

Congress Liberalism and the Colonial Press

EXHIBITION ON THE COLONIAL PRESS. Guide



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GUIDE ON THE EXHIBITION
ON THE COLONIAL PRESS

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Table of contents

<i>INTRODUCTION TO THE GUIDE</i>	6
<i>FACULDADE DE LETRAS LIBRARY. UNIVERSITY OF LISBON</i>	8
<i>A) Sources</i>	9
<i>B) References</i>	14
<i>PERSONAL LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES</i>	15
<i>B) Collected works</i>	49
<i>C) Unpublished Studies</i>	69
<i>C) Studies and Memoirs</i>	73
<i>GALLERY</i>	76

INTRODUCTION TO THE GUIDE

This display, produced in partnership with the FLUL library, exhibits sources and studies - many of them difficult to access or largely unknown to an audience of academics and other interested parties - that reflect the diversity of perspectives mobilised by the colonial press, in this case, related to the Portuguese empire.

We sought, in the first instance, to call attention to the importance for scholarship of this press, of certain collections in the Faculdade de Letras Library at the University of Lisbon. On the other hand, through the collaborative construction of a significant part of the exhibition with materials pertaining to personal archives and libraries, we sought to highlight the importance of these collections and the potential to integrate them into solutions that enable access to sources in holdings that are particularly dispersed and difficult to map, and which are at particular risk of survival. A third and no less important aspect is related to the interest in constructing and making accessible a record of unpublished studies, which may make a significant contribution to future research and which, in some cases, refer to collections that have become partially or completely inaccessible due to their physical deterioration.

As the cases of the Francisco Morais Janeiro, Jorge Ataíde Lobo, and Manuel Ferreira collections demonstrate, it is necessary to highlight that access to archives and libraries created by private individuals opens up new possibilities for understanding the history of this press, among other things. These archives frequently allow us to cast light on less well-known aspects of the histories of publications, or even to bring to the present the memory of their existence and the movements associated with them, to access to the construction of intergenerational intellectual memories and the networks of circulation of ideas, and to reflect on what was thought important to keep over the course of life journeys that often suffered many tribulations.

¹ *The numbers that precede the works correspond to the display numbers in the exhibition.*

The present guide was developed as a “narrative” of those journeys, and we chose to give particular emphasis to the sources shown in this exhibition and to current scholarship on those sources. The obvious disproportion between the entries in some cases reflects what little is known about the exhibited press source, and in others it presents studies that were undertaken especially for this guide. In yet other cases, we opted not to expand here on entries that already have a fuller entry online in the Common Virtual Exhibition that has been in development since 2017: <https://expoimprensacoloniaf.fcsf.unl.pt/>.

FACULDADE DE LETRAS LIBRARY. UNIVERSITY OF LISBON

The history of the library at the Faculdade de Letras, University of Lisbon (FLUL) spans more than a century and a half. The library has its origins in the Library of the Higher Course in Languages and Literatures established by the king D. Pedro V in 1858. In 2000, a new building was constructed and the Central Library, as it had been called until then, and the twenty-two smaller libraries pertaining to the various Departments and Institutes of the Faculty, were merged to create the FLUL Library.

Especiallly since 2010, the library collection that is of special interest for colonial history has been significantly enriched. Of particular note are the donations to the Faculty of various libraries and personal archives of Portuguese and foreign academics and intellectuals, notably Isabel Castro Henriques and Alfredo Margarido (2010, 2017), Michel Laban (2012), Manuel Ferreira and Orlanda Amarílis (2014, 2020), and Horácio Alves Nogueira (2019). Added to these are the collections donated by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation (2014, 2019) and by the Institute for Tropical Scientific Research (2016). In 2021, a partnership was inaugurated with the Caixa Geral de Depósitos (CGD) bank that came significantly to increase the importance of the library for this field by delivering the incorporation of the catalogue of the former Overseas/Colonial Library of the National Overseas Bank (BNU), which includes the personal libraries of Francisco Vieira Machado and António Liz Dias.

A) Sources

Manuel Ferreira Bequest

Manuel Ferreira (Gândara do Olivais, 1917- Linda-a-Velha, 1992)

Manuel Ferreira was a Portuguese writer and academic who was responsible for the institutionalisation of African literatures in Portugal, for he was the founder in 1975 of the course in African Literatures written in Portuguese at the Faculdade de Letras, University of Lisbon, where he taught from 1975 to 1987. He was also responsible for the first attempt to organise those literatures through the publication of anthologies and literary histories, among which some pioneering highlights are: *Nô Reino de Caliban: Antologia Panorâmica da Poesia Africana de Expressão Portuguesa* (1975-1976), *Literaturas Africanas de Expressão Portuguesa* (1977), and along with Gerald Moser, *Bibliografia das Literaturas Africanas de Expressão Portuguesa* (1983). He was also the founder of the journal *África*, and of the publishing house ALAC (África, Literatura, Arte e Cultura).

His relationship with literature was not merely one of academic interest; it was also the consequence of Ferreira's close acquaintance with the actors responsible for the emergence of those literatures, for he immersed himself in the intellectual environments that he visited and experienced during various military missions on behalf of the Portuguese state from the 1940s onwards. His first trip to Cabo Verde, between 1941 and 1946, was the turning point for his intellectual activity, and especially for his literary activity as a writer. He was influenced by neo-realist trends, and he was close to the group of intellectuals who created the magazine, *Claridade*. As early as 1944, Ferreira published a book of short stories, *Greí*, in the Atlantic archipelago. Following this came another short story collection, *Morna* (1948), and several novels, all inspired by Cabo Verde. Driven by the literary ferment of Cabo Verde, and especially Mindelo, he attended and completed the secondary school diploma in Literary Studies at the Liceu Gil Eanes. He was also one of the promoters of the magazine *Certeza*, the cultural organ

of the *Academia Cultivar*, which followed the experience of *Claridade*, although on the first issue his name does not appear among the list of contributors.

Nevertheless, his literary training took a rather unusual turn. Shortly before the constitutional revisions of 1951, a stay in Goa that lasted 1948 to 1954 presented him with the opportunity to enter into contact with a different literary and cultural circuit from that which he had experienced in Cabo Verde. In Goa, Ferreira attended the secondary school course in Sciences at the Liceu Afonso de Albuquerque and, in 1952, he graduated in Pharmacy from the Goa College of Medicine and Surgery. Despite this baptism into the colonial academic life of Goa, Panjim (Panaji) was no Mindelo. The Goan cultural circuit appeared, in his opinion, to be stagnant and dormant, a victim of the negligence of colonial institutions. Here, Manuel Ferreira became involved in the management and programming of the Emissora de Goa (Goa Broadcasting Company), and he realised the idea of publishing its *Boletim* over two years (1952-1953) with the support of a team formed principally of metropolitan agents. The idea of the *Boletim* emerged as a means of combatting the scarcity of periodicals relating to culture and literature in Goa, and it led to the creation of a cultural page in the Goan newspaper *O Heraldó* in 1953, which was produced in this case by local figures.

Between 1965 and 1967, Ferreira was in Africa again for yet another military mission, this time in Luanda. On his return to Portugal in 1974, he completed the course in Political and Social Sciences at the Institute for Social Sciences and Overseas [Colonial] Politics. In spite of his close collaboration with the colonial administration, that is, with the Salazar regime, Ferreira was a writer of antifascist ideas – these were palpable particularly in the critiques underlying his literary fiction, as well as in the attention called to the PIDE on various occasions – and as a man of letters, he was very attentive and sensitive to the social and cultural situations of the territories that were colonised by Portugal. The collection that he left to the Faculdade de Letras Library at the University of Lisbon (Manuel Ferreira Donation), and the family archive that has not yet been catalogued (Manuel Ferreira and Orlanda Amarilís Archive), are precious testament to the scientific commitment and self-sacrificing love for literature of this intellectual, academic, and writer.

13. *Claridade* (S. Vicente, March 1936-1960). Issue nº 1, March 1936.

The first issue of the magazine *Claridade* was published in March 1936 on the island of São Vicente, Cabo Verde. It was founded by Jorge Barbosa, Baltasar Lopes, and Manuel Lopes, and it was typeset and printed by the Sociedade de Tipografia e Publicidade Lda. With texts written in Portuguese and Crioulo, this literary magazine had a great impact on Cabo Verdean society, for it took a new approach to the reality of the archipelago through the themes of drought, hunger, death, and emigration that was rooted in flight and in the two-part dilemma (wanting to leave and having to stay / wanting to stay and having to leave), amongst other questions. A total of nine issues of the magazine were printed across two phases of publication (March 1936 - March 1937; 1947-1960), and its editorial history reflects the difficulties faced by a magazine with this kind of profile in the colonial atmosphere of the Estado Novo. The first issue is exhibited here. Issue number 6, from July 1948, can be consulted online in the Common Virtual Exhibition (<https://expoimprensacoloniaf.fcsb.unl.pt/>). The importance of *Claridade* within Cabo Verdean cultural and political history has been recognised in numerous dissertations, articles, and books published over recent decades.

19. *Certeza: Fôlha da Academia* (nº 1 March 1944- nº 3, January 1945). Issue nº 1.

Certeza was the periodical publication linked to the Academia Cultivar, founded on the island of São Vicente in Cabo Verde in 1942. The *Academia Cultivar* was founded by a group of students from the Liceu Gil Eanes, and the magazine was promoted by members who were principally concerned with questions of a literary nature. The first issue, published in March 1944, is exhibited here. As a descendant of the *Claridade* experience, *Certeza*, like its precursor, was printed by the Sociedade de Tipografia e Publicidade Lda. Its contributors included eminent Cabo Verdean intellectuals, among whom the following stand out: Orlandá Amarílis, Eduíno Brito Silva, José Mateus

Spencer, Guilherme dos Reis Rocheteau, Nuno Álvares de Miranda, Tomás Dantas Martins, and Arnaldo Vasconcelos França. The third issue was suspended and seized. For more information about this magazine, see <https://brito-semedo.blogs.sapo.pt/75-anos-da-certeza-folha-da-academia-601432>.

22. *Mensagem. Circular da Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (Lisbon, July 1948-January 1952). Issues Year 2, n.º 11 (May/December 1949); Year 3, n.º 12 (January/July 1951); Year 3, n.º 13 (January 1952)

Mensagem. Boletim da Casa dos Estudantes do Império (Lisbon, 1957-1964). Issues Year 3, n.º 1 (January 1960); Year 14, n.º 3 (August 1962).

Since starting *Mensagem* as a typewritten circular, the students of the CEI had been manifesting their ambition to publish a printed magazine with a wider distribution, although they never achieved that goal. *Mensagem* continued in typewritten form even when in the 1960s its format became more like that of a magazine, with printed covers and illustrations. It was around this time that it started to declare explicitly that it was a “non-periodical publication”. Independently of its format and subtitle, *Mensagem* always published content similar to the model for the cultural magazine of an intellectual movement. With its strong literary and creative component, and its undisguisable critiques, the fact of it not being a print publication may have helped its profile, placing it on the margins of the Censors’ vision. Whether in its first or second phase, the contributors were overwhelmingly students linked to the African colonies. A significant number of the issues can be found at the website of the Casa Comum FMS&MB: http://casacomum.org/cc/arquivos?set=e_11039#!e_11039.

The *Casa dos Estudantes do Império* (Association of Students of the Empire) has received renewed academic attention in recent decades. The research group from the UCCLA initiative co-ordinated by Aida Freudenthal represents a milestone in research. It has worked on the files and various other documents and has re-issued the publications of the Casa, as well as publishing a special issue of *Mensagem*. Another landmark is the work *Casa dos Estudantes do Império: Dinâmicas Coloniais, conexões transnacionais*, co-

ordinated by Cláudia Castelo and Jerónimo Bandeira (2017). This attention is merited both for the importance of the Casa for the construction of a political and cultural consciousness in the intellectual environment of the Portuguese colonies, and because it constitutes one of the most significant examples of subversion within an organisation that was established to serve the imperial policies and dictatorship of the Estado Novo.

After the first Casa de Moçambique (Mozambique Association) in Coimbra in 1941, and after the Angolan students created an association in Lisbon towards the end of 1943 with the support of the Mocidade Portuguesa (Portuguese Youth, MP), which was directed at that time by Marcelo Caetano, other associations followed. The impetus to merge these groups into a single association came from the Minister for the Colonies, Francisco Vieira Machado, and was more in keeping with the conception of empire. The idea was realised in October of that year, with Caetano now occupying the ministry of the colonies.

Contrary to Vieira Machado's expectations, the Casa organised itself into sections corresponding to the different colonies, thus reproducing the logic of affinities that had shaped the earlier associations. This structure became a decisive factor in feeding simultaneously the feelings of local identity and the exchange of ideas and shared experiences among the groups. As Cláudia Castelo points out, the signs of rebellion had been increasing since 1945, namely through memberships first of the MUD (Movement for Democratic Unity), and then its youth branch, the MUD Juvenil. By April 1951, the PIDE, which had been following closely the members of the association and had infiltrators planted among them, had no doubts in asserting that the CEI had become an anti-situationist stronghold. In May of 1952 the democratic structure of the CEI was terminated and a management committee imposed, which led to a mass withdrawal of the membership. In February 1957, the government finally ceded direct control but imposed new statutes that obliged an abdication from political activity and put an end to the organisational divisions. The scandal associated with the CEI returned in 1961 when around one hundred Angolan students fled Portugal to join the anticolonial struggle, with the obvious involvement of the CEI in the planning of their escape. In 1965,

the association was definitively closed and the ways in which students from the colonies were welcomed and supported was rethought.

26. *Boletim da Emissora de Goa*. (nº 1, Jan. 1952-1953). Issues Vol 1 nº 2 (April/May/June 1952).

The *Boletim da Emissora de Goa* was published between 1952 and 1953, with the first number appearing in January 1952. This publication reflects the radio programming of the Emissora de Goa (Goa Broadcasting Company), especially in terms of its literary columns.

