

# **Pasts and Perspectives: Analyzing the Historiography of Goan Resistance against Colonial Rule**

A Dissertation for

Course code and Course Title: HIS 651: Dissertation

Credits: 16

Submitted in partial fulfillment of Master's Degree in History

by

**VAIBHAV VISHWAMBAR GAYAK**

Seat Number: 22P0150061

ABC ID: 814255976136

PRN: 201904078

Under the Supervision of

**VINOD KANKONKAR**

**D. D. KOSAMBI SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES AND BEHAVIOURAL STUDIES**

**HISTORY**



**GOA UNIVERSITY**  
**DATE: APRIL 2024**

Examined by: *Vinod Konkankar*



### DECLARATION BY STUDENT

I hereby declare that the data presented in this Dissertation report entitled, "Pasts and Perspectives: Analyzing the Historiography of Goan Resistance Against Colonial Rule" is based on the results of investigations carried out by me in the Master Of Arts History at the D. D. Kosambi School Of Social Sciences And Behavioural Studies, Goa University under the supervision of Asst.Prof. Vinod Omu Kankonkar and the same has not been submitted elsewhere for the award of a degree or diploma by me. Further, I understand that Goa University or its authorities will not be responsible for the correctness of observations / experimental or other findings given the dissertation.

I hereby authorize the University authorities to upload this dissertation on the dissertation repository or anywhere else as the UGC regulations demand and make it available to anyone as needed.



Vaibhav Gayak

Seat No.: 22P0150061

Date: April 2024

Place: Goa University

## COMPLETION CERTIFICATE

This is to certify that the dissertation report "Pasts and Perspectives: Analyzing the Historiography of Goan Resistance Against Colonial Rule" is a bonafide work carried out by Mr. Vaibhav Vishwambar Gayak under my supervision in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the degree of Master of Arts in the Discipline History at the D. D. Kosambi School Of Social Sciences And Behavioural Studies, Goa University.

Signature and Name of Supervising Teacher

Date: 19/4/2024

Vinod Konkankar



Signature of Dean of the School/HoD

Date: 19/04/2024

Place: Goa University

School/Department Stamp



## **CONTENTS**

<b>Chapters</b>	<b>Particulars</b>	<b>Page Numbers</b>
	Preface	i
	Acknowledgements	ii
	Abstract	iii
1	Introduction	
	1.1 Background	1
	1.2 Aims and Objectives	4
	1.3 Research Problem	4
	1.4 Hypothesis	4
	1.5 Scope	5
	1.6 Relevance	5
	1.7 Literature Review	6
	1.8 Methodology	15
	1.9 Scheme of Chapters	16
2	Local Resistance to Religious Persecution	18
	2.1 Background to the Revolt	19
	2.2 The Cuncolim Revolt of 1583	21
	2.3 Colonialism and Resistance	23
	2.4 Early Colonial and Missionary Accounts	27
	2.5 Social and Religious Perspectives	30
	2.6 Economic Perspective	38

<b>Chapters</b>	<b>Particulars</b>	<b>Page Numbers</b>
3	Historiography of the Conspiracy of 1787	41
	3.1 Narrative of the Conspiracy	43
	3.2 Imperialist Interpretation	45
	3.3 The Nativist Approach	48
	3.4 Global Perspective	51
	3.5 Socio-economic Perspective	52
4	Rane Revolts and Related Historiography	63
	4.1 Rane Revolts	65
	4.2 Early Colonial Portrayals	67
	4.3 Pre-liberation Writings	70
	4.4 Post- liberation Narratives	73
	4.5 Connection with Oral History	78
	4.6 The Recent Writings about Revolts	80
	4.7 Rane Revolts Feudal or National	83
5	Historiography of 18 <sup>th</sup> June Movement	86
	5.1 Analyzing Differing Perspectives	88
6	Conclusion	101
7	Bibliography	105

## **PREFACE**

*“The writing of history reflects the interests, predilections, and even prejudices of a given generation.”<sup>1</sup> - John Hope Franklin*

This quote serves as a motivation to critically analyze historical narratives to know how past generations have shaped the course of history. Pursuing my Master’s degree in History at Goa University under the research component for the degree we were supposed to submit a dissertation on the topic which was related to Goa on our personal choice. So, I decided to take up research work in the field of analysis of Historiography limiting my focus to select resistance movements against the colonial rule in Goa. The study is titled **“Pasts and Perspectives: Analyzing the Historiography of Goan Resistance against Colonial Rule”**. Personally as a student of history in my early years, I had a fascination towards the anti-colonial movements. Also, various historical works amazed me so I decided to further study these events from their historiographical aspect to know the various perceptions of these revolts.

To fulfill the objectives of this study the researcher needed to have a particular methodology that would help in the completion of the study which involves studying the works based on the events undertaken in the study, critically analyzing these historical accounts to gain more knowledge as well as insights into the motivations and biases of the author as well as comparative analysis to see how various historians have looked at a particular event. Historiography helps to understand how societies and their people have interpreted and understood their histories over time which also became a guiding force for me and has helped me to know more about Goa and its glorious past. I am very much grateful for the opportunity that came my way and led me to study the past with a critical mind and uncover various ways it has been looked at by different scholars.

---

<sup>1</sup>Franklin, John Hope. "Quotations by John Hope Franklin." Bay State Banner, April 1, 2009. Accessed April 18, 2024.

<https://baystatebanner.com/2009/04/01/quotations-by-john-hope-franklin/>

## **Acknowledgment**

I am very much grateful to all those who have helped me to complete this dissertation and will always be indebted for all the blessings endowed upon me.

First and foremost, I would like to thank God for being with me in every step I took for this study and for helping me complete my research.

I would like to convey my heartfelt gratitude towards my guide, Mr. Vinod Omu Kankonkar, Assistant Prof. in History, D.D. Kosambi School of Social Sciences and Behavioural Studies, Goa University for his mentorship, insights, and unwavering support. Your guidance has been influential in shaping my research and academic growth.

I would also like to extend my sincere gratitude to all the faculty members of the History Department, especially Dr. Parag Parobo, Dr. Seema Risbud, Dr. Pratima Kamat, Dr. Nagendra Rao, Dr. Nalini Naik, and Ms. Sneha Ghadi for their valuable suggestions and encouragement.

I am greatly indebted to Mrs. K C Lakshmi Devi, PhD student in the Department of History, Goa University for her valuable insights as well as guidance on my topic.

I am extremely grateful to the institutions that have helped me find sources for my study such as Goa University Library, Krishnadas Shyama State Central Library, and Goa State Archives.

I am grateful to my parents, whose unwavering love, encouragement, and support have been evident throughout this journey of dissertation. Their belief in me has been my greatest source of strength.

And lastly thanks to my friends as well as all those who were involved in the efforts as well as collaborations to complete this dissertation, I will always be grateful and indebted to you all.

## **ABSTRACT**

Early resistance to colonial rule was a result of the oppressive policies of the Portuguese government. Goans have resisted foreign rule through the methods of resistance and resorting to violence from the 16<sup>th</sup> century onwards. These grievances of the people were based on socio-political and religious interference by the Portuguese government. People have revolted in various instances against the unjust treatment of the colonial government. Although these movements were not directed toward Independence but still served as a stimulus for the later events of the Goan Freedom Struggle.

This dissertation studies the historiography of the resistance movements against the colonial rule in Goa and aims to uncover the different events of history. It will involve studying the various sources as well as scholarly narratives to offer an extensive understanding of the events that challenged the Portuguese rule in Goa. The research will contain the evolution of historical narratives as well as the development of various interpretations over the years. It will critically assess the works for challenges and biases and will provide limitations within the scholarly writings. By assessing the existing works this dissertation will provide a deeper as well as comprehensive understanding of the resistance in Goan history.

## **KEYWORDS:**

**PERSPECTIVES, PERSONAL BIAS, RESISTANCE, HISTORIOGRAPHY, CRITICAL ANALYSIS**



## **CHAPTER I**

### **INTRODUCTION**

#### **1.1 Background**

History is the study and interpretation of past events and human experiences as designed, analyzed, and presented by historians. It recognizes historical narratives that are shaped by the diverse perspectives, biases, and methodologies of those who write about the past. Historiography is the study of these methods, interpretations, and perspectives used by historians in writing about a particular period or event of history. It is generally how history is written and understood by different scholars. Historians engage in critical examination of historical sources to inquire about their reliability and come up with questions to uncover assumptions, and biases and contribute to a more detailed understanding of the past.

The Portuguese had established their control in Goa in 1510 initially as traders but the enmity between the Hindu and Muslim kings helped them to establish themselves as rulers. Having gained their foothold in Goan lands the conquerors concentrated on stabilizing their domination and decided upon the denationalization of Goans as the best method of separation from the rest of the people of India. In pursuance of this policy, people were forced to convert on a mass level to Christianity. Temples and Mosques were burnt down and all the wealth confiscated those who resisted were either killed or chose to flee leaving behind all their possessions. The Portuguese rule was imposed on the Goan people in a tyrannical manner with brutalities along with physical and mental coercion.

However, tyranny failed to cut off Goans from remaining Indians as the majority of Goans remained Indians through their way of life, customs, traditions, and language. Goa a former Portuguese colony shares a long and glorious past. The liberation of Goa marked the end of century-long Portuguese colonial rule and brought independence to the region. The struggle started in the form of early resistance to colonial rule by locals basically to safeguard their religious, political, and economic interests. The movement gained momentum in the 20<sup>th</sup> century with the entry of various organizations with their violent and non-violent methods to try to free Goa and demand liberation from Portuguese rule. The movement eventually succeeded through diplomatic efforts and armed resistance and Goa was annexed by India in December 1961.

Historical works play a very important role in our understanding of the past and serve as primary sources of information. Scholars document the events of the past, interpret and analyze historical events, and shape the narratives through their perspectives. They challenge as well as correct misconceptions through research and analysis and contribute to a more accurate portrayal of the events. These works serve as educational resources and contribute to helping individuals develop an understanding of historical events.

The Freedom Struggle of Goa and the related historical works provide us with an in-depth analysis of the events that led to its liberation from Portuguese rule. These works provide the diverse perspectives of the various prominent historians as well as scholars who have studied these events within the broader historical background. These works are also helpful in identifying key individuals and their role in the struggle and help to preserve oral narratives and experiences. By providing various information and insights the historical works contribute to a more precise understanding of the past.

This dissertation studies the historiography of resistance to colonial rule and aims to uncover the various periods of the Goan history. It will involve a thorough examination of the various sources and also the scholarly narratives and will study the historiographic view to offer an extensive understanding of the events leading up to Goa's liberation from Portuguese colonial rule. The research therefore will contain the evolution of historical narratives surrounding the Goan resistance movement against colonial rule by tracing the development in the various interpretations and the methods used by the scholars over time. It will also critically assess the works for various challenges and biases present in these sources and will also provide their limitations within the scholarly material. By evaluating the existing works this dissertation will contribute to a deeper and more comprehensive understanding of the events of the Goan freedom struggle.

## **1.2 Research Objectives**

- 1) To examine the evolution of the narratives by carefully analyzing the sources on Goan history.
- 2) To examine how different historians have treated the same topic in different ways.
- 3) To pose new questions on existing works and analyze these questions through the careful examination of the historical literature.
- 4) To assess the works critically for limitations, voids, and strengths.

## **1.3 Identification of Research Problem**

- The research problem will revolve around differing interpretations over time and personal bias in the existing historical works.
- Studying some of the events in Goa's freedom struggle and their depiction in different works as well as their impact on shaping history.

## **1.4 Hypothesis**

The Historiography of Goan's resistance to colonial rule has gone through various shifts in interpretation over time, influenced by various perspectives and biases.

### **1.5 Scope of the Study**

The Study will cover the history of Goa under Portuguese rule specifically from 1580-1961. It will mainly deal with early resistance to Portuguese rule till the Civil Disobedience movement. This research therefore aims to study the historiography of the resistance movements against the colonial rule in Goa by analyzing the various historical sources, evaluating the various interpretations by the historians, and also looking at how these perspectives have shaped Goan history. Also, it will highlight gaps as well as the evolution of interpretations over time.

### **1.6 Relevance of the Study**

Many scholars have written about Goa and its struggle against Portuguese rule. However, this study aims to understand history by critically examining various scholarly historical interpretations that have evolved. It will also shed light on the differing perspectives of various scholars and how they have treated the same topic in different ways. It will address gaps, challenge existing assumptions, and provide a comprehensive approach to interpreting historical events. It will also help to provide an understanding of historical learning and is likely to raise new questions and paths for exploration during the study.

## 1.7 Literature Review

*A Revolt of the Natives of Goa 1787: The Forgotten Martyrs* written by Celsa Pinto revolves around the revolt of 1787 popularly known as the conspiracy of the Pinto's. This work is based on the Devassa records and tries to challenge the colonial stance of the revolt of 1787 written by Cunha Rivara.<sup>1</sup> This book tries to record the minute details of the event of 1787 along with the accused and witnesses. The Colonial view of Cunha Rivara tries to justify the Portuguese actions against the people who participated in the event by showcasing the people as conspirators who persuaded local people with lies and boasted of support from foreign powers who hatched a heinous revolt against foreign powers. Brazil was a colony of Portugal which witnessed the sparks of the Goan 1787 uprising and a comparative analysis of both the revolts is presented in the work. The books tend to lend underlying assumptions regarding this revolt and conclude that it was a pure and simple revolt led by locals to end Portuguese rule in Goa.

*Goa And The Revolt Of 1787* by Joaquim Heliodoró da Cunha Rivara the book speaks of the conspiracy of 1787 and provides a detailed account of it. Cunha Rivara was considered a documentalist and historian of Portuguese India and therefore the work is considered to be justifying the Portuguese actions in 1787. This book deals with an in-depth analysis of the conspiracy its beginning, progress, trials, and reflections. This book will help to make this event better known to researchers and thus can be open to re-evaluation with new linkages and evidence. But Rivara has tried to avoid the details of the inquiry and punishments and

---

<sup>1</sup>Celsa Pinto, *A Revolt of the Natives of Goa, 1787: The Forgotten Martyr*. (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2013), vi.

tortures administered to extort confessions.<sup>2</sup> Also, he has not succeeded in going beyond condemning the conspiracy and has not studied its various problems and expressions as done by the works in recent years.

*Goa's Struggle for Freedom* by P.P. Shirodkar is a work that is based on the exploration of Goa's path to independence. It reflects on the role of Portugal in the World Wars and places the narrative in the global context emphasizing the historical studies that show interconnected histories. It highlights the shift toward social history by focusing on constitutional rights civil liberties and political developments. It has also reflected upon Indian intervention and efforts to liberate Goa its method of non-violent resistance and the ideology of Gandhian principles of mass Satyagraha that ruled the time. Also, the swift action by India the Operation Vijay liberated Goa and met with very feeble resistance from Portuguese forces.<sup>3</sup>

*Farar Far (crossfire): Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony In Goa, 1510-1912* written by Pratima Kamat is a work that provides a critical and thorough analysis of the pre-1946 local resistance and is an attempt to reconstruct the history of this period. It attempts to explore socio-political themes as well as the early attempts of resistance to Portuguese rule in Goa. It talks about the popular reaction to the Portuguese policies and the form of resistance offered by the local people. The book also analyses the nature of the protests in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries against racism and the revolts of Ranes in the 19<sup>th</sup> century which is an important aspect of this book. This book is a detailed attempt to fill the historical gap of

---

<sup>2</sup>Joaquim Heliodoró da Cunha Rivara, *Goa and the Revolt of 1787*. Trans. by Renato da Cunha Soares, Ed. Charles J. Borges. (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1996), 14.

<sup>3</sup> P.P. Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*. (Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1998), 241.

pre-1946 local resistance offered to colonial rule.<sup>4</sup> As no detailed study of this period was undertaken the author has made use of archival records as well as oral sources to compose this work.

*Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences* written by Prof. B. Sheik Ali is a series of collection of essays written on the Goan freedom struggle which reflects the scholarly works of the various authors compiled together. The book has assessed several topics from the early resistance to the liberation struggle in Goa and themes like Nationalism, patriotism, Civil disobedience, etc. It has also assessed the broader context of associating this movement with the national movement and the role of women in the Goan Freedom movement.

*Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case Of Goa 1947-1961* is a Ph.D. thesis by Anita A. Raut Dessai is an important source material that reflects upon the Freedom struggle and liberation of Goa. It strives to know about the role which was played by Goan as well as Indian Nationalists in the freedom struggle. The work assesses the entry of Portuguese and their rule in Goa which is also compared to that of the British colonizers. It also discusses the various movements in the freedom struggle along with the organizational landscape and the assessment of the role of women and cast and communities that participated in the movement. The main aim of the work is to understand the role of Goan as well as Indian Nationalists in the Goan Liberation struggle. Also, it shows that the liberation struggle was

---

<sup>4</sup>Pratima Kamat, *Faarar Far(crossfire): Local Resistance To Colonial Hegemony In Goa, 1510-1912*. (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), xv.



linked to the Indian National movement which provided ideological inspiration for the liberation movement.<sup>5</sup>

*Gazetteer of the Union Territory Goa, Daman, and Diu* edited by V.T Gune is also a very important attempt made to reconstruct Goa's history from the early resistance movements to the liberation of Goa from foreign rule. It has also analyzed the constitutional and the republic that was established in Goa as a part of the colony of Portugal along with the various organizations and their role and the nationalist movements that followed in this period. The work provides a very enriching account of this freedom struggle and has touched upon several aspects of the freedom struggle. It is weaved up on the contributions of various individuals and groups who played pivotal roles in shaping the political landscape. Goa joined with the rest of Bharat on 19<sup>th</sup> December 1961 following Operation Vijay.<sup>6</sup>

*Liberation vs. Armed Aggression: The Media Response to Goa's Liberation* written by Nishtha Dessai is a work that largely deals with the medieval phase of the Goan freedom Struggle that is from 1947 to 1961. The work is relevant in the study because it deals with the nature of colonial rule in Goa and the decolonization process that followed basically about the Goa question that was looming over India. It uncovers the media response to the situation of Goa projected in Indian territories. It also deals with the satyagraha movements of 1954-55 which entailed Indians peacefully crossing the Goa international border without permission making it an act of Civil disobedience to demonstrate the artificiality of the

---

<sup>5</sup> Anita A. Raut Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa-1947-61" PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2003, 208.

<sup>6</sup> V. T. Gune, *Gazetteer of Indian Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu* (Panaji: Government Printing Press, 1979), 206.

separation of Goa from India.<sup>7</sup> The response of Indian and Portuguese governments as well as Operation Vijay.

*Sampoorna Swaraj: The Story of Goa's Liberation Struggle 1928-1961* is written by Rajan Narayan and presents a completely different view of the freedom struggle for the people. It emphasizes various incidents, occurrences as well and events and does not go upon focusing on individual contributions. This book is a careful documentation of history and has no fictional essence to it. It also focuses on the debates that were contested during the liberation phase of the Goan freedom movement highlighting the role of various other nations in the UN. It has tried to identify the Goan freedom movement in a larger context by associating it with the Indian freedom struggle and the national leaders.<sup>8</sup>

*Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961* is a work by R.P. Rao that talks about the Goan freedom struggle, the author has provided his views on the various incidents that unfolded in the history of a liberation movement. The author has dealt in a systematic and detailed manner in his narratives and has been critical of the Colonial dictatorship. He says the Satyagraha phase of the Goan freedom struggle was very important the plan was to attain freedom through non-violence.<sup>9</sup> It has also reflected upon the role of UNO and subsequent nations along with the actions which freed Goa from the yoke of Portuguese supremacy.

*Goa's Freedom Struggle selected writings of T.B. Cunha* is a work that consists of a series of his biographical notes written on the issues about Goa and related to its freedom struggle. It

---

<sup>7</sup> Nishtha Dessai, *Liberation vs. Armed Aggression : The Media response to Goa's Liberation* (Panjim: The Directorate of Art & Culture, Government of Goa, 2011), 63.

