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1975.

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In:

Boletim do Instituto Menezes Bragança, No. 108, pp. 21-37. Panaji, Goa.

The Indo-European Miscegenation

By L. A. Rodrigues

Successive migrations and invasions of different peoples have made the Indian sub-continent a mosaic of religions, races and castes. The early major modification of the Indian race must have taken place about five thousand years B. C. with the Aryan emigration. Later on in the IV century B. C. Persians extended their empire to India, and, as a result, Indo-Persian miscegenation occurred, which presently is represented by a well-to-do class of Parsees. The next important racial change in India was due to the Greek invasion of Alexander the Great in 326 B. C., though it is said that much earlier Greek maids served Indian princes and princesses thus giving place to Indo-Greek unions; on his departure Alexander left behind some of his Greek officers and a garrison of Greek soldiers in the Indian provinces of his empire; this fact contributed immensely for large infiltration of the Hellenic blood into the Indo-Aryan race, which was further added by subsequent invasions of Greek rulers. Greeks were followed by Romans. From about 154 B. C. to the IV century A. D. commercial, diplomatic and military relations were maintained between Rome and India, and consequently also inter-racial relations occurred.

For the next ten centuries till the advent of the Portuguese in the XV century, little or no immixture of European blood influenced the constitution of the people of India. But it was in 1482 or 1483 that perhaps the first Luso-Indian mestizo was born in Africa; a Portuguese officer, Pero de Covilhã, who was sent overland to India by King John II of Portugal along with another traveller Affonso de Paiva, on his way back reached Ethiopia where he died; but the Ethiopian King Prester John

presented him a woman, presumably of Indian origin, of whom he had a son who was sent to Portugal.

In 1498 the sea route between Europe and India was discovered by the Portuguese, and consequently numerous Europeans started coming to India. Upon his arrival the Portuguese Captain Vasco da Gama established a factory or commercial agency at Cochin, and this city was the seat of the Portuguese Government from the second voyage of Gama in 1502 to 1510, the latter year being the date of the conquest of Goa by Affonso de Albuquerque. During that early period Portuguese blood flowed into Indian veins. In 1507 when Vasco da Gama, on his way to India touched Quiloa, on the Eastern coast of Africa, he received in his ship a number of Mohammedan women (forty women besides their maiden daughters ⁽¹⁾ most of whom are supposed to have had escaped from their homes on account of their husband's ill-treatments; these women were taken to India and married with Portuguese sailors at Cannanore and Cochin ⁽²⁾).

During the rule of Dom Francisco de Almeida, the first Viceroy of Portuguese India, who assumed office on September 12, 1505, further mixed unions took place at Cochin :

“The viceroy was informed that conversion of many heathen women to Christian religion had taken place in virtue of the relations his men maintained with them, that these women were pretty, fair and dissolute and available at low price, and that often mothers sold the honour of their young daughters for the pleasure of men; consequently relative laws were issued prescribing punishments in order to check the abuses. And as the viceroy was advised that the purpose of the above conversions was only the material

(1) Germano Correia, *História da Colonização Portuguesa na Índia* (Lisboa, Agência Geral das Colónias, 1948) Vol. I. Chap. IV, p. 229.

(2) Gaspar Correia, *Lendas da Índia* (Coimbra, Lima Felner, 1922) Liv. I Tomo I. Parte I. p. 282.

welfare and not the love of the Christian faith, he instructed the clergy that only fair and pretty women should be administered the baptism with a view to changing their aim in the conversion. As a result of the viceroy's instructions, not only the Portuguese bestowed upon the Indian women affection and riches, but also other women, attracted by the prosperity of their Christian companions, followed them in the new faith. Also some Muslim women, despite their husbands' vigilance, managed to escape from their household and enter into the Christian fold. Although these new converts had not received the holy baptism through pure intention, Our Lord by His great mercy has enlightened their true path of salvation so to make them perfect Christian ladies, as persently one can see them practising good devotion and charity" (3).

