

Goans and East-Indians: A Negotiated Catholic Presence in Bombay's Urban Space

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Abstract. Goan emigration to Bombay during the late 19th and early 20th centuries had a strong impact on the city, influencing its culture and society. This created an uneasy juxtaposition between the pre-existent Catholic community in Bombay, who came to be known as East Indians, and the newcomers. Within the framework of colonial Bombay, the Goan migrants found employment, creating mutualistic structures such as clubs, housing societies and micro credit banks, developing agency in certain sectors. Goans tended to settle in specific neighbourhoods, where their presence influenced the cityscape and urban life of Bombay. By mapping the impact of Goan emigration to Bombay, one can understand how the community adapted itself to a new cosmopolitan environment, creating a web of dwellings and services that allowed the Goans to adjust, settle, and feel at home. Using primary and secondary sources, we will focus on the numerous Goan clubs, housing societies and Goan-owned economic activities that mushroomed in Bombay during the early 1900s. By addressing how the Goan community established itself in Bombay, we will argue that convergence towards the same geographical areas was a factor in the rivalry with the East Indians, as was the internecine religious strife usually described as the Padroado-Propaganda dispute. This rivalry between the two Catholic communities evinced conflicting notions of collective identity, with citizenship, race, and language playing determinant roles.

Keywords: Goans, East Indians, Bombay, Emigration, Catholic communities, Urban

In 1665, the British Crown took over the small territory of Bombay from the Portuguese Empire. This territory had been part of the Northern Province of the Estado da Índia—or Portuguese State of India—since 1534. Within most of the coastal subdivisions of the Northern Province, Portuguese missionaries converted much of the local population to Christianity (Gomes and Rossa 210–224). The resulting Catholic society was divided into four main groups: the European-born—or “white”—Portuguese, known as the “*reinóis*”; the people of Portuguese descent born in Asia, known as “*descendentes*” or “*casados*”; the Indian

or converted community, known to the Portuguese as “*naturais*”; and the slave population, overwhelmingly of African descent (Boxer 329–339).

These same social divides were also present in the Bombay archipelago when it was ceded to the British Crown—although the presence of “*reinóis*” is doubtful, and the slave population would not have been very significant.¹ Within this territory, there were four main churches and at least two chapels where mass was occasionally said (see Map 1). While the Christian population was estimated, in 1630, to be about 5,220 (Trindade II, 161)², the total population was estimated, in 1665, at 10,000 (*Materials* III, 525). Coexistence between the new British colonial administration and the pre-existing Catholic communities was uneasy from the beginning, as were the relations with the Portuguese authorities who remained in control of the Northern Province territories surrounding Bombay (Khan 471–545; Teixeira 218–224). Although the Anglo-Portuguese treaty and marriage between Princess Catherine and Charles II had been a way to enlist help in the war against the Hapsburg empire and save what remained of the Estado da Índia from Dutch conquest, the situation of rivalry and past battles in the Indian Ocean strained the relations between the two allies—besides the very tense process of surrendering Bombay itself, during which hundreds of English soldiers died (Khan 439–471).

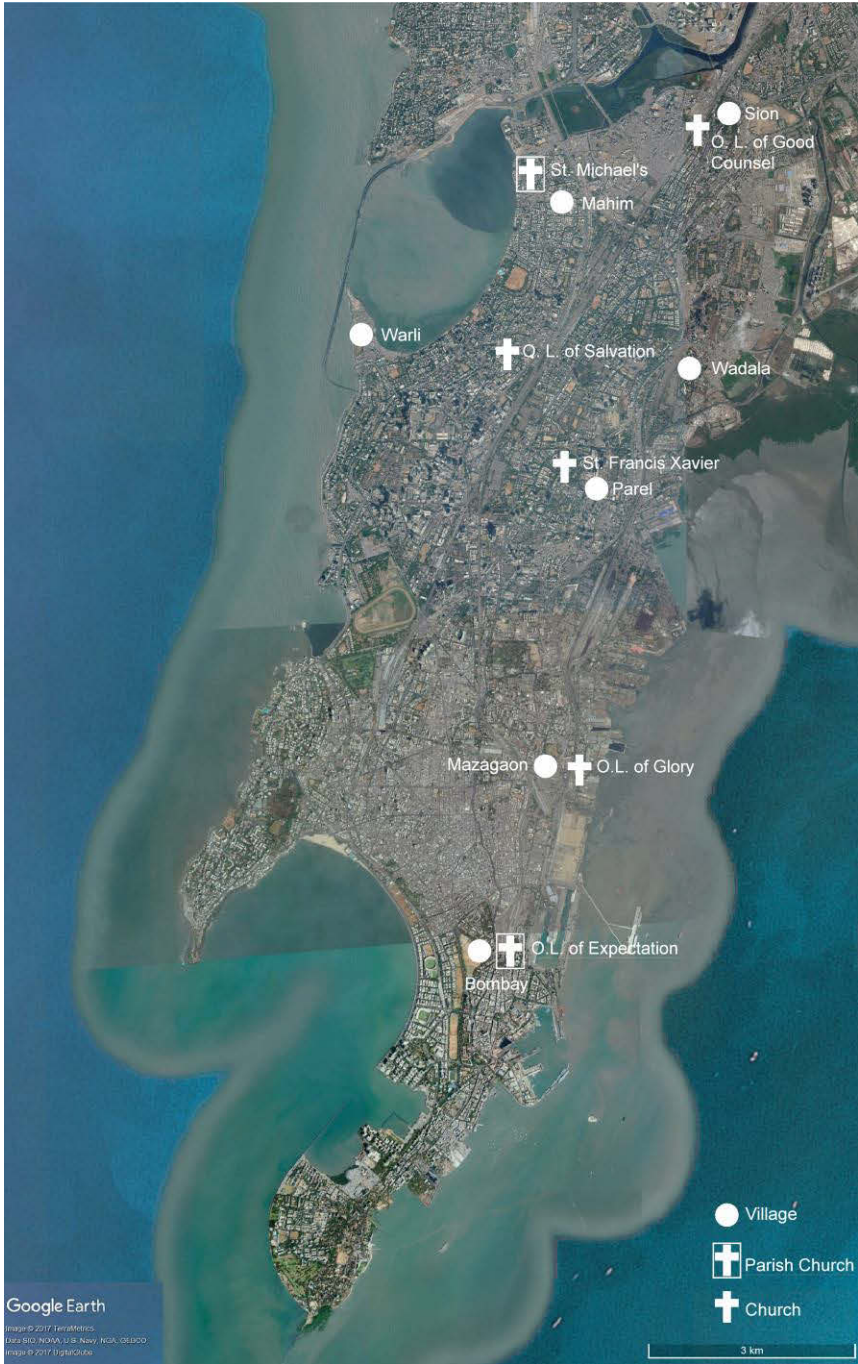
While the Archdiocese in Goa—part of the Portuguese *Real Padroado* or Royal Patronage structure³—retained control over the four parish churches and the growing Catholic population of the Bombay Archipelago after 1665, the activities of the Holy Inquisition were banned by the British shortly thereafter (*Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* 33–34, 479). The Jesuits, who had considerable estates and interests in the archipelago, were progressively expropriated (*Materials* III, 525), while Franciscan missionaries, who were in charge of some of the parishes, saw their conversion activities restricted. The British regarded with increasing suspicion the Catholic *Padroado* cadre in Bombay, considering this religious jurisdiction as a threat to the allegiance of their Catholic subjects. Still, the Portuguese “nation” in Bombay maintained a conspicuous role in Bombay’s society until the mid-18th century, with many landowners or *fazendars* representing the backbone of the archipelago’s agricultural activity. The Portuguese Militia, serving under British colours, was a regularly maintained force defending the Island (Edwardes 1–10). And Portuguese was widely used as a *lingua franca* between the British and their Catholic subjects.

