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R. R. Kale

A CRITIQUE ON THE BOMBAY

LAND REVENUE CODE AMENDMENT

BILL NO 14 OF 1928

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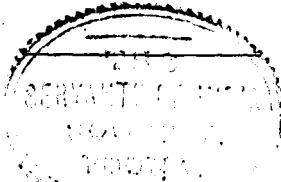
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**R. R. Kale**

L. L. B., M. L. C.

ADVOCATE, SATARA

79



(As printed from the Bombay Chronicle)

SATARA 1929

Price R. 1

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## PREFACE.

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It was officially announced at the last Budget Meeting of the Bombay Legislative Council that the First Reading of the Bom. Land Revenue Code Amendment Bill will be taken up at the next Meeting of the Council in July. From the speeches made from time to time in the Leg. Council by the Hon. the Revenue Member Mr. Rieu, & also the Settlement Commissioners Messrs Anderson & Mackey, Govt. seem to stick to their original proposals but there are several points in connection with the Bill which require discussion, so that Govt. may see the need of a modification of their views in the light of the criticism offered in these Articles, which being widely appreciated, are reprinted from the Bombay Chronicle in a phamlet form at the request of friends.

2. Though it is stated in the Objects & Reasons that the Bill is intended to give effect to such recommendations of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee as have been accepted by Govt., the Bill does nothing but embody the present practice established by its own executive Officers for some time past in the shape of a legal statute. Such a measure will clearly be a retrograde step—a distinct receding from the more liberal principles of the Land Revenue policy. Though the present system of Land Revenue Assessment is said to have been intended in its origin to build up a strong peasantry, self-reliant & prosperous, to be the backbone of Rural Bombay & to supply a great stimulus to the staple industry of the Presidency, this ill-fated System, far from realising the anticipations of its eminent authors has landed the yeomanry after nearly a century's trial to an *Agrarian Impasse*. Whatever causes there may be for the indebtedness & impoverishment of the Agriculturists, we must attribute his present condition in no small measure to the rigidity of Revenue collections, the excessive pressure of the Land Revenue Assessments & the methods adopted for enhancing them at Revision Settlements, which are far from satisfactory as disclosed in the recent Broomfield-Maxwell Inquiry into the Bardoli revision settlements.

3. Since the publication of these Articles the Report of the Bardoli Inquiry Committee has been made available to the public. The

only point in the Report which calls for any remarks in this *Critique* is that some support might be derived to the retention of the expression 'Rental Value' in the proposed Bill. It is to be hoped that the Report will go a long way towards changing the existing practice built up mostly on the Settlement Commissioner Mr. Anderson's view of using rental statistics by a mechanical application of rental indices which amounts in the words of the authors of the Report almost 'to a denial of the original principles of grouping.' Messrs Broomfield & Maxwell have shown that even when rental data are plentiful, well sifted & of a representative character, utmost scrutiny is necessary to arrive at a real indication of Rental Value. And their remark that in Bardoli cultivation by the owner himself is the normal mode of dealing with land & leasing is more or less exceptional, equally applies to other parts of the presidency as we have shown in our Article. Also their further observation as to what happened in Bardoli viz. that the rental & sale statistics have been carelessly compiled, are demonstrably incorrect in a large number of cases & in general must be regarded as completely unreliable, must have happened & must happen elsewhere. The established method of using the statistics is condemned as unsound in theory. Thus the dominant position assigned to rental values by Mr. Anderson which finds a place in the present Amending Bill as the primary basis of assessment has been considerably weakened. It is true that Messrs. Broomfield & Maxwell have made use of the evidence of rents according to their interpretation of it & there can be & there never has been any objection to such a use. Seeing, however, that the expression rental value & the prominent place assigned to it as the primary basis in the Bill are capable of being & have been misunderstood & misinterpreted by Settlement officers, the criticism made & the objections raised by us to making 'Rental Value' as the primary basis & the amendment proposed by us of replacing the expression by 'Annual value' & defining it as defined by the Taxation Inquiry Committee, will seem to be well justified. The Broomfield-Maxwell Report read as a whole will be found to lend no support to the view put forward in certain quarters that the opponents of rental value basis will be silenced by the so-called authoritative pronouncements in that Report.

The following observations in the Broomfield Committee Report with regard to rental value are apposite in this connection. "There is bound to be considerable difficulty in ascertaining it correctly and, where leasing is the exception rather than the rule as in both the Talukas with which we have to deal, one must be very cautious in applying any rental value, deduced from the actual rents found, to the much larger area which is never leased at all." It is difficult to reconcile this observation with the adoption of rental value as the basis. If, however, it is possible to get at rental values of all lands through the rents of selected typical lands of different groups by taking care to check and scrutinize the figures and draw conclusions, it is equally possible to ascertain general costs of production through the costs of carefully selected typical lands and the difficulty pointed out by the Committee to get at net profits through the extremely variable cost of production, ought not to stand in the way of adopting net profits or annual value as defined by T. E. Committee as the correct basis.

Satara,  
30th June 1929 }

R. R. KALE.

## FOREWORD

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My friend Rao Bahadur R. R. Kale M. L. C. has indeed done a great public service by writing for the *Bombay Chronicle* these articles on the subject of the Land Revenue policy of Government, reprinting them and subsequently issuing them in pamphlet form. There is hardly any subject that attracts, at this moment, such nation-wide attention as the question of the economic condition of the agriculturist and the Land Revenue Policy of Govt. Countries in the west have industrially so far advanced, in other directions, that agriculture as an industry is scarcely ever taken into account. But even then, there is in those countries an out-cry that Government is not doing its duty of giving proper protection to agriculture. No doubt the report of the Committee appointed by the British Parliament in 1925 negatived the idea of protective tariffs for agricultural produce; but it suggested, as a remedy, the stabilisation of the monetary system and conditions in the country, which has been ultimately adopted. In India, a similar attempt was made to stabilize the currency by fixing the ratio of the silver rupee to gold. But in doing so, Government instead of bettering the lot of the agriculturist, penalized him to the extent of about 12%, owing to the artificial appreciation of the rupee. In England, the complaint is that people do not sufficiently make use of the arable land for producing human food crops. In India, there is no question of land, capable of yielding food crops, not being utilised for that purpose. The Indian agriculturist, in every part of the country, utilises the land so much for food crops, that the cattle in India do not get as much pasturage or cattle food as they require. In England,



the problem of agriculture is solved by the settlement of only the question of prices. In India, notwithstanding the enhancement of prices, the problem is not solved because the cost of cultivation has increased, and there is the additional factor of increasing land assessment which, in many cases, cannot be borne by the industry of agriculture. In England, Land Revenue is a tax and levied as an Income-Tax, that is to say, only if there has been a corresponding profit in the individual case of agricultural operations. But in India, the agriculturist has got to pay the assessment-year by year, whether he turns the land to agriculture or not, and whether he makes a profit or not, if he turns it to agriculture. Even in these circumstances the Government of India have tried to divest themselves of the responsibility of improving the economic condition of the Indian agriculturist, by declaring Agriculture and Land Revenue as Provincial Subjects for essential purposes, and left the agriculturist to the tender mercies of provincial governments with depleted treasuries.

The last Royal Commission on Agriculture in India was told not to concern itself with the question of Land revenue assessment and settlements, whether original or revisional. It produced a very big volume as its report. But it contains merely matters of research and organisation, which will take generations to filter down in the form of concrete benefits to the agriculturists, if the Commission's recommendations are at all capable of such a fruitful result. The agricultural population of the provinces is, therefore, left to its own resources, to fight out the question of Land Revenue Assessment and Settlements with their Governments, as

best as they can, with the aid of their elected representatives, in the Council. In these circumstances, Rao Bahadur Kale's articles will be a great help to the members of the Legislative Council, not only in this Presidency but in other presidencies also, because in its essentials, the problem is the same, at least in the provinces where the rayatwari system obtains. These articles contain, in the main, a criticism of the Land Revenue Bill No. 14 of 1928 which has been introduced in the Bombay Legislative Council but is held in suspense, marking time as it were, in view of the obvious opposition of the popular element in the Council. As Rao Bahadur Kale has pointed out, Government should have rather undertaken a revision of the entire Land Revenue Code in one comprehensive measure. But as the initiative in legislation always rests with Government, the elected representatives of the people must make the best of the situation as offered even by this present Bill and modify the Bill, so that justice may be done to the agriculturist as against a rapacious government. The difficulties of private members in the matter of introducing and piloting a comprehensive bill, dealing with all the moot points in the Land Revenue Code, are obvious and admitted on all hands. But they would be failing in their duty, if they did not at least seize the opportunity provided by Government, and so amend Government's own bill, as to get nearly what they want on points covered by the Bill in question.

The criticism which Rao Bahadur Kale has offered on this Bill is exhaustive. In his first article, he points out how Government, in preparing this Bill, have neither accepted the advice of the Joint Parliamentary Committee nor the opinion of the elective element in the Land Re-

venue Assessment Committee of 1926, but have sought to give only a legal shape and form to the existing vicious administrative system of Land Revenue Assessment and Revision Settlement as carried out from day to day, by their executive officers.

In the second article, he has discussed a very important, though a theoretical question, as to whether the state or the individual holder is the real owner of the land. For upon an answer to this question turn many of the points actually arising in Original Settlements and Revision Settlements, as well as certain administrative matters under the Land Revenue Code. Tracing the history of this question, he has proved the conclusion that the Government are not the owners of land, nor, the people are in any sense, liable to pay any thing in the nature of rent. And his views, in this respect, have received much support from a consideration of the Land Revenue System, as it obtained both under the Hindu and Mahomedan rulers. The question then arises as to what should be the share of the Government in the produce of the land? And Rao Bahadur Kale has answered it by his well-founded proposition, that this share must be what the agriculturist can bear and not the utmost that the Government can exact. As the Land Revenue Bill is based on the present practice, it seeks to make the necessity of Government practically the measure of assessment and not the capacity of the rayat to bear it. An exhaustive inquiry is the only alternative to the perpetuation of the existing practice. A kind of inquiry of this nature was indeed made. But as pointed out by Rao Bahadur Kale, in an earlier part of the pamphlet, Government have igno-

red the vital recommendations in the report, supported by popular opinion as represented in the Council. Want of proper inquiry at one end is coupled at the other end with a statutory bar put upon the jurisdiction of Civil Courts, if land-holders choose to resort to their authority, and to question the correctness of settlements or assessments in a fair and square manner in an open judicial inquiry:

Article III in the pamphlet is devoted to a thorough criticism of the methods followed by land settlement officers, & R. B. Kale recommends in this connection the obvious remedy of a Standing Advisory Committee, whose function it would be to test the recommendations of the settlement officers, in case of proposals for enhancement, and to use Rao Bahadur Kale's own words "to temper the zeal with which they turn the fiscal screw."

In Article No. IV, Rao Bahadur Kale considers the question of remissions and suspensions of Land Revenue. But that is an administrative and palliative measure, and does not go to the root of the theory and principles of the main question taken up for treatment in this pamphlet. The incidence Land Revenue Assessments is at present the grievance of the agriculturist, and since individual officers can, by judicious dispensation of suspensions and remissions, lessen the rigidity of the revenue demand temporarily, the system of fluctuating assessments must be given, I think, a backseat when we are face to face with the consideration of the theory and principles of Land Revenue Assessment. This problem has now been brought into lurid light, and the greatest prominence, by the chronic complaints of agriculturists, which assumed only an acute form in the case of Bardoli. But just as one swallow does not make a summer, so the individual success of Bardoli Taluka can give no

guarantee that the Government will be wise even after this event. The agriculturists in a number of talukas, such as Bassein, Palghar, Baglan, Malegaon and Deogad, have similar complaints to make. And I feel sure that, if Government ordered an inquiry into these greivances, as they were forced to do in the case of Bardoli, nearly the same errors of commission and omission would be detected to be underlying the settlement operations carried out by the settlement officers concerned. The reason is, in my opinion, that the whole system of settlement is a vicious one, in which it is roundly assumed, that the settlement operations must yield a substantial enchancement of assessment, and then the arriving at that enchancement is done only by mechanically compiling prescribed statistics in prescribed tables, and manipulating the deductions from them, so as to arrive only at a pre-determined conclusion. I think, therefore, that a concerted action taken by all these talukas is bound to force upon Government the necessity of going into the fundamental question of the principles of settlement, though the merits of each taluka may differ and vary, so far as details are concerned. The Land Revenue Bill, unless altered in material particulars as suggested in this pamphlet, must be shunted, by an adverse vote, to a remote siding, if it is not actually defeated, until the fundamental questions, underlying settlement, have been threshed out at a round table conference of official & non-official members of the Legislative Council. Of course, it would be much better, if the Government of India takes up the matter in its own hands, and benefitting by the knowledge and experience of the Punjab Land Revenue Bill, to which the Governor General has done well to assent, peremptorily it calls upon Provincial Governments to accept a revised policy in the matter of Land Revenue Assessment.

Poona  
22 June 1929

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N. C. KELKAR.

# **A Critique On The Land Revenue Bill.**

No. XIV of 1928

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## **Article. I.**

### **Genesis of the Measure.**

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( Preamble & Cl. I. with the Statement of objects & reasons. )

If there is any subject which has attracted more attention & excited more criticism in the past than many others, it is the subject of Land Revenue System of this Presidency & the interest of the Subject is just now revived owing to the Land Rev. Code Amendment Bill which has been brought by the Bombay Govt. before the Legislative Council. We are aware that there are many opinions, prejudices & interests which are involved, in any discussion of the problem of Land Revenue. We know that we may be open to the charge of repeating some arguements already advanced by others. But they are relevant to & bear on the subject matter of the Bill on which we feel very strongly & the criticisms embodied in these ' Articles ' are made not in a carping spirit of fault-finding with a foreign Govt. but in the interest of the Govt. as well as the people & with a view that the criticism may prove helpful & thought-provoking in evolving an improved Bill out of the present one or drafting a comprehensive fresh Legislation involving the overhauling in the future of the whole of the present system.

## A Land Mark.

The Bill constitutes an important Land Mark in the history of Land Revenue & Survey administration Policy in this Presidency. The well-known Declaration emphasising the need of Land Revenue legislation, of the Joint Select Committee of the two Houses of Parliament on the Govt. of India Bill, almost synchronised with the operations of Revision Settlements of Land Rev. assessments in several parts of this Presidency. The Bombay Govt., however, without waiting for such legislation proceeded to make the Revision Settlements on the old System & did not move in the direction of embodying after independent investigation in the Law the main principles & policy in regard to Land Rev. assessments & their recovery as advised by that Committee. In the pre-reformed Councils, soon after this declaration Dr. R. P. Paranjpye, who was a Non-official Member of the Council, had moved a Resolution on 6th August, 1920 recommending that the new Revenue Settlement of Erandol Taluka as proposed by the Settlement Officer should not be sanctioned by Govt.; & in his speech had referred to the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee & complained that the reformed Councils were being unfairly treated in that they would not be left free to discuss this question in the newly constituted Councils with a Non-Official majority.

Again in 1922, a resolution was moved in the first Reformed Council on 7th October 1922, which sought that all proposals for increasing Land Rev. assessment should be subject in future, to a discussion by the Legislative Council, whose recommendations should be the

guiding factor in the revision of the assessments & in the debate that followed the Hon. the Revenue Member had said:—

“ I do not think that there can be any difference of opinion as to the general principle underlying the Joint Parliamentary Committee’s recommendation that under the Reforms, Honourable Members should have a voice in every form of taxation, and as Land Revenue is one of them, they should have a voice in it. Now, I ask whether Hon. Members have or have not such a voice. What I wish to point out is that Hon. Members have definitely the kind of voice which should vest in such a deliberative Assembly as this Council, and what is that voice ? That voice is the passing of the Land Revenue Code. This Council can regulate the Policy and lay it down definitely in an Act. That Act would be worked by the executive Officers. ”

( Bom. Legislative Council Debates. vol. VII 1922, Page. 678. )

### **Revenue Member’s declaration.**

“My Hon. friend the mover stated what is happening in Madras. All that I can make out of that quotation is that a Committee has been appointed in order to suggest the lines which legislation should take for the purpose of laying down general principles of Land Revenue policy. Such legislation we have, & if any Hon. Member thinks that it should be modified in any particular way, he has the remedy of either bringing a definite Resolution for the purpose or introducing amending legislation. ”

( Bom. Legis. Council Debates, Vol. VII. 1922. P. 679. )



" Now, Sir, it would necessarily be urged that as the representatives of the people Hon. Members should have some say in the matter of laying down the principles which guide the revision of settlement of land Revenue in this Presidency. I accept that position, & I desire to point out that it is open to the Members, such Members as are so inclined, to devote the necessary time to the study of the question, to thoroughly investigate the matter from materials which are open to them & to bring to the notice of Govt. any alterations or amendments which they think would conduce to improve the principles underlying the policy of revision of settlements, "

( Bom. Legis. Council Debates, 1922, Vol VII page. 686. )

The Resolution was ultimately withdrawn by the mover on the understanding that the matter was sufficiently ventilated & the Rev. Member had given an inkling of the attitude of Govt. towards the question.

### **The difficulties of Private Members.**

Now the difficulties in the way of a private Member attempting a Legislation of this kind, apart from the want of necessary machinery for drafting etc, are such that it is impossible for him to succeed. As an instance in point it may be mentioned that a Draft Bill in the matter of the registration and auditing of the accounts of Public Charitable trusts was submitted by me for the sanction of the Govt. of India in the beginning of the first Reformed Council and the correspondence that ensued upon it and which resulted in refusing such sanction

came to a close, after the 3 years period of that Council was over. Again I had submitted a similar Bill in the beginning of the present Council but the correspondence about the granting of sanction is still going on.

Under these circumstances, after this debate at least, if not before, it was upto Govt. to investigate the problem in all its aspects and bearings including among others, the one bearing upon the staple industry of the Country viz. Agriculture, by an independent agency competent to examine the existing principles and practice with a view to find out the defects in them and suggest a sound policy especially when it was to be embodied in Law and permanently placed on the statute --book with the vote of the representatives of the people in the new Reformed Councils.

The present System with a few variations is based upon the recommendations contained in the Joint Report of Mr- Goldsmid and Lieut. Wingate with whom was later on associated Captain Davidson, who were asked to " take into consideration the best means for bringing the somewhat diversified operations of the several Revenue surveys of this Presidency into conformity, as far as practicable, and also for ensuring the results of the surveys being turned to the best account and maintained in their original integrity in the future management of the Districts. "

( Land Revenue Assessment Committee Report, Page. 10. )

### **The Wingate System.**

They produced a report now well-known as the Joint Report of 1847, which is the foundation of the present

System. The need for an examination of the working of what we may call the Wingate System, for which had worked for a sufficiently long time when first enhancements fell due, was keenly felt as early as 1875 as observed by the late Sir William Weddarburn, a Member of the Bombay Civil Service, in his pamphlet "Gleanings from the best Revenue Books," published in 1882. This is what he said "official theories are always apt to be mistaken as being one-sided, & representing only the views of a class. But as regards the incidence of the land revenue in this Presidency they seem to be exceptionally fallacious. And unfortunately these erroneous ideas cause much practical mischief, when they lead to enhancements which are not justified by the facts, & thereby bring discredit upon a source of income which is the mainstand of Indian finance. These errors will not be rectified and the land revenue placed on a secure basis, until an independent agency is appointed for the collection of a comprehensive and well-digested set of facts as proposed by Sir Louis Mallet."

( Gleanings from the best Revenue Books by. Weddarburn, pages. 15-16. )

### Sir Louis Mallet's Minute

Sir Louis Mallet referred to in the above quotation was none other than the permanent Under Secretary of State, whose valuable minute of 1875 is to be found among a group of minutes by the highest authorities at the India office on some of the burning questions of Indian Land policy. The minute is based upon materials, transmitted

to England by Lord Hobart, then Governor of Madras, who had recommended to stop absolutely the enhancement operations of the settlement Department, ' which with more propriety be called the Unsettlement Department ' and had supported the liberal proposals of the Revenue Secretary and Revenue Board. As there was however a difference of opinion in his Council, he had submitted the whole correspondence with the differing opinions of the Members of his Council for the final decision of the Home Govt. There was a debate on the matter in which the principal part was taken by Sir Louis Mallet permanent Under Secretary of State, followed by Sir George Gambell, Sir Henry Maine, Sir H. Montgomery, Sir Erskine Perry, and Sir Bartle Frere the debate being closed by Lord Salisbury, then Secretary of State for India. It may be mentioned that the Madras System is like the Bombay one a Rayatwari System. It is during the course of this minute printed in a Blue Book, Appendix I of the Famine Commission Report, that the proposal of Sir Luis Mallet was made. The latest suggestion in this respect is contained in Para. 105 of the Taxation Inquiry committee where they say " As regards the rate, or as the Joint Select Committee described it, the pitch of the assessment, the Committee find it almost impossible to make any recommendation in view of the absence of any definite information as to what percentage is taken of the annual value under present conditions. What they would contemplate is that there should be an Expert inquiry in each Province with a view to ascertaining what is the most general rate at present exacted. The Local legislature would then be in a position to fix a common rate for the Province."

( Report of the Indian Taxation Inquiry Committee  
1924-25, Vol. I. P. 86. )

### **Bombay Government's breach of faith.**

Instead of appointing an independent agency to investigate and find out the main principles of the policy to be pursued in relation to the Land Revenue & its collection to be embodied in a future enactment the Govt. referred the question to their own officers, viz. the 3. Revenue Commissioners and Mr. Anderson, who not only is the settlement Commissioner and Director of Land Records, but is as observed by me in one of the Council Debates of 1927, also the Director of the whole of the present policy of Land Revenue of the Bombay Govt. by a Confidential Resolution (No. 1953/confl Rev. Dept. of 12th June 1923.) In March 1924 the Bombay Legislative Council had passed a Resolution referred to in the Statement of objects and reasons of the Bill under criticism. This Resolution recommended the appointment of a Committee of officials and Non-Officials with a nonofficial majority to investigate the problem of land revenue & to report on the nature and form of legislation to be undertaken as advised by the Joint Parliamentary Committee. Govt. took no action on this Resolution apparently because they wanted to proceed, on the Report of their own Officers, the 4 Commissioners. This Report was received by Govt. on 22nd May 1924. Then the Land Revenue Assessment Committee was appointed in June 1924, to report on the nature and form of legislation that should be undertaken on which the 4 Commissioners along with 3 other Officials were

appointed together with 14 non-official members. Properly speaking Govt. should have asked their Commissioners not to submit their Report until they had heard the evidence & discussed the problem with their non-official colleagues of the Committee.

### Vital recommendations ignored

The report of this Committee was submitted in October 1926 and it is stated in the objects & reasons that the present Bill is intended to give effect to those recommendations of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, **which have been accepted by Govt.**; but this is far from being the case as it will be seen that the recommendations of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee which have been accepted by Govt. relate only to 3 minor matters namely:—

- (1) The limits of enhancement,
- (2) Periods of Settlement,
- (3) Rules for remissions & suspensions to be made under Sec. 214 L. Rev. Code,

But there are other important matters, namely:—

- (1) The pitch or the maximum percentage of profits which the State is entitled to take from land-holders as assessment.
- (2) The basis for fixing the assessment.
- (3) Appointment of a Standing Advisory Committee of the Bombay Legislative Council.

These three major recommendations have been rejected by Govt. for reasons stated in their G. R. No. 1790/24 dated 13th may 1927.

If, as is stated, the Bill is intended to give effect to the accepted recommendations, why is it, may we ask, that the two most important but purely official recommendations contained in the report submitted after the Land Revenue Assessment Committee's Resolution, but before the appointment of that Committee by the 4 Commissioners on the 22nd of May 1924, are to be embodied, in the form of a law, while those of the Land Rev. Assessment Committee on which the 4 Commissioners were also represented jointly with non-officials are to be set aside? The statement in the objects and reasons gives an impression (of course erroneous) as if the proposed legislation proceeds on the recommendations of the Committee, but there is nothing of the kind.

### Flouting Public opinion

The anxiety of the Joint Parliamentary Committee was that the people, who are most affected, should have a voice in the shaping of the System by which Land Revenue is assessed & levied, but the proposed legislation goes counter to the voice of the people expressed from time to time, through their representatives in the Councils as will be seen from the debates on resolutions brought in this Council, in 1920, 1922, 1924, the report of 1926 of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee & the debates in the present Council on the resolutions brought in the years in 1927, 1928 and even ignores the assurances given by the Hon. & expert Members of the Govt. themselves; for instance, the Hon. Sir C. V. Metha, in winding up the debate on the reso. of March 1924, appealed to the members of the Council in these

terms:—" I now make this appeal to the Hon. Members opposite, & further tell them that if as a result of the deliberations on Report of the Committee, they make any radical changes in the principles of assessments, we shall apply them with retrospective effect to the new Revision, however, few I believe there will be very few, if any, revised assessments that may be made." Again when on the debate on my Reso. of March 1927, several members expressed their apprehension that the joint dissenting minute of the official members of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, which advocated rental value as the basis of the Settlement, may weigh with the Govt. in framing the Legislation on the subject. Sir Lallubhai Shamaldas, who had acted as Chairman of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, during his acting appointment as Revenue Member in the absence of Sir C. V. Metha, & who was specially nominated as an expert member when this resolution was to come up for discussion, said, " I fear that my Hon. friends opposite have laid greater stress on the Minutes of Dissent of official members of that Committee ( Land Rev. Assessment Committee ) than on the recommendations of the Committee itself. I draw the attention of the Hon. Members to the end of the paragraph 33 on page 20, where the Committee says that in fixing the assessment regard should be had to the profit of cultivation. Rental value is not mentioned here & though, it is included in the list that follows, it has not been put as the first item but as the sixth one. Those Hon. Members who stated that the Committee had recommended rental value alone as the basis will now see that the basis recommended is the profit of cultivation." It cannot be said that



Sir Lallubhai did not correctly understand the official attitude regarding the existing policy & the changes recommended by the Committee both during his official career as Revenue Member & when he made the statement quoted above & yet it is strange to find how the Govt. treat this responsible opinion when they issue the 'Resolution of 13 th May 1927,' in which they extolled his services in these terms:— "Thanks of Govt. are due to the Members of the Committee for their report & in particular to Sir Lallubhai Shamaldas C. I. E.; who at great personal inconvenience officiated as Chairman for some time & gave both his time & energies unsparingly to the work". The resolution of May, 1927, is nothing but a gramophone of the Minute of Dissent of the official members of the Committee, which in turn is a reproduction of the recommendations contained in their report submitted in May 1924; and the present Bill is nothing but an attempt to embody the official view formed and expressed long before the appointment of the Committee.

### A Policy of deliberate evasion.

In fact at page 3 para 5 of G. R. No. 1790/24, dated 13th May 1927, Govt. state that "finally there is the general consideration that the object of the legislation, now proposed, as was indicated by the Joint Parliamentary Committee, is to give Legislative sanction to the **existing** principles & practice of Land Revenue assessment. Here it is significant to observe that in the Report of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, the adjective preceding **principles** is 'main' & not 'existing'.

### **Government's inconsistency**

The conclusion, therefore, may safely be drawn that the Govt., while not oblivious of the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee & professing their willingness to listen to the voice of the people, are not prepared to accept either the advice of the Joint Parliamentary Committee, or the voice of the people, but are perpetuating the evilsome practices of their individual executive officers, regardless of the people's voice. The proposed amendments of sects. 100 & 107 of the Land Revenue Code, regarding the fixing of the pitch & the basis of assessment are, therefore, inconsistent with the statement in the first para of the objects and reasons, viz. "The Bill is intended to give effect to those recommendations which have been accepted by Government. Govt. have turned down the major recommendations & are seeking to embody the official recommendations which were rejected by the Committee. Public agitation against the Land Revenue System is very old and the recent debates on the two resolutions of march 1927 and 1928 disclose that the present policy is condemned by the representatives of the people as unjust, inequitable, and arbitrary and a demand is made for a drastic revision of the same. The Bill is not only no improvement on the existing state of things but is most re-actionary and even worse than the present law.

### **Deliberate omissions**

Before leaving this subsidiary point touched in the first para of Objects and Reasons, I wish to make one

observation and it is this that the Govt. have always faught shy of investigating this important problem vitally affecting the well-being of the masses through any independent Commission or Committee. Take, for instance, the instructions to the Taxation Inquiry Committee by which the Committee were to include in the inquiry the consideration of the land revenue only so far as is necessary for a comprehensive survey of existing conditions but they are not required to make suggestions regarding systems of settlement. Again take the Royal Commission on Agriculture. The question of land revenue settlements and its bearing on the condition of Agriculture has not been dealt with by that Commission, though it has dealt with numerous other matters in great detail, because the terms of reference do not include an investigation into the land revenue problem among the matter specifically mentioned therein and there is reason to believe that it was deliberately excluded from their consideration. The Famine Commissions of 1880 1898 and 1901, the Irrigation Commission of 1903, and the Committee on Co-operation of 1915 were landmarks in the history of the development of agriculture in India. The commission of 1880 arrived at the general conclusion that " it is to the improvement of the internal communications and the removal of all obstructions to the free course of trade accompanied by the extention of irrigation in suitable localities and an improved agriculture that we must look for obtaining security in future against disastrous failures in the food supply, " though incidentally it touched the subject of land revenue assessment, as to which we shall see later on. The Commission of 1898 (Para, 592) say that owing to high

prices, there has been a considerable increase in the incomes of the landholding classes & these classes have shown greater power of resistance than in any previous period. The subject was not discussed by the Famine Commission of 1901.

### Wanted exhaustive inquiry

But it is to be regretted that Govt. do not think that the principles and a sound policy of land revenue assessments is a very important subject. As will be seen subsequently, the present practice is defective from the point of view of incidence, extreme rigidity in the size of the demand and even in the matter of classification of soil and grouping. Apart from the ultimate goal of evolving a system which will extinguish the burden on the poorest agriculturist who has no taxable capacity being in receipt of income hardly sufficient to bring it up to the subsistence level and adjust the burden on the higher agricultural incomes to their taxable capacity, the question of the steps by which the reform can be brought about must be determined by an independent and full expert investigation, which Govt. have all along shelved. But in the meanwhile when on the motion of a non-official member, a representative Committee is actually appointed which makes certain important recommendations as to the pitch and the basis of assessment, they are rejected and Govt. wants to stick to their own officers' pre-conceived and one-sided views formed before they had heard any evidence or discussed the question in a joint deliberation that took place & the result is embodied in the form of recommendation of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee.

## Article II

### Rights of the State and their Limitation.

( Cl. 2 in the Bill with the Note there-on )

( Sec. 100 Bom. Land Rev. Code )

### Part I

Small as the Bill is, containing only four Clauses, & amending 3 Secs. 100, 107, and 214 of Land Rev. Code, the principles sought to be introduced into it are of far-reaching importance and will permanently affect the wellbeing of the agricultural population. It is therefore proposed to examine the provisions somewhat closely and critically and even at some length.

The subject matter of the amending Clauses may be divided into four Main heads:-

I. The pitch i. e. the extent of the State's Share in the produce of land, which is laid down in the Bill as not exceeding 50 P. C. of the rental value.  
( Sec. 100 Cl. 2 of the Bill )

II. The basis of the Revision of the assessment of Land Revenue, which is primarily laid down as the rental value.

Sec. ( 107 ) Cl. 3 of the Bill & Explanation

III. Limits of enhancement,

( Provisoes to Sec. 107 ) Cl. 3 of the Bill..

IV. Rules regarding Suspensions and Remissions & methods of Valuation of Crops.

( Sec. 214 ) Cl. 4 of the Bill

It may be observed that there is no provision as regards the Standing Advisory Committee of the Legi-

slative Council to examine all Revision Settlement proposals & recommend modifications; which, if not accepted by Govt., should stop the proposals until Legislative Council sanctioned them. This was one of the major recommendations of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, but it finds no place in the new Legislation. We propose to deal with these four clauses in order. Before dealing with them seriatim & specifically we wish to make some general remarks regarding the principles underlying each of these Clauses.

### **State vs. Individual Ownership.**

It is mentioned in the Note on Cl, 2, that by the Custom of the Country, the State is entitled to a certain but undefined share of the gross produce of all cultivable land, & it is on this hypothesis, that the Bill proceeds to lay down the principles on which to base the settlement of Land Revenue. It is therefore necessary to examine the ancient custom of the Country as to the rights of the State over Land. It may be observed that this statement in the Bill while avoiding to assert expressly the claim of the State to absolute or exclusive ownership of the soil, proceeds to assume that the rights of the State are unlimited—thus in effect laying claim to land itself by reducing the cultivator to the position of a mere tenant-at-will.

### **Untenable proposition**

But this is a proposition which cannot be accepted since it is indirectly, though not directly an assertion of the Doctrine of State Land-Lordism. It is no

use disguising the fact that there has been a certain current of official opinion, which practically, claims for the State unlimited rights & it is to be regretted that at various times, this official opinion has succeeded by executive orders in enforcing on behalf of the State whatever demand it was thought polite or desirable to make. The declaration of the Famine Commissioners, that by immemorial & unquestioned prescription, the Govt. is entitled to receive from the occupier of the Land, whatever portion it required of the surplus profit left after defraying the expenses of cultivation, was the first and foremost authoritative assertion of this theory, and the policy adopted by executive orders, and Rules, (purporting to be issued under the Land Revenue Code, but which were not in strict consonance with, but practically in contravention of the spirit of Law as contained in the code of 1879 itself) at the revision settlements that have taken place since the first Survey, has tended in the same direction. In fact The Hon. the Finance Member Mr. P. R. Cadel, while speaking on the debate on the Resolution of Mr. R. G. Pradhan in the Bombay Legislative Council on 15 th March 1924 said—

“ It cannot be denied that the Land belongs to the State and that its possession forms one of the most valuable assets, from the proceeds of which the administration is carried on. The State Ownership of Land is not a System introduced by the British by a stroke of bureaucratic pen. It dates from the most ancient Historical times. ”

( Bombay Legis. Council Debates, Feb. March 1924. PP. 1303-4. )

### Official's new attempt.

The Govt. Reso. No. 1790/24 of 13 th May 1927 on the Report of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee also follows the policy enunciated by the Executive Officers of Govt. holding more or less the same views, as is apparrant by their emphasising the fact that the **existing** practices & principles are to be embodied in a Law and they even attempt to take support for this view from the Joint Parliamentary Committee's recommendations in which the word '**existing**' does not occur at all but instead there is the word **Main**. It is no wonder, therefore, that the present Bill seeks to impose the present practice observed by many an Executive officer & gives a complete go-by to the opinions expressed by the Non-official Members of the Legislative Council in the debate on my Resolution of March 1928 & the Land Revenue Assessment Committee & even sets at nought the views embodied in the Majority Report of that Committee. It is therefore necessary to examine whether this practice of regarding the state demand from Ind as unlimited is consistent with either the teachings of History or the weighty opinions & instructions of the British Statesmen or the Law as it stands & last, but not the least, the dictates of natural justice & sound policy to be followed by a civilized Govt.

### Inconsistent with Law.

As an illustration of how the practice introduced by Survey, Settlement and Reveune Officers, is **inconsistent with** the provisions of Law, the adoption of the rental basis, in revision settlements may be mentioned as



the latest. For it is on this so-called practice, that the principle underlying the amendment of Sec. 10, Bombay Land Revenue Code viz. the right of the State to take 50 P. C. of the rental value as its assessment is based, and this is expressly mentioned in the objects & reasons. The provisions of the present Land Revenue Code however do not warrant this, the words used being " Profits of Agriculture " and rental value. ( Vide end of Note on Cl 2. )

Again in 1928 when one Member speaking on the Reso. of Mr. V. N. Jog. which entered a protest against the Govt. Reso. of May 1927, said that Govt. want to establish the State Ownership. The Settlement Commissioner referring to this point in reply, instead of conceding the principle of peasant proprietorship, said " as to the vexed question of the State Ownership of the Land, I cannot say anything on that subject on the present occasion. But there is a great deal to be said on the subject. If it is a question that the Bombay Govt. is not the owner of the Land, then I will ask Non-Official Members especially the Legal profession, to bear carefully in mind that the moment that they bring the ownership of the State, they tear up and destroy all the Titles of all the Inamdars and Jahagirdars, Saranjamdars and Chiefs in the Presidency. "

### **Ambiguous Statement.**

It is difficult to understand what this ambiguous statement means? The Jahagirdars, Inamdars & Chiefs are Owners of the Royal Share of the Revenue, unless at the time of their Grants the Lands were waste or Sheri,

i. e. Crown Lands under private cultivation or 'Gat Kuli' (Deserted Land.) in which case, of course, the State could convey to the Grantees the Soil. How could the Doctrins of peasant Proprietorship deprive all the Inamdars and chiefs of all their Titles which ordinarily are to the Royal share of the Revenue except in certain cases mentioned above. They will and must stand in the shoes of Govt. Obviously Mr. Anderson's implication is that if State Ownership to land is denied, the Inamdar's rights will be jeopardised and he wants the Members to bear this in mind and to dissuade them from enunciating the Doctrins of peasant proprietorship, but such tactics are not likely to deceive any one.

### Occupancy rights

If the Mirashi or Occupancy rights have vested in the peasant at the time of the Inamdar's grant, the latter cannot be the owner of the Soil, but only of the Royal share of the Revenue. This is a well recognized position under the Law and High Court Decisions. It is only when as stated above there was no 'HAKDAR' on the Land, that the Inamdar can make the most of his rights and thus get the right to the Soil itself. The expression, 'Kheriḥ Hakadar Karun' (excluding the rights of holders) is a well-known phrase which occurs in every Sanad granted by the Crown. In the case of such Occupancy rights already vested in the holder as occupant, the Inamdar gets nothing but the assessment. It is only when the holder is a Permanent Tenant (and not occupant) by virtue of Sec. 83 of the Land Rev. Code, that the Inamdar gets a right of enhancement of

rent by Usage etc. If this distinction between a Mirasdar ( occupant ), and a permanent tenant under Sec. 83 of the Land Rev. Code, is clearly understood, then there is no fear of danger to the rights of the Inamdar as well as those of the peasant and the Members need not be frightened in the way the Settlement Commissioner tries to do. The whole subject is discussed at length in the earliest well-known case of *Vyakunta vs. Govt. of Bombay*, reported in 12 Bom. High Court Reports P. I. and subsequently in various other cases decided by the High Court of Bombay.

The ancient Textbook of Manu and his Comentator Kaluk Bhatta affirm the Ownership of the Cultivator by laying down cultivated land to be the property of him who cut away the wood, or who cleared and tilled it. ( *Manava-Dharma Shastra with the Gloss of Kaluka Bhat and chap. IX. V. 44.* ) The *Vyavahar Mayukh* which is a high authority on Hindu Law in Bombay supports the same view. " The property in each Village, house..... belongs to the holder of the soil or other property. The Revenue only is to be taken by the Prince." ( *Vyavahar Mayukh Chap. IV. P. 8.* )

This is what the Lawgivers wrote and it is what they found existing and fully established & this accounts for the absence of express Texts, in Hindu Law Books, conferring upon the rayats property in land, though the existence of such property under a variety of terms and for a variety of purposes is alluded to in every page. ( *Mirasi papers, p. 197, Notes 39.* )

In fact the Lawgivers recorded the ancient custom as then existing & we have to examine whether it supports the broad proposition adumbrated in the State-

ment of objects and reasons of the Bill under discussion.

### **' The ancient Mirashee tenure '**

The proprietorship of the soil appears under various names in this country. It is found in the village communities in early times, which still exists in great strength in the Punjab ( Campbell's Modern India & Land Tenures of India ) & in the Bombay Presidency, the Bhagadari, and Narwari villages in Gujarat are the perfect types of the same. In later times in Bombay & Madras the property of the rayats in the soil is well-known under the term ' Miras.' According to Mr. Ellis, the word Miras is Arabic originally signifying inheritance but like other Revenue terms passed to the Languages of India through the Persian Mirashee as it is often written. The tenor of Mr. Ellis's Report of 1816 on Mirashee tenure favours the view that the tenure was of Hindu origin and was no other than that private property in the soil which was implied in writings of ancient Hindu Lawgivers. And as stated by the Bombay High Court, the remarks of Mr. Ellis apply to Mirashee tenure in the Presidency of Bombay. In the Satara District & presumably in other parts of the Decan, the term is well-understood by the most ignorant & illiterate villager as meaning hereditary proprietary rights to the Soil which are so much valued by them.

### **Mirasdar's rights**

In the Survey & Settlement Manual it is said that in the Mirasdar is to be seen the descendant & representative

of the old village proprietary body of the village community & the Miras tenure is described as possessing the following characteristics.

( i . ) The land held constituted, what is called in the reports " private property ", that is to say, it was heritable, and transferable, such transfer being always attested by formal documents witnessed, not only by the patel & kulkarni, but also by the old hereditary District officials, the Desmukh & Deshpande.

( ii ) The assessment upon such land was theoretically supposed to be fixed, but in practice, as will be shown subsequently no such limitations were observed. In fact, advantage was taken of the Mirasdar's devotion to his ancestral fields to tax him far more heavily than other cultivators.

( iii ) The Mirasdar had what was practically an inalienable right to the possession of the land; so much so that he might even leave the village for an indefinite period and omit to pay the assessment upon it, and yet, upon his reappearance, he would be allowed to reclaim his Property, even though it might have passed into the possession of another person, nor was he usually required to make up the arrears of assessment.

( iv ) In the event of a resident Mirasdar failing to pay his assessment the whole body of Mirasdar's was held responsible for the deficiency, though this rule was abrogated if the defaulter had left the village.

( v ) Miras lands which were what was called Gatkul or deserted ( Gat gone & kul tenant ) were at the disposal of Govt., either to lease on the Uprī tenure or to hand over to others on the Miras tenure on payment of a fee. This power of disposal seems even to have

rested with the patel, though it seems doubtful whether this was not an assumption on his part.

( Survey & Settlement Manual Vol. 1. Page 11. )

### **Transferable estate:**

The holders of Land on Mirashee tenure enjoy an hereditary & transferable estate. The Court of Directors in a Despatch of August 18th, 1824 to the Madras Govt. say "The right of Mirasdars, to the lands which they themselves cultivate is in general indisputable." ( Mirashee Papers, P. 423. )

Mr. Mountstuart Elphinstone, in his valuable report of the 25th October 1819 on the territories conquered from the Peshwa, now forming part of the Presidency of Bombay, in treating of the Mirashi tenure says, "that the result of the Reports of his three Collectors and of his own inquiries was:— That a large portion of the Rayats are the proprietors of their estates, subject to the payment of a fixed land-tax to Govt.; that their property is hereditary & saleable & they are never dispossessed while they pay their tax, & even then they have for a long period ( at least 30 years ) the right of reclaiming their estate on paying the dues of Govt." ( Revenue Selections Vol. IV. P. 159-160 )

### **Hindu Revenue System.**

An opinion prevails throughout the Maratha Country that under the old Hindu Govt. all the land was held by Mirasis; and that the Oparis were introduced,

as the old proprietors sunk under the tyranny of the Mahomedans. This opinion is supported by the fact that the greater part of the fields now cultivated by Ooparis, are recorded in the village books as belonging to absent proprietors and affords when combined with circumstances observed in other parts of the peninsula, and with the light land-tax authorised by Manu, a strong presumption that the Revenue System under the Hindus (if they had a uniform system) was founded on private property in the soil. All the land which does not belong to the Mirasis belongs to Govt. or those to whom Govt. has assigned it. The property of the Zamindars in the soil has not been introduced or even heard of in the Maratha Country. ( Revenue Selections Vol. IV. p. 159-160 )

It is pertinent to quote here what the Board of Revenue at Madras in their elaborate Minute of 5th January 1818 speaking of rayat Land-holders, said:—

“ The universally distinguishing character as well as the chief privilege of this class of people, is their exclusive right to the hereditary possession and usufruct of the soil, so long as they render a certain portion of the produce of the land, in kind or money, as public Revenue; for whether rendered in service, in money or in kind, & whether paid to Rajahs, Jahagirdars, Zamindars, Polygars, Mootehdars, Shotriumdars, Maniamdars, or Govt. Officers, such as Tehsildars &c, the payments which have always been made by the rayat are universally termed and considered the dues of the Govt. ”

( 12 Bom. High Court Report P. 52. )

Grant Duff, in speaking of the Deccan, says:—“ The Mirasdar is an hereditary occupant whom the Govt. can-

not displace, as long as he pays the assessment on his field. With various privileges and distinctions in his village, of minor consequence, the Mirasdar has the important power of selling or transferring his right of occupancy at pleasure. To render this right saleable, of course, infers a low rate of assessment; and much discussion as to his being the proprietor of the soil, has in consequence arisen in different parts of British India. It is a current opinion in the Maratha Country that all of the lands were originally of this description".

( Grant Duff's Hist. Vol. I. P. 22 ).

Mr. ( afterwards Sir Henry ) Pottinger writing as Collector of Ahmednager, in 1822, Said:— " The Mirasi tenure has existed in this part of India ( in common, I believe, with all others ) from time immemorial, & when I have inquired about the period of its establishment, I have been told I might as well inquire where the soil was made. " ( Revenue Selec. Vol. IV. P. 736 )

These & various other authorities and Historical evidences on this point were fully considered by our High Court in the well-known Case from Kanara decided in 1875 and it is enough to quote the conclusion arrived by their Lordships, where they say "This review of the authorities leads us to the conclusion arrived at also ( after careful discussion of the question ) by Prof. H. H. Wilson, that the proprietary right of the sovereign derives no warrant from the ancient Law or Institutions of the Hindus and is not recognized by Modern Hindu Lawyers as exclusive or incompatible with individual ownership.



### State Landlordism repudiated.

The Govt. of Lord Lytton emphatically repudiated the assertion of State landlordism in the following way:—

“ We do not accept the accuracy of the description that the tenure of land in India was that of a cultivating tenants, with no power to mortgage the land of the State, and that land is the property of the Govt., held by the occupier as tenant on hereditary succession so long as he pays the Govt. demand. On the contrary, the sale and mortgage of land were recognized under the Native Govts. before the establishment of British power and are not uncommon in Native States at the present time. It has been one of the great objects of all the successive Govts. of India since the days of Lord Cornwallis; if not to create property in land, at all events to secure and fortify and develop it to the utmost. The Govt. undoubtedly, is the owner of the first charge the amount of which is fixed by itself on the produce of all revenue paying land in India, but over the greater part of the Indian Empire, it is no more the owner of the cultivated land than the owner of a rent charge in England is the owner of the land upon which it is charged. ( Despatch dated 8/6.1880. Para. 31 ).

Let us next see what the Mahomedan Law was as to the property in the soil & the amount of Land Revenue leviable by the State. Considerable reliance may be placed as observed by the Bombay High Court, quoting Mill & Wilson's Hist. 5th Edition, page 297 note 3 in the case of Vyakunta vs. Govt. of Bombay (13 Bom. High court R. P. 54) on General Galloway's work on the Law & the Constitution of India. 1825.

At page 32 General Galloway quotes from the same author thus:—"The Land of the Suwand of Irak (a conquered province) is the property of its inhabitants. They may alienate it by sale & dispose of it as they please; for when the Imaum conquers a country by force of arms, if he permit the inhabitants to remain in it, imposing the Kharaj on their lands and the Jizeeah (Capitation-tax) on their heads, the land is the property of the inhabitants; and since it is their property, it is lawful for them to sell it, or to dispose of it as they choose". (12 B. H. R. P. 55).

The Mahomedan Law, as laid down in the above passages, is that of the School of Hanifa, which was that mainly prevalent in Hindustan. In support of that predominance General Galloway gives the following extract from the introduction to a Farman of the Emperor Alam Gir (Aurangzzib) :—"We have deemed it expedient to issue our Royal edict to all officers entrusted with the management of affairs through-out Hindustan directing them to levy the Kharaj in the mode and proportion enjoined by the holy law and the tracts of Abu Hanifa." (12 Bom. H. C. R. 55)

"By the Mahomedan Law the land revenue of the Crown was fixed on the arable land only. That alone was given away to the husbandman, who became the owner. All other lands remained the property of the state, and were ready to be given away, on application, to any one who would undertake to cultivate them. If he did cultivate, well, if not, within a reasonable time, which was limited to 3 years, the land was taken from him, and might be given to another."

(12 Bom. H. C. Report, p. 57.)

But the great Hanifa Lawyer, Shums-ool-Aymahool Surukshee, in speaking of Kharaj on the question, what is the utmost extent of kharaj which land can bear? says:- "Iman Muhammad hath said, regard shall be had to the cultivator, to him who cultivates. There shall be left for every one who cultivates his land as much as he requires for his own support till the next crop be reaped & that of his family and for seed. This much shall be left him; what remains is Kharaj, and shall go to the Public Treasury." ( 12 Bom. H. C. Report p. 61. )

Theoretically the Mahomedan Law of the Hanifi School vested the property in the cultivator but if the whole of the net profit went to the Sovereign he became the Universal Landlord. Mr. Wilson, however, observes that the more equitable spirit and sounder judgment of Akbar limited the demand of the Sovereign to 1/3 of the average produce of different sorts of lands.

( Ayni Akbarri, translated by Gladwin Vol. I. chap. iii. pp. 306, 314 ).

Without further referring in detail to the old writers on Hindu and Mahomedan Laws, on the subject of land revenue it is sufficient here to state the conclusion of the Taxation Inquiry Committee, which has, after examining the evidence, given as its unanimous opinion that under both Hindu and Mahomedan Rule the State never claimed the absolute or exclusive ownership of the land and definitely recognised the existence of private property in it.

Before leaving the consideration of this aspect of the question, it is pertinent to remark that the British Govt. has never asserted a general right of ownership

in the Land Acts were passed in 1850, 57, 60, & 70, which enable Govt. to acquire land for public purpose by payment of the price by Govt. to the owners thus showing that the State was not the owner nor the people in any sense, its tenants liable to pay anything of the nature of rent.

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## Part II

### ' Maximum limit of the State Demand.'

Having seen that the property in the soil does not belong to the State, the next important question for consideration is the maximum demand which the State can and ought to make on the produce of the land which belongs to the Rayat. In this behalf it is said in the statement of objects & reasons of the Bill that the Land Revenue Assessment Committee appointed by Govt. was unable to agree in fixing a maximum percentage of the rental value as the assessment to be claimed by the State, opinion on the subject varying from 10 to 75 P. C., that Settlement Officers had usually regarded 50 P. C. as the maximum but in practice they had rarely, if ever, worked up to that limit. The Committee however decided by a majority that the assessment should not exceed 25 P. C. of the profits of cultivation, i. e. the gross profits less all the expenses incurred in deriving these profits. Yet the Bill says Govt. have decided to adhere to the existing practice & to embody it as a principle in Sec. 100 of the Land Revenue Code.

### Theory of state Landlordism.

The Majority recommendation of their own Committees is thus rejected & the Official practice is sought to be perpetuated in Law. May we ask if this action is consistent with the statement in the very first paragraph of the objects & reasons that the Bill is intended to give effect to those recommendations of the Committee which are accepted by Govt. The Majority recommendation is moreover supported by the conclusion of the Taxation Inquiry Committee. The principle of individual proprietorship having been once established, the right of the State can neither be indefinite or unlimited & a renunciation of the theory of State Landlordism would be the most effectual step towards fixing the definite limit on future assessments. Assuming that in olden days some despotic Govts. did by force, at times, take whatever portion they required of the surplus profit left after defraying the expenses of cultivation, it is inaccurate to say as is said in the Note on Cl. 2 that the State was entitled to do so.

### Ancient Law and Pre-British practice.

It is declared in Manu, chap. VII. pl. 130, 131, 133, also in Chap. X, pl. 118, 119, 120, and I Jaganath's Digest Bk. II. ch. II. Sec. 1 pl. XIV, XV, XVII, XVIII, XIX, XXIII, quoting Manu, Parasara, Vidyanaya (the Madhaviya), Vrihaspati, and Kalidasa, that the king in ordinary times, take a twelfth, eighth or sixth part of the crops of the Land, " according " adds Culluca Bhatta, to the difference of the soil, and the labour necessary to cultivate it, " and that a military king, in times of war,

invasion or great public adversity; may take even a forth part of the crops. The value of the proprietary right must vary with the weight of the public assessment of the land. If this is so moderate as to leave the cultivator a considerable annual surplus, interest ( being hereditary and alienable ) will bring him a return worth his ownership. And it is for this reason that Sir Thomas Munro in the conclusion of his famous Minute of 1824 says: " I have in course of this minute, urged again and again the expediency of lowering our land revenue and of establishing a moderate and fixed assessment, because I am satisfied that this measure alone would be much more effectual, than all other measures combined, in promoting the improvement both of the country and of the people. " ( 12 Bom. H. C. Report. p. 72. )

‘ Opinions of eminent British Statesmen ’

Mount Stuart Elphinstone, in his History of India, when treating of the controversy as to the bearing of the Hindu Law upon the question of the proprietorship of the soil, sums up against the king in these words:— " The conclusive argument is that the king's share being limited as above; to one-sixth, or at most one-fourth, there must have been another proprietor for the remaining five-sixths or three-fourths, who must obviously have had the greatest interest of the two in the whole property shared. " ( History of India. P. 21. 4th Ed. )

### The King's share

Colonel Willis in his History of Mysore, after referring to the work of Vidyaranya, Minister of Harhar Roy,

which was intended as a Manual for the officers of State, says: "It is founded on the Text of Parasara, with a copious commentary by Vidyaranya, assigning as usual to the king one-sixth as the royal share of the crop, and very rudely pronouncing the king who takes more to be infamous in this world, and consigned to ( Naraka ) the infernal regions in the next. This share he was desirous of converting from a grain to a money payment, and established fixed rules for the conversion, founded on the quantity of land, the requisite seed, the average increase, and the value of grain.