Affonso de Albuquerque, who succeeded Viceroy Almeida, as Governor of India, in 1509, conceived and carried out the official plan of mixed marriages by legitimating the miscegenation before law and religion, at Cochin before the conquest of Goa, with legal formalities and religious sacraments. In his order issued on December 2, 1509, he prescribed that all the Portuguese at Cochin, living with women of that place, should be given a marriage allowance from the Government treasury, as a gift of the King, according to the quality of the person; consequently Diogo Dias Cordeiro received such a grant in virtue of his marriage with Grymanesa Pereira, Gaspar Pereira's daughter (4). And by his order of December 13, 1509, he instructed Diogo Pereira, treasurer of the factory of Cochin to give to young male children of the Portuguese and Malabar Christian women 9000 *reis* every month (5).

(3) Ibidem, Part II. pp. 624-625.

(4) *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* (Lisboa, Bulhão Pato, 1910), Tomo IV-XXVIII, p. 206.

(5) Ibidem, XLIII. p. 214.

Affonso de Albuquerque captured Goa for the first time early in 1510, and, on this occasion, among the Muslims, taken as prisoners, there were also their women whom he secluded as hostages in his ship, and, after the second capture of Goa, which was the final conquest, on November 25, 1510, they were forcibly baptized and married with the Portuguese men; in his letter of December 22, 1510 to the King Dom Manuel I, Albuquerque informs that "he had taken some fair and pretty Muhammadan women (*molheres alvas e de bom parecer*), whom some honest and well-behaved Portuguese men wished to marry and settle in the country, and for that purpose they asked him material assistance, and that he got them married according to the order of His Highness, and gave each of them a horse, house, land and cattle..." (6).

These were definitely the earliest lady citizens of Portuguese India, but they belonged to different races since Adil Shah's garrison defending Goa in 1510 consisted of Muslims from various origins, such as Arabian, Turkish, Russian, Persian, Indian, etc. (7).

In another letter dated April 1, 1512, that is, one year and four months after the final conquest of Goa, the Governor says:

"The affair of marriages is carried on successfully, since many good men get married, such as officials, blacksmiths, carpenters, turners and gunners; and also some Germans are married here. I think that, had I not to leave Goa, over five hundred marriages would take place in that year.

"At Cannanore and Cochin there are about hundred married men, and about two hundred in Goa; and there are in Goa so many vassals of Your

(6) Op. cit. (Lisboa, Bulhão Pato, 1884) Tomo I-VIII, p. 27.

(7) Germano Correia, op. cit. Vol. I. pp. 331-364.

Highness and of the dukes and counts of Portugal, willing to marry, that Your Highness will hardly believe" (8)

As time elapsed the number of mixed marriages went on increasing not only because the native women began losing their early aversion to the strangers, but because they received dowries and gifts, and also good treatment in the family and in the society. Thus marriages were taking place not only with women of Goa but also of other places in the East. It is reported that in 1511 many women from Socotora married with the Portuguese in Goa, as related by Gaspar Correia in the following terms: "(From Socotora) sailed many women of whom some were enamoured of the Portuguese, others were pregnant and others had given birth; over two hundred of them came to Goa, with whom the Portuguese got married as they saw many other Portuguese married in Goa" (9); in 1515 women from Ormuz also did the same; and in 1536 António Galvão, when appointed captain of Malaca, took to this city Indian women to marry with Portuguese men (10). And in Goa mixed marriages were carried out not only in the capital but also in many villages; the Jesuits established an Indo-Portuguese colony at Chorão, and the Dominicans promoted mixed marriages at Calapur, Mercês, Taleigão and Siridão (11). Moreover it was not only the Portuguese laymen, but also the clergy was attracted by the Indian woman, and this is illustrated

(8) *Cartas de Affonso de Albuquerque* (Lisboa, Bulhão Pato, 1884) Tomo I-IX, p. 63.

(9) Op. cit. (Coimbra, Lima Felner, 1923) Liv. II. Tomo II. Parte I, p. 177.

(10) Amâncio Gracias, *Alemães na Índia nos séculos XV a XVIII* (Boletim do Inst. Vasco da Gama, No. 50, Nova Goa, 1941) p. 50.

