

APÊNDICE 2 – Origem geográfica dos nubentes em Santa Bárbara (1754-1834)

Locais/freguesias	NOIVO		NOIVA	
	N.º	%	N.º	%
Agaçaim	1	0,5	—	—
Bambolim	1	0,5	—	—
Batim	1	0,5	—	—
Calapor	3	1,6	2	1,1
Carambolim	3	1,6	—	—
Chimbel	1	0,5	1	0,5
Cidade de Goa	14	7,5	5	2,7
Corlim	15	8,0	—	—
Curca	15	8,0	—	—
Goa Velha	4	2,1	—	—
Ilha de Chorão	2	1,1	—	—
Jua	1	0,5	—	—
Morumbim o Grande	77	41,2	166	88,8
Morumbim o Pequeno	7	3,7	1	0,5
Naroá	2	1,1	—	—
Pangim	4	2,1	1	0,5
Ribandar	4	2,1	3	1,6
Siridão	7	3,7	—	—
Santo Estêvão (Jua)	1	0,5	—	—
Talaulim	2	1,1	—	—
Taleigão	15	8,0	3	1,6
ILHAS DE GOA	180	96,3	182	97,3
Assolná	—	—	1	0,5
Calangute	—	—	1	0,5
Penha de França	1	0,5	—	—
Pilerne	1	0,5	—	—
Pomburpá	2	1,1	—	—
Sirulá	1	0,5	—	—
BARDEZ	5	2,7	2	1,1
Curtorim	—	—	1	0,5
Colvá	1	0,5	—	—
Mormugão	1	0,5	1	0,5
Sancoale	—	—	1	0,5
SALSETE	2	1,1	3	1,6
Total	187	100,0	187	100,0

WHITE WOMEN IN PORTUGUESE INDIA AND IN THE BRITISH RAJ

FÁTIMA DA SILVA GRACIAS*

European women began to arrive in India from the early sixteenth century. The first European women to come to India were the Portuguese,¹ they were followed almost two centuries later by British women.

The number of Portuguese women who came to India was small throughout the Portuguese rule (1510-1961). A collocation of factors accounted for the paucity of Portuguese women in Portuguese India. Traditionally, Portuguese men migrated without their wives. They were reluctant to bring them to India on account of long journey, diseases, hot climate, wars, fear of the unknown and the fact that many came on punitive grounds and could not bring their wives along. Perhaps, the most important factor was lack of monetary support from Portuguese Crown which discouraged their men to bring wives to India.² Long journey, hot climate, diseases and different culture also prevented British women from coming to British India in the early period of British rule.

Portuguese women who came to India settled at Cochin, Goa, Bassein, Chaul, Daman, and a few other places.³ They can be classified into three main groups. The first group comprised of wives, daughters and companions of Portu-

* Research Institute for Women.

¹ Iria Pereira, the companion of Captain Antonio Real who arrived in Cochin around 1505 is probably the first woman to have come to India. She was followed some years later by the wife of Captain Gaspar Andrade de Rego and by Catarina a- Piro, a companion of Garcia de Sá.

² C. R. Boxer, *Mary and Mysogyny – Women in the Iberian Expansion Overseas-some facts, Fancies and Personalities*, London, 1975.

³ Their progeny also remained in India but during the last decades of the Portuguese rule majority of white women who came to India returned back to Portugal. A few Portuguese women also lived outside the Portuguese territories in India such as D. Juliana Dias Costa who lived in the Mughal court.

guese men living in India including an occasional wife of a viceroy/governor. From 1540-1750, no wives of Portuguese Viceroys accompanied their husbands to India. In 1750, Marchioness of Tavora created a sensation in Lisbon when she insisted in accompanying her husband who was appointed the Viceroy of India. However, during the last century of the Portuguese rule wives of the Governors generally accompanied their husbands to India. In the second group were *degradadas* – women exiled to India either by the State or the Holy Inquisition for their misdeeds. This group also included stowaways and *aventureiras*. The third group comprised of *órfãs del Rei* and *arrendidas*.

The exact number of Portuguese women who came to India is not known. To begin with it was just a trickle. The number increased from middle of sixteenth century to the early decades of the eighteenth century when *órfãs del Rei* began to arrive from Portugal but even then the number does not appear to be very large. Germano Correia in *História de Colonização Portuguesa da Índia* says that hundreds of girls arrived in India during some years, while Coralie Younger⁴ says that ships from Portugal came laden with women. In the last few decades, C. R. Boxer and Sanjay Subrahmanayam have contested claims of Germano Correia. Boxer was of the opinion that no more than 5-15 girls came to India annually while Subrahmanayam states the number was no more than 10 girls.