<sup>8</sup> Rajan Narayan, *Sampoorna Swaraj: The Story of Goa's Liberation 1928-1961* (Panjim: The Directorate of Art & Culture, Government of Goa, 2012), 121.

<sup>9</sup> R. P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961* (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 72.

touches upon various topics like the struggle for Civil liberties, Nationalism, Imperialism, Satyagraha, etc. The book also talks about the impact of Salazar and his Propaganda in the Goan context, Gandhian ideologies as well as T.B. Cunha's personal prison experiences during his exile.

*History of the Press in Goa* by Rekha Mishra is a Ph.D. Thesis which tells us about the historical background of Goa from the arrival of the Portuguese to its liberation in 1961. The author has touched on several aspects like the consolidation of power, trade, religion, and various others. It speaks of the different administrative institutions that Goa was under Portuguese rule that as the Monarchy, Constitutional regime, Republic Dictatorial regime, etc. The thesis also has dealt with the various events in the freedom struggle right from the early resistance to the Goan liberation.

*Goa's Struggle for Freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress Goa and Azad Gomantak Dal* is a PhD Thesis by Seema Suresh Risbud based on the two prominent organizations that participated in the Goa's freedom movement. The work deals with the establishment of these institutions and their various activities to liberate Goa from the Portuguese regime. It provides information about the organizational phase of the Goan freedom struggle and is a detailed study that highlights armed resistance, silent protests, negotiations, and networking during the freedom struggle of Goa.<sup>10</sup>

*Concise History of Goa* by Celsa Pinto deals with Goa and its historical background. The work contains the Origins of Goa, Dynasties that ruled over the Goan land with emphasis on the prominent ones. The book then focuses on the foundation and the expansion of

---

<sup>10</sup>Seema S. Risbud, "Goa's Struggle for Freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress Goa and Azad Gomantak Dal" PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2002.

Portuguese rule in India. It talks about the political, social, religious, and economic scenario of Goan land under Portuguese rule. The work has extensively dealt with the freedom struggle from the early resistance, revolts, and the reactions of the people. One among these revolts the conspiracy of the Pintos has been viewed by some historians as a second anti-colonial revolt in modern times after the American War of Independence.<sup>11</sup> It has also analyzed constitutionalism, the republic phase, the Salazar regime, the Goan struggle for freedom, and the leading freedom fighters of Goa.

#### Marathi & Konkani works

*Goa, Daman, and Diu: Swatantryaladhyacha Itihas* by Manohar Hirba Sardesai is a work that delves into the entire Goan Freedom Struggle and all the instances that led to it. It contains a great deal of facts and is written in Marathi the author has tried to focus on all the minor events involved in the freedom struggle. It is a very enriching text which gives a very detailed account of the freedom struggle. But there is an inadequate appreciation for certain events for eg. the Cuncolim revolt which is not seen in any other scholarly works.<sup>12</sup>

*Goa Muktisangram* written by Vaman Radhakrishna is a source material for assessing the Goan freedom movement written by the author who was part of the struggle. The works are based in Marathi and try to assess the Goan freedom struggle from the time of constitutional monarchy till the armed aggression which led to Goan liberation from colonial rule. The

---

<sup>11</sup> Celsa Pinto, *Concise History of Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2023), 243.

<sup>12</sup> Manohar Hirba Sardesai, *Goa, Daman and Diu: Swatantryaladhyacha Itihas* (Goa: Goa Daman and Diu Sarkar, 1986), 59.

author has tried to justify the work by bringing forward themes that were an important part of the freedom movement.<sup>13</sup>

*Ranyache Gomantakatil Agaman va Govyatil Swatantryasangram* by Jaisimhrao Abasaheb Rane Sardessai is a book that tells us about the history of Ranes of Sattari and their role in the Goan Freedom Struggle. It talks about their entry into Goa and their role in the Rane revolts that took place in Sattari against the colonial government. The author has talked about Ranes and their supremacy and there is appreciation for certain events which reflect the author's personal bias in the work.

*Swatantryapathavar* is a Marathi work written by Manohar Sardessai and is based on the Goan freedom struggle and some of its prominent events. It revolves around the different phases of the Goan freedom struggle starting from the earliest forms of resistance to the role of different organizations in the freedom struggle. It also focuses on several instances of armed resistance as well as the use of the peaceful means used during the time in the struggle.<sup>14</sup>

#### Articles and Seminar Papers

*Some Protesting Priests of Goa* written by Pratima Kamat in *Essays In Goan History* delves into the works of the priests who fought for their rights in the early resistance movements against the colonial rule. The article focuses on the life of these priests and the nature and causes of their rebellions it has attempted to analyze their actions with those of freedom fighters and whether Goans fought for independence in the early years of

---

<sup>13</sup> Vaman Radhakrishna, *Goa Muktisangram* (Pune: Sadashiv Bagatkar Smrutimala, 1989), 68.

<sup>14</sup> Manohar Sardessai, *Swatantryapathavar* (Goa: Gomantak Marathi Akademi, 1997), 3.

Portuguese rule. It also goes on to discuss the contributions of Matheus de Castro and the conspiracy of the Pinto.<sup>15</sup>

*Dr. Lohia And Goa's Freedom Struggle* is written by Sushila Sawant Mendes in the work of Teotonio D Souza's *Essays In Goan History*. It revolves around the impact and the genesis of the 1946 Civil Disobedience Movement which happened in Goa. The article revolves around the role played by Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia in igniting the spark of Goa's freedom movement in 1946. This article tries to uncover the political conditions of the time and the entry of Lohia into the political scene of Goa. It examines his efforts during the movement to attain civil liberties for the people and the events that succeeded in the coming years.<sup>16</sup>

*Foreign Jesuits And Native Resistance in Goa 1542-1759* written by Charles J. Borges is a paper that points towards the attempt of early resistance in the Goan freedom struggle made by the local priests who had grievances against the colonial government. These priests were denied positions by the Jesuits and so there was resistance offered by them. The work assesses the role of Mateus de Castro and his contribution to the early resistance in the Goan freedom struggle. It also highlights the role of native clergy in the freedom struggle of Goa.<sup>17</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> Pratima Kamat, "Some Protesting Priests of Goa", in *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 103-116.

<sup>16</sup> Sushila Sawant Mendes, "DR. Lohia and Goa's Freedom Struggle", in *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 173-183.

<sup>17</sup> Charles J. Borges, "Foreign Jesuits and Native Resistance in Goa 1542-1759", in *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 69-79.

*Cuncolim: Weaving a Tale of Resistance* is an article that narrates the incidents of 1583 called the Cuncolim revolt. The Gaonkars of Cuncolim were subjected to conversion and were involved in the killing of the Jesuit priests but retained their rights over their hereditary lands. The article reflects the attempt at resistance directed at the church's attempt to assume complete control over the religion. It also shows that the resistance need not always be violent, dramatic, and explosive but can be low-key and persistent.<sup>18</sup>

### **1.8 Research Methodology and Design**

The study focuses on the Historiography of the resistance movements against colonial rule through the works of various writers. It will mainly involve the use of sources that are based on the resistance against colonial rule in Goa. These secondary sources will involve different scholarly works, journal articles, books, PhD thesis, and other e-sources based on the topic. A careful study will be done to get knowledge of the freedom movement in its entirety. Comparative analysis will be used to show how different historians have interpreted the events of the period. Along with this critical analysis of the text will help to get a broader picture of the period so that the researcher can address existing as well as new questions and issues through these narratives.

Research facilities and resources from the Goa University Library, Krishnadas Shyama Goa State Central Library along with other significant institutional libraries will be utilized for the Research. Apart from this, the Goa University computer lab will be used to gain various e-resources required in the study.

---

<sup>18</sup> Rowena Robinson, "Cuncolim: Weaving a Tale of Resistance." *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, no. 7 (1997): 334–40.

This particular research aims to be completed within 4 months. Earlier the time was utilized for the Literature review and research conceptualization and literature review the next few months were spent in analyzing and compiling the data acquired from all the previous months. Out of these four months, the next two months were used for reviewing the various materials, and sources gathered, and for the writing purpose. Also, the final corrections and verification will be done in the process. Approximately completion of two chapters a month will be the aim of the researcher but it will depend on the progress.

### **Scheme of Chapters**

Chapter 1 - The first chapter presents a preface, an introduction to the study and its purpose. It will provide the scope and relevance of the research, the research objectives, the research methodology, the sources consulted as well as the review of books and articles about the study and scheme of chapters.

Chapter 2 – The second chapter will deal with the Local resistance to the Religious Persecution that will be the Cuncolim Revolt of 1583 in Goa. It will also deal with the Social and political conditions of the time and also focus on the religious aspects that prevailed at the time. The discontent of the people and how it led to setting the stage for later movements and resistance against the colonial rule.

Chapter 3 - The Third chapter will deal with the analysis of the priestly protest of 1787 and the related historiography. It will therefore contain narratives of the conspiracy, Imperialist interpretations of the conspiracy, the Nativist approach, Global perspective and socio-economic perspectives about the revolt.



Chapter 4 - The Fourth chapter will assess the Rane revolts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century and the related historiography. It will specifically look at the Rane revolts and their presentation in the colonial accounts, pre-liberation writings, post liberation writings, connection with oral history, and their nature.

Chapter 5 – The Fifth Chapter will discuss the event of the 18 June 1946 movement in the Goan freedom struggle. The chapter will contain an analysis of the perspectives of various scholars on the struggle for the civil liberties movement in Goa.

Chapter 6 -The conclusion will deal with summarization of key findings from the analysis of the various works. Suggestions for future research on various other aspects in this field.

Chapter 7 – This chapter will contain the bibliography used in the completion of the study.

## **Chapter II**

### **Local Resistance To Religious Persecution**

Goa experienced various ruling dynasties in the early medieval period which included the Kadambas, the Vijayanagara Empire, the Bahamani Sultanate as well as the Adilshahi. The turning point in the Goan history came with the arrival of the Portuguese in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Led by the navigator Vasco da Gama the Portuguese explorers first set their foot on Indian shores at Calicut in Kerala, which opened the way for European imperialists in the Indian Ocean. Under the leadership of Alfonso de Albuquerque in 1510, the Portuguese captured Goa from the Bijapur Sultanate and established their foothold which remained for the next four centuries.

Portuguese imperial rule in Goa was marked by exploitation, assimilation as well as the imposition of their culture.<sup>1</sup> The Portuguese wanted to take advantage of Goa's location for trade as well as commerce and went on to dominate the local population and exploit them. So their policies thus had forcible conversion to Christianity, the imposition of taxes as well as land seizure they also provoked the sentiments of the local people which would lead to resentment and resistance from the local people of Goa.

The people of Goa thus attempted various resistance movements to stop the Portuguese domination and to assert their autonomy in Goa. They engaged in acts of defiance against colonial rule, wanting to preserve their culture as well as identity, religious beliefs, and their social and economic privileges. Though these early attempts were localized and were short

---

<sup>1</sup> Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far(crossfire): Local Resistance To Colonial Hegemony In Goa, 1510-1912* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 43.

they laid the foundations for the larger as well as the future uprisings against the Portuguese rule in the coming years. Also, it was these struggles for freedom against imperialist domination that remain in the memory of the Goans even in recent times, which therefore serves as an example of resistance as well as the resilience of the people.

In this chapter, we will be looking at the Historiography of one of the earliest resistance movements against Portuguese colonial rule the Cuncolim Revolt of 1583. The chapter will critically examine different scholarly works on this event of Goan history which will bring out the diverse interpretations, key themes as well and narratives that have helped to shape the understanding of this significant event and also the study of colonialism and resistance.

## **2.1 Background to the Revolt**

The Portuguese had come to the Indian oceans to find spices and to spread Christianity, therefore, Christianization and cultural imposition became the main objectives of their Imperial rule in Goa. Goa which was under different powers came under the single power of Europeans who practised religious oppression in spreading the faith in the region of Goa. The Portuguese upon entering the Goan lands initially did not touch the local customs and practices of the Hindu religion which was in the majority. They came up with the policies of association and assimilation to gather people's support.<sup>2</sup>

These conditions continued for a short time as the Portuguese started promoting Christianity in India. So there was destruction of a large number of temples and Hindu clerics were forced out of their jobs. The state worked along with the church during this period for the evangelization of Goa and this, in turn, led to the Goa Inquisition in 1560.

---

<sup>2</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 39.

Goan Christians were forced to adapt to the Portuguese way of life and give up their traditional way of life. The Converts were considered part of European civilization and had to therefore accept the European lifestyle as well as their supremacy. The Jesuit Orientalists made efforts to study the local language and compile works in them, there was the destruction of the Konkani literature and Roman script came into place.<sup>3</sup> The only motive was to maintain cultural hegemony and political power. Therefore the influence of Jesuits in the society was evident during the 16<sup>th</sup> century in Goa.

In 1540 therefore there was a launch of an attack on the local religion wherein the Hindu temples were violently destroyed and their money looted to build the churches of the Portuguese government. In 1559 we came across the anti-Hindu legislations and the Goa Inquisition that followed in 1560 which demolished the Hindu faith in Goa. The Goa Inquisition described as being The Terrible Tribunal for the East brought in its wake a fresh wave of religious disabilities for the Hindus.<sup>4</sup> The sanctions that followed were harsh as people received punishments for criticizing conversion, they were expelled at times and their properties were confiscated, Hindus were dismissed from their offices and traditional Gaonkari rights were refused to them. The disobedience of these decrees was rewarded with fines, flogging, and life sentences to the distant lands. Punitive, rather than persuasive measures were adopted in additional adherents to the word of Christ.<sup>5</sup>

So all these led to the emigration of Hindus who wanted to protect their faith, culture, and traditions. The popular term “flight of the deities” is applied for this instance wherein the

---

<sup>3</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 43.

<sup>4</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 48.

<sup>5</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 47.

deities were shifted by the people to neighboring areas ruled by the Adil Shahis and Sondekar Rajas to protect them from the Portuguese demolition. Those who stayed back offered direct resistance to colonial rule mainly through the non-payment of taxes and also to the use of force. Several early resistance movements thus formed part of people's resistance to colonial rule and served as pre-cursor to the very famous Cuncolim revolt of the 16<sup>th</sup> century.

Mhall Pai Vernekar plotted one of the earliest attempts at overthrowing the Portuguese rule with the help of Adil Shah in an to ensure the liberation of his fellow country's people. He was a powerful and respected Sardessai from Verna who was disgusted with the Portuguese religious policy and alien rule and wanted to overthrow them.<sup>6</sup> However, his involvement was thus discovered by the Portuguese which forced him to flee from Goa to Cochin. Similar revolts occurred in the regions of Chorão where people reacted against the government by protests of civil disobedience which were economically injurious to the colonial government. Also, the villagers of Colla in Salcete refused to pay taxes in response to the persecutory policies of the government. There were also protests recorded in the Ilhas region as an extension of civil disobedience in the wake of the anti-Hindu decrees of 1559.<sup>7</sup>

## **2.2 The Cuncolim Revolt of 1583**

The Provincial Council of 1567 and 1573 made the colonial rule intolerant towards the people of Goa especially the Hindus from Goa. The religious persecution had made the people stage several revolts against the Portuguese government. The destruction of temples by the Portuguese had created havoc among the Hindus, particularly in the villages of

---

<sup>6</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 50.

<sup>7</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 51.

Salcete where the Portuguese authorities had curbed the social rights of the people. Thus persecuted Hindus of Salcete fled to the south of rebellion which was the village of Cuncolim.<sup>8</sup>

The villages of Salcete thus refused to accept the new rules passed by the government and started to revolt by refusing to pay taxes. The murder of Estevão Rodrigues brought new sanctions for the people of the villages and people's rebellion against the Portuguese government was crushed and peace was maintained in the region. However, the people once again took the charge of rebellion in their hands thereby beating a messenger on the suspicion of carrying anti-Hindu dispatches.<sup>9</sup>

The Viceroy had ordered attacks on the villages and set the temples on fire. But the people returned and rebuilt their temples which were once again destroyed all these led the people to show their support towards the Colonial government. Though the peace returned to these lands Conversion continued. In July 1583 the visit of Fr. Aquaviva in Cuncolim brought back the tension between the Colonisers and the local people. The priests were asked to convince the people to convert and erect churches in the land. The Hindus on perceiving the intentions of the missionaries and remembering their earlier grievances killed them. This in turn led to the flight of people to the Bijapuri lands and thus the Portuguese government invited the villagers to the Assolna fort for Parleys<sup>10</sup>. Upon entering they were killed and only one of them seemed to escape whereas others were assassinated and the village land was handed over to the missionaries.

---

<sup>8</sup> Délio de Mendonça, *Conversions and citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610*. (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 2002), 274 .

<sup>9</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 54.

<sup>10</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 55.

### 2.3 Colonialism and Resistance

The themes of colonialism and resistance can be focused on when studying the early anti-colonial revolts in Goa during the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The early resistance to the Portuguese colonial rule shows the discontent that rose among the people on account of the different levels of discrimination they were subjected to by the Portuguese state.

Colonial rule during the period of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries was thus marked by the oppression of the people by the colonial powers. Also, the initial response to it was limited as the Portuguese did not interfere with the local Goan traditions and customs as long as they were loyal to the Portuguese crown. However, the situation changed in the 1540s when the imperial powers began implementing aggressive conversion policies and making drastic changes in agrarian relations and taxation policy.<sup>11</sup>

Resistance to all these changes came up, particularly as a response to the forced conversion by Jesuit missionaries. The example of the Cuncolim Revolt in 1583 is a significant case of resistance against the conversion policy and defending their rights by the people. The revolt was initially sparked by the destruction of Hindu temples by Portuguese officials, leading to a violent confrontation between the villagers, missionaries, and the Portuguese forces.<sup>12</sup>

The consequences of resistance against Portuguese rule and conversion efforts were very harsh and tragic. The villagers of Cuncolim despite their brief success against Portuguese forces had to face severe punishment like confiscation of lands and properties, suppression

---

<sup>11</sup> B.S. Shastry, "Freedom struggle in Goa: Its Nature and Phases", in *Goa wins freedom reflections and reminiscences*, (Bambolim: Goa University, 1986), 33-35.

<sup>12</sup> Shastry, *Freedom struggle in Goa*, 35.

of their Gaonkari rights, and violence which followed in the later years. The social and economic restrictions imposed on non-Christians who refused conversion included exclusion from public offices, prohibition from practicing their religious rituals, and confiscation of their properties. This shows the very harsh tactics used by the Colonial authorities to force conversion and maintain control of the indigenous population. The economic problems occurred because of the implementation of the oppressive laws which led to resistance by the farmers who had abandoned their lands thus resulting in disruptions in the agricultural as well as the commercial activities and therefore loss of revenue to the government.<sup>13</sup>

The Colonial rule therefore highlights the power struggle and the tensions during this period of history which led to the encounters between the state as well as the people. The account of the missionaries often shows the native resistance as the acts of the Devil as they were influenced by the colonial rulers and therefore viewed the indigenous practices and beliefs through the perceptions of the Western culture and superiority.<sup>14</sup> The main issue that was behind the local resistance was not just religious but was also rather economic as well as political. The imperialists and the native dominant class of the land used the symbol of religion to fulfill their vested interests.

Also, the destruction of the temples, as well as the imposition of Christianity, were seen as threats to establish economic as well as social privileges which thus led to the resistance from the local population. Conflicts within the society in Goa's history were found deeply rooted in caste and class which therefore played a significant role in shaping the people's

---

<sup>13</sup> Shastri, *Freedom struggle in Goa*, 35.

