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Framing Identity: Bombay's East-Indian Community and its Indo-Portuguese historical background (1737-1928)*

Sidh Daniel Losa Mendiratta**

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Resumo

Em 1739, os Portugueses foram expulsos da Província do Norte do Estado da Índia, deixando para trás uma considerável população indiana católica, para além dos católicos de Bombaim, a viver sob administração britânica desde 1665. Conhecidos atualmente como *East-Indians*, esta comunidade etno-religiosa tem uma presença característica na presente metrópole de Bombaim, embora as suas aldeias, igrejas e bairros tenham sido praticamente submersos pelo exponencial crescimento urbano. Após uma breve contextualização histórica, este texto abordará os temas fundamentais inerentes à construção identitária dos *East-Indians* desde 1737 até 1928, e como isto implicou reequacionar e equilibrar noções de "estrangeirismo" e "indianismo".

Palavra-chave: Mumbai; Portugal; East-Indian; Cristianismo; Igreja; Identidade

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Abstract

In 1739 the Portuguese were expelled from the *Estado da* Índia's Northern Province, leaving behind a considerable Indian Catholic population, adding to the Catholics in Bombay Island living under British administration since 1665. Known today as "East-Indians", this ethno-religious community has a distinctive presence in the present metropolis of Mumbai, although their churches, neighborhoods and villages have been almost completely submerged by exponential urban growth. Following a brief historical context, this text addresses the fundamental themes that pervaded the construction of East-Indian collective identity from the 1730s until 1928, and how this implied re-equating and balancing notions of "foreignness" and "Indianness".

Keywords: Mumbai; Portugal; East-Indian; Christian; Church; Identity

Date of submission: 27/12/2016
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Introduction

One July morning in 1864, fr. Mariano Baptista Mascarenhas, parish priest of Culvem – a small village in the northwestern coast of Salsette Island – was shot and killed in his residence adjoining the church. The culprit(s) and motives behind the crime remain unclear, and near-to contemporary opinions on the subject from local residents mention money-lending and property issues, and "a powerful hand behind the assassin", with "plotters and perpetrators of the crime" being known locally but "shielded" (Hull 1927, 346).

Dedicated to the Sacred Heart of Christ, the church of Culvem had been built only a few years before Mascarenhas' death, by his initiative, and on his land. About 400m towards the north, in Gorai, lay a bigger and older church, Reis Magos, with its own parish and priest. The two structures belonged to two different religious jurisdictions within the Catholic church: Sacred Heart was under the care of the Apostolic-vicar of Bombay directly dependent on the Vatican's *Propaganda Fide*; and Reis Magos was entrusted to the *Padroado Real do Oriente* of the Portuguese Archbishop of Goa. Before founding and shifting to the Culvem church, fr. Mascarenhas had been the parish priest of Gorai.

Fr. Mascarenhas' murder, independently of the exact motivation behind it, is inextricably linked to the larger *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict, being one of its most violent episodes. This ecclesiastic conflict or rivalry lasted, in its broader sense, between the 1620s and the extinction of the *Padroado* jurisdiction in Singapore in 1981. A considerable amount of work has been published on the rivalry, especially on its most virulent phase, lasting between 1834 and 1886 – sometimes referred to as the "Goan schism". However, most works deal with the finer aspects of canon law, being very often partial to either one of the factions.

Particularly under-researched is the impact of the *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict upon the lives of the various Catholic communities affected by the rival religious jurisdictions, and how this conflict often became intertwined with politics and the dynamics of race, caste, or class affecting those same communities.

Addressing the Indian Catholic community of Bombay and its surrounding areas, known today as the East-Indians[1], I will argue that the religious conflict fuelled – and was fuelled by – preexisting or latent divisions within the community, and antagonist feelings towards other communities. Furthermore, the conflict was crucial in the larger process of re-framing the East-Indian collective identity within British dominated India.

One of the most notable consequences of the *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict and the so-called "double jurisdiction" issue in the region of Bombay was the creation of what I have chosen to designate as "mirror-churches": the establishment, often within the same village or urban area, of two rival churches under the different religious jurisdictions. The church of Sacred Heart in Culvem mentioned above is one example of this phenomenon (see Map 2).

In order to understand the troubled history of the East-Indians during the 19th century, and focusing on the Island of Salsette, this article presents a brief historical context of the community's religious history, beginning with their conversion to Christianity under Portuguese rule (1534-1737), when that territory was part of the *Província do Norte* (Northern Province) of the *Estado da Índia*. This is followed by the period of Maratha administration (1737-1774), during which Catholic officiating was re-introduced through priests of Goan origin. Finally, the period of the British Raj ensues, from 1774 onwards.

The text's main events occur during the times of British colonial administration, as the *Padroado-Proganda* conflict comes to the foreground and branches into an entangled web of disputes, strongly affecting both the East-Indian and Goan émigré communities in Bombay. The extinction of the *Padroado*'s jurisdiction in Bombay in 1928 signals the end of the intra-Catholic rivalry in the region. However, in the closing notes, I will outline some of the issues faced by the East-Indian community during the subsequent period, leading up to the independence of India in 1947.

The Northern Province, 1534-1739

The Northern Province of the *Estado da Índia* was a productive territory that was under Portuguese colonial administration between 1534 and 1739. Stretching along the western coast of the Indian subcontinent

[1] The designation "East-Indians" should not be confused with "Anglo-Indian" or "Eurasian". As will be described below, it is applied to a small and relatively well-defined ethno-religious community in Bombay and its surrounding area.

between Daman and Chaul, it occupied and area of about 4500 km^2, and had its capital in Bassein (Baçaim), present-day Vasai fort. Along this tract of land, the impact of the Portuguese presence and administration varied considerably. It was strongest along the towns and settlements within a densely populated coastal belt, containing the more lucrative crops, including paddy fields, sugarcane plantations and coconut groves. The impact became "thinner" towards the Province's interior, with its hilly and forested areas and its exposed eastern frontier (Gomes and Rossa 2000, 210-224; Mendiratta 2012, 1-8, 11-40).

Portuguese Catholic missionary activity in the Northern Province dates back to the 1540s, with the work of the Franciscan fr. António do Porto in Salsette Island (part of the Bassein district). The first church was Nossa Senhora da Piedade in the village of Mandapeshwar, functioning by 1548 in a re-consecrated Hindu cave temple (Teixeira 2010, 80-98)[2]. A decade later, the Jesuits joined the field, and founded their first communal missionary village, Trindade, known in British maps as Tirandaz, also in Salsette Island, a settlement predating the famous south-American *reducciones*[3]. Later, the Jesuits were granted the village of Bandra (Bandorá) and the residence became the epicenter of their activity in Salsette Island[4].

The conversion of the autochthonous Indian population was regarded as essential for the Portuguese to consolidate their hold over the territory. Legislation known collectively as *Provisões a Favor da Cristandade* (Provisions in favor of Christianity) was therefore enacted between 1549 and 1557, contributing decisively towards conversion, and severely restricting the freedoms of Hindu and Muslim inhabitants[5]. Supported by these laws,

[2] The church of Nossa Senhora da Piedade (Our Lady of Piety) was founded in 1547 by fr. António do Porto and brother João de Goa at Mandapeshwar (Manapacer) (coordinates: 19º14'40"N, 72º51'11"E). It was very probably the first church in the Northern Province outside the towns of Bassein and Chaul (Gomes 2006).

[3] Tirandaz (Trindade), approximate coordinates: 19°9'8"N, 72°55'6"E.

[4] Bandra (Bandorá), coordinates: 19º03'14'"N, 72º49'59"E.

[5] In 1549, the governor of the *Estado da* Índia Jorge Cabral enacted a law ordering that "no person of whatever quality shall rebuild a [Hindu] temple or a mosque" and that "no person shall dare to prevent another from becoming Christian". In the following year, the bishop of Goa incited the Portuguese missionaries in Bassein to destroy Hindu religious structures in that territory (*Archivo Portuguez Oriental* 1865, 217-218, 224). More rigorous laws were enacted in March 1555, when the vice-roy Pedro de Mascarenhas ordered various measures against the "gentios" of the territory under Bassein (*Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* 1866, 1569-1570). The *Provisões a favor da Cristandade* also enabled the seizure of orphans from Hindu or Muslim families in order to be converted to Christianity. However, in the Northern Province, this appears to have been enforced only in, or near, the towns (*Provisões a favor da Cristandade*, 18, 39, 61, 64, 68, 72-74, 79, 80).

Franciscans and Jesuits began to expand their missionary activities beyond the experimental field of Salsette Island, creating missions in the subdivisions of: "Cassabé", surrounding Bassein (Baçaim); Agashi (Agaçaim); Karanja (Caranjá); and the Bombay archipelago[6]. However, as far as we know, the "Provisions in favor of Christianity" were never enforced in the Northern Province's subdivisions closest to the mainland[7].

Between ca. 1570 and 1620, Jesuits and Franciscans endeavored to convert a majority of the population of Salsette Island and of the subdivisions of Bassein and Agashi. The Jesuit fr. Manuel Gomes was particularly active in the southern areas of Salsette. Whole villages were converted, normally following the conversion of the respective "matará" or headman, usually from the Prabhu caste, in the case of Salsette Island (Teixeira 2010, 162-172; Mendiratta 2012, 600-601). Christian converts who were farmers or fishermen were meted out particular benefits, while Hindu and Muslim communities that did not convert had to revert to low-key and mostly private religious practices. The first Indian Catholic saint, Gonçalo Garcia (ca. 1567-1597), hailed from the Bassein subdivision area, and was probably of mixed Indian and Portuguese descent.

Christian missionary activity slowed down considerably from the early 17th century onwards. With a couple of exceptions, the dichotomy of Christianized and non-Christianized areas within the Northern Province remained unchallenged[8]. On the other hand, it is also true that large sections of trade in the Northern Province became progressively concentrated in the hands of the Hindu Bania community, who seldom converted (Mendiratta 2012, 181-182).

Also, from the mid-17th century onwards, following the fall of the Portuguese settlements in Sri-Lanka and in the Kanara coast south of Goa, the Portuguese crown began to focus on the economy of the Northern Province, since it was by then the biggest source of revenue and agricultural production within the *Estado da Índia* (Mendiratta 2012, 121-123).

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[6] From the 1560s onwards, Dominicans and Augustinians also opened residences in the Northern Province's main fortified settlements, but their missionary activity was always weaker when compared to the Franciscans and Jesuits (Teixeira, 2010, 169-186)

[7] These subdivisions were: Solgão; Caimão (Kaiman); Hera; Anjor (Anjur); Panchena; and Belaflor (Belapur). In fact, if one excludes a handful of chapels intended for the garrisons within fortified outposts, there was practically no presence of the Catholic church in those subdivisons during the whole Portuguese period (Mendiratta 2012, 519-572, 599-614).