(11) A. B. de Bragança Pereira, *Etnografia da Índia Portuguesa* (Bastorá, Rangel, 1940) Vol. I. p. 288.

by the scandalous case of a Franciscan friar who had fallen in "damnation love" with a Malabar woman, in 1525 (12).

In regard to the social condition of the Portuguese men and Indian women who were coupled in mixed unions, they were mostly of the lower strata; the former were generally ordinary soldiers and sailors, convicts and exiles, and latter were of low caste, nautch-girls and slave-girls, widows and kunbi-girls, though one cannot exclude a few of superior castes, such as Brahmin and Naitea women.

The institution of slavery further aided the process of miscegenation all over the Portuguese colonies from Macao in the East to Brazil in the West. Besides the legitimate mixed marriages which many young Portuguese adventurers were induced to accept, slavery was practised in large scale for menial and farm work, and which, by its turn, proved to be a factor of cross-breeds even under official patronage. Likewise the immixture of blood was enhanced also by the dealings the Portuguese noblemen or *fidalgos* and the common soldiers as well had with native nautch-girls (*bailadeiras*); in spite of legal measures, that were taken from time to time by ecclesiastical as well as civil authorities in order to curb the vicious tendency, it remained unrestrained ever more, since it deserved support even from its addicts of high rank, such as captains, generals, governors, viceroys and even members of clergy; through different vicissitudes the nautch-girls continued to exert influence on various classes of society throughout the centuries; romantic stories are related in this matter, such as that of a high rank English officer of Bombay army, who in 1850 gave up his military career for love of a nautch-girl of the village of Siroda, Salcete, Goa, with whom at last he married and lived at that place till death, and that of Francisco Pereira da Silva, "General of the Fleet of Strait of Ormuz and Red Sea" who, on account of his inordinate passion for nautch-girls, in 1714

(12) Gaspar Correia, op. cit. Parte II (1925) pp. 930-931.

delayed the stay of his fleet at Bassein for over two months, instead of encountering the enemy Arab fleet of Muscat in the north (13).

After Affonso de Albuquerque's death in 1515 and lapse of some time, due to lack of further encouragement, or indifference and even ill-will of high officials, the practice of mixed marriage slackened gradually, though illicit relationships continued progressively between the two bloods. It seems that only by mid-seventeenth century the Portuguese Royal Court and viceroys realized the critical situation of the white colony in India, which grew lesser in number, on the one hand because man and women from Portugal reaching India were much below its requirements, and on the other because promotion of mixed marriages had been discontinued; the recourse to the former expedient was practically unworkable in view of precarious demographic condition of Portugal, and so it was this juncture that urged the above authorities to resort to the latter, that is, to bring about by fair or foul means mixed marriages between Portuguese men and native women. So hence forth one finds that such marriages were either encouraged by royal recommendations or even imposed by legislative measures, though such attempts never achieved full success, firstly because they were not welcomed by native people, and then often they were also opposed by the Portuguese rulers in India.

The most extravagant and astounding piece of law, by which an attempt was made to revive Albuquerque's cherished policy of mixed marriages in India, was the Ordinance of June 27, 1684, issued by the Viceroy Count of Alvor, Francisco de Távora, subsequently confirmed by the Royal Ordinance of March 17, 1687. This law reveals how reluctant was the native population to wed their women to the Portuguese who in their turn were prone to such unions, moved not by natural inclination but by desire of preserving the gradually fading white

(13) C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos Portugueses e Bailadeiras Indianas* (Revista da História, No. 45, S. Paulo, Brasil, 1961) p. 89.

colony which was regarded as the main support of the conquest. The above ordinance of Count of Alvor attempted four main provisions, namely: a) the purview of the inter-racial policy was extended, beyond the higher castes, to native women of any strata; b) the concession of military and Government posts and all other privileges and honours were to be granted to all married couples indiscriminately, however low and infamous be their class and caste; c) the impediment on remarriage of Christian widows was lifted so that no woman could be compelled by any means to continue in widowhood under pain of severe penalties; and d) the use of the vernacular language was prohibited, and that of the Portuguese was imposed on all the native population in the persuasion that such a phenomenon was quite feasible, and that the natives, by forgetting their mother tongue and learning that of the Portuguese, would easily intermarry with the latter (14). Again by his letter dated April 9, 1765, the king of Portugal advised the viceroy of India, the Count of Lousã to allow the soldiers to marry with the natives.