<sup>14</sup> Teotónio R. DeSouza, "Why Cuncolim Martyrs?." *Jesuits in India in Historical Perspective*: 37-47.



response to the colonial rule. The conversions also did not end the exploitation from the colonial powers or the local elites as this brought in new forms of exploitation which therefore brought new inequalities as well as tensions within the Goan society.<sup>15</sup>

The presence of Jesuit missionaries and their ways to establish Christianity in Goa represents the colonial mission of Western powers, particularly Portugal, who imposed their religion and culture on indigenous people. The missionary activities of conversion are seen as acts of imperialism aimed at removing native culture and traditions through the imposition of European customs. The violent response by the Hindu population to the missionary presence highlights the resistance to the colonial intervention which therefore was a threat to the indigenous religious practices as well as the beliefs.

The native response in the form of violence and reaction towards the missionaries thus included an attack on the Fathers as well as their companions which shows the strong reaction to colonial oppression and the cultural imposition. Also, the refusal of the Hindu ghadi and the villagers to accept the missionaries as well as their message thus presents a strong attitude against the colonial authorities as well, as their attempts at conversion. The massacre of the Fathers as well as their companions, shows a form of resistance against the colonial religious policies as well as the suppression of the indigenous culture as well as the religious practices. The severe consequences faced by the indigenous people who resisted the colonial rule including the violent uprisings and the massacres of the local Gaonkars highlight the harsh methods employed by the colonial forces to maintain their control.<sup>16</sup>

---

<sup>15</sup> De,Souza, *Why Cuncolim Martyrs*, 39.

<sup>16</sup> Celsa Pinto, *Concise History of Goa*(Saligao: Goa 1556, 2023) , 239.

Colonialism in these places is thus shown as a force that implied its religion and culture and thus destructed the indigenous authority, restricted the local governance, and also propagated the faith of Christianity which thus shows that the indigenous communities were denied rights and were marginalized in their political and social affairs.<sup>17</sup>

Resistance came as a response to the colonial atrocities which had acts of rebellion and defiance against the colonial authorities. The different forms of resistance included uprisings, various protests as well and violent acts against the colonial government were symbols of Civil disobedience that were carried on by the villagers who were frustrated by the religious persecution and economic exploitation, the people thus wanted to boycott the Portuguese supremacy<sup>18</sup> The Cuncolim revolt, which resulted in the massacre of missionaries in July 1583, serves as the best example of indigenous resistance against colonial power.

Resistance as we see was a struggle against Portuguese rule that had both direct resistance as well as forms of opposition. The Hindus in Goa fought against the colonial policies through acts of civil disobedience, by defying the conversion efforts also they protected their religious symbols and went on to transport their deities to the neighboring villages to avoid persecution. The resistance was sustained over centuries and remained in the cultural history of Goan society, challenging the subordination and domination in India.

Also, the role of dominant caste groups is evident in leading the resistance movement, and the contributions of marginalized communities who also resisted colonial oppression

---

<sup>17</sup> Délio, De Mendonça. *Conversions and citizenry: Goa under Portugal, 1510-1610*. (Concept Publishing Company, 2002), 277.

<sup>18</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 53.

often don't have much voice in the historical works.<sup>19</sup> Cuncolim revolt was not an isolated event but part of a broader event of resistance that emerged in the Goan history under Portuguese rule although it happened in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and was not directed towards the motive of Independence as such but was to address the grievances of the local peoples. The earlier rebellions as well as the movements for freedom therefore emphasize the continuation of resistance efforts directed towards colonial rule over the years. Colonialism was thus a force that controlled the people and went on with Lusitanizing policies on the people of Goa. These harsh policies were directed towards the locals and their conversion to Christianity and were towards eradicating their traditional culture and practices.

## **2.4 Early Colonial and Missionary Accounts**

Early colonial accounts are very important as they offer views about European exploration as well as conquest thereby providing the details of their encounters with the local population and also the establishment of the order. However, they often serve the Colonial purpose of justifying European domination. Missionary accounts thus highlight cultural changes but reflect the Colonial ideology and superiority.

*Documenta Indica* mentions this revolt in the book which has a work named "Historici Relatio de Martyribus Salsetanis" and sees the event from the Colonial perspective of the colonial author. The narrative thus tells about the events of the Cuncolim revolt and the killings of the priests. In this narrative, the author mentions that Father Rudolfo Acquaviva along with his companions went to the land of Cuncolim to spread faith but was indeed murdered by the gentiles of Cuncolim. The villages had the practice of idolatry and resisted

---

<sup>19</sup> Paul, Axelrod, and Michelle A. Fuerch, "Flight of the deities: Hindu resistance in Portuguese Goa." *Modern Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (1996):406-410.

the efforts of those who tried to challenge them. Father Acquaviva and his companion thus wanted to build churches and convert the local people. They were brutally killed by the locals and their bodies were mutilated. The author in this work has shown that the Gentiles were cruel and therefore killed the priests who had come there to spread the faith. This work therefore represents the colonial side of the revolt and the incidents that were prior like the attacks launched by the Portuguese on the villagers have been not much mentioned and are shown in a positive light justifying the colonial response.<sup>20</sup>

Also, it mentions that the villagers had killed the Portuguese officials and soldiers and they were not ready to pay the tax to the government. The author has therefore legitimized the rule of the colonial government and has portrayed the local gentiles as the culprits of the event. The Fathers who died in Cuncolim were revered as Martyrs and therefore commemorated as reported by the author but the 16 Gaonkars have no mention in the work. As a source, this becomes an important and early account of the revolt but the author in his portrayal has clearly shown bias in his narrative and therefore it supports the Colonial government.

Diogo do Couto a Portuguese Chronicler has mentioned this event in his work *Da Ásia*, Década X. He talks about how the people of Cuncolim and Salcete killed Father Rodolfo Acquaviva and his four other companions and the reasons for these massacres. The author has written about the aspects of religion and the martyrdom of the priests. He further shows the missionaries as virtuous as well as humble, martyred for their faith, and the people as barbaric and savage. His account therefore highlights the religious as well as cultural

---

<sup>20</sup> Sebastiani Gonçalves S. I., "Historici Relatio de Martyribus Salsetanis" in *Documenta Indica vol. XII* ed. Joseph Wicki S.I. (Romae: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1972), 974-994.

problems existing between the natives as well as the missionaries and shows the struggle as a conflict between Christianity as well as idol worship. Also, the account thus honored the martyred missionaries and the Catholic Church.<sup>21</sup>

In the work *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul* the events of 1583 are presented by the author in an account with details of the events that surround the martyrdom of several Jesuit missionaries and those who accompanied them in Cuncolim, 1583. The account presented here thus is written from a Christian or Catholic perspective, which is likely by a member of the Jesuit who was someone sympathetic to their cause which was conversion. The missionaries presented here in the work by the author as virtuous and holy persons who are dedicated to their mission of spreading Christianity in Goa, despite all the violence they faced and the hostilities from the local Hindu population.<sup>22</sup> Those missionaries who died here are thus depicted as Martyrs who willingly sacrificed their lives for the faith, and thus their deaths served as a testament to their commitment to God.

The natives thus are shown in a negative view as someone who were aggressive and violent and attacked the missionaries because of their hatred towards Christianity and their desire to protect their religion. The author also writes about the brutality of the attacks and describes in detail the violence inflicted upon the missionaries and their companions. Overall, this perspective presented in this work is more sympathetic to the missionaries and their mission, making their deaths look like heroic acts of faith. The native Hindus are depicted in these accounts as enemies of Christianity, who were instigated by superstition

---

<sup>21</sup> Diogo do Couto, *Da Ásia, Década X part primeira* (Lisbon: Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1781), 410-417.

<sup>22</sup> Francis, Goldie. *The First Christian Mission to the Great Mogul, Or, the Story of Blessed Rudolf Acquaviva, and of His Four Companions in Martyrdom, of the Society of Jesus*. (Dublin: MH Gill, 1897), 127-151.

and they reacted violently. Thus this portrayal shows the author's biases as to who has viewed the event from the religious ideology and colonial viewpoint.

## **2.5 Social and Religious Perspectives on the Revolt**

B. S. Shastry has studied the revolt as an important event of resistance against the conversion policies of the Portuguese missionaries in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in India. He has described through his work how the Jesuit missionaries had provoked the Cuncolim villagers by the destruction of their temples as well as not accepting their protests. The villagers were thus angered by these actions of the Colonial government and resisted the missionaries which ultimately led to the violence between the villagers and the missionaries who were killed. Shastry has shown the Church's point of view which shows the missionaries as the Martyrs in the massacre. However, he has also focused on the consequences faced by the villagers for their resistance and mentions the killing of the 16 Gaonkars who lost their lives. The Portuguese government thus punished the villagers very harshly thereby taking their lands and properties, also taking their community assembly rights, administering violence, and taking their wealth.

Shastry looks into colonial policies of religion and persecution. He says non-Christians were marginalized and thus had unfair laws against them. Therefore they could not hold important jobs as well as practice their religious rituals freely. There were economic losses too that were the product of these laws. The Farmers who grew their crops had to quit because of the unbearably high taxes which further led to disruptions in agriculture as well as business activities which also had an impact on the government revenue. Shastri shows the event of Cuncolim as an important event of the resistance against Portuguese colonial

rule and forced religious conversion in India. This also shows the clash between the colonial powers and the indigenous population at the time.<sup>23</sup>

Anita A Raut Dessai provides her view on Goa's freedom movement against Portuguese rule in her thesis. She notes that the early resistance to the colonial rule was mainly due to religious, racial, and economic issues. She has highlighted the revolt as sparked by the attempts of conversion. When the Jesuits started to convert the people by force the conflict thus arose between the people and the colonial government.

The people from these villages resisted the conversion efforts and thus had to kill the missionaries and preserve their religion. The inhabitants of these villages strongly fought against these efforts to preserve their religion as well as their beliefs. In this analysis, the author sees the revolt as an important movement in the liberation struggle and shows the local resistance to the Portuguese efforts of conversion. The event therefore exemplifies the native battle against the colonial rule to protect their culture, faith, and beliefs.<sup>24</sup>

Ângela Barreto Xavier in her article *Power, Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century Goa* has seen the Cuncolim revolt within the history of Goa during the 16<sup>th</sup> century, by looking at factors like Portuguese colonization, religious policies, and local resistance movements. She has therefore looked upon the local population of the Cuncolim and has studied their actions, motivations, and perspective of the revolt during this time. She presents them as active participants who resisted the Portuguese authority rather than being mere victims of the violence.

---

<sup>23</sup> Shastry, *Freedom struggle in Goa*, 35.

<sup>24</sup> Anita A. Raut Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa-1947-61" PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2003: 17.

The author has focused on the religious as well as cultural aspects of the revolt, especially the role of the Hindus in their traditions as well as their beliefs. She has examined the effect of the Dravidian as well as the Brahmanical influences which were present and therefore had shaped the villagers' actions towards colonial policies leading to the outbreak of this revolt.<sup>25</sup> She criticized the Portuguese actions in the revolt and also focused on the use of force along with the harsh measures used against the villagers, which thus questions the effectiveness of these actions in addressing the problems of the people.<sup>26</sup>

She has also looked at the consequences and impacts of the revolt on the village of Cuncolim as well as its history. She looks at the event that shaped the relations between the locals and the Portuguese authorities, as well as its influence in the Goan history. So her views on the Cuncolim revolt are about the historical, cultural as well as on social impacts of the revolt. Through her work, she gives a view into the actions, motivations as well as the effect of this revolt in Goan history.

In *Faarar Far* by Pratima Kamat the author has written about the Cuncolim revolt and gives a detailed account of the events surrounding this revolt in Goa, it therefore offers a new understanding of the motivations as well as the actions of the Portuguese colonial authorities and also of the local population. In this account, we can see that the author's perspective appears to be critical towards the Portuguese colonial administration and is

---

<sup>25</sup> Ângela Barreto Xavier, "Power, Religion and Violence in Sixteenth-Century Goa". *Portuguese Literary and Cultural Studies* (2010), 36.

<sup>26</sup> Xavier, *Power, Religion and Violence*, 19-35.



sympathetic towards the Hindu population who revolted against religious persecution and colonial oppression.<sup>27</sup>

Firstly the author has shown that the Portuguese rule was increasingly intolerant towards the Hindu population, especially after the Provincial Councils of 1567 and 1573 which intensified the campaign of conversion.<sup>28</sup> The destruction of Hindu temples and the imposition of curbs on gaonkari rights are highlighted as significant grievances that led to the protests and thus unrest prevailed among the villagers. Another significant aspect the author has focused on is the economic aspect of the revolt, which suggests that the prosperity of the temple-based bazaar economy in Cuncolim played a role in motivating the people to resist the replacement of their temple by a church.<sup>29</sup>

This perspective thus frames the revolt not only as a religious struggle but also as a struggle for the economic interests against colonial exploitation. Further, the author has also criticized the biased treatment of history, where she points out that the European Jesuits who were killed in the revolt are revered as martyrs, while the indigenous entourage who also died alongside them remained anonymous and thus unacknowledged. The author's perspective on the Cuncolim revolt presents it as an event that was driven by political, economic, and religious factors that led to the event of 1583.

The author of the paper, titled "Lusitanization versus Assertion in Goa: the 1583 Revolt in Assolna, Velim, Cuncolim," Sushila Sawant Mendes has examined the Cuncolim revolt as a very important moment in the history of Goa, by focusing on its complex nature and dynamics of colonialism and resistance. The author in her work critically examines the

---

<sup>27</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 46.

<sup>28</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 52.

<sup>29</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 56-57.

policy of Lusitanization which was followed by the Catholic Church and the colonial state during their rule in Goa. By focusing on the Cuncolim revolt, the author has observed the effects of lusitanization on the local people, their identity, and also cultural practices, also she has highlighted the resistance it provoked among certain sections of the Goan society and the population.<sup>30</sup> The revolt also serves as an initial but also major reaction to understand the anti-colonial sentiments and struggles for religious autonomy and culture preservation by the people of Goa. She has also seen other historical sources, including accounts by historians such as Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes and Mendonça, and has provided their conclusions about the events that surrounded the Cuncolim revolt. These various perspectives make her analysis valuable by considering various factors that influenced the colonial activities and resistance movements in Goa.

Goa in the 16<sup>th</sup> century was a period marked by Portuguese rule and the imposition of lusitanization policies which were aimed at converting the local population to Christianity and removing their traditional practices. The author therefore highlights the resistance of these villages in Goa, particularly of Assolna, Velim, and Cuncolim, against the colonial policies. The local Gauncars, who had worked in Adil Shah's army earlier found themselves in disputes with the Portuguese conversion and conquest efforts. Despite their success in the regions of Salcette, the Portuguese were met with strong resistance from the people of Assolna, Velim, and Cuncolim against their colonial policies. These villages thus refused to cooperate with the Portuguese authorities and were instead joining with rival powers which therefore created tensions between the indigenous population and the Portuguese, and led to

---

<sup>30</sup> Sushila Sawant, Mendes, "Lusitanization versus assertion in Goa: The 1583 Revolt in Assolna, Velim, Cuncolim." in *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 17, no. 7 (2020): 9593-9600.

the destruction of Hindu temples and the imposition of conversion policies by Jesuit missionaries.

The turning point therefore came with the outbreak of violence on July 15, 1583, when the people of Cuncolim felt that the Jesuit priests had come to destroy their temples and build Churches. Therefore as an act of resistance, the villagers engaged in a fight which resulted in the deaths of several missionaries and those who accompanied them. The author has thus described the anger of the villagers, who resorted to very brutal methods, including mutilating the bodies of the priests. After the revolt, the Portuguese authorities responded with force, thereby launching a campaign of repression against the rebellious villages. Through her analysis, the author has presented the Cuncolim revolt as an important episode in the history of Goan's resistance to Portuguese rule. Her writing looks at the colonial dynamics and its significance and also highlights the relationships between religious, cultural, and political factors that shaped this event.<sup>31</sup>

Rowena Robinson in her article titled "Cuncolim: Weaving a Tale of Resistance." talks about the Cuncolim Revolt. Robinson focuses on these historical events and studies the themes of resistance, thereby presenting her views that challenge the traditional and missionary accounts of the revolt. She places herself as the reader and also an interpreter of various texts and captures different views that agree as well as differ with one another. A main theme that Robinson analyses in her work is resistance, which she views as both an action as well a stance. She argues that resistance in the history of Cuncolim was manifested not only through rebellion but also by how it was interpreted. By keeping resistance as a central theme in her analysis the author has portrayed the indigenous population as the

---

<sup>31</sup> Mendes, Lusitanization versus assertion, 9598.

recipients of colonialism.<sup>32</sup> She thus studies the events of the Cuncolim Revolt of 1583, by offering a detailed account of the killings of the Jesuit missionaries as well as the actions of the Portuguese authorities and the indigenous population.

She has thus critiqued the colonial and missionary readings about the revolt which has depicted the villagers of Cuncolim as rebellious and resolute, and the missionaries as logical and generous. Unlike their biased narrative through her analysis, she has highlighted the role of villagers and their relationship with the colonial powers.

Through her account, Robinson tries to find various meanings rooted within the history of Cuncolim and to challenge the colonial narratives. She has also questioned several aspects like the power relations that were present at that time, the motivations behind the colonial actions, and the resistance of the indigenous population. Therefore her approach offers a specific understanding of the Cuncolim revolt thereby stressing the importance of critically studying the historical narratives and also focusing on the voices of the marginalized communities.

In addition, she also mentions the other authors and historians who have contributed to the historiography of the Cuncolim revolt, offering various insights and interpretations and their significance, highlighting issues like social hierarchy, religious beliefs, and resistance to colonial rule.

*Goa, Daman, and Diu: Swatantrya ladhyacha Itihas* is a work written by Manohar Hirba Sardessai which has touched upon the Cuncolim Revolt of 1583. The author in this work

---

<sup>32</sup> Rowena, Robinson, "Cuncolim: weaving a tale of resistance." *Economic and political weekly* (1997): 334-340.

provides a portrayal of the events, the motivations, and the consequences that surrounded the uprising. His narrative thus highlights the religious atrocities faced by the Hindus in the region of Salcete, particularly the villages of Cuncolim and Assolna, under Portuguese rule. Thus the refusal on the part of villagers to accept the imposition of Christianity in their lands stimulates the uprising. These villages resisted the attempts made by the Portuguese missionaries as well as the soldiers to forcefully enforce Christianity. They demonstrated resilience in defending their culture, beliefs as well as temples even in the continuous violent attempts from the Portuguese authorities. Therefore the tensions between the villagers as well as the Portuguese authorities turned violent which eventually led to confrontations as well as diplomatic efforts to pacify the situation.

However these efforts thus ultimately failed to stop the uprising, indicating the deeply rooted resentment and resistance among the local population. The author has criticized the portrayal of the events by the Portuguese government and missionary historians, who had attempted to depict the conversion to Christianity as peaceful and voluntary. Instead, this narrative depicts violence, force, and sacrifice thereby highlighting the spreading of Christianity in the region.<sup>33</sup>

Despite the brutal suppression of the revolt by the colonial authorities, the narrative suggests that the uprising still serves as an important symbol of resistance against foreign domination and religious persecution. The martyrs of Cuncolim are remembered today for their sacrifice and resistance, which eventually inspired the subsequent generations to preserve their religious and cultural identity. The work is an important documentation that

---

<sup>33</sup> Manohar Hirba Sardessai, *Goa, Daman and Diu: Swatantryaladhyacha Itihas* (Goa: Goa Daman and Diu Sarkar, 1986), 150.

tells about the events and the social conditions of the time but some of the events mentioned in the book look over-emphasized and exaggerated for eg. The way the author has written the event looks a bit of in a dramatic manner which can therefore question the reliability of the work.