Órfãs del Rei (kings orphans) from *Recolhimento do Castelo* – Lisbon and some other orphanages in Portugal (sometimes from noble families) were annually sent to India. They were sent at the expense of the Crown. They were sent to India as prospective brides for Portuguese living in India. The purpose was to settle them, to maintain a white identity and hope that they would control the conduct of the men they married. They were patronized by the king who provided dowries in cash, land and government posts to the husbands.⁵ Their husbands were given charge of *Feitorias* (trading stations), *Fortalezas* (Forts) and *Prazos* (land grants). Villages (*aldeias*) in the Provincias de Norte were in great demand as a part of dowry for orphan girls. Besides they enjoyed several other privileges.⁶

The first batch came to India around 1545. In Goa, initially they lived with respectable Portuguese families until they married but from the end of the

⁴ Coralie Younger, *Wicked Women of the Raj*, Harper Collins Publishers India, 2005 (4th edition), pp. 15-37.

⁵ Despite these incentives orphan girls did not always find husbands in India. Portuguese men were reluctant to marry and preferred to have relationships with native women including *bailadeiras*. Portuguese men found some of the orphans girls old and not good looking. In their turn orphan girls were not ready to marry Portuguese in India majority of whom came from low background, they preferred to join Convento da Santa Monica in the City of Goa.

⁶ Fátima da Silva Gracias, *Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa*, New Delhi, Concept Publishers, 1996, p. 39.

sixteenth century they were sheltered at a *Recolhimento de Nossa Senhora de Serra*.⁷ *Órfãs del Rei* who could not find a husband continued living at *Recolhimento* or subsequently joined *Mosteiro de Santa Mónica* in the city of Goa. The number of Portuguese women who came to India began to decline from the eighteenth century when *Órfãs del Rei* were no longer sent to India and the Portuguese lost many of their territories in that part of the world.⁸

There were only 26 Portuguese women (born in Portugal) in Goa around 1869, the remaining were *castiças* or *descendentes* – those born in India of Portuguese parents. Some of these in course of time married *mestiços* or native men. Towards the end of the Portuguese rule, the number of Portuguese women born in Portugal and living in Portuguese India were not more than few dozens and they were mainly wives of Portuguese officials and missionary/religious women who were involved in the field of nursing and education.

English women started coming to India in significant numbers only from second half of the nineteenth even though English traders had started arriving from the seventeenth century. In the eighteenth century they rarely brought their wives. By this time the number of Portuguese women in India had gone down.

British women who came to India can be divided in to four categories.⁹ The first category comprised of *Memsahibs* (*madam + sahibs*) – wives of British administrators and unmarried sisters of British officials who came initially to maintain a home for their unmarried brothers as in the case of Emily and Fanny Eden, sisters of Governor General Auckland (1836-42).¹⁰ In this group were also daughters who joined their British parents after completing their studies back home in England. The second category consisted of young girls of marriageable age who came to British India looking for a husband among the British men. In the third category were young usually single career women. Finally, the fourth category comprised of girls who came with the spirit of adventure and prostitutes.

The number of British women who came to India steadily increased during the Victorian age and mainly after the mutiny of 1857, when the Crown took over India from the English East India Company. Improvement in transport facilities

⁷ HAG, Ms.8793-*Relação de Goa-LV3/129-129v*; F. S. Gracias, *Kaleidoscope...*, p. 38; Fátima da Silva Gracias, *Beyond the Self – Santa Casa Misericórdia de Goa*, Goa, Surya Publications, 2000, p. 85.

⁸ By this time the Portuguese had lost many of their territories in India, there was decline in trade and fortune and the army was also disbanded. By now many of the Portuguese women who lived in India were the descendents of those who had come in the earlier centuries.

⁹ There were class divisions within the British society in India. On the top were the *mehsahibs* who looked at the missionary women with disdain since they mixed with native women. Missionary women in their turn also had disregard for ranking. There was practically no connection between *mehsahibs* and barrack women although both belonged to the same race.

¹⁰ Some of these sisters came to India with ulterior motive of finding a husband among the British administrators.

owing to introduction of the steamship and shortage of eligible men to marry in their own country on account of male migration to colonies contributed to the increase of British women in India. The Victorian age was also a period when marriages were socially glorified in England and those who remained unmarried were looked down upon. Colonies, particularly India were viewed as a marriage mart for young girls where they could find a husband among the young crop of colonial administrators and officials. Eligible girls came to the British Raj under the protection of their relatives and friends already living in India.

Unlike the Portuguese orphan girls in India, English girls of marriageable age who came in the British Raj received no direct official support from the Government in form of dowry and government post for the men they eventually married. But, at the same time the British Crown did not discourage female migration hoping they would help to maintain imperial identity, prevent the presence of native mistresses and help to consolidate an English life style in far away places. The month of October (soon after monsoon in India and before the advent of cold weather), brought British women to India in ships known as "Fishing fleets".¹¹ Unlike the Portuguese orphans girls who stayed back in India even when they could not find a husband, English women returned back to England within 6 months if they did not marry in India.