In 1720, the British authorities expelled all the missionaries belonging to the *Padroado* structure from Bombay, handing over the Catholic religious

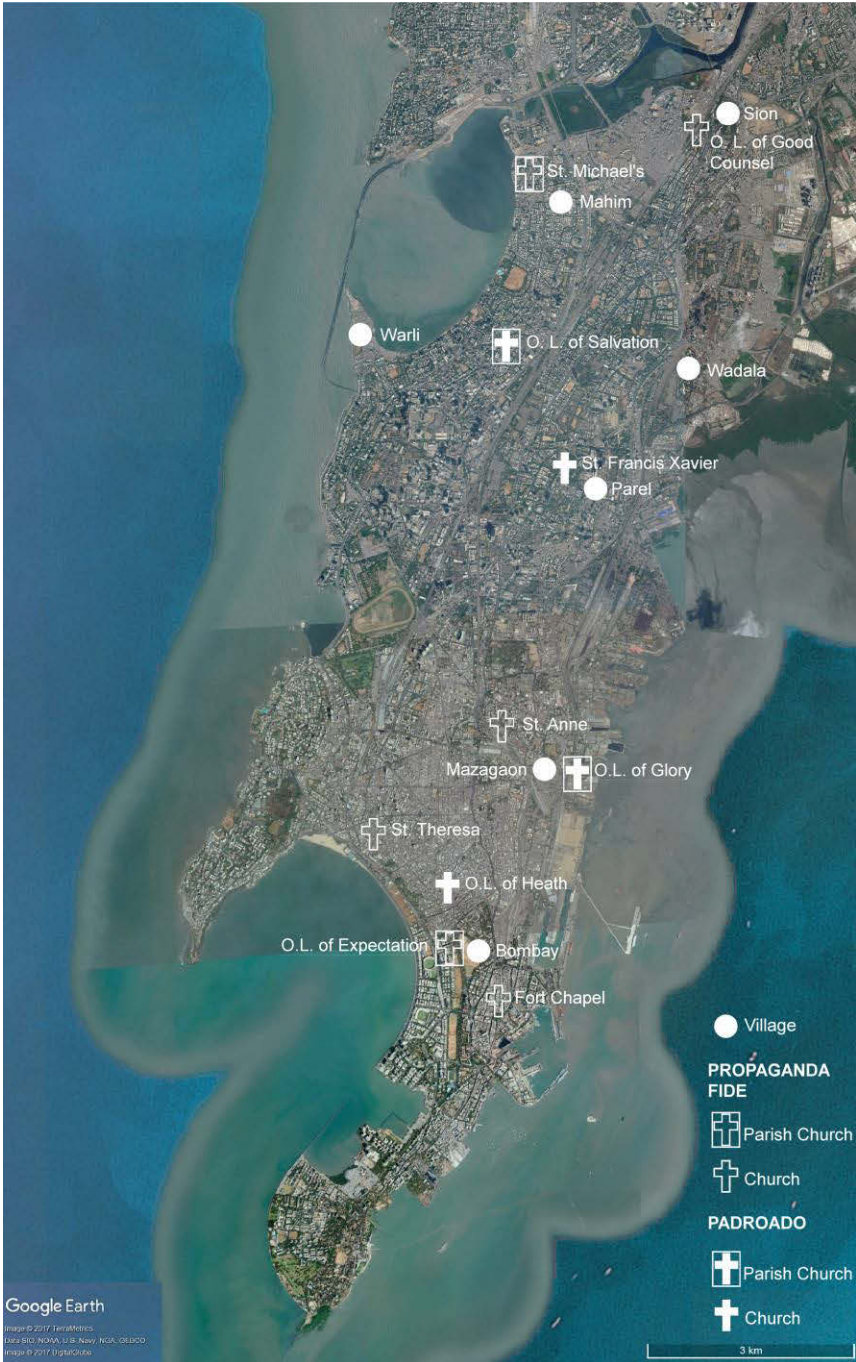
jurisdiction of the archipelago to the Carmelite missionaries, who were dependant on the *Propaganda Fide* structure based in Rome (Hull I, 27–63). Through this measure, the British intended to remove their Catholic subjects from the influence of the Archdiocese of Goa and its Portuguese priests, in order to better control those subjects and assure their loyalty.⁴

Between 1774 and 1812, the British East India Company further occupied the surrounding region of Bombay, including the areas of Salsette and Caranja Islands, and also Baçaim, known today as Vasai—all of which had been part of the Northern Province until 1739 when the Marathas conquered them from the Portuguese. In consequence, by the early 19th century, the British in Bombay ruled over a Catholic population of about 35,000 people, mostly Indian Catholics, living both in the city and its hinterland, a community known to the British as “Portuguese Catholics” or “Native Catholics”—as opposed to “white” or “European” Catholics. Although the British had expelled the *Padroado* priests from Bombay Island, in Salsette and surrounding territories, the Catholic population remained under the spiritual jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. Furthermore, from the 1790s onwards, a surprising “double jurisdiction” was instituted on Bombay Island, dividing its four parishes—and respective parishioners—between the rival *Padroado* and the *Propaganda* structures (Map 2). In practice, most of the parish priests from these rival jurisdictions were of Goan origin, while a handful of European missionaries attended the higher ranks of the respective hierarchies.

