

CHAPTER XIII

THE RETURN OF THE PORTUGUESE TO HOOGLHY

It is really surprising how the Portuguese established themselves again in Hooghly scarcely a year after the siege of Hooghly. This is all the more surprising because Shāh Jahān was at the time badly disposed towards the Christians and had not ceased persecuting them, even up to 1635. Yet it is true the Portuguese returned to Bengal with full liberty and a grant of 777 *bighas* of rent-free land by July 1633. The account of their return is found in a letter (July-17, 1633) written from Harishpur (Orissa) to Mr. Cartwright of Balasore regarding the possibilities of English trade in Bengal.* The writer says "Those Portingalls whilome expelled [from] Hugly hath found greate favour with Shawgahan (Shah Jahan) and re-entered that place to the number of 20 persones ; hows cavidall (whose capital) for theirs commensing a new investment is the third part of there goods formerly cessed on, which with large priveliges and tashareefes (presents) with honer the King hath beestowed on them. So that our exspection [of] Hugly is frustrayt and I feare likewise Pippoly will n[ot by] us be obtained beeing a nancient (convenient) Randyvoes of the [irs] how som 10 parsones have latly complained to this Nabob of our seeking to put them from that porte ; have answered we intended on such matter but only for Bollasary [Balasore] or Harssapooore

* Forster, *The English Factories in India, 1630-1633*, p. 308-309. This letter is not signed. Sainsbury in his *Calendar* supposed that the letter was written by John Powell (Poule) and Yule accepting the conjecture printed part of the letter in his *Hedge's Diary*, Vol. III p. 177. The fact is however that John Powell does not seem to have been in Harishpur until Sept. 19. C. R. Wilson therefore changed the date of the letter to Oct. 17 (*Early Annals, Vol. I, p. 17*). Forster discussing this question in a note (p. 307) concludes that it was Thomas Colley who wrote the letter.

(Harishpur) so with great delassa (encouragement) they were dismissed." It will be seen from this letter that the English agent distinctly says that the Portuguese who had been expelled had now returned with such powers that all hopes of the English to establish trade in Hooghly and even in Pipli were frustrated. This is well confirmed by Frei João de S. Nicolau in his memorial * of 1785 and also by Frei Luiz de Santa Rita, the prior and administrator of the Convent of Bandel in another memorial † prepared by him in 1820 for the Provincial of the Augustinians who had been requested by the Portuguese Viceroy of Goa to furnish information about the grant of seven hundred and seventy-seven *bighas* of land which he wanted to transfer for the Crown of Portugal. Frei Luiz de Santa Rita reported that in the archives of Bandel he found a MSS. memorial from which it was clear that Shāh Jahān's *farman* was given in 1633 to the Augustinian Missionaries and the Christians of Bandel. He added that this *farman* was lost in 1756 when Sirāj-ud-daulā besieged the English in Hooghly and sacked Bandel. He however found in the archives of the Convent a copy of the *farman* written in Persian with a Portuguese version attached to it.

Besides the grant of 777 *bighas* of rent-free land it conceded to the Portuguese the following seventeen religious and commercial privileges ‡:—

The Privileges of the Portuguese

* J. F. J. Biker's *Colecção de Tratados e Concertos de Pazes*, Tom. XII, Lisboa, 1886 pp. 17-25. J. H. Cunha Rivara first published it as an addition to Teixeira Pinto's *Memórias Sobre as Possessões Portuguezas na Índia*, Nova-Goa, 1859.

† Biker's *Colleção etc. ut supra*, Tom. XII, pp. 12-17. It was first published by Cunha Rivara in *O Chronista de Tissuari* Vol. I, pp. 60-62.

‡ The English translations of the Memorials of Frei Nicolau and of Frei Luiz de Santa Rita were first published by Fr. H. Hosten S. J. in *Bengal Past and Present*, Jan.-Mar., 1915 pp. 106-118. Regarding these privileges I have not, however, availed myself of Fr. Hosten's translation wherever I found that it did not strictly conform to the original.

1. That at the time of the Mass, no Moor, or *pião*, (footman, soldier) shall have the power to enter the Church to cause a disturbance.

2. That the Padre of Bandel shall administer justice to its inhabitants in all matters except in crimes punishable with death, not excepting theft.

3. That the Padre shall give the property of the deceased to their heirs or creditors, and the surplus to the poor, and the *Sercar* (government) shall not interfere in this matter.

4. That, if the owners of the ships of both the Portuguese and the Dutch which land there, happen to die, the *Dorbar** shall not interfere with any of the ship's goods, but only the custom-dues for the said goods shall belong to him (the *Dorbar*).

5. That the Dutch ships shall not have the power to seize the Portuguese ships coming to Bengal.

6. That the Portuguese ships coming to Bengal shall sell their goods in any harbour of Bengal, and that no change shall be made in the custom-dues.

7. That, should the slaves of the Christians run away and be caught again in any place whatever, no Moor shall have the power to hinder them (being caught) and still less to make them Moors.

8. That no *Dorbar* shall be allowed to retain the servants or employees (*officiaes*) of whatever class of Christians if they run away to another territory.

9. That, in time of scarcity, no ships shall be allowed to take in rice for exportation.

10. If the Christians are found to live in concubinage, the *Dorbar* shall have nothing to do with this matter.

* *Dorbar* or *Durbar* means a court, levee or government. Here, however, it seems to stand for a government official as, a little below, *Dorbar* is qualified by *nenhum* (no).

11. Should fires break out in the houses of Bandel, and bambus, stakes and straw be necessary for rebuilding them, the Sercar of the Moor shall not have the power to levy tolls, (*tomar direitos*) or to prevent their being bought or obtained from any other place.

12. That, if some married families come from Europe, and wish to take a house to live in this Houguli, it shall be given them free and no customs (*fretes*) shall be taken from them.

13. That all eatables coming to this Bandel, shall not be liable to custom-duties.

14. That in criminal cases the father shall not pay for his son, nor the son for his father, but each one for himself.

15. That families coming from Europe shall have the power to remain here for what time they like, and no one shall have the power to stop them, when they wish to return to Europe.

16. That the Fordar (*Faujdar*) shall not have the power to call all the Christians for military service in case of war, but only four or five of the oldest and the best counsellors.

17. That the two *xequis* (Shaikhs) who were down the river (*para baixo* : lower down) should not take from the Franguis more than was at first customary.

In 1641 Shāh Shuja granted a new *farman* confirming all the privileges of the first *farman* and promising the Portuguese his protection. Toynbee also refers to this new *farman*.* Dr. Wise who says he based his Statistical Account of Hooghly on MSS records and must have, probably, seen the document of Frei Rita or perhaps the *farman* of 1646 which seems to have escaped the ravages of 1746, says of the re-settlement of the Portuguese,† "A firman was promulgated by beat of tom-tom through all the country ordering the immediate return of the

* *Sketch of the Administration of Hughly.*

† *Bengal Catholic Herald*, 21st May, 1842.

captives (Portuguese) who were loaded with presents and sent back to their former residence. The Portuguese thus received into favour obtained a charter (sunud) signed by the Emperor by which he allowed them to return to Hooghly and to build a town to the north of the former Fort, still known by the Europeans as Bandel and by the natives by that of Balaghur (strong house). The land thus assigned to the Christians consisting of 777 beeghas was given free of rent and the Friars were declared exempted from the authority of the Subadars, Fouzdars and other officers of state. They were even allowed to exercise magisterial power with regard to Christians but were denied that of life and death—at the same time the Emperor ordered all his officers and subjects in Bengal to assist the brave Portuguese. The Christians returned to Bengal in 1633...”

It is difficult to make out how the Portuguese could have been allowed to come to Hooghly, and given such great power by the Emperor only ten months after the
The Explanation of the Return siege of Hooghly and at a time when he persisted in persecuting the Portuguese and the Christians in other parts of his Empire. Almost all the writers on Hooghly, Rev. Long, Dr. Wise, Crawford, Asiaticus and others attributed the return of the Portuguese to a miracle worked by God in the case of Frei João de Cruz who was they say among the captives taken to Delhi. The first account of this story about Frei João de Cruz's miracle was given in 1785 by Frei João de S. Nicolau who was prior of Bandel 1782-84, in a memorial drawn up by him after his retirement to Goa. The later writers especially Asiaticus and Dr. Wise added much to what Frei Nicolau related and the recollection of which, he said, was fresh in the memory of the people living there. Between the occurrence of the miracle, it may be added, and its account by Frei Nicolau a full century and a half had passed.

Divested of its embellishments, the story of the miracle is that after all the Christian prisoners from Hooghly were dealt with, Frei João de Cruz, being well known for his piety, was reserved for a special punishment. The Emperor and his court having assembled on a gala day Frei de Cruz was placed in a large hall before them and a wild and infuriated elephant was let loose. To the surprise of all, the elephant did no harm to the kneeling friar but on the contrary lay prostrate before him in reverence and caressed him with his trunk. This created such a profound impression on the Emperor's mind that he pardoned Frei de Cruz, whereupon, the elephant as an expression of joy made three profound bows before the Emperor. The Emperor then granted Frei de Cruz and the Christians of Hooghly a charter allowing them to return to Hooghly and build a new town.

Fr. Hosten has very forcibly questioned the truth of this story and asserted that Frei João de Cruz never went to Agra at all and that Shāh Jahān did not grant liberty to the Christians brought from Hooghly.* He adduces the authority of Manrique who saw Frei João de Cruz in Hooghly in 1628, who was in Arakan from 1630 to 1635 and again visited Bengal in 1640, and who surely would have known everything about the miracle if it were true. Manrique far from referring to any such story, says that Frei João de Cruz was severely wounded when trying to escape from the siege of Hooghly that he was saved from death only by a miracle and that he lived in great sanctity in Goa where he died. "If Frei João da Cruz" asks Fr. Hosten, "had been the chief hero in the wonderful events which legend has grouped around his name, how is it that the Jesuit letters from Agra say nothing about him, and that Manrique says hardly more about him for the period

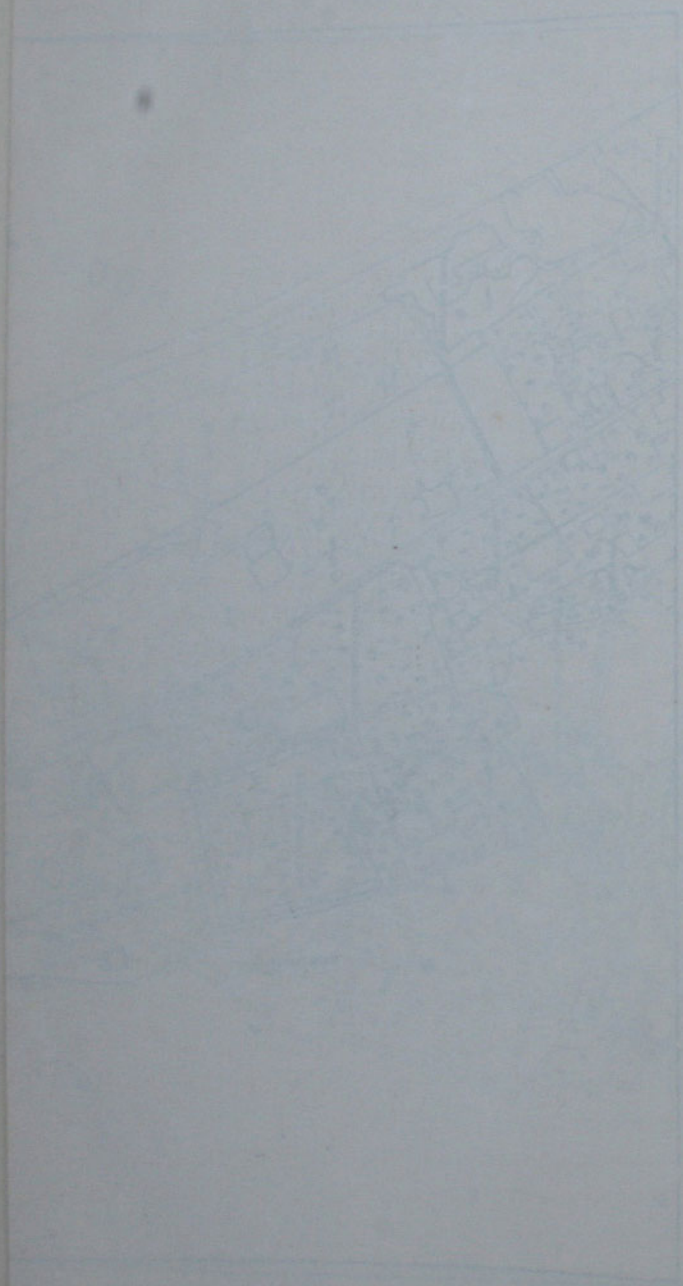
* *Bengal Past and Present*, Jan.-Mar. 1915, pp. 49-50 and *J. A. S. B.* 1911, Vol. VII, No. 3 pp. 53-56.

1633-38 than what we have related ; how is it that in the large collection of letters of the English and the Dutch factors or in the accounts of travellers we do not find the slightest allusion to the scene of the rescue alleged to have occurred at Agra ; chiefly how it is that the writer of his menology who intended the private edification of his brethren in religion should not have picked up the most marvellous facts of his history ? The reason must be that he did not find them in the Augustinian histories or that he found them contradicted or self-contradicting". These arguments and Manrique's evidence conclusively prove that Frei João de Cruz could not have worked the miracle which tradition and modern writers have ascribed to him. It cannot be denied, however, that by itself, the grant of land by Shāh Jahān only ten months after the siege of Hooghly and at a time when he was persecuting the Portuguese elsewhere is nothing short of a miracle. On the other hand Manrique says that Frei João de Cruz, indeed, escaped death from his festering wounds only by a miracle. Seeing that Frei João de Cruz's recovery was indeed associated with a miracle it is quite possible that his name has been mixed up with another miraculous event, or a wonderful physical occurrence which had actually taken place. Fr. Hosten suggests that Shāh Jahān never made this grant, though the copy of the original *farman* which was destroyed in 1756, says that in 1633 'Emperor Sajan Mahameo Sujakam' made the grant of land and the privileges to the Fathers and Christians of Bandel. If the Christian captives taken from Hooghly did not get the concession of 777 *bighas* of land and other privileges from Shāh Jahān, what other Portuguese could have got them and who gave them ? The constructive part of Father Hosten's arguments and the explanation of this concession is not as striking as the destructive one. He surmises that perhaps through a bribe Mir Muhammad Azīm Khān, Governor of Bengal, 1632-39, made the grant on the

sly to a few Portuguese families (from where ?) and that this grant was probably a confirmation of a part or whole of the grant made by Akbar to Tavares before 1580. It is not probable that Azim Khān could have taken such a step when Shāh Jahān's wrath had not yet abated and when it was quite certain that the Emperor would come to know of such an important concession through some of the numerous Mughals who were in Bengal and who could not have been well disposed towards the Portuguese only a few months after the siege. As a matter fact, Azim Khān continued to be Governor of Bengal for six years after this suggested treachery with full confidence of the Emperor. Hence all that can be said at the present state of our historian researches is that the return of the Portuguese to Hooghly, under the sanction of Shāh Jahān only a few months after the seige, remains unexplained.

The Augustinians took possession of the 777 *bighas* of rent-free land and out of them about 280 *bighas* still belong to the Bandel Convent, the rest being lost through many litigations and bad management of the Priors. It is questionable, however, whether the grant of land was made to the Church, or to the Portuguese government. In 1782 the Portuguese ambassador in London learnt from an English merchant who had returned home from Madras that the Portuguese possessed an important commercial port near Calcutta managed by some runaway Portuguese who lived without any order or government but who raised a Portuguese flag, maintained a priest and abided by his authority. The Portuguese ambassador having informed the Home Government about this Portuguese possession, the Viceroy at Goa was asked to furnish detailed information regarding it. The Viceroy however knew no more about the affairs in Bengal than the Government at Lisbon and asked the Provincial of

*The Property of the
Crown or the Church*



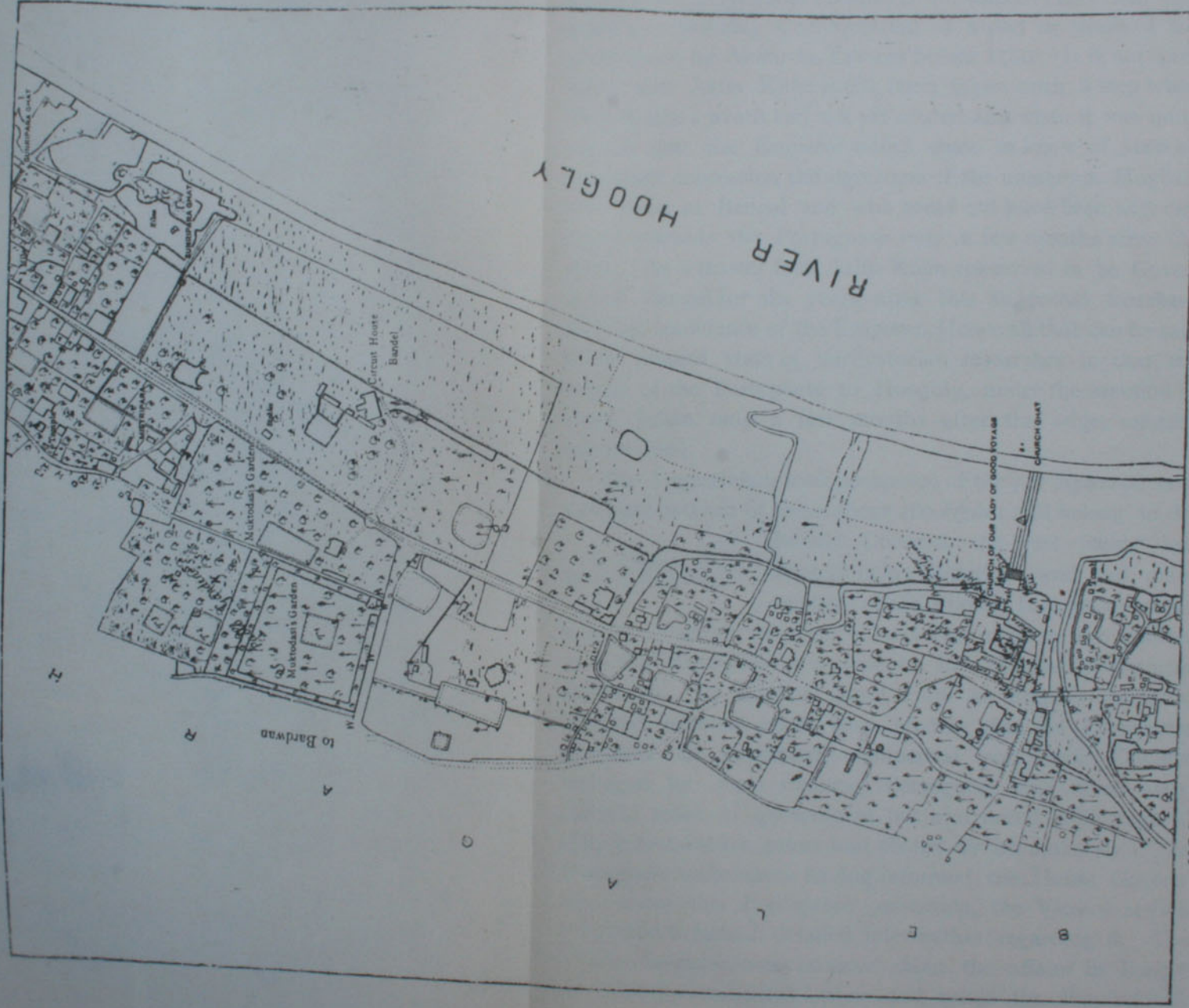
Portuguese Settlement of 1633

The Portuguese Settlement of 1633 included all the foreshore from the present jail, which is to the south of the area covered by the map, to the northern limit of the Circuit House Compound.

the Bengal Missions to furnish the desired information. As a result of those dealings, Fr. João de S. Nicolau, who had been many years Prior of the Bandel Convent, drew up in 1785 after having retired to Goa a memorial, referred to above. In this memorial he stated that the flag, raised in Bandel, was that of Our Lady of Rosary and not of the Portuguese Government and that the lands or the settlement belonged to the Augustinians, since the *farman* was granted to Fr. João de Cruz by the Mughal Emperor "signed with his own hand and sealed with his royal seal, bestowing on him 760 bighas of land in a place left to the Father's choice." When the Portuguese Government raised the question of the property again in 1820 and asked the Augustinian Provincial for a copy of the *farman*, Frei Luis de Santa Rita, vicar of Bandel drew up another memorial in which he gave a detailed account of the settlement. He stated the *farman* was granted by the Mughal Emperor to the Fathers and the Christians, that it was destroyed during Sirāj-ud-daulā's sack of Hooghly, and that its copy existed in the Bandel Convent, from which he had copied the seventeen privileges they enjoyed.

From what the Augustinian Fathers asserted in the memorials, it would appear that the Bandel lands belonged to the Church and not to the Portuguese Government, or to private persons. According to Manrique, an Augustinian friar, the Augustinian Fathers always refused to accept the grant of lands. "The Padchá or Emperor Acabar," he says,* "as well as his son Zia-hianguir or Ianguir as he is more commonly called, tried more than once to give the Fathers lands for their maintenance, or assign to them mainás, that is a monthly allowance to be paid from their nacassares or Royal treasuries, but the religious of St. Augustin always refused to accept such income, not only in this Empire (Bengal) but also in Persia

* Manrique, Fr. Cardon's Trans. *Bengal Past and Present*, 1915 Vol. XII, p. 50.



HOOGHLY SURVEY MAP OF 1886, SHEET NO. 1, SECT. 1, SCALE 16' = 1 MILE

The Portuguese Settlement of 1633 included all the foreshore from the present jail, which is to the south of the

and other infidel kingdoms where they live." In view of this, it would seem that the Augustinians could not have accepted the lands even if they were given to them. The grant was made in 1633 and Manrique's experience is of the same time, since he was in Bengal and Arakan from 1628-1636 and again in 1640. Thomas Colley or John Poule said that twenty Portuguese occupied the Bandel lands, without mentioning, however, whether they represented the Church or the Government.* There is a petition which a Portuguese named George Germain made, on the 31st December 1784, to the Queen of Portugal requesting her government to take possession of the lands that he declared belonged to the government and not to the Church.† This petition is earlier in date than the memorial of Frei João de S. Nicolau by two months and did not seem to have reached Portugal before the Portuguese minister in London communicated to his government the information he had received through an English source. George Germain maintains in the petition that the settlement of Bandel belonged to the Portuguese ; that when the number of European Portuguese was diminishing in Bandel the Augustinians took charge of the lands and that these Fathers thinking themselves masters of the property lost the *farman* under conditions which he describes. He states that Fr. da Cruz influenced Shah Jahān to confirm the earlier grant of 777 *bighas* of land to the Portuguese, though he does not refer to any miracle. It is difficult to say how much credence the different statements deserve. It may be, taken for granted on the authority of John Poule or Thomas Colley, at least until the copies of the original *farmans* are discovered, that the grant of the lands was made to twenty private Portuguese persons who subsequently made

* *Vide* p. 141.

† This important document has been published in *O Oriente Português*, 1906, Vol. III, pp. 129-134. For its translation *Vide* Addenda II.

over the lands to the Church. Frey de Santa Rita said in 1820 that the Prior of Bandel delivered Shāh Shuja's *farman* of 1646 to the English government in 1786. It is possible, therefore, to find it in the Imperial Records Department. German in his Appeal of 1784, gives detailed directions regarding the finding of the copies of the *farmans* in the Mughal Records (*vide* Addenda II).

In whatever way the Portuguese might have settled again in Hooghly in 1633, they never regained their former power and political importance. As it has been

After the Return

already said, the Portuguese power in the East had long begun to decline and the Portuguese that came to India at this time were no longer the Portuguese of the days of Albuquerque. Besides, it was the time when European rival nations had come to Bengal and were striving to establish their supremacy by supplanting the power of the Portuguese. The Dutch obtained a *farman* from Shāh Jahān in 1625 to erect a factory in Hooghly and to trade in Bengal, and the Portuguese who had wrested the trade from the Moors, when their power was at its zenith even in Europe, could not compete with this brave little nation. The English who were for long powerless in Bengal on account of the Portuguese supremacy, obtained permission from Shāh Jahān to trade in Bengal in 1638 and gradually other nations stepped in where the Portuguese had an undisputed sway. Still the Portuguese trade continued to flourish to a considerable extent.

It is thus that the Venetian Manucci speaks of the Portuguese whom he saw in Hooghly about 1660: "Here I found the chief inhabitants of Hooghly, all of them rich Portuguese for in those days they alone were allowed to deal in salt throughout the province of Bengal."* He also adds "there were many Portuguese of good sense, of good family, well establish-

* *Storia do Mogor*, Irvine's Ed., Vol. II, p. 89.

ed merchants at Hugli." Six years later Bernier says* that there were eight or nine thousand Portuguese and *mesticos* at Hooghly and that the Portuguese, driven from other quarters by the Dutch, resorted there. In 1669-1679 the number of the Portuguese and their descendants all over Bengal was no less than 20,000, according to Bowrey,† half of whom were in Hooghly. As in the palmiest days of the Portuguese in Hooghly, the number of the pure Portuguese did not exceed three hundred, Bowrey's numbers evidently include most of their descendants. Regarding the Portuguese trade in Hooghly Bowrey adds that many Portuguese ships sailed there transporting sundry commodities.‡

Though the English and the Dutch had obtained important commercial concessions, they met with a keen rivalry on the part of the earlier traders, though the latter had lost many of their own privileges. In the *Diaries* of Streynsham Master, who was Governor of Fort St. George and agent deputed by the Court of Directors to Bengal, several pages are devoted to the description of the business of a Portuguese merchant named João Gomes de Soito.§ This rich merchant rebuilt the Bandel Church (Hooghly) in 1661, and was buried in the Bandel Churchyard but unfortunately the tablet with the inscription on his tomb, which Asiaticus copied in 1803 is no longer to be found.|| On the ground that the E. I. Company refused to pay him a sum of about Rs. 6,000 due to him in 1652 on a consignment of cinnamon, sent by him to Persia in a Company's ship, he managed to have the English factors seized and imprisoned. A few years after, his son Pascal and his widow referred the

* Bernier's *Travels*, Constable's Ed., p. 439.