Obviously for subsequent two centuries, though no document has been available, some intermarriages between the Portuguese and Indians, must have occurred as individual cases without official intervention or encouragement. So also during the Indian movement of independence, which naturally reflected also on the Portuguese India, Portugal sent to Goa, Daman and Diu expeditionary forces consisting of white and negro troops, in the second quarter of the XX century; some of such white soldiers and even a few officers got married with native Christian girls. However these marriages did not occur in virtue of any Government policy, but by mere desire of individual instinct. On termination of their expedition they returned to the mother country either taking along their wives and children, or abandoning them in Goa; thus the above fact of a few marriages did not add at all to the white colony in Goa,

(14) Livro das Monções, no. 49 (1683-85) pp. 290-291.

which at that time was found in the most precarious conditions both numerically and economically.

On the other hand it is also reported here and there in the long course of the Portuguese domination in India, that some mixed marriages have taken place between Indian men, and Portuguese and Mestizo women. In the early seventeenth century Francisco Pyrard (15) relates that he saw in Goa in 1610 a Muslim prince, Mohammed Khan's son, who after being baptized and taken the name of Dom João de Menezes Sha, married to a beautiful half-caste lady; but "after having cohabited with her five or six years felt bored with and wished to leave her according to the practice of Mohammedans who give up their wives as and when they please; and thinking he still enjoyed the same liberty, he asked to be unmarried in the church, and this was not granted. As a result he ran away to the land of Moors, and sent a message to the Portuguese that he would never return to their midst if they do not dissolve his marriage; consequently it was decided that it was worth allowing him to undo the wedlock and remarry at his pleasure rather than reneging the faith; so that later on he married to a Brahmin's daughter with whom he is living peacefully". Pyrard (16) also recounts that a son of the king of Maldiv Islands was baptized at Cochin and married to a Portuguese lady; she lived in Goa with her 15 year old boy by name Dom Philip, whom the Portuguese gave the treatment of Majesty, and called the King of Maldiv Islands; this child king was in litigation with an uncle staying at Cochin and also claiming to be the king of Maldiv Islands; the said uncle was married with a very noble and rich half-blood lady.

But earlier than the above three intermarriages of Indian males with white females, during the Portuguese feminine emigration, in 1561 two sisters, king's orphan girls, Dona Maria

(15) *Viagem* (Porto, Livraria Civilização, 1944, tr. Cunha Rivara, ed. Magalhães Basto) Parte II, p. 120.

(16) *Ibidem*, pp. 122-123.

Mascarenhas and Dona Juliana Mascarenhas, are stated to have sailed from Portugal for India, and that they were captured in the Indian seas by Muslim corsairs and taken to Delhi, where the young Emperor Akbar made the former one of his wives under the name of Maria Makani ; this Christian wife of the Emperor is said to have been the mother of Prince Jehangir, heir apparent to the Mughal throne. The other sister (17) is said to have been married by the Emperor, under the name of Juliana Bibi, to João Filipe Bourbon, of French royal family. But about the racial origin of these two sisters there is no unanimity of opinions as, on the one hand some say they were of pure Portuguese blood, on the other it is said they were Goans, Armenians, and so on.

It is obvious that, besides these few marriages of distinguished Indians with white ladies, many more must have occurred along almost five centuries that the Portuguese were in India, but such cross unions always remain as exceptions to the general rule which was just opposite, that is, Portuguese men to marry with Indian women in India. However a different picture offers in case of Indians in Portugal ; ever since Goan Christian boys went to Metropolis, and after republican regime was implanted in Portugal in 1910 also Hindus followed them, generally for the purpose of higher studies, both such Christian and Hindu boys fell a prey to Portuguese girls with whom they married ; this continues happening almost to the present date ; some of them return to Goa with their families, others remain there for good, but also most of the former, after trying in vain to convince their white wives to stay in Goa, and an experience of a few years, leave again for Portugal, since such white women refuse to adapt themselves not only to Indian climate but even to Goan social and familiar environment, and those men no longer gather force to win the hearts of their queens.