( Quoted in 12 Bom. H. C. Report. p. 83. )

Prof. H. H. Wilson remarks that the ancient Hindu Rule which gave to the State a one-twelfth, one-eighth, or one-sixth in ordinary times or a maximum of one-eighth, or one-sixth in ordinary times or a maximum of one-fourth ( and that only in time of war, invasion or public adversity), equivalent to a profit upon his cultivation or to a rent enabling him at his will to transfer the task of cultivation to tenant farmers & placing him in the position of a landed proprietor as far as ownership of rent is evidence of such a tenure.

( Mill & Wilson's History Vol. VII. p. 29 )

But with regard to the Moslem rule Mr. Wilson says that it extended the claim of the crown to the whole of the net produce & assigned to the cultivator only so much of the crop as would suffice for one year's subsistence of himself and his family and for seed.

### Akbar's system

The following account from the introduction to the Survey & Settlement Manual may be found useful as showing the History of assessment during the Mahomedan period.

The originator of the System of Surveys & Settlements which are the feature of the Moghul period is said by Abu Fazl to have been Shir Khan, the conqueror of Hamayun. It was the genius of Akbar, however, aided by his famous Minister Todar Mal, which brought the System begun by him to its fullest development. He first fixed the size of the unit of measurement—the Bigha—and then standardized the instruments of land measurement—the gaz or rod, and the tenab or chain. The whole of the cultivable lands of the Empire, which included a great part of the Deccan, were then measured in accordance therewith. The next operation was the settlement of the land revenue. The basis of the assessment was the division of the soils into three classes by a system of classification. The average produce of each class was then ascertained and average of these three amounts struck; one-third of this total was then taken and the result converted into a money rate on the average of 19 years prices and fixed as the standard of assessment. At the outset this assessment was made annually, but, on account of the difficulty of obtaining the annual record of prices, was in the end fixed for a term of 10 years. ”

( Survey and Settlement Manual vol. 1. pp. 8. )



Coming to the Maratha period, there is ample material in the Reports of the first British Administrators bearing upon their revenue Administration. The System adopted by the Peshawas since the time of Nana Phadanavis was based upon that of Malik Amber and is already referred to above. This System continued till the time of the last Peshawa Bajirao II in whose time as in the time of the Mogal Emperor Aurangzeb, the methods of Administration took a turn for the worse. The ordinary revenues of the Dists. having proved insufficient to meet the heavy cost of his wars and the extravagance of his Court, he introduced what is called the 'Farming System':

The condition of affairs when the British succeeded can well be summarized in the words of Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone who had been directed to report on the Mirashi Tenure of the Country and who based his conclusions on the Report of his three Collectors and on his own inquiries which have been already stated above.

### High rate of assessment

It is said that the British inherited, in most parts of India, a very oppressive System of Land revenue assessment and in the early days of the Company Rule, the rates of assessment adopted by British Officers were very high according to present standards.

If any one assert that the State is entitled to make an unlimited demand from the owners of Land it is his

duty to refer to the pre-British period. If he does refer to this period and say that on the principle of succession the State is right can he equally allege the same precedent in vindication of the maintenance of the custom of Sati or any other such old Custom? If he does not refer to that period, he must refer, taking the case of England, to the feudal Doctrine that the King is Owner of land in which case how can a Constitutional Govt. of the twentieth Century pretend to be the heir of a feudal Sovereign of the Eleventh century? But after all, the question is not whether the Govt. can inherit such right, but whether it can and ought to retain it. If it ought not retain such a right, it ought certainly to get rid of any it may have and make room for what is consistent with equity and good conscience.

### Duty of civilized Government

Granting that the exactions during the Mogal and Maratha Rule were often great, these may have been resorted to owing to the fact that the country was almost in a perpetual state of war, which necessitated the levy of heavy & unjust rates. Still it is no justification for a civilized Govt. to shape their demand according to the standards prevailing during a time of misrule & chaos by saying that the State is free to levy any demand without any limitation during peaceful times and without discharging its obligations towards increasing the wealth of the country and thus making its citizens capable to bear the burden of taxation imposed upon them.

### Opinions of eminent Statesmen

The opinions of writers and Statesmen like Sir Thomas Munro, the Hon. Mount Stuart Elphinstone, Captain Briggs, Mr. Chaplain and Mr. Sullivan of the Madras Civil Service are all opposed to the sweeping theory of **unlimited State** rights. The following passage from the despatch of the court of Directors of the East India Company in 1856 is also relevant as defining the rights of the State & the cultivators:- "The Officers engaged in the duty of fixing the assessment should bear in mind that as you have expressed it, the right of the Govt. is not a rent which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the costs of cultivation & the profits of the agricultural stock, but is a land revenue only which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he in fact lets the land to others or retains it in his own hands". In 1864 Sir Charles Wood reaffirmed this principle. Sir Bartle Frere, who was first Resident at Satara and afterwards Commissioner and finally Governor of Bombay, when he was examined as regards the land Revenue Policy of the Bombay Govt. before the East India Finance Committee in 1871 fully endorsed the above quoted opinion. In this connection the late Mr. Justice Ranade observed: "The Court of Directors, to whose Imperial functions the Queen's Govt. has succeeded though they were a body of merchants, had large souls which looked far into the past and the future, at the political and economic bearings of their measures upon the welfare of the millions handed over to their care." Mr. Sullivan of the Madras Civil Service has recorded

an emphatic Note of Dissent against the sweeping theory of State Rights enunciated by the First Famine Commission protesting:—

- ( 1 ). That the State is not the owner of the Soil.
- ( 2 ). That the State is entitled to receive a certain fixed share of the produce only.
- ( 3 ). That the State's share of the crop is a true land-tax & cannot be called ' Rent ' without a serious misuse of the terms. "

If the State demand absorbs more than a due share of the profits it is clear that the agricultural industry must be injuriously affected. The extensive & chronic indebtedness of the agriculturists & the absence of marked increase in the yield of the land, its fragmentation, coupled with the increase in population are factors affecting his ability to pay & hence there are abundant reasons of public policy why the State demand from land should be definitely limited and in order that the limitation should be effective, it must be based upon some clear & intelligible principle. The Famine Commission has overlooked the extreme importance of this growth of population. This omission, has been to some extent supplied by Sir James Caird in his separate Report to the Secretary of State for India of 31 st October 1879, in which he clearly points out that the unrestrained growth of population coupled with an exhausting system of agriculture was the most serious feature of the general outlook.

## Deccan Riots & Resettlement.

The Deccan Riots Committee in their Report say:—"Our attention has been especially directed by the letter of the Govt. of India to the Bombay Govt. No 995, of the 9 th July 1875, to the questions whether the riots were in any way connected with the re-settlement of the Land revenue. we have already observed that the enhancement of the Govt. demand in the Poona Dists. operated simultaneously with the fall in prices to contract the riot's solvency. There can be no doubt as to the effect of such enhancement upon the indebted cultivator. By diminishing his profits it renders him less able to repay his present debts, & it also renders him less able to borrow. On the creditor its effect will be to diminish his income both as a creditor receiving the profits of his debtor's lands & in many cases also as a proprietor drawing income from land in his possession. He will seek to recoup himself for these losses in his income by pressing his demand upon the debtor, & he will reduce the amount of future loans in proportion to the reduction in his debtor's income. By these natural consequences we believe that the enhancement of the Govt. demand contributed in the Poona Dists. to aggravate the result of the fall in prices." (Report of the Committee on the Riots 1875 pp. 104-5).

### A poll tax

The assurances of 1856 and 1864 have never been withdrawn by any competent authority and as remarked by Sir William Wedderburn of the Bombay Civil Service

in his pamphlet on 'Revenue Enhancement' they constitute the Magna Charta of the rayatwari cultivator. The author has in the same pamphlet referred to the valuable Minute of 1875 of Sir Louis Mallet, permanent Under-Secretary of State, and after briefly noticing those parts of the discussion that ensued which bore on the question of the nature and limit of the Govt. demand under a rayatwari settlement in the Bombay Presidency, has thus concluded:—"To sum up therefore, our gleanings as to the practical incidence of the Land Revenue, we may say that by reason of exhausted soil, increasing population, high assessment, & low prices, there has, in these latter days, been produced a state of things in the Deccan a full degree lower than that described by Sir Bartle Frere as existing in his early years. And in answer to the question propounded above, we must reply that the Settlement Depts. have not limited their enhancements according to any principle recognised by the Secretary of State, that, instead of obeying the orders of 1856 and 1864, they have guided themselves by certain artificial & arbitrary rules, often at variance with actual facts, and that the assessment, instead of being a tax upon rent, is for the most part paid out of the wages of labour, operating thus as a poll-tax upon the poorest classes of the agricultural community.

### Part III

#### "Measures during British Administration"

Coming to the measures adopted from time to time by the British Administrators for the levy of the Govt.

demand, at first individual officers were given complete freedom, as to the actual measures to be adopted for collection of land revenue on the Rayatwari System, the instruction being to abolish farming, but otherwise to maintain the former System, to make the assessment light & to levy it according to actual cultivation & to make no innovations. This having proved a complete failure Mr. Pringle was appointed in 1827 to devise a system of survey & settlement & in the same year passed the first Ordinance dealing with the subject of Land Revenue. This was the Bombay Regulation No. 17 of 1827. The Preamble to that Regulation & the wording of Secs. 3 & 4 clearly show that the proprietary rights of the rayats as well as the limitation of the right of Govt. to assess the land were clearly recognised. Then followed Mr. Pringle's Survey, the system adopted in which was more or less similar to that of Madras & was clearly consistent with the proprietary rights of individuals & the limitation of the rights of the State to take a moderate proportion of the average net produce.

### Mr. Pringle's Survey.

The principles of this System were sound & it was expected that it ought to have worked satisfactorily. But this was abandoned owing to causes which should really have been examined with a view to carrying it out efficiently under proper supervision & inquiries, even at some extra cost to the State. The two main operations of that system were (i) a Survey of all the cultivable lands field by field & (ii) an assessment of every field. Mr. Pringle based his system on the theory that the relative

capacity of different classes of soils to bear assessment is in proportion to their average net produce. Really speaking with an efficient and sufficient staff and with proper supervision, this system should have been found capable of practical working. But owing to paucity of able and expert hands, Mr. Pringle's solitary efforts could not succeed and the occurrence of a series of famine years sealed the fate of this unfortunate experiment. It is a pity, the Govt. of the day did not try to remove the causes of the failure of the system but instead abandoned the system itself as being too complicated and Govt. decided to appoint Mr. Goldsmid of the civil Service and Lieutenant Wingate to commence fresh operations and this marks the beginning of the present system. These two officers with whom was later on associated Captain Davidson, produced the famous Report well-known as the Joint Report of 1840 already referred to.

### Principles of 1840 Report.

The statement in that Report says, that the chief object of a revenue survey is the regulation of the customary land-tax, so that it shall at once secure an adequate revenue to Govt. & also leads to the progressive Development of the Agricultural resources of the country, and also preserve all proprietary and other rights connected with the soil. They were also of opinion that the existing rates were much higher than what the people could afford to pay, and hence they wanted to reduce the same. The key-note of their proposal was moderation in demand, combined with a fixed field assessment. Under this system the cultiva



tor's title to the occupation of his fields was indestructible so long as he continued to pay the assessment levied upon them. It gave the power to relinquish any fields or take up others so as to accommodate the extent of his liabilities to his means. This is the Rayatwari System, the principle of which is that the assessment is placed upon separate holdings of individuals, whether Mirasdars or Uparis, the incidents of the two tenures being left to be regulated by custom. Neither the Regulation of 1827 nor the system introduced by Mr. Pringle made any change in the relative conditions of the two tenures. It was the Joint Report System of Occupancy of Mr. Wingate that introduced an important change in the conditions of occupancy. We have already seen the nature of the Mirashi tenure and at this stage it will be convenient to refer to the other class of Uparis.

### The Upari Tenure.

The cultivators in a village were divided into two classes.....the Mirasdars and the Uparies or strangers those who did not belong to the village. The tradition among the cultivators was that, all over the Deccan, the whole of the village lands had originally been in possession of the Mirasdars, but that owing to failure of heirs, family feuds or war, and the effects of famine and pestilence, a large proportion of these lands had in course of time fallen into the hands of Govt., who had let them out to the Upari cultivators. The correctness of this tradition is upheld by Colonel Sykes. Assuming for the moment the accuracy of this tradition it points clearly to a time when the Miras was the only tenure &

when the Upris, if they existed, were the tenants, not of Govt. but of the Mirasdars.

( Survey & Settlement Manual vol. 2. P. 438 ).

In Course of time, however, when lands were abandoned or the line of Mirasdar became extinct, they were at the disposal of Govt. who could lease them to the Uparis who thus became tenants under Govt. The Joint Report System of occupancy introduced fundamental changes in the conditions of occupancy, which however, were meant to apply to upri Lands only and not to Miras as is clear from the rules framed under Mr Wingate's Scheme, the reason being that the Upri tenure was a mere tenancy-at-will & so Govt. could lay what conditions they liked upon their tenants. The object of the Scheme was to improve the conditions of tenure in the case of Upri lands. By the new scheme the upri got in exchange for a tenancy-at-will a permanent tenure subject to payment of Govt. assessment and the condition of not subdividing the holding to prevent the evils of fragmentation.

### Similarity between the Systems

In his discussion of the new system of tenure Wingate constantly refers to Miras, usually in a deprecating tone on account of the disadvantages attaching to the excessive sub-division which it permitted and from which his new tenure would, he thought, be free. But miras being an old and established tenure could not be interfered with and therefore sub-division in such lands could not be stopped. At the same time the Joint Rules regarding succession, transfer, etc, were applied to miras.

no less than to the Uprī Lands, the result being to establish the same kind of dual title to land in the one case as in the other. Theoretically, the two tenures still differed, in that sub-division was allowed in the case of the one and not in that of the other. In practice, however, this divergence soon ceased to exist and the holders of Uprī lands as already explained assumed the right of sub-division exactly as the Mirasdars. When this occurred the sole difference between the tenures lay in the right of recovery which the Mirasdars claimed to exercise even after failing to pay the assessment to which Wingate refers when he remarks that "Until very lately ejection for non-payment of the Govt. assessment was nearly unknown and paupers were allowed to linger on year after year in the possession of land they had no means of cultivating, the Revenue Officers contenting themselves with screwing out of them what they could & remitting the remainder. This was particularly the case with Miras land in the Deccan."

( Paragraph 13 of Capt. Wingate's letter )

### **Last distinction disappears**

He recommended, however, that the rule making occupation dependent upon the payment of the assessment should be applied to Miras lands also and this was done. With this change the last real difference between the two forms of tenure practically ceased to exist, though the nominal distinction was retained until a considerably later period. For the purposes of this present chapter, however, the distinction may be ignored and both kinds of tenure included under the name of the "Survey tenure."

( Survey & Settlement Manual Vol. I. Pp. 223-24. )

It will be apparent from the above that the new rates and conditions could easily, have been regarded satisfactory by the Uparis while not so by the Mirasdars. However, remembering the tenacity with which the Deccan Mirasdar would stick to his land and not give it up & even when the assessment is a burden to him, it is no wonder that these Rayats quietly accepted the new rates and periods of Settlement. The result has been that practices which could well have been justified in the case of Uparis came to be introduced in the tenure of the Mirasdars also as stated at P. 224 in Chap. X. ( Survey and Settlement Manual ). Owing to the inducements and concessions made to the Uparis, a large amount of uncultivated land came to be taken up by these Uparis and the so-called satisfactory results of the change introduced by the Wingate System, the outcome of the famous Joint Report of 1847, can be easily explained. The results are spoken of with pride as showing the wisdom of the course taken.

### **Mirasdars' inherent rights.**

It is significant to observe here that while the Uparis could not have any rights limiting the Govt. demand, the Mirasdars certainly possessed inherent rights in limitation of the State. But in present practice no distinction is observed between the two tenures which are treated on the same footing & designated under one and the same name of Rayatwari. And all occupants whether Mirasdars or Uparis originally are called upon to pay the same amounts of assessments or enhanced assessments as if all the occupants were Uparis.

In reality the status of the Upari having been raised to that of the Mirasdar, the rights and privilege of the latter ought to govern the former and not vice versa. It is for this purpose that a thorough investigation by an independent agency is needed.

### Urgency of low assessment

An endeavour should be made to place a definite limitation on the rights of the State and fix as low an assessment as is possible and thus follow the policy advocated by Mr. Frazer Tytler, who in submitting his proposals for the settlement of the Nasik Dangs urged:—

“ We cannot possibly err on the side of lowness of assessment as regards the Ryots, and total exemption would be the furthest point to which we should go, had we solely their interests to look to. In framing an assessment, therefore, in which the well-being of the ryots is, what we have in view, the question becomes what is the utmost they can let them have? and not-what is the utmost they can let Govt. have? Hitherto the latter question has unfortunately been too often considered and it is one which it is utterly impossible to settle with nicety, without rendering the ryot liable at any time to be called upon for more than a fair share of his profits in the soil. How much can Govt. let the ryot have does not appear so difficult a question. It may sometimes be a struggle to be generous, but it always meets with its return; & it is now generally allowed, that to yeild much to the ryots is to receive much from them. All reason & experience

lead to this conclusion & we have lately had practical proof of it. The interest of Govt. then, as well as that of the ryot, leads us to lowness of assessment. Give as much, therefore, to the ryot as Govt. can spare, and take only as much as the present necessities of the State demand, ought, it appears to me, to be the standard of our revised assessment. ”

( Paragraph 68 of Mr. Frazer Tytler's  
Reports of 19 th April 1841. )

### The existing practice.

It cannot be denied that the standard of 50 P. C. as stated in the objects and reasons is one which Settlement Officers have regarded as the maximum and Govt. say that they have decided to adhere to this existing practice and to embody it as a principle in Sec. 100. Now the Settlement Officer's practice has proceeded upon the new tenure of ryatwari introduced by the system of Mr. Wingate which was meant to apply to the Uparis. Further it is forgotten that Mr. Wingate laid down as one of the fundamental principles of the new tenure that the Survey field must be taken as the ultimate sub-division of the land beyond which further sub-division must not be allowed to go. The future fragmentation of land owing to increase of population was a great danger of which Mr. Wingate was aware, as resulting in utter impoverishment of the ryats. In fact Govt. themselves recognised this as will be apparent from para 63 of Govt. Letter No. 5593, dated 22nd Sept. 1848 where they say:—

“ The inevitable result will be the ultimate sub-division of the land into very small occupancies accom-

panied by the impoverishment of the whole agricultural class. Farms will become so small as barely to provide subsistence for those occupied in their tillage and the surplus from which the assessment is to be paid so trifling that the slightest deficiency in the ordinary crop will suffice to annihilate it."

(Survey and Settlement Manual Vol. 1 Pr. 219-20)

### Well-intentioned Scheme.

Mr. Wingate, therefore, promulgated his scheme in such a way as to prevent further sub-divisions by laying down rules that no sub-division should be recognised, be it by succession, transfer, or Rajinama of a Holding. This system was supposed to work well but, in theory, no practical steps being taken to prevent subdivisions with the result that the Uparis no less than the Mirasdars continued to sub-divide owing to successions transfer etc., as already observed. And strangely enough the introduction of the Record of Rights System gave these small divisions a legal recognition. If the observations of Sir Pherozsha Mehta made while speaking on the Record of Rights Bill had been heeded and steps taken in time for the prevention of small fragments of land long ago, Mr. Wingate's original intentions would have probably shown different results. As it is, however, we are faced with a large number of uneconomic holdings while the burden of taxation is being felt too heavy, to be borne by the cultivator especially as the assessment is an average assessment. In fact it is admitted by Govt. that owing to excessive fragmentation cultivation of land has become unprofitable and to reme-

dy the evil the Small Holdings Bill is now introduced. Until & unless the small fragments disappear & holdings cease to be unprofitable, no Revision Settlements ought therefore to take place in such a way as to result in an enhancement or if any revisions are to be made, they ought as a rule to result in a reduction of the present rates. The present practice, therefore, which had its origin in Mr. Wingate's System, is utterly faulty, as it omits to take note of one part & only tends to perpetuate the other, when both formed part of one entire whole.

### Unsound argument

The relevancy of the foregoing analysis of the tenures & Wingate System for our present purpose is to show that the reason given by Govt. in support of the percentage embodied in the Bill viz. the existing practice is unsound since the foundation of that practice is the Wingate Scheme which as shown above, has not been worked out in its entirety, one of the fundamental parts of the scheme having been altogether left out, viz., the prevention of fragmentation which in his own words, was the greatest obstacle to the success of the Survey Settlement." The majority of the holdings, at least in the Deccan, are uneconomic and hence the greatest hardship of the present System operates in the case of such small holders.

Mr. Keeting, in his book of Rural Economy, quotes cases of two large economic holdings when the assessment is equal to  $\frac{1}{3}$  in the one & in the other from  $\frac{1}{3}$  to  $\frac{1}{4}$  of the total profits & points out what is just enough only in the case of an economic holding; it would cer-



tainly be quite insufficient in the case of an uneconomic holding: Mr. Wingate was never tired of impressing upon the Govt. the need of preventing sub-divisions of land & preventing its passing into the hands of an impoverished cultivator, who cannot turn it to profit & with this object in view the new System of occupancy was established as it was considered essential to the success of the Survey System. But the original nature of the occupancy as also the safe-guards provided against its being split-up have disappeared in course of time by Laws, Rules and Orders passed by Government and we shall now turn to these.

### Fragmentation of Holdings.

After the Regulation of 1827, the first enactment that was passed to regulate the operations of the Survey already carried on as an administrative measure, was the Survey and Settlement Act. I of 1865, which incorporated the Rules laid down in the Joint Report of 1847, but it recognised joint ( in addition to sole ) occupancies and recognised shares which were permitted by the amending Act IV of 1868 to be split up. This was the first departure from the principle of prohibiting sub-divisions. The social reform idea of the Wingate System was thus abandoned & Survey numbers began to be split up. This Survey Act was subsequently incorporated into the subsequent Legislation of 1879 by which legal recognition was given to these Sub-divisions. This subsequent legislation was the Bill brought in 1875, which ultimately became the present Act of 1879, which embodied the substance of 21 former Acts as observed by Sir. Richard

Temple, the then Governor of Bombay, while speaking on the debate in June 1877.

### **Double System of Occupancy**

The omission of excluding improvements was remedied subsequently by the amending Act No. 4 of 1886 and the present Land Revenue Code is the Law on the subject. By Sec. 98, no doubt, it was provided that survey numbers are not to be of less extent than a certain minimum to be fixed by rules but this provision was not to apply to survey numbers of less extent which were already made & Sec. 99 gave the same status to holders of recognised sub-divisions as the holders of entire survey numbers, the nomenclature employed being Occupant and Registered Occupant. This double System of Occupancy continued till by the Record of Rights Act IV of 1903, when a final blow was dealt to the corner-stone of the Joint Report System viz., the indivisibility of the original survey numbers.....to split up which would, Wingate predicted, result in the ruin of whole Survey System. It may be remarked here that the minimum fixed under Rules under Sec. 98 were for departmental purposes & not made illegal so that when the Record of Rights came to be made, small and minute sub-divisions had to be & were legalized in a regular manner. This Sec. 99 was in its turn repealed by the Act IV of 1913 to which we shall presently come.

### **Object of Record of Rights.**

The Record of Rights was stated to be for statistical purposes, in order to show all interests existing in the

land, the Khatedari System being still retained for revenue purposes. Five years later, however, Mr. now Sir George Curtis, who was then the Settlement Commissioner, advocated that it would be a useless Register until it was also made the Record of liability, & finally his proposals were accepted by Govt. & have caused a revolution in revenue methods, so that the Record of Rights Act has come to be amalgamated with the Land Revenue Code by Act IV of 1913. By the present Land Revenue Code so amended, the Registered 'Occupant' was abolished, & occupancy made to depend upon possession & every occupancy formed into a new unit of Holding, thus going far beyond the old Recognised Sharer of a Survey Number. The splitting up of the survey numbers into small Pot and Falni Numbers came to be legally recognised by Secs. 117 A, B.

### **Strenuous opposition by Sir P. M. Metha**

This Legislation was strenuously opposed by the Late Sir Pheroze Shaha Metha as being a piece of ruinous policy, since it encouraged fragmentation. Efforts are also made by non-official members since 1917, to secure measures for the prevention of fragmentation and consolidation of fragments already in existence, but these were opposed by the Members of the then Govt. As a result of the fragmentation which was not only allowed to proceed but was actually legalised, as shown above, we have now a large number of Holdings which have become unprofitable for cultivation and some have been left uncultivated and yet the assessment and a revised assessment is still being exacted from the

poor cultivators, who are still clinging and will continue to cling to them for their natural and inborn sentiment and well-known love for a piece of land, how-so-ever unprofitable and burdensome it may be. And in connection with this whole speech of Mr. Anderson the Settlement Commissioner on the Small Holdings Bill of Sir Chunilal Metha will prove interesting reading. He says with a considerable amount of pride that "for the last 34 years, he has moved about in the fields of this Presidency, especially in connection with the matters arising out of fragmentation of Holdings."

#### **Mr. Anderson on "grave & menacing" position.**

The facts observed by him are, says he, "extremely grave and menacing for the agricultural welfare of this Presidency. The population of this Presidency being about 20 millions excluding Sindh each one of this population, will have to live on  $1 \frac{2}{3}$  (one and two-thirds acres) and out of this  $1 \frac{2}{3}$ , so much is poor stuff that he has to live really on little more than 1 acre and the reason why fragmentation is increased is according to him that the Joint Family which was formerly in tact has now especially since 1886, been dissolving under the operation of the Income Tax Act and secondly because of the pressure of population. If the country goes on increasing fragmentation from year to year then the production must go on falling. There are plots of land so small and so narrow that though they are under the command of the best canal in the Presidency, they cannot be irrigated because you cannot have a water channel out through them to irrigate

them, & some of them are left uncultivated. The troubles about boundries, about weeds, about fencing, about straying cattle, about the inability to make any improvement, have all been graphically described by him to show that by the fragmentation, large acres of land have become unproductive & even uncultivable. Better tools, more capital, & better methods cannot be employed on these fragments," & he has wound up the debate by two quotations:—(These are the words of Profesor K. T. Shah of the Bombay University, in his " Sixty Years of Indian Finance. ")

" The modern civilised State cannot consider its duty accomplished merely by bringing about a greater degree of distributive justice in its tax -burdens. It must make it its first concern that the wealth of the people increases. The agricultural wealth of India cannot increse so long as the cultivator is tilling small unprofitable holdings, with the perpetual risk of their being still further reduced. Legislation must simultaneously be undertaken to reduce the ' morcellement ' ( fragmentation ) of the agricultural land in India by some System of pre-emption or some other guarantee against sub-division of an uneconomic kind, concomitantly with a definite scheme of consolidation of agricultural holdings. "

After quoting this Mr. Anderson says:— ' Now this is hot from the press; but I will next read a passage to exactly the same effect which was written about a century ago. This was what was written in the First Joint Report of 1840. '

" If fields are allowed to be sub-divided wlihout limit, and treated as recognised holdings, the inevitable result will be the ultimate sub-division of the whole

land into very minute occupancies accompanied by the impoverishment of the whole agricultural Class."

It will thus be seen that one important part of Mr. Wingate's Scheme having been neglected, it is neither just nor logical to perpetuate the system of assessment adumbrated by him as part and parcel of one whole scheme. If Govt. had taken care to give practical effect to the measures proposed by him the principles of his assessment could perhaps have taken a different turn. These measures are detailed in the Survey and Settlement Manual Vol. I. Pp. 220-21 and were intended to ensure adequate Revenue to Govt. simultaneously with the development of the Agricultural resources of the Country.

### Mere Revenue Collectors.

The Subject of Agriculture has a three-fold aspect the economic, scientific and administrative, the first being the most important, but it was never looked after and the result is the state of fragmentation described by Mr. Anderson. The Development of the resources of Agriculture depends upon the economic aspect and if care had been taken to educate rural areas in the benefit of cultivation by tenancies-in-common which while effecting a severance of interest does not come in the way of partition and succession the two incidents of Hindu Law and does not effect a severance in estate, thus keeping land in tact without any fragmentation. So also by enforcing rights of pre-emption and restricting transfers below a certain minimum, land would have been saved from being split up. If such and kindred measures had

been adopted by pursuing a policy of revenue administration calculated to bring about the above results, the state of agriculture would have been much better without any eleventh hour legislation like the Small Holdings Bill. But the Revenue Officers of Govt. were the Collectors and Assistant and Deputy Collectors, who true to their name, only looked to the collection of their revenue and not to the Development of Agriculture.

### Wanted Sound principles.

The Scientific aspect too has not received the attention it deserved, for the Agricultural Department has not done all that was necessary, be it for want of funds or lack of interest in the Officials. However that be, we are faced with a very poor and undeveloped condition of the agriculturists and any attempt or expectation for an increase of land-revenue, must end in utter impoverishment and distress of the people. Hence any reliance on existing Practice is futile and fresh and sound principles and policy are needed, if the people are to progress and become prosperous and Govt. is to get increased revenue for land, according to the original scheme of Mr. Wingate considered in its entirety. If 'however' the measures proposed by him could not be or have not been carried out so far as the development of Agriculture was concerned, the cultivator's position and his ability to pay will have to be reconsidered when questions of rates and enhancement of have to be investious of rates and enhancement of assessment have to be investigated and fresh principles and not existing practice ought to be adopted to suit

the actually prevailing condition of the peasant at the present moment. If the tenures and small fragmented holdings are to be taken as they are, it might perhaps be worth while to adopt principles somewhat similar to those laid down by earlier statesmen which have been already mentioned and underlying Mr. Pringle's System subject to such modifications as may be found necessary.

### Executive arbitrariness

Returning to the Law contained in the present Land Revenue Code, while Secs. 37, 69 & 73 give a clear indication of the recognition of the proprietary rights of the individual rayat; Secs. 95, 100, 107 lay down the directions for making the Survey, fixing the assessment & the conditions applicable to revisions of assessment, much is left to be worked out by rules to be made under Sec. 214. No doubt, the power to make rules under this Sec. is made subject to the condition of previous publication but they are not placed before the Legislative Council nor are they in any way subject to its control with the result that they have the force of Law automatically & it is only their execution in practice that brings home to the cultivator their true hardship. An important Resolution No. 2619 of 26th March 1884 was issued by the Govt. in the Revenue Department which contains an exposition of the policy of Govt. in regard to revenue, & Survey assessment. ( This is published with accompanying correspondence as an Appendix No. III in the Bombay Survey and Settlement Manual Vol. II. and will repay perusal. )



### Jurisdiction of civil Court.

Other Resolutions and Orders have been issued from time to time but, it may be observed that no definite limit has been put by Law upon the right of Govt. so as to secure that moderation and equalization in assessment which were the key-notes of the declarations of eminent statesmen already referred to and of the earlier Enactments of 1828 and 1865, the preambles to which clearly make a specific mention of these. Further it is significant to bear in mind that Sec. 4 of the Regulation of 1827 says: " When there is no right on the part of the occupant in limitation of the right of Govt. to assess, the assessment shall be fixed at the discretion of the Collector subject to the control of the Govt " Whereas the provisions of Secs. 52 and 100 which correspond to this Sec. 4 of the Regulation altogether omits this clause & leaves to the Collector or Revenue Officer, the discretion to assess in all Cases ( right or no right on the part of the occupant ) thus entirely ignoring cases of such rights as if no such cases existed, or if they did exist, they will also be not saved by the Act of 1879 though they could have been saved by the Regu. of 1827. Even the High Court decision in ' Vyankath Bapuji vs. Govt. of Bombay, 12 Bom. H. C. Report p. I at Pp. 225, 24 ) contemplates that, in cases where a specific limit to the assessment is alleged, it can go into the question and decide if there is a right in limitation of the right of Govt. The Regulation 17 of 1827 and the subsequent Revenue Jurisdiction Act of 1876 exclude the interference of Civil Courts to entertain a suit to rectify

the assessment made by the Collector or other competent revenue authority whether under the Regulation of 1827 or under the present Act of 1879; but whereas under the Regulation a suit could have been brought to prove a right in limitation, no such suit can be brought under the Code of 1879. Without going into the controversy as to whether the bar of Jurisdiction of Civil Courts to try suits about the propriety of the assessment and taking the existing bar imposed by the Revenue Jurisdiction Act as it is, it is the more necessary to make a legislative provision in the Land Revenue Code itself, laying down the limit of the right of the individual in limitation of the rights of the State, so that a Civil Court, without going into the question of the propriety of the revision of assessments, might have jurisdiction to determine whether such right is regarded or disregarded by the executive Govt. This recognition & limit of the Rayat's right ought to be based upon a sound principle promulgated by eminent Statesmen as shown above & not upon an existing practice which has come into being in utter disregard & in spite of the original sound principle. Again may we ask if it is either wise just or expedient for the Provincial Govt. at centre to levy such high rate especially at a time when decentralisation gradually should take place so that the Local Bodies may be enabled to perform certain functions for their locality out of taxes or revenues raised by themselves. Such additional burden on land is not likely to cause discontent, because the people know the money taken from them will return to them in the shape of the local amenities in the matter of

health, education, & even agriculture which all require more funds for their development.

### Practice vs. Principle.

We are not oblivious of the fact that attempts have been made from time to time by an influential body of Officials to interpret the past so as to lend support to their theory of unlimited rights of the State to the revenue. Assuming, but not admitting, this is correct, is it either just or expedient to adopt it as a sound principle by a Civilized Govt. whatever may have been the case at the time of a despotic Mogal Govt. or during the practices adopted by the last Peshwa, or for the matter of that when the exactions from land by the State were levied by the early Officers of the Company, the inheritors of despotic Govts. or the executive Officers of the present Govt. ? I can understand the Indian people accepting their fate when they had no voice in shaping the correct policy but now that has come to stay, it will not do to ignore it. The Note on Clause 2 of the present Bill while noting the opinion of the majority of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee that the assessment should not exceed 25 p. c. of the profits of cultivation i. e. the gross profits less all the expenses incurred in deriving those profits says, " The standard of 50 p. c. is one which Settlement Officers have always regarded as the maximum though they have rarely worked up to it and Govt. therefore decided to adhere to the **existing practice** and to embody it as a principle in Sec. 100 Land Revenue Code ". Thus sound principle is sacrificed to existing practice which is to supersede it and constitute a

new principle contrary to all ancient Law, important declarations of British Statesmen & the ordinary canons of a modern Civilized Govt. which professes to respect the voice of the people.

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### Article III.

#### Basis of Revision and Limits of Enhancement.

( Clause 3 with provisoes & Explanation, Sec. 107 L.  
Revenue Code.)

There seems to have been some confusion in the minds of the framers of the Bill, when the Note on Cl. 3 was drafted. Really speaking the principles of assessment viz. the percentage of the State's share and its basis ( whether net profits or rental value ) have been dealt with in Cl. 2 and the Note there-on. The explanation to Cl. 3 defining rental value (or net profits) should have been appropriately appended to Cl. 2 to which it belongs and which is referred to in it for the first time. Cl. 3 purports to substitute a new Section for the present sec. 107, which deals with conditions applicable to revision of assessment. The note ( a ) on Cl. 3 ought more properly to have been included in that on Cl. 2. With these preliminary observations we shall proceed to examine the clause as it is.

Revision means re-examination with a view to correct or amend. It may result in reduction or enhancement, or maintaining the 'status quo ante'. But in practice it generally results in enhancement so much so that it is spoken of as **Sarawadh** in Vernacular, which means increase of assessment.

### Existing practice.

It appears that about the beginning of the 19th century there was much discussion as to the nature and limit of the Govt. claim upon the land in the Rayatwari Districts; and the dominant views were then favourable to the cultivator. A re-action set in later with a tendency to increase the ratio of the demand. Since the Bill under review lays stress on the **existing practice** it is pertinent to see how practice arose and was built up. Was it in accordance with the principles and instructions of the India Office in regard to assessments & enhancements or was it the result of certain artificial and arbitrary rules adopted by the Local Govt. and its Officials? The principle which was to govern re-assessment was first distinctly formulated in an elaborate despatch from the Court of Directors dated 17th Decemeber, 1856. It was then declared that the " Right of Govt. is not a rent which consists of all the surplus produce after paying the cost of cultivation, and profits of Agricultural stocks, but a land revenue only which ought, if possible, to be so lightly assessed as to leave a surplus or rent to the occupier, whether he, in fact, let the land to others or retain it in his own hands. "

( Gleanings from Revenue Best Books by  
W. Wedderburn, Bombay Civil Service, P. 5. )

### Playing with principles.

With regard to this principle Sir Willium Wedderburn says:-

"But unfortunately the principle laid down in these declarations has been little more than an abstract

proposition, the application having been entirely left to the judgment or caprice of the Settlement Departments in India, a special agency the reputation, and even existence of which depends upon its success in expanding the Govt Revenue.

This anarchical state of the revenue administration, this glaring inconsistency between principle and practice, appeared to Sir L. Mallet not only discreditable but dangerous; and in his minute he urges his colleagues to grapple with the question boldly, either by giving practical effect to the principles already recognised, or by making a thorough inquiry into facts sufficient to build up fresh principles suited to the special circumstances of the case." With the clear perception of a mind free from prejudice and trained to deal with economic problems, he presses vigorously for logical and coherent action:-" If general principles, as I am constantly told, are inapplicable to India, on what method are we to proceed in Govt. ? If the deductive method be discarded altogether, surely we have a right to ask for some careful and active process of induction. Yet, if there is any one thing which is wanting in any investigation of Indian problems, it is an approach to trustworthy and generally accepted facts. I could mention the most startling instances, but they must be present to the minds of all of us. Now, I am compelled to say that, since I have been connected with the India Office, I have found just as strong a repugnance to the adoption of any adequate measures for the collection of a comprehensive and well-digested set of facts as to the recognition of general principles. The only occasion on which I had the misfortune of encountering the vehe-

ment opposition of some Members of Council, for whose opinions and experience I have the most unfeigned respect, was in my advocacy of Dr. Forbes Watson's proposals for an Industrial Survey. Again if general principles are to be set aside, why are they so perpetually invoked in public documents, reports, & manifestoes? It may suit the shifting purposes of the hour to play fast and loose with principles, but is it safe in dealing with a 'quick-witted and logical' people, to rely upon their inattention or forgetfulness?"

"As to what the Settlement Departments really have done & are doing in India, Sir Bartle Frere shows himself better informed than most of his Colleagues, & his remarks on the subject are deserving of attention as being those of a witness naturally biassed in favour of the existing system. His opinion is that throughout India the State demand rarely, if ever, fulfils the requirements of the India Office instructions."

( W. Wedderburn's Pamphlet, Pp, 5, 6, and 7 )

After describing what Sir Bartle Frere & Sir Louis Mallet have to say with regard to the 4 economic classes into which the assessment is divided, Sir Willium adds a fifth and still more grievous case when the total crop is insufficient to pay the cost of cultivation and where the assessment must be paid either out of wages earned else-where or from cash obtained from the money-lender. That such a class not only exists but it embraces a vast majority of holdings in the Deccan will be clear to any one who will take the trouble to study bulky and doleful literature which has accumulated round the case of the distressed ryot: the report with appendices of the Deccan Riots Commission; the report of the Famine Commis-

ioners, with the evidence taken before them; and the inquiries and debates in connection with the Dekkhan Agriculturist's Relief Act. Here facts & statistics will be found in abundance, showing that the pauperism of the ordinary ryot is an increasing evil; that it is a necessary consequence of his present economic position; and that it primarily arises from the absolute insufficiency of the total produce of the land, as compared with the population which it is called on to support. The Deccan Riots Commissioners have exploded the old stock explanations and we must now look a good deal deeper into figures and facts for the true causes of the general insolvency.

( W. Wedderburn's Pamphlet, P. 9. )

### **British Laws about enhancement.**

The first legal Enactment on the subject was the Act I of 1865, Sec. 30 of which excluded improvements made by the cultivator from being counted towards enhancement of assessment. The next Act V of 1879, however, again went back and embodied the wrong principle of taking certain improvements. This gave rise to a huge dissatisfaction with the result that Govt. was obliged to declare their whole policy of Land Revenue and issued the famous Resolution No. 2619 of 1884 already referred to. Paragraphs 17 to 34 of this Resolution set right the wrong principle of taxing improvements, while paras 35 to 37 lay down the principle of limiting the percentage by which assessment may be enhanced on revision. It is noteworthy to bear in mind here the first para of the G. R. which runs thus:-

‘ His Excellency in Council desires in this resolution



to state the principles by which Govt. regulates its action in regard to that portion of the produce of land which by custom belongs to the State, that is, to the public, & forms part of the public revenues devoted to the cost of governing the country.

The words 'portion of the produce' occur as the basis of assesment in this G. R. of 1884 which in the Survey and Settlement Manual is called the important State Document of the general Policy of the Bombay Govt. in the matter of Land Revenue assesment. So that the portion of ( net ) produce still continued to be the basis, which was replaced by, "profits of cultivation," the expression found in the Act of 1879 as amended by Act IV of 1886.

### Rental value

The result of this important resolution and the consequent enactment of the present Sec. 107, by the amending Act IV of 1886, in place of the original Secs. 106 and 107 of the Act V of 1879 is to secure the occupant against the assesment of improvements. Paragraphs 25, 26, 27, 28 of the above G. R. lay down that 'any increased profit of agriculture obtained by utilising all advantages inherent in the soil such as sub-soil water and rain water impounded on the land will not entitle Govt. to a higher claim of land-revenue either immediately or after the expiration of the term of settlement. Thus profits acquired by his labour & capital by the occupant were to be permanently excluded from consideration in revising the assesments. It is further pertinent to note that in paragraph

19 it is stated that Govt. desire to maintain the principle that enhancement shall be based on general considerations and not the increase of value in particular fields and it is further explained in para 20 that "reference to general considerations of the value of land means reference to increased value due to extraneous causes distinct from the result of expenditure of money or labour by the occupant. For instance, a Railway which affords a better access to markets is such a cause.

The general economic conditions, the proximity of markets &c, &c, are factors of importance, but the Bill relegates them to a very subordinate position and regards rental value as the primary basis; in fact the G. R. No. 1790 of 13th May 1927 on which the Bill is based stated that "it was the sole basis for fixing the assessment, all other considerations being regarded as merely subordinate factors useful only as explanatory or confirmatory or supplementary to the foregoing factor (rental value).

### Rent or Tax ?

These general considerations which were embodied in Sec. 30 of the Act 1 of 1865, though as stated in the, G. R. of 1864 they were to be maintained, were not enacted in the amending Act, side by side with the proviso to the Sec. 107 & hence that Sec. only refers to profits of agriculture. These various factors, however, have to be investigated, & in order to be able to exclude improvement, there ought to be village records showing the state of improvements made from time to time. Except-

ing the record of wells, there is no such record maintained at present & therefore it is difficult to know what land has been improved during the course of the 30 years, period e. g. levelling the ground, putting up bunds to prevent washing away of the earth, filling up ditches after removing rock or stone from the fields & so on. In the absence of any record, it will be impossible to exclude all this improvement or the rent notes in respect of such improved lands, when determining the question of the capability of enhancements in particular areas.

### “ Uuimproving Landlord ”

While we are on the subject of improvements, it is pertinent to quote some passages from a publication called, “ Articles & letters about the Indian Land Tax ” ( reprinted from Bombay Saturday Review ) contributed by one signing himself I. P. H. so long ago as 1866: “ The interest of the community in the soil is as great in the first year of a century as in the last; was as great, taking the example of India, in the time of Manu as it is in that of Queen Victoria. The only additions the State, as a landlord, is entitled to, are defined by the reclamations made from the forest, the desert or the sea. When a reclamation is made, the State as landlord, claims a fee of ownership. ” On the other hand, the tenant's interest is continually increasing. Every century that passes finds him putting into his land more labour, more science, more capital than in the century before. For a community that shall be wholly stationary in these respects cannot exist. In the same way, a Govt. if it considers itself as the landlord of

its agriculturists, as a landlord whose tenants cannot leave him for another landlord, must clearly limit the elevation of its rents by the extension of its improvements. If it makes no improvements on the land, (so far as the majority of its tenants are concerned, the Indian Govt. is an unimproving landlord), it can justly make no additions to the rent.

### No right to increase rent

The right of the landlord in the soil neither improves nor diminishes by time. His exaction under that right are of necessity similarly stationary. To put it in another way: that the value of land increases with time, cannot be denied. But that increase has been in no way contributed to by Govt. in its capacity of landlord. The second objection, that Govt. is entitled to an increase of rent along with the lapse of time, because the cultivator's share of protection to person and property increases with time, may be answered thus. This objection confounds two things: the the rent which the Govt. receives for its title in the soil, which is stationary; and the taxes it may impose for defraying expenses of administration, which expenses and which taxes are constantly on the increase. To the rent only those subjects are liable who are also tenants. To the taxes all subjects are liable, without exception in proportion to their means. For all are presumed to be, in a degree proportioned to their means, benefitted by the maintenance of Govt. The progress of civilization gives you reason, then, to increase the cultivator's taxes, it being supposed that you increase other people's at the

same time. But the progress of civilization gives you no right to increase his rent, as we have already shown."

( Articles and Letters about the Indian Land Tax by  
I. P. H. Pr. 71, 72. )

### Early controversies

All the articles are worth being read by every student of the Bombay Land Revenue System. Certain letters which appeared at the time in contemporary papers such as the "Times of India" are also published there & they refer to the Wingate Report & his Survey & Settlement System as also the views of several economists, like Mr. Mill; Ricardo, & administrators acquainted with the conditions of this country.

### Rent or profits ?

After having referred to the need of taking various other factors as the basis, we shall now proceed to discuss the principal provision of the Bill which runs thus:-  
" The revision of assessment of land revenue shall be based primarily upon rental value. "

The basis for fixing the assessment means that portion of the produce of land on which the Land Revenue is levied. When in the times of the Mogals & Marathas Land Revenue used to be collected in money, the basis on which all calculations were made was still the average annual produce of land. The British Govt. is said to have inherited these Systems and have retained the same basis in the Rayatwari tract. It is already stated that principle of Mr. Pringle's Survey was

directed towards finding the average net produce and the G. R. of 1886 and the present Land Revenue Code also tended in the same direction. In the present amending Bill for the first time Govt. attempt to replace the old basis by what is called the "rental value," for though the Bombay Govt. early gave up the net produce basis, they still replaced it by ' profits of Agriculture ' .....the expression found in Section 107 of the Land Revenue Code. In Madras the basis has always been laid down as the net produce. The Burma Committee on Land Revenue recommends the same and the Taxation Committee also lay down annual value as the proper basis by which expression they say is meant "the gross produce less cost of production including the value of the labour actually expended by the farmer and his family on the holding and the return for enterprise."

We now proceed to a consideration of the standard on which the profits of cultivation are to be calculated. Is it net produce or is it rent? Here again the note in the objects and reasons states that: ' Gross produce has been discarded as a standard throughout the greater part of the Country. Assessments based on a share of the gross produce place an undue tax on industry and enterprise and are repugnant to modern ideas. It has therefore become necessary to find some other standard for the guidance of Settlement Officers.' "In most provinces not more than half the money value of the net produce is to be taken in the form of assessment." The note on Cl. 2 after saying so much proceeds to lay down in Cl. 3 (a) that rental value should be the basis. Now the adoption of the rental basis, though it appears apparently simple, is likely to be fraught with worse results, since

the glaring defects in the present system will operate far more prejudicially to the detriment of the agriculturist.

In the Objects & Reasons the Note on Cl. 3 (a) says:-

“ The only way to obtain a clear definition of the principles of assessment is to affirm the proposition that rental value is the basis for fixing the assessment.<sup>2</sup>

Now the claim of rental value is based upon the fact that the task of Settlement Officers is made easy, that it furnishes precise data and rental statistics are easy to handle, but the claim of rental value can be attacked as shown by Mr. D. R. Gadgil, in his valuable pamphlet on two main grounds:—

- I. Data of such values not numerous enough nor reliable enough.
- II. Data we get cannot afford exact index of agricultural incomes or of agriculturist's capacity to pay.

The sample ( small as are the figures collected as also No. of villages from which collected ) cannot be a representative one and typical of the whole group.

### Land held by non-Agriculturists

The following table of statistics showing the proportion of land held by non-agriculturists both by area and numbers shows that only a very small proportion of land is held by non-agriculturists and the numbers of such holders is also proportionately small. In other words, there are a large number of owner-cultivators who themselves cultivate their land, the area of which is also very large compared with that owned by those who

let it. Hence, the rents can only be of a very small proportion of lands in a group.

Table giving an idea of the proportion of land held by agriculturists and non-agriculturists.

Land held by Agriculturists & Non-Agriculturists.

Dists.	Areas in Acres		No. of Land holders	
	Held by Aglists	Non-Agri-Sts.	Ags.	Non-Ags.
1. <sup>Ahmed</sup> Nagar	2350927	379302	131,353	15,932
2. East Khandesh.	1674822	238394	116473	5771
3. West Khandesh.	1292608	193844	53750	3490
4. Nasik.	1868928	343906	110,124	15226
5. Poona.	1743469	334655	140,653	22890
6. Satara.	1666552	95905	207,664	8,642
7. Sholapur.	2149914	175819	947,62	4457
Total Deccan.	127,57,218	1762326	854,779	76,408

(X). Land Revenue Administration Report. 1921-22.

Rack-Renting

Again Mr. Anderson in commenting on Satara Taluka Report himself expresses fear that improvements made on lands are not always excluded in previous



Settlement Reports. Mr. Webb <sup>writes</sup> about Man Taluka in the same Dist. suggests that the figures of rentals, where tenants are former owners, should be excluded and goes on to say that their non-omission may account for the very high figures of rentals quoted in some recent Settlement Reports. When position of land-lord is strong, rack-renting goes on as admitted by Mr. Anderson & the enhancement of rent often bears no relation to actual income and yet in another place he argues that incomes vary in same proportion as rents.

### Incorrect assumption

This subject has been fully dealt with in the pamphlet recently issued by Mr. D. R. Gadgil, Principal M.T. B. Arts College Surat, reference to whose articles in the "Bombay Chronicle" was made by the Hon. Settlement Commissioner during the course of his speech at the last session of the Council on the debate on the Land Revenue Resolution. The whole of Mr. Anderson's argument and his quotation from the Report of 1840 assume that ample and sufficient data of rentals can be collected — an assumption which is entirely incorrect. Further he & the Hon. Revenue Member tried to show that there was no difference between rental value and net profits. There is no attempt to say what the Land Revenue Assessment Committee's recommendations on this head are and what place it gives to rental value. It is assumed that net profits and rent are identical terms and in fact more than one official member and the Hon. Mr. Rieu have said so much in their speeches on the debate on the Resolution of 1928 on this subject. And this is what

the Hon. Mr. Rieu, the Member in charge of the Land Revenue says:-

" The term 'rental value' is not the only equivalent of profits of cultivation but is a term which it is preferable to use for the reason that it carries with it the implication of the method, the only practicable and reliable method, and the method always used by the cultivators, landowners and tenants themselves, of measuring the factor of profits of cultivation. "

( Bom. Council Debates Vol. XXIII 849. )

### Meagre Data

The confusion of thought exhibited in this statement has also been well laid bare by the same writer in his preface to the pamphlet and we would, therefore, not further labour the point, than stating his conclusion that so long as the majority of revenue payers are cultivating owners as evidenced by all available means, statistics cannot be collected from land which is not let. The extent of the rental value data is so meagre compared with the total area assessed, it is strange that officials should speak about the sufficiency & precision of rental value. As for the Hon. Mr. Rieu's claim for accepting rental value as the basis that it is the only practical and reliable method, his reply at page II of the preface is worth being quoted: " Even if the rental value had all the virtues claimed for it that would be no reason to make it a basis of assessment. One may in this instance cite the procedure of the Burma Land Revenue Committee as the proper one to follow. They have considered the calculation of the theoretical demand & the

determination of actual demand as distinct questions in two entirely separate Chapters. The Burma Committee themselves recommend a greater use of rental statistics in tracts where the large part of land is cultivated by tenants but they never thought of making them the basis of assessment. As recommended by the Bombay Land Revenue Committee 25 P. C. of the profits of cultivation would be the calculation of the theoretical demand; the determination of the actual demand to be made after taking the various factors they have enumerated into account." And as to the same Member's complaint that there is no alternative proposal Mr. Gadgil, points out at page iii of his preface that it is not correct. It is, however, argued that the Assessment Committee's proposals are vague, indefinite and illogical and there are defects in the definition of the basis of assessment, that they are not simple and precise as the rental value but you cannot lay stress on these when the problem vitally affects the poor & is complex & requires more troubles to be taken. Hence all factors such as market value etc. must be considered to come to as far as possible a just conclusion.

### Illogical Method

(Mr. Rian)

Again he<sub>1</sub> says they are illogical because rental value does appear as the last factor in their proposals. True, it is so, but that it is only one of the several indications and not the sole or principal basis which is a far different thing altogether. Again, Mr. Anderson in his speech on Mr. Jog's Resolution, stated that the difficulty contemplated by the Joint Report of 1847 has now disappeared and therefore rents can be taken as the

basis. Here it is pertinent to state what Sir James Montteath said in 1902 in introducing the Bill which afterwards became the Record of Rights Act in 1904.