† *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal*, Temple's Ed., p. 195.

‡ *Ibidem* p. 133.

§ *Diaries of Streynsham Master*, Temple's Ed., *Vide Index s. v. De Soito.*

|| *Vide* p. 230

matter to the Nawab of Dacca and obtained a decree that the Company should pay him a thousand rupees. Such disputes frequently arose among the European traders in Bengal. In the struggle the Portuguese eventually fell. But up to the end of the seventeenth century they may be said to have maintained against powerful odds their sway over the commercial activities of Bengal. In the eighteenth century the Portuguese played a subordinate part in Bengal and their history merges into that of their descendants.

CHAPTER XIV

EASTERN BENGAL

The Fall of Gonsalves and the Rise of Piracy

The power which Sebastião Gonsalves had acquired in Sandwip was not destined to last long. In 1615 Gonsalves conceived the plan of conquering Arakan. Though he had always ruled as an absolute and independent prince he proposed to the Portuguese Viceroy in Goa offering to acknowledge the suzerainty of the King of Portugal and deliver every year a galleot of rice either at Malacca or Goa as a yearly tribute if he would help him in the conquest of Arakan. He further assured the vast treasures of the King of Arakan would be at their disposal. The Viceroy Jeronymo de Azavedo, who was quite pleased with this offer, fitted out an expedition of fourteen galleots, a flyboat, and a pink under the command of Dom Francisco de Menezes Roxo, the former Governor of Ceylon*. This expedition arrived on the 3rd of October 1615 and after a consultation with Gonsalves it was decided that Menezes should attack Arakan, the head quarters of the King and that Gonsalves should follow him. A new power had however come to help the Arakanese, a power that eventually contributed a good deal towards the downfall of the Portuguese in the East. On the 15th October the Portuguese saw a Dutch fleet coming down the river composed of such a large number of ships that, as Faria y Souza says†, the Portuguese could not see the end of it.

* This expedition is described by Bocarro, *Decada XIII*, and by Faria y Souza, *Asia*, Stevens, Vol. III, p. 226.

† *Asia Portuguesa*, Stevens, Vol. III. p. 224 *et seq.*

Against this force Menezes had to defend only with sixteen vessels, nay, only with fourteen, because one had fled and another had gone in pursuit of it. Yet they engaged the combined fleet of the Dutch and the Arakanese. The fight lasted the whole day. Though the Portuguese lost four galleots they wrought terrific havoc among the Dutch. In the evening the Dutch retreated thinking fresh succour had come to the Portuguese, while it was only the pink that had gone in search of the running vessel. Gonsalves now joined Menezes with fifty ships and they arranged themselves in two squadrons. The fight commenced again and all throughout, the advantage was on the side of Portuguese, but at about sunset D. Francisco de Menezes fell struck with two musket balls. Ebbtide then set in and the fleets parted. The Victory was more on the side of the Portuguese than of the Dutch.* About two hundred Portuguese died and were buried in the sea. The Portuguese sailed back to Sandwip and D. Luiz de Azavedo who had succeeded Menezes in command, returned with his squadron to Goa in spite of Gonsalves's repeated requests not to do so. Many of Gonsalves's men took this opportunity to abandon him and returned with D. Luis de Azavedo to Goa. In the following year (1616) Gonsalves being quite abandoned by many of his followers, the King of Arakan invaded Sandwip, defeated Gonsalves and took possession of the island besides some other islands in the Sundarbans. Gonsalves was, as Faria y Souza says, reduced to his former miserable condition.

In estimating the character of Sebastião Gonsalves one cannot ignore from what beginnings he rose to be a potentate, whose alliance was sought for by the
Character of Gonsalves ruling princes of Bengal, though more from

* L. S. S. O'Malley says in the *Chittagong Gazetteer* p. 28, that the Portuguese were defeated by the Dutch. This is inaccurate according to the Portuguese historians. The most that can be said is that the victory was indecisive.

fear of his power than from a friendly feeling for him as a ruler. He was an adventurer, unscrupulous and remorseless. But he was not, as he is supposed to be, a pirate, in the strict sense of the word. He committed at the outset of his career some piratical raids on the coast of Arakan, but it was in revenge for the massacre of Dianga. There is no evidence that during the eight or nine years of his rule (1607-1616) in Sandwip, he fostered piracy. However, many of his treacherous acts stain his character with the darkest blots. As in Rob Roy of old, wickedness and worth are often curiously blended together. It is wonderful, indeed, how Gonsalves was able to maintain his sovereignty, beset as he was with such powerful enemies as the Mughals and the King of Arakan, not to speak of the chiefs of the other principalities that lay near his kingdom. Referring himself to Faria y Souza's remarks that the kingdom of Gonsalves passed like a shadow, that his pride was humbled and his vileness punished, H. Beveridge justly makes the following observations,* "such are the unsympathising remarks of the Portuguese historian about a man who at least possessed vigour and ability, and who owed his fall in great measure to the impetuosity of the Portuguese officer who was sent from Goa to assist him, but who was too proud or too rash to co-operate fully with him. The Viceroy was also to blame, for he directed his officer not to wait for Gonzales. We cannot but think that if Gonzales had been an Englishman and his historian of the same nationality, we would have heard a great deal about Anglo-Saxon energy, the Barseker-spirit and the Vikings." If D. Luis de Azavedo had, indeed, co-operated with Gonsalves and had not sailed back to Goa, the fate of the Portuguese possession of Sandwip might have been different. Incidentally, the dispersal of the Portuguese in Eastern Bengal and Arakan would not have taken place if

* *District of Bākarganj*, p.38.

they had not lost their possession of Sandwīp, and thus no occasion would have arisen for them to live mainly by piracy, which has sullied their name.

From the time of the fall of Gonsalves upto 1665, the history of the Portuguese in Eastern Bengal is a history of the Portuguese in their worst form. The fall of Gonsalves did not mean the end of his men. The vast rivers of Bengal and their banks became their homes. Schooled as they were not to recognise any law or authority, they sought the means of subsistence in plundering and piracy. Arising as a necessity, piracy eventually became an art, a trade. It was a time, moreover, when plundering was generally accepted as the best method of avenging wrongs, real or supposed and of punishing the enemy. The Afghan Kings of Bengal, the Kings of Arakan and of Tippera ravaged one another's territories without the least scruple. But this game was generally carried on from land. The Portuguese introduced a new element with their fast sloops and newer methods of ship-building, so that depredations began to be carried more from the sea and the rivers of the delta. The Portuguese were neither the originators of these nefarious practices nor the only culprits. The Mughals themselves indulged in them and the Arakanese or the Maghs were the greatest of all plunderers. Wonderful legends connected with the famous pirate and bandit Dilal Khān are still current in Sandwīp. He is said, however, to have protected the poor, though he plundered the rich.* It was Husain Bey, the general of Shaista Khān who eventually captured Dilal Khān and confined him in a prison at Dacca, where he ended his days. Still more striking is the story of the English free-booter J. Shepherd, who made the Sunderbans the scene of his piratical exploits until he was arrested and banished for life only a few years ago.

* J. E. Webster, *Noakhali Gazetteer*, pp. 19-20.

An event occurred in 1638 which gave an additional impetus to the game of piracy in its most frightful form. Ever since the Mughals had made themselves masters of Bengal, they were bent upon conquering Chittagong from the King of Arakan and, if possible, the whole of his kingdom. A favourable opportunity arose in 1638. Matak Rai, the Governor of Chittagong rebelled against the King of Arakan, named Islam Khān Mushaddi, and acknowledging himself the vassal of the Mughal Emperor handed over Chittagong, though nominally to the Mughal Governor of Bengal. This action of the Governor of Chittagong did not materialize into anything, but it served to light up the fire of a long-standing enmity. To revenge on the Mughal kingdom of Bengal, the King of Arakan made friends with the Portuguese adventurers, took them into his service, paid them high salaries and settled them in Dianga. With their help he built vessels large enough to carry cannon. Thus equipped he began ravaging and laying waste the Mughal territory, and extended his depredations even up to Dacca. These cruel practices of the Arakanese and the Portuguese, to which the people of Bengal were subjected, continued till 1665 when Shaista Khan conquered Chittagong and broke their power for ever.

Various statements have been made to the effect that all the Portuguese in Bengal were generally pirates or adventurers, and even to-day in the folk tales of Bengal the name of the Portuguese is always associated with piracy. Nothing could be farther from the truth, than a generalized statement of this kind. It was only the Eastern and not Western Bengal that was a haunt of the Portuguese adventurers. These men were taken into the employ of the Arakanese who in conjunction with them devastated the southern part of Bengal, especially the Sunderbans. The Portuguese of Western Bengal were quite

The Offer of Chittagong to the Mughals

Portuguese Relations with Piracy

a different section. In the Hooghly river there were, however, a few Portuguese pirates about twelve miles above the Saugor Island whence the river or one of its branches at that part of its course was known as the *Rogue's River*.^{*} Their field of operations was the coast of Hijili (Midnapore) and Orissa. These men who had leagued themselves with the Arakanese were not of the type of the Portuguese from Hooghly, but were outlaws and fugitives from Goa and other Portuguese places. They were disowned by their own Government in Goa and were not recognized by their own brethren in Hooghly. It is true the Portuguese Viceroy sent help to Gonsalves, but then he was not a pirate but an independent prince who agreed to pay a yearly tribute of a ship of rice to the King of Portugal, in return for the help received. Even before Gonsalves and his troops had taken to buccaneering, Stephen Palmeyro who was an aged and a genuine type of Portuguese, refused to command them because they had committed a few justifiable depredations on the coast of Arakan out of revenge on the massacre of the Portuguese in Dianga. Ruy Vaz Pereira who saw in Chittagong a Moorish ship, built after the Portuguese fashion, being used in privateering, seized it because such practices would unjustly sully the name of the Portuguese.[†]

An excellent example of how different the real Portuguese in Bengal were from the adventurers in the Sunderbans, was afforded on the very coast of Bengal. *The Pirate Damião Bernaldes* Nuno da Cunha, the Portuguese Governor, gave in 1531, to Damião Bernaldes a license for a voyage to Bengal.[‡] After rounding the Cape Comorin he turned a corsair and in Nicobar captured a Moorish

* A Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II, p. 3. Also *vide*, Yule, *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. *Rogue's River*.

† *Vide* pp. 30-31.

‡ Castanheda, *Historia*, Vol. VIII, p. 46. Also Correa, *Lendas* Vol. III, p. 446.

ship worth £9000. Nuno da Cunha, on hearing of this, asked Khājah Shiāb-ud-dīn, who as already said,* was a friend of the Portuguese, to seize Bernaldes when he landed in Chittagong or else to kill him and his crew on the spot. There were then seventeen Portuguese vessels in Chittagong which in concert with Khājah Shiāb-ud-dīn awaited the arrival of Bernaldes. When this pirate actually arrived they did him no harm immediately, believing that he would ask for pardon and give up his mode of life. Far from doing so he seized a influential Moor and though his men who had landed were captured, he refused to exchange this Moor with his men except for a ransom of £2000. The Portuguese spared no efforts to capture him and he was at last caught in their settlement of Negapatam, sent to the Governor in Goa in chains and banished for ten years, during which he died. Such was the punishment accorded by the Portuguese to the pirates. When the Portuguese became the masters of the whole Bay and rivers of Bengal they indeed, enforced their principle of not allowing any ships to sail without their passes but they granted these passes freely and these ships were absolutely safe except when they fell into the hands of the adventurers lurking at the mouths of the Ganges. Even the Muhammadan historian Khafī Khān gives the credit to the Portuguese while he has much to complain against the English. Speaking generally of the Portuguese he says† "On the sea they (Portuguese) are not like the English; and do not attack other ships, except those ships which have not received their pass according to rule, or the ships of Arabia or Maskat with which two countries they have a long-standing enmity, and they attack each other whenever opportunity occurs. If a ship from a distant port is wrecked and falls into their hands they look upon it as their prize." The author of the *Bādshāh-*

* *Vide* p. 33.

† Elliot, *Hist. of India*, Vol. VII, p. 344.

nāmā has another story about the Portuguese. He says* "The village and districts of Húglí were on both sides of the river and these the Europeans got possession of at a low rent. Some of the inhabitants by force, and more by hopes of gain, they infected with their Nazarene teaching and sent them off in ships to Europe. In the hope of an everlasting reward, but in reality of an exquisite torture, they consoled themselves with the profits of their trade for the loss of rent which arose from the removal of the cultivators. These hateful practices were not confined to the lands they occupied, but they seized and carried off every one they could lay their hands upon along the sides of the river." This contrasts very strongly with what Khafi Khān says about the Portuguese. The passage in the *Bādshāhnāmā* is really based upon the report of Kasim Khān whom Shāh Jahān had sent with preconceived ideas against the Portuguese and who in spite of his constant and minute watching could not find any *casus belli* for four years to overthrow their power. In this report the charge of piracy and aggressions was, however, levelled only against the Portuguese of Eastern Bengal, while it accused the Portuguese of Hooghly of fortifying themselves, of drawing away all the trade from Sāt-gāon and of having committed many acts of violence, presuming to exact duties from all the boats and vessels which passed their factory.† It is true, the Portuguese of Hooghly had grown insolent and haughty but they cannot be said to have been pirates. Writers who have never cared to differentiate the real Portuguese from the outlaws of Sunderbans have made sweeping generalizations against them all. Far from being pirates, the Portuguese of Hooghly promised Akbar and also Jahanghír to stamp out piracy and agreed to keep the Bay clear of the pirates that nestled

* Elliot, *Hist. of India* Vol. VII. p. 32.

† Stewart, *History of Bengal*, pp. 266-267.

there. They did not however keep their word. Yet it must be said they did not in general indulge in the very thing they had promised to extirpate.

As to the Portuguese in Eastern Bengal in the seventeenth century no amount of vituperation and invectives would be too strong for them. As Manucci says* they had reached the very acme of evil doing and at one time even a priest named Frei Vicente acted as their leader. The horror of their practices can better be imagined than described. Yet they held a secondary place to the Maghs. François Bernier gives a very graphic account of them. He says† “For many years there have always been Portuguese in the kingdom of *Rukan* (Arakan) or *Mog*, and with them a great number of their *Mestices* or Christian slaves and other *Franguis* gathered together from all parts. This was the retreat of fugitives from Goa, Ceylon, Cochin, Malacca and all the other places once occupied by the Portuguese in the Indies. Those who had fled from their convent, who had married twice or three times, assassins—in a word, outlaws and ruffians, were here welcomed and held in repute, and led a detestable life, utterly unworthy of Christians, going so far as to massacre and poison each other with impunity, and to assassinate their own priests, who were often no better than themselves. The king of Rakan, in perpetual terror of the Mughal, kept these people for the defence of his frontier at a port called *Chatigon* (Chittagong) assigning them lands and letting them live and follow their own devices. Their ordinary pursuit and occupation was theft and piracy. With small and light half-galleys called *galleasses* they did nothing but sweep the sea on this side; and entering all rivers, canals, and arms of the Ganges, and passing between the islands of

* *Storia do Mogor*, Vol. II, p. 117.

† Bernier, *Travels*, Constable Ed. p. 174-175. The translation adopted is from *Calcutta Review* 1871, Vol. LIII, pp. 65-66.

Lower Bengal—often even penetrating as far as forty or fifty leagues into the interior—they surprised and carried off whole villages and harried the poor gentiles, and other inhabitants of this quarter at their assemblies, their markets, their festivals and weddings, seizing as slaves both men and women, small and great, perpetrating strange, cruelties and burning all that they could not carry away. It is owing to this that at the present day are seen so many lovely but deserted isles at the mouth of the Ganges, once thickly populated, but now infested only by savage beasts, principally tigers". It must be said to the credit of Bernier that however bitterly he may vent his wrath on the Portuguese he acknowledged that the Portuguese who carried on these frightful depredations were outlaws, fugitives and ruffians, that fled to this convenient buccaneering haunt in the River Delta of Bengal from other Portuguese settlements. The practices referred to here by Bernier are correct but he ascribes them all to Feringhis while the fact is that the main offenders were the Maghs. In Rennel's map of Bengal published in 1794, the note "this part of the country has been deserted on account of the ravages of the Maghs", is written across the portion of the Sundarbans, south of Bäckarganj. Bolts refers to the Maghs alone and not to the Portuguese as plunderers of the Sunderbans.* The Sunderbans, at least the greater part of them, were never in a flourishing condition, and as it has been shown, the portion, south of Bäckarganj, was plundered more by the Maghs than by the Portuguese. Bernier continuing says that the Feringhis sold a part of their slaves in Goa, Ceylon, St. Thomé and to the Portuguese of Hooghly, and that a part of them were converted to Christianity and were trained in theft, murder and rapine. He concludes that in spite of the strong militia and numerous bodies and guards and also a small

* Bolts, *Indian Affairs*.

naval armament of *galleasses* which the Mughals maintained, the Portuguese did not "cease to make frequent and strange ravages and to penetrate into the country, laughing at all this army of Mughals, having become so bold and so expert in the use of arms and in navigating these galliasses that four or five of their vessels would not hesitate to attack fourteen or fifteen of those of the Mughal—destroying, taking or sinking them, and coming off with flying colours."* The Muhammadan historian Shiāb-ud-dīn Talish gives a much more detailed account of the practices of the pirates in the Bay of Bengal and apports the blame both to the Maghs as well as to the Feringhis, though the translation of Mr. Jadunath Sarkar is headed "The Feringi Pirates of Chatgaon".†

No sooner was Shaista Khān appointed Viceroy of Bengal than he determined to invade Arakan and conquer Chittagong in order to put an end to the piratical raids of the Arakanese and the Portuguese and also to avenge the murder of his nephew Shāh Shuja whom the King of Arakan had put to death when he had gone to take refuge there, after his defeat by his brother Mir Jumla.‡ Shaista Khān assembled a large fleet of 300 ships and an army of 13000 men. Abul Hassan was ordered with 200 ships in Sangrangar to oppose the Arakanese and the Feringhis. Muhammad Beg Abakash with 100 ships was to stay at Dhapa and re-inforce Abul Hassan when necessary. His own son Buzurg Umed Khān was appointed to command the army, consisting of 4000

Shaista Khān's Conquest of Chittagong (1665-66)

* *Calcutta Review* 1871, Vol. LIII, p. 68.

† *J. A. S. B.* 1907, June, Vol. III, pp. 419-425.

‡ In this short account of the conquest of Chittagong, I have mainly followed Shiāb-ud-dīn Talish's *Fahiyyah-i-ibriyyah* (*J. A. S. B.* June, 1907) and the *Alamgirnama*, (*Vide*, an extract in M. A. Salam's *Trans. of Rizazu-s-Salatin* p. 229 *et seq.*). Cf. also Manucci's version of the Conquest of Chittagong, *Storia*, Vol. II pp. 117-118 and Bernier's version, *Travels* pp. 179-182.

men, which was to march by land and co-operate with the fleet. Seeing that the conquest of Chittagong would be no easy task so long as the Portuguese defended it, Shaista Khān sent his officer Shaikh Zia-ud-din Yusūf to the Portuguese captain of the port of Hooghly, requesting him to write to the Portuguese of Chittagong to desert the King of Arakan and enter his service and offering them a large grant of land where their families could form a colony. He promised imperial favours and offered much better terms than those granted by the Raja of Arakan. The Portuguese gladly accepted the terms, but according to the *Alamgīrnāma*, all the Feringhis did not desert the Raja. Some of them informed the Raja of Arakan about the desertion and he planned to murder them all. The *Alamgīrnāma* says that some letters fell into hands of a Magh who communicated them to the King of Arakan. What followed is described in the *Alamgīrnāma**: "The Feringis learning of [the intended Arracanese treachery] resisted and fought the Arracanese, burnt some of the ships of the latter and started for service in Bengal with all their goods and ships. On the 19th December 1665, fifty *jalbas* (Shiāb-ud-dīn says 42 *Jalbas* or *Jaleas*) of the Feringis full of guns, muskets and munitions and all the Feringi families reached Noakhali". As soon as the Feringhis left Arakan, Shaista Khān decided to attack Chittagong and, as Shiāb-ud-dīn Talish says, considered the coming over of the Feringhis as the commencement of the victory. They were taken, says Shiāb-ud-dīn Talish, in the imperial army and liberally rewarded, but Bernier very unjustly remarks that Shaista Khān ill-treated them and put an end to those wretches.† The ablest of the Portuguese were chosen to take part in the campaign against the King of Arakan and the rest were sent to the Governor,

* *J. A. S. B.* June, 1907, p. 408, n.

† Bernier's *Travels*, pp. 181-182.

who allotted to them a large area, twelve miles south of Dacca, known as Feringhi Bazar, where still the Portuguese descendants reside.*

Shiāb-ud-dīn Talish gives a spirited account of what passed after the Feringhis left Chittagong†: "In December, 1665, the Feringis of Chāt-gāon, partly in fear of Arracanese treachery and partly won over by Shaista Khan's tempting overtures came with all their families in 42 *jalbas* and took refuge with Farhād Khan the Mughal *thanadar* of Noakhali. The Khan sent their chief, Captain Moor ‡ with a few of their great men to Shaista Khan at Dacca, while he kept all the others with their ships a Noakhali, with great attention and kindness. The captain and other leaders of Feringis had audience of the Nawwāb at night and received splendid robes of honour and other unexpected favours. The Nawwāb asked them, 'What did the zeminder of Maghs fix as your salary?' The Feringis replied, 'Our salary was the Imperial dominion! We considered the whole of Bengal as our *jāgīr*.

* Manucci has a different version, *Storia*, Vol. II p. 118. He says Shaista Khān sent for a Portuguese, named Antonio de Rego, who was in Hooghly and had a brother named Sebastião Gonsalves in Chittagong. The Nawab paid Rego Rs. 25,000 and Rs. 50,000 more for his brother Gonsalves in order to deliver Chittagong to him. Gonsalves instructed Rego to send the Mughal fleet up to Sandwīp. Chittagong was then captured without any loss of life. It would be interesting to know whether this Gonsalves was the same Sebastião Gonsalves Tibau who had made himself Lord of Sandwīp. He came to India in 1607 and if he was, say about 25 years old then, he would be about 83 years old in 1665 and might have been living. But it is impossible that even till 1665 he could wield such power in Sandwīp and Chittagong as Manucci suggests. That the names of the two brothers are quite different is no evidence against the fact, because there are many instances in Portuguese history in which two brothers had no common names or surnames, the latter having been, perhaps, suppressed by the Portuguese historians.

† *J. A. S. B.*, June 1907, p. 425.

‡ Both Shiāb-ud-dīn Talish and the *Alamgīrnāma* refer to the Portuguese captain named "Moor". This is not a Portuguese name. Muhammadan historians have frightfully mutilated Portuguese names. Pedro Tavares has been converted into Partab Bar (*Vide* p. 52), and Rodolfo into Radif in the *Akbarnāmā*. The real name of captain Moor might have been Mourão or Moraes.

All the twelve months of the year we made our collection, [i.e. booty] without trouble. We had not to bother ourselves about *amlas* and *amīns*; nor had we to render accounts and balances to anybody. Passage over water was our [land] survey. We never slackened the enhancement of *our* rent viz. booty. For years we have left no arrears of [this] revenue. We have with us papers of the division of the booty village by village for the last forty years.' One can infer from this answer the condition of things and the weakness of the Governors of Bengal. The coming over of the Feringis gave composure to the hearts of the people of Bengal. Two thousand rupees were presented from the Nawwāb's own purse as reward to Captain Moor and the other Feringis who had come from Chatgaon and from the Imperial treasury a monthly stipend of Rs. 500 was settled on the Captain, and other comfortable salaries on others of the tribe."

The conquest of Chittagong by the Mughals and their mastery over the Sundarbans broke the power of the Portuguese adventurers and thenceforward they joined hands with the other Portuguese that were spread all over Bengal even after the siege of Hooghly, becoming peaceful civilians and merchants. They drove a peaceful trade and must have wielded much influence and power especially in Chittagong even up to 1727, for Alexander Hamilton writes*: "The *Mogul* keeps a *Cadjee* or Judge in it (Chittagong) to administer Justice among *Pagan* and *Mahometan* Inhabitants but the Offspring of those Portuguese that followed the fortune of *Sultan Sujah* when he was forced to quit *Bengal*, are the domineering Lords of it". There is an earlier account of the Feringhis of Chittagong by

* A *New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II, Chap. 35. p.25. Bernier (*Travels* p. 109) also mentions that when Shāh Shuja was driven away from Bengal by Aurangzeb, he went to take refuge in Arakan in Galliassees manned by the Portuguese. He adds that the Portuguese robbed Shāh Shuja of his precious stones on the way. Hamilton betrays little knowledge about the origin of the Portuguese of Chittagong.

Fr. Barbier, a Jesuit missionary, who in 1723 describes in a letter to another J suit Father, an Episcopal Visitation by Rev. Fr. Fran ois Laines, Bishop of St. Thom , Madras.* In a detailed description of the Feringhis and their customs, he says that they were divided into three colonies each having its Captain, its Church and its Missionary. They were held in great respect by the natives ; they carried arms and had military discipline and full liberty to celebrate the feasts in the same order and with the same solemnity as in Europe. The writer regrets, that Chittagong was not chosen in preference to Hooghly as the headquarters of the European (Portuguese), settlements. It is very interesting indeed to see that the Portuguese and their descendants had a sort of military discipline even in the eighteenth century. At this time, however, the Portuguese in Eastern Bengal were mere mercenaries. Even till 1786 when Chittagong District was invaded by the Arakanese under a Peguan general, against whom Major Ellerber was sent, the Arakan army contained 500 Portuguese mercenaries.†

* This letter appearing in the *Lettres Edifiantes et Curieuses* Vol. XIII, Paris 1781, has been translated by W. Firminger in *Bengal Past and Present*, 1910, Vol. VI, pp. 200-215.

† O'Malley, *Chittagong Gazetteer*, p. 39.

PART III

RELICS

OF THE

PORTUGUESE IN BENGAL.