## 2.6 Economic Perspectives on the Revolt

In his work *Why Cuncolim Martyrs: An Historical Re-assessment* Teotónio R. de Souza sees the Revolt of 1583 as an event which was driven by different political, socio-economic, and religious factors. The author states that major groups of Cuncolim had their economic interests in the temple and bazaar economy of the village. The author sees that the introduction of Christianity and the destruction of the Hindu temples had threatened the economic privileges of the natives which led to the resistance against the Jesuit missionaries. The religious sentiments were responsible for shaping the actions of the native population which is evident throughout his work. The destruction of the temple was not only a threat to the economic source but also to the culture as well as religious traditions of the people, therefore, temples were important for the community as well as to the people. Also in this work, the author has looked at the significance of the religious practices as well the temples from Cuncolim, which reveals that their destruction thus caused a major effect on the social structure and the identity of the village.<sup>34</sup> The author states that new forms of exploitation emerged despite the conversion of people to Christianity leading to tensions and conflict within the village.

---

<sup>34</sup> De,Souza. *Why Cuncolim Martyrs?*, 37-47.

Teotonio R. de Souza in *Goa at Intersection of World Trade Routes in the Pre-Modern Age* has also highlighted the economic aspects of the event and the significance of Cuncolim, which states that it relied more on subsistence agriculture because of its metal industry and manufacturing capacity. The local temple served as a hub for trade, fairs, and economic activity and its destruction thus played a major role in the anger and resentment of the local elites.<sup>35</sup> The author here suggests that the revolt was thus the manifestation of the local elite's desire to safeguard their economic interests and preserve their social status. Thus the destruction from the Portuguese authorities disrupted the well-established economic activities and also threatened the local elite and their dominance resulting in their violent reaction against the Jesuits. Thus the author has critiqued the colonial policies that disregarded the cultural traditions and economic interests of the native people. Also, he argues that the neglect by colonial authorities of the local people's customs and institutions like temples contributed to the tensions that eventually led to the revolt.

The writings on the Cuncolim revolt of 1583 offer a very detailed understanding of colonialism, resistance, and the power struggle that was present in the Portuguese colonial Goa. From the examination of various sources, narratives, and different interpretations, it becomes clear that this revolt was not just a local uprising but was a significant event in the history of the Goan resistance to Portuguese rule.

The various narratives that surround this revolt thus highlight the nature of the colonial violence, taking into consideration the religious, economic as well as cultural aspects of the revolt. Also, the resistance shown by the people of the Cuncolim village and its neighboring

---

<sup>35</sup> Teotonio R. de Souza, "Goa at Intersection of World Trade Routes in the Pre-Modern Age". *Narratives, Routes and Intersections in Pre-Modern Asia*, (New York: Routledge, 2017) ,118.

regions shows their will to preserve and maintain autonomy, as well as cultural identity during the period of foreign interference and domination.

The revolt thus focuses on the autonomy and the resistance of the people to challenge the colonial authorities as well as to demand their rights. It also focuses on the different methods used by the people from acts of non-cooperation to that of resistance and the effort to overthrow the colonial rule. Also, the different writings form part of the event and its significance in Goan history.

The different views offered by various scholars make the understanding of this event easier and also mark its importance in the historiography of the Goan freedom struggle. Also by critically analyzing the primary and secondary sources, and the various narratives these various scholars contribute to a deeper and better understanding of this important event in Goan history.



## **CHAPTER V**

### **HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE CONSPIRACY OF 1787**

The history of the Goan freedom struggle involves various instances of resistance, resilience, and rebellion. The efforts were for personal gains but the main motive remained to drive out Portuguese powers from the Goan land. One of the major events in the accounts of local resistance to colonial power was the Conspiracy of Pinto also known as Pinto's Revolt of 1787. This chapter evaluates the historiography surrounding this important event aiming to uncover the various narratives, and historical accounts, to illuminate the multifaceted dimensions of the revolt and its significance in Goa's colonial history. Through the examination of different works surrounding the event, this chapter tries to focus on colonialism, and resistance in the region at that time.

During the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese state and society in Goa was characterized by colonial governance, economic exploitation as well as cultural assimilation. Under the Portuguese regime, the colonial administration exercised authority through their officials, institutions, and various policies. The Estado da India in Goa governed the territory with a hierarchical system that prioritized the interests of the Portuguese crown and the Catholic Church. The imposition of Christianity and the suppression of the indigenous local culture and practices were central components of the colonial rule. However, within the Portuguese state, there were tensions and contradictions, as colonial officials faced resistance from the indigenous population mostly on the grounds of religion.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Celsa Pinto, *Concise History of Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2023), 244.

The social hierarchy and power during this time varied as the society was categorized under different ethnic groups. The Indigenous population of Goa was often marginalized and subjected to discriminatory policies that limited their access to resources as well as political representation. Catholicism was the dominant religion and the missionary activities aimed to convert people to Christianity. Thus religious identity collided with social identity and relationships with the colonial authorities. During this time there was the practice of color and racial-based discrimination prevalent in Goa. The individuals of European descent held privileged positions within the colonial society while the indigenous people suffered discrimination. So the social hierarchy based on color and race joined with other identities like caste and thus shaped power and social dynamics in the colonies.

The events of 1787 were the result of this social discrimination but involved the native priests and the institution of the Catholic Church. These protests were focused on the issues of social justice, equality, and the treatment given to the local people by the colonial authorities. The historical works indicate that some of these priests openly criticized racial discrimination and advocated rights by challenging the colonial authorities. This indicates that by opting for social justice and equality, these priests challenged colonial superiority and hierarchy and promoted the ideals of equality.<sup>2</sup>

Portuguese rule in Goa during the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries was characterized by the dominance of the Portuguese crown operating under an absolute monarchy system. The Portuguese established their control in the 16<sup>th</sup> century and during the following centuries; they imposed their authority through a colonial administration that prioritized trade, conversion to Christianity, and exploitation of resources. The absolute monarchy ensured

---

<sup>2</sup> Pinto, *Concise History of*, 244.

full control with the Viceroys of Portuguese India serving as the highest authority in Goa seeing governance, trade, and military affairs. The Portuguese also enforced their cultural and religious norms on the local population leading to tensions and resistance among the indigenous communities. Economic exploitation, religious conversion efforts, and political control were key aspects of Portuguese rule in Goa. The imposition of their rule sparked early resistance movements among the local population. The Portuguese policies of religious conversion, economic exploitation, and cultural imposition formed discontent among the indigenous communities.<sup>3</sup>

### **3.1 Narrative of the Pinto Conspiracy of 1787**

Various events served as a precursor to the event of 1787 but what served as a common cause was the cause of racial discrimination by the Portuguese in filling up the posts of higher authority in the Churches and those of the priests which led to the discontentment. It served as the main cause of the event as Goan clerics decided to protest against their Colonial masters. The first attempt made in this direction was by Fr. Mateus de Castro Mahale who in 1654 attempted to free Goa

The Brahmin Christians of Goa were accused of Intellectual deficiency, inconsistency of character difficulty in maintaining celibacy, and being kept out of offices by the archbishop.<sup>4</sup> The Colonial authorities feared if Goan people were recruited they would replace them as the main authorities. In 1653 Castro returned to Goa and addressed his fellow caste men to

---

<sup>3</sup> Celsa Pinto, *A Revolt of the Natives of Goa, 1787: The Forgotten Martyr* (Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2013), 20.

<sup>4</sup> Pratima Kamat, *Farar Far (crossfire): Local Resistance to Colonial Hegemony in Goa, 1510-1912* (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 96.

rise in arms against this unjust colonial policy through a letter to the Brahmins. He even won several allies in his cause and dreamt of liberating Goa from the yoke of the Portuguese. But the things did not materialize as the news of the attack had reached the Portuguese and Adil Shah signed a treaty with the Portuguese. Frustrated by his failure Castro left for Rome in 1658 and died in 1677. Though Castro attempted to liberate Goa his attempt was towards eliminating the tyranny of the Portuguese and not the Sovereignty of the King as they would have served not as slaves but as vassals.

The Padroado in its resolve continued to restrict the Goan clergy to inferiority as the archbishop had instructed to not accept qualified Goans into civil, military, clerical, and priestly services. The liberal changes introduced during the tenure of Pombal were withdrawn so Goans were ready to protest. Two Goan priests named Fr. Caetano Francisco do Couto and Fr. José António Gonçalves went to Lisbon to address their grievances. There they met Abbé Faria who too had come for similar prospects but the Crown went ahead with Europeans frustrated the two Goan priests returned. They planned a coup d'état with the help of priests, military officials, and civilians. The priests were aided by the Pintos of Candolim and in their houses the details of the uprising were formulated which came to be known as the conspiracy of the Pintos along with two of the Pinto family members who were also involved in the plot.<sup>5</sup>

They were supposed to be helped by the regiments of Salcete and Bardez which comprised the Goans as the coup was scheduled on 10 August 1787. However, the conspiracy was discovered and crushed in the planning by the Portuguese authorities and

---

<sup>5</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 88.

many of the people were arrested. Some of them were successful in evading the Goan territories whereas others were tortured and awarded capital punishments of imprisonment and deaths.

### **3.2 Imperialist interpretation of the Conspiracy of 1787**

The Conspiracy of 1787 came out of various reasons ranging from the Portuguese policy of racial discrimination and discontentment to the colonial exploitation of Goa. The Conspiracy or a plot as it was labeled in the colonial official writings, focused on this theme. To colonial officials and writers, it was the discontented people who were unhappy with the government and were responsible for heinous and abominable crimes.<sup>6</sup> The conspiracy was understood as an attack on social position, the political situation, color discrimination as well as social developments in Goa. Various scholars have written different accounts, where they sought to examine various features that determined the nature of the 1787 conspiracy.

Out of the various accounts of thought in historiography, it was the Imperialists or Colonisers, which paid the foremost attention to the event. However, as goes the tradition with the Imperialist school of thought, the histories were written by Portuguese officers. Their perception and understanding of history were largely governed by the need of the colonial state to establish their supremacy and, at times to make their rule legitimate. However, one barely comes across any of their historical works, which critically looked at the responses of these rulers and undermined their presence and supremacy. Joaquim Heliodoró da Cunha Rivara in his work *A Conjuração de 1787 em Goa: a varias cousas desse tempo memoria historica* has documented the conspiracy of 1787. Cunha Rivara was a

---

<sup>6</sup> Pinto, *A Revolt of*, 2.

Chief Secretary of Goa government from 1855 to 1877 therefore his research effort is seen as disinformation by some and is subjected to bias.<sup>7</sup> The work provides a colonial view of the said conspiracy which has been referred to as a heinous and abominable crime of revolt and high treason. It was planned with the intent of expelling the Portuguese from India as was reported by the confessions of the accused mainly from Fr. Caetano Francisco do Couto.

Rivara in his work has studied the personalities involved in the revolt and that of the causes but from the colonial point of view which criticizes the role of these priests and they are portrayed as criminals. There are various aspects of the conspiracy that are presented in the book like the connection of the rebels with the other kings or foreign authorities who were ready to provide them assistance.

For his analysis, Rivara looks at official Portuguese records, personal accounts, and letters which provide valuable important perspectives. He has provided important details regarding the key figures involved in the event. However, the main weakness of his work is his limited analysis of evidence and he has accepted the sources as it is which are later studied by the different researchers who have criticized him. His narrative largely reflects the Eurocentric perspective which is from the viewpoints of the colonial government and neglects the grievances of the local Goans who were part of the revolt. His tendency to focus on specific actors of the revolt has neglected other political factors that contributed to the revolt.

While speaking about the central points in Rivara's work which are about the causes of the revolt he says that the two priests toyed with the idea of getting the bishoprics but never

---

<sup>7</sup> Joaquim Heliodoró da Cunha Rivara, *Goa and the Revolt of 1787*. Trans. By Renato da Cunha Soares, Ed. Charles J. Borges. (New Delhi: Concept Publishing, 1996), 10.

mentioned it and pretended to be capable and were aspiring for superior posts but he has neglected the unjust treatment to the priests and the color discrimination meted out to them by the colonial authorities.<sup>8</sup> Rivara has downplayed the social discontent, issues, and pre-existing tensions within the Portuguese regime. He depicted the event as a justified response to Portuguese oppression by neglecting the internal conflicts and disagreements between the rebels and the colonial government.

The focus of the work is primarily based on the Portuguese perspective therefore it completely studies its consequences for the Portuguese government as well as their attempt to suppress the event and restoration of the control. The wider impacts that were seen elsewhere are potentially not much explored in the work. When assessing the work with others we get to see that Rivara has only focused on the role of colonial authorities and that of the government and has avoided very significant details that were prevalent during these times so it is very much one-directional and therefore is very biased in favor of the Colonial government.

Rivara in his narrative has focused on the broader network of the conspirators and their objectives in his work he mentions that the rebels wanted to hand over the territory of Goa to the foreign power by removing the colonial authorities. The conspiracy he says was well-planned by the priests but was crushed by the efforts of the government. But in his narratives, there is little mention of the conspiracy as that of the Pinto's. Although the work has various limitations present within, it becomes an important source that provides an early account of the history of the Conspiracy to the scholars who later built their research based on this work.

---

<sup>8</sup> da Cunha Rivara, *Goa and the*, 103.

The period after the independence has brought the rise of newer methods and trends. There was a rise seen in the writing of social and economic history and therefore more and more attention was paid to the study of social aspects of history. History as a field thus received the close attention of historians. Within this number of studies were carried out which looked at various events from their political, social as well as economic perspectives.

### **3.3 The Nativist Approach to the Event of 1787**

Over time the development of historical approaches has generated a lot of new approaches to the revolt of 1787 among historians. One such work on the Revolt was published in 2013 in remembrance of the 225<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the event titled *A Revolt of the Natives of Goa 1787: The Forgotten Martyrs* written by Celsa Pinto which revolves around this revolt popularly known as the Conspiracy of the Pinto's. This work is based on the Devassa records and tries to challenge the colonial stance of the revolt of 1787 written by Cunha Rivara.<sup>9</sup> Celsa Pinto a prominent Goan historian offers a rather different perspective on the conspiracy in her work.

In her work, she has emphasized the Nativist approach and portrays the participants as valiant patriots who sought to liberate their homeland from Portuguese colonial rule. Her interpretations likely emphasize the grievances that motivated the conspirators like discrimination and exploitation which justifies their actions against the Portuguese. Pinto has challenged the dominant colonial narratives that present the conspirators as traitors or criminals. Instead in her narrative, she has presented them as martyrs who sacrificed their

---

<sup>9</sup> Pinto, *A Revolt of*, vi.



lives for the cause of Goan liberation. However, the main motive of her work is to make people know about the legacy of this event and its impact on subsequent movements.

Celsa Pinto mentions that European countries had witnessed the ideals of Liberty and equality which impacted the Goans, who took education in these far-off lands and felt the need to liberate their homeland from the alien rule. The natives were not allowed significant positions and preferences were shown to the Europeans as this was the case of clear segregation. A conspiracy in Calcutta in 1786 was hailed as a probability that impacted the minds of Goans to plan this revolt.<sup>10</sup> Involvement of the Pinto's in the conspiracy was very deep but there is no special reference to the conspiracy as Pinto conspiracy in Devassa records. The rebels consisted of priests, military members, and businessmen from different places in Goa who were mostly of Christian origin.<sup>11</sup> Their assemblies and meetings were held at different places in the parochial houses of the churches in Goa.

For the military and monetary assistance they contacted the businessmen within Goa for help and received it. But Devassa's records are uncertain about the records of the external intervention in the matter. So it is clear that the whole of Ilhas, Bardez, and Salcete were ready with men, money, and ammunition to stage the revolt but there were problems and complexities that the rebels faced as they moved along.<sup>12</sup> The Devassa records thus bring out that the date of the rebellion was set on August 16<sup>th</sup> or 20<sup>th</sup> as the rebels wanted it to coincide with a significant day, but Rivara has mentioned it as the 10<sup>th</sup> which was accepted by other scholars. The Nativist rebellion was thus unsuccessful because of the acts of betrayal and

---

<sup>10</sup> Pinto, *A Revolt of*, 15.

<sup>11</sup> Pinto, *A Revolt of*, 55.

<sup>12</sup> Pinto, *A Revolt of*, 58.

was aborted and the priests were accused as mentioned in the book which is based on the rebellion in 1787 and depicts treachery and betrayal.

There were arrests made of those involved in the conspiracy but Fr. José Antonio Gonsalves managed to escape the clutches of the Portuguese government so he is remembered for it. Others who were arrested had to undergo trials and severe sentences imposed on them but it also impacted the people of Brazil who also staged a similar revolt Inconfidência Mineira in 1789. Celsa Pinto has shown numerous similarities between these two events and she believes that although these two rebellions had different starting points but had the same historical context and were planned and ended identically.

Celsa Pinto's book likely offers original research on the said Pinto Conspiracy through the examination of the Devassa records which adds depth and credibility to her analysis. One of the strengths of the work is to focus on the nativist approach and the marginalized perspectives of the indigenous Goans who were part of this conspiracy. She sheds light on the neglected aspects of this event in Goan history and challenges the colonial narrative. In her writings, the narrative style and the clarity make the complex events accessible to a wide audience. In her work, she has mentioned that she has tried to remain balanced but the work is based on the nativist approach and it is worth noting that the author belongs to Goa therefore her analysis idealizes the conspirators as heroic martyrs and ambiguity in their motivation and actions.<sup>13</sup> Despite its focus on the indigenous approach it has primarily represented the views of Catholic elites involved in the conspiracy and has overlooked the involvement and impact on other groups of the society.

---

<sup>13</sup> Pinto, *A Revolt of*, vii.

But her work has engaged with the existing works and scholarship on the topic and therefore it contributes to the historical inquiry. She has also tried to fill in the gaps in historical records before her work and has represented the nativist approach. The work also provides attention to the public memory and the commemoration of the event and honors the efforts of the martyrs. The work can open avenues for further research on the conspiracy and offers new insights into colonialism and resistance in Goa.

### **3.4 Global Perspective and Comparative Insights**

Some of these events also had their impacts on Global history which can be seen in some of the writings. In one such work by C. A. Bayly titled *The 'Revolutionary Age' in the wider world, c. 1790-1830* contributes to the historiography of revolutionary movements by expanding the focus beyond Europe to include colonial territories such as Goa. By studying resistance movements and revolutionary desires in Portuguese India, Bayly has challenged Eurocentric interpretations of the revolutionary times and focused on the global effects of revolutionary ideas and actions. Bayly's mention of the 1787 conspiracy in Goa provides an understanding of local resistance against Portuguese colonial rule. He puts the conspiracy within the major themes of racial exclusion, religious hierarchy, and Enlightenment ideas. Kanarins and Mestizos were excluded from religious offices which led to a revolt by Mateus Castro Mahale against racism and the treatment of Goan Christians as slaves.<sup>14</sup>

Similarly in 1787 Goan priests plotted against the crown but failed to execute it. By integrating the Goa conspiracy into the global narrative of the revolutionary age, Bayly focuses on the interconnectedness of events worldwide and the circulation of revolutionary

---

<sup>14</sup> C. A. Bayly, *The Revolutionary Age in the wider world, c. 1790-1830* (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010), 23.

ideas across regions. This approach challenges those accounts that see Europeans as superior and focuses on the colonized peoples and their histories. The writer feels that modernization and reforms were in the minds of the conspirators along with the ideas of Voltaire during the French Enlightenment.<sup>15</sup> He terms these revolts as the 'revolt of the castes' because the Christian Brahmins and mestizos protested during this time.

He highlights the role of Christian Brahmins and mestizos in protesting against social and political exclusion thereby comparing it with other colonial rebellions and the French Revolution. This comparative approach enriches our understanding of revolutionary movements. The historiographical version of C. A. Bayly's narrative on revolutionary movements in colonial territories such as Goa, as outlined in his work "The 'Revolutionary Age' in the wider world, c. 1790-1830," looks at global history, intellectual history, and comparative history.

