even when at its best, and above all, that there was a culture of its own in the way that we have been referring, now assumed as a political right of citizenship to defend. According to this political commentator, throughout the last century of Portuguese

(9) More and more frequently, the transversal political relations between colonies, which not passing through the political center of the empire, the metropole, were being revealed by the press.

(10) D. Pedro IV of Portugal and First as emperor of Brazil (1798-1834). It was he who declared Brazil's independence from the crown of Portugal in 1824. Later in 1826 he granted a Constitutional Charter to Portugal, abdicating the throne of Portugal to his daughter D. Maria II.

(11) João Varela Rodrigues was by then also the director of the bilingual (Portuguese/English) Bombay review *Goan Tribune*.

liberalism, there would have been a different colonial relation on the part of the Portuguese, or at least this was how it was felt by Goans. There was also, on that basis, the recognition of a reciprocity in these relations, regarding the Goans and their contribution, to the good name of Portugal (J. Varela Rodrigues, Recent legislation in Portuguese India, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 21)⁽¹²⁾.

As we shall see, this introduction also had the strategic objective of demonstrating the enormity of the change caused by the establishment of the dictatorship in Portugal, in the relationship with the colonies.

After this tradition of colonial equality that goes back to the very inception of the Portuguese power in the East, for the first time in the history of Portugal it has been decreed that the colonies should hold a position of political inferiority (Article 2 Colonial Act) [...] For the first time in the history of Portugal have distinctions of colour and race been introduced in the Legislatives Acts and Decrees (Article 32) [...] For the first time in the history of Portugal has on an Act of the nature of Military Regulation Bill been passed dividing colonial subjects into Assimilados [assimilated] and Indígenas [indigenous] that reduces Goans to the degrading position of slaves and helots! Evidently the promulgators of such reactionary Acts and Decrees have betrayed a sad lack of political and diplomatic farsightedness when Portuguese India in despite of its colossal structure of ancient civilisation was unscrupulously taken for the ruthless in the Colonial Act (J. Varella Rodrigues, Recent legislation in Portuguese India, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 21).

Politics and culture: opposition, resistance, citizenship

The impactful consequences of the Colonial Act had been felt in Goa in several waves of administrative segregating reforms which gave clear preference to officials and officers coming from Europe, all of it accompanied by the repressive measures of any dictatorship, that is,

(12) «If there are Institutions and hospitals in Portugal bearing the name of eminent Goans, if Goan intellectuals are allowed to hold prominent positions, it is because the Portuguese are fully aware that the light shed by them in no small degree contribute towards the enhancement of the prestige of the Portuguese Nation abroad.».

removing powers from local councils by decreasing the elected members, and withdrawing the freedom of the press through prior censorship.

When the Colonial Act was passed in 1930 it had been subjected to severe criticism both by the elected minority in the Legislative Council and the Press in Goa but the Act notwithstanding overwhelming opposition was incorporated in the New Constitution [de 1933]. The new constitution creates distinctions between the rights of the inhabitants of Portugal and those of the colonies. The rights of the Portuguese Europeans are defined in the Constitution, but the colonials have no constitutional rights. They are to be ruled by special diplomas issued by the Minister for Colonies [Article 27 of the Colonial Act] (J. Varela Rodrigues, Recent legislation in Portuguese India, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 21).

It was the issue of equality that was at the root of the problem of citizenship as identity and belonging, that is, who was a citizen and, who might or might not be in the Portuguese colonies, depended constitutionally from the dictatorship's minister of colonies and, ultimately, from the dictator himself. Not being equal to the metropolitans, the Goans had the right to an imperial citizenship if they made *the right choice* between the *assimilated* and the *indigenous* conditions', this choice which revealed various degrees of subalternity displeased the Goans, accustomed since the liberal revolutions, but especially since the establishment of the Republic, to have a space for debate through regular intellectual production and, thus, having the possibility of criticism, and above all, of active participation in the relationship and with the successive colonial governments representatives' decisions. The inequality resulting from the legislation, the disrespect for the democratic principles and civil rights, combined with the constant repression with which the dictatorship sought to silence the opposition, were in fact provoking the opposite effect and bringing about a new collective, whose members identified themselves with the construction of another reality, and also, with those who were fighting against the British empire in the rest of India. As an intellectual, the author also identified and made a logical parallel between the persecution of the free press and the lack of intellectual development.

The dictatorship, in the consistent effort to construct an imperial reality, by significantly altering the local mode of relationship between individuals and the state, gave rise to various forms of protest and resistance, embodied in the response of those who began to look for

new forms of national identity, political legitimacy, and belonging. In Goa, and in the Goan communities in Bombay, the Colonial Act and its derivatives, pointed the intellectual action to a new direction in the construction of a common national identity, while the right to a culture of their own was defended and, the situation of the colonial subalternity was challenged. The comparison with British India where the newspaper was published was inevitable and, if the United Kingdom have had success in stratifying its empire even further between colonies and domains, the latter was only applicable to the empire's colonies considered prepared for autonomy, Australia, New Zealand and Canada, therefore, of white majority. British India was demanding this status with no success and, eventually, jumped that step and became independent in 1947.