[8] During the 1620s and 1630s, attempts were still made at converting the population of the Karanja (Caranjá) subdivision and also at destroying temples in the Solgão subdivision. This last initiative didn't result in conversions (Meersman 1971, 236-239; *Gazetteer XIV* 1887, 194; Mendiratta 2012, 94)

Cave temple at Mandapeshwar, adapted to the church of Nossa Senhora da Piedade in the 16th century. (c) Sidh Mendiratta, 2017.

Around 1720, the Catholic population of the Island of Salsette was estimated at 36,824 people, spread over about twenty-five parishes (*Notícias do Arcebispado* 1726, 12v-14). However, this society was hardly united. Rather, it was divided into four main social groups: the European born Portuguese, known as "reinóis"; the descendants of Portuguese born in India, the "casados" or "descendentes"; the converted Indian population, who further retained caste consciousness and divisions, often labelled as "naturais" by the Portuguese; and the converted slave population, overwhelmingly of African origin (Boxer 1977, 329-339).

Together, the first two groups were later on labelled by the British as "White" or "European Portuguese", while the "naturais" would be designated as "Native" or "Black Portuguese". Interracial marriages between male "casados" and women from the converted Indian population – predominantly from non-Brahmin background – appear to have been frequent, but remained a vexed issue throughout the Portuguese colonial period in India. By the early 18th century, the number of "reinóis" would have been quite a small percentage of the whole Catholic population of the Northern Province. Collectively, the second and third groups, the "descendentes" and "naturais", were later designated as "norteiros", a designation that appears to have generalized only after the downfall of the Northern Province, and used mostly in Goa.

If the lines between these groups, especially between "reinóis" and "descendentes", appear to us to be thin, Portuguese colonial society in India was very much aware of race and caste issues, and the notion of

"purity of blood" was taken seriously. The distinction between "descendentes" and converted Indians was even deeper. Furthermore, within the Indian converted population, there was deep-rooted caste bias. While the elite cadre of Brahmin converts held aloof from everyone else, rather strong prejudice and discrimination affected the Kunbi cultivators and the Koli fisher folk. The latter lower-caste group normally lived in separate neighbourhoods or villages, known to the Portuguese as "Coloarias" or "Colvarias" – and in Marathi as Koliwadas[9]. All these social prejudices were to remain divisive elements in the future East-Indian community, as addressed below.

These same social divides would also have been present in Bombay when it was ceded to the British crown in 1665, although there, the presence of "reinóis" is highly doubtful. The well-known episode of the transfer of Bombay Archipelago – about 2% of the area of the Northern Province – to the British created a new scenario for the Portuguese territory[10]. At the time of transfer, there were four parish churches in Bombay, all of which were founded by Franciscan missionaries, probably in the second half of the 16th century[11]. The whole non-British Catholic population of Bombay was estimated at about 5,000 (baptized) people (Trindade II 1962, 161; *Materials* III 1894, 525)

Coexistence between the Catholic population of Bombay and the new British colonial administration was far from easy (Khan 1922, 471–545; Teixeira 2010, 218–224). There was a particular enmity towards the Jesuits, who controlled vast estates in Bombay, and who were used to enjoying the numerous privileges afforded to religious orders within the Portuguese empire. Then there was the issue of the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Goa over the religious affairs of the Island's Catholic population, including

[9] An example of discrimination along caste-lines against the Kolis can be found in the creation of the church of Santo André in Bandra (Salsette Island), elevated to a parish in 1616. It was specifically built to accommodate the Koli fisher folk: "because of the bad smell of the fish that they continuously are drying under the sun and carry from one place to the other, [the Kolis] were not well received by the others who besides being from another higher caste, are cleaner in dress" (*Goana IX* 1669, 80-80v)

[10] Although the Anglo-Portuguese alliance and marriage between princess Catherine and Charles II was seen as a means to salvage what remained of the *Estado da Índia* from Dutch conquest, the situation of rivalry and past battles in the Indian Ocean tainted the relations between the two allies – made worse by the process of surrendering Bombay itself.

[11] The four churches were: Nossa Senhora da Esperança (Our Lady of Expectation) in the town of Bombay; Nossa Senhora da Glória (Our Lady of Glory) in Mazagaon; Nossa Senhora da Salvação (Our Lady of Salvation) in Lower Mahim; and Arcanjo São Miguel (Saint Michael's) in Mahim.

his probable interference in the nomination of Franciscan missionaries for the churches under their care. Besides, under the *Real Padroado* (Royal Patronage) system, the archbishop of Goa had considerable autonomy from Rome, and his post had a very strong political connotation all over the Portuguese empire in Asia (Figueiredo 1939; Rego 1940; Rego 1978)[12].

Increasingly, British animosity spread to the Portuguese "descendentes" population in general, especially when a couple of quasi-war situations in Bombay tested the allegiance of these subjects – bound to serve in a militia – to the British government. The Portuguese "descendentes" were a minority when compared to the converted Indian population, like the Koli fisher folk, the Kunbi cultivators, the Agri salt-pan workers, or the Bhandari toddy-tappers. But through the structure of the church, answering to the archbishop in Goa, and progressively relying on priests of Goan origin to fill in the ranks of the missionary clergy, the Indian Catholic population of Bombay in general was in many ways controlled by its priests and a small elite. Therefore, the British perceived all Catholics as potentially unreliable or disloyal subjects in times of crisis.

To tackle this situation, the British attempted to progressively dismantle, or at least disenfranchise, the Portuguese *Padroado* religious hierarchy and framework in Bombay Island. They first suspended the jurisdiction of the Inquisition soon after the Island was transferred to the East India Company (*Boletim da Filmoteca Ultramarina Portuguesa* 33–34 1968, 479). By 1690 they had expropriated the Jesuit estates (Mendiratta 2012, 123). In 1720, after years of preparation and secret negotiations, they expelled the whole cadre of missionary priests belonging to the *Padroado* structure, and invited the missionaries of the Carmelite order belonging to the *Propaganda Fide* to take over the spiritual jurisdiction of Bombay[13]. As E. Hull later described, "the Archbishop [of Goa] had the mortification of seeing his own clergy ignominiously expelled by Government, and

[12] 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 1939; Rego 1940; Rego 1978; Mendeiros 1982).

[13] The Sacred Congregation of the *Propaganda Fide* was instituted by the Vatican in 1622, and tasked with evangelic enterprise in new dioceses beyond the territories belonging to the Portuguese and Spanish empires. In Asia, it was regarded as a rival institution by the Portuguese monarchs and *Padroado* clergy. The Vicariate Apostolic of the Great Mogol was created in the late 17th century and entrusted to the care of Carmelite missionaries, mainly from Italy.

the Carmelites, by studious pre-arrangement, stepping quietly into their place" (Hull 1927, 223).

The first bishop to occupy the post at Bombay, fr. Maurizio di Santa Teresa, represented to the secretary of the *Propaganda Fide* in Rome his version of the jurisdiction transfer process:

> [T]he missionaries of my Order in India have no other nation that protects them and assists them but the English alone, who [...] have orders to favor them, considering and perceiving that the Christians under their [Carmelite] guidance live loyal to the English, whereas the Portuguese Fathers frequently induce them to rebel (*A Chronicle of the Carmelites* 1939, 520-521).

Curiously, a number of priests belonging to the secular clergy, probably of local or Goan origin, were allowed to continue officiating in assistant positions as long as they swore obedience to the new bishop (Hull 1927, 228-229). The expulsion of the *Padroado* priests strained Anglo-Portuguese relations in the Bombay region to the verge of war, and a few skirmishes actually took place in 1722 (Mendiratta 2012, 151-157).

It is difficult to trace back to the two centuries of Portuguese colonial rule notions of collective identity of the local Indian communities that converted to Christianity, beyond those that would have been inherited from pre-conversion times. With probability, a few people were able to access basic instruction and then proceed to Goa to join the secular clergy. Historical sources are mostly silent about Indian Catholics from the Northern Province distinguishing themselves in Portuguese colonial society. Three exceptions standout in this scenario: the already mentioned saint Gonçalo Garcia; the captain of Infantry, José Pereira de Vasconcelos, who became the Northern Province's first non-European (neither "reinol" nor "descendente") officer, achieving rank during the 1720s (Mendiratta 2012, 386); and the landed owner António de Sousa Coutinho, "o cole" (of Koli caste), holder of the village of Utan in the mid-17th century (*Junta da Real da Fazenda do Estado da* Índia *VI* 1638-1688, 177, 221).

Comparing the converted Catholics of the Northern Province to those of Goa, in the 1720s, the archdeacon Bravo de Moraes considered the latter to be "freer, of better countenance, richer and above all better Christians" than the former. As a consequence, Moraes remarked that the churches of the Northern Province were less "flashy" and had less "riches and ornate" than those of Bardez and Salcete in Goa (*Notícias do Arcebispado* 1726, 13).