The troubled history of the Catholic communities in Bombay during British rule reflects how the Portuguese colonial elites—the “*descendentes*”—found themselves in a progressively subaltern position, often perceived and dealt with as “natives” by their British counterparts, while the converted Indian population, more numerous, was caught between their religious and political allegiances. By the mid-19th century, the non-British Catholic population of Bombay Island had become a disenfranchised minority in the city and its suburbs, often displaced from its traditional neighbourhoods, and caught between religious rival jurisdictions. In Salsette, since the Maratha conquest, the predominantly Catholic villages and population faced the challenges of a stronger Hindu community. Following the 1820s’ epidemics of cholera, the weakened Catholic community slowly started to recover from economic stagnation (*Gazetteer* XII pt. 2, 512, 523–524). It was against this backdrop that a new phenomenon of Goan—overwhelmingly Catholic—migration into Bombay began in the 1830s, a process that further diversified the composition of the city’s population.



Map 1. Catholic Structures of Bombay, ca. 1665



Map 2. Catholic Structures of Bombay, ca. 1794

Goan Migration and Intra-Catholic Rivalry

Bombay's growth in the mid-19th century hinged on economic prosperity, improved maritime communications, and the expansion and consolidation of its hinterland, which was then fast becoming a part of a much larger Presidency, stretching northwards to the Sindh, southwards to Karnataka, and inland as far as Nagpur. The dichotomy of "Native" town and "European" town or "cantonment", so common in other cities of the British Raj, faded away during the 1860s, when the ramparts of Bombay's fort were razed to the ground. The Esplanade buffer zone, between the Fort and the "Native" town, was by then seasonally occupied by tent-like structures, from where temporary residents commuted daily into the Fort area during the dry months. Tourists and travellers were mesmerized to see, also during the mid-19th century, "several dozens of temples, pagodas, joss-houses, and churches" all in the same urban area. While the "Portuguese procession bearing an immense cross" occurred close to "Mahomedan ceremonies in full display", the "descendants of Zoroaster" and the "Hindoos" worshipped fire and bowed "their heads to Baal", all in close vicinity of each other (Karkaria 93). By most accounts, therefore, by the second half of the 19th century, there were no clear divides along racial lines in the urban composition of Bombay. However, within the denser areas of Bombay many of the less affluent inhabitants or vulnerable castes lived segregated lives, divided along religious and/or caste lines, in big community-based buildings or *chawls*, while the affluent, both European and non-European, lived dispersed across the Island.

Around this time, Bombay's local Catholic community lived scattered throughout the archipelago, which by then had coalesced into a single Bombay Island. Among the Catholics, the Koli fishing community had traditionally lived in the *colvarias*, or *koliwad*s, informal and separated dwelling clusters near to the coastline (*Gazetteer of Bombay City* I, 194–203, 227–231). These villages or neighbourhoods were progressively uprooted, to make way for more affluent homes or for expansions and improvements of port structures. Other Catholic families lived in neighbourhoods with small houses and gardens in the greener areas surrounding the centre of Bombay, like Cavel or Mazagaon, or the palm groves of Mahim (Cunha, *The Origin of Bombay* 7, 8). In these neighbourhoods lived the remnants of the "descendent" community, still speaking Portuguese at home and proudly displaying allegiance to their distant motherland, as well as a few notable Goan families, like those of Roger de Faria, Miguel de Lima e Souza and Braz Fernandes (Rivara 54, 55). Apparently, these communities kept a significant distance from the local lower-caste Catholics such as the converted Kolis or the Koonbis.

Clustered around their churches and church squares, the Catholic neighbourhoods were also progressively surrounded by the development of Bombay's urban growth, with larger roads, taller buildings, and fewer green areas (Gomes and Rossa 218–224). The process by which the traditional residential environments of Bombay's local Catholic population were engulfed by denser urban fabric can be gauged by comparing the well-known "Dickinson" map from 1818 with other cartographical documents of the second half of the 19th century.

The deep transformation of the Island's coastline, with the razing of coconut groves, reclamations, and the building of infrastructure, besides other development schemes, naturally had a strong impact upon the local Indian Catholic population's traditional dwelling lands (Mathur and Cunha 13–31).

Throughout the 18th and 19th centuries, general migration into Bombay was dominated by the influx of Hindu communities. However, as stated before, by the 1830s, a new phenomenon began, with the steady inflow of Goan Portuguese citizens—mainly Catholics—to the city. The challenges facing the Goan newcomers to Bombay were substantial, especially considering how the majority of migrants came from an essentially rural background rooted in the patterns of village life. One of the main difficulties facing the newcomers was the shortage of affordable housing within the city (Gupta 66–73).

During the last quarter of the 19th century, as migration grew, a sense of rivalry began to develop between Bombay's own Catholic Indian community and the city's Goan Catholics (Gomes, "Bombay Portuguese" 584–586). Many factors contributed to this animosity, including the crucial fact that both communities often vied for the same jobs within Bombay colonial society, in particular positions within the lower ranks of the city's Civil Service. Another dividing factor was the ongoing conflict between the *Padroado* and *Propaganda* jurisdictions, already referred to above. Many local Indian Catholics saw this conflict as an opportunity to challenge the administrative *status quo* of their parishes, which were often in the hands of an elite "upper caste", either of "descendente" or Goan background.

This intra-religious conflict, which dated back to the 18th century, escalated from the 1830s onwards, affecting many cities in the Indian subcontinent. Rooted in various causes and deeply held convictions, the staunchest supporters of the *Padroado* side were the clergy of Goan origin, since they were the ones who stood to lose the most with the curtailment or extinction of the privileges and jurisdiction of the Royal Patronage enjoyed by the Portuguese monarchs. The priests commanded the loyalty of the Goan community in Bombay. Bombay and Salsette's Indian Catholics were divided as to their religious allegiance, but progressively, a majority tended to side with the *Propaganda* faction (Gomes, "Bombay Portuguese" 586–590). Intra-parish strife became so virulent that churches were shut, priests excommunicated, and parishioners of opposing jurisdictions came to blows in churchyards.

Feelings of rivalry and bitterness also found expression in the press and pamphlets, through competing cultural associations, and in hair-splitting notions of history of identity. The Indian Catholics of Bombay progressively developed a "sons-of-the-soil" discourse, simultaneously detaching themselves from their Portuguese heritage and ostentatiously affirming their loyalty to the British administration. The moment of crisis in this restructuring of collective identity occurred in 1887, when members of the community began to call themselves "East Indians". Shortly thereafter, the "Bombay East-Indian Association" was created, with its official publication beginning in 1888 (Baptista 25–26).