“The utility of the record in administration will be in some respects not so great in this Presidency as in Zamindari Provinces, but in other respects it will be even greater. Sub-letting of land is indeed a departure from the Rayatwari System, and so far that system is maintained rent cannot be the basis of the assessment. But the systematic registration of the terms on which such land as is held by capitalists is sublet will greatly assist Govt. in the proper regulation of it”.

( Survey and Settlement Manual Vol. I, P. 232 )

Even the authors of the Joint Report were fully conscious of the difficulty of making rent the basis of assessment.

This is what they say:- “From the difficulty of ascertaining the true rent of different descriptions of land, we have not assumed any theoretical proportion of the rental for the standard of one assessment. ”

That difficulty is still there in spite of the rent entries in the record of rights because the leased land is only a small proportion and that too yielding generally cotton, groundnut, sugarcane or such other rich crops and of big areas there are either a large number of food-stuff yielding lands of small plots or big, but ‘mal’ or grass lands which hardly produce any return whatever. Both these descriptions of land are not leased and hence you cannot ascertain the true rent of all these lands and yet the rental basis furnished by land of one particular description is to be applied to a vast quantity of land of different descriptions according to the pro-

posed legislation. Surely can any one maintain that this basis is either true, just or equitable for the purpose of assessing these different lands to the revenue which the Govt. ought to get from it? Further the Govt. Resolution No. 9625, dated 22nd October 1910, among the principles laid down in the instructions to Settlement Officers, instruction Nos. 3, 4, 13, 15 clearly indicate the need of taking various factors into account which is called the line of inquiry and the limited use to be made of the statistics of rents which cannot be used as the basis for definite conclusions.

### Case of least productive land

There is a great difference between profits & rents. The yield of the land is one thing, while the rent of the land is governed by various economic forces & the amount paid for the annual use is determined by such forces.

Mr. Henry Taylor in his Book "Agricultural Economics" has dealt with the question of rents & profits in chap. XVI & it will not be out of place to quote extracts from that chap. bearing on our present purpose. "Rent is paid," he says "for only such farms as are useful & scarce. Useful farms with improvements may be scarce, while raw land of the same quality is abundant, in which case a price may be paid for the improvements & not for the land. In any densely populated country, however, highly productive land is scarce & people are willing to pay for the privilege of using it..... With the growth of population the increased demand for land results in keen competition for the better farms which bring about rising rents ..... Economists have usually thought of the

least desirable land in use at a given time as being rent-free. That is, it is assumed that the least desirable land will be in great abundance in proportion to the demand for such land & therefore that no rent will be paid for its use."

The Taxation Committee has dealt with the defects of the present system & has pointed them out at pp. 77 to 79 paras 95, 96. Among other proposals more or less drastic the one intended to improvement of the present system is adumbrated at p. 84 & they wind up by their conclusion that the standard rate of assessment should not be more than 25 p. c.

### 25 P. C. Highest bearable limit.

Principal D. R. Gadgil of Surat, in his recently issued Pamphlet "The Bombay Land Revenue System" after discussing the question of the incidence of land revenue in this Presidency and considering the fact that the majority of holdings at least in the Deccan are un-economic as also the point that the cultivator is expected to pay for all the land in his name irrespective of whether he receives any income for lands a considerable part of which is fallow & further the extremely poor condition of the majority of our peasants, has expressed the opinion that 25 P. C. of the net profits is about as high a limit as can be placed. It will thus be seen that neither land revenue history, the practice in other Provinces, the recommendations of the Taxation Inquiry Committee or the Land Revenue Assessment Committee support the adoption of the basis of 'Rental Value' which term is preferred by the Officials as it can be exactly determined

while it is said such is not the case with net produce. But as we have already shown neither can rental value be exactly determined so as to form a general basis for all land to be assessed.

### **Standing advisory Committee.**

The foregoing criticism of Cl. III would not be complete without adverting to the recommendations of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee for the appointment of a Standing Advisory Committee of the Legislative Council. As stated in para 45, the Committee do not desire to usurp the functions of the executive Govt. but they plead that the proposed Advisory Committee after going through the Revision proposals and discussing their details with expert officials of Govt. can present the material facts of each proposal to the whole Council in such a form that the Council can come to a definite decision on the merits of every case.

### **Over-estimation of Crops.**

The committee have carefully considered the arguments of officials which are accepted by Govt. in their Resolution of 13th May 1927 and it says they are greatly exaggerated and rightly observed that Officials are likely to look at questions of assessment more from the point of view of finance and to ignore the interests of the masses as observed by that ex-civilian Sir William Wedderburn that there is a natural tendency in such proceedings largely to overestimate the crop, by selecting too favourable a specimen for experiment, & by making

insufficient allowance for wastage of all kinds. And this tendency to over-estimate would no doubt be exaggerated in the case of enthusiastic young Revenue Officers whose professional bias inclines them to take a cheerful view of the ryot's prosperity and power to pay. If non-officials are not expected to give unprejudiced advice officials are also not likely to give unprejudiced opinions & therefore a mixed committee of officials & non-officials to act as a Standing Committee such as is proposed by it would really have met the justice of the case. That the people should have really some effective voice in the levying of new burdens on the vast majority of agriculturists is the gist of the recommendations of the Joint Parliamentary Committee and it is a sad commentary on the action of the Govt. here that they have practically slept over this recommendation for nearly 10 years. Would the troubles caused in Bardoli be an eye-opener to Govt. ?

### A second Proviso.

The Bill under consideration makes no provision in this respect and therefore a 2nd proviso should be added to Clause III some what as follows:—

“ Provided that all proposals for Revision Settlement are placed before a Standing Advisory Committee of the Bombay Legislative Council and if these, together with any modifications suggested by such Committee, are not accepted by Govt., the same shall not be put into force unless the sanction of the Legislative Council is obtained.”

As the Revenue Jurisdiction Act of 1876 bars suit for deciding the propriety of any revised assessments it is



fair that there should be some other remedy and the cheque of the Standing Committee will go a great way towards testing the recommendations of the Settlement Officers by the materials relied upon by them & the nature of their inquiries. And here it may be worth while to bear in mind what Sir William Wedderburn, says:- " But unfortunately, from various causes these " Crop Experiments ", as they have been termed, have produced results which are not only useless, but misleading. As the matter is important, we shall explain a little in detail why this is so. In the first place, a notable mistake has been made in the agency by which the experiments have been carried out. These experiments, intended to test and check the proceedings of the Settlement Dept. should not have been entrusted to the Department itself. If, however, we analyse these " Crop Experiments " however slightly, it becomes at once apparent that they are entirely wanting in the accuracy indispensable in any test operation".

It will thus be clear that the check of a Standing Advisory Committee is necessary to test the recommendations of Settlement Officers for enhancement and to temper the zeal with which they turn the fiscal screw.

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## Article. IV.

### Remissions & Suspensions of Land Revenue,

#### Cl 4 and Note there-on.

In this cl. provision is made for Rules to be framed under Sec. 214 of the Land Revenue Code regulating the grant of Suspensions & Remissions & the method of valuation of crops to determine such suspensions & remissions. In the collection of land revenue the general policy followed is to grant remissions in famines & suspensions in times of scarcity. The following table given below will show the total of remissions & suspensions granted during each quinquennium; the proportion of remissions is very small & though that of suspensions in later years is somewhat large, there is no real relief afforded to the agriculturists by the way in which suspensions are carried on, because suspensions are granted even when the conditions require remissions with the result that the suspended revenue is recovered in subsequent years with a rigour that operates very harshly on the revenue payer who has to pay the usual assessment plus the suspended arrears thus necessitating sale or mortgage of his goods or land especially when there is a succession of poor seasons and the suspensions are approaching the periods of three years after which they have to be converted into remissions, a contingency which every effort is made to avoid as it entails an abatement of the revenue which is contrary to the policy of Govt. which was enunciated in the famous Joint Report of 1847 in these words:—  
 “ All abatement of the established revenue ” the Joint Report remarks, “ should be regarded as exceptional to

the ordinary management of surveyed Districts & ought not to be made unless for special & urgent considerations which cannot be provided for by general rules. ”

( Survey & Settlement Manual Vol. I. P. 2II )

For three scores of years remissions were only granted in very exceptional cases. It was after the G. R. of 1902 in Lord Curzon's time, on a reference from the Govt. of India, the question of making remissions and suspensions a part of the Land Revenue administration was discussed & rules framed in 1907 by which they became a part of the regular system. It is stated in the Survey & Settlement Manual Vol. I. P. 212 that “ By these rules a fixed & rigid System of assessment has been converted into one of a flexible type, accommodating itself to the vicissitudes of the season and consequently to the resources of the cultivator. ”

The table of following figures will help to indicate the extent of the suspensions & remissions granted during a period of nearly 25 years. In the first 18 years, there were only small remissions & no suspensions but in the last 6 years the proportion of remissions is somewhat decreased & that large amount of suspensions are visible.

Year (financial)	Net Land Revenue for collection on account of current year	Collections upto 31st July	Net Remis- sions	Suspensions
Figures in Lacs of Rupees				
1899	X	80.4	3.3	
1900	117	96.1	2.8	
1901	109	95.7	11.3	
1902	120	119.5	1.4	
1903	121	119.5	1.6	
1904	119	95.2	3.7	
1905	118	80.3	5.7	
1906	122	135.5	3.7	
1907	122	92.2	2.9	
1908	122	115.0	3.1	
1909	122	134.5	3.6	
1910	124	143.0	3.0	
1911	103	102.0	10.0	
1912	116	115.2	5.2	
1913	135	134.3	2.6	
1914	142	141.4	4.4	
1915	138	145.6	1.1	
1916	146	147.3	2.1	
1917	145	144.0	1.4	
1918	147	77.4	2.7	70.6
1919	147	192.3	1.5	24.1
1920	152	87.6	3.7	87.2
1921	155	165.2	19.0	61.8
1922	158	150.2	5.5	64.5
1923	163	156.5	24.6	46.3

### **‘ The System of fluctuating Assessment ’**

Fixed inelastic assessments are economically unsound and the idea of a fixed unalterable assessment was, long before the Joint Report of 1847, thought to be impracticable as the basis of Rayatwari system of Settlements ( Brigg’s Land Revenue of India P. 346, 1830 ). If, therefore, it is realized, even though late that the rigidity of the inflexible assessment works hardship and, therefore, Government are going to abandon the principle that, assessment should be paid in bad years as well as good, it is time that the principle of fluctuating assessments should be introduced into the System.

#### **Make Demand Elastic.**

The classification, grouping and rates being left as they are, it is still possible to make the annual demand elastic by its being made dependent upon the conditions of crops. The maximum demand being fixed the “aune wari ” made would enable the authorities to determine the portion of the maximum demand to be recovered in any particular year. In Upper Burma the whole or almost the whole of the assessment is fluctuating because the rainfall there as here, is uncertain and there are large areas in Madras and Punjab wherein such a system is already in use and has proved a considerable success.

#### **Adjusting Taxation**

Revenue officers instead of being literally mere Collectors of Revenue, should also keep themselves occupied with the work of adjusting taxation to

local conditions, estimating the yield, declaring the "annewari" from year to year and also periodically adjust the rates according to the general movement of prices and agricultural profits. Provision for this can be made by rules to be framed under Section 214 of the Land Revenue Code and an amendment in Clause 4 by adding the words "regulating the adjustment of rates according to the annual fluctuations" will meet the purpose in view.

Among the remedies recommended by the Deccan Ryots Commission is mentioned the introduction of an elasticity in the demand and they have quoted the example of Madras where the Rayatwari system is in force.

( Pp. 108-109, Deccan Riots Report. )

The following table of statistics will give some idea of the consequences entailed by the sheer inability of the rayat to pay.

---

## COERCIVE PROCESSES.

Year.	Section 152		Forfeitures		Occupancy Land sold to the Public.			Occupancy Land remaining with Govt.			
	No. of Notices issued (000s)	Amount of Arrears for which Notices issued	Occupancy Land declared forfeited		Acres	Assessment	Rs.	Amount realised by	Area (acres)	Assessment Rs.	
			Area in Assessment	Returned owners							Assessment
1900-01	164	3973	6087	5839	649	747	167	128	475	5299	4529
01-02	101	2388	3122	2561	718	523	62	83	30	2342	2004
02-03	131	2803	6909	4141	830	681	358	197	474	5791	3313
03-04	87	1725	16874	24934	2319	2425	1989	1041	7159	21594	21698
04-05	76	1813	21684	11368	2432	1469	1722	943	8244	18908	8794
05-06	50	1269	6773	4094	828	898	310	262	4189	5315	2768
06-07	70	1425	5139	3523	531	326	1744	1270	4363	2843	1995
07-08	46	1042	16683	11136	2390	2096	688	659	8236	13610	8381
08-09	81	531	10049	5985	1576	1180	815	452	4076	7658	4353
09-10	10	374	11175	7434	2920	1832	2546	1802	17767	4622	3754
10-11	8	189	25114	13214	7574	4677	3238	1713	16687	13634	6441
11-12	6	151	16086	8926	1997	978	782	320	4227	13357	7628
12-13	5	108	12950	7831	5484	3160	220	155	806	7246	4516
13-14	1	25	4779	2543	1428	906	153	86	1225	3198	1551
14-15	3	60	4180	2278	800	570	35	37	765	3345	
15-16	1	27	1768	1072	11	6	195	74	615	1669	992
16-17	1	31	1084	746	100	58	22	9	905	962	679
17-18	1	32	1730	864	37	27	53	52	2170	1640	785
18-19	7	18	90.3	63							
19-20	2	66	3870	1844							
20-21	8	168	1135	621							
21-22	5	178	8768	5729	37	17	124	58	1850	4853	2934
22-23	2	39	4491	3617	265	266	126	265	2972	3700	3687

## CONCLUSION

### Defects in the bill.

In the foregoing articles we have endeavoured to show that the Bill in its present form cannot be said to be intended to give effect to the major recommendations of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee, that neither by the ancient Laws nor Custom of the country, the State is the owner of the soil so as to entitle it to claim an undefined share of the produce of land, that the rights of the State are, or ought at any rate, to be limited having regard to the sound principles which ought to govern the administration of a civilized Government, that the existing practice of claiming 50 per cent of the rental value is contrary to the real and sound principles propounded by eminent British statesmen & ecomomists and the declarations of the highest authorities in the early stages of British administration, that the limit should be 25 per cent. of the net profits which is the one recommended by the Land Revenue Assessment Committee and is supported by the authoritative declaration of the Taxation Inquiry Committee, that the Revision Settlements should be subject to check by a Standing Committee of the Legislative Council and that fluctuation in the collection of the annual land revenue would better serve the purpose of remissions and suspensions.

### Radical Change Wanted.

The Bill in its present form, therefore, must in order to be acceptable, be radically changed; and we now proceed to show how by suitable amendments, may it



be of principle or detail, an attempt may be made to improve the present Bill so as to make important alterations which, while keeping the frame-work and general outlines of the measure, will fit into it.

Amendment in Clause 2 & 3 could be made in the Bill by provisions substantially securing (1) the proprietary rights of the holders of land, (2) limiting the rights of Government to a 25 per cent. of the annual value as defined in the Report of the Taxation Committee, (3) laying down this annual value and other factors mentioned in the Land Revenue Assessment Committee's recommendations as the basis of revising assessments, (4) constituting a Standing Advisory Committee of the Council, (5) in Clause 4 giving power to regulate by rules the introduction of an element of elasticity in the annual demand by maintaining a continuous operation of estimating detailed yield of crops and declaring "annewari" to determine the maximum demand to be collected during a year within certain limits depending upon the state of the crops, and lastly by a provision in the Bill by which retrospective effect could be given to such Legislation as will result in any changes of the practice on which all revisions were made after the declaration of the Parliamentary Committee.

### **Cause of Severe Hardship.**

The reason for this last provision is that it had come out in the evidence before that Committee that the revisions cause hardship to the people as they were based upon orders not properly made known or understood and proceed upon incorrect data and without a full

and proper investigation. If after this, the Government did not bring in amending legislation before certain revisions were proceeded with and did not stay the operation of the introduction of the revision even after the resolution to that effect was carried in the Bombay Council, it certainly behoves them to refund any enhanced amount that may be found to have been levied under the revised rates in case the new demand is reduced by the adoption of different principles. In fact, an assurance was given as already mentioned by the then Revenue Member, while speaking on the debate on the Resolution of 1924, to give retrospective effect to any legislation that may be passed as a result of the deliberations of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee in the matter of the new revision.

### A Necessary Provision.

This responsible statement is enough to justify the asking for this provision being inserted in the Bill and there is no reason for Government to fight shy of this as they seemed to do by their changed attitude indicated in the statement by the present Revenue Member the Hon. Mr. Rieu. While referring to the concluding portion of my resolution which asked for retrospective effect he said: "I regret the fact that the Hon. the mover for whose original Resolution there was much to be said, in fact, I have already indicated that so far as the first part is concerned I entirely agree with it, should have allowed himself to be persuaded to tack on to his otherwise moderate & reasonable proposition, a proposition which, it is perfectly obvious, Government could never for a moment accept."

Govt. will be well advised in acting on the Resolution of Mr. Jog as modified by my amendment to the effect that the Bill be withdrawn & a fresh Bill be drafted in consultation with non-official members of the Council.....a resolution which was carried by the unanimous vote of the elected members of the Council & thus give real effect to the voice of the people in a matter touching, as was said by the Parliamentary Committee, the well-being of the revenue payer, or if Govt. wish to carry this Bill through, the amendments of principle and detail which are suggested in the foregoing discussion ought to be accepted even though they appear to be opposed to the spirit of the present Bill which suffers under the disability of being an offspring of the purely official view. The amendments would at least go a great way to carry out the recommendations in the Report of the Land Revenue Assessment Committee.....which was specially appointed to report on the nature & form of Legislation that should be undertaken.



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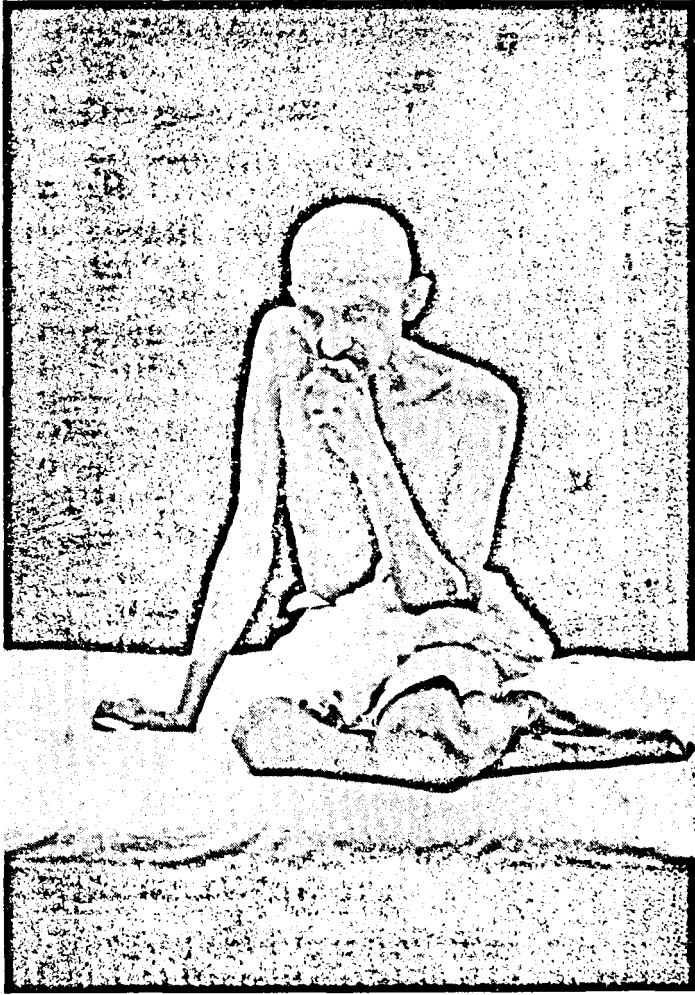
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### Errata.

Page	Line	For	Read
22	2	741	758
22	12	Gandhi Ashram Meerut, 13	Gandhi Ashram, Meerut, 30
22	14	230	247
38	11	Bharat Khaddar Nilayam, (West Godavary Dist.)	Bharat Khaddar Nilayam, Tanuku (West Godavary Dist.)
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MAHATMA GANDHI.

[ Photo : Guru Datta Studio,  
Ahmedabad.

# KHADI GUIDE.

## Introduction.

### Case for the Charkha.

The importance of the Charkha and Khadi i.e. handspun and handwoven cloth in our national economy is undoubtedly gaining more and more recognition and although the case for the Charkha has been stated so often by Gandhiji among others it will not still be out of place to summarise here in brief the arguments for spinning as the only immediately practicable cottage industry for the vast masses of the country.

### Sole Claim.

It is necessary at the outset to remove one misapprehension which again and again crops up in the arguments used against the Charkha. Spinning is not put forward as the sole occupation for any class of people; it is not intended that it should compete with, or displace any existing type of industry. There is therefore no meaning in comparing the earnings out of spinning with other whole-time occupations and declaring them to be too meagre. The sole claim urged in its favour is that it is the only immediately practicable supplementary occupation that can be offered to the vast mass of the population. Dr. Harold H. Mann, formerly Director of Agriculture, Bombay Presidency, stated in the main the case for the Charkha, when he declared at an interview on the eve of his retirement that the empty stomach was the greatest obstacle to progress in India; no country could ever hope to be prosperous if the majority of its population were idle for six months of the year, and no matter in what other way Mr. Gandhi had gone astray, he had penetrated into

the secret of the poverty of India when he advocated the spinning wheel, no matter if it did produce only a few annas a day.

### Two Undisputed facts.

The Charkha, then, rests upon these two facts—both of them undisputed—viz., the abnormal poverty of India and the idleness of the overwhelming mass of the population for about half the year. It is not necessary, in order to appraise the extent of the poverty of India, to go into all the details of the different estimates of average income, that have been made ever since Dadabhoj Naoroji started the attempt. It is sufficient to know that no fair estimate places it at much above Rs. 50/- per head per annum and that compared with other civilised countries in this respect India stands at the bottom of the list. Here are the pre-war figures of annual income per capita of different countries :—

United Kingdom	...	...	...	Rs. 750
U. S. A.	...	...	...	" 1080
Germany	...	...	...	" 450
France	...	...	...	" 570
Italy	...	...	...	" 345
Canada	...	...	...	" 600
Australia	...	...	...	" 810
Japan	...	...	...	" 90
India	...	...	...	" 36

### Explanation of the Poverty.

The explanation of this almost incredible poverty is to be found in the fact that the vast population of India is mainly rural and agricultural without any other supplementary occupation, that agriculture itself, owing, among other reasons, to excessive fragmentation of holdings, yields but a scanty

living and does not fully occupy the agriculturist all through the year and the want of any supplementary occupation keeps him in enforced idleness for a large part of the year. One has only to glance at the statistics given in the census report to understand the truth of the above propositions. The essentially rural character of India's population can be seen from the fact that out of the total population of 31,89,42,480 28,64,76,205 or nearly 90% lives in villages. A glance at the occupational statistics would show how the population stands as to sources of living. The following are the figures :—

Agriculture.	70.9% with 45% workers and 55% dependents.
Industries organised.	1%
Trade.	6%
Transport.	2%
Administration.	2%

### Condition of Agriculture.

The above shows that the organised industries on which so much store is laid has not so far absorbed more than 1% of the population and has not been able to fill up in the least the gap left by the general extinction of almost all the old indigenous industries. Agriculture is still the only source of living for three quarters of the population. And what is the condition of this industry which is the sole means of living for so large a portion of the population? It yields even in normal seasons a poor and precarious living. The holdings are too small and very often scattered to make cultivation profitable. The total cultivated area in British India is estimated to be near 225 million acres. This hardly leaves an acre per head to the agricultural population. The average size of a holding in the different provinces is stated to be as under:—

<i>Province.</i>	<i>Acres.</i>
Assam.	2.96
Bengal.	3.12
Bihar & Orissa.	3.09
Bombay.	12.15
Burma.	5.65
C. P. & Behar.	8.48
Madras.	4.91
N. W. F. Provinces.	11.22
Punjab.	9.18
U. P.	2.51

Even the above figures, small as they are, do not give quite the idea of the smallness of the holdings. For in certain areas as in the thickly populated parts of Behar the tenant holdings are stated to average less than half an acre. It is on such impoverished holdings that 72% of the population has to subsist. It is clear that such holdings cannot possibly engage the cultivator all through the year.

#### **Forced idleness.**

"The cultivator" says Mr. Thompson, the Census Commissioner for Bengal "works fairly hard when he ploughs his land and puts down his crops and again when he harvests them but for most of the year he has little or nothing to do." Mr. Edey, writing of U. P., says "agriculture of this kind involves very hard work for certain short periods and almost complete inactivity for the rest of the year." As regards C. P., Mr. Houghton states that when once the Kharif crop is raised at the end of the rains "there is scarcity of employment until shortly before the break of the next monsoon." The work done by the average cultivator in the Punjab, says Mr. Calvert, does not represent more than 150 days full labour for 12 months.

### The remedy.

This state of affairs points to one important cause of the poverty of the agriculturist—the want of employment for half the year. The remedy therefore must be the provision of one or more supplementary occupations to fill the idle hours. It is necessary to remember that the cultivator cannot be expected to go in search of work but on the other hand the work should be brought to his own doors; and the occupation suggested should be one that is immediately practicable and which, while it will not stand in the way of his taking up to more profitable occupations if any, can always be resorted to in case of seasonal unemployment and will be available in his own home to every member of his family. Taking all these considerations into account there is no industry that can answer the tests like spinning or can promise results of equal magnitude in the near future. The advantages of spinning over any other industry from this point of view which render it preeminently suitable as a remedy for India's present economic distress have been summarised as under in 'Young India' October 1st 1926:—

\*1. It is immediately practicable, because

- (a) It does not require any capital or costly implements to put it into operation. Both the raw material and the implements for working it can be cheaply and locally obtained.
- (b) It does not require any higher degree of skill or intelligence than the ignorant and poverty stricken masses of India possess.
- (c) It requires so little exertion that even little children and old men can practice it and so contribute their mite to the family fund.

- (d) It does not require the ground to be prepared for its introduction afresh as the spinning tradition is still alive among the people.
2. It is universal and permanent, as next to food yarn alone can be sure of always commanding an unlimited and ready market at the very doorsteps of the worker, and thus ensures a steady regular income to the impoverished agriculturist.
  3. It is independent of monsoon conditions and so can be carried on even during famine times.
  4. It is not opposed to the religious or social susceptibilities of the people.
  5. It provides a most perfect ready means of fighting famine.
  6. It carries work to the very cottage of the peasant and thus prevents the disintegration of the family under economic distress.
  7. It alone can restore some of the benefits of the village communities of India now well-nigh ruined.
  8. It is the backbone as much of the hand-weaver as of the agriculturist, as it alone can provide a permanent and stable basis for the hand-loom industry which at present is supporting from 8 to 10 million people and supplies about one-third of the clothing requirements of India.
  9. Its revival would give a fillip to a host of cognate and allied village occupations and thus rescue the villages from the state of decay into which they have fallen.

#### **An appreciable addition.**

But it is said all the above advantages may be there, still spinning yields a miserable pittance and is therefore

little better than economic waste. In making this objection it is forgotten that spinning is not put forward as the principal occupation for anybody, and once this is clearly understood, it needs no argument to show that the daily income of an anna and a half that spinning yields is by no means an inappreciable addition to an income that has been estimated to average not much more than two annas a day.

### **Proved by experience.**

But there is no need for argument in this connection. The experiences of the last few years gives the best answer to this sort of objection. The village folk who took to spinning during these years have not deserted it for any more profitable supplementary occupation, because of the sole and simple reason that there was none such at hand for them; and it is only want of capacity to visualise the extent of the poverty that has overtaken this country that can put forward the objection that it is not remunerative enough; and to all such a visit to any one of the principal centres of Khadi production will be an effective eye-opener.

### **Some figures.**

Here are some figures gleaned after careful investigation of the conditions in some of the Khadi areas of Tamil Nad to show what an effective means of supplementary income the Charkha has been to the spinning families:—

1. Name of village.
2. Number of wheels.
3. Annual earnings from spinning in rupees.
4. Annual agricultural and other incomes of spinning families in rupees.
5. Percentage of 3 to 4.



1	2	3	4	5
<b>Pudupalayam area.</b>				
1. Uppupalayam	25	460	3360	13%
2. Sembampalayam	29	450	3065	15%
3. Puliampatti	20	346	2650	13%
4. Chithalandur	25	375	2150	17½%
5. Pudupalayam	25	336	2398	14%
<b>Kanoor area.</b>				
6. Komarapalayam	60	1398	9009	15½%
7. Chellampalayam	14	242	2190	11%
<b>Uttukuli area.</b>				
8. Velampalayam	25	401	1400	28½%
9. Papampalayam	68	1205	5220	23%
10. Sembampalayam	14	372	2672	14%

The above figures show that the Charkha has given in the particular year under investigation an addition of 11 to 28% to the income of the spinning families in the villages taken as a whole. In the case of individual families the results were even more striking, the earning from spinning representing an addition of 50 to 60% to the other incomes.

#### Comparison with mills.

But it is asked all that is stated above may be true, still can hand-spinning stand the competition of the mills? It may be pointed out in this connection that even to-day in several parts of the Punjab, U. P., Behar, Andhra, Rajasthan, etc. large quantities of half and full Khadi are produced and consumed without any effort on anybody's part and that in spite of the competition of foreign and Indian mill cloth; and this shows that the Khadi that is produced in those parts is being found suitable, durable and on the whole cheap by the consumers. But it is undoubtedly true that at present the cost of Khadi to the city consumer is generally

somewhat more, and in the finer varieties, considerably more than that of mill cloth of the corresponding quality. Even here it is necessary to remember that the cost of production of the hand-spun cloth has been progressively going down since the early years and there are still large economies to be effected. The reduction in prices since 1922 has in most cases been more than 25%, and in some cases even 50%, and that in spite of considerable improvement in quality both in respect of the count of yarn used and closeness of texture. And as has been pointed out above there are still large economies to be effected. The spinner has to be taught the need and the profit of stocking his or her own cotton for spinning. The wages both for spinning and weaving have to be standardised. There is still a large difference between the charges for weaving mill yarn and those for weaving hand-spun yarn. Improvement in the quality of yarn is bound to facilitate a reduction in weaving charges without any detriment to the weaver. The activities as a whole have largely to be decentralised. The industry has altogether to be taken to the stage which it once occupied in our national life and become a local industry universal throughout the country, the product both of the charkha and the loom finding its market in the locality and in the neighbourhood. With improvement in the quality of the yarn produced, with general increase in the output both of the charkha and the loom and with the growth in the volume of production there are bound to be large economies effected which will enable a more favourable comparison of Khadi prices with those of mill cloth. But it may be that even with all these the cost of Khadi to the city consumer will not be cheaper than that of mill cloth. But no one need grudge the small excess that he will have to pay for Khadi if note is taken of the beneficial results to the community at large. While the individual consumer may be gaining a little by purchasing mill cloth

in preference to Khadi the nation may be losing in a number of ways as for instance the cost of machinery etc., which we have to import from foreign countries. If again we remember that our object is to find some stable supplementary occupation for the millions of agriculturists spread all over the country, that the existing mills with their investment of crores have not found work for more than 4,00,000 labourers, it is easy to see that the mills cannot serve the object in view. Above all it should be noted that every two annas earned by the village labourer in his home is so much that has to that extent purified and strengthened our village organisation, while every two annas earned at the factory has to that extent undermined the health and not merely the health but the morals of our rural population. If one takes all these into consideration, one need not grudge the few annas that he may have to pay more for Khadi.

### **Means to Supplement mill production.**

But there is another aspect from which the Khadi movement may be viewed—as an effort to supplement the production of the indigenous mills so as to achieve the national objective of a boycott of foreign cloth. To the superficial observer it may perhaps appear that the Charkha cannot be an effective instrument to supplement the mills' production and that the obvious method to achieve the boycott is an extension of the mill industry. But looking to the rate of progress in the mill industry during the last two decades, the capital of nearly 30 to 40 crores that will be required to set up the additional number of spindles and looms that will be needed, and the difficulties regarding skilled labour, it will appear an exceedingly doubtful proposition to rely exclusively on the extension of the mill industry for achieving the elimination of foreign cloth in any reasonably

short period. On the other hand we have an unlimited number of charkhas available for work almost immediately. In many of the provinces spinning is even to-day somewhat of a live tradition and in addition there is a large number of charkhas lying idle for want of adequate market for their output. The Khadi output figures that the Association reports represent only work done directly under the auspices of the Association. There is a much larger number of charkhas working to-day whose output of yarn does not come into the Association account. In Punjab for instance, in 43 villages alone where the Punjab Branch operates it is found that 42712 charkhas are working. Even taking an average of 25 lbs. of yarn as the output per charkha for a year the output per year must be more than 10 lacs of lbs. The production of Khadi by the Punjab Branch of the Association, however, is only Rs. 84,691-8-0, which could not have absorbed more than 5% of the total output of yarn even in that limited area. More or less a similar state of affairs exists in Rajasthan, Andhra, East Bengal, U. P. and other provinces. This will give an idea of the materials that lie ready to hand for work. If all the charkhas running at present can be set to work fully and if in addition the idle charkhas can be brought out for work, we can, without any outlay of capital on plant or machinery, arrange for the production of a very large part of the yarn that will be necessary to replace foreign imported cloth. The available number of charkhas and looms point to great possibilities. What is needed is an appreciation of the possibilities by the educated class and the drawing up of an efficient plan of action. If this is ensured and effective propaganda carried on among the vast millions of consumers to eschew foreign cloth completely and, if necessary, restrict their clothing needs temporarily to some extent and if further the educated and well-to-do classes in the cities who set the fashion to the villagers of wearing glossy and seemingly fine

foreign fabrics now reset the healthier life-giving fashion of wearing the indigenous home made cloth, then there is no doubt it will be possible to achieve comparatively very large results in the direction of eliminating foreign cloth.

But whether the charkha will help in the complete achievement of the boycott of foreign cloth or not, there is no doubt that to-day the indigenous mills are not able to satisfy in full the needs of the country in respect of its clothing requirements. The output of the charkha is therefore a needed addition and to the extent that it is fostered will diminish the use of foreign cloth in the country. And if this fact is understood and the other economic considerations urged earlier in this chapter appreciated, the educated classes in the country will feel no hesitation in extending all possible support to the movement.

### **Centre of other constructive activities.**

Before closing this introduction reference may be made to the fact that in many areas Khadi has become the centre of many other activities conducive to the betterment of the villages around. It has served to help in the anti-drink campaign; it has enabled village education to be undertaken on a small scale; it has in some instances helped even in anti-untouchability work. Some of the Khadi organisations are also giving some amount of medical relief to the villages around. Above all Khadi has brought the educated worker into living touch with village life and its problems. The Khadi Ashrams in Gujarat, particularly in Bardoli, the organisations in Bengal, the Gandhi Ashram at Tiruchengodu, the Ashram at Huddi, the Rajasthan Branch of the Charkha Sangh are only a few of the well-known organisations that have made Khadi the centre of other activities of village reconstruction.

The following pages, it is hoped, will give some idea of the ramifications of Khadi activity in the country. They are intended to indicate the general features of the work that is going on rather than give a full description of it. For additional information regarding any aspect of the work as also for detailed price lists and samples enquiries must be addressed to the head-quarters of the particular organisation concerned.

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## ALL INDIA SPINNERS' ASSOCIATION.

The first introduction of the charkha and hand-spinning in the national programme was at the special session of the Congress in 1920 when hand-spinning and the wearing of khadi i.e., hand-spun hand-woven cloth were prescribed as "measures of discipline and self-sacrifice for every man, woman and child." At the Nagpur Congress the resolution was reiterated and in the following March the All India Congress Committee at Bezwada called upon the nation to get ready 20 lakhs of working charkhas. Khadi was worked from that date by the different Congress Committees as part of their own programme of work. In 1922 an All India Khadi Department was created by the A.I.C.C., for supervising the work but the actual work itself was being carried on by the several provincial and subordinate Congress committees till December 1923 when the Congress at Cocanada started the All India Khadi Board to supervise and control all the khadi work in the country in co-operation with Provincial Khadi Boards to be established by the several Provincial Congress Committees. This organisation lasted till September 1925 when the All India Spinners' Association was started by Mahatma Gandhi.

The Association was started in September 1925 at Patna as a result of the need felt for an expert organisation, unaffected by politics, for the development of hand-spinning and khadi. The All India Congress Committee which met at Patna at the same time passed a resolution transferring to the Association all the Congress investments in Khadi including the assets of the All India Khadi Board and the Provincial Khadi Boards that had come into existence as a result of the Cocanada Congress decision. The constitution of the Association was adopted at an inaugural meeting on 23rd September,

1925. It has since been amended and the amended constitution is as follows :—

1. Whereas the time has arrived for the establishment of an expert organisation for the development of hand-spinning and khaddar and whereas experience has shown that such development is not possible without a permanent organisation, unaffected and uncontrolled by politics, political changes or political bodies, an organisation called the All India Spinners' Association is hereby established with the consent of the All India Congress Committee as an integral part of the Congress organisation, but with independent existence and powers.

2. (a) The said Association shall consist of members and associates and donors hereinafter defined and shall have a Board of Trustees who shall also be the Governing Body of the Association.

(b) That the said Board of Trustees and Executive Council shall consist of the undermentioned twelve persons who shall hold office for life, provided they continue to be A class members of the Association, and three other persons who shall hold office for one year elected by the members of the Association from among its A class members annually, provided that for this purpose no one who has not been on the rolls continuously for two years at the time of election shall be entitled to vote.

Names of members of the Board of Trustees and Executive Council :—

(1) Mahatma Gandhi; (2) Seth Jarnalal Bajaj; (3) Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar; (4) Sjt. G. B. Deshpande; (5) Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya; (6) Babu Rajendra Prasad, (7) Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru; (8) Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta. (9) Sjt.



Vallabhbhai Patel. (10) Sjt. Manilal Kothari and (11) Sjt. S. G. Banker. (12) Kept vacant.

3. That the funds and assets now held by the All India Spinners' Association and its various branches shall vest in the Board of Trustees who shall also be the Executive Council of the Association, and they shall hold the same for the purposes of the Association.

4. The Council shall have the right to raise loans, to collect subscriptions, to hold immovable property, to invest funds under proper security, to give and take mortgage for the furtherance of hand-spinning and khaddar, to give financial assistance to khaddar organisations by way of loans, gifts or bounties, to help or establish schools or institutions where hand-spinning is taught, to help or open khaddar stores, to establish a Khaddar Service, to act as agency on behalf of the Congress to receive self-spun yarn as subscription to the Congress and to issue certificates and to do all the things that may be considered necessary for the furtherance of its objects, with power to make regulations for the conduct of affairs of the Association or the Council and to make such amendments in the present constitution, as may be considered necessary from time to time.

5. Any vacancy in the Board of Trustees and Executive Council occurring by reason of resignation, death or otherwise, shall be filled up by the remaining members from amongst A class members of the Association, provided, however, the person appointed in place of a life-member will be a member for life, while the person appointed in place of a member elected for the year will be member for the remaining period of the term.

6. Four members shall form the quorum for a meeting of the Board of Trustees and Executive Council.

7. All decisions shall be taken by majority of votes.

8. The Council shall keep an accurate account of all subscriptions, donations and fees, whether in cash or kind, and of expenditure. The books shall be open to public inspection and shall be audited by competent auditors every three months.

9. The Board of Trustees and Executive Council shall have a central office. They shall elect a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer from among their number who shall each hold office for 3 years.

10. All persons desirous of becoming members of the Congress shall send their yarn subscriptions to the central office with particulars in the following form:—

To

The Secretary,

All India Spinners' Association.

Sir,

I enclose herewith.....yards of yarn.....in weight spun by me, being my subscription to the National Congress. I am a member of the.....  
wish to become

\* Congress Committee. My age is.....My occupation is.....My address is.....

Signature.....(Please sign legibly and if a woman, state whether married or unmarried).

Date.....

11. Upon receipt of the subscription the Secretary shall examine the quantity and quality of yarn and, if found satisfactory, shall send to the Congress Committee concerned a certificate in the following form:—

---

\* Give name of Committee.

" This is to certify that.....Of.....has sent to the A. I. S. A.....yards of yarn being subscription for membership of the Congress for the year.....in.....Congress Committee of.....P. C. C."

A duplicate of the certificate with the signature of the Secretary shall be sent to the sender of the yarn.

12. The central office shall keep a separate ledger containing a list with full particulars of all yarn received by the A. I. S. A. for membership of the Congress.

13. There shall be two classes of members of the Association, A and B:—

(i) The A class shall consist of persons above eighteen years of age and habitually wearing khaddar, who deposit regularly from month to month with the treasurer or any agency duly appointed thereto by the Council 1000 yards of self-spun yarn, well twisted and uniform;]

(ii) The B class shall consist of persons above eighteen years of age, habitually wearing Khaddar, who pay an annual subscription of 2000 yards of self-spun yarn, well twisted and uniform.

14. Any yarn paid to the Association for membership of the National Congress shall be considered part of the subscription to the Association.

15. The duty of every member, both A and B classes, shall be to carry on propaganda for hand-spinning and khaddar.

16. When in any area fifty members have been enrolled they may elect from among the members of class A an advisory committee of five to advise the Council about matters relating to the area.

17. Those who pay the All India Spinners' Association Rs. 12/- per year in advance and habitually wear khaddar shall be entitled to be enrolled as Associate members of the Association.

18. Any person who wears khaddar habitually and pays in advance a consolidated amount of Rs. 500/- shall become a Life Associate of the Association.

19. All Associates will be entitled to receive free of charge copies of statements, balance sheets, and minutes of proceedings of the Council.

20. Every person wishing to join the Association shall apply in the following form:—

To

The 'B' class membership has been abolished, and consequential changes made in articles 2 (b), 5, 13, 16, and 20.

to become ~~a member of class~~ and I forward here-  
an associate  
with.....as my subscription for.....Please enrol  
me as a member  
an associate

Yours faithfully,

(Signature).....

( Full address ).....

Date.....

21. If any member fails to send his yarn quota for six months he shall cease to be a member.

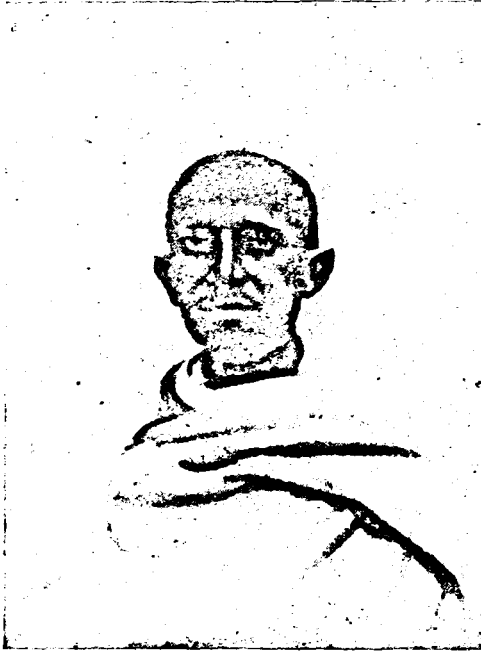
One of the members of the first Executive Council Sjt. Maganlal K. Gandhi, passed away in April last year. His death is an irreparable loss to the Association and indeed to the whole

Khadi movement. His unsurpassed devotion and technical knowledge had been at the service of Khadi ever since the movement was started. He was the Director of the Technical Department of the A. I. S. A. till his death. In grateful recognition of his services to Khadi in general and to the Association in particular, the Executive Council of the Association at its meeting on 12th May 1928 at Sabarmati resolved to raise a Khadi museum in his name for which a lakh of rupees has been called for. Rs. 22000/- have till now been received from several donors.

The Council of the Association is carrying on the work in the several provinces through its appointed agents. The names of the agents and the secretaries in the several provinces are given below :—

<i>Province.</i>	<i>Agent.</i>	<i>Secretary.</i>
Andhra	Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya.	Sjt. V. Narayanamurthy
Behar	Babu Rajendra Prasad	" Lakshmi Narayan
Bengal	Sjt. Satis Ch. Das Gupta	
Burma	" Nanalal Kalidas	
Karnatak	" Gangadharrao, Deshpande	" H. S. Kaujalgi.
Maharashtra	" V. V. Dastane.	" Shree Krishna Das Jaju
Punjab	Dr. Gopichand Bhargava	" Kishanchand Bhatia
Rajasthan	Seth Jamnalal Bajaj	" B. S. Deshpande
Tamil Nad.		" N. S. Varadachari.
U. P.	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.	" J. B. Kripalani
Utkal		" Niranjana Patnaik

The assets of the All India and other Boards transferred to the Association under the resolution of the Congress amounted to about 14 lakhs. As a result of collections made for the Das Memorial Fund during Gandhiji's tours in the country and other donations the Association has received about another seven lakhs. Altogether at present the Association is func-



**SJT. MAGANLAL GANDHL**



Khadi Service Students—Spinning



Khadi Service Students—Carding.

tioning with a capital of nearly 22 lakhs. Almost the whole of this sum is lying invested in the different centres of work in the various provinces. Much of it is invested in the centres directly run by the Association or its branches, but a considerable part, over 5 lakhs, is in the form of loans advanced to recognised Khadi organisations. The investments in the different provinces as on 30-9-28 are as under :—

Andhra	Rs. 1,61,412—2—5
Assam	" 7,604—11—0
Behar	" 3,42,751—3—5
Bengal	" 2,98,050—0—0
Bombay	" 1,25,000—0—1
Burma	" 23,700—5—7
Delhi	" 46,658—8—9
Karnatak	" 1,05,821—12—2 $\frac{1}{2}$
Maharashtra	" 1,21,984—3—3
Punjab	" 77,428—12—6 $\frac{1}{2}$
Rajasthan	" 58,040—10—10
Tamil Nad & Kerala	" 6,34,333—2—1
U. P.	" 56,286—3—3
Utkal	" 98,088—15—7
	<hr/>
	Rs. 21,57,160—11—0

At the beginning of every financial year the central office gets the budget and programme of work from the different provincial branches of the Association. The Council considers the schemes, and the provincial branches carry on the work in accordance with the sanction of the Council.

Some idea of the extent of the Khadi activities in the country may be gathered from the fact that there are nearly a thousand workers now engaged in Khadi work in the different provinces. The precise figures for the private organisa-



tions are not available, but those in the A. I. S. A. and in several aided public organisations alone number 741 as under:-

<i>A. I. S. A.</i>		<i>Aided Organisations.</i>	
Central Office	9	Khadi Pratisthan	95
Technical Department	8	Abhoy Ashram	63
Andhra	46	Prabartak Sangh	15
Behar	77	Khalispur Ashram	12
Bombay, Bhandars	20	Vidyashram	17
Burma	3	Arambagh Khadi Katya	5
Karnatak	26	Gandhi Ashram,	
Maharashtra	41	Tiruchengodu	10
Punjab	26	Gandhi Ashram, Meerut	13
Rajasthan	28		—
Tamil Nad	144		230
U. P.	30		—
Utkal	53		

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With the workers in the private organisations the number must reach very nearly one thousand, and these are distributed over 260 centres of work throughout the country. Of the above 110 are centres of production, the remaining are sale centres. Distributed according to provinces the numbers are as under:—

<i>Provinces.</i>	<i>Production centres</i>	<i>Sale centres</i>
Andhra	21	14
Behar	9	16
Bengal	17	20
Bombay	...	2
Burma	...	1
Delhi	3	2
Gujarat	6	3
Karnatak	7	10

Maharashtra	6	24
Punjab	6	12
Rajasthan	9	3
Tamil Nad	17	25
Kerala	2	3
U. P.	3	6
Utkal	4	9
	110	150

In some of the above centres more than one organisation is working. Each production centre covers a number of villages. Some are small, covering only about half a dozen villages, while at the other end is a centre like Tirupur in Tamil Nad where a number of organisations are working, receiving yarn from more than a hundred villages. The activities of the production centres cover in all 2198 villages, and benefit 703 carders 90272 spinners and 4672 weavers. Distributed according to provinces the figures are as under.

<i>Province.</i>	<i>No of villages covered.</i>	<i>Carders.</i>	<i>Spinners.</i>	<i>Weavers.</i>
Andhra	362	260	13157	1111
Behar	figures not received.			
Bengal*	48	...	2350	104
Delhi*	63	...	977	68
Gujarat*	129	23	1457	193
Karnatak	180	...	2992	232
Maharashtra	53	88	829	90
Punjab	82	...	42712	487
Rajasthan	171	200	5176	613
Tamil Nad & Kerala	925	...	18225	1474
U. P.	121	132	1209	268
Utkal	64	...	1188	32
	2198	703	90272	4672

\* Figures incomplete.

It is difficult exactly to say how much gets distributed as wages to spinners and weavers as a result of the activities of these centres, since in some areas yarn is purchased directly from spinners at weekly markets, and sometimes Khadi even is so purchased from weavers. But precise figures are available in the case of centres where cotton and yarn are issued out to spinners and weavers respectively and wages paid for work. Taking these figures as the basis for purposes of calculation it will be found that out of the total production of over 24 lakhs worth of Khadi during the year 1927-28 the raw material would have accounted for about 8 lakhs and the over-head charges of production for another 2 lakhs and nearly the whole of the balance of 14 lakhs would have been distributed as wages to spinners and weavers.

The figures of production and sale for the year 1927-28 are as under for the different provinces:—

<i>Province,</i>	<i>Production.</i>	<i>Sale.</i>
Andhra	2,94,083	3,71,698
Behar	2,12,441	2,43,359
Bengal	3,28,609	4,10,632
Bombay	...	3,06,258
Burma	...	25,451
Delhi	16,758	19,809
Gujarat	37,619	95,835
Karnatak	73,970	1,12,193
Kashmir	22,219	...
Maharashtra	37,036	1,95,590
Punjab	84,692	1,07,538
Rajasthan	1,41,710	1,41,473
Tamil Nad & Kerala	997,466	10,23,521
U. P. & Gandhi Ashram	1,16,365	1,97,025
Utkal.	53,384	58,251
	<hr/> 24,16,382	<hr/> 33,08,634

For the purpose of taking Khadi to the consumers' own homes, especially in the villages, the Association has put into force a hawking scheme. The details of this scheme are as under:—

1. Hawking commission is payable only to certified hawkers who have been regularly appointed for the purpose by the provincial branch of the A. I. S. A. or any other agency specially authorised by the A. I. S. A.

2. Hawking is of two kinds, urban and rural. The commission for urban hawking is one anna on every rupee of sale. The commission for rural hawking is Rs. 15/- for the first Rs. 100/- of sale every month and thereafter one anna on every rupee. There should be a minimum sale of Rs. 100/- per month by a hawker, before he can be entitled to the special rate of commission. For the purpose of this provision every place with a population of less than 5000 shall be considered a village.

3. Every hawker is required to deposit cash security to cover the value of goods advanced to him for sale.

4. He has to sell the goods at the prices advised by the supply depot. He will be given bill-books, and every item of sale must be supported by a bill.

5. The hawking commission bill must be sent to the Central Office for sanction through the Provincial Office at the latest within two months of the period of hawking.

Under this scheme there are now 143 hawkers. Value of goods hawked during the year 1927-28 was over Rs. 1,25,000/- and the commission distributed amounted to Rs. 14,306-15-6

With a view to encourage private enterprise in Khadi sales the Council of the Association has sanctioned a bounty scheme, under which an annual bounty of 2% may be paid to private Khadi dealers on the value of their sales subject to certain conditions. The conditions are as under:—

- (a) The value of only Khadi sold at a price of Re 1-0-0 or below per yard shall be taken into account.
- (b) Only goods sold at a price of 6% over cost price plus freight or less shall be taken into account.
- (c) Only retail sales shall be taken into account.  
Note:—No stock of Khadi sold will be entitled to to the benefit of the bounty more than once.
- (d) There should be a sale in the year of at least twice the amount of capital invested.
- (e) The total amount of sales should be above Rs 1000/- a year.
- (f) There should be no cloth offered for sale at the Bhandar other than genuine cotton fabric, handspun and handwoven, both warp and weft.
- (g) All accounts and purchases of stock should be made available for inspection and audit.
- (h) The payment of the bounty will in any case be at the discretion of the All India Spinners' Association.

Applications for bounty should be in the prescribed form, and should be accompanied by the audited statements of accounts of the organisation applying, for the year for which bounty is claimed, as also a list of the organisations supplying goods to the applicant bhandar.

#### **Technical School.**

The Association is running a Technical School for the training of Khadi Service students at the Sabarmati Satyagrah-ashram, whose disciplined life and atmosphere are calculated to train the workers for the hard life in villages that Khadi work involves. The School is now being run under the direction and supervision of Sjt. Chhaganlal N. Joshi, Secretary of the Ashram.

It was in December, 1926, that a definite scheme for a Khadi Service of specially trained young men and women was adopted by the Council of the Association. Under this scheme a two years' training course is prescribed for an applicant for Khadi Service with a 3 months' probation before, and 9 month's practical apprenticeship at a centre of work after, the period of training. During all this period a stipend of Rs. 12/- per month is provided in necessary cases. If a candidate then desires to enter the service, he will be admitted and a minimum salary of Rs. 30/- per month and service for ten years guaranteed to him. Under this scheme there are now 20 students undergoing training in the School, 4 are under probation in their own provinces, and 7 have completed the training and are undergoing apprenticeship.

