Historical Trajectories of the Third Portuguese Empire: Re-examining the Dynamics of Imperial Rule and Colonial Societies (1900-1975)

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HISTORICAL TRAJECTORIES OF THE THIRD PORTUGUESE EMPIRE: RE-EXAMINING THE DYNAMICS OF IMPERIAL RULE AND COLONIAL SOCIETIES (1900-1975)

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Portuguese-speaking Goan Women Writers in Late Colonial India (1860-1940)

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Introduction

In this article, I will propose a path for the identification and analysis of Goan women’s written production within the late colonial context of Portuguese India. To constitute an archival corpus of easily available sources ought to be the initial step, firstly, to promote a wider use of women’s intellectual production within an intersectional analysis of gender, ethnicity, caste, class and sexuality in the fields of the intellectual and cultural history of India and of Portuguese India and, secondly, to trace life biographies and itineraries that will further complexify the historical narratives on Goa. The study of female authors along with what they authored can contribute to the wider study of the rich corpus of Goan print culture during this period. Here I will concentrate, however, on non-fiction texts, as the great majority of women during this period are not exploring fiction, as will happen later on, mainly from the 1960s onwards.

The Goan case, and the questions it suggests, may also be useful for researchers concentrating on other geographical spaces, both in Asia as well as in other spheres of the Portuguese colonial experience. The fact that I will concentrate on the works of Goan Indian women—and not on those written by Portuguese-born women writers on Goa—is deliberate. Despite the legitimacy, and the relevance, of analysing Portuguese women’s participation in the colonial intellectual sphere, I will argue for the need of concentrating on the indigenous printed female word, from Goa, or away from Goa, as this is also the period of the great increase in the Goan diaspora. There are multiple questions to be raised in the intersection of gender and a
modern print culture, one that in the nineteenth and twentieth century grew enormously at a global level. Both phenomena are intertwined—women started writing and publishing globally in a significant way when printed reproductive words became a much more easy, cheaper, democratic and multiple process. Goa, with its diverse and prolific print culture protagonised by Goans, fits particularly well into the new approaches of a global intellectual history, mainly one concentrated on Asia.

Many of the publications we will analyse confront us with the transnationality or frontier fluidity of sources. Should we place their study in a “Portuguese” centred historical approach to gender and empire? Or should we rethink our own “national” categories of analysis in order to allow for more intertwined histories, those that do not fit easily in a “Portuguese” or a “British” colonial frame? Would it not make more sense to place these cases of Goan women writers within an “Indian” frame, even in a colonial period? Would not this turn out to be a more legitimate lens understand multiple itineraries where being ethnically Indian, and being a woman, can be as relevant as the fact of being of Portuguese nationality or living in British India? The many cases of Goan women where mobility, migration and circulation are an intrinsic and determinant aspect of their paths and where “national” and “colonial” identities are not that straightforward, can encourage us to pursue histories that problematize the colonial as the central frame of analysis.


3Transnational approaches have been associated both with gender and with colonial spheres, resulting in extensive bibliographies. For two very interesting recent examples see Clare Midgley, Alison Twells and Julie Carlier, eds., Women in Transnational History: Connecting the Local and the Global (Abingdon, Oxon & New York, NY: Routledge, 2016); Pamela S. Nadell and Kate Haulman, eds., Making Women’s Histories: Beyond National Perspectives (New York: New York University Press, 2013).

A rich post-colonial historiography produced by historians from Goa from the 1990s onwards has included gender subjects and approaches within its wider reflection on Goa.\(^5\) It is not by chance that, as it has happened in other contexts, women's history became relevant only when women entered the historical professions beyond the status of “exceptions.” Within this context, the work of Fátima da Silva Gracias should be acknowledged, namely for her book *Kaleidoscope of Women in Goa* or *The Many Faces of Sundorem. Women in Goa,* or her recent monograph on the Goan painter Angela Trindade.\(^6\)

Goan women's writings in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries—in all forms and categories—as well as their visual production could be sources for multiple approaches. Literary and comparative studies, as well as anthropology\(^7\) have been much more active than history in finding rich sources and subjects in the entanglement of gender, the colonial and the lusophone.\(^8\) An acknowledgement of the rich British scholarship on the intersection of gender with the colonial, especially for the case of Colonial British India, is also necessary to reflect on the Goan case.\(^9\)

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\(^7\)Given that the bibliography is extensive, here I will only reference a few examples. Many members of the International Project *Pensando Goa* have published widely on twentieth-century literature produced by Goan women, mainly for the period after that which concerns the scope of this article: Cielo Griselda Festino, Edith Melo Furtado, Fátima Gracias, Viviane Souza Madeira and Paul Melo e Castro. See e.g. Paul Melo e Castro and Cielo G. Festino, eds., “Goan Literature in Portuguese,” *Muse India,* 70 (2016).


How can we find women’s writings within the vastness of the public and private archive, the written and visual? After all, historical sources on women’s issues are harder to locate. Their names and traces in the archive are particularly prone to the vicious circle of invisibility—they are less studied because they are less available and visible; they are less available and visible because they have tended to be less valued, and thus less saved, less classified and, consequently, less studied. To identify and analyse the writings by women—in this case Goan women more than Portuguese women writing on Goa—in the late Portuguese colonial period could be, I would argue, a valuable mapping for further studies, and a way of calling attention to a rich body of primary sources that is largely unfamiliar. Through a historically embedded analysis, we could aim for an understanding of the specific and individual contexts that enabled some women—more, in number and influence, than is often acknowledged—to transgress the more traditional roles ascribed to them and become producers of knowledge in the public sphere.

1. Criteria and classification: how to find women’s printed words in the Goan archive

Amongst the many possible criteria for distinguishing different kinds of knowledge production by Goan women within the late Portuguese colonial period, I will propose two main lines of inquiry which could work as mere guidelines and be the first step to further approaches. Firstly, all published writings by Goan women, in all formats, autobiographical, academic, essayistic or journalistic texts, within books, newspapers, scientific journals or conference proceedings, in Portuguese colonial India, in British India, in Portugal or elsewhere. This section could be subsequently divided by sub-

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ject, including all the printed materials destined to wider publics, ranging from travel narratives and children’s literature to pedagogical issues or the “woman question”, a major global theme also much present in Goa. A major section should be dedicated to scientific writings: articles and reports on scientific missions; botanical and natural history, or the medical sciences. Another line of inquiry would concentrate on writings such as diaries and correspondence produced within a private sphere, but also family printed publications such as In Memoriams. Oral interviews—memoires and post-memoires—would be fundamental for research on more contemporary periods. I believe that visual sources—bi-dimensional documents often combining image and text, such as photography and book illustration—should not be isolated from textual ones and are central to understanding nineteenth and twentieth century print culture but, due to the limitations of this article, I will not include them in this analysis.