B) References

41. Costa, Aleixo Manuel da. *Literatura goesa: apontamentos bio-bibliográficos para a sua história*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1967.
42. Costa, Aleixo Manuel da. *Dicionário da literatura goesa*. Vol. 1, 2, 3. Macao: Instituto Cultural de Macau, 1997.
44. Cunha, António Maria da. *A evolução do jornalismo na Índia Portuguesa*. Nova Goa: Imprensa Nacional, 1923.
48. Devi, Vimala. Seabra, Manuel de. *A literatura indo-portuguesa*. Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1971.
49. Cunha, Vicente de Bragança. *Literatura indo-portuguesa: figuras e factos*. Bombay: V. de B. Cunha, 1926.

PERSONAL LIBRARIES AND ARCHIVES

A) SOURCES (Miscellaneous)

Sandra Ataíde Lobo Library and Archive (SAL)

Gifts from Nuno da Cunha Gonçalves

Nuno da Cunha Gonçalves (Beira, 1914-Lisbon, 1997)

Nuno da Cunha Gonçalves was a man of culture and a member of a Goan family of notable intellectuals that was well-known in both Goa and Portugal. He was born in Beira (Mozambique) and spent part of his youth in Goa. In 1935 he moved to Lisbon where he worked for a significant portion of his life at the Automobile Club of Portugal. He was a bibliophile, a numismatist, an amateur historian, and a lover of music, and he was one of the leading figures of the Musical Culture Circle in Lisbon, having been linked particularly to the early jazz scene in Portugal. Before his death, he auctioned part of his enormous library, and he also donated thousands of books of interest for the history of India to the University of Goa Library, where they came to constitute one of the most important collections in that library. His great friendship with Jorge Ataíde Lobo was extended to his daughter (SAL), to whom he gifted various precious bibliographic items over the years.

1. *Silva, Bernardo Peres da. Diálogo entre um doutor em filosofia e um português da Índia na cidade de Lisboa sobre a constituição política do reino de Portugal, suas vantagens, e meios de*

mantê-la. Dedicado à mocidade da Índia pelo seu compatriota. Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Nacional, 1823. Very rare.

In this work in defence of liberalism, we read:

[Native:] but we, the disgraced inhabitants of a Country in which it is not even known what Public opinion is; unhappier than the Cherokee Tribes of Alabama, who, thanks to the philanthropy of the Americans of the United States of the North, have a Gazette in their own language; we who are so far from the Throne, and Parliament, and subjected to a Viceroy, and Captain General, who does whatsoever he wants, and orders whatsoever he pleases; because, as one from Mexico puts it: God is very high up, the King is far away, and me here (...) how might we aspire, even with a constitution, to happiness?

Doctor. Firstly, these terrifying names of Viceroy, Captain General, Governor Castelão will not even exist: soon there will be an organic law, that will define the attributions of Power, or Public authority, and they will be limited (...) Furthermore with the establishment of Public Classes, primary instruction, and the education of your children in Europe, with which you should concern yourselves deeply, will you not have public writers, and learned men, whose coming together will form Public opinion? (8-10)

Bernardo Peres da Silva (Goa, 1775-Lisbon, 1844)

Bernardo Peres da Silva was a doctor who became the “Father” of Goan liberalism, a defender of the causes of the Portuguese constitutional monarchy and of the rights of the “natives”. His personal journey and his thinking made him a point of reference for liberals, autonomists, and Goan nationalists.

He was one of those “natives” who, together with the “metropolitan” doctor António José da Lima Leitão, were elected as members of the Constituent Assemblies in January 1822. During their journey to Portugal, they demonstrated against the possibility of Goa joining the Brazilian separatist movement and they were arrested in Rio de Janeiro.

He arrived in Portugal in 1823, just before the fall of Vintism – the political movement that had been dominant since 1820 – and in time to swear in the Constitution. On his return to Goa in 1825 in the position of General Secretary for Agriculture, which he had offered to take up without remuneration, he was elected again to the Chartist Assemblies in 1827, and he would return to Portugal once more in a climate of counter-revolution. In exile in England, he tried to convince the Government in exile to arm a fleet that would assure the maintenance of Indian loyalty to the liberal cause and from there start a government of resistance in Portuguese territory. Around the same time, he made contributions to various periodicals showing support for the Queen. He departed for Brazil in order to try, unsuccessfully, to convince the king D. Pedro to support his plan. Before leaving Brazil, he published the *Dialógo* that is exhibited here, which was the first openly political work to be published by a Goan, and in which he synthesised ideas that he also set out across diverse publications and manuscripts. With the liberal victory, and as part of a plan that he presented for the governance and development of Goa, D. Pedro named him the Mayor of India, but when he arrived in the territory he was deposed by a military revolt under the accusation of nativism. He was forced to go into exile in Daman, where he instigated a conflict over the legitimacy of the two governments. This gave rise to the creation of a significant collection of periodicals and pamphlets on both sides. When the conflict was resolved by the metropolitan government, Peres da Silva returned to Portugal in 1838 as a member of parliament, and was finally able to exercise his duties. In recent years, Peres da Silva (and his *Dialógo*) has been studied especially by Celsa Pinto, Luís Cabral de Oliveira, and Sandra Ataíde Lobo.

The Cunha Gonçalves family: a house of intellectual traditions...

2. *Ilustração Goana* (nº 1, 11.1864- nº 24, 12.1866). 1º e 2º nºs published in Nova-Goa by the Imprensa Nacional. Sequential issues from the printers of “O Ultramar”, in Margao. Photocopied example. Of particular note are the hand-written indications of the issues and dates of publication, which allow for reconstitution of the history of the publication of this magazine.

Ilustração Goana was the first cultural magazine initiated by young people from among the native elites in Goa. It had a liberal inclination and paid particular attention to history and to the creation of a local literature. It published the first short stories that focused on Goa, and celebrated some local figures, Bernardo Peres da Silva among them. It was directed by Júlio Gonçalves and garnered support from certain veterans such as the brahmin Bernardo Francisco da Costa, Manuel José da Costa Campos, who was of Portuguese heritage, and the metropolitans Cunha Rivara and Lopes Mendes. The contribution of the poet José Pedro da Silva Campos Oliveira (Cabaceira, Mozambique, 1847-1911), who was studying in Goa at the time, is worthy of mention. Campos Oliveira later came to found the first cultural magazine in Mozambique. This magazine has been the focus of several academic studies, namely dissertations and articles.

3. “Centenário de nascimento de Júlio Gonçalves” *Heraldo*, 16-07-1946. Homage to Júlio Gonçalves

Júlio Gonçalves (Luís Manuel Júlio Frederico Gonçalves, Nova-Goa, 1846-1896)

Luís Manuel Júlio Frederico Gonçalves (Panjim [Panaji], 1846-1896) was the grandfather of Nuno da Cunha Gonçalves and one of the great intellectual figures of nineteenth-century Goan cultural history, in particular due to his part in the creation of *Ilustração Goana* and his active participation in the foundation of the Vasco da Gama Institute and the production of its first journal, *Instituto Vasco da Gama* (Panjim [Panaji], 1872-1875). In addition to his activity as an author, he was also a notable lawyer and jurist, having sat on various legislative committees and drafted the Code of Goan Hindu Practices and Customs (1880). He was married to Leocádia da Cunha Gonçalves, sister of the orientalist José Gerson da Cunha and of the doctor and journalist António Maria da Cunha. Several of the fourteen children and descendants of this couple achieved high-profiles as professionals, writers, and intellectuals in Portugal and in other spaces.

The homage paid to Gonçalves by *Heraldo* is particularly meaningful as that journal was founded and directed by his brother-in-law António Maria da Cunha, the great-uncle of Nuno da Cunha Gonçalves.

Heraldo: diário da manhã (Nova-Goa, 21.5.1908-15.4.1962)

Heraldo was the second daily newspaper to be founded in Panjim (Panaji), in 1908, and it had its own press. It was a moderate journal of republican leaning. During the monarchy, it took a critical stance towards national and colonial politics, and it predicted the advent of the republic. During the First Republic, it played an important role in local political and cultural affairs. It was involved in the autonomist movement of 1918-1919. It gave increasing attention to the Indian nationalist movement from a conservative perspective. It was opposed to the Colonial Act and defended the maintenance of the concept of Overseas Provinces. While it was under the directorship of António Maria da Cunha, it distanced itself from the dictatorial regime and was eventually suspended from 26-1-1947 to 30-4-1947 because of the article "The ancient aura of inertia". Later, under the direction of Álvaro de Santa Rita Vaz, it supported the Portuguese position in the Goa Affair, having created an English edition for this very purpose. Among the peculiarities of the history of this daily newspaper is the fact of Leocádia da Cunha Gonçalves having contributed to it and informally directed it during a brief period in its early years - a fact which positions her among the pioneers of Goan journalism by women. It was published until April 1962, when Santa Rita Vaz joined the group of refugees in Lisbon after the end of Portuguese rule in India.

12. *Revista Académica de Instrução e Recreio* (Nova-Goa, nº1, Set. 1933-nº 3/4, Mar-Jun 1934) - issues nº 3/4 (very rare)

The *Revista Académica de Instrução e Recreio* was owned and directed by Nuno da Cunha Gonçalves, and it was a magazine initiated by the students of the Liceu Central in Panjim (Panaji). It ended when Gonçalves departed for Portugal. In the first number it paid homage to the 1919 magazine of the same title. It published new material by Alberto de Noronha and Floriano Barreto, as well as literature, local studies, jokes, puzzles, etc. It had a wide range of inter-generational contributors, including the

historian P. Pussurlencar and António Maria da Cunha. Its second number, a special issue for Christmas 1933, had the unusual feature of offering as a free gift an original watercolour by the artist Ângelo da Fonseca, which illustrated the flight to Egypt and in which can be seen the famously “indianised” aesthetic depiction of Catholicism that characterised the work of this artist, a disciple of Rabindrath and Abanindranath Tagore in Shantiniketan and who was thus ostracised within the local Catholic milieu in the context of the *Estado Novo*.

Gifts from Maria de Lourdes Janeiro

(from Francisco Morais Janeiro's estate)

Maria de Lourdes Janeiro (Daman, 1953)²

*Maria de Lourdes Janeiro was born in Daman, where she spent her childhood. She moved with her family to Mozambique where she lived until the beginning of the 1970s, when the family returned to Portugal. She graduated in 1978 from the School of Fine Arts in Lisbon, and she has been working as a project architect and researcher in History of Architecture and Town Planning, with various publications to her name. More recently, she has dedicated her research to the study of her parents' estate. In 2017 she published *Cartas de Damão: uma visão do quotidiano na antiga Índia portuguesa nos anos finais de 1951-1961, uma compilação*, with an introductory study and notes on the letters written by her mother, Maria Gisela de Janeiro, during the period in which she lived in Goa and Daman.*

*In 2018, in the context of SAL's interest in the Goan press and the IGSCP-PE project, she gifted documentation relating to Carlos da Cruz, which formed part of her father's archive. This collection is formed of the newspaper *Sandalcaló*, the dossier relating to the disciplinary proceedings against Carlos da Cruz, and a set of articles that he published in 1932 in the newspaper *O Anglo-Lusitano*, which may have been originally attached to the dossier.*

Francisco Morais Janeiro (Lisbon, 1917-2010) and his estate

Maria de Lourdes Janeiro

Francisco Morais Janeiro graduated in Historical and Philosophical Sciences from the Faculdade de Letras in Lisbon in 1949. He lived and worked in the former Portuguese

² Note written in collaboration with Maria de Lourdes Janeiro.

India (Daman and Goa) between 1951 and 1961. He dedicated himself professionally to the field of education, working occasionally as a teacher at the Liceu Afonso de Albuquerque in Panjim (Panaji) and developing a public education project (the tuition of children in the Konkani language). Later, he lived in Mozambique and worked at the Directorate of Education Services (1962-1975) where he had responsibility for the management of the “Faiths and Cultural Institutions” department.

Original documentation

Original documentation relating to the proceedings established against the editor and journalist of the *Sandalcalo* newspaper, Carlos da Cruz - a teacher in Silvassá - in October 1932, following an article that he wrote and published in the Bombay (Mumbai) newspaper *Anglo-Lusitano*.

This documentation was collected in the personal archive (estate) of Francisco Morais Janeiro. The file consists of the documentation of the proceedings raised in the International Tribunal of the Hague in December 1955, entitled “Right of Passage for the enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli”.

It comprises a very extensive collection of documents relating to “Historical Memory”, that is, which reconstitute the conditions by which Dadra and Nagar Haveli came to be Portuguese possessions, and it also collates the work carried out during the respective tribunal hearing.

The work of researching this historical documentation in order to prove Portuguese sovereignty in those territories was initiated by Dr. Silva Rego, who was then director of the recently formed Centre for Historical Studies of the Overseas Territories (C.E.H.U.).

Francisco Morais Janeiro was a Portuguese colonial administrator living in what was then Portuguese India, and he supported Dr. Silva Rego in the collection of documentation in March 1956 when research work in the Historical Archive of Goa was commenced.

After that date, a working group was formed, which was led by Alexandre Lobato, the co-director of the C.E.H.U., and in which Francisco Janeiro and his wife, Gisela Janeiro,

participated.

7. *Sandalcalo* (British India, Valpi, 1931-1932) - issue, nº 1.

Sandalcalo has not been studied to date. This was a weekly publication founded and edited by Carlos da Cruz, and administered by Celina Fernandes. It was published in Valpi, on the border of British India, in order to evade the jurisdiction of the dictatorship. It was a harsh critic of the abuses of power and corruption of the colonial administrators. It was eventually prosecuted. This is a unique collection.

8. *O Anglo-Lusitano* (Bombay, 1886-1955) - 25th of June 1932 issue, p. 3

Article by Carlos da Cruz in *A Nossa Página em Pro do Distrito de Damão...* relating to the disciplinary proceedings against him.

Anglo-Lusitano was a (Portuguese and English) bilingual weekly founded on 8 July 1886 by a section of the emigrant Goan Catholic community in Bombay (Mumbai). This was a time when the Indian National Congress was emerging and in which the different communities were under pressure to define their identity in India under British rule. The periodical was created principally with the aim of defending the rights of the Portuguese Patronage and the interests of this community under the Raj. It stood out for being this community's longest-running periodical. It equally came to be notable for its participation in the political conflicts in Goa and in the formation of a Goan Catholic identity, and it had a very rich and non-linear political and cultural evolution. At the beginning of the First Republic it shared the reaction of the more conservative Catholic community, which sought to contest the laicisation of the state in Goa. In the early years of the Estado Novo dictatorship, it positioned itself on the side of the opposition, namely in its condemnation of the Colonial Act; as such, it became a target for Portuguese diplomacy, and its circulation in Goa was prohibited in the years around the publication of the new Salazarist Constitution and again in 1937. More information can be found at: https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#o_anglo_lusitano . The newspaper is

being actively studied by researchers linked to the Pensando Goa group and the GIEIP-IP. This work has already resulted in articles published in India and in Portugal. See also the Studies of the Press Exhibition on the Congress website.