Like the neighbouring movements of the freedom fighters many Goans thought that with the liberal democratic Republican regime that arrived in Portugal in 1910, Goa would be eligible for an autonomy regime corresponding to the status of Dominion of British Empire. This aspiration was justified as several political currents in Portugal had a democratic and socialising vision, defending decentralisation and self-government. The debate lasted the time that the democratic regime prevailed, and the existence of a public space where this debate took place with more-or-less intensity, with more-or-less freedom and promoting an improvement in the quality of the citizenship, only interrupted by the 1926 dictatorship and its imperial colonial model.

Addressing the matter along these lines of thought, Correia Fernandes⁽¹³⁾ contributed to the 7th of July issue with an analysis of Portuguese colonial policy. He began, ironically, by noting that Portuguese colonial policy had always been guided by the absence of any colonial policy. Going back to the 18th century, stated that the administrative centralism of the absolute royal power was not really a colonial policy and, that had been only after the liberal revolution of 1820 that the colonies had gained a new political status and were considered as provinces in equality with the ones in the metropole, and with the first deputies of Goa being elected to the national parliament⁽¹⁴⁾. Continuing to

(13) Avertano Correia Fernandes Goan intellectual, university professor in Bombay, founder of the *Journal of Bombay Historical Society*.

(14) Among them was Bernardo Peres da Silva (1775-1844), doctor and liberal politician, to whom Correia Fernandes dedicated a biographical study.

affirm the absence of a colonial policy of local development and progress, the author, nevertheless, praised the liberal principle which presided to many of the social and economic measures of the liberal revolution period until the last quarter of the 19th century⁽¹⁵⁾. Then, Correia Fernandes made directly the connection with the 1910 Republic and recalled, in this regard, the creation of the Local Government Councils that, for one time in Goa, had had more members elected than nominated and had signified the beginning of a road to autonomy in the framework of the aforementioned self-government. Cataloguing critically the errors of the Portuguese Republic in relation to the colonies with the unfulfilled promises of political decentralisation and the consequent absence of popular participation (A. Correia Fernandes, *Colonial Policy of Portugal, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July de 1934: 14.1), what did not stop him from praising the period as the only one in which the sense of equality dominated the circles of power: «The imperial idea in its degrading sense did not dominate the Colonial Ministry and a sense of equality pervaded in the governmental circles» (A. Correia Fernandes, *Colonial Policy of Portugal, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 14.1).

The author, without losing the critical orientation he gave to his article, had a deep understanding of the difference in Portuguese colonial policy between the various past policies, even those that defended a centralized administration, within the framework of liberal democracy, and the dictatorship born of the coup of 28th of May 1926. He also understood the imperial idea that dominated this new model of colonialism, whose attributes were the metropolitan authority in one single person and in one single party, the promulgation of segregating and standardised constituent laws, and the constant and brutal repression of cultural and intellectual diversity, and of all dissonant voices.

What is this policy? [...] The principles of the Colonial Act, and particularly its unhappy phraseology show that the old and immemorial idea of organic essence and perpetual subjection continues to dominate the minds of Portuguese stateman. The imperial idea is repeatedly

(15) The author ignored the end of the XIX century and the transition to the next, in which legislative measures were taken that were repressive and discriminatory for the colonies, under the Minister António Enes, and which were already a defensive consequence of the European interest in the colonial empires.

emphasized and preached. The nation is being educated in imperialism and concerted attempts are made to create an imperial conscience. The empire – very unhappy and offensive word – is preached as essential for the existence of Portugal as an independent nation (A. Correia Fernandes, Colonial Policy of Portugal, *O Anglo-Lusitano* de 7th July 1934: 14.1).

The idea of uniformity opposed the historical and cultural diversity that existed among the Portuguese colonies and, the respect that these differences demanded in the legislation and in the political and administrative preparation were denied. Correia Fernandes, therefore, called for consensus policies between the interests of the colonies and the interests of the metropolitans, able to creating a capacity of constant adaptation to the changes, and pointed to the natural markets in the subcontinent for the necessary economic development of Goa, only possible with an autonomy process for the colony: «So also a desire to develop self-governing institutions so as to enable some Colonies to manage their own affairs. That would, indeed, be a noble task which Portugal could set to herself» (A. Correia Fernandes, Colonial Policy of Portugal, *The Anglo-Lusitano* 7th July 1934: 14.1). Thus, he highlighted alternatives that had obtained good results, such as the case of political and economic self-sufficiency attributed to Canada by the English government. This was not the Lisbon government's intention, and although the writer knew of this by his previous analysis of the dictatorship, here we have a moderate current that had once believed in the idea of many republicans, that it was the possibility of a federation of oversea and metropolitan provinces, with autonomous structures with elective and legislative capacity and a democratic functioning that would cement this co-federation.