The second half of the nineteenth century also saw the emergence in British India of "new breed" of single career women who were educated and trained for a profession such as doctors, teachers, governesses and missionaries. They were also known as "new women" or "unconventional women". The career women were young, brave, independent of family ties and conventional restraints. The largest group of working women who came to British India were the missionaries. The census of 1911, states that about 1,200 missionary women lived in India. They belonged to middle class and came with the mission of improving the conditions of Indian women living in *harems* and *zenanas*. British women doctors and nurses worked in hospitals in India, even though, not always welcomed by male dominated hospitals. Some of these eventually integrated in the British Indian society well as in the case of Amy Carmichael and Angelina Hoare.

Like the Portuguese *aventureiras* a tiny number of British women came with the spirit of adventure and to experience a new culture. There were also British prostitutes living in the presidency towns of Bombay and Calcutta. Even though they were in small numbers, they caused much embarrassment to the British. And they often tried to disclaim that the white women seen for instance in Bombay's red light areas were from their country.¹² Some of these women were earlier barrack wives who after loosing their husbands or separating from

¹¹ Margaret Macmillan, *Women of the Raj*, Thames and Hudson, Spain, 1996, pp.1 6-17.

¹² The British tried to claim that these women came from East European countries.

them were involved in prostitution owing to their economic circumstances. British ladies of upper strata make no mention to these British prostitutes in their correspondence and diaries.

Life style

European women of the upper strata in Portuguese and British India lived in great style and comfort. They enjoyed a way of life which they could not have in their homeland. This included the luxury of vast retinue of servants and the prestige and sense of racial superiority that came with being in power. In a viceroys household in British India, there were no less than 200 minor servants. In Portuguese India, D. Filipa de Sá from Tana had 300 slaves to look after the needs of her household. An early seventeenth century estimate, indicates that each *casado* household in Goa had at least ten slaves. It was a life that provided a great deal of leisure.

Unlike their British counterparts in the British Raj, Portuguese women at least in the early centuries of colonial rule led a rather secluded life and seldom went out except on festive occasions. It had something to do with their culture and religion. When they ventured outdoors they traveled in well-guarded and covered palanquin accompanied by a retinue of slaves to look after their needs. They wore costly apparel of velvet, damask, brocade, satin embroidered with gold thread imported from China and other places, pearls and precious stones.¹³

Many of the European travellers who visited Goa in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries write about Portuguese women's seclusion. Albert Mandelslo describes a formal lavish dinner he attended at the house of a Portuguese gentleman who was newly appointed Governor of Mozambique. He adds that he never got to see the wife and the daughters of the Governor who were hidden behind the screen. According to Englishman John Freyer, men apparently considered both white and native women far beneath them and unfit for conversation.

In Portuguese India, white women generally spent their time with various arts and works of charity.¹⁴ A few proved themselves as soldiers, nurses, entrepreneurs, *cabeça do casal* and nuns. Interestingly, some spent time looking out of windows that had shades through which they saw without being seen. The nuns of the convent of Santa Monica many of whom were Portuguese born in

¹³ Traders came to the door with their wares; these included Chinese traders with their beautiful embroideries and silk.

¹⁴ They spent time with needle work, equestrian games, being entertained by the slaves, watching plays staged in their compounds, playing cards, instruments such as flute and singing. Those living in the city of Goa were sometimes taken on boat cruise.

Portugal as well as in India spent their time with embroidery, lace work, making buttons and other arts and crafts. They were well known for their expertise in Indo-Portuguese cuisine.

A majority of European women in India particularly the British ones lived in urban areas and cantonment towns. The memsahibs lived mainly in presidency towns of Bombay, Calcutta and Madras in a European ambiance.¹⁵ Houses were built and decorated in British style with English gardens complete with lawns and English flower plants. Clothes were changed for dinner and there was a blue book of etiquettes to be observed. Shopping took many forms. For instance in Calcutta women visited the Army and Navy stores run on European style, they ordered their necessities through mail order catalogues.¹⁶ Wares were brought to the door by *boxwallahs* – Chinaman brought shoes, Kashmiri merchants came laden with silk, shawls and undergarments. Books, newspapers and journals came from England. The Portuguese women had traders from China and other places coming to the door with their wares particularly table and bed linen. Apparently, British women in India had a much better life style than their Portuguese counterparts and yet found life in India tiresome.¹⁷

British women in the Raj had a great deal of outdoor life. They spent time horse riding, cycling, visiting the club, attending dinners (*burrah khannas*), tea parties, tennis parties,¹⁸ balls, picnics, musical evenings, attending plays, holidaying at the hill stations during summers or going along with their husbands on inspection tours and staying in tents in many of these places. In smaller towns British women gathered in the evenings at the *Maidan* for gossip. Some women like Lady Hailey explored the Himalayas, others like Lady Falkland and Florence Fuller sketched to capture the flora and fauna. Emma Roberts spent her time studying India and its people and editing *Oriental Observer* published in Calcutta and Bombay United. Some memsahibs maintained diaries where they jotted down interesting information of their daily life and experiences in India. We have not come across similar writings from Portuguese women living in India.