6. *Governo do Distrito de Damão. Correspondência Confidencial e outros documentos respeitantes ao Processo disciplinar contra Carlos da Cruz, Professor na Escola Oficial Neves Ferreira*

Prosecution files against articles published by Carlos da Cruz in the newspaper *O Anglo-Lusitano* between 16 April and 9 July 1932. It includes a long letter from Carlos da Cruz, dated 2 September 1932, defending his status as a journalist. The Governor of Daman, Capt. Jovino Lopes, intervenes in his favour.

Carlos da Cruz (Carlos Luís Martinho Nazário da Cruz, Goa, Chandor, 1907-1958) - From academic activist to anticolonial journalist.

Carlos da Cruz was the director of the Students' Association of the Liceu de Nova-Goa from 1924. In 1928 the Association was dissolved, and Carlos da Cruz was expelled from the school. He commenced a short career as a primary school teacher after training at the Normal School, and started a career as a journalist. In 1929, he founded the nationalist-leaning newspaper *O Oriente*, which lasted until 1930. He moved to Daman to escape the political siege in Goa, but encountered other political problems there, despite having the support of the local governor. His articles published in the *Sandalcalo* and in *Anglo-Lusitano* under the heading "Our Page for the Benefit of the District of Daman with Carlos da Cruz, Editor of *Sandalcalo*, as Principal Contributor" were eventually the cause of his prosecution and a brief spell in prison. In 1933, he went into exile in Bombay (Mumbai) and took up directorship of *O Anglo-Lusitano*. He also consolidated his collaboration with T. B. Cunha, which had commenced in 1928 with the foundation of the Goan Committee of the Indian National Congress. Between 1933 and 1935, they published the *Indo-Portuguese Review* and the *Indo-Portuguese Annual*, although we are unaware of surviving issues of these periodicals. In 1935 the British

authorities, under pressure from Portuguese diplomacy, ensure the closure of these periodicals and the removal of Carlos da Cruz from the management of the *Anglo-Lusitano*. During these years, none of these publications could be distributed in territories under Portuguese rule, and the editors were obliged to have recourse to strategies for clandestine circulation of the issues, with the complicity of local journalists and activists, as António da Cruz recounts. Between the end of 1958 and the beginning of 1959, António da Cruz outlined his brother's biography in *Free Goa* (Belgaum [Belgavi], Bombay [Mumbai], 1953-1962), the anticolonial paper founded by T. B. Cunha's circle.

Jorge Ataíde Lobo Collection (JAL)

Jorge Ataíde Lobo (Siolim, 1920-Lisbon, 2004)

Jorge da Graça Ataíde Lobo was from a Goan family. He was the son of primary school teachers who engaged in some activity in the press and local public life. He spent his childhood in Siolim where he attended primary school, and he moved to Panjim (Panaji) to continue his studies. There, he completed the secondary school course in science and literature at the Liceu Nacional Afonso de Albuquerque (formerly the Liceu Nacional de Nova-Goa [Panjim]), and the pharmacy course at the College of Medicine and Surgery, as well as becoming a "provisional" lawyer. He engaged in considerable cultural and pedagogic activity as a student. Worthy of mention is his involvement in the creation of various youth pages for the local press, in the *União Académica* and the foundation of the magazine *O Académico*, in the committee that worked on the Adeodato Barreto archive, and in the creation of the Adeodato Barreto Secondary School Course. After the end of the Second World War, he moved in 1945 to Lisbon, where he studied Law. He was a member of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império and president of the India section, and later, of the Casa itself. He was a magistrate in Angola between

1952 and 1960, where uncomfortable decisions led to his eventual transfer to Goa, as he had been requesting. One of his first initiatives in Goa was the renovation of the district court of the Islands and the creation of a “Gallery of Lawyers” in homage to the role of local lawyers in the administration of justice and in the defence of the rights and guarantees of citizens. He remained in India after the end of Portuguese rule, participating as a magistrate in the juridical and judicial transition process. He dedicated himself to his legal practice from 1966, became involved in local civic, cultural, and political life, and even published a novel, *Liberation*. When relations between Portugal and India were resumed, in 1978 he moved - primarily for family reasons - to Portugal where he returned to magistracy. He left numerous unpublished works.

His archive and library were largely dilapidated by his itinerant life. The small surviving collection has been made available to scholars dedicated to the study of Goan culture, and it has been digitalised in part by the *Pensando Goa* project. It is comprised mainly of print and manuscript magazines, pamphlets, and books, press clippings, literary manuscripts, and some documents of public and private interest. In this exhibition, a selection of materials of interest for the history of the colonial press and intellectual - namely student - movements is showcased.

From his parents' library...

4. *Luz do Oriente* (monthly magazine, Pondá, v. 1, n° 1, 08. 1907- n° 2 1920) - issue vol. 8, 1915.

Luz do Oriente was the longest-running, privately owned Goan cultural magazine. This illustrated periodical was established by the Hindu intelligentsia with strong links to the Maharashtra nationalists, and its objective was to strengthen the links between Hindus and Christians, enabling the “westerners” to come to know various aspects of Hindu civilisation. It was involved in the republican project after 1910 and increasingly received contributions from Catholic intellectuals. For more information about this magazine and the group it was associated with, see the Common Virtual Exhibition https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/ind.html#luz_do_oriente. It has begun to attract the attention of various researchers.

5. *O Indispensável*: revista quinzenal enciclopédica (Bastorá, 17.7.1914-3.7.1915).

The third series of a title run by J. V. Janín Rangel, the owner of the most prominent private press in Goa. Illustrated. It subscribed to the spirit of disseminating useful knowledge that characterised the magazines of the 1800s, and it targeted a family audience.

Juventude goesa

This section reflects the cultural environment that JAL's generation sought to establish in Goa. It was marked from early on by a fascination for journalism, which is visible in interventions in the local public sphere as well as in the entertainment produced as part of family life, to which the young people returned when they went to their home villages during the holidays. A growing critical positioning and appeal to the role of young people in the renovation of local intellectual life can be identified in it.

Playing at journalism at home...

9. *A Flor da Mocidade* (Siolim, c. 1936-1937). Family magazine, illustrated manuscript. Irregular. Copy of number 6.

The brothers adopted the surname Lopes, after their father's pseudonym, Alito Lopes. The importance of the press for local and family life is evident. Commentaries – often satirical – on family life, local life, and press polemics, invented news items, essays, stories, and jokes.

... *Panjim/Panaji* – a gathering place for students

9. *O Jovial* (Nova Goa, n° 1, 15.09.1936-n° 8, s.d. [1937]). Biweekly. Issue n°2, 3-10-1936

Magazine of the society of Year 5 pupils at the Liceu de Nova Goa. The opening issue was circulated in manuscript form. Starting with the second issue, it was typewritten with a printed cover and manuscript graphic details. Illustrated by Govinda Singbal and Visnum P. Vernencar. Glued-on photographs of the contributors. Its history is recounted in issue number 8 (no date), by Jorge, the editor of the magazine (signed JAL, Braggart). The aim was “to learn to write”. The contributions of both Catholic and Hindu students are noteworthy. There was some participation from women. Stories, jokes, poetry, criticism.

9. *Os Sete* (Nova Goa, 12.08.1940-?) – Monthly magazine. Vol. II, September 1940, m.m.e.

Magazine of the student society, *Comensalidade Académica*. Typewritten with manuscript graphic details, a printed cover, and collages. Essays, dissemination of knowledge, stories, poetry, jokes. The impact of the Second World War is evident.

16. *Gente Nova*: publicação comemorativa do primeiro aniversário da página literária de *O Heraldó*. Nova Goa, January 1940

Publication of the *Grupo Gente Nova* under the imprint of the newspaper *O Heraldó*. It received special contributions from various teachers and journalists. Once again, the collaboration of Catholic and Hindu young people is evident. Essays, stories, poetry.

O Heraldó (Nova Goa/Pangim, 1900 until today)

Heraldó was the first daily newspaper to be founded in the Portuguese colonies, its publication having commenced on 22 January 1900. It continues today in an English-language format, which started in 1983. The initiative was launched by a group of young people led by António Aleixo Messias Gomes, who was joined by Tomás Botelho, Francisco Leite, Aleixo Mariano de Sousa, and Luís de Menezes Bragança. They had a strong connection to the republican intellectualism that was seeking to make itself heard. They wanted to bring to Goa a modern daily that combined local, national, and international news, opinion, and attention to subjects of local interest, opening its pages to diverse contributors, both permanent and occasional, and with a broad contribution from the local educated elite. Throughout its publication history, it dedicated a significant amount of space to the Indian question, in particular following and commenting on the convulsions in British India. It was in favour of local autonomy during the republic, but in 1930, acknowledged its failure and came to support the dictatorship in its early stages, although this position would also evolve into a critical distancing. This is a newspaper that is yet to be studied in and of itself, despite being used frequently as a source of information.

17. *O Académico* (Nova Goa, nº 1, November 1940-nº13, 1943) – Bimonthly magazine. Issue nº1.

The magazine *O Académico* was the press organ of the União Académica, and it was typeset and printed by the “Diário da Noite” Press. This magazine is the last collective intervention of this generation in the Goan public sphere. It had a clearly cultural-political nature, democratic leanings, and was suggestively anticolonial. Contributors included well-known nationalists such as T.B. Cunha, Berta Menezes Bragança, António Furtado, and Lúcio de Miranda. This latter was as notable for his anti-Salazarist resistance in the Azores as for his contribution to anticolonial networks in England, where he was exiled in the 1950s. Among the explicit intellectual references in the magazine were Luís de Menezes Bragança, Adeodato Barreto, and Rabindranath Tagore. This was a magazine that assumed a vocation of influencing the

local environment, awakening consciousness, and promoting creativity. It adopted the local academic press tradition that had commenced in the 1920s, among which sits the *Revista Académica* that is shown in this exhibition. It fought against the dominant conservative mentality and became involved in various polemics. Once more, there is evidence of the collaboration of Catholics and Hindus, and for the first time, the contribution of women was significant.

The *União Académica* was formed on 14 December 1933 and is framed in the spirit of the intellectual movements of that century. It shows an increasing connection to the nationalist youth movement, especially Hindu but also Catholic. From its inception it focused on cultural initiatives and on stimulating the public debate of ideas, frequently pushing the limits of the context of censorship and political surveillance of the dictatorship. Largely forgotten until recently, it has started to receive academic attention from researchers linked to the Pensando Goa group, and the GIETP-IP, especially in respect of *O Académico*. For more information see the Studies of the Press Exhibition on the Congress website.

15. “*Conversando com o Sr. Narana Bembro Secretário da União Académica sobre a actividade da mesma*” *O Heraldó*, 14-12-1935

The secretary highlights the civic and cultural objectives of the Union.

União Académica Nova-Goa, Identificação Cara, belonging to Jorge de Ataíde Lobo, 1938-1939. Member no. 209.

18. *Curso Liceal de Adeodato Barreto: anuário 1941-1942*. Nova Goa, Impresso na Tipografia Sadananda, 1942

Adeodato Barreto, O Livro da Vida: cânticos indianos. Editor Vasco Benedito Gomes, preface by Ruy de Sant’Elmo (pseud. of Abílio Augusto de Brito e Nascimento). Nova Goa, Índia Portuguesa: Edições “Swatva”, 1940. With a photograph of Adeodato.

The creation of the [Adeodato Barreto Secondary School Course](#), as an alternative to official secondary school, is testament to the pedagogic, cultural, and political influence of Adeodato Barreto and his generation on these young people. After the death of this fomenter of ideas in 1937, his widow was temporarily in Goa, taking her husband's archive with her. At that time, a working group was formed to organise the collection and publish the works that he had left behind. In this context a programme of lectures (Lúcio de Miranda, Álvaro de Santa Rita Vaz, and JAL) commemorated the second anniversary of his death, on 6 August 1939. Following this, in 1940 a biography was published by Prof. Lúcio de Miranda, his friend and colleague in Coimbra. By public subscription, a book of poetry was also published: *O Livro da Vida: cânticos indianos*, with an introduction by Adeodato on modern poetry (*Aljustrel*, 1935, signed *Forçu Dèodát*).

Unfortunately, the majority of works that he left in manuscript form have been lost and the return of his widow to Portugal halted the continuation of this work. Contact with this archive, which is replete with his activity as an academic leader and in the press, his pedagogic thought, and some important correspondence, would have been decisive for the growth of political and cultural consciousness among these young people. One of his sons, the union leader Kalidas Barreto (*Montemor-o-Novo*, 1932 – *Castanheira de Pera*, 2020), whom he barely knew due to Adeodato's untimely death, conserved what remains and sought to make known the memory of his father.

[Adeodato Barreto \(Margão, 1905-Coimbra, 1937\)](#)

Júlio Francisco António Adeodato Barreto spent his childhood in Loutulim. He commenced his studies at secondary school in Margao, where he produced the manuscript newspaper *A Luz*, before going on to complete the literature course at the *Liceu Nacional de Nova-Goa (Panjim [Panaji])*. In 1923 he travelled to Coimbra where he graduated with degrees in Law (1928) and Philosophical Sciences (1929), and also

completed the course at the *Escola Normal Superior* (teacher training college), which was abolished by the dictatorship in the very year that he finished it (1930). During these years, he was involved in the creation of the Indian Institute, with its own library, within the *Faculdade de Letras* at Coimbra University. He also participated in the creation and direction of the periodical *Índia Nova*, as well as collaborating on various other periodicals and translating into Portuguese Romain Rolland's biography of Gandhi. He was also linked to the *Universidade Livre* (Free University) of Coimbra, founded in 1925 by Joaquim de Carvalho and Aurélio Quintanilha, amongst others. Additionally, he was a member of the republican academic movement that was notable for its resistance to the dictatorship. He participated in the leadership of the Coimbra Republican Academic Centre in 1928 and was elected president of the Centre in 1929. In this role, he demonstrated himself to be deeply critical of the failure of the republicanisation of the University and of the limitations of the Portuguese elites of the time. In that period, he began to study the pedagogic thought of Rabindranath Tagore, intervened in the polemics around the Indian nationalist movement, and became involved in spreading anticolonial consciousness in Goa. At the same time, he sought to deepen his knowledge of Indian culture and civilisation. Moving in leftist circles, he was preoccupied with the rise of extremism and antidemocracy, and concerned himself with pacifist reflection, with the theosophist and Esperantist movements, and with critiques of capitalism, imperialism, colonialism, and Eurocentric civilisational narratives.