Catholic Goans, on the other hand, had a strong sense of proto-national identity, although their subaltern position to the Portuguese government—which in turn was arguably in a subaltern position to the British Empire—led to conflicted notions of political allegiance and nationalism (Pinto 260–265). However, the connection of the migrants in Bombay to their Goan homeland remained by and large an “umbilical one” (Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers* 21), with the jurisdiction of the *Padroado* being a fundamental element of their collective identity. The *Instituto Luso-Indiano*, founded in 1883, was one of the first associations to represent the Catholic Goans in Bombay (Albuquerque 170–171). And in 1886, with the signature of the new *Concordata*, the Archdiocese of Daman was created. The Bishop of Daman normally resided at the old Colaba House/hostel with its affiliated chapel of S. Francisco Xavier.⁵

The rivalry between the two Catholic jurisdictions also had a more “constructive” side, as both embarked on building and renovation activities. Right after the Bishop of Daman started renovation work on his Colaba House, the Bishop of Bombay acquired land in Wodehouse Road, Colaba, to build an episcopal house for himself and the new cathedral of the Holy Name. Almost simultaneously, work began on the new church of Our Lady of the Mount in Bandra. These are the most eloquent examples of this zeal for building (Gomes, “Bombay Portuguese” 590–596).

Goan migration to Bombay gained momentum in certain patterns from the early 20th century onwards. There were those who came to study, some of whom established their liberal professional activities. Then there were those who worked on ships, taking advantage of the new steamers plying the ports of the Arabian Sea. There were also job opportunities in European households, where Goan cooks and butlers were in demand. And there were also opportunities in small businesses such as bakeries and shops dealing in items connected to religious activities. Not all Goans settled down in Bombay—many male Goans came to work for a few years and then returned to their homes. But some did apply for naturalization in Bombay and became British subjects.⁶

To cope with this strange new cosmopolitan environment, Goans soon began to create mechanisms that eased integration into the city’s professional and social circles. Foremost among these associations were the “clubs”, also known by their Konkani name of “kudd”. Later on, cooperative societies also sprang up, like the ones providing microcredit or developing housing schemes. Progressively, small businesses and liberal practitioners also flourished, influencing Bombay’s cityscape and urban life. As will be addressed below, Goan Catholics normally settled in places with a pre-existing Catholic element, something that contributed to a sense of rivalry between the two communities.

The Goan “Kudds” and Businesses

From the 1850s onwards (Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers* 19), the Goan clubs or kudds of Bombay were among the community’s most visible and conspicuous spaces in the city. They provided a safe haven and basic accommodation for

those working in the city on a temporary or seasonal basis. Besides secure lodgings, they offered two meals a day and loaned small amounts of money to help newcomers settle in. It was a community-based life where all the domestic chores were shared. If and when they were able to pay back the loans, a monthly member's fee was established, which allowed the club to build a reserve fund (*Situação, no seu aspecto economico 2*).

Goan clubs were usually only for men, as most left their families back in Goa. The first clubs appear to have catered to Goans working at sea, who needed to keep their belongings on land, usually in large trunks. The monthly quota was paid even during the period when they were at sea and therefore absent from the club. When the seamen stayed at the clubs, the trunks would double as beds (Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers* 20–21; Martins 26). Nevertheless, even if most of the kudds had very basic conditions, some flourished and acquired large reserve funds (*Situação, no seu aspecto economico 2–4*).

Exact data and numbers concerning Goan migration to Bombay are difficult to find, in spite of the fact that Portugal had a diplomatic representative in the city since 1739. This representative was initially known as the agent for the “Portuguese nation” in Bombay. Elevated to a consular office in 1796 (Gracias 380), this diplomatic institution appears to have functioned regularly until the independence of India. To our knowledge, the consulate did not keep a systematic record of Portuguese citizens living in Bombay until the early 20th century.

Between 1929 and 1939, several enquiries were made by the government in Goa to collect information about the communities living in British India. In 1932, the *Comissão Administrativa do Fundo de Emigrantes da Índia Britânica* was created to give support to Goan Catholic emigrants within the Bombay presidency.⁷ If, on the one hand, these measures reflect the growing uncertainty regarding the British territories in India, on the other, they can also be interpreted as an attempt by the *Estado Novo*⁸ to have more control over its citizens. For the 1930s, at least, these enquiries and the *Comissão Administrativa* provide a unique portrait of Goan emigrants in Bombay. One of the most active members of this commission was Alúisio L. Colaço, the only Goan engineer owning a private office in the city.⁹

In the early 1930s, there were between 50,000 and 60,000 Portuguese citizens residing in British India, out of whom 200 were described as of “European origin”, and 7500 described as Hindu or Moslem, while all the others were Catholic. The Hindu Goan emigrant community was quite distinct from its Catholic counterpart, being described as split between two main social groups¹⁰: middle to higher income young men going to British India for education and quickly returning home; and the “Bailadeiras”, women from the Gayak community (*Relatório da Comissão de Inquérito 3; Letter from The Goa Hindu Association*).¹¹ From the total number of emigrants mentioned above, between 40,000 and 45,000 lived in the city of Bombay (*Situação, no seu aspecto economico 3*).

As the kudds were one of the most conspicuous features of the Goan community in Bombay, they were also subject to enquiry. Initially, the results

refer to a total number of 300 kudds, a number also mentioned by the book, *In the Mission Field* (Pera and Santos 559). Nevertheless, the enquiry only lists 215 clubs.¹² There was a huge difference in size between the various clubs and also, in some cases, between the number of members and effective residents. Both these differences, along with the huge difference in monthly “rents”, were probably among the factors that contributed to the considerable disparity in financial resources between the various clubs.



Photo 1. Jer Mahal Building

The famous Jer Mahal building (Photo 1), at Dhobi Talao,¹³ and its various wings—Jer Mahal Annexe, Sona Mahal and Dinshaw Mahal—housed 22 clubs with 1746 members and a total of 499 residents. This was a far higher number than the Tyabji Building at Patakwadi that also accommodated 22 kudds, but that between them totalled only 841 members and 244 residents. The *Principal-Cuncoim* kudd, located in the Horta-Baixa area, within the old Dukerwadi neighbourhood, was the largest in number of members, 800, out of whom 200 were residents. It was only matched by the St. Stevens Club at Nesbit Road, Mazagaon, which also had 800 members but only 90 residents. The smallest kudd was St. Anthony’s Club of Panchwadicares at Ropa Lane, Chandawadi area, with a total number of 12 members out of whom only 4 were residents. Also located in Ropa Lane, the Club of Panjimcares was the only one whose members were all residents, with a total number of 16 (*Relação dos clubes residenciais goeses*). The 1939 survey is organized in lists *per* urban area and the following table presents

aggregated data preserving the names and the urban areas defined by the enquiry (*Relação dos clubes residenciais goeses*).