Few still believed in this possibility, and for many, these times had passed already, and adherence to Indian nationalism should happen. Following this path, Tristão Bragança Cunha⁽¹⁶⁾ founded the Goa Congress Committee in the year 1928, confident that Goa would only find true citizenship and consequent identity in an Indian union. He had therefore accepted the *Anglo-Lusitano's* invitation as an opportunity to be able to disclose his convictions, without the censorship that existed in Goa (T. Bragança Cunha, *The Situation of the Goans in a Free India*,

(16) Tristão Bragança Cunha (1891-1958), Goan freedom fighter.

The Anglo-Lusitano, 7th July 1934: 6). Referring to some currents that considered the independence of Goa or any other autonomic solution plausible, he sought to demonstrate its impossibility in terms of the small territorial extension of Goa, and as consequence, in economic terms. Thus, in a clearly anti-colonialist discourse, Bragança Cunha showed that the natural market and the corresponding commercial exchanges in Goa would be within the global Indian framework, and that belonging to an independent and sovereign India would finally bring the political advantages of true citizenship to the small state of Goa and its inhabitants (T. Bragança Cunha, *The Situation of the Goans in a Free India*, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 6)⁽¹⁷⁾.

The article was, also, an appeal to the militant action of the Goans, which Tristão accused of apathy and neutrality, compared with those who sought in the struggle, the liberation of India and Goa. Indian nationalism, with pacifist and inclusive currents, radical and exclusivist ones, was certainly engaged in a cause for which many would sacrifice their freedom and even their life. Aware of this reality and making up part of it, the *freedom fighter*, did not hesitate in the revolutionary interpellation to the Goans' political activism (T. Bragança Cunha, *The Situation of the Goans in a Free India*, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 6)⁽¹⁸⁾.

People's factor and the classist structure, overlapped to the beliefs and castes, shaped the nationalist movement, both in its liberal and moderated wing and in the more socializing Marxist current, from which, like Cunha, Jaime de Leite was part of, as reflected in the article of the 7th July's issue of this journalist's authorship. It focused on the mutualist associations in Bombay which received the Goan emigrants from the working classes and demonstrated, through their aims and functioning, a new form of proletarian solidarity by the gradual politization of old forms of associativism (Jaime de Leite, *The emigration of the proletarian: the clubs (cuds)*, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 6). For him the role of Goan

(17) «The independence of India therefore means, our integration into the Indian nation [...] The unification of India, besides guaranteeing citizenship rights on their own land to every Indian, will have the immediate consequence of widening the path of their activity, restricted by the divisions and obstacles that exist in an India cut by the foreigners.»

(18) «In an independent India, culture being genuinely national and being diffused by the vehicle of vernacular languages, prepares useful men for the country, developing the creative spirit in them, encouraging originality of thought, the worship of true science, and its application to the nation's collective needs.»

emigration in Bombay was a very important political and social outline, and was an example to follow, by how many intended to ignore the value and feedback of this contribution in the both material and intellectual development of Goa. In this sense, he underlined that the government of the dictatorship in Portugal could not claim the merits that were due to the Goan proletarian migrant, by the educated generation it originated, and by the investment applied in the improvement of the Goan villages, from where, they were forced to leave to guarantee subsistence.

As with the previous author, we can point out here a cut with the past, and with the history lived in the centuries that preceded the discovery of a political consciousness of the necessity of a national construction, that gathered India as a whole, in new forms of equality and citizenship, in an optic of liberation, first anti-colonial, then classist.

Cultural and political: the nets of Goan discontent

The cover page of this special issue of the newspaper, which was clearly a cry of protest, against the actions of the Portuguese government, had as motto *one for all and all for one*. This page consisted in citations from some of the figures of Portuguese politics and intelligentsia who had demarcated Goa, and India in general, as a place of ancient civilization, that had come to accompany and integrate the currents of the modern thought. It also showed a quotation from an ironic parliamentary intervention, by Goan deputy Jovino de Gouveia Pinto⁽¹⁹⁾ in defence of Goa, in the republican Lisbon of 1912: «Our India maintains a high intellectual level (hear, hear...) and is so civilized that it was better for the metropole that, in order to emerge from the deplorable state of backwardness in which finds itself, be integrated into the Indian civilisation...» (First page, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934).

Reinforcing this cultural and political, historical connection, an article signed, 'On the banks of the Mandovi: For India Nova (New India), An Indian', began and ended with an appeal to the Republicans of the 5th October 1910, so that they would not allow the humiliation to which the dictatorship wanted to subject Goa and its inhabitants

(19) Jovino Francisco de Gouveia Pinto, writer, journalist, he was elected deputy for Goa in 1911 to the Republican Constituent Assembly.

in the Oporto colonial exhibition to be held in the year of 1934. The criticism was twofold: first, the Goans had not been heard in the choice of their representation and secondly, they were deeply revolted by the government's choices that did not correspond in any way to their identity. Among the dancers and snake charmers, the intellectuals did not recognise Goa, neither culturally nor ethnographically, and they considered the mission sent to Oporto as disrespectful, with which the Portuguese organisers merely intended to give some false exoticism to Empire, through cheap clichés (*The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 4).