He was a teacher at the Bernardino Machado School in Figueira da Foz in 1930-1931, but he stepped back from official education after that date. He became a registrar in Montemor-o-Novo in 1932 where he founded a League for Education that promoted literacy for adults and put on lectures. Between 1933 and his death in 1937, he held the role of notary in Aljustrel, where he founded the newspaper *O Círculo* in 1934, encouraged childhood education, and created a course in Esperanto. Throughout these years, he continued to publish in newspapers and in the literary journal *Seara Nova*, becoming involved in several polemics, namely with António Ferro, as well as publishing *A Civilização Hindu* and producing a number of unpublished texts. He was involved in the support network for refugees from the Spanish Civil War. He died of

tuberculosis in hospital in Coimbra.

Travelling to Lisbon

The journey by boat to Lisbon required a stop in Mozambique. JAL became fascinated with the modernity of Lourenço Marques (Maputo) and reported his experience for the Goan press. He kept in his baggage a magazine that is evidence of this fascination.

21. Horizonte: revista de actualidades (Weekly Lourenço Marques, n° 1, 24.01.1945-n°43, 15.06.1946) - issue n° 5, 10.03.1945

According to Ilídio Rocha in his catalogue of Mozambican periodicals, the first number of *Horizonte* confirmed its vision to “fight for a Bigger Mozambique, within an indivisible Portugal”. The cover of the copy exhibited here, with the title “Portrait of a city”, presents the image of a city right in the process of modernisation, highlighting Lourenço Marques (Maputo) as “one of the most modern and dynamic of Portuguese cities”.

In Lisbon

20. Casa dos Estudantes do Império, Bilhete de Identidade JAL’s identity card, member number 69, 26 March 1949, with papers confirming subscriptions paid to the CEI India.

Casa dos Estudantes do Império. Secção da Índia, Ofício n° 269/SI/49-50. Management Report 1949-50, Lisbon, 5 January 1951

Report signed by the President Jorge Ataíde Lobo. Typewritten. Copy. Of significant

interest for the history of the India section of the Casa. Among other activities, we highlight this one detailed on page 2:

“5 - Collaboration with the Goan press

The publication of a Section entitled - Voz de Lisboa - was started in the newspaper “A Voz da Índia”, which cannot be continued by virtue of the prohibition of the publication of that newspaper. It was intended, because of this, to continue the section in another Goan journal, possibly “O Heraldó”, but that idea cannot be realised due to the negligence of the General Representative of the CEI in the State of India.”

Furthermore, he corroborates a piece of information that is to be found in the PIDE archives with regard to the CEI, that one of the members of the section was approached by Francisco Xavier de Sousa - a political exile in Bombay (Mumbai) and an associate of Enio Pimenta (see the newspaper [Ressurge Goa](#), below) - in order to exchange news and information about the Goan academic community in Portugal. Could he have been the source of the nationalist propaganda bulletins that are contained in this archive? Could it have been the former political prisoners living in conditional freedom in Lisbon at the time, who had been linked to the protests that were initiated on 18 June 1846 in Goa and some of whom were former participants in the União Académica and O Académico? Or would there have been other channels of communication?

With the exception of the pioneering work of Aida Freudenthal, the role of the [India Section](#) of the [CEI](#) has been largely neglected in scholarship, despite its existence having coincided with the first anticolonial protests in Goa (1946-1949) when nationalist leaders were subjected to the unprecedented treatment of prison sentences in Portugal followed by obligatory residence in the metropole under precarious economic conditions, with the independence of India and the beginning of the diplomatic conflict coming to be known as the “Goa Affair”. The dates of the periodicals and pamphlets below coincide with JAL’s rise to the leadership of that section and of the Casa, which suggests that there were channels of communication and internal circulation of these materials.

23. *Ressurge Goa: Órgão do Povo Goês* (Irregular, Bombay, Nº specimen, 28.01.1950 -nº 107, 28 Feb. 1955). Issue nº 6 (Christmas edition), 25.1.1950

Ressurge Goa was an anticolonial newspaper published by Telo de Mascarenhas, who wrote a large portion of it. In Portuguese with articles in Konkani and English. According to Telo de Mascarenhas's declarations to the PIDE, the section in Konkani was produced by Enio Pimenta, the editor of the bilingual newspaper *Goencar*, which was the organ of the Goa National Congress. Those declarations also reveal that it was financed first by Mascarenhas himself, and later subsidised by a support fund for exiled Goans, and it had an average production of 500 copies. In his memoirs, Telo de Mascarenhas confirms that he sent the newspaper to Portugal for distribution, including to Salazar, and this is supported by evidence in the Salazar Archive and the PIDE archives in the Torre do Tombo.

The periodical was one of the first titles to be created by the nationalists in Bombay (Mumbai) to promote the cause of the integration of Goa into the Indian State. Among the preoccupations of the newspaper, the concern with proving the compatibility of Catholic identity with Indian nationalism stands out. On the cover of the issue exhibited here, there is a "Christmas Message" with an illustration by the painter Ângela Trindade.

Several numbers of the newspaper have been made accessible within the scope of the online exhibition that began in 2017: https://expoimprensacolonial.fcsh.unl.pt/cla.html#ressurge_goa. At the same time, the Torre do Tombo made available online the documentation relating to the file on Telo de Mascarenhas.

Telo de Mascarenhas (Mormugão, 1899-Carmolim, 1979)

Menino Teotónio António de Mascarenhas, better known as *Telo de Mascarenhas* or Telo Mascarenhas, was as notable for his anticolonial activity as for his literary work and

his translations of classical and contemporary Indian works.

Telo de Mascarenhas studied in Goa until the 5th year of secondary school, and he was linked to the founders of the first *Revista Académica* in 1919. In 1921, he travelled to Portugal where he completed his secondary school course and attended the theatre school at the Conservatoire. He studied law, first at the University of Lisbon and later in Coimbra, completing the course in 1930. During those years, he joined the group of young enthusiasts of Indian nationalism and Hindu culture who, towards the end of 1925, sought to create a party that would embed nationalist ideas in Goa. In this context, he was also linked to Adeodato Barreto and José Teles in the creation of the newspaper *Índia Nova*.

After completing his studies, he went through a phase of active support for the *Estado Novo*, but his move away from this ideology became evident with his decision to return to India in 1948, at a time when Goan political prisoners were being held in Peniche jail. A brief passage through Goa brought him immediately into the radar of the political police, which considered him responsible for the growth of MUD propaganda in the territory. In exile in Bombay (Mumbai), he was linked to the National Congress (Goa) and founded *Ressurge Goa*, a periodical that would end in 1955 when he went to work for the Portuguese section of All India Radio. After he left the radio in 1959 over a disagreement about the political direction of the station, he gave himself up to the Portuguese authorities and negotiated his return to Portugal. In Lisbon, he was prosecuted and later, in May 1962, condemned to 24 years in prison. He thus became the last Goan political prisoner in Portugal, and was only freed and sent to India in 1970. On his return to Goa, Telo de Mascarenhas published his memoirs and other works, and relaunched *Ressurge Goa*. The newspaper *Ressurge Goa* and Telo de Mascarenhas's nationalist journey, as well as his literary legacy and impact as a Tagorean, have been the focus of academic attention in articles and theses.

21. *Congress Bulletin: National Congress (Goa)*. Bilingual. English and Portuguese. Issue, n°12-50, 18 November 1950.

Bulletin with the title *Crop at Taleigão / A Quarta Espiga em Taleigão*, which comments on the propaganda visit by the Governor-General, José Quintanilha (“the immortal Drover”) to Taleigão. It contrasts the situation of independent India with that of Goa under the “racket of the Colonial Empire”.

25. *Congresso Nacional (Goa). Goencho fuddar*. Buletin in konkani. Printed in Belgão. Issue nº 5, 15 August 1950, India Independence Day.

Congresso Nacional (Goa), Triunfar ou perecer é a mensagem de 18 de Junho. Printed in Belgão. Pamphlet in Marathi and Portuguese, dated 18 June 1950.

This commemorates the anniversary of 18 June 1946, when nationalist gatherings and protests were initiated in Goa, and which is now known as the anticolonial “revolution day”.

National Congress (Goa). Public works in Goa. Pamphlet, 2 July 1950

Critique of the Governor-General José Quintanilha’s failed policy for public works.

Cobardês! Pamphlet dated 22 June 1950, signed by António Furtado in Belgaum (Belgavi)

Pamphlet defending his honour in respect of his role as Administrator of the Island communities.

The bulletins and pamphlets exhibited here relate to propaganda for the National Congress (Goa), which had been formed in 1946 in the context of protests demanding civil liberties in Portuguese India, and which commenced the most sustained and wide-

ranging struggle for the end of Portuguese rule.

António Furtado (Goa, 1898 – Margão, 1988)

The location where some of these pamphlets for the National Congress (Goa) were printed points to the authorship of António Furtado, who had recently gone into exile in Belgaum (Belgavi) with his wife, Berta Menezes de Bragança.

Like Adeodato Barreto and Telo de Mascarenhas, António Furtado studied law in Portugal in the 1920s, and like them, he belonged to the group of young nationalist students whose activism brought them notoriety in the metropolitan and Goan press from the middle of that decade. It was around that time that Furtado became close to T. B. Cunha.

*After he finished his course, António Furtado lived for some years in Setúbal, where he directed the republican newspaper *A Vitória*, founded in 1929 by José Romão Santos Ferro. On his return to Goa at the end of 1931, he established himself as a lawyer and in the 1940s exercised responsibility as Administrator of the Island Communities. In 1950, when he refused to sign a letter of repudiation in response to Nehru's demands about Portuguese India, he was dismissed and forced into exile to avoid deportation, as was happening to numerous nationalists. He thus entered a phase of overt activism.*

*With T. B. Cunha's return to India after he fled Portugal, they founded the newspaper *Free Goa* in 1953. It was published in Belgaum (Belgavi), and from May 1955 in Bombay (Mumbai), under the direction of António Furtado. He remained in this role until April 1956 when he was replaced by T. B. Cunha. At the end of 1953, they created the *Goa Action Committee*. At the end of 1954, António Furtado took up the role of administrator of Nagar Haveli and in 1955, of the liberated areas of Dadra and Nagar Haveli. Following the death of T. B. Cunha in September 1958, Berta Menezes de Bragança took over the direction of the newspaper until the end of Portuguese rule. The couple only returned to Goa in 1962, when António Furtado was nominated as an Appeals Court Judge. The couple remained active in local political and cultural life, principally through the press.*

Return to Goa

28. *O Comércio: jornal de propaganda e defesa da actividade económica de Angola* (Diário, Luanda, 30.12.1933-1975) – issue nº 5141, 4.07.1961

The first page of the copy exhibited here reports on the war operations that had been initiated some months earlier and it would have been sent from Angola.

O Comércio (Luanda, 1933-1975)

João Manuel Rocha

The title page proclaims the connection with the Luanda Trade Association and the aim to be a “newspaper for the promotion and support of economic activity in Angola”, but *O Comércio* was also a newspaper aligned with the Estado Novo. It started life as a weekly, on 30 December 1933, and replaced the *Comércio de Angola*. The newspaper was founded by Joaquim Faria and became a generalist morning paper. At the beginning of the 1960s, a period that has already garnered some scholarly attention, its editor-in-chief was Artur Ferreira da Costa, a journalist with experience in leadership roles at the Lisbon newspapers *Diário de Manhã* and *O Século*. Ferreira da Costa was a supporter of the regime and he was recognised as having the aptitude to make *O Comércio* into “a granary for authentic information professionals” (Melo, 1935, p. 158). In 1961, with the onset of the colonial war, he became a familiar voice to listeners of the *Emissora Nacional* (National Broadcasting Company), and was known for the way in which he commenced his reports: “Luanda here, Ferreira da Costa speaking”.

As well as Angola, *O Comércio* privileged news about the metropole, foreign affairs, sport, and the other colonies. Among the topics related to Angola that received the most

attention were the activities of the Governor-General and the government of the “overseas province”, official ceremonies, developmental politics, and the claims of the colonial sectors. By contrast, and in keeping with the majority of the colonial press in the territory, African experiences were almost completely absent from the newspaper. As well as the primacy given to news items, the newspaper also made space for columns and commentary. In 1972 and 1973, the number of issues printed was the minimum required to retain ownership of the title. In 1974, a comeback was attempted, but it shut down permanently in the following year, the year of independence of Angola. The circumstances and reasons for its decline are yet to be studied.

Reference cited: Melo, A. Borges de. *História da Imprensa de Angola*. Rio de Janeiro: *Semana Ilustrada*, 1993.

29. *Heraldo: diário da manhã*. Issue nº 15511, 28.07.1961

On the first page, the article “Do they want to attack again? Portugal has given its response: No, No, and No” stands out. It reports that the “Afro-Asian Group” was going to ask the UN to intervene urgently against the “merciless” repression of Angolan nationalists by the Portuguese power. It juxtaposes this news item with the “scenes of savagery” inflicted by the “terrorists”.

30. *Diário da Noite* (Nova-Goa/Pangim, 1.12.1919-30.6.1968) – issue nº 13899, 31.07.1961.

Highlights from the first page: the battle of Bizerte in the context of the Franco-Tunisian conflict; “News from Angola” about the activities of the “terrorist bandits”, sent by the Lusitânia agency; a lecture by the lawyer António Bruto da Costa on the occasion of the inauguration of the “Gallery of lawyers” in the Islands district.