The limits such criteria entail are manifold, and I am aware of the subjectivity and problems they can imply. These working categories will only serve as guidelines, because the blurring of textual frontiers is a characteristic of writing itself during this period. Natural history knowledge, for example, can be especially problematic. Precisely because women had little or no access at all to writing in scholarly journals, they often presented their knowledge in other non-scholarly formats, such as travel narratives or newspaper articles. Moreover, there are discernible crossings and overlappings between these different divisions. As we shall see through specific cases, the same woman could write on different subjects and in different configurations. A biographical approach should overcome artificial writing divisions. Specific writings and images, their intellectual and creative production, would be used as a point of departure for an in-depth study of specific women’s itineraries and biographies.

Having been under Portugal’s hegemonic rule since the sixteenth century with active policies of religious, linguistic and cultural conversion meant that by the nineteenth century there was a thriving Indian Catholic elite, writing in Portuguese, and also in English, especially those living in Bombay, and with access to both British India and the print culture of Portuguese India. There were hierarchies and conflicts within this heterogeneous community, certainly, but access to writing in newspapers meant the existence of a common platform of multiple voices, including the voices of women. A
Hindu elite also used the Portuguese language in their publications, to be able to dialogue with the dominant culture and to make their voice heard with the local government. The presence of Hindu women within this press should be an object of inquiry. A major limit to my proposal is that of language. Not being able to read Indian languages such as Konkani or Marathi, I am limited to those Goan printed sources in Portuguese and English, and this will necessarily determine the scope of the history I can write. In a way, this constraint, even if for very distinct reasons, has some similarities with the invisibility of women's sources. This limitation has historiographical repercussions that should be overcome by scholars who are able to dominate both Indian and European languages.

Another problematic aspect of the line of inquiry I propose, is the fact that they are centred on a minority of women who had access to a written, scientific and print culture, those who possessed intellectual agency, and therefore those instruments to transform their thoughts, research, ideas, complaints, doubts, fears, emotions, or ideological and political positions into a written or a visual form, mostly one which was projected into a public sphere. This implies the exclusion of the great majority of women who occupied multiple positions within the space of Goa. However, this exercise can also work as a mirror for those women who had no access to a written and public culture, as women could be closer to other women, both in activities and in spaces. In contexts where gender identities and roles were very differentiated, the knowledge produced by women could be more aware of other women’s experiences, lives and specificities, also of those who could not read or write.

Apart from texts written by women on women’s issues, another way of gendering Goan history during this period is by grasping ideas that were being quoted and translated or written by men, on women’s issues. It was common for the Goan press to appropriate texts in foreign newspapers and translate them into Portuguese. In 1868, a small, unsigned, article on “The Political Rights of Women” appeared on the Goan Jornal de Notícias. The “cause of women’s equality in relation to the law”, had a “new and powerful” defender, the article announces. Besides Stuart Mill, Gladstone had publicly accepted the legitimacy of women’s demands. The Goan newspaper translates two letters quoting from the Liverpool Mercury: the one written by the

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activist Josephine E. Butler publicly referring to the letter Gladstone had written her, and Gladstone’s letter. Josephine Butler had asked Gladstone about his position in relation to two pre-eminent questions, that of the right of married women to hold on to their own property, and not pass it on to their husbands as it happened in the British law, and that of extending the electoral vote to women. Her letter was accompanied by Gladstone’s missive. Indeed, he approved of both measures, even though with a few reservations he does not mention. Reproducing both letters in Portuguese, the Goan newspaper ended with a short note: despite the reservations of the “illustrious member of parliament”, in his answer to “Mrs. Butler”, he is “formally adhering to the principle of feminine emancipation”. Shortly after the event took place in England, a Goan newspaper shared it with its readers along with other worldwide news, from Spain or Brazil. This circulation of information in Goa in 1868, on women’s political and economical empowerment in other parts of the world, is a relevant fact that should be acknowledged in an analysis of the “woman question” in nineteenth century Goa.

One pertinent dimension I will not explore here is that of writings by Goan men on women’s issues, specially on women’s education.

Finally, there is another aspect of nineteenth and twentieth century print culture that can contribute to finding women’s roles, agency and voices, i.e. newspaper advertisements. Gilberto Freyre, for Brazil, and Mário António Fernandes de Oliveira, for Angola, have already reflected on the possibilities of paid ads in newspapers for making a social history of a city or of a condition, such as that of slavery. In my own work, I have found advertisements to be a very useful source for the writing of a history of photography in Goa for a period where there are hardly any images available. The same could be done in relation to women.

What do travel narratives, autobiographical, historical, essayistic texts, children’s literature and educational projects, published in the book or newspaper format have in common beyond the fact of being printed? These

13Gilberto Freyre, O escravo nos anúncios de jornal brasileiros do século XIX (Recife: Imprensa Universitária, 1963); Mário António Fernandes de Oliveira, Aspectos sociais de Luanda inferidos dos anúncios publicados na sua imprensa (Coimbra: s.n., 1965), offprint from Actas V Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros, vol. 3.

are heterogeneous writings, the only common thread being the printed format, meant to be read by others. This readership was also characterised by its heterogeneity: women readers, when addressing domestic issues; children, when writing children’s stories; or non-gender specific audiences, when tackling subjects that were not associated with a specific age or gender. Is there thus a gender specificity to the kinds of texts women were publishing and to the kinds of formats they were publishing in? My answer would be yes. Children’s literature was an easier subject and format for a woman than an article on government policy, on industry or on property.

A major source for my search on Goan women’s publications was the three-volume dictionary on Goan literature published by Aleixo Manuel da Costa in 1997. Organised alphabetically, women’s names are scattered throughout their nominal entries, their presence much reduced when compared to the rich written production of Goan men. A study of Goan women’s participation in print culture requires a thorough survey within the vast number of periodicals published in Goa, something I have not done for this article. Aleixo Manuel da Costa mentions some who have collaborated in the press but whose articles have not been identified. In 1913 and 1914, the poet Paulino Dias, along with Adolfo Costa, founded the Revista da Índia and Ana de Ayala and Eugénia Froilano de Melo were amongst the collaborators. Somewhat later, in Bombay, a tri-lingual magazine published articles by Ermelinda Gomes.

To identify a specific women’s press—one destined to a female readership—is certainly another line of research, even if it does not necessarily mean that women were involved. The Recreio das Damas, for example, which appeared in the capital of Nova Goa in 1863, had João Filipe de Gouveia as its main editor.