PART II
RELICS
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CHAPTER XV

THE RELICS

Though the Portuguese Empire in the East has long fulfilled the grim destiny which rules the duration of nations and empires, they have left important vestiges that no time can erase. The Portuguese have long disappeared from Bengal, but everywhere can be seen their various relics, eloquent in their silence, of departed power and glory. How many scenes that appear so fresh to-day have been wistfully gazed upon by the old navigators? On how many ruins of their houses, have modern architects reared their proud edifices? And equally so, how many places alive with the hum of the Portuguese and busy with their industries are desolate to-day? It is not, however, the historical remains of the Portuguese, as much as the silent forces which they have left behind that, though generally unknown, are all the more striking.

The influence of the Portuguese in the East has not yet been adequately dealt with, though a lot has been written on the Portuguese navigators, their conquests and their heroic feats. The permanent Portuguese influence, largely working unknown, is felt in numerous walks of life in India. The Portuguese were the first to establish an intimate contact between the East and the West. The first impressions of the East about the West were largely such as the Portuguese created. These impressions were, therefore, more profound and lasting than it is generally recognized.

The Portuguese introduced in the East new methods of agriculture opened new industries, established new customs,

taught a new religion and countenanced a policy of inter-marriages between themselves and the natives. The results of each of their sphere of activities are manifest to-day. The latter European comers often modified or sometimes amplified the work of the Portuguese, but they have not removed the traces of the original influence. Dr. Heyligers* recognises this Portuguese influence in the Indian Archipelago as an absolutely singular force in its history and traces it under the headings : population, race, customs and language. This is equally true of Bengal as of India in general.

In Bengal, though there is a great tendency of self identification with the ruling nation, the Portuguese stamp can be discerned on whatever they came in contact with. Their names, their blood, their institutions, their churches, their language and their archæological remains, speak to-day of their domination in Bengal.

It was the principle laid down by the Portuguese from the time of Albuquerque that, in order to establish an affinity between Portugal and her dependencies, the Portuguese should give to the people under their influence the Portuguese names, the Portuguese religion, the Portuguese dress and even the Portuguese blood. Intermarriages between the Portuguese and Indians were also advocated by Albuquerque's successors. It must be said this privilege was considered a great honour and none but men of valour were allowed to marry Indian women of high families on their becoming Christian.†

There was generally neither promiscuous nor illegitimate union between the Portuguese and the Indians. There must have been certainly some abuses, and during the declining years

* *Traces de Portugais dans les principales langues des Indes Orientales Neerlandaises*, La Haye, 1889.

† *Commentaries of Afonso de Albuquerque*, Hakl. Ed., Vol. III, pp. 41-42.

this policy was not rigidly followed, especially in Bengal where the piratical section of the Portuguese recognized no law nor principles of morality. The number of marriages between the Portuguese and Indians was enormous throughout India. "For already at this time" say the *Commentaries** "there were in Goa about 450 married men, all servants of the King, Queen and of the Lords of Portugal and those who desired to marry, were so numerous that Afonso Dalboquerque could hardly grant their requests, for he did not give permission, except for the men of proved character, to marry."

It cannot be ascertained how extensively this policy was followed in Bengal. All that is certain is that marriages between the Portuguese and the Indians were very common and that the converts were given Portuguese names on their becoming Christians. They were also named after the Portuguese who became their sponsors. There was on the other hand a voluntary effort on the part of the Indians to identify themselves with the Portuguese. Lafitau mentions that many Hindus took Portuguese names like Albuquerque, only for the honour of it.† In Ceylon the pride of possessing Portuguese names is very remarkable. Emerson Tennent relates that while the Dutch feats in Ceylon have been buried in oblivion the chieftains of southern and western Ceylon perpetuate the Portuguese title of *Dom* and to their ancient patronymics prefix the sonorous names of the Portuguese.‡

There are numerous communities of the Portuguese descendants all over Bengal. Some have identified themselves with the natives of the place. Others preserve their traditions of Portuguese parentage. Many have changed their names

* *Commentaries of Afonso de Albuquerque*, Hak Ed., Vol III, p. 41 et seq.

† Lafitau, *Histoire des Découvertes des Portugais dans le Nouveau Monde*.

‡ Tennent, *Ceylon, an Account of the Island*, Vol. II, pp. 70-71.

and form part and parcel of the Anglo-Indian community. In the eighteenth century the community of the Portuguese descendants was a distinct one. They are all called Portuguese in the English records, in the accounts of the travellers in the Bengal Directories and by the historians. Many Indians who were given or took Portuguese names have been also called Portuguese. Hence much confusion has arisen in estimating the relative characters of the Portuguese race, those of their descendants and those of the Indians who identified themselves with the Portuguese. It is time, therefore, a proper denomination were given to the Portuguese descendants. They will be referred to in this work as Luso-Indians,* in contradistinction to Anglo-Indians, by which name the descendants of the English are now called.

The Portuguese influence in the East can most remarkably be seen in the extent their language has affected the Asiatic languages. As Dr. Schuchardt says,† the history of the Portuguese discoveries and conquests is the history of the propagation of the Portuguese language. It was the *lingua franca* throughout the East not only among the Portuguese and their descendants but among the different indigenous races and, what is more, among the Europeans of other nationalities, who followed the first conquerors. It was spoken all along the coast of India, in Malasia, Pegu, Siam, Tonquin, Cochín-China, Basra, Mecca, and,

* Lusitania is the classic name for Portugal. As first shown by Garcia de Menezes in the fifteenth century and then proved by Bernardo de Brito, Lusitania was the Roman province of the Iberian Peninsula, and was identical with Portugal. Bernardo de Brito, therefore, claimed the great Viriatus as a Portuguese hero. The Portuguese are called the Lusian people and Camões named his immortal Epic *Os Lusíadas*. Hence Luso-Indians would be a proper denomination for the Portuguese descendants.

† *Beitrag zur Kenntniss des kreolischen Romanisch Vol. V.* (Quoted by Mons. R. Dalgado).

in fine, wherever the Portuguese domination had extended.* "This they (the Portuguese) may justly claim" says Lockyer in 1711,† "they have established a kind of *Lingua Franca* in all the Sea-Ports in *India*, of great use to other *Europeans* who would find it difficult in many places to be well understood without it." Sixteen years later Alexander Hamilton found the Portuguese language still maintaining its hold in *India*. He writes, : "along the sea-coasts the *Portuguese* have left a Vestige of their Language tho' much corrupted, yet it is the Language that most *Europeans* learn first to qualify them for a general Converse with one another, as well as with different inhabitants of *India*."‡

What is still more remarkable is that the Portuguese language continued to be the medium of general converse long after the Portuguese power was extinguished. The Dutch also dominated great many eastern centres. But their language in the East disappeared with them and left no vestiges in the languages of the East. Emerson Tennent thus speaks of Ceylon,§ "Already the language of the Dutch which they sought to extend by penal enactments has ceased to be spoken even by their direct descendants, whilst a corrupted Portuguese is to the present day the vernacular of the middle classes in every town of importance." The reason why the Portuguese language exerted such an influence on the Asiatic languages was evidently that the Portuguese were the first Europeans who introduced new things in the East and along with them, the names which they called them by. Besides, they helped to bring about a better communication between the eastern trading centres, transmitting the eastern

* Cunha Rivara, *Grammatica de Lingua Concani*.

† *An Account of the Trade in India*, p. 286.

‡ *A New Account of the East Indies*, Preface p. xii.

§ Tennent, *op. cit.* Vol. II p. 70.

goods and customs from one place to the other. Thus one finds Chinese words like *Cha* (Tea) introduced in the Indian through the Portuguese language, and Arabic words like monsoon, typhoon in the Anglo-Indian vocabulary.

The influence of the Portuguese language on the languages of Bengal is very striking. The English,* the Bengali, the Hindustani, the Ooryia and the Assamese possess a vocabulary containing numerous Portuguese words. This is not, however, surprising as Portuguese was really at one time the *lingua franca* of Bengal, as will be seen in a separate chapter.

The most vivid and apparent remains which bear testimony to the Missionary work of the Portuguese are their numerous Churches and Convents all over India. Excepting the doubtful remains of some Portuguese forts and factories, the Churches are practically the only archæological remains of the Portuguese in Bengal. The factories of the Portuguese merchants have long disappeared and even the sites on which they stood are forgotten. The rich houses and proud edifices of the Portuguese governors and grandees have crumbled into dust. But many of the Churches which the Portuguese Missionaries erected still exist in all their original grandeur commanding the respect and mystery of hoary antiquity. In Bengal, the old Portuguese Churches are not as numerous as in Western India. There was, however, scarcely any place of importance in Bengal where the Augustinians had not built their Churches. The oldest Christian Church existing, is in Bandel, Hooghly, and is still administered by the Portuguese Mission. Its origin dates back to 1599. There are various other Portuguese Churches in Bengal, which will be briefly

* The Anglo-Indian words now current in the English language are referred to.

dealt with in a separate chapter. As works of architecture, they compare very unfavourably with the majestic convents existing in Goa, which have been compared by foreigners with the best edifices of Europe.*

It is not only in the number and the architectural beauty of the Churches, that the magnitude of the Portuguese Missionaries can be seen. The vast number of Roman Catholics who existed in Bengal in the sixteenth and the seventeenth and even in the eighteenth centuries bear evidence to the missionary zeal of the Portuguese. The remains of these Roman Catholic communities still exist in many parts of Bengal.

Many of the geographical names which the Portuguese gave to places in Bengal and were adopted by the later Europeans are no longer current. *Geographical Names* Porto Pequeno (Sāt-gāon and Hooghly), Porto Grande (Chittagong), Ilha de Gallos (at the mouth of the Hooghly) are names only of historical interest to-day. They were at one time in general use and were used by Cæsar Federici, Van Linschoten and even by the servants of the East India Company. Some geographical words such as Dom Manik Islands at the mouth of the Titulia in the Bākarganj District and Point Palmyras which is a headland on the Orissa coast, still survive. Feringhi Bunder in Chittagong and Feringhi Bazar in Dacca are also two places associated with the Portuguese. Bandel in Hooghly owes its name entirely to the Portuguese.† In a Portuguese Map in

* Mandelslo (*Voyages and Travels*), Careri (*Churchill's Voyages*) Dr. Buchanan (*Christian Researches in Asia*) Dr. Wilson (*Oriental Christian Spectator*) Dr. Fryer (*A New Account etc.*) and others speak highly of the Goa Convents.

† Bandel is a corruption of *bandar*, a wharf. The Portuguese termed several of their ports in the East, *Bandels*. Thus there is mention of *the Bandel* of Chittagong, the *Bandel* of Ormuz etc. Though *the Bandel* of Hooghly (*Ugolim*) was the original termination, the word *Bandel* gradually dissociated itself from *Hooghly*, and came to be regarded as a place or a town.

Thevenot* "Ilha de Martim Affonso de Mello" is marked on the coast of Arakan, and it was evidently so called in commemoration of the feats of the Portuguese Captain.† The denomination does not seem to have been made use of by other European writers, and was probably confined to the Portuguese.

Among various things which owe their existence in Bengal to the Portuguese, may be mentioned a good deal of plants introduced by them throughout India. *Plants introduced by the Portuguese in Bengal* Directly or indirectly, they have found their way to Bengal. It is worthy of remark that the first Indian botanical names were given by a Portuguese named Garcia de Orta in his celebrated work *Colloquios* etc. printed in Goa in 1563. C. da Costa followed him with his *Tratado*, published in 1578.

* *Voyages Curieux*, Vol. I, map facing p. 128.

† *Vide* p. 31, *et seq.*

CHAPTER XVI

PORTUGUESE DESCENDANTS

(Luso-Indians)

Among the various relics which the Portuguese have left in Bengal, the most notable are their descendants. It is very remarkable, indeed, that no nation of Europe has less egotism of race and a greater tendency to identify themselves with the indigenous people than the Portuguese nation. It is not surprising, therefore, that all over Bengal, in Calcutta, Dacca, Hooghly, Chittagong, Noakhali, Assam and other places there are communities having some connection or other with the Portuguese and possessing their names if not always their blood. The quite characteristic names of the Portuguese are borne to-day by many, many families in Bengal. As it is in the eighteenth century that the history of the Portuguese merges into the history of their descendants the following list of Portuguese families in Bengal from 1700 to 1900 is compiled from old Bengal Directories, and especially from old Catholic Church Registers* of births, marriages and deaths. Many of these names are quite common to-day and appear in the latest registers and visitors' books. Some names, however, which were common between 1700 and 1800 have died out. These names as they are found to-day are not in all cases strictly spelt as the ones in the list below. The connection between them is, however, obvious. In many cases the

* The Registers of Bandel Church (Hooghly) do not date earlier than 1757 and those of Murgihatta Cathedral earlier than 1740. St. John's Church (Calcutta) Records also contain numerous Portuguese names which show that many Luso-Indians adopted the Protestant religion.

Portuguese names have been Anglified or sometimes entirely changed so as to remove all trace of their Portuguese origin.

The Goans, or the Goanese as they are termed in Bengal, must be differentiated from the Luso-Indians. The Goans are immigrants from Goa (Portuguese India) and have found their way to Bengal roughly from the beginning of the nineteenth century. As Goa is not an agricultural and industrial place, the Goans, especially in the humbler walks of life, meet the economic necessities by immigrating to British India. There are about a thousand Goans in Bengal at present, most of them (about 800) being in Calcutta.* They are not, in general, descendants of the Portuguese but are pure christianized Indians with Portuguese names and European customs and manners. Brought up with a close association with the Portuguese and in an atmosphere of four centuries of European civilization, the Goans are on the same social level as the Portuguese. However, some habits and institutions, like the caste system, characteristic of the Indian race, still linger among the Goans. The Goans have the same ideals and spirit of nationality as the Portuguese and possess equal rights of free citizenship with the latter. The names of the Goans, which are the same as the names of the Luso-Indians, have not been included in the following list of Luso-Indian names.

* O'Malley's *Census Report of Calcutta of 1911* mentions 644, (619 males and 25 females), as being born in the Portuguese Settlements *i. e.* chiefly in Goa. Considering the number of Goans in Calcutta, who were born outside Goa, and the increase of their numbers since 1911, the figure 800 is approximately correct. In the *Census*, those who entered themselves as belonging to the Portuguese nationality were 254. Almost all of these were certainly Goans, because the Luso-Indians entered themselves as Eurasians or Anglo-Indians. Only 10 of them who gave Portugal as their birth-place may be said to have been European Portuguese, though one or two Goans may have also been born in Portugal. It may be remarked that only 53 entered themselves as Goans, though 298 mentioned Konkani (Goanese) as their language.

Common Luso-Indian Surnames in Bengal*

(1700—1900)

ABREU, D'ABREU	CASTRO	Figueiredo
Affonso	Cavella	FONSECA
AGOSTINHO	Cenaculo	Frangos
AGUIAR, DAGUIAR	Colaço	FREITAS
ALCANTARA	Conceição	Furtado
Aleixo	Consolação	
Alerim	CORNELIUS	Gallis
Alexandre	CORREA	GARRETT
ALMEIDA	COSTA, DACOSTA	GASPAR
André	COSTELLO	Gill
Argotte	Coutinho	Godinho
Arnaldo	COUTO	GOMES
	Couzo	GONSALVES
BAPTISTA	CRUZ, DECRUZ	GOUVEA
BARRETTO	Curado	GRACIAS
Barros		Gusmão
BASTIAN, SEBAS- TIAO	Dalgado	
Botelho	DANIEL	Henriques
	DIAS	
	DOMINGO	Innocencia
CABRAL	Dores	Jesus
CARDOZO	Duques	José
Carneiro	FARIA	
Carnes	FERNANDES	Leal
CARVALHO	Fernando	Leitão
Castellino	Ferrão	Lobo

* The names printed in capital letters are quite common, at present, in Bengal. Some names like Alexander and Martins may not necessarily point to a Portuguese origin.

LOPES	Peicheiro	Santos
Lovo	Penha	Seixas
LUCAS	PEREIRA	SEQUEIRA
Luis	Peres	Serrão
	Pessoa	Soveral
Machado	Phillipe	SILVA, DE SILVA
Malques	PINHEIRO	SILVESTRE
MANOEL	Pinna	Soares
Marcos	PINTO	SOUZA, DE SOUZA
Maria	Prazeres	
Martins	Prezentina	Tavares
MARTYRES		Teixeira
Mascarenhas	Quadros	
MELLO, DE MELLO		Urage
MENDES	Ramos	
MENEZES	REBEIRO	VALENTE
Mercado	REBELLO	Vallis
MESQUITA	REMEDIOS	Vás
Milheira	Robalo	Ventura
Miranda	Rocha	Verona
Moirá	RODRIGUES	Viana
MONTE	Roza	Victoria
Monte Sinaes	ROZARIO, DE ROZA-	
Nêves	RIO	Xavier
NORONHA		
	SA, DESA or DESSA	
Oliveira	Salgado	
	Salvador	
PAIVA, DEPAIVA	Santiago	

Common Luso-Indian Christian names in Bengal

(1700-1900)

Agostinho	Fernando	Miguel
Alberto	Florentino	
Alexandre	Francisco	Nicolau
André	Gabriel	
Antonio	George	Pascoal
Assenço	Guilherme	Paulo
Augusto		Pedro
	Henrique	Phillipe
Bendito	Hilario	
Bernardinho		Raphael
Bernardo	Ignacio	Raymundo
Boaventura		Ricardo
Bonifacio	Jacob	Roberto
	Jeronimo	Romaldo
Caitano	João	
Candido	Joaquim	Salvador
Carlos	José	Santiago
Casimiro	Juliano	Silvestre
Clemente		Simão
Constantino	Lazaro	Simplicio
Cornelio	Lourenço	
	Luis	Thomas
Daniel		Timotheo
Diogo	Manoel	
Domingos	Mariano	Valentino
	Matheus	
Estevam	Michael	Xavier

FEMALE NAMES

Agnida	Albina	Anastasia
Agostinha	Amelia	Andreza

Anna	Eulalia	Paula
Antonia	Izabel	Phillipa
Angelica		Prezentina
Apolonia	Joanna	
Aurora		Rita
	Leonora	Rosa
Catarina	Luiza	Rozalina
Clara	Luzia	
		Tereza
Dominga	Margarida	
	Maria	Victorie
Elizabeth	Mariana	

All those who bear Portuguese names are not, however, the real descendants of the Portuguese, but most of them are pure natives, some of whom in the evolution of time mixed with other races, sometimes changing their names sometimes retaining them. As to the pure Portuguese there are very few, and these have come recently as sailors or with some other occupations and have settled in Bengal. The Census Report of 1911 mentions only ten as being born in Portugal. In the *Calcutta Review*, Vol. LIII, 1871, H. Beverley* makes mention of a family of real Portuguese descent, residing in Chittagong. The Portuguese descendants were first known as Feringhis; indeed the Portuguese themselves were so called. This name was once applied to the Crusaders and was an honoured name but now it is used in derision. These Feringhis and the native Christians afterwards began to be known as *Topasses* (from *Topi*, a hat) especially in Eastern Bengal. At present, the Feringhis, the Native Christians and the heterogeneous

* *The Feringhees of Chittagong*, Cal. Rev. 1871, Vol. LIII, p. 82.

mass of people living in the slums of Calcutta, are called *Kintalis* (from *Kintal*, an enclosure).

There are no reliable statistics in any of the Censuses or the Gazetteers with regard to this community. It is difficult to give any accurate statistical account, considering the heterogeneous elements this community is composed of. They are at present all classed as Eurasians or Anglo-Indians. It is almost impossible to differentiate the racial characteristics excepting where Mongolian blood has entered and a great part of these so-called "Anglo-Indians" is a promiscuous fusion of the Portuguese, English, Indians, East Indians, West Indians and Chinese. However, the section of the "Eurasians" associated with the Portuguese in some form or other may be divided into three main classes :—

- (1) Pure Indians, who are converts and bear Portuguese names.
- (2) True descendants of the Portuguese, who though they have freely mixed with other races, still maintain the Portuguese surnames if not the Christian names.
- (3) True descendants of the Portuguese who intermarried to a greater extent with the English descendants and who having changed their names into English names, have apparently lost all relation with the Portuguese.

The bulk of the community consists of pure Indians who having been converted to Christianity were given Portuguese names and adopted the European dress.

*First group—Pure
Indians with Portuguese
names*

The change of religion brought to a large extent the change of customs and a gradual association with the Europeanised population, made them lose most of the characteristics of the natives of India. Of course there are many Indian Christians who wear the *dhoti*, though they have Portuguese names, but they are not entered in the classification of the mixed community, as their national dress differentiates them.

When the Portuguese came to Bengal, the slave trade was very rampant and was sanctioned by the Hindu and Muhammadan law. The Portuguese possessed a large number of slaves who were given Portuguese names. Many of them took Portuguese names when their masters died. The Portuguese missionaries in Calcutta used to buy slaves who were packed in many vessels and shipped there, rather than see them bought by others and ill-treated. They used to baptise these slaves with Portuguese names and then sell them to Christian masters. Hence among the so-called Portuguese descendants, there was a vast majority of simple Indian converts or slaves converted to Christianity. These Indian Christians, who formed part and parcel of a mixed Portuguese community, talked in the Portuguese language just like the Portuguese or their descendants even up to the end of the eighteenth century, but towards the middle of the nineteenth century the English language began to be generally spoken though many Portuguese words still survive. Their complexion is obviously as that of the ordinary Indian, and among their customs can be seen the relics of their ancestors. There is no sharp line of distinction between this class and that of the true Luso-Indians because both these classes have intermixed and acted and reacted on each other. The arbitrary classification holds good in that the first group is mainly Indian in blood while the second has to a certain extent affinities of blood with the Portuguese. That the mixed Portuguese community is mainly Indian has been attested to by many authorities. Abbé Dubois remarks :* "Most of them (Christians called Portuguese) have no more relation by birth, or otherwise, to the Portuguese or to any other European nation than to the Tartar Calmucks. They are partly composed of half-castes, the illegitimate offspring of Europeans and a few descendants of the Portuguese ; whilst

* J. A. Dubois, *State of Christianity in India*, Lond. 1823, pp. 75-76.

the majority of them are the offspring of Hindoos of the lowest rank, who after learning some one of the European dialects put on a hat, boots and the European dress and endeavour to copy the European manners." It must be remarked that as to acquiring European manners, the conversion to Christianity contributes to it more than an effort to copy European and to wear a hat, boots and the European dress. Most of the customs that differentiate the Indian from the European have their origin in the difference of religious tenets that especially in the Hindu religion include social and hygienic principles. Once the bar is taken away the acquiring of European manners is natural, provided there are Europeans or Europeanised people to associate with.

There is no sharp line of demarcation between the pure Indian members of the Luso-Indian community and the descendants of the Portuguese. The two

*Second Group—True
Luso-Indians*

classes can scarcely be distinguished.

Colour is no criterion because the Luso-Indians could have had a pure Portuguese parentage or a parentage closely related to the pure Portuguese, for only one or two generations about two centuries ago, that is, up to the end of the seventeenth century after which very few Portuguese came to Bengal. After this period of time, the generations that followed were largely a result of intermixture among other Indian races and hence they have in general the Indian colour. During the last half of the eighteenth century and onwards, the servants of the East Indian Company and other Englishmen freely married with the descendants of the Portuguese,* and the resulting race naturally turned comparatively fair and this colour had been generally maintained as long as the marriages took place between fairer descendants. The representatives of this race are partly the fairer portion of the Anglo-Indians, many

* St. John's Church (Calcutta) Marriage Records show many names of Portuguese or Luso-Indian ladies married to Englishmen.

of whom have some Portuguese blood in them though they have not the Portuguese names. It is a mistake to suppose, as it has been done, that the descendants of the Portuguese naturally turned out dark while the descendants of the English turned out generally fair. In fact the opposite seems to be true if one observes the descendants of the real Portuguese in Goa among whom one can scarcely see a man of a dark complexion. Bishop Heber remarks in 1826*: "The Portuguese natives form unions among themselves alone, or if they can, with Europeans yet the Portuguese have, during a three hundred years residence in India became as black as Caffres; surely this goes far to disprove the assertion which is made that climate alone is insufficient to account for the difference between the Negro and the European." He seemed to have forgotten that almost none of those he saw was a real Portuguese and that in almost all of them the original Portuguese parentage was reduced to an infinitesimal degree through succeeding generations.

The generality of the members of the mixed community had Portuguese names as well as surnames up to the middle of the last century, as can be seen from the tombs in the cemeteries of Bengal. Then gradually the Portuguese Christian names began to be substituted by English Christian names. In modern times the tendency is to work a complete transmutation of name into an English or Anglicised one. It is this metamorphosis of names that offers the greatest difficulty in preparing a statistical account.

As to the third group there is little definite that can be said. A good many Anglo-Indians who have English names and who seem to have nothing in common with the Portuguese have Portuguese blood in them, though generally they are not aware of it. English names have been adopted

Third Group—Luso-Indians with English names

* Bishop Heber, *Narrative of a Journey* etc. Vol. I, p. 54.

for a long time past. The Portuguese name, Correa has been changed into Currie; Leal changed into Lea by an easy dropping of the L; Silva into Silver; Souza into Sauseman; Gouvea into Govey and so on. Still more recently a radical change has been worked in the names and what was a Pereira is now a Johnson and what was Gomes is now a Fitz Patrick. The adoption of such names has probably followed either betterment of circumstances or the acquiring of a fairer complexion. On the other hand the change of name might have had some influence in bettering the circumstances. The adoption of English names has removed from many Anglo-Indians all trace of connection with the Portuguese. Besides Portuguese blood courses in the veins of some Anglo-Indians from the mothers' side, and of this no names, obviously, can give an indication.

The Luso-Indian trade, as distinguished from the Portuguese trade, roughly began with the dawn of the eighteenth century. The Luso-Indians held quite a subordinate position in the commercial activities of Bengal in comparison with

*Luso-Indian
Merchants*

the Dutch and especially the English who were rising on the tide of fortune. S. C. Hill remarks* that in the middle of the eighteenth century the Portuguese (i.e. Luso-Indians) in Hooghly chiefly traded as native merchants. The statement is exaggerated and has no evidence in the collection of letters of the English factors, which Hill publishes. Watts and Collet, in fact, wrote that "if the Nawab (Sirāj-ud-daula) admitted the English into Calcutta, it would not be on better terms than the Portuguese and Prussians trade on."†

The following Luso-Indian merchants are mentioned in the Calcutta Annual Directory and Almanac for 1806:—

Joseph Barretto, & Co., Antonio Rebeiro Pereira de

* S. C. Hill, *Bengal in 1756-57*, Vol. I, p. XXXIV.