Linschoten, the sixteenth century Dutch traveler who visited Goa describes life of Portuguese women as luxurious and unchaste.¹⁹ He writes that although

¹⁵ Charles Allen (ed.), *Plain Tales from the Raj*, Future Publications, 1977, p. 82.

¹⁶ In course of time, the mail order catalogue became a major institution especially to months preceding Christmas.

¹⁷ Pat Barr, *The Memsahibs-The Women of Victorian India*, New Delhi, Allied Publishers Private Ltd.

¹⁸ Archery was popular in the second half of the nineteenth century so also tennis.

¹⁹ *The Voyage of John Huyghen Van Linschoten to the East Indies*, Arthur C. Burnell (ed.), New Delhi, Asian Educational Services (reprint), 1988, p. 210.

married they had besides their husbands one or two soldiers with whom they took pleasure sometimes by putting their husbands to sleep with the help of the drug *Datura*. Margaret Macmillan in her much quoted book *Women in the Raj* says that flirting was a great past time in the hills among the British women.²⁰ There were unattached men subalterns and others on leave to pay court to the ladies without their husbands in the hills. The issue was often discussed in the British press in India. According to the *Friend of India* this kind of flirtation often ended in separation and divorce of the married person. Maud Diver who otherwise sympathized with British women in India writes about lax of female morality in the colonies.

European women and native women

The British society in India was insular. Memsahibs knew very little about their native counter part neither did they make efforts to learn about them. This attitude was encouraged by their men even though men themselves interacted much more with Indians²¹ and had Indian mistresses. Occasionally, the wives of British officials accompanied their husbands on visits to Indian Princes. Memsahibs have often been criticized or held responsible for creating a great social distance between the colonizer and the colonized.²² British women found having any close friendship with local men were remonstrated.

Lady Canning, the wife of the British Governor Lord Canning commented that India bestowed aristocracy based on race not only to the *memsahibs* and barrack wives but also to those British women who worked as maids. She further remarked that in India, British maids lived like ladies. The luxury enhanced their life style. In the early period of British rule, the *memsahibs* only link with Indian women were their native domestic staff to whom they entrusted the care of their children and engaged some of them as wet nurses. Yet, they have been accused of treating their domestic staff in demeaning and demanding ways.

British women who came to India during the second half of the nineteenth century were Victorian in their outlook, these mores combined with lack of the knowledge of the local languages made difficult interaction with native women. At the same time, British women were projected as role models for her Indian counterparts who were just coming out of their seclusion. After all that has been

²⁰ Margaret Macmillan, *Women of the Raj*, Thames and Hudson, Spain, 1996, p. 196.

²¹ Indira Ghose, *Women Travellers in Colonial India-The power of the Female Gaze*, New Delhi, Oxford University Press, 1998.

²² Apparently, racial prejudice was almost unknown in British India until the nineteenth century, it could be due to the fact that earlier the English came as traders (had not assumed power) and had to deal with local rulers and others as equals or supplicants.

said we must say a number of British women did seek to alleviate the situation of the native women through missionary work, education and medicine.

The presence of British women in India helped the Raj to maintain its identity at the same time their presence in the Raj seemed to have widened the distance between the ruling race and the native populace. The arrival of British women in significant number during the second half of the nineteenth century appears to have hastened the disappearance of the Indian mistress to a great extent. As hostesses British women fostered the development of exclusive social group in every civil station. The root of British women's (upper class) racism lay in the fact that many Englishmen objected to ladies of their families having contacts of any kind with the locals except probably those who worked under them. This attitude also had support from the Government. The thought of a British woman marrying an India man disturbed both the British as well as the Indians. European women were considered untouchables.

The Government tried to discourage some of the Indian Princes from marrying British women. In 1893, when the Maharaja of Patiala planned to marry Flora Bryan, a music hall entertainer from London, the English Government discouraged him not because she came from wrong class but because she belonged to wrong race. The Government wrote to him that such alliance would put him in an embarrassing situation with the Europeans as well the natives. This was not the only case, the rulers of Patiala, Rampur, Kapurthala, Udaipur and Indore also took British women as their second or third wives and these unions were not approved by the British government.²³ They were ignored by the British government and the children born from these unions considered illegitimate. The Indian also did not like their men marrying British women.

In spite of objections, several British women did marry Indians particularly those who went for further studies to England towards the end of the nineteenth and the twentieth centuries. We know also that some British career women who came to India married local men and integrated in Indian way of life as in the case of Hilda Margaret Tuenon, a doctor of British Army Medical Corps who came to Delhi during World II and married a fellow doctor Tribuhan Prakash Sharma from Meerut. They settled in the hill station of Nainital. Hilda integrated fully in her Indian milieu and visited England only once during the 50 years that she spent in India.