To the repudiation felt by the Goan intellectual elite, the author added allusions to cultural and political alternatives, that placed him in a group of young Goans who were studying in Coimbra at the time of the coup that gave rise to Salazar's dictatorial government⁽²⁰⁾. At that time they published a newspaper with half a dozen numbers and the title *Índia Nova* (1928-29) (New India)⁽²¹⁾ (Lobo 2009: 231-258), the purpose of which was to promote cultural and intellectual relations between the East and the West, but with a vision that not only criticized the alleged European supremacy, as well as, from the narrative of the history of the thought of the places, tried to make the synthesis between the best of the Hindu and Western philosophies. The name also signified a connection to the Gandhi movement and the weekly newspaper *Young India*, and a compagination with the quest for autonomy and emancipation for Portuguese India. The author of the article demonstrated the existence of the *New India* movement in Goa, and the Oporto Colonial Exposition was presented as the cherry on the top of the cake of the entire repressive legislative process of the previous years, that had given rise to a political culture of opposition and resistance, which we have been stressing:

But India has its pride! New India, born of so many deceptions, so many disappointments, so much ingratitude, so many insults, so many vexations, so much contempt, rejects this representation that was imposed on it. It can have no other purpose than to humiliate this land and these people. Alongside the Indians, who feel the sacred indignation at the

(20) Probably António Furtado, journalist and freedom fighter, who followed that path and signed the articles as mentioned above. He was married to Berta de Meneses Bragança daughter of Luís de Meneses Bragança.

(21) Journal founded by José Telo, Adeodato Barreto and Telo de Mascarenhas.

deliberate insult on their dignity, [...] there will be honest Portuguese citizens, proud people that will feel embarrassed [...] India protests against this injustice and the Portuguese who still hold the ideal of the men who acted on the 5 of October will listening to their protest (An Indian, India protests! *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 4).

Like the author we have just mentioned, Luís Meneses Bragança, a member of Goa's Governing Council, was a democrat republican who believed that the establishment of the Republic in Portugal would bring political autonomy to the Portuguese colonies. With the coup of the dictatorship he started a process of breaking up with the Portuguese government, and from 1928 he joined a journalistic project and began collaborating and, soon editing the newspaper *Pracasha*. This project was initiated by Venctexa Vinaica Suria Rau Sar and joined Hindus and Catholics in the editorial staff, and had a profile of opposition, having gradually radicalised its political positions, and that was why it suffered various persecutions, until its forced closure in 1937. The article "33,000 rupees" published on this date in *The Anglo-Lusitano*, as we have already said, had been censored in Goa⁽²²⁾. Meneses Bragança presented all the criticisms that went through the Goan press, inside and outside of Goa, but added to the vexation, the fact that the displacement of the intended Indian mission to the colonial Exposition, was to be paid by Goan taxpayers. The cultural question and the development pattern, followed by the peoples in general, prevented him from understanding that Portuguese India was represented by low-level commonplaces and he accused, with irony, the dictatorship of pervert the evolution of Goa, only to deny the colony's competence for emancipation (Meneses Bragança, 33.000 Rupias, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 4)⁽²³⁾.

(22) *Oriente*, a Goan newspaper from Mozambique also published the article "33.000 rupies" in solidarity with the newspaper and the journalist, intellectual recognized and respected in Goan community. In 1936 in the city of Lourenço Marques (now a days Maputo) a political homage to Meneses Bragança took place.

(23) «The ethnic showcase goes on saying, that for four hundred years has not surpassed the level of the snake charmers and the exotic dancers, and that only now, led by brains of genius and steady hands, will the civilizing action emerge. That is why was made shallow board of liberal administrative codes and organic charters, and why the administrative reform tailored to primitive aggregates was imposed [...] The India of the snake charmers and the dancers, the shoemakers and hotel servants, why the hell would want the luxuries of autonomy?».

Another well-known Goan intellectual and journalist⁽²⁴⁾, who viewed the problem globally, drew attention to the fact that at the Oporto Colonial Exhibition, marketable goods between India and Europe, or between the empire's colonies had not even been taken into account or listed for promotion and publicity, thus losing one of the objectives of this type of event. On the other hand, he recalled that the various colonies did not have a way of regular communication between them that would allow the birth and development of trade relations that would benefit them all. Pointing the blame to political reasons, which presided to the Portuguese colonial model embodied in the Colonial Act (JJ da Cunha, Commercial Exchange, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 7)⁽²⁵⁾, he highlighted a changing world in neighbouring India that the Portuguese government did not seem to want to see (J. J. da Cunha, Commercial Exchange, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 7)⁽²⁶⁾.