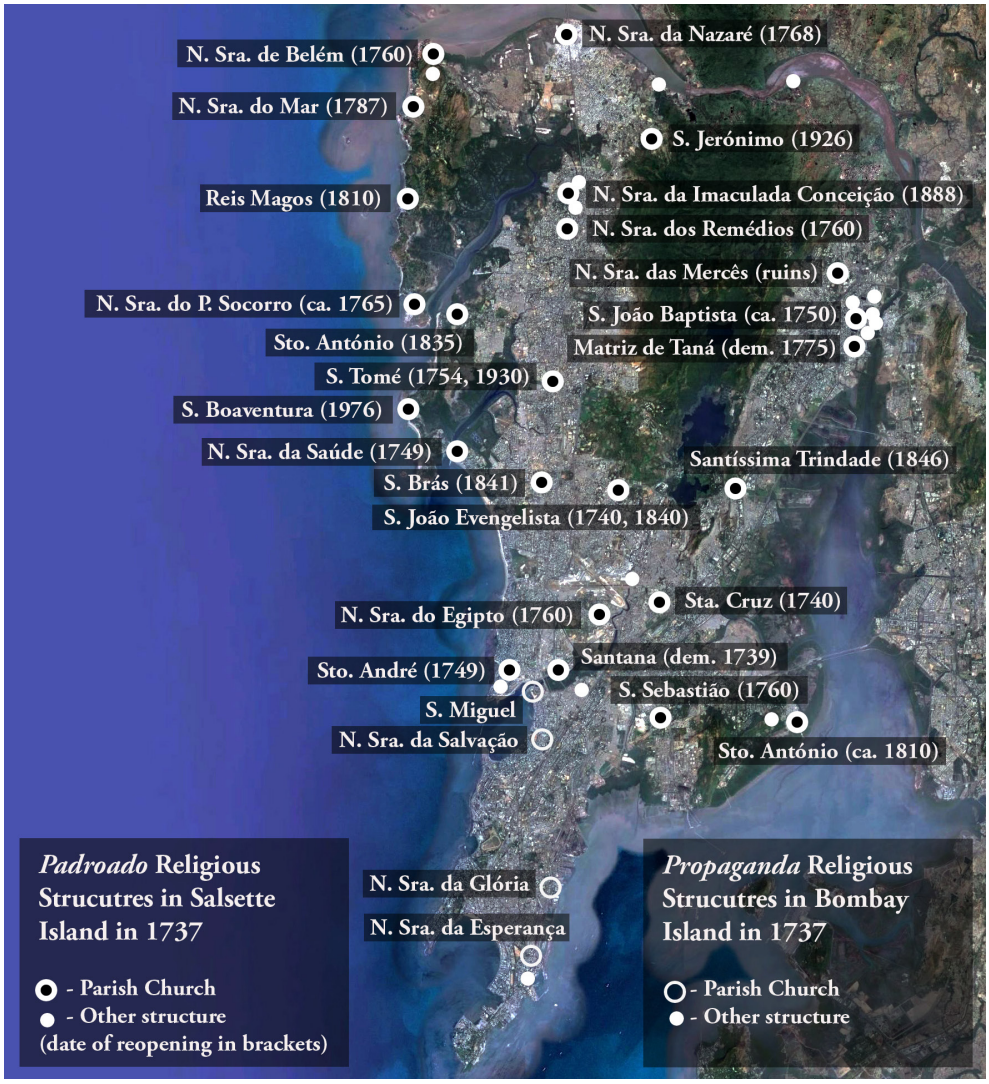
The Maratha period, 1739-1774

Between 1683 and 1737, several conflicts pitching the Maratha kingdom and the Portuguese Empire took place, severely affecting the Northern Province. Also during this period, the activities of the Inquisition escalated, with commissaries visiting the Province and ordering the detention of various Hindu families, and remanding them to the court in Goa. Apparently, influential Hindus in Salsette and Vasai were increasingly perceived as a threat and potential traitors (Mendiratta 2012, 144-145, 181-182). From the 1720s onwards, as the Maratha star rose in the Indian horizon, several Hindus from Salsette Island engaged in plans to oust the Portuguese with the help of the Maratha armies (Pissurlencar 1942, 78-83). This process eventually led to the uprising of part of the population near Thane, on the morning of the 6th April 1737, when the Maratha troops crossed into the Island (Lobato 1965, 168-172; Pissurlencar 1934-1935, 334-335). The Marathas soon defeated the Portuguese in Thane and overran the whole Island, with the exception of Bandra and a couple of other isolated outposts. It was against this backdrop that the population of Salsette awoke, on that same morning, under new sovereignty.

Other subdivisions and fortifications of the Northern Province held out from Maratha besieging forces until mid-1739, when its capital, Bassein (Baçaim), finally fell. Therefore, between 1737 and 1739, all the Portuguese "reinóis" and "descendentes" fled or were expelled from the whole territory – many finding their way to Bombay –, leaving only the Indian converted population behind, besides the other religious groups, mainly Hindus, Muslims and Parsis.

The exodus of all the priests and missionaries from the Northern Province – with one notable exception[14] – led to the abandonment of churches, many of which had already been looted or burned down during the upheaval of war. Within the main towns, votive crosses, pillories and other traces considered "impure" by the Hindu orthodoxy were often wiped out, paving the way for their envisioned repopulating. The Marathas probably managed to bring some Catholics back into the Hindu fold through purifying rites, and economic pressure (Vaupell 1866, 138-139; *Gazetteer XIII I* 1882, 202). Still,

[14] The exception was the convent of Madre de Deus, in the suburban area of Chaul fort. Here, Portuguese Franciscans missionaries were allowed to continue residing in the premises. Why this happened is not yet fully understood, although it might have been a concession in an area where the influence of the successors of Kanhoji Angre held more sway than the Maratha government (Meersman 1971, 448; Mendiratta 2012, 218).



many Indians remained Catholic in the aftermath of the Portuguese exodus, but the lack of priests disrupted religious life.

On the other hand, in Bombay Island, the arrival of numerous "descendentes" refugees during 1737-1739 led to an increase in the Catholic population, since many of the families ended up settling there. Mazagaon village appears to have been a popular choice for these families. These groups maintained their distinction from other converted Indian Catholics already living in Bombay Island at the time, like the Koli fisherfolk community. At any rate, the "Portuguese" community of Mazagaon became

the epicentre of the elite "urbanite" East-Indians, as they were later to be designated[15].

Back in Salsette, the Indian Christians who remained upon the Island were overwhelmingly either fisherfolk or farmers, mostly of Koli, Kunbi or Bhandari castes. Probably in bigger villages like Bandra and Thane, there were also people of Brahmin and Prabhu backgrounds – but they remained in minority. This was one of the main reasons why, later on, the Catholic inhabitants of Salsette Island and Bassein's subdivisions would be labelled as "rural" or "samvedi" East-Indians.

At the time of Maratha conquest, Salsette Island had about twenty-five parish churches (see Map 1) and about another fifteen religious structures, like residencies, chapels and shrines. The 1739 Maratha-Portuguese peace treaty allowed for five, unspecified, churches to continue operating in the erstwhile Northern Province: three within or very close to Bassein fort, one more in its "Cassabé" subdivision, and another one in Salsette Island (Pissurlencar 1932, 92). However, the Marathas only accepted the return of non-European (or non-"white") priests to officiate in their lands (Meersman 1971, 448). This led to the churches being handed over to priests of Goan origin, who had been ordained either by the secular clergy or who were missionaries belonging to the Congregation of St. Filipe Neri – the so-called Goan "native" clergy (Meersman 1957, 194-196).

The reestablishment process of the Catholic Church in the erstwhile Northern Province started in 1740, when priests of Goan origin, who had probably fled to Bombay, returned to Kurla (Curlem), then a small fishing village at the southern tip of Salsette Island, close to British territory (*Gazetteer* XIII 1882, 203). From the church of Santa Cruz of Kurla, the Goan priests slowly but steadily reopened and repaired many of the twenty-five parish churches of Salsette Island, like the church of São João Baptista in Thane and the church of Santo André, in Bandra (see Map 1). This process allowed for the reintegration of the Catholic population within the jurisdiction of the Archbishopric of Goa, although the limitation barring

[15] The "descendentes" families of Bombay Island, both those already living there before the fall of the Northern Province and those that settled there in its aftermath, were to be included in the future East-Indian community, when it was labelled as such in 1887: "The Bombay East Indian Community, a community composed of a small number of the descendants of the first Portuguese settlers and the rest composed entirely of the local Catholics of Bombay, Salsette and Bassein..." (*In the Mission Field* 1925, 555) However, other families who were to establish themselves in Mazagaon were of Goan origin, probably from upper-caste converts, such as the family of Miguel Rosário de Quadros or Miguel de Lima e Sousa (Gracias 1895).

"European" Portuguese priests from entering the territory affected the reestablishment process (*Directory* 2004-2005; Gomes 2007, 588).

When the French traveller Anquetil Du Perron visited Salsette, in late 1760, he noticed the various "canarim" priests who were in charge of the functioning churches. "Canarim" was, at the time, a common Portuguese term to describe people of Goan origin. Remarking on the numerous ruined churches and residences, Du Perron described how the once prosperous and productive Island of Salsete had decayed in the aftermath of the Maratha conquest, with lands lying fallow, and communities living in extreme poverty (Du Perron 1771, 385, 413-420). A few years later, a Portuguese "descendente" missionary, fr. Leandro da Madre de Deus, managed to obtain permission to reestablish the Franciscan religious order in Thane. Fr. Leandro was travelling to the Maratha court as a doctor to treat the ruling Peshwa. However, the Franciscan return to Thane was short-lived, and the main church in the village, São João Baptista, returned to the Goan clergy by 1777 (Humbert 1964, 193; Meersman 1971, 452).

At the same time as the Goan priests were repopulating the churches of Salsette, the Catholic inhabitants of Bombay Island were experiencing troubled times, although not for lack of priests. The Portuguese "descendentes" and the influential Indian Catholics upon the island didn't easily forego their religious connections with Goa, and, through them, with the Portuguese crown and mother country. Various attempts were made to reintroduce the *Padroado* jurisdiction upon Bombay Island, and these eventually matured in 1789, with the so-called "reversion" act by the British Government. But the situation was short-lived, and eventually led to the incongruent "double-jurisdiction" of the Catholic community in Bombay, something that had a lasting effect on East-Indian collective identity, as addressed below.

British Period, 1774-1887

Towards the end of 1774, the British East India Company conquered Salsette Island from the Marathas, together with other areas surrounding the bay of Bombay, like the Karanja subdivision. This brought under the British administration an additional territory with at least ten functioning parish churches and a Catholic population of about 20,000 people, besides many more semi-functional churches and chapels. Early in the 19th century, the British acquired the Bassein subdivision territory, north of Salsette, which included eight functioning churches and a Catholic population estimated at 5000 people (*Further Papers* 1828-1836, 13).

As was mentioned before, these churches were being officiated by the so-called "native" Goan clergy belonging to the *Padroado* structure. For the time being, the British maintained this arrangement, inherited from the previous Maratha administration, and denied the requests made by the Carmelite missionaries in Bombay to take over the spiritual jurisdiction of Salsette's Catholics (D'Sa 1924, 107-108; Hull 1927, 77, 78, 151-154).

British descriptions of Salsette Island and its population in the first three or four decades of the 19th century paint a somber picture of poverty and economic decline. Some descriptions show that the British were also weary of the *Padroado* priests' influence over the population (Hull 1927, 322). In a letter sent to London, in 1819, the British administration in Bombay warned against:

> [T]he constant communication with and looking to Goa, whereby that portion of the Catholic inhabitants [of Salsette Island] are taught to consider the Archbishop and the Portuguese more their friends than this Government or the English. Hence instead of melting away into the great body of the population, and considering themselves merely as English Catholics (as those subject to the bishop resident in Bombay do) they form a sort of separate caste in the middle of the community, and pique themselves on being Portuguese and on their connection with Goa (Hull 1927, 170).

Further distress among the Indian Christians of Salsette erupted in 1820 and 1821, when epidemic cholera decimated the Island and other parts of the coastlands near Bombay. In desperation, about 3000 Christians rejoined the Hindu fold – something that a British Government report attributed to the lack of "a proper supply of respectable ministers" (*Notes* 1820, 159-166; *Gazetteer* XII II 1887, 512, 523–524)

These remarks might lead us to speculate that the British would have preferred to find only Hindu inhabitants in their newly conquered Salsette Island, and that the Catholic Indians were regarded as problematic subjects, since they were under the religious jurisdiction of the Archbishop of Goa. Although tolerated, this jurisdiction was neither officially sanctioned nor favorably regarded by the administration in Bombay, especially after the transition into the 19th century.

Meanwhile, in Bombay Island itself, after an ephemeral return of the Portuguese Archbishop's jurisdiction, between 1789 and 1791[16], the

[16] The ephemeral situation of 1789-1791 was essentially triggered by the profound resentment felt towards the *Propaganda Fide*'s clergy by an influential and anglophile "descendente": Sir Lima de Souza (Hull 1927, 87-90).

Detail of a plan of Bombay from 1756, showing the original location of the church of Nossa Senhora da Esperança. (c) British Library.

