

GOKHALE INSTITUTE OF POLITICS AND ECONOMICS

PUBLICATION NO. 14

A Socio-Economic Survey
of
Weaving Communities in Sholapur
(Being a part of "Sholapur: A Socio-Economic Survey")

By

R. G. KAKADE, M.A., Ph.D.

RESERVE SECTION

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PREFACE

AS THE Fact-Finding Committee has pointed out, handloom weaving still constitutes the largest handicraft industry in India, providing a means of livelihood to over three million people. Its position and importance in the national economy of India for some years to come can, therefore, be hardly over-emphasised. Owing to the problems created, roughly since the beginning of the present century, by the competition of machine-made fabrics, the handicraft has attracted the attention of quite a large number of economists and philanthropists, both official and non-official, in the country. As a result, numerous broad descriptive accounts of the industry in various regions and/or provinces are available. But hardly any attempt has so far been made to study, in a comprehensive and detailed manner, the organisation of the industry as obtaining at any one centre. The organisation of the industry being more or less the same in its essentials all over the country, such a study is necessary for the proper understanding of the exact nature and extent of the problems facing the industry and suggesting appropriate solutions as well. It was with this belief that the survey of the industry in Sholapur, one of the biggest centres of handloom weaving in India, was undertaken. To make the picture of the industry logically complete, an attempt was also made to conduct a sociological survey of the communities traditionally engaged in the industry. The report of both these surveys was originally submitted as a thesis for the Ph. D. degree of the University of Bombay. The following pages present the same in a considerably abridged and revised form.

The entire work, in all its stages, was carried out under the guidance of Prof. D. R. Gadgil, Director of the Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics. I cannot adequately express the deep debt that I owe to him for his encouragement and guidance. Dr. G. S. Ghurye, Professor and Head of the Department of Sociology, Bombay University, has laid me under deep obligation by going through the manuscript and by suggesting some important improvements in the sociological chapters of this book. I tender my grateful thanks to him for the same. I must also record my deep sense of appreciation for the guidance and help given to me from time to time by Dr. Mrs. Iravati Karve in connexion with the sociological part of this work. My sincere thanks are also due to my friends Messrs. N. V. Sovani and D. V. Devdhar of the Gokhale Institute. Mr. Sovani helped me a great deal in the preparation of the manuscript for the press and in the correction of proofs. Mr. Devdhar rendered valuable assistance in checking the tabular statements and in recasting some of them wherever necessary.

I have to record my appreciation and tender my thanks to all those gentlemen and associations connected with the industry, too numerous to be mentioned here, who readily furnished me all the requisite information. Special mention should, however, be made of my friend Mr. S. V. Irabatti, an enlightened weaving *Karkhandar* of Sholapur, who helped me in various ways in the survey work. My thanks are also due to Mr. B. M. Deo, Assistant Librarian, and Mr. V. V. Kale, both of the Servants of India Society's Central Library, for helping me in my library work.

Last but not least, I acknowledge my indebtedness to the University of Bombay for the substantial financial help it has given towards the cost of the publication of this book.

R. G. KAKADE.

Servants of India Society, Poona.
5th August, 1946.

FOREWORD

DR. KAKADE'S work forms part of the Socio-Economic Survey of Sholapur City undertaken by the Institute at the invitation of the Sholapur Municipality. The work of the Survey was begun at Sholapur in June 1938, and the collection of data was completed by December 1939. The reasons which led to the delay in the publication of the report of the Poona Survey have also caused this work to lag behind.

In the plan of the investigations at Sholapur, Dr. Kakade was entrusted with the survey of the handloom weaving industry and the communities engaged in it, as an independent piece of work. Dr. Kakade had special qualifications for this work; he was a local man and he had acquired experience of investigational methods and knowledge of handicrafts and artisan communities by participating in the Institute's Poona Survey. Dr. Kakade wrote a thesis based on his investigation which earned for him the degree of Ph. D. of the University of Bombay. The bulk of this thesis was ready long before the appointment of the Fact-Finding Committee. And Dr. Kakade had submitted his data and report to that Committee as part of his evidence when deputed by the Institute to help members of the Committee in their work at Sholapur. It was not necessary to rewrite or recast any part of Dr. Kakade's thesis as a result of the publication of the report of the Fact-Finding Committee. However, Dr. Kakade has taken the occasion to include references to it in this publication wherever that was felt necessary. Dr. Kakade's original thesis has been considerably abridged and fully revised for publication. However, the actual investigation and the presentation of the results are both individually his to such a large extent that the work is published under his name.

The subject of Dr. Kakade's thesis is of special importance at the present day when the chances of survival of our traditional handicrafts are being universally discussed. A large part of the economic data included in this publication throws light directly on this problem. This is specially so because Dr. Kakade has not been content with presenting a static picture; he attempts to trace past history and to evaluate future trends. Even more important than this dynamic view is the integration of the economic problem with its social setting. This is vital in the field of handicraft economics. The capacity of any organization to survive is closely related to its capacity to adapt itself to changing circumstances; and adaptability depends not only, or perhaps not even chiefly, on economic conditions but also on social organization and communal tradition. It is, of course, difficult to differentiate sharply

social and economic phenomena; but surveying the problem as a whole, it is not necessary to do so. A comparative study of the whole situation at different places reveals significant differences and may help in indicating methods of solution. For example, the history of the Sholapur and the Poona handloom weaving industries offers a striking contrast. Among the many reasons for their varying fortunes, at least one would seem to be that at one place the entrepreneur and the artisan both belong to the same community and are bound by social ties, while in the other this relation does not exist. There will be occasion in a later publication to deal with this and other related questions. I shall content myself, at this stage, with hoping that the reader will find much of interest in the economic and social facts revealed, as well as in the investigational methods employed in Dr. Kakade's work.

Gokhale Institute
of Politics and Economics }
Poona 4
26th September, 1946 }

D. R. GADGIL.

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CHAPTER I

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

THE development of the handloom weaving industry in Sholapur seems to have commenced in the regime of the Peshawas. The settlement of the Madhavarao Peth (the present Mangalawar Peth) in Sholapur some time in the last quarter of the eighteenth century proved an attraction to many trading and artisan families of the Nizam's territory. They included some families of caste weavers, such as Khetri, Momin, etc.¹ Padmashalis maintain that they came to Sholapur at the invitation of the Peshawas. They were followed by some Togati families. But the industry was not then concentrated in Sholapur to any significant extent, owing to the unsettled political and civil conditions. In 1818, when Sholapur fort was about to be besieged by the British army, some weavers resorted to the fort for protection, while some others fled to villages roundabout Sholapur as far as Vairag near Barsi.² When peace and order were restored in Sholapur after some years of British management, it again became a resort of traders and artisans, and began to grow steadily in importance as a trade centre.³ The handloom industry also began to thrive, owing to the improvement and extension of roads and the increasing availability of better and cheaper means of communication. The extension of the railway line upto Sholapur in 1860 accelerated the expansion of the industry, and by 1872 there were reported to be 6,425 looms for cotton cloth, 4,250 weavers, 310 dyers and 840 spinners of thread in Sholapur.⁴ It is difficult to understand how 6,426 looms were worked by 4,250 weavers only. Either the number of looms must be incorrect or the number of weavers is wrongly calculated. The same figures for the looms and the weavers are repeated in the *Sholapur District Gazetteer* published in 1884.

Owing to the further extension of railways and improvement of road transport, the transport of goods in the interior of the Deccan districts became quicker, cheaper and more helpful to trade, and the inter-district trade expanded. By this time, the trade in handloom products of Sholapur extended beyond the Deccan districts to the neighbouring provinces of the Central Provinces, Berar, and Hyderabad (Deccan). As a result of this thriving trade, the number of handlooms in Sholapur gradually increased. Regarding the extent of the industry during this period Mr. T. J.

¹ "History of Sholapur City," V. N. Jakkal. See also "Sholapur Samachar," Silver Jubilee Issue, M. A. Patil, pp. 164-65, 169.

² *Ibid.*

³ "District Gazetteer of Sholapur," p. 491.

⁴ "Second Revision Survey Settlement Report, Sholapur Taluka," (1903), p. 51.

Pitre, the then Municipal Secretary, observes, "There are in ordinary times 8,000 looms at work, with about 25,000 workers." But "when the pinch of famine begins to be felt in Sholapur city, there is always an exodus of these foreign weavers back to the Nizam's territory. About one half of the weavers' population remains here in every famine."⁵ Relief to weavers in their own craft during the famines of 1896-97 and 1900-1901, enabled the industry to regain its pre-famine position. By 1903 the number of looms in Sholapur again rose to about 7,850.⁶ There were no significant fluctuations in the number of working looms during the Great War of 1914-18 when the competition of mills with the handlooms was almost absent, owing to the preoccupation of the mills with production of war necessities and a portion of the civil demands. But the difficulties of securing yarn and chemical dyes and their unprecedented high prices checked the growth of the industry,⁷ and the number of looms remained almost stationary during these years. The post-war period, however, witnessed a further development of the industry till about 1925. From then the industry began to decline as a result of the increasing competition of mills and power-looms. Still the number of looms in Sholapur might not have declined to such a low figure as 6,200, as Mr. Telang calculated in 1928.⁸ How Mr. Telang arrived at this figure is not known. But Mr. N. M. Joshi, after personal investigations in 1932, calculated it at 7,500.⁹ The variations in these estimates cannot be easily explained, particularly when we know that since 1928 the industry has been in a depressed condition. The difference between these two estimates emphasizes the great difficulty involved in framing such estimates, and their unreliability.

All the available factual data, both official and non-official, are similarly based on mere estimates and, therefore, unreliable. But there being no other source of information, the available material has been used to sketch the broad trends of the industry. A regular house-to-house census of handlooms working at any one place can alone convey a correct idea as to the extent of the industry of that place. An attempt in this direction was made in Sholapur in 1935 by the Karkhandars' Association. Field-workers, employed in the work of the census, were instructed to count not only the looms that were actually working, but also the pits in which they were plied. In this way, 10,000 pits were registered. It is not possible to know from this figure as to how many looms were then

⁵ "Note on the Special Relief to Weavers, Municipal Administration Report," (1900-01).

⁶ "Revision Survey Settlement Report," Sholapur Taluka (1903), p. 27.

⁷ "Urban Handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan," N. M. Joshi, Publication No. 5, Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, 1936, p. 86.