More than for the example of British India, it was to the example of the Indian nationalists from there, that the author wished to draw attention. For the fact that they were systematically refusing, by insufficiency, all the autonomic reform proposals that the British crown was proposing. While at the same time demonstrating the importance, by the reinforcement of the idea of the necessary union of the Indians' political forces in this struggle for emancipation, going beyond political parties, beliefs, castes and classes: «Not only the Congressmen, but also the Liberals who have maintained relations with the government, are opposed to such autonomy that is not even self-government. Hindus, Muslims, Sikhs, Christians are making the same war» (J. J. da Cunha, Commercial Exchange, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 7).

(24) João Joaquim da Cunha, (1939-), Goan intellectual, collaborating in several newspapers and journals, Herald, Bharat, Gullistan, A Terra. As a merchant he was the founder of the Goan Commerce Association. He was also a participant of the Portuguese India Provincial Congresses.

(25) «These artefacts may be very much sought after in Portugal, where we could come to exchange many other articles that are manufactured here and that are a good deal and are appreciated for their quality, despite the Colonial Act that offends the Indo-Portuguese in these times of advanced civilization, classifying them as assimilated and indigenus.».

(26) «Today, the Nations that have colonies want to forget that their colonials are conquered, putting them on an equal footing with their natives [...]. Today, there are no conquerors and conquered.».

In the same sense, Armindo de Gouveia Pinto⁽²⁷⁾ underlined what was happening in British India. After reviewing, what he called the history of Portuguese colonisation, highlighting the civilisation of Portuguese India at the time of the Portuguese invasion (Armindo de Gouveia Pinto, *The Past and the Present, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 5)⁽²⁸⁾ and what he considered to be the mutual-cooperation policies between Portugal and Goa, since then. As for the dictatorship, the Colonial Act and all subsequent legislation, for this liberal writer were the hub of discord, like the engine that shifted the Goan gaze to the process of struggle for the emancipation of the neighbours, against the British empire (Armindo de Gouveia Pinto, *The Past and the Present, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 7)⁽²⁹⁾.

António da Cruz⁽³⁰⁾, a journalist of *The Anglo-Lusitano* responsible for the Young Section, gave a glimpse of what has already been demonstrated as a fundamental matter - the democratic equality - for the understanding of this whole period, and of the path taken by this political culture of opposition and resistance. Questioning the problem, in a way that went beyond law and politics, he entered culture and mentalities, through personalistic and existentialist philosophy. He was certain that, though the men were born equal, the holistic diversity of the world had to be found in this universality:

As F. L. Gomes⁽³¹⁾ said, equality is not limited only to the statement of the philosophers who prove a man to be equal to another man as a right angle is equal to another right angle and, as the publicists who taught

(27) Armindo Gouveia Pinto, a Goan intellectual, writer and historian.

(28) Without intending to ignore the racial issue always present in all forms of colonialism, here with this author and with most of the Goan authors, what is highlighted is the civilizational matter based on the global idea of the achievement of the goals of the progress, that in that time was cultural. It was established the superiority of the more civilised, and their obligation to civilize the less ones. The Goan intellectual elite firmly believed to be among the first.

(29) «Today, no one can doubt that India will soon [...] will achieve a semi-independence under the Domain Statute. And for our heart there will be nothing more painful than to see ourselves as second-class citizens, just at a time when our blood brothers will have attained the full citizenship of a great empire!».

(30) António da Cruz, freedom fighter, brother of the also freedom fighter Carlos da Cruz the current editor of the newspaper.

(31) Francisco Luís Gomes (1829-1869), patron of the Goan intelligentsia, doctor, politician, historian, economist and writer. He was the author of *Os Brâmanes* considered the first Indian romance.

that all citizens are equal; but in the works that penetrate even as deep as the customs [...] Who are we if not the others? A man is all the men who have passed through him in this life and all the things he has seen (António da Cruz, *Our duty, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 10).

This notion of connected histories and cultures, which we have come across, contradicted the hierarchical view of the Portuguese colonialists of the Estado Novo. It was also proof of the impossibility of a peaceful conviviality between these two world views. Therefore, the author appealed to Goan's militant fight for their homeland (Antonio da Cruz, *Our duty, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 10)⁽³²⁾.

From a family of intellectual traditions and linked to the Goan Catholic elite, Francisco Correia Afonso⁽³³⁾ began his participation in the 7th July issue with a statement that, in the line of *Orientalism*, emphasised the originality of Goa as a place of cultural encounters, «The most obvious feature of Goan social life is that it is a blend of East and West. East and West have met in Goa for good and ill» (F. Correia Afonso, *Our social life, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 13).

In this sense, he criticised the excesses of the nationalist line which, he said, revolted by the pretensions of those who assumed the superiority of the West intended to ignore all the positivity the West had brought in social terms. He recalled the contribution of Catholicism, «Christianity has made a great difference as regards the inequality which the caste system implies» (F. Correia Afonso, *Our social life, The Anglo-Lusitano* de 7th July 1934: 13). In the same sense he also referred to Gandhi, and his campaign against the existence of untouchability. On the other hand, he focused critically on the case of some Catholic Confraternities by caste, which were tolerated by the Catholic church, although it was clearly against its doctrine. He ended his article with the idea that the solution to the world's problems, was in the union between East and West, and

(32) «Let's not worry too much about the rags that cover the mortal and corruptible body and try to exalt our spirit and advance with courage. Let us fight for the greatness of our country, which is our own glory and our well-being.»