Table 1 – Residential Catholic Clubs (Kudds) in Bombay, 1939

Area	Number of Clubs	Total Number of Members	Resident Members
Dhobi Talao	98	7084	2014
Chandawadi	17	923	366
Chira Bazaar	13	747	230
Cavel	18	1608	385
Old Sonapur	5	1110	217
Horta Baixa	6	1480	365
Patakwadi	22	841	244
Carnac Bridge	6	1160	197
Crawford Market	3	865	220
Princess St.	1	300	80
Mazagaon	26	4674	908
TOTAL	215	20792	5226

Despite the differences in the numbers mentioned above, the 1939 survey confirms the importance of residential clubs for the Goan community in Bombay: of the estimated 40,000 emigrants, at least half were members of kudds. Although the survey indicates that, for 1939, only about 13% of emigrants resided in the clubs, one can assume that the percentage of Goans who used them as a base—either when they first arrived in the city or because they worked in seasonal jobs, such as navigation companies—would be much closer to the number of members than to the number of residents.

Looking at the kudds' geographical distribution, 46% of them were located at Dhobi Talao. From this core area, more kudds were strung along two roughly perpendicular axes. The first was Girgaum Road, parallel to the coastline, where a Catholic community was already well established by the late 18th century—something also revealed by the number of Catholic structures (Map 2) located there. The second axis was the former limit of the Esplanade buffer zone north of the Fort, linking two military barracks areas. It was named Carnac Road, and stretched from Marine Lines to Crawford Market, a strategic connection between the Back Bay and the Port area. Patakwadi, the third biggest area in numbers of kudds, with 10% of the total, was located on this axis, quite near Dhobi Talao.

Detached from this urban continuum, Mazagaon was the urban area with the second largest number of kudds (12%). As mentioned before, it was a neighbourhood with deep Portuguese roots. Mazagaon was far behind Dhobi Talao in the number of kudds—46% to 12%—as well as in number of residents—39% to 17%. However, the total number of members of the kudds in the two areas was not that divergent: 34% to 22%. These differences in proportions may point towards the better economic situation of the clubs in Mazagaon, or might be indicative of the fact that accommodation was easier to come by in that area than in the central Dhobi Talao neighbourhood. Regardless

of their size or financial condition, clubs were the home to which members returned, even after they had improved their residential situations: “[H]e dreamed of sleeping in his own bed. But even after he’d married my mother and moved into a rented house a few lanes away, his trunk stayed put at the club. (...) Dad never failed to take us to the club at Christmas, Easter and St. Anthony’s feast day” (Martins 26–27).

It is possible to trace most kudds back to particular villages in Goa through their designations. By mapping the villages of origin of these kudds (Map 3), one can see that the villages were overwhelmingly located in the *Velhas Conquistas* of Goa, which confirms that the kudd system was mostly—possibly exclusively—a Catholic affair. This reverse mapping also confirms that Bardez provided most of the emigrant population to Bombay. Both at regional and village levels, kudds with people from the same area in Goa tended to be grouped in the same areas of Bombay. It is also clear that many villages had more than one kudd originating from them. Indeed, some Goan villages gave origin to four or five kudds in Bombay. Siolim, for example, was represented by six kudds, while both Tivim and Chinchinim had five kudds each. Assolna, Velim, Aldona and Mapusa had four kudds each in Bombay, while many other Goan villages had two or three kudds.¹⁴ This distribution goes towards confirming that kudds were organized along caste lines, something that can also be inferred from the text of the 1931 report to emigrants (*Relatório da Comissão de Inquérito* 14).

Rich emigrants, however, did not live in kudds. Therefore, the geographic location of the kudds only gives us a partial reading of where the Goan Catholic community established itself. In order to get a more complete geographical panorama, other available data was mapped (Map 4), contributing towards a better understanding not only of the presence of Catholic Goans in the city but also of the overall history of this emigrant community.

In July 1929 instructions from the Portuguese Ministry of Foreign Affairs were sent to all consulates in British India to carry out a survey of traders, members of firms or commercial companies, and even individuals engaged in liberal professions such as dentists, doctors, lawyers, etc. of Portuguese nationality. The professions listed for Bombay are not representative of the jobs held by the majority of Goans in the city, as can be concluded from Table 2 (*Registo de firmas portuguesas*). Rather, these were probably the professional activities of some of the richer Goan migrants. The list identifies 94 companies and professionals, for a total of 40,000 Goans. Most of the people missing from this survey, such as musicians, cooks, civil servants, tailors, etc., would be employed by others. Moreover, well-known Goan businesses are missing, revealing that the document is probably very incomplete. The famous *Furtado’s* musical instrument store, based in the Jer Mahal building, is not included in the 1929 listing. Considering that those engaged in commercial and other economic activities were, undoubtedly, easier to track than liberal professionals, one can imagine that in that sector the number of people missing is perhaps even higher.

In the case of “engineer-architects”, the list includes two, Aluísio Colaço and José Lourenço.¹⁵ But we know that they were uncle and nephew, both engineers and partners in the same company—A. L. Colaço & C^a—based in Hornby Road (*Times of India Calendar & Directory* 1901, 949; 1910, 689; 1925, 1122; 1940, 773).

There is also another interesting reference to one female medical surgeon, Josefina Lima Coutinho, who worked at Jacob Circle.

Table 2 – Goan Firms and Liberal Professionals in Bombay, ca. 1929

BUSINESSES		LIBERAL PROFESSIONS	
Motor Vehicle accessories	1	Lawyers	8
Religious articles and statues	2	Dentists	1
Forwarding agent	3	Engineer-architects	2
Cart production	3	Surgeon doctors	33
Hotels	4	Solicitors	2
Printing and lamination	4		
Bookstores	1		
Medical and surgical instruments	1		
Groceries and fuel resale	1		
Bakeries	21		
Milk vendors	3		
Wines, spirits, and canned foodstuffs	4		
Subtotal	48	Subtotal	46
Total Businesses + Liberal professions			94

In spite of the deficiencies mentioned before, this survey shows us that professional addresses connected to Goans were more scattered throughout the city than their places of residence. Geographically, the most spread-out liberal profession was that of doctor-surgeon,¹⁶ which was possible to find from Bandra and Mahim down to Colaba. In the case of lawyers, however, rather than being dispersed, they were clustered in specific urban areas. Seven out of eight Goan lawyers were working on the same street, Kalbadevi Road. Another example is the car-related activities, concentrated in Girgaum Road.