### **3.5 Socio-economic Perspective on the Revolt**

Several authors have presented their research on this event and have come up with various new perspectives on this conspiracy which makes it very important and opens new areas into the topic.

R.P. Rao in his book *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961* has reflected on the events of the 16<sup>th</sup>, 17<sup>th</sup> & 18<sup>th</sup> centuries in which he says that all the discontent of the people was mainly because of the economic, political, and religious causes. He says that Politically Goans had no say in the administration which led to their frustrations; religious animosities were common because there was the demolition of temples by the Jesuits who were supported by

---

<sup>15</sup> Bayly, *The Revolutionary Age*, 23.

the king and the church and the economic exploitation was very ruthless and made people poorer.<sup>16</sup>

*Goa, Daman, and Diu: Swatantryaladhyacha Itihas* is a work by Manohar Hirba Sardessai that touches upon the Conspiracy of 1787 and provides his views on the topic. He in his narrative focuses on the conversion and the replacement of indigenous traditions with that of the Portuguese in Goa. In his view, the conspiracy of 1787 was the first setback the Portuguese received for their inhumane treatment of the Goan people. The Portuguese state and the religion were firm in appointing the Europeans to the supreme positions and avoided the qualified Goans who in turn rebelled against this unjust treatment. The author has also discussed the political conditions of the time that prevailed in the world, especially in France which came up with the ideas of Liberty, equality, and fraternity as it impacted the minds of these priests. Although the connection of the event with Tipu Sultan is in debates the author comments that he was involved and was expected to provide his assistance in the event.<sup>17</sup>

The author states that the motive of the rebels was to form the People's Republic but due to its failure in the planning stage, it was crushed. The work goes on to discuss various possibilities that centered on this revolt such as that of the Caetano Francisco de Couto who had asked pardon from the Portuguese government. His whereabouts were difficult to trace so the author has tried to build upon the account of Cunha Rivara who has in turn collected accounts of different people regarding the situation which he feels to be inaccurate. So with all these questions, the author has tried to raise the question of the harsh treatment given to

---

<sup>16</sup> R. P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961* (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 61.

<sup>17</sup> Manohar Hirba Sardessai, *Goa, Daman and Diu: Swatantryaladhyacha Itihas* (Goa: Goa Daman and Diu Sarkar, 1986), 150.

the priests involved in the conspiracy. He feels that treatment must be so harsh that the priest himself reported all the accused involved in the event and the harsh treatment intensified in the coming years so the author has questioned the attitude of the government toward its political prisoners. The work tells us about the events and the social conditions of the time but some of the events mentioned in the book are over-emphasized and therefore can be questioned on the reliability.

Anita A. Raut Dessai in her Ph.D. thesis *Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case Of Goa 1947-1961* looked at the event from the perspective of the different castes and communities that revolted against the Portuguese during the first phase of the Goan freedom struggle. According to her these revolts of 1654 and 1787 occurred during the time and were products of the caste system and the social hierarchy that existed in Portuguese Goa. During the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries in Goa Reinois who were Portuguese nationals were at the top and the native Goans were at the bottom of the hierarchy. Both the above-mentioned revolts were planned and effected by Catholic Brahmins, some of whom were highly educated and aspiring for important positions in the ecclesiastic hierarchy. It was an insult to them when they found that the religious clergy kept them lower on various grounds to guarantee themselves higher positions and to maintain their authority.<sup>18</sup>

So Castro first rose in revolt against the unjust treatment of the natives and he had developed hatred towards the Portuguese regime. In both revolts, the masterminds were the Catholic Brahmins who were supported by the people from their castes. During the revolt of 1787, the ultimate goal was to establish a republican government but Goa was dominated by

---

<sup>18</sup> Anita A. Raut Desai, "*Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa-1947-61*" PhD Thesis Goa University, 2003: 148.

casteism and it was also possible that they wanted to give the power to Brahmins of their caste. Though the struggle was against injustice it is seen as a part of an early attempt of resistance and nationalism as people fought the Portuguese and were severely punished for their deeds. But their motive was self-beneficial as their rights were violated they wanted to rise against the foreign dominance and drive them out of Goan territory.

So through her narrative, we can see the author's emphasis on the social hierarchy in Goa during the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> centuries which helps to understand the period during which these revolts occurred. It also highlights the Catholic Brahmins as the main instigators of these revolts and their aspirations for higher positions in the ecclesiastical hierarchy, which led to their discontent with the Portuguese resulting in the revolts that occurred.

Another work that reflects on socio-political and colonial history during the time of the revolt is by B. S Shastry in his research essay titled *Freedom struggle in Goa: Its Nature and Phases* has reflected upon the various phases of the Goan liberation struggle. Shastry's analysis focuses on the various phases of the liberation struggle in Goa. Speaking of the late 17th and 18th centuries he says, the colonial masters enticed the Hindu population of Goa to convert to Christianity by promising job opportunities. However, the converts received jobs that were predominantly in lower-ranking positions within civil, revenue, judicial, and defense services.<sup>19</sup>

This inequality in employment opportunities contributed to grievances among the Goan population, along with racial discrimination and limited access to higher positions. Shastry says that these grievances opened a desire for change among the Goans, influenced by the

---

<sup>19</sup> B.S. Shastry, "Freedom struggle in Goa: Its Nature and Phases", in *Goa wins freedom reflections and reminiscences*, (Bambolim: Goa University, 1986), 35.

ideals of the French Revolution. The need for a republican form of government emerged, indicating a growing discontent with the existing colonial order. Despite the suppression of revolts, Shastry suggests that the seeds of liberalism continued to sprout and flourish in Goa. This burgeoning liberalism had repercussions not only locally but also affected Portugal, which was moving towards a constitutional monarchy during that period.

Shastry's work also acknowledges intellectual aspects like the French Revolution and his analysis highlights the social and political dynamics of Goa during the late 17th and 18th centuries. So In fact the next hundred years were marked by a growing sense of liberalism among Goans which prompted them to demand liberal political institutions.<sup>20</sup>

Pratima Kamat in her research essay, "Some Protesting Priests of Goa," contributes to the historiography of the event by examining the nature and causes of priestly protest during colonial rule. The author studies whether these priests can be categorized as freedom fighters and whether their actions constituted a significant part of Goa's early liberation efforts. She highlights the strong racial discrimination in Portuguese Goa as a key factor motivating priestly revolt, citing instances such as Mateus de Castro's efforts to free his homeland in the 17th century and the 1787 conspiracy involving two priests who were part of the conspiracy which was crushed in its planning stage itself.

The author shows differing interpretations of these events, from portraying them as disorganized local grievances to considering them as anti-colonial revolts. She also has seen similar protests in the 19th century led by figures like Fr. Ribeiro and Fr. Antonio Francisco Xavier Alvares. Therefore, she suggests that while these protests addressed immediate

---

<sup>20</sup> Shastry, *Freedom struggle in Goa*, 37.



grievances such as racial discrimination and administrative exclusion, they cannot be considered integral parts of Goa's freedom struggle, as attaining liberation from colonial rule was not the primary objective for these priests. This analysis therefore looks at the narratives of Goa's liberation movement and focuses on individual motivations within the colonial resistance movements. So the essay suggests that the protests of these priests were, by and large, products of their immediate personal grievances arising out of racial discrimination and administrative exclusion and did not form part of Goa's Freedom struggle as such.<sup>21</sup>

Foreign Jesuits and Native Resistance in Goa 1542-1759 written by Charles Borges discussed the native resistance in Goa during the 16<sup>th</sup> to 18<sup>th</sup> century in Goa. The author although he has written about the same topic has tried to focus on some of the aspects of the discrimination in the behavior and attitudes of the European Jesuits in Goa. The Jesuits asked the natives to fulfill the subsidiary roles in the administration. The native clergy had several issues with the Jesuits but the Jesuits had deliberately introduced anti-Semitic and caste elements in their stories to make Brahmin clergy an easy target for the hostility of the Europeans.

The role and the contribution of the native clergy to the growth and improvement of the church were ignored and the religion did not allow the local people in their work. If they resisted, it was considered as work of the devil and therefore the Jesuits saw no point in focusing on the local culture. So these led to the two of the revolts that occurred during this period of Mateus de Castro and the conspiracy of 1787 where the native clerics and people jointly plotted against the Portuguese rule. People's frustration was thus building up and

---

<sup>21</sup> Pratima Kamat, "Some Protesting Priests of Goa", in *Essays in Goan History*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 116.

there emerged an atmosphere of resistance against Portuguese rule which used religion to implement its colonial policies.<sup>22</sup>

Fr. Caetano Vitrorino De Faria a research paper by Mariano Dias talks about re-writing of history as he has attempted to trace the history of Abbe Faria. Cunha Rivara's work was blindly followed by historians which has defamed the the image of Goan patriots who had laid down their lives for freedom. As a result of Rivas's disinformation Fr. Faria has emerged as a negative figure. So this paper has tried to trace the journey of Fr. Faria his life and achievement which therefore refutes the view of Rivara who looks at him as one of the chief conspirators. Fr. Faria courageously took up the nationalist aspirations against the oppressive rule of the Portuguese. He was seen as the guiding spirit of the conspiracy of 1787 who wanted the position of Archbishop of Goa and had even warned the authorities about it.

Farar Far by Pratima Kamat talks about the Priestly protest against the Colour bar in her work. The racist and oppressive alien rule in Goa led the clergymen to protest against the Portuguese rule in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries. She stated that the Portuguese empire was a Pigmentocracy characterized by a strong and tenacious color bar.<sup>23</sup> The Goan society had a hierarchical classification as the darker the color of one's skin the lower the position awarded to him by the society. The color bar was evident in the administration and discrimination was present in the social setup of the state. This discrimination served as a stimulus to the revolts that followed much later. Mateus de Castro fought against this

---

<sup>22</sup> Charles J. Borges, "Foreign Jesuits and Native Resistance in Goa 1542-1759", in *Essays in Goan History*, (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 69-79.

<sup>23</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 88.

discrimination but wanted the King of Portugal to continue his rule as the Goans would be their vassals forever. Similarly, with the conspiracy of 1787, the rebels wanted to set up a republican government influenced by liberal ideas and to drive out Portuguese from Goa.

The work provides an understanding of the events it has discussed and has offered various new insights on the conspiracy as well as the Castro revolt. The work has engaged with the existing debates surrounding the events and raises new questions that are addressed in work. It is a combination of both the primary and secondary sources which provides an immense knowledge to construct the history of the event. These revolts were the initial attempts that later opened the way for the fight against colonialism and reflected the attitude of those involved in the events. The author has been balanced in her work and it offers new insights into the earlier existing views on the topic.

There are some aspects of these events have brought in many new questions and several authors have tried to assess and comment on them. The common question that arises on the conspiracy of 1787 is that of the aid provided to the rebels for which many suggest that these rebels must have turned to other rulers from the region. The most common of them is the Tipu connection which is seen as one of the part of the conspiracy but there is no evidence to prove this. The trip of Fr. Goncalves to Ceylon was maybe to seek financial help for the conspiracy. The French connection with Tipu to capture Goa is also explored but there are no conclusive evidences to prove this. The nature of the aborted event is seriously questioned with the pre-liberation writings stating it as a disorganized attempt to avenge

their frustrations and form a republic. In contrast, recent writers tend to glorify the event and say that it was organized with patriotic aims.<sup>24</sup>

There is always a question raised on what if the demands of the priests were met would they have continued with the revolt. Also, another issue that is raised about the form of Government that the conspirators intended to set up in Goa after the rebellion. Also, the form of social order they intended to set up and would the people would accept this change of order was also debated. The conspirators also wanted to set up universities for the students to study different subjects and pursue their higher studies. The revolt in Brazil is also compared to the event of 1787 as both were attempted revolts of dissatisfaction in society and tensions.

Several other questions are also raised on the topic like whether there was truly a widespread conspiracy, or whether it was a fabrication used by the Portuguese authorities to consolidate power. Celsa Pinto in her work has also shown different villages of Goa where the planning of the impending revolt took place although it was concentrated between the Catholic Brahmins several people were involved in it. The question arises also about the consequences of the movement and its impact on future movements but we know that there was a large number of arrests that took place and the rebels were given harsh punishments its impact was seen on the movement in Brazil in 1789 but other than that no significant impact was seen by any author on future movements.

What has been outlined or described shows the evolution of the historiography of the 1787 Revolt. As seen, historians have shifted their focus from just seeing it as a priestly

---

<sup>24</sup> Kamat, *Some Protesting Priests*, 115-116.

protest to its relation to the origins of Goan nationalism and studied the diversities of the Revolt both in terms of causes and aftereffects, also highlighting internal conflicts.

The Conspiracy of the Pinto and the early resistance to the Portuguese colonial rule gives a significant understanding of the Goan freedom struggle and the colonial resistance by the people. The analysis of the early accounts, colonial perspectives, and various interpretations provide several new findings and understandings of this event.

The Conspiracy thus presents as a significant movement in Goan history, symbolizing the resilience and determination of Goans to resist colonial oppression and demand rights to self-governance. Early accounts by Cunha Rivara portray the event from the perspectives of colonial narratives which emphasized the threat posed to British authority. However, the Nativist approach by Celsa Pinto challenges the colonial narrative and highlights the conspirators as patriots fighting for the liberation of their homeland.

Also on the other hand, scholars like R.P. Rao, Manohar Hirba Sardessai, Pratima Kamat, and Anita Dessai have examined the social-economic factors that were involved in the said conspiracy. They argue that political exploitation, economic exploitation, and religious discrimination were key reasons for discontent among the Goan populace. Furthermore, C.A. Bayly and B.S. Shastry provide comparative insights and place this revolt within a global context highlighting its connections with similar movements in other colonial territories.

Overall, the historiography of the Conspiracy of the Pinto Revolt not only focuses on a specific episode in Goan history but also offers various insights into Colonialism, Resistance, and the struggle for identity formation. Critical engagement with various sources

and perspectives contributes to a more in-depth understanding of the Goan freedom struggle and its significance within the colonial resistance movements.

## **Chapter IV**

### **Analysing The Historiography Of Rane Revolts**

The first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century in colonial Goawas indeed a trouble due to the parliamentary struggle of the Constitutional regime which was soon followed by the Rane revolts and the military uprisings taking place in Goa.<sup>1</sup> The Rane revolts were thus a series of several uprisings that affected the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. These revolts started from the late 18<sup>th</sup> century till the early 20<sup>th</sup> century and were headed by the Rane clan of Sattari which was part of the Novas Conquistas or New Conquest region of colonialGoa. These revolts today stand as a legacy of the spirit of the resistance against the Portuguese colonial rule that lasted for nearly around 450 years.

Goans had a history of rebelling against Portuguese rule with many significant uprisings that were recorded as early as in 16<sup>th</sup> century. People have fought and showed resistance and non-cooperation to the colonizers, demanding their rights and fulfilling their demands. Therefore the Rane revolts have continued the tradition of defiance to the colonial authority and they form a very prominent chapter in the Goan resistance against foreign rule.

The Ranes claimed their descent from the Rajputs of Rajputana and were feudal chieftains residing in Sattari who had severed their ties with the Bhonsles of Sawantwadi.<sup>2</sup> Their revolts weren't isolated events but were part of a series of several rebellions that had spread across decades. They had revolted against the Portuguese government at least 14 times from 1782 till 1825.<sup>3</sup> Similar factors like Land policies, taxation policies, social

---

<sup>1</sup> C. F. Saldanha, *A Short History of Goa* (Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1957), 144.

<sup>2</sup> Celsa Pinto, *Concise History of Goa* (Saligao: Goa 1556, 2023), 248.

<sup>3</sup> Celsa Pinto, *Concise History of Goa*, 248.

restrictions and interferences, and colonial exploitation which had fueled these revolts as well as other acts of resistance.

Though they were unsuccessful in overthrowing the Portuguese rule, they did have a significant impact. They caused disruptions to Portuguese control, inflicted casualties as well, and forced the colonial authorities to negotiate with them on certain occasions. However, the Portuguese also responded with harsh measures as well as have suppressed their revolts including the imprisonment of the leaders and participants. Their revolts thus have become a symbol of the Goan resistance which also inspired the later generation in the struggle for freedom. They had therefore demonstrated a willingness to fight for autonomy as well as self-determination.

The Ranes revolted from 1782 to 1825 for 14 times. But the famous Rane revolts were the post-1845 period which had the Dipu Rane revolt, Kushtoba Rane as well as Dada Rane Revolts and also the Rane revolts of 1901 and 1912 led by Moriyarao Rane and Jill Sawant.<sup>4</sup>

The Rane Revolts were part of a narrative of Goan resistance to Portuguese rule. Studying these events can help us relate it with the other acts of defiance throughout the Goan history. Also, it provides a detailed understanding of the long-term struggle for the Goan autonomy. Also studying the historiography of the Revolt is not only about understanding the views of the historian on the events but it also becomes important for finding about the biases and analyzing these narratives which will lead to a more detailed understanding of the freedom struggle. Historiography thus tries to interrogate the past and bring forth new perspectives which can achieve a more detailed understanding of the freedom struggle

---

<sup>4</sup> Pratima Kamat, *Faarar Far(crossfire): Local Resistance To Colonial Hegemony In Goa, 1510-1912*. (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999),.



#### 4.1 Rane Revolts

Dipaji Rane revolted in 1852 which was one of the earliest important revolts of the Ranes in Goa. In 1851 the Portuguese government passed new regulations regarding the imposition of taxes on the lands of the landowners in Sattari to increase the revenue of the state. The new forest regulations thus prohibited the ryots of Sattari from engaging in kumeri cultivation.<sup>5</sup> They also invaded the social and religious life of the people which aroused the reaction from the Ranes as well as the Hindus from Sattari. The Ranes under the leadership of Dipaji thus led an anti-government revolt thereby capturing the fort of Nanuz in 1852.

With local support, Dipu Rane attacked the adjoining regions like Bicholim, Ponda, Pernem, and Quepem. The Portuguese tried to stop these uprisings but failed because of the guerrilla tactics that the Ranes adopted to trouble the colonial government. Dipaji had also asked the assistance from the British who declined their offer but were ready to assist the Portuguese.<sup>6</sup> Martial laws were administered to the people of Sattari as well as the adjoining regions but the Ranes were adamant in their fight. So in 1854, the Portuguese decided to mediation but Dipu suspected foul play by the Portuguese therefore returned to Sattari and resumed the hostilities against the government. Eventually, the council of government then agreed to surrender and pardoned the rebels by signing a formal treaty in 1855.

Kushtoba Rane led another revolt in 1869 which had a personal cause for the outbreak between the Ranes and the Brahmins in Sattari. The Brahmins had captured the lands of the ryots of Sattari and the colonial government had neglected their activities. There are several versions of the tale of Govind Bhat fabricating Hanumantrao as well as Amrutrao in a

---

<sup>5</sup> Pinto, *Concise History of Goa*, 249.

<sup>6</sup> Pinto, *Concise History of Goa*, 250.

murder with the backing of the Portuguese authorities related to this revolt of Goan history.<sup>7</sup> Kushtoba who was working in the salt pans was arrested for carrying goods across the Ghats. But he managed to escape and for two years raided police outposts and government offices. He was killed at Collem by the Revenue officer Constancio de Rosario e Miranda but the revolt was kept alive by his associates but the colonial government was successful in ending this revolt.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century thus brought another revolt of the Ranes led by Dada Rane. In 1895 discontentment prevailed in the regions of Sattary on the feudal rights and social and religious customs. The gaunkars, as well as ryots, were tired of their miserable conditions, the Ranes and Nadkarnis had stakes in their lands therefore, were involved to satisfy their interests and rose in arms in 1895.<sup>8</sup> Various other reasons served as pre-cursor to this revolt and the Maratha Sipai mutiny also spurred this revolt. So the rebels captured Sanquelim, Mapuça, Pernem, and the adjoining regions. There was a fight between the Ranes and the Portuguese for months and the Portuguese reacted by getting expeditionary forces from Lisbon. They also tried to end the revolt through peaceful means but failed. This revolt ended in 1897 by Governor General Joaquim Machado who granted the rebels amnesty as Dada Rane and others formally surrendered unconditionally.