(33) Francisco Correia Afonso, Professor of English literature and Publicist in Bombay, vice-president of the Academic League of Oxford. Collaborated in several newspapers and magazines: *Revista da Índia*, *O Ultramar*, the *Suplemento do Herald* or the *Indo-Portuguese Review* de Calcutá.

Goa had a role to play as model of a good meeting point between the two civilizational cultures: «The contemplation of the East and the activity of the West will then meet in our national character in a fruitful union, and we shall stand as a model before the world» (F. Correia Afonso, Our social life, *O Anglo-Lusitano* of the 7th of July 1934: 13).

Maria da Glória Pereira da Cruz⁽³⁴⁾ oversaw of the women's section of the newspaper, with a chronicle per issue. With a conservative nature regarding the maintenance of the subordinate position of women in the home and in society, in this special issue opened a new door to women's participation in the social and political struggles of the time as man's companion and after the completion of the household duties. Nevertheless, the author confessed that by living in Bombay only since a few months, she had been able to observe, with amazement and admiration, the political activity of women fighting for various causes, speaking and directing associations, «they call on the patriotism of women and men, to fight for the emancipation of the lower classes and for the liberation of the homeland» (Maria da Glória Pereira da Cruz, The Woman's Mission, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 10). Under the influence and example of these women from Bombay, the author ended her chronicle with a direct appeal to the women of Goa do the same.

The woman was also a literary subject in this issue. In two poems about marriage in Goa, the poet Floriano Pinto⁽³⁵⁾ demonstrated the fragility of the young inexperienced woman, with no choice and subjected to arranged marriages (Floriano Pinto, Marriage in Goa: village paintings, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 9)⁽³⁶⁾. In a tale, or short story, Assucena da Graça⁽³⁷⁾ told us about love, but also about another serious problem that affected the Goan women poor, the widowhood and the subsequent abandonment and emotional and material helplessness which society

(34) Goan writer, collaborated with *O Anglo-Lusitano*, she was married to António da Cruz.

(35) Goan poet, collaborated in several newspapers and magazines: *A Índia Portuguesa*, *A Lanterna*, *O Herald*, *Heraldo*, *Heraldo. Suplemento mensal*, *Diário da Noite*, *Jornal da Índia*, *Vauraddeancho Ixtt*; *O Anglo-Lusitano* in Bombay and *The Anglo-Portuguese Review* in Calcuta; and out of Índia, in the *Almanaque das Senhoras* and the *Almanaque Luso-Brasileiro*.

(36) Dedicated to Severo Portela, Portuguese poet and journalist who collaborated in several newspapers in Goa since the time of the 1st Republic, including *A Luz do Oriente*. The social critique of arranged marriage was made by the author in a footnote.

(37) Probably a pseudonym. We could not find nothing about this author.

devoted to those women (Assucena da Graça, Regional Watercolour: Life among palm trees, *The Anglo-Lusitano* 7th July 1934: 10, 11).

In this tradition of Indo-Portuguese literature, Amadeu Prazeres da Costa⁽³⁸⁾ chose, as participation in this issue, a well-deserved tribute to the poet Nascimento Mendonça⁽³⁹⁾. The writer regretted that the poet had all his work spread by newspapers, which was the reason why he had never published a book. However, for Prazeres da Costa he was not only part of the pantheon of Goa's best ones, he would be one of the important national figures in the exemplary gallery that needed to be created as example to the following generations, «instigated by his example and guided by his inspiration, they could finish the job, the major job of the resurgence of our people, why we are fighting» (Amadeu Prazeres da Costa, Our illustrious men: an unknown star, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 5).

The history of the periodical press in Goa was another of the flags and source of pride, justifying an article in this special issue. The cultural and political press in the colonial period is an important and revealing study to be done systematically⁽⁴⁰⁾, and António Maria da Cunha and Benedito Gomes were fully aware of its importance when they participated in *The Anglo-Lusitano* with a summary statement, of the main events of the periodic press in Goa with headlines and dates, extracts of their most important works in the cataloguing and classification of the Goan Press (The Press in Goa: Evolution of Journalism in Portuguese India and Historical Memory, António Maria da Cunha and Benedito Gomes, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 4).

The exchange that lasted for centuries, and that put the Goan intellectual elites in contact with the Portuguese, was portrayed in this space, commemorating the newspaper's anniversary, with the name Indo-Portuguese Culture. Extracted from the *Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama* and J. Benedito Gomes' pen (J. Benedito Gomes, Indo-Portuguese culture before 1871, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 8), intended to show that there was already a political culture alongside a history that had presided to the Indo-Portuguese relations. The Goans, Hindus or Catholics, who

(38) Writer and journalist, from a known intellectual family from Goa, directed the newspaper *O Heraldo*, he founded in Bombay *The Goan Herald*.