Catholic population had been divided into a surprising "double jurisdiction". The return to the *Propaganda Fide*'s jurisdiction was effected on the 1st of September 1791, through proclamation (*Report from the Select Committee* 1817, 487). And through an agreement, reached upon in 1794, half of the Island's four parishes churches – Nossa Senhora da Esperança and São Miguel, in Mahim – were retained by the *Propaganda Fide*, while the other half – Nossa Senhora da Glória and Nossa Senhora da Salvação – were ceded back to the *Padroado*'s jurisdiction. However, the agreement also stipulated that the British administration reserved for itself the right to "approve and confirm" priests who were to be chosen by "free election of the parishioners", both in Bombay and Salsette Islands – a measure "derived from considerations of political security" (*Report from the Select Committee* 1817, 489; Hull 1927, 150-156).

The notion that parishioners could vote in their priests was – and is – in profound contradiction with Catholic cannon law, and coupled with the "double jurisdiction" situation, was bound to create further dissensions amongst the Catholic community. Still, this imposition by the British Government clearly points towards one of the fundamental issues that were causing grievances amidst the Indian Catholics of Bombay: the aspiration to a local "native clergy".

Ever since 1720, there had been an uneasy relation between the Carmelite (European) missionaries and the cadre of so-called "native clergy" who assisted them, and who were both in majority and in subservient positions. Almost all these priests – mostly Goans with a few from Bombay and Salsette – had been ordained by the Archbishops of Goa. During the period between 1789 and 1794, many of these priests "showed their true colors" and shifted back to the allegiance of the *Padroado*. Therefore, the Vicar Apostolic didn't reinstate some of those priests in their former positions. As a consequence of this mistrust, the proto-seminary for "native" clergy established in Bombay by the *Propaganda Fide* around 1775 was kept understrength, and the cadre of the "native clergy" prevented from expanding. Reporting a few years later to Rome, the Vicar Apostolic Pietro d'Alcantra wrote that "the eleven native priests under" his jurisdiction, some "natives of Goa, some from Bombay and Salsette" didn't have "good manners", were fond of "country liquor", and went "often to feasts at marriages and baptisms" and got "drunk" (Hull 1927, 177). These same priests often held sway over large bodies of parishioners, who would relate more to them than to the handful of European missionaries[17].

The various disputes following the introduction of the "double jurisdiction" in 1794, which will be addressed bellow, also reflected the grow-

[17] Between 1720 and 1794, before the "double jurisdiction", there were some priests, belonging either to the "descendente" group or to the Indian population, who were ordained by the *Propaganda Fide*'s bishops and apostolic vicars in the Island, "sub titulo missionis". Hull mentions a primitive seminary functioning in Bombay, from 1775 onwards, "for a few boys who learned the elements of theology". Around 1785, the priest in charge of this house was fr. António Pinto da Glória, "a native [Bombay] priest educated in Rome". Interestingly, fr. Pinto da Glória would shift his allegiance to the *Padroado* a few years later, fomenting "dissensions". In spite of these difficulties, this was a timid attempt at creating a "native" clergy in Bombay, so as to do without Goan interference, something that was supported by the British administration. This also became, progressively, an aspiration of part of the converted Indian Catholic population of Bombay and Salsette Islands. The institution of a seminary in Bombay under the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda Fide*'s bishop was mentioned in various British letters, and in one dated 1819 we read: "A very trifling sum given to the venerable Bishop [of Bombay] [...] to assist in educating young priests in Bombay for the districts under his Government, instead of sending them to Goa [to be ordained] would [...] break off the foreign connection, and teach them to consider us [Government] in a different light from mere English heretics, as even the European Portuguese are apt to do". Eventually, sometime between 1819 and 1823, an effective seminary was opened in Bombay by the *Propaganda Fide* structure, and by the early 1840s, most priests officiating in the six parish churches of Bombay Island were described as "Portuguese natives of Bombay", as opposed to a minority designated as "Portuguese natives of Goa". The latter were associated to the two parishes then controlled by the *Padroado*: Nossa Senhora da Glória in Mazagaon, and Nossa Senhora da Saúde in Cavel (Hull, 1927, 170, 177-178, 208, 328; Hull 1930, 263)

ing divisions between the most disenfranchised Catholics of Bombay and Salsette, like the Koli fisher folk or the Kunbi farmers, and the upper-caste Catholics and the "descendentes" – all of whom were known then collectively to the British as "Bombay Portuguese". The "descendentes" community considered themselves to be first and foremost Portuguese – whether living in Bombay, Goa or Calcutta – and were by and large loyal to the *Padroado* jurisdiction and its Goan priests. But the Kolis and other disenfranchised communities were essentially loyal to particular priests, normally those who were from Bombay or Salsette, and increasingly viewed the Goan-born and raised clergy as outsiders[18]. An early example of such animosity can be read in a petition to the Government signed by a faction of parishioners from Nossa Senhora da Glória, Mazagaon, in 1812:

> "[W]e declare before your excellency that we do not any longer wish our vicars should be natives of Goa but we request that your excellency will grant us the liberty of selecting for ourselves an able and worthy priest, a native of the northward, to be our vicar" (*Report from the Select Committee* 1817, 325).

The local priests naturally aspired to rise among the ranks, and to establish strong support bases in their homeland, and therefore didn't shrink from switching allegiances. In other situations, the Koli community parishioners acted on their own accord and approached either the *Propaganda* or the *Padroado* in order to start a new parish with a priest of their liking. This suggests that a new parish and a new priest were often viewed as opportunities for social improvement or development. By siding with the religious authority associated to "change" and to British rule, the more disenfranchised castes were therefore also acting upon political impulses[19].

Connected to the two preceding issues, there was the sensitive topic of church property and funds in each parish, often leading to two rival bodies of parishioners, organized in confraternities or sodalities, vying for control or precedence within their parish's affairs (Gomes 2007, 577; Castro 1883, 3).

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[18] Paulo Varela Gomes has addressed this divide along racial and caste lines, focusing on the period between 1850 and 1890, and the tensions between certain sections of Catholics indigenous to Bombay, and the old families of "descendentes", like the one of Miguel de Lima e Sousa from Mazagaon (Gomes 2007, 570-583).

[19] Only through an in-depth study of each case, including a background or genealogical study of the protagonists and factions, would one be able to describe patterns and systemically arrive at conclusions. One of the main difficulties is the background identification of some protagonists – whether of Goan or local (Bombay, Salsette or Bassein) descent.

In light of the aspiration to a "native" clergy by many of Bombay and Salsette's Indian Catholic inhabitants, the growing antagonism between them and the "descendentes" or the Goans, and the quarrelling amongst parishioners about church funds and property, one can better understand the various disputes that followed the introduction of the "double jurisdiction" in Bombay in 1794, including the creation of "mirror-churches", splitting various parishes in two. These include troubles in Nossa Senhora da Glória, Mazagaon (1794 & 1812)[20]; Nossa Senhora da Esperança, Bombay (1794); São Miguel, Mahim (1813 & 1818), and even in Santo André, Bandra (1819)[21].

In Mazagaon, the 1794 dispute apparently hinged on a growing divide between the influential "descendente" or "upper caste" group, headed by the affluent family of Lima e Sousa, and the Koli fisher folk community, who had their own *confraria*, or confraternity, instituted in the church of Nossa Senhora da Glória. In 1794, immediately following the introduction of the "double-jurisdiction", the latter faction broke away into a mirror-parish, and with the help of the *Propaganda*, funded the chapel of Nossa Senhora do Rosário (Hull 1927, 129-132, 158; Hull 1930, 266; *Report from the Select Committee* 1817, 324).

In that same year, a movement in the opposite direction happened in the parish of Nossa Senhora da Esperança, as its small community of Goan descent was adverse to the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda*. They founded

[20] In 1812, there was further turmoil in Mazagaon, when the parishioners of Nossa Senhora da Glória were dissatisfied with the nomination of fr. Francisco Parras for their parish priest, replacing one fr. Donato de Lacerda. The parishioners appealed to the British government, since a faction was prepared to join the *Propaganda* structure in order to keep their old priest. However, since "the party in favour of the Archbishop of Goa, composed principally of persons who have heretofore resided in that Portuguese settlement [of Mazagaon], and who are of more weight and influence that the other, appears to be adverse to the spiritual jurisdiction of a priest of the Carmelite mission, this arrangement has become impracticable", and fr. Parras was duly elected in by the parishioners, and confirmed by the British authorities. Apparently, there had been a long-standing feud between fr. Lacerda and Mr. Rosário de Quadros, the ward of the parishioners responsible for managing the funds received for the reconstruction works of the church, which happened between 1803 and ca. 1815. Both fr. Parras and fr. Lacerda were described as "natives" of Goa (*Report from the Select Committee* 1817, 325-326; Hull 1927, 129-132, 158; Hull 1930, 266).

[21] The incidents at the churches of Mazagaon and Mahim spread to Bandra about 1819. Part of the parishioners of the church of Santo André wanted to join the *Propaganda* on account of their election of fr. Francis Pereira not being possible due to the Archbishop's jurisdiction. The Government approved this transfer, but it was not effectuated due to the scruples of the bishop Pedro d'Alcantra, who refused to accept it without specific instructions from Rome. The sections of the population who "rebelled" against their *Padroado* jurisdiction appear to have been mostly of the Koli fisher folk, or other lower caste groups, directed by a handful of more influential elements (Hull 1927, 168, 169).

a mirror-church – chapel, in this case – in a private hermitage in Cavel, Nossa Senhora da Saúde, which was speedily rebuilt on a bigger scale (Hull 1927, 129-133; Hull 1930, 275, 276).

The dispute in Mahim revolved around a priest, fr. João de Silva e Sousa, and his replacement on the orders of the Archbishop by another prelate. Apparently, a majority of parishioners were opposed to this, and following a vote enforced by Government, the whole parish transferred to the *Propaganda* in early 1813, maintaining fr. Sousa as parish priest, confirmed by the Vicar-Apostolic[22].

The *Padroado-Propaganda* religious conflict in India escalated considerably with the publication of the brief *Multa Praeclare* of 1838 by pope Gregory XVI[23]. This was met by fierce resistance in Goa, not only by the archbishopric, but also by Goan Catholic elites in general, since by this time, a legion of Goan priests were officiating all over South Asia, and the reduction of the *Padroado*'s jurisdiction in India could potentially entail the loss of hundreds of Goan jobs, besides dealing a huge blow to Portuguese prestige. The timing of these initiatives coincided with a period of civil war in Portugal, which eventually led to the severance of diplomatic ties with the Vatican in 1833, and the abolition of the whole Regular Clergy in the Portuguese empire, in 1834.

Following the rejection of the *Multa Praeclare* and calls to resist it by the *Padroado* hierarchy – signalling the start of the so-called "Goan schism" –, a papal decree of 1839 specifically transferred the Islands of Bombay and Salsette into the jurisdiction of the *Propaganda Fide* and its representative in Bombay. However, the *Padroado* priests in Salsette wrote to fr. Pietro d'Alcantra, the Apostolic Vicar of Bombay at the time, saying that they refused to submit to his jurisdiction, unless directed by their superior in

[22] Curiously, by 1818, the parishioners had become dissatisfied with fr. Silva e Sousa, and again appealed to the Government to have him removed. This time, the British administration deemed the petition "to be frivolous", and advised the parishioners that, unless the *Propaganda Fide* bishop would direct otherwise, they wouldn't entertain petitions of similar nature (Hull 1927, 150, 167).