The last of the Rane revolts happened in 1901 and 1912 and were directed at the cruel and corrupt practices of the Portuguese officials. In 1901 Lt. Antonio de Conceição Bastos e Silva was commandant of Sattari and was known for intervening in the social and religious customs of the people. Also, Ranes had other grievances with the administration so in 1901

---

<sup>7</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 182.

<sup>8</sup> Pinto, *Concise History of Goa*, 253.

Atullo Mallsekar and Babulo Govind shot the Bastos e Silva dead. The government declared an emergency and imposed martial laws and arrested many people. Dada Rane was considered to be a part of this murder along with his son Indroji who was found guilty and exiled to Timor. In 1912 Moriyarao Rane and Jil Sawant rebelled against the government for the fulfillment of their demands. But the authorities were successful in suppressing their revolts and the rebels were deported to the distant islands. This ended the Rane Revolts which formed an important part of the Struggle against the Portuguese for about one and half centuries.

#### 4.2 Early Portrayals: Colonial Narratives and the Rane Revolts

One of the works by early Portuguese explorer and agronomist Lopes Mendes in *A Índia Portuguesa* mentioned the Ranes of Sattary as the Sardessais or the hereditary fief holders of Sanquelim as well as Gulloliem and had around seventy villages under their control and are from the Maratha class.<sup>9</sup> The Ranes had therefore signed an oath of vassalage in 1746 with the Portuguese. With the new conquest areas entering the Portuguese domain, the Ranes began to become ineffective in their commitments to the government and therefore started constantly with rushes and revolts to rise in the state.<sup>10</sup>

He suggests that they belonged to the Maratha class and were warrior people coming to dominate the provinces of India. They were descendants of Hirogy Rane who entered Genoa in 1401 and as lords of their provinces, they started to charge taxes from the inhabitants under various denominations for the territories they cultivated. They also had many

---

<sup>9</sup> Lopes Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa*, vol. II (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886), 2.

<sup>10</sup> Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa*, 2.

properties in various villages of Goa. The author here says that from 1746 to 1852 the Ranes and the Dessais rose seventeen times under the pretext of fighting for the right to collect province's income.<sup>11</sup> The leaders of this revolt were Dipu Rane, Custoba and Sencorba Rane.

Dipu Rane and his followers rose during this time costing the governor lives and money in the struggle fought in the jungles of Satary. This was put to an end in 1855 by granting pardon to the seditionists and there was an order to pay 500 rupees to Dipu and his nephews. Further, the Ranes signed the terms of submission and gave up their rights to the provinces.

In another work called *Les Ranes de Satary*, we come across the Ranes of Satary who is described here as a small tribe of descendants of ancient Rajput nobles who in the 15<sup>th</sup> and 16<sup>th</sup> centuries had occupied and dominated certain regions of Malabar. The author suggests that they were the descendants of Ranas of Udeypur and Rambapur who under the command of Hirogy Rana settled in Sattary during the last quarter of the 15<sup>th</sup> century. In 1746 they took an oath of cession of their lands and their submission to Portugal. Nine years later they revolted against the Portuguese which then led to a new oath of cession as a consequence of their actions which was again betrayed in 1797 in another riot.

During the last century, the Ranes revolted several times respectively in 1806, 1813, 1816, 1822, 1845, 1852, 1878 and 1895. The last of their uprising was in 1912. It was these

---

<sup>11</sup> Mendes, *A Índia Portuguesa*, 4.

numerous revolts that considerably reduced their number in Goa and especially those in Sattari.<sup>12</sup>

After studying both these accounts which are based on the primary sources of this event we know that both have portrayed the Ranes as the chieftains who had repeatedly tried to challenge the Portuguese authority. Also, they suggest that they were a constant threat to Portuguese control. Their main goal was to rise with the constant rushes and the revolts against the state. The account represents the colonial viewpoint and aims to justify Portuguese rule and portray the threats of the Ranes as their weakness in controlling Goa. Also, the colonial perspective suggests that their aim for rebellion was due to the land issues and the race for supremacy in the regions. Therefore the accounts can be considered as one-sided and only promoting Portuguese views; also the focus is on military uprisings and suppressing the rebellion.

So these earlier accounts provide an initial point for understanding the event and there is a need to look beyond them to get a better understanding of the causes, consequences and significance of the Rane Revolts in the History of Goan freedom struggle.

---

<sup>12</sup> A. C. Germano da Silva Correia, *Les Ranes de Satary* (Bastora, 1928), 2.

### 4.3 Pre-liberation Writings on the Revolts

In the work by C. F. Saldanha , S. J. *In A Short History of Goa*, the author has written about the revolt of Ranes and the army uprisings that took place in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century which disturbed the peace of Goa and made it a very unhappy land.

The author therefore highlights various factors that contributed to the Rane revolts like economic grievances such as new taxes on agricultural lands and unjust distribution of land were held as triggers for the rebellion. Also, personal injustices like the dishonor of Custoba's family and the subsequent revenge thus fuelled the unrest among the Ranes. The Ranes were protective of their rights and showed the willingness to defy the law if there were any intrusions.

The author presents the key figures in the Revolt were Dipu Rane, Custoba Rane as well as Dada Rane who showed a strong leadership role in organizing and then leading these revolts. They had various tactics which included robbery, pillaging, and selective targeting of the officials who therefore reflected a strategic approach to achieve their objectives and avoid unnecessary harm to the women.

The author has also highlighted the response of the colonial government to these revolts. The initial attempts at suppression of the revolts thus failed due to the knowledge of Ranes about the terrains and tactics of the government. Also, they resorted to involve negotiations in their efforts and amnesty to resolve the conflicts. However, in some cases, the author has also mentioned the brutality and mutilation of the captured individuals in their confrontations.

The author has thus placed these revolts within the broader historical developments that happened alongside such as the dissolution of the Goan army and also the tensions that existed between the colonial powers. Also, these revolts thus caused upheaval and fear in society and therefore had an impact on the local communities who even left their places and escaped to British territories for safety.<sup>13</sup>

The work has acknowledged various factors like economic grievances, colonial policies, and personal injustices which depict the social and political dynamics of the event. It reflects on the different leaders of the revolt and discusses colonial governance, military strategies, and societal norms. The author has talked about the significant Rane revolts of Dipaji, Custoba, and Dada Rane but the revolts of 1901 and 1912 are stated as minor events which were easily put down.<sup>14</sup>

In the work *Aajcha va Kalcha Gomantak* by A. k. Priolkar, we find the mention of several instances where the people of Goa have resisted Portuguese colonial rule. Here the author has mentioned the Ranes and their revolts. Tracing their history he says that they were the Watandars from Gomantak who belonged to the Maratha clan based in Sattari. He also provides a historical trace of their origin to Satroji Rane who migrated from Rajputana and won over the region of Sattari.

The author has thus mentioned that a combination of different factors like the oppressive colonial policies, economic grievances, and personal injustices led to their revolts. For instance, Governor Visconti increased the taxation and also put restrictions on their clothing

---

<sup>13</sup> Saldanha, *A Short History*, 147.

<sup>14</sup> Saldanha, *A Short History*, 148.

styles which thus brought hardships for the people of Goa thereby raising discontentment and leading to resistance. Dipaji Rane was considered a chief leader who started the fight against the colonial government with the help of the people of his region. His approach of capturing forts and involving guerrilla warfare techniques is thereby highlighted as pivotal in challenging the government.

He went on to capture many regions that were under Portuguese rule and looted a lot of wealth from these places. The work also focuses on the response of the colonial government to suppress the revolt which was through military force as well as coercion which eventually failed to stop Dipaji Rane from carrying out his work. So ultimately this led to negotiations between the Portuguese and the Ranes resulting in the treaty between José Paulo de Oliveira Pegado which recognized Dipaji's demands as well as granted amnesty to all those who rebelled. Also, these revolts received support from the people because of the cause they represented and were followed by a lot of the people in Goa.<sup>15</sup>

The author has also mentioned the revolt of Kushtoba inbrief who fought with the government for nearly 2-3 years. He and his assistant Shamba Dessai were allegedly killed in 1871 by the Portuguese. Another prominent revolt of the Ranes was by Dada Rane Advaikar who related himself with the cause of the Hindu Goan soldiers. He took the fort of Nanuz under his command, entered Bardez and carried out his activities under the Portuguese government. In 1897 the Portuguese negotiated with him and accepted his demands. But he was framed in one of the cases in the later period for his involvement and

---

<sup>15</sup> A.K. Priolkar. *Aajcha va kalcha Gomantak* (Mumbai: The Goa Hindu Association, 1954), 69.



was deported by the government. In 1912 we thus find two of the revolts that happened involving the Ranes from Sattary.

So after analyzing this work, we come across that it reflects a perspective bias that sympathizes with the Ranes and portrays them as fighters against colonial oppression. The revolt is seen as a justified response to the injustices. The author has also mentioned the other groups led by Pavto Nadkarni and Fato Borkar who had a similar cause but worked independently.<sup>16</sup> The work thus signifies Rane's revolts as pivotal moments in shaping Goa's history of resistance and empowerment. It thus created a legacy of demanding the rights and autonomy of the government.

#### 4.4 Post-Liberation Narratives

Author B. S Shastry in his research paper titled *Freedom struggle in Goa: Its Nature and Phases* has focused on the Goan freedom struggle as well as early resistance movements against the Colonial Regime. Shastry claims that there were around 40 revolts against the Portuguese rule during its rule of over 400 years in Goa.<sup>17</sup> The last of them was in the form of Rane revolts which were then suppressed in 1912. All of them were not successful but had significant aims and impacts.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century thus brought the demands of liberalism in Goa and the Portuguese government was thus witnessing the revolts of the Ranes in Sattari. They rebelled for various reasons and revolted in defense of their rights and privileges. So the author therefore

---

<sup>16</sup> Priolkar. *Aajcha va kalcha*, 70.

<sup>17</sup> B.S. Shastry, "Freedom struggle in Goa: Its Nature and Phases", in *Goa wins freedom reflections and reminiscences* (Bambolim: Goa University, 1986), 33.

portrays these revolts as a series of responses to the oppression and injustice that were administered by the colonial authorities. These include protests against taxes imposed, restrictions on Hindu practices, unjust distribution of land, and also false allegations leading to violence and unrest in the regions of Goa.

The chronology of their revolts thus shows their evolution from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. It therefore helps to know about the persistence and escalation of the resistance over the years which then culminated in major rebellions led by leaders like Dipaji and Kushtoba Rane. The Portuguese administration's response to these revolts thus ranged from leniency to suppression. So it highlights various instances where the attempt was made to pacify these rebels through the compromise and appointments to official positions.

The author has therefore portrayed leaders of the revolt as symbols of resistance against colonial oppression. They are therefore seen as charismatic figures who provided their support to their communities and led uprisings against the government thereby often resorting to acts of violence and asserting demands. The Portuguese were successful in suppressing the Ranes but their rebellions had left a lasting imprint on Goan history as well as the memory of the people.

Overall this account of the Rane revolts thus states it as a part of the broader historical narrative of the resistance against Portuguese colonialism. It thus also emphasizes the local communities and their challenge to the colonial authority. But the source does point towards colonial historiography which prioritizes the actions of the ruling authorities over those of the subjugated people.

Teotonio D Souza in his work *Goa to Me* has written about the Rane revolts in Sattary titled “Rane Mat’taiPakleanko”. It provides a critical analysis of the various perspectives which focus on the Rane revolts in Goa. The author has employed a deconstructive approach which has challenged the prevailing romanticized views about Rane as a heroic freedom fighter, for understanding their actions as well as motivations for their revolts.<sup>18</sup> So from this work, the author aims to break the prevailing historical narrative shaped by emotionalism and as well as various other agendas and thus make way for a more objective and inclusive historiography of the Goan liberation struggle.

The main contribution of the essay is about the interrogation of the Rajput origin myth of the Ranes. So the author therefore questions the validity of the claim and points to the lack of evidence that would support their claim of Rajput ancestry. Instead, he has also suggested that the rise of Ranes prominence in Sattari may have been driven by social and economic factors like consolidation of feudal power and exploitation of local resources. This has thus challenged the portrayal of the Ranes as noble warriors fighting for freedom and highlights the power dynamics within the Goan society.

Further, the essay suggests the internal conflicts and power struggles among the different factions within Sattari, which included the traditional villagers and the Ranes as the feudal lords. By highlighting the role of the Subaltern classes in resisting the Rane oppression the author therefore emphasizes the multiple perspectives as well as interests that were involved during the liberation struggle. So this narrative therefore reflects Rane going against the

---

<sup>18</sup> T.R. De Souza, “Rane Mat’tai Pakleanko” in *Goa to me* (Goa : Concept Publishing Company, 1994), 155.

Portuguese also revealing the alliances and the betrayal that was part of the social and political landscape of Sattari.

Also, the author, therefore, contextualizes the revolt of the Ranes within broader historical developments like the decline of traditional village communities as well as the emergence of new economic interests in Sattari. Therefore the author situates the Ranes and their actions within the larger structure of colonialism, capitalism, and also resistance. This, thus provides an understanding of the revolts and their significance in shaping Goa's History.

Overall the essay has challenged the conventional interpretation of Rane revolts by offering a critical reevaluation of their place in Goa's liberation struggle. Thus by deconstructing the narrative about the Ranes, the author encourages the scholars to adopt a more inclusive approach to study Goan history. It should also acknowledge the power and identity of the marginalized communities so with this the essay has contributed towards recent trends that prioritize the voices and experiences of the subaltern people, thereby enriching our understanding of Goa's diverse and contested past.

*Ranyache Gomantakatil Agaman va Govyatil Swatantryasangram* by Jaisimhrao Abasaheb Rane Sardessai is a book that tells us about the history of Ranes of Sattari and their role in the Goan Freedom Struggle. The author through this work has discussed the genealogy of the Ranes and traces their origin to Shringapore and to the Deccan from where they moved to the regions of Goa. The author highlights the contribution of Ranes in the Goan freedom struggle. He has discussed several leaders like Dipu Rane, Kushtoba, and Dada Rane in his work along with several others.

The author has attempted to reflect upon the misinterpretations created by the colonial writings in the minds of the people about the Ranes and their revolts. He feels that the Portuguese writers in their works have presented Ranes as a small minority. Also, their writings were mostly towards undermining the power and authority of the Ranes.<sup>19</sup>

There is a general assumption which is accepted by historians regarding the nature of the rebellion to be Feudal rather than Nationalistic so the author thus refutes this view and states that these rebellions were a part of the freedom struggle of Goa.<sup>20</sup> It was from 1549 to 1912 several of the members of the Rane family sacrificed their lives for the freedom of Goa. Also, they believed that Portuguese rule was a foreign rule which had no right to rule over Goa. Also, these families helped the Goan freedom fighters in 1947 by providing them assistance with weapons as well as places to reside.

The author's views about the Rane revolts therefore exhibit a clear bias towards the Ranes which can be a distortion of the historical narrative. By exaggeration of certain events and portrayal of Ranes in a heroic light compromises the objectivity of the work. Also, this work serves as a crucial intervention that challenges the prevailing views among historians and different authors. By also presenting alternative perspectives and some overlooked facts the book demands the event to be seen with fresh insights. It ultimately advises critical thinking and contributes to a more detailed understanding of the Ranes of Sattary and their significance in Goan history.

---

<sup>19</sup> Jaisinghrao Abasaheb Rane, Sardesai. *Raneyanche Goamtakatil Agaman va Govyatil Swantantyasangram*. (Panaji: Gomantak Marathi Akademi, 1995), 157.

<sup>20</sup> Rane, Sardesai. *Raneyanche Goamtakatil Agaman*, 158.

#### 4.5 Rane Revolts and the Connection with Oral History

Pratima Kamat in her work *Farar Far* has documented in detail the Rane revolts of Sattari which constitute a major part of the history of the Goan freedom struggle. She has made use of not only archival records and secondary sources but has also added the elements of local culture in the form of folk songs and incorporated them into her narrative and made connections with the historical events thereby reflecting on oral history which has been transmitted over the years.

The fascinating element of the author's writing about the revolts is the connection with the local songs which narrate the valor of the Ranes and several of their activities. The author has made use of folk songs and has connected them to history thereby incorporating Oral history into her narrative. Several of these folksongs represent the events of the revolts and the valours of the leaders in these revolts like Dipu Rane who is mentioned in "Sath Satter Gavamadhen, Kon Veer Balli?" and in the variation of the dulpad of Faarar Far called Nanuz Kotantum.<sup>21</sup> Kushtoba who is hailed as a hero or a dacoit is mentioned in several folksongs like "Mia re Kushtoba" and "Dariant marun uddi" as well in a dekhni called "Kushtoba Mirasi Indiecho".<sup>22</sup> There is also an elaborated version of Farar Far which speaks about the plundering activities of Kushtoba and the terror that he caused.<sup>23</sup>

Her analysis of the events contains various instances where the Ranes have revolted against the Portuguese government. She states that Ranes were a prominent family who had descendants from the Rajputs of Rajputana and they had control over the territories in

---

<sup>21</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 169.

<sup>22</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 181-183.

<sup>23</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 184.

Sattari. Their founder Satroji Rane had migrated to Sattari during the 14<sup>th</sup> or 15<sup>th</sup> century according to some lores and they were awarded territories here as fief for their services. They were often found in conflict with the Bhonsles and Sawants of Wadi and had therefore allied with the Portuguese.

Their revolts against the colonial government were the manifestations of the perceived injustices, loss of feudal privileges also oppressive laws which eventually turned into revolts led by leaders like Dipu, Kushtoba, and Dada Rane. Among them, the first revolt thus came in the form of the Dipu Rane revolt that rallied the support and attacked Portuguese forts and establishments. The work thus highlights him as someone with a short stature but of immense courage. The Portuguese thus attempted to suppress the rebellion but failed.

The Portuguese had thus tried to suppress these efforts through force, mediation as well as harsh measures. Also despite their attempts to negotiate peace and address the grievances, they had to resort to martial law, financial measures and military expeditions to maintain their control. The Portuguese government was increasingly dependent on the British assistance to suppress the revolt led by the Ranes but the British monitored this situation and were worried about the influx of Goan refugees to their lands.<sup>24</sup> Thus the revolt came to an end with the demand of the rebels being accepted by the government.

Kushtoba Rane too attempted to challenge the Portuguese rule and is seen as a hero as well as a dacoit. Personal injustice and caste differences thus played a part in this uprising along with other issues. However, the author says that there are several versions of this event where the Ranes were framed by local Brahmin administrative officials and were accused of

---

<sup>24</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 173.

false charges and imprisoned. After they escaped from the jail they killed these officials and harassed the government with their activities. They too looted the rich merchants and landlords and held the rich for Ransom. The Portuguese reacted by joining forces and Kushtoba was killed by a revenue officer at collem. After his death, the revolt was kept alive by several of his companions but it could not go on for long.

#### **4.6 The Recent Writings about the Event**

Author Sushila Sawant Mendes in one of her recent writings titled *Genesis of The Rane Revolts: Nationalist Or Feudal?* speaks about the Rane revolts. She has talked about these revolts and has mentioned the conditions which led to these events.