The course of instruction has been framed by the Board of Studies, appointed by the Council. Attempt is made to give a fairly detailed knowledge of the technical as well as the accounts and business aspects of Khadi work. The Course includes a competent knowledge of all the processes that cotton has to go through upto finished cloth, a knowledge of Hindi and of book-keeping, and such general knowledge as may be required for efficient Khadi organisation. The two years period is roughly distributed as follows:—

Ginning	2 weeks.
Carding	7 "
Spinning	21 "
Weaving	42 "
Carpentry	12 "
Dyeing	3 "
Hindi &	

Accounts remaining period.

Detailed syllabus can be had on application. Applicants for Khadi Service have to address their enquiries to the Central Office at Ahmedabad.

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## ANDHRA.

Agent. Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya.  
 Officiating Secretary. „ V. Narayanamurthy.  
 Head-quarters. Guntur.

Andhra was the first province to take enthusiastically to the Khadi movement in 1921 and during that year and for a considerable part of 1922 was the one main source of Khadi supply to other parts of India. As a result of the great demand for Khadi from all parts of the country there sprang up quite a large number of Khadi organisations all over the province. At present besides the A. I. S. A. branch there are nearly 40 important organisations in the field.

Andhra as is well-known produces almost every variety and quality of Khadi. Production is now going on in the districts of Ganjam, Vizagapatam, West and East Godavary, East Kistna, Guntur and Nellore. The ordinary thick variety of Khadi is available in almost all the districts. Medium quality out of 15 to 25 counts yarn is produced in parts of East Kistna and Guntur. The finest Khadi now available in the market comes from the Ganjam and Vizagapatam districts.

The fine Khadi of Ganjam and Vizagapatam was till last year being got produced and put into the market by private institutions recognised by the A. I. S. A. In order to ensure genuineness the A. I. S. A. had appointed two supervisors to inspect and certify each piece of cloth on the loom itself. The demand for this Khadi from all provinces is so great that in spite of all precautions one or two cases of mill yarn having been mixed came to the notice of the A. I. S. A. Branch at Guntur. The Association, therefore, was forced to cancel the certificates of recognition, issued to the private institutions, and take up the organisation of production under its own direct control and supervision. It was



Carding—Andhra Fine Spinner.



Fine Spinning Andhra.





Masulipatam Prints.

also found that by so doing some reduction can also be effected in the prices at which this Khadi is made available to the consumer. The Association has started the work recently under the new scheme and has established its own depot at Chicacole. Orders for fine Khadi have to be addressed only to the Manager, A. I. S. A. Fine Khadi Depot, Chicacole. Every piece of genuine fine Khadi will bear the seal of the Andhra Branch and the signature of the certifying officer.

The fine Khadi is a speciality of this region, available nowhere else in India. Fine spinning had never died out in this region. The whole process is elaborate. The methods of ginning, carding and slivering are very much the same as were employed by the Dacca spinners for the muslin of old. Carefully selected cotton is used. It is of an indigenous variety not very long stapled, but yet having a smooth and silken surface, which is grown on the hill-slopes in the districts. The seeds are carefully removed with the hand. The cotton then undergoes something like sifting. Fish jaw-bone is used in the manner of a comb, so that the weaker and coarser fibres are removed. Then the cotton is reduced to a state of downy fleece by a small bamboo carding bow. It is then made into slivers in much the usual way: The wheel used is of a considerably larger size than the wheels generally in use in other parts of the country. The yarn spun ranges from 30 to as much as 100 or 120 counts. The cloth produced is of two varieties: (1) Velama cloth woven out of 30 to 40 counts yarn, and (2) the finer Pattusali cloth woven out of 50 to 100 counts yarn. The output both in spinning and weaving is naturally small per unit of time. The wages of spinning and weaving are also comparatively higher. The prices, therefore, are fairly high. But the cloths are very durable. Besides the fineness of yarn used the beauty and workmanship exhibited in the borders in silk and lace are

special characteristics in the Pattusali variety of this production. Information regarding prices may be had of the A. I. S. A. Fine Khadi Depot, Chicacole.

Besides the Depot at Chicacole, the A. I. S. A. Branch in this province maintains a Central Stores at Guntur, 3 other production centres—Tuni in Godavary, Kailaspatnam in Vizagapatam, and Kanupur in Nellore—and 13 sale Bhandars. The Central Stores at Guntur gets its goods mostly by purchase from Shri Rama Krishna Ashram, Guntur, Nallamattapalli of Palnad Taluk, and Khadi Parisramalayam, Guravareddipalayam. It also buys yarn and gets small quantities woven in Palnad and other places. Some quantity of the production of Tuni, Kailaspatnam and Kanupur also passes through the Central Stores. The Central Stores distributes the goods among the several sale depots run by the Provincial Branch. It also organises sales in the Guntur district through hawkers.

The Ramakrishna Ashram is one of the biggest private producers in the province. It gets its goods partly by production and partly by purchases from Khadi weavers. It supplies about Rs. 4000/- worth of cloth per month to the Central Stores. The cloth is generally of 15 to 25 counts of yarn. The Palnad organisation of Mr. Nallamattapalli supplies about Rs 2,000/- worth to the Central Stores every month. Besides the ordinary Khadi this organisation supplies fine and coarse Kuppadam cloth, so called from a certain border woven in Palnad only, for which there is a great demand in Andhra and to some extent even in Tamil Nad. Guravareddipalayam supplies its whole production of about Rs. 1,000/- worth per month to the Central Stores. The cloth is generally of yarn below 15 counts. Generally the rates of wages in the Guntur area are as under:—



Carding per viss. of 120 tolas	Rs. 0-4-0
Spinning --Do--	Rs. 1-0-0 to Rs. 2-0-0 according to count.
Weaving 36"	Rs. 0-1-9 per yard
45"	Rs. 0-3-6 " "
50"	Rs. 0-3-9 " "

The chief varieties available at the Central Stores are plain Khadi, dhotees, sarees, towels, upper-cloths, shirting, coating and blankets of both double and single thread. All these are available in white or dyed or printed. There is a bleaching printing and dyeing department, attached to the Central Stores.

The texture is about 49 threads per inch in the medium variety, that is from 22 to 25 counts yarn, and 40 threads in the coarser variety, that is 12 to 16 counts yarn. The prices generally are as under:—

Description.	Count of yarn used.	Price per yard.
Khadi or Dhotee	54" 25	Rs 0-15-0
--Do--	50" 25	Rs 0-14-3
--Do--	45" 25	Rs 0-11-3
Twill coating	27" 25	Rs 1-0-0
Plain Khadi or Dhotee	54" 12 to 16	Rs 0-11-6
--Do--	50" "	Rs 0-10-0
		to Rs 0-11-0
		according to texture
--Do--	45" "	Rs 0-9-0
--Do--	36" "	Rs 0-7-0
--Do--	27" "	Rs 0-6-0
Unbleached Kuppadam:—		
Ordinary No. 1	54" 20 to 25	Rs 1-8-0
" " " "	50" ,	Rs 1-6-0

"	"	"	"	45"	"	Rs 1-3-0
"	"	"	"	36"	"	Rs 1-0-0
"	"	"	No. 2	50"	14 to 16	Rs 1-2-0
"	"	"	"	45"	"	Rs 1-0-0
"	"	"	No. 3	45"	12 to 14	Rs 0-13-9
"	"	"	No. 4	50"	10 to 12	Rs 0-12-0
"	"	"	"	45"	"	Rs 0-10-8
"	"	"	"	36"	"	Rs 0-9-6
Kuppadam with lace or silk border				50"	20 to 25	Rs 3-8-0
"	"	"	"	45"	"	Rs 3-6-0
"	"	"	"	36"	"	Rs 3-0-0
"	"	"	with silk border only	50"	"	Rs 2-6-0
"	"	"	"	45"	"	Rs 2-4-0
"	"	"	"	36"	"	Rs 2-0-0

A discount of  $6\frac{1}{4}\%$  is allowed on the above prices to Khadi dealers who purchase not less than Rs. 100/- worth at a time.

Of the other production centres, run directly by the Andhra Branch, Tuni in Godavari district is the biggest, producing about Rs. 2000/- worth per month. Most of it is sent out to the Cocanada and Berhampore sale depots, run by the Branch. Thick cloth of 8 to 14 counts yarn only is produced at this centre. All the usual varieties are manufactured including dhotees, upper-cloths, single and double thread coating, shirtings, turban-cloths, towels, chintz, sarees, etc. All sorts of printed and dyed goods are also available. Widths from 18 to 60 inches are woven. The following are the rates of wages prevailing in the area:—

Ginning per viss of 125 tolas	Rs 0-0-7 $\frac{1}{2}$
Carding " "	Ra 0-3-0
Spinning " "	Rs 0-12-0
Weaving 36"	Rs 0-1-3 per yard
" 45"	Rs 0-2-0 "

"	50 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-2-6
"	60 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-4-0

The prices are as under :—

Khadi	18 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-3-9
"	27 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-4-9
"	36 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-3-6
"	45 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-8-6
"	50 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-9-0
"	54 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-10-0
"	60 <sup>o</sup>	Rs 0-11-0

The activities of this centre cover 35 villages and support 16 carders, 230 spinners and 30 weavers.

Besides the A. I. S. A. depot there are two other private institutions at Tuni—Khaddar stores producing about Rs. 1000/- worth and Khadi Pratisthapanam producing about Rs. 500/- worth. These produce much the same varieties as the A. I. S. A. depot.

There is another institution in this district producing Khadi on an appreciable scale which needs to be mentioned. This is the Gautami Satyagrahashram, Sitanagaram, run by Dr. Subramaniam. This institution has made Khadi the centre of other activities for the benefit of the villagers around. Its production is about Rs. 2000/- worth every month.

The Kailaspatnam centre in Vizagapatam produces about Rs. 1000/- worth and supplies the Vizagapatam, Berhampore and Bezwada sale depots of the Branch. The activities cover 25 villages, and 14 carders, 75 spinners and 25 weavers are benefitted by the work of this centre. All the usual varieties are produced. The yarn used is of the average quality, that is 10 to 15 counts. Cheap Khadi of all varieties is produced here. The wages of ginning, carding and spinning are some-

what lower than at Tuni and the prices also generally somewhat lower.

36"	Rs 0-5-9	per yard
45"	Rs 0-7-9	" "
50"	Rs 0-8-0	" "
54"	Rs 0-9-0	" "
60"	Rs 0-10-0	" "

There is only one other private institution in this district the Khadi Stores, Anakapalle, which is also producing Khadi of the same quality as Kailaspatnam.

The centre Veeranna-Kanupur in Nellore district produces cloth of medium quality, that is out of 15 to 30 counts yarn. Only Dhotees, Sarees, plain pieces, Angavastrams and towels are mostly got prepared. The production is about Rs. 1000/- worth per month. There are 75 spinners and 114 weavers working for this centre. It serves 15 villages in the neighbourhood. The wages are as under :—

Carding per viss of 120 tolas	Rs. 0-6-0
Spinning Do	Rs. 2-0-0
Weaving 45" per yard	Rs. 0-3-0
" 50" "	Rs. 0-4-3
" 54" "	Rs. 0-5-0

The prices of Khadi are as under ;—

46" per yard	Rs. 0-9-0
50" "	Rs. 0-10-6
54" "	Rs. 0-12-0

In this district there are 4 private institutions producing the usual, rough Khadi.

Of the important private organisations the Guntur ones which are among the biggest have already been mentioned. There are a number of somewhat smaller institutions particularly in the East Krishna and West Godavary districts.



There are five such in East Krishna, of which Puritigadda is the most considerable, generally producing khadi of medium quality, that is of 20 to 25 counts yarn. The A. I. S. A. bhandar at Masulipatam stocks goods of these organisations and thus to some extent acts as a relieving depot. The Masulipatam prints of this district have been famous all through history. The khadi movement has given an impetus to the revival of this beautiful art and the large quantities of prints produced show that the traditional skill is still alive.

There are nearly a dozen certified institutions in West Godavary, taking production and sale organisations together. The more considerable among these are the Mohandas Khadi Parisramalayam, Ellore, and the Ramaraja Khaddar Karkhana, Bhimavaram. The Ramaraja Khaddar Karkhana is producing various varieties of coating in almost all the patterns found in mill production, in addition to the usual shirtings, Dhotees and upper-cloths. The prices are as follows:—

Coating 27" Rs 0-13-0 per yard

Shirting 45" Rs 0-11-6 " "

Dhotees 7 yards x 50" 0-12-0

to Rs 0-15-0 per yard according to count and texture.

The A. I. S. A. investment in this province is Rs. 1,61,412-2-5, of which about a lakh and six thousand are in effective investment, the balance having to be collected from some of the old District Khadi Boards.

The production activities in the province cover 362 villages and benefit 260 carders, 13157 Spinners and 1111 weavers.

The total production in the province during the year 1927-28 amounts to Rs 2,94,083/- worth, total sales Rs. 3,71,698.

There are 46 workers in the service of the Andhra Branch of the A. I. S. A.

### Production Centres.

#### A. I. S. A.

Name.	Average production per month.		
1. Tuni ( East Godavari Dt. )	...	...	1500
2. Kailaspatnam ( Vizagapatam Dt. )...	...	...	900
3. Veeranna-Kanupur ( Nellore Dt. )...	...	...	500
4. Central Stores, Guntur.	...	...	6000
5. Fine Khadi Depot, Chicacole, ( Ganjam Dt. )	...	...	

#### INDEPENDENT.

##### Vizagapatam District.

1. Khaddar Stores, Anakapalle.	...	...	900
2. Congress Khaddar Stores, Anakapalle.	...	...	100
3. Naranarayana Asram, Gollapalam...	...	...	

##### East Godavary District.

4. Gautami Satyagrahashram, Seetanagaram.	...	...	1500
5. Khadi Vastralayam, Razole.	...	...	
6. Khadi Pratisthapanam, Tuni.	...	...	350
7. Khadi stores, Tuni.	...	...	800

##### West Godavary District.

8. Mohandas Khaddar Parisramalayam, Ellore.	...	...	700
9. Deshbandhu Khadi Parisramalayam, Tanuku.	...	...	
10. Ramraju Khaddar Karkhana, Bhimavaram.	...	...	800
11. Co-operative Khaddar Nilayam, Bhimavaram.	...	...	250
12. Khaddar Nilayam, Polamur.	...	...	
13. Shri Rama Khaddar Nilayam, Vungatur.	...	...	

##### East Krishna District.

14. Tilak Jateeya Neta Parisramalayam, Kavutaram.	...	...	800
15. Gandhi Neta Parisramalayam, Puritigadda.	...	...	450
16. Deshodharak Khaddar Parisramalayam, Ghantasala.	...	...	100
17. Ahobalrao Khaddar Stores, Masulipatam..	...	...	
18. Desiya Vanijya Sabha, Masulipatam.	...	...	650

## Nellore District.

19. Lajpat Khadi House, Nellore. ... ..	250
20. Satyagrahashram, Pallipad.... ..	250
21. Khadi Stores, Kandukur. ... ..	450
22. Khaddar Vastralayam, Buchireddipalayam. ...	

## Guntur District.

23. Swadeshi Khaddar Stores, Guntur. ... ..	1500
24. Shri Rama Krishna Ashram, Guntur :— ( Formerly Sistla Bros. )... ..	4000
25. Khaddar Parisramalayam, Guravareddipalayam....	600
26. Sanka Kotayya, Chebrole. ... ..	250
27. M. Raghavayya, Chebrole. ... ..	300

## Retail Sale Bhandara.

All production centres have retail sales also. In addition there are sale Bhandars at the following places :—

## A. I. S. A.

	Average Sale per month.
1. Berhampur. ... ..	960
2. Vizagapatam. ... ..	900
3. Cocanada. ... ..	850
4. Rajahmundry. ... ..	650
5. Nidadavole. ... ..	450
6. Bezvada. ... ..	1600
7. Masalipatam. ... ..	400
8. Guntur.... ..	2800
9. Repalle.... ..	450
10. Tenali ... ..	
11. Nellore.... ..	1000
12. Tirupati. ... ..	800
13. Madras ... ..	1600

## INDEPENDENT.

1. Mahatma Gandhi Vastralayam, Tekkali;— ( Ganjam District )	...	160
2. Khadi Vastralayam, Razole, ( East Godavary Dt. )		450
3. Godavari Swadeshi Co-operative Stores, Anatavaram, ( East Godavary Dt. )		
4. Khadi Stores, Peddapudi, ( East Godavary Dt. )		
5. Khaddar Nilayam, Narsapur, ( West Godavary Dt. )		100
6. Sharda Khaddar Nilayam, Devarappalli, ( West Godavary Dt. )		
7. Bharat Khaddar Nilayam, ( West Godavary Dt. )		350
8. Madanmohan Khadi Vastralayam, Tanuku, ( West Godavary Dt. )		700

## BEHAR.

Agent            Babu Rajendra Prasad  
 Secretary       Sjt. Lakshminarayan  
 Head-quarters Muzaffarpur.

This province has immense facilities for Khadi production. The work now going on, although by no means inconsiderable, bears no comparison to the possibilities that await development. Till 1927 two organisations were doing Khadi work in the province. One was the Behar Branch of the Association and the other was the Gandhi Kutir which was largely aided by the Association and conducted by a group of workers under the guidance of Sjt. Raminodsinha. In the middle of 1927 the Gandhi Kutir also was taken over by the Behar Branch of the A. I. S. A. and now except for the comparatively small work that still is being carried on personally by Sjt. Raminodsinha, the main work in this province is being done by the Association.

The Behar Branch has now 5 production centres, 3 yarn centres which also have a little of production, and 16 sale depôts. Production and sale for the province amounted to Rs 2,12,441 and Rs. 2,43,354 respectively in 1927-28. The A. I. S. A. investment in this province is Rs. 3,42,751-3-5.

The Province produces a number of varieties of plain as well as printed and dyed goods. The largest quantity of yarn produced is from 8 to 12 counts. But there is also some quantity of 15 to 30 counts. The variety of cotton used is Bengal cotton. Texture is usually 28 to 32 threads per inch both ways. Widths up to 68 inches are woven. The varieties of goods generally available are plain Khadi, Dhotees and Sarees of different sizes, shirtings plain and striped, twill double thread, coatings of different designs, towels, napkins, bed-sheets etc. All these are available both in the rough variety made of 8 to 12 counts of yarn and in the fine made out of 15 to 30 counts. Of printed goods sarees, chintz, shawls, quilts, blouse pieces etc are available. Goods also are embroidered with coloured cotton or Tasar yarn or Assam muga silk yarn.

The prices are as under :—

36" Khadi coarse	0—6—0 per yard.
" fine.	0—12—0 "
44" coarse.	0—7—0 "
" fine.	0—13—0 "
56" Double thread plain coarse	0—8—0 "
" " fine.	0—14—0 "
Handkerchiefs plain or printed	

0—1—9 to 0—3—0 each.

Dyed goods are also available. The usual dyes used are brown, khaki and black.

Besides the usual white cotton variety, there is another variety of fine khadi produced. This is made out of a special

variety of cotton known as Kokti which has a natural yellow colour. Yarn of 30 to 40 counts is spun out of this cotton and closely woven. Pieces with 80 threads per inch both ways are produced. The varieties available in Kokti are plain pieces, coarse and fine, double thread, coarse and fine, and sarrees and handkerchiefs. The prices are as under:—

35" Kokti fine. 1-2-0 to 3-8-0 per yard according to quality and texture.

Kokti Handkerchiefs. 0-4-0 to 0-7-0 each.

Detailed information about prices can be had on application.

All the Khadi produced at the different centres are received at the Muzaffarpore central depot where printing, washing etc., are done and prices fixed. Orders for khadi therefore have to be addressed to the Provincial Khadi Depot, Muzaffarpore.

*Terms on which goods are sent outside the province:—*

1. Commission of 5% is given to bonafide dealers of pure khaddar certified as such by the A. I. S. A.
2. 25% of the value of the goods ordered is to be sent in advance and the balance will be realised by V. P. P.

Sample books are available at 0-6-0 a copy.

The production is at the highest from June to November and sales from November to June.

There are 77 workers in the Behar Branch of the A. I. S. A.

### Production Centres.

Name.	A. I. S. A.			Average production per month.
	...	...	...	
1. Madhubani	...	...	...	Rs. 10000/-
2. Dholi (Sakra)	...	...	...	" 1000/-
3. Nabinagar...	...	...	...	" 450/-



Khadi depot, Pandaul (Behar) — Receiving Khadi from Weavers.



Kokti Spinner.—Behar



Smt. Miraben ( Miss Slade ) with her co-workers  
at Chatwan, Behar





**BENGAL.**

Agent. Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta,  
Head-quarters, Sodepur, District 24-Parganas.

Khadi work in Bengal is carried on by independent organisations who have however received large financial aid from the Association. Bengal had no production in 1921 or 1922 and very little even in 1923. But it now stands second among the provinces in the extent both of its production and sale. The result is pre-eminently due to the efforts of the Khadi Pratisthan, whose activities are directed by Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta. There are other organisations, now working, that came later into the field. Of these the earliest as well as the most important is the Abhoy Ashram, Comilla; the Vidyashram, Sylhet, and the Prabartak Sangh, Chandernagore, came still later. Besides the above there are two other organisations, the Khadi Mandal and Khalispur Ashram, which are doing intensive work in their areas.

One noteworthy feature of Bengal work is that all the Khadi that is produced in the province is consumed within the province itself and practically very little is exported.

**Khadi Pratisthan.**

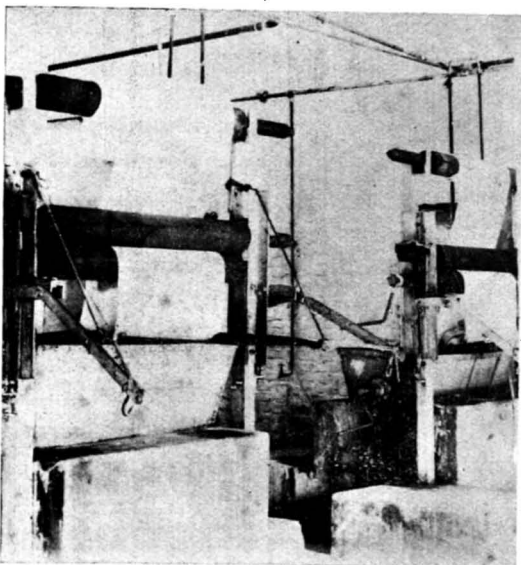
The Pratisthan is the biggest of the khadi organisations in Bengal. It has received a loan of RS 2,11,000/- from the Association and has a fund capital of its own of RS 1,33,346. It has now 7 production centres and 15 sale centres. Its total production during the year 1927-28 was RS 2,07,280/- and sales RS 1,92,150/-. The Pratisthan produces a large variety of goods. The yarn used is generally of about 15 counts. There is, however, a small quantity of yarn of higher counts produced up to 60 counts. All widths from 28 to 54 inches are woven. Special attention is being paid to the selection and sorting of yarn and the insistence on a certain definite



Late Jogeshwar Chatterjee  
who Spun yarn of 200 counts for muslin.



Khadi Pratisthan Dye House—Sodepur.



Interior of Sodepur Dye House; Showing Jiggers.



Kalashala, Sodepur.

number of picks and ends in the cloth with the result that there has been a uniform lifting up of quality without increase of cost.

A method of testing and examination has been evolved and perfected at Sodepur by which the quality gets automatically attended to. The outline of work consists in getting sample yarn from the production centres along with the finished cloth produced from the yarn. The yarn is tested for strength and uniformity and report sent to the collector. Every piece of woven cloth again bears the mark put by the production officer giving the registered number of the weaver, the size of cloth, the lines per inch in warp and weft, the count of yarn used and the weight of the piece. Thus every piece of cloth carrying its own tale comes to Sodepur where several are chosen from a heap for re-examination and verification. The yarn used in the woven piece is tested for its count, the weight of the sizing material used is determined and the general quality of weaving is critically examined, noted and then the examination results and reports are sent back to the production centre. This report enables the production officer to spot the careless weaver or the careless collector of yarn.

A large variety of sarees, dhotees, shirtings, coatings, table cloths, door-screens, chintz, etc. is being produced. Dyed and printed goods of all descriptions are also available. The dye-house of the Pratisthan at Sodepur is maintaining its mark in efficiency. Chrome khaki dyeing as done by the Pratisthan has been receiving deserved recognition. The Calcutta Corporation, it is understood, has accepted this particular Khaki for its requirements. In addition to the usual printing on khadi from blocks a new section has been introduced for printing with the help of compressed air. The Kalasala uses a boiler and an engine for dyeing purposes.

and to these has been added an air-compressor. Colours are sprayed out by compressed air like fine mist which print the cloth through special stencils. The delicacy of tint and touch by this process is unparalleled for its beauty.

The prices of the plain articles are as under :—

Dhotee	44" x 4 yards	RS 1-14-0
Shirtings	36" x 12 "	" 4-14-9
Coatings	29" x 12 "	" 7-0-0

The above prices are whole-sale cheapest rates for plain articles. Delivery free by railway goods or steamer to any station in Bengal for orders worth RS 100/- and over.

The Pratisthan also makes and sells Charkhas, Taklis and Pinjans. These are available at the following rates :—

Charkha (Pratisthan)	RS 2-10-0 each
Charkha (Travelling)	RS 15-0-0 "
Bardoli Pinjan.	RS 0-12-0 "
Taklis (lead)	RS 0-1-6 "
Taklis (earthen)	RS 0-1-0 "
Hand-gin.	RS 2-0-0 "

The following are the production centres of the Pratisthan :—

Feni; Mahajanhat; Durgapur; Kunderhat, Suchia; Gayaghar and Dacca.

The sale centres are :—

Calcutta; Atrai; Barisal; Burdwan; Dacca; Mymensingh; Ratanganj; Jalpaigiri; Dinajpore; Kishoregunj; Rungpore; Khulna; Tezpur; Feni; Gayaghar and Rajshahi.

The Pratisthan maintains a special publicity and propaganda department. The department has issued several useful publications, the most important of which is the Khadi Manual, dealing with the managing of production and sale centres and the history of the cotton industry in the past.

Besides issuing the publications, the publicity department organises exhibitions and propaganda tours with lantern lectures. Special lantern slides are prepared by the Pratisthan in Hindi, Gujarati Bengali and English. Slides are sold at 10 annas each. There are slides on the following subjects :—

1. Bengal and Khadi series containing 112 slides.
2. The South African Satyagraha Series containing 114 slides.
3. The Jallianwala Bagh Series containing 23 slides.

The number of workers serving in the Pratisthan is 95.

The central office of the Pratisthan is at Sodepur, district 24-Parganas. Here also is the Ashram maintained by the Pratisthan, where khadi workers are trained. The Ashram is run under the personal guidance and direction of Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta on lines similar to the Satyagrah-ashram, Sabarmati.

#### **Abhoy Ashram.**

The Abhoy Ashram with its head quarters at Comilla is the next biggest organisation in the province. Dr. Suresh Chandra Bannerjee is the President and Dr. P. C. Ghosh and Sjt. A. P. Chowdhury are among the most prominent workers. It has six production centres and ten sale centres. The average production per month is Rs. 9000. The A. I. S. A. has given a loan of Rs. 54,550/-.

The centres of production are mainly situated in the Chittagong division. The cotton used is the Comilla cotton. The average quality of yarn produced is from 10 to 15 counts. Widths up to 54" are woven. The shirtings are usually of 36" width, the coatings of 32", dhoties and sarrees from 44" to 52" and chaddars of 54".

The texture is generally 34 to 36 threads per inch in warp and 30 to 32 in the weft. All varieties of cloth are

manufactured, dhoties, sarees, shirtings, coatings, towels, curtain cloths etc. Dyeing and printing work is carried on in the Ashram's dye house. Both yarn and khadi are dyed in several different shades of fast colour. Embroidered cloths are also available. These are a speciality of Dacca.

The following are the prices of the principal varieties of bleached khadi:—

Dhoties 4yds × 44"		Rs. 1-12-0 to	
		" 2-2-0	each.
Sarees. 5yds × 46"		" 2-5-0 to	
		" 2-11-0	"
Plain shirting	12 yds. 36"	" 4-14-0 to	
		" 6-0-0	"
Plain coating	12 " × 24"	" 6-12-0 to	
		" 7-8-0	"
Drill coating.	13 " × 32"	" 9-4-0 to	
		" 10-0-0	"
Double thread Chadar.	3 " × 54"	" 2-14-0 to	
		" 3-10-0	"
Bed covers. 2½ yds. × 54"		" 3-12-0 to	
		" 6-8-0	"
Towels. (Honey comb.) 1yd. × 20"		" 0-12-0	each.

The above prices are subject to a wholesale commission of 3½ % for orders of Rs. 100/- worth and more.

The central depot is at Comilla to which all orders have to be addressed. This depot also supplies Charkhas at a price ranging from Rs. 2-4-0 to Rs. 2-8-0. Guts for carding bows are also available at 9 pies to one anna per yard.

The following are the production centres of the Ashram:—

- |                    |               |
|--------------------|---------------|
| 1. Comilla         | 4. Barkanta   |
| 2. Feni (Noakhali) | 5. Dacca Town |
| 3. Munshirhat      | 6. Durgapur.  |



The Ashram has besides the following sale centres :—

- |                       |               |
|-----------------------|---------------|
| 1. Comilla town depot | 6. Krishnagar |
| 2. Calcutta           | 7. Bankura    |
| 3. Faridpur           | 8. Barisal.   |
| 4. Midnapur           | 9. Berhampur  |
| 5. Narayanganj        | 10. Palong    |

In addition to Khadi work the Ashram is also carrying on the following other activities for the benefit of the villagers in some of the villages :—

1. Opening and maintaining primary schools for boys and girls. There are at present 7 such schools where over 150 children are being taught.
2. Starting libraries and reading rooms.
3. Dispensaries and Seva Samiti. In this department the Ashram is maintaining an out-door dispensary, an indoor hospital, and a medical school.
4. Magic lantern lectures.

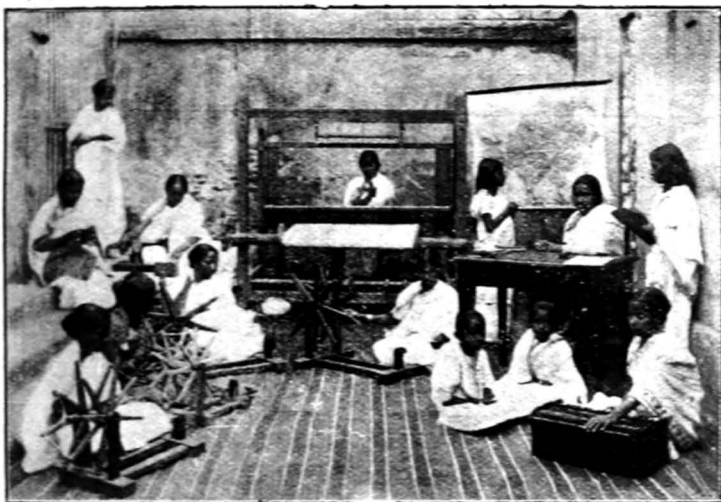
#### The Prabartak Sangh.

The Prabartak Sangh, founded by Sjt. Motilal Roy, has its head-quarters at Chandernagore. Khadi work is one of several nation building activities, carried on by the Sangh. The Sangh runs a Vidyapith and a Narimandir and issues two monthlies, one in English, the "Standard Bearer," and the other in Bengali, the "Prabartak." It has its press, its carpentry and weaving departments and has its own agricultural farm in the Sundarbans. Altogether about 200 members are in the Prabartak Sangh. In the Khadi Vibhag of the Sangh 15 members are engaged. The Association has given a loan of RS. 18000/- to the Sangh. The Sangh has two production centres, Kutubdia and Chittagong, and 3 sale depots, Calcutta, Chittagong and Mymensingh. It has a monthly production and sale of khadi of about RS. 2500/- worth on an average.

The production activities of the Sangh cover 48 villages, 37 in Chittagong and 11 at Kutubdia, and benefit about 2350 spinners and 104 weavers. The total of spinning wages paid by the Sangh during the year is Rs. 9166/- and weaving wages Rs. 5738/-.

The introduction of the Charkha has proved a great boon to the poor village homes of Kutubdia. Kutubdia is a small island of about 20,000 population off Chittagong. The population is poor and illiterate, only about 1% knowing even how to read and write their names. Most of them live directly or indirectly on agriculture. There is only one crop grown with the result that for most part of the year the people are living in idleness. Famished, half-fed and even starving families are said to be not a rare sight in these months. Many families even go about begging from door to door. To this state has the island been reduced by the inroad of foreign cloth which commenced about 30 years ago. Up to 1897 spinning was a flourishing industry and furnished the necessary supplementary occupation for the non-agricultural seasons. It needed only a new outside stimulus for them to take to spinning and when therefore the Prabartak Sangh went to them in 1925 with the gospel of the Charkha, they took to it with alacrity and to-day there are 750 spinners working for wages on the rolls of the Sangh besides others who spin for their own consumption. In many homes there are two or three wheels working in a single family, and this has meant an additional income of Rs. 6 to Rs. 9 per month.

The Prabartak Sangh produces cloths of plain texture of 26" to 60" width. Jamdani Sarees are made from Dacca. 54" wide Chaddars of diamond and tweed texture are specialities. The quality of yarn produced is being continually improved.



Nari Mandir—Prabartak Sangh.



A group of Spinners at Peani Bazâr,  
Vidyashram Centre.



Middle Class Spinners-Khalispur Ashram.

The prices have been kept practically at the same level as in the last year in spite of high prices of cotton. The prices are as under :—

#### KUTUBDIA.

Shirting plain 12 yds x 36"	Rs. 4-12-0 to Rs. 5-8-0	per piece
„ striped	Rs. 5-0-0 to Rs. 5-12-0	„
„ coloured 12 yds x 36"	Rs. 6-4-0 to Rs. 7-0-0	„
Sarees plain 10 yds x 45"	Rs. 5-8-0 to Rs. 6-4-0	„ pair
Dhotees 9 yds x 45"	Rs. 4-4-0 to Rs. 4-12-0	per piece
Double thread coating 12 yds. x 36"	Rs. 6-4-0 to Rs. 6-12-0	„
Coloured coating 12 yds x 28"	Rs. 8-12-0 to Rs. 9-8-0	„
Designed coating 12 yds x 28"	Rs. 7-0-0 to Rs. 8-0-0	„

#### CHITTAGONG.

Shirting 12 yds x 36"	Rs. 3-4-0	per piece
Single thread coating 12 x 34"	Rs. 6-0-0	„ „
Muga border chaddars 6 x 54"	Rs. 5-4-0	„ „
Plain chaddars 6 x 54"	Rs. 4-0-0	„ „
Dhotees 10 x 44" or 48"	Rs. 4-12-0	„ pair
Double thread coatings 12 x 31"	Rs. 6-8-0	„ piece

Chaddars can be printed at Rs. 0-8-0 to Rs. 0-12-0 per piece extra, The Prabartak Sangh on an average produces and sells about Rs. 2500/- per month.

#### Vidyashram.

The Vidyashram at Sylhet is directed by Sjt. Dhiren-dranath Das Gupta with the assistance of 12 workers. Its production activities are centred in Beani-Bazar and Chittagong. At Beani Bazar cotton is issued out to spinners and got spun directly by the Ashram. At Chittagong yarn is generally got through middlemen who purchase it at the weekly markets. The number of villages covered by the production centres is 34 and the number of spinners and weavers benefited is 1140 and 54 respectively. The wages distributed are:—

For spinning	Rs. 7016—2-0
For weaving	Rs. 7371-11-6

The spinners are generally the agriculturists. The wages are;—

Spinning	Rs. 0-12-0 per 80 tolas.
Weaving	Rs. 0-1-0 to Rs. 0-3-0 per yard.

About 32 varieties of goods are produced, including all the usual varieties. Dyed and printed sarees are also available. The texture is generally 32 threads per inch.

The prices were as under last year:—

Dhotees	10x45"	Rs. 2-7-0 each
Sarees with 3" border		Rs. 3-9-0 "
Shirting plain	33"	Rs. 0-8-0 per yard
" striped "		Rs. 0-8-6 " "
" coloured "		Rs. 0-11-0 " "
Coating plain single thread	36"	Rs. 0-9-0 " "
" double thread	29"	Rs. 0-10-0 " "
Chaddar 6 x 54" double plain		Rs. 3-2-0 each
" " single "		Rs. 2-3-0 "
" " Double twill		Rs. 4-0-0 "

For the bleached goods Rs. 0-1-6 per yard is charged extra; for dyed goods 2 to 4 annas.

The Vidyashram has four sale centres: Sylhet, Beani Bazar Chittagong & Calcutta.

The A. I. S. A. has given a loan of Rs. 14000/- to the Vidyashram. The Vidyashram's production during the year 1927-28 amounted to Rs. 22779/- and sales to Rs. 19420/-

#### Khadi Mandal.

The Khadi Mandal has 5 centres of production: Feni, Chittagong, Arambagh, Midnapore and Dacca. It has got its principal sale depot at its head-quarters at E-75 College

Street Market, Calcutta. It produces and sells about Rs. 2000/- worth of Khadi every month. In addition to ordinary commercial production of Khadi the Mandal is carrying on intensive work in some of its centres, particularly in Arambagh where the Khadi Karyalaya carries on propaganda with a view to imparting political education to the villagers and has also organised other social activities like medical relief etc.

#### **Khalispur Ashram.**

The Khalispur Ashram is working primarily with the object of organising the villages through intensive Khadi work, although as an aid to such work it is also having some small amount of commercial production of Khadi at Chittagong. The Ashram was started in 1922, and formed part of the Khadi Partisthan organisation. It separated itself from the Pratisthan early in 1927 and has been working independently on somewhat different lines from the parent organisation. There are 12 workers in the Ashram. Except at Chittagong, where yarn is purchased, at its other centres of work in Khulna district the Ashram is primarily engaged in introducing spinning among the middle class people. The Ashram is running 7 such centres. In this work the Ashram's efforts have met with some measure of success. The yarn that is produced by the middle class spinners is generally of finer counts than is ordinarily received from professional wage spinners. The yarn is generally above 20 counts and goes upto 40 or 50 counts. The Ashram produces and sells about Rs. 650/- worth of Khadi per month.

#### **BOMBAY.**

In Bombay the Association has no provincial agency. The Association, however, maintains two bhandars of its own, the larger one at Princess Street with branch at 14 Dadi Sheth

Agiari Lane, and a smaller one at Dadar. The Khadi Bhandar at Princess Street is under the management of Sjt. V. V. Jerajani and deals in all hand-spun and hand-woven materials produced in all parts of India. Stocking goods of all varieties and qualities from the thickest Khadi to the finest Andhra muslin of 100 counts and over, the Bhandar serves as a permanent Khadi exhibition. All varieties are kept in stock, including dhotees, towels, shirting and coating of various sorts, blankets, bed-sheets, carpets, sarees, printed and bordered cloths, hand-bags, hold-alls, quilts, waterproof, etc. The Bhandar is also keeping Khadi fit for use in hospitals, such as mattress covers, surgeon's shoes and leggings, over-alls, glass cloth, diapers, spunch cloth, roller towel, etc.

Detailed price list can be had from the Bhandar.

In order to meet the demand for pure hand-spun and hand-woven woollens of good quality, the Bhandar has started a branch depot of its own at Srinagar (Kashmir). This branch depot is managed by Sjt. H. M. Kotak and gets all varieties and qualities of Kashmir woollens produced in proper season at reasonable rates in the interior of Kashmir. Khadi Bhandars and others who require Kashmir woollens may address their enquiries to Sjt. H. M. Kotak, Manager, Kashmir Branch, A. I. S. A., Srinagar.

Terms of business are as under:—

1. Goods will be secured, prepared and reserved for those who send their indent with full amount. 6¼% will be charged by the depot on the nett cost price.
  2. Goods will be secured, prepared and reserved for those who send their indent with 10% advance. Goods will be despatched to them at the rates ruling on the day of despatch.
  3. Stray orders should be accompanied by 15% advance.
- The following are some of the chief varieties available with their prices:—



Lohi—(Two parts joined) 5 yds. x 54" In various natural colours. Price Rs. 8/- to Rs. 20/-

Pattoo—9 yds x 20" In various natural colours. price Rs. 8/-  
to Rs. 15/-

Tweeds—15 yds x 25" In various patterns. Price Rs. 11/-  
to Rs. 20/-

Kambals—3 yds x 54"

Plain white	Rs. 6/- to Rs. 19/-
" coloured	Rs. 6/8/- to Rs. 10/8/-
Embroidered and coloured	Rs. 10/- to Rs. 15/-
Charkhana	Rs. 6/- to Rs. 10/-

Pashmina—Soft, glossy and durable.

Alwan white	12 yds x 48"	Rs. 70/- to Rs. 100/-
" natural colour	7 yds x 56"	Rs. 60/- to Rs. 150/-
Tafta white	7 yds x 56"	Rs. 80/- to Rs. 200/-
Tush natural colour	7 yds x 56"	Rs. 50/- to Rs. 100/-
Malida Coating	5 yds x 40"	Rs. 30/- to Rs. 60/-

The monthly sales of the Bombay Bhandar at its two branches at Princess Street and Dadi Sheth Agiari Lane together average about Rs. 30,000/-. The average A. I. S. A. investment in the bhandar is about Rs. 1,20,000/-.

The smaller bhandar at Dadar is under the management of Sjt. M. N. Padwekar. This bhandar was till recently run by the Bombay G Ward District Congress Committee. The Congress Committee had with commendable enthusiasm been keeping up this bhandar in spite of difficulties. In October, 1928, the Committee transferred the Bhandar to the A. I. S. A. with its original investment of Rs. 2500/-, and another Rs. 2000/- as deposit with the A. I. S. A. to cover any losses that may be incurred in running the Bhandar at Dadar. The Congress Committee continues to take the same

interest as before in the bhandar and has recently given the A. I. S. A. a loan of Rs 2000/- for additional capital for the bhandar.

The bhandar's sales are progressively increasing and now average nearly Rs. 2000/- per month. The total investment in the bhandar is Rs 6500/-.

Besides the A. I. S. A. bhandars there is one other institution in Bombay that needs mention—the Rashtriya Stree Sabha. The Sabha is importing fine Khadi goods and gets lace or embroidery work done in them to meet the demand for fancy fabrics, furnishing in this manner much needed work to about 200 women in the city of Bombay. The Sabha has been doing this work now for some years. It is purely a women's enterprise, the result of earnest and active philanthropy and public spirit and deserves encouragement and support. Help is needed in the quick disposal of the goods produced and would enable the Sabha to carry on its work with enthusiasm.

Smt. Periaben Captain is the Secretary of the Sabha.

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## BURMA.

Agent

Sjt. Nanalal Kalidas.

Head-quarters 24 Merchants Street, Rangoon.

In this province the A. I. S. A. maintains only a bhandar at Rangoon. It has a capital of Rs 23700-5-7 and has a monthly sale of about Rs 2000/-.

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**Shree Rashtriya Stree Sabha, Bombay**

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Shree Rashtriya Stree Sabha, Bombay



A. I. S. A. Khadi Bhandar—Rangoon

## DELHI.

There are good facilities for Khadi production in the districts round Delhi; but for want of suitable agencies the work could not be much developed till recently. It was only during last year that the Gandhi Ashram transferred its head-quarters from Akbarpur to Meerut, and started work on any large scale in the area.

Before the Gandhi Ashram entered the field there was only one organisation functioning in this area—that of Sjt. Chiranjilal Pyarelal of Hapur. Sjt. Chiranjilal has been doing Khadi work for the last 5 years. He has been given a loan of Rs 2000/- by the Association. With this and his own investment of Rs 1500/- he is producing and selling Khadi worth about Rs 1300/- per month. He purchases yarn from villages in the Meerut and adjacent districts of Muzaffarnagar and Bulandshaher. During the year 1927-28 he got yarn from 977 spinners in 63 villages, and got it woven by 68 weavers. His production for 12 months from October, 1927 to September, 1928, amounted to Rs 20,152/-. The weaving wages paid by him amounted to Rs 5387-6-0. His goods find their market mainly in U. P. and Delhi.

The chief varieties produced are plain Khadi, coating white and coloured, dhotees, khes, chaddar, towels, turbans, etc. Widths upto 54" are woven. The prices of the chief varieties are as under;—

Khadi 45"	Rs 0-9-0 per yard
" 36"	Rs 0-7-6
" 27"	Rs 0-4-9
Coating 32" from	Rs 0-7-6
to	Rs 0-12-0 according to pattern and quality.

Dhotees 44 x 10	Rs 5-0-0	per pair
" 44 x 7	Rs 3-7-0	"
" 40 x 9	Rs 4-0-0	"
" 36 x 8	Rs 3-6-0	"
" 36 x 7	Rs 2-14-0	"
Towel 27" x 1½ yds	Rs 0-11-6	each
Turban 22" x 7 yds	Rs 1-10-0	each

The Gandhi Ashram is conducted under the advice and guidance of Professor Kripalani by a group of his students who gave up their studies during the Non-cooperation movement and have ever since been acting under his direction. The Ashram had its head-quarters till last year at Akbarpur, in U. P. and was working mainly in that province. The facilities for work and especially for yarn supply in the area round Delhi induced the Ashram to transfer its main centre of activity to this area. The Ashram has been doing Khadi work for nearly 6 years and has made very admirable progress both in the quality and quantity of its production. The Association has given a loan of Rs 44,652-2-6 to the Ashram and it has its own investment of Rs 16,889/- There are 2 production centres run by the Ashram, one, Meerut with which its former centre of Khatauli has been amalgamated, and two, Kulpahar in U. P. Meerut is the larger centre producing about Rs 6000/- worth every month. Its activities cover the districts of Meerut, Muzaffarnagar, Saharanpur and a portion of Ambala in the Punjab. There are 5 sub-centres attached to Meerut, Jagadhari, Muzaffarnagar, Chamli, Sardhana and Saharanpur. The quality of yarn purchased is from 8 to 11 counts generally, although some yarn upto 15 counts is also available. The quantity of yarn woven is 100 maunds per month. Goods produced are classified into 4 classes according to texture, which ranges from 30 x 30 to 44 x 44 threads per inch.



A very large number of varieties are produced. Almost everything possible in Khadi except the fine cloth are produced here. The following articles are a speciality for this centre :—

1. Bed covers and bed sheets of Suzni type of various designs and colours.
2. Honey comb towels.
3. Closely woven double thread and single thread pieces,
4. Taleband Suzni.
5. Printed sarees, bed-covers, chintz, table-cloths, curtains, etc.
6. Coating cloth of various designs.

The Kulpahar centre produces about Rs. 2000/- worth per month. There are not so many varieties as in Meerut. Mainly dhotees and white pieces of single and double thread cloth are produced. The texture ranges from 28×23 to 40×40 threads per inch. There are 4 sub-centres attached to this.

The Gandhi Ashram prices are as under :—

Dhotees	10×45"	from Rs.	4-0-0	to Rs.	6-0-0
	8×45"	"	3-2-0	"	5-8-0
Lungis	2½×42"	"	1-3-0	"	1-4-0
Sarees	11×45"	"	5-5-0	"	6-0-0
	10×45"	"	4-5-0	"	5-12-0
Plain Khadi	25"	"	0-3-0	"	0-4-0
	36"	"	0-4-9	"	0-8-0
	45"	"	0-6-9	"	0-9-0
	54"	"	0-10-6	"	0-12-0
Coloured Khadi	36"	"	0-6-6	"	0-9-0
Coatings	32"	"	0-7-6	"	0-14-0
Shawls	3×54"	"	2-12-0	"	3-8-0

Detailed price list can be had on application to the Ashram head-quarters at Meerut.

The Ashram has 4 sale Bhandars at the following places: Benares, Delhi, Meerut and Jhansi. Of these Benares is the biggest, selling about Rs. 3500/- per month. Delhi and Meerut each sell about Rs. 1500/- per month.

The Ashram's total production during the year 1927-28 was Rs. 70219/- worth and its sales Rs. 98784/-

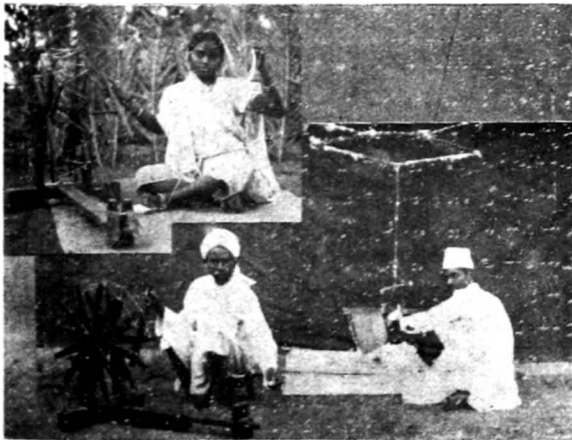
## GUJARAT.

The work in this province is being done independently by the Gujarat Provincial Congress Committee. The work is run on somewhat different lines from those of other provinces. In the early years of the movement attempt was made towards commercial production of Khadi as in the other provinces, and it is a noteworthy fact that the whole of the Khadi requirements of the Ahmedabad Congress in 1921 was met by Khadi produced in Kathiawar. But the conditions of the Gujarat province being some what different from those of other provinces, it was found that the Khadi activities in this province can be more usefully directed towards propaganda for spinning for one's own use and the providing of facilities for getting the yarn of such self-spinners woven. It is with this purpose that the main activities in Gujarat are now being run. Sjt. Laxmidas Purushottam is the chief director of all Khadi activities in Gujarat proper, and the Swaraj Ashram at Bardoli is the head-quarters.

The work is primarily being carried on among the Rani-paraj-people in the three taluks of Bardoli, Mahuwa and Vyara. The effort is not to introduce spinning and carding as a wage earning occupation but to induce the families to spin enough yarn to meet their own clothing needs. Till about two years ago the work was being done by a number of independent ashrams in the three taluks. Latterly it was felt



Charkha in a Raniparaj Cottage—Vedchi



A Raniparaj family who make their own clothing



Spinning-Raniparaj Vidyalaya, Vedchi



Weaving-Raniparaj Vidhyalaya, Vedchi

advisable to amalgamate all of them into a sort of federation, called the Bardoli Swaraj Ashram Sangh. Sjt. Vallabbhai Patel is the president of the Sangh.

The Bardoli Swaraj Ashram Sangh has now the following seven branches functioning in the 3 taluks :-

- |    |                          |          |         |            |
|----|--------------------------|----------|---------|------------|
| 1. | Raniparaj Swaraj Ashram, | Vedchhi, | taluk,  | Bardoli.   |
| 2. | "                        | "        | Puna,   | " Mahuwa.  |
| 3. | "                        | "        | "       | " Mandwi.  |
| 4. | "                        | "        | Balda,  | " Bardoli. |
| 5. | "                        | "        | Kumbhia | " "        |
| 6. | "                        | "        | Doljan  | " Vyara.   |
| 7. | "                        | "        | Kasvav  | " Bardoli. |

In addition to the above which are solely devoted to work among the Raniparaj people, there are the following three other institutions which among other activities are also helping this work amongst Raniparaj people :-

1. Swaraj Ashram, Madhi, Taluk Bardoli.
2. " " Sarbhon " "
3. Satyagraha Chhavni, Kadod, Taluk Bardoli.

In order to promote the work, the Sangh is doing the following in addition to carrying on general propaganda :-

1. Charkhas, carding bows and other implements are distributed at cheap prices.
2. Arrangements are made to teach carding and spinning to those who want, and in order to impart instructions in all the processes and especially with a view to raise weavers from the community itself, an Udyog Shala is being run. Formerly the Shala was at Bardoli, but has recently been transferred to Vedchhi.
3. Arrangements have been made to get the spinners' yarn woven and a part of the weaving charges is at

present being borne by the Sangh. It is expected that the rates of weaving could be reduced in two years to what the spinners are at present paying and then there would be no need for the bounty.

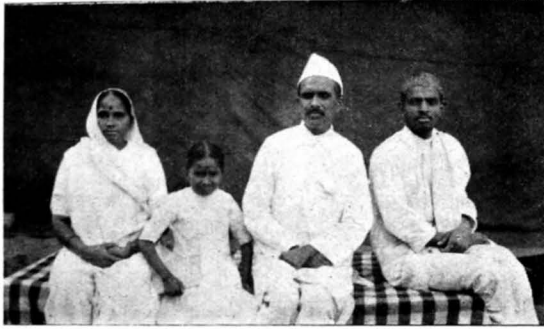
The efforts of the Sangh are bearing good fruit. During the year 1927-28, 711 families from 118 villages were spinning their own yarn. The total quantity of yarn spun was 5240 lbs. The work during the year was somewhat affected by the floods in 1927 and the Satyagrah in 1928, work in connection with which had naturally drawn away some of the workers from the normal work. Efforts are made to have the yarn woven by Raniparaj weavers as far as possible. During the year 42 Raniparaj weavers were engaged in this work, 29 wholtime and 13 part-time, and more than 60% of the total quantity was woven by them into cloth. The total of weaving charges paid amounted to RS. 2388-13-0. The total yardage woven was 14178 sq. yards. As a result of all this activity it is calculated that after deducting the price of raw materials and weaving charges paid to other weavers, there must have been a net additional income of RS. 4738-13-0 to the Raniparaj families.

In addition to Charkha work the Ashrams are also at many places carrying on a vigorous anti-drink propaganda.

The soul of all the khadi activity among the Raniparaj people is Sjt. Chunnilal Sankleshwar Mehta of the Vedchhi Ashram.