† *Ibidem*, Vol. I, p. 117.

Almeida, Philip and John Da Cruz, Joachim Joseph Mendes, John D'Abreu, Lawrence Picachy, James Robertson, Diego Pereira, Mark and A.Lackersteen, Philip Leal. It is worthy of note that L. Picachy, J. Robertson and the Lackersteens have no Portuguese names at all, yet the Directory mentions them as Portuguese. Similarly in a list of Portuguese militia in the same Directory, there are English names like John Bateman, and William Armstrong. This shows very clearly that early in the nineteenth century, and perhaps even long before, the Luso-Indians had begun adopting English names. It is probable they assumed the surnames of their mothers who happened to be English descendants. It is also possible that the English descendants went about as Portuguese—a much better denomination than a *half-caste*, which was a common expression at that time. This explains the remark of Dr. Carey who writing from Serampore in 1800 says that the children of the English, French, Dutch or Danes were all called Portuguese.*

Barretto and Company, was a firm of renown until recently. The vast sums of money that the proprietors of the Company have left for different charities are well-known. The munificence of the Barrettos was, however, directed chiefly towards building Churches and endowing religious institutions. There is scarcely any old Church in or near Calcutta, which has not received some benefit from the Barrettos. Joseph Barretto was foremost among those who contributed to the enlarging of Murgihatta Church. The Dum Dum Chapel owes its origin to the Barrettos. When the artillery regiment was first stationed there the Catholic soldiers could not find a better place than a small hut of thatch and straw, lent by a kind widow, to assist their Sunday services. Though the artillery commandant raised a general subscription in his regiment to which the Protestants

* Smith's *Life of Carey* p. 152.

contributed freely, it fell short when Joseph Barretto came to the rescue. He, in fact, wanted exclusively to bear the cost of erecting the chapel. The first movement for building a Church in or near Boitakhana was initiated by Joseph Barretto. The Barretto family also built the Church of Santa Madre de Deus in Serampore. The Church of the Sacred Heart of Jesus, Dharamtala, owes its origin to Pascoa Barretto who had married Thomas deSouza. Many people in Calcutta are aware of the interesting legends concerning the erection of this Church founded on the fact of Louis deSouza, uncle of Sir Walter deSouza, having fought a duel from the judicial consequences of which he was saved. Mrs. deSouza (Pascoa Barretto) had really made a vow that should her son be acquitted she would build and endow a Church on her own land.

The de Souzas were other Luso-Indian merchants whose opulence is within the memory of many Calcutta citizens. The original firm was established in Bombay and it carried on an extensive trade mainly in ivory, opium and Venetian beads. It had branches in China, France and Calcutta. The local firm was called Thomas de Souza and Company. The last representative of the firm was Sir Walter de Souza, whose intelligence allied to his munificence won for him laurels from various parts of the world. It must be mentioned his grandfather was born in Goa. Lawrence de Souza Junior, Sir Walter's half-brother, was no less famous for his charities, to which various educational institutions and Charity Homes still bear witness in Calcutta. Among other lesser charities in Calcutta, Lawrence de Souza Jr., who died in 1871, bequeathed Rs. 3,00,000 to the Doveton College, Rs. 25,000 to the Free School; Rs. 10,000 to the Mayo Native Hospital; Rs. 33,000 for a scholarship to enable East Indian lads to proceed to England to compete for the Indian Civil Service; Rs. 15,000 for a scholarship in

The deSouzas

English literature tenable at the Doveton, and Rs. 2,00,000 to found the Home for East Indian widows and orphans, which is seen in Dharamtala Street.

When in the seventeenth century the Portuguese power fell in Bengal, especially in Hooghly and in Chittagong, they and their numerous descendants either followed their profession of traders or employed themselves as mercenaries in the armies of the Bengal rulers. As a body, they do not seem to have engaged in military operations as they did during the memorable sack of Calcutta and Hooghly in 1756 in which they played an important though secondary part. In the East India Company Records, they are all called Portuguese though they were, mostly, Luso-Indians. It may be well to recapitulate the events of this period so as to bring out clearly the part played by the Luso-Indians.

On Nawāb Aliverdi Khān's death in April 1756, his grandson Sirāj-ud-daulā succeeded to the throne of Bengal. Scarcely twenty years old, profligate but strong-willed, he at once showed his hostility towards the English, by refusing to accept a present which they had sent him and appointing a spy Rajaram to watch their movements in Calcutta. Bent on ousting the Europeans from his kingdom he first directed his attention to the English. On the ground that the English had built some fortifications, that they had abused their privileges of trade and that they had protected the servants of his Government, whom he wished to be surrendered—grounds that were in a large measure true, he declared war against the English. He plundered the English factory of Cossimbazar taking all the English officers prisoners, among whom was Warren Hastings. At the head of 50,000 men he began his rapid march to Calcutta covering 160 miles in eleven days.*

* These facts are mainly based on the East India Company Records published in S. C. Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*.

Strangely enough there were about 200 Luso-Indians in Sirāj-uddaulā's army as well as in the English garrisons. The Nawāb's artillery, consisting of Frenchmen and Luso-Indians, was commanded by a French renegade who styled himself Le Marquis de St. Jacques. The English militia under arms on the 8th June numbered 250. The letter of Watts and Collet to Council Fort George, and Drake's account say that out of the 250 men of the garrison 70 were English and a great part of the remaining 180 were Portuguese (Luso-Indians) and Armenians.* These were placed under the command of Captain Minchin and Lieutenant Bellamy. The English who most feared the attack of the Nawāb's artillery, consisting of Frenchmen and Luso-Indians, sent through some priests three letters asking them to desist from fighting on the side of a Moorish ruler but they replied they had no other choice.

Sirāj-ud-daulā forced the Mahratta Ditch and on the 17th June was entering the town of Calcutta burning and pillaging everything before him. The English were seldom so panic-stricken as they were on this occasion. The Luso-Indian and the Armenian soldiers scarcely knew what they were about. Drake, Holwell and Baillie had great difficulty in persuading the British themselves to take up arms and, as Holwell says in his letter, among the European militia there were few "who knew the right from the wrong end of their pieces."† The British women were admitted in the Fort and as the Luso-Indians and the Armenians refused to fight unless their families were also safely lodged in the Fort, they were allowed to "crowd into

Luso-Indians in the English and in the Nawāb's Armies

The Luso-Indians during the Capture of Calcutta and the Black Hole Tragedy

* S. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. lxxviii and p. 129.

† S. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. II. p. 28.

it to the number of thousands." The women and children were eventually placed on board the English vessels which steered two miles down the river. Meanwhile the Nawāb had broken through the lines of defences surrounding the Fort. Drake, the Governor of the Fort and Captain Minchin jumped into the two boats that were remaining and basely deserted their comrades in the Fort. The angry soldiers and officers elected Holwell, a civilian, their leader and resolved to hold out to the last. There were 170 men capable of defence besides the Luso-Indians and the Armenians. But they could not hold out long. On June 20th the Fort capitulated. Holwell was brought to the Nawāb in bonds but the latter released him and promised him and the prisoners his protection. The joy of the prisoners was great but it was soon dispelled. The great tragedy of the Black Hole (doubted by some) was to close round them. Its description is irrelevant. What is of interest is that Holwell refers to the Portuguese (Luso-Indians) who were among those ghastly forms that perished in the Black Hole.* Captain Grant in his account, dated 13th July 1756 confirms Holwell and says: "They were put into the Black Hole, a place about 16 feet square, to the number of 200 Europeans, Portuguese and Armenians of which many were wounded."† The Luso-Indians who escaped took refuge in Chandernagore. A letter from Watts and Collet, dated 7th July 1756, says that the French Government and Council maintained in Chandernagore by charity 3,000 poor Portuguese men, women and children, who were inhabitants of Calcutta.‡ The names of the Luso-Indians who died in the Black Hole are not spared to posterity. However, in the Mayor's Court Proceedings, 3rd May 1757, it is said one

* S. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. III. p. 153.

† S. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 88.

‡ S. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I. p. 59.

Maria Cornelius died during the siege and in the western aisle of the Bandel Church there is a tombstone of one Elizabeth de Sylva, with a Latin inscription to say that she died on 21st November 1756, aged 22 years from the troubles and infirmity arising from the war of the Moors against the English.

After driving the English from Calcutta and re-naming the town *Alinagar*, Nawāb Sirāj-ud-daulā marched on the 25th June against their settlement of Hooghly, and sacked the town. It was not only the English who suffered. He demanded twenty lakhs of rupees from the Dutch who had a settlement in Chinsura. Rather than pay this huge sum of money the Dutch prepared to abandon their town altogether. Through the intercession of Coja Wasjid the sum was reduced to 4½ lakhs but the Dutch being unable to pay even this amount the Seths, the famous merchants, advanced it to them. The French were forced to pay to the Nawāb 3½ lakhs of rupees, the Danes Rs. 25,000, and the Prussians, or Emdeners as they were called, Rs. 5,000. The Portuguese or the Luso-Indians of Bandel had also to pay their toll of Rs. 5,000.* The amounts of money paid by the different nations, evidently indicate their relative commercial prosperity and importance. Though the Luso-Indians paid the least yet it is clear that in spite of not enjoying any privileges as they had enjoyed before or as the Dutch, the English and the French enjoyed at the time, their commercial activities had not ceased in Bandel. After playing this terrible havoc among the European settlers, Sirāj-ud-daulā wrote to the Emperor of Delhi in glowing terms priding himself upon "the most glorious achievement in Indostan since the days of Tamerlane."† The reply to this message was given by the guns of Clive

* S. C. Hill, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 306

† *Orme Mss., India* Vol. II, p. 79.

who, it may be added, knew no Indian language, but could speak Portuguese fluently and commanded his native troops in the Portuguese language.

Since Clive laid the foundation of the British Empire in India on the fields of Bengal, the Luso-Indians, numbered among the English forces. A Luso-Indian Militia (in the Directories called Portuguese Militia) was maintained in Calcutta even in the last century. The Calcutta Annual Directory and Almanac for 1806 gives the names of the Portuguese officers in the Portuguese Militia which corresponded to the present or rather the recent Volunteer Battalions and was created for the defence of Calcutta :—

Captains : John Bateman, William Jackson, Mathew Louis, Louis Barreto.

Lieutenants : Courtney Smith, William Armstrong, Lawrence Picachy, James Robertson, Mathew Mendes.

Ensigns : Charles Leal, John de Faria, Joseph Pereira, William Mendes, Charles Cornelius.

All these gentlemen got their commissions in 1799 except the first three who got them in 1788. It is strange to find such English or non-Portuguese names as John Bateman, William Jackson, Courtney Smith, Lawrence Picachy and James Robertson in the list of the officers in the Portuguese Militia. It cannot be said these men were Englishmen or Anglo-Indians attached to the Portuguese militia for the names of some of the same gentlemen (James Robertson, Lawrence Picachy) appear in the list of Portuguese Merchants in the same Directory. Obviously they were Portuguese, *i. e.*, Luso-Indians with English names.

The mode of living of the Luso-Indians in places like Calcutta does not differ from that of the Anglo-Indians, with whom they are often indistinguishably mixed. The well-to-do portion of the

Luso-Indians have all their habits in common with the well-to-do Anglo-Indians. The poorer classes of the Luso-Indians in common with the poorer classes of Anglo-Indians, of Europeans, of Native Christians and of many other races, live the slum life of Calcutta in hopeless misery and degradation. These inhabitants of the slums are called *Kintalis* (from *Quintal*, *Kintal*, an enclosure), as their dwelling places consist of a courtyard, round which is built a hut, divided into a number of rooms, each about eight feet square, in which a family drags out its melancholy existence.

It is worthy of note, however, that in the last century, especially in its earlier decades numerous Luso-Indians held important appointments in the public offices of Calcutta as can be seen from the old Bengal and Calcutta Directories. Even to-day many Luso-Indians hold important positions, but most of them do not bear any Portuguese names and are recognized as Anglo-Indians. Generally speaking, it cannot be said that as a class the Luso-Indians are faring much worse than the Anglo-Indians in the struggle for existence, because the Luso-Indians in flourishing circumstances have merged into the community of the Anglo-Indians. Excepting the "*Kintal*" people, the Luso-Indian mode of living is generally like that of the Anglo-Indian, that is to say, like that of the European, and requires no description.

The Feringhis of Eastern Bengal have in general distinct characteristics of their own.* They are entirely or chiefly Indian in blood and are known as *Kala Feringhis* or *Matti Feringhis*. H. Beverley thus described the appearance of the

* Most of the Feringhis of Eastern Bengal are not descendants of the Portuguese but are pure Indian Christians with Portuguese names. Hence I have not called them Luso-Indians. These Feringhis are descendants of about 30,000 Indian converts who were baptized by the Portuguese Missionaries in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries. (*Vide infra*.)

Feringhis of Eastern Bengal in 1871: "In appearance the Feringhee is darker than the Hindustani, his complexion having a brownish tint. His hair is black and shiny. The men are short, thin, flat-chested and generally ill-made. When industrious, they can get through twice as much work as a native but their industry cannot be depended on. The girls are occasionally handsome. At Christmas, Easter and other great feasts, they exhibit their fondness for dress in bright-coloured damask garments. The hideous effect, however, is partially atoned for by the graceful white veil which rests on the head and falls mantilla-fashion to the ground."* Some Feringhis of Chittagong hold appointments in the public offices. True to their ancient traditions some Feringhis follow the sea-faring life. Many can also be seen in agricultural occupations. Though they are Portuguese in name and Christian by religion, there are various native customs and pagan rites among them. Their baptism ceremonies include the performances of the *Shatuara*, just as well as the creating of a *Padrino* or a *Madrina* (god-father and god-mother). The child is christend not only with the Christian name but sometimes with the *Shatuara* name. Similarly in the marriage and funeral ceremonies, can be discerned the relics of their ancestral Hindu or Muhammadan origin. L. S. S. O'Malley summarizes some of the customs of the Chittagong Feringhis in his Bengal Census Report of 1911: "In Chittagong they form connections with Magh and Musalman women, but do not marry them unless they are baptized. The children inherit the names of their fathers, whether they are the offsprings of concubines or not; if illegitimate, public acknowledgment by the parents entitles them to aliment and recognition. In manners and habits they resemble natives, and they are even darker in colour. Their religion, dress and

* Beverley, *The Feringhees of Chittagong*, Cal. Rev. 1871 Vol. 53.

names are practically the only things that distinguish them from their neighbours. They adopt English Christian names but the surnames are still Portuguese, such as DeBarros, Fernandez, DeSouza, DeSilva, Rebeiro, DeCruz, DaCosta Gonsalvez etc."*

Most of the Feringhis residing in Noakhali are cultivators or domestics. Though there is very little Portuguese blood in them, they proudly retain their Portuguese names, though these have undergone many changes, a Fernandes having become Foran and a Manoel having become Manu.† Some of them however are known by Bengali names and do not know that they had Christian names, which causes many difficulties when their marriages are celebrated according to Christian rites. Beveridge gave a brief description of the Feringhis of Bākarganj forty years ago, which is no less true to-day. He says, "The Feringhies of Sibpúr, (Bākarganj District) as they are called, are less numerous and less prosperous than they were half a century ago. They support themselves chiefly by going about to Mahomedan marriages and firing off *feux de joie*. They are also employed by the villagers to kill pigs, and some hold appointments in the police. They are indisposed to agriculture or other regular industry, and they are about as ignorant and superstitious as their Bengali neighbours. The only thing for which I can heartily praise them is the great neatness and cleanliness of their homesteads. Probably, however, the want of cattle or agricultural implements has something to do with this. They have adopted the Eastern notions about the seclusion of women, and do not like to give their daughters any education."‡ In Bākarganj there have, however, been very flourishing Feringhis. One Domingo de Silva made a large fortune in the rice trade and

* L. S. S. O'Malley, *Bengal Census Report*, 1911 p. 218.

† Noakhali Gazetteer, p. 34.

‡ Beveridge, *the District of Bākarganj*, p. 110.

was one of the leading *talukdar* in Buzurgumedpur. He re-built the Shibpur Church which was originally built by one Pedro Gonsalves. Among other leading *talukdars* in Buzurgumedpur, Beveridge mentioned Bagdeshwar (Balthazar) Johannes and Thomas Gomes.

It will be seen from what has been said that in a city like Calcutta, civilization has levelled Luso-Indians and Anglo-Indians in general to the same social status with a chiefly European mode of living, while in Eastern Bengal the representatives of the Portuguese are the Feringhis, most of whom are pure Indian Christians with Portuguese names, having distinct characteristics as a whole, and exhibiting a mixed picture of the Indian and the European.

The materials for a statistical account of the Luso-Indians are scarce and sometimes unreliable as the accuracy of the Censuses that have been taken from time to time largely depended on the whims and the inclinations of the people, especially of mixed descent. The figures in the earlier Censuses may be considered to be approximately correct, as the identity of the Luso-Indians, spoken of as Portuguese, was not, as it is to-day, in a large measure lost in the process of the generalised miscegenation such as occurs in Calcutta.*

In F. W. Birch's Census of 1837 the number of Portuguese (*i. e.*, chiefly Luso-Indians) in Calcutta was given as 3,181. Besides these, 4,746 Eurasians were mentioned. Chick's

* The term *Luso-Indians* is not used here as synonymous with *Feringhis*, which is adopted by the Censuses and Gazetteers, and includes not only the descendants of the Portuguese but also pure Indian Christians with Portuguese names. The Feringhis of Eastern Bengal are almost entirely Indian Christians converted by the Portuguese missionaries and cannot be called Luso-Indians which is a term adopted in this work to denote the Portuguese descendants or a community having generally some Portuguese blood in them. It is true, however, that the line of demarcation is broad, and that there are some Luso-Indians among the Feringhis of Eastern Bengal just as there are Feringhis among the Luso-Indians of Calcutta.

Census of 1872 mentioned 252 European Portuguese as residing in Calcutta. The figure is evidently incorrect. Only four years after (1876) H. Beverley took a Census of Calcutta which was much more scrupulous and accurate. In this Census the Luso-Indians, or Indo-Portuguese, as Beverley called them, were differentiated into a separate community and not included among the Eurasians or Indo-Europeans as it was done in the succeeding Censuses. The number of the Luso-Indians given was 707, and only 5 Portuguese were mentioned as resident in Calcutta. The total of the Eurasians numbered 10,566. A curious fact in this Census is that one Smith and one Campbell entered themselves as Spaniards. That the number of the Luso-Indians, which was 3,181 in 1837, (Birch's Census) dwindled down to 707 in 1876, is explained by the fact that they identified themselves gradually with the Eurasians or Anglo-Indians of the present day. In 1881, H. Beverley took another Census of Calcutta and its Suburbs, in which 19 were mentioned as having been born in Portugal, 261 as speaking the Portuguese language and 55 (41 males 14 females) as being European Portuguese. The discrepancy between the figures is obvious. Only 19 who were born in Portugal and not 55 could have been European Portuguese unless this number included the descendants of the latter born in Calcutta. The difference between the two figures (36) gives most probably the number of the Goans, who returned themselves as Portuguese. The Goans are politically entitled to call themselves Portuguese and are officially recognised as such by the Portuguese Government. The majority of those who declared that Portuguese was their language must have also been Goans, and, in fact, they mentioned Goa as their birth-place. It would have been curious to know how many Luso-Indians, if at all, gave Portuguese as their language.

In his second Census Report (1881), H. Beverley gave up

the term Indo-Portuguese and classed all Luso-Indians among the Eurasians, whose number he gave as 9,410. The later Censuses of Calcutta do not throw much light on the community of Luso-Indians, for they are classed as Indo-Europeans or as Eurasians.

In the Calcutta Census Report, 1911, by O'Malley, which is the latest one and formed part of the general Census of India, there are palpable discrepancies regarding the "Portuguese." The Luso-Indians are all included among the Anglo-Indians. The number of those who declared themselves as belonging to Portuguese nationality and speaking the Portuguese language, was 254. Only 10, however, are mentioned as having been born in Portugal, and this may be taken as the number of European Portuguese in Calcutta. The rest are undoubtedly Goans. It is doubtful whether any Luso-Indians or Indian Christians with Portuguese names claimed Portuguese nationality.

All over Western Bengal, isolated numbers of Luso-Indians can be found. In the Hooghly District where lay the headquarters of the Portuguese, there are comparatively few Luso-Indians, for they have migrated to Calcutta. The Hooghly Gazetteer, 1912, mentions that there were 94 Eurasians, more than half of whom were Roman Catholics. It cannot be definitely said how many of these were Luso-Indians.

Near Geonkhali in Midnapore District there is a community of Luso-Indians, who in 1911 numbered 129. They call themselves descendants of some Portuguese gunners whom the Raja of Mahisadal brought from Chittagong in the latter half of the eighteenth century to protect his property against Mahratta raids. These soldiers settled on some rent-free lands granted by the Raja and intermarried with the women of the place. Many of them seem, however, to be pure Indians and as the Census

In Hooghly

In Midnapore

Report has "they bear both Bengali and Portuguese names such as DeCruz, Rosario and Lobo, but they are Bengalis in every thing but name and religion."* Most of them are Roman Catholics but some of them were converted to Protestantism by Rev. J. Bower, of the S. P. G. Mission, who visited them in 1838 and described them as "nominal Christians with scarcely any sign of Christianity except a few images of the Virgin Mary and saints, no public worship or prayer, no scriptures, no sacraments."

In Eastern Bengal the Portuguese descendants are very few compared with the Indian Christians who were converted in enormous numbers by the Portuguese Missionaries in the seventeenth and the eighteenth centuries and whose descendants still bear Portuguese names and are now called *Kala Feringhis*. According to the Augustinian accounts about thirty thousand people were converted in Eastern Bengal before 1680.† By 1750, the number of the Christians for Eastern Bengal was reduced to 8733, as it appears from the Relation of Frei Ambrosio de Santo Agostinho given to the Viceroy of Portuguese India.‡ What happened to the rest is a question that need not be discussed here. It is beyond doubt that a vast majority of those who bear Portuguese names in Eastern Bengal are the descendants of these Indian converts and not the descendants of pure Portuguese, who were more adventurers than settlers in Eastern Bengal. Hence in order to differentiate between the two communities they are called in this work Feringhis and not Luso-Indians.

* L. S. S. O'Malley, *Bengal Census Report*, 1911, p. 218.

† Letters of Frei Fernão Queiros (Oct. 7, 1678) and of others, preserved in one of the volumes of the Marsden Mss., Brit. Mus. Add. Mss., 9855. Cf. Fr. H. Hosten's translations in the *Catholic Herald of India*, Aug. 29, 1917 and succeeding Nos.

‡ *O Chronista de Tissuari* Vol. II pp. 57-62. Cf. Fr. Hosten's Translation in *Catholic Herald of India*, Dec. 19, 1917 and succeeding Nos.

The earliest statistics of the Feringhis of Chittagong were published by H. Beverley in the *Calcutta Review*, 1871 Vol. 53. In 1859 the Feringhis of Chittagong numbered 1,025, the males being 510, the females 515. In 1860, the number of the males decreased to 466, while that of the females rose to 519, on the whole there being a falling off of 40 persons. In 1866 the number further decreased to 865, of whom 424 were males, and 441 females. Besides those resident in Feringhi Bazar, Beverley ascertained the existence of some 322 Feringhis, of whom 85 were returned as adult males, 107 as adult females, 82 as boys and 48 as girls. From 1845 to 1865 the number of births among the Feringhis was 984 and the number of deaths from 1815 to 1866 was 1,082. The Chittagong Gazetteer, 1908, is not definite about the number of the Feringhis in Chittagong. It says that out of the 1,237 Christians that are found there, most belong to the Feringhi community. In the Bengal Census Report of 1911, the number of the Feringhis in the whole of the Eastern Bengal was given as 1,202, but the number must have been a much greater one. They were classed among the Eurasians and were mentioned as mostly residing in Bākarganj, Noakhali and Chittagong. According to the Bengal Census Report of 1901, in Noakhali alone there were about 490 Feringhis, almost all of whom were Roman Catholics and were classed among the Eurasians. In the Bākarganj Gazetteer (1918) a thousand Roman Catholics are mentioned out of whom 841 are the parishioners of the Portuguese Church of Shibpur or Padrishibpur. These numbers include also the native Christians but most of them bear Portuguese names and though really Indian in blood are called Feringhis or Portuguese. In 1876 Beveridge gave the number of the Feringhis in Bākarganj as 800*. Hence the Feringhis of Noakhali and Bākarganj would

* Beveridge, *the District of Bakarganj*, p. 110.

exceed in number the figure given by O'Malley for the whole of Eastern Bengal. In the absence of more accurate statistics, the present number of the Luso-Indians in Eastern Bengal may be roughly put down to about 10,000,—Dacca District accounting for about 6,000, Chittagong for about 1,000, Bākarganj District for 1,000, Noakhali for about 800, Assam, Tippera and other places for about 1020.*

The conclusion that can be arrived at from these statistics is that the number of the Luso-Indians and the Feringhis in Bengal is on the decline. In the case of the Feringhis of Eastern Bengal the reason is that they are not prolific, a fact already pointed out by H. Beverley in his article in the *Calcutta Review*.† In Calcutta a different factor has to be considered. The Luso-Indians in Calcutta gradually merge themselves into the Anglo-Indian community, either by inter-marriages or by changing or modifying their names and thus lose all association with the Portuguese, while few Portuguese come and settle in Bengal and leave their descendants.

* These figures are chiefly based on the number of parishioners of the Portuguese and other Catholic Churches in Eastern Bengal. These parishioners generally bear Portuguese names, and those who do not, have been excluded.

† *The Feringhees of Chittagong*, Cal. Rev. 1871 Vol. 53.