Another, similar, research path would be to look for women’s oral interventions in the public sphere—conferences, speeches, presentations, some of which may be subsequently printed, while others may only appear as a title in a program, but not wholly reproduced. This is the case, for example, of Teodolinda Álvares da Gama who made a speech along with two men, one of them her husband Acácio da Gama, from the Gama family of Vermã, at a

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17Costa, “Recreio das Damas,” in Dicionário, 3: 117.
literary salon in Bombay.\textsuperscript{18} The site was the Instituto Luso-Indian, a Goan cultural center in the British Indian city, while the occasion was the first major historical date to be celebrated in the Lusophone world, the 1898 Fourth Centenary of Vasco da Gama’s arrival in India.

2. Female science between pedagogy and profession: writing on medicine, natural history or geography

By the mid-twentieth century, a growing number of Goan women started studying at a higher level, in Goa itself, in India after 1947, or in the Portuguese metropolis, a path their male counterparts had taken since the early nineteenth century and even before.\textsuperscript{19} Independently of their national, ethnic or colonial identities, frequently these women were daughters or wives of male scientists, doctors or botanists. The ways in which personal relationships are intertwined with professional ones is a subject that has been explored in relation to writers, artists and scientists.\textsuperscript{20} How do gender relations, hierarchies, and negotiations interfere and determine the possibilities of knowledge and creative production by women? The more invisible subjective dimensions had plenty of repercussions in the more visible and public aspects of women’s career itineraries and professional choices. Other ambivalences were also at stake: the same relationships that might have contributed to women’s participation in scientific practices and productions, could also contribute to subaltern their roles and subjugate their protagonism.

One case study I am now working on may exemplify these tensions. Gerson da Cunha (1844-1900)—historian and doctor, Goan, Catholic, Brahmin, a man of Portuguese nationality who lived in Bombay, British colonial India

\textsuperscript{18}Quarto Centenário de D. Vasco da Gama. Discursos proferidos no sarau literário do Instituto Luso-Indiano. Na noite de 18 Maio de 1898 (Bombaim: Tip. Nicol’s Printing Works, 1898); Teodolinda Maria Carlota Álvares was married in Vernã on 12 Feb. 1882 with Acácio da Gama, with whom she had a daughter and two sons. I thank Pedro do Carmo Costa for this reference.

\textsuperscript{19}Miguel Vicente de Abreu, Noção de alguns filhos distintos da India portuguesa que se ilustrem fora da pátria (Nova Goa: Imp. Nacional, 1874).

—had three children. One of them, a girl, followed in her father’s professional footsteps, no doubt encouraged by his belief in her talents and intelligence, which he communicated in a letter, to his friend Angelo De Gubernatis.21 Emmeline da Cunha studied in the same Bombay medical college where her father had studied, the Grant Medical College (1896) and, as he did, then went to Europe to broaden her knowledge. First, at the London School of Tropical Medicine and Hygiene, where she specialised in bacteriology, and then at the University of Florence. Upon her return to Bombay, she worked as a doctor in the port of Bombay during a crucial period—that of the Bombay bubonic plague, which prompted the creation of a globalised network of scientific research, and was involved in control and elimination of the disease. In a recent bibliography on women and medicine in India, Emmeline da Cunha appears as a pioneer, one of the first women doctors in India.22

Her case suggests a range of gender related questions that may be pertinent for other case studies. The first part of her biography is one of transgression of gender limitations and expectations, and one is tempted to place her in the categories of “pioneer” and “heroine”, while also acknowledging her father’s role in her career. However, when we look at the second part of her life, we realise how marriage was a turning point. After marrying a doctor with a similar itinerary as hers, she disappeared from the map of written sources, leaving the public realm for a private, historically inaccessible, sphere. She ceases to work and she vanishes as a historical subject. This, I would argue, is also a historical fact in itself, and one that only a gender sensitive approach can grasp and identify. Marriage could be a turning point for women scientists in a way that has no correspondence to their male counterparts, in the same way that being single and childless were, recurrently, a condition for women to develop their professional careers.

An analogous case—also a nineteenth century Goan woman in Bombay, and with family ties to a prominent and scholarly Goan man—was that of D. Júlia Rodrigues. She was the wife of José Camilo Lisboa, born in Bardez like her, who belonged to the first generation of Goan men who studied

21Filipa Lowndes Vicente, Other Orientalisms. India between Florence and Bombay (1860-1900) (New Delhi: Orient Blackswan, 2012), 121.
medicine at the Grant Medical College of Bombay.\textsuperscript{23} Finishing in 1851, along with three other Goans amongst a group of eight men, Lisboa soon distinguished himself as a botanist and an active member of the Goan community in Bombay, while also belonging to the main scholarly British institutions.\textsuperscript{24} While in 1871 he founded the Grémio Lusitano (after, the Real Instituto Luso-Indiana)\textsuperscript{25} he was also an active member of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society. When the Governor of Bombay publicly recognised the names of three foreigners who had achieved “some distinction in our Anglo-Literary world”, Dr. José Camilo Lisboa was one of them, along with Gerson da Cunha.\textsuperscript{26} Júlia Rodrigues is seldom mentioned in that historiography where her husband is named, Costa’s dictionary being the exception.\textsuperscript{27} She remains, therefore, as so many other “wives of” scientists, as well as writers or artists, in between the biographical lines. Working with or alongside their husbands, but seldom having access to signed authorship, their role as knowledge producers becomes much more difficult to grasp.

Júlia Rodrigues’s name is printed in nineteenth century sources and in the name of a newly discovered plant she had studied. Like her husband, she was an active member of the Bombay Natural History Society where, in 1889, she publicly presented her botanical discovery—one she collected in the garden of the bishop of Daman, at Colaba—in a lecture which was then printed in the Society’s Journal.\textsuperscript{28} The fact that she signed Mrs. J. C. Lisboa is somehow ambiguous: the “Mrs.” clearly states her gender but the initials relate to the name of her husband, even if her first name also started with a

\textsuperscript{23}Cota, “José Camilo Lisboa (Bardês, 1823-Bombaim, 1897),” in Dicionário, 2: 192-194; Teresa Albuquerque, Goan Pioneers in Bombay (Goa: Goa 1556, 2012), 89-91.

\textsuperscript{24}Albuquerque, Goan Pioneers in Bombay, 90.


\textsuperscript{26}Proceedings of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (January to December 1879),” The Journal of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society (1879) (Bombay: Society’s Library, 1880), xxiv.


“J.” It was common in some places and contexts for women to use their husband’s first names, and here it could also be a way of legitimising her incursion into the scholarly world of natural history. Two years later, another article signed by her and dealing with the same plant already acknowledges the scientific communication and correspondence, in the aftermath of the previous announcement to a cosmopolitan scientific community.  