⁸ "Report on the Survey of the Economic Conditions of the Handloom Industry in Bombay," (1932). The Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee has adopted Mr. Telang's figure.

⁹ "Urban Handicrafts," N. M. Joshi, p. 100.

actually working; for the counting of vacant pits might involve double counting.

The organization of the local handloom weaving industry remained fundamentally unaltered till the rise of the modern factory industry in India in the seventies of the last century. There were numerous small independent artisan weavers in the industry. Each artisan-house had one or two looms, which were worked by the head of the family and, at times, by a grown-up male member in addition. The family was the unit of work and the women and children helped the weaver in preparatory processes and, in some cases, also in dyeing. In brisk seasons, outside labour was also employed. Each individual invested his little capital chiefly in the loom, and bought in small instalments his raw materials from the local yarn dealer on credit, made the fabrics in his house, and sold them in the market on market days. The finished articles were generally sold to local cloth dealers, but "when hard-pressed for cash, as soon as they were woven," the weavers themselves "sell their piece-goods from door to door."¹⁰ It will thus be seen that the system of daily sale by hawking, locally known as *gujari*, was not totally absent, as Mr. N. M. Joshi states.¹¹ By the side of the small independent artisan there was rising, steadily but surely, a class of workers who worked in their own house for some export dealer. With the expansion of trade and industry, export dealers began to get articles produced by weavers to order. The *Karkhana*, as a unit of work, began to make its appearance in the industry during this period.¹² Whatever the size of the unit of work, the processes were primitive, throw-shuttle being almost exclusively used. Thread dyeing was partly in the hands of weavers and partly a separate industry in the hands of Rangaris and Niralis. Dyeing was effected with natural dye-stuffs.¹³ Calico printing was also carried on to a large extent in Sholapur.¹⁴ In 1884, when the dyeing industry was not prosperous in Sholapur, there were 300 Rangaris and Niralis in the industry.¹⁵ The dyers of Sholapur had a good local reputation.

With the passage of time, small, imperceptible changes were coming over the organisation of the industry. A family remained the unit of work, but the *Karkhana* system began to be increasingly adopted. Similarly, the system of contract work on a large scale by the outworkers, came into prominence. In the technical branch, the fly-shuttle began steadily to displace the old throw-shuttle and

10 "District Gazetteer," pp. 266, 208.

11 "Urban Handicrafts," N. M. Joshi, p. 44.

12 According to the Fact Finding Committee (p. 77), the first "Karkhana" in Sholapur was started in the late nineties, at the instance of the District Collector, as a famine relief measure. But the oral evidence at Sholapur goes to show that as early as 1880 a "Karkhana" with 10 looms was started there by one enterprising Padmashali weaver.

13 For the processes of dyeing see "District Gazetteer," p. 269.

14 "District Gazetteer," p. 269.

15 *Ibid.*, p. 269.

a gradual specialisation of the preliminary processes of sizing and warping by a different group of workers also developed. The latter change was favoured by the *Karkhana* system. The export dealer, who was also a stockist, became a permanent and indispensable feature of the industry, the handicraftsman remaining absolutely ignorant about the markets or their proper exploitation. The lack of finance made for an increasing dependence of the weaver on the yarn-dealer-cum-cloth-dealer. The same process has continued for the last forty years and over, leading to the present organisation.

Lines of production also underwent changes. Till the sixties of the last century, when the competition of the mill-made cloth began to be felt, Sholapur used to produce cloths of various styles. Most of the production was of coarse counts intended mainly for local consumption. But the local industry was unable to meet the increasing demand in Sholapur for different kinds of goods. They had, therefore, to be imported from outside. Plain cloth, *khaddar*, *dhotars*, etc. were imported from Sagar, Surpur, Nirgundi, Bagalkot, Badami, Kumbhoji, Talikot, etc. Coloured goods, such as *rumals*, *sataranjis*, etc. were brought from Nagpur, Umara-vati, Pamadi, Jamalmadgu and other places.¹⁶ In the regime of the Peshawas a number of silk weaving Khetri families had migrated to Sholapur.¹⁷ As a result the production of high class goods was not totally unfamiliar to Sholapur. Sholapur was famous along with Nagpur and Chandwad, for its *dhotars*.¹⁸ The local Momins, Lingayat Koshtis and Niralis used to produce coloured *sarees*; and the *sarees* manufactured by a Nirali, by name Girappa, had acquired a good name.¹⁹ By 1839 "Sholapur was a depot for coarse cotton cloth, saris, etc. from the surrounding districts."²⁰ Local production must also have been considerable then, since the industry was expanding steadily. The extension of the railway line upto Sholapur in 1860 brought English yarn, which was finer and cleaner than local hand-made yarn, within the reach of the weavers. This yarn was used generally by Momins, and their goods were in great demand especially during the marriage season from January to June.²¹ In weaving women's robes, bodice pieces and other fine cloth, mill-made yarn was generally used. Hand-spun yarn was used for weaving *pasodies* or cotton sheets, *jajams* or floor cloths, *jhuls* or horse-cloth, *phadkis* or scarves and other coarse cloth²² which continued to be produced till 1900.²³

16 "Sholapur Samachar," Jubilee Issue, p. 165.

17 *Ibid.*, p. 165.

18 पेशवेकालीन महाराष्ट्र V. K. Bhave, p. 341.

19 "Sholapur Samachar," Jubilee Issue, p. 165.

20 "Survey Settlement Report," 1839.

21 "District Gazetteer," p. 208.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 270. The present century has witnessed a definite switch over in favour of sarees to the detriment of other lines.

23 "Sholapur Samachar," Jubilee Issue, p. 169.

The proportion of weavers belonging to different castes, to the total number of weavers in the industry, has also been changing slowly since the time of the Peshawas. Sholapur being in the hands of Mahomedan rulers for the greater part of its history, there were a large number of Momin weavers in Sholapur, who were probably local converts of the Koshti or Sali class. Among Hindus, there were Niralis and Lingayat and non-Lingayat Koshtis, the latter being Kannada speaking. In the time of Peshawas, many more Momin families came to Sholapur from Sagar, Aland, Dharashiv, Avase and other places in the Nizam's territory. Similarly, a number of Khetri families migrated to Sholapur during this period.²⁴ Many families of these early Hindu and Muslim immigrants made their name in the local industry. Then came Padmashali and Togati weavers from the Nizam's territories. In or about 1800, the proportion of Momin weavers in the industry must have been considerable as compared to Hindu weavers. They were living then in Shukrawar and Shaniwar wards and a part of Kasba ward (vicinity of Buva Kadari's Masjid).²⁵ But from 1800, the number of Hindu weavers began to rise rapidly due to the steady influx of the Padmashali weavers. Ancestors of a number of Padmashali *Karkhandars*, now prominent in the local industry, might be found to have settled at Sholapur in the fifties and sixties of the last century. After 1870, when the Peninsular Railway Line was extended upto Raichur, Kurhinshetty and Jyandra, weavers from the Raichur and surrounding districts, began to migrate to Sholapur. By 1881 the proportion of Hindu weavers had risen to five-eighths while that of Momins was three-eighths.²⁶ Then onwards the population of Padmashali, Jyandra and Kurhinshetti castes went on increasing, while the number of Nirali, Khetri, and Lingayat Koshti families declined. The proportion of Momin weavers to the total number of weavers in the industry decreased rapidly to such an extent that there are now hardly some hundred families of Momins engaged in the weaving process. It is not possible to point out how changes in the proportions of various castes have come about since 1881; because, from that time the textile mill industry developed in Sholapur, and in the occupational statistics given in later Census Reports, the workers in the handloom industry are not shown separately from those in the textile mills. This renders impossible even the determination of the extent of the handloom industry in Sholapur. The industry is now mostly in the hands of Padmashali weavers. Kurhinshetty, Jyandra, Togati, Khetri and Momin weavers, all put together, may account for the plying of 6 to 7 per cent of the total number of looms in Sholapur. Swakul Sali, Suk Sali, Nirali and such other weaving communities have al-

²⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 165.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 169.

²⁶ "District Gazetteer," p. 270.

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most deserted the industry. At the same time, some non-weaving communities seem to have made their appearance in the industry mostly in the preparatory processes.

CHAPTER II

RAW MATERIALS AND PROCESSES

(a) *Cotton Yarn and Rayon:* Having had to feed nearly 7,200 handlooms, Sholapur has developed a very big yarn market. This market got its supplies from two sources. The first and the most important source was the local spinning and weaving mills, over half a dozen in number. Methods, followed by the mills in Sholapur, of dealing with their local customers were not uniform. The Vishnu Cotton and the Laxmi Cotton Mills had their own guarantee brokers in Sholapur. The brokers were not responsible for the sale of yarn or piece-goods manufactured in the mills. They guaranteed that a particular dealer was solvent upto a particular limit and that the mills might deal with him to that extent. They were directly responsible for the payment of the bills. For undertaking all this risk they charged at the rate of eight annas per Rs. 100 worth of yarn sold through them. The brokers were required to deposit a sum of Rs. 1,50,000 as security with the mill concerned. The mill, on the other hand, had to pay an interest on the deposited amount at a rate higher than the local bank rate by one per cent. Both mills could and did deal with local yarn merchants without the intervention of the guarantee brokers, on the recommendation of their own salesmen. In such cases, the mills demanded that a certain amount be deposited with them by the merchants. This fixed the limit to which dealings between the parties might take place. The group of Sholapur Mills, the Raja Narsinggirji Mill and the Jam Mill had no guarantee brokers. They dealt directly with their customers.

The guarantee brokers and other influential yarn merchants in Sholapur had their *khatas* or accounts with the local mills. They entered into a contract with the mills by which they undertook to purchase from them yarn of certain counts at a previously settled price and in a specified period of time. During this period the merchants, according to their requirements, demanded from time to time, delivery of bales of yarns from the mill concerned and at the same time continued to make deposit payments. If the deposited amount was insufficient to cover the bill, interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum was charged on the unpaid amount of the bill for the period for which it remained unpaid. In case the merchants' deposits were in excess of the amount of the bill, the mills paid them interest at 6 per cent per annum, calculating it in the same manner as above. When a delivery of goods was made to a merchant, a bill was drawn in his name and transferred to his account. All the mills in Sholapur allowed

four days' credit to yarn merchants. If payment was made within the prescribed period, a commission at 6 per cent was deducted from the bill. But if a customer failed to make payment in the stipulated time, then an interest at the rate of 6 per cent was charged on the amount of the bill. At the close of every year the account was drawn up, balance paid off, and a new *khata* opened for the next year. The mills paid charity to the local *Pinjarapol* institution at the rate of two annas per Rs. 100.