While the memsahibs remained aloof from the natives, British missionary women and other career women interacted with native women and established influence over them through their socio-religious activities. They succeeded in entering the *zenanas*. They learnt local languages to interact among the natives.

²³ The government did their best to discourage Indian Princes to from going to England but they found ways of doing so by getting medical certificate stating the need to go to England or the Continent for medical treatment: Coralie Younger, *Wicked Women...*

These close contacts with the locals were not appreciated by *memsahib* class who often kept them apart and ignored them. Another set of British women who had close contacts with the natives were Governesses and companions engaged by the upper class natives families to educate their children such as in the case of royal families of Cooch Behar, Bikaner, Gwalior as well as upper class Brahmins like the Nehrus of Allahabad. Maharani Gayatri Devi of Jaipur says in her memoirs that her mother had a British lady companion and she (Maharani) had an English governess.²⁴

While the British government discouraged their people from marrying Indians, in Portuguese India, Afonso de Albuquerque (soon after the conquest of Goa) started *Política de Casamentos* between Portuguese men and native women.²⁵ Apparently, the purpose was to forge a new white identity which would remain loyal to the Crown. Many also had mistresses and all kinds of relationships with local women. However, Albuquerque appears to have been also colour conscious for he advised his men not to marry dark Malabari women but fair Moorieses.

A few Portuguese women married Muslim Princes in the early centuries of colonial period. The authorities in Goa were complaining to the Crown about the difficulties they had in settling Portuguese orphans with *Reinois* (Portuguese men in India born in Portugal). Some *órfãs del Rei* eventually married native men even though it was discouraged by the Portuguese Government. Teotonio de Souza states that contrary to general belief, more white blood transfusion may have entered the Goan society through white females who married propertied and influential Goan Ganvkars, than through Portuguese males for whom natives taboos made it difficult to find high caste native mates. He states further, that this was applicable not only to the Christian but also to other Goan communities. In this case, it is likely that the progeny of these white women in their turn also married native men for various reason including shortage of Portuguese men of the same social status. In the twentieth century, some native men who went for further studies to Portugal married Portuguese white women. However, most of them stayed back in Portugal. A tiny number as in the case of *Condessa* Georgina Laura Raimundo came eventually to live permanently in Portuguese India.

So far we have found very little evidence of social interaction between Portuguese white women and the native ones except with their domestic staff and may be those who married local men. We know that the nuns of the convent of Santa Monica some of whom were Portuguese whites lived with native nuns but there too was some kind of discrimination based on colour. White nuns wore black veils and native nuns wore white veils and all important posts were held by white nuns.

²⁴ Gyatri Devi, *A Princess Remembers-The Memoirs of the Maharani of Jaipur*, New Delhi, Rupa & Co., 1995, p. 80.

²⁵ F. S. Gracias, *Kaleidoscope...*, p. 32.

European Women and the Printed Media

British women and issues concerning them have been subjects of discussion in books, newspaper, journals, magazines and travelogues. Printed media in India discussed a variety of issues concerning British women in India such as their life-style, mental conditions, homesickness and need to study local language. It was felt that British women in the Raj could never run their homes efficiently unless they learnt Hindustani to speak with their domestic staff. In 1845, the *Calcutta Review* in an article discussed the appalling conditions of barrack women and high female mortality among British women of lower strata. It voiced the opinion that white women suffered greater degradation than local women. Although, the *Calcutta Review* debated issues regarding middle class British women, it never touched on the lower class white women. In 1883, *Madras Mail* printed rules for callers, timings and days of the week when people could go visiting. It was usually on Sundays after the morning Church service.

Memsahibs were often target of criticism from the press and other sources. Various writings specially from those with traditional views projected British women in a negative manner. Writer Rudyard Kipling describes the memsahib as a homogenous group of aloof, pampered women who had no interest in India and Indians. Some described them as idle, pleasure seeking, materialistic, frivolous and sometimes adulterous. Their moral or lack of it was many times questioned and the press tried to explain and find excuses for their behaviour to the climate, disrupted life style, separation from the children and so on.

Yet, there were others who saw them differently as women who contributed in white men's burden, they felt that the stereotype of the frivolous *memsahibs* were by no means a full and fair representation of their kind. This opinion began to appear towards the end of the nineteenth century, when the press from Calcutta started to look at them with more sympathy and even described them as heroines including some of the *Memsahibs*. One of the great supporters of the *memsahibs* was the author Maud Diver. The change of attitude from the press towards the British women began probably due to the arrival of women with mission that came to India towards the end of the nineteenth century.