Some other details about the economic activities of the Goan community can be found in other sources, but without details of their location in the city. For example, according to *In the Mission Field* states more than 3000 tailors were registered with a tailor’s union (Pera and Santos 559). Another interesting document from the Portuguese consulate deals with the emigration of women and children, and the possibility of this flux being linked to the traffic of people. The document mentions the existence of more than 2,000 prostitutes from Goa, stating that the majority was of Hindu origin, although the overall city census had indicated a total number of only 1152 prostitutes. The same document also provides numbers for three other professions employing Goan women: 157 working in the spinning mills; about 300 working as housemaids; and about another 300 working in various firms. Besides these activities, Goan women in Bombay also worked in hospitals and schools (*Resposta ao Questionário* 1–2).



Map 3. Clubs: Villages of Origin in Goa, ca. 1930



Map 4. Catholic Structures, Associations and Activities in Bombay, ca. 1930



Map 5. Catholic Structures, Associations and Activities, Detail Dabul Area, Bombay ca. 1930

Catholic Co-Operative Housing Societies and the Santa Cruz Schemes (1920–1925)

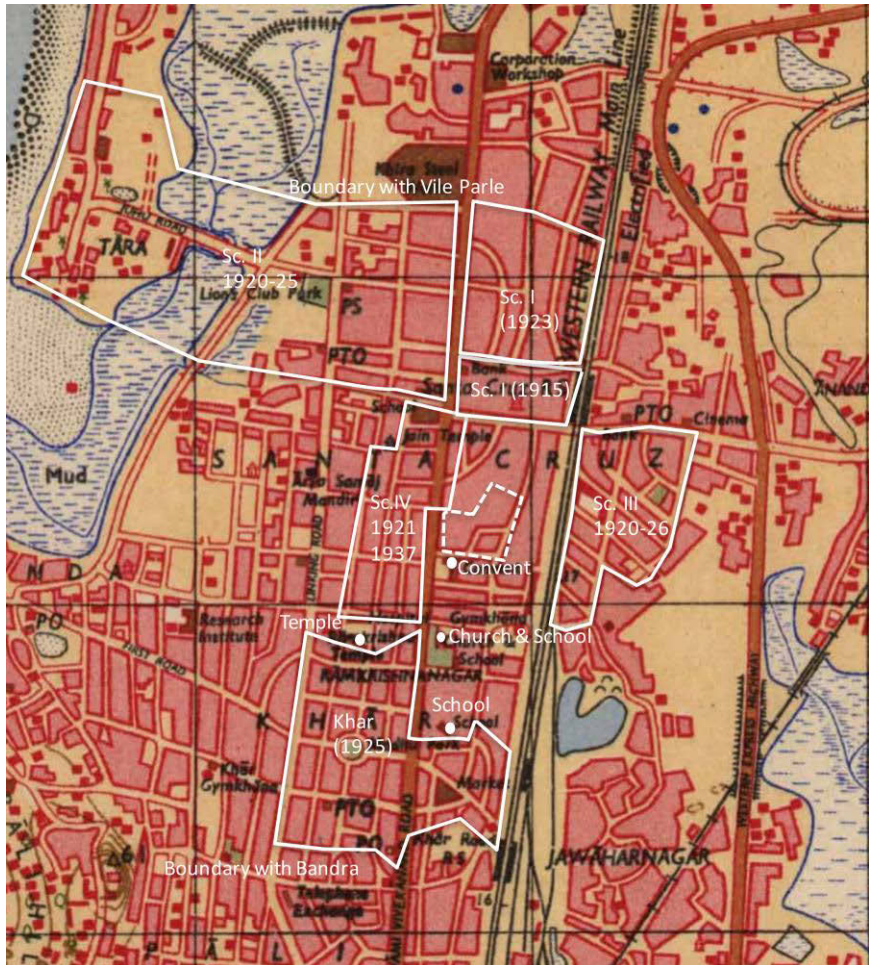
Co-operative societies had been regulated by law in Bombay since 1904, but before 1912 they were limited to small banking operations. Some of these small credit co-operatives were created at the end of the 19th century under the Indian Companies Act of 1885, as the *Associação Goana de Auxílio Mútuo* registered that same year. They were scattered throughout the territory, some being promoted through the church, like The Bombay Catholic Welfare Organization (Pera and Santos 61, 540–560).

The overcrowded situation of the city at the turn of the century and the tragic results of the 1896 plague contributed towards increased interference on the part of the government in Bombay's town-planning and public health issues. One of the consequences was the Bombay Town Planning Act of 1915, which favoured the creation of numerous housing societies. Following the First World War, the Bombay Development Department was created, directly under the Presidency's government, and therefore with the power to bypass certain local authorities (Caru 72). According to Gupta, one of the Development Department's main objectives was "to carry out large schemes for the systematic development of Salsette island by: a) town-planning schemes to be carried out by local authorities; b) the purchase of areas outright, with a view of resale after development" (199–200). A total of fifteen Town Planning schemes were proposed for Salsette, occupying an area of 15,325 acres, as was the construction

of a new railway line, known as the Salsette-Trombay railway, primarily intended “for the supply of materials for the development areas” and later on, envisioned to be converted “into an electric tramway for passengers” (*Bombay 1921–22: A Review of the Administration of the Presidency* 28, 178–180). The Development Directorate envisioned a suburban “garden city” in Salsette, influenced by the almost contemporary experiments in England. The proposal of 1909 to develop Salsette into a residential city describes how housing societies could play a crucial role in this process (Mead). Other improvements, which included roads, water supplies, sewage or at least some kind of sanitary measures to drain monsoon water and reclaim swampland, were carried out in Dadar, Bandra, Andheri, Santa Cruz, Khar and Vile Parle during the 1920s and 1930s.

By 1929 there were fifty-six cooperative housing societies in Bombay, with 5,654 members (Gupta 210). Among them were: the Bombay Catholic Co-Operative Housing Society (founded in 1916 and based in Santa Cruz); the Catholic Suburban Co-Operative Housing Society (1917, also in Santa Cruz); the Salsette Catholic Housing Society (1918, in Bandra); the St. Sebastian Homes Co-Operative Society (1918); the St. Anthony’s Homes Co-Operative Society (1919, in Chembur); the East Indian Housing Society (founded ca. 1920); and the Vile Parle Catholic Co-Operative Society (Vile Parle).