The other source of supply to the local yarn market was the imports of yarn from outside. The imports comprised coarse, medium and high count yarn and rayon, and not invariably high count yarn, as is widely believed.¹ There were seven wholesale dealers in Sholapur who imported yarn from outside. The high count yarn and rayon were imported from Bombay, through the brokers there. The brokers were directly responsible for the payment of the bill. They charged brokerage at the rate of eight annas per Rs. 100 worth of yarn purchased through them. In Bombay, transactions in yarn always took place on a cash basis, for outside customers at least. No credit was allowed. As soon as the bill was drawn, payment in cash had to be made. In the event of a failure to do so, interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum was charged from the day on which the bill was drawn. The goods were imported either by rail or by road.

Sholapur imported yarn of coarse and medium counts from Barsi, Madura, and sometimes from the Gokak and Coimbatore Mills. A major portion of these imports consisted of yarn of between ten to forty counts. The local importers placed their orders for yarn of requisite counts directly with the producers. The number of days for which credit was granted to them by each mill depended mostly upon their mutual relations. Sometimes it even exceeded eight days. The goods were imported by rail, and wherever convenient, by motor trucks. The local yarn merchants entered into contracts with outside mills on the same lines as those with local mills. Importers of yarn had to pay octroi duty of four annas per maund for ordinary yarn, and of eight annas per maund for mercerised cotton yarn or rayon. Table No. 1 gives the figures for the imports of yarn and rayon from two separate sources for three consecutive years.

The Indian Trade Journal figures represented the imports by rail alone while the municipal octroi record includes imports by road as well. This explains the excess of the latter over the former. The discrepancy in 1936-37 was due to the fact that about 2,000 maunds of yarn were exported directly from the railway station and did not enter the municipal octroi record.

¹ N. M. Joshi, *Op. cit.*, p. 102.

TABLE NO. 1. IMPORTS OF YARN AND RAYON INTO SHOLAPUR (1936-39)

Year	Municipal Octroi				Record		Indian Trade Journal
	Yarn		Rayon		Total		
	Mds.	Seers	Mds.	Seers	Mds.	Seers	
From April 1936 to March 1937	32,684	30	3,574	10	36,259	—	38,365
From April 1937 to March 1938	32,754	10	5,619	20	38,373	30	30,871
From April 1938 to March 1939	31,006	10	4,021	10	35,027	20	14,231
Total for 3 Years	96,445	10	13,215	—	109,660	10	83,467

Reliable statistical data were not available to ascertain the annual turnover of yarn in the Sholapur market. Sholapur imported, on an average, over 36,500 maunds of yarn (including rayon) per year. If this figure is reduced to pounds, we get 7,300 bales (each bale consisting of 40 boxes, each box weighing 10 lbs.), worth about Rs. 18,00,000. As regards yarn of local mills, there were no factual data. It was not, however, very difficult to arrive at an approximate figure after a discussion with prominent local yarn dealers. It seemed, by moderate estimate, that about 25,000 bales (each bale of 30 boxes, each box weighing 10 lbs.), worth about Rs. 33,00,000, were annually purchased by local yarn dealers from all the mills in Sholapur put together. Thus the annual turnover of yarn in the Sholapur market roughly comes to Rs. 51,00,000. Out of this, nearly 33 per cent was consumed locally by handlooms.

In the Sholapur market yarn from $11\frac{1}{2}^s$ to 150^s count was available, and that, too, of different mills and makes. There was, however, some difference in prices for the same count of yarn produced in different mills. Table No. 2 gives the prices per box of 10 lbs. of yarn of different counts, ruling in Sholapur at two different times. The prices given are wholesale ones. Retailers charged from half an anna to one anna extra over the wholesale price.

Local retail shop-keepers and owners of dyeing establishments and of big handloom factories kept their accounts with the wholesale yarn dealers. The minimum quantity of yarn that the wholesalers sold was one box of 10 lbs. *Khatedars* were allowed to take goods, at a fixed rate, in whatever quantity they required and at

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any time during a contracted period. Four days' credit was allowed to all *Khatedars*, and after that interest at the rate of 6 per cent was charged on the amount of the bill, or if part payment was made by means of frequent lump sum deposits, on the unpaid portion of the bill for the period for which it remained unpaid. There were seven members of the Sholapur Yarn Merchants' Association who sold yarn by retail after getting it dyed either in their own dyeing establishments or elsewhere. Five other members of the Association sold undyed yarn by retail.

TABLE NO. 2. PRICES OF YARN OF DIFFERENT COUNTS AT SHOLAPUR IN 1939-1940

(Per box of 10 lbs.)

No. of the Count	Name of the Mill	August 1939	August 1940
		Rs. As. Ps.	Rs. As. Ps.
1½/5	Sholapur Mills	1-4-0	1-8-0
	Jam Mill	1-3-0	1-8-0
4½	Vishnu Mill	1-0-0	1-7-0
	Sholapur Mills	2-8-0	2-12-0
6½	Jam Mill	2-7-0	2-12-0
	Sholapur Mills	2-4-0	2-12-6
6½/2	Jam Mill	2-4-0	2-12-0
	Narsinggirjee Mills	2-3-0	2-12-0
10½	Sholapur Mills	2-11-0	3-13-0
	Narsinggirjee Mills	2-10-0	3-13-0
	Sholapur Mills	2-10-0	3-2-6
	Narsinggirjee Mill	2-9-0	3-4-0
	Jam Mill	2-9-0	3-4-0
	Vishnu Mill	2-8-0	3-2-0
	Laxmi Mill	2-10-0	3-6-0
	Jaisankar Mill	2-11-0	3-2-0
10½/2	Lokmanya Mill	2-10-6	3-1-6
	Sholapur Mills	3-0-0	4-1-0
20½	Narsinggirjee Mill	3-0-0	4-1-0
	Sholapur Mills	3-10-0	4-1-6
	Narsinggirjee Mill	3-8-0	4-1-6
	Jam Mill	3-10-0	4-1-6
	Vishnu Mill	3-9-0	4-1-6
	Laxmi Mill	3-8-0	4-6-0
	Jaisankar Mill	3-11-0	4-2-0
	Lokmanya Mill	3-10-6	4-1-6
	Kolhapur Mill	3-11-0	4-2-0
	Madura Mill	—	4-3-0
20½/2	Gokak Mill	—	4-2-0
	Sholapur Mills	4-2-0	4-12-0
24½	Narsinggirjee Mill	4-2-0	4-11-0
	Sholapur Mills	4-2-0	4-9-6
	Narsinggirjee Mill	4-0-0	4-9-0
	Jam Mill	4-2-0	4-9-6
	Vishnu Mill	4-1-0	4-9-6
	Laxmi Mill	4-0-0	4-14-0
	Jaisankar Mill	4-3-0	4-10-0
	Lokmanya Mill	4-2-6	4-9-6
	Kolhapur Mill	4-2-6	4-10-0
	Sholapur Mills	4-7-0	5-2-0
30½	Narsinggirjee Mill	4-5-0	5-1-6
	Jam Mill	4-8-0	5-2-6
	Jaisankar Mill	4-11-0	5-2-0
	Lokmanya Mill	4-10-6	5-1-6
30½	Kolhapur Mill	4-9-6	5-2-0
	Madura Mill	4-14-0	5-3-0
40½	Mysore Mill	—	5-4-0
	Sholapur Mills	5-7-0	7-6-0
	Narsinggirjee Mills	5-10-0	6-3-0
	Madura Mills	5-12-0	6-3-0
	China	—	7-3-0

TABLE NO. 2 (Contd.)

No. of the Count	Name of the Mill	August 1939		August 1940	
		Rs.	As. Ps.	Rs.	As. Ps.
605	Sholapur Mills	1st	8-7-0	10-6-0	
		2nd	7-7-0	9-6-0	
605/2	China (Peacock Brand)	7-3-3		9-6-0	
	China (Sunlight Brand)	7-5-0		9-9-0	
	China (Football Brand)	7-9-0		11-5-0	
	China (Peacock Brand)	7-2-0		10-8-0	
	Japan (Nishin Mill)	9-7-0		11-7-0	
	Japan (Nipun Mill)	7-6-6		11-7-0	
	Japan (Fusi Mill)	7-7-0		11-14-0	
805	Sholapur Mills	—		15-4-0	
	Khatia Mill, Bombay	—		13-5-0	
	China (Football)	—		14-8-0	
	China (Football)	—		14-1-0	
645/2	Mercerised Cotton Yarn (Rayon)				
	Japan (Fusi)	9-5-6		11-10-0	
425/2	Japan (Nipun)	9-6-0		11-10-6	
	Japan (Nishin, Unbleached)	9-3-6		11-4-6	
	China (Peach Brand)	6-2-0		7-3-0	
	China (Peacock Brand)	6-2-0		7-3-6	
	Mysore	6-2-0		7-2-0	
845/2	Japan (Watermoon Brand)	6-3-0		7-7-0	
	Japan (Five Threads)	6-3-0		7-8-6	
	Japan (Fusi)	11-0-0		14-10-0	
	Japan (Nipun)	11-5-6		14-13-0	
	China (Nishin)	11-1-0		14-13-0	
1205/2	Arti. Silk Japan (7 Bra. from	7-14-0		9-4-0	
	to	8-3-0		10-12-0	
1505	Arti. Silk Japan	6-6-0		7-10-0	
	Italy	6-10-6		7-8-0	
	Japan (Arti. Silk)	6-9-0		9-2-0	
150/2	Japan (Arti. Silk)	7-9-0		9-6-0	
	Japan (Any Label)	7-7-6		9-3-0	

(b) *Silk*: In Sholapur, there were fifteen to twenty wholesale silk dealers. They imported raw silk from Bombay. Some of them purchased it directly, while others obtained through brokers there. All transactions in silk took place in cash. As soon as a bill was drawn, its payment had to be made. If the payment was made immediately, a commission at the rate of Rs. 1-12-0 per Rs. 100 worth of goods purchased was deducted from the amount of the bill. If the transaction was effected through a broker, brokerage at the rate of four annas per Rs. 100 worth of goods, had to be paid. The broker was not directly responsible for the payment of a bill. If a bill was not paid readily, interest at the rate of $7\frac{1}{2}$ per cent per annum was charged on the amount of the bill from the day of delivery. Silk was brought to Sholapur either by goods or by railway parcel, charges for which in 1940 were Rs. 1-15-0 and Rs. 5-8-0 respectively for one maund and 15 seers. The importers had to pay an octroi duty of Rs. 2-8-0 per maund. The figures of the imports of silk, extracted from the Municipal octroi register, for three consecutive years are given below:

	1936-37	1937-38	1938-39
	Mds.	Mds.	Mds.
Silk	677	740	576

In 1939, the imported silk was invariably of Chinese or Japanese make. Silk of either make was sold in Bombay by *rattals* (39 tolas). Italian silk had not been imported into Sholapur for six or seven years prior to 1939. The Bengal silk, of which Sholapur was one of the big consumers some forty-five years back,² was no longer bought by Sholapur silk dealers, due to various reasons. The same was the case with Bangalore silk. It was said that silk from both the places was inferior in quality, required more twist and lost more in weight in the bleaching process or *ukhar* than Chinese silk.