Besides the self-spinning activity noted above, there is also some quantity of ordinary commercial production on a small scale in Kathlal and other centres in Gujarat, and on a comparatively larger scale in Kathiawar, where the chief centre of work is Chalala near Amreli.

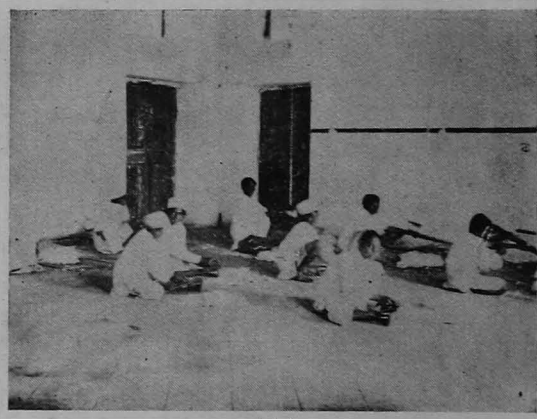
The work in Kathiawar is conducted by the Kathiawar Khadi Karyalaya with which the most prominent workers



**Sjt. Chunnilal Mehta with his family—Sjt. Mehta is the soul of all the khadi activities among the Raniparaj**



**Takli Spinning—Labour Union School, Ahmedabad**



**Carding Class—Vidyapith, Ahmedabad**



**Spinning Class—Vidyapith, Ahmedabad**



connected are Sjt. Jaisukhlal A. Gandhi and Sjt. Ramdas M. Gandhi. The total annual production is about Rs. 10000/-. The yarn produced is from 4 to 10 counts. The widths woven are 18", 20", 24" and 27". The varieties manufactured are towels, napkins, singlethread khadi, carpets, asans and pats.

Sale depots are maintained by independent parties at Ahmedabad, Bhadrans and Broach. The Surat Bhandar under the management of Sjt. Ratanlal V. Khandwalla. has recently been converted into an A. I. S. A. Bhandar.

The Khadi Saranjam Karyalaya, Bardoli, manufactures and supplies charkhas, hand-gins, carding-bows and other implements. For information regarding prices, enquiry may be addressed to the Manager. Khadi Saranjam Karyalaya, Bardoli.

It will be of interest to mention here that in the Gujarat Vidyapith spinning and habitual use of Khadi are compulsory both for professors and students. Since June, 1928, the Vidyapith is primarily devoting its attention to training students for efficient village work. Carding has been learnt by nearly all the professors and students. Weaving has been introduced as an optional course. The Vidyapith has started a Khadi Mandal with a view to do intensive Khadi propoganda. A store is being run by the Mandal, and khadi hawking is being done by the members of the Mandal.

In the schools run by the Labour Union at Ahmedabad. Takli spinning has been introduced with success.

#### Production Centres.

Name & Address.	Average production per month.	Varieties & Prices.
1. Udyog Mandir, Sabarmati.	...	...
2. Sjt. Chhotalal Mahasukhram, Sabarmati.	...	...

3. Khadi Karyalaya,  
Kathlal. ... Double-thread cloths,  
napkins, towels, shirt-  
ings, etc.
4. Khadi Mandal,  
Petlad. Rs. 700/- Khadi 45" Rs 0-11-0 per yard  
" 27" Rs 0-7-0 " "  
Dhotees 48" Rs 0-11-6 " "  
" 45" Rs 0-11-0 " "  
Double thread  
khadi 45" Rs 0-14-6 " "  
" 27" Rs 0-8-6 " "  
Towels  
1½ x 27" Rs 0-13-0 each  
Dyed shawls  
2½ x 45" Rs 2-8-0 "  
Printed Chofals  
3 x 54" Rs 3-8-0 "
5. Swashrayi Rashtriya  
Shala, Vasad. Rs 250/- ...
6. Vanat Shala, Rahad Rs 200/- ...
7. Swarajya Ashram,  
Sarbhon .... Shirts, Coatings, Dhotees,  
etc.
8. Swarajya Ashram,  
Madhi. Rs 350/- Coatings, Shirts, Sarees,  
Dhotees, etc.
9. Khadi Karyalaya,  
Bhadran ... Khadi 27" Rs 0-7-6 per yard  
" 48" " 0-15-0 " "  
Double thread  
khadi 27" " 0-8-6 " "  
Towels 1½ x 27" 0-12-0 each

**Sale Bhandars.**

Name & Address.	Average sale per month.
1. A. I. S. A. Khadi Bhandar, Surat.	Rs 1500/—
2. Shuddha Khadi Bhandar, Richey Road, Ahmedabad.	" 2300/—
3. Khadi Bhandar, Broach.	" 560/—
4. Khadi Bhandar, Bhadran.	...

**KARNATAK.**

Agent	Sjt. Gangadharrao B. Deshpande.
Secretary	" H. S. Kaujalgi.
Head-quarters.	Belgaum.

Khadi work was largely in an unorganised condition in this province till the creation of the Karnatak branch of the A. I. S. A, in the beginning of 1926. Owing to this reason this province has remained one among those whose facilities for khadi production and sale have not been adequately utilised. The work of reorganisation is now finished, and it may be expected that in future the progress of this province will be considerable.

Hand-spinning and hand-weaving were generally in vogue in the province till not long ago. The agriculturists of the province are Lingayats, Reddis and Jains. The Lingayats form a majority. One of the tenets of the Lingayat religion is that a Lingayat should wear only cloth woven by a Lingayat on hand-loom from yarn spun by a Lingayat. This belief was instrumental in keeping the spinning industry alive for a long time.

In 1925 production work was undertaken by the Karnatak branch of the Gandhi Seva Sangh. At present production is going on in Belgaum, Dharwar and Bijapur districts. Recently the Mysore Government has started direct production on its own account through its Industries Department at Badanval in Nanjangud district. The total production during the year 1927-28 has amounted to Rs. 73970/- The villages covered number 224, 180 spinning villages and 44 weaving villages. The spinners and weavers benefitted number 2992 and 232 respectively.

In Belgaum district there are now 2 centres of production, Hudli and Bhagojikop. At Hudli the work is conducted by the Karnatak Branch of the Gandhi Seva Sangh under the direct guidance and supervision of Sjt. Gangadharao Deshpande. The Association has given a loan of Rs. 5000/ to this institution. As a result of Sjt. Gangadharao's personal guidance there has been a very considerable improvement in the quality of yarn and cloth produced in this area. The production at Hudli averages about Rs. 1200/- per month, and its activities cover 23 villages, 16 spinning and 7 weaving, and furnish work to 211 spinners and 36 weavers. The condition of the agriculturists in this area is not so bad as in the other areas of Khadi work in the country, but still spinning is very popular as a supplementary occupation. Here, as in most other regions of Karnatak, the spinners keep their own cotton, get it carded by the village carders, spin their slivers and bring the yarn to the market for sale. The yarn is bought usually by warps of 9 yards consisting of 7 punjams of 60 threads each. The count of yarn usually ranges between 16 and 20. The texture of cloth is about 35 to 40 threads per inch. The usual varieties are shirtings, dhotees, fetas, coatings, checks, etc. The prices are as under :—

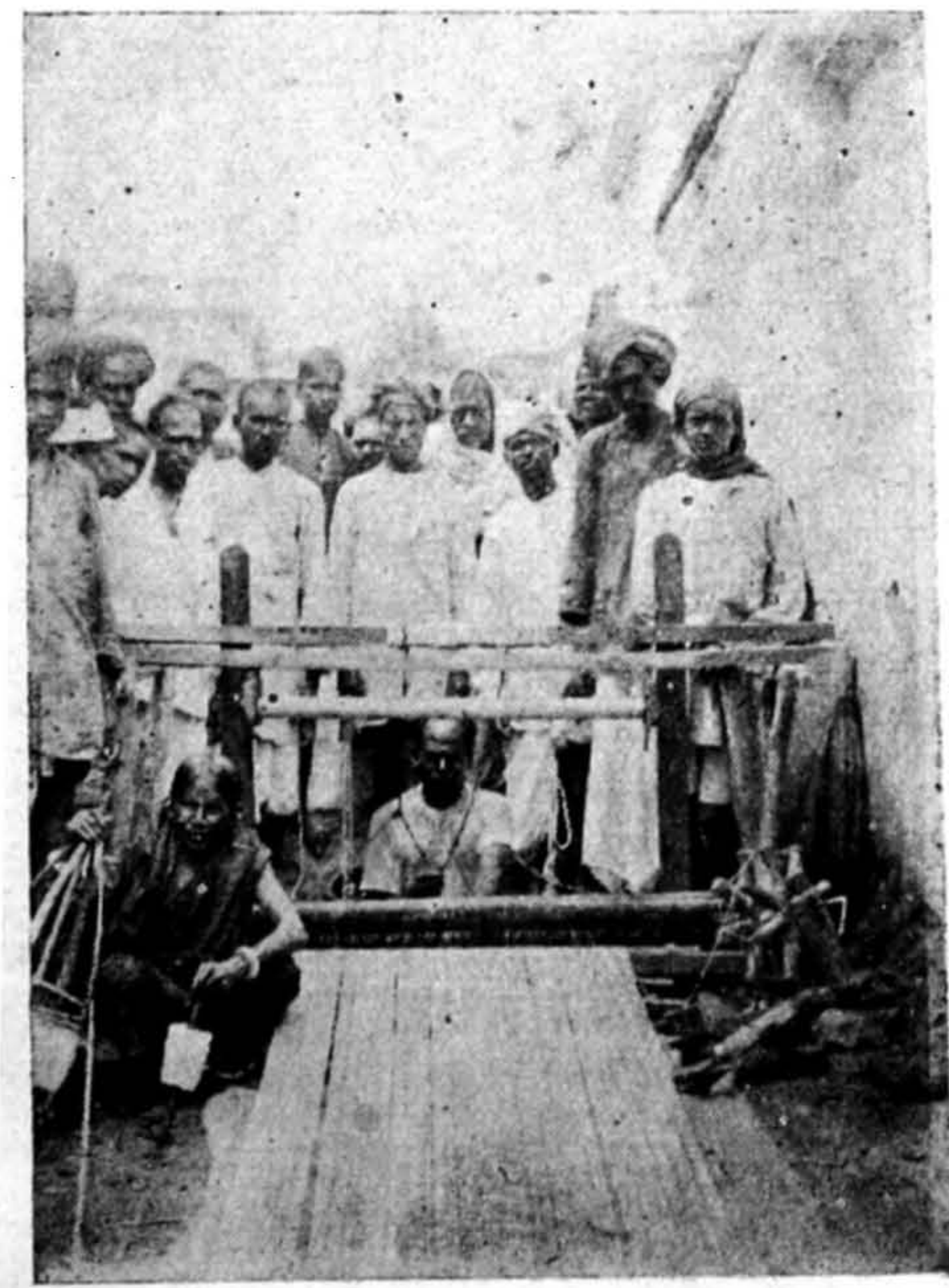


**Sjt. Gangadharrao Deshpande's Mother Spinning**



**Takli Spinning at the Hudli School-Karnatak.**

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**Group of weavers at the Mysore  
Government's khadi center, Badanwal**



**Charkha as Old Age Pension--Hudli,**

Khadi	50"	Rs. 0-11-0 per yard.
"	45"	" 0-10-3 " "
"	36"	" 0-6-9 " "
Double thread coating	36" white	" 0-11-0 " "
"	dyed	" 0-14-6 " "

Besides Khadi work the Gandhi Seva Sangh is conducting in the Hudli village a school for the village children. Most of the children attending are 'untouchable' children. There and also some Lingayats.

Bhagojikop, the other centre in the district, is run directly by the Karnataka Branch of the A. I. S. A. It produces about Rs. 1000/- worth per month. The yarn produced is of about 10 to 15 counts. The usual varieties of cloth produced are plain Khadi, Patukas, double-thread coating etc. The prices are as under:—

23"	Patukas	Rs. 0-4-9 per yard
29"	Khadi	" 0-5-6 " "
38"	"	" 0-6-6 " "
45"	" Rs. 0-8-9 to	" 0-9-3 " " according to texture
48"	" " 0-9-9 to	" 0-10-3 " " "
38"	double thread coating	Rs. 0-10-9 to " 0-11-9 " " "

In Bijapur district there are two main centres, one at Galgali and the other at Kaladgi. Galgali is directly run by A. I. S. A. Branch and produces about Rs. 1250/- worth per month. The chief varieties of goods produced are dhotees, Uparnas, plain Khadi, plain and striped shirting, dosuti Patukas, etc. The prices of goods vary according to texture, but some idea may be had from the following:—

52"	Khadi	Rs. 0-10-6 per yard
46"	looser texture for Uparnas	" 0-8-6 " "

46" Khadi	"	0-10-0 per yard
44"	Rs. 0-8-3 to	" 0-10-6 " " according to texture.
36" shirting plain	"	0-6-6 " "
43" shirting striped	"	0-9-0 " "
28" plain white double thread	"	0-9-0 " "
36" Do.	"	0-11-0 " "

The other centre, Kaladgi, is an aided centre. It produces about Rs. 1800/- worth per month. The yarn is of slightly higher counts than elsewhere in Karnatak, and ranges from 15 to 25 counts. There is a large number of varieties of goods produced. Dhotees and sarees, plain as well as silk and lace bordered, shirtings plain, striped and twill, Panchas, fetas, coating, etc. Widths from 20" to 54" are woven. The prices are as under:—

50" unbleached	Rs. 0-11-0 per yard.
45" "	" 0-10-3 " "
30" double thread	" 0-11-0 " "
20" fetas	" 0-5-0 " "
30" panchas (2½ yds)	" 0-12-0 each.

In addition to these two centres in the Bijapur district, there is some small production at Bijapur at the Lokamanya Vastra Karyalaya of Sjt. Pujari. Panchyas of 37" and towels of 30" are usually produced. The prices are as under:—

Panchyas	Rs. 0-7-0 per yard.
Towels (1 yd. 2 feet)	" 0-15-3 each.

In Dharwar district there is only one centre, Uppinbetgiri. It produces about Rs. 800/- worth of Khadi. The yarn is generally of 10 to 15 counts, and the chief varieties produced are dhotees, sarees plain and silk bordered, panchyas, shirting plain, striped and twill, coatings of many different patterns, etc. The prices are as under:—



Shirting	28" plain	Rs. 0-6-3 per yard
"	34" "	" 0-7-0 " "
"	36" " twill	" 0-11-0 " "
"	46" " plain	" 0-10-6 " "
"	50" " "	" 0-11-0 " "
"	52" " "	" 0-11-6 " "
Coatings from	Rs. 0-10-0 to	" 1-1-0 " " according to patterns and width.

Sarees 9 yds x 48" plain, cotton Rs. 0-6-0 per yard.

Do, silk bordered " 10-1-6 each.

Irkal Sarees with 2" silk borders from Rs. 16/- to 36/-

The Badanval centre in Mysore is the solitary example of State enterprise in Khadi. No other state has taken so much interest or has made such systematic effort in promoting the spread of the Charkha within its territories as Mysore. The ruler of the State is personally interested in the movement. The Department of Industries under its Director, Mr. C. Ranganath Rao Sahib is devoting as much attention to the proper development of this cottage industry as to any of the bigger industries that are run by this progressive Indian State.

The centre at Badanval was started in 1927 soon after Gandhiji's tour in the State. A scheme for the purpose was obtained by the Department of Industries from the Secretary of the A. I. S. A. and in accordance with the scheme the Government sanctioned a working capital of Rs. 3500/- with an additional grant of Rs. 1725/- towards outright expenditure. At the request of the Industries Department the Association lent the services of Sjt. S. G. Pujari as organiser for a period of one year. Even the first year's results have been much better than expected. The work was started in November, 1927. Within 3 months of the start the number of working Charkhas rose to 500 and by the end of June the number

had reached 1000. The quality of yarn spun showed a progressive improvement. In the beginning it was only of 6 to 8 counts. By June it had risen from 10 to 13 counts.

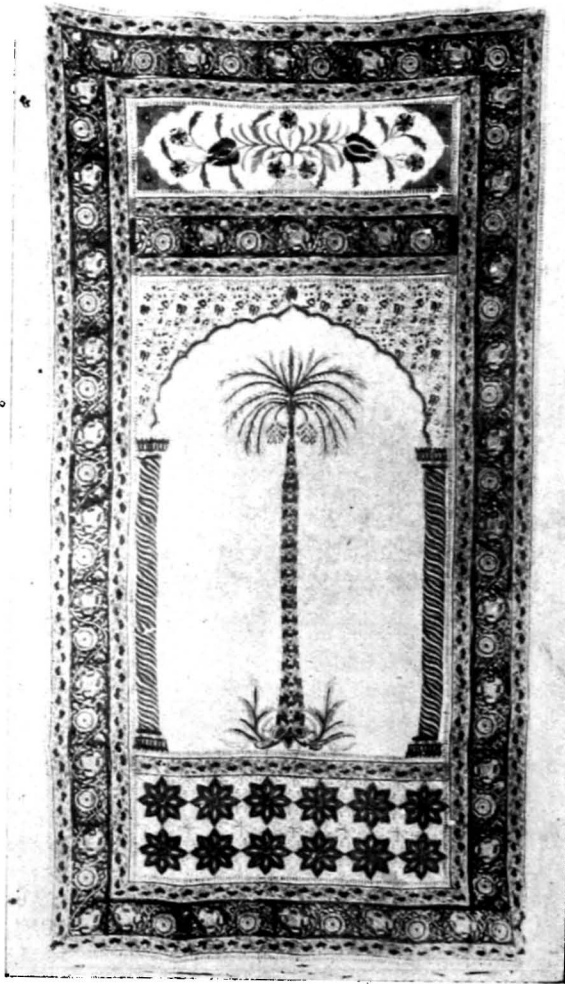
Along with the introduction of hand-spinning, arrangements were made with some of the looms at Badanval to weave the yarn into cloth. At first only towels were made. As finer yarn was produced, sheets, turbans and coating cloths began to be woven. There are at present 62 looms engaged in Khadi weaving. By the end of June 1928, 9200 yards of Khadi had been manufactured. At present the production averages nearly Rs. 2000/- worth per month.

The goods produced have met with the approval of the Stores Purchase Committee of the State both in respect of quality and price. The Committee it is understood has since placed with the centre an order for about Rs. 15000 yards of double thread coating and 600 turbans. About half the production of the centre, according to the report of the Director, is now being absorbed by the Government Departments.

The Industries Department was fully satisfied with the results of the year's work at Badanval. The Department intends to introduce improved charkhas and a better variety of cotton in order to make fine spinning possible. Attempts are also being made at the Government Weaving Factory to make a suitable carding machine. The State Sub-Committee constituted to consider the question of hand-spinning resolved, after consideration of the Director's report, that the work at Badanval should be continued and that similar work should be started in at least one centre in each of the other districts. It is understood that the Government is contemplating the starting of an other centre on the lines of Badanval.

There are 12 sale depots run by the Karnatak Branch of the A. I. S. A. Besides, the Tamil Nad Branch is run-





Palm Print Door Curtain—A. I. S. A.  
Khadi Bhandar, Lahore.

ing a depot at Banglore. With a view to promote Khadi sales in Mysore 15 Khadi Co-operative Societies have been started in the Mysore State. Many of them however have not yet begun to function. But the Co-operative Society Stores at Mysore, seems from the report, to have turned out very good work during last year primarily owing to very efficient management. The Stores has not merely been self supporting, but has even earned a comparatively good profit. The sales of the Stores for the year amounted to Rs. 14464-15-10 of which Rs. 3451-2-3 represents purchases by members of the Society.

Altogether the Khadi sales in the province during the 1927-28 amounted to Rs. 1,12,193/-. The A. I. S. A. investment in this province amounts to Rs. 1,05,821-12-2. There are 26 workers in the Karnatak Branch.

#### Production Centre.

##### A. I. S. A.

Name of centre.	Average monthly production.
1. Bhagojikop	Rs. 1000
2. Galgali	" 1250
3. Uppinbetgiri	" 800

##### AIDED.

4. Gandbi Seva Sangh, Hudli	" 1200
5. Kaladgi	" 1800
6. Lokmanya Khadi Vastra Karyalaya, Bijapur	" 200

##### INDEPENDENT.

7. Badanval spinning circle	" 2000
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#### Retail Sale Bhandars.

##### A. I. S. A.

	Average sale per month.
1. Sudarshan Charkhalaya, Belgaum	Rs. 2500
2. Khadi Bhandar, Dharwar	" 750

3. Khadi Bhandar, Gadag	„ 650
4. Khadi Bhandar, Hubli	„ 1500
5. Khadi Bhandar, Sirsi	„ 400
6. Khadi Bhandar, Bijapur	„
7. Khadi Bhandar, Bellary	„
8. Khadi Bhandar, Nipani	„ 600
9. Khadi Bhandar, Bagalkot	„ 1500
10. Khadi Bhandar, Davangiri	„ 600
11. Khadi Bhandar, Shimoga	„ 1000
12. Khadi Bhandar, Mangalore	„ 600

#### INDEPENDENT.

1. Khaddar Co-operative Society, Mysore	„ 1000
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#### MAHARASHTRA.

Agent	Sjt. V. V. Dastane
Secretary	„ Shree Krishnadas Jaju
Head quarters	Wardha.

Maharashtra includes, besides the Maharashtra centres in the Bombay Presidency, also the Congress provinces of C. P. Marathi and Berar. The field for production in the province is not very large, but there are considerable facilities in the Chanda and Bhandara districts of C. P. for production on a considerable scale. The general economic condition in these districts is very poor. The Mahar community of the two districts is traditionally a community of spinners and weavers, and they seem to have retained both the tradition of the Charkha and the cunning of their hands. The two principal production centres, run by the Maharashtra Branch, are in these districts—Kinhi in Bhandara, and Savli in Chanda. Kinhi produces about Rs. 500/- worth per month and furnishes work to 7 carders, 60 spinners, and 10 weavers. Savli is a more considerable centre. It is now producing from

Rs. 1500/- to Rs. 2000/- per month, and there is scope for still larger production. The work at Savli at present covers 40 villages, and benefits 67 carders, 500 spinners and 60 weavers. The yarn produced ranges from 10 to 20 counts. Yarn of 15 to 20 counts is used for dhotees, and for Khadi of larger widths. The chief varieties of Khadi produced, and their prices are as under :—

Dosuti coatings	27"	Rs. 0-8-0	per yard
" "	36"	" 0-10-9	" "
Khadi	36"	" 0-7-3	" "
" higher count and closer texture	36"	" 0-7-6	" "
" "	45"	" 0-9-0	" "
" higher count and closer texture	45"	" 0-9-9	" "
Dhotees 9 yards × 50"		" 6-8-0	" pair
Honey comb towels 1½ yards × 27"		" 0-12-6	each
Kerchief 18" × 18"		" 0-2-0	"

There was some small production being done at some other centres, at Chopda in East Khandesh and Malpur in West Khandesh. The work at these centres on behalf of the A. I. S. A. has had to be closed, because the quality of production could not reach the market standard. There is only one independent organisation doing any Khadi work, and that is the Ladies Yarn Committee, Poona, which usually purchases fine yarn from other provinces, and gets it woven. Its production is not much, however, only Rs. 100/- per month. The total production of Maharashtra in 1927-28 was Rs. 37,036/-. The total of carders, spinners and weavers supported numbered 88, 829, and 90 respectively. The total of wages distributed to them amounted respectively to Rs. 2822-8-3, Rs. 8855-1-6 and Rs. 9173-9-3.

There is good scope in the province for sale of Khadi. The Maharashtra Branch has 15 sale Bhandars of its own,

besides the Central Store, called the Maharashtra Vastragar, at Wardha. The principal sale Bhandars are at Poona, Jalgaon, Nagpur and Wardha. The Vastragar gets the production of the Maharashtra centres as well as purchases from other provinces, and then distributes the goods to the Bhandars run by the Maharashtra Branch. In addition to the A.I.S.A. Bhandars there are 3 other Bhandars, run by independent parties. The total sale in the province during the year 1927-28 amounted to Rs. 1,95,590-0-0.

Attempts to introduce the Charkha with a view to making the locality self-sufficient in respect of cloth requirements are being made at some selected centres—Paturda (Berar), Mukti (West Khandesh), Dighol (Ahmednagar), and Kamler (Savantwadi).

There is an institution for training Khadi workers at Pimprala (East Khandesh). The Udyog Mandir, as it is called, is run under the personal guidance of Sjt. V. V. Dastane. There is also another institution—the Satyagrahashram at Wardha, run on the lines of the parent institution, the Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati. Sjt. Vinoba N. Bhave is the Acharya of the Ashram.

### Production Centres.

#### A. I. S. A.

Name & Address.	Average production per month
1. Savli, Dt. Chanda	Rs. 2000
2. Kinhi, Dt. Bhandara	" 500

#### AIDED.

1. Ladies Yarn Committee, Poona.	" 100
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**Retail Sale Bhandars.****A. I. S. A.**

<b>Name &amp; Address.</b>	<b>Average sale per month.</b>
1. Gondia	Rs. 2000
2. Nagpur	" 2000
3. Wardha	" 1500
4. Chanda	" 200
5. Amraoti	" 1000
6. Akola	" 1000
7. Bhusawal	" 250
8. Jalgaon	" 2000
9. Dhulia	" 500
10. Chodra	" 150
11. Malpur	" 200
12. Poona	" 2500
13. Pandharpur	" 700
14. Satara	" 500
15. Ratnagiri	"

**INDEPENDENT.**

16. Khamgaon	" 500
17. Sholapur	" 1000
18. Vengurla	" 200

**PUNJAB.**

<b>Agent.</b>	<b>Dr. Gopichand Bhargava,</b>
<b>Secretary.</b>	<b>Sjt. Kishanchand Bhatia,</b>
<b>Head-quarters.</b>	<b>Adampur Doaba, Dt. Jullundhur.</b>

Punjab is one of the provinces where hand-spinning was an established tradition, when the Non-cooperation movement brought to it a fresh impetus. In many of the districts almost every village home has a charkha or two plying. The

number of working charkhas in the province is estimated at several lakhs. In the few villages that the A. I. S. A. provincial branch is operating it has been found that the working charkhas number 43712. Generally the yarn produced is utilised for getting the clothing needed by the family. Half or full khadi is got manufactured. In some places the yarn is exchanged for mill cloth. Whatever surplus yarn remains is sold out at the bazaar. Independent, therefore, of the direct activities of the A. I. S. A. and affiliated organisations, there is in the province a traditional production of handspun yarn of no small quantity.

Punjab was one of the few exporting provinces in the beginning of the Khadi movement. The work received a slight set-back during the close of 1923 and the beginning of 1924, but has since revived to more than its original dimensions. The yarn available ranges from 7 to 16 counts. The higher counts are used for dhotees and sarees and yarn upto 10 counts is used for shirting, coating, etc. Only small breadths were being woven in the beginning but now widths up to 45" are also woven.

The A.I.S.A. investment in the province is Rs. 77428-12-6. There are 6 production centres, departmental and aided ones taken together, and 11 sale depots, directly run by the A.I.S.A.

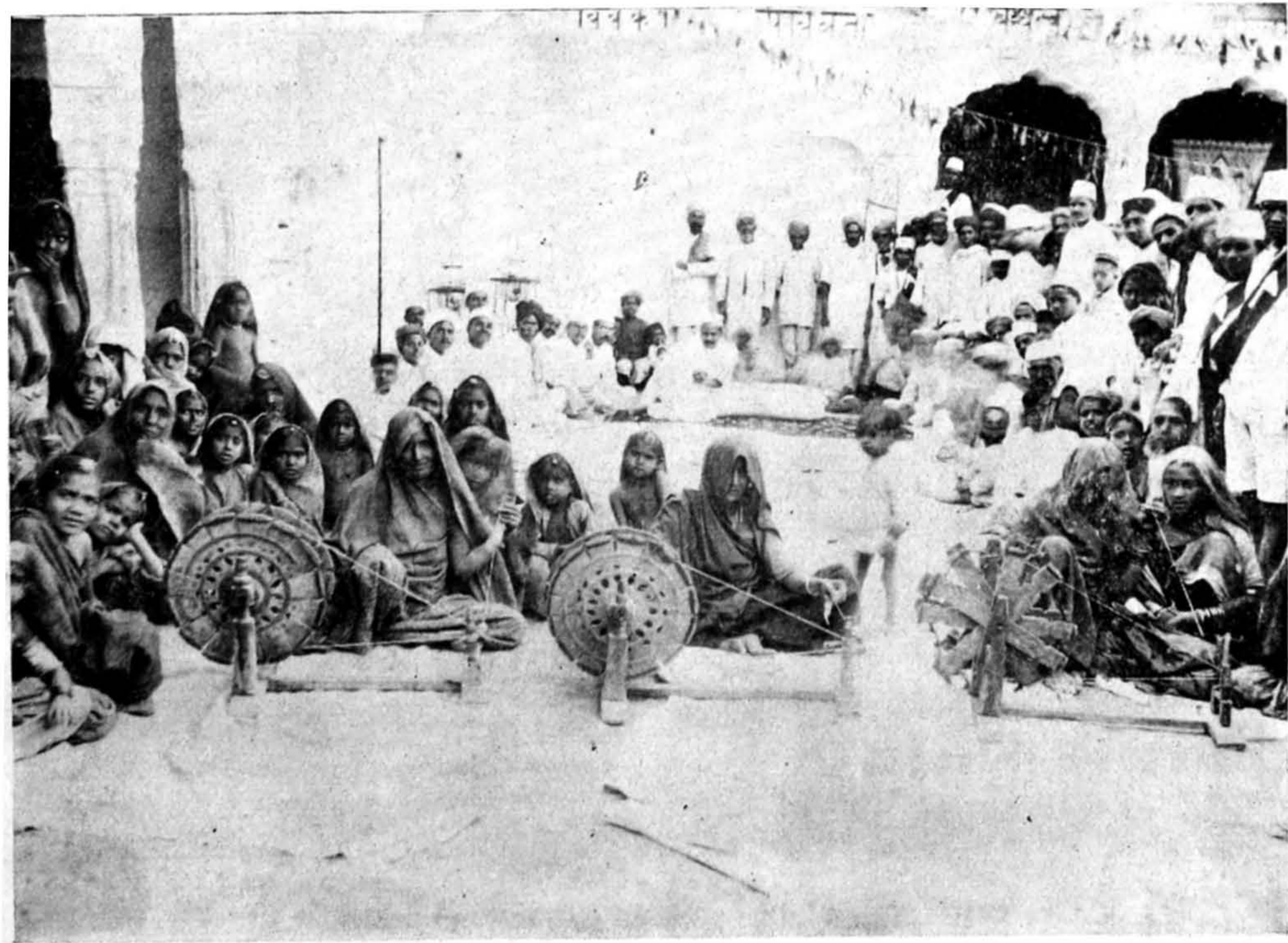
In this province there is no need for Khadi organisations to stock cotton and issue it out to spinners. The organisations have only to purchase yarn brought by the spinners for sale. The most important of the production centres in the province is Adampur, which produces on an average about Rs. 5000/- worth of Khadi per month. This centre in the year 1927-28 purchased yarn from 45 villages of Jullundhur district and 15 villages of Ambala district. The spinners of this region spin yarn to meet the cloth requirements of the



Teapoy Cover—A. I. S. A. Khadi Bhandar, Lahore.



School for 'untouchable' Children—Amarsar.



Seth Jamnalal Bajaj among Rajasthan Spinners.

family and sell only the surplus yarn. The weavers are mostly of the untouchable class, known as Chamars. The present number of weavers working for the Adampur centre is 362, belonging to 29 villages in the area. The bleaching, dyeing and printing done in the centre are all of good quality. A large number of varieties is produced. The cloths produced are of uniformly good texture. The prices vary according to texture and quality. They are as under :—

Description	Texture (threads per inch)	Price per yard.
Khadi 26"	27 × 27	Rs. 0—4—3
" "	32 × 32	" 0—4—9
" "	36 × 36	" 0—5—0
" "	40 × 40	" 0—5—6
" 28"	42 × 42	" 0—6—6
" 30"	40 × 40	" 0—6—6
" 35"	35 × 35	" 0—7—0
" "	40 × 40	" 0—7—6
" 44"	32 × 32	" 0—7—3
" "	36 × 36	" 0—8—3
" "	40 × 40	" 0—9—3
Striped shirting 26"	40 × 40	" 0—6—0
Dosuti coating 28"	49 × 49	" 0—7—0
Drill coating 28"	52 × 52	" 0—7—6
Honey comb towels 27"		" 0—7—0
Double colour printed Khes		
	2½ yds × 1½ yds	" 3—2—0 each
" " " Jajams		" 0—12—0 per sq. yd.
Printed bed-sheets 3 yds × 1½ yds		" 3—0—0 each
Kerchiefs 18" × 18"		" 1—4—0 per doz
Kerchiefs 22" × 22"		" 1—11—0 " "
Socks		" 3—3—0 " "
Uparnas 22" × 2½ yds		" 0—9—6 each
" 27" × 2 yds		" 0—9—6 "

The other important centres of production in the province are Ghurial, Darya-Khan, Jhang-Maghiana and Butala. Of these the first two are A. I. S. A. centres. Jhang is a certified independent centre. Butala is an aided centre. Ghurial produces almost the same varieties as Adampur, and the goods produced are sent to the Adampur Central Store. The general condition of the spinners and weavers is also very similar to what it is in Adampur. The monthly production is about Rs. 1,500.

It is the custom among the spinners in some parts of the province to exchange hand-spun yarn for cloth. Usually it is mill-cloth that is so exchanged. The Punjab Branch has made arrangements for exchange of Khadi at Khanewal. The yarn received in exchange is generally got woven at Darya-Khan into Khadi of 18" width mostly. The cloth thus exchanged for yarn during the year 1927-28 amounted to Rs. 13522-6-3. The Darya-Khan centre, in addition to 18" Khadi, produced honey comb sheets and Chandni Khes. The 18" Khadi is sold at,  $5\frac{1}{2}$  yds and 7 yds per rupee according to difference in texture. The price of sheets is Rs. 3/- each and that of Khes is Rs. 10/- each. Altogether 21 weavers are working for this centre.

The most important of the sale bhandars run by the Branch is at Lahore, and has a sale of Rs. 2000/- per month. The Lahore Bhandar has special printing arrangements and its palm-print and peacock-print curtains and table-cloths are in great demand from Khadi bhandars all over the country.

The provincial office also stocks and supplies from its centre Adampur the following implements for spinning and carding at the prices given below:—

Portable Charkha (for travelling)	Rs. 8—0—0
Charkha (Pratisthan pattern)	„ 2—4—0

Charkha (Satyagrahashram pattern)	„ 4—4—0
Carding bow (Ramesra pattern)	„ 0—4—0
Guts 20 yards	„ 0—8—0

The total production in the province during the year 1927-28 was Rs. 84,692/—, the total sales Rs. 1,07,538/—. The number of workers in the A. I. S. A. Branch is 26.

### Production Centres.

#### A. I. S. A.

Name & Address	Average production per month
1. Adampur	Rs. 5000
2. Ghurial	„ 1500
3. Darya-Khan	„ 350

#### AGENCY

4. Kot Adu	Rs. 200/—
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#### AIDED

5. Lala Hansraj Dinanath, Butala.	Rs. 200/—
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#### INDEPENDENT.

6. Jhang-Maghiana	Rs. 700/—
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### Retail Sale Depots.

#### A. I. S. A.

Name & Address	Average sale per month
1. Shah-Alami Gate, Lahore.	Rs. 2000/—
2. Multan.	Rs. 400
3. Lyallpur	Rs. 450
4. Dehra-Ghazi-Khan	Rs. 500
5. Dehra-Ismail-Khan	Rs. 300
6. Khanewal	Rs. 800
7. Montgomery	Rs. 300

#### AGENCIES

8. Sirsa
9. Kot Adu
10. Jullundhur

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Guts 20 yards	„ 0-8-0

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#### AGENCY

4. Kot Adu	Rs. 200/-
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#### AIDED

5. Lala Hansraj Dinanath, Butala.	Rs. 200/-
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#### INDEPENDENT.

6. Jhang-Maghiana	Rs. 700/-
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#### AGENCIES

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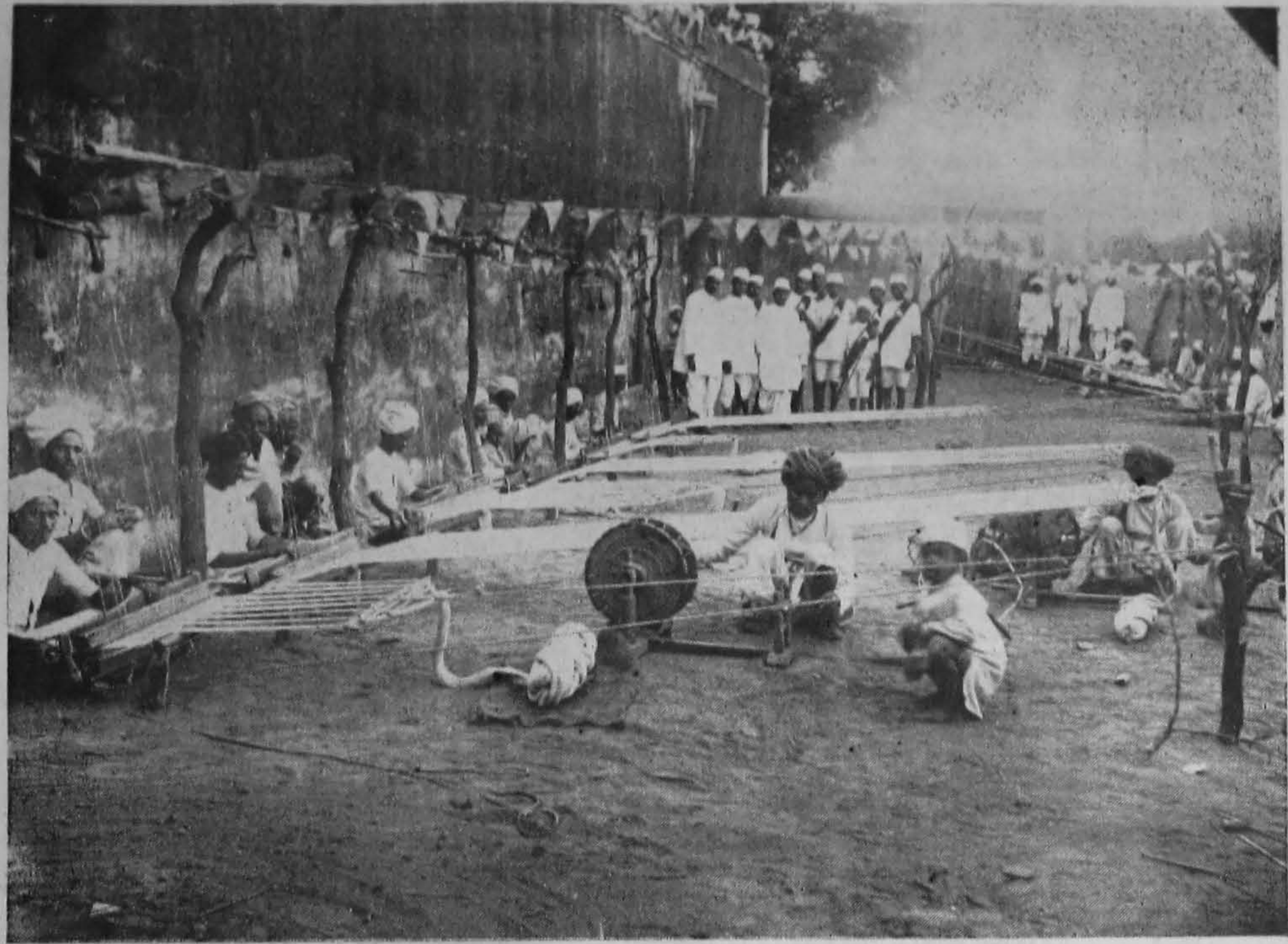
**RAJASTHAN.**

Agent	Seth Jamnalal Bajaj
Secretary	Sjt. B. S. Deshpande
Head-quarters.	Jauhari Bazar, Jaipur City.

There are immense facilities for Khadi production in this province. In fact handspinning was to some extent a living industry even before the advent of Non-cooperation, hand-spun yarn and even Khadi being brought to open markets for sale. In spite of these facilities, however, little was done to promote the work before the creation of the A.I.S.A. agency in 1926. The first efforts of the A. I. S. A. Branch were directed towards improving the quality of the yarn. The yarn that was being spun was generally of only 3 to 4 counts. The efforts of the Branch have resulted in raising the average quality to 10 to 15 counts. With the improvement in yarn it was easy to persuade the weavers to take to weaving hand-spun yarn. At present it is estimated that nearly 600 weavers are working on hand-spun yarn only.

Since the work was taken in hand, by the A. I. S. A. Branch, it has rapidly progressed, and now the production under the auspices of the A. I. S. A. is nearly Rs. 9000/- worth per month. The work of the production centres is spread over 80 villages and it is estimated that 175 carders, 4792 spinners and 593 weavers get part-time work as a result of the A. I. S. A.'s activities. The wage spinners are generally Brahmin and Bania women. The weavers are generally untouchables. The spinning wages range from 4 annas per seer of 80 tolas of 7 to 8 counts yarn to 8 annas for 10 to 12 counts. Carding wages are 3 annas per seer.

The A. I. S. A. Branch has 5 production centres and 3 sale depots in the province. The centres of work are as under :—



Rajasthan Weavers.



Khadi Weavers at the Jaipur Bazar.

**Production Centres.**

Name	Address	Average production per month.
1. Khadi Karyalaya	Amarsar	Rs. 1500/-
2. " "	Borawad	" 300/-
3. " "	Manoharpur	" 900/-
4. " "	Basa	" 1000/-
5. " "	Govindgarh	" 900/-

**Sale Bhandara.**

	Average sale per month
1. Charkha Sangh Khadi Bhandar, Jaipur	Rs. 4500/-
2. " " " " Ajmer	" 350/-
3. " " " " Sikar	" 100/-

The Khadi Bhandar at Jaipur works as the central depot. It receives the goods from the production centres, gets them bleached and then puts them into the market for sale. Borawad produces only woollens—chiefly coatings and kambals. The price of coatings ranges from Rs. 2/- to Rs. 3/- per yard and that of kambals from Rs. 6/- to Rs. 12/- each.

The usual varieties produced by the Rajasthan Charkha Sangh are Gadha, Dosuti coatings, Reji, Fetas, Khes, honey-comb towels, napkins, Dhotees, shirtings, etc. Some quantity of coloured coatings, chintz, etc. is also manufactured. Generally widths from 16" to 40" are woven. Khes however upto 67" width is produced. Details of the varieties manufactured and full information regarding prices can be had from the Khadi Bhandar, Jaipur City. The prices vary according to texture. The prices of some of the chief varieties (unbleached) are as under:—

Variety	Count of yarn used.	Threads in warp & weft.	Price per piece.
Gadha special	16 x 30" 10 to 15	44 x 40	Rs. 7-4-0
		to	to
		53 x 48	" 9-0-0

Gadha ordinary	"	10 to 13	35 × 33	" 5-8-0
			to	to
			42 × 38	" 6-12-0
Dosuti	10 × 27"	8 to 10	30 × 20	" 4-10-0
			to	to
			30 × 26	" 5-0-0
Reji	16 × 27"	7 to 10	32 × 28	" 4-4-0
			to	to
			36 × 30	" 5-4-0
Feta	8 × 19"	8 to 10	30 × 25	" 1-10-0
Khes	3 × 67"	8 to 10	28 × 25	" 4-6-0
"	3 × 59"	"	"	" 4-0-0
"	3 × 54"	"	"	" 3-8-0
" Bulbul-Chashm	2½ × 59"	"	"	" 3-14-0
Honey-comb towels	1 × 24"			" 0-10-6
"	" 1½ × 28"			" 0-14-0
Dhotees	8 × 46"	from		" 4-0-0
				to
				" 4-12-0
Striped shirting	16 × 28"			" 5-0-0

The Rajasthan Khadi has found a ready market in Gujarat, Bombay, Maharashtra and U. P. Local sales are yet to be developed to a considerable scale.

Besides commercial production and sale of Khadi there is another aspect of Khadi work in Rajasthan that needs special mention. Where spinning is so much of a living tradition it was felt that attempt may be fruitfully made in certain selected areas at least to induce the people to spin the yarn necessary for their own clothing requirements and make the areas self-sufficient in respect of clothing. With this end in view Sjt. Jethalal Govindji started the work in November, 1925, at Bijolia. As a result of his continuous efforts, carried on with great zeal and earnestness nearly 5500 people in the area have now taken to spinning for their own requirements.



Sgt. Jethalal with Bijolia villagers.



Home Dyeing at Bijolia.



Mass meeting of Bijolia Self-Spinners.



A peasant family of Reengus who have made their own clothing for the year.



A Jat Spinner Spinning for self-wear-Reengus.



All of them store cotton, card and spin it and get the yarn woven for themselves. Sjt. Jethalal has even induced many of them to take to weaving, and about 90 of them have learnt weaving. It is estimated that at present about Rs. 50000/- worth of Khadi is being produced as a result of such spinning.

The success of the experiment at Bijolia has induced the Branch to start a similar effort at Reengus in Jaipur State. The propaganda has been carried on among the cultivating classes in 25 villages round Reengus. The cultivating classes knew already spinning. Efforts are made to teach carding also to them and now about 500 persons have learnt carding. These classes were already in the habit of getting their requirements of coarser cloth met out of their own yarn. Now they have been induced to get all their requirements similarly, and already a few families have started to get their dhotees and sarees made out of their own yarn. It is expected that in the course of the year very satisfactory results will be achieved.

There are now 43 workers in the Rajasthan Branch including those working at the self-sufficiency centres at Bijolia and Reengus. The chief workers have started an Achhut Sahayak Mandal with the help of funds supplied by Seth Jarnalaji. This Mandal conducts 4 schools for untouchables, where over 100 boys are being taught. The Mandal also distributes medicines free to the villagers and helps in the digging of wells for the untouchables.

Besides the A. I. S. A. Branch there are 3 certified independent Khadi organisations. One is the Khadi Karyalaya, Chomu of Sjt. Yudhishtir Sharma. This produces Khadi worth Rs 1000/- per month. The second is the Khadi Karyalaya, Samod, of Sjt. Gopalnathji Sharma. This acts as a production agency for the A. I. S. A. Branch. It produces

Khadi worth about Rs 1000/- per month. The third is the Madan Khadi Kutir, Karauli, which produces about Rs 500/- worth per month. The Khadi produced by this institution is of somewhat finer quality than the general Rajasthan Khadi.

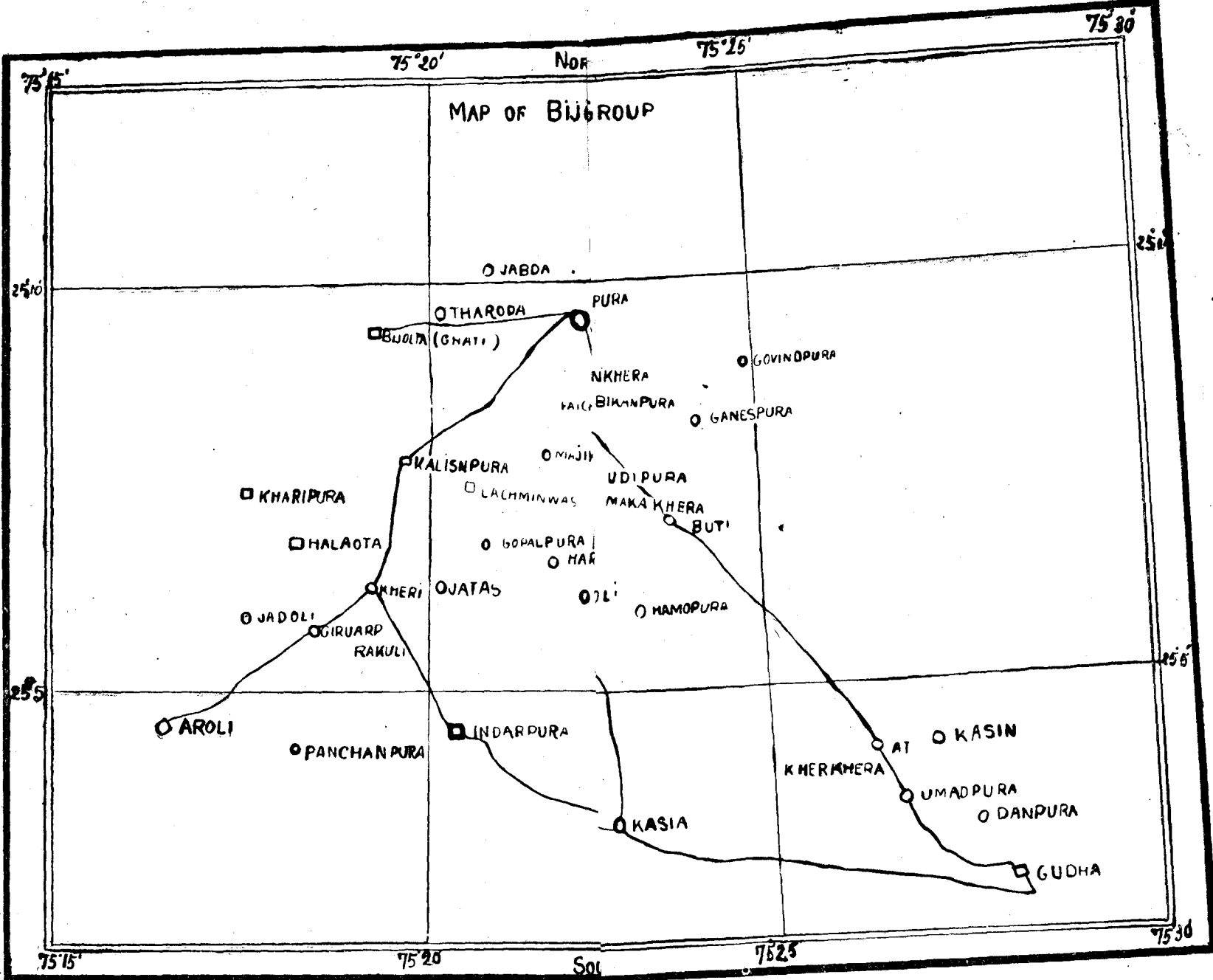
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### TAMIL NAD.

Secretary        Sjt. N. S. Varadachari.  
 Head-quarters   Tirupur.  
 Tele. Address    Vastralaya

The Tamil Nad Branch of the A. I. S. A. includes Kerala also within its scope of work. At present Tamil Nad stands foremost both in Khadi production and sale. Out of the total production of Khadi in the country nearly 40% is produced in Tamil Nad. The goods produced at the chief centre of this province, viz. Tirupur, are in great demand in all parts of India, and at present it is this province, more almost than any other, that is meeting the need of provinces where production is less developed. About 40% of the production of the province is exported to other provinces and overseas; while the remaining 60% is consumed within the province itself. The quality and price of the cloth produced in Tirupur compare very favourably with those produced in other parts of India; while the superior cotton used and the expert weaving give to the cloth a peculiar softness and attractiveness not generally possessed by the cloths of other provinces.

In the Tirupur area production is done both by private producers and the A. I. S. A. As far as possible competition or overlapping of work is avoided. Of the private producers the Kongu Khaddar Company, is the foremost. To this concern the A. I. S. A. has given a loan of RS 15000/-



MAP OF BIJGROUP

○ JABDA

○ OTHARODA

○ PURA

□ BUJOLA (GHATI)

○ GOVINDPURA

NKHERA

PAICE BIKANPURA

○ GANESPURA

○ KALISNPURA

○ MIJJI

UDIPURA

□ KHARIPURA

□ LALMINWAS

MAKA KHERA

□ HALAOTA

○ GOPALPURA

○ BUTI

○ KHERI

○ JATAS

○ HAR

○ JADOLI

○ GIRUARP

RAKULI

○ LI

○ HAMOPURA

○ AROLI

○ PANCHANPURA

□ INDARPURA

○ KASIA

KHERAKHERA

○ AT

○ KASIN

○ UMADPURA

○ DANPURA

□ GUDHA

75 15'

75 20'

75 25'

75 30'

25 10'

25 5'

25 0'

75 30'

NOF

75 25'

75 30'

The Company produces on an average Rs 12000/- worth of khadi per month.

The provincial branch of the A. I. S. A. has in this area, besides the Central Vastralaya at Tirupur which acts as both receiving and selling depot for cloth, yarn and cotton, several production centres round about Tirupur, at Puliampatti, Avanashi, Cheyur, Uthukuli, Padiyur, Vellakoil, Muthur, Nambiyur and Vanjipalayam. Some of these centres do only yarn production, though even they are capable of expanding into weaving centres. The area covered is one of 30 square miles, and spreads in all directions round Tirupur. There has been acute famine in most of these places, severe drought having prevailed for some years. The spinners are all women of the agriculturist families. The yarn spun is out of fine silky Karunganni cotton, and this accounts for the softness and durability of the Tirupur cloth. The texture has now so improved that last year's standard of 38 threads per inch both ways is uniformly exceeded. The Vastralaya now produces cloth which shows 44 threads in both ways per inch.

Besides the A. I. S. A. and the Kongu Company there are 6 other organisations working in this region.