The *Diário da Noite* was the second evening daily to be published in Goa, and it was founded and produced in Portuguese by the primary school teacher and journalist Luís de Menezes (1884-1962). He was known for his incisive writing, which he had first showcased writing for *O Heraldó*, followed by *Heraldó*, and later joining Menezes

Bragança's Debate, the newspaper that he left to start this journalistic project. He had also contributed on occasion to other periodicals such as the Revista da Índia (Panjim [Panaji], 1913-1914) and the Jornal das Colónias (Lisbon, 1927-1931). The Diário da Noite was the first Goan newspaper to use rotary printing presses and have colour pages.

Having emerged from the republican mould of these periodicals, its political character became increasingly conservative. Towards the end of the 1920s it actively fought against the growth of pro-Indian nationalist propaganda in Goa and the activism that was being developed in this context by the "Goan Committee" of the Indian Congress, and it sustained polemics with the newspaper Pracasha over the spread of the Shuddhi movement in Goa. In 1929, Luís de Menezes founded the first Konkani newspaper in Goa, Amchó Gão as a weekly supplement in the Diário da Noite. The supplement would continue until 1935, and it brought together the emigrant Catholic community, especially those in British India, giving voice to their complaints about Goan society, as well as to their concerns with the impact of Indian nationalism on their lives.³

The newspaper's proximity to the ruling power is reflected, for example, in the abundance of notices, and in the broad echoing of the positions of the Estado Novo that had been driven by the Lusitânia agency since its establishment, particularly in respect of the "Goa Affair" and the positions of the Goan nationalists in exile, as well as, in 1961, in relation to the onset of the Colonial War in Angola - as we see in the example shown in this exhibition - or, furthermore, in the participation of the founder Luís António de Menezes's son in a visit by the "Embassy of Goa" to the metropole to produce some reports "from the Portuguese world" in the same year of 1961.

Such assiduous proximity enabled the periodical to remain open in 1937, unlike many opposition periodicals of the time, and it was given unusual latitude with regard to its news publications, although this did not mean that the newspaper's work was not censored on several occasions. António de Menezes, the son of Luís de Menezes, who succeeded his father as editor of the newspaper, provided further significant details for

³ Remy Dias, "Modernity as Crisis: Migrants 'writing back' in the Colonial Goan Konkani Newspaper Amchó Gão (1929-1933)", in *The Colonial Periodical Press in the Indian and Pacific Oceans*. Routledge (forthcoming 2023).

the history of censorship in Goa and of the way in which Luís de Menezes invested in the pact between newspapers and their readership in to make known the existence of censored articles, from the point when showing the censored text with blank spaces was prohibited.⁴

On the other hand, this same proximity went alongside the defence of local autonomy and, on some crucial occasions, the claims for democratic rights. As such, in 1932 it published, over three issues, the famous speech by José Inácio de Loyola criticising the Colonial Act.⁵ Equally, the newspaper was actively involved in the elections of 1945, and Luís de Menezes was a member of the group of autonomists who, in 1947-1948, formed of a committee nominated by the government to propose a new statute for the State of India; the activity of this group was swiftly terminated by the same government.⁶ Ten years later, with Luís de Menezes already retired through ill health, his children were responsible for the publication in the newspaper of a Manifesto in support of Humberto Delgado's presidential campaign, authored by António Bruto da Costa and António Colaço.

On 20 December 1961 and in spite of not expressing euphoria at the end of Portuguese rule after the Indian military took the territories of the former Portuguese India, the newspaper opened with a large print "Jai India" (Long Live India), and it started to follow events closely. At the same time, a change in language can be observed. As recently highlighted by Marcello Assunção, it was one of the news outlets to become actively involved in the movement against the integration of Goa in the State of Maharashtra.⁷ In subsequent years, equally, there was an abundance of news items from Portugal and it was clear that the communities of Goan refugees in Portugal were among the sources. The difficulties of economic survival resulting from the drastic fall in advertising revenue led to the closure of this newspaper.

⁴ Mishra, *History of the Press in Goa*. Thesis. Goa University, 2004, 208-210, 212, 238-240, 375-377.

⁵ Filipa Alexandra Carvalho Sousa Lopes, *As vozes da Oposição ao Estado Novo e a Questão de Goa (1950-1961)*. Doctoral thesis in History. Faculdade de Letras, University of Oporto, 2017.

⁶ *Ibid*, 112-113.

⁷ Marcello Assunção, "Poesia e Opinion Poll: Uma Análise do Engajamento Político Literário no Periodismo Goês Pós-Colonial (1961-1967)", *Via Atlântica* 1(36), 167-194. <https://doi.org/10.11606/va.voi36.162013>.

Goa pós-colonial

33. *A Vida* (Margão, nº 1, 15.09.1938-nº8323, 31 de Maio de 1967?) – issue nº 5740, 22 December 1961.

The editorial “Solemn Moment” – “At this moving time when our desires triumph...” is worth highlighting. It remembers the contributions to the end of Portuguese rule made by intellectuals and political leaders such as Menezes Bragança, Hegdó (Egdó) Dessai, Francisco Correia Afonso, Tristão de Bragança Cunha, by prisoners and exiles, and by the “underground operatives” who “waged war” in Goa. It asserts that the dispute around the Goa Affair had always been between “we, the People of Goa, and Portugal”, and not between Nehru and Salazar.

A Vida was a Goan Catholic daily that had Francisco Xavier C. Lourenço as its first director and Sales de Veiga Coutinho as editor. In 1942, with the death of Francisco Xavier the management was taken up in conjunction with the editorship by Sales Coutinho, who held his position until the year of his death in 1950.

Sales de Veiga Coutinho collaborated on *O Ultramar* during a brief period from 1919-1921 and had a long career afterwards, participating in and managing Catholic newspapers in the former Portuguese colony. With Pedro Correia Afonso, he started leading the *Suplemento Mensal* at the newspaper *Heraldo* (December 1925-November 1931). On that supplement, he established a team that continued with him to *Heraldo dos Domingos* (1932-37).

The editorial line, which came along with the team from the *Suplemento*, was defined from the opening issue of the *Heraldo dos Domingos* by the type of Christian thought followed within the Catholic activism of the Catholic Social Action. Through the activism of believers, it sought to play a role in the direction that society would take as a whole, becoming a point of reference for solidarity and social justice. “Therefore, Catholic Action is perfectly placed for the specific problems of our times, which stem from the

secularisation of societies that took place after the French Revolution.”⁸ Arguing for a non-party-political position, and as a lay structure that was organised and recognised by the Catholic church, they were in favour of the moralisation of politics through the kindness of believers’ exemplary actions, with an active and activist participation in political questions.

On his departure in 1937, Sales pointed out: “the current awakening in India, with the demands and realisations that are its objective, was not infrequently the purpose of our reflections, without placing, indeed on the contrary, the doctrine of the Church in conflict with the just ambitions for the uprising and autonomy of peoples and nations.”⁹

Sales and a group from the former production team of *Heraldo dos Domingos* went on to create a new newspaper, *A Vida*, with him as principal writer. Here, he would maintain the same line of thought and activism. Another member of his established team also appeared as director, Francisco Xavier C. Lourenço. In confirmation of its position, the newspaper emerged as the property of the Editora Caritas, where it was printed. This publishing house – as its name reveals – was openly linked to Catholic Social Action as a lay movement that supported and intervened in social problems in an ecumenical and secular sense, as described above. Several members of the publishing house were also on the editorial team.¹⁰ Following this humanist line of exemplary and active participation in worldly matters, the international section and the sections on culture and literature also had a clearly defined weight within the newspaper, demonstrating a democratic profile that was against all forms of totalitarianism. Another persistent political theme in this newspaper was the defence of the continuation of an autonomous Goa within a different Portugal. They acknowledged, for example, that the dictatorship that was being experienced in Portugal was a recent thing, because it went against the Portuguese way of being, giving rise to various focal points for opposition to it, among which was the newspaper. As proof of this position, we highlight here an editorial in response to Gandhi in 1946, the date of the first Satyagraha in Goa, which took place on

⁸ Francisco Correia Afonso, *A Ação Católica, Heraldo dos Domingos*, no. 7957, 3 January 1932, in *AVM, Revista da Casa de Goa*, 16, 2022, pp. 16-21, p. 17.

⁹ Sales de Veiga Coutinho, *Palavras Finais, Heraldo dos Domingos*, no. 8638, 19 December 1937, in *AVM, Revista da Casa de Goa*, no. 16, 2022, pp. 16-21, p. 20.

¹⁰ *A Vida*, 15 September 1963, p. 18.

18 June and was organised by freedom fighters such R. Lohia, Julião Menezes, T. B. Cunha, Berta Menezes Bragança, and P. Kakodkar, among others who were arrested and persecuted for participating in this movement. This repression of actions of peaceful protest for civil liberties was reacted to in an open letter from M. Gandhi to the Governor of Portugal in Goa, in which he called for good sense and the need to keep up with the times in the liberation of peoples.

In response to this letter, the editors of *A Vida* started to call attention to the differences between Portuguese colonialism and English and South African colonialism, with which Gandhi had come into contact. They recalled the various Goan representatives in the Portuguese parliament and the democratic experience that had enabled the development of the debate, as well as the Goan political parties that had existed up until the current dictatorship. As such, they set themselves apart from the type of activism that favoured the future incorporation of Goa into India when it became independent from the British Empire: “Certainly, in these last few years the political tableau has changed, but those who study history can confirm that the freedom of expression that we are lacking and the privation of the right to representation that we complain of are an episode that we judge to be sporadic and short lived, because this is counter, at one and the same time, to the history of Portugal and to the Christian principles that the Portuguese state professes.”¹¹

After the death of Sales de Veiga Coutinho, Nicolau de Noronha, a priest and teacher in the Rachol Seminary, took over the direction of the newspaper from 1950 to 1951. Afterwards he was replaced by the doctor José Jesus Maria Gomes, who was joined in 1957 as editor-in-chief by the former director of the *Suplemento Mensal* in *Heraldo*, the agronomist Pedro Correia Afonso. The editorial line was maintained, within the framework of the social movement of the Church and the lay movement for Catholic action, which were announced by the reforms of the II Vatican Council (1961-1965). In 1955, the newspaper declared itself to be against the intervention of India, now

¹¹ Editorial, *A Inquietude Goesa: O Mahatma...* in *Vida*, 4 July 1946.

independent from British rule, in the liberation of the enclaves of Dadra and Nagar Haveli from Portuguese rule.

As we can see in the exhibition, on 22 December 1961, *A Vida* led with an editorial in support of the liberation of Goa. Clearly marking out the moment when everything had changed, the author identifies the year of 1947, which culminated in a series of frustrated attempts to establish a democratic opposition to Salazar's government in Goa that had ended in imprisonments and exiles. In that sense, the author of the editorial makes positive mention of names such as Menezes de Bragança, Hegdó Dessai, or T. B. Cunha, and also Francisco Correia Afonso, who had died in voluntary exile in Bombay (Mumbai), while by contrast he attacked the Portuguese Governor Vassalo e Silva and the dictator Salazar. The tricolour flag of the Indian Union was recognised as being the will of the people of Goa.¹² Another thing that changed after December 1961 was the title page of the newspaper, which no longer carried the name of the editor and director, indicating only that it was the property of Editora Cáritas, until 1962. In that year, the newspaper continued to be printed by Editora Cáritas but its editors were first Bernardo dos Reis, until 1964, and then Hugo Sousa, until 1967. The year of 1961 also marked the occasional appearance of articles in English.

1963 was the newspaper's Jubilee year, and on 15 September it released an issue dedicated to the history of its editorial line, which had commenced at *Heraldo*. Various recollections are presented, and it is revealed that, right at the start of the newspaper, Sales da Veiga Coutinho was rejected as director by the Portuguese government. Also revealed is the bad feeling that was created between the editorial team of *Heraldo* and that of the *Heraldo dos Domingos*, which led to the end of the supplement and the emergence of *A Vida* shortly afterwards.¹³ Police persecution is also related through constant references to the police. In that same year of 1963, the newspaper supported the *United Goans* campaign against the fusion of that state with the neighbouring state of Maharashtra, which led to the Opinion Poll of 1967, the result of which maintained Goa as a territory of the Indian Union and opened the way for greater autonomy. In this

¹² Editorial, Momento Solene in *A Vida*, 21 December 1921.

¹³ António Colaço, Jubileu de prata? In *A Vida*, 15 September 1963, p. 3.

period, the newspaper also sought to defend Konkani and Portuguese, publishing literature and poetry in both languages as marks of identity. When it ended, the Konkani journal *Divtti* (Life) took its place.

34. *The Navhind Times* (Pangim, 18.02.1963-until today) – issue 19.12.1963

Issue dedicated to the second anniversary of the fall of Portuguese rule. The page exhibited, “Liberation Day and after...” constructs a photographic narrative of symbolic moments. It closes with the image “People in Goa kneel at the tomb of St. Francis Xavier and thank him for their deliverance.”

The Navhind Times (Pangim, 1963-until today)

Frederick Noronha

The Navhind Times was founded in 1963 and set up in English, a broadsheet, after the closure of most of the old newspapers from the Portuguese era. It was, and continues to be, owned by the Dempo family, a prominent business house in Goa. Earlier, the Dempos were into mining, but they exited the field earlier this decade. The paper is considered to be a paper of record, but also cautious and conservative in its approach. Its editors have included the freedom fighter-writer Lambert Mascarenhas (joint-editor in the 1960s), the influential journalist KSK Menon, flamboyant Bikram Vohra and the long serving Arun Sinha (who recently retired). For nearly two decades (between 1963-1983, with short exceptions) it was the only English-language daily newspaper in Goa, and hence an influential and dominant voice then.

34. *Harpa Goesa*: revista do “Centro de Cultura Latina” de Goa (Pangim, nº 1, December 1968- nº 12, 1979). Issue, nº 2, December 1969.

Harpa Goesa was a magazine linked to the Centre for Latin Culture in Goa, in Panjim (Panaji). It was founded in December 1968 by Renato de Sá, then director of the Centre, and it was published until the year of his death in 1979. It must be noted that the foundation of *Harpa Goesa* should be framed within a series of editorial initiatives dating from the end of the 1960s to the beginning of the 1980s, which were focused on problematising and countering the Lusophobic tendencies that were taking root in Goa after the end of colonialism, although only gradually. Indeed, the Centre for Latin Culture had been founded in 1964 with the intention of disseminating Portuguese language and culture in Goa, and it had a very rich bibliographic archive housing books and periodicals from Brazil and Portugal; it offered courses in Portuguese, and during the years in which it was active, it stimulated the organisation of literary competitions aimed at students. The students of the Centre were, furthermore, the main authors of the articles published in *Harpa Goesa*.