The Bombay Catholic Co-Operative Housing Society had a prominent Goan leadership. It was founded by the engineer, Antonio Xavier Moraes,¹⁷ and implemented projects designed by the firm, A. L. Colaço & Co. By 1929, the Society had “twenty-six tenements in 22 buildings” and had obtained a loan of “rupees six lakhs and a site worth another lakh” (Gupta 211). One of the most notable housing schemes developed by the Society was the Santa Cruz Colony, later known as the Willingdon Colony. The Colony was probably built on land donated by the church of Santa Cruz, and therefore does not feature as one of the projects pertaining to the Development Department’s schemes for Santa Cruz (Map 6).¹⁸ Donation of church property for co-operative housing was a solution defended by C. M. Mendes in an article for *The Bombay East Indian Association Golden Jubilee Souvenir*,¹⁹ an issue that had probably already been addressed by the *Catholic Co-operative Committee*, established at diocesan level by the Bishop of Daman (Pera and Santos 565). Occupying about thirty-five acres of land by 1925, the premises had housing for around seventy-five families, besides a church, a boy’s school, a convent and girl’s school, and a gym. A total number of 175 dwellings was envisioned, but not built in their entirety.²⁰ Arguably, the two-story, terraced houses designed by Colaço were influenced by the *Housing Accommodation for Poor Classes* published on March 13, 1918 (*Housing*). The bungalows that were still standing as of January 2016 are of two types, one clearly more affluent than the other. With four dwellings, the structures have a symmetrical layout, with a verandah, a living room, one or two rooms, kitchen and detached toilets. In 1925, the society had a total number of 651 members, significantly larger than other Catholic housing societies (Rebello 486).



Map 6. Development Department's Schemes for Santa Cruz

The Salsette Catholic Housing Society, founded in 1918 by F. A. C. Rebello, had the initial objective of “acquiring for its members plots of land in the vicinity of the railway stations in Salsette for residential quarters equipped with the necessary amenities” (*The Bombay East Indian Association* 62). The society was led by East Indian members, and its developments were mostly in Bandra. When, between 1918 and 1923, the members of the society realized how “the indigenous Christians” were “slowly being ousted out of their original holdings”, they strove to acquire plots and parcel them out to the “members of the [East India] Community principally” (*The Bombay East Indian Association* 62). The Society, which numbered 200 members in 1925, benefited from the donation of a large property belonging to António d’Monte, known as the D’Monte Park,

upon which the Bandra Gymkhana was later built.²¹ Other notable Catholic-run housing societies were the St. Sebastian Homes Co-Operative Society (founded in 1918) and the St. Anthony's Homes Co-Operative Society (founded in 1919). The St. Sebastian Homes Co-Operative Society, with 235 members in 1925, was another notable Catholic-run housing society established in Bandra. Its relations with the church are well described by Rebello, who states that the society was “under the protection and in the vicinity of Our Lady of the Mount and of Carmel. . . .” Nonetheless, it also had help from the Government’s Development Department (Rebello 486). Both these societies had members from the two Catholic communities, the Goans and the East Indians (Pera and Santos 562). A housing society led by a third Catholic community, the Mangaloreans, could be found in both Bandra and Andheri—the Mangalorean Garden Homes Society (founded in 1917 by 71 members).



Photo 2. Bombay Catholic Co-Operative Housing Society, Willingdon

The housing societies that flourished mostly in Salsette during the first half of the 20th century were to have a significant impact upon the urban growth of Bombay, although they have now almost completely disappeared due to the city’s subsequent development. Catholic housing societies, some of which were divided between Goan and East Indian communities, benefitted from land acquisitions or donations from the Church, as parishes in Salsette, at the end of the 19th century, often had sizeable lands. They also contributed to the establishment of educational and recreational facilities, linked to other cultural associations, that consolidated notions of collective identity. Furthermore, the aforementioned housing societies based in Bandra are also an example of

cooperation and understanding between both Catholic communities, something noted by several contemporary sources (Pera and Santos 562; Rebello 486).



Photo 3. Salsette Catholic Housing Society, Santa Cruz

As it is possible to see from the examples we have given, Catholic-led housing societies provided homes mostly for their middle- and upper-class members. The poorer people could not afford to move into the suburbs even if most of the housing operations were quite near to the railway lines (Rebello 487). The establishment of a *Catholic Co-operative Committee* and of the *City of Bombay Catholic Housing Society* was an attempt by the Church to ensure that its land was used for the benefit of all, as stated by Rebello (487).

Closing Notes

Mass Goan migration into Bombay during the 19th and early 20th centuries led to situations of rivalry with the pre-existing Catholic community, known since 1887 as the East Indians. Viewed in the light of the larger contention between the religious jurisdictions of the Padroado and Propaganda, and against the backdrop of colonial Bombay—a society deeply influenced by hair-splitting notions of race and caste—the conflict was to have a decisive impact on the collective identity of both the East Indians and the Goan Catholics.

Various agencies, tools and platforms were used by both communities in their quest for self-improvement or enfranchisement under the British administration. These included various types of associations, mutual societies, the printed press and cultural manifestations. Housing societies played a prominent role in this process, and the various schemes built in Salsette had a noticeable impact on the development of the Island. In certain parishes, the

housing societies also benefitted from land donated by the church even before the Archdiocese of Daman was extinguished in 1928.

Both communities had to negotiate the spheres and spaces of colonial Bombay, where a sense of imperial cosmopolitanism co-existed with the deep-rooted communal traditions of the various ethnic-religious groups. As the Goan migrants had a tendency to concentrate in neighbourhoods with a conspicuous pre-existent local Catholic element, with churches, chapels and cemeteries such as Cavel, Girgaum and Mazagaon, rivalry with the East Indians often translated into disputes over the various spheres, such as parish affairs, jobs and social recognition.

Goans developed further agencies to cope with their migrant condition. The Goan clubs were an effective means to support, integrate and nurture Goans living in Bombay. Although the data available for this text are insufficient for us to draw definite conclusions, they demonstrate a tendency towards geographical grouping in Bombay of clubs whose members hailed from the same regions and villages in Goa, and point towards a caste-based organization of these clubs. Upper-caste Goans were more dispersed throughout the territory, a dispersion that gained relevance in the 1920s with the housing societies. Yet, in spite of rivalries, the members that were upper-caste Goans and East Indians also settled side by side in Bombay, suggesting the existence of caste-based cooperation and propinquity between both Catholic communities.

Note: Despite various efforts, the authors were unable to consult Olga Baptista's 1958 master's dissertation, "The Coor System: A Study of Goan Club Life in Bombay".

Notes

¹ Around 1634, it was estimated that there were eleven main "descendente" families in the Bombay archipelago (excluding Mahim), and a further seventy men capable of carrying firearms (Bocarro 188–189).