A letter sent by José Camilo Lisboa to Kew Gardens, the London Botanical Gardens and a major global center of natural history research in the nineteenth century, may help us to understand what happened between the first and the second articles she published. The botanist sent his wife’s first article to London, accompanied with a letter in which he explained how his wife described a specimen—*Andropogon odoratus*—that had never been described by any botanist. The fact that Professor Eduard Hackel, the prominent botanist, had seen the plant and also considered it to be new species, as Lisboa argued, may explain why the second article signed by Júlia Rodrigues, added the botanical reference to Hack in the plant’s scientific designation. Two years after her husband’s death in 1897, she wrote to the University of Bombay proposing a monetary prize with J. C. Lisboa’s name, The Gold Medal, accompanied by 6,000 rupees should be given to the University’s best male student in surgery. Costa refers to how she also used her own name in philanthropic donations for distinguished students originating from Bardez, a way of acknowledging their place of origin, while also mentioning how she published newspaper articles on her travels in Portugal. I have not been able yet to pursue these scattered travel narratives but their existence alone, again, calls for the need to acknowledge the porosity of frontiers between different kinds of writings. In this case, the same woman publishes on two different fields of writing: on botanical knowledge, a sphere of natural history that was more available to women than other sciences, as well

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30“Letter from J. C. [José Camillo] Lisboa to the Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew; from Bombay [Mumbai, India]; 15 Aug 1890; six page letter comprising four images; folios 82-83,” Directors’ Correspondence 154/82-83, Library and Archives at Royal Botanic Gardens, Kew, London.

31*The Bombay University Calendar for the year 1907-1908* (1907), 589.

as on her own travel experiences, a kind of writing that, in particular nineteenth century contexts, was widely available to women. At the time, British women were participating extensively in the production of travel narratives, also about India, and the fact that Júlia Rodrigues lived in British India must have favoured her incursions in that category of writing. Both the cases of Emmeline da Cunha and Júlia Rodrigues/Mrs. J. C. Lisboa lead us to question if they would have had the same educational and professional opportunities had they been in Goa. They were both linked to Goan men who left Goa for British India in order to pursue their medical studies, a common path in the second half of the nineteenth century, but in British India they might have had more space for conveying their interests, knowledge and experiences into the public sphere.

We can find a few cases of Goan women in Goa writing on “scientific” subjects, from medical theses to articles on botanical knowledge, but mostly in the lower and less prestigious categories of educational writings on natural history, geography, and in the context of primary school textbooks. The sphere of primary education, or girl’s education, was one of the first and easiest for women’s nineteenth-century professionalisation, in Portugal as in Goa, much more so than the more scholarly scientific realms which were dominated by men. Elisabeth Johanna Lobato de Faria (or E. J. Eleonor Correloge, as was her maiden name) was not Goan but born in Holland, probably of English origin who in 1862 married (by proxy, in Singapore) Eduardo José Lobato de Faria.33 A major of the Goan military, Eduardo José was socially defined as a “Luso-descendant”, a problematic denomination that was used to identify the Goans who considered themselves to be direct descendants from the first Portuguese to occupy Goa.

She is the author of the book Noções preliminares da geografia para uso das meninas (Preliminary Notions of Geography for the Use of Girls) which was published in Goa in 1866, and in that same year was summarily reviewed in the main Goan literary publication.34 The author of the “Monthly Chronicle” mentions her name and book only to add:

34 Elisabeth Joanna Lobato de Faria, Noções Preliminares de geografia para uso das meninas contendo 53 lições e 404 perguntas (Nova Goa: Imprensa de Goa, 1866).
has the reader ever seen a work printed by the press of India, written by a lady? Are you trying to remember one title? Do not waste your time. Beyond the one I have introduced to you, you will not find any other. This is the first ever published. Saluting therefore the illustrious author, for her happy debut, I ask you to continue to pamper the public with your productions.35

Next to the name and the reference to her book, the Dictionary of Goan Literature adds “whose personal circumstances we ignore,” while next to the only book she published, it repeats in a sentence the fact of it being “the first publication by a lady, coming out of the Goan press”.36 This case exemplifies, therefore, the limits to the analysis of women’s written production. The book exists but very little or nothing is known of her biographical trajectory.

In later periods, a few female names appear, with little additional information, signing scientific texts for primary school teaching, a category which did not threaten the masculine hegemonic production of science. Georgina Mascarenhas, a primary school teacher born in 1926, publishes Rudimentary notions of Natural sciences for primary school.37 Escolástica Adelina da Piedade Gracias graduated from the Goan Medical School in 1925 to then repeat the course at the Lisbon Faculty of Medicine, with a thesis on leprosy, which she published in Lisbon in 1934.38 Another woman who graduated from Goa’s Medical school, in 1932, was the pharmacist Maria Palmira Sabina Lopes, who contributed to one of the main scholarly Goan journals, while leading


37Costa, “Mascarenhas, Georgina,” in Dicionário, 2: 249.

38Costa, “Gracias, Escolástica Adelina da Piedade,” in Dicionário, 2: 125; “Born in Margão 1/1/1904, she also studied Tropical Medicine in Lisbon, and practiced at the Sanatório Popular do Lumiar as well as teaching at the Course of Sanitary Medicine. Back in Goa she was commissioned by the Direcção dos Serviços de Saúde de Goa, of the anti-cholera service in Polém in 1934. She was also the Hospital Director at the Hospice do Sagrado Coração de Maria. She married Fernando Amaral Peres, from Vernã, also a medical doctor at the Hospital of the Hospice de Margão. She had no children” (information given by Pedro do Carmo Costa, who is preparing a book on the genealogy of a Goan family).
a professional career in teaching, in Nova-Goa.³⁹ Cristiana Bastos has done an excellent, in-depth analysis of the Goan Medical School, but she has focused on the racial, religious and colonial identities of the men involved in the school. A thorough study on the women who studied medicine has yet to be conducted: those who remained in Goa or attended medical schools in British India—a subject with an interesting and rich bibliography on women and western colonial medicine—and those who went to metropolitan Portugal.

3. Goan women away from Goa: Travel writing in neighbouring British India

Travel writing in colonial India should be analysed in its multiple directions: from metropolis to colony and colony to metropolis, to travels which cross colonial and non-colonial frontiers, as when British women travellers write on Macau or on Goa. Only three cases of Goan female travel writers could be found, and maybe not by chance they refer to three Goan women in the diaspora. We could argue that lives characterised by mobility favoured the written reflection on the experience of travelling.