All varieties of goods are produced at Tirupur. Widths from 20" to 54" are woven. Almost every variety of cloth possible in thick Khadi of 10 to 14 counts yarn is obtainable at Tirupur. Dhotees of different sizes, towels, bed-sheets, shirtings, coatings of a variety of patterns, Dupatis, shawls, chintz, dyed goods, single and double colour prints, etc. are some of the varieties produced. Detailed price list can be had on application to the A. I. S. A. Khadi Vastralaya, Tirupur. The prices of some of the plain varieties are as under ;—

Khadi unbleached 20" width	Rs 0-4-3 per yd
" " 27" "	Rs 0-5-9 "
" " 36" "	Rs 0-6-9 "

Khadi unbleached 40" width	Rs 0-7-6
" " 45" "	Rs 0-8-9
" " 50" "	Rs 0-9-9
" " 54" "	Rs 0-10-9
Double thread unbleached 36" plain weaving	Rs 0-9-9
36" drill	Rs 0-10-9
27" plain	Rs 0-7-9
Coatings of 27" width of various patterns from	Rs 0-9-0
	to Rs 0-12-6
Special Padiyur pieces of 18 counts yarn available in the A. I. S. A. Vastralaya only	
27"	Rs 0-6-0
45"	Rs 0-9-0

The above prices hold good for all the organisations in the Tirupur region, both A. I. S. A. and independent.

After Tirupur the next biggest centre of work is Pudukpalayam in Salem District. This centre is worked by the Gandhi Ashram. Next to the A. I. S. A. and the Kongu Company the Gandhi Ashram is the biggest producer in Tamil Nad. Not merely for the quantity of khadi produced but for other reasons as well does this institution deserves special mention. This institution is the Tamil Nad Branch of the Gandhi Seva Sangh of which Seth Jamnalal Bajaj is the President. The Ashram is conducted under the personal direction and guidance of Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar. The Khadi department of the Ashram is under the management of Sjt K. Santanam. Doing work in an area of chronic famine, the Ashram has brought relief to hundreds of poor families. The Association has given a loan of Rs 71657-7-7 for the Khadi work of the Ashram. The Ashram is turning out about Rs 10000/- worth of Khadi per month. The variety of cotton used is here, as at Tirupur, Karunganni generally. The yarn

produced is of 12 to 16 counts. Widths up to 60" are woven. A large number of varieties is manufactured including dhotees, towels, Anga-vastrams, coatings, handkerchiefs, sarees, Jamkalams, etc. Dyed and printed goods are also available. The dyeing and printing department of the Ashram meets all its needs for printed and coloured cloth. The Ashram specialities are Dupattis, (Chaddars) drill-towels, white double thread coating, and Jamkalams.

The prices are the same as at Tirupur.

The Ashram's khadi activities cover 175 villages and support 2402 spinners and 170 weavers. The Ashram was started in February 1925 and in a period of little over three years, has distributed Rs 69681 as spinning wages, Rs 76239 as weaving charges and Rs 1648 as bleaching charges. The average income of a peasant family of four members in the area is estimated at about Rs 100 to Rs 120 per year. Additional income from spinning is estimated on an average at about 16%.

Besides khadi work the Ashram is conducting a free dispensary, well-equipped, under a qualified doctor. It is also conducting a small primary school for the children in the neighbourhood. It is trying to promote better sanitation in the villages and has in hand a scheme for the digging of wells to provide good drinking water for the 'untouchable' population around.

The Ashram is situated at Pudupalayam, 12 miles from Sankaridrug Railway Station, S. I. Ry.

Besides Tirupur and Pudupalayam there are other areas which possess good facilities; but these have not all been fully developed. The most important centres in the other areas are Kallakurchi in South Arcot District, Rajapalayam in Ramnad District, Tissaiyanvillai in Tinnevely District, Nagercoil

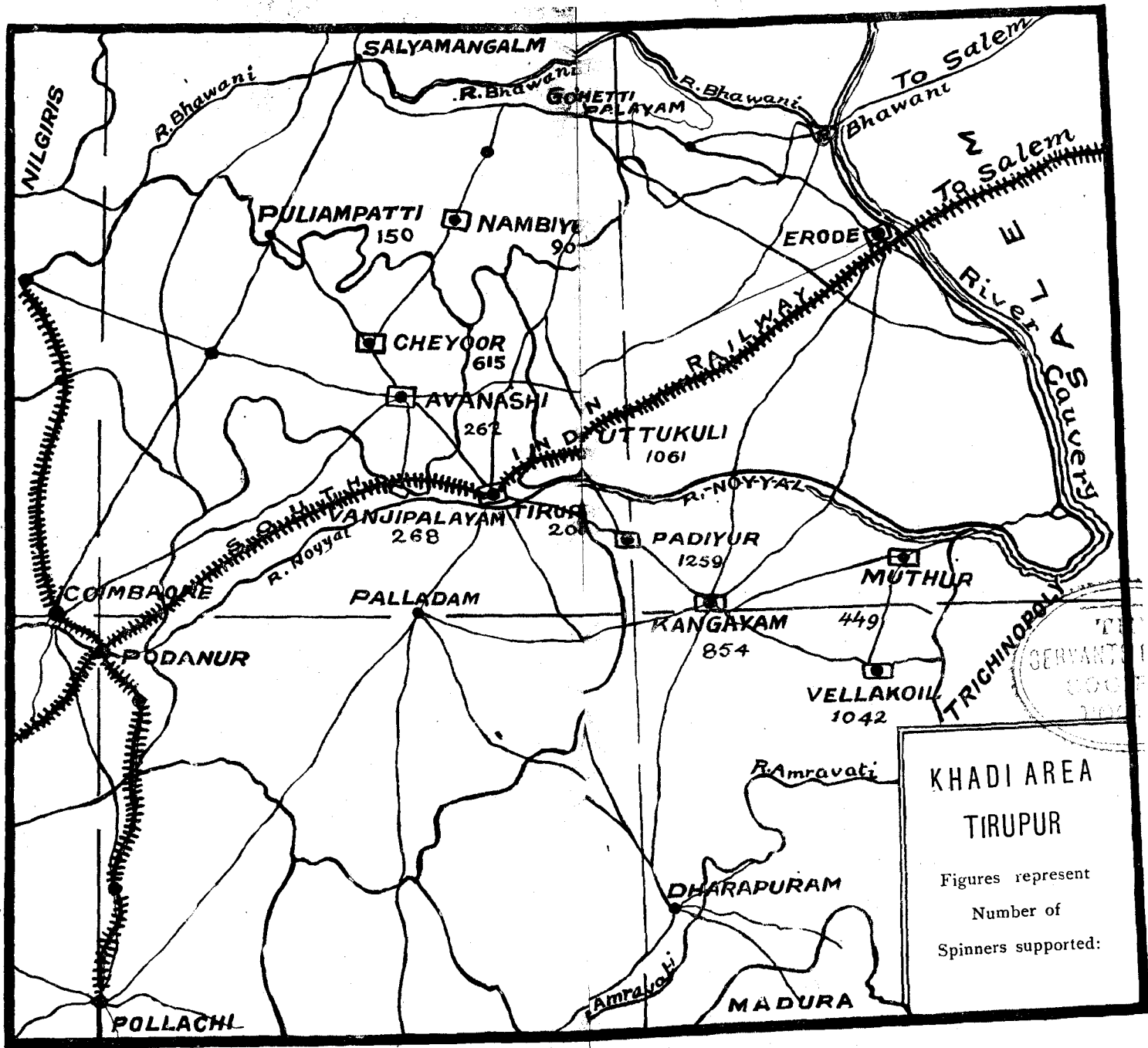
in South Travancore and Taliparamba in North Malabar. Of these Kallakurchi is mainly worked directly by the A. I. S. A. Here, out of Nadan cotton, yarn upto 25 counts is spun. Unlike in other parts of Tamil Nad here the spinner gets her cotton carded by the village carder. The average monthly production is about Rs 1500/- There is also a small independent organisation working here called the Co-operative Stores, Kallakurchi. The prices of the ordinary varieties are the same here as at Tirupur. The prices of the finer Khadi are as under :-

Khadi or Dhotee 52"	Rs 0-11-0 per yard.
50"	Rs 0-10-0 " "
45"	Rs 0-9-0 " "
Extra fine 45"	Rs 0-12-0 " "

Rajapalayam is the centre for fine Khadi in Tamil Nad. Yarn upto 60 counts is spun there, and fine khadi, dhotees with lace and silk borders, Angavastrams, towels, etc. are being produced. There are three principal organisations working at this centre, and together they produce and sell about Rs 4500/- worth of Khadi per month. For prices the enquiry must be addressed to the organisations themselves.

Tissaiyanvillai was till recently being worked by an independent producer, who was doing some small quantity of production. The facilities for yarn production in this region almost rival those of Tirupur. But the resources have not yet been tapped. Recently, however, the A. I. S. A. has taken up the work in this area.

Of the two centres in Kerala there is scope for large production in Nagercoil in South Travancore. In this region hand-spun yarn in large quantities comes to the weekly markets for sale. At present an independent producer, Dr. M. E. Naidu of Kottar, is doing some small production here. The A



**KHADI AREA  
TIRUPUR**

Figures represent  
Number of  
Spinners supported:



I. S. A. is arranging to start its own centre of work in this area. Work at Taliparamba has recently been started by the A. I. S. A.

The A. I. S. A.'s direct investment in the province is Rs 547675-10-6. There are 13 centres of production and 24 sale depots, run departmentally by the A. I. S. A. The sale bhandars are turning out very good work, compared with the bhandars in other provinces. The bhandars with the biggest sales are Madras, Bangalore and Madura. In order to take khadi to the villages the A. I. S. A. branch has purchased and is operating a motor van. The motor van sold Rs. 22,320 worth of khadi during the year 1927-1928.

The production activities of A. I. S. A. and independent together, cover 925 villages, and furnish work to 18225 spinners and 1474 weavers.

There are 144 workers in the Tamil Nad Branch of the A. I. S. A.

### Production Centres.

Name	Address	Average production per month
A. I. S. A.		
1. Khadi Production Depot,	Tirupur	Rs 6500/-
2. Khadi Vastralaya	Avanashi	" 2750/-
3. " "	Cheyur	" 2500/-
4. " "	Kallakurchi	" 1300/-
5. " "	Nambiyur	" 3400/-
6. " "	Padiyur	" 2550/-
7. " "	Puliampatti	" 2300/-
8. " "	Uthukuli	" 2300/-
9. " "	Vanjipalayam	" 3750/-
10. " "	Vellakoil	" 150/-

11.	"	"	Tissaiyanvillai	Rs. 500/-
12.	"	"	Taliparamba	—
13.	"	"	Adirampatnam	Yarn centre.

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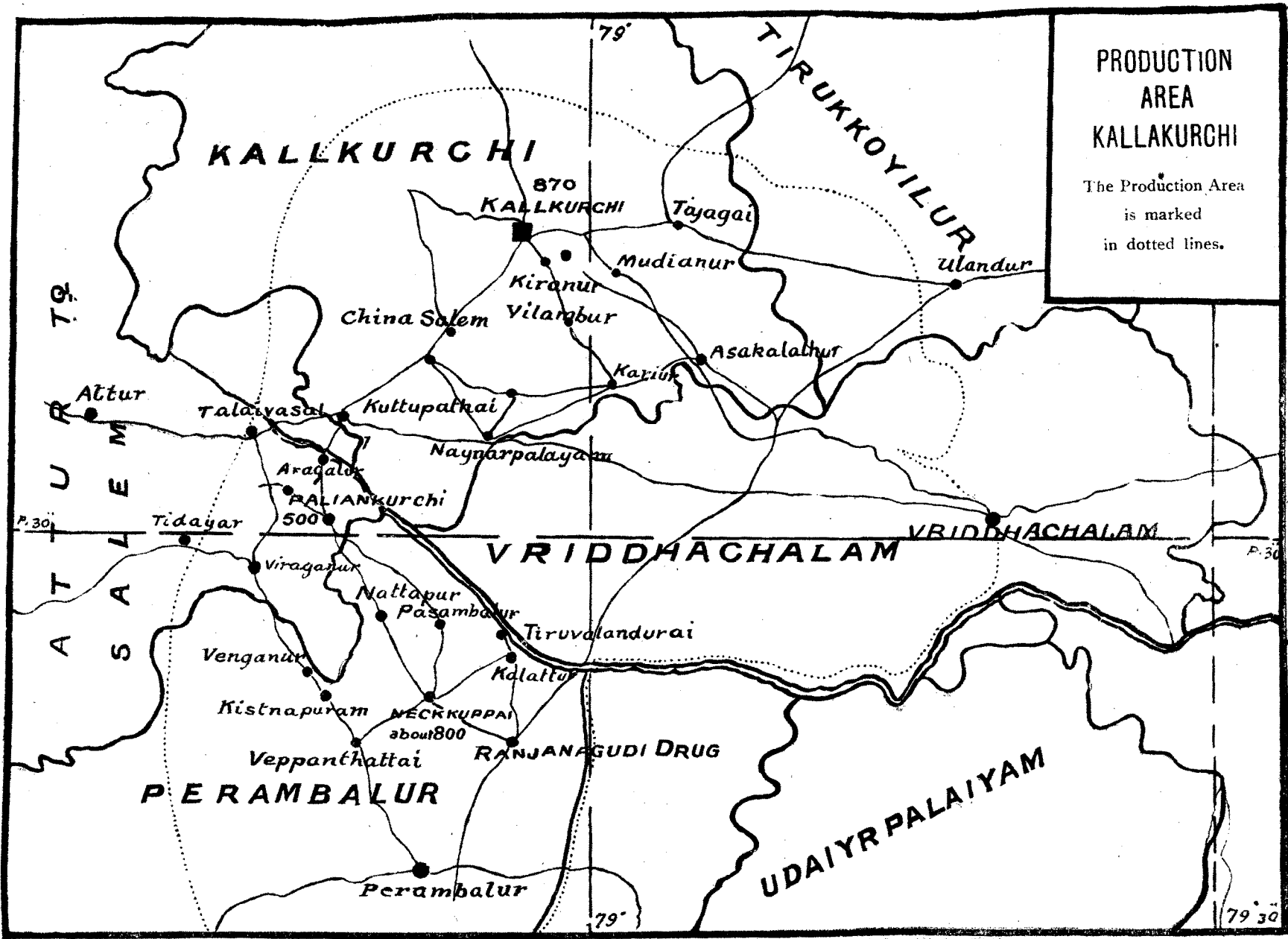
14.	Gandhi Ashram,	Tiruchengodu	Rs. 10000/-
15.	Kongu Khaddar Company, Ltd.	Tirupur	Rs. 10000/-

## INDEPENDENT.

16.	Gandhi Khaddaralayam,	Tirupur	Rs. 3700/-
17.	M. M. S. T. A. Murugesu Mudaliar	Tirupur	Rs. 9100/-
18.	R. M. S. C. Muthuswamy Chettiar	Tirupur	Rs. 3500/-
19.	N. K. Sankarappa Chettiar	Tirupur	Rs. 300/-
20.	R. T. Muthuswami Chettiar	Vijayapuram	Rs. 550/-
21.	R. M. R. Palaniappa Chettiar	Tirupur	Rs. 3000/-
22.	Vinayakar Khaddar Sala	Tirupur	Rs. 1350/-
23.	Spinners' and Weavers' Cooperative Society	Kallakurchi	Rs. 300/-
24.	K. V. Sambasivam Chettiar	Tirupur	Rs. 1050/-
25.	G. M. Ramaswamy Iyer	Puthagaram	Rs. 1100/-
26.	R. M. K. Khaddar Vastralaya	Rajapalayam	—
27.	Dr. M. E. Naidu	Kottar (South Travancore)	—

## Producers of Specialities.

Name & Address	Average pro- duction per month	Count of yarn Widths and varieties	Prices
1. C. V. Jayagopala Chettiar, Salem	Rs 5600/-	30 to 40 counts 36" to 54"; Dho- tees, Angavastra- ms, towels, plain	Prices vary according to count of yarn and



**PRODUCTION AREA KALLAKURCHI**

The Production Area is marked in dotted lines.

		pieces, sarees width of	
		with silk or silk or lace	
		lace borders. borders.	
2. K. R. Sidaraju, Salem	Rs 750/-	"	"
3. K. A. Pethuraja, Rajapalayam	Rs. 3200/-	30 to 60 counts 36" to 53"; Dho- tees Angavastra- ms, towels, silk and lace border. cloths.	For prices write to the organi- sation.
4. I. B. Rangaswamy Raja	" Rs 900/-	"	"
5. M. S. Dharmaraja	" Rs 2300/-	"	"
6. K. A. Sangilikalai Chettiar Sankara- pandipuram			"

#### Retail Sale Bhandars.

All the production centres have also retail sales. In addition there are the following retail sale bhandars:—

Name.	Address	Average sale per month. Rs.
A. I. S. A.		
1. Central Vastralaya	Tirupur	
2. Khadi Vastralaya	Bangalore	4400
3. " "	Coimbatore	2000
4. " "	Conjeevaram	375
5. " "	Gobichettypalayam	375
6. " "	Karaikudi	3100
7. " "	Karur	1300
8. " "	Madras	8500
9. " "	Madura	5000
10. " "	Mannargudi	1300
11. " "	Mayavaram	300

12.	"	"	Pollachi	600
13.	"	"	Salem	2300
14.	"	"	Tanjore	1200
15.	"	"	Tinnevelly	1450
16.	"	"	Tirupapuliyur	1050
17.	"	"	Trichinopoly	4100
18.	"	"	Tuticorin	800
19.	"	"	Vellore	1350
20.	"	"	Virudunagar	650
21.	"	"	Calicut	1300
22.	"	"	Ernakulam	800
23.	"	"	Palghat	900
24.	"	"	Trivandrum	1000

#### INDEPENDENT.

25.	Bharatmata Khaddar Sala,	Chidambaram	1100
26.	Co-operativeSwadeshiStores	Tindivanam	550
27.	K.V.Kalyansundara Mudaliar	Papanasam	400
28.	Khaddar Ashram	Kumbakonam	200
29.	Kaliya Mardan Khaddar Stores	"	1500
30.	Gandhi Khaddar Nilayam	Nannilam	300
31.	B. N. Gowda	Hosur	100
32.	M. Kalyana Sundara Mudaliar	Mayavaram	700

#### U. P.

Agent. Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.  
 Secretary. Sjt. J. B. Kripalani.  
 Head-quarters. 52 Hewett Road, Allahabad.

U. P. is still one of the comparatively undeveloped provinces so far as Khadi work is concerned. But the facilities for production are by no means inconsiderable. In the north-western portion of the province spinning is still to some extent a living industry, and large quantities of hand-spun

yarn are available in the villages and are brought to markets for sale. Therefore in this area there is no need to stock and distribute cotton to the spinners. In the eastern portion of the province the yarn production is not so considerable, but facilities for weaving, dyeing and printing are very great.

The U. P. Branch of the A. L. S. A. has 3 production centres of its own. One is at Ujhani in Badaun District. The U. P. Branch has been working this centre from 1926 with a capital of Rs. 5000/-. The centre gets yarn from the surrounding villages. During the year 1927-28 the number of spinners registered was 623 from 14 villages. The yarn purchased ranges from 6 to 10 counts, so that the Khadi produced is of the thick variety. The weavers working in the centre number 107 and come from 28 villages. The rates of wages for carding, spinning and weaving are as under:—

Carding for 80 tolas	Rs. 0—3—0
Spinning " " "	
6 counts yarn	" 0—8—0
Weaving 27"	" 0—0—9 per yard.
" 36"	" 0—1—6 " "

The centre produces Khadi only of short widths. The weaving is very close and the prices comparatively cheap. The centre produces about Rs. 1500/- worth of Khadi per month. The prices of some of the chief varieties produced are as under:—

Khadi	29"	10 counts yarn	Rs. 0—6—3 per yard.
"	30"	7 " "	" 0—5—6 " "
"	37"	8 " "	" 0—6—3 " "
Dhotee	44"	8 " "	" 0—7—3 " "
Double thread Khadi	30"	6 counts	" 0—8—3 " "
Chequer	31"	7 counts yarn	" 0—7—9 " "

The second centre is at Akbarpur in Fyzabad District. Here the production is more considerable and varied. The

centre stocks cotton and exchanges it for yarn in the proportion of 3 to 2. During the year 1927-28 the centre distributed cotton in 93 villages, and the number of spinners registered was 186. The weavers engaged belonged to 28 villagas, and numbered 61. The spinning and carding wages are very much the same as at Ujhani. The weaving wages are as follows:—

36" width	Rs. 0—1—6 per yard.
46" "	" 0—1—11 " "
60" "	" 0—2—9 " "

This centre was originally worked by the Gandhi Ashram, but was taken up by the U.P. Branch in March, 1928. Akbarpur produces finer quality and longer widths than Ujhani. Widths up to 64" are woven, and it is this centre that is supplying dhotees to the different bhandars, run by the provincial branch. Akbarpur is a good centre for bleaching, dyeing and printing. The bleaching here is of the finest. The usual varieties produced are plain Khadi, dhotees, dyed and printed goods, chaddars, etc. The prices of some of the chief varieties are as under:—

Khadi 36" 6 counts yarn	Rs. 0—5—9 per yard.
" 44" 10 " "	" 0—9—0 "
" 44" 14 " "	" 0—11—0 "

Dhotees 45" from 6 to 10 counts " 0—6—3 to  
" 0—9—6 per yard according  
to count and texture

The centre produces on an average about Rs. 2000/- worth of Khadi per month.

The third centre at Kanth runs chiefly as a sub-centre of Akbarpur for yarn supply. There is, however, a small quantity of Khadi production also.

Altogether the total of Khadi production of the different centres run by the U. P. Branch during the year 1927-28 was Rs. 29024/-.

The U. P. Branch runs 5 sale bhandars of which the most important is at Allahabad. The other bhandars are at Agra, Lucknow, Aligarh and Banda. Besides the above bhandars run directly by the Branch there is another bhandar at Cawnpore which is being run by Sjt. Ramkumar Newatia and others under special agreement with the A. I. S. A. The A. I. S. A. has given a loan of Rs. 6000/- to this bhandar. This bhandar is having fairly good sales, about Rs. 2500/- per month. The A. I. S. A. investment in the province including the loan to Cawnpore is Rs. 56,286-3-3. The number of workers in the service of the Branch is 30.

### Production Centres.

#### A. I. S. A.

Name.	Average production per month
1. Ujhani	Rs. 1500
2. Akbarpur	" 2000
3. Kanth	...

#### INDEPENDENT.

4. Swaraj Ashram, Cawnpore	" 1000
5. Babu Ram Ramchandrar, Amroha	" 400

### Retail Sale Bhandars.

#### A. I. S. A.

Name.	Average sale per month.
1. Allahabad	Rs. 2000
2. Lucknow	" 1250
3. Aligarh	" 300
4. Agra	" 500
5. Banda	" 300
<b>Aided.</b>	
6. Cawnpore	" 2500



**UTKAL.**

Secretary	Sjt. Niranjan Patnāik.
Head-quarters	Berhampore (Ganjam).

Utkal is a province of chronic famine. No other province in India is so poverty-stricken. It is said that of the 1½ crores of Oriya speaking people nearly a crore are living in semi-starvation. Gandhiji has referred more than once to the living skeletons of Orissa. Here therefore is an obvious field for the introduction of the Charkha. But for various reasons the work could not be systematically organised before 1925. It was only in April of that year that with the help of Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta of the Khadi Pratisthan the All India Khadi Board took Utkal work under its direct control. Before that time Khadi work mainly consisted in importing Khadi from Tamil Nad and Andhra and selling it in Utkal. Now direct production within the province itself was taken in hand and from almost nothing it gradually rose to nearly Rs 4000/- worth per month. The progress made can be realised from the fact that while in 1924-25 Utkal had a production of only Rs 4882, in 1925-26 it had a production of Rs 33156/. About the same time the imports from other provinces were stopped and Utkal Khadi alone was sold by the sale bhandars, run departmentally.

The A. I. S. A. investment in this province is Rs 98, 088-15-7. The total production of Khadi at the A. I. S. A. centres last year was Rs 37490/- There were two centres of weaving-Kodala and Padmanabhpur—and 4 centres of spinning Boirani, Bolgarh, Aul and Tihiri—run by the Branch during the year. The work extended over 64 villages and supported 1188 spinners and 32 weavers. The total amount of benefit derived during the year from spinning and its connected processes by the poorer classes amongst whom work was conducted is represented by the following figures of wages :-



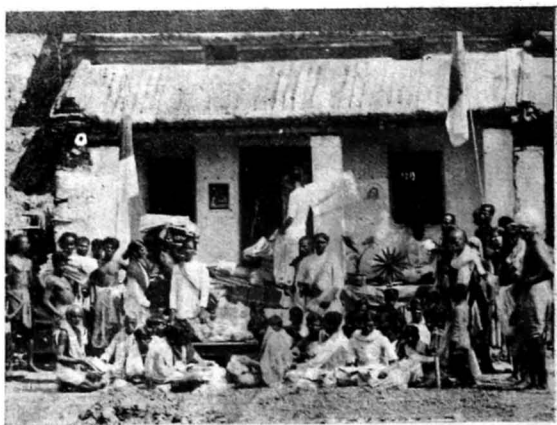
**At the Aul Centre—both old women and young girls prefer to take to the Charkha**



**A group of spinners receiving their weekly wages at the Boirani Centre—Cuttack**



Spinners at Kodala Centre.



Weavers at the Kodala Centre making their weekly deliveries of Khadi.

Spinning Rs 7296/-  
 Weaving „ 11103/-  
 Washing „ 934/-

In the spinning centres the earnings from spinning are a pure addition to the income of the spinning families and spinning has not taken the place of any other occupation. There are a number of families who live by spinning alone and in most cases it is stated that the earnings from spinning would represent an increase of about 50% to other incomes, even at the Boirani centre which is in a comparatively less distressed area than Aul and Tihiri. These latter centres are in the poorest areas of the province. Work there has only recently been taken up. At both these centres altogether there are now about 400 wheels working. Many of them are old wheels which have restarted work. New wheels are also being introduced and spinning and carding taught to would-be spinners.

In almost all these centres carding is done by the spinner herself, and the wages for spinning 2 lbs. of yarn are as under :—

Boirani	Rs 0—8—0	to	Rs 0—9—0	for 8 to 10 counts yarn
Aul	Rs 0—10—0	„	Rs 0—13—0	„ 10 to 13 „ „
Tihiri	Rs 0—11—0	„	Rs 0—14—0	„ 11 to 15 „ „

The weaving wages are at present as under :—

	36"	Rs 0—1—9	per yard
	45"	„ 0—2—6	„
	54"	„ 0—3—6	„
Double thread	36"	„ 0—1—9	„
Drill	28"	„ 0—2—0	„

Utkal produces no cotton. The A. I. S. A. therefore imports cotton from Wardha. This to some extent accounts for the higher prices of Utkal Khadi as compared to goods produced in other provinces.

There are Several varieties of Khadi produced, including dhotees, drills, twills, sarees, chaddars of different patterns, varieties of towels, bed sheets, blankets, rugs, kambals, etc. Continuous efforts are made to improve the texture. A year ago the number of picks and ends used was about 30 to 32 per inch. It is now intended to introduce 38 threads. The prices of some of the chief varieties are as under :—

Dosuti coatings	36"	Rs 0-12-0 per yard
Plain shirtings	36"	" 0-8-6 " "
" "	45"	" 0-10-9 " "
Dhotees 4 yds.	45"	" 2-8-0 each
Sarees 5 yds.	45"	" 3-3-0 "
Towels 1½ yds.	28"	Rs 0-10-6 each
Dosuti blankets 3 yds.	54"	" 3-12-0 "
Printed chaddars 2½ yds.	45"	" 1-13-9 "
Dyed Body Printed Chaddars 2½ yds.	45"	" 2-5-9 "
Plain Body Muffler 1 yd.	36"	" 0-8-6 "
Dyed Body Blanket 3 yds.	54"	" 4-7-6 "

The head office of the Branch is at Berhampore, where also is the Central Stores of the Branch.

The provincial branch has 5 centres of sale—Berhampore, Cuttack, Balasore, Puri, and Bhadrak. The total sales of the A. I. S. A. bhandars for the year 1927-28 amounted to Rs 46784/—

The head office at Berhampore supplies the following implements and accessories for spinning and carding at the prices given below :—

Charkhas 18" diameter	Rs 2-8-0 each
" 24" "	" 3-8-0 "
" 24" " (fitted with 4 feet winder)	" 4-2-0 "

Spindle 9" long	„ 0-2-6 „
Gut	„ 0-0-4 per yard
Mal	„ 0-0-9 each
Spindle holders made of bamboo waste	„ 0-0-3 per pair
Winder 3 feet circumference.	„ 0-1-6 each

Hand carding bows worth Rs 2-2-0 each and a crude type of gin are also made to order at the centres, the latter costing 0-12-0 to 1-0-0.

Besides the A. I. S. A. Branch there are 3 independent Khadi institutions in the province. These are the Charkha Relief Department, with its head quarters at Sakbigopal, the Gandhi Seva Ashram at Champapurhat, and the Cuttack Khadi Association at Jagatsingpur. Of these the Charkha Relief Department is the most considerable. Pandit Gopbandhu Das was the founder of this organisation. It has got 8 centres of work, the most important of which is Sarangjodi. This institution produced Rs 11641-2-9 worth of Khadi during the year 1927-28 and sold Rs 11587 worth. The Cuttack Khadi Association produced Rs 2831-13-6 worth of Khadi and the Gandhi Seva Ashram Rs 1143-9-6 worth during the year.

Mention must also be made of the spinning activities that have been started by Sjt. Jivram K. Kothari in the neighbourhood of Pirhat. As yet, however, only the preliminary work of propaganda has been done and the people are being taught spinning and carding.

Taking the work of all the institutions together there are altogether 21 centres of Khaddar activities in Utkal, confined to the districts of Balasore, Cuttack, Puri and Ganjam. The number of workers in the A. I. S. A. Branch is 53.

**Production Centres.**

Name & Address	Average production per month.
<b>A. I. S. A.</b>	
1. Khadi Mandir Kodala	Rs. 5000
	Yarn centres.
2. Khadi Mandir, Boirani	"
3. " " Bolgarh	"
4. " " Aul	"
5. " " Tihiri	"
<b>INDEPENDENT.</b>	
6. Charkha Relief Department, Sarangjodi	" 1100
7. Cuttack Khadi Association, Jagatsingpur	" 400
8. Gandhi Seva Ashram, Champapurhat	" 100

**Sale Bhandars.**

Name.	Average sale per month
<b>A. I. S. A.</b>	
1. Berhampore	Rs. 3500
2. Cuttack	" 1500
3. Balasore	" 650
4. Bhadrak	" 500



## APPENDIX A.

The Satyagrahashram, Sabarmati, manufactures the following implements, and can supply them at the prices mentioned below:—

Hand-Gin (Latest Pattern)	Rs 8-4-0
Middle size Pinjan (wooden)	" 2-9-0
" " " (bamboo)	" 2-9-0
Big Pinjan	" 6-8-0
Bardoli Pinjan	" 1-2-0
Spinning wheel (Bardoli Pattern)	" 9-0-0
Spinning wheel (bamboo)	" 12-0-0
Travelling Charkha (folding)	" 32-0-0
Pit Hand-loom	" 20-0-0
Fatka Hand-loom	" 40-0-0
Spindle 8" to 9"	" 0-2-6
" " with pulley	" 0-4-0
" 10" to 11"	" 0-3-6
Takli	" 0-2-0
Takli Box	" 0-3-0
Ateran	" 0-2-0
Reel (yarn winder)	" 0-6-0
Modhiya (Spindle bearer)	" 6-6-0
Chamarkha	" 0-0-3
Chakardi (round disc)	" 0-0-6
Gotila (beater) Big	" 1-0-0
" " Middle	" 0-8-0
" " Small	" 0-3-0
Yarn Tester	" 45-0-0
Quadrant	" 47-8-0
Iron rod (for making slivers)	" 0-2-0
Brass rod	" 0-6-0
Patli	" 0-14-0



The following things can be supplied from the local market:—

Guts 3 threads	Rs. 0-6-0
" 4 "	" 0-6-6
" 6 "	" 0-10-0
" 10 "	" 0-15-0
Kakar	" 0-2-0

### APPENDIX B.

#### Behar khadi prices.

Current prices of Behar khadi are as under:—

Plain khadi bleached 30" ordinary	Rs. 0-5-3 to 0-6-0	per yard
" " " 30" fine	" 0-9-0 " 0-10-0	" "
" " " 36" ordinary	" 0-6-0 " 0-8-0	" "
" " " 36" fine	" 0-10-0 " 0-12-0	" "
" " " 44" ordinary	" 0-8-0 " 0-9-0	" "
" " " 44" fine	" 0-11-0 " 0-13-0	" "
Double thread bleached 36" ordinary	" 0-8-6 " 0-10-0	" "
" " " 36" fine	" 0-11-0 " 1-0-0	" "
Coatings of different designs double thread, Drill, twisted 30" to 36"	" 0-11-0 " 0-14-0	" "
Dhotees 10x44" ordinary	" 5-0-0 " 5-4-0	" pair
" 10x44" superior	" 5-8-0 " 6-8-0	" "
" 10x44" fine bordered	" 6-0-0 " 8-8-0	" "
" 8x44" Do.	" 3-14-0 " 7-0-0	" "
Sarees 12x44" according to quality	" 6-8-0 " 9-0-0	" "
" 10x44" Do.	" 5-4-0 " 8-8-0	" "
Dosuti towels 2x30"	" 1-0-0	" "
Honey comb towels 2½x24"	" 1-0-0	" "
Bleached bordered chadars 3x60"	" 2-4-0 " 3-4-0	" "
Kokti Plain 36" according to quality	" 0-12-0 " 2-8-0	per yard
" Coating 36" " "	" 1-12-0 " 2-0-0	" "
" Sarees Fine 10x44	" 15-0-0 " 25-0-0	per pair
Kokti Chadars 3x44" according to quality	" 2-4-0 " 6-0-0	each
" turbans 7x22"	" 10-0-0 " 12-0-0	" "

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# All India Spinners' Association.

## ANNUAL REPORT.

1927—1928.

### Late Sjt. Maganlal Gandhi.

Before reviewing the work done during the year, it is necessary to record the great loss sustained by the Association and Khadi work generally by the death of Sjt. Maganlal Gandhi in April last year. His devotion and mastery of all the details of Khadi work had been at the service of the cause ever since the movement was started. In grateful recognition of his services the Council has resolved to raise a Khadi museum in his name. For this purpose Rs. 22,077-8-11 have been received from donors till now.

### Propaganda Tours.

During the year propaganda and collection tours were undertaken by Gandhiji and other members of the Council in some of the provinces. Gandhiji's Ceylon tour early in the year and the collection of Rs. 1,05,247-2-0 in that island have been mentioned in the last report. After Ceylon Gandhiji toured in the Ganjam district and in some of the districts of Utkal for about a month just before the Madras Congress. The collections during this tour amounted to Rs. 21,644-13-5½. In April Seth Jamnalal Bajaj, Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, Sjt. Manilal Kothari, Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta, Dr. P. C. Ghosh and the Secretary undertook a collection and propaganda tour in some parts of Bengal. The actual collections made during this tour amounted to Rs. 66,501-4-0.

Dr. P. C. Ray, Sjt. Shyamsundar Charkravarty and Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta visited Utkal in September and October, 1928, and carried the khadi message to several places in the province.

Such occasional tours are helpful but they are not enough. It is necessary that the provincial organisations should carry on more continuous propaganda in order to keep the subject constantly before the public and create the necessary atmosphere for further development of the work. Some of the organisations are doing this but it has to be done more systematically in all provinces, if more funds and more workers, so necessary for any further progress in the work, have to be drawn into the movement.

#### **Financial position.**

The present financial position of the Association can be gathered from a perusal of the accounts given in Appendix A. The chief receipts during the year were the Deshabandhu Memorial Fund collections made during Gandhiji's tours in Ceylon, Tamil Nad and Utkal and the collections made in Bengal in April. Altogether this year the amount transferred from the D. M. F. account is Rs. 3,44,612-3-7. The total capital in the hands of the Association at the end of the year under report was Rs. 22,01,976-2-8½. Out of this Rs. 220966-0-6 is represented by book debts transferred by the All India Khadi Board and the Provincial Khadi Boards under the Congress resolution, which are still in the course of realisation. A large part of it will probably have to be written off. The net effective capital available therefore was Rs. 19,81,010-2-2½.

The main disbursements during the year were as follows:—

## Departmental Investments.

Rajasthan	Rs	4,246—2—1
U. P.	"	6,914—13—0
Utkal	"	10,931—11—10
Tamil Nad	"	2,54,531—15—7
Total Rs.		<u>2,76,624—10—6</u>

## Loans.

Khadi Pratisthan	Rs	25,000—0—0
Gandhi Seva Sangh, Tamil Nad Branch	Rs	31,657—7—7
Bombay Bhandar	Rs	5,000—0—0
Sjt. Chhaganlal K. Gandhi, (for Wool Spinning at Almorah)	Rs	500—0—0
Total Rs		<u>62,157—7—7</u>

The investments out of the A. I. S. A. funds in the different provinces were at the end of the year as under:—

Andhra	Rs	1,71,412—2—5
Assam	Rs	7,604—11—0
Behar	Rs	3,42,751—3—5
Bengal	Rs	2,98,050—0—0
Bombay	Rs	1,25,000—0—1
Burma	Rs	23,700—5—7
Delhi	Rs	49,658—8—9
Karnatak	Rs	1,05,821—12—2½
Maharashtra	Rs	1,23,459—7—6
Punjab	Rs	77,428—12—6½
Rajasthan	Rs	58,040—10—10
Tamil Nad & Kerala	Rs	6,34,333—2—1
U. P.	Rs	56,286—3—3
Utkal	Rs	98,088—15—7
Total Rs		<u>21,71,635—15—3</u>

Out of the above total Rs. 6,04,214—0—7 is lent out to independent certified Khadi organisations. It should be mentioned that the amounts shown against Andhra, Karnatak, Behar, and Utkal include large book debts transferred by the old Khadi Boards, which are not at present in effective investment.

### Production.

The production figures of the different provinces for the year are given below with the corresponding figures for 1926—27.

	1927-28 Rs.	1926-27 Rs.
Andhra	2,94,083	3,83,037
Behar	2,12,441	1,84,347
Bengal	3,28,609	2,44,597
Delhi	16,758	14,641
Gujarat	37,649	52,250
Karnatak	73,970	55,844
Kashmir	22,219	
Maharashtra	37,036	18,794
Punjab	84,692	75,671
Rajasthan	1,41,710	1,31,480
Tamil Nad & Kerala	9,97,466	10,94,633
U. P. & Gandhi Ashram	1,16,365	99,755
Utkal	53,384	51,321
Total	24,16,382	24,06,370

It will be noticed that while there is an increase in the production in many of the provinces there is a fall in Andhra and Tamil Nad. In both these cases the fall was in respect of certified private organisations,

and was due to unexpected causes. The fine centres of Andhra did not operate throughout the year. Practically for seven months in the year under report the work at these centres had to be stopped. Some cases of mixture of mill yarn in the private production of the fine Khadi were brought to our notice about January 1927, and as a result of the enquiry that was held immediately it was thought advisable to withdraw the certificates granted to the private organisations operating in this area, pending adequate arrangements for absolutely ensuring genuineness. The Association has started the work recently under its own direct management but for the larger part of last year the fine Khadi production was very little. In Tamil Nad the fall in private production was due to the high prices of cotton which prevailed during the first half of the year. The high cotton prices left but a narrow margin of profit and there was therefore no inducement either for new organisations to start or the old ones to expand. In fact a few of the manufacturers closed down for this reason and many of the remaining were unable to maintain production at the previous year's level. The result was a fall in private production in the province of over a lakh of rupées worth. The total production for the year has consequently remained, inspite of the increase in the other provinces, practically at the same level as in the previous year.

Efforts were made this year to get the yardage and weight figures of the Khadi produced along with the money value. Only Rajasthan, Punjab and Maharashtra have given fairly full figures. Tamil Nad has given the figures only for the second half of the year. Calculating

from the figures received the total yardage will be over 6 millions sq. yards.

### Sales.

The sale figures for the different provinces are as under :—

	1927-28	1926-27
	Rs.	Rs.
Andhra	3,71,698	4,03,737
Behar	2,43,359	2,67,302
Bengal	4,10,632	4,40,127
Bombay	3,06,258	2,85,858
Burma	25,451	25,438
Delhi	19,809	19,811
Gujarat	95,835	89,410
Karnatak	1,12,193	78,115
Maharashtra	1,95,590	1,66,774
Punjab	1,07,538	1,06,824
Rajasthan	1,41,473	1,28,287
Tamil Nad & Kerala	10,23,521	10,73,021
U. P. & Gandhi Ashram	1,97,026	1,62,504
Utkal	58,251	41,586
<b>Total</b>	<b>33,08,634</b>	<b>32,88,794</b>

It must be noted in regard to the sale figures that we have not been able to get rid entirely of the duplication due to inter-sales between organisations in different provinces. Necessary instructions have been given to eliminate this small element of duplication also in the coming year's report.

### Number of villages covered.

There are now 310 centres of Khadi work, of which 138 are production centres and 172 sale depots. Of this total number, 156 are directly run by the A. I. S. A. The activities of the production depots cover nearly 3000 villages. The figures of villages covered have not been fully received. The Bengal figures are incomplete. The figures received at the central office are as under :—

<i>Province</i>	<i>Number of villages covered</i>
Andhra	362
Behar	457
Bengal	48
Delhi	63
Gujarat	129
Karnatak	180
Maharashtra	53
Punjab	82
Rajasthan	171
Tamil Nad & Kerala	925
U. P.	121
Utkal	64
<b>Total</b>	<b>2655</b>

### Carders, Spinners and Weavers.

Number of carders, spinners and weavers supported by the Khadi production activities in the country has also been received, but not complete in respect of Behar and Bengal. The figures of spinners and weavers received are as given below :—



<i>Province</i>	<i>Spinners</i>	<i>Weavers</i>
Andhra	13,157	1,111
Behar	7,428	272
Bengal	2,350	104
Delhi	977	68
Gujarat	1,457	193
Karnatak	2,992	232
Maharashtra	829	90
Punjab	42,712	487
Rajasthan	5,176	613
Tamil Nad & Kerala	18,225	1,474
U. P.	1,209	268
Utkal	1,188	32
<b>Total</b>	<b>97,700</b>	<b>4,944</b>

As regards carders it is only in certain areas that carders exist apart from spinners. In most regions the spinner cards her cotton herself. The number of carders benefitted is as under :—

<i>Province</i>	<i>Carders</i>
Andhra	260
Gujarat	23
Maharashtra	88
Rajasthan	200
U. P.	132
<b>Total</b>	<b>703</b>

As stated in the previous year's report, in areas like the Punjab, Rajasthan, Andhra, U. P. etc. where hand-spun yarn or Khadi is being brought to the market for sale, and the Khadi organisations purchase the yarn

or Khadi, a census of all the working wheels in the area has been taken. In such cases the spinners are not exclusively attached to our khadi organisations, only a part of their yarn output coming to our recognised centres of Khadi production.

It is not possible to give the exact amount distributed as wages to spinners and weavers as a result of the khadi production during the year, since in many areas yarn is not got spun for wage but purchased directly from spinners or through middlemen at markets, and sometimes Khadi even is so purchased directly from weavers. Precise figures, however, are available in the case of centres where cotton and yarn are issued out to spinners and weavers respectively and wages paid for work. Calculating on the basis of these figures it will be found that out of the 24 lakhs and odd worth of khadi produced nearly 6 lakhs would have been distributed to spinners and 8 lakhs to weavers.

### **Workers.**

Literate men engaged in the work of organising the industry now number nearly one thousand. Precise figures are not available regarding the number of workers in independent organisations. But in the service of the A. I. S. A. alone in the Central Office and in the several branches there are 511 workers. In addition there are 247 workers in the independent public organisations like the Pratisthan and others. Including private organisations the total number engaged in Khadi work must be nearly one thousand. The number of workers in the different organisations is as under :—

<b>A. I. S. A.</b>		<b>Aided organisations.</b>	
Central Office	9	Khadi Pratisthan	95
Technical Department	8	Abhay Ashram	63
Andhra	46	Prabartak Sangh	15
Behar	77	Khalispur Ashram	12
Bombay Bhandars	20	Vidyashram	17
Burma	3	Arambagh Khadi Karya	5
Karnatak	26	Gandhi Ashram,	
Maharashtra	41	Tiruchengodu	10
Punjab	26	Gandhi Ashram, Meerut	30
Rajasthan	28		<hr/>
Tamil Nad	144		247
U. P.	30		<hr/>
Utkal	53		
	<hr/>		
Total	511		
	<hr/>		

### **Improvement in Quality.**

Mention was made in some detail in the two previous reports of the improvements that have taken place since the earlier years in the variety and quality of Khadi goods that are being placed in the market. It is unnecessary to go over the same ground in this report also. It is enough to mention that continuous efforts at improvement are being made in all the directions referred to in the previous reports.

### **Yarn.**

One of the directions in which improvement has taken place to which reference was made in the last report was in respect of the lifting up of the average quality of yarn both as regards count and as regards strength and uniformity. It is necessary to remember that in both these respects progress in the very nature

of things can be but slow. The noticeable improvement in the Punjab and Rajasthan in the count of yarn produced has already been mentioned in the last report. But while it is the duty of Khadi organisations to be continuously striving to better the quality of yarn, it is necessary for the consumers to recognise that the count of yarn cannot be raised at a bound and that while there may be a slight lifting up from year to year, the bulk of the khadi produced for some years to come at any rate must remain of the thicker quality, i. e. of 12 to 18 counts yarn. At the same time the Association and affiliated organisations are making efforts to tap all available sources of fine and medium yarn and put into the market larger quantities of high count cloth. Andhra, Tamil Nad and Karnatak particularly are producing fairly large quantities of higher count cloth and the value of medium and fine Khadi production in these three provinces during 1927-28 amounted to over 2½ lakhs of rupees.

### **Texture.**

The second direction in which improvement continues to be effected is in respect of texture. In the last year's report it was stated that as compared with the first years there was an increase of 25 to 30% in the number of threads used per inch. During 1927-28 many of the organisations have still further tried to improve the texture. Rajasthan, Andhra and Tamil Nad branches may be specially mentioned in this connection. The Rajasthan Branch in 1926-27 was using only 1200 threads in warp in its Gadha of 30" width. In 1927-28 even the lowest quality of Gadha manufactured by the Rajasthan Branch contains 1300 threads while the highest contains as many as 1600. Andhra has sought to im-

prove the texture all round. The number of picks and ends used in medium Khadi i.e. of about 20 to 25 counts yarn has been increased from 40 to 44. In the ordinary Khadi of 12 to 16 counts it has been increased from 32 to 36, and in rough Khadi of under 12 counts from 28 to 32. The Tirupur organisations in Tamil Nad were generally using only 40 threads per inch of warp and weft in 1926-27; while now the Branch is attempting to introduce 44 threads. Other provinces are also working in this direction and generally closer attention is now being given to texture by all Khadi organisations.

#### **Dyed and Printed Goods.**

Apart from better yarn and better weaving, efforts are made in other directions as well to meet the needs and satisfy the tastes of the consuming public. With the development of production on a large scale the Khadi organisations everywhere have realised the necessity of studying the needs of the market and satisfying the tastes of the consumers. Increasing attention is being paid to the finishing processes and every year the organisations are putting in the market not merely a larger number of varieties but more attractive varieties as well. All the usual varieties in white are of course now available. The need for printed and dyed goods has been realised and every important Khadi organisation is having its own printing and dyeing department large or small. The Tamil Nad Branch is having its dyeing department at Tirupur. Besides, the Branch has also made arrangements to get goods dyed at Madura. The excellence of Madura dyes is well-known. At present the Branch is getting goods dyed in Madura in 29 different shades of fast colours. The Khadi Pratisthan's dye-house at Sodepur has been maintaining its mark in

efficiency. The Chrome Khaki dyeing as done by this dye-house has been receiving deserved recognition. It is stated that the Calcutta Corporation has accepted this particular Khaki for its requirements. Of printed goods large quantities are now being made available. The Masulipatam prints are well-known. The Lahore bhandar run by the Punjab Branch of the A. I. S. A. has made its special printing arrangements and its palm-print and peacock-print curtains and table-cloths are in demand in many parts of the country. The spray-printing introduced by the Khadi Pratisthan is also noteworthy. This process is said to give peculiar delicacy of tint and touch. Prints are made fast by a special process. This is a new line that the Pratisthan has adopted for making Khadi more attractive.

In this connection it is necessary to mention the Rashtriya Stree Sabha of Bombay. This Sabha is importing fine and medium Khadi and gets lace and embroidery work done and thus putting into the market a small quantity of fine and fancy fabrics. Smt. Mithuben Petit is also doing somewhat similar work, besides getting Khadi printed in many attractive designs. The A. I. S. A. bhandar at Bombay is also getting embroidery work done and by its study of the needs of the market is able to give helpful suggestions as to the quality and variety of goods in demand.

All these efforts are mentioned to show that the Khadi organisations are alive to the need for continuous improvements in quality so as to be able to meet all the needs of the market. But it is obvious that very much remains to be done if Khadi is to face and survive the competition of machine-made cloth, indigenous and foreign.

### Prices.

We have traced in the two previous reports the reduction that has taken place in Khadi prices since 1922. During the year under report owing to the rise in cotton prices no further reduction could be effected in prices on any large scale. It was all that the Khadi organisations could do to keep the prices at the same level as in the previous year. It has been mentioned already that some private organisations in Tirupur found themselves compelled to close their activities owing to the rise in cotton prices. It was therefore a hard task for Khadi organisations to keep their prices unchanged. Even so wherever it has been possible owing to internal economies, some reduction has been made. For instance, the Andhra Branch has reduced the prices of its Guntur goods by 12%.

But administrative economies cannot carry the reduction very far. If any further reduction to an appreciable extent is to become possible, one necessary thing is an improvement in the quality of yarn. Any appreciable improvement in the quality of yarn is bound to have a considerable effect on the cost of production. A large part of the reduction that has taken place since the beginning of the movement is due to the fact that with the improvement in the quality of yarn and more experience in the handling of hand-spun yarn, the weaving wages could be reduced without any hardship to the weavers. But the weaving wages even as they are at present in the best organised Khadi centres are nearly double what they are for weaving mill yarn. If hand-spun yarn improves so as to make the reduction of the weaving charges to the mill yarn level possible, it will bring down the cost of production of Khadi by about 15%.

There are other factors as well to be considered in this connection. The spinners in many places have to be taught to stock their own cotton. In a large number of areas to-day the Khadi organisations have to stock the cotton centrally for issuing out to spinners. Secondly in many areas the spinner does not herself card the cotton. This has an adverse effect both on the quality of yarn spun as well as the manufacturing charges of Khadi. If these two changes can be made in the methods of production a large reduction in prices will be possible.

### **Spinning for Self.**

The efforts made at Bijolia in Rajasthan and elsewhere to promote the idea of spinning for one's own requirements and individual and regional self-sufficiency as regards cloth are pregnant with great possibilities. The intensive work that was being carried on at Bijolia has been referred to in previous reports. This work has progressed still further during 1927-28 and it is expected that the task undertaken by the Karyalaya there under Sjt. Jethalal Govindji will be completed in 1928-29 and there will be no need for further propaganda. The cultivators in the area have understood the advantages of hand-spinning. Many families have taken to weaving. Propaganda has been carried on for home-dyeing also and a number of families have begun to print and dye their own clothes. About 1000 wheels are working in this area. During the year 1927-28 it is estimated that 5500 people got their clothing requirements produced out of yarn spun in their own homes. The total quantity of cloth woven is estimated at 66000 sq. yards. In addition to this there are a few families in this area who get yarn spun for their use by others. Out of such yarn about 20,000 sq. yards of cloth have been pro-



duced. This is a creditable record made possible only by the persistence and living faith of Sjt. Jethalal Govindji and his co-workers. The result is all the more remarkable because at the time when the work was started there was hardly any spinning going on in the centre.

The success of the experiment at Bijolia has encouraged the Rajasthan Branch to start a similar centre at Reengus in Jaipur State. Work has only recently been started. Propaganda has been carried on among the cultivating classes in 25 villages round Reengus. The cultivating classes knew already spinning. Efforts are made to teach carding also to them and now about 500 persons have learnt carding also. Already a few families have started to get all their cloth requirements made out of their own yarn. It is expected that in the course of the year good results may be achieved.

Similar work in Gujarat among the Raniparaj people in the Bardoli, Mahua and Vyara taluks is progressing apace. Although the operations were to some extent interrupted by the floods in 1927 and the Satyagrah against revenue settlement in 1928, both of which drew away some of the workers from the Khadi work, there has been no serious dislocation. The several Asbrams that were doing the work have recently been amalgamated into a federation called the Bardoli Swaraj Ashram Sangh with Sjt. Vallabhbhai J. Patel as President. Sjt. Lakshmidas Purushottam is the chief director of all the Khadi activities. During the year 711 families got their cloth woven out of their own yarn. The total quantity of yarn produced was 5240 lbs. and the cloth woven was 14178 sq. yards.

In some other provinces also, although there has been no organised effort in this direction, the continuous khadi work carried on has fostered the idea of spinning for self. In Guravareddipalayam in Guntur district it is stated that the vast majority of the population habitually wear khadi made out of yarn spun in their own homes. In some of the villages in the Tirupur area in Tamil Nad spinning for self has become a primary domestic duty in some of the more well-to-do families of agriculturists. A purely spontaneous effort in this direction at Kasipalayam, a village in the Madura district, has met with a considerable measure of success and been referred to in a recent Government report.