² This number included both adults and children not yet baptized. It is likely that the population of the Bombay archipelago grew between 1630 and 1665, as both the villages of Bombay and Mazagaon gained in importance during the Dutch blockades of Goa, when the high-seas fleet (*armada de alto-bordo*) often lay in anchor in the Bay of Bombay and its crews remained ashore (Trindade II, 161).

³ The *Real Padroado Português no Oriente* (Royal Portuguese Patronage in the East) was a complex set of royal prerogatives enjoyed by the Portuguese monarchs, obtained through briefs and decrees from the Vatican. Amongst other things, it gave the monarchs the right to choose the bishops of the dioceses of the *Estado da Índia* (Figueiredo; Rego 1940; Rego 1978).

⁴ Comparable situations had arisen in Madras (Chennai) and Calcutta (Kolkata) in the early 18th century. The new Carmelite missionaries in charge of the parishes of Bombay had to swear an oath of allegiance to the British administration (Hull I, 27–63).

⁵ The house was used first as a school and later by the *Padroado* to serve the "Portuguese" brothers in transit through Bombay (Costa).

⁶ The only known numbers related to the naturalization of Goan Portuguese citizens in British India date from the 1930s. Between 1932 and 1934, thirty people received naturalization permits, and a further twenty-one in 1935 (*List of Portuguese subjects*).

⁷ *Diploma legislativo n° 598, de 8 de Setembro de 1932, Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral do Estado Da Índia n° 73, 9.09.1932, 1160–1161.* "Comissão Administrativa do Fundo de Emigrantes da Índia Britânica. Relatório anual dos trabalhos realizados pela Comissão durante o ano findo em 31 de Agosto de

1934.” *Boletim Oficial do Governo Geral do Estado Da Índia*, no. 2º suplemento ao no. 101 (December 19, 1934): 1887–1895.

⁸ After the unstable times of the Portuguese First Republic (1910–1926), a military dictatorship was installed in Portugal. The period of the *Estado Novo* followed, a totalitarian corporatist regime that lasted between 1933 and 1974, and was dominated by the dictator, António de Oliveira Salazar, and the ultra-conservative and nationalist *União Nacional* movement.

⁹ Aluísio Leonardo Colaço (1868–1956) was born in Margão, where he also spent his last years. His architecture firm was in Flora Fountain, Bombay, and was active during the 1920s up to the late 1940s. For many years, he appears to have been the only registered practicing architect with an Indian and Catholic background in Bombay. (Information gathered at Margão cemetery and in an interview with Dr. Lília Maria de Souza (Aluísio Colaço’s grandniece) in Pangim, Goa, January 2016.)

¹⁰ Significantly, most of the numbers and data collected refer to Catholic Goans. There is almost no data about the Goan Hindu emigrant community.

¹¹ The Gayak were singers, sometimes associated with the Kalavant groups who were dancers from Hindu temples in Goa. We thank Rosa Maria Perez for this information, and as there is no specific bibliography about the Gayak group, we recommend about the Kalavant group and the Goan “baldadeiras”, Rosa Maria Perez, *O Tulsí e a Cruz: Antropologia e Colonialismo em Goa*, Lisboa, Circulo de Leitores e Temas e Debates, 2012, pp. 103–133.

¹² Teresa Albuquerque refers to 341 kudds, of which 23 were for women and very few mixed (19). Humaira Ansari mentions a total of 450 kudds at their peak (Hindustan Times 10), stating that 160 of them were still functional in 2016.

¹³ According to Teresa Albuquerque, the Jer Mahal was built in 1914 (Albuquerque, *Goan Pioneers* 20).

¹⁴ Using the survey of 1939, that lists 215 Goan kudds in Bombay, it was possible to trace 75% of them back to villages in Goa.

¹⁵ Luiz José do Carmo Lourenço, known as José Lourenço (1877–1969), was born in Margão. (Information gathered at Margão cemetery and in an interview with Dr. Lília Maria de Souza (Aluísio Colaço’s grandniece) in Pangim, Goa, January 2016.)

¹⁶ We do not know if these doctors came from the Medical School in Goa, founded in 1842, or if they were Goans who studied abroad, mainly in Bombay, where the Grant Medical College had opened in 1845.

¹⁷ A. X. Moraes (186?–194?) was born in Santa Cruz, Goa. He worked as an engineer in the Public Works Department of the Bombay government, where he rose to the position of superintendent.

¹⁸ This map was designed with information available on the several Town Planning Santa Cruz Schemes at the Maharashtra Directorate of Archives, Mumbai, India. Design over a detail of the *Guide Map of Bombay City and South Salsette by the Survey of India from 1969 is based on Surveys conducted in 1962–64*. Regenstein Library, University of Chicago.

¹⁹ “A considerable amount of property was bequeathed to the churches for the purposes of masses, etc. It is well known that the churches of Nossa Senhora da Esperança, Bhuleshwar, or Nossa Senhora da Salvação, Dadar, and St. Michael’s, Mahim, have thus been greatly enriched. [. . .] The churches still possess much property and money; and I think I shall not be deemed out of place if I suggest that the authorities of the churches should provide suitable dwellings for their parishioners who are native inhabitants of their parishes. They can easily do so as they possess ample lands which are now serving no useful purpose and the erection of houses, which will be a great boon to the Catholic parishioners, will entail no loss to the revenues of churches (*The Bombay East Indian Association* 56).

²⁰ Oral sources within the Society said that only 25 residential units were built (Alice Santiago Faria and Sidh Mendiratta, Interview at the Bombay Catholic Co-Operative Society Office, Mumbai, 11th February 2016).

²¹ The Housing Societies associated with the East Indian community probably also tried to obtain land from the church. Many parishes had extensive properties, and the management of these assets often became issues of contention.

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Maps:

- Map 1. Catholic structures of Bombay, ca. 1665.
- Map 2. Catholic structures of Bombay, ca. 1794.
- Map 3. Clubs: villages of origin in Goa, ca. 1930.
- Map 4. Catholic structures, associations and activities in Bombay, ca. 1930.
- Map 5. Catholic structures, associations and activities, detail Dabul Area, Bombay, ca. 1930.
- Map 6. *Development Department's* schemes for Santa Cruz.
- All maps are designed by Alice Santiago Faria and Sidh Losa Mendiratta.

Photos:

- Photo 1. Jer Mahal building.
- Photo 2. Bombay Catholic Co-Operative Housing Society, Willingdon.
- Photo 3. Salsette Catholic Housing Society, Santa Cruz.
- Photos by Alice Santiago Faria

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