As this was an annual publication, its editorials, which were always signed by Renato de Sá, served not only to contextualise the articles that made up the issues, but especially to promote the activities of the Centre for Latin Culture during the previous year. The problem of the rejection of the Portuguese language and the culture associated with it in Goa is a leitmotiv that appears in every issue. However, when compared with other sister periodical publications of the time - problematising the problem of Portuguese language in Goa - Renato de Sá's editorials do not present a particularly tragic assessment of the situation. Based on the first-hand experience of the Centre, and observing the uptake of its activities by Goans, his comments reveal a certain positivity, and they are reasonably persuasive with regards to the pragmatic necessity to cultivate Portuguese as part of a strategy of internationalisation of Goan culture. In spite of that, *Harpa Goesa* shared the same fate as one of the other magazines of its time, *O Globo*, which, at the end of its life, ceased publishing exclusively in Portuguese and started to publish texts in English as well.

B) Collected works¹⁴

72. García, José Luís (ed.), *Mário Domingues, a afirmação negra e a questão colonial: textos 1919-1928*. Lisbon: Tinta da China, 2022.

Collection of articles by Mário Domingues compiled, organised and with an introductory essay by José Luís García. We reproduce the biographical summary written by García.

Mário Domingues (Príncipe Island, 1899 - Lisbon, 1977)

Mário Domingues was a journalist, columnist, translator, and writer. His mother was Black and had been born in Angola, having been taken to the island of Príncipe at the age of 15 to work on the Infante D. Henrique plantation. His father was a white Portuguese functionary of that plantation, who brought Domingues to Lisbon at 18 months old, where he was raised by his paternal grandparents in a middle-class environment. He took the course in Business at the former French School in Lisbon. He commenced his professional life at the end of the 1910s as an assistant bookkeeper and French and English correspondent and, at the age of 19, he began to publish stories in the anarchist daily, *A Batalha*. In November 1919, he became a professional journalist on that newspaper, which signalled the onset of his very intense, outstanding, and remarkable activity in journalism. He was responsible for three Black press titles in

¹⁴ Section contributed by Adelaide Vieira Machado, Daniela Spina, and Sandra Ataíde Lobo.

the 1920s and 1930s, and collaborated on many other publications, including *Repórter X* and *Detective*. He was a prolific writer who published novellas, novels, plays, detective stories, cowboy fiction, adventure stories and historical fiction, among which are *Hugo, o Pintor* (1923), *A Audácia de Um Timido* (1923), *Entre Vinhedos e Pomares* (1926), *Anastácio José* (1928), *O Preto de Charleston* (1930), *O Crime de Sintra* (1937), *Uma Luz na Escuridão* (1938), *O Cavaleiro, o Monge e o Outro* (1947), and *O Menino entre Gigantes* (1960). An advocate of the pseudonym, he published many works under English and French names, or invented fictitious translators. He translated novelists such as Henry Fielding, Walter Scott, Charles Dickens, George Eliot, and Stefan Zweig. He was married twice and had four children.

50. **GIP (Francisco João da Costa), *Jacob e Dulce (scenas da vida indiana)***. 3rd ed. Preface by Jeremias Xavier de Carvalho. Pangim: Jeremias Xavier de Carvalho, 1974

Jacob e Dulce. Scenas da Vida Indiana (Jacob and Dulce. Scenes of Indian Life) played out in the column *Notas a lápis* (Notes in pencil), signed by GIP, with weekly appearances from 10 November 1894 to 1 June 1895, where it caused a lively sensation among the readers of *Ultramar*, eliciting laughter from those who saw the critique of their society, and discomfort among those who imagined themselves personally reflected in the satirical characters and scenes. Just as in other *Notas a Lápis*, and although it did not lack certain affectionate elements, GIP's scathing pen delighted in creating this confusion about identities among the readership and the native and Portuguese-heritage groups that constituted, or aspired to constitute, the provincial elites of colonial Goan society at the turn of the century. Similar confusions were also generated by the efforts to demonstrate European standards, established with reference to civility and distinction, in hilarious struggles with local customs. Furthermore, *Jacob e Dulce*, like his other writings, stood out for its abundant recourse to Konkani, the local language of Goa, and for its depiction of colloquial communication.

To his surprise, the popularity of *Jacob e Dulce* soon traversed class borders when, in 1895, Aleixo Caetano José Francisco in Bombay (Mumbai) compiled and translated the

stories into Konkani, instinctively anticipating the interest of the emigrant petty bourgeoisie in laughing at the expense of the elites. In 1912, Aleixo Francisco republished this translation in Goa. Just a year after the first Konkani edition, *Jacob e Dulce* was published in book format in Portuguese, as a means of helping to support the continued activity of *O Ultramar's* press at a time when journalistic activity was banned in Goa due to the violent repression that followed the so-called Ranis Revolt. In 1907, António Maria da Cunha, the owner of the *Casa Luso-Francesa* publishing house and soon-to-be owner of *Heraldo*, published a second edition with a new preface, which also sold out swiftly. In 1922, the same António Maria da Cunha brought it back to the pages of the newspaper that he directed, the *Heraldo*. In 1974, the third Portuguese edition that is exhibited here was published. In 2017, the publisher Under the Peepal Tree republished a facsimile of the second edition. Also in the twenty-first century, Gip's great-nephew, Álvaro Noronha da Costa translated the work into English, publishing it in 2004 after having disseminated parts of the translation in the journal of the Menezes Bragança Govapuri Institute. This is, therefore, the most translated and republished Goan literary work that we are aware of, and it constitutes one of the greatest publishing successes of Goan literature over more than a century. In addition, it is one of the most widely studied works of Goan literature.

Francisco João da Costa (Margão, 1859-1900)

By contrast with his *Cenas da Vida Indiana*, the author who created Gip and other pseudonyms, Francisco João da Costa, has merited little research attention and biographical details about him are sparse. We know that he was the nephew of the founder of *O Ultramar*, the first private newspaper in Goa. It follows that he belonged to one of the most prominent families in Goan politics, which had a significant influence in Portugal too, from the period of Vintism, when his grandfather Constâncio Roque da Costa was elected alongside Peres da Silva and António José da Lima Leitão to the Constituent Assembly.

Francisco João da Costa was born in the year that *O Ultramar* was started, and it was for this newspaper that he wrote the most. In addition to this, he was a provisional lawyer, and a figure in the colonial society that was one of his sources of inspiration. He began to contribute occasionally to the family newspaper in 1879, during a period in which its profile was being redeveloped, and he stood out in 1882 with his calls for the commemoration of the centenary of Pombal in Goa, on the basis of his importance for the affirmation of Goan citizenship. There are indications that he lived in Bombay (Mumbai) from 1883 to 1885, probably to pursue his studies. When he returned, he took on editorial responsibility for the *Revista Estrangeira* (Foreign Review) in *O Ultramar*, from the middle of 1885 to 1886. This collaboration is fundamental to an understanding of his political and social thought. After an apparent hiatus of six years, Francisco João da Costa, then 32 years old, recommenced writing regularly for the newspaper, now adopting a satirical style in his commentary on politics and customs. In September 1892 he commenced the column *Notas a Lápis* and, the following month, inaugurated his most famous pseudonym as well as, at various points, producing significant parts of the newspaper without a by-line. He also contributed occasionally to other periodicals in Bombay (Mumbai) and in Goa. In 1896, in addition to *Jacob e Dulce*, he published a political polemic about the nativist-Europeanist conflict that the violent events of the Ranis Revolt had brought to the fore. In this book, *O Europeísmo e a Revolta* (Europeanism and the Revolt), which he published under the pseudonym André Paulo, he discussed, among other subjects, local political consciousness and he pointed to a conception of politics in the colonial environment.

75. Costa, António A. Bruto da. *Goa: a terceira corrente: discurso, artigos, cartas e defesas forenses... seleccionados e apresentados por Mário Bruto da Costa*. Bomba: Isabel Bruto da Costa, 2013.

António Anastácio Bruto da Costa (Cuelim, 1902-Margão, 1984)

António Bruto da Costa lived his whole life in Goa. He was the last director of O Ultramar, a role that he assumed in 1933 at the age of 31. He was also a renowned lawyer who gave his services to defend political prisoners, before and after 1961. In 1941 he closed the family newspaper after its 82 years of existence, for he was tired of fighting against the constant cuts by the censorship. Between 1937 and 1939, like the directors of other independent newspapers, he had seen his newspaper prosecuted and suspended.

Both in the newspaper and by other means, Bruto da Costa manifested his firm opposition to the Colonial Act and the regime, and argued for political autonomy for Portuguese India. He was equally opposed to the nationalist movement in favour of integration in the Indian federation, and he led the so-called "Margao Circle" that supported the "third current". This current moved from the struggle for autonomy to a revindication of self-determination by referendum. That is, from the demand for self-government within the Portuguese framework, to the defence of the existence of a Goan nation with a specificity and identity consciousness that were different from both Portugal and India.

In 1946, as a voting member of the Council of Government of the State of India, he participated in the first of successive committees to analyse a new political statute for Portuguese India. This was a political manoeuvre to calm the spirits, without any real intention to open up this path. Over the years, he did not cease to insist on the necessity of it, whether in various writings or in conversations with the representations of Portuguese power, including Salazar. Shortly before the fall of Portuguese rule he made yet another attempt and called for negotiations to be opened with the Indian government. During the occupation of Goa by Indian troops, he protested as he had done in the case of Dadra and Nagar Haveli, against the violation of international law, accusing Nehru of breaking with Gandhi's pacifism, and again revindicating the right to self-determination. In 1974, he presented a protest to Mário Soares against the legitimacy of the invasion. He also gained notoriety for punching a Governor-General after being attacked by the man, and was thus the second member of his family to come to blows with a Portuguese governor.

O Ultramar (Margão, 1859-1941)

O Ultramar was born as a weekly, and it was the first Goan newspaper to be published by its own printers, which had technical resources that rivalled the National Press. It was the brainchild of the former member of parliament for India, Bernardo Francisco da Costa, the son of the Vintist parliamentarian Constâncio Roque da Costa. In 1904, *O Ultramar* became twice-weekly. Its political importance was such that the political group that it represented became known as the “Ultramarine Party”. Its existence was marked by alternations between periods of conflict and approximation with the Portuguese power. It was frequently accused of being the mouthpiece of nativism and of the interests of the Brahmin elite of Salsette. This accusation reached a peak at the time of the Ranis Revolt, which forced several members of the party into exile at a moment when colonialist nationalism of a particularly racist inclination was growing among the colonial, civil, and military administration.

O Ultramar inaugurated a new era for Goan journalism, and it was particularly remarkable for its political and cultural interventions. From its foundation, it published *feuilletons* by local, Portuguese, and foreign authors, among them, and over a twenty-year period, the famous *Rocambolé*. In the nineteenth century especially, its printers also had an important role in the creation of a cultural press and for the publication of local authors. It subscribed to the tradition of combat and opinion journalism.

During the monarchy, the Ultramarine Party was linked to the metropolitan Regenerator Party, despite the fact that it was under a regenerator consulate that the events of 1895 took place, with which the Costa family and the Goan regenerators were associated. It sustained important polemics, such as the reform of the Indian army and

the polemic around the fate of the agricultural communities. In response to the polemics that it pursued against the action of the patriarchate in Goa and against the most conservative current of the Church, in the nineteenth century it was frequently accused of having masonic links and for many years, subscriptions by Catholics were prohibited (from the end of the 1880s to the beginning of the twentieth century).

It was a supporter of the republic, but criticised the law of separation of Church and State, as well as the peripheral role for India that was voted for in the national assembly. In 1918, it took part in the protest against the suspension of the 1917 Ordinance (*Carta Orgânica*) and in the abstentionist movement. It supported the 28 May Revolution and the beginning of the dictatorship but switched to the opposition during the government of Craveiro Lopes. It positioned itself against the Colonial Act and called for abstention in the constitutional referendum. It was suspended three times: 1895-1897 during the general suspension of the press; 1911 for two months during the plague epidemic in Margao; 22 June 1937 by decree. It recommenced publication on 10 April 1939 following a decree by the Governor-General José Cabral. Its publication was terminated at its own volition in the face of the censorship regime.

18. Barreto, Adeodato, *Civilização hindu*. Lisboa, Edição da Revista Seara Nova, 1935 (published May 1936) – ex. em m.m.e.

Civilização Hindu was first published in the magazine *Seara Nova*, from number 423 (10 January 1934 [10 January 1935]) to number 474 (16 April 1936). Carving out a path for a reformulated humanism, Adeodato Barreto dedicated himself in this work to discussing what he considered to be the characteristic features of Indian civilisation, as a counterpoint to European/western civilisation. This was a work of an anticolonial nature, which shared some characteristics of the works that preceded it in the exercise of civilisational comparison, although its critique goes beyond the colonial question; rather, it frames it within the search for broad solutions to the pressing tensions and

apprehensions of humanity. It is a work that has begun to receive some academic attention.

For more information about the magazine *Seara Nova* and its role within Portuguese democracy, and to access digitised issues with an analytical file of articles, as well as other documentation, see: http://ric.sflhi.pt/Seara_Nova/o_monumento_democratico.

24. T. B. Cunha. *The Goa Problem. Correct Approach to its Solution*. Bombay, "Sunshine", Churgate Reclamation: autor's edition, 1954.

Collection of articles on the problem of the liberation of Goa. Although the origin of the publications is not indicated, a significant part of it comprises articles published in the newspaper *Free Goa*, sometimes with different titles. It is possible that others were published in the magazine *The Goan Age* and in *Azad Goem*.

Goa's freedom struggle (selected writings of T. B. Cunha). Bombay: Published by António da Cruz for Dr. T. B. Cunha Memorial Committee; printed by Jayant S. Bhatt at the New Age Printing Press, 1961.