British women with lot of spare time at their disposal were very observant of their surroundings. They wrote letters to the family, friends and newspapers which were later published. Some maintained diaries which were published in form of memoirs. Letters and memoirs of women travellers such Emily Eden,²⁶ Mrs. Fray, Flora Annie Steel, Fanny Parks, Margaret Harkness, Fanny Maria Monk and Anne Wilson Steel have left valuable and sometimes small interesting details about the white women in the Raj.

²⁶ She left her impression in her letter and book *Up the Country*.

Their writings not only speak about British women but also regarding the conditions in India, its environment, flora, fauna, life in the hills, mode of transport, entertainment and gastronomy and the politics.²⁷ The diary of Mrs. Fay mentions about excellent Portuguese wines mainly Madeira and Porto wines imported from Portugal via Goa which were popular among the British in India.²⁸ Fanny Parks who traveled widely in north India in the 1830's wrote a book *Wonderings of a Pilgrim in Search of the Picturesque*. In her writings she discusses life in the *zenanas* and her encounter with Maharani of Gwalior. Maria Graham and Lady Dufferin wrote about the conditions of downtrodden Indian women. Lady Canning wrote about everything from the revolt of 1857 to the fauna and flora (she painted them too) Emily Eden throw light on her brother's political diplomacy. She also provides a glimpse of Ranjit Singh's Sikh empire²⁹ The writings of all these British women in India not only provides us information about their daily life but also are of historical value.

Nevertheless, some of the letters and novels written by *memsahibs* show superficial knowledge of India, while others were critical of Indians particularly of Hindus and their way of life. A few were amazed to find that Indians could appreciate art and that they had artistic talents. There are no accounts written by Portuguese women living in India neither there is much information in the local Goan press on Portuguese women, probably because those who came in the earlier century received little education.

Problems of Adjustments in the colonies

Life of the European woman in India was full of complexities and problems of adjustments to the new culture. It was a life filled with stress and often lonely. Emily Eden perhaps spoke for many of them when she wrote to a friend almost at end of her stay in India, stating that during the six years in India she never ceased wanting to go home. But there were others who were young and who came towards the end of the nineteenth century and found life in India a golden experience specially life in the hill stations.³⁰

²⁷ Some of the diaries mention about the artificial methods used to keep the house cool in hot months such as the use of Punkah apparently introduced by the Portuguese in India.

²⁸ Porto and Madeira wines were considered most suitable wine in hot weather like India, not only because of its quality but also due to the fact that it remained in good conditions despite the hot weather (Geoffrey Moorhouse Paladin Books, 1984, p. 42).

²⁹ The week – Special issue. Kochi-Kerala, August 5th, 2007.

³⁰ Each district had its own hill stations in north and south of India. While some sources write about boredom, idle and frivolous life of the memsahibs, others speak about active social life that also left its mark on them.

Among the British women in India who suffered the most were the middle and lower class women mainly barrack wife who suffered from fatigue, mental problems, wife beating, consequences of frequent child bearing, looking after large family, poverty and alcoholism. The marriage of British women in India was often under stress. This situation could have also been true for Portuguese women. In both the colonies particularly in the early period of colonial rule it involved frequent separations of spouses due to duties such as inspections and involvement in expeditions and wars.. Husbands were always busy and often on the move specially in British India.

In her turn, the British memsahibs either went to the hill station during the hot months from March to June or went home to England to escape the heat, visit the family or to settle their children in England. As result there were long separation from the husbands. Children above six years were sent back home to study due to fear that they would become Indianized. Sometimes, this situation had traumatic effect on the mother and the child. Mothers lived in fear of separation in the back of their minds from the time a baby was born. Fear that soon the child would reach the age of 5-6 years – a time when the mothers had to take the child back home. Separation caused a lot of stress also between the spouses. A mother was criticized for not being with her children and for sending them to the boarding schools or to the care of relatives. She was also criticized if she stayed back in England for neglecting her duties as a wife and leaving the husband in far way places. No wonder British women mainly from middle class went through bouts of depression, homesickness, restlessness, hysteria, neurasthenia and mental fatigue. These problems were often discussed in the newspapers, journals and books. At times, British women became violent and were incarcerated in mental asylums of Calcutta, Bombay and Madras.³¹ The last thirty years of the nineteenth century saw an unprecedented increase of British women who were admitted in a mental asylum. According to some sources life in the colonies was more injurious to women than men.³²

There is hardly any information about health conditions of Portuguese women in *Estado da Índia*. Mortality rate was high among the Portuguese men in India due to disease, hot climate and wars.³³ Many including viceroys and governors died of fevers but deaths of Portuguese women find no mention in texts or lists of the dead. Mannuci, the Italian traveler says that the climate in India was not suitable to man above forty. Portuguese women must have also faced situation similar to their British counterparts. Mortality rate among women in India was high at the time of childbirth due to lack of proper medical facilities.