China silk imported into Sholapur was of four varieties: Mayya, Kakda, Chinkam and Eshtim, in order of quality. Japan silk, though inferior in quality to the China silk, was consumed on a very large scale in Sholapur. Mayya, Kakda, Chinkam and Eshtim followed in order of their consumption.

Raw silk of certain weight, generally a seer (80 tolas), was distributed for loosening and sorting to women outworkers who were to return the same quantity in weight, after processing it. If the raw silk was of inferior quality, the process involved waste up to three tolas. The silk was then twisted. In Sholapur there were twisting machines so big as to accommodate thirty-six bobbins at a time. On some machines a slight twist was given, while on others the maximum possible twist could be given. The latter type of twist was known as "*hurichi peel*." Silk of ordinary twist was used for the "*heading*" of a *saree* and of "*huri*" twist in borders. A man or a woman operated the twisting machine and mended at times the broken fibres of the bobbins. There was one silk twisting factory in Sholapur in which electric power was used for operating the machine. An operator of an ordinary twisting machine got six annas per seer of 80 tolas and could work out 2 to 3 seers a day. While an operator of a machine giving *huri* twist, could turn out $\frac{3}{4}$ to 1 seer of silk per day and got twelve annas to Re. 1 as wages for one seer of 80 tolas.

The twisted silk was dyed after it was bleached or even while bleaching by mixing dye-stuffs into the alkaline ley. In sorting, loosening and in bleaching, silk lost about 12 tolas per seer in weight. Charges for bleaching of the silk varied from six annas to eight annas per seer of 80 tolas. The charges for dyeing silk with direct colours varied from eight to twelve annas, and for dyeing with basic colours an extra rupee per seer was charged. After the commencement of the last war, the dyeing charges for silk increased by 75 to 100 per cent. Selling prices of ready-made silk of different varieties are given in Table No. 3, for August 1939 and August 1940.

² "A Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal," (1903), N. G. Mukerji, p. 28.

TABLE NO. 3. PRICES OF READY-MADE SILK AT SHOLAPUR IN 1939 AND 1940

Variety of Silk	August 1939 Per Seer of 22 Tolas			August 1940 Per Seer of 22 Tolas		
	Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.
Japan	4-12	0		5-8	0	
Eshtim (No. 20-22)	4-4	0		5-0	0	
Eshtim (No. 29-32)	4-4	0		5-0	0	
Chinkam	3-12	0		4-12	0	
Kakda	3-12	0		4-12	0	
Mayya	—			4-4	0	

These are the wholesale prices. Retailers charged two to three annas in excess. In Sholapur there were about thirty to thirty-five silk dealers. This trade was mainly in the hands of Khetri merchants.

(c) *Dyeing*: To cope with the demand for dyed yarn and rayon, the dyeing industry had been in existence in Sholapur for a long time as ancillary to the local handloom industry. For more than a decade yarn dyed in Turkish red only was imported from Bombay.³ But since then, dyeing in all colours and shades was being done locally. The progress made by the local dyeing industry during the past few decades has been remarkable. In 1940 there were about sixty to seventy dyeing houses in the city employing in all over 250 workers. They dyed annually something like 5,00,000 boxes of yarn, consuming approximately 70,000 lbs. of dye-stuffs and about 65,000 lbs. of chemicals. In Sholapur, dye-stuffs manufactured in Great Britain, U. S. A., Germany, France, Switzerland and Japan were used for dyeing yarn, rayon and silk.

Dyeing in Sholapur was done by using (1) Naphthol (2) Sulphur (3) Indanthrene (4) Direct and (5) Basic colours. The process of vat dyeing by fermentation did persist though on a very small scale. The share of each one of the above series of dye-stuffs in the total consumption in Sholapur was estimated in 1940 as follows: Naphthols 50 per cent, Sulphurs 25 per cent, Indanthrene 5 to 10 per cent, Vat colours 1 per cent, and the remaining between Direct and Basic, the former claiming a major portion.

Almost all colours could be obtained by using any one of the above dye-stuffs, but with varying results. Some of the colours thus obtained did not pass all the tests of satisfactory dyeing, while in the case of others the desired shades were not obtainable. Hence the necessity of using different dye-stuffs of different makes.

³ N. M. Joshi, Op. cit., p. 102.

Naphthol colours were used in Sholapur for obtaining light, medium and full shades in all colours except green, black and blue. They, it was told, cost comparatively more and were not fast to bleaching. Charges for dyeing one box of yarn of 10 lbs. with Naphthol Basic colours were from Re. 1 to Re. 1-4-0. The actual costs to a dyer ranged between thirteen annas to Re. 1 for full shades, and still less for light shades. Charges for dyeing the same quantity of yarn with Naphthol salt dyes were higher by something like eight annas per box, because costs also were greater in their case. Naphthols were particularly used for obtaining different shades in chocolate, yellow, red, pink and orange colours.

Almost all colours were obtainable from sulphur dye-stuffs, but in Sholapur they were used for producing black, green and yellow shades. Very little dyeing was effected in alizerine or Turkey red. Amongst all the sulphur colours, charges for dyeing black colours were the lowest, viz., ten annas per box of 10 lbs. and were, therefore, largely used in Sholapur. For shades other than red, the charges ranged between Rs. 2-8-0 and Rs. 3-0-0 per box, while dyeing costs, including the cost of labour, chemicals, fuel, dye-stuff, etc., varied from Rs. 2-0-0 to Rs. 2-8-0.

Almost all light shades were produced by Indanthrene colours. Green, blue, brown and violet shades were costlier in this series of colours. Indanthrene blue was a colour of remarkable fastness but was the dearest of all. More costly colours were, naturally enough, not used on any considerable scale. Dyeing charges for light shades, excepting the four mentioned above, ranged from Rs. 3-0-0 to Rs. 3-4-0 per box. The dyer's costs for the same shades might be placed at between Rs. 2-8-0 to Rs. 3-0-0. Dyeing charges for green and violet shades were Rs. 3-8-0, while those for blue were Rs. 5-0-0 per box. Medium and full shades could be produced by colours of this class, but dyeing charges for the medium were double that of the light and for the full, double that of the medium. The latter shades were, therefore, not in constant demand.

In Sholapur there were not more than five or six dyeing-houses where the process of vat-dyeing by fermentation was still practised. It was used for the dyeing of indigo blue. They called this process "*Nilicha Boja*." In this process, unlike others, naturally occurring substances were used for dyeing.

Direct colours were used for dyeing both cotton yarn and silk. All possible shades could be produced by these colours. However the shades in direct colours looked dull, so they required after-treatment either for fastness or brilliancy. Dyeing charges for these colours were from twelve annas to Re. 1 per box, while the actual costs to a dyer varied from eight to ten annas. For

topping with basic colours two to four annas per box were charged extra. Basic colours were mainly used for "topping," i.e. for increasing the brilliancy of the previous shade of direct colours.

Pre-war wholesale prices of some of the dye-stuffs and chemicals required for dyeing, are presented in Table No. 4. These bring out the extent to which prices of dye-stuffs had risen by 1940.

TABLE NO. 4. PRICES OF DYE-STUFFS AND CHEMICALS AT SHOLAPUR IN 1939 AND 1940

		August 1939			August 1940			
		Per tin' of 1 lb. 39 tolas						
		Rs.	As.	Ps.	Rs.	As.	Ps.	
1. Naphthol:	AS	2-	0-	0	5-	0-	0	
	W	2-	5-	0	11-	0-	0	
	BS	2-	8-	0	7-	8-	0	
	BO	3-	0-	0	12-	0-	0	
	ASG	5-	0-	0	18-	0-	0	
	Basic:	GBC	1-	10-	0	5-	0-	0
		R	2-	11-	0	10-	0-	0
		GL	2-	10-	0	10-	0-	0
		GR	3-	4-	0	8-	0-	0
		B	4-	4-	0	18-	0-	0
2. Sulphur:	Black	0-	4-	0	1-	0-	0	
	Green	3-	12-	0	12-	0-	0	
	Yellow	2-	12-	0	11-	0-	0	
	Violet	6-	0-	0	18-	0-	0	
3. Indanthrene:	Blue	11-	12-	0	24-	0-	0	
	Green	36-	12-	0	60-	0-	0	
Hydrochloric acid		6-	4-	0	per 50 lbs.			
Sulphate of alumina		5-	8-	0	per cwt.			
Nitrate of soda		14-	0-	0	per cwt.			
Common salt		7-	2-	0	per 2½ mds.			
Caustic soda		13-	0-	0	per cwt.			
Hydrosulphate		32-	0-	0	per cwt.			
Sodium sulphate		9-	0-	0	per cwt.			
Washing soda		7-	8-	0	per cwt.			

Prices of chemicals also had risen by 1940, but not so high as those of dye-stuffs with the result that dyeing charges had been raised by more than 400 per cent—at least in some shades.