With an afterword by Nehru, a preface by K. M. Panikkar, and an unsigned biographical note that was written by Berta de Menezes Bragança. Compilation of articles and pamphlets.

Tristão de Bragança Cunha (Chandor, 1891-Bombay, 1958)

Born to a family of great landowners, and known as Tristão de Bragança Cunha, or T. B. Cunha, he has been consecrated in Goan anticolonial memory as the "father" of Goan nationalism. After studying in Pondicherry (Puducherry), he went to Paris in 1912 where he lived for 14 years, training in electrical engineering. In the 1920s especially, a period when he joined the Third International (Comintern) and moved in the

anticolonial and leftist contexts that converged in the French capital, he became involved in the Indian nationalist and anti-imperialist movements, publishing in prominent newspapers and magazines. He returned to Goa soon after the military coup of 1926 and commenced his intense and varied political and journalistic activity of disseminating Marxist, anti-imperialist, and nationalist ideas that denounced the situation of Goa under Portuguese rule and defended Goan Indian identity. In 1928 he founded the Goan Committee of the Indian National Congress (INC) at a time when the organisation was being reconfigured, and it was recognised at the annual meeting of the Congress, which took place from 28 December 1928 to 1 January 1929 in Calcutta (Kolkata). After the publication of the Colonial Act, he moved increasingly between Goa and Bombay (Mumbai), and was linked to various editorial projects in collaboration with the brothers Carlos and António da Cruz. He witnessed the setback of the disaffiliation of the Goan Committee by the INC in 1934, when the decision was taken to relinquish the trans-imperial nature of the organisation.

He was involved in the movement for civil liberties in Portuguese India, which was started in 1946 on the occasion of the visit of the Indian socialist Ram Monohar Lohia to Goa. He was the first activist to be sent back to Portugal having been condemned to a prison sentence (8 years). During his imprisonment, he began to suffer with cardiac problems. After four and a half years in prison at Peniche, which permitted him to have contact with Portuguese political prisoners from the most diverse sectors, as he would later recall, he was freed in the context of an amnesty, but prohibited from leaving the territory. He survived thanks to remittances sent by the Furtado couple to Portugal and to other family members in Europe. He managed to escape in May 1953 by evading the border services, provoking the anger of the regime. His first destination was Paris, where he met one of his brothers. In June, in a provocative gesture, the neorealist journal *Ler: jornal de letras, artes e ciências*, published by Europa-América, published an article of his signed with the initials T. B. C. It was a reflection on the recent publication in France of a work by the writer Mulk Raj Anand, in which he made reference to Berta de Menezes Bragança as another bilingual writer (<http://ric.slni.pt/visualizador/?id=20003.015&pag=7>). He arrived in India at the beginning of September and established himself in Bombay (Mumbai).

The conditions were created to launch the publication *Free Goa* on 10 October in Belgaum (Belagavi), which until April 1956 was published with the subtitle “fortnightly organ of Portuguese India’s liberation”. He was also involved in the foundation in Bombay (Mumbai) of the magazine *The Goan Age* (1954) and the Konkani newspaper *Azad Goem* (Goa Livre, c.1954-c.1956). In the following years he maintained his intense journalistic activity and political activism, steering the “Goa Action Committee” that he had created and directed since his arrival. Of particular prominence in his struggle was the pressure on Nehru to stop treating the question of Goa and the other remaining territories under Portuguese rule as a problem of transfer of sovereignty. As he argued, the question ought really to be approached with respect for the invaded Indian territory that needed only to be liberated. He died on 26 September 1958 of cardiac problems. He has received some academic attention, including doctoral studies.

32. *Bragança, Bertha Menezes, Landmarks in my time. Selected writings.* Preface by Ashwin Tombat, editor of *Gomantak Times*. Margão: self-published 1992. (JAL private library)

Collection of articles, some previously published in *Free Goa*, without indication of original publication. Includes two texts on T. B. Cunha, to whom the work is dedicated.

Berta de Menezes Bragança (Cuelim, 1911-1993)

Berta de Menezes Bragança was the daughter of Luis de Menezes Bragança. She commenced her political activity when in 1929, at the age of 17, she began to collaborate with her uncle in the context of the Goan Committee of the Indian National Congress. In the 1930s, she was responsible for youth mobilisation on the committee. She dedicated herself at the same time to the publication of short stories and essays in the press, namely in *O Académico*. In 1945 she became a representative in Goa for the Goan Youth League (GYL) that had been formed in Bombay (Mumbai) in 1943. She participated and gave

speeches in the demonstrations of 1946. From that time until 1950, she was active in the distribution of nationalist propaganda, and she continued this action in exile in Belgaum (Belgavi). In 1952 she became president of the National Congress (Goa) delegation in Belgaum (Belagavi), and in the following year, she became involved in the foundation of the newspaper *Free Goa* to which she contributed assiduously, having specifically produced the report from the final Satyagraha on the Goan borders, which ended in carnage on 15 August 1955. In 1958 she came to be director of the newspaper, after the passing of T. B. Cunha. During those years she participated in various national and international organisations that sought to exert pressure over the decision about Indian military action in Goa. Among them, in January 1961, she participated in the first Afro-Asian Women's Conference in Cairo, going from there to Russia at the invitation of the soviet delegation. In the same year, she formed part of a group that published the selected writings of T. B. Cunha. She returned to Goa after liberation and there, in addition to her political activity, she dedicated herself to the preservation of the intellectual memory of her father, publishing in collaboration with António da Cruz Meet Menezes Braganza: *Selected Articles* (1963) and *Prosas Dispersas* (1965). She also dedicated herself to the Menezes Bragança Institute, the successor to the Vasco da Gama Institute. In the 1980s she contributed to the creation of the University of Goa library, to which she donated her personal library. In the same year in which she launched *Landmarks of my time*, she published a selection of the writings of António Furtado, *Speeches and Writings* (2 vols). She died the following year. Despite her importance, she is a little-studied intellectual.

36. Bragança, Luís de Menezes. *Prosas dispersas. I. (política-administração-ensino)*. Editado pela Comissão de Homenagem à Memória de Menezes Bragança. Pangim: Constâncio Mascarenhas, President Menezes Bragança Memorial Committee, 1965 (JAL private library)

Collection of articles published in *Debate and Pracasha*, with a "Short biographical note about Luís de Menezes Bragança" (116 pp), published in the year in which a bust commemorating him was erected in Margao.

Luís de Menezes Bragança (Chandor, 1878-1938)

Luís de Menezes Bragança, more commonly known as *Menezes Bragança*, identified above all as a journalist. His diverse writings published in various periodicals, and the newspapers that he directed (*O Debate*, *Pracasha*), carry a mark of independence and quality that soon earned him the label of greatest Goan journalist of his time. It was not by chance that Menezes Bragança became the great figure of the Republic in Goa, due to the way in which he encapsulated the ideal of the republican intellectual, about whose role he had a precise conception – it was a role of awakening minds and not one of representative of public opinion, or servant of political parties.

The career of this free-thinker and democrat developed in constant dialogue between principles, ideas, and readings of reality, and it illustrates the history of republicanism in Goa and its legacy for future generations. This was a career marked first by hope for a progressive move towards local autonomy, and later by the memory of the particular fragility of the colonised in the face of the political shifts of the colonisers, leading to the idea of liberation. Between one phase and the other, it converged with Indian nationalism, although it never effaced the persistent current of the possibility for autonomy within the Portuguese context. The first phase, and the discussions that accompanied it, can be followed in *Debate*; the second is marked out principally in *Pracasha*. In 1924, after a period away from public life because he was disillusioned with the direction that the republic was taking in Portugal and in Goa, he agreed to represent Goa at the 2nd Colonial Congress in Lisbon to defend the cause of local autonomy. He used the trip to make a European tour and his contact with the reality of the growth of the extreme right and its violent action, which was found everywhere, led him to return to public life. He was one of the first voices to denounce the dictatorial and anti-republican character of the 28 May coup. In 1928, at a time when he had just been elected to the Council of Government on a unique list of opposition to the dictatorship, he accompanied T. B. Cunha's entourage for the official recognition of the Goan Committee of the Indian National Congress as a reporter; this was a gesture that could only have a political meaning and it was interpreted as such.

Menezes Bragança left to the imaginary of Goan resistance to Salazarism a magnificent discourse against the Colonial Act which he delivered to the Council of Government. The speech culminated in a declaration of the inalienable right of India, like any other people, to self-determination. As well as the many homages to him after he passed away, it was decided in 1963 to change the name of the Vasco da Gama Institute to the Menezes Bragança Institute – a change that would come into force from the 10 July of that year, on the 25th anniversary of his death. As a journalist he has received increasing academic attention, namely in the form of a doctoral thesis by Sushila Sawant Mendes, a member of the IGSCP - PE.

O Debate (Nova-Goa, 1911-1921)

O Debate was a democratic, republican, non-partisan, and free-thinking weekly. It supported the government of Couceiro da Costa and opposed the politics of Sidónio Pais and the governorship of Freitas Ribeiro. It promoted the abstentionist movement. It published many pamphlets and extracts of works, particularly by Portuguese, Brazilian, Spanish, and French authors. It republished numerous articles, mainly from British Indian, metropolitan and French newspapers and magazines. In its final years, with the exception of the “Diálogo dos Balcões” (Gossip from the Balconies) by Fra Diavolo (António Leite de Magalhães), it was written entirely by Menezes Bragança with some occasional collaborations, usually in polemical contexts. This development accentuated the editorial line of the newspaper that, from its first issue, admitted to being the mouthpiece of Menezes Bragança, who was presented in it as a republican intellectual and not a “representative of public opinion”, a classification that he always rejected.

Pracasha [Luz]. Bissemanário político e noticioso (Nova-Goa, 1928-1937)

Pracasha was the only Hindu newspaper to be produced entirely in Portuguese. It was founded in connection with the Shuddhi movement, of which the owner and director, Venctexa Vinaica Suria Rau Sar Dessai was one of the drivers in Goa. A few months after it started, Luis de Menezes Bragança came to be the principal writer. He had previously contributed significantly to moulding the character of the newspaper, establishing its political leaning. In the context of the dictatorship, it was frequently prosecuted. It was suspended by order of the Governor in December 1929, and it was substituted by *Pradipa* between 4 December 1929 and 25 October 1930. In 1930, after this interruption, it moved to having a Portuguese and Marathi title: Luz / Pracasha, meaning "light". It was one of the main organs of the Goan opposition to the military dictatorship and the Estado Novo. It declared itself to be against the Colonial Act. It was suspended on 22 June 1937 by decree and was never revived, for Menezes Bragança passed away in the meantime.

Over the ten years of its publication, the newspaper was a point of aggregation for intellectuals linked to the opposition to the Estado Novo. As had happened with *O Debate*, and mainly at the hand of Menezes Bragança and T. B. Cunha, it invested in bringing the world to Goa through the original contributions of, for example, Vicente de Bragança Cunha in Moscow, and through the reproduction of articles and extracts from books by thinkers, politicians and cultural personalities associated with the wide spectrum of the left, from democratic to soviet republic, as well as the various sensibilities of the Indian nationalist movement.

31. "Bhārata" kāra Hegade-Desāi yāñce nīvadaka agralekha, sampādaka Śasikānta Nārvekara; sampādana sahāyya āñi parīpūrti Ravindra Ghavi. Pangim: Gomantak Marathi Academy, 1999-2001. 2 v. Gift from the family.

Collection of editorials in the Marathi language, published by Hegdo Dessai in the newspaper *Bharat*, and compiled by Ravindra Ghavi and Narendra Ajaonkar.

Bharat (Nova Goa, 1912-1914, Quepém, 1915-1916, 1920-1949)

O *Bharat* was a bilingual newspaper with sections in Portuguese and Marathi, which had been conceived with an autonomist republican profile, and became progressively aligned with Indian nationalism. It stood out for being the Portuguese newspaper that suffered the greatest number of legal prosecutions during the colonial period, with its owner-director and editor Hegdo Dessai being arrested frequently, especially from the 1920s. In July 1924 it came to have two editions: one in Portuguese and the other in Marathi. It was suspended more than once. In 1921 it launched the politico-cultural movement *Pragatica Sanga*. Over the course of the decade, it became radicalised. It opened its pages to the nationalists in Portugal and India, receiving an increasing number of contributions. It disseminated Indian and foreign doctrinal texts and political commentaries. According to his son, during the dictatorship the newspaper was published in Bombay (Mumbai) to escape censorship. The newspaper closed after the death of Hegdo Dessai, and over the course of its existence it had been an important vehicle for resistance to abuses of power, for the affirmation of the Hindu community in the Goan public sphere, and for the promotion of relations and collaborations between the main local communities. Between 1918 and 1919 it published as a monthly supplement the Marathi-language magazine *Gaeca Mitra*, which was later replaced by the magazine *Swayansévak*.

Hegdo Dessai (Margão, 1887-Quepém, 1949)

Govind Pundalik Hegdo (Hegde) Desai came from a family from Rivona (South of Goa). He came to be known by the nickname *Bharatkar*, for he was so strongly identified with the newspaper *Bharat*, which he published over more than three decades. The suffix “kar” in this nickname means precisely “he who belongs to”, or “born in”. He was one of the first Hindus to attend the Medical School in Panjim (Panaji), from which he graduated in 1912, having also done the exam for “provisional” lawyer status. He stood

out equally for belonging to the group of Hindu intellectuals that was involved in the affirmation of the Portuguese republican regime, enthusiastic about the project of laicisation and autonomist promises. Even before founding *Bharat*, he participated in other Hindu-initiative bilingual newspapers, standing out among the Hindu intellectuals of the beginning of the century for being one of the few who had mastered the Portuguese language. His proximity to Indian nationalism, namely to the ideas of Tilak, and his focus on social causes, which were evident in *Bharat* from the start, increased over the course of the republic. The thought and career trajectory of Hegdo Dessai has started to garner academic interest.