(17) Amâncio Gracias, *Os primeiros cruzamentos europeus na India* (Bol. Inst. Vasco da Gama, No. I, Nova Goa, 1926) pp. 29-31.

Besides the Luso-Indian mixed unions, also other Europeans, such as Germans, French, English and Dutch, had married to the pure Indian or Indo-Portuguese half-caste women not only in Goa but also in many other parts of India. As early as in 1503 an agreement was signed by the king Dom Manuel of Portugal with a German commercial firm of Augsburg, named *Welser*, for trade of spices in the East; and as a result the fleet of Viceroy Dom Francisco de Almeida, that sailed for India in 1505, had some ships hired by German merchants, who were represented by two agents of their own nationality. Thereafter in 1510, when Affonso de Albuquerque was in the Indian Ocean, his squadron had a German sailor by name *Micer Marco*; another German, named *Nicolas Molyner* served in his ship *Flor da Rosa* as a gunner. In his letter of April 1, 1512 Albuquerque states that "also some Germans are married here". As a matter of fact he ordered the factor of Goa Francisco Cornivel to bestow gifts and favours to the Germans married with Indian women; as such in 1511 a German by name *Annes Vam Lubique* was given six thousand *reis* for having married in Goa. By his order of September 2, 1510 he directed the factor of Cannanore Gonsalo Mendes to supply necessary provisions and six quintals of lead to the chief gunner of the fortress, a German by name *Gill de Gerres*, who was married at Cochin; in this city the number of Germans married with Indian women had reached to a hundred in the year 1512, most of whom worked as gunners, and some of their names are known, such as *Christovam alemão*, *Tomas alemão*, *Cremete alemão*, *Jom d'alemanha*, *Belchior alemão*, *mygell alemão* etc. (18) Such Indo-German marriages seem to have continued even later, as Pyrard states having seen in Goa in 1608-1610 the descendants of the Germans married with native women. Also in the first decade of the seventeenth century a German nobleman by name Fernão de Crom, established in

(18) Amâncio Gracias, *Alemães na Índia nos séculos XV a VXIII* (Bol. do Inst. Vasco da Gama, No. 50, Nova Goa, 1941) pp. 36,64, 65.

Goa, married with Dona Maria Leitoa, of Goan birth; of this marriage two daughters were born, one of whom, married at the age of 13 or 14 years with a rich *fidalgo* named Dom Manuel de Souza, was widowed after four years, and, refusing to contract a second matrimony, professed in the Monastery of St. Monica under the name of Soror Maria de Jesus, at the age of 22 or 23 years, where she died on January 2, 1683 at the age of 73 years, after a saintly life consumed by stigmata that had appeared on the palms of her hands and the soles of feet; her sister was named Dona Izabel Crom, who had married by the first time with Dom Pedro d'Almeida, and, after the death of the latter, married to Diogo de Mello de Castro; it was the lady who, according to *Oriente Conquistado*, cut with her teeth a toe of the body of St. Francis Xavier, probably in the year 1644 (19). In the XVIII century a German military man made a famous cross-marriage with a native woman of India; a young romantic officer, Walter Reinhardt came to India in 1750 and joined the French army at Chandernagore; as he was a reserved temperament and wore a shadowy countenance the French nicknamed him *le sombre*, that is to say, *the shadow*, which the Indians corrupted into *Somru*; when the above French possession was annexed by Lord Clive to the British India, General Reinhardt joined the Indian army of the Mogul nabab of Bengal; he married to a Muslim girl of a good family, but at the same time he had with him an Arabian slave-girl, very beautiful and very clever, that he had purchased from her father Latif Ali Khan; General Somru was appointed civil and military governor of Agra by the Mogul Emperor but he died on May 4, 1778 before he could enjoy the full honour of governorship; his mortal remains were buried in the Catholic cemetery of Agra thanks to his widow Begum Somru, of whom he had a son, on whom, after father's death, was conferred the title of Zafar-Yab-Khan by the Mogul Emperor owing to the good offices of the Arabian wife; later on May 7, 1781 he was baptized

(19) Ibidem, pp. 89-90.

in the church of Agra by Fr. Gregorius and given the name of Luis Balthazar Reinhardt (20). Such mixed unions took place between Germans and natives of India inspite of racial pride maintained by the former not only towards coloured races but also in respect of other Europeans; even presently they have claimed their pure Aryan origin, and adopted the Swastika as their racial symbol with a view to affirming the antiquity and purity of their blood, though Swastika is not originally an Aryan symbol.