[23] This document, which practically abolished three *Padroado* dioceses in India – Mylapore, Kochin and Cranganore – and substituted them by Apostolic Vicariates, was promptly rejected by fr. António de Santa-Rita Carvalho, who was then governing the archbishopric of Goa, in a rebellious pastoral letter published on the 8th October 1838 (Carvalho 1838) Furthermore, due to the break of diplomatic relations, Santa-Rita Carvalho himself was not recognized by Rome.

Goa[24]. The priests of Salsette were soon described as "schismatics" by the *Propaganda Fide* in Bombay. The ground was thus set for a bitter stand-off.

Meanwhile, by the early 1840s, Portugal and the Vatican had reestablished diplomatic relations, and the Pope confirmed the appointment of a new archbishop, fr. José Maria da Silva Torres. However, the jurisdiction of the new archbishop was not officially curtailed in his appointment letters, and while the Pope expected Silva Torres to stamp out the "Goan schism", the prelate came out to India seeking to restore the crippled *Padroado* structure. This became clear as soon as he arrived in Bombay, in January 1844, and was led in solemn procession to the church of Nossa Senhora da Glória in Mazagaon. To celebrate his visit, an inscription was placed inside the church, mentioning the "enemies of the [Archbishop's] jurisdiction"[25]. The bellicose content of this inscription set the tone for Archbishop Torres' stint in India, which lasted until 1849. He hurriedly ordained a cadre of priests in Goa, and energetically set out to recover lost parishes all over India. The "Goan schism" escalated, with both sides, *Padroadists* and *Propagandists*, now deeply entrenched in religious conflict[26].

This conflict reached its most militant phase during the visit of the bishop of Macau, fr. Jerónimo da Mata (1804-1865) to India, in connection

[24] In 1833 there were ca. twenty parish churches in Salsette Island, and a Catholic population estimated at 19,569 inhabitants (*Further Papers* 1828-1836, 13).

[25] The inscription has since disappeared. It read: "AETERNIT. SACRUM. O EXMO. RMO. SR. ARCEBISPO PRIMAZ D'ORIENTE D. JOSE MARIA DA SILVA TORRES TENDO APORTADO A ESTA CIDADE EM 11 DE JAN. 1844, DEPOIS DE CONCLUÍDA A VISITA DAS IGREJAS DESTA ILHA, DAS DE SALSETE, BAÇAIM E CARANJÁ, E COM GERAL EDIFICAÇÃO DOS FIÉIS E CONFUSÃO DOS INIMIGOS DA JURISDICÇÃO, QUERENDO DEIXAR NESTA ONDE PRIMEIRO DESEMBARCOU E EXERCEU AS FUNCÇÕES EPISCOPAES UMA MEMÓRIA DURADOIRA DA SUA AFEICÇÃO PATERNAL PARA COM OS FREGUEZES QUE O ACOLHERAM COM TODO RESPEITO E FILIAL DEVOÇÃO – CONSAGROU ESTA IGREJA DE N. S. DA GLÓRIA EM 14 DE FEB. DO MESMO ANNO. PARA COMMEMORAR ESTA CEREMONIA RELIGIOSA E TRANSMITTIR O SEU CONHECIMENTO Á POSTERIDADE, EM TESTEMUNHO DA GRATA RECORDAÇÃO DAS EMINENTES VIRTUDES DAQUELLE ILLUSTRE PRELADO, SE COLOCOU ESTA INSCRIPÇÃO LAPIDAR IN PERPETUAM REI MEMORIA. AMEN." (Hull 1930, 271).

[26] Meanwhile, and according to E. Hull, between 1848 and 1850 "Bombay was ecclesiastically a regular hell". Not only was the *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict nearing its the "climax" in the region, but the internal structure of the Apostolic Vicariate itself was also undermined by a tri-partite conflict between the pre-existing Carmelite missionaries, a faction of the Island's so-called "native clergy", and a new faction of Irish-British Catholics who gained influence in the city. This eventually led to the expulsion of the Carmelite missionaries, amidst episodes of heightened tension in the Island's churches, a situation that only cooled down with the arrival, in 1850, of Dr. Hartmann, a Capuchin, and one of the most notable Apostolic Vicars of Bombay (Hull 1927, 371).

to the "gang of four" pro-*Padroado* priests in Bombay: António Mariano Soares, João Brás Fernandes, Gabriel de Silva and José de Melo. Bishop Jerónimo da Mata arrived in Bombay in February 1853[27], being joyfully received by the *Padroado* faction. After officiating in the churches of Mazagaon and Cavel[28], he visited some of the churches in Salsette, including Kurla, Bandra and Thane. On the way, he stopped near São Miguel, Mahim, a *Propaganda* parish at the time, and met with the parish priest, fr. José de Mello[29]. Jerónimo da Mata then proceeded to Goa, where he would stay until the end of October 1853. His actions in Bombay and Salsette were seen by Dr. Hartmann, Vicar Apostolic of Bombay in the early 1850s, as a direct threat to his jurisdiction, and he resorted to the pope (Hull 1927, 423-426). By this time, the episcopal visit was amplified by a pro-*Padroado* daily in Bombay, the *Abelha de Bombaim* (pub. 1848-1861), while the side of the Vicar Apostolic was echoed in the *Bombay Catholic Examiner*, established by Dr. Hartmann[30].

About a month after Bishop Jerónimo da Mata left Bombay, the parish priest of São Miguel in Mahim, fr. Joseph de Mello, was – ostentatiously – in the midst of a quarrel with a faction of his parishioners due to church property issues. On the 11th March 1853, fr. de Mello informed the Vicar Apostolic Dr. Hartmann that the parishioners as a body had defected to the *Padroado*, and were planning a vote to legitimize their transfer. Dr. Hartmann, arriving at the church of Mahim on the morning of the election day, sat in before the altar with some supporters, and summoning all the parishioners, told them that he would remain in the church, and if necessary die there, before allowing it to fall into *Padroado* hands. Dr. Hartman was effectively walled inside the building,

[27] Officially, Bishop Jerónimo da Mata was travelling for health reasons, but his coming to India was also a means to ordain priests, in the absence of a recognized administrator of archbishopric of Goa. Archbishop Torres had left by 1849.

[28] Mazagaon was at the time the epicentre of the Portuguese "descendente" community. Visiting the area in, 1856, the secretary of the *Estado da Índia* Joaquim da Cunha Rivara, met "families that in everything are proud of the name Portuguese [...] and who, although British subjects [...] speak Portuguese, call themselves Portuguese, and recognize the King of Portugal as their king" (Rivara 1856, 54-55 (my translation)).

[29] The Bishop of Macau also proceeded to ordain six students from the *Propaganda*'s Seminary in Bombay – which at the time was located in Parell – who had been expelled after revolting against Dr. Hartmann. The six seminarists were: André M. Gonsalves; Domingos F. Ferreira; Jerónimo Hilário Dias; João F. Rodrigues; Luís António Pereira; and Dyonisio (?) M. de Souza. To save the Seminary from *Padroado* influence on the wake of Jerónimo da Mata's arrival in Bombay, Dr. Hartmann had it relocated to Surat for two years (1853-1855) (Hull 1927, 486).

[30] See footnote 53.

since the *Padroado* faction, seeing how they couldn't forcibly eject him, decided to close-up the church. According to Hull, Dr. Hartmann's confinement in the church lasted for a fortnight, during which they nearly starved, had it not been for a small opening, through which some food was smuggled in at night. The church was reopened by police orders at the end of March 1853.

After that episode, the situation dragged in the courts, and the verdict delivered in June 1854 was in favor of the *Padroado* faction. Dr. Hartmann had to evict the church on the day the verdict was read, and fr. Joseph de Mello took possession in the name of the *Padroado* (Nazareth 1908, 287). However, about a third of its parishioners, roughly 1000 people, described by Hull as "fishermen", separated themselves into a mirror-parish, and built a new church dedicated to Our Lady of Victories, under the *Propaganda*[31]. This separation probably capitalized on the aspirations of the more disenfranchised parishioners, the Kolis, to gain influence and agency over the affairs of their parish and local milieu.

In May 1853, after learning of the actions of bishop Jerónimo da Mata in Bombay and elsewhere, pope Pius IX emitted the brief *Probe Nostis* directed at the "schismatic" bishop and instructing the four priests, fr. António Mariano Soares, Gabriel Silva, Brás Fernandes and José de Mello, to repair and submit within two months to the religious jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of Bombay, under pain of being officially declared "schismatics" and thus "suspended *a divinis*" and "separated from Catholic unity", i.e. excommunicated (Hull 1930, 443).

Who were these four priests? While fr. António Mariano Soares was of Goan origin and born in Mapuçá (Nazareth 1908 IX, 286), the other three were described as "Bombay East Indians". Both fr. Joseph de Mello and Gabriel de Silva were "natives of Mahim", and Brás Fernandes was a "native of Bandra", according to Hull. De Mello and de Silva were educated and ordained in the Vicar Apostolic's seminary in Bombay, while Fernandes was first ordained in Goa by Archbishop Manuel de São Galdino, before 1831, and later transferred to the Vicar Apostolic's jurisdiction. They all had grievances directed at Dr. Hart-

[31] The foundation stone of Our Lady of Victories was laid on 10th December 1855, and by 1860, the church and a Portuguese school were functional, the first parish priest being fr. Pascoal d'Mello. Curiously, in 1870, part of the parishioners applied to return to St. Michael's and the *Padroado*, threatening to "revert to Hinduism" if their wishes would not be met (Hull 1927, 426-433, 482; Hull 1930, 118, 269).

mann, but fr. Mariano Soares appears to have been the leader of the *Padroadoists* in Bombay and Salsette ever since the 1820s, occupying the higher clerical offices (Nazareth 1908, 284-286). João Brás Fernandes, on the other hand, was probably considered to be the leader of a significant community of "Bombay Portuguese", as they were then known to the British – or "East-Indians", as they were to be designated later. His trajectory, negotiating between the two jurisdictions, siding with the *Padroado* in its most dangerous days, narrowly escaping excommunication, and then reconciling himself with the *Propaganda* faction in his later years, appears to be an example of a leader embodying the anxieties, hesitations and aspirations of his people. All the four priests threatened with excommunication ignored the 1853 *Probe Nostis* and continued in their posts (Hull 1927, 377-379, 409-420, 427-428, 443-469; Hull 1930, 273; Nazareth 1908, 287) [32].

According to Paulo Varela Gomes, the episode of São Miguel of Mahim was the "last straw" that made everyone realize how low the *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict had sunk. Following a few years of appeasement and diplomatic talks between the Vatican and Portugal, a compromise was reached through the "Condordat" of 1857. This agreement threw a lifeline to the *Padroado*, and recognized the churches in Bombay and Salsette in possession of the archbishopric of Goa, effectively reversing the *Multa Praeclare* brief of 1838. However, due to hesitations in implementing certain clauses of the document before the consecration and arrival of a new archbishop of Goa – which only happened in 1862 – the confusion of "double jurisdiction" remained as before (Gomes 2007, 576; Hull 1930, 1-14, 17).