(39) Nascimento Mendonça (1884-1926), Goan revered poet.

(40) *Thinking Goa* and *The International Group for Studies of Colonial Periodical Press of the Portuguese Empire (IGSCP-PE)* are two important projects that are engaged in this study in a coherent and systematic way between theory, heritage and archive.

distinguished themselves as wise and learned inside and outside of Goa, in Europe in Portugal and in British India, were extensively listed by the author as proofs of those principles.

Armando de Menezes⁽⁴¹⁾ had a critically opinion on the subject, that is, structured by his observations and analyses. According to him, «The history of Indo-Portuguese literature was still to be written. Perhaps the history of Indo-Portuguese literature was still to be made» (Armando de Menezes, *Indo-Portuguese Literature, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 13). Establishing the connection between a democratic environment with literary and artistic creation, and its absence in Goa at that time with the lack of political freedom; he emphasized the poetic production as the most fruitful and genuine Goan literary production and, recalled that prose in the last hundred years had been practically absorbed by journalism, and that in this field, unlike poetry, no one could complain about a lack of audience in Goa «the ‘writer’ among us is, accordingly, synonymous not with author but with journalist» (Armando de Menezes, *Indo-Portuguese Literature, The Anglo-Lusitano* de 7th July 1934: 13). He admitted that this was also the general movement abroad, and had a clear perception of the mixture of styles in the 20th century, «the distinction between journalism and literature cannot be strictly kept up, since so much creative work appears in newspapers while, on the other hand, so much ‘literature’ has been invaded by journalism» (Armando de Menezes, *Indo-Portuguese Literature, The Anglo-Lusitano* de 7th July 1934: 14). In this sense of the creative writing, he highlighted the example of Luís Meneses Bragança by the articles in form of epistolary, and the *Pracasha* newspaper, for the quality of the published chronicles. He welcomed the fact that the intellectual debate had continued in the press, despite the restrictions, reminded that the press and literature in concani were clearly progressing and, advocated the increase of the creativity transmitted through the vernacular languages, hoping that it would give rise to a genuinely Goan literature. Accepting the permanent existence of foreign influences in all cultures, «for an organism must suck its growth out of the environment. But there is a difference between assimilation and surfeit» (Armando de Menezes, *Indo-Portuguese Literature, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 14), he believed that the exaggeration denounced the absence of a critical spirit and, in its nationalist view accused the academic teaching of being

(41) Armando de Menezes, Goan professor in Bombay.

the main cause for the robotization of the graduates, not allowing the manifestation of the genius or even the respect for the manifestation of individuality, «for how few can survive a degree still retaining their originality or imagination or independence of mind?» (Armando de Menezes, Indo-Portuguese Literature, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 14). This idea of an education that combined knowledge with the critical capacity and of choice, formed the emancipated man that Armando Menezes wanted to see in the future of his country, as well as the creative author capable of representing that same future through the literature, history and culture.

Some articles related to episodes of Goa's history were interconnected with the history of Portugal. The importance of a serious historical investigation, grounded in documents and reliable sources, was what made credible the narrative that could constitute a nationality, based on an identity but, at the same time, revealed cultural and political interconnections that could not be ignored in each other's histories, and it was not just an option, but a methodological scientific choice.

But if the scientific investigation reveals many things about the history, the culture and civilisation of the past, it certainly opens a vast range of problems we should never have dreamed of. Here then, is the most fascinating side of historical research; and as we strain our eyes towards the horizon of the expanse yet to be explored, the thrill of romance takes possession of us and we realize that our interest in investigation is beyond our power to exhaust (Braz A. Fernandes, Romance of Historical Research, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 14D):

Braz Fernandes⁽⁴²⁾, in his article for the commemorative issue, described and credited the work of the historical researcher, as a social scientist. Based on several assumptions of historical knowledge of Goa and the Goan people, he stated that the history of Goa as a circumscribed territory could be counted until at least 500 years before the arrival of the Portuguese, and that were as important as documents to the history of Goa, of the region of Bombay and of the western coast, the sacred Hindu texts like the Puranas or the Mahabharata, as was the Book of Monsoons

(42) Braz A. Fernandes was an Economist in Bombay but had his work recognized as an historian of Goa.

or of the Neighbouring Kingdoms left by the Portuguese from the end of the 15th century (Braz A. Fernandes, *Romance of Historical Research, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 14D)⁽⁴³⁾.

What we have seen in this issue, in the relative freedom of Bombay and the British empire, was what mobilised some of the most recognised names of Goa's intellectuals. In addition, several well-known newspapers, gave their congratulations to *O Anglo-Lusitano* on its 48th anniversary, of which we detach: *The Bharat*, *The Ultramar*, *The Heraldo*, *The Oriente* of Lourenço Marques, *Heraldo*, *The Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama*. The opposition and resistance to the colonial dictatorship and its laws and persecutions was evident and, the main possible and desired solutions were on display and were discussed in the issue of the 7th July 1934. Joaquim da Rosa, a well-known journalist in Goa, a Catholic intellectual and opponent of the Lisbon regime, was an admirer of the India liberation movement and kept Christian philosophy by his side, combining its message with that of Gandhi (Joaquim da Rosa, *Here and There, The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 7)⁽⁴⁴⁾. On the other hand, he framed the figure that we have come to outline, as the one whose mission it was to intervene disinterestedly, with his knowledge and wisdom in the defence of ideals and righteous causes, the intellectual.