Also Indo-French marriages had been recorded, such as that of French doctor by name Bernard with a beautiful Hindu nautch-girl from the harem of the Mogul Emperor Jehangir, in the XVII century; the Emperor, having been cured of a disease by the above doctor, asked him what reward he wished, and the medico chose a pretty girl from the imperial harem. It is reported that Mañaraja Ranjit Singh (1780-1839), the founder of the Sikh rule in the Punjab, had made it a norm to admit the Europeans to his service only under the condition that they should marry Indian women, and it was a result of such a provision that the French generals Allard, Avitabile and Court, who served in the army of that great ruler, married with Indian women; General Court married twice with indigenous women, and on his return to France got his second wife baptized, and the marriage performed again by the Archbishop of Marseille (21). In the XVIII century after the fall of the Portuguese "Province of North" with the capital at Bassein in 1739 into the hands of Marathas, many young widows and daughters of half-blood Portuguese of that rich province were married to French civil and military men of Pondichery, among whom was Dona Joana de Carvalho, married with General Jean Law de Lawriston, governor-general of French India (22).

(20) Ibidem, pp. 72-78.

(21) Amâncio Gracias, *Os primeiros cruzamentos europeus na India* (Bol. do Inst. Vasco da Gama, No. 1, Nova Goa, 1926) p. 34.

(22) Germano Correia, op. cit. Vol. VI (1958) pp. 82-83.

But the most interesting marriage was that of Dona Joana de Castro with Marquis of Dupleix, the great organizer of the French Empire in India ; Joana was born on June 2, 1706 of the wedlock of Dr. Jacques Theodore Albert, who had come to India in the company of the first French governor François Martin around 1698, and Isabel Rosa de Castro, daughter of Tomé Rodrigues de Castro (or Tomé Lopes de Castro who was married with a native woman ; this child of Indo-Portuguese mixed blood of Bassein was so beautiful and so precociously intelligent that even at the age of 13 years captivated the heart of M. Vincens, French procurator-general and member of the Great Council of Pondichery, who married her on June 5, 1719 ; Dupleix, being admitted into intimacy of Vincens' family in view of their close friendship, felt so strongly attracted by Dona Joana's charm that on M. Vincens' death in 1740 he married with her ; she was then a 33 year old widow and a poor mother of some children, and he a fidalgo, the greatest political figure of that time in the East, the director-general of the French Company in India, the governor of Pondichery....; due to her great qualities of heart and mind she came to be known in the European courts as the " Governess of India ", the " charmeuse indienne " (23).

Among all European peoples the English, thanks to their boundless racial pride and deep contempt for other races, were the most reluctant to contemplate inter-racial marriages ; despite such a fact, in view of the strict prohibition on the British feminine emigration that was permitted only as late as after Napoleonic wars, the fact remains that the Englishmen in their vast Indian empire crossed with the native women either by legitimate marriages or by mere cohabitation to such a great extent that their descendants have formed almost all over India a distinct racial community known by the name of Anglo-Indians ; they married not only to the natives of British India but also to those of Portuguese possessions and to the Portuguese

- (23) Amâncio Gracias, op. cit. p. 32.