CHAPTER XVII

PORTUGUESE LANGUAGE

The Portuguese language was, in the seventeenth and even in the eighteenth centuries, a *lingua franca* in Bengal. It was the medium of converse not only among the Portuguese and their descendants, but also among the Indians and later on among the English, the Dutch, the French and the other settlers who came to Bengal. Only in the native Courts the Persian language was used. Long after the Portuguese power was extinguished their language was freely spoken in Bengal as in other parts of India. The Portuguese language was not confined to Hooghly and Chittagong only, but it was generalized throughout the country for as already stated the Portuguese had small settlements all over the banks of the Ganges and on the lower parts of the Brahmaputra and of the various rivers that flow into them. Outside their homes the people of Bengal came either for commercial purposes or for litigations and were forced to adopt the language of the Portuguese who knew no Bengali. Hence enormous number of Portuguese words have found their way in the Bengali language.

In Calcutta, Hooghly, Balasore and other settlements the East India Company employees made themselves understood only in Portuguese; even their servants spoke no other language but Portuguese. Marshman well summarises the important part which the Portuguese language played at one time in Bengal. He says: "Portuguese language came in with the Portuguese power two centuries and a half before, and survived its extinction. It was the *lingua franca* of all foreign settlements and was the ordinary medium of conversation between the

Europeans and their domestics; while Persian was the language of intercourse with the Native Courts. Even in Calcutta Portuguese was more commonly used by the servants of the company and the settlers than the language of the country. The Charter granted to the East India Company, at the beginning of the 18th century contained a provision that they should maintain one Minister at each of their garrisons and superior factories and that he should be bound to acquire the Portuguese language within a twelve-month of reaching India. Clive who was never able to give an order in any native language, spoke Portuguese with fluency. The use of this language has since died out in Bengal so completely that the descendants of the Portuguese now speak Bengali from their cradle. Yet down to so late a period as 1828, the Governor of Cri Rāmapur, a Norwegian, received the daily report of his little garrison of 30 sepoy from the Native commandant, a native of Oudh, in Portuguese."

Kiernander the first Protestant missionary in Bengal preached in 1780 in the old Mission Church in the Portuguese language; Clarke another missionary who came to Calcutta studied the Portuguese language to preach to the native congregations. Ringletanha did the same in 1797. A writer in the Quaterly Review of 1814 asserts "If in the eventual triumph of Christianianity in India a Romish Church should be formed, Portuguese will be the language of that Church wherever it stands". As a matter of fact, up to 1811 Portuguese was used in all the Christian Churches in Calcutta whether under the direction of the Portuguese or not.

In connection with the missionary labours it is an interesting fact that the first three printed books in the Bengali language (though in Roman characters) were printed by the Portuguese in Lisbon in 1743. These books on religious ins-

* Marshman, *History of Cri Rāmapur Mission*, Vol. I. pp. 21-22.

truction were arranged for the press by an Augustinian, Frei Manuel Assumpção, who was in Nagori near Dacca. One of these books can be seen in the Library of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, Calcutta.

To-Day the Portuguese language is not spoken among the descendants of the Portuguese or their converts. In a few families a corrupted form of Portuguese is spoken largely intermingled with English words. Only a few years ago a parish priest of the Portuguese Mission in Calcutta confessed a Luso-Indian lady in a broken but comprehensible Portuguese. Many descendants as Marshman remarked, speak nothing but Bengali. In general, the English language is spoken with a peculiar soft accent and a modulation of voice suggestive of Portuguese. They use however, some Portuguese phrases and words, which very curiously refer to religious ceremonies, to greetings and to the dinner-table.

The following are some of the words that have survived in the English, which the some Portuguese descendants and some Feringhis speak, and which are peculiar to them. Besides these words, they use other Portuguese words or their derivations which have passed into the English language in general, and which are called Anglo-Indian words. H. Beverley noticed many of these Luso-Indian words being in use in Eastern Bengal.*

Luso-Indian and Feringhi Words

Greetings	Movit-obrigad (Muito obrigado)	Thank you
	Filiz nuevo an (feliz novo anno)	Happy new year
	Filiz Natal (feliz natal)	Merry Christmas
	Bon di (Bom dia)	Good Day
	Ba nite (boa noite)	Good night

* *The Feringhees of Chittagong*, Cal. Rev. 1871 Vol. 53.

Days of the week	{	Dooming (domingo)	Sunday
		Sagund-fer (Segunda-feira)	Monday
		Ters fer (tersa-feira)	Tuesday
		Kart fer (Quarta-feira)	Wednesday
		Quint fer (Quinta-feira)	Thursday
		Sext fer (Sexta-feira)	Friday
		Sabbadoo (Sabado)	Saturday
Words associat- ed with religious ceremo- nies	{	Quaresma (Quaresma)	Lent
		Resuresam (Resurreição)	Resurrection
		Fillad (Filhado)	God-son
		Fillad (Filhada)	God-daughter
		Padrin (Padrinho)	God-father
		Madrin (Madrinha)	God-mother
		Compadre (compadre)	God-father
		Comadre (Comadre)	God-mother
Words associat- ed with the Dinner table	{	Janto (Janter)	Dinner
		Cer (cear)	Supper
		Almusso (almoco)	Break-fast
		Bindaloo (Vinho de alho)	} Dishes
		Foogath (fogado)	
		Pantifrith (pente-frito)	
		Bol-comaro (bolo-comadre)	
		Mel-de-rose (Mel de rosa)	
Temperado			

Anglo-Indian Words of Portuguese Origin

Many Portuguese words, directly or indirectly, have found their way in the Anglo-Indian vocabulary, and thence into the English language. Some Anglo-Indian colloquialisms, such as *goglet*, *gram*, *plantain*, *muster*, *caste*, *peon*, *padre*, *mistry*, *almyra*, *aya*, *cobra*, *mosquito*, *pomfret*, *cameez*, *palmyra* are distinctly Portuguese in origin. Words such as *palanquin*, *mandarin*, *mangelin*, *monsoon*, *typhoon*, *mango*, *mangosteen*, *jack-fruit*, *batta*, *curry*, *chop*, *cangee*, *coir*, *cutch*, *catamaran*, *cassanar*,

nabob, avadaval, betel, areca, benzoïn, corge, copra, are native in origin but have found their way into the Anglo-Indian vocabulary through the Portuguese.*

Most of the words, which the early Englishmen in India used, are now obsolete. Yet it is not likely that Portuguese words like *caste* and *cobra* will be ever deleted from the English Dictionary. The following Anglo-Indian words are mentioned on the authority of Yule and Burnell (*Hobson-Jobson*) and Mons. R. Dalgado (*Influencia do Vocabulario Português em Linguas Asiaticas*). For details and controversial points the readers are referred to those learned works.

<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English (Anglo-Indian)</i>
Abada	Abada (rhynoceros)
Achar	Achar (pickles)
Aia	Ayah
Albacora	Albacore (a species of fish)
Alcatifa	Alcatif (carpet)
Alcatraz	Albatross
Aldeia	Aldea (a village)
Aljófar	Aljofar (a jewel, pearl)
Ama	Amah (wet-nurse)
Amargosa	Margosa (<i>neem</i> tree)
Ananás	Ananas (Pine-apple)
Anil	Anile, Neel (indigo)
Apa	Ap, appas,
Areca	Areca (betel-nut)
Armário	Almyrah (wardrobe)
Arraca	Arrack, Rack (distilled spirit)
Arrátel	Rattle, rottle (pound weight)
Azagaia	Assegay (spear)
Bailadeira	Bayadere (dancing-girl)

* *Vide* Yule-Burnell, *Hobson-Jobson*, Intro. p. xix. Though it is not strictly correct, the Anglo-Indian words are mentioned under the heading "English," for the term "Anglo-Indian" has lost its former significance.

<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Balchão	Balachong, balichaw.
Balde	Balty (bucket)
Bambu	Bambu
Bandeja	Bandejah (a tray)
Bangue	Bang (hemp)
Basta	Bus (enough)
Bata	Batta (rations)
Batão	Batta (difference in exchange)
Bate	Batty, paddy
Batel	Batel, botilla (a boat)
Bazaruco	Budgroom (coin)
Beijoim	Benzoin
Beringela	Brinjaul
Bétele	Betel (betel-nut)
Bicho do mar	Beech-de-Mer (sea slug)
Bilimbim	Blimbee, (fruit of <i>Averrhoa B.</i>)
Bói	Boy (servant)
Bonito	Bonito (a fish)
Bonzo	Bonze (buddhist priest)
Botica	Boutique (shop)
Botiqueiro	Botickeer (shop-keeper)
Brava	Brab (Palmyra tree)
Bufalo	Buffalo
Cabouco	Cabook (Laterite)
Cafre	Caffre
Cairo	Coir
Caixa (molda)	Cash (coins)
Caju	Kaju, Cashew (tree or fruit)
Calabaça	Calabash
Calafate	Calputee (caulker)
Calaluz	Calaluz (rowing vessel)
Camara	Cumra (chamber)

<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Camisa	Cammeeze (shirt)
Campo	Campoo (camp)
Canja	Congee, canjee (rice preparation)
Carambola	Carambola (fruit)
Caravela	Caravel (sailing vessel)
Caril	Curry
Casta	Caste
Castiço	Castees (Portuguese born in India)
Catanar	Cattanar, cassanar (Syrian priest)
Cate	Catechu, cutch
Catur	Catur, cutter (boat)
Cavala	Cavally (a fish)
Chá	Chaw (tea)
Chapa	Chop (a seal-impression)
Chave	Chabee (key)
Chuname	Chunam (prepared lime)
Cipai	Seepoy
Cobra	Cobra (snake)
Cobra de capelo	Cobra capella (a snake)
Cobra manila	Cobra manilla (a snake)
Côco	Cocoa, coco-nut
Côco do mar	Coco-de-Mer (double coco-nut)
Comprador	Compradore, compadare (a purchaser)
Copra	Coprah (dried kernel of coco-nut)
Corja	Corge, coorge (a score)
Cornaca	Cornac (elephant driver)
Cotonia	Cuttanee (a kind of piece-goods)

<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Côvado	Covid (a measure)
Curral	Corral (enclosure)
Cuspídor	Cuspadore (spittoon)
Doirado	Dorado (fish)
Emprestimo	Imprest (advance money)
Escrivão	Scrivan (clerk, writer)
Estivador	Stevedore (one who stows and unloads cargo of a ship)
Fazendeiro	Fazendar (proprietor)
Feitor	Factor
Feitoria	Factory
Fogaça	Fogass (a cake baked in embers)
Foros	Foras lands (lands reclaimed from the sea)
Fulano	Falaun (somebody, so-and-so)
Galeão	Galleon
Gentio	Gentoo (a gentile)
Gergelim	Gingelly (<i>till</i> Hind.)
Gorgoleta	Goglet
Grão	Gram
Guarda	Guard
Gudão	Godown
Holandes	Hollander
Horta	Oart (coco-nut garden)
Hortulana	Ortolan (a lark)
Igreja	Girja (church)
Jaca	Jack fruit
Jagra	Joggree
Janela	Jillmill (window-shutters)
Jangada	Jangar (a raft)
Lagarto	Alligator
Lascarim	Lascar (a sailor)

<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Leilão	Leelam, neelam (auction)
Lima	Lime (fruit, <i>citrus medica</i>)
Lingua	Linguist (interpreter)
Louvado	Lawad (arbitrator)
Machila	Muncheel, Manjeeb (a kind of palanquin)
Mandador	Mandadore (one who commands)
Mandarim	Mandarin (a counsellor, officer)
Manga	Mango
Mangelim	Mangelin (weight)
Mangostão	Mangosteen
Manguço	Mongoose
Manilha	Manilla-man (a dealer in corals or gems)
Mão	Maund (weight)
Martelo	Martil, martol (a hammer)
Mesquita	Mosque
Mestiço	Mustees, mestiz (a half-caste)
Mestre	Mistry, mestri (a workman)
Monção	Monsoon
Mordexim	Mort-de-chien (cholera)
Mosquito	Mosquito
Mostra	Muster (a pattern)
Mouro	Moor (a Muhammadan)
Mura	Moorah (a measure)
Nababo	Nabob, nawab
Naique	Naik (o corporal)
Naire	Nair (a caste in Malabar)
Negro	Nigger
Ola	Ollah (palm-leaf)
Padre	Padree

<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Pagode	Pagoda
Palanquim	Palanquin
Palmeira	Palmyra (a palm-tree)
Pampano	Pomfret (fish)
Papaia	Papaya
Pataca	Pataca (a coin)
Patacão	Patacoon (a coin)
Paulista	Paulist (a Jesuit)
Peão	Peon (an orderly)
Peres	Pairie (a variety of mango)
Pertenças	Pertenças (appurtenances)
Picota	Picotta (a contrivance to draw water)
Pintada	Pintado (a painted cloth)
Pintado	Pintado (a kind of pigeon)
Poial	Paial, pial (a raised platform)
Quintal	Kintal, kintalis (a mixed class of people in Calcutta)
Quita-sol	Kitty-sol (an umbrella)
Recibo	Reseed (receipt)
Rial	Reas, rees (coin)
Rolão	Rolong (flour)
Sagu	Sago
Sagüeiro	Sagwire (a variety of palm)
Sumatra	Sumatra (Geog.)
Sombreiro	Sombrero, summerhead (um- brella, broad brimmed hat)
Talapõi	Talapoin (Buddhist priest)
Tambaca	Tomback (alloy)
Topaz	Topass (a half-caste, Indian christian)
Tronco	Trunk of a tree
Tufão	Typhoon

<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Tutanaga	Tootnague (chinese zinc)
Valado	Walade (a property by the river-side)
Varanda	Verandah
Verdura	Verdure (vegetables)

Bengali Words of Portuguese Origin

Lists of Portuguese words in the Bengali language have appeared now and then in modern writings. But these lists are not only incomplete but often faulty. Mons. R. Dalgado's work on "*The Influence of the Portuguese Vocabulary on the Asiatic Languages*," has supplied a long-felt deficiency. Mons. Dalgado mentions about a hundred and seventy Portuguese words current in the Bengali Language, but the author has been able to add more to the list. It is doubtful, however, whether some Bengali words, marked with interrogation marks, are derived from Sanskrit or other languages. For a discussion on controversial points Monsenhor Dalgado's work should be consulted. The words marked with asterisks are either religious terms or are chiefly current among Bengali Christians.

<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Bāphādú	Abafado	A dish
Kābār	Acabar	Finish, Last day of the month
*Ag-bent	Agua benta	Holy water
Aiyà	Aia	Ayah
*Alamp	Alampada	Lamp, lantern

<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Alkātrā	Alcatrão	Pitch, Tar
Alpinēt, Alpín	Alfinete	Pin
Almús	Almoço	Breakfast
*Altār	Altar	Altar
*Alva	Alva	Alb, an ecclesiastical vestment.
Ambar	Ambar	Amber
*Amen	Amen	Amen
Anārasí	Ananàs	Pine-apple
Nona,	Anona	A fruit (<i>Anona</i> <i>Reticulata</i>)
*Apostól	Apóstolo	Apostle
Almārí	Armário	Almyrah
Atá	Ata	Custard-apple
*Avemārí	Ave Maria	Hail Mary
*Avó	Avó	Grandfather
Bāsan	Bacia	Plate
? Bhàp, bāspô	Bafo	Vapour, breath
Bajrá	Baixel	Barque
Balcham'	Balchão	Balachong
Bāldí, Bāltí	Balde	Bucket
Bànk	Banco	Bench
Bāvtijmà	Baptismo	Baptism
*Bentút	Benção	Benediction
Biskut	Biscoito	Biscuit
*Bispa	Bispo	Bishop
*Bovasnoiti	Boas noites	Good night
*Bovás tardiyà	Boas tardes	Good evening
Bayá	Bóia	Buoy
Boyám'	Boião	An earthen vessal
*Bolínos	Bolinho	A little cake
Bomá	Bomba	Hydraulic machine
Bomsdiyá	Bons dias	Good day

<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Botam'	Botão	Button
? Botal, botal	Botelha	Bottle
Kaderá, kadará	Cadeira	Chair
? Káphi	Café	Coffee
Kāphirí	Cafre	Caffre
Kāju	Caju	Cashew
Kakatua	Catatua	Parrot
Kālāpāti	Calafate	Calker
Kāldó	Caldo	Broth, grevy
•Kális	Cális	Chalice
Kamfj	Camisa	Shirt
Kāmán	Canhão	Cannon
Kāppa	Capa	Overcoat
Káj	Casa (de botão)	Button-hole
Kasul	Caçula	Chasuble, an eccle- siastical vestment
•Kātekisma	Catecismo	Catechism
Katholika	Católico	Catholic
*Semeterí	Cemitério	Cemetery
Chá	Chá	Tea
? Cháp chhāp	Chapa	Seal, type, stamp
Chābi, chábi sābí	Chave	Key
Kôch	Coche	Palanquin, sofa
*Komādrí	Comadre	God mother
Komedorí	Comedoria	Eatables
*Kompādrí	Compadre	God-father
? Kampás	Compasso	Compass
*Komuniyāñ	Comunhão	Communion
*Komphisañ	Confissão	Confession
•Konsuvādá	Consoada	A light supper
Karnel	Coronel corporal	Colonel
Kobi, kobíxak	Couve	Cabbage
Karābu	Cravo	Nail, also cloves

<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
*Krisma	Crisma	Chrism
Kristáñ	Cristão	Christian
Krux, kruxācriti	Cruz	Cross
Koindú	Cunhado	Brother-in-law
*Dalmatic	Dalmatica	Dalmatic
Damás	Damasco	Damask
*Devus	Deus	God
*Anjeūl	Em joelhos	Kneeling down
*Entrudú	Entrudo	Shrove-tide, carnival
*Ejmolá	Esmola	Alms
Ispát	Espada	Sword
*Spiritú, Sāntú	Espirito Santo	Holy Ghost
Spanj	Esponja	Sponge
Stāntí	Estante	Desk
Istrí	Estirar	To iron
Estól	Estola	Ecclesiastical vest- ment
Fāltár	Faltar	To fail, to want
Festà	Festa	Feast
Fitá	Fita	Ribbon
Formā	Forma	Form
Funnel	Funil	Funnel
Garādiyá	Grade	A grate partition with bars
Gūdam'	Gudão	Godown
Abdú	Habito	Sutaine
*Isopa	Hissope	A brush to sprinkle holy water
*Osti	Hóstia	Host
Girjá, Girjjá	Igreja	Church
*Insensú	Incenso	Incense
Ingláj	Inglês	English
Irmáñ	Irmão	Brother

<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Julāp	Jalapa	Jalap
Jānālā, Janāla	Janela	Window
(Juá, Juva-Khelá)	Jogar	Play
Lantará	Lanterna	Lantern
Nilám', Nilām,	Leilão	Auction
Nilāmá		
Lebu	Limão	Lemon
Madí	Madrinha	Godmother
Māldisán	Maldição	Malediction
*Maná	Mana	Sister
*Maná	Mana'	Manna
*Mānú	Mano	Brother
Mārtel	Martelo	Hammer
Mástūl	Mastro	Mast
Mej	Mesa	Table
*Misán	Missão	Mission
*Misiyonár	Missionario	Missionary
*Muita mercê	Muita mercê	To your health
*Nātál	Natal	Christmas
*Novená	Novena	Novena
*Ol	Oleo (santo)	Holy oil
Opa'	Opa	A kind of mantle without sleeves
Orgán	Orgão	Organ
Pādrí	Padre	Priest
*Pādrovādú	Padroado	<i>Padroado</i>
Pādú	Padrinho	God father
Paum	Pão	Bread
*Pāpá	Papa	Pope
Papayá	Papaia	Papaya fruit
*Pāskuvá	Páscoa	Easter
*Particul	Partícula	Particle
Pāti-hams	Pato	Goose

<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Pená	Pena	Penalty, punish- ment
? Pilurí,	Pelouro	Pillory, iron-ball
Perú, Piyará	Pera	Pear
Perú	Peru	Turkey
Piyá	Pia	Holy water basin
Pipá, Pipe, Pimpa	Pipa	Pipe (of wine)
Pirij	Pires	Saucer
Pistol	Pistola	Pistol
*Pobrí	Pobre	Poor, a servant of the church
Perek	Prego	Nail
•Provijor	Provisor	Purveyor, Provisor
*Purgātorí	Purgatório	Purgatory
*Kárübím	Querubim	Cherub
Kintál	Quintal	Compound
*Korjmu	Quaresma	Lent
Rêndá	Renda	Lace, rent
Reytor	Reitor	Rector
Resto	Resto	Fund, remainder
*Rituál	Ritual	Ritual
Sābán, sābānbat	Sabão	Soap
Sākrāmentú	Sacramento	Sacrament
Sacrár	Sacrário	Tabernacle
Sankristán	Sacristão	Sacriston
Chhāyá	Saia	Gown
Saláta	Salada	Salad
Sāvudí	Saude	Health
Siyor	Senhor	Sir
Surtti	Sorte	Fate, luck
Sobrpêlíz	Sobrepeliz	Ecclesiastical vest- ment

<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Tamák, tāmák, tam- áku, tāmakú, tam- rakú	Tabaco	Tobacco
? Tití	Tia	Aunt
? Tív	Tio	Uncle
• Tersú	Terço	Rosary
Tocā	Toca	To note down
Toyále	Toalha	Towel
? Tuphán	Tufão	Typhoon
Tumbá	Tumba	Tomb, coffin
• Turibúl	Turíbulo	Censer
? Bārānda	Varanda	Verandah
• Berdí	Verde	Green
Boroga	Verga	Rod, rafter
Burmá	Verruma	Tendril, gimlet
Vévu	Véu	Veil
Biyala	Viola	Viola, guitar

Assamese Words of Portuguese Origin

As the Assamese and the Oorya languages are spoken in the Bengal Presidency (Assam and Orissa), lists of Portuguese words in those languages will not be out of place. These words are mostly the same as the ones current in the Bengali language*.

<i>Assamese</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Achár	Achar	Pickle
Aiyá	Aia	Ayah
Alpin	Alfinete	Pin
Almāí, ālmāírá	Armário	Almyrah

* There are Portuguese words current also in the *Garo* and the *Khassi* languages, spoken in the southern part of Assam. For the list of these words, Mons. Dalgado's work should be consulted.

<i>Assamese</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Atlas	Ata	Custard-apple
Bájan	Bacia	Basin
? Báp	Bafo	Vapour, Breath
Bhoyám'	Boião	An earthen vessel
Boma-gola	Bomba	Hydraulic machine
Káphi	Café	Cofee
Káphri	Cafre	Caffre
Cháh, cháí	Chá	Tea
? Cháp and deriva- tives	Chapa	Stamp, impress
Chábi, sábi	Chave	Key
Kampás	Compasso	Compass
Istrí	Estirar	To iron
Phitá	Fita	Ribbon
Phataká	Foguete	A cracker
Gūdam'	Gudão	Go-down
Girjá	Igreja	Church
Ingráji	Inglês	English
Jalangani	Janela	Window
Juá and derivatives	Jôgo	Play
Lilám'	Leilão	Auction
Nemú	Limão	Lemon
Mastúl	Mastro	Mast
Mej	Mesa	Table
Mistrí	Mestre	Master
Pāti-hámh	Pato	Goose
Perú	Peru	Turkey
Pipá	Pipa	Pipe (of wine)
Piris	Pires	Saucer
Rachita	Recibo	Receipt
Sában, Chaban	Sabão	Soap
Sāyá	Saia	Gown, Petticoat

<i>Assamese.</i>	<i>Portuguese.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Tambaru, Tamburu	Tambor	Drum
Barandá	Varanda	Verandah

Oorya Words of Portuguese Origin

<i>Ooriya</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Achár	Achar	Pickle
Aiyá	Aia	Ayah
Anáras	Ananás	Pine-apple
At	Ata	Custard-apple
Bájan	Bacia	Plate, Basin
? Bháp, Bhámp	Bafo	Vapour, breath
Botal	Botelha	Bottle
Kāphí	Café	Coffee
Kalāpāti	Calafate	Calker
Kam'rá	Câmara	Chamber
Chá	Chá	Tea
Chháp, Chhāpá	Chapa	Stamp, impress
Chābí	Chave	Key
Kobi	Couve	Cabbage
Istrí	Estirar	To iron, Stretch
Phitá	Fita	Ribbon
Falána	Fulano	So-and-so
Gudáma	Gudão	Go-down
Girjá	Igreja	Church
Juá and Derivatives	Jôgo	Play
Nilám	Leilão	Auction
? Lemu, Nemu, Nimu	Limão	Lemon
Mástul	Mastro	Mast
Mej	Mesa	Table
Papayá	Papaia	Papaya
Páti-hams	Pato	Goose

<i>Uriya.</i>	<i>Portuguese.</i>	<i>English.</i>
Perú	Peru	Turkey
Rasíd	Recibo	Receipt
Sábun, Xābiní	Sabão	Soap
Sāgú	Sagu	Sago
Sapát	Sapato	Shoe
Surti	Sorte	Fate, luck
Tamákhū	Tabaco	Tobacco
? Tuphán	Tufão	Typhoon

Hindustani words of Portuguese Origin

Hindustani, whether an independent language or a dialect of Hindi and Urdu, is the *lingua franca* of India and is spoken in Bengal. Many Portuguese words are current in Hindustani and some have passed through its medium into other languages.