The author through her work has portrayed these revolts as significant episodes of resistance against the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. These revolts in her view are a depiction of the expressions of defiance against the economic exploitation, oppressive policies and cultural interference which was done by the colonial authorities. It thus highlights various methods of resistance used by the Ranes like guerilla tactics and targeted attacks which signifies that these revolts were manifestations of popular discontent and were a quest for their autonomy.<sup>25</sup>

It acknowledges the leadership of the events with emphasis on key figures like Dipu Rane, Custoba Rane, and Dada Rane in organizing and leading the revolts. However, with their leadership and bravery being recognized in the work, the author has tried to explore the motivations behind these revolts. The economic grievances, cultural impositions, and

---

<sup>25</sup> Sushila Sawant Mendes, "GENESIS OF THE RANE REVOLTS: NATIONALIST OR FEUDAL?" *O Heraldo*. (January 29, 2023).



personal injustices suffered by the people of Sattary and the Ranes are understood as a primary catalyst for the rebellion and it is not simply portrayed as nationalist or ideological.

By assessing critically the government's response to the revolt she has highlighted that military force, repression, and negotiations were used to suppress the event. Also, she has acknowledged the resilience of the Ranes and the setbacks the Portuguese government faced during these times.

This account highlights certain issues surrounding the rebellion as the author acknowledges differing perspectives like that of Dr. Teotonio de Souza who views these events as the events driven by personal grievances rather than nationalist aspirations. So this invites the readers to be a part of the complex historical interpretation and be critical in their approach towards history.

It thus reflects the legacy of the Rane revolts and their significance also the author has highlighted the commemoration of the event with the restoration of Nanuz Fort and other ceremonies to be held which then become a part of the collective memory. Also, the main point of the author is that she has asked the people to be cautious against just claiming the revolts as nationalist struggles, emphasizing the need for historical investigation and interpretation in the future.

*Concise History of Goa* written by Celsa Pinto has written about the Rane revolts as a prominent chapter in the history of Goa. The author has portrayed the Ranes as a fierce tribe who inhabited the areas of new conquests, particularly the region of Sattari. Her depiction of them in her work showcases them as brave, fearless, and protective of their rights as well as

their privileges. Their readiness for violence and rebellion is highlighted through their readiness to resort to armed activities even in response to personal insults.

The author suggests that the causes of the revolts were mainly personal injustice like false accusations or dishonoring of the family members along with that the revolt was a response to the economic grievances of the people as they were mostly into agricultural activities and the new taxes imposed on the agriculture fueled the discontent among the villagers of Sattari. Their intervention in the social customs of the people also served as a major cause like the compulsion for the Hindus to use western clothes.

In her work, Celsa Pinto also touches upon the Portuguese response to these revolts which was inadequate initially thus the attempts to suppress these revolts proved to be ineffective and eventually authorities resorted to diplomacy and negotiations to pacify the rebels and offering them pardons and even military appointments to the rebel leaders. The role of religion has also played its part throughout these local resistances to colonial hegemony.<sup>26</sup> The account therefore tells us about the Hindu sepoys who were reluctant to serve in Africa due to religious beliefs. Instances of social injustice are found which showcase false accusations and unjust distribution of land to certain families were the contributing factors of these revolts.

The author suggests that a pattern of resistance and rebellion can be seen among the Ranes throughout the 19<sup>th</sup> century which indicates the continuity of the struggle, despite its eventual suppression. The Ranes are portrayed as the ones who leave a lasting legacy of defiance and resilience which connects to other narratives of resistance within Goan history.

---

<sup>26</sup> Pinto, *Concise History of Goa*, 249.

She also mentions that the Catholics of Goa supported the uprisings. The Portuguese government came down heavily upon the residents of Sattari and the rebels their movement was forbidden and a state of emergency was thus declared in Goa.

#### **4.7 Rane Revolts as National or Feudal**

One of the significant observations that can be found in the writings on the Rane revolts that have prevailed is about the nature of the Revolt. Some authors have presented their views on this topic and their writings thus reflect upon the question of the nature of Rane revolts.

Author Teotonio D'souza in his research essay titled "*Rane Mat'tai Pakleanko*" thus speaks about the nature of these revolts. He argues that these revolts were mostly rooted in local feudal dynamics rather than nationalist aspirations. Ranes traditionally were powerful feudal lords who had exploited their control over the land and other resources to assert their dominance among the local population. Their actions thus included the patronization of Brahmin priests and manipulating the administrative structures which was aimed at consolidating their feudal control. Their motivations were thus driven by self-interests and the preservation of feudal privileges, nationalism was not prevalent among them and they therefore sought to resist the autonomy of any other foreign power.<sup>27</sup>

In her work, *Farar Far* author Pratima Kamat has discussed this issue in which she believes that these revolts were feudal rather than being considered nationalistic. The motive was to spread terror but its aims never even aspired to free Goa from Portuguese rule. The

---

<sup>27</sup> De Souza, *Rane Mat'tai Pakleanko*, 159.

revolt was a response to the government's inability to protect its people. He always remained willing to negotiate with the Portuguese government. Dipu Rane was ready to drop his arms and provide them assistance and remain loyal to the Portuguese government. Similarly, the author states that the concept of independent Goa was not Kushtoba's goal and he did not even work for its freedom.<sup>28</sup>

There is a consensus among other historians too who have written about this event in their works and therefore point toward the rather feudal nature of the revolt. Sushila Sawant Mendes in her article *Genesis of the Rane revolts: nationalist or feudal* has pointed towards the fact that indeed these revolts were significant expressions of resistance against the colonial rule in Goa but they were primarily driven by the local grievances as well as socio-economic factors rather than having any broader nationalist sentiment.

Also while she acknowledges the bravery as well as defiance of the Ranes in challenging the Portuguese rule but also suggests that their actions were more aligned with the feudal resistance against the perceived injustices than the traditional privileges rather than a unified nationalist struggle for Independence, she therefore emphasizes that nationalism as we see a concept which was to overthrow colonial rule and to establish the self-governance was missing in Goa during the period of these revolts. Her analysis thus therefore leans towards categorizing these revolts as feudal rather than nationalist in nature. Also, she suggests that while the revolts had significant local significance and also impact they were not part of a broader nationalist movement.

---

<sup>28</sup> Kamat, *Farar Far*, 184.

Author in the work *Raneyanche Goamtakatil Agaman va Govyatil Swantantyasangram* written by Jaisingh Rao Abasaheb Rane Sardesai talked about the Rane revolts as being Nationalist in Nature. The author suggests that 1549 to 1912 were the years wherein the Ranes revolted for the freedom of Goa. He also suggests that their contribution to the freedom struggle is as equally important as that of the other freedom fighters in the later events of the Goan freedom struggle.<sup>29</sup> This therefore becomes an important work that looks at their resistance as a nationalistic resistance that was directed toward the liberation of Goa.

The Historiography of the Rane revolts in the Goan freedom struggle offers various accounts that explore this important event in Goan history. Through the analysis of these sources as well as various interpretations it becomes evident that these incidents were not just events that represented their interests in the name of the welfare of the people but had deeply rooted local grievances for social and economic welfare.

The early colonial accounts portray them as threats to the Portuguese authority the other writings do provide alternative perspectives that reflect their bravery and resilience to resist the colonial rule. But the recent writings have analyzed and shed light upon the nature of the revolts which says that they were feudal rather than nationalistic which also highlights the social and economic factors that were leading the rebellion.

Also, the incorporation of Oral history in the narrative shows how these revolts remained as memories in the local memory which helps in understanding the Rane revolts and shows the legacy of these events in Goan history.

---

<sup>29</sup> Sardesai. *Raneyanche Goamtakatil Agaman*, 158.

## **CHAPTER V**

### **Historiography of the 18th June Movement: Examining Perspectives**

The resistance to the Portuguese rule started after their entry in 1510, we find several of the revolts of villagers of Assolna, Velim, and Cuncolim in 1543 followed by the revolts of the Goan priests Mateus de Castro Mahale, the Pinto revolt of 1787 and the Rane revolts. All these were to drive away colonial rule from Goa. With the coming of the twentieth century, we can see that the Goan freedom struggle was in its building phase and that of India was starting to gain its momentum. The Portuguese regime faced not many problems from the Goans although the Ranes of Goa revolted till the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. At this time the Goans identified their problems with that of the Indians and also had felt the effect of the happenings in India but nothing effective could be done to pose a firm challenge to the Colonial rule.

There was growth in the nationalist activities and we come across several organizations that were fighting for the liberation cause. In 1928 several of the Goans under the leadership of Dr. T. B. Cunha formed the National Congress in Goa this linked the Goan struggle with India. At this time emphasis was placed on promoting Gandhian nationalism and propagating nationalist ideas within the people of Goa. Several of these organizations like Gomantakiya Tarun Sangh, Goa Seva Sangh, and Goan Youth League were headed by leaders from Goa like Shamrao Madkaikar, P.P. Shirodkar, Suryakant Naik, Purshottam Kakodkar, Vinayak Mayekar, Nilkanth Karepurkar and several others.<sup>1</sup>

---

<sup>1</sup> Pratima Kamat, *Faalar Far(crossfire): Local Resistance To Colonial Hegemony In Goa, 1510-1912*. (Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999), 280.

The liberalism that had spread in and around the Estado da India after centuries of oppression following the Constitutionalism in 1820 and the Republic in Portugal 1910 was suddenly under scrutiny by the imposition of the restrictions on civil liberties under the regime of Antonio de Oliveira Salazar. Very harsh restrictions were imposed on the people by the Portuguese authorities. The people had no say in the assembly as well as no freedom of the press also the newspapers that circulated in and around Goa were asked to only present the official view of the government. Also, the right to elect was suspended in 1926 but was restored in 1945 and the other parties were banned from participating in the elections. The people of Goa did offer to protest against this injustice but were not organized enough to turn it into a fully-fledged revolution.<sup>2</sup>

It was Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who made this matter renowned and brought in front of the world. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was an Indian Socialist Leader who had come down to Goa upon the invitation of his friend Dr. Julião Menezes. He had stayed in Assolna and was made aware of the political situation in Goa of the Portuguese rule. He soon felt the need to launch direct action against the Portuguese government for its ban on civil liberties to arouse the national consciousness of the Goans. So 18 June 1946 was held as a day to launch the movement for the restoration of civil liberties.

Dr. Lohia along with Dr. Menezes arrived at Margao station and set out to move near the Municipal building to address the crowd that was gathered there. After Lohia started addressing the crowd he was immediately arrested and was taken to the Margao police station. His arrest thus led to large crowds of people moving in processions shouting slogans

---

<sup>2</sup> Celsa Pinto, *Concise History of Goa*(Saligao: Goa 1556, 2023) , 329.

and holding hartal. On the following day, Lohia was released in Collem but vowed to return if the people's demands for civil liberties were not met. This movement continued as men, women and students also launched several campaigns for their rights.

Lohia did try to re-enter Goa but was arrested in September and was later released but his actions received appreciation even from Mahatma Gandhi who felt that Goans should play a more active role in attaining civil liberties. Also, the emphasis on non-violent methods was appreciated all over India. This fight for civil liberties served as a spark which then led the people to take action against the governmental ban on civil liberties.

The movement of 1946 was thus peaceful but the Portuguese government responded by adopting very repressive measures to suppress the movement. Goans received detentions and were arrested in large numbers during this period also the majority of its leaders were tried in special courts and some were even deported to Portugal. But this event served as a motivation for the people of Goa who joined hands to resist the Portuguese policies of repression.

### **5.1 Analyzing Differing Perspectives**

In her PhD thesis, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal*, Dr. Seema Risbud has written about the event of 18<sup>th</sup> June 1946 in Goa. The author has shown the event as a public exhibition of the dissatisfaction with the colonial rule in Goa. This interpretation highlights that the initial movements for Goa's liberation were very important to challenge the authority of colonial rule. She thinks that this movement on June 18, 1946, was a very important chapter in the struggle against Portuguese rule in Goa. The author discusses the event and the dictatorship



of Salazar which took the civil liberties and the basic human rights of the people under the fascist rule.<sup>3</sup> So all these factors set the stage for the June 18<sup>th</sup> movement which therefore emerges as a response to the oppressive rule.

The author states that this movement had various aims. Firstly it was to restore civil liberties also there was a desire between the people for a democratic Goa where every citizen could enjoy their freedom and dignity also they wanted to integrate Goa into the Indian union. So the writings reflect that the movement goes beyond the mere protest against the colonial policies but it was for self-determination and national identity that the people were searching for.

In the evaluation of the leadership and the strategies of the movement, the author has placed a specific focus on figures like Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. She says that the people started adopting non-violent means which were the roots of the Gandhian principles, this served as a choice that gave them widespread support and international attention. Further, the author speaks about the mobilization of diverse segments of the Goan society from that of social workers to students, which highlighted the unity and group efforts during the resistance.

Mainly the author has assessed the impact and legacy of the June 18<sup>th</sup> movement and recognizes the immediate causes that led to public awareness and political mobilization, as well as the long-term problems for Goan identity and nationalist sentiment. From the perspective of historiography, the author has positioned the movement as a turning point in Goan history, influencing the later movement and adding to India's anti-colonial fight. The

---

<sup>3</sup> Seema Suresh Risbud, "Goa's Struggle for freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal" PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2002 : 94.

author has also reflected on the shift in the militant ideology among certain sections of the Goan people during the freedom movement.<sup>4</sup> Therefore this interpretation adds depth and complexity to this event of freedom struggle and also recognizes ideological and internal divisions within the anti-colonial struggle.

*Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa 1947-1961* is a Ph.D. thesis by Anita A. Raut Dessai also an important source which looks at the Freedom struggle and liberation of Goa. The author has shown the event of the 18<sup>th</sup> June 1946 movement in her work which contains the political, social, and economic aspects of the event. The author says that the event was mainly driven by the demands of civil liberties and the political rights that were denied to people during colonial rule. Therefore there were popular protests that challenged the authoritarian rule and demanded democratic reforms. Also, she has highlighted the integration of the Goa Congress Committee with that of the Indian National Congress in 1928 along with the influence of the Quit India movement of 1942, so therefore she makes the connection of the Goan freedom struggle within the Indian nationalist movement.<sup>5</sup>

Also, this perspective presents the interconnectedness of the anti-colonial struggles across different regions of India that of Goa and India. The author has also acknowledged various factors like economic exploitation and social inequality which resulted from colonial policies like the *Acto Colonial* 1930. This interpretation thus adds the social and economic dynamics which played an important role in shaping the resistance movements. One of the significant aspects coming from the work is that the leadership role was taken up by the middle classes

---

<sup>4</sup> Risbud, *Goa's Struggle for*, 102.

<sup>5</sup> Anita A. Raut Desai, "Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa-1947-61" PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2003: 108.

in the 18 June movement and also there was active participation of the people from the different strata of the society along with women from all parts of Goa.<sup>6</sup> Therefore the account also illustrates how various segments of the society were involved and contributed to the anti-colonial struggles which can also challenge those narratives that suggest the focus entirely on elite-led movements.

The author has traced various resistance tactics which were from demands for civil liberties to liberation from Portuguese rule. This also reflects on the nature of anti-colonial movements the changing political situations and the use of non-violent resistance to militant resistance in the liberation process. Also, the role of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was seen as important in initiating the movement of civil liberties in Goa. Lohia thus emerged as a main figure in gaining popular support for the anti-colonial cause which reflects his strong leadership in taking forward the liberation movement. Also, the author has placed the movement with that of Indian nationalism thereby showing a similar relationship between Goa and anti-colonial movements in India.

Through the acts of civil disobedience, mass demonstrations, and organized satyagrahas the ordinary Goans thus expressed their disobedience to the colonial rule and also challenged the authoritarian government and demanded fundamental rights. The author has also pointed out that this movement fostered the nationalist sentiment and laid the foundations for future movements but despite its suppression by Portuguese authorities, its legacy remains as a symbol of Goan resistance and determination to colonial oppression. So this perspective

---

<sup>6</sup> Raut Desai, *Voices in the*, 112.

therefore highlights the significance of popular participation in shaping the course of the liberation struggle.<sup>7</sup>

In the work *Goa Muktisangram* by Vaman Radhakrishna the author has discussed the event of 18 June 1946 and the events related to it. The author has seen the event as important and pivotal in the Goan freedom struggle thereby emphasizing the bravery and defiance of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia as well as by the people against the dictatorial regime which had restrictions on the assembly as well as speech. The author has thus depicted Dr. Lohia as a heroic figure and the people of Goa as courageous standing up against colonial oppression. Dr. Lohia's determination and people's support depict the heroic status in the liberation struggle of Goa.<sup>8</sup> The author has thus described resilience and determination as a symbol used by the people in the face of adversity. Also, there is selective emphasis on certain aspects such as Lohia's role and people's reaction in the movement whereas there is overlooking of alternative interpretations and dissenting voices in the movement. Thus this reflects a shift towards the nationalistic perspective on the freedom struggle as well as reflecting ideological or nationalistic bias.

Also, the narrative contains dramatic elements and dialogues which are generally used for dramatic effects so as historians it is better to avoid such details to ensure the accuracy of the historical work. the work contributes to the historiography of the Goan freedom struggle thereby highlighting the key factors, events, and also the themes. It is also valuable and provides insight into the collective consciousness and public memory of Goa's liberation movement.

---

<sup>7</sup> Raut Desai, *Voices in the*, 109.

<sup>8</sup> Vaman Radhakrishna, *Goa Muktisangram* (Pune: Sadashiv Bagatkar Smrutimala, 1989), 34.

*Sampoorna Swaraj: The Story of Goa's Liberation Struggle 1928-1961* is written by Rajan Narayan. Although not a historian his work presents a different view of the freedom struggle for the people. The events of 1946 offer various views on the causes, consequences and significance of the movement in colonial as well as post-colonial history of the state. The work highlights the role of key individuals, mainly Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and Dr. Julião Menezes in organizing this movement of civil disobedience against the colonial regime. It highlights their efforts to gain mass support and mobilize people towards this movement. It also portrays protests as an expression of mass discontent, economic hardships and political exclusion which led to a strong resolve of the Goans to remove the colonial rule from Goa.

Also, the author places the event with that of Indian nationalism and thereby tries to see the role of the Indian National Congress, Mahatma Gandhi and Nehru and their attitude towards the Goan liberation movement.<sup>9</sup> Gandhi supported the actions of Lohia and the Goan nationalists, while Nehru was more diplomatic, and cautious and preferred negotiations over intervention. Therefore this interpretation has raised questions about Indian nationalist heroes and their attitude towards the anti-colonial struggles beyond its regions. Also, the author has analyzed similar anti-colonial movements and talks about the tactics and outcomes of resistance against the colonial powers. So this approach thus shows the interconnectedness of the anti-colonial struggles and also the support from the people and the freedom fighters. Also, this narrative shows the commemoration and the remembrance of

---

<sup>9</sup> Rajan Narayan, *Sampoorna Swaraj: The Story of Goa's Liberation 1928-1961* (Panjim: The Directorate of Art&Culture, Government of Goa, 2012), 121.

this movement over the years. This event shows the relevance of the past struggle in shaping the feelings of Nationalism.

Author Dr P.P. Shirodkar in his work *Goa's Struggle For Freedom* portrays the event as to attain civil liberties for the Goans. Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia was a main figure who triggered the movement of attaining civil liberties in Goa. His actions were to awaken the Goans masses and to bring attention to the oppressive nature of the colonial regime. Therefore his challenge to the colonial restrictions and his demand for civil rights were seen as important in the the process of liberation in Goa as well as Daman and Diu. The author has thus critiqued the Indian National Congress for its neglect of the Portuguese colonies in the liberation struggle against British rule. It therefore disbanded itself in Goa in 1934 and excluded the Portuguese colonies from the Indian Independence movement. So therefore here he suggests that the Congress leadership neglected to address the issues of the areas outside British India which then led to separate liberation struggles taking place in these colonies.<sup>10</sup>

This work also highlights the impact of the Civil Disobedience Movement in Goa as well as India and the support of Mahatma Gandhi and the working committee of Congress motivated the Goan people which then led to increased political activism. However, the movement received challenges as well as lacked effectiveness because of the lack of coordination between different groups and also the attitude of the Indian government. The author therefore has also discussed the role of the Church and International diplomacy during this time as the involvement of the Archbishop and the rejection of Portugal's entry into the UN by the Indian representatives were considered significant developments that

---

<sup>10</sup> P.P. Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*. (Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1998), 241.

exposed the harsh rule of Portuguese and also it strengthened the resolve of the Goan Nationalists.<sup>11</sup>

Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia advocated for civil liberties, political rights and the integration of Goa to India which was his vision for the Goan freedom struggle. His main approach was to mobilize the Goan people which was important in shaping the liberation movement. The author thus studies the Civil Disobedience Movement within Goa and highlights its impact on local politics as well as international reaction to it. It thus helps to understand the connection between the colonial struggles of various regions. This account therefore appears to focus mainly on Lohia and the activities of national organizations like the Goa Congress Committee. However, the voices of the other groups like marginalized people are not properly explored also it provides an overview of key events and individuals involved in the event but simplifies the complex nature of the Goan freedom struggle. Also, the movement had different motivations and ideologies which are not fully presented in the account.