The first one is Ezilda Ribeiro Sousa, who was born and died (1961) in Bombay. As happened with most women of this period, namely with Brit-


⁴⁴Scholarship on contemporary Goa includes the issue of “diaspora” as one of its main subjects: see the works of Cielo G. Festino, Everton V. Machado, Jason K. Fernandes, Joana Passos, Rosa Maria Perez, Teotónio R. de Souza or Teresa Albuquerque, among others.

ish women writing on India, she travelled the world while accompanying her medical doctor husband to international congresses. As was also characteristic of travel writing, first she published newspaper articles and only later reunited them in a single book—*Através do Mundo* (*Throughout the World*) in 1938.\(^{46}\) To publish the articles in English, in British India, while publishing the book in Portuguese in Goa, is something not that common within the Goan cosmopolitan community. It may be explained by the fact that the author moved transnationally but also transcolonially. Travelling from India to Europe, Brazil, North America, and Japan, Ezilda also lived in the different Indian cities where her husband held official medical positions. After his death, she edited his memoirs and articles, a traditional choice for literate women caring for the posthumous intellectual consolidation of their husband’s biography.\(^{47}\) The fact that she also published a book on *Indigenous Medicinal Plants available in Bombay, Goa and South India* is a relevant fact and one that again appears to problematize the kind of categorization of written sources that I propose here.\(^{48}\)

The second case study positions itself between travel writing and memoir, while also being placeable in that twentieth century category of “colonial literature”. In fact, Maria Amélia Rodrigues was born in Mozambique, studied in Lisbon, collaborated with newspapers and magazines and won a prize at the Colonial Literature competition established by the Agência Geral das Colónias in 1926 to encourage a sort of literature that was also valued for its propaganda possibilities. Her book had as subtitle “Colonial Romance”, because it was based on her experience of “African life”.\(^{49}\) Fernanda de Castro, born in Lisbon of a Goan father, was one of the first to apply for the prize with her *Mariazinha em África*, a fictional story dedicated to a younger readership which ended up excluded from the competition due


to be format. The third case and the earliest we found, was the already mentioned Júlia Rodrigues, who travelled to accompany her husband’s medical professional engagements, and wrote on her experience in the format of newspaper articles.

What about Portuguese women born in the Portuguese metropolis, temporarily living in Goa, and publishing on their experiences in India? This is a study that has yet to be carried out. Even if they do not exist in book format as far as I could surmise, there may be writings in periodicals, both in the Goan press and in the Portuguese one. An alternative source may be that of personal archives—for example the letters sent home, to the metropolis, from the “overseas” outposts. As I have discussed elsewhere, despite many standing restrictions (such as that of publishing in the most prestigious scholarly journals), British women had much more access than their Portuguese counterparts, even from the same privileged and cultured classes, to getting their word in print.

4. Children as readers and subjects: motherhood as knowledge

This section should distinguish those texts destined to children as readers and those written for adults. Cândida Vaz de Aires de Magalhães published children’s stories from 1919 onwards. Beatriz da Conceição Ataíde Lobo published *Contos da Tiazinha* in 1937, and collected popular oral stories in Portuguese and Konkani.

Another writer who experimented with fiction both for adults and children was Maria Luisa de Sequeira Coutinho. She


52 Costa, “Aires de Magalhães, Cândida Vaz,” in *Dicionário*, 1: 36. Cândida Aires de Magalhães was the daughter of Maria do Carmo Vaz de Carvalho and Cristóvão Aires de Magalhães Sepúlveda. She also published other works.


collaborated in newspapers, both in Goa and Bombay, and published comic books for children in the late 1930s.55

Mariana Correia Afonso took part in two Portuguese India Provincial Congresses, first with a proposal for the creation of nurseries in every neighborhood, in 1917, and in 1931, on the education of the “popular woman”.56 She also participated in the First Sanitary Conference, organised by the Serviços de Saúde da Índia Portuguesa (the “Health Services of Portuguese India”) in 1914, where she proposed a model school building for Goa.57 At the same conference, Claudiana de Noronha Ataíde Lobo presented her ideas on “school hygiene” and “children’s schools”. Susana Álvares, who studied at the University of Madras was a teacher and published a book, in 1948, on teenage delinquency—“Delinqüência Juvenil: suas causas e efeitos” and “Duas apreciações”. She also gave a lecture, later published as a newspaper article, on the “Real Sphere of Women”.58

5. Domestic sciences: writing on the making of home and food

A kind of domestic science, with its tips, rules and norms for efficiency, also contributed to “professionalise” the domestic female sphere. These writings, common worldwide, reinforced women’s role in ruling the household. Even


58Susana [Ana Artemisia Costa] Álvares, “Álvares, Susana,” in Dicionário, 1: 55; I thank Pedro do Carmo Costa for the additional information. Susana Ana Artemídia da Costa Ferreira Álvares, from Margão, was an English Teacher, she obtained a degree for Inter-Arts and Training from the University of Madras, specializing in child psychology. When she was 19 she taught in Panchgani and, later, in Bangalore; but three years later she returned to Goa and became a teacher at a private school in Margão. She married Frederico Herédia, and had two daughters and a son.
if there were servants doing the actual work, the “house-wife” was expected to command specialised knowledge on cooking, cleaning and sewing. Particularly poignant are those books written by women, which associate food with a Goan identity, in Goa itself or in Bombay. Already in 1893, Maria Luísa Garcez Mello publishes, in English, *Recipes for Confectionery and Household Dishes Prepared by the Portuguese Community in the Bombay Presidency*, while in 1924 Carlota Mesquita Correia publishes in Margão a book, in Portuguese, where *Cozinha Goesa* is part of the title.59 In that same year, also in Margão, Escolástica Xavier Gracias publishes—with the pseudonym of Augusta E. Castro—a practical cookery book.60 Again these examples from Bombay demonstrate how one has to go beyond the Portuguese language to grasp Goan women’s print production.

In the early twentieth century, “domestic economy” was part of primary schooling, as demonstrated by a book published in 1912 by Maria Virgínia Pacheco a schoolteacher in Margão.61 In 1951, V. R. Ferrão publishes a book on the maintenance and washing of clothes with practical instructions on how to clean clothes at home.62 Maria Luisa de Sequeira Coutinho participates at the *Primeiro Congresso Feminino*, organised by the Câmara Municipal de Margão in 1944—a research subject in its own right—with a conference on “domestic industry.”63 With this title she meant anything that could be manually produced, and sold, by women in their homes. Her choice had been that of toys, but as we can see in the catalogues of industrial exhibitions organised in Goa as early as 1860, women had a major role in producing embroideries and lace.

Rezaura Ditoza de Carvalho, for example, a Goan from Bombay, was one among the many women who exhibited work in the “Wool Embroidery on


Canvas” section of the 1860 Industrial Exhibition in Goa. Victoria Ditoza do Rosário also sent an embroidered silk carpet from Bombay, while Cecília Octávia do Rosário and Margarida Ernestina do Rosário produced white crochet blankets. Therefore, exhibition catalogues can also be a source for finding women’s names and activities. Again, it was a kind of manufacturing activity that did not jeopardise any expectations of femininity and domesticity, but at the same time could leave the house and enter a space of circulation of goods and consumerism, or at least enter the public space of local exhibitions that had the word “industry” in their titles.