Between the 1840s through to the early 1860s, disturbances and/or jurisdiction transfers occurred in various places in Salsette Island: Bandra

[32] Regarding the actions of Brás Fernandes and the other two East-Indian priests in connection to the two churches in Mahim that reverted to the *Padroado*'s jurisdiction, E. Hull described them as being "guilty of a flagrant ecclesiastical crime", especially considering the fact that they were neither "Goans by race nor Portuguese by nationality, but [...] Indian British subjects born on British soil" (Hull 1927, 443-460).

(1840 & 1849-1853)[33]; Versova (1840, 1862)[34]; Mani (1840, 1848 & 1853)[35]; Juhu (1853)[36]; Culvem (1856)[37] and Kandivali (1861)[38].

Although I cannot address here each situation individually, together these disturbances form a pattern, whereby certain elements of each parish, predominantly from the Koli caste, attempted to "vote out" the *Padroado* jurisdiction, and, with the help of the Government, transfer their parishes to the Vicar-apostolic of Bombay. To what extent they were influenced or manipulated by clergymen in their initiatives is difficult to tell. But is seems fair to say that the transfers were seen by some parishioners and

[33] According to Hull, the "Salsette decree" of 1839 seemed "to have made a considerable impression on the certain sections of the [Catholic] people" of the Island, and hence, "it came about that during the year of 1840 some of the parishioners of Bandra, Maney (in Trombay) and Versovah got up a petition to the Vicar-Apostolic [of Bombay], and another to the Collector of Thana, asking to be received under the Propaganda jurisdiction". However, according to the Collector's response to a follow-up letter by the Vicar-apostolic, "On inquiry, it has been discovered that the petitions were signed only by the lowest of the community, who had been induced to do so through presents of liquor" and that "neither the majority of the parishioners nor any of the higher classes had expressed any wish for a change of pastors" (Hull 1927, 329-330). Eventually, some of the parishioners of Bandra – "a body of fishermen", according to Hull – took the step of building a new "chapel with house attached for the education of their children" and in 1849 "withdrew themselves from their Vicar and submitted in writing to the Vicar-Apostolic". This was the origin of the first *Propaganda* church and parish in Salsette Island, St. Peter's in Bandra. A second petition, two years later, gathered 1900 signatures of "fishermen", and the foundation stone of St. Peter's was laid down in April 1852. Eventually, the church also opened an orphanage, school and seminary (Hull 1927, 330-331; 484).

[34] In Versova, some parishioners had already attempted a transfer in 1840, but it had been deemed "irregular" by the British Collector in Thane. Again in 1862, another incident took place, resulting in scenes with violence, when two "seminarians" tried to take possession of the church of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios. This was not sanctioned by the Government, who decided, in November of 1862, in favour of the *Padroado* (Hull 1927, 329-330).

[35] In the church of Santo António, Mani, Trombay, the parishioners renewed their movement to join the *Propaganda* jurisdiction in 1853, after the failed attempts of 1840 and 1848. Eventually, after some violence between parishioners, the situation had to be settled in court, and the decision was in favour of the existing *Padroado* faction and parish priest. Therefore, a new church was built in 1859 – curiously, also dedicated to St. Anthony – for the *Propagandist* section (Hull 1927, 484).

[36] In the small village of Juhu, a group of 314 parishioners petitioned Dr. Hartmann to be transferred to the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic, and a chapel dedicated to St. Joseph was promptly built in 1853, with fr. Jaques S.J. being the first parish priest (Hull 1927, 484).

[37] This incident was already referred to in the Introduction of this article. In the village of Culvem, Salsette, a new parish was added in 1856 to the *Propaganda* structure, very close to Gorai village, with its own *Padroado* church. A temporary chapel was built in 1856 and entrusted to fr. Mascarenhas, who shifted allegiance (Hull 1927, 485).

[38] A fifth parish in Salsette, that of Kandivali (Candolim), with its church of Nossa Senhora da Assunção, was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Vicar-Apostolic of Bombay in 1861, after the parishioners had complained that the visiting *Padroado* priest had neglected them (Hull 1927, 489).

priests as a means of advancement, be it at community or individual level, probably addressing grievances and aspirations that were latent. At any rate, only one structure in Salsette actually "changed hands", that of the Nossa Senhora da Assunção chapel in Kandivali. But four mirror-churches were built – in Bandra, Mani, Juhu and Culvem – under the *Propaganda*'s jurisdiction (see Map 2) (Hull 1930, 258-259).

In Bombay Island, issues arose in Nossa Senhora da Esperança (1849)[39] and Nossa Senhora da Salvação, Mahim (1848 & 1851). The latter disturbance led to the creation of a mirror-church in that parish, dedicated to St. Francis Assisi, in 1855[40].

The Concordat of 1857 and its implementation in India through Archbishop Amorim Pessoa in 1862 brought the worst phase of the "Goan schism" to an end[41], but failed in its main objective: to define the limits of the jurisdiction of the archbishopric of Goa in relation to the Vicariate-Apostolics of the *Propaganda Fide*. Only with the Concordat of 1886 was that delimitation achieved[42].

However, before that second agreement came into effect, a new wave of agitation and rumors grasped Bombay with the arrival of the Delegate Apostolic Cardinal Agilardi, in November 1884. Many feared that the Cardinal had arrived in the city to announce the end of the *Padroado*. As a

[39] In 1849, a tense situation surrounded the nomination of fr. Gabriel d'Oliveira, a "native secular priest", as parish priest of the church of Nossa Senhora da Esperança by the Vicar Apostolic Dr. Whelan. Some of the parishioners objected to this, preferring their previous priest, fr. Michael Antonio, an Italian missionary. The church was locked-up and broken into by the supporters of fr. d'Oliveira, and the case was only settled in court (Hull 1927, 415-420). The Vicar Apostolic Dr. Hartmann created, in 1852, a new chapel dedicated to St. Joseph in Umerkhady, filial to Nossa Senhora da Esperança. This chapel was built for a congregation of about 500 people, a "colony of Catholic fishermen and agriculturists who had migrated from Uran" into Bombay city (Hull 1927, 482).

[40] In the division of 1794, the church of Nossa Senhora da Salvação was the first one chosen by the *Padroado* party, remaining under its jurisdiction until 1813. In that year, it was transferred to the *Propaganda* structure. However, in 1850, the parishioners endeavoured through a legal procedure to withdraw their church from the *Propaganda* structure, and place themselves under the jurisdiction of the *Padroado*, with fr. Brás Fernandes as their priest. Following the court case, which was viewed at the time as a *Padroado* "victory", a small group of parishioners – about 200 – decided to remain attached to the Vicar-Apostolic, and founded a mirror-chapel dedicated to St. Francis de Assisi near the pre-existing church, which was opened in July 1855. This chapel later became a filial structure to Our Lady of Victories, also built in Mahim (Hull 1927, 415-420, 483; Hull 1930, 269-270, 273).

[41] As soon as he arrived in Bombay in December 1862, the new Archbishop João de Amorim Pessoa acted swiftly, and he had the priests Mariano Soares, Joseph de Mello, Brás Fernandes and Gabriel da Silva sign an act of retraction presented to them by the Apostolic Commissary fr. Saba. After this act and a period of probation, and according to Hull, they returned to their respective churches, but without their former positions of parish priests. This brought Archbishop Pessoa the animosity of many Goans, both in Bombay – who convened in a meeting in May 1863 – and in Goa (Hull 1930, 76-83; Gomes 2007, 586).

[42] This second Concordat was preceded by the papal brief of 26th August 1884 *Studio et Vigilantia*, wherein the whole *Padroado* structure was abolished outside the territory under Portuguese administration and also the Vicariates-Apostolic of Bombay, Madras and Verapoly. However, before its publication, the brief was suspended by papal order, through a telegram dated 9th November of the same year, due to the beginning of fresh negotiations with Portugal (Hull 1930, 159-161).

consequence, there were gatherings and petitions in Bombay, both against and in favor of the rumoured extinction[43]. A large number of Goans assembled in the Framnjee Cowasji Hall, on the 12th April 1885, and displayed an impassionate pro-*Padroado* stance, which soon circulated in print (*Acta da Assemblea* 1888; 18, Hull 1930, 76-83).

In September 1886, a new "Concordat" was announced. Again, a lifeline was thrown to the *Padroado*, but this time, the limits of jurisdiction were clearly defined, and reduced. The archbishopric's suffragan dioceses were reduced to three: Cochin, Mylapore and the newly created diocese of Daman – under which all *Padroado* churches of Bombay and Salsete were incorporated[44].

At this juncture, it is important to point out that from the mid-19th century onwards, as Bombay grew and communications improved, emigration had a big impact on the city and its "indigenous" Catholic community. It was, by then, a small minority in the city. By sheer pressure of numbers and wealth, other communities had occupied traditional Catholic neighborhoods and villages, and, to some extent, the Koli fisherfolk had been pushed into small pockets within Bombay's urban fabric. Also, a steady flux of Goan migrants – overwhelmingly Catholic – settled in the city, maintaining a separate and caste-conscious coexistence with the local Indian Catholics. Both communities often shared the same neighborhoods and churches, and, crucially, often vied for the same jobs (Faria and Mendiratta 2018). These jobs took Goans and local Indian Catholics into the offices, homes and ships of the British colonial society based in Bombay (Baptista 1967, 25). In this context, coexistence was likely to become tense, adding to the existing troubles concerning "native" priests, the "double jurisdiction" and the "Goan schism" (Albuquerque, 2001). The

[43] The *Bombay Catholic Examiner* published texts by the Vicar Apostolic fr. Meurin against the *Padroado*, and together with the articles in the pro-*Propaganda India Catholica*, a harsh tone was adopted presenting the extinction of the *Padroado* as inevitable. The tense situation led the assistant editor of the *India Catholica*, Leandro Mascarenhas, to change sides and start his own newspaper, o *Anglo-Lusitano*, in favour of the *Padroado* (first issue published on 8th July 1886). Mascarenhas was of Goan descent. The *Bombay Patriot* also started circulating, in favour of the *Padroado*. And pamphlets from both sides circulated in Bombay during those years. The most noteworthy were by fr. Meurin himself, entitled "The Padroado Question" and "The Concordat Question". Both were immediately met by opposing pamphlets from the *Padroado* faction (Hull 1930, 161; *In the Mission Field* 1925, 451-464).

[44] The remaining *Padroado* churches outside these territories and Goa were abolished, with a handful of small exceptions. As a concession to Portuguese feelings, the archbishop of Goa was elevated to the symbolic honor of "Patriarch of the East Indies". But the *Propaganda* bishop of Bombay was also soon elevated to the rank of archbishop.

Goan migrants congregated in the various *Padroado* churches in Bombay, but, at the time, considered as "their own" the chapel of Nossa Senhora da Saúde, in Cavel.