<i>Hindustani</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Achár	Achar	Pickle
Ayá	Aia	Ayah
Alpín, Alpín	Alfinete	Pin
Amá	Ama	Wet-Nurse
Ambar	Ambar	Amber
Amín	Amen	Amen
Ananás	Ananás	Pine-apple
? Anísún	Anis	Anise
Almārí	Armário	Almyrah
Ratal	Arrátel	Pound (weight)
At, Atá	Ata	Custard apple
Basan, Bójan	Bacia, Bacío	Plate
Báph	Bafo	Vapour, breath
Bajrá, Bujrá	Baixel	Arabic barque
Baldí, Baltí	Balde	Bucket

<i>Hindustani</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Balsán	Balsamo	Balsam
Baptismá	Baptismo	Baptism
Bas	Basta	Enough
Bāolá	Baú	Trunk
Berinja	Beringela	Brinjaul
Bilet	Bilhete	Ticket
Bilambú	Bilimbim	A fruit
Biskut	Biscoito	Biscuit
Boyam'	Boião	An earthen vessel
Bam'kágulá	Bomba	Pump
Bótám'	Botão	Button
?Botal, Bottal	Botelha	Bottle
Kalpatti, Kalāpatiyá	Calafate	Calker
Kāmará, Kamará, Kamera, Kam'rá	Câmara	Chamber
Qamis, Qamíj	Camisa	Shirt
Kampú	Campo	Field
Qandil	Candil	Kandi (weight)
Kaptán	Capitão	Captain
Karābín	Carabina	Rifle
Kārtús	Cartucho	Bullet
Káj	Casa	House
Chá, cháh, Cháy, Cháe	Chá	Tea
Chháp and deriva- tives	Chapa	Press, imprint
Chāví, Chābí, Chábhí	Chave	Key
Kochbán	Cocheiro	Driver, Coachman
Kampás	Compasso	Compass
Kurdham'	Cordão	Chain
Kobí	Couve	Cabbage

<i>Hindustani</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Kuñya, Kuñiyāñ, Koniya	Cunha	Wedge
Ispát	Espada	Sword
Istrí	Estirar	To iron
Pháltu	Falto	Excess
Fitá, Fítá, Phitá	Fita	Ribbon
? Phatakhá	Foguete	Cracker
Farmá	Forma	Form, Mould
? Fulán, Fulaná	Fulano	So and So
Jinjálí	Gergelim	<i>Til</i> -oil
Garādiyá	Grade	Grate partition
Garnál	Granada	Grenade
Garandil	Granadeiro	Grenadier
Gārad	Guarda	Guard
Godám'	Gudão	Go-down
Girjá	Igreja	Church
Angrezí	Inglês	English
Juláb, Julláb	Jalapa	Jalap
Jhilmil	Janela	Window
Jakêt	Jaqueta	Jacquet
Juákhelná and derivatives	Jogar	To play
Lamp	Lampada	Lamp
Nilám'	Leilão	Auction
Límú, Lemú, Nimbú	Limão	Lemon
Langūchá	Linguiça	Sausage
Man	Maná	Manna
Marmar, Marmarí	Mármore	Marble
Mārtíl, Martol, Martol, Martaul	Martelo	Hammer
Mastúl	Mastro	Mast

<i>Hindustani</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Mājkabār	Mês (acabar)	End of month
Mej, Mez	Mesa	Table
Mastisa	Mestiço	Half-caste
Mistrí	Mestre	Master, workman
Mūsikí, Mūsígí, Mūsigídán	Música	Music
? Naul, Nuval, Naul ká mál	Naulo	Freight
Argan, Arghanúm	Orgão	Organ
Pādrí	Padre	Priest
Pagár	Paga	Pay
Pasún	Página	Page
Pamvrotí, Pao-rotí	Pão	Bread
Papayá	Papaia	Papaya
Piyará	Pera	Pear, Guava
Perú	Peru	Turkey
Pirich	Pires	Saucer
Pipá	Pipa	Pipe (of wine)
Pistol, Pistaul	Pistola	Pistol
Polís	Polícia	Police
Parātí, Parát	Prato	Plate
Preg, Pereg	Prego	Nail
Kārúbim	Querubim	Cherub
Rasíd	Recibo	Receipt
Sābun, Saban, Sābún	Sabão	Soap
? Sāgú	Sagu	Sago
Sāyá	Saia	Gown
Saláta, Salútih, Salítih	Salada	Salad
Sufa	Sofá	Sofa
Shartí	Sorte	Fate

<i>Bengali</i>	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>English</i>
Sepát	Sapato	Shoe
Tambākú, Tamākú, Tamakú	Tabaco	Tobacco
Tambúr	Tambor	Drum
Tauliyá	Toalha	Towel
Turanj	Toronja	Pommelo
Toróp	Tropa	Troops
? Tūfán	Tufão	Storm
Barāmada	Varanda	Verandah
Barmá	Verruma	Gimlet, tendril
Bindālú	Vinha de alhos	Bindalu*

* The alphabetical order is followed in the columns of Portuguese words. In cases where Portuguese words have passed into other languages with complete or slight changes of meaning, the English meanings of the words thus changed and not those of the Portuguese words, are given. It must be mentioned that some of the Bengali words of Portuguese origin, given above, are not common everywhere in Bengal but are confined to certain divisions or places.

CHAPTER XVIII

PORTUGUESE CHURCHES

The Bandel Convent, Hooghly

Barely twenty miles away from Calcutta lies this grey and hoary building—the Augustinian Convent and Church of Bandel, Hooghly.* It is the oldest Christian Convent and Church in Bengal, being founded in 1599, the year when Manoel Tavares in virtue of a *farman* of Akbar established the great Portuguese settlement in Hooghly.† According to Manrique the foundation stone was laid on the day of the feast of our Lady of Assumption, that is on the 15th of August.‡ The Convent was dedicated to the Augustinian saint, St. Nicholas of Tolentino and the attached Church to

* There are some vague ideas current as to whether the Bandel Convent was a Nunnery or a Convent or a Church. I have been told by the present Prior of the Bandel Convent that some visitors inquire after the nuns in the belief that a Convent always harbours Nuns. The Bandel Convent was really a monastery of Friars, called *convento* in Portuguese, and a Church dedicated to O. L. of Rosary was attached to it. At present there are no friars in the Convent but one priest who ministers there, is still called a Prior because he is the head of the Convent at the same time that he is the Vicar of the Church.

† That the Convent was founded about the same year that Tavares founded the Settlement of Hooghly, *i.e.* in 1599, is asserted by Manrique. Cf. Fr. Cardon's Trans. of the *Itinerario in Bengal Past and Present* 1916, Vol. XII, p. 290. Above the eastern gate of the Convent there is a copper plate with the inscription: Founded 1599; and on the western gate there is a stone bearing the same date. D. G. Crawford (*A brief History of the Hughli District*) and L. S. S. O'Malley, (*Hooghly Gazetteer*) evidently relying upon him, state that this stone was the key-stone of the original building. The former says it was set up at the eastern (should be western) gate when the Convent was re-built by Gomez de Soto in 1660. Whether this stone is the key-stone or not there is no doubt the Convent was founded in 1599.

‡ "On the day of the triumphant entrance into heaven of the Heavenly Empress." Vide *Itinerario*, Fr. Cardon's Trans. *Bengal Past and Present*, *ut supra*.

Our Lady of Rosary. This Convent was, however, burnt down during the siege of Hooghly in 1632, by the Portuguese themselves while retreating.* For a time all commercial hopes of the Portuguese merchants and the religious enterprises of the Portuguese Missionaries seemed destined to be at an end in Hooghly. But the Portuguese managed to obtain a new *farman* from Shāh Jahān and returned to Hooghly before July of the following year.†

After their return the Portuguese established their settlement not on the site of the former one in Hooghly but a little to the north, the present Bandel. Hence the present Convent cannot be standing on the same site as the original one. Fr. Hosten, however, supposes that the Augustinians and the Jesuits must have insisted on getting back the sites of their former establishments for "it would have saved the expense of buying new ground, and would have made it possible to utilize the foundations and old materials of the earlier buildings; moreover the sanctity attaching to the spot where their Church had stood and where many of the faithful and of the Missionaries must have been buried made it desirable that they should return to the same place."‡ These suppositions do not warrant any definite conclusion and for an

* *Vide* Fr. Cabral's letter from Ceylon, Fr. Besse's Trans. in the *Catholic Herald of India*, 27 Feb. 1918, p. 166.

† The popular tradition recorded in various modern writings is that the *farman* was obtained as a consequence of a miracle worked by Frei João de Cruz in Agra before Shāh Jahān. The question has been discussed on p. 145 *et seq.* It remains to be said that George Germain (*Vide Addenda II*) remarks that the Portuguese returned to Hooghly through the influence of Frei da Cruz but makes no mention of the miracle. He asserts that the *farman* was signed by Shāh Jahān. That twenty Portuguese persons returned to Hooghly in 1633 with the *farman* of Shāh Jahān is also evident from John Poule's (Powell's) letter written from Harishpur, Orissa, to Cartwright of Balasore on July 17, 1633. Cf. p. 141 *et seq.*

‡ *A Week at the Bandel Convent, Bengal Past and Present*, 1915, Vol. X, pp. 45-46.

archæologist there is a vast field within the narrow limits of Hooghly.

The date of re-erection of the Convent forms a controversial point. In an inscription to John Gomes de Soto, which Asiaticus published in 1803, but is no longer existing, it was mentioned that the Convent of Bandel was rebuilt by him or his relatives, the last words of the inscription being ANNO 1661.* Fr. Hosten remarks that from this inscription the Rev. Long,† appears to have concluded that the Church was built in 1660. Crawford,‡ O'Malley § and others have repeated the Rev. Long's statement. However, from this inscription it is plain to a Portuguese archæologist that the date does not signify the date of the erection of the Church but the date when the inscription was put. It is more likely that the Rev. Long's date 1660 is a misprint for 1640, which was the date assigned by Asiaticus to the re-erection of the Church, and with which the Rev. Long was acquainted. Else, he would have given the date 1661 according to the inscription. Asiaticus does not give any evidence in support of his date but it may be taken as correct for he had good access to all the documents of the Church. Yet, it is strange that the Augustinians took seven (1633-1640) years

* Asiaticus, *Ecclesiastical Chronology and Historical Sketches respecting Bengal, Calcutta, 1803*. The inscription was the following :—

ESTE CARNERO MAND-
OV FASER IOM GOM
ES DE SOTO E SUA MO-
LLER PERA ELES E S
EVS DESSENDENTE

S ONDE ESTAM SVAS
FILHAS SOGRA E CV
NHADO. OS QVAIS MA
NDARAM FAZER EST
A IGREJA ANNO 1661.

Translation :—Jom (Joam or João) Gomes de Soto and his wife ordered to make for them and their descendants this tomb, where lie their daughters, mother-in-law and brother-in-law, who ordered to build this Church : Year 1661.

† *The Portuguese in North India*, Cal. Rev., 1846, Vol. V. p. 260.

‡ *A Brief History of the Hughly District*, p. 8.

§ *Hooghly Gazetteer*, p. 265.

before they re-erected their Convent, considering they were in such favourable circumstances and that their chief ambition must have been to have their temple again.

The *farman* of Shāh Jahān, which allowed the Portuguese to return to Hooghly in 1633 and which was confirmed in 1646 by Shāh Shuja, granted the Prior of Bandel the right of administration of justice to its inhabitants in all offences excepting those punishable with death.* This right the Prior exercised till 1797, when the English Government took it away though the Prior of Bandel protested to Sir John Shore, afterwards Lord Teignmouth, that since the time of the grant of 777 *bighas* of land, he had exercised civil and criminal jurisdiction over the *raiyats* of the Bandel lands ; that this grant was confirmed in 1646 by a new *farman* ; that the Bandel lands were distinct and were not included in the Sarkar of Sāt-gāon ; that a letter from William Cowper, dated 17th July, 1787, showed that the Collector was prohibited from exercising any civil or criminal jurisdiction over the inhabitants of Bandel. The Government decided that no claims could be admitted, but that there was no objection to the Prior's "continuing to arbitrate and settle the disputes of the Christian inhabitants of Bandel as heretofore, whenever it may be agreeable to the parties to refer to him for the purpose," but that "the inhabitants of Bandel are subject to the jurisdiction of the Courts equally with other inhabitants of the Company's provinces".† Even till the death of the last Augustinian friar, Frei José de S. Agostinho Gomes in 1869, the Prior was like a petty Governor, having a police force of his own. At present the Convent has none of the privileges which the Mughal Government

* For other privileges granted by the *farman* see p. 143 *et seq.*

† G. Toynebee, *Sketch of the Administration of the Hooghly District*, p. 6.

had given to it and out of the 777 *bighas* of land there remain only 380 *bighas* yielding a rent of Rs. 1,240 per annum the rest being lost through carelessness and litigations.*

Bowrey remarks that in 1676 the Portuguese pulled down their Church and began to re-build it, but that when it was one-fourth finished the Moors stopped the work only for the sake of demanding a sum of money.† Now Bowrey is not definite at all where this Church was, but L. S. S. O'Malley and Fr. Hosten believe it must have been in Hooghly. The story itself is doubtful and Sir R. C. Temple, acknowledges that he could not find any confirmation either in the printed or Manuscript records of the period available.‡ Fr. Hosten argues that the Church referred to by Bowrey was the Bandel Convent built by John Gomes de Soto in 1640.§ The statement of Bowrey as referring to the Augustinian Convent, is at best a conjecture. If it be a fact, then it is probable, as Fr. Hosten supposes, that the old Church must have been too small to accommodate the vast number of Portuguese who flocked to Hooghly from their other places taken by the Dutch, and that it was necessary by 1676 to replace it by a new one.

When Sirāj-ud-daulā marched on Hooghly in 1756 and levied a toll of Rs. 5000 on the Portuguese he pillaged the Bandel Convent and ransacked all documents. Hence the Convent possesses

1757

* Toynbee *op. cit.* p. 6 and O' Malley, *Hooghly Gazetteer* p. 267. Frei J. ão de S. Nicolau said in 1785 that more than two-thirds of the 777 *bighas* were lost, which means that less than 260 *bighas* remained to the Convent. In 1784 George Germain said that only 270 *bighas* were remaining, *Vide Addenda II.*

† *Countries round the Bay of Bengal*, pp. 194-95.

‡ Temple's note to Bowrey's *Countries Round the Bay of Bengal* p. 195.

§ *A Week at the Bandel Convent, Bengal Past and Present*, 1915, Vol. X, pp. 52-53.

no registers previous to that date. He did not however destroy the building. During the taking of Hooghly by the English in 1757, the Bandel Convent was a scene of military activities. On Wednesday morning, 12th January, 1757, Lieutenants Morgan, Lutwich and Hayter, 150 seamen and 10 boats landed at the Bandel Convent, where they were joined by Captain (afterwards Sir) Eyre Coote with 100 battalion men and 100 sepoys.* From the tower of the Church the English made a survey and discovered that three to four thousand of the enemy were encamped two miles away. Bandel was full of provisions for Sirāj-ud-daulā's army. The English drew up "abreast of the Portuguese Church", hoping to give battle but the enemy avoided it, till the Nawāb's camp was attacked.†

In 1897 another accident befell the convent. The memorable earthquake of that year completely destroyed the tower that was at the south entrance of the Church; the statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage was badly damaged and the walls of the Church and the Convent were considerably cracked. The Prior, Father P. M. da Silva, collected a subscription of Rs. 1000 and with "wonderful rapidity" erected a new tower with architectural improvements.‡ The Church, the Augustinian Hall, the cloysters and the Statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage were quickly repaired, and there this wonderful Church stands after the vicissitudes of more than four centuries, as stately and admirable as it ever was.

What scenes has this Church not witnessed since its original foundation in 1599! Who could read in those

* *Vide* Remarks on board His Majesty's ship *Bridgewater* in Hill's *Bengal in 1756-57*. Vol. III pp. 13-16 and the Journal of Captain Eyre Coote, entry Jan. 12th, *Ibid.* p. 43.

† The English must have drawn up along the southern side of the Bandel Convent, as they saw a forest to the right.

‡ *Indo-European Correspondence*, Calcutta, June 23, Sept. 15 and Nov. 17, 1897.

mouldering stones around that Church the tale of so many races, of so many nations that strove for supremacy in that narrow area! The Muhammadan, the Afghan and the Mughal power, pomp and pride are all buried in the dust around it. The efforts of the Danes, the French, the Flemish, the Dutch and the Prussians who all sailed up the Hooghly with their goods are all a matter of history. And where is the Portuguese power that once was so great? It has long vanished but that old antiquity-aureoled Church is a living monument to the martial valour and the religious zeal of Portugal.

Thousands of people of every race and caste, flock to this Convent with costly offerings, fulfilling their vows and praying for more favours. Wonderful stories are told of the miracles worked in that Church by Our Lady of Happy Voyage, whose very statue is associated, in public faith with miraculous facts. Let a tradition be recorded, which though unhistorical in some points counts so much in the piety and faith of hundreds of pilgrims that resort there every year. It is supposed that the statue of Our Lady of Happy Voyage was in the Military Chapel attached to the Portuguese factory destroyed in the siege of Hooghly. A pious Portuguese merchant who had special devotion to the Blessed Virgin Mary caught this statue and jumped into the river in order to save it from the sack of the Muhammadans, but was heard of no more. When the Bandel Church was being rebuilt (how long after?) the river Hooghly burst into a furious storm and one night Frei João da Cruz who was roused from his sleep heard the voice of the Portuguese merchant who had gone down in the river with the statue crying out: *Salve! Salve, a nossa Senhora de Boa Viagem que deu nos esta victoria. Levante, levante, oh padre e orai por todos nos!**

*Hail, hail. Our Lady of Happy Voyage, who has given us this victory. Arise, arise, Oh Father and pray for us all.

The holy friar thought it was a dream and slept again. But next morning some pagans were bustling around the Church shouting that *Guru Mã* (Blessed Virgin Mary) had come. Frei João da Cruz found the statue on the bank of the river near the Church where a ghat still visible was built in commemoration of the event. This image with a pompous ceremony was placed on the tower facing the river and was afterwards transferred to the place it now occupies. This is not all.

Every visitor (and it may be said, by the way, Sir John Woodburn, Sir Andrew Fraser, Sir Edward Baker, Lord and Lady Minto with a big party and many other distinguished persons have been visitors) is struck by the sight of a mast standing before the main door in the piazza of the Church. This mast is supposed to be the offering of a Portuguese captain, whose ship was miraculously saved by a vow to Our Lady of Happy Voyage. The tradition is that this occurred during the life time of Frei João da Cruz who died in 1638 and Lt. Col. Crawford says that the mast was offered in 1655 by a Portuguese Captain as a thank-offering for a miraculous escape from storm.*

The Rev. Long asserted in 1848, that there was a Nunnery in Bandel.† Taking this on trust, others have repeated the statement. Asiaticus had, in fact, suggested

A Nunnery

in 1803 or rather insinuated in a flip-pant language that the Bandel Convent itself was a mixed convent of Friars and Nuns. "When I had gratified my curiosity," he writes "in examining the Convent, Imagination pointed to me sequestered Nymphs in the cloysters : I sought what Fancy represented but alas ! I sought in vain :—No speaking eye—no panting bosom—no graceful form appeared to rivet my soul to Bandel ? *Pure Holy, but solitary Bandell—*

* *A Brief History of the Hughli District*, p. 11.

† *The Portuguese in North India*, Cal. Rev. 1846, Vol. V. P. 260.

I wished to have imbibed religious admonitions from the rosy lips of Beauty—How strongly impressed must they have been when delivered in a Cloyster!"* There are no records yet found in the archives of Goa or Mylapore referring to the erection of a Nunnery in Bandel. Fr. Hosten S. J. who has investigated the question very deeply, says that a Nunnery was probably contemplated in Hooghly.† Mannuci refers in 1707 to an Augustinian hospice with a sisterhood in Mylapore, Madras,‡ and it would not be strange if something of the kind was attempted at Hooghly, which was under the jurisdiction of Mylapore. In 1714 the Augustinians of Bandel did actually declare before Don F. Laines, Ordinary of Mylapore, that a widow named Izabel de Jesus was a professed Religious of their Order and claimed exemption for her from his authority. They confessed, however, that she had never lived in a monastery, such being the distance from Bengal to Goa (*sic*); but they contended that this was not an essential condition. They said they had the power to admit her to the profession, and that she depended from the *nearest* convent, St. Monica's of Goa.§ It is beyond doubt that there was no Nunnery in Bandel. Izabel de Jesus may, however, be said, though not quite strictly, to have been the first nun in Bengal.

The power of creating nuns which the Augustinian friars claimed though there was no canonical nunnery, added probably to other scandals, has given rise to many allegations against their morality. *Immorality in Bandel?* It is easily conceivable that the Augustinian friars, having no proper discipline and having a Superior who was far away in Mylapore had for a time degenerated in their morals. Captain

* *Ecclesiastical Chronology*, etc., p. 48.

† *The Catholic Examiner*, 1913, p. 349.

‡ *Storia, de Mogor*, Vol. IV. p. 68.

§ *The Cath. Exam. ut supra*.

Alexander Hamilton describing Bandel, as he saw it in about 1710, writes: "The *Bandel* at present deals in no Sort of Commodities, but what are in Request at the Court of *Venus*, and they have a Church where the Owners of such Goods and Merchandize are to be met with, and the Buyer may be conducted to proper Shops, where the Commodities may be seen and felt, and a priest to be Security for the Soundness of the Goods."* These remarks have served to inflame the religious prejudices of writers like the Rev. Long and prompted Asiaticus to write: "The lascivious damsels of this once gay city slumber under its ruins. When Pomp withdrew from thence, Debauchery vanished. Poverty now stalks over the ground where once beguiling Priests led the unwary stranger in the morning to the altar of God and in the evening to the chamber of riot: regardless of their sacerdotal robes here Priests for gold were the Factors of Pleasure."† It is possible that there were serious abuses in Bandel on the part of the priests but it is clear that imagination has been unduly strained in the descriptions and generalized statements about Bandel, even if they could be applied in 1710. Writers who visited Bandel shortly before A. Hamilton and after him, have nothing to say about the immorality of the priests of Bandel. Charpentier Cossigny who has used bitter Voltairian sarcasm against the Bandel Church which he visited in 1798 (7th year of the Republic) has nothing to say about the immorality of Bandel and only describes it as a poverty-ridden place, with a few huts and barracks of the Portuguese.‡ It is possible, however that during his time debauchery had yielded place to poverty. But yet the very next year Sir Robert Chambers, Judge of the Supreme Court, went to spend the vacation at the "pleasant

* *A New Account of the East Indies*, Vol. II, p. 21.

† *Ecl. Chron.*, p. 44.

‡ *Voyage au Bengale*, Paris 1798, Vol. I, pp. 94-97.

and healthy settlement of Bandel."* He calls the Bandel Church a huge barn (*grange*), describes the Portuguese descendants as spending their lives in begging, stealing and saying *Paternosters* (Lord's Prayer); the Prior of Bandel, whom he calls the Governor of the town, as employing his days and nights in drinking and fighting with his subordinates, and gives a sarcastic account of the Procession of the Lady of Bandel, which he saw being attended by Catholics, Lutherans, Calvinists, Muhammadans, Hindus and others.

The Bandel Church is administered by the Portuguese Mission in Bengal which maintains there a Prior. It is under the Diocese of Mylapore. Four solemnities are held every year in the Church :—The feast of Our Lady of Happy Voyage in the month of May; the feast of Our Lady of Rosary in November; the feast of St. Augustine in August and the feast of Domingo da Cruz on the first Sunday in Lent (February or March), when a solemn procession is held representing the journey of Jesus Christ to the Calvary.

THE ROMAN CATHOLIC CATHEDRAL.

Murghihatta, Calcutta.

Though this Church is no longer under the Portuguese Mission, its history deserves a place in this chapter as it was the chief and the oldest Portuguese Church in Calcutta, and as its past is entirely or almost entirely associated with the Portuguese. It was referred to by Cottineau de Kloguen as the "richest in all India" and considering the legacies that have been kept for it, is still one of the richest in India.†

* *Calcutta Gazette*, 3rd September, 1799.

† C. de Kloguen, *An Historical Sketch of Goa*, p. 123.

Its origin dates back to 1690, when Job Charnock gave the Roman Catholics who followed him to Calcutta a plot of ground at the site of the Old Fort ten *Foundation, 1690* *bighas* in area for the purpose of erecting a Chapel.* The Augustinians at once erected a temporary chapel of wooden and mud walls covering it with mats and straw. This little temple can be said to be the oldest place in Calcutta, where Christian worship was performed. In 1693, however, the Chapel was pulled down by order of Sir John Goldsborough who arrived at Sūtanūti on the 12th of August of that year as Commissary-General and Chief Governor of the Company's settlements. His immediate attempts were directed towards correcting the abuses of the Company. In a long account which he has kept, he states that he found the merchants and factors of the Company marrying black wives who were Roman Catholics and that they were too much under the influence of the Augustinian friars. He, therefore, turned all friars out of Sūtanūti and ordered the destruction of the Chapel which he called the "Mass-house."† After the lapse of hardly three months, Sir John Goldsborough died in Sūtanūti and ceased to be worried over the Company's abuses and the Augustinian "Mass-houses."

The Portuguese friars replaced the Chapel in 1700 by a brick-built one, further away from their old Chapel, in Murghihatta where now the Cathedral Church stands.‡

* Rev. Long, *Portuguese in North India*, Cal. Rev. 1846, Vol. V. pp. 251-52. Also Cf. *Bengal Catholic Herald*, Jan. 1. 1842, pp. 2-3.

† Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 21 ; Cf. also Wilson's *Early Annals of the English in Bengal*, Vol. I, p. 143.

‡ How this quarter came to be known as Murghihatta (*Murghi*, a fowl ; *hat*, a bazar) is explained in the *Census of India 1901*. vol. VIII, pt. I p. 89. "With the growth of a heterogeneous population came the necessity of allotting particular areas to particular races. Thus shortly after the English came, the Portuguese who were the only people who kept fowls, the rest of the inhabitants being Hindus to whom fowls are forbidden, were allotted a quarter which came to be designated as Murghihatta and the Armenians a *folā* or division which was named Armanitola."

The expenses of the erection were defrayed by Mrs. Margaret Tench whose tomb may be seen in the Churchyard, and by other Roman Catholics who contributed to it. In 1720 the Chapel was enlarged by Mrs. Sebastian Shaw under the direction of the Vicar Frei Francisco d'Assumpção. This Chapel was however ransacked and the records destroyed in 1756 during the sack of Calcutta by Sirāj-ud-daulā. The Chapel escaped destruction.