The equipment of a dyeing house was very simple. One or two dyeing vats, a number of wooden rods and bamboos were all the equipment that an establishment required. A well-built furnace facilitated the work of dyeing. All these put together hardly involved an initial expenditure of Rs. 75. Generally, the dyebath was prepared by the proprietor of a dyeing house, while the actual work of dyeing was left to one or two employees. The employees were paid on a monthly basis, their wages ranging between Rs. 10 and Rs. 15. In some cases, a clerk was employed on a part-time or full-time basis on a salary of Rs. 5 to Rs. 10 in the former case, and upto Rs. 23 in the latter. Dyers had to work for eight hours a day, with a rest of two hours for the midday meal. They got a holiday on Hindu festival days, or if they were working in an establishment owned by a Mohammedan, on Mohammedan holi-

days. Besides these holidays, they got one weekly holiday. The dyers were provided with hand and foot gloves to be worn at the time of the work, lest the dyeing solutions which contain acids should harm their bare hands and feet. Almost all the raw materials were purchased locally; dye-stuffs generally on two months' credit and chemicals with cash. If the bill of the dye-stuffs was not paid in time, interest was charged. Payment in time entitled the customers to get 2 per cent rebate or commission. Some of the dyeing establishments not only dyed yarn supplied to them by their customers, but also dealt in dyed or grey yarn. This industry, being mainly dependent upon the handloom weaving industry, its season coincided with that of the latter. The dyeing industry required much open space for dyeing yarn. It also needed a large amount of water both for dyeing and washing yarn. The dyeing establishments had, therefore, to pay the water tax at double the ordinary rate.

(d) *Preliminary Processes*: The preliminary processes comprised loosening and winding, warping, sizing, beaming, joining and twisting the threads together and pirn winding for the shuttle. These and others, like making a reed and heald-shafts were done either by a different set of persons who were paid by piece rates or by the weaver himself with the help of his family or outside labour.

The yarn had to pass through a number of processes before it could be woven into a fabric. Relatively, a great deal more labour and money were spent on the preliminary processes than on the actual weaving. In our preliminary survey,⁴ it was found that in Sholapur proper, 1,920 families mainly, and about 6,908 families partly, were employed in preliminary processes. This clearly brings out the laborious character of the work and the importance of these processes. The methods adopted by Sholapur workers in these processes are described below:

(i) *Loosening and Winding*: The work of winding yarn on *faratis* or reels was almost always distributed to women outworkers

TABLE NO. 5. RATES OF WAGES FOR WINDING AND UNWINDING OF YARN IN SHOLAPUR (1940)

Count of Yarn	Per Box of 10 lbs.
	As. Ps.
20S	2- 6 to As. 3
24S	3- 0
30S	3- 6
40S	4- 0
60S	5- 0 to As. 6
42S/2	6- 0

⁴ See Table No. 9.

of the weaving communities and was paid by results. The rates of wages varied with the count of yarn. Table No. 5 gives rates of wages prevalent in Sholapur in 1940 for the unwinding and winding of yarn.

Winding was done on hand-driven machines specially constructed for the purpose. A winding machine of an average size was furnished with 40 needles. There were a few machines having 50 and even 60 needles. Generally speaking, eight women and one man managed 40 to 50 needles between them at a time. Women operators were paid by piece-rates, viz., half a pice per hank, irrespective of the count of yarn. The man who drove the machine got a fixed salary of Rs. 7-8-0 per month. Over 90 per cent of warp-winding was done in warping mills. The remaining work was distributed to women outworkers. They were paid the same piece-rate wage, viz., half a pice per hank. Winding, in this case, was done with the help of a *charka*.

In Sholapur the system of peg warping was fast becoming obsolete. Mill-warping seemed to have been widely adopted owing to the advantage that the system reeled off more than one thread at a time. The number of vertical warping reels was not large in Sholapur. The reel or winder, which was in common use was nine yards in circumference and was fixed horizontally in a framework on the horizontal reel. Warping of two boxes was done at a time irrespective of the number of hanks in them. Two boys were required to operate the reel. The skilled boy was paid from Rs. 10 to Rs. 12, while his assistant got from Rs. 3 to Rs. 5 per month.

A few big handloom *karkhandars* had maintained warping mills for their own use. But, in general, warping had become a specialized industry in Sholapur. The owners of warping mills

TABLE NO. 6. DISTRIBUTION OF WARPING MILLS AND OPERATIVES EMPLOYED IN THEM AMONG DIFFERENT WARDS

Name of the Ward	No. of Warping Mills	No. of Reels	No. of Operatives Employed		
			Males	Females	Total
Begam	1	2	5	12	17
Ganesh	2	5	14	38	52
Jodbhavi	2	3	9	24	33
Mangalwar	2	3	8	11	19
Pachha	6	9	27	74	101
Raviwar	10	11	33	88	121
Sakhar	18	27	78	234	312
Shaniwar	4	5	14	42	56
Somwar	1	4	12	40	52
Total	46	69	200	563	763

either bought their own yarn and sold ready-made warps or simply warped the yarn supplied to them by the weavers and charged for the work turned out. In 1940 there were 46 warping mills in Sholapur. Table No. 6 shows the distribution of warping mills in different wards, the number of reels working and also the number of operatives, classified into males and females, employed in them.

Out of the 46 warping mills, 5 were owned by Mohammedans and the rest by Hindu caste weavers. About 100 Mohammedan boys worked on reels. All the other operatives, both in the winding and the warping sections, were Hindus. In the former section, women alone were employed.

A warping mill required a shed of roughly 30' x 30'. An average sized warping mill equipped with a winding machine of 40 needles, one reel, nearly 400 tin bobbins, etc., entailed an initial expenditure of Rs. 200. The yearly repairs and rehauling charges amounted to Rs. 15. It was estimated by Mr. Mehta⁵ that a reel, if kept fully working for ten hours, would warp yarn of nearly 100 lbs. weight per day. But in Sholapur there being too many warping mills, sufficient work was not obtained by each. An average outturn of warping in a mill hardly exceeded 60 lbs. a day of 8 hours. There was a keen rate-cutting for securing work. Warping charges included those for winding also. The rates varied with the count of yarn. Below are given some of the warping rates per box of 10 lbs. prevalent in Sholapur in 1940.

20 ^s	As. 6 to 7
24 ^s	As. 7 to 8
30 ^s	As. 8 to 9
40 ^s	As. 11 to 13
42 ^s /2	As. 6
60 ^s	Re. 1 and As. 4

The disciplinary rules as regards the hours of work in the winding section were not strictly enforced because the women workers were paid by results. They worked from 9 A.M. to 12:30 P.M. and from 1 P.M. to 4:30 P.M. taking a half an hour's rest for the midday meal. Reel-operating boys had to work for 8 hours a day, 4 hours in the morning and 4 in the afternoon. Mills were closed on every *Amavasya* day.

(ii) *Sizing*: In Sholapur, sizing was done after warping as elsewhere. After finishing the sizing the warp was formed into a large ball. In Sholapur ten warps, each of equal threads, were formed out of one box, irrespective of the number of hanks in it, for the purpose of sizing. Charges for sizing varied according to the count of yarn, as shown below:

⁵ "Report on the Handloom Industry in the Bombay Presidency," (1919), p. 7.

20*	As. 10	per box of 10 lbs.
24*	As. 10	"
30*	As. 11	"
40*	As. 12 to As. 14	"
60*	Re. 1 to Re. 1-2-0	"

Sizing had become a specialized industry in Sholapur, but not for a separate community as in Madura.⁶ In Hyderabad State, from where most of the weaving communities in Sholapur had immigrated, sizing was done by men. This was because warp threads were taken there for sizing in numbers sufficient to make the required width of the cloth to be woven, and in length sufficient only for two or at the most three small size *sarees*. The sizing was done there twice. The reason, it was said, was that the yarn manufactured in mills in Hyderabad State was comparatively weak. In Sholapur, the warp threads were not numerous, but longer in length. The sizing was done only once and invariably by women. Sizing work being laborious, could not be done by girls who had not attained the age of 16 years or so. Sizing material cost practically nothing, when once the initial expenditure on tools was incurred. Two iron bars, a comb and a number of lease rods of lath were all the equipment that was required. The comb or brush, which was nearly 2½ to 3 feet broad and heavy, cost about Rs. 10. It lasted for six to seven years and required little or no repairs during that period.

The method of sizing in Sholapur was fraught with some obvious disadvantages. The process was done in open streets. It was thus exposed to the vagaries of nature. Excessive heat during the day or wet or stormy weather in the monsoon rendered working impossible. Incidentally, it caused difficulty to traffic in public roads. The process was tedious, laborious and costly. Besides, only short warps could be sized by this method.

(iii) *Reeding*: The threads of the sized warp were inserted through dents of a reed and attached to the cloth-beam called *tur*. The reed or *fani* was made of a sort of reed imported either from Konkan or from Tandur, in the Nizam's Dominions. The reeds cost practically nothing, but the transportation charges were comparatively high. By adopting the principle of division of labour, 3 workers made 2 *fanis* in a day. For the border of a *saree*, the dent-spacing is as close as possible. A *fani* lasted for ten to twelve years, with some slight repairs every year. If a throw-shuttle was in use, its life was prolonged. Charges for making a new *fani*, or for repairing an old one, were nine pies per 60 dents. Thus a new *fani* cost from fourteen annas to Re. 1 according to the number of dents in it.

⁶ "The Madura Saurashtra Community," K. R. R. Shastry, p. 16.

It must be said in favour of the *fani* made of reeds, that it cost less, required little repairing and lasted longer. Its comparatively smaller height than the metal wire *fani*, constituted its drawback. The indigenous reed caused small "shedding" space, thus making it necessary to use a small-sized shuttle.⁷

In Sholapur there were 25 to 30 families engaged in making *fanis*. They were Mohammedans and were known as *Faniband*. Other Muslims looked down upon *Fanibands* and did not intermarry with them. There was no unity in these 25 to 30 families, so far as their trade was concerned. There was keen competition among them for securing work. Owing to insufficiency of work, it was said that some families had deserted their traditional occupation and had taken up new ones.