³¹ The first one was an all white asylum where the Eurasian and local were not admitted.

³² Indrani Sen, "The Memsahibs madness", *Social Scientist*, New Delhi, vol. 33, nos. 5-6, May-June (2005).

³³ F. Silva Gracias, *Health and Hygiene...*, New Delhi, Concept Publishing Company, 1994.

Portuguese women in India like their counterparts in British Raj must have gone through bouts of loneliness common to all European women of the time in India who had to face a different culture from their own. One wonders about the mental conditions of Portuguese women in India specially those who settled permanently.

Some outstanding roles

Several memoirs, letters and diaries give impression that the white women just performed traditional roles of a wife and mother in India. While that is true of majority of them there were many European women both in Portuguese India and the British Raj who played at times extraordinary or unconventional roles in trying circumstances.

Various circumstances led Portuguese women to play some important tasks in a man's world for the benefit of their empire in the early period of the colonial rule.³⁴ A distinctive role, in great emergencies in defense of their motherland, as in the case of *exército de matronas*. Women like Isabel Fernandes and Catarina Moreira fought side by side with men during the great siege of Diu. Others carried food, stones to rebuild the fort and took care of the wounded. They laboured day and night for their country. Some gave away their jewellery as in the case of Catarina de Souza.

Women like Ursula Abreu rendered valuable service to the State in Diu, Chaul in the Provincias de Norte and Goa. Ursula Abreu helped the Portuguese to save a fort in Goa from the Marathas. Some distinguished in Goa and Sri Lanka and performed tasks, which were usually performed by men. They proved themselves in the battlefields as soldiers, nurses and social workers. It brought them at least at work place on par with men at time when women were subjugated and largely invisible.

Some Portuguese women in India proved to be able administrators and businesswomen among these were D. Brites Menezes, D. Luísa da Silveira and D. Maria de Vale. In most cases the business was started by their deceased husbands. They operated shipping fairly well. Their ships sailed in different direction in Asia as far as Macau, China, the Persian gulf and Red Sea. With the help of their ships Portuguese women from Provincias de Norte and Goa carried business with Persian Gulf, Sri Lanka, Mozambique, Malaca, China and Macau. In some cases women themselves started business. It was a remarkable task given their background of seclusion and lack of education.

³⁴ Fátima da Silva Gracias, "Portuguese Women in the Estado da Índia (XVI-XVIII centuries): Women in a Man's World" in *Social Action, Quarterly Review of Social Trends*, vol. 49, July-September (1999); Fátima da Silva Gracias, *The Many Faces of Sundorem – Women in Goa*, Goa, Surya Publication, 2007, p. 133.

Portuguese women in *Províncias de Norte* managed cottage industries which produced jaggery and granulated sugar. As mentioned earlier, deaths among the Portuguese men due to disease and wars was high in India. As result their widows specially in the *Províncias do Norte* (where Portuguese men owned entire villages) were often left as *cabeças de casal* to administer their property and property that belonged to their minor children. The management of such property was not an easy task and Portuguese women had sometimes to fight for their rights from those who tried to illegally take over their land in their absence. We have not come across British women who were involved in business or managed large estates.

D. Luísa da Silva, a rich Portuguese woman settled in Cochin on many occasions provided shelter to the sick when ships arrived from Portugal and the hospital in Cochin was over crowded. The nuns of Santa Monica were responsible for introducing the new indo-Portuguese cuisine. Portuguese women who came to India in the last decades of the Portuguese rule specially the wives of the Governors and high Government officials were involved in some social work and established a few associations of charity.

British women were drawn in the empire building process in many ways. Many of the career women and even a few of the *memsahibs* worked for the uplift of Indian women and in various social activities. They distinguished themselves in various fields including education and medicine.

The nineteenth century was a period of great socio-religious movements in British India some of which tried to improve the position of Indian women. As result of this movement, the Government introduced reforms that resulted in ban on sati, child marriages, polygamy and encouragement of widow remarriages. To implement reforms and connected modernization programmes several white women educationists, missionaries, doctors and social workers and even some *memsahibs* were inducted. They were infused with the idea of moral responsibility and a sense of mission.

Missionary women took enormous risks and sought the upliftment of Indian women from they believed to be evils of child marriages, child widows, female infanticide, polygamy and purdah. They were pioneers in women's health and medical education. They founded schools for girls, women's groups, orphanages, hospitals and dispensaries.³⁵ Women missionaries also taught native women in their *zenanas*. In Portuguese India, a few missionary woman who came towards the end of the Portuguese rule established a schools and worked in hospitals.

There were women who worked also outside missionary system in the British Raj, women who were concerned with the welfare of the native people among these were the educators Mary Carpenter, Flora Annie Steel,³⁶ Annette

³⁵ Missionary women set up 30 schools for Hindu girls.

³⁶ M. Macmillan, *Women...*, pp. 205-206.