On the return of the English to Calcutta in 1757 they took possession of the Church and made use of it for Protestant worship for four years, and Roman Catholic religion was interdicted in the Church. The Council in Fort William reported this action to the Court of Directors at Home in its letter dated January 31st, 1757. The letter runs: "The inconvenience we experienced at the siege of Calcutta from the prodigious numbers of Portuguese women who were admitted for security into the Fort, the very little or no service which that race of people are of to the settlement, added to the prospect we had of a war with France in which case we had reason to suppose they would refuse to take up arms against an enemy of their own religion (should we be attacked) induced us upon our return to interdict the public exercise of the Roman Catholic religion and to forbid the residence of their priests in our bounds".*

The high-handedness of the Governor met with the disapprobation of the Court of Directors. In the letter of the 3rd March 1758, they said "we cannot approve of your so generally interdicting the exercise of the Roman Catholic religion within the whole bounds, as such a step may be attended with many inconveniences. But if any priest is troublesome or suspected of doing anything prejudicial to our

* Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 116.

affairs, we would have such an one immediately dismissed and not permitted to reside any where within the bounds. As to Fort William itself it will be a prudent measure so long as the French War subsists not to suffer any person professing the Roman Catholic religion, priests or others, to reside therein, and this you are strictly to observe".*

After Frei Caitano de Madre de Deus, the Vicar, was expelled from the Church, Rev. Richard Cobbe officiated as the Chaplain and conducted the English services. He was succeeded by Rev. Thomas Northcotte who put the Church in repairs. He having complained to the Council that "it be entered and Captain Brohier do put the church and churchyard in proper repair; and that the Secretary do acquaint Mr. Northcotte he may appoint his own clerk, sexton and undertaker."† Rev. Henry Butler was next appointed Chaplain by Governor Drake. It was this chaplain who, in the ministry of the Murghihatta Church, first entertained the Rev. John Zachary Kiernander, the founder of the Old Mission Church. Rev. Butler seems to have done some more repairs to the Church for on the 10th September he wrote to the Council asking that, "as the roof of the Church was much decayed and in danger of falling, Mr. Plaisted may be ordered to survey and examine the same."‡ Soon after, two other Missionaries Rev. John Moore and John Cape were sent out from England.

Meanwhile the English community discontented with the religious affairs as they were going on, and possibly resenting that the services should be held in a misappropriated Church, appealed to the Council for a new Church. On the 24th March

* Hyde, *Parochial Annals of Bengal*, p. 116.

† Hyde, *op. cit.*, p. 117.

‡ Hyde, *op. cit.*, p. 120.

1760 the Council decided: "Taking into consideration the unwholesomeness and dampness of the church now in use, as well as the injustice of detaining it from the Portuguese—*Ordered* the surveyor to examine the remains of the gateway in the Old Fort, and report to us what it will cost to put it in tolerable repair and make it fit for a chapel till such time as the chapel designed to be erected."* On July 17th the surveyor having reported to the Council that the Chapel ordered to be built was ready "agreed that the Church belonging to the Portuguese be restored to them and that the secretary do advise Padre Caitan the head priest, of our resolution." Thus the Portuguese got back the Murghihatta Church. The Chapel which the English built was called St. John's Chapel, the predecessor of St. John's Church.

Towards the end of the eighteenth century the Catholic Community in Calcutta was growing in numbers and a need was felt for a bigger Church which could accommodate the Catholic population.

The Erection of the Present Building

Two philanthropic brothers, Joseph and Louis Barretto, initiated the movement and at a general meeting of the Catholics it was decided to build the Church which is now known as the Murghihatta Church. The first stone of the Church was laid on the 12th March, 1797, by the Augustinian Vicar Frei Joaquim de Santa Rita assisted by his wardens Louis Barretto, Gabriel Vrignon, Antonio de Coito and Diogo Pereira. On the 21st of November, it was consecrated by the Rev. Francisco de Santa Maria and dedicated to Our Lady of Rosary. The architect was Thomas Syars Driver who having died before completion, the work was carried on by Monsieur Hemo of the Chief Engineer's office. The building cost 90,000 Sicca rupees, 30,000 of which were collected from the revenues of the Church and the remain-

* Hyde *op. cit.*, p. 120.

ing from subscriptions which having fallen short, the Barrettos made up the deficiencies.

Many endowments have been made to this Church especially by the Barrettoes, Count John Lackersteen and two ladies, Mrs. Rita Griffiths and Mrs. Philadelphia Bonfield. Over some legacies kept for this Church and over the management of its affairs many lawsuits have taken place in the Supreme Court of Judicature, Calcutta, and Joseph Barretto as a warden of the Church took active part in some of them.

On either side of the high altar of the Cathedral are the tomb-stones to the memory of Mrs. M. Tench and Mrs. E. Shaw. There are many monuments in the Church some of them dating as early as 1712. The tomb stones of most of the members of the Barretto family are in this Church. Archbishop Patrick Carew and Archbishop Goethals have also been buried in the Church.

CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF DOLOURS

Boitakhana, Calcutta

The Portuguese, their descendants and their converts first settled in Murghihatta and then dispersed to other parts of Calcutta, as the population increased and especially when the Maharatta ditch was filled up and the Circular Road was constructed off Boitakhana.* Along with the English and the

* *Boitakhana* was so called from a tree, under which pedestrians were wont to sit on account of the shady rest it afforded. It was a *pipal* tree, standing at the junction of Bow Bazar Street and Lower Circular Road. Captain Alexander Hamilton (*New Acct. of East Indies*) wrote that Job Charnock chose Calcutta on account of a large shady tree and in Tekchand Thakur's *Alaley Gharer Dulal* (Ch. 7) it is mentioned: "Job Charnock was often passing and repassing by the place of Bothukhaná; there was an immense tree there, and sitting at the foot of it, he would rest and smoke tobacco; at that place many merchants would meet. He had so much affection for the shade of that tree that he resolved to fix his factory there." Cf. *Bengal Past and Present* Vol. VIII, 1914, p. 137.

English descendants they occupied the locality between Dharamtala and Bow Bazar Streets. This locality was once the fashionable quarter of Calcutta and was called the European quarter of Calcutta. The Catholics who settled near Boitakhana, felt the necessity of having another Church for divine worship as the Murghihatta Church was far away from them. Louis Barretto was the first to take steps to found a Church near Boitakhana. In 1804 he obtained permission from the Marquis of Wellesley to do so, but he died soon after and the project was not carried out. The idea was taken up by an Indian Christian lady, Mrs. Grace Elizabeth, who with the help of four Portuguese gentlemen Diogo Pereira, Jesoph Pereira, Philip Leal and Charles Cornelius, founded the Church of Our Lady of Dolours at Boitakhana. The foundation stone was laid on the 13th June, 1809. The foundress bought the plot of ground (2 bighas, 4 cottas and 12 chattacks) from an Indian firm of goldsmiths ; she offered in addition Rs. 20,000 for building expenses and then again 10,000 as a fund for defraying current expenses and lastly 2,000 more on completion of the work. The Church was consecrated by the Rev. Frei Francisco dos Prazeres on the 30th June, 1810, and dedicated to *Nossa Senhora de Dores*. The foundress made over the Church to the Portuguese Augustinian Mission but reserved for herself the right of presentation of the Vicar. The first Vicar was an Augustinian named Frei Antonio de Padua. This Church still belongs to the Portuguese Mission and is under the diocese of Mylapore. During the *Padroado* question attempts were made by the English Mission to take over the Church. Bishop St. Leger interdicted the Church in 1835, and the wardens of the Murghihatta Church erected a Chapel for religious worship in the burial ground at Boitakhana. By virtue of the Concordat between the Holy See and the King of Portugal in 1887, this Church came under the Jurisdiction of the Portuguese Bishop of Mylapore.

CHURCH OF THE SACRED HEART OF JESUS**Dharamtala Street, Calcutta**

This Church was founded by Mrs. Pascoa Barretto e Souza, the grand-mother of Sir Walter de Souza, in fulfilment of a vow. Louis de Souza had in 1821 been tried by the Supreme Court for causing grievous hurt to a Mr. Joseph Gonsalves, by shooting at him in a buggy, when returning one night from the Old Chowringhi Theatre—not wounding him in a duel as is generally believed—and Mrs. de Souza made a vow that should her son be acquitted she would build and endow a Church on her own land. The foundation stone was laid by the foundress on the 12th February 1832, the ceremony being performed by the Rev. Frei Simão de Conceição, then Vicar of the Boitakhana Church. On Easter Sunday, the 30th March 1834, Frei A. Antonio Assumpção, Provisor of the Bishop of Mylapore, consecrated it, dedicating it to the Sacred Heart of Jesus. One Mrs. Sheriff erected the building and all the costs including those of the purchase of the ground, organ bells, vestments, ornaments, furniture and the erection of a cemetery in Entally for the poor, amounted to more than 200,000 *sicca* rupees which Mrs. Pascoa Barreto e Souza paid.

The Church is now under the ministrations of the Jesuit Mission and not of the Portuguese Mission.

THE CHURCH OF JESUS, MARIA, JOSE**Chinsura**

This is one of the three Churches that belong to the Portuguese Mission in Western Bengal, the other two being the Bandel Convent and the Boitakhana Church. The funds for the erection of the Church were left by Mrs. Sebastian Shaw on her demise—the same lady who in 1720 enlarged the

Murghihatta Church. The Chapel was built in 1740, but according to Asiaticus, there was a Chapel of mats and straw in Chinsura before 1740. The two-storied building attached to the Chapel was called the Hermitage of the Infant Jesus as the Augustinian friars were dwelling there. The Church is under the care of the Prior of Bandel.

CHURCH OF SANTA MADRE DE DEUS

Serampore

This Church owes its existence to the Barretto Family. It is a beautiful edifice situated on the Strand. It was consecrated in 1783 and dedicated to Santa Madre de Deus. (Holy Mother of God). The erection of the Church cost Rs. 14,000, part of which (Rs. 600) was contributed by the Hon'ble Colonel Bie, the Danish Governor of that Settlement. It is no longer under the Portuguese Mission.

ST. PATRICK'S CHURCH

Dum-Dum

When Dum-Dum became the head-quarters of an artillery regiment, the Catholic soldiers had no means of attending divine service except in a hut which a pious Indian lady, Mrs. Moran, lent to a Portuguese priest for the purpose of saying mass on Sundays. This humble practise continued till 1822, when Joseph Barretto learning the state of affairs offered to erect a Chapel at his own expense and obtained from the Government a plot of ground for the purpose. Major-General Hardwick, the commandant of the artillery regiment, was unwilling that Barretto alone should bear the cost and proposed that the regiment itself should raise the necessary funds. He himself subscribed Rs. 100, but though even the Protestant soldiers subscribed, the amount realised was only Rs 3,000. The

Catholics of Calcutta, among whom Joseph Barretto was most conspicuous, raised a subscription and Rs. 11,000 was realised. The foundation stone was laid in Feb. 1822, and Major General Hardwick and the regimental officers attended the ceremony. The erection of the Chapel had not extended far, when the architect, Mr. Goss managed to run away with a considerable part of the funds. Another subscription was raised in Calcutta and the work was completed. The Chapel was consecrated on Good Friday in 1823 and dedicated to St. Patrick. The Rev. Misquita was appointed the first Chaplain. This Chapel now belongs to the Jesuit Mission.

CHURCH OF ST. NICHOLAS OF TOLENTINO

Nagori, Dacca

The Church of Nagori had its origin in the Mission of San Nicolau de Tolentino, that first started in Coxabanga (?) in the lands of the King of Busna (Faridpur?), and then spread all over Eastern Bengal.* In the conversion of Eastern Bengal Christians, the figure of a layman, D. Antonio de Rozario the son of the King of Busna, stands pre-eminent above all others. In 1663 he was taken prisoner by the Maghs and carried to Arakan, where an Augustinian Friar, Manoel de Rozario, bought him and tried to convert him in vain, until St. Anthony is said to have miraculously appeared to him in a dream and beckoned him to embrace the Christian religion. Having thus become a Christian, he began to convert others with a fervour and zeal, that eclipses that of the Missionaries themselves. He composed dialogues and canticles, argued and preached in public about the faiths of the Christian religion, extended the field of his Mission to the whole of Eastern

* Relation of Frei Ambrosio de Santo Agostinho, in *O Chronista de Tissuari*, Vol. II. 1867 pp. 57-62 or Fr. Hosten's trans. in *The Catholic Herald of India* Dec. 19, 1917 and succeeding Nos.

Bengal, and is credited with having performed miracles and converted thirty to forty thousand souls.

According to the Madras Catholic Directory (1912) the Church of Nagori was built in 1664. But according to the *Relation* which the Father Provincial of the Congregation of St. Augustine of Goa, Frei Ambrosio de Santo Agostinho, gave to the Viceroy of Portuguese India in 1750, the *Aldea* (village) of Nagori was not acquired until 1695, when Frei Luis dos Anjos bought it, because the Christians of the place were subjected to vexations by other landlords. Nagori, eventually became the head of the Mission of St. Nicholas of Tolentino in Eastern Bengal and the Church of Nagori was dedicated to the patron of the Mission, St. Nicholas of Tolentino.

From Frei Ambrosio de Santo Agostinho's *Relation*, it appears that the Church of Nagori in 1750 was a big thatched building with mud walls. There were in that year in Nagori 600 Christians grown to an age of confession, besides a large number of children. There was a school attached to the Church, which was frequented by 150 boys. Hence Nagori was known as a Rectorate. Besides, there were about 9,000 occult Christians who, though really Christians, would not openly avow their religion for fear of losing their caste. Frei Ambrosio also mentions that the Mission counted among its members 1500 public Christians, 8,000 occult ones and 9,733 Christians who dressed like Europeans.

The Church was accidentally burnt almost completely on the 8th of April, 1881. The present Nagori Church was built in 1888 on a site about 150 yards away from the place where the old one stood. Its foundations were blessed on the 24th August, 1885, the Church itself being consecrated on the 22nd February, 1889. Its parishioners number 2,185. It has a confraternity of the Apostleship of Prayer. It maintains a dispensary in which free medical advice and medicines are given. There are many schools under its direction—St. Nicholas'

School for boys ; St. Joseph's School for boys and girls at Culon ; St. Anthony's School for boys and girls at Doripara ; St. Anthony's Convent School for girls ; Sunday School for boys ; Sunday School for girls ; Eleven Catechism Schools in eleven villages. It also maintains Homes for the poor and the destitute such as St. Joseph's Catechumenate for women St. Anthony's Catechumenate for women and a Home for widows.

CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF ROSARY

Tesgaon, Dacca

This Church, dedicated to our Lady of Rosary, was built in 1679. The Madras Catholic Directory however gives the date of erection as 1714. This is evidently wrong as there is an inscription in the Church bearing the date 1706 and as early as 1682 its parishioners are recorded to have been 700, exclusive of the Portuguese and their families.* The Church was re-built in 1779, in its present form. The stone floor is full of inscriptions to the memory of those who are buried beneath it. The present congregation of the Church is 309. The Church was for a time the mother Church of many Churches in Bengal including those of Nagori and Chandernagore.

CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF ROSARY

Hasnabad, Dacca

The original Church of Hasnabād was built in 1777, but it was broken down and the present one erected in 1888. In some old papers of the Church it is recorded that the first Missionary came to Hasnabād as early as 300 years ago. The Zemindar of the place, enraged at his success amongst his

* *The Catholic Herald of India*, Oct. 17, 1917, p. 697, n. 25.

tenants, ordered the priest to be bound hand and foot and thrown into a well. But the priest having survived this treatment, the Zemindar taken by surprize made him the grant of land for erecting a Church.* It is scarcely possible to make out how much truth and how much fiction lie in such traditions. The Catholic population is 3,146. The Church maintains St. John's School for boys; Our Lady of Rosary's School for girls, Sunday School for boys and girls. It has a Confraternity and three Sodalities.

CHURCH OF THE HOLY GHOST

Tuital, Dacca

The Church of Tuital was built in 1894 and is comparatively modern. The villages of Old Tuital, New Tuital and Sonabazar were under the religious ministration of the Church of Hosnabād. But as these villages were distant from the Church of Hosnabād it was difficult both for the people to attend their religious duties and for the parish priest of Hosnabād to minister to their religious welfare. Hence by the decree of the 25th May 1894, the Bishop of Mylapore, Dom Henrique de Silva had the Church of Tuital erected.

Its parishioners number 920 and it maintains St. Thomas' School for boys, Our Lady of Lourdes' School for girls and a Sunday School for boys and girls.

CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF PIETY

Dacca

The Church was built in 1815. Its parishioners number 125. It has a Confraternity of the Apostleship of prayer.

* Allen, *Dacca Gazetteer*, p. 69.

CHURCH OF OUR LADY OF GUIDANCE

Shibpur, Bakarganj District

The Portuguese Missionaries acquired the *taluk* of Shibpur in 1764, the lease being granted to Frey Raphael dos Anjos on or previous to the 9th Phalgun 1171 B. S. by Rajah Raj Ballab Sein. In the decision of Sadr Diwani Adalat, dated 18th April 1856, it is mentioned that the lease was granted by Rajah Pitambar Singh (Sein), Zemindar of Arangabad, who was the grandson of Rajah Raj Ballab. But Beveridge remarks that the date of the lease bears out the tradition that it was Rajah Raj Ballab who granted the lease. Pitambar Sein only confirmed the lease. "The tradition is," says Beveridge,* "that he (Raj Ballab) wanted to coerce his tenantry, who were inclined to be disobedient to him, and that he judged that Christians would be well fitted for the purpose, as mere contact with them would be sufficient to destroy the ryots' caste and that the latter would therefore gladly come to terms in order to avoid the visits of the Christian servants. He accordingly applied to the Portuguese Mission at Bandel for some Christians, and four were sent to him. They afterwards applied to him for a priest, in order to perform their religious ceremonies. He procured one from Bandel and assigned him four pieces of land or howalas for his maintenance. The four Christians were put in charge of the property, but in consequence of their dissensions the howalas were formed into a taluq, and made over to the priest in trust for the mission." This priest was Frei Raphael dos Anjos. The *taluk* at present yields an income of about Rs. 800.

The original Church in Shibpur was built by one Pedro Gonsalves, but in 1823 Manoel de Silva pulled it down and

Beveridge, *The District of Bakarganj*, pp. 106-107.

constructed the present enlarged building with the funds left by his father Domingo de Silva

Till 1836 the Portuguese Mission administered the Church in peace, but in that year, disputes arose between the Portuguese and English Missions. St. Leger, the Vicar Apostolic of Bengal, attempted to bring the Church under his jurisdiction and dismissed the Vicar, Frey José das Neves, appointing Ignatius Xavier Mascarenhas to be the incumbent in Shibpur. Beveridge supposes that the parishioners of Shibpur, owing to their quarrels with the Vicar, placed themselves under the protection of Dr. St. Leger.* The Augustinians sued for recovery of their Church and lands and for twenty-one years litigation followed. Longman, the Judge of Bākarganj, being a Roman Catholic, desired that the suit be transferred to the court of the Judge of the Twenty-four Pargannas. This Judge, Robert Torrens, as well as the Sadr Diwani Adālat decided the suit in favour of the Portuguese priests who in 1857 not only recovered the possession of their Church and lands but obtained a decree for mesne profits.

The parishioners of the Church number a thousand. It maintains a dispensary where free medical advice and medicines, are given and has under it, St. Anthony's School for boys, St. Joseph's School for girls and a Sunday School for boys and girls.

* *The District of Bākarganj*, p. 108.

ADDENDA

Some Plants Introduced by the Portuguese in Bengal*

The Portuguese not only brought to India new kind of goods, a new language and new creeds, but also added very much to the flora of India. The following is a brief list of some of the plants which Bengal owe to the Portuguese. Some of them were introduced directly and others found their way to Bengal from other parts of India where the Portuguese had introduced them. The list is, however, far from being complete as there are many plants which were not known in India before the arrival of the Portuguese and may have been introduced by them though there is no record of the fact. On the other hand, a few of the plants mentioned below have a doubtful origin and it is only by botanical and not written evidence that it is ascertained that they owe their introduction in India to the Portuguese. Though in this line of enquiry much has been done, much has still to be done. Not only did the Portuguese bring new plants to India but they carried Indian plants to Europe, America, and Africa. Some kind of canes carried by the Portuguese from Bengal and used in the Portuguese army were called *Bengalas* and still the word is a common application to any sort of cane.

1 *Achras Sapota* (*Sapotaceæ*)—Beng. *Sapota*, English, *Sapodill plum*.

This tree originally a native of America is cultivated in Bengal and on the Western Coast, its fruit being in great demand in the markets of Calcutta and Bombay. It is sold in Calcutta under the name of *Mangosteen* which it resembles.

2. *Agave Americana* (*Amaryllideæ*)—Beng. *Jungli or bilati ananash*, *banskeora*, *bilatipât*, *koyan* incorrectly called *murga murji*. English, *The American aloe*, *the century plant*, *the carata*.

The plant was originally a native of America, and is supposed to have been introduced in India by the Portuguese. *Vide Watt, Dict. Econ. Prod. of India*.

* The chief works consulted in the preparation of this list of plants, are Garcia d'Orta's *Colloquios dos Simples e Drogas e Cousas Medicinaes da India*; Watt's *The Dictionary of the Economical Products of India*, Dymock's (and others) *Pharmacographia Indica*, G. Dalgado's, *Flora de Goa and Savantvadi*. I am also indebted to the articles on the subject of Mariano de Saldanha in the *Oriente Português*, Nova Goa, vols. V and VI, 1908, and 1909.

3. *Allamanda Cathartica* (*Apocynaceæ*)—Vernacular, *Jahari sontakka, pivli kanher*.

This plant was introduced from Brazil by the Portuguese (Dymock *Pharm. Ind.*) It is a common creeper in Indian gardens.

4. *Anacardium Occidentale* (*Anacardiaceæ*)—English, *Cashew nut*, Beng. *Hijli badam, kaju*.

This plant originally introduced from South America is well established in the forests of Chittagong and all over the coast forests of India and Ceylon. Its name *Bádám-i-farangi* among the Muhammadans and *Boa Farangi* in Amboyna (Rumphius) point to its being introduced by the Portuguese.

5. *Ananas Sativa* (*Bromeliaceæ*)—Eng. *Pine apple*. Beng. *Anánash anarásí*.

Introduced in Bengal by the Portuguese in 1594 from Brazil. This fruit was daily served at the table of Akbar each costing 4 *dams* ($\frac{1}{10}$ of a rupee).

6. *Anona Squamosa* (*Anoneceæ*)—Eng. *Custard-apple*. Beng. *Ata, lúna*.

The plant is well naturalized in Bengal. General Cunningham held that there is an exact representation of the plant in the Bhárut Scriptures and also in the Scriptures of Ajanta caves, indicating that the plant was cultivated in India long before the Portuguese came. Watt, however, states that Botanical evidence is against Cunningham's contention. For other details, *vide* Watt and *Hobson-Jobson* s. v. *Custard-Apple*.

7. *Anona Reticulata* (*Anoneceæ*)—Eng. *The Bullock's heart*. Beng. *nóna*. What is said of the Custard Apple applies to this plant.

8. *Arachis Hypogaea* (*Leguminosæ*)—Eng. *The Ground-nut, Earth nut or Pea nut*. Beng. *Mát Kalai, chinar bádám, bilati mung*.

Introduced from Africa and America. Dymock thinks that the Ground nut reached India through China. Its Konkani name *Mosbimchim biknam* shows that in Western India the Portuguese must have introduced it from Moçambique, Africa.

9. *Argemone Mexicana* (*Papaveraceæ*)—Eng. *The Mexican or Prickly poppy*. Beng. *Baro-shiál kánta, sial-kántá*.

The plant is common in Bengal and in fact in the whole of India. Valued for its oil and medicinal properties. "Its use as an external application in conjunctivitis was probably introduced into this country with the plant by the Portuguese", Dymock, *Pharm. Ind.*

10. *Artemisia Sieversiana* (*Compositæ*)—The plant forms one of

the kinds of Afsantin sold in Indian Bazars. The plants "were no doubt introduced into the country by the Portuguese", Dymock, *Pharm. Ind.*

11. *Averrhoa Bilimbi* (*Geraniaceæ*)—Eng. *Bilimbi tree*. Beng. *Blimbi*.

Introduced by the Portuguese in India probably from Moluccas. Cf. Dymock *Pharm. Ind.* Completely naturalized in India. In the courtyard of the Portuguese Church of Bandel there can be seen some of these plants, having been long ago planted by the friars.

12. *Averrhoa Carambola* (*Geraniaceæ*)—Eng. *Carambola tree*. Beng. *Kâmrângá, kamarak*. In the Sunderbunds the wood of the plant is used for building purposes and for furniture. Its apples are very palatable when stewed.

13. *Capsicum frutescens* (*Solanaceæ*)—Eng. *Spur pepper, Cayenne chillies*. Beng. *Lál or gach murich, lal lanka murich*.

Cultivated all over India and especially in Bengal Orissa and Madras. It is one of the chief condiments in India dietary. The Portuguese brought the plant to India from Pernambuco according to Clusius (quoted by Dymock).

14. *Carica Papaya* (*Passifloræ*)—English, *The Papaya tree*, Beng. *Pappayá, papeyá*.

This common plant in India was not known before the Portuguese came and Atkinson (quoted by Watt) affirms it was introduced by the Portuguese.

15. *Cereus Pentagonus* (*Cactææ*)—English, *Cactus*.

This plant was probably introduced from Brazil by the Portuguese. Cf. G. Dalgado, *Flora de Goa e Savantvadi*.

16. *Citrus Aurantium* (*Rutaceæ*)—Eng. *Sweet orange, Portugal orange*. Beng. *Kamlá nembu nârengí, nârengá*.

The controversy about the introduction of the orange-tree in India is a long one. It is admitted by most writers that there were orange trees in India as well as in Portugal long before the Portuguese came to India. It is more likely that the Portuguese introduced the plant in Europe. Watt says that the names *Portogalls* (Ital.) *Protokhal* (Alb.) and *Portogal* (Kurdish) "indicate the intimate relation which the Portuguese bore to the diffusion of the plant." There is no doubt the Portuguese spread the orange trees in India even though they were to be found before the arrival of the Portuguese.

17. *Curcuma Zedoaria* (*Scitamineæ*)—Eng. *Zedoary*. Beng. *Sati, shori, kachura*.

This plant cannot be said to have been introduced by the Portuguese in Bengal for it seems to be a native of Chittagong but they spread it in other parts of India especially, as Dymock thinks, in Bombay.