One needs only to read the opinion of the distinguished scholar Gerson da Cunha – Goan émigré in Bombay between the 1860s and 1900 – on the local Catholics of Bassein and the "adjacent country" to see that often the resentment worked both ways. After denying them "the title of Portuguese", considering it both "ethnologically and politically incorrect", he defines their ancestry as "the hybrid product or bastard offspring" of "a European soldier and a low-class native woman". He goes on to describe them as "extremely ignorant" and useful only for "the lower walks of handicraft, such as carpentry" (Cunha 1876, 250). What was the motive for Cunha's vitriolic rant against the Catholics of Bassein and Salsette? Cunha himself provides a clue for his resentment:

> They are as much despised by the dominant [British/European] race as by the Hindus, and might, in fact, have got almost out of sight but for their occasional ebullitions of temper in doggrel [sic] pamphlets against their parish brothers, their minds never rising above the parochial lumber. (Cunha 1876, 250).

Possibly, the "parish brothers" mentioned by Cunha could be the Goans themselves, or the "descendente" community. At any rate, the passage clearly points to the *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict, and this could well have been fuelling Cunha's deep animosity (Baptista 1967, 25; Albuquerque 2001).

Building on all the accumulating tension and resentment already described in this text, it was the "Goan" meeting of 1885, and the necessity to make their voices heard after the publication of the 1886 "Concordat", that finally triggered the local Indian Catholics of Bombay, Salsette and Bassein to take a drastic and momentous measure, as we shall see below.

British Period, 1887-1928

To the Goan meeting of 1885 and their subsequent protests against certain limitations of the "Concordat"[45], the local Indian Catholics responded with their own meeting, on the 26th May 1887. This was not, however, a mass rally, rather, it was a gathering of the "leaders of the community", numbering about thirty people. Very probably, most of the attendees were anti-*Padroado*, but if some of them were part of the small "descendente" stock, they could have been in its favor. One of the attendees, John de Mello, later recalled how:

> [T]he initial purpose [of the meeting], of great importance, was to change the designation 'Bombay Portuguese' to 'Bombay East-Indian'. The first designation confused our people with other classes with the name Portuguese with whom they were intermingled" (*The Bombay East Indian* 1937, 19-20).

The name "East-Indian" was intended to evoke the fact that, ever since the 1660s, the elements of the community had been subjects of the British East India company, having also served in the Island's militia, thereby emphasizing not only their loyalty to the British government, but also their aspiration to being recognized as "sons of the soil" in Bombay. Also through this measure, and perhaps of more immediate importance, they aspired to separate and distance themselves from the Goans – and Portuguese citizens – living in Bombay, not only in regard to the ongoing *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict, but also in a broader ethno-social sense. By forsaking the label "Bombay Portuguese" and adopting the designation "Bombay East-Indians" the community was in fact reframing its collective identity in a radical manner, severing its traditional allegiance to Portugal,

[45] The publication of the 1886 "Concordat" led to Goan protests against certain limitations of the document, especially regarding the impossibility of new Goan migrants arriving in Bombay joining *Padroado* parishes after the Concordat's publication. In 1888, a large gathering of the Catholic community of Bombay Island under the jurisdiction of the Diocese of Daman took place, in order to debate and take action regarding some recent directives from the *Propaganda* limiting the scope of the 1886 "Concordat". In this meeting, the proceedings were presided by the "venerable" mr. Gemeniano de Souza, in his 90s, and most "respectable member of the Portuguese community" in Bombay. The meeting's secretary was João Angelo do Rosário, while other eminent participants were: Augusto Cezar Couto, Jerónimo Accacio Gama, Accacio Gabriel Viegas, Leandro Mascarenhas, José Filipe de Menezes (*Acta da Assemblea* 1888, 2). The Goan community eventually had their grievances addressed, and through the "Reversal Notes" decreed in April 1890, it was granted that any Goan arriving in Bombay could join a *Padroado* church, irrespectively if he or she had been listed as a parishioner of one those churches on the date of publication of the "Concordat" (Hull 1930, 224-226).

and proclaiming unequivocally its loyalty to the British. In the same meeting, the "Bombay East Indian Association" (B.E.I.A.) was founded, as was the weekly newspaper *Bombay East Indian*.

De Mello noticed how this step created a strong agitation amongst the Goan community, who attempted to create a "Bombay Portuguese Association", and also started publishing the *Portuguez Brittanico* newspaper. The divide between Goans and East-Indians became therefore clear for everyone to see (*The Bombay East Indian* 1937, 19-20). By 1890, probably very few or no Goans belonged to *Propaganda* parishes in Bombay, while the East-Indians were divided between *Padroado* and *Propaganda* churches, both in Bombay and Salsette, but would have probably preferred to keep away from the main "Goan" church of Saint Francis Xavier, in Dabul, completed in 1891[46].

Through the association and platforms created in the 1880s, the East-Indians began vocalizing their collective positions institutionally[47], and during the first three decades of the 20th century, the community's elites "campaigned systematically" for the end of the *Padroado* (Gomes 2007, 579). Their main grievances, as described in the 1920s, included "the neglect of education in the districts of Salsette and Bassein"; "the gradual replacement of elected members of the Fabricas of the various churches of the [*Padroado*] diocese by nominees of the Bishop"; and "the paucity of vocations to the priesthood among the [...] community" due to the lack of seminaries (*O Anglo Lusitano* 13-03-1926, 5).

However, there were also "internal dissensions" in the B.E.A.I. While the Bombay or "urbanized" East-Indians became ever-closer to the British – shunning away from all things Portuguese, name, religious affiliation, language – and were as a majority integrated in the parishes under the new Archdiocese of Bombay (the successor-jurisdiction to the Vicariates Apostolic of the Propaganda), the East-Indians in Salsette and Bassein remained by and large under the jurisdiction of the *Padroado* and therefore retained some cultural links – however weak – to Portugal.

Publications on the history and heritage associated to the East-Indians, written by people belonging to the community, also made their

[46] Also in 1887, the whole Catholic population of Bombay Island was estimated at 31,000. 25,000 belonged to the *Padroado* while 6000 belonged to the *Propaganda* (*Acta da Assemblea* 1888, 8)

[47] A petition to the Delegate Apostolic Ajuti from the Bombay East Indian Association written in 1889 stated "the Padroado as an anomalous institution and a sad spectacle of disunion and mischief, [and] should be done away with at as early a date as possible". Various other pamphlets or publications in Bombay agitated for the end of the *Padroado* (Hull 1930, 223, 226-228).

appearance during the 1920s and 1930s. The research of historian Brás Fernandes stands outs, with works on Bandra and Bassein fort providing for significant contributions to the field[48]. While Brás Fernandes was closer to the *Padroado* faction, other East-Indian authors, like the anonymous writer of the 1921 monograph on Mount Poinsur (present-day Mandapeshwar), used their publications as platforms to campaign against the *Padroado*. The monograph's author, who describes himself as a Bandrite, launches a long list of complaints against the jurisdiction, and concludes:

> The feast of Our Lady of Mount Poinsur is approaching, and all our people who go from far and near to this famous shrine – men, women, children, should raise their voices in prayer for the abolition of the Padroado and the union of our people in one Diocese (*Mount Poinsur* 1921, 21).

The first three decades of the 20th century were also a period of flourishing activity for many East-Indian civic associations, such as the building societies and cooperatives that mushroomed in Salsette Island (Faria and Mendiratta 2018), besides other institutions that probably viewed the B.E.I.A. as their umbrella organization. As many East-Indians left downtown Bombay Island due to the pressure of land speculation, Bandra progressively developed into the cultural heart of the community. The municipality saw extensive building of East-Indian homes under the Salsette Catholic Housing Cooperative Society, besides education and sports facilities destined for Catholics. Still, many East-Indians commuted into the city, accompanying its growth and the development of local governance. As they became deeper integrated into the city's British dominated society, many individuals achieved notable positions in politics, offices and companies (*In the Mission Field* 1925, 553-556; *The Bombay East Indian* 1937, 59-71).

Meanwhile, in Portugal, the 1910 revolution replaced the monarchy with a republic, casting a huge shadow over the whole *Padroado* system, since for even the staunchest supporter it would have been very difficult to conceive the *Padroado*'s existence without a monarch. However, this time the Vatican acted cautiously. Negotiations were once again enjoined, but only after the 1926 coup d'état that installed a military dictatorship in Portugal, was an agreement reached with the Holy See[49].

[48] See the Bibliography section below.

[49] The agreement between Portugal and the Vatican was signed in April and ratified on the 3rd May 1928 by the plenipotentiary minister Augusto Corte Real and the cardinal Pietro Gasparri.

The political shift towards deeply rooted nationalism and conservatism in Portugal – in tune with developments in other European countries – was soon felt throughout its overseas territories. In Bombay, there was a local scandal involving views expressed by the Portuguese consul-general, demonstrating how complex and fragile the relation between nationality, citizenship and race had become for the *Estado da Índia*. In August of 1926, the consul-general complained to the British authorities in Bombay that in official documents and certificates, the designation "of Portuguese race" should be reserved for European or "white" Portuguese. This information was leaked to the general public when the Government of Bombay issued a resolution addressing the consul-general's grievance, also publishing his original letter (*O Anglo-Lusitano* 8-08-1927).

Naturally, Goans took offense with these views. The editors of the *Anglo-Lusitano* wrote in January 1927 that if there was a "confusion of race with nationality", the consul-general should have instead requested the British to use the general designation "of Caucasian race" for all those "natives of Portuguese India, for that is the race to which they belong". Or, the editors argued further, the consul-general should have "asked the Government to substitute" the term "race" for "nationality", since the right to "describe themselves as Portuguese is guaranteed to the natives of Portugal's colonies by the Constitutional Charter" (*O Anglo-Lusitano*, 22-1-1927). The editors concluded:

> If Goans describe themselves as Portuguese it is merely in the exercise of their undoubted right. If that right is now denied them, then we feel certain that Goans will prefer to call themselves Goans rather than Portuguese Indians. (*O Anglo-Lusitano*, 22-1-1927).

The reactions to the consul-general's remarks demonstrate how the designation "Portuguese", after having been used in India to describe a broad range of communities, identities and allegiances, was now being restricted and redefined by the Metropolis according to racist discourses. After Goan authors like Gerson da Cunha had denied the designation "Portuguese" to the local Catholics of Salsette and Bombay, it was now the turn of the Goans themselves to re-equate their "Portugueseness".

The consul-general's blunder was another nail on the *Padroado*'s coffin, contributing to alienate its foremost supporters: Goan Catholics. In a final appeal to the Pope, the diocese of Daman produced, in 1925, a significant book called "In the Mission Field", ripe with apologetic texts and statistics, intended to figure in an exhibition in Rome. The authors

tried very hard to gloss over the whole *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict, but the book couldn't help but confirm how deeply divided the diocese was between the rival jurisdictions and also between the Goan and East-Indian communities. As it turned out, the "Mission Field" was the swan's song of the Daman Diocese. The death of the bishop Sebastião José Pereira, also in 1925, was the cue for new negotiations between the Vatican and Portugal, this time to end once and for all the "dual jurisdiction" in Bombay[50]. On Christmas day 1928, as the new archbishop of Bombay Joaquim de Lima took possession of his office, the *Padroado* jurisdiction in India outside territories under Portuguese administration was officially abolished. In spite of internal fractions, this was undoubtedly the outcome sought by a majority of the East-Indian community at the time.