Akroyd and Florence Wyld, doctors like Edith Pechey, Mary Rutnam and Ida Scudder, social reformers like the preacher Amy Carmichael and political organizer Eleonor Rathbone. Mary Carpenter encouraged female education and made several proposals to the Government in this direction. Carpenter established the National Indian Association to promote mutual understanding between Indian and English people. Along with Annette Akroyd and Keshub Sen she set up a normal school. Annette Akroyd, although a memsahib, since she married a British administrator opened a school for Hindu girls. Flora Annie Steel, a multifaceted woman ran an English School classes for local boys, designed a town hall in Punjab and she was appointed Inspectress of girls Schools in the Punjab.³⁷

In 1885, Lady Dufferin, established the National Association for Supplying Female Medical Aid to the Women of India – commonly known as the Dufferin Fund. The fund provided financial assistance to women willing to be trained as doctors, hospital assistants, nurses and midwives. It also established a College for nurses and the Zenana Hospitals.³⁸ In 1914, British Women doctors practicing in India formed Womens' Medical Services to help women population.

One of the most distinguished British women in India was Annie Beasant who encouraged female education, founded the Central Hindu College at Benares (1898), started a paper called "New India". and flung into the political struggle for India's independence. In 1916, Annie Beasant established the Indian Home Rule League for obtaining freedom of India.³⁹ Margaret Noble who took the name of sister Nivedita was a strong supporter of radical Indian nationalism. Madeleine Slade, the daughter of an admiral came to India and became a follower of Mahatma Gandhi and served him as Miraben. During World War years British women in India worked in offices, hospitals, edited papers, ran canteens for the troops along the railway lines, joined the armed forces as drivers, clerks and others as nurses and doctors in the Indian Medical services.

The life of British women in India is well documented and it provides almost a complete picture of these women, often written by British women themselves who lived in India during the colonial period. There is hardly any writing available on our side of the world on Portuguese women, written by Portuguese women who lived in India particularly those who came to India in the later centuries of Portuguese rule – material, that could help us to provide a com-

³⁷ She was multifaceted woman – mother, wife, designer, writer, food connoisseur and educationist. Flora Steel is well known for her *The Complete Indian Housekeeper and Cook* which ran into 10 editions. The book provided guidance to the white women in the Raj. She also wrote her autobiography and a novel *On the Fates of the Waters* based on Mutiny which looked at the events from Indian point of view.

³⁸ Lady Dufferin was one of the founders of the Women's Friendly Society.

³⁹ In 1914, she attended the session of the Indian National Congress and presided over it in 1917.

plete picture of these women. The scarcity of material on many aspects of life of Portuguese women in India could be due to the fact that woman hardly mattered.

European women in India shouldered hardships, discomforts, responsibilities and made sacrifices in building the empire in an environment unfamiliar to them. It was a difficult life. The image of women suffering hardships coexisted with the image of ideal and frivolous one. Some women who came in the early centuries of Portuguese rule stayed back as in the case of Portuguese widows in the *Províncias de Norte* who carried business started by their husbands and looked after their vast estates while majority of British women eventually went back home to England.

ENTRE SOLIDARITÉ CATHOLIQUE ET RÉSEAUX D'INFLUENCE. RELATIONS LUSO-FRANÇAISES EN INDE À L'ÉPOQUE DE DUPLEIX

ERNESTINA CARREIRA *

Depuis le XVIII^e siècle, la période de référence dans l'Histoire des Indes française et portugaise reste incontestablement celle des décennies 1740 et 1750. Époque de la fastueuse épopée expansionniste française, époque aussi d'un investissement massif de la couronne portugaise dans la reconstruction d'un prestige terni par la tragique perte de la très riche ville de Bassein en 1739.

Historiens et hagiographes, lusophones et francophones, se penchent depuis plus d'un siècle sur l'extraordinaire destin d'une génération de gouverneurs expérimentés qui considérèrent les grands bouleversements politiques du sous-continent indien, en particulier la chute de l'empire moghol, comme l'opportunité unique de construire, pour leur nation, un espace d'influence continentale alors que depuis des siècles les Européens pariaient sur une présence côtière et commerciale. Dans la littérature historiographique, l'ingratitude des gouvernements européens, qui répondirent aux rêves de gloire par la déchéance des héros (Dupleix et La Bourdonnais) ou leur exécution publique (Marquis de Távora), contraste avec l'exactitude de leur vision, puisque les Britanniques la concrétisèrent peu après en trouvant en Inde, par la conquête du prospère Bengale, les moyens de conquérir le sous-continent et d'enrichir durablement leur métropole.

Cette référence nationaliste de l'historiographie, basée sur les correspondances officielles, dépasse rarement le cadre de la biographie, d'une politique perçue comme individuelle et exceptionnelle. Elle ne permet pas une exacte

* Université de Provence.