In this connection may also be mentioned the arrangements made by the Punjab Branch of the A. I. S. A. at Khanewal and Montgomery for giving to spinners khadi in exchange for yarn. The total quantity of khadi thus exchanged during the year amounted to 20572 sp. yards.

### Members.

The membership figures for the different provinces are as under:—

<i>Province</i>	<i>A class</i>	<i>B class</i>	<i>Juveniles</i>
Andhra	205	43	13
Assam	6	—	—
Behar	186	72	18
Bengal	171	43	6
Bombay	59	8	2
Burma	9	2	—
C. P. Hindi	14	2	—
Delhi	16	—	—
Gujarat	311	21	90

Karnatak	74	18	4
Kerala	19	2	4
Maharashtra	177	33	62
Punjab	40	8	—
Rajasthan	24	1	2
Sind	17	3	—
Tamil Nad	89	5	2
U. P.	70	10	1
Utkal.	40	8	1
Total	<u>1527</u>	<u>279</u>	<u>205</u>

### Technical Department.

This Department in its present state of efficiency is mainly the creation of the late Sjt. Maganlal Gandhi. After his death Sjt. Narandas Gandhi was appointed Director of the Department.

The main lines of activity of this Department have been mentioned in the previous reports and are as under:-

(1) Conducting the Technical School for the training of khadi workers:—

This is the most important branch of the Department's work. The adoption by the Council of the A. I. S. A. of a scheme for a regular khadi Service of trained workers has been referred to in the previous report. The period of training extends over three years including a three months' probation in the beginning and a nine months' apprenticeship at the end. The syllabus of studies framed includes a detailed knowledge of all the processes of khadi manufacture from cotton upto finished cloth. Hindi and simple accounts-keeping also form part of the prescribed course.

Under this scheme 27 students were receiving training at the school during the year under report. Of

these 13 were from Maharashtra, 6 from Gujarat, 5 from Behar, 2 from Tamil Nad and 1 from Kerala. Most of these have practically finished their course and will be shortly going to their respective provinces for practical training at a centre of work.

Besides these 11 have been taken for training and are undergoing their preliminary probation of 3 months.

Besides the regular khadi Service students there were 48 others who took advantage of the school. 9 of these were from the Sabarmati Ashram. The rest came from different parts of the country and included some inspectors and students who were sent by the Education Department of the Hyderabad State for receiving the necessary training for khadi work.

The services of four of the students and of some of the teachers have been lent to the Gujarat Vidyapith at Ahmedabad. Two of the students were sent to Bardoli to help the constructive work there at the time of the the recent Satyagrah against Revenue Settlement.

(ii) Exhibitions:—The Department took part in a number of exhibitions during the year under report. The most important of the exhibitions during the year was the All India Khadi Exhibition organised by the A. I. S. A. at Madras at the time of the Congress in December 1927. The Department sent a fully equipped party to this exhibition to demonstrate all the processes involved in the production of khadi.

Demonstration parties were also sent to the Agricultural Exhibitions, held at Vijapur in Baroda State, in Gwalior, Rajkot, Jamnagar and Rajpipla. The charts and graphs prepared by the Department and put up

at these exhibitions proved very instructive and attracted much attention.

Exhibits of implements, tools, etc. were sent to the Exhibitions at Kapadvanj, Ajmer, Cochin and Roha in Colaba District.

(iii) Experiments in implements:—The Sabarmati Ashram's carpentry workshop is placed at the disposal of the Department for carrying on experiments with a view to improve the implements. The improved hand-gins made by the Department have been found to be very useful and at the same time simple.

The Department keeps in stock the various implements required in khadi manufacture.

(iv) Receiving of Franchise Yarn:—The Department was receiving the yarn quotas from A. I. S. A. members as also the Congress membership yarn. The yarn that is being received from regular members of the A. I. S. A. is showing progressive improvement in respect of strength and uniformity. Altogether the total quantity of yarn received as subscription during the year was 1372 lbs. 34½ tolas. The receiving of franchise yarn has been recently transferred to the Head Office at Ahmedabad.

(v) Testing of cloth and yarn samples:—111 samples of cloth were received during the year for testing. All these were tested, the results noted and books of samples made out of them.

Besides the yarn received as subscription from members, there were 250 yarn quotas received for testing from spinning competitions held at the Gujarat Vidyapith and elsewhere.

(vi) Examination of Doubtful Khadi :—26 samples of cloth were received for being examined as to genuineness. 21 of them were found genuine and in the remaining five mill yarn was found to have been used.

#### **General Administration.**

A few words may be added here about the general administration of the A. I. S. A. While there is undoubted need for expansion both of production and sale, the Council of the Association feels that all defects in efficiency in machinery should be removed and that the work should be put on sound business basis. This is necessary as a foundation for the further development of the work on proper lines.

The Council has adopted the general policy of running only such centres where the outturn is likely to make the centre pay its own expenses. The provincial branches are asked to frame their budgets on this basis. It has been, however, not possible to avoid losses. Pioneer efforts at new centres often in the beginning involve losses which have necessarily to be incurred. Secondly some centres have to be maintained, even though they be losing, in the interest of the movement from the point of view of general propaganda. Lastly in some cases it is found difficult to make accurate estimates of production and sale, and the working results in consequence have varied and sometimes widely from the budget estimates. Monthly returns of work and accounts are received at the central office from every centre, and every effort is being made to bring about conformity between the estimates and actual working.

For purposes of internal check, audit and inspection the central office has appointed an auditing inspector

to go round the provinces and report. The inspector this year visited Karnatak, Punjab, U. P. and Behar and his report drew attention to many important points, both in the general administration as well as the details of the work in these provinces.

The Council at its meeting on 25th, 26th and 27th July 1928, by a resolution requested Sjt. Jerajani of the Bombay Bhandar to inspect the sale bhandars in all the provinces and make constructive suggestions for improvement wherever necessary. In pursuance of this resolution Sjt. Jerajani visited U. P. and Behar and made many important suggestions for the better organisation of sales in these provinces. Sjt. Mathradas Purushottam at the request of the Head Office went to Karnatak about July, 1928, and greatly helped in reorganising the work of the Karnatak Branch.

One important point of general administration which the Council has adopted requires to be mentioned. From the past working of the Khadi organisations it has been found that credit sales have led to considerable losses which could have been avoided. Moreover credit sales lock up an appreciable part of the very limited funds that are at the disposal of khadi and reduce to that extent the effective investment. In view of these considerations the Council has by a resolution strictly enjoined upon all bhandars of the A. I. S. A. not to have any credit sales, whether by way of retail or wholesale transactions. Even in the case of registered hawkers, it has been required that deposit of cash should be taken to cover the price of goods advanced to them. Some of the provinces felt that this rule might operate against extension of sales, but wherever it has been strictly followed the results have been wholly good and sales

have in no case suffered permanently. Tamil Nad had stopped credit sales at its bhandars even before the rule was adopted. Rajasthan has now put this rule into effect. Other provinces also are trying to follow suit. It is hoped that the public would realise the need for such a rule in the case of an organisation like the A. I. S. A. which has to function over so large a field with very limited finances and would help khadi depots everywhere strictly to conform to the instructions of the Council of the A. I. S. A.

### **Indian States.**

Before concluding the report it is necessary to refer to two other matters. In the previous report reference has been made to the increased interest that is being evinced by the Indian States in the development of handspinning in their territories. The most noteworthy instance of such interest is the systematic effort made by the Mysore Government. In the last report the opening of a centre of work at Badanval by the Mysore Government has been mentioned. This centre has even in the first year given results far better than what was anticipated. The Government in view of the pioneer effort had made provision for some loss in the first year. But there was no need to draw upon this provision. Within eight months of the start the number of working char-khas rose to 1000, and the yarn produced showed progressive improvement. By June, 1928, 62 looms had been engaged and 9200 yards of Khadi had been manufactured. The centre is now producing about Rs. 2000/- worth of Khadi per month and the goods have met with the approval of the State Stores Purchase Committee. About half the production of the centre is now being absorbed by the Government Departments.



The Industries Department was fully satisfied with the results at Badanval, and the State Sub-Committee constituted to consider the question of hand spinning resolved, after consideration of the Director's report, that the work at Badanval should be continued and that similar work should be started at least in one centre in each of the districts. The Government of Mysore, it is understood, proposes to start early another centre on the lines of Badanval. The Director of Industries in Mysore is also trying to introduce improved Charkhas and a better variety of cotton to make fine spinning possible. Altogether the Mysore Department of Industries under its Director, Mr. C. Ranganatha Rao Sahib is devoting a great deal of systematic attention to the revival and development of handspinning.

No such systematic effort has yet been started by any other State; but there is evidence to show that others are also beginning to recognise the importance of handspinning. The Baroda and the Nizam's Governments are considering the question. Gwalior has introduced Takli-Spinning in all its schools in Ujjain and Shajapur districts.

### **Local Bodies.**

In the previous report the interest that was being shown by the Municipal and Local Boards in the movement has been mentioned. During the year under report Belgaum, Poona and Wardha Municipalities have abolished the octroi on Khadi. Wardha has also introduced spinning in its schools. So also Jalgaon, Dhulia, Poona and Ahmednagar Municipalities. The North Arcot District Board has allowed the Tamil Nad Branch motor van for hawking Khadi to operate toll-free in the district.

**Conclusion.**

The new year opens with good promise for Khadi work. The Congress programme for the boycott of foreign cloth has given a great impetus to the demand for Khadi. The resources of the existing khadi organisations will be strained to the utmost in producing all the Khadi that will be needed to meet the demand. But whatever development the coming year may bring by way of increased production and sale, it is obvious that the task of re-establishing the spinning industry in the millions of village homes scattered over so large an area as our country is too big a task to be essayed with success by any single non-official organisation. Other agencies must come into the field if the task is to be adequately fulfilled. The British Government may be indifferent about the matter but the Indian States can do a great deal. If they can be persuaded to follow the example of Mysore and make systematic effort to introduce the Charkha in the homes of the poor within their territories, results of great magnitude may be expected. But whatever Governments may or may not do, great expansion in the work is possible, if more capital is placed at the disposal of the cause and if the Association's work is supplemented by well-directed and patriotic private effort and enterprise. There is indeed limitless scope for expansion. There are millions of idle hands in our villages still waiting to be employed. It is to be hoped that the call of the hungry and semi-starved will receive prompt and adequate response from the educated and well-to-do classes in the country.

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**Appendix**  
**All India Spinners'**  
**Income and Expenditure Account for year**

**Income.**

To Interest	3294-4-3	
To Associate Fees ...	1084-0-0	
To Franchise Yarn Income.	2425-8-6	
To Khadi Vidyalaya Income	928-15-3	
		7732-12-0
To Balance C/o. (Excess of expenditure over income transferred to General Funds).		200766-2-8½
Total Rs. ...		208498-14-8½

**Balance Sheet**

**Liabilities.**

<b>General Funds:</b>		
Last year's Balance ...	1781386-3-11½	
Plus new assets taken over	14881-3-7	
		1796267-7-6½
Less adjust- ments and amounts writ- ten off ...	5785-12-5	
plus transfer to reserve for bad debts...	10000-0-0 15785-12-5	
		1780481-11-1½

**A.****Association.**

ending 30th September, 1928.

**Expenditure.**

By Central Office Expenses.	10324-15-9
By other Expenses:	
Provincial Agency	
Charges ...	67191-15-5½
Provincial Profit & Loss...	52394-4-1
Provincial Hawking	
Commission ...	14306-15-6
Technical Department	
Expenses...	11770-1-9
Miscellaneous Grants ...	15579-0-0
Propaganda Expenses ...	12577-0-2½
Exhibition Grants ...	3977-10-3
Bad Debts ...	19471-2-5
Law Charges ...	905-13-3
	<u>198173-14-11½</u>
<b>Total Rs.</b>	<u>208498-14-8½</u>

as on 30th September, 1928.

**Assets.**

Branch Investments*	1567421-14-8
Loans to Independent Organisations.†	604214-0-7
Miscellaneous Loans and advances.	23747-0-6
Branch Current Accounts:	
Debit Balances.	16152-2-4½
Less Credit Balances.	351-2-5½
	<u>15800-15-10</u>
Legal Expenses Ad- vance with Branches	2094-2-9
Furniture & Dead Stock	3370-0-0

Plus donations ...	5421-5-5	
. Das Memorial Fund collections ...	344612-3-7	
	<u>2130515-4-1½</u>	
Less excess of expenditure over income ...	200766-2-8½	
	<u>1929749-1-5½</u>	
Reserve for Bad Debts:		
Last year's Balance ...	95471-14-0	
Plus new reserve created out of General Funds...	10000-0-0	
	<u>105471-14-0</u>	
Less Bad Debts written off	14740-14-4½	
Miscellaneous Funds:		
Maganlal Gandhi Smarak Fund...	19221-0-11	
South India Earmarked Fund...	113832-12-9	
Gandhi Seva Sangh Loan,	34052-14-0	
Rajasthan Earmarked Fund,	13533-10-6	
Chanda Earmarked Fund,	855-11-6	
	<u>181496-1-8</u>	
Andhra Deficit Suspense.	6139-8-11	
Expenses adjustment ...	115842-11-4½	
Miscellaneous Suspense.	7163-12-11	
	<u>2331122-3-11</u>	
Total Rs. ...	2331122-3-11	

I have examined the above Balance Sheet with the books and voucher of the A. I. S. A. and I hereby report that I have obtained all the informations and explanations I required and that the above Balance Sheet exhibits a true and correct view of the state of the A. I. S. A's affairs as on 30th September, 1928, according to the best of my information and explanations given to me and as shown by the books of the A. I. S. A.

12th April 1929. }

Ramanlal G. Shah,  
Honorary Auditor.

**Cash & Bank Balances:**

<b>Central Bank of India Ltd. Bombay F/D</b>	<b>35918-0-0</b>	
<b>Central Bank of India Ltd. Bombay C/A</b>	<b>36682-12-2</b>	
<b>Bachhraj Jammalal, Bombay. C/A ...</b>	<b>35932-14-3</b>	
<b>Punjab National Bank Ltd. Bombay C/A...</b>	<b>2022-9-2</b>	
<b>Bank of India Ltd. Ahmedabad. C/A ...</b>	<b>3870-2-3</b>	
<b>Postage Imprest. ...</b>	<b>10-0-0</b>	
<b>Cash on hand ...</b>	<b>37-11-9</b>	
	<hr/>	<b>114474-1-7</b>
		<hr/>
<b>Total Rs.</b>	<b>2331122-3-11</b>	

**Seth Jammalal Bajaj.**  
Treasurer.

**S. G. Banker.**  
Secretary.

## \* Branch Investments:

Rajasthan Branch	58040-10-10
Andhra Branch	161412-2-5
Behar Branch	321878-7-6
Burma Branch	23700-5-7
Karnatak Branch	105821-12-2½
Maharashtra Branch	121984-3-3
Punjab Branch	77428-12-6½
Tamil Nad Branch	522675-10-6
U. P. Branch	49786-3-3
Utkal Branch	98088-15-7
Assam Branch	1604-11-0
Tamil Nad Branch (Pledge Loan Adv.)	25000-0-0
Total	<u>1567421-14-8</u>

## † Loans to Independent Organisations:

N. C. Bardoloi, Gauhati.	6000-0-0
Rambinod Sinha, Gandhi Kutir...	20872-11-11
Khadi Pratisthan, Sodepur. ...	211000-0-0
Abhoy Ashram, Comilla.	54550-0-0
Prabartak Samgh, Chandernagore.	18000-0-0
Vidpashram, Sylhet ... ..	14000-0-0
Bhupendra Narayan Sen, Bhimpur Kendra, Lalgarh. ...	500-0-0
Chiranjilal Pyarelal, Hapur. ...	2000-0-0
Swarajya Sena Dal, Delhi. ...	3000-0-0
Popatlal Shah, Poona. ... ..	1475-4-3
Gandhi Seva Sangh, Tamil Nad Branch, Tiruchengodu. ...	71657-7-7
Jateeya Vidyalyaya, Ongole. ...	10000-0-0
Kongu Khaddar Co., Tirupur ...	15000-0-0

Congress Khadi Bhandar, Cawnpore.	6000—0—0
Chhaganlal K. Gandhi ... ..	500—0—0
Gandhi Ashram, Meerut. ... ..	44658—8—9
V. V. Jerajani, Khadi Bhandar, Bombay. ... ..	125000—0—1
Total	604214—0—7

## Appendix B.

### Constitution of the All India Spinners' Association.

( Passed at Patna on the 23rd-24th September, 1925 and amended at Wardha from the 18th to 20th Dec., 1928 and at Sabarmati from 4th to 5th April 1929).

1. Whereas the time has arrived for the establishment of an expert organisation for the development of hand-spinning and khaddar and whereas experience has shown that such development is not possible without a permanent organisation, unaffected and uncontrolled by politics, political changes or political bodies, an organisation called the All India Spinners' Association is hereby established with the consent of the All India Congress Committee as an integral part of the Congress organisation, but with independent existence and powers.

2. (a) The said Association shall consist of members and associates and donors hereinafter defined and shall have a Board of Trustees who shall also be the Governing Body of the Association.

(b) The said Board of Trustees and Executive Council shall consist of the undermentioned twelve per-



sons who shall hold office for life, provided they continue to be members of the Association, and three other persons who shall hold office for one year elected by the members of the Association from among other members annually, provided that for this purpose no one who has not been on the rolls continuously for two years at the time of election shall be entitled to vote.

Names of members of the Board of Trustees and Executive Council:—

(1) Mahatma Gandhi; (2) Seth Jamnalal Bajaj. (3) Sjt. C. Rajagopalachariar, (4) Sjt. G. B. Deshpande; (5) Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya; (6) Babu Rajendra Prasad. (7) Pundit Jawaharlal Nehru. (8) Sjt. Satis Chandra Das Gupta. (9) Sjt. Vallabhbhai Patel. (10) Sjt. Manilal Kothari and (11) Sjt. S. G. Banker. (12) Kept vacant.

3. That the funds and assets now held by the All India Spinners' Association and its various branches shall vest in the Board of Trustees who shall also be the Executive Council of the Association, and they shall hold the same for the purposes of the Association.

4. The Council shall have the right to raise loans, to collect subscriptions, to hold immovable property, to invest funds under proper security, to give and take mortgage for the furtherance of hand-spinning and khaddar, to give financial assistance to khaddar organisations by way of loans, gifts or bounties, to help or establish schools or institutions where hand-spinning is taught, to help or open khaddar stores, to establish a Khaddar Service, to act as agency on behalf of the Congress to receive self-spun yarn as subscription to the Congress and to issue certificates and to do all the things that may be considered necessary for the furthe-

rance of its objects, with power to make regulation for the conduct of affairs of the Association or the Council and to make such amendments in the present constitution, as may be considered necessary from time to time.

5. Any vacancy in the Board of Trustees and Executive Council occurring by reason of resignation, death or otherwise, shall be filled up by the remaining members from amongst the members of the Association provided, however, the person appointed in place of a life-member will be a member for life; while the person appointed in place of a member elected for the year will be member for the remaining period of the term.

6. Four members shall form the quorum for a meeting of the Board of Trustees and Executive Council.

7. All decisions shall be taken by majority of votes.

8. The Council shall keep an accurate account of all subscriptions, donations and fees, whether in cash or kind, and of expenditure. The books shall be open to public inspection and shall be audited by competent auditors every three months.

9. The Board of Trustees and Executive Council shall have a central office. They shall elect a President, a Secretary and a Treasurer from among their number who shall each hold office for 3 years.

10. All persons desirous of becoming member of the Congress shall send their yarn subscriptions to the central office with particulars in the following form :—

To

The Secretary,

All India Spinners' Association.

Sir,

I enclose herewith.....yards of yarn.....in weight spun by me, being my subscription to the



16. When in any area fifty members have been enrolled they may elect from among their number an advisory committee of five to advise the Council about matters relating to the area.

17. Those who pay the All India Spinners' Association Rs. 12/- per year in advance and habitually wear khaddar shall be entitled to be enrolled as Associate members of the Association.

18. Any person who wears khaddar habitually and pays in advance a consolidated amount of Rs. 500/- shall become a Life Associate of the Association.

19. All Associates will be entitled to receive free of charge copies of statements, balance sheets, and minutes of proceedings of the Council.

20. Every person wishing to join the Association shall apply in the following form:—

To

The Secretary,  
All India Spinners' Association.

Dear Sir,

I have read the rules of the A. I. S. A. I desire to become a member and I forward herewith.....  
an associate  
as my subscription for.....Please enrol me as  
a member  
an associate

Yours faithfully,

(Signature).....

(Full address).....

Date.....

21. If any member fails to send his yarn quota for six months he shall cease to be a member.

## Appendix C.

Resolution passed by the All India Congress Committee at Patna, 22nd & 23rd September 1925.

x            x            x            x

The All India Congress Committee resolves that Article VII of the Congress Constitution be repealed and replaced by the following:—

### *Article VII.*

- (i) Every person not disqualified under Article IV and paying a subscription of 4 annas per year in advance, or 2000 yards of evenly spun yarn of his or her own spinning, shall be entitled to become a member of any primary organisation controlled by a Provincial Congress Committee. Provided that no person shall be a member of two parallel Congress organisations at one and the same time.
- (ii) The yarn subscription mentioned in sub-section (i) shall be sent direct by the spinner to the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association or to any person nominated by the Secretary in this behalf, and a certificate from the Secretary, All India Spinners' Association to the effect that he has received 2000 yards of evenly spun yarn of the holder's own spinning as his or her yearly subscription shall entitle the holder to the membership mentioned in sub-section (i) hereof. Provided that for the purpose of checking the accuracy of the returns made by the All India Spinners' Association or any subordinate organisation thereunder and provided further that in the event of any inaccuracy or error discovered by the inspecting

body in the accounts, stock or vouchers examined, the certificates issued by the All India Spinners' Association in respect of persons with reference to whose membership the accounts have been examined, shall be declared cancelled; provided that the All India Spinners' Association or the person disqualified shall have the right of appeal to the Working Committee. Any person wishing to spin for the membership of the Congress may, if he or she desires, be supplied upon due security with cotton for spinning.

- (iii) The year of the membership shall be reckoned from the 1st January to 31st December and there shall be no reduction in the subscription to be paid by members joining in the middle of the year.
- (iv) No person shall be entitled to vote at the election of representatives or delegates or any committee or subcommittee or any Congress organisation whatsoever, or to be elected as such, or to take part in any meeting of the Congress or Congress organisation, or any committee or sub-committee thereof, if he has not complied with sub-section (i) hereof or does not wear hand-spun and hand-woven khaddar at political and Congress functions or while engaged in Congress business. The Congress expects congressmen to wear khaddar also on all other occasions and in no case to use or wear foreign cloth.



It is resolved that the Congress do now take up and carry on all such political work as may be necessary in the interest of the country and for this purpose do employ the whole of the machinery and funds of the

Congress, save and except such funds and assets as are specially earmarked and such funds and assets as belong to the All India Khaddar Board and Provincial Khaddar Boards which shall be handed over with all existing financial obligations to the All India Spinners' Association started by Mahatma Gandhi as an integral part of the Congress organisation but with independent existence and full powers to administer these and other funds for the fulfilment of its object.

## **APPENDIX D.**

### **Important Resolutions of the A. I. K. B. and Council of the A. I. S. A.**

#### **General Policy.**

( Resolution No. IV dated Bombay 31st  
January to 1st February 1924 )

Every province should endeavour to develop to the fullest extent its potentialities for the production of khaddar and aim at clothing its population as far as possible with khadi produced within the province itself.

Specially favourable areas should be fully worked so as to supply from their surplus production the khadi requirements of areas and provinces where there cannot be a sufficient production of indigenous khadi or where it is not yet fully developed.

In the transitional stage before consumption and production reach their maximum and are duly co-ordinated the provinces shall help each other in supplying the requirements of the population but this distribution of surplus production from one province to another shall be done through the respective provincial khadi Boards and with due regard to the local needs and conditions.

**Loans.**

(Resolution No. XI dated Sabarmati 12th November 1925).

Resolved that the following rules shall be observed in granting loans.

1. Loans shall as a rule be given only where spinning is to be developed amongst people who are starving or halfed and in need of employment and therefore in cases where the highest wage paid for spinning including carding is not more than 5 annas per lb. (40 tolas) of 6 counts yarn.

2. Applications shall be entertained only from individuals making themselves personally liable, or from legally registered bodies.

3. Loans will be on pledge of assets or other proper contract. Loans will not exceed the value of the assets less debts already incurred.

4. Before granting loans proper inquiries should be made and documents, titles and values examined. On the loan being sanctioned a proper deed should be executed.

5. An interest of 1 per thousand per year should be usually charged on loans.

6. Applications from bodies who can show no surplus assets should be judged on the merit of the application. The applicant should have had experience of khadi business and show satisfactory record of past work. The organisation, if already existing, should be examined from the technical and business point of view and according to circumstances a loan on guarantee of the property (assets) to be created by the loan may be given, the amount of such loans depending on the merits of the case.

**Credit Sales.**

Resolution No. I dated Wardha 13th to 16th December 1926.



Resolved that all sale depots conducted by the A. I. S. A., or through the Provincial Departments be instructed strictly to avoid all sales on credit whether they be retail sales or wholesale transactions with other depots.

Bounty.

(Resolution dated 6th June 1914, modified by Resolution No. XIV (33) dated Bangalore 27th June to 28th July 1917).

It is proposed that an annual bounty of 2 p. c. may be paid to private Khadi bondlars on the value of the sales subject to the following conditions—

- (1) The value of only Khadi sold at a price of Rs. 1-0-0 or below per yard shall be taken into account.
- (2) Only goods sold at a price of 6 p. c. over cost price plus freight or less shall be taken into account.
- (3) Only retail sales shall be taken into account.

*Note*—No stock of Khadi sold will be entitled to the benefit of the bounty more than once.

(4) There should be a sale in the year of at least twice the amount of capital invested.

(5) The total amount of sales should be above 1000/- a year.

(6) There should be no cloth offered for sale at the bhandar other than genuine cotton fabric, handspun and handwoven, both warp and weft.

(7) All accounts and sources of purchases of stock should be made available for inspection and audit.

(8) The payment of the bounty will in any case be at the discretion of the All India Spinners Association.

(Aided institutions are entitled to the bounty subject to a deduction of 6% interest on the loans advanced.)

**Hawking.**

(Resolution No. XLV [24 (e)] Dated Bangalore  
29th June to 8th July 1927.)

Hawking is of two kinds: Urban and Rural. The commission for Urban hawking is one anna on every rupee of sale and the arrangement in this respect extends to all the provinces. The provisions in regard to rural hawking are applicable only to such provinces to which the Council expressly extends the same. The commission for village hawking is Rs. 15/- for the first hundred of sale every month and thereafter one anna on every rupee. There should be a minimum sale of Rs. 100/- per month by every rural hawker before he can be entitled to this rate of commission. For the purpose of this provision every place with a population of less than 5,000/- shall be considered a village.

The hawking commission is payable only to certified hawkers who have been regularly appointed for the purpose by the provincial office concerned.

(Resolution 2 Dated Wardha 13th to 16th  
December 1926.

Resolved that Cash securities be inserted from the hawkers covering the amount of stock taken by them for sales before engaging them. In special cases however where desirable hawkers are unable to furnish such security personal securities may be taken.

(Resolution 34 Dated Bangalore 29th June  
to 8th July 1927.)

The Council is of opinion that institutions or private parties who have taken loans or grants from the Association or the employees of such institutions or parties are not entitled to hawking commission in respect of their goods.

## APPENDIX E.

### A. I. S. A. Agencies.

Province.	Agent.	Secretary.	Head quarters
Andhra.	Sjt. Konda Venkatappayya.	Sjt. V. Narayamuthi (offg.)	Guntur.
Behar.	Babu Rajendra Prasad.	„ Laxminarayan.	Muzaffarpur.
Bengal.	Sjt. Satischandra Das Gupta.	.....	Khadi Prasthan, Sodepur.
Burma.	„ Nanalal Kalidas.	.....	24, Merchantst, Rangoon.
Karnatak.	„ Gangadharrao Deshpande.	„ H. S. Kaujalgi.	Belgaum.
Maharashtra.	„ V.V. Dastane.	„ Shrikrishnadas Jaju.	Wardha.
Punjab.	Dr. Gopichand Bhargava.	„ Kishenchand Bhatia.	Adampur.
Rajasthan	Seth. Jamnalal Bajaj.	„ B. S. Deshpande.	Johori Bazar, Jaipur City.
Tamil Nad.	.....	„ N. S. Vardachari.	Tirupur
U. P.	Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru.	„ J. B. Kripalani.	52-53 Hewet. Rd. Allahabad.
Utkal.	.....	„ Niranjana Patnaik.	Swarajyashram Berhampur, (Ganjam Dist)

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**REPORT**  
**OF THE**  
**Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee**

(1st March 1929—30th April 1929.)

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## The Programme.

The Calcutta Congress (1928) passed a resolution laying down the future programme of action for the nation. One of the principal items of the programme is :—

"Inside and outside the legislatures methods suited to respective environments shall be immediately adopted to bring about boycott of foreign cloth by advocating and stimulating production and adoption of handspun and handwoven Khaddar."

At its meeting in New Delhi on the 17th and 19th February 1929, the Working Committee of the Congress appointed the following persons, with power to co-opt, to constitute the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee :—

MAHATMA GANDHI (*Chairman*)

Pt. MOTILAL NEHRU

Pt. MADAN MOHAN MALAVIYA

MAULANA ABUL KALAM AZAD

DR. M. A. ANSARI

Pt. JAWAHARLAL NEHRU

The Working Committee also sanctioned the following scheme of work for the Committee :—

1. Congress organisations should call for volunteers, men and women, to go from door to door in every town and village having a Congress Committee and collect foreign cloth in the possession of the householders and deliver or receive orders for Khadi required by such householders.
2. All Khadi so supplied should bear the stamp of the All India Spinners' Association and prices should be distinctly marked on them.
3. Voluntary preachers should be called for to popularise the use of Khadi and to advocate complete boycott of foreign cloth.

*Note* :—Volunteers and preachers should know genuine from spurious Khadi.

4. Foreign cloth collected should be publicly burnt wherever possible.
5. Foreign cloth dealers should be individually visited with a view to enlisting their help and inducing them to stop further purchase of foreign cloth and to cancel all cancellable orders.
6. Picketing of foreign cloth shops may be undertaken wherever possible and where there is no danger of violence being committed by Congress pickets, the latter being reliable and seasoned volunteers.

7. All units should regularly report to the Central Office details of work done in terms of the foregoing and the latter should circulate to the press for publication a weekly digest of progress made.
8. Help and co-operation of all political, industrial, labour and other organisations should be solicited in the boycott campaign.
9. The All India Spinners' Association should be asked to furnish the Central Office with a list of places where genuine Khadi is available and to open stores where there is a demand for Khadi.
10. A Committee called the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee should be formed and entrusted with an initial fund with power to collect more funds. The Committee should be under obligation to publish duly audited statements of income and expenditure every quarter.
11. The Committee proposed in paragraph 10 should publish and distribute broadcast leaflets showing the necessity and possibility of boycott, giving full details as to the method of achieving it by individuals.
12. Resolutions should be moved in the Provincial Legislatures as well as the Central, calling upon their respective Governments to make all their cloth purchases in Khadi irrespective of its so called costliness. Resolutions should also be moved demanding a prohibitive duty on imports of foreign cloth.

### **The Boycott Propaganda.**

2. The Committee commenced its work on 1st March 1929. It had no separate machinery of its own in the different provinces of India. It had to rely entirely on Congress organisations for carrying out the programme within their respective local areas. The Committee could thus achieve progress, largely, to the extent to which Congress organisations in the country responded to it. At the same time the Indian press has also co-operated with the Committee in conveying to the public at large the message of the Congress in regard to the programme of boycott of foreign cloth.

An endeavour was, therefore, made to reach the public by using the agency of both Congress Committees and the press. For the former purpose the Committee has kept up frequent direct correspondence with Provincial and District Congress Committees with a view to stimulate and expedite the adoption of effective steps to carry on the boycott propaganda. In addition to this, an "F. C. B." Bulletin

containing detailed suggestions for carrying on work and other information relating to the programme is issued from time to time and despatched to each Provincial and District Congress Committee in India. Four such bulletins have so far been published. In some cases where the addresses of active Taluka and Town Congress Committees have been supplied to this office, direct communication is maintained with them also. For the general propaganda among the people, the Committee has undertaken, as directed by the Working Committee, to issue pamphlets in support of the boycott programme. Two such pamphlets, "The Case for F. C. B." and "The Mysore Experiment", have by now been published and others dealing with different aspects of the programme of boycott of foreign cloth are in the course of preparation. Some of the Provincial and District Committees have reprinted the first pamphlet in their local vernaculars. This office has, however, received information of the publication of translations of the pamphlet only from Tamil Nad Congress Committee (Tamil 10,000 copies), Maharashtra Provincial Congress Committee (Marathi) and Hyderabad District Congress Committee (Sindhi). The Committee has endeavoured to carry out the direction of the Working Committee to publish periodical digests of reports of the progress of the boycott movement sent by Congress Committees, though the inadequacy and irregularity of the reports received from the latter bodies have prevented the Committee from issuing to the press, upto now, more than three such digests.

### **Co-operation of Local Bodies.**

3. The Committee also circularised all Municipalities and District Local Boards with a view to secure their co-operation in the boycott programme. They were requested to help the movement in three ways:—

- (1) by imposing a prohibitive octroi, terminal tax or other rate on all foreign cloth imported within the local area,
- (2) by exempting handspun and handwoven Khadi from all local duties, taxes or rates and
- (3) by making all cloth purchases in handspun and handwoven Khadi irrespective of its so called costliness,

### **Indian States Approached.**

4. The Committee has also addressed the principal Indian States for the purpose of securing a preferential position for Khadi within their limits. They have been requested to take steps for the adoption of handspinning as a subsidiary cottage industry for agriculturists and to consider the advisability of taking advantage of the experiment successfully conducted by the Industries Department of the Mysore State. They have also been approached to exempt handspun and handwoven Khadi from taxation and to make all purchases of cloth for State purposes in Khadi. As the letter to the Indian States has been despatched only recently a report of such action as the States may take on it will be published on a subsequent occasion. In all about 125 Indian States have been addressed.

### **Encouraging Response.**

5. It was, at first, proposed to submit a proper All-India consolidated report of the progress of F. C. B. work in the country upto the end of April in terms of various items of the programme laid down by the Working Committee. But with the best of efforts made, the Committee has not succeeded in receiving adequately comprehensive reports from most of the Provincial Congress Committees to enable it to frame such a report. Many Provincial Congress Committees have complained that subordinate Congress Committees have not responded to their repeated appeals for regular reports and they themselves have, in several cases, contented themselves with a statement of general remarks intermingled with a few figures. Some Provincial Committees have entirely failed to submit a consolidated report of the last four months' work. The Committee has been endeavouring to maintain direct contact with District Congress Committees but only a few of them have been regular in their reports and have shown a good record of work done. The sum total of reports received does not, however, supply sufficient material to enable the Committee to present a useful All-India report on the principal items on which Congress Committees had been asked to furnish information.

At the same time such reports as have reached this office and the frequent references to boycott activity in the press of all the provinces afford ample evidence of the encouraging response made by the people at large to the programme of the Congress. Lack of reports does not necessarily mean lack of work by Congress Committees. Even where Congress Committees have been unable to function, the general public



has responded to the Congress 'call. A very favourable circumstance helped to give to the boycott movement considerable stimulus at the very commencement of the campaign. The arrest of Mahatma Gandhi on 4th March 1929 for lighting a bonfire in a public park in Calcutta roused the enthusiasm of the people all over India and contributed in a very great measure to the increased activity of most towns in the country in respect of the boycott programme. The arrest and prosecution of Mahatma Gandhi, the observance of 17th March as a Foreign Cloth Boycott Day all over India, the celebration of the usual National Week in April mark the three main occasions on which special efforts were made by workers and the nation to preach and practice the boycott programme. The work done on these occasions has had its effect on the people, the foreign cloth dealers and the foreign manufacturers. Thousands of boycott volunteers have been at work and thousands of public meetings have been held in the course of the last two months in different parts of the country; hundreds of bonfires of foreign cloth have been lighted and hundreds of Khadi Bazars organised; and the programme of boycott of foreign cloth has held the field during the last two months, practically in every principal town in India.

### Action by Municipalities.

6. Replies from the local bodies directly approached are slowly coming in. According to information received by the Committee, the following municipalities have passed resolutions exempting handspun and handwoven Khadi from local municipal taxation :—

<b>C. P. and Berar :</b>	<b>Sind :</b>
Akola	Hyderabad
Arvi	Larkana
Drug	<b>Tamil Nad :</b>
<b>Gujarat :</b>	Tirupur
Ahmedabad	<b>U. P. :</b>
Umreth	Ballia*
<b>Karnatak :</b>	Jhansi
Belgaum	Lucknow
Bijapur	Ujjani
Sirsi	Benares
Haliyal	
<b>Maharashtra :</b>	
Bhusaval	
Shahada	
Sholapur	

\* There being no octroi or terminal tax system in Ballia, the local Municipality has exempted shops dealing in Khadi from property tax.

The following Municipalities have resolved to make their future purchases of cloth, either exclusively or as far as possible, in handspun and handwoven Khadi :—

<b>Andhra :</b>	<b>Karnatak :</b>
Vizianagaram	Bijapur
	Sirsi
<b>Bengal :</b>	<b>Maharashtra :</b>
Howrah	Sholapur
<b>C. P. and Berar :</b>	<b>Sind :</b>
Akola	Karachi
Arvi	<b>U. P. :</b>
Drug	Ballia
Yeotmal	Lucknow
	Benares

The Municipalities of Malvan (Maharashtra), Lucknow (U. P.) and Benares (U. P.) have imposed a duty on foreign cloth imported within their limits.

It is possible that several other local bodies have taken some action in accordance with the circular letter sent to them but the inadequacy of reporting arrangements of the Congress organisation has prevented the Committee from referring to such cases. Considering the strength of nationalist members in the Municipalities of India, the Committee has no doubt that, if they bestirred themselves, a very large number of these bodies will actively co-operate in the campaign for boycott of foreign cloth.

### **Effect of the Propaganda.**

7. It is necessary that the ultimate effect on the imports of foreign cloth of the propaganda carried on in the country in the months of March and April should be estimated so that the nation could know the result of its activity. The full effect of the boycott propaganda of March and April will show itself in the actual figures of the imports of cloth into India during the next few months, since it takes some time for goods ordered to arrive in the country. In the absence of such figures one has to rely on the general statements of Manchester and Indian experts who are in touch with the cloth trade of the two countries. These statements contain very frank references to the influence of the boycott propaganda and, though it is true that some other causes have also been at work to reduce India's purchases

it is evident that the work done by the people during the last two months has had its effect on the imports of foreign cloth. A few extracts from these reports, dealing with the condition of Manchester's trade with India, are given hereunder :

*Middle of March 1929.*

"The cloth manufacturers (of Manchester) are feeling the absence of practicable demand for India..... Manchester cannot be active when Indian buyers are holding aloof."

*Beginning of April 1929.*

"India is still lagging behind.....for fear of the boycott movement."

"A depressing state of affairs has prevailed (in Manchester) during the past week and sales of cloth to all outlets have been only small. *Advices from India have been discouraging, business being hampered by political disturbances and the boycott of foreign cloth which Indian extremists have been advocating since the beginning of the year.*"

*Middle of April 1929.*

"The dulness of demand remains very acute and the trade outlook is viewed with some anxiety. Producers appear to be in a helpless position for the time being. Unless there is a distinct change in the situation the time is not far distant when unemployment among the operatives will increase to a serious extent. *There is much nervousness with regard to the Indian market and private advices relating to the political disturbances are worse than the information published in the newspapers.*"

*End of April 1929.*

"We have to continue reporting a very quiet market. Of course the present state of affairs is more or less due to the communal riots and to the *propaganda of boycott of foreign goods*. For the reasons detailed above there is *stagnation and confusion.*"

Speaking at the recent annual meeting of the Delhi Piecegoods Association Mr. J. C. Roberts, the President, reviewing the condition of the piecegoods trade, said :—

“Another disturbing factor which was causing no little anxiety to the commercial community was the present unstable political situation in the country and its *off-shoot in the shape of the threatened movement for the boycott of foreign cloth.* Manufacturing centres were also not free from the effect of the present depression in India and by reports from home it was seen that *about one-third of the total textile mills in Great Britain had to be closed down on account of absence of demand from India and the failure of the Indian buyer to take forward contracts.* .....Matters were going from bad to worse and the *future looked rather gloomy and uncertain.*” (The cablegram relating to the closing down of mills referred to the stoppage of one-third of the mills in the city of Blackburn only.)

### Note of Caution.

8. Despite what has been recorded above, the Committee feels the need of sounding a note of caution that unless boycott propoganda is not only maintained by Congress Committees but carried on with even greater vigour than heretofore, there is risk of an increase in the imports of foreign cloth as soon as its price falls and *other factors unfavourable to large purchases cease to hamper trade.* The latest reports about Calcutta, dealing with the last few days of April, are rather disquieting. Tattersall, commenting on the condition of the Manchester market during that period, states :—

“There have been indications of more demand in piecegoods.....*With regard to India there are more signs of Calcutta being in need of bigger supplies especially in dhoties and rather freer buying has taken place.*”

Calcutta imported last year 28,21 lakhs of rupees worth of foreign cloth out of a total of Rs. 65,16 lakhs for the whole country. Its share came to 43 per cent. It is thus the chief part of entry of foreign cloth. This fact only increases the significance of the above comment.

### Khadi Sales.

9. The effect of the propaganda for boycott of foreign cloth can to some extent be also measured by the increase in the sales of handspun and handwoven Khadi. The Committee has received authentic and definite figures of the sales of Khadi from very few Congress Committees and hence has to fall back upon the figures kindly supplied by the All India Spinners' Association at very short notice. These figures give one a fairly reliable idea of the progress of the Khadi movement. April figures are not available. The items relating to Gujrat have also not yet been completely worked out. The figures are, further, not free from a certain amount of duplication due to inter-sales between provincial organisations. But they still constitute the most trustworthy data for assessing the increased consumption of Khadi. In any case, since this factor of duplication is present in the figures of both the years 1928 and 1929, its existence does not vitiate a comparison between the sales during the first three months of the two years.

The following table marks the progress of Khadi in the 15 provinces of India in which the All-India Spinners' Association has its provincial branches.

## Sales of Khadi.

No.	Province.	Jan.—March	Jan.—March	Percentage of Increase.
		1928	1929	
		Rs.	Rs.	
1	Ajmere ...	32,832	45,441	38
2	Andhra ...	95,465	1,07,186	12
3	Behar ...	64,083	1,01,024	58
4	Bengal ...	89,943	1,15,916	29
5	Bombay ...	74,314	93,057	25
6	Burma ...	7,614	12,498	64
7	Gujrat ...	3,943*	25,905	...
8	Karnatak ...	20,526	59,647	190
9	Maharashtra ...	41,011	65,389	59
10	Punjab ...	24,510	56,362	130
11	Tamil Nad ...	2,32,887	3,01,083	29
12	Kerala ...			
13	United Provinces ...	58,277	96,926	66
14	Delhi ...			
15	Utkal ...	17,832	21,719	22
	<b>Total ...</b>	<b>7,63,237</b>	<b>11,02,153</b>	<b>44</b>

\*Only for January 1928.

The above table shows that there has been an increase of 44 per cent. in the sales of Khadi throughout India in the first quarter of 1929 as compared with the corresponding period of the last year.

Since, however, the boycott activity was carried on vigorously after February 1929, a comparison between the sales in March 1928 and March 1929 and between the sales in February 1929 and March 1929 will probably be a truer index of the progress achieved in the propagation of Khadi. The sub-joined table records that comparison :

## Sales of Khadi.

No.	Province.	March 1928.	March 1929.	P. C. of Increase.	February 1929.	March 1929.	P. C. of Increase or decrease.
		Rs.	Rs.		Rs.	Rs.	
1	Ajmere ...	12,148	16,695	36	14,751	16,695	13
2	Andhra ...	28,728	47,993	67	35,420	47,993	35
3	Behar ...	23,274	36,860	58	31,367	36,860	18
4	Bengal ...	31,391	50,432	64	20,312	50,432	70
5	Bombay ...	20,753	33,345	61	20,154	33,345	65
6	Burma ...	2,388	6,843	186	3,402	6,843	101
7	Gujrat ...	(?)	9,472	...	7,330	9,472	29
8	Karnatak ...	8,021	21,519	168	19,655	21,519	9
9	Maharashtra ...	14,639	25,018	71	20,006	25,018	25
10	Punjab ...	8,643	28,212	110	17,031	28,212	66
11	Tamil Nad ...	75,048	1,32,639	77	80,703	1,32,639	64
12	Kerala ...	} 19,385	} 42,062	} 117	} 33,655	} 42,062	} 28
13	United Provinces ...						
14	Delhi ...						
15	Utkal ...	4,743	6,476	37	6,742	6,476	-4
<b>Total</b> ...		<b>2,49,161</b>	<b>4,57,566</b>	<b>84</b>	<b>3,10,528</b>	<b>4,57,566</b>	<b>47</b>

The figure for March 1929 for *all* the provinces together shows an increase of **84 per cent.** over that for the same month of last year. The increase of sales in March 1929 over sales in February 1929 shows an improvement of **47 per cent.** It should be noted that the February figures had already begun to be influenced by the boycott propaganda started in many centres after the Calcutta Congress. Though no authentic comparative figures are available for the remaining 6 provinces, it goes without saying that there too the sales of Khadi must have risen considerably above those in the corresponding periods of this or the last year.

### **The Working of Congress Committees.**

10. Some of the provinces have found it difficult, owing to local situations, to put forth their best effort to carry out the boycott programme. Bengal did very good propaganda in the month of March under the stimulus of the arrest and prosecution of Mahatma Gandhi in connection with the Shradhanand Park bonfire, but the attention and energies of almost all its Congress workers were taken up in April by the general election consequent on the dissolution of the local Council and the boycott work had, naturally, to be largely put back for the time being. The Punjab Provincial Committee's Secretary states that arrests of workers, communal tension and other causes have militated against organised boycott propaganda. The Secretary of the recently organised Frontier Provincial Congress Committee regrets that in view of the fact that the attention of the Muslim community which constitutes the predominant part of the population is deeply engrossed in Afghan politics and the organisation of a Medical Mission to Afghanistan, there is nothing to report, for the present, beyond the sale of Rs. 900 worth of Khadi and promises by a few gentlemen not to purchase foreign cloth in future.

The following Provincial Congress Committees have not sent in their consolidated provincial reports of work done upto April 1929, in their respective areas: Assam, Andhra, Burma, Bengal, Delhi, Utkal and Berar. Andhra was busy with the tour of the Chairman of the Committee in the province. There has, consequently, been considerable propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth in that province, but the Provincial Committee's office has not been free to prepare and submit a report of the work done. Bengal has been in the throes of a general election for the local Legisla-



tive Council and the Provincial Committee has promised a report after the elections are over. The Provincial Congress Committees of Assam, Ajmere, Andhra, Burma, Sindh and Berar have been very irregular and unresponsive in regard to the various communications sent to and inquiries made from them from time to time. The Ajmere Committee could not function as it had been superseded by the Working Committee but the Foreign Cloth Boycott Committee appointed for Ajmere kept itself in touch with our Central Office. Out of 220 District, Taluka and Town Congress Committees, mostly the first, with which the Committee has been directly corresponding, only 38 have responded to its communications. More than fourfifths of the local Committees approached have remained silent. The number of those which have maintained contact with the Committee from each province is as follows :—

Behar	5	Karnatak	1
Bengal	4	Kerala	1
Berar	1	Maharashtra	5
Bombay	2	Punjab	2
C. P.	2	Sind	1
(Hindi)		Tamil Nad	1
Delhi	1	U. P.	10
Gujrat	1	Utkal	1

### The Immediate Need.

II. The Committee feels that the nation must put forth its best effort for the success of the boycott programme in the course of the coming months. Besides the issue of propaganda leaflets and other literature in the principal Indian vernaculars, the Committee proposes directly to reach the public by using the medium of nationalist newspapers for publishing illustrated boycott advertisements and by distributing broadcast illustrated wall posters for such towns and villages as Congress Committees or other organisations can reach. The Committee also intends to organise a propaganda tour in various provinces during the next few months. But it is clear that sustained day to day propaganda for the boycott of foreign cloth will have to be undertaken by the local Congress unit in each town and principal village in the country. It is necessary for this that the Congress machinery should be in good working order

and the various grades of the Congress organisation should be adequately responsive to one another's communications. The experience gained by the Committee in endeavouring to have the principal item in the Congress programme worked through Congress Committees shows that if a reasonable rate of progress is to be maintained and popular enthusiasm harnessed and used *in an organised and disciplined manner* the working of the Congress machinery will have to be immediately improved.

### Receipts and Expenditure.

12. The receipts of the Committee up to 30th April 1929, including the grant from the A. I. C. C., collections and donations from the public and sale of literature amounted to Rs. 1,696-8-3. The expenditure incurred by the Committee from 1st March to 30th April 1929, amounted to Rs. 626-11-0, leaving a balance of Rs. 1,069-13-3.

### Acknowledgments.

13. The nationalist press of India has been wholeheartedly co-operating with the Committee in its propaganda for the boycott programme and there is no doubt that the publicity which it has given to the literature and communications issued by the Committee from time to time has helped to create a favourable atmosphere for the success of the programme.

The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee has very willingly placed a portion of its premises and the use of its office and establishment at the disposal of the Committee. This has considerably facilitated the Committee's work.

The Committee also wishes to record its appreciation of the honorary services rendered by Swami Anand and Mr. Abid Ali in assisting the Secretary, at much sacrifice of their time, to dispose of the increasing volume of work at the Central Office of the Committee.

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM,

*Hon. Secretary.*

**Statement of Accounts**  
(1st March to 30th April 1929.)

RECEIPTS.				EXPENDITURE.									
				Rs.	a.	p.							
				Rs.	a.	p.							
Grant from A. I. C. C.	...	...	...	500	0	0	Establishment	...	...	...	75	0	0
Collections in Bombay at Mahatma Gandhi's meetings (5th April 1929).	...	...	...	1,053	4	3	Printing	...	...	...	358	8	0
Other Donations	...	...	...	10	0	0	Stationery	...	...	...	23	8	0
Sale of literature	...	...	...	133	4	0	Postage and telegrams	...	...	...	122	13	6
							Books, journals and papers	...	...	...	25	4	0
							Miscellaneous	...	...	...	21	13	6
											626	11	0
											1,069	13	3
											1,696	8	3
											1,696	8	3
											1,696	8	3

15

JAIRAMDAS DOULATRAM,  
*Hon. Secretary.*

**Printed by M. N. Kulkarni at the Karnatak Printing Press, 318A  
Thakurdwar, Bombay, and Published by Jairamdas  
Doulatram, General Secretary, Foreign Cloth  
Boycott Committee, Congress House,  
Bombay 4.**

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**REPORT**  
**OF THE**  
**MANAGING COMMITTEE**  
**OF THE**  
**IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION**  
**FOR**  
**1927 and 1928**

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V1-3:5 (173 P/15). 2, d:1

# THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.

Petit Building, 359, Hornby Road, Fort, Bombay.

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*President:* Sir Dinshaw M. Petit, Bart.

*Vice-President:* Sir Jamsetjee Jejeebhoy, Bart.

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Following members comprise the Council of the Association:—

1. (Chairman).\*
2. Sir Purshottamdas Thakordas, Kt., (Vice-Chairman).
3. J. B. Petit, Esqr., (Hon. Secretary).
4. K. Natarajan, Esqr., (Hon. Secretary).
5. Fazul I. Rahimtulla, Esqr., (Hon. Secretary).
6. Kanji Dwarkadas, Esqr., (Hon. Secretary).
7. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu.
8. Sir Lallubhai Samaldas, Kt.
9. Sir Hormusji C. Dinshaw, Kt.
10. The Hon'ble Sir Phiroze C. Sethna, Kt.
11. The Hon'ble Sir Manmohandas Ramji, Kt.
12. M. R. Jayakar, Esqr.
13. Mavji Govindji Seth, Esqr.
14. N. M. Joshi, Esqr.
15. G. K. Deodhar, Esqr.
16. H. P. Mody, Esqr.
17. Jaysukhlal K. Mehta, Esqr.
18. J. R. Gharpure, Esqr.
19. K. M. Munshi, Esqr.
20. Hiralal D. Nanavati, Esqr.
21. Lakhmidas R. Tarsi, Esqr.
22. B. D. Lam, Esqr.
23. D. F. Cama, Esqr.
24. Jafferbhoy Abdullabhai Lalji, Esqr.
25. S. A. Waiz, Esqr.

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\* The late Sir Hormusji A. Wadya was the Chairman.

## The year, 1927.

The year 1927 ushered a new era for Indians domiciled in South Africa. The Round Table Conference South Africa, which was held at Cape Town between the representatives of the Governments of India and South Africa ended in the signing of the Hertzog-Habibullah Pact. During the anxious days of the Conference the Association constantly kept in touch with the Habibullah Deputation in South Africa and the Government of India. Sir Phiroze Sethna, a Member of the Deputation, is also a member of the Council of the Association. When the terms of the Agreement arrived at by the Round Table Conference were announced the Association, after due consideration, whole-heartedly supported it. The following telegram was sent to H. E. The Viceroy, on the 25th February 1927,

P. S. V.

Delhi.