In the book *Faarar Far* by Pratima Kamat the event of June 18, 1964, has been portrayed as an important movement in the Goan freedom struggle, it thus marked the launch of a movement for restoring civil liberties under Portuguese rule. Also, the event is depicted as an anti-imperialist struggle in Goa which was started by the presence of the veteran leader Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia. The author has looked at the patriotic eagerness that was generated among the local people, as reflected in the poem composed by B.B. Borkar. Lohia served as a central figure and played a major role in gaining the support of political groups as well as individuals and challenged the Portuguese authorities. Therefore his actions received support and inspired the people to resist. Also, the work thus highlights the role of various

---

<sup>11</sup> Shirodkar, *Goa's Struggle for*, 52.

organizations like Goa Seva Sangh and Vidyarthi Congress in propagating the Gandhian idea of nationalism and support for the satyagraha movement.

These organizations have therefore played a crucial role in spreading nationalist ideas, organizing public meetings, and fostering a sense of unity among the Goans. The author has mentioned the harsh repression and the brutal tactics of the Portuguese government to stop the satyagraha movement including large-scale arrests and deportations.<sup>12</sup> Also despite the initial enthusiasm and participation, there was a decline in the momentum of the event because of police brutality and the imprisonment of the key leaders. It thus has criticized the Indian National Congress for the neglect and separation from the Goa Congress committee in 1934. Also, the author suggests that though the Indian National Congress supported the Goans and their cause their actions were not always linked with each other which sometimes led to the disappointments of the Goans. Also, the author has discussed Nehru's non-active role during the freedom struggle. Some authors have defended him and others have criticized him for his actions but his long-term vision was to liberate Goa from Portuguese rule.

A research paper by K. M. Mathew titled *Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia: His Role in the Liberation of Goa* has assessed the event of 18<sup>th</sup> June 1946, and his role in launching a protest against the denial of civil liberties. Mathew has thus constructed a heroic account of Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia and portrayed him as a visionary and a courageous leader who without any fear defied the oppressive Portuguese rule. By focusing on his actions the author has given him a heroic role who opened the path to freedom within the Goans. He is thus of the opinion that this movement served as the beginning of the final phase of the freedom

---

<sup>12</sup> Kamat, *Faarar Far*, 281.



struggle. Mathew has also highlighted that Gandhi gave his approval to Lohia's efforts and praised him for his actions to the cause of civil liberty in Goa.

Also by highlighting Gandhi's support, the author suggests that the event became similar and popular to the Indian Struggle for independence. Mathew has thus looked at Lohia as a leader who had a vision for Goan liberation also touching upon the importance of mass mobilization. Therefore he feels that Lohia's call for immediate actions was to create nationalist feelings and achieve the goal of civil liberties. Thus Mathew presents Lohia as a supporter of peaceful protest and civil disobedience. Also by emphasizing the non-violent nature of the event the author tries to join it with Gandhian tactics of non-violence. He also says that Lohia's call for unity among the people went across the communal divisions and developed a sense of collective identity. Therefore people of all groups joined the movement which reflects nationalism and inclusion of all. He therefore portrays Lohia's vision for Goa to be an important part of India which would be free from colonial rule as well as exploitation and would be governed by the principles of democracy.

So when we assess the perspective of K.M. Mathews on the event of 1946 we find that through his work he has heavily admired Dr. Lohia and his leadership as well this may eventually be biased as it tends to overlook other significant contributors and various factors that shaped the event. It therefore neglects other social as well as political factors of the Goan freedom struggle so a more comprehensive evaluation would also bring out the contributions of other organizations and leaders.

R. P. Rao in his work *Portuguese rule in Goa 1510-1961* has presented his views on the events of 18 June 1946. He views the event from the aftermath of the Portuguese Revolution

of 1926. He has therefore highlighted how the event along with the changing political situation in India, shocked the Goans and increased their efforts for freedom from Portuguese colonial rule. Rao looks at the influence of the Indian nationalist movement particularly the Indian National Congress which was led by Mahatma Gandhi. He shows the connection of Goa with Bombay which shared similar culture and political relations and also led to the close attention of the Goans to the activities of the Congress.

Rao therefore shows Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia as an important figure in the Goan liberation movement as he highlights his leadership in launching the first civil disobedience movement against the Colonial rule in 1946. He also describes the reaction of the Portuguese authorities to the movement involving the arrest of Lohia and other leaders and the use of repressive measures like lathi charges to suppress the demonstrations.<sup>13</sup>

Despite all this, he notes the resilience of the Goan people and highlights how the movement continued through different acts of resistance like satyagraha and with leaders like Dr. Tristão Braganza Cunha and others who actively participated and faced the suppression. He has also looked at the international dimension of the freedom movement, particularly the support it received from the nationalist leaders.<sup>14</sup> He has thus mentioned Gandhiji who urged the people of Goa to assert civil liberties and demand their integration into the Indian Union. Rao has also critiqued the nature of Portuguese rule which represented the sentiments of the Indian nationalist leaders and the political organizations. He has also highlighted the denial of political rights and civil liberties to the Goan people under the Portuguese administration.

---

<sup>13</sup> R. P. Rao, *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961* (Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963), 72.

<sup>14</sup> Rao, *Portuguese Rule in*, 71.

*Dr. Lohia and Goa's Freedom Struggle* is a research article by Sushila Sawant Mendes. The author has presented a detailed account of Lohia and his role in the freedom movement of Goa. Throughout her work, Lohia has emerged as a leader who inspired the people and stood up against colonial rule. Lohia's direct action to gain civil liberties is recognized by the author also his commitment to the cause of Goa's independence brought him widespread support and gathered the people on a mass level to participate in the event.

The author has provided a chronology of the events involved as well as the series of demonstrations, meetings and resistance against the Portuguese rule. According to her, his speeches, arrests and releases served as a motivation for further protests and actions across various villages and towns in Goa. From a historiographical perspective, the author therefore reflects on people mobilization, non-violent resistance and the role of ordinary people in challenging colonial domination. Also, this account therefore portrays rather not a centralized leadership but collective actions to bring out political and social changes. The author has also highlighted the legacy of Lohia and his influence in shaping the course of the liberation movement which went beyond 1946 as can be seen through his participation in other events.<sup>15</sup>

The strength of the work is that it provides a detailed account of the events and the actions of various individuals involved. It also highlights Lohia's qualities and his role in shaping the movement and it focuses on the political and social conditions of Goa before 1946 which therefore increases the significance of this movement. As for limitations, the

---

<sup>15</sup> Sushila Sawant Mendes, "DR. Lohia and Goa's Freedom Struggle", in *Essays in Goan History*, ed. Teotonio R. de Souza (New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989), 173-183.

work provides an account of the event and a limited perspective, also it emphasizes the leadership qualities of Dr. Lohia thereby making a biased portrayal in the narrative.

The 18<sup>th</sup> June movement was a significant event that set the stage for the struggle for liberation against the Portuguese colonial rule in Goa. The variety of perspectives as well as interpretations by various scholars provide an understanding of this event in Goan history. One of the prominent figures who emerged when we study this event is Dr. Ram Manohar Lohia who is praised for his role in the movement and igniting the flames of resistance against colonial rule. He advocated for civil liberties opted for non-violent resistance and asked the Goan population for support and participation in the movement.

The historical accounts show the inter-connectedness of the Goan freedom struggle with the Indian National movement. Authors such as R.P. Rao as well as Anita A. Raut Dessai focus on the influence of Indian nationalist ideologies on the Goan people. This connection therefore places the 1946 movement with the Indian anti-colonial struggle and therefore highlights support as well as unity among the people. Also, the historiography of this event highlights social, economic as well as political factors that increased the pace of resistance against the colonial government. So we can see that the liberation movement was not only for civil liberties but was also towards social and economic justice and one national identity.

The event thus is very important in shaping Goa's path towards liberation and is also commemorated and remembered which highlights the nationalist sentiment of the Goans. Despite the challenges, difficulties and repression it served as an important event for the later movements which resulted from the liberation in 1961. So by critically analyzing the various perspectives we receive different perspectives like colonial rule which then led to resistance.

## **CHAPTER VI**

### **CONCLUSION**

The Resistance to colonial rule in Goa is a long process that started in the 16<sup>th</sup> century in the form of various grievances that were faced by the local indigenous population. The Portuguese Colonizers initially did not interfere in the lives of the people but once they gained their foothold in these territories they started to show their domination and adopted the method of separation to denationalize the people.

The people of Goa thus attempted a series of resistance movements against the colonial state to address their grievances which included the political, social and economic aspects. It was these movements that have become part of the Goan history and are recognized as the early local attempts to end the colonial hegemony in Goa. One of the earliest and the most significant attempts is the Cuncolim Revolt of 1583 which was the case of unrest and religious persecution. Then in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, we came across the Conspiracy of the Pinto's which was discovered and the rebels received severe punishments from the government.

The Rane revolts of the 19<sup>th</sup> century were a case of safeguarding the feudal privileges from the Portuguese rule which went on for a long time and challenged the Portuguese authority in Goa. Thus we have the resistance in the form of civil disobedience that took place in 1946 based on the Gandhian principles of non-violence. So all these revolts were recorded and documented by various writers who have come up with various works that have portrayed these events in different light. Thus we have colonial as well as nationalist historiography that has affected the writings on these movements.

Historiography is thus the study of these methods, interpretations, and perspectives used by historians in writing about a particular period or event of history. It is generally how history is written and understood by different scholars. When we assess the historiography of these various events we come across several writers who have looked into various aspects of the same event which can therefore bring a new aspect of the event to the readers.

The Cuncolim revolt of 1583 was a clear case of colonialism and resistance and an example of local resistance to avoid religious persecution and to safeguard religion. We have Colonial authors like Diogo do Couto, Francis Goldie, Sebastiani Gonçalves and various other writers who honor the martyrs and criticize the gentiles for their hostile reactions against the priests. B. S. Shastry, Ângela Barreto Xavier, Pratima Kamat, Sushila Sawant Mendes and several others have examined the social and religious aspects of the movements portraying it as a case of resistance against forced religious conversions in India. Teotonio de Souza through his work highlights the economic significance that was embedded in this revolt stating that the introduction of Christianity and the destruction of the Hindu temples had threatened the economic privileges of the natives which led to the resistance against the Jesuit missionaries.

The 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> centuries brought with it new grievances in the form of priestly protests by the Goan priest Fr. Mateus de Castro Mahale in 1787 who attempted to free Goa with the assistance of Adil Shah. In 1787 Fr. Caetano Francisco do Couto and Fr. José António Gonçalves and Fr. Abbé Faria determined to get episcopal postings for themselves planned a Conspiracy to overthrow the Portuguese rule from Goa. Cunha Rivara an imperialist writer in his work mentions it as a heinous crime of revolt and high treason against the Portuguese government. He is countered by the Nativist approach of Celsa Pinto who portrays the

participants as martyrs. The global perspective focuses on the interconnectedness of events worldwide and the circulation of revolutionary ideas across regions and the socio-economic perspective views it as products of personal grievances arising out of racial discrimination and administrative exclusion.

The 19<sup>th</sup> century brought in its wake the terror of Ranes who were feudal chiefs that started constantly rebelling with rushes and revolts to rise in the state. The colonial narratives view Ranes as a threat to their power in controlling Goa whereas the Pre-Liberation writings see them as revolts that shaped Goa's history of resistance and empowerment. Post-liberation authors have investigated different aspects of this revolt one of the most significant being the nature of these revolts which says that they were feudal rather than nationalist. Their valour is incorporated in oral history narratives which show their impact on the local memory of the Goan society.

18 June 1946 was a fight for civil liberties that served as a spark which then led the people to take action against the governmental ban on civil liberties. Led by Veteran leader Ram Manohar Lohia the movement emerged as a response to the oppressive rule of the Portuguese government. It was this movement that fostered the nationalist sentiment and laid the foundations for future movements in the Goan freedom struggle. Several authors have assessed these aspects of the movement of 1946 in their work also they believe that the Goan freedom struggle was based on the lines of the Indian National Movement. Civil Disobedience and the fight for civil liberties were the Gandhian principles of resistance against the colonial authorities which were also followed in Goa during the 1946 movement.

So when we critically analyze all these historical accounts they open up new aspects from which different authors have looked at them. Though the authors must have consulted similar sources their approach to the event varies and in the process brings significant conclusions through their works. Therefore the early resistance to the colonial rule portrays that these events were manifestations of the personal grievances that the people wanted to address and in turn revolted against the colonial government whereas the Goan Freedom struggle began from the 18 June 1946 movement and therefore several of the historical writings proves this fact.

Therefore the hypothesis of the study also proves the fact that when we analyze the historiography of Goan resistance to colonial rule we find various shifts in interpretation over time, influenced by various perspectives as well as biases in different works.



## **Bibliography**

### **Published Primary Sources**

Couto, Diogo do. *Da Ásia Década X part primeira*. Lisbon: Na Regia Officina Typografica, 1781.

Germano da Silva Correia, A. C. *Les Ranes de Satary*. Bastora, 1928.

Gonçalves S.I., Sebastiani. "Historici Relatio de Martyribus Salsetanis." In *Documenta Indica* vol. XII, edited by Joseph Wicki S.J. Romae: Institutum Historicum Societatis Iesu, 1972.

Mendes, Lopes. *A Índia Portuguesa*, vol. II. Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1886

### **Books**

Ali, B. Sheik ed. *Goa Wins Freedom: Reflections and Reminiscences*. Bambolim: Goa University, 1986.

Bayly, Christopher A. "The 'Revolutionary Age' in the Wider World, c. 1790–1830." In *War, Empire and Slavery, 1770–1830*, London: Palgrave Macmillan UK, 2010.

Cunha, T. B. *Goa's Freedom Struggle*. Bombay: Dr. T.B. Cunha Memorial Committee, 1961.

Da Cunha Rivara, Joaquim Heliodoró . *Goa and the Revolt of 1787*. translated by Renato da Cunha Soares, edited by Charles J. Borges. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1996.

De Souza, Teotonio R. ed. *Essays in Goan History*. New Delhi: Concept Publishing Company, 1989.

De Souza, Teotonio R. *Goa to me*. Concept Publishing Company, 1994.

Deora, M. S. ed. *Liberation of Goa Daman and Diu from Portuguese Rule*. New Delhi: Discovery Publishing, 1995.

Desai, Nishtha. *Liberation vs Armed Aggression: The Media Response To Goa's Liberation*. Panaji: The Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Goa, 2011.

Gadkari Madhav, Asa ha Gomantak. Pune: 1975.

Gune, V. T. *Gazetteer of Indian Union Territory of Goa, Daman and Diu*. Panaji: Government Printing Press, Part I, 1979.

Kamat, Pratima. *Farar Far (crossfire) local resistance to colonial hegemony in Goa 1510-1912*. Panaji: Institute Menezes Braganza, 1999.

Kamat, Varsha. *Resurgent Goa: Goan Society from 1900-1961*. Panaji: Broadway Publishing House, 2019.

Larsen, Karin. *Faces of Goa*. New Delhi: Gyan Publishing House, 1998.

Menezes, Juliao. *Goa's Freedom Struggle*. Goa: Alzira Da Almeida Charitable Trust, 2011.

Narayan, Rajan. *Sampoorna Swaraj: The Story Of Goa's liberation Struggle 1928-1961*. Panjim: The Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Goa, 2012.

Pinto, Celsa. *A Revolt of the Natives of Goa, 1787: The Forgotten Martyrs*. Panjim: Broadway Publishing House, 2013.

Pinto, Celsa. *Concise History of Goa*. Saligao: Goa 1556, 2023.

Radhakrishna, Vaman. *Goa Muktisangram*. Pune: Sadashiv Bagatkar Smrutimala, 1989.

Sardesai, M. H. *Swatantryapathawar*. Goa: Gomantak Marathi Akademi, 1997.

Rao, R. P. *Portuguese Rule in Goa 1510-1961*. Delhi: Asia Publishing House, 1963.

Sardesai, Jaisinghrao Abasaheb Rane. *Raneyanche Goamtakatil Agaman va Govyatil Swantantyasangram*. Panaji: Gomantak Marathi Akademi, 1995.

Sardesai, M. H. *Goa Daman and Diu : Swatantraladhyacha Itihaas*. Goa: Goa Daman and Diu Sarkar, 1986.

Shirodkar, P. P. *Goa's Struggle for Freedom*. Delhi: Ajanta Publications, 1998.

Shirodkar, P. P. *Researches in Indo-Portuguese History Vol. II*. Jaipur: Publication Scheme, 1998.

Sinha, Arun. *Goa Indica: A Critical Portrait of Postcolonial Goa*. New Delhi: Promilla & CO. Publishers, (2002).

Sukhtankar, Jagganath, *Portuguese Rajavatitil Swwatantrya Ladhyachi Pane (1510-1947)*. Panjim: Gomantak Marathi Akademi, 1992.

Velinkar, Joseph. *India and the West: The First Encounters*. Mumbai: Heras Institute Indian History and Culture, 1998.

## Articles

Axelrod, Paul, and Michelle A. Fuerch. "Flight of the Deities: Hindu Resistance in Portuguese Goa." *Modern Asian Studies* 30, no. 2 (1996): 387–421.

Bravo, Philip. "The Case of Goa: History, Rhetoric and Nationalism" *Past Imperfect*, Vol. 7, (1998), 125-154.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/313013>.

Mendes, Sushila Sawant. "Lusitanization versus assertion in Goa: The 1583 Revolt in Assolna, Velim, Cuncolim." *PalArch's Journal of Archaeology of Egypt/Egyptology* 17, no. 7 (2020): 9593-9600.

Robinson, Rowena. "Cuncolim: Weaving a Tale of Resistance." *Economic and Political Weekly* 32, no. 7 (1997): 334–40.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/4405091>.

## Newspaper Article

Mendes, Sushila Sawant. "Genesis of the Rane Revolts: Nationalist or Feudal?" *O Herald*, January 29, 2023.

<https://www.heraldgoa.in/Edit/GENESIS-OF-THE-RANE-REVOLTS-NATIONALIST-OR-FEUDAL-/200217>.

## Internet Source

"WHY CUNCOLIM MARTYRS? By Teotónio R. De Souza," *Wings of Time*, October 3, 2005.

<https://mahawansa.wordpress.com/2005/10/03/why-cuncolim-martyrs-by-teotonio-r-de-souza/>.

### **Unpublished Works**

Desai, Anita A. R. *Voices in the Liberation Struggle: The Case of Goa 1974-1961*. PhD thesis, Goa University, 2003.

Mendes, Sushila Sawant. *Luis De Menezes Bragança (1878-1938) and the emergence of Political Consciousness in Goa*. PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2012.

Mishra, Rekha. *History of the Press in Goa*. PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2004.

Risbud, S. *Goa's Struggle for Freedom, 1946-1961: The Contribution of National Congress (Goa) and Azad Gomantak Dal'*. PhD Thesis, Goa University, 2002.