(iv) *Drawing-in and Twisting*: This process was necessary when new healds were brought for use on the loom for the first time. In Sholapur ready-made foreign healds were not used. They were prepared locally.⁸

In Sholapur, twine bundles of No. 10 and 20 were used for forming healds for the ground and border warp-threads respectively of a *saree*. Their prices were four annas and six and a half annas respectively in 1940. Charges for forming a new shaft of healds were from fifteen annas to Re. 1 according to the width of the shaft, while its actual cost to the heald-maker ranged between ten and twelve annas. An ordinary worker could form two shafts of healds in one day, but by introducing division of labour in the process, much more work was actually turned out. Summer was the season for brisk work, when much new and repairing work was available. The reason was that the eyes of shafts of healds gave way due to extremely dry weather. During the rest of the year the humidity in the weather helped the "eyes" to stand the friction caused by warp threads. Generally speaking, the life of a shaft of healds hardly exceeded four to five months. The healds required repairing after a lapse of every two or three months. Charges for repairing an old shaft of healds were from seven to eight annas. Thus, healds cost comparatively much and involved a waste of not a little time for repairing, etc. This may be said to be the greatest drawback of the indigenous healds.

In Sholapur city there were 100 to 150 families employed in the process of forming healds. Upto a few years ago, this trade was mainly in the hands of Mohammedans. By 1940, a few Padmashalis were found working in it. But their number was very small as compared to that of Mohammedans. The number of workers being disproportionately large as compared with the amount

⁷ "Report on the Handloom Industry," P. N. Mehta, p. 3.

⁸ For detailed description of the process, "A Monograph on the Silk Fabrics of Bengal," p. 94.

of work available, keen competition was felt in this branch also, and sufficient work was not obtained by most workers even in the brisk season.

(v) *Joining and Twisting*: In Sholapur wages for this process were from one to one and one half annas per warp of 4 sarees, according to the counts of warp-yarn. But this work was generally done by the *karkhandar* himself while supervising the work of weavers or by other members of his family.

(vi) *Beaming*: In Sholapur warp-beams were not in vogue. The sizer delivered the warp in the ball-form. The warp was kept in the same ball-form while weaving went on. This practice suffered from many drawbacks. The first and the foremost drawback was that as weaving proceeded, the weaver had to perform the laborious task of spreading the warp and of shifting lease-rods off and on. In this work from one-fifth to one third of his time was wasted.⁹ The other drawback was that all the warp threads were not given uniform tension.

(vii) *The Pirn-Winding*: This was done with the help of a spinning wheel by women workers in weavers' or *karkhandars*' families. The former were paid at piece rates. Wages were fixed for supplying pirns of west yarn for a unit of 4 sarees, called a *tiwat*, or for a greater number of sarees of small sizes. The rate of wages varied also according to the count of the yarn. In Sholapur, the following were the rates of wages for pirn-winding or charging of spool in 1939-40.

TABLE NO. 7. RATES OF WAGES FOR PIRN-WINDING IN SHOLAPUR (1939-40)

Length of the Saree	No. of Count	Rate in Rs.
5 yds.	20s	0-1-3 for 7 Sarees
5 yds.	24s and 30s	0-1-0 for 4 Sarees
5 yds.	40s onwards	0-1-3 "
6 yds.	Upto 30s	0-1-3 "
6 yds.	40s onwards	0-1-6 "
8 yds.	20s	0-1-6 "
8 yds.	24s and 30s	0-1-9 "
8 yds.	40s onwards	0-2-3] "
8½ yds. and 9 yds.	40s onwards	0-2-6] "
		0-3-0 "

The rates of wages given above are not the standard rates prevalent in Sholapur. But they are representative of the majority of cases.

(e) *Weaving. The Loom*: With the exception of a dozen or two frame-looms, all the looms plied in Sholapur were of the

⁹ Op. cit., P. N. Mehta, p. 4.

pit-loom kind. In 1902 the fly-shuttle was first introduced in Sholapur at the instance of the late Mr. P. C. Ghosh of Calcutta, the Editor of the "Indian Mechanic," who visited this place to instruct weavers in Serampore processes.¹⁰ During the last forty years, this improvement has spread like wild-fire, so much so that in 1940 no throw-shuttle looms could be found in use in Sholapur.

For producing checks of all kinds in the groundwork or body of a fabric, the device of the drop-box was also being adopted in Sholapur in a few cases. In this device an additional box was fixed to the right hand side of the fly-shuttle-sley, which was made to rise or drop by a special arrangement, when a weft of different colour was required, the lengthwise stripes being produced by arranging stripes of coloured threads in the warp in a certain order.

To produce designs on the borders of women's garments a sort of crude dobby was used in Sholapur. It consisted of a wooden cylinder on the surface of which the required design was transferred by means of permanently fixed rectangular pegs. Nearly 70 per cent of the looms in Sholapur were fitted with the crude dobby and the rest with the "universal dobby."

In actual weaving, much time was lost in the changing of pirns, in fixing temple and taking up cloth, in repairing broken threads, in unwinding and stretching the warp and in the shifting of the lease rods. All these decreased the speed of the handloom and greatly impaired the efficiency of workers. But they allowed in a way to the weaver some respite and change which the monotony and the strain involved in weaving, made highly essential. In Sholapur, the average (effective)¹¹ rate of picking for a day, was 20 picks per minute and the number of picks per inch 48, the warp and weft being of 30 and 24 counts respectively, and the width of the cloth being 48 inches. It will thus be seen that the effective speed of picking was very low. It was not possible to compare this speed with that obtained in any other place because an average (effective) picking rate obtained under similar circumstances was not available for any other place.

In Sholapur, the system of working looms on hire was totally absent. The framework of the handloom, the crude dobby and its other parts were made and repaired in Sholapur. The handloom with all its parts including the shuttle cost from Rs. 10 to 15. The yearly repairing and overhauling charges per loom, excluding shuttles, approximated to Rs. 5. Once it was installed it was permanently fixed, and if properly handled worked for twenty to thirty years.¹² Looms were arranged in such a way as to economise space. A loom required a space of about 18 feet by 7

¹⁰ "Essays on Indian Arts, Industry and Education," (1918), E. B. Havell, p. 59.
¹¹ For effective speed, see the paper read by R. B. Patel on "Handloom Weaving in India," before the Second Industrial Conference, 1906, Papers Vol. pp. 85-87.
¹² N. M. Joshi, *op. cit.*

feet, but two looms were generally found installed, face to face, in a space of about 21 feet by 7 feet.

The pit-loom, as it existed, had both merits and defects. It cost little and was, therefore, within the reach of all weavers. Its construction being simple, it could be repaired even by a village carpenter. It was not heavy for working. The pit below maintained a proper hygroscopic condition. "When the open part of the warp rests on a pit the dry surrounding air has very little action on the warp and it can be kept in proper condition for weaving without breakages."¹³ Thus the pit provided "the simplest and cheapest form of humidifier." The greatest defect of the pit-loom was that all the different weaving operations—such as shedding, picking, beating, taking up, etc., were required to be done by the weaver with his hands and feet. The loom did next to nothing. Thus the loom greatly taxed both the brain and the body of the weaver. While weaving, he had to sit upright in a steady position, minding all the operations, which unnecessarily strained his spinal column and tired him out after one or two hours of uninterrupted work. The other defect was that there was no arrangement for a warp-beam.

¹³ R. B. Patel, *op. cit.*, p. 88.

CHAPTER III

SIZE AND STRUCTURE OF THE INDUSTRY

Preliminary Survey: It was essential to assess, at the outset, the population depending for its maintenance upon the handloom industry in Sholapur. Reliable information on the point was not available. The Provincial Census Reports were in no wise helpful. For, in these, all workers in the textile industry, mechanised and non-mechanised, were grouped together, so that any attempt to separate the figures of handloom workers in cotton fibre was likely to yield results of doubtful accuracy. No census of handlooms was taken in the Bombay Presidency either at the time of the Census of Production attempted in 1921 or later. The other source of information was the various estimates of handlooms made by different persons at different times, but these were found to be highly incorrect. The census of handlooms in Sholapur, taken by the Association of Handloom *Karkhandars*, was also far from correct.

Records of different communal organisations of weavers in Sholapur were yet another source of information. The Padmasalis, for instance, carried out in 1925, or thereabout, a regular population census of their community with a view to levying a small tax for some religious purpose. But the record of returns was not available. No other weaving community in Sholapur had ever taken a communal census.

In the absence of reliable information, we had to start with a thorough census of weaving communities in Sholapur. For this purpose a house-to-house survey of the weavers' locality was necessary. To facilitate this work, a list of castes whose traditional occupations were generally known to be connected with the weaving industry, was prepared. It was decided to visit each and every municipal house number in the wards in which these weaving communities were known to be concentrated. Certain difficulties were encountered in this work. In the case of Momins (Mohammedan weavers), the number of families who had deserted the traditional occupation, was very large. Further, the prevalence of the *pardah* system in that community made it almost impossible to visit each and every family. It was, therefore, only practicable to take down the names of those families only in which some sort of activity connected with the weaving industry was going on. For the rest of the communities, the system adopted was to take down the caste and the name of the head of the family at his or her working place, as far as possible, and also to note down the type of work he or she was engaged in. Every care was taken to avoid double entry, wrong entry, etc. The whole survey was completed

TABLE NO. 8. CENSUS FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY WARDS,
CASTES AND OCCUPATIONS

W=Weavers; P.P.=Preparatory Processes; O=Owners of Weaving Establishments; D=Deserters.

Peths	Begam					Bhavani					Ganesh					Guruwar					Jodhavi				
	W.	P.	P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P.	P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P.	P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P.	P.	O.	D.	Total	
Padmasali ..	22	20	5	23	70	7	5	9	7	28	186	55	22	28	291	200	49	41	41	331	603	107	156	65	931
Togati ..	1	1	—	—	2	3	3	1	1	8	—	7	2	3	12	1	6	4	4	15	2	6	1	2	11
Jyandra ..	—	1	—	—	1	1	5	—	—	6	—	7	2	3	12	7	13	4	3	27	12	58	6	4	80
Kurhishetty ..	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	2	5	1	3	—	—	4	—	—	—	1	1
D. Koshthi and Haikar ..	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	1	—	2	—	4	—	4	4	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	1	—	5
Nilkanthi ..	4	12	1	56	73	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	29	9	9	4	51
Swakul Sali ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4
Suk Sali ..	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Khetri ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1	1	—	7	—	—	—	—	—
Nirali and Rangari ..	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	1	4	1	—	6
Bhavnsar and Shimpi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	—	—	3	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—
Lingayat Koshthi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	7	1	—	15	—	—	—	—	—
Koli and Bhoi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nhavi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kalal ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maratha ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Fulmali ..	—	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Marwadi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vadar ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Rajput ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Ladkhatik ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Momins ..	3	25	6	—	34	—	—	—	—	—	—	19	1	20	—	3	—	—	3	—	5	—	—	—	5
Total ..	31	63	12	79	185	12	13	11	8	44	187	97	26	35	345	223	85	51	48	407	651	190	174	80	1,095

TABLE NO. 8 (Contd.)