It is the men of Science and Letters, the Wise men and the Philosophers, who close their eyes to personal honours, remembering only their Earth and their People! There are no medals that constellate the breast of an Indian patriot with a greater wingspan. He does not amass wealth in his chest. He does not crave triumphs for yourself. His ideal is something else, higher and nobler: - to fade away, deliberately and consciously, so that the luminous gush of glory, which he awakened, would fall as a blessing from heaven upon Mother Earth! A plethora of eminent patriots in a decisive

(43) «Students of Maratha history, and the history of the Western Coast generally cannot ignore the Goa records».

(44) «Is burning, the enormous volcano of political passions. The Indian continent, once inert and silent - is now a nationality that gains civic consciousness [...] Unquestionably: - the sacrifice, self-denial and altruism of its heroic children. It is moral communism representing the quintessence of Equality and Fraternity, which the sweet Nazarene preached at the top of Golgotha».

advancement of altruism (Joaquim da Rosa, Here and There, *The Anglo-Lusitano*, 7th July 1934: 7).

Conclusive summary

The mediation of the periodical press in this study is fully justified, since it was the main medium of the written word and transcription of oralities, a privileged source of dissemination and transmission of culture at the time. As we have been proving by using an example from the Goan case, the cultural and political figure of the intellectual, has led us to a new understanding of the global colonial space and to the unavoidable place it occupied in the history over the last centuries.

The Portuguese dictatorship legislation and repressive behaviour led, as we have seen, to the beginning of a political culture of contestation that mobilized several opposition fronts, and promoted alliances and networks of intellectual militant action, which fought in the name of freedom and liberation, by various means and proposing different solutions, throughout the whole of the Portuguese empire. The Goan intelligentsia was soon recognized by a regular production of an intervention journalism, and after surveys carried out through the Goan periodical press, it became evident, that this figure of the engaged intellectual connected to networks and movements, was indeed active. This press occupied a fundamental place in the recognition of contact and rupture networks, and in the intellectual mapping of opposition to the dictatorship.

The special issue of the 48th anniversary of the *O Anglo-Lusitano* of 7th of July 1934, worked here as a sampling, a case study of the cultural impact caused by the Colonial Act among Goan intellectual elites acting both in Goa and Bombay. The immediate and future consequences of the imperial idea were dismantled by various authors in the commemorative issue, highlighting the scientific impossibility of something, government or people, be able to possess imperial and coloniser essences, and even more, claim the constitutionality of this essence. Politically forced uniformity, with the emptying of intermediate local powers and the colonial legislation that preceded it, undermined the democratic principle of equality and citizenship which were already part of the political agenda of the Goan elite, with deep traditions of criticism and debate. The approach, which had

been cemented with British India, and the collage of many of the autonomic claims and forms of struggle of the freedom fighters movements, was also substantially demonstrated in this study, as well as, along this line, those who defended that the liberation of Goa could not pass either by the statutes of autonomy or independence, but by the adhesion to a future Indian Union free from the domination of the empires.

We saw also a perspective that was reaching the same political conclusions departing from the field of culture. The right to one's own culture appears like a political right, in connection with the right of integral and democratic citizenship, respecting the diversity of times and places, in contrast to the one offered to the citizens of the empires by the colonial states. The originality of Goa's identity was also presented in an Orientalist reading, as a model of encounters between East and West and with the mission of creating syntheses that would bring together the best of each of these civilizational references. The idea of cultural syntheses extended to the scientific study of the history of Goa, still to be done, and as we presented in the context of the updated post-colonial debate, the historical interlacing of the various histories and cultures that traversed the history of a place was defended as a principle of the historical research. In this way culture, literature and the periodical press, starting from a common trunk, were treated as means of cultural and national resilience and resurgence, in addition with the use of vernacular languages. The press and the journalistic style were already the reflection of a globalised modernity and, literature was made to be the vehicle of appeal for social changes denouncing through the publication of the literary text in the press, the dramas of gender, crossed with the limitations that the castes and classes were introducing. In this context, the intellectual was defined as the one who linked culture and politics, increasingly assuming the role of interlocutor between the people and the power.

We can therefore demonstrate from the contextualized study of this anniversary issue of *O Anglo-Lusitano*, through the participation of intellectuals and their newspapers, the existence of a Goan current against the dictatorship, which since 1930 was assuming a political culture of opposition and resistance, against the repressive measures of the Portuguese government. Several solutions and alternatives were still under discussion, but by this example, it became clearer that there was a settled democratic culture in Goa, that was incompatible with the worldviews of the authoritarian regime in Lisbon.

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