The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association views with satisfaction the settlement arrived at by the Round Table Conference held at Cape Town and congratulates Sir Mahomed Habibullah and his colleagues on the results of their mission. The terms of the settlement are necessarily general and much will depend on the spirit in which they are given effect to. The Council feels sure that the friendly atmosphere which has been created, will ensure the early adoption of measures, by the people and Government of the South African Union, for removing the legitimate grievances of the Indians domiciled in their country and for the education and the elevation of their social, economic and political status so as to make them valuable units of the country of their adoption and bring to them full and equal rights of citizenship.

JEHANGIR PETIT,

*Honorary Secretary.*

Congratulatory messages were also sent to Sir Mahomed Habibullah and his colleagues and Mr. C. F. Andrews on their achievements.

It was proposed to hold a public meeting in honour of the Habibullah Deputation on its arrival in Bombay but it was not found possible. Mr. Petit, Honorary Secretary of the Association, however, entertained the Deputation to a luncheon at the Taj Mahal Hotel at which leading citizens of Bombay were present.

Before the Government of India were in a position to consolidate the gains of the Round Table Conference by the appointment of a suitable man as their Agent in South Africa, the South African Government brought forward a new Asiatic Bill on the lines of the old one which had been, by mutual consent at the Conference, withdrawn. Naturally the Indians in South Africa were alarmed and approached the Association to request the Government of India for immediate help. The Hony. Secretary therefore, sent the following urgent telegram to the Secretary, Government of India, Education Department, on the 4th May, 1927 :—

“The British Indian Association, Pretoria, is alarmed at the new Asiatic Bill of the South African Government as violating the Round Table Conference Settlement. If it is passed, the Bill will cause the ruination and ultimate deportation of the Transvaal Indians particularly. The Council of the Association hopes the Government will take immediate steps to allay the feelings of the South African Indians by asking the South African Government to postpone the action till the Government of India have had opportunity of considering the provisions of the Bill.”

The reply of the Government of India was reassuring. They immediately intervened and the Cape Town Agreement was saved.

In a telegram on the 5th May, 1927, the Honorary Secretary impressed upon the Government of India the immediate necessity of announcing the appointment of the Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, as the Government of India's Agent in South Africa.



Any further delay, it was stated, might imperil the successful working of the Cape Town Agreement and might also embarrass the Agent.

Almost immediately after this representation, the Government of India announced the appointment of Mr. Sastri as their first Agent General in South Africa.

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A public farewell meeting of the Citizens of Bombay was held at the Sir Cowasji Jehangir Hall on Tuesday, the 7th June, 1927 under the joint auspices of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, The Bombay Provincial Congress Committee, The Indian Merchants' Chamber, The British Indian Colonial Merchants' Association, The Bombay Presidency Association, The Indian National Party, The Parsi Rajkeya Sabha, The National Home Rule League, The Bombay Progressive Association, and The Rashtriya Stree Sabha, to bid God-speed to the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri on the eve of his departure to South Africa. Mrs. Sarojini Naidu presided over the meeting. The meeting was an unqualified success. A full account of this memorable gathering is given in the Association's Bulletin No. 18.

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Mr. Essop Akoojee Saloojee, an Indian deportee from South Africa, had approached the Association to help him to have his South African born children sent back to their country of birth. He had written to the authorities in India and South Africa but without any effect. The Hony. Secretary, addressed the Principal Immigration officer and Registrar of Asiatics, Pretoria, and received the following reply from him in June 1927 :—

“I cannot decide the claims of any one to enter the Transvaal until they appear at the Border and regret I am unable to state whether or not the right of South African Citizenship has been surrendered by the members of the family.”

After a protracted correspondence, the Hony. Secretary received the following assurance from the Registrar of Asiatics, Pretoria :—

"I am now informed that the family all left South Africa from Durban on the 13th September 1926, and on proof of identity there will be no difficulty in persons born in South Africa re-entering the Transvaal."

The above information and the official assurance was communicated to Mr. Salooji. His children, we were subsequently informed, were admitted in the Transvaal without any difficulty. The Agent General also helped the Association in the matter.

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At a special meeting of the Council of the Association convened on the 22nd August, 1927 to welcome Mr. C. F. Andrews back from South Africa, a resolution was passed eulogising his selfless services in the cause of Indians in South Africa and putting on record the unqualified success of his mission in connection with the Round Table Conference.

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At a meeting of the Council of the Association, on the 25th November, 1927, the request of the South African Indian Congress for an immediate financial help was thoroughly discussed in all its bearings. Finally the Council voted a sum of £ 450/- on the assurance that "it would not be called upon to make another donation in the future." The Executive of the South African Congress expressed their gratitude for the timely help rendered to them by the Association.

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A Conference of the representatives of all the Colonies and Dominions was held in London in May, 1927. East Africa. The Government of India was not represented on this Conference. In a telegram,\* dated the 12th May 1927, to the Government of India, the Honorary Secretary brought to their notice the glaring absence of such a representative on an important Colonial Conference. It was regretted that the Government of India did not see their way to urge upon the Colonial Office the necessity of their representative. In the course of a

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\*See Appendix I.

reply\* to the above referred telegram, the Secretary to the Government of India said that he did not consider that it would be proper to claim representation as the Conference was primarily concerned with internal administration and confined to official representation of Colonies etc. They would watch the proceedings with interest and if circumstances required it would take suitable action to safeguard Indian interests. One of the results of the Conference was the announcement of the appointment of a Royal Commission to report on the feasibility of the establishment of the East African Federation. The Association at once moved the Government of India to urge for their representative on this Commission. The Government of India replied that the suggestion of the Association was receiving due consideration. Finally in spite of the Association's protest the personnel of the Royal Commission was announced, but no Indian or a representative of the Government of India was appointed on it. The Association also protested against the Governor of Kenya's speech of September 1927 in which he referred to Kenya as "a whiteman's country." It was stated that the Governor's speech was at once wrong and audacious and that in a Crown Colony there could be no justification for any discrimination against Indians. The Association was assured that the Government of India would do all that lay in their power to safeguard the Indian interest in full conformity with the policy of no differentiation.

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The Association was in constant correspondence with leaders and exponent of public opinion in East Africa and records its gratitude to them for keeping it in touch with the trend of events there.

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The Indians in British Guiana were greatly perturbed over the contemplated change in the Constitution of the British Guiana Colony. In the course of a long statement addressed to the Association, the Secretary, British Guiana East Indian Association, said the new constitution

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\* See Appendix II.

would further curtail the rights of Indians in that colony. This statement was published all over India and the Government of India was approached to safeguard Indian interests of British Guiana. A comprehensive account of the Indian situation in British Guiana is contained in the Association's Bulletin No. 20.

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The growing importance of the question of Indians abroad necessitated the Association's keeping in closer touch with Indians Overseas and educating public opinion in India. It was regarded as a duty of the Association to present to the country the news emanating from authentic sources. With this end in view the Association inaugurated a News Agency in June 1927.

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The following resolution of condolence on the death of Mr. Gulabchand Devchand Javeri, who was a member of the Council of the Association for many years was passed on the 17th March 1927 :—

General.

“ The Council of the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association places on record its deep sense of loss caused to the Association by the untimely death of Mr. Gulabchand Devchand Javeri, who as a member of the Council for many years had rendered useful service to the cause of the Association.”

A copy of the above resolution was forwarded to the relatives of the deceased.

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## The year, 1928.

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The Right Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri's presence greatly improved the Indian situation in South Africa and put the Indian settlers on the right path to progress. The Association often referred itself to Mr. Sastri for advice and guidance. There was no untoward incident in South Africa, which called for our action during the year under review and the Association puts on record the appreciation of Mr. Sastri's services in the cause of Indians in South Africa. The Association approached Mr. Sastri with the request to extend his term of office in conformity with the wishes of our compatriots in South Africa, but unfortunately owing to failing health, it was not possible for Mr. Sastri to accede to our request.

The Association agreed with Mr. Sastri in his views about the Condonation scheme of the South African Government for illegal entrants. It was undoubtedly an "act of generosity" on the part of the South African Government. The Association issued press notes throughout India urging the individuals concerned to avail themselves of the scheme. The Application forms for Condonation Permits were supplied by the Association to many people all over the country. A few persons who were not entitled to the advantages of the schemes made enquiries at the office of the Association and were advised to abandon the idea of returning to South Africa.

It was reported by the Association's correspondent at Mombasa in June 1928 that the Domestic Service Bill in the Kenya Colony, which was originally provided for the identification of African servants by finger print photographs on the registration forms included Indians was awaiting the sanction of the Colonial office. It was an insidious attempt to lower the social status of Indians in Kenya. The Association entered its most emphatic protest against the reported Bill and urged upon the Government of India to press the Colonial Office not to proceed further without appraising Indian

public opinion. The Government of India immediately made representation to the Colonial Office and the Bill was not proceeded with.

Contrary to the policy of the White Paper of 1923, the Kenya Government attempted to revert to the policy of residential segregation at Mombasa. It was reported that the sale of certain plots of residential land was restricted to Europeans only. It was also reported that the Governor of Kenya had refused the postponement of the sale. Mr. Abdul Hussein Kaderbhoy a prominent Indian resident of Mombasa had applied for the Mandamus Writ and by the order of the Presiding judge the sale was postponed. The Government of India was approached with a view to ascertain their attitude in this respect. The Association was fully aware of the position of the Colonial Government in regard to this question which was contained in the reply \* given by the Colonial Secretary to a question asked by the Hon'ble Mr. Pandya in the Kenya Legislative Council on the 15th September 1927. In the course of a reply to our request to intervene the Government of India said that since the question was sub-judice they did not consider it advisable to move in the matter at that juncture. They were, however, continued the reply, watching the proceedings in the Court of Law at Mombasa with great care.

In a telegraphic communication, the Hony. Secretary, East Indian Association, George Town (British Guiana) stated that that British Guiana's Legislature had sent a deputation to London to wait on the Colonial Secretary in connection with the contemplated changes in the Constitution of the Colony and that there was not a single Indian on its personnel though Indians form 42% of the population of British Guiana. The Association protested against the action of the British Guiana Government. Unfortunately all our protests were of no avail and the New Constitution Bill was rushed through the House of Commons.

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\* See Appendix III.

Owing to the lack of support from the Indian Press the News Agency inaugurated by the Association in 1927 **General.** had to be discontinued. But the Association, would continue receiving messages at its own expense from its correspondents in the Colonies.

The Secretary of the Association, Mr. S. A. Waiz, was deputed to Simla in September, 1927 to confer with the Secretary to the Government of India on various problems arising from the Indian situation in the Colonies. He was able to obtain some valuable information and held conferences with Mr. G. S. Bajpai, C.I.E., I.C.S., Secretary to the Government of India. The following subjects were discussed :—

1. East Africa.
2. South Africa.
3. British Guiana.
4. Fiji.
5. Separate Indians Overseas Secretariat.
6. Returned Indian Emigrants at Matlaburz.
7. Indians Overseas Conference.

Mr. Waiz was told that the establishment of a separate Secretariat for Overseas Indians was only a question of time. Since then it has been announced that the Secretary of State has sanctioned its establishment.

The Association's proposal of an Indian Overseas Conference was discussed at length. The proposal is that Indian representatives from various colonies should congregate in India to discuss the political, social, economic and commercial problems of their respective Colonies in terms of their relation with India. The conference should be held under the joint auspices of the Government of India, the Imperial Indian Citizenship Association, other important public bodies in India and all the Colonial Indian Congresses and Associations. Half the expenses of such a Conference should be

borne by the Government of India and the other half to be equally divided among the other conveners. The Secretary to the Government of India at the conference referred to above, appreciated the idea and agreed to the principle on which the conference was proposed to be organised. He promised to consider the proposal.

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In September 1928, a Reuter's message from Durban reported the death of twenty four indentured Indian labourers on board the s.s. Sutlej returning from British Guiana. In the course of a letter addressed to the Secretary, the Government of India, the Hony. Secretary stated, "I hope you will be kind enough to supply me with full information regarding the circumstances under which this horrible tragedy occurred. Further, if the news is correct, I request you to constitute a Board of Enquiry consisting of six members—three officials and three non-officials—to enquire into the whole tragic affair immediately on the arrival of the boat in Calcutta next month....." The Government of India promised to institute an enquiry into the shocking tragedy but could not see their way to include non-officials on the Board of Enquiry as requested by the Association.

When a summary of the report of the Official Enquiry was communicated to the Hony. Secretary of the Association, he issued the following Press Note for general information on the 21st December 1928 :—

"It will be remembered that in the month of September last, Reuter reported the death of 37 repatriated Indians on board the s.s. "Sutlej" returning to India from British Guiana. The Hony. Secretary at once telegraphed to the Government of India to supply him with full information regarding the circumstances under which that unfortunate tragedy occurred; and also suggested that the Government of India should institute a public enquiry on the arrival of the boat in Calcutta. It transpires now that an official enquiry was held by the Government of Bengal at the request of the Government of India.



The investigations were conducted by Major W. O. Walker, I.M.S., Protector of Emigrants, Calcutta, and Mr. E. N. Blandy, I.C.S., Collector of the 24-Parganas. The report of this official enquiry says that there were 745 passengers on the s.s. "Şut-lej" out of which 37 died. Of these deaths, thirty were due to respiratory diseases and seven to other causes such as heart diseases, nephritis, enteritis, serility and malaria. The report further observes that the deaths were practically confined to old people, who were not strong, and who, but for their great anxiety to return to their homeland, would probably have been advised not to undertake so long a voyage. It also shows that the incident was no exception to the previous years; as since 1923, deaths among the repatriated Indians on these boats, have regularly occurred.

Any comment on this most unsatisfactory report appears to be unnecessary. The tragedy of the deaths of these unfortunate labourers on these boats to and fro British Guiana is by no means of recent origin. As early as 1839, Lord Brougham referring to the mortalities among Indian labourers on the boats bound for British Guiana said, "mortality and massacre of the voyage far exceeded the African middle passage itself."

The Hony. Secretary of the Association is in correspondence with the Government of India with a view to urge upon them the immediate necessity of the adoption of means for terminating this most scandalous and antiquated state of affair."

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**APPENDIX L**

Telegram, dated 12th May, 1927, addressed to the Secretary, Government of India, Department of Education, Health and Lands (Overseas), Simla.

“ Council of Imperial Indian Citizenship Association anxious that Indian Colonial interests should be represented in Colonial Conference sitting in London stop. Also hope Government of India is represented.”

**NATARAJAN,**

*Honorary Secretary.*

## APPENDIX II.

The Government of India's reply to the Association's telegram.  
(Appendix I).

No. 399-Os.

GOVERNMENT OF INDIA,  
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION, HEALTH AND LANDS,  
*Simla, the 20th May 1927.*

From

G. S. BAJPAI, Esq., C.I.E., C.B.E., I.C.S.,  
*Deputy Secretary to the Government of India.*

To

K. NATARAJAN, Esq.,  
HONORARY SECRETARY,  
IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION,  
Bombay.

Sir,

I am directed to acknowledge receipt of your telegram, dated the 12th May. The Government of India are not represented on the Colonial Conference; nor do they consider that it would be proper to claim representation, as the Conference is primarily concerned with matters of internal administration and confined to official representatives of colonies, &c. They will watch the proceedings with interest and, if circumstances require it, will take suitable action to safeguard Indian interests.

I have the honour to be,

SIR,

Your most obedient servant,

(Sd.) G. S. BAJPAI,

*Deputy Secretary*

## APPENDIX III.

Question No. 112/1927.

## RESIDENTIAL PLOTS, MOMBASA TOWNSHIP.

In the Kenya Legislative Council on Thursday, the 15th September, 1927, the Hon'ble Mr. J. B. Pandya asked :—

“ With reference to Notice No. 738 appearing in the Official Gazette of 23rd instant, regarding tender for certain residential plots in Mombasa Township—Will Government state :

1. If these plots are reserved for Europeans only ?
2. If the reply be in affirmative will the Government remove these restrictions according to 1924 White Paper policy laying down the principle of no segregation in township areas ?
3. If the reply be in the negative will the Government state reasons therefor ?
4. Will the Government state reasons of asking for tender in this case instead of the usual procedure of sale by public auction ?

The Hon'ble Colonial Secretary replied :—

The reply to the first part of the question is in the affirmative. 2 and 3. As regards the second and third parts of the question, the Hon'ble Member is no doubt aware that the declaration of the White Paper of 1923 against residential segregation as between Europeans and Indians cannot in practice be applied without qualification in areas governed by covenants made before 1923 when segregation was, under Imperial sanction, part of the settled policy of the Colony. In such areas the policy of the declaration of 1923 is limited in application by the facts of the situation, since Government can neither unmake covenants entered into before 1923

nor accept the liability involved in ignoring them. The question whether or not a particular area comes under this limitation must depend upon legal opinion as to whether sales without restriction would adversely affect existing interests or render Government liable to claims from holders of existing titles in the area. Government has been advised that in the Mombasa area to which the Hon'ble Member's question refers unrestricted sale would affect existing interests and could expose Government to claims from existing holders. The course taken by the Government is therefore the only course possible, if the plots in question are not to be withheld indefinitely from residential occupation.

5. With regard to the fourth part of the question tenders were called for at the urgent request of the District Committee and Town Planning Authority. The urgency is due to the lack of houses in Mombasa, which is still very serious.

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The following "Indians Abroad" Bulletins were published during the period 1927 and 1928 :—

Bulletin No. 17	.. South Africa	.. The Round Table Conference.
..	18 .. Do.	.. The Rt. Hon'ble V. S. Srinivasa Sastri, P. C.
..	19 .. East Africa	.. Royal Commission on the Union of East Africa.
..	20 .. British Guiana	.. The Parliamentary Commission on the British Guiana Constitution.

List of Magazines and Journals received in the library of the Association :—

1. The "Times of India."
  2. The "Indian Daily Mail."
  3. The "Bombay Chronicle."
  4. The "Jam-e-Jamshed."
  5. The "Hindu."
  6. The "Leader."
  7. The "Indian Social Reformer."
  8. The "Servant of India."
  9. The "Young India."
  10. The "New India."
  11. The "Cape Times"—(South Africa).
  12. The "Indian Opinion"—(South Africa).
  13. The "Kenya Daily Mail"—(East Africa).
  14. The "African Comrade"—(East Africa).
  15. The "Tanganyika Opinion"—(East Africa).
  16. The "Zanzibar Voice"—(East Africa).
  17. The "African Chronicle"—(East Africa).
  18. The "Fiji Samachar."
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**THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.**  
**Income and Expenditure A/C. for the year ending 31st December 1927.**

Income.	Amount.	Expenditure.	Amount.
	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.
Interest on Securities .. ..	11,766 8 10	Allowance to Mr. C. E. Andrews on account of Association .. ..	500 0 0
Members' Fees .. ..	308 0 0	Travelling Expenses to Mr. C. E. Andrews .. ..	414 0 0
Deficit .. ..	14,629 9 2	Grant to the South African Indian Congress £ 450/- .. ..	6,016 10 7
		Expenses re: the Public Meeting in honour of the Rt. Hon'ble Srinivasa Sastri, P. G. .. ..	38 2 0
		Bulletin .. ..	8,042 0 9
		Newspaper .. ..	179 9 6
		News Agency .. ..	393 0 0
		Salary .. ..	4,950 0 0
		Rent .. ..	5,400 0 0
		Sundry Expenses .. ..	137 11 0
		Stamps .. ..	64 11 2
		Stationery and Printing .. ..	362 0 0
		Telegrams and Cables .. ..	189 0 0
		Insurance .. ..	18 12 0
<b>Rs.</b>	<b>26,704 2 0</b>	<b>Rs.</b>	<b>26,704 2</b>

Examined and found correct.

Balance sheet for the year ending 31st December 1927.

BOMBAY, 12th September 1928.

**THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION**

Honorary Auditors

RUSTOMJI MODI & DAMANIA,

## THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.

Balance Sheet for the year ending 31st December 1927.

Liabilities.			ASSETS.			
<i>Capital Fund—</i>	Rs.	a. p.	<i>Balance as under—</i>		Rs.	a. p.
Amount as per last Statement ..	3,63,744	4 10	4% B. P. T. Bonds .. .. .		Face Value.	Book Value.
					1,40,500	0 0
				Face Value. Book Value.		
<i>Liabilities—</i>			3½% Govt. Pro-			
To Expenses .. .. .	1,043	4 6	missory Notes—			
			Balance as per			
			last account	1,70,000/-	1,56,466	5 2
			Less sale pro-			
			ceeds ..	20,000/-	15,216	6 6
					1,50,000	0 0
			<i>Dead Stock—</i>			
			Furniture etc. Book value subject to de-			
			preciation .. .. .			2,551
			Library, Book value subject to deprecia-			14 0
			tion .. .. .			459
						13
			<i>News Agency Deposit—</i>			
			Cash with the Central Telegraph Office			
			as a deposit for the registration of the			
			Association as a News Agency ..			500
			<i>Suspense Account—</i>			
			Cash with the Asst. Secretary for petty			
			disbursements .. .. .			50



		<i>Sundries Receivable—</i>		
		Members' fees for previous years received		
		in 1928 .. .. .	..	155 0 0
		Balance at the Imperial Bank of India ..	..	7,626 7 2
		<i>Income and Expenditure Ac-</i>		
		<i>count—</i>		
		Rs. a. p.		
		Deficit as per last account. 53,103 5 8		
		<i>Add this year's deficit as</i>		
		<i>per Income and Expendi-</i>		
		<i>diture account .. ..</i>	14,629 9 2	
				67,732 14 10
Rs. ..	3,64,787 9 4		Rs. ..	3,64,787 9 4

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with Books, Vouchers, etc., and beg to report that to the best of our belief and according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Association we find the same correct.

BOMBAY, 12th September 1928.

RUSTOMJI MODI & DAMANIA,  
Honorary Auditors.



## THE IMPERIAL INDIAN CITIZENSHIP ASSOCIATION.

Balance Sheet for the year ending 31st December, 1928.

LIABILITIES.					ASSETS.				
	Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.		Rs.	a. p.	Rs.	a. p.
<i>Capital Fund—</i>					<i>Balance as under—</i>	Rs. a. p.		Rs. a. p.	
Amount as per last statement .. .. .	3,63,744	4 10			4% B. P. T. Bonds .. ..	1,40,500 0 0		1,44,461 9 8	
					3½% Govt. Promissory Notes ..	.. ..			
<i>Liabilities—</i>					Balance as per last account ..	1,50,000 0 0		1,41,249 14 8	
To expenses for December 1928.. .. .	670	3 0				Rs. ..	2,90,500 0 0		
			3,64,414	7 10	<i>Dead Stock—</i>				
					Furniture, etc. .. ..	2,551 14 0			
					Library .. ..	465 15 0		3,017 13 0	
					<i>Mr. S. A. Waiz, Asst. Secretary. Loan Account—</i> ..	.. ..		500 0 0	
					<i>Suspense Account—</i>				
					Cash with the Asst. Secretary for petty disbursements ..	.. ..		50 0 0	
					<i>Balance at the Imperial Bank of India .. .. .</i>	.. ..		4,133 13 2	
					<i>Income &amp; Expenditure Account—</i>				
					Balance as per last account..	67,732 14 10			
					Add this year's deficiency ..	3,268 6 6		71,001 5 4	
Rs. .. ..			3,64,414	7 10		Rs. .. ..		3,64,414	7 10

We have examined the above Balance Sheet with Books, Vouchers, etc., and beg to report that to the best of our belief and according to the information and explanations given to us and as shown by the books of the Association we find the same correct.

BOMBAY, 18th April 1929.

RUSTOMJI MODI & DAMANIA,  
Honorary Auditors.

# DEDICATION OF GIRLS TO GODS

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PLEA FOR PROHIBITION BY LAW

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BY

NAIK-MARATHA MANDAL.

# Dedication Of Girls To Gods.

Y125 : 447506Q 2. 2

## PLEA FOR PROHIBITION BY LAW.

This extremely immoral custom has been, of late, receiving serious attention of some of the social reformers ; and a few members of the British Legislative Councils have the credit of bringing it to the notice of their bodies; and it is hoped that they will soon succeed in securing a legislative measure to put a stop to this custom. Those who may still have some misgivings about seeking help of law in stopping the custom may do well to read the following pages and form their own independent opinion in respect of this question and support whole-heartedly some effective legislative measure intended to put a stop to it.

### I. WHAT IS DEDICATION.

In some parts of Bombay and Madras Presidencies and in a few native states in the southern part of the country there prevail a very crude notion in the uncultured minds of some ignorant and superstitious persons that their objects of worship require services of women in the shape of singing, dancing and other sundry duties, which are supposed to propitiate them ; and so they employ them to do such services. As married women are either not prepared or cannot conveniently be employed to do such services, unmarried girls are dedicated for this purpose. There are certain castes which alone dedicate their girls to temple services. Once such girls are dedicated to these services they must remain unmarried throughout their lives. In order to ensure this, such girls are made to undergo a kind of fictitious marriage ceremony after which none will marry them, as the notion is that girls who undergo this ceremony are dedicated to their objects of worship and are to be regarded their wives or maid-servants. Now the castes which dedicate their girls to gods invariably carry on the most nefarious trade of prostitution ; and this custom of dedication of girls to gods has been responsible for bringing into existence and perpetuating these castes of hereditary prostitutes. So naturally young, unmarried girls who are dedicated to gods carry on the most immoral

trade of prostitution. These castes have now been crystallised like other castes which have been differentiated on account of different kinds of trades and avocations they have been following. All other castes, either high or low, look down upon the castes in which this custom of dedicating girls to gods prevails, and even the so called lowest castes will never be induced to dedicate their girls to gods and allow them to carry on the most infamous trade of prostitution. For the sham ceremony of dedication does not at all deter either the elders or their girls from beginning their ancestral trade of prostitution as soon as such girls attain puberty. In their hearts there does not lurk even the faintest idea of the sacredness of their position as dedicated women, and they never harbour for a moment any fear of the wrath of their gods for their most immoral pursuit. In short such dedication has come to mean initiation into prostitution. None, therefore, need associate even the slightest idea of sacredness with such dedication.

## II. CAUSES OF THE PERPETUATION OF THE CUSTOM.

The question can naturally be asked that if this custom of dedication leads to immoral life, and if all other castes detest it and would never follow it, how has it still survived? The reply to this question is as follows:—

(1) Those poor, ignorant and superstitious families which have fallen victims to this custom depend almost entirely on the gains they make. Certain lands and other allowances have been granted to such families as a recompense for setting apart their girls for the services of gods. If they cease to dedicate their girls to gods for temple services their inams are forfeited. When the Inam Commission was appointed by our British Government in the sixties of the last century *sanads* which were issued by preceding rulers in the names of dedicated prostitutes, were allowed to be enjoyed by them and their descendants, in consideration of the temple services they were called upon to render. Thus Government is indirectly responsible for continuing the custom. If the British Authorities had then realized the enormity of the custom they were sure to discontinue the inams, as the contract they implied was extremely immoral.

(2) The trade of prostitution brings them some lucre, which enables them to eke out their existence, and as such prostitutes are associated with worship in the temples, they are supposed to have a right to pursue their trade without incurring much obloquy or shame.

and they get better facilities to carry it on, and hence they secure better patronage than other ordinary prostitutes who take to this trade by sheer accident. Moreover many of such prostitutes make large gains by amusing people with the display of their attractive skill in singing and dancing, which they are required to cultivate, so that they might perform well their duties in this connection.

(3) These castes of hereditary prostitutes generally believe that it is their religious duty to dedicate their girls to gods, the neglect or non-performance of which, they think, would incur wrath of their gods, and interested men impress upon their minds the sacredness of this duty. Even though many of these prostitutes come to realize the evil consequences of their trade they superstitiously believe that they have been destined to this kind of life, and do not hesitate to put their girls in their own trade by dedicating them. Moreover their neighbours do not discourage or blame them for doing so.

(4) As these dedicated prostitutes depend chiefly upon their trade they cannot help keeping it up in their families by initiating their young girls in it, so that their trade may continue in their families when they grow too old for it, and the temple services for which they receive allowances may be performed after them and thus the allowances may be continued in their families. If they have no girls of their own they purchase them from poor persons who are in need of money, and they succeed in passing such girls for their own and in evading criminal law which is against such course.

### III. EVIL CONSEQUENCES FROM THE CUSTOM.

(1) This evil and unnatural custom of dedication is responsible for creating a number of castes which subsist on the gains from prostitution. Thus it has become a source of perennial supply of prostitutes who pest their own villages and almost every town, to which they resort for the purpose of carrying on their nefarious trade.

(2) It leads young, innocent and ignorant girls to the most immoral life before they reach the age of discretion. They thus fall victims to the lust of voluptuous men and self-interest of their elders. Moreover it is in sheer violation of the universally acknowledged birth-right of persons, which requires that all individuals should be allowed full liberty to choose their own course of life, and none is justified in forcing them to a life which demoralizes and degenerates them and ruins their physical and mental health.

(3) It leads certain families to take to this evil course of life which is against all the wholesome and approved principles of family life. In all the families which have not fallen victims to this custom, girls are married and their parents are anxious to see them live in a respectable manner; while in the families of these dedicated prostitutes girls are kept without marriage and are initiated in their ancestral trade as soon as they attain puberty, and are dedicated even after they have in many cases pretty far advanced in their trade. This state of things is quite perverse and against all the rest of the world, inasmuch as innocent and helpless girls are forced into this immoral life, without their consent and before they are able to foresee the evil consequences of their mode of life.

(4) As dedication entitles these prostitutes to do all sorts of services in temples, they vitiate the whole religious atmosphere and serve as object-lessons to the worshippers, who frequent such temples, in immoral and voluptuous life, and they come to think very lightly of unchaste life. Thus their moral standard becomes very low which degenerates and demoralizes them to a large extent. Thus association of religion with prostitution has become inevitable: and who can say that this state of things is desirable? All persons who ever entertain any idea of sacredness in respect of religious worship must detest such state of things and welcome all efforts to eradicate it.

#### IV PLEA FOR A LEGISLATIVE MEASURE.

Looking to the evil consequences delineated above, it is quite necessary to stop the custom by means of a legislative measure, and thus free the parts of the country where it prevails from this evil for the following reasons:—

(1). It is impossible to expect the custom to disappear of its own accord, for it will take a long time for education and enlightenment to reach the lowest strata of our society; and even though these humanising forces reach there, people, who seek pleasures and gains through this custom, will not be prepared to get rid of it notwithstanding the fact that they come to realize the evil consequences accruing from it. Moreover the millennium of universal spread of education and enlightenment is almost an impossibility, and to wait till this state of things comes off is no wisdom. In short spontaneous dis-



appearance of this custom is extremely impossible. On the other hand the general experience is that customs once firmly rooted successfully defy all humanizing influences and outlive all individual efforts and exhortations to dissuade people from following them. The custom in question is no exception to this general rule. Hence the need of a legal measure which will be a powerful weapon to uproot it.

(2) As the custom has a halo of rank superstition about it and as it has been long associated with religious worship in its crudest and most immoral form which people, who have a very low moral standard, do not realize. It is extremely hard to dissuade them from such an exceedingly demoralizing custom. The wonder is that even some of the highly cultured persons unfortunately hesitate to pronounce their honest verdict against the custom, because of the fact that it is associated with a phase of religious worship. Unfortunately this pseudo-religious idea over-powers them. Hence it is futile to expect any better counsels from such doubting persons. If it is argued that religious reform of a right sort will set right people's minds as regards their religious worship, and all immoral and unjust elements in it will disappear in due course of time, this expectation is simply chimerical. In the first place majority of our people will always set their face against all kinds of religious reform, for, generality of them labour under the false idea that theirs is the ideal religion and it needs no reform; and think that all those who propose any reform in it are atavists and deserve to be despised and hated; and in the next place all who have any inclination to adopt any religious reform are persecuted and excommunicated, which our people for want of moral courage dread most. Hence only strong hand of law is pre-emptorily needed to free society from such a social canker.

(3) Since the main aim of all political law and order is to secure for every individual in the body politic full liberty and justice and to prohibit those who may, through self-interest, come in the way of the liberty of others, and perpetrate any injustice against them, political power which is the custodian of law and order should ever watch and guard the interests of all and keep the strong from molesting the weak by violating their liberties and perpetrating injustice against them. It is, therefore, quite preposterous to allow parents or elderly persons to sacrifice the liberty of young and ignorant girls belonging to their families and act unjustly against them from question-

able motives. Government is perfectly justified to prevent such superstitious and self-interested persons from sacrificing the wellbeing of their innocent girls and from vitiating the morals of society in general.

(4) The castes, which follow this custom notwithstanding the baneful effects which accrue from it, are led to do so because of the fact that they enjoy some grants of inam lands and other allowances which have been conferred upon them in consideration of the services their dedicated young women are called upon to perform at their village temples. Hence they stand the chance of forfeiting these emoluments in case they cease to devote their girls by dedicating them to temple services, and their poverty deters them from foregoing these gains. It is, therefore, necessary that law should ensure their enjoyment of such grants when they cease to dedicate their girls to the temple services, in consideration of which those grants were originally made. The enlightened Ruler of Mysore State has already set a very good example in this connection. More than twenty years ago he has disallowed all such services in all temples in his state and the families of Dewadasees who enjoyed grants for performing temple services have been allowed to do so without requiring them to devote their girls to such services. Some such wholesome legal measure ought to be adopted in the British territory, so that there would remain no fear for future enjoyment of their inams and other allowances in case they stop this custom of their own accord or law prohibits them to do so.

(5) It is law alone which will free our society from this most immoral, highly injurious and greatly unjust custom. We have had numerous religious and social reforms to which many a sect testifies. But they all have hitherto proved ineffective in the case of this harmful custom; and many of them never took any cognizance of it. In face of such discouraging experience it will be preposterous to wait any longer to see its disappearance. The law of survival of the fittest has hitherto failed in the case of this custom. Consequently those who see that this custom is extremely harmful are perfectly justified in demanding its entire eradication from society by means of a legislative measure. No person should be allowed to let loose on society such dedicated prostitutes who tempt raw and thoughtless persons into highly immoral life which is worse than any contagious disease; and Government will be failing in their duty if they do not take cognizance of this custom and stop it with a strong hand.

## V. THE CUSTOM HAS NO RELIGIOUS SANCTION.

(1) The first and foremost objection, that is likely to be taken against any legislative measure for stopping the custom is on the score of religion. As it is unfortunately associated with some kind of religious worship, many persons harbour the gratuitous notion that the custom has a religious sanction, and hence, they think, it is undesirable and unsafe to interfere with it. But this notion has been proved quite groundless by the Ruler of the Mysore State. When that enlightened Prince was called upon to put a stop to this custom he appointed a committee of pandits (savants) to find whether the immoral custom had any sanction of religion. These experts in religious *shastras* as laid down in Sanskrit pronounced with one voice that there was not a single shastraic text to show that the custom had any religious sanction. On the strength of this fiat that Ruler issued an order twenty years ago to prohibit Dewadasees from performing any temple services. This is testimony enough to show that the custom is not at all sanctioned by our Hindu religion which has been based on Vedas.

(2) This custom of requiring prostitutes to do services at temples is not at all found in connection with any temples of gods recognized by or included in the Hindu pantheon in regard to which so many legends in Sanskrit called *Puranas* have been recorded and come down from generation to generation. While no such recorded Sanskrit or Prakrit legends exist regarding the idols which are supposed to require services of such dedicated prostitutes. If it were a fact that such services were a *sine qua non* of Hindu religious services the custom would have been observed in all Hindu temples. But the fact is that it is limited to only some parts of Bombay and Madras Presidencies, and that too in connection with some idols which have not been included in the Hindu pantheon.

(3) This custom is entirely against the genius of all religious cults which have their root in Vedic teachings. According to all these different cults the attainment of salvation of the soul or emancipation from the worldly misery requires man to be pure in word, thought and deed. Holiness of life is the prime condition of all; and unchastity and voluptuousness are reckoned as extremely sinful, and those who indulge in them are threatened with all sorts of terrible punishment in future existence. Moreover all our sages and saints teach us emphatically that no salvation is possible in the case of persons who lead an immoral life; and they exhort persons to lead a

strictly pure life if they care for divine favour and celestial bliss. Our *Puranas* or religious legends also teach and inculcate the importance and sublimity of pure life. They extol chastity and deprecate and denounce all acts in violation of it. They are recognized to be the most faithful exponents of our religion. It is quite impossible, therefore, to conceive that any of our sages or saints would approve of such an extremely immoral and detrimental custom. Much more, therefore, is it preposterous to conceive that any god would approve of such a custom and would be displeased if no services from a dedicated prostitute were provided to propitiate him. But on the contrary no god who claims any sanctity will brook such highly insulting and utterly unholy services from prostitutes, and own them as their maid-servants or wives as they are usually made out to be by means of the ceremony of dedication. In case it is said that there are such gods who take delight in such services, the reply is that such gods created by human fancy do not deserve to be worshipped or taken any notice of.

#### VI POSSIBLE ORIGIN OF THE CUSTOM.

(1) Now it may be asked here if this custom cannot be traced to any religious texts of Hinduism or *shastras* which profess to teach religious duties and worship, how does it come to be associated with religious worship among Hindus who are worshippers of deities included in the Hindu pantheon, and who revere saints and sages who denounce all impiety and immorality? The reply to this question from a sociological point of view is very simple and obvious. Our religious and social customs have been an admixture of different phases of evolution and testify to intermingling of races at different stages of civilization. Some of these customs are extremely tenacious and do not cease to be observed even they may appear quite inconsistent and incoherent with the later phases of thought to which people are converted. So we have in our Hindu society remnants of all phases of religious and social evolution. This can be easily detected by scrutinizing different customs, habits and beliefs which exist side by side; and though they are distinctly contradictory and inconsistent they are observed by the same persons. Now the Hindu pantheon wants social and moral purity, and those who follow or advocate this most immoral custom of dedication recognize and respect these teachings; but they either do not see the enormity of the custom in comparison with the sublime

teachings of genuine Hinduism, or though they come to see this inconsistency in their belief and action, they are not prepared to desist from this evil custom through force of habit.

(2) In prehistoric times the aborigines of this land belonged to different savage tribes among whom ghost-worship and fetish-worship were prevalent. Now it is a wellknown fact that these savage races were under the control of their chiefs who tyrannized over them and exacted from them all kinds of services. Hence their followers literally worshipped and propitiated them by offering them all kinds of presents which were calculated to please them. Among other presents those of young unmarried damsels were about the best things to charm them; and as their followers cared more for the good will of their chiefs than anything else, they were prepared to sacrifice the wellbeing of their innocent and helpless girls for the purpose of securing their self-interest. Thus almost every barbarous and semi-barbarous chief was surrounded by beautiful and youthful damsels who did whatever they could to please their lords, who generally made some grants to them, so that they might be above want. Now when these powerful but voluptuous chiefs, who bore tyrannical sway over their followers, breathed their last, it was fancied that their ghosts hovered over their habitats and were powerful enough to do harm or good to their survivors; and some fetish or totem was set up in their memory and their ghosts or spirits were supposed to frequent their fetishes. So all sorts of things were offered at these fetishes to propitiate them for the purpose of evading their wrath and securing their favour. Among other offerings young girls were offered to them and they were thought to serve a very effective means of securing their good will as it was done while they were alive. These offered girls stayed at the temples of these fetishes of chiefs to serve them as they did when they were alive. This hero-worship subsisted even during the historic period and with it this custom remained as a *sinus que non* of the worship of them. Some of our Indian aboriginal races must have gone through this phase of religious worship and to-day there remain numerous remnants of such fetishes set up by those savage aborigines in memory of their powerful chiefs. From many parts of India this fetishworship or ghost-worship has long since disappeared and with it the fetishes and temples built for them also disappeared, owing to the spread of the Aryan cult, and later the Mahomedan cult. These fetishes are at present found in some of several southern parts of India; and the ancient tradition

that they should be propitiated by supplying them with dedicated women. This, then, appears to be the real origin of the custom in question. Ignorant and superstitious persons, who inhabit the villages in which these fetishes still remain, worship them as well as the gods from the Hindu pantheon. In one breath they believe that purity of conduct and heart will only please gods and secure heavenly bliss, and in the next breath they resort to the most immoral custom of dedication which they suppose to be pleasing to their fetishes. We cannot say that all of them do not perceive their gross inconsistency, but the ancient tradition which comes down from the savage life persists in their hearts and asserts its weight owing to its continuance for centuries, notwithstanding the fact that they have adopted the Aryan cult. And as the Aryan and Mahomedan cults were late in spreading over the southern parts of the country, these ancient fetishes did not disappear as in the northern parts. Besides, all races of savages did not worship their fetishes in the same manner and hence the custom of dedication was never universal.

(3) Now the persistence in observing this custom notwithstanding its enormity is due again to the legends about Indra and Krishna who is considered to be one of the ten incarnations of god Vishnu. The legend says that the former engaged the services of prostitutes called *apsaras* (*parees* of the Mahomedan legends); and the latter in his youth committed adultery with numerous milk-maids in Gokul where he was taken by his father for fear of his murder at the hands of his enemy Kaunsa. This Krishna had married more than 16000 women. Moreover, there are numerous allusions in the *puranas* to the kings who patronized prostitutes for the purpose of dancing and singing in their *darbars*. And in imitation of these legendary monarchs, kings and potentates both in ancient and modern times engaged singing girls, and even enlightened princes of the present day indulge in this form of amusement in deference to the tradition. All these facts lead superstitious and ignorant people to think that there is nothing wrong in providing their fetishes, which they worship side by side with the gods from the Aryan pantheon, with the services of prostitutes who can sing and dance and do other menial services in their temples. Hence this custom of dedication was reckoned essential in order to ensure the permanent services of such women; and their dedication served as a bond or contract on the part of the young women to remain unmarried throughout life and call themselves Devadasses, Bhawinees, Murlees etc.

## VII COMPARISON OF THE CUSTOM WITH THE INSTITUTIONS OF BUDDHISTIC BHIKSHUNES AND CHRISTIAN NUNS.

One more delusion has to be dispelled in order to bring home to the minds of those, who seriously think about this custom, the peremptory necessity of its eradication. Some are deluded into the belief that in its original form this custom of dedication was introduced with the best and solemn motive of propitiating gods; and the virgins who were dedicated for performing the services at the temples, were required to remain celibate and chaste till they died. But in course of time such young women fell victims to the lust of voluptuous men who frequented temples, and they were induced to break their sacred vow; and ultimately they turned out prostitutes. Those who argue thus compare these unlucky girls to Bhikshunesses of the Buddhistic cult. They even go to the length of saying that this Buddhistic institution of Bhikshunesses is responsible for the origin of this custom of dedication. This is an utterly false and groundless comparison, and shows gross ignorance of the great institution of Bhikshunesses. The fact is that in the Buddhistic religion a wise and far-seeing provision was made to teach and spread the great ethical religion by setting apart Bhikshus and Bhikshunesses, whose solemn duty it was to go about teaching and preaching the Buddhistic tenets to people. The Bhikshunesses, of course, were needed to convert women to whom Bhikshus could not reach. Now these preachers and teachers were required to lead a celibate life and not to enter worldly life on any account and indulge in any sensual enjoyments. Bhikshunesses were no exception to this rigid rule. They were required to study religion assiduously, and spend their whole life in meditation and in preaching and teaching their religion to worldly women. They were never required to serve any stupa or monument erected in honour of Lord Buddha. Celibacy was to be strictly observed by them, and if they ever lapsed from it they were turned out from their religious fold. Moreover they were not to undergo any ceremony of sham marriage. When they felt called upon to do the proselytizing or evangelistic work, they had only to take a solemn vow of celibacy and devote their life to their sacred duty of spreading their religion. Similar was the nature of the institution of the Nuns of the Christian religion. In both the cases, unchaste life, adultery and fornication were abhorred and considered to be one of the greatest sins. Moreover these Bhikshunesses and Nuns came from all classes of people, and they were held in very high

No man dared to look upon them as objects of their unclean thoughts or voluptuous desire. While *Davādasees* or *Bhawinees* come from the castes of hereditary prostitutes. Persons from other castes never for a moment entertain the idea of dedicating their young girls to gods. Thus it can plainly be seen that there is not the least comparison between this custom and the great and sacred institutions of *Bhikshu-nees* and *Nuns*; and, therefore, there is no redeeming feature whatsoever in case of this custom.

### VIII ASSOCIATION WITH THE SAVAGE FORM OF WORSHIP.

Now it will be argued that though the custom has no sanction of the Hindu religion based on *Veda* it has been associated with certain objects of worship, and so it has the sanction of traditional religion, however savage its origin might have been; it is, therefore, undesirable that legislation should interfere with it. The reply to this argument is two-fold. In the first place those, who follow this most immoral custom, have been completely converted to the Aryan cult and all their actions are regulated by the religious duties prescribed by that cult. Moreover there is hardly any binding force of this so called traditional religion; and if they are required to stop from following this pseudo-religious custom they will never complain or revolt against it; and even supposing that they do, they have to be put down with a strong hand in the interest of society in general, as they should have no right to let loose on society prostitutes who corrupt the morals of people. In the second place our British Government have stopped a number of cruel and horrible customs which owed their origin to such traditional religion and were associated with fetishes which are still worshipped through ignorance and superstition and without any consciousness of their inconsistency in this connection. The customs or usages that have been already stopped were not so very fraught with mischief or so very demoralizing and harmful to society as this custom of dedication is. Government had even taken a bold measure in prohibiting *Sati* (immolation of a widowed woman on the pyre of her dead husband). This fearless step is still extolled by all sane people who care for reform. Now this custom of *Sati* was enjoined by our ancient Hindu religious texts. But none revolted against the measure which distinctly interfered with the solemn religious injunction, for it aroused the consciousness of its horribleness.



But to speak the truth it was originally enjoined with the sublime object that a helpless widow might be saved from impending misery and her probable lapse into sinful life. Looking to these facts it is only strange, nay even preposterous, to hesitate to enact a measure which will put a stop to the custom of dedication which has been permitted to go on notwithstanding the fact that it is extremely immoral and has already no redeeming feature about it on the score of religion or social utility and which is more harmful than those customs which have already been prohibited by law. Moreover the custom under consideration is neither general nor looked upon as commendable or worth imitating by generality of people among whom it is in vogue, as compared with other customs which have been already prohibited by law. Much more, therefore, is it necessary that law should help our society in freeing it from the immoral custom.

#### *IX THE PRESCRIBED AGE LIMIT IS INSUFFICIENT.*

Now there remains one more point which may be raised against the demand of legislation to prohibit dedication. It may be argued that in pursuance of the general principle of liberty any person who has attained majority has a right to enter into any contract and follow any trade he or she chooses : and law should not interfere with this liberty, but on the contrary should safeguard it. Accordingly when a girl of eighteen does not object to her being dedicated, she is supposed to have voluntarily undergone the ceremony and devoted herself to the life of prostitution, and law cannot interfere with this act of hers (vide sections 372 and 373 of the Indian Penal Code). This age limit of 18 years has been laid down for general purposes, and as such it equally applies to girls from the castes of Dewadasees, Kalawantinees, Bhawinees, Muralees etc., all of whom carry on the trade of prostitution which has become hereditary in their castes and which they have interest in keeping up in their families. They set apart their girls for dedication and never think of getting them married when they reach marriagable age. But in anticipation of their being dedicated they even initiate them in their abominable trade as soon as they attain puberty and never for a moment entertain even the faintest idea that the gods, to whom they intend to dedicate such youthful prostitutes, whose virginity is violated, would be enraged at this gross insult and dishonour. Girls in such families are told even from their childhood that they are going to be kept unmarried for the purpose of dedication; and these girls as well as their parents anxiously wait till

they reach the limit of age when law cannot prohibit them from the ceremony of dedication. The legislators were not able to take cognizance of this special case of girls to be dedicated from the families of hereditary prostitutes who are limited only to some localities which were far away from the legislators who originally framed the Penal Code which has been substantially in imitation of the English law, which again has the tradition of Roman law behind it. All these foreign law-givers never dreamt of this monstrous custom of dedication which hurls innocent and helpless girls into the hellish condition of prostitution, one of the most intractable diseases of society, the eradication of which has been an extremely knotty problem before social reformers and purity leagues. Even our ancient law-givers like Manu had not the least conception of this most baneful and irreligious custom. They had laid down laws which strictly prohibited all kinds of immoral conduct and enjoined purity of thought, speech and conduct.

Those, who may think that the provision already laid down in the Penal Code is quite sufficient and to enact any special measure to prohibit dedication would be unnecessary and would interfere with the religious liberty of people, may do well to bring to their minds the following points.

(1) Legislators should feel themselves called upon to prohibit any act or custom under whatever pretext or garb it might be, which is calculated to do harm to society. In such cases no consideration of liberty of action should deter them from any measures which they should employ to safeguard the interests of the people at large. It has already been shown that the custom of dedication is highly detrimental to the interests of people.

(2) The principle of liberty cannot be said to be in place in the case of innocent and ignorant girls to be dedicated, as their minds are prepared from their infancy for the act, and as they see or hear nothing better than the life their elders have been leading. Besides, they are as a rule already initiated in the nefarious trade several years before they are formally brought forward for dedication. So when they are eighteen they are naturally not expected to go against their elders' wishes and refuse to undergo the immoral ceremony in defiance of them. Moreover, by the time they reach 18 they happen to have already pretty far advanced in their trade; so it is quite

impossible to expect any revolt against such ceremony on the part of girls of such prostitutes even when they reach 18 which the law vainly expects. It is, therefore, preposterous to suppose that unlucky girls brought up in such environments can have their own initiative and choice in following the life of prostitution by submitting to the formal ceremony of dedication, on reaching the age limit fixed by law.

(3) The irony of fate is that the age limit fixed in the Penal Code (Vide Sec. 373) serves to legalize dedication which is identical with prostitution, in that in some parts the girls destined for dedication have to appear before a magistrate and declare that they have reached eighteen and that they are willing to undergo the ceremony of dedication; and the magistrate in his turn does not care to verify whether the girls have actually reached the prescribed age limit and grants them the necessary permission, which they reckon as simply formal. But as this act of securing permission is not enjoined by law, many parents of such girls successfully evade the said provision of the Penal Code with impunity and get their girls dedicated even before they reach eighteen. The only thing which need be in their favour is that none, who knows this illegal act of theirs, reports it to the Police Authorities. Before 1924 this age limit was only 16 in the Penal Code, which was ridiculous, and in 1924 this limit has been raised to 18 by Act No. XVIII. The amendment has hardly been widely known, and it is scarcely followed.

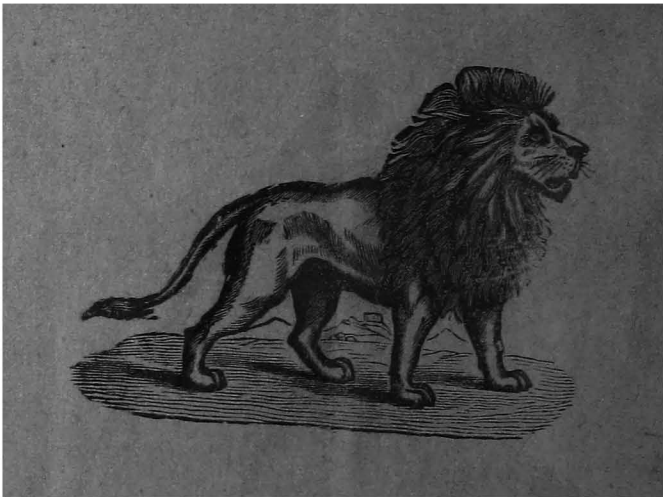
(4) It is the bounden duty of legislators to protect such unlucky girls born in the families of hereditary prostitutes from being victimized in this manner. If Government feels it its duty to prohibit infanticide, it should come forward to prohibit persons who set apart their girls for prostitution which makes them sometimes utterly miserable and wretched throughout their lives. It is true that this most cruel victimization cannot be detected in all cases, and besides it would be unpleasant to pry into the private life of persons. But in the case of dedication this clandestine and sinful aim of the elders is quite apparent; and legislators have an opportunity to punish those who get their girls dedicated. This will save society from ignomy, disease and misery, and free our ancient religion from contempt and slander and the most unclean and gross association of it with the ignominious mode of life.

In short the legislators will do well to disillusion their minds as regards the religious association of this custom. On the contrary it is extremely irreligious; and as it has an origin in savage form of pseudo-religious worship it should have no hold on those who have adopted the Aryan religion. And the supposed assertion of liberty and voluntariness on the part of girls who have completed eighteen years need not deter legislators from enacting a measure to prohibit this custom, for it is harmful to the society at large and to the innocent and ignorant girls who are only forced and tutored to go through the ceremony.

Just as these pages were going through the press the very encouraging news reached the writer to the effect that an amendment to the Hindu Religious Endowment Act has been passed by the Madras Legislative Council at the instance of Dr. Muthulaxmi Reddi. This amendment frees the lands, held by Dewadasees for temple service, from the condition of such service and makes them the owners of such lands. This will to a certain extent discourage dedication of girls by removing the inducement for the perpetuation of the custom. But this measure will not serve to wipe off entirely the ignominious blot from the enlightened Christian Government of the country, unless the Central Legislative Assembly comes forward to enact a measure to uproot the whole evil by prohibiting dedication. We devoutly hope and pray that Almighty God will inspire some souls in the Legislative Assembly to use the legal weapon to root out this evil from society and free our religion from ignominy.

NAIK-MARATHA MANDAL.

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