18. *Durio Zibethinus* (*Malvaceæ*)—Eng. *Durian*.

According to G. d'Orta the Portuguese brought these plants to India from Malacca.

19. *Engenia Malaccensis* (*Myrtaceæ*)—Eng. *Malay apple* Beng. *Malaca jamrul*.

This tree was brought to India from Malaca by the Portuguese. G. d'Orta says he himself planted some in his own garden.

20. *Garcinia Mangostana* (*Guttiferæ*)—Eng. *The Mangosteen*. Beng. *Mangustán*.

In Bengal the plant does not grow so well as in Burma and Madras. The plant unknown to India before the arrival of the Portuguese came from Malaca and G. d'Orta says he had planted some of them which shows the Portuguese were the first to introduce them in India.

21. *Indigofera Anil* (*Leguminosæ*)—Eng. *Indigo plant* (not the commercial variety) Beng. *Nil*.

Of this variety of Indigo plant, Watt says, "It nowhere exists in a wild state in India and was probably introduced during the period of Portuguese ascendancy in the Western and Southern Presidencies."

22. *Ipomeæa Batatas* (*Convolvulaceæ*)—Eng. *Sweet potato* Beng. *Ranga-álú, lal-álu* (the red form) *Chine álu* (the white form).

All forms of sweet potato are not native of India but have been introduced from Africa or Brazil probably by the Portuguese. Watt remarks that the Batatas mentioned by Linschoten were a form of *Dioscorea* (Yams).

23. *Jathorrhiza Calumba* (*Menispermaceæ*)—Eng. *Calumba*.

"The drug appears to have been first introduced into India by the Portuguese.....Flückiger and Hanbury's researches have traced its introduction into Europe to the Portuguese as far back as 1671." (Dymock *Pharm. Ind.*)

24. *Jatropha Curcas* (*Euphorbiacæ*)—Eng. *Physic Nut*. Beng. *Bághrênda, bágh-bherenda*.

This plant is said to have been introduced from Brazil by the Portuguese", Dymock *Pharm. Ind.*

25. *Jatropha Multifida* (*Euphorbiacæ*)—Eng. *Coral tree*.

"The plant appears to have been introduced by the Portuguese from Brazil", Dymock, *Pharm. Ind.*

26. *Mirabilis Jalapa* (*Nyctagineæ*)—Eng. *Marvel of Peru*. Beng. *Krishna-keli, gréllá-bás*.

"Five varieties of this plant with red, white, yellow, red and white, and red and yellow flowers were introduced from the West Indies in 1596 and must have been carried by the Portuguese to the East shortly afterwards, as the plant is said to have been introduced into Persia in the reign of Shah Abbas the first and was established on the Malabar Coast in the time of Van Rheede," Dymock *Pharm Ind.*

27. *Nicotiana Tabacum* (*Solanaceæ*)—Eng. *Tobacco*. Beng. *Tamák*.

From the *Maúsir-i-ralumi* and the *Darashikohi* we learn that Tobacco was introduced into the Deccan by the Portuguese about A. H. 914 (A. D. 1508) and that it began to be smoked about 1605 towards the end of the reign of Sultán Jaláleddeen Akbar." Dymock, *Pharm. Ind.* Watt also admits that the Portuguese introduced the Tobacco plant in India.

28. *Opuntia Dillenii* (*Cactææ*)—Eng. *The prickly pear*. Beng. *Samar*.

"It is most probable that it was introduced by the Portuguese," Watt. "This plant is a native of Mexico and Central America, and was introduced into India by the Portuguese, doubtless with the object of feeding the cochineal insect upon it, but it is uncertain whether they ever carried out their intention." Dymock, *Pharm. Ind.*

29. *Smilax Glabra* (*Liliacæ*)—Eng. *China root*. Beng. *Harina-shuck-china*.

The shrub is abundant in Eastern Bengal, Sylhet and the Garo and Khasia hills. Garcia d'Orta says that the plant was first introduced by the Portuguese into Goa from China about 1535. Dymock adds "The Portuguese however, appear to have lost no time in carrying it to their factories in Persia, as it was mentioned, a few years after its introduction into Goa, by Mir Imad-ed-din Mahmud of Shiraz Mirza Kazi of Yezd and Mir Muhamad Hashim of Teheran".

30. *Pheмерia Acutifolia* (*Apocynaceæ*)—Eng. *Jasmin tree*. Beng. *Gorur-champa*.

"It appears to have been introduced into India by the Portuguese from Brazil, as it is usually planted in the churchyards of the native christians in order that it may deck the graves with its white deciduos flowers, which are produced almost all the year round." Dymock *Pharm. Ind.* C. T. Peters says that the plant is known as *Dalana phula* in Northern Bengal, where its milky juice has been found to be an effectual purgative (Quoted by Watt)

31. *Psidium Guyava* (*Myrtacææ*)—Eng. *Guava*. Beng. *Peyara, piyará*.

The guava-tree which is common in Bengal as everywhere in India, was introduced by the Portuguese from America (Royle). Cf. Watt *Dict. of Econ. Prod.*

32. *Spillanthes Acmella* (*Compositæ*)—Eng. *Para cress*.

This plant cultivated throughout India is "supposed to have been introduced into India from Brazil by the Portuguese" Dymock *Pharm. Ind.*

33. *Strychnos Ignatii* (*Loganiacæ*)—Eng. *Nux-vomica* or *Strychnine tree*. Beng. *Kuchilá thalkesur*.

This plant very valuable for preparation of strychnine was introduced in India by the Portuguese Jesuit Missionaries Dymock *Pharm. Ind.* The plant is rather rare in Bengal, but common in Madras and Tenasserim.

34. *Tagetes Erecta* (*Compositæ*)—Eng. *The French and African marigolds*. Beng.—*Genda*.

"Rojia the name current in Western India perhaps denotes the introduction of the plant by the Portuguese with whom it appears to represent the *Rosa do ouro* or golden rosa, which the Pope usually blesses at Mass on Sunday in Lent" Dymock *Pharm. Ind.*

35. *Zea Mays* (*Gramineæ*)—Eng. *Maize, Indian corn*. Beng. *Janar, bhutta, Jonár*.

It is probable that this important plant was introduced in India by the Portuguese. Cf. Watt's lengthy discussion (*Dict. of Econ. Prod.*)

II

Appeal of a Portuguese from Calcutta to Queen D. Maria I. of Portugal (1784)

I give below a translation of an important document which was found by J. E. de Souza Vellozo in the archives of the great archæologist Filippe Nery Xavier in Goa, and was registered in one of the volumes in the office of the *Ouvidor* of the City of Santo Nome de Deus in Macau. This document is published by Mr. Souza Velloso in *O Oriente Português*, Nova Goa, 1906, Vol. III pp. 129-134. It is an appeal made to Dona Maria I, Queen of Portugal, by a Portuguese from Calcutta on the 31st of December 1784, regarding the rights and possessions of the Portuguese nation in Bandel, Hooghly. (For the attempts of the Portuguese Government to recover Bandel, *Vide* p. 148 *et seq.*)

[P. 129] Your Majesty!

With due and most profound respect, your most obedient vassal appeals to your Majesty, representing through your Chamber of Commerce, the possessions and privileges which the Mughals of Delhi, conceded to the Portuguese nation in Bengal, and which are now forgotten; and [showing] how by obtaining them considerable benefit might result to the commerce of the vassals of your Majesty, and how these might be exempted from the burden which weighs on them, as they are obliged to deal in commerce with the English (nation) in their port of Calcutta, if your Majesty causes to examine through your Chamber of Commerce what I propose in my letter, so as to grant it according to your Royal pleasure (*agrado*). I wish that this little demonstration may affirm (*comprove*) before your Majesty my submission and obedience and respect, which with the greatest credit and honour of the faithful, humble and obedient vassal he professes to your Majesty.

Calcutta 31st of December 1784—George Germain.

[P. 130.] Knowing through a long experience the trade of the whole of India and particularly the disadvantages which, through their commercial non-equality, the Portuguese are labouring under in Calcutta because they do not know their ancient possessions in Bengal I resolve, through my love for my country and nation, to expose through this narrative, what these possessions are.

The Portuguese possessed in the year 1632 by means of a *farman* of the Mogor *i.e.* the Mughal Emperor on the borders of the river Hooghly in Bengal above Chinsura, the Dutch factory, the lands of Hooghly (*Ugoly*) which they peopled and called the city of Hooghly and [also possessed] the Bandel with 777 *bighas* of land contiguous and in a square, containing the villages of Christians, Hindus and Moors. They enjoyed through these possessions various immunities, exemptions, faculties privileges and different *parvanas*, also conceded by the Mogor, such as of tobacco areca and salt.

At this time the Mogor maintained a seraglio in the city of Hooghly and the Europeans who were there under one Correa the last Captain-in-chief* infringed upon the liberty of this seraglio and without attention or satisfaction, they continued in this behaviour, till at last the Mogor scandalized, sent troops from Agra, which rushed on the city of Hooghly and Bandel and put to the sword all the Europeans and Christians, who resisted, and the remaining they took prisonere before the Mogor.

* According to Fr. Cabral the last Captain of the Portuguese in Hooghly was Manoel d'Azavedo. *Vide* Chap. XII.

With them (prisoners) went Frei João da Cruz, Religious of St. Augustine and Vicar in Hooghly. This man was of an exemplary life and habits and of an affable behaviour and at his instance the Mogor pardoned all the Portuguese and conceded liberty to the Portuguese to return to Bandel. He confirmed the possession of 777 *bighas* of land conceding them the same immunities, exemptions, faculties and privileges as before, by a new *farman* signed by his own hand in 1633, only with the reservation that they should not convert the Moors to Christianity, and punish with death the subjects of the land without handing them over for the purpose, to the *Faujdar* at Hooghly, of the [P. 131] Nawab of Bengal, to whom only the right of such knowledge belonged.

According to this, the Portuguese re-established themselves in the Bandel and as the Europeans (European Portuguese) went on dying, and there was no more attention paid to it (conditions of re-establishment) the Augustinians who had there a Parochial Church which they called a Convent, took charge of the land and of the Christians, who still are sub-ministered by the Prior. He and the other Religious, thinking they were masters of the possessions, lost the *farman* of the Mogor as I shall presently tell, and after the English Company took possession of Bengal, and govern (now) with the title of Nawab, they (the English Company) arranged with the Prior and made him remain content with keeping for him in Bandel only 270 *bighas* of land,* telling that this was for the oil of the lamps, and gave him a document (*papel*) for this.

The Priors subjected themselves to this, I do not know why, when other European nations which were in Bengal, at this time, did not suffer anything, neither the English usurped their factories; and the 60 *bighas* of land which each of them have, they maintain in virtue of the respective *farmans* of the Mughal Emperor, their ports being protected and their commerce being indisputable.

The Dutch then extended their factories to Patna on account of opium which they export, prohibiting this trade, especially to the English in their ports in Asia.

The French imitated them in commerce and both of these nations with their meagre (*tenues*) possessions to negotiate in the land, without privileges, exemptions and prerogatives (*regalias*) as those of the Portuguese nation, always gave trouble to the English after they (the English) possessed Bengal.

The *farman* of Mogor was lost by Frei José d'Apresentação in the year 1740 when he was prior of Bandel and the reason was this: An

* *Vide* p. 232.

Englishman whose name I do not know, happened to die. This man was rich, brought there all his wealth and possessions and died without a will and heirs. In such matters the Nawab considering himself inheritor in places under his jurisdiction, the *Faujdar* inferred that it was Bandel, and consequently took possession of what belonged to the Englishman.

The Prior being frightened, applied to the Nawab to give satisfaction through one Antonio George, native christian, who was a favourite of the Nawab of Cuttack (*Cataque*). This Nawab was at this time Nawab of Bengal, to whom the Prior sent the *farman* through the said Antonio George, instead of a copy. The Nawab in view of the *farman* at once ordered the *Faujdar* of Hooghly to deliver, as he indeed did, all the goods of the Englishman to the Prior. But Antonio George refused to give it back and then died in his place near Dacca, the *farman* remaining in the possession of his family which denied it. There is a man, sixty years old, in Hooghly, named Ignacio Correa, who they say is a natural descendant of a European named Correa, the last Captain-in-chief of Hooghly, who has in his possession various *parvanas* of the powers and the privileges which the Mughals granted to the Portuguese.

In the Convent of Bandel also, there are various papers of immunities, exemptions and privileges conceded by the Mughals to the Portuguese, which the Priests do not understand being in Persian and if they had understood, they would know their value (*soberião se lhes fazia conta*). The privilege of salt, according to the minutest (*bem particular*) information which I can have on everything, was sold by a Religious to an American for ten thousand rupees, who utilized it as long as he could till the English arrogated to themselves this contract.

And the rights of tobacco, and areca nut are also forgotten, though they may be among the papers of the Convent and among the ones of Ignacio Correa.

This well shows how all the papers are scattered.

It is however the politics and the custom of the Mughals to keep always a general register in their court, in which everything is registered without failing (*sem falencia*), besides many others (registers) in all its dominions; there are near Hooghly certain brahmins of authority, who keep one of these registers [p. 133] with great care, so that the English might not destroy it, which they sometimes fear (*atrapalha*) very much and in it can be found all the information which is wanted. And there is no public or even private success (successful event) that may take place among the English which does not appear in



Yours sincerely
H. Derozio

HENRY LOUIS VIVIAN DEROZIO.

III

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio

A Luso-Indian Poet

IT is a memorable fact in the history of the Luso-Indians that, in general, they have never attained to any literary or scientific merit. From the surrounding gloom, there emerges, however, one illustrious and brilliant name, worthy to be inscribed in the Pantheon of the World's Poets—Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, who blazed in the skies of the realms of poetry like a meteor and as quickly disappeared. An account of his life is a record of the achievements of only 23 years of existence. Yet this brief span of life sheds an undying lustre on the whole Luso-Indian community.

Henry Louis Vivian Derozio, the son of Francis Derozio was born in 1809. The house in which he was born is still in existence. It is a large two storied building in Lower Circular Road facing the new St. Teresa's Roman Catholic Church. This house is distinctly shown as "Mr. Derozio's house" in Major J. A. Schalch's Plan of Calcutta and its Environs (1825). That Henry Derozio was a Luso-Indian is beyond doubt because his grand-father Michael is mentioned in the *Bengal Directory of 1795* as "a Portuguese Merchant and Agent" in Calcutta. But E. W. Madge has pointed out that in St. John's Baptismal Register 1789 he is called a "Native Protestant."

When a lad of scarcely eighteen summers, he published his first book of poems, which unlike the destiny of budding poets, met with immediate success. The poems were spoken of in the London press, and Dr. John Grant to whom the work was dedicated managed to give him an appointment as sub-editor of the *India Gazette* in 1826 and soon after that of a professor in the Hindu College, now Presidency College. [As a professor, Derozio was remarkably successful. He taught literature, history and philosophy and "possessed the rare power of weaving interest around any subject that he taught." He started an Academic Association, which was a sort of a debating club. Its meetings were attended by the *elite* of Calcutta, including Deputy Governor of Bengal, Chief Justice, Private Secretary to the Governor and others.

Beloved as he was by his pupils many of whom, like Peary Chand Mitra, became very distinguished men of Bengal, Derozio, played the role of a reformer. He worked for the emancipation of Hindu society and instilled into his pupils the ideas of liberalism. and taught

them to think for themselves. But orthodox Hinduism revolted. Derozio was publicly denounced as having denied the existence of God, having taught that obedience to parents does not form any part of moral philosophy and even that marriages between brothers and sisters were permissible. But these were base calumnies, to which Derozio emphatically replied, "Not guilty." In a letter to Dr. H. H. Wilson he refutes what he calls "the infamous fabrications." An inquiry was instituted and though the charges against Derozio were proved to be unfounded, he was compelled to resign. His pupils, however, frequented his house where he taught just as he did in the school. As Edwards says, "the gifted Eurasian teacher philosopher and poet, during the short period of his connection with the Hindu College did more to arouse, quicken and impel the thought of Young India than any man then living or since dead." He indeed, was the oracle of Young Bengal, as he is called.

Derozio's journalistic career was remarkable. Under the pseudonym *Juvenis* he contributed to the Calcutta press when a young lad at Baghalpur. He helped his pupils to run a magazine called *The Enquirer*. He was sub-editor of the *India Gazette* which afterwards appeared as the *Bengal Hurkaru* and is now the *Indian Daily News*. He also conducted the *Hesperus*. His chief journalistic achievement was the *The East Indian*, a daily paper which he founded and edited till his death.

Derozio was very tender and affectionate towards his friends and relations. He was lively and humourous in his conversation. He was an eloquent orator, as it was evidenced in the Town Hall meeting of March 28th, 1831, when, he made his great speech on the occasion of the return of J. W. Rickets who had gone to England with the East-Indians' petition to the Parliament.

The fame of Derozio now chiefly rests on his poems. During his short life Derozio poured forth his heart in sweet lyrics, which though cannot be said to rise to the highest order yet betoken a poetic genius which in maturer years, might have greatly enriched the English literature. His poems are chiefly influenced by Byron, and like him, his feelings, his hopes and his disappointments constantly recur in his poems. He had all the pathos and depth of feeling of a poet. Music rings in his strains. Ornament and rich colouring abound in his stanzas. But there is lack of form and originality. In his only long poem *Fakir of Jungheera* which runs into two Cantos there is a wealth of Eastern imagery and the scenes breathe an oriental atmosphere. It has all the charm of Byron's *Childe Harold* or Scott's *Marmion*. D. L. Richardson included Derozio's poems in his *Selections from the British Poets*. Toru Dutt,

(*Bengal Magazine*, December 1874), W. T. Webb (*The Indian Review*, December 1883), R. W. Frazer (*The Literary History of India*), have high encomiums for Derozio's poetry. References to Derozio are even found in Kipling's and Max Muller's works.

As in the case of Keats, fate was unusually cruel to Arts. Death singled out the great Luso-Indian poet, philosopher and reformer, in the midst of his ambitions still unrealized and at a time when his genius was blossoming forth in the fairest flowers of the maymorn of his life. A victim to cholera, Derozio departed from the world on December 26th, 1831, in the 23rd year of his life.

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IV

Feringhi Kali, Calcutta

At 244, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta, there is a temple of Kali known, very curiously, as Feringhi Kali. It is a little building in which the Kali stands on a white figure representing a dead male. This temple was built by a Feringhi (probably a Bengali Christian) named Antonio at the desire of

a Brahmin widow, both of whom lived as husband and wife, though they were not married.* This Antonio had amassed immense wealth by trade and dwelt in Ghereti near Chandernagore, where the remains of his house can still be seen. Though he was a Christian he did not interfere with the religious views of the Brahmin lady and in fact joined in the Hindu ceremonies that were performed in his house. During the Hindu festivals his house was a resort of *Kaviwallas* who were a kind minstrels, consisting of men and women who went about singing songs and composing extempore verses on the highest religious subjects as well as on the lowest incidents of human life. He knew the Bengali language well and soon outrivalled the *Kaviwallas* in the composition of extempore verses. Leaving aside his coat and trousers he would wear the *chadar* and the *dhoti* and sing Bengali songs on the stage or in praise of the Goddess Kali. He indeed founded a party of *Kaviwallas* who excelled all others in satirical extempore compositions.†

Wilson has another story about the foundation of the Feringhi Kali. He says,‡ “The kali was established by one Srimanta Dom§ of very low caste who himself used to perform the duties of the priest for a period of not less than 70 years to this goddess up to the time of his death. The Dom used to treat the people of this quarter suffering from small pox and for this reason an idol of Sítalá is kept adjacent to that of Káli. In this way the Dom became popular among the Eurasian residents of this quarter thankful for cure from this particular disease. Hence the goddess has earned the name of Feringhi Kálf ”

V

Early Indian Christians of Eastern Bengal

The following excerpts from the Relation which the Father Provincial of the Congregation of St. Augustine of Goa, Frei Ambrosio de Santo Agostinho, gave to the Viceroy of India and which is preserved in the *Livro das Monções No. 125, fol. 391* and published by J. H. da Cunha Rivara in *O Chronista de Tissuari* Vol. II, 1867, throw much light on the method of conversions of the Eastern Bengal Christians and the social conditions prevailing among them in 1750. I have followed the translation of Fr. Hosten in *The Catholic Herald of India*, Dec. 19. 1917 and succeeding Nos.

* Dinesh Chandra Sen, *History of Bengali Literature*, p. 707.

† For some of his satires Cf. Dinesh Chandra Sen. *op. cit.* p. 708 *et seq.*

‡ *List of Ancient Monuments in Bengal* 1896, Calcutta, p. 106.

§ The *doms* are a caste of a very low type in Bengal. But *Dom* is also a honorable Portuguese title prefixed before a name, and many Indian Christians were at one time given this title.

"The Christians of this particular Mission are all husbandmen (*homems lavradores*) who do not understand a word of Portuguese and they are and were all of them freemen, so that neither they, nor their fathers and grand-fathers, were ever bondsmen (*captivos*)...

Here I must remark that our Christians of Bengala, whether those who dress after the fashion of the country or those who dress like Europeans, were all of them equal once they become Christians (*alias que carão Christãos*); they eat and drink and intermarry without minding the castes to which they belonged in heathenism—a thing which does not happen in other Missions where the converts keep the castes they had; and as they loose their castes all at once so too do they give up their heathenish belief, all of which is due to the good education our Religious Missionaries gave them from the beginning...

The occult Christians of whom a greater number are converted, are the best christianity, because they are people living in the fields and having no intercourse whatever with the towns, and also because they have not learnt and understood much of the accursed sect of Mahomed (*Mafoma*). These men are easy and docile to convert not the Gentios who are hard and wedded to their idolatries and their castes, so much so that it is very rare for one of them to embrace the law of Jesus Christ from really spiritual motives; those of them who come over are those who first lost their caste; their relatives refuse to receive them, and then they are obliged to become Christians; for instance those who fall into captivity (slavery?) those who wish to marry a Christian girl; but those who belonged to the law of (*Mahomed*) are converted for truly spiritual motives. They are occult because they have not the permission from the Great Mogor to make use of their liberty for changing their religion, nor are we allowed under pain of death for us and them, to admit them to the Law of Jesus Christ...

We have many Catechists who serve us without receiving any payment from us because we have not the means; their disciples both neophytes and catechumens maintain them. They call them masters (*mestres*) and treat them with every respect; catechising has now become for them an occupation and a means of living...

This is the way they are catechised. They begin to sing some canticles which they have, of the Mysteries of the Rosary. Dom Antonio composed them. And as the people collect to hear them and put some questions about their meaning the occasion arises for conversion. These canticles are very pious and very devout and all the Christians of the mission, public and occult, know them and they are the Psalms with

which they praise God both in the Church and outside it, according to the time of day (*segundo os tempos*)...

Martyrs killed in hatred of the Faith there are none because the Moors of Bengala are not enemies of the Christians; they esteem them rather. Until now there never was any persecution in Bengala except when I was Rector, when there was a beginning of one, but it did not take effect, because the Moor would not...

The Christians of Bengala are brought up in such a way that they are free from all error, or heathenish ceremony; they are brought up like the Christians in Portugal and all the ceremonies of the Church are observed in the administration of the Sacraments. If we were to bring them up as they do the Christians of Malavar, we might have a greater number of Christians than we have; but they (the Fathers) understood it was better to have few and good ones than to have many and bad ones. There are at present in this Mission 1,500 public Christians, and 8,000 occult ones or 9,500 all together; the Christians who dress like Europeans are 8,733 which with the 9,500 of the Mission makes 18,233 a little more or less...⁷

VI

The Dominicans in Bengal

Among the Portuguese Religious Orders that worked in Bengal, the Dominicans remain to be mentioned. The Franciscans confined themselves to Burma and Arakan. But the Dominicans who had convents and houses in Goa, in other parts in Western India, in Ceylon, Cochim, Mylapore and Negapatam, also made Bengal for a time the scene of their activities. At the request of some Portuguese from Chittagong, Frey Gaspar d' Assumpção and Frei Belchior da Luz came to Dianga in 1601 and raised a Hermitage with a Church, which were however soon after burnt down and sacked by the King of Arakan during his war on the Portuguese.* The Jesuits also suffered during this year and one of the eyes of Fr. F. Fernandes S. J. was nearly torn out (*vide p. 102*) The King however made peace with the Portuguese and desired the Friars to remain in his kingdom and even built a new Home and Church for the Dominicans at his own expense. The Dominicans however

* *Vide* Frey Luis de Cacegas *Historia de S. Domingos* 1767, Vol. III, Liv. chap. XI or Fr. Hosten's Translation in the *Bengal Past and Present* Jul.—Sept. 1914, pp. 1-5.

did not remain long in Chittagong on account of the "danger and treacherous wars menacing their residence and the little protection it afforded."

VII

A Governor of Chittagong Slain by the Portuguese

The following account of Caesar de Federici regarding the Portuguese of Chittagong in 1569 is interesting. Cf. *Hakluytus Posthumus Purchas, His Pilgrimes* by Samuel Purchas Vol. X pp. 137—138, Glasgow, M C M V.) :—

"This Iland is called Sondiva belonging to the Kingdome of Bengala, distant one hundred and twentie miles from Chatigan, to which place we were bound. The people are Moores, and the King a very good man of a Moore King, for if he had bin a Tyrant as others bee, he might have robbed us of all because the Portugall Captaine of Chatigan was in armes against the Retor of that place, and every day there were some slaine, at which newes wee rested there with no small feare, keeping good watch and ward aboard every night as the use is, but the Governour of the Towne did comfort us, and bad us that we should feare nothing, but that we should repose our selves securely without any danger, although the Portugals of Chatigan had slaine the Governour of that Citie, and said that we were not culpable in that fact; and moreover he did us every day what pleasure he could, which was a thing contrarie to our expectations considering that they and the people of Chatigan were both subjects to one King."

VIII

Luso-Indian Names

To the Luso-Indian surnames mentioned on pp. 179-180, the following may be added :—

Coelho, Cunha or D'Cunha, Gabriel, Joaquim, Luz or DeLuz, Rangel, Rego, Sanches or Sanges, Vieyra.

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