6. Women writing on Catholicism in India

Within a print culture dominated by the Catholic Goan elites, both in Goa and in Bombay, a few women published on religious issues. Idalina Silva Botelho studied in Bombay and was, according to Ismael Gracias, the first woman to make, in 1873, the exams for the Liceu de Nova Goa. Apart from collaborating in the newspaper Heraldo, she published a manual of Catholic devotion with spiritual exercises. As early as 1859 Eufrosina Pais de Noronha writes A fé triunfando na Índia Portuguesa, com um relato da solene Exposição do Corpo de S. Francisco Xavier, while in 1873 Maria Angélica Isabel Rodrigues e Furtado publishes O fiel companheiro cristão (Orlim: Tip. de “A Índia Portuguesa”), demonstrating how the Catholic sphere was one where women had their own legitimate role. In 1925, Catholic women became more visible in the fascinating editorial project In the Mission Field, a book published by the Archdiocese of Damaun to make a clear statement of Portuguese India’s christianizing role in Asia within the context of the Universal Missionary Exhibition, which took place in Rome in 1925.

64Relatório e Catálogo da Exposição Industrial da Índia Portuguesa no anno de 1860 (Nova-Goa: Imprensa Nacional, [1860]), 29-30, 34, 64, 67.


Souza writes on “The Catholic Home”, Mrs. Cosmas Fernandes on “The Bombay Catholic Welfare Organisation” and on “Social Disabilities of Catholic Women”, while Mrs. Cecil Bocarro wrote on a wider issue of “The Indian Woman: some Aspects of her Life”. These were legitimate public spheres of female writing, ones that did not threaten any social dimensions of more traditional women’s roles.

7. The “Indian Woman”? between history and politics

The frontiers of historical writing by women were more unsettled than they were for men in this period. “History” could assume many formats, from a scholarly book to travel books, newspaper articles, children’s books or celebratory speeches on historical dates. And some formats—those less professionalised and prestigious—were more available to women’s historical writing, especially in the nineteenth century. Isabel Burton wrote a history of Goa, in the mid 1870s, hidden away in her extensive travel book. I could not find an equivalent Goan name. Later however, two women pertaining to the same generation would make their intellectual and public incursions in historical writing: Propércia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo, born in 1882, and Maria Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes, in 1889. They were both school teachers, by then the main career path for women with professional and intellectual ambitions, and their personal lives may explain their public lives. Correia Afonso only studied formally after becoming a widow at a very young age, while Stuarts Gomes seems to have remained single. The first stayed in Goa all her life, the second moved to Lisbon in 1933 and lived there until her death in 1937.

The only woman writer or scholar to appear in Clement Vaz’s book on Profiles of Eminent Goans is Propércia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo. In an interesting article written by Alfred F. Braganza, where he argues that the main subject of Goan literature in Portuguese was India itself, Propércia Correia Afonso is also the only woman mentioned among non-fiction au-

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69 Her first husband was António Montargon Pereira, Military doctor in Damão, who died in 1899, with whom she had a daughter. Her second husband was João Filipe de Figueiredo. I thank Pedro do Carmo Costa for this information.

She was only the second woman—Maria da Costa Campos being the first—to be a professor at the Escola Normal, the educational institution for Goan schoolteachers. Her name is present in different fronts of Goan educational, scholarly and cultural life during the 1930s and until her death in 1944. A speaker at conferences, a collaborator of journals and newspapers, and a teacher-trainer, she distinguished herself in the public sphere, encouraging the President of the Institute Vasco da Gama to praise her “culture, talent, industriousness” which made her “the only Indo-portuguese woman who revealed a manly genius.” The public praise went on to reassure that despite Propécia Correia Afonso’s masculine qualities she did not “lose the grace, kindness and delicacy of sentiments of the sex to which she belonged”. This was a very common duality in the appreciation of any woman who distinguished herself in the male dominated spheres of intellectual and creative accomplishments: her masculine qualities should not affect her femininity.

Her most quoted text was A Mulher na Índia Portuguesa, a long essay, published first in the form of articles in the Boletim do Instituto Vasco da Gama, the main scholarly institution in Goa where she was a member, and subsequently published as a book. The research, calling attention to women’s lack of rights and dignified living conditions, had been commissioned by the government, won a minor prize at the competition of Colonial Literature in 1932, and in 1933 was published in Nova Goa. Remy Antonio Dias considered Propécia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo to be probably the only woman author who approached the theme of “bailadeiras” (Hindu dancing girls) in a historical and contemporary way, and not the usual lyric poetical construction that suited orientalistic expectations but said nothing about their social problems. While Rosa Maria Perez, analysing how different


74 Propécia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo, A mulher na Índia Portuguesa (Nova Goa: Tipografia Bragança, 1933).

Goan writers and poets portrayed “devadasis” (female servants of the gods), considers Propécia Correia Afonso to give the “most representative statement of colonial Catholic morality.” Afonso describes them as prostitutes and dancers, but also sees them as victims of a caste society that condemns them while simultaneously not allowing them to leave their way of life.

Not only the “bailadeira” but the “Hindu woman” as an entity was addressed by Propécia as a subject of reformist ideas. In this, and as Rochelle Pinto has well noted in her *Between Empires*, the erudite professor appropriated ideas that were extensively circulating at the time in the context of British India. Within wider reforming ideals usually projected on the poorer Hindus, women were a specific category of discourse, frequently voiced by other women. Rochelle Pinto refers to a specific lecture she gave at a Hindu educational association created, amongst others, by the doctor R. P. Vaidya. Addressing the audience Propécia Correia Afonso denounces the lack of dialogue between the Catholics and the Hindus of Goa, while also defending the education of the Hindu woman specifically in Goa, where, according to her, Hindu men did not encourage women’s intellectual development. To reinforce her case, Propécia invoked historical and mythological Hindu female characters who had denied such a passive existence. Pinto notes how in her discourse, Correia Afonso challenges the current argument that before the independence of India there was no point in encouraging women’s autonomy, by reversing the arguments. She argued that to demand political rights as a nation was, in fact, an appropriate context for women to demand more rights already in their present.