Closing notes

The years between 1887 and 1928 were crucial for the East-Indian collective identity's shaping process. The various ties with Portugal were severed, and realignment with the British administration and colonial society completed. However, even as this process was coming full circle, another challenge was already looming on the horizon. Even before the demise of the *Padroado*, on Christmas day 1928, the biggest socio-politic issue facing Indian Christian communities in Bombay and elsewhere was already clear: Indian nationalism. Perceived as a "new religion – the worship of Motherland", nationalism was purportedly "breathing hatred [...] against Christianity as it claimed to be a religion of the West". Indian Christians would need to find a place in the new independent India, as its dawning drew inexorably near. The challenge was manifold, and for the Catholic elites, it was fundamental to "change the anti-Christian bias of Indians patriots" by "espousing a healthy nationalism in accordance with Catholic traditions" (*In the Mission Field* 1925, 629).

These notions led to a process that can be loosely defined as the "Indianization" of Christianity, a phenomenon that, arguably, continues until today (Frykenberg 2003, 6-23). This process affected almost all aspects of Catholic religious life in India, from art and architecture to liturgy and missionary enterprise, from dress code to name-giving. The East-Indian

[50] By 1925, there were 22 parish churches in Salsette and 12 in Bassein subdivision, with a total of about 50,000 faithful, besides about 70 other churches or chapels. In Bombay Island, there were 8 parishes and about 40,000 Catholics. Out of this total population of 90,000 Catholics, about 20,00 belonged to the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Bombay (about 3000 in Salsette and 17,000 in Bombay itself).

community was clearly at the center of this storm. And Joseph Baptista, an East-Indian Home-rule activist, and mayor of Bombay in 1925, is an example of a protagonist navigating these troubled waters[51]. Although the discussion surrounding the "nationalization of identity" process affecting East Indians after 1928 will be addressed in a forthcoming text, I will highlight here three crucial themes that were already present at that pivotal date: pre-colonial conversion; language and "nativeness"; and church architecture and image.

Pre-colonial conversion

In his Masters thesis submitted in 1927, centered on the "Indian Christian Community in Bombay", Mark D'Souza considered "very doubtful" that Christianity in northwestern Indian had began "before the Portuguese acquisition of Bassein's territory, in 1534" (D'Souza 1927). Three decades later, in her PhD thesis entitled "The Indian Christian Community with particular reference to the East Indians", Elsie Baptista devoted the first chapter therein to reach the "conclusion that Christianity was first preached in North Konkan by the Apostle St. Bartholomew", a deduction based on the writings of Ladislas Zaleski, H. Heras and A. C. Perumalil, besides the author's own examination of "the historical background" of the Christians of Bombay (Baptista 1967). Elsie Wilhelmina Baptista was a prominent East-Indian, and the publication of her thesis was supported by the B.E.A.I.

Although the issue regarding the presence of the apostle St. Thomas in India was an age-old debate, it became progressively central to the narratives about the origins of the East-Indian community. The tradition of the presence of St. Thomas in southern India was generally accepted, as was the notion that Christians – both of the Syriac rite and Catholics – in that region were descendants of people converted in apostolic times. However, regarding the region of Bombay, conversion traditions only went as far back as the 6th century. The idea that St. Bartholomew had undertaken missionary work in Kalyan, first popularized in India by the Apostolic Delegate Ladislas Zaleski (Zaleski 1912), was adopted and expounded by East-Indians, especially after the independence of India and the publication of Elsie Baptista's work. The notion that there was a pre-Portuguese Christian presence in the region of Bombay, and that the East-Indians' ancestors had been converted long before Vasco da Gama's

[51] Joseph Baptista (1864-1930) was an East Indian, whose family hailed from Utan, Salsette Island.

voyage, has since become an essential narrative dominant among "mainstream" East-Indian interpretations of history (Gomes 2001, 589-590).

Language, "Nativeness" and Caste

By the late 1880s, there would have been still a few East-Indians from the "urbanized" or Bombay group who spoke Portuguese. In places like Bandra, Thane, Bassein and Kurla, some of the well-to-do families also spoke Portuguese. Indo-Portuguese creoles were more widespread in Salsette and Bassein and other areas, and survived until later. Portuguese, however, would have been a "home language" – and also, to some extent, a "church language", since for all the community, English or Marathi – or both – would have been the *lingua franca* (Gomes 2007, 571; Godwin 1972; Clemens 1996, 2; *In the Mission Field* 1925, 63-94). Newspapers exclusively in Portuguese ceased to be printed in Bombay from 1873 onwards, with one short exception in 1894-1898, and even all these publications were mostly Goan initiatives (*In the Mission Field* 1925, 451-464)[52].

Education for East-Indians was, by the mid-19th century, already a synonym with learning English. If speaking Portuguese in public was shunned upon for socio-political reasons during the *Padroado-Propaganda* conflict is something that is hard to assess. At any rate, the majority of non-educated East-Indians from Salsette and Bassein would communicate either in Marathi or in Indo-Portuguese creole and probably, outside Bandra and Thane, many wouldn't be able to speak fluently in any other languages. During the 1920s and 1930s, there appears to have been a certain revivalism of Portuguese in Bombay, but this was probably limited to the Goan community, who continued to grow exponentially, and who eventually managed to have the language recognized in the Bombay University. Also in Salsette and Bassein, through the efforts of the two bishops of the Daman diocese between 1887 and 1925, there were attempts to start Portuguese schools for young people. But the results don't appear to have been long-lasting.

[52] Besides the *Abelha de Bombaim*, other newspapers in Portuguese published in Bombay include: *Mensageiro Bombayense*, edited by A. P. Rodrigues, and published in 1831 and 1832.: *O Investigador Portuguez* (1835-1837); *O Pregoeiro da Liberdade* (1836-1846); *O Indio Imperial* (1843-1844); *O Observador* (1845-1848) and *O Oriente Catholico* (1894-1898). Newspapers in Portuguese and English include: *Echo Portuguez* (1873-1874); *O Patriota* (1858-?; 1874-?); *O Anglo-Lusitano* (1886-1927 [conf]); *O Boletim Indiano* (1891-?); *O Povo Goano* (1892-1895); *O Bombaense* (1901-1907); *The Popular Magazine* (1921-?). Newspapers in Konkani and English include: *O Goano* (1908-1919); *O Amigo do Povo* (1916-1920); *The Angelus* (1919-?) (*In the Mission Field* 1925, 451-464).

Progressively, the community ascribed more and more importance to Marathi because of its association of being "native" of Bombay, although this only translated itself into publications and newspapers after the independence of India. The East-Indians were by then solidly couched in their English-Marathi bilingualism, and Portuguese, in decline everywhere in the Northern Province since the early 18th century, didn't survive for long after the 1887 name change.

Church architecture

Churches remain the East-Indian community's most visible and valued built-up heritage, having played a pivotal role in the process of framing the community's collective identity. While some of the churches founded by the Portuguese upon Bombay Island had, by the mid-19th century, endured complete rebuilding or radical renovation interventions, the churches of Salsette still presented the characteristic traits of Portuguese church architecture of the Northern Province. Traditionally, these churches were rather plain and similar in design, perceived by the British as being archaic and quaint, austere and inartistic. Their main façades had nothing of the spectacular mannerist or baroque influenced churches of Goa built during the 17th and 18th centuries. Outside the walls of Bassein and Chaul, the churches of the erstwhile Northern Province had simple façades and basic volumetric configurations, mostly devoid of ornamentation in their exterior. With their high pitched roofs and extensive whitewashed walls, these churches were often conspicuous elements in places of great scenic beauty, but often displayed signs of disrepair and ruin.

Paulo Varela Gomes suggests that, generally speaking, during the period in question, neither the Goan nor the East-Indian elites and priests particularly valued the 16th and 17th century "quaint" churches of Portuguese origin in Salsette and Bombay. The city's cultural atmosphere of the late 19th century, embodied by its neo-gothic landmarks – symbols of progress and "modernity" –, appealed to both Goans and East-Indians (Gomes 2007, 592-594). The so-called "Indo-sarracenic" tendency was also making headway in Bombay, but it was probably deemed by the Catholics to be an incongruous option for church architecture.

Therefore, during the late 19th century and early 20th century, newly built churches or renovation works in churches belonging to the *Padroado*, both in Salsette and Bombay islands, attempted to introduce architectural discourses perceived as "modern" by the general tastes of the time – and

these aspirations often materialized in approximations to the British-exported neo-gothic style.

The first three decades of the 20th century were ripe with building zeal by the two rival prelates Sebastião José Pereira (Bishop of the Damão diocese between 1901 and 1925) and Theodore Dalhoff (Archbishop of Bombay between 1891 and 1906) and his successors. While the new churches of Nossa Senhora do Monte, Bandra (1904), and of Nossa Senhora da Glória, Byculla (1911-1913), represent the two major undertakings on the part of the *Padroado* jurisdiction, the new church of the Holy Name of Jesus at Woodehouse Road (1902-1905), Colaba, is an eloquent example of *Propaganda* building activity. Many other churches and chapels were built, rebuilt or renovated in Bombay and Salsette during this period (Gomes 2007, 590-596).

The new church of Nossa Senhora do Monte, Bandra (1904), was built on the spot of a demolished chapel of Portuguese origin, although there appears to have been some protests regarding this option (Gomes 2007, 593). Both this church and the new Nossa Senhora da Glória, Mazagaon, embraced the fashionable neo-gothic image. Although it was clinging to an ancient tradition for its very survival, the Diocese of Daman wanted to show a "modern" outlook, according to the perceptions of the time.

However, it is also true that outright demolition of churches of Portuguese origin in order to allow for reconstruction was the exception and not the norm during this period. Furthermore, in spite of the various neo-gothic face-lifts applied to various churches all over Salsette and Bombay, there was a common pattern of maintaining traditional elements in the churches' interior, not only preserving centuries-old altars, statues and pulpits, but also other spatial characteristics of traditional Portuguese churches. Gomes suggests that this can be interpreted as a dichotomist approach, whereby the East-Indian community favored presenting a "modern" and progressive exterior in their churches' façades, but valued and maintained their traditional Portuguese-influenced atmosphere and apparels within their walls (Gomes 2007, 593-594).

Arguably, after the *Padroado*'s extinction, church architecture and religious art constituted one of the last connections between the East-Indian community and Portugal. After the independence of India, more demolitions of heritage buildings were carried out, including the well-known demolition of Nossa Senhora da Salvação, in Dadar. Fortunately, other examples have survived, and represent today valuable elements of Mumbai's diverse and rich built-up heritage.

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