W=Weavers; P.P.=Preparatory Processes; O=Owners of Weaving Establishments; D=Deserters.

Petha	E. Mangalwar					S. Kasba				Morarji					Pachha					Raviwar					
	W.	P. P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P. P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P. P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P. P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P. P.	O.	D.	Total
Padmasali ..	37	7	4	7	55	20	—	1	—	21	—	—	—	167	167	1,356	145	321	37	1,859	1,033	160	290	22	1,505
Togati ..	15	10	8	9	42	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	8	8	13	1	2	24	9	10	5	4	28
Jyandra ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	8	13	30	9	—	52	15	26	13	1	55
Kurhinshetty ..	1	—	1	1	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	59	11	24	—	94	—	2	1	—	3
D. Koshti and Hatkar ..	1	2	—	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	3	1	—	1	—	2	—	1	—	—	2
Nitkanthi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	6	2	3	1	—	6	7	3	3	1	14
Swakul Sali ..	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	32	3	7	48	4	3	—	1	8
Suk Sali ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Khetri ..	—	45	—	50	95	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	2	10	—	2	—	—	2
Nirali and Rangari ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	17	44	5	1	67	2	—	—	—	—
Bhavasari and Shimpi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2
Lingayat Koshti ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Koli and Bhoi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	2	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	—
Nhavi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Katal ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Maratha ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—
Fulmali ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	2
Marwadi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Vadar ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Rajput ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—
Ladkhatik ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Momina ..	4	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Total ..	58	64	14	68	204	20	—	1	—	21	—	—	—	186	186	1,503	360	392	49	2,304	1,080	251	316	29	1,676

TABLE NO. 8 (Contd.)

W=Weavers; P.P.=Preparatory Processes; O=Owners of Weaving Establishments; D=Deserters.

Peths	Sakhar					Shaniwar					Somwar					Totals									
	W.	P.	P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P.	P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P.	P.	O.	D.	Total	W.	P.	P.	O.	D.	Total	
Padmasali ..	1,439	234	257	143	—	2,073	184	83	54	65	—	386	43	56	11	44	—	154	5,129	921	1,171	649	—	7,870	
Togati ..	13	18	2	3	—	36	3	6	—	—	—	9	—	11	—	1	12	7	55	84	23	27	—	189	
Jyandra ..	8	13	5	8	—	34	—	5	3	1	—	9	1	4	—	2	7	—	57	161	42	30	—	290	
Kurhishetty ..	13	20	5	8	—	46	4	3	1	2	—	10	1	7	—	4	12	—	80	49	32	18	—	179	
D. Koshti and Hatkar	8	7	3	4	—	22	2	3	—	1	—	6	—	2	—	10	12	—	16	19	6	19	—	60	
Nilkanthi ..	16	1	6	2	—	25	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	56	19	20	14	—	109	
Swakul Sali ..	3	7	2	3	—	15	5	24	1	19	—	49	1	7	1	8	17	—	23	87	9	98	—	217	
Suk Sali ..	1	6	1	2	—	10	1	4	1	3	—	9	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	11	2	5	—	21	
Khetri ..	2	36	2	1	—	41	5	32	1	9	—	47	1	22	—	4	27	—	21	140	4	66	—	231	
Nirali and Rangari	1	6	—	—	—	7	—	3	—	—	—	5	—	5	—	10	15	—	23	62	6	15	—	106	
Bhavasar and Shimpi	—	11	3	—	—	14	—	—	—	2	—	2	—	4	1	3	8	—	2	22	4	5	—	33	
Lingaynt Koshti ..	—	7	1	—	—	8	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	3	16	1	4	—	10	51	3	5	—	49	
Koli and Bhol	1	1	—	—	—	2	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	—	—	8	
Nhavi ..	—	4	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	9	
Kalsi ..	—	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	3	
Maratha ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	2	
Fulmali ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	4
Marwadi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
Vadar ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Rajput ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Ladkhatik ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	1
Momins ..	5	100	9	—	—	114	4	21	8	—	—	33	—	1	—	—	1	—	49	293	53	—	—	395	
Total ..	1,510	473	296	174	—	2,453	208	186	69	105	—	568	50	138	14	90	292	—	5,332	1,920	1,376	951	—	9,779	

before the end of May 1939 and took nearly seven months. A total of 9,779 families were visited and recorded. Barring unavoidable fluctuations such as migratory movements, the census gave a fairly correct picture of the weaver population in Sholapur.

Table No. 8 brings out the fact that the break-down of caste monopoly of occupations had not yet affected even the fringe of the handloom industry in Sholapur. The intrusion of non-weaving communities or castes like Koli, Bhoi, Nhavi, Kalal, etc., was quite negligible. The Nirali, Rangari and Bhavasar communities, which were traditional dyers, had lately taken to handloom weaving as their principal occupation. This change resulted in reducing the percentage of caste weavers in the industry by about 3. The table further shows that among the weaving communities in Sholapur, the Padmasalis formed the largest group, and the Devang Koshti and Hatkar the smallest, the other communities, with families varying from 100 to 300, coming in between. The Padmasali community alone accounted for about 80 per cent of the weaver population in Sholapur. We therefore dealt mainly with the Padmasali community and referred passingly to others, whenever necessary.

Table No. 9 gives the classification of families, the factories and the looms as among the different wards of the city.

TABLE NO. 9. DISTRIBUTION AMONG DIFFERENT WARDS OF WEAVER FAMILIES, KARKHANAS AND LOOMS

Name of the Peth	No. of Families	No. of Factories	No. of Looms	Remarks
Begam	185	12	56	
Bhavani	44	11	28	
Ganesh	345	26	268	
Guruwar	407	51	154	*One factory having 18 power looms
Jodbhava	1,095	174*	839	
S. Kasba	21	1†	20	†Joint Stock Company
E. Mangalwar	204	14	66	
Morarji	186	—	—	
Pachha	2,304	392	2,017	
Raviwar	1,676	316	1,442	
Sakhar	2,453	296	1,937	
Shaniwar	568	69	287	
Somwar	292	14	76	
Total	9,779	1,376	7,190	

As will be evident from Table No. 9, there were 1,376 *karkhandars*. The status of each was ascertained and noted in the survey. The status of a *karkhandar* was determined by the marketing organization of the *karkhana* concerned. If and when a *karkhandar* carried out his own sales either by himself in his own shop or by *gujari* or through a broker, he was called independent. But, when and if he depended for the sale of his manufactures on

TABLE NO. 10. KARKHANDARS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR STATUS AND THE NUMBER OF LOOMS WORKING IN THEIR KARKHANAS

No. of Looms	Begam		Bhavani		Ganesh		Guruwar		Jodbhav.		S. Kasba		Mangalwar East		Pachha		Raviwar		Sakhar		Shniwar		Somwar		Total		Total		
	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent	Inde- pendent	Dependent		Inde- pendent	Dependent
1 Loom	4	—	4	—	3	—	7	4	22	7	—	—	4	—	30	14	27	9	15	15	11	1	2	2	127	52	179		
2 Looms	2	1	2	—	2	—	3	6	7	13	—	—	—	—	21	32	13	41	14	14	6	—	2	2	71	120	191		
3 Looms	—	1	—	2	—	1	6	5	1	18	—	—	—	2	8	37	5	24	18	34	4	6	1	1	43	131	174		
4 Looms	1	—	—	1	—	4	4	—	—	33	—	—	2	1	9	75	7	84	19	36	2	10	—	2	51	250	301		
5 Looms	—	—	1	—	—	1	2	—	2	13	—	—	—	—	6	29	—	16	10	16	—	3	—	—	1	21	80	101	
6 Looms	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	3	16	—	—	—	1	4	36	—	1	9	12	—	2	3	—	—	21	99	120	
Total	7	2	7	4	4	10	23	19	43	100	—	—	6	4	78	223	53	203	85	127	25	32	3	8	334	732	1,066		
7 Looms	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	6	—	—	—	1	2	23	3	10	10	7	1	2	—	—	17	50	67		
8 Looms	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	2	8	—	—	—	1	2	21	1	20	11	10	2	3	—	—	24	63	87		
9 Looms	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	10	—	1	20	7	3	—	—	—	—	9	17	26		
10 Looms	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	5	1	3	3	5	3	—	—	—	—	7	15	22		
11 to 15 Looms	1	1	—	—	1	1	2	—	4	1	—	—	2	—	16	2	2	12	6	1	2	1	1	—	—	21	33	54	
16 to 20 "	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	2	2	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	16	5	21	
21 to 25 "	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	10	1	11	
26 to 30 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	7	
31 to 35 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3	
36 to 40 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
41 to 45 "	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	—	5
46 to 50 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	
51 and over	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	2	
Total	1	2	—	—	10	2	9	—	11	20	1	—	2	2	14	77	9	51	60	24	6	6	3	—	126	184	310		
Grand Total	8	4	7	4	14	12	32	19	54	120	1	—	8	6	92	300	62	254	145	151	31	38	6	8	460	916	1,376		

some other big *karkhandar*, shopkeeper or stockist, he was marked as a dependent. A *karkhandar* may, therefore, possibly be dependent at one time and independent at another, or both at the same time. In the generality of cases the status of a *karkhandar*, whatever it was, scarcely changed for a fairly long time. In Table No. 10 the classification of *karkhandars* according to their status and the number of looms working in their *karkhanas* is shown.