Within the Hindu Goan community and its print culture, the affirmation of the “Hindu woman” also became a vehicle of empowerment. Rochelle Pinto refers how in his 1905 article on the public role of Goan Hindu women, S. P. Mambro enunciated the names of “prominent philanthropists, educationists, doctors, and novelists.” Another Hindu journal, *A Luz do Oriente*, written in Portuguese and edited in Pondá, also published art-

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76 Perez, “The Rhetoric of Empire,” 132-133.
77 Pinto, *Between Empires*, 60.
icles on the Hindu woman. In 1931, another Hindu journal appeared, the Correio de Bicholim, a newspaper directed, owned, written and printed in 1931 by Hindu men to voice the interests of their community, also set in the Novas Conquistas, the Goan territories which only came under Portuguese control in the eighteenth century and were mainly Hindu. Pinto quotes the letter sent to the Correio de Bicholim by a Hindu woman, Mirabai, who considers herself to be “the first Hindu woman who dares to write in Portuguese.” One of the reasons she invokes for having learned the Portuguese language was precisely to be able to respond to those statements on Hindu women which arose “out of incomprehension” on their real conditions and benefited from the actual “ignorance and silence” from the women they were speaking of. For Mirabai, appropriating the language of the rulers of Goa was thus a way of creating a dialogue out of a monologue, one on Hindu women by non-Hindu men and women. In this respect, the Goan case has to be placed in the wider discussions, central in the context of British India, that put “Hindu women”—their educational limits and their associations with untouched ancestral traditions—at the centre of reformist ideas, colonial projects, and the globalisation of feminist ideals.

From the 1850s onwards, a significant part of British print and political culture was dominated by the “woman question”, in which issues of education, property rights and access to professional careers anticipated political issues such as suffragism and the women’s vote. As we have seen, this news also arrived in Goa, not through Portugal but via the local press mediating what was happening in the wider world. Suffragism and women’s rights only became more mainstream in Portugal at the beginning of the twentieth century. Maria Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes is the first case of a Goan woman identified as “feminist,” even if the term has historically multiple and con-

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81 Correio de Bicholim (20 April 1931). Quoted by Rochelle Pinto, Between Empires, 61.

82 See Clare Midgley, Feminism and Empire. Women Activists in Imperial Britain, 1760-1865 (New York: Routledge, 2007).
Her main subject was the “Indian woman”, her history and contemporary challenges. A difference in the Goan case, in relation to the British one, was that these were non-Hindu and non-Muslim women—they were Catholic—writing on Hindu Indian women. Stuarts Gomes needs to be studied in the international context of the intersection of colonialism and feminism, in order to better understand the ways in which her discourse on India women’s empowerment was intertwined with the European colonial presence. For example, she participated at the Colonial Congress organised to accompany the first Colonial Exhibition in Portugal (Porto, 1934) with a lecture on “The Indian Woman”.

Stuarts Gomes contributed with many articles on the condition of women in India to Portuguese magazines known to be actively involved in the women’s movement, such as Portugal Feminino, A Semeadora, published by the Associação de Propaganda Feminista, or Alma Feminina, the Official Bulletin of the National Council of Portuguese Women [Conselho Nacional das Mulheres Portuguesas]. Her involvement with women’s organisations in Portugal went beyond that of writing in its publications as she presided the section on education at the National Council of Portuguese Women. Beyond the focus on women’s history, she also published, in 1926, a concise and popular History of India with a concentration on the “Portuguese in India” which was prefaced by a well-known Portuguese public figure, Ana de Castro Osório. She also embarked upon pedagogical subjects, a sphere that was increasingly available to women as they entered the educational professions more than any other.


84Monteiro, “Mulheres e cidadania,” Maria Ivone Leal, Um século de periódicos femininos. Arrolamento de periódicos entre 1807 e 1926 (Lisboa: Comissão para a Igualdade e para os Direitos das Mulheres, 1992).


86Maria Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes, Assuntos pedagógicos (Nova Goa: Imprensa Gonçalves, 1932); Maria Ermelinda dos Stuarts Gomes, Trabalhos manuais educativos (Nova Goa: Tipografia Bragança, 1924).
Belonging to a later generation, Rosalina Filomena da Cunha e Soares Rebelo (who used the signature name of Filomena da Cunha), already used the term “feminism.”\(^\text{87}\) She was born on the Islands of Goa, and was studying medicine in British India when she fell ill, returned to Goa and started to work on doing the accounts of her family business. She became Portuguese India’s correspondent of the magazine *Portugal Feminino* and wrote widely on women’s movements worldwide—from Europe to Asia, and especially India—for the Goan and Portuguese press. Demonstrating a remarkable self-consciousness, she wrote on contemporary global feminism, from the Middle-East to Japan, in a way that mirrored her own diasporic itinerary: “The Modern Woman”; “The Need for Feminine Instruction”; “The Feminist Movement in the Oriental Nations”; “Feminist Progress”; “Women in India”; “Women’s Conference in India”; “The Woman in Portuguese India”; “Echoes of a Feminist Congress”; or “To the Anti-feminist,” an article where she answered an anti-feminist letter she received.

Her life was marked by mobility. First, London, Agra, Margão and then Mombassa (Kenya), Lourenço Marques (Mozambique) and Alcobaça (Portugal). After her marriage to a Goan historian, Domingos José Soares Rebelo, who she met in Mombassa, she accompanied his career in colonial Africa and then Portugal, and ceased to publish.\(^\text{88}\) It was much later that she collected all her dispersed writings in a single volume published in Portugal in 1997.\(^\text{89}\)

Colonial politics tended to be a male dominated subject but as we approach mid-twentieth century and the crucial date of 1947, with British India’s independence, more Goan women inevitably assumed different positions towards the Portuguese colonial presence which continued until 1961. Rosa Maria Perez, an anthropologist of India and also a specialist on Goa, is currently pursuing a research project, including interviews, on women’s in-


\(^{88}\)Biblioteca Municipal de Alcobaça, Fundo Documental Soares Rebelo.

volvement in the Goan independence movement. If imperial practices and discourses have tended to be synonymous with masculinity, so did the counter narratives of empire. To find women’s political thought and involvement within the colonial archive also demands a conscious and focused effort. Sometimes we do not need to look very far. They are the wives and daughters of well-studied historical characters, those who participated actively in the practical and theoretical colonial making or those who contributed to the end of colonialism.\textsuperscript{90} Autobiographical writings by women that lived through processes of independence can also be useful.\textsuperscript{91} In fact, very often, besides these men, there were women equally politically engaged. Much work has been done in relation to more recent historical moments, such as in the case of colonial wars and liberation movements.\textsuperscript{92} But which questions could be explored in relation to previous periods?

8. Looking beyond the printed and the public: family writings, personal archives

There are some sources that, even though printed, belong to an ambiguous realm where the private and the public are more difficult to separate. In the Goan context, this happens with the tradition of publishing \textit{In Memoriam}s, narrating the life of a person who recently passed away and meant for distribution among family and close friends, not for commercial sale. Given that they congregate in a single volume all kinds of information related to the deceased—words written by the latter or by others about her or him—these can therefore provide sources for grasping women’s lives even if they did not venture into the public sphere. Their limitations are those of most of the sources we are analysing, owing to the fact that they refer to a minority of elite families that had access to print culture. In Goa, in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, Costa identified five \textit{In Memoriam}s about women—

\textsuperscript{90}Stephanie Urdang, \textit{Fighting Two Colonialisms: Women in Guinea-Bissau} (New York: University Press, 1979) is an example for Guiné Bissau; For Goa, see Edila Gaitonde, \textit{In Search of Tomorrow} (Ahmedabad: Allied Publishers, 1987).