half-blood women. So such Anglo-Indian marriages had taken place from the early seventeenth century: in 1608 Captain Hawkins had come to India as an envoy of East India Company to the Court of Mogul Emperor Jehangir at whose instance he married to European creole girl, daughter of a Dutch diamond polisher, who was on imperial service, and of an Armenian lady resident of Agra; on his return Hawkins took his wife to England where, after death of the husband, she married with Mr. Gabriel Towerson, who came to Surat in 1617 along with his wife, and Miss Francisca Webbe who got married with Mr. Richard Steele, and Mrs. Hudson, in the ship *Anne*; perhaps the latter two ladies were among the earliest women to tread on the Indian soil, as a little before Sir Thomas Powell, English ambassador to Persia, accompanied by his wife Lady Powell, had visited Sind, where was born to them a son who was the first English child to be born in India⁽²⁴⁾. In the XVIII century when the Marathas captured Bassein in 1739 many Portuguese and half-caste women married with Englishmen then residents of Bombay⁽²⁵⁾. In Goa in the "Book of Records of the marriages performed in the Royal House of Catechumens of Betim" are recorded the following marriages:

"On June 21, 1785, João Vicente Anderson, of English nationality, unmarried, married at the House of Catechumens of Betim, with Juliana Xavier da Victória e Cabral, native of Chinchinim, newly converted to the Catholic religion;

"On October 28, 1788 João Filipe da Vitória, Englishman, unmarried, named John Eucland before being baptized, son of the other (unknown father?) and of Elizabeth, native of London, married with Francisca Cabral da Victória, named Putem when she was a heathen, spinster, from Fatorpa, both newly converted to the Catholicism;

(24) Ibidem, p. 34. (25) Germano Correia, op. cit. Vol. VI (1958) p. 81.

“ On the same date, Diogo de Melo da Victória, Englishman, unmarried, named David Ly, son of Alexandre de Ly and of Margaret Ly, native of Escotlandres (Scotland?), married with Angela de Madeira, named Duarqy when was a heathen, resident of Penhá de França ” (26).

In 1783 died Sir William James, baronet, chairman of the East India Company, and chief of British Navy in Bombay, who had made a second marriage with an Indian lady, of whom Sir Richard James was born. The grandmother of the Second Count of Liverpool, who was the Prime Minister of England, was an Indian lady; and Empress Eugenia descended from General Kirkpatrick of Closeburn married in India with a Muslim girl of a rare beauty (27). General Count Benoit of Boigne, Commander-in-Chief of Scindia army married to a Persian colonel's daughter, of whom were born a son and a daughter who on returning with father to Europe were named Charles and Anne respectively. The inspector general of South Australia and founder of the city of Adelaide, Colonel William Light (1784-1838) was son of a commander of Indian navy and of a Malayan princess, king of Kedar's daughter who by her marriage with Captain Light was given as a dowry the island of Polo Penang (island of Prince of Wales). Colonel William L. Gardener married with a Muslim damsel of whom he had numerous descendants, among whom there had been barons who contracted matrimonial relations with the emperors of Delhi, kings of Oudh and nabobs of Cambay. In 1840 Colonel Robert Warbuston married with an Afghan girl, niece of Amir Dost Mohamed, a son being born to them who discharged high administrative and diplomatic offices in India. An English general by name George lived in concubinage in Bombay with

(26) Amâncio Gracias, *Alemães na Índia nos séculos XV a XVIII* (Bol. do Inst. Vasco da Gama, No. 50, Nova Goa, 1941) p. 64.

(27) Amâncio Gracias, *Os primeiros cruzamentos europeus na Índia* (Bol. do Inst. Vasco da Gama, No. I, Nova Goa, 1926) p. 35.

a nautch-girl from Nanora, Goa, named Batia Naikini Kolguntkar of whom some children were born, whom the father took in his charge and thereafter sent to England. (28)

Also many Dutchmen came to India and married with native women in Goa and in other Indian regions as well; in 1605 the Senate of Goa complained to the Lisbon Court against them and other foreigners, that they on marrying in India were granted the same privileges and concessions as the Portuguese married men, and since the former were quite expert in commerce and navigation they prospered to the detriment of the latter, and the councillors feared that the strangers might come to dominate the whole land (29).

(28) Ibidem, pp. 36-37.

(29) Amâncio Gracias, *Alemães na Índia nos séculos VX a XVIII* (Bol. do Inst. Vasco da Gama, No. 50, Nova Goa, 1941) p. 63.

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