64. Loyola, José Inácio Cândido de. *Passionate and unrestrained*, translated by Alexandre Moniz Barbosa. Pangim, Broadway Book Centre, 2008

José Inácio Francisco de Loyola (Orlím, 1891-Lisboa, 1973)

José Inácio Francisco Cândido de Loyola was a lawyer, a political journalist with a distinguished and sarcastic pen, a charismatic leader, and a fan of controversy. In 1913, he took as his motto a phrase by the ultramontanist journalist Louis Veuillot, “We must not consent to them tolerating us: rather we should aspire to them persecuting or fearing us” (in *Carta Política*). *Fanchu Loyola*, as he was known, had been driven by journalism and by the political, social, and religious tensions in colonial Goa that his family had been deeply involved in as the owners of the second-oldest private newspaper, *A Índia Portuguesa*, which had been established in 1861, two years after its arch-rival, *O Ultramar*, and in the same region of Margao. Just like its rival, *A Índia Portuguesa* lent its name to the political force that it represented, the Indian Party, which led, among the Catholic community, some of the Chardo elites who disputed with the Brahmíns the orientation of local life and relations with the colonial power.

He stood out as one of the most verbose Goan political journalists, and he had started his career with small contributions to the *Revista Moderna*, a Catholic magazine that brought together the older and younger generations and ran from March 1909 to

February 1910 under the direction of the doctor, poet, and teacher, Paulino Dias, in the effervescent context of the period after Pío X's papal encyclical condemning modernism (1907). Between 1910 and 1911, he was editorial secretary for *A Índia Portuguesa*, in which his by-line was the pseudonym Fanchu de Lemos. Soon after the republican revolution, he wrote various counterrevolutionary propaganda supplements and pamphlets. He was one of the drivers of the Catholic Union, a pressure group and pioneering initiative of the First Republic led by the Indian Party, which was directed by his father at that time. The Catholic Union abandoned the monarchist flag, proselytised in *A Índia Portuguesa*, and sought to bring together the Catholic communities in Goa and those who had emigrated to send representatives to parliament who would form a stronghold against the affirmation of a secular state and warn of its impact in the empire, and especially in Portuguese India. When *A Índia Portuguesa* was suspended after an administrative decision, he joined the team of *O Popular* (1911-1912), and after the death of his father, he became its editor-in-chief. Later, the approximation of the Catholic Union and of *A Índia Portuguesa* to the positions of the *Ralliement*, and its subalternisation within the party that had been directed by his father led him to question the legitimacy of the new directors and to nominate himself as the leader of the true Indian Party. As director of the dissident Indian Party, he founded and edited various periodicals, which are difficult to access today: *O Povo* (1912); the *Jornal da Índia* (1913), the prohibition of which was the motivation for the *Carta Política* mentioned above, in which he accused the Governor-General of antidemocratic practices; *O Rebate* (1913-1914); the magazine *Lanterna* (1914-1916); and the newspaper *Opinião* (1917-1919). In the 1920s and 1930s, he was linked to various attempts to reunify the Indian Party, which would eventually happen in around 1933.

Around the end of 1918, and in spite of being counted among those driving the abstentionist movement protesting against the limitations to Indian autonomy, he ended up setting himself apart from that movement and, from thereon in, fighting in favour of the maintenance of a centralised state against the administrative and financial autonomy of local governments, considering the latter to be grounds for the abuse of power and poor government by the local representatives and elites once unleashed from the control of central power. During a period that remains to be

identified, he was administrator of the Communities of Salsette, and later he was administrator of the Council of Mormugao. After departing for Lisbon at the beginning of the 1920s, he was secretary to the Minister for Employment, José Ernesto Lima Duque in 1921. On his return to Goa, he founded in Margao (later moving to Panjim [Panaji]) the newspaper *Índia Portuguesa* (1923-1930), which had three series. He directed the first of these, and then became editor-in-chief for the next two series, due to legal restrictions imposed by the dictatorship. Meanwhile, he maintained his directorship in effect, except during another stay in Portugal which coincided with the second series. This newspaper is difficult to access, especially for the years before 1928, although some of the content is made visible through the various polemics in which he was involved. In these final two series, the newspaper demonstrated the strong influence of Portuguese Integralism, and the desire that the dictatorship would serve to recuperate the Portuguese political traditions of corporativism and municipalism. At a local level, Loyola fought for the recovery of the village communities and frequently accused the elites of oppressing the subaltern layers of society. When he moved to Lisbon, under the pseudonym Paulo da Gama he published commentaries on political life in Goa and denounced the growth of pro-Indian nationalism among the Catholic community, in periodicals such as *O Povo*, *O Século*, *Diário de Notícias*, and *Jornal das Colónias*. He returned in November 1929 in the role of Inspector of Village Communities - a role created by the Governor-General Craveiro Lopes at his suggestion - tasked with studying the reform of the Communities and implementing a plan that envisaged the development of local agriculture. In July 1930, having suspended the newspaper for 6 months, he commenced the third series of *Índia Portuguesa*, distancing it from the line it had followed during his absence, when the previous direction had opened its pages to young nationalists such as Adeodato Barreto and Telo de Mascarenhas. In the months that preceded the definitive closure of the newspaper in December of that year, he polemicised on the Colonial Act and accused its opponents of contradictions. In 1931, he took a seat in the Council of Government as a councillor elected by the Council of the Islands, and he was also elected as a member of that council in various capacities. By 1932, and in spite of his initial support for the Colonial Act, its discriminatory impact in Goa drove him to break with the regime in a speech that remains present in local memory, which he delivered during the customary

celebrations of 25 November 1510. He ended up moving to Bombay (Mumbai), where he published the opposition weekly *Portugal e Colónias* (1937-1938), as well as the work *Panoramas económicos sociais da Índia Portuguesa* (1938). In 1945, he participated as an opposition candidate (losing from the outset) in the first elections that were organised and manipulated by the dictatorship. In 1946, he was one of the organisers of the opposition newspaper *A Voz da Índia*, and although he was not involved in the protests for civil liberties in Portuguese India in 1946, he wrote a notice in the newspaper *Free Press* (Bombay [Mumbai]), in which he thanked the Indian socialist politician Ram Manohar Lohia, whose visit to Goa had sparked the movement, for the service that he had given to the cause of democracy in Portuguese India. This notice led to his being arrested and condemned to four years in jail in Portugal, where he joined other Goan political prisoners incarcerated in Peniche. He was later moved to the Lisbon Penitentiary due to health problems. After his liberation in January 1950, he remained in Portugal until he travelled to Bombay (Mumbai) in 1958. He did not identify with the movement for the integration of Goa in the Indian Union, and soon he returned to Lisbon where he passed away on 12 April 1973. His activity in these later years remains to be studied, however, according to the obituary published in the newspaper *Heraldo* (Lisbon), the organ of the Government Commission for Issues related to the State of India, he was a collaborator with the Portuguese Legion during those years (*Heraldo*, April 1973). Although he has already been the subject of brief studies and various anthologies, this undoubtedly important figure in the history of political journalism and Goan politics in the twentieth century deserves a full intellectual biography.

27. Secretariado Nacional de Informação (ed.), *The Invasion and occupation of Goa in the world press=L'invasion et occupation de Goa dans la presse mondiale= Die invasion und besetzung von Goa in der Weltpress*. Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional de Informação, 1962.

Secretariado Nacional de Informação (ed.), *Invasão ocupação de Goa: comentários da imprensa mundial*. Lisbon: Secretariado Nacional de Informação, 1962.

From the 1950s, the Estado Novo invested significant resources in propaganda defending its position in relation to the Goa Affair. The two editions of this work compile articles published from December 1961 to January 1962 by the Portuguese press and in other countries that supported the Portuguese position.

C) Unpublished Studies

Gift from Aída Freudenthal¹⁵

Aída Freudenthal is an independent scholar who was born in Maputo. She holds a degree in History, and was a secondary school teacher in Luanda (1965-1980), where she was jointly responsible for the restructuring of education after the independence of Angola.

*In Lisbon, she was a teacher at secondary school level (1980-1989) and also worked in the Ministry for Education, where she was a member of the team that implemented the Education System Reform. She completed her Masters in Contemporary History, nineteenth and twentieth centuries, from FCSH - Universidade Nova de Lisboa in 1990 and she collaborated with the IICT until 2004. She has published articles in specialist journals and chapters in multi-author works. She has researched the topics of social and economic history and journalism, with a focus on the history of Angola from the seventeenth to twentieth century. She is the author of two unpublished articles on Angolan journalism. She participated in the commemorations of the existence of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império in 1995 and 2015, with the production of a photography exhibition and the corresponding catalogue, and with re-publications of the journal *Mensagem* and of literary works by African authors who had been published by the Casa, as well as lectures and conference proceedings.*

Over the years, she has gifted to SAL sources and printed studies of interest for the history of colonial Goa, and she has shared published and unpublished work relating to the Casa dos Estudantes do Império, especially those relating to the India section. These

¹⁵ Nota escrita com a colaboração de Aída Freudenthal

include the study of the colonial press that is exhibited here, as well as a complete collection of the re-issued publications of the Casa dos Estudantes do Império.

51. *Freudenthal, Aída, Imprensa Colonial, 1850-1910. Work presented for the seminar "Burguesia e Aristocracia I", Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1985-1986. Typewritten.*

In this work Aída Freudenthal outlines the colonial press published in the metropole during the period in question, and offers a survey and preliminary study of the periodicals that are available to access in the National Library, paying attention to the various objectives and actors in this press. Digital copy soon to be made available on the websites of the Congress and the IGSCP-PE.

Loan from Rute de Albuquerque Magalhães (Oporto, 1944)

The IGSCP-PE has plans to digitise this and make it available in open access

Rute de Albuquerque Magalhães (Porto, 1944)

Autobiographical note

Rute de Albuquerque Magalhães spent her childhood and adolescence in Angola. In 1960 she came to Lisbon where she enrolled in Chemical Engineering at the IST. She participated in societies at the technical college, and diligently attended the Casa dos Estudantes do Império until its closure by the PIDE in 1965. Later, she graduated in History from the Faculdade de Letras at Lisbon University. After the 25 April 1974, she returned to Angola where she commenced work in Luanda at the Ministry of Education (Centre for Pedagogic Research). She participated in the restructuring of secondary-level History teaching and contributed to the production of new textbooks (Year 7) and other support materials for teachers.

In 1979, she spent several months in Lisbon conducting research in the National Library of Portugal on the newspapers that were published by various African Associations that were active in the period from 1910 - the first of these being the newspaper *O Negro* - until around 1935, when the publication of the newspaper *A Humanidade* was initiated. This survey was intended to be presented as a master's dissertation on the topic at the Centre for African Studies at the Sorbonne, where she was enrolled. Within that context, she was forced to reduce the results of her extensive research to a mere chapter of work. The detailed files that she produced are organised across three boxes in this collection. One refers to the periodicals surveyed, and the remaining two contain analytical files of the articles.

s/n - Magalhães, Rute de Albuquerque, *Imprensa do Movimento Africano em Lisboa, 1911-1935*, BNL.

Under this generic title, the folders cover, in fact, not only the press of the "African movement" in Portugal, but also other items of interest for the subject: articles in Portuguese newspapers; the "colonial" press; newspapers from Cabo Verde, São Tomé, Mozambique, and Angola that were published both in those colonies and in Lisbon.

Loan from Maria Adelina Amorim for the Exhibition

Maria Adelina Amorim (Coimbra, 1958)

Maria Adelina Amorim is a researcher at the CHAM - Humanities Centre at the Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, Universidade Nova de Lisboa. She holds a doctorate in History, specialising in the History and Culture of Brazil, from the Faculdade de Letras at the University of Lisbon (2012). She has taught in Portugal and

Brazil, and she has been invited to deliver lectures in various countries, including Spain, Brazil, and Cabo Verde. She is a member of several national and international institutions: the João Lúcio de Azevedo Chair (Instituto Camões/UFPB), the Lisbon Geographical Society, the Hispanic Association of Franciscan Studies (International University of Andalucía / University of Jaen). She is a founder member and president of the Association of Lusophone Culture (ACLUS-FLUL), where she co-directed the *Dicionário Temático da Lusofonia* (2015). She has authored several books and articles in her area of specialism.

58. Amorim, Maria Adelina de Figueiredo Batista, *O Brasil na imprensa angolana do século XIX (1867-1897): um estudo*. Lisbon: FLUL, 1995. MA work on History and Culture of Brazil for the seminar on History of Brazilian Culture. Supervisor João Medina. Typewritten, 186 pp.

Research undertaken in the Municipal Library of Luanda.

C) Studies and Memoirs¹⁶

37. Mendes, Sushila Sawant, *Luís de Menezes Bragança: Nationalism, secularism and free-thought in Portuguese Goa*. Goa: Directorate of Art and Culture, Government of Goa, 2014.
38. Enoque Mosse Devesse e António Sopa (coord.), *Imprensa Nacional de Moçambique: a gráfica que se confunde com a história do país*. Maputo: Imprensa Nacional de Moçambique, 2014. Oferta de António Sopa
39. Scholberg, Henry, *Bibliography of Goa and the Portuguese in India*. New Delhi: Promilla & Co. Publishers, 1982.
40. Rocha, Ilídio, *A imprensa de Moçambique: história e catálogo (1854-1975)*. Lisbon: Livros do Brasil, 2000.
43. Pires, Daniel, *Dicionário cronológico da imprensa periódica de Macau do século XIX (1822-1900)*. Macau: Instituto Cultural do Governo da R.A.E de Macau, 2015.
45. Shirodkar, P. P. *Who's who of freedom fighters: Goa Daman and Diu*. 2 vol. Goa: Goa Gazetteer Department Goa, 1986-1990.
47. Lopes, António Luís dos Mártires, *A Imprensa de Goa: monografia coordenada por António dos Martires Lopes, pelo 150.º aniversário do primeiro jornal fundado em Goa*. Lisbon: Comissariado do Governo para os Assuntos do Estado da Índia, 1971
52. Correia, Luís de Assis, *Winds of change across Africa: 1958-1969*. Pangim: Broadway Publishing House, 2015.
53. Kamat, Varsha Vijayendra, *Resurgent Goa: Goan Society from 1900-1961*. Pangim: Broadway Publishing House, 2019.
54. Nazareth, J. M., *Brown Man Black Country: a peep into Kenya's freedom struggle*. New Delhi: Tidings Publications, 1981.

¹⁶ Section contributed by Adelaide Vieira Machado, Daniela Spina, and Sandra Ataíde Lobo.

56. Ferreira, Eduardo de Sousa, *O fim de uma era. O colonialismo português em África*. Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa Editora, 1977.
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