\textsuperscript{91}Aurora Couto, \textit{Goa: A Daughter’s Story} (New Delhi: Penguin, 2004); Aurora Couto, \textit{Filomena’s Journeys: Portrait of a Marriage, a Family and a Culture} (New Delhi: Aleph, 2013).

Flora de Oliveira Furtado, Leocádia da Cunha Gonçalves, Maria Eugénia Froilano de Melo, Myrtle Noronha and Propércia Correia Afonso de Figueiredo. Some of them, like Propércia, were themselves active participants in a scholarly or public Goan culture, while others, to the contrary, never had their names in print until they died. For someone like Leocádia da Cunha Gonçalves, sister of the doctor and historian Gerson da Cunha, the *In Memoriam* also became an edition of all the scattered articles she had published, under different pseudonyms, in the *Heraldo*, not by chance the newspaper directed by one of her brothers, António Maria da Cunha. In this case and others we see how family ties and biographical itineraries are intertwined with women’s access to a public, print and professional sphere.

Manuscript writings can be present in public or in private archives. Public archives and national copyright laws set ethical rules for the protection of the privacy of the persons involved. Personal archives, even those related to a remote past, are still embedded in people’s present stories, pains, sorrows and memories. The limitations of accessing personal papers are evident. How do we identify those members of a family who possess the family archive? Who is prepared to allow a stranger to read their mother’s or grandmother’s letters or diaries? Creative practices can be aimed at: considering our own families or relations who had a colonial experience; looking for women’s correspondence in manuscript archives under masculine names; tracing those personal archives of women who published during their lifetime. Given that some women published their own memoirs, thus we should also look at autobiographical writing of women, in the multiple places they could occupy in colonial spaces. To speak about women, or even to publish women’s writings—bringing them from the private archive into the public sphere—does not necessarily mean engaging in a gendered reading of history. However, the publication of manuscript texts can foster a subsequent gendered analysis.

Oral history, alone or intertwined with the analysis of written sources, can contribute to the studies of a more contemporary period. It has been one of the most significant ways to overcome the diminute number of sources for women's history, and used together with other types of sources, from photography to correspondence, it serves as a way of reconstructing memories, post-memories, and self-reflections.

Conclusions

The fact that sources produced by women were less visible and valued in the past had a direct repercussion on the role they assumed in historiography. Less visible historical sources become less relevant historical subjects. Only the conscious historical approach to women and empire led in the last decades managed to produce a sophisticated bibliography, one with which one necessarily has to engage when inscribing the Portuguese case within a wider nineteenth and twentieth century history. The advantages of starting later is that we can benefit from other’s missteps. We can also profit from the conclusions drawn by others. There is now enhanced attention to transcoloniality and transimperialism, and a problematisation of a “Portuguese” prism within a world where people moved within and across national and colonial spaces and where ethnicity, gender or religion could mean different things in different places. To add women’s voices to the overall inquiry of Goan print culture should therefore not imply promoting a specific area, another thread of “Portuguese” “colonialism” in a historical moment where both “national” and “colonial” frames of inquiry are being questioned as the contexts for historical understanding.

This article provides a roadmap of the names and published production of Goan women during a specific chronological period, from the date of the first identified publication signed by a woman, in the 1860s, to the decade when female authorship multiplied notably. Further studies on individual itineraries need to be pursued, as well as a systematic search in less evident formats, from private archives to periodicals. A few observations can, however, be proposed here. First of all, the corpus of written work presented

96An example of such a non-gendered approach to women’s writing is José Queiroga Fernandes, *Ecos do império. Análise do modelo colonial português nas cartas de Inácio e Ernesto Kopke (1850-1880)* (Braga: Edições Casa do Professor, 2004).
above has to be placed within the extraordinary prolific and rich Goan print culture in the second half of the nineteenth and twentieth century. The majority of women who published, just like the men, belonged to local Brahmin Catholic families. A rich print culture certainly existed previously to this chronology but as far as I have been able to ascertain, female authors did not participate in it. The entry of women in the printed public sphere coincides with what was happening in many other geographical spaces. In the Goan case it was also linked to the nineteenth century secularisation of a previous context where religion, scholarly production and masculinity tended to go together. However, we could argue that there are gender differences from space to space which determined women’s social and public itineraries. Could we argue that leaving Goa provided an additional opportunity for intellectual emancipation? Why is it that when we concentrate on the nineteenth century, the majority of women who left their names in print were the ones who grew up in Goa only to move to British India to accompany their husbands, or those who, like Emmeline da Cunha, were Goan but born in Bombay? This ought to be another object of inquiry—into the ways in which some spaces were more encouraging to women’s public and intellectual intervention than others and the ways in which the geographies of diaspora might have posed fewer social constraints to Goan women’s choices.

There were many women in Goa who belonged to a cultured elite where there were social contexts for sharing their reading, erudite or musical knowledge. Barriers existed, however, between pertaining to a cultured elite and sharing many of its reading and verbal practices on the one hand, and publishing their words on the other. Women who published were a minority, showing how there was a profound barrier between knowing, and sharing knowledge in a private circle, and doing it to a wider audience in the public print format. Making this corpus more available to researchers—which is also the aim of the ongoing project Pensando Goa (Thinking of Goa),

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97 Apart from Rochelle Pinto and Sandra Lobo, see Diogo Ramada Curto, “Descrições e representações de Goa”, in Rosa Maria Perez, ed., Histórias de Goa (Lisbon: Museu Nacional de Etnologia, 1997), 45-86; translation into English: Stories of Goa.

98 For an earlier period see Ângela Barreto Xavier and Ines Zupanov, Catholic Orientalism. Portuguese Empire, Indian Knowledge (16th-18th Centuries) (New Delhi: Oxford University Press, 2014).
based at the University of São Paulo since 2014—could have a double effect: on the one hand, that of encouraging more gender and feminist approaches within the growing Portuguese field of studies of colonial spaces and experiences in a late period; and, on the other, to enable those scholars who are less sensitive to women and gender related issues to use and discuss primary sources produced by women or where women are the subject. Bringing women's sources into the broader picture of writing and gendering history does not mean only adding to a narrative that has been unapologetically and often unconsciously exclusively centred on men as historical subjects. It also signifies a further enrichment of historical trajectories that can be better understood through the acknowledgement of women as participants in a modern print culture.
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