The Table No. 10 reveals that out of 1,376 *karkhanas* the owners of not less than 916 or 67 per cent depended upon some outside agency for the sale of their manufactures. Secondly, the group of *karkhanas* maintaining four looms was the largest of all, claiming 22 per cent of the total. As we go towards the groups of small size units in the table we notice that they, though large enough, varied very little in their size. The first four groups took the lion's share and claimed amongst themselves 62 per cent of the total number of *karkhanas*. But as we proceed towards the groups of big size units, beginning with that of five looms, we get a number of groups of unevenly diminishing size. Thirdly, the groups of even number of looms below ten, were comparatively

TABLE NO. 11. KARKHANAS IN THE SAMPLE CLASSIFIED BY WARDS AND THE NUMBER OF LOOMS

No. of Looms	Ganesh	Guruwar	Jodhbhai	Mangalwar (East)	Pachha	Ravivar	Sakkar	Shaniwar	Sonwar	Total No. Units
1 Loom	—	3	4	—	4	1	—	4	—	16
2 Looms	2	1	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	11
3 Looms	—	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	8
4 Looms	—	2	4	1	5	8	5	2	2	30
5 Looms	—	—	1	—	1	—	2	—	—	4
6 Looms	—	—	1	—	1	1	1	2	—	6
Total	2	7	15	1	15	12	11	10	2	75
7 Looms	—	—	—	—	1	—	2	2	—	5
8 Looms	—	—	—	—	1	1	1	2	—	5
9 Looms	—	—	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	3
10 Looms	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
11 to 15 Looms	—	—	—	—	—	1	3	—	—	4
16 to 20 "	—	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	4
21 to 25 "	1	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	3
26 to 30 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
31 to 35 "	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
36 to 40 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41 to 45 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46 to 50 "	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
51 and over	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	3
Total	3	1	2	—	4	6	12	4	—	32
Grand Total	5	8	17	1	19	18	23	14	2	107

bigger in size than those of their penultimate odd ones. All these facts raised a number of questions. But they could not properly be answered without studying the economics of the handloom industry in Sholapur.

For intensive study, data of 107 units in all were gathered within a period of about three months. The percentage came to 7.78, covering 12 per cent of the total number of looms in the city. Since almost identical conditions were observed in many of the units, it was felt that this would be adequate. The questionnaires to be filled in were spread out in different wards so as to enhance their representative character. They were also representative in regard to the size of units.

Table No. 11 shows the classification of *karkhanas* selected, by the number of looms in each by wards.

All communities which owned twenty or more establishments were covered. The only exception made was in case of the Khetri community, because it was engaged in producing goods quite different from the rest. Table No. 12 shows the classification of the factories selected, according to the caste of the factory-owner.

TABLE NO. 12. *KARKHANAS* IN THE SAMPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE CASTE OF THE OWNER

Name of the Peth	Padmasali	Togati	Jyandra	Nilkanthi	Kurhinhetty	Khetri	Mohammedans	Total
Ganesh	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	5
Guruwar	6	—	1	—	—	1	—	8
Jodbhavi	16	—	—	1	—	—	—	17
E. Mangalwar	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
Pachha	18	—	—	—	—	—	1	19
Raviwar	18	—	—	—	—	—	—	18
Sakhar	22	1	—	—	—	—	—	23
Shaniwar	13	—	—	—	1	—	—	14
Somwar	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Total	99	2	2	1	1	1	1	107

Production Structure of the handloom industry in Sholapur could be divided into two categories: one of small units of workshops and the other of big units or factories. But no such distinction was made in actual practice in Sholapur.¹ Without here attempting to distinguish a factory from a workshop, we can refer to The Factories' Act for that purpose. The Government of Bombay, under powers delegated to them under Sec. (5) 1 of the Act,

¹ All units of work, irrespective of their size, are called "karkhanas" in Sholapur. We have used the term "karkhana" in that sense everywhere in this publication.

had declared all weaving establishments on the premises of which ten or more workers were profitably employed, to be factories. We adopted the same definition. Generally speaking, 10 workers were required to be employed in an establishment of 7 looms. According to this, 32 out of 107 or about 30 per cent of the manufacturing units were in the category of factories. The remaining 75 units with 6 or less than 6 looms were in the class of small workshops. Out of 848 looms, 610 or 72 per cent were found in factories. The remaining 238 looms were claimed amongst themselves by 75 workshops. In the case of the output as well, nearly 73 per cent of the total output was accounted for by only 32 factories. Thus Sholapur occupied by far the most important place as a centre of *karkhana* production.²

The economic status of a weaving establishment was as important as its size. The economic status might mean either independence or dependence, partial or full, of the owner of a weaving establishment. Historically, the industrial entrepreneur of a big factory was the positive development of an independent artisan, while his degradation resulted in the rise of a dependent artisan. But the degradation was not always sudden and complete. Hence we found three stages, each inferior to the previous one. In the highest and the earliest stage an independent artisan, finding it difficult to survive, sacrificed some of his independence. At this stage he bound himself to a merchant or a *karkhandar* to sell a portion of his products, or partially worked for mere wages. The second stage commenced when he entered into a price-contract with a merchant or a *karkhandar*. In the third stage the artisan got his supply of yarn from a merchant or a capitalist *karkhandar* to whom he was bound to return the cloth turned out, he getting mere subsistence wages. Mr. Joshi calls an artisan in the first stage, quasi-independent.³ Weavers in the second and the third stages were locally called *asamis*.⁴

All the three stages described above were found persisting in Sholapur not only in the group of small weaving establishments, but also in the group of factories. Out of 107 units of production in our sample, 42 were independent, 60 dependent and the

² The "karkhana" system of production prevails nowhere so extensively as in the Bombay Province, where 45 per cent of the total number of looms are working in "karkhanas." There too, as the Fact Finding Committee have shown in their report (pp. 75, 76), Sholapur stands out as the largest "karkhana" centre not only in the Bombay Province but in the whole of India. Though the Committee's figures seem to be rather inflated, the validity of their finding is in no way affected.

³ Op. cit., p. 107.

⁴ "Asamis" were outworkers pure and simple. They were not necessarily organisers or supervisors, as the Fact Finding Committee have stated (p. 74). "Asamis" with one or two looms did themselves weaving and employed no wage-workers. In their case the question of supervision did not arise at all. Nor was there a tripartite contract between a merchant or "karkhandar," the "asami" and the weaver. The contract existed between the first two parties, but the weaver who worked on wages was never a party to it. Sometimes an agreement was entered into by weavers with "asamis," but the merchant or "karkhandar" had nothing to do with it. Both the contracts were distinctly separate and were in no wise related to each other.

remaining 5 units partially dependent and partially independent. If they were to be divided into two groups of workshops and factories, we got in the former group 27 independent, 45 dependent and the remaining 3 partially dependent. In the group of factories, 15 were independent, 15 dependent and 2 partially dependent. It will thus be seen that the number of dependent establishments was large not only in the group of workshops but also in the group of factories. No relation, however, was found existing between the status of a unit of work and its size.

The history of 107 units of work revealed certain trends regarding the size of a unit in relation to its life or standing. Table No. 13 is intended to show that.

TABLE NO. 13. *KARKHANAS* IN THE SAMPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR SIZE AND BUSINESS STANDING

Number of Looms	Below 1 Year	1-3 Years	3-5 Years	5-10 Years	10-15 Years	15-20 Years	20-25 Years	26 Years and Over	Total
1 Loom	5	1	4	1	—	—	2	3	16
2 Looms	1	1	2	1	1	—	2	5	11
3 Looms	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	8
4 Looms	3	5	2	4	2	5	—	4	30
5 Looms	1	1	2	1	—	—	—	—	4
6 Looms	1	—	1	1	1	1	—	1	6
Total	15	9	17	8	5	6	4	11	75
7 Looms	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	1	5
8 Looms	—	1	2	1	1	—	—	—	5
9 Looms	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	1	3
10 Looms	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	2
11 to 15 Looms	—	1	1	—	1	—	1	—	4
16 to 20 "	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	1	4
21 to 25 "	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	—	3
26 to 30 "	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
31 to 35 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
36 to 40 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41 to 45 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46 to 50 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	1
51 to 80 "	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	2	3
Total	—	5	3	8	5	1	3	7	32
Grand Total	15	14	20	16	10	7	7	18	107

Out of 75 workshops 41 had less than 5 years' standing; while only 8 out of 32 factories had a similar standing. There was no factory which had less than one year's standing, but there were workshops which had different periods of standing, ranging from less than one year to more than 25 years. About 45 per cent of the workshops and 75 per cent of the factories had more than 5 years' standing. But had they maintained throughout the

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same economic position as at the beginning? The economic condition of a unit could be gauged from the increase or decrease in the number of looms worked in it. If the number of looms in a weaving establishment was steadily increasing, the establishment was said to be prospering and *vice versa*. From such data as were available, the nature of change could be pointed out. These are presented in Table No. 14.

TABLE NO. 14. ECONOMIC CONDITION OF KARKHANAS IN THE SAMPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF LOOMS

Number of Looms	Prospering		Stationary		Declining		Total		Total
	Independent	Dependent	Independent	Dependent	Independent	Dependent	Independent	Dependent	
1 Loom	—	—	7	2	4	3	11	5	16
2 Looms	—	—	2	1	6	1	8	3	11
3 Looms	—	2	—	4	1	1	—	7	8
4 Looms	—	1	2	20	3	4	5	25	30
5 Looms	—	—	—	3	—	1	—	4	4
6 Looms	—	2	1	2	—	1	1	5	6
Total	—	6	12	32	14	11	26	49	75
7 Looms	—	1	1	—	1	2	2	3	5
8 Looms	—	—	1	4	—	—	1	2	5
9 Looms	—	1	—	1	1	—	—	2	3
10 Looms	—	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	2
11 to 15 Looms	2	—	1	1	—	—	3	1	4
16 to 20 "	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	2	4
21 to 25 "	1	—	—	1	1	—	2	1	3
26 to 30 "	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1
31 to 35 "	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
36 to 40 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41 to 45 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46 to 50 "	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
51 to 80 "	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
Total	10	4	3	9	4	2	17	15	32
Grand Total	10	10	15	41	18	13	43	64	107

The table shows that independent units with less than 10 looms had failed to prosper, and showed a definite tendency either to decline or to remain stationary. The table further shows that there were 13 dependent units which were declining. This could be explained partly by showing that some of them were formerly independent units which, having sacrificed their independence, had been able to maintain at least less number of looms than they were doing before. In ascertaining the change in the economic position of 107 units of work, we had left the question of their standing out

of the picture. By discussing these two topics in relation to each other, we may know a unit of what size and status had the capacity to survive. By surviving capacity we mean the capacity of a weaving establishment for continued existence for more than 5 years with the number of looms actually working in it either increasing, constant, or if decreasing, not going below 4. According to this test, 46 units of work out of 107 were found surviving, an analysis of which is presented in Table No. 15.

TABLE NO. 15. DATA RELATING TO THE SURVIVAL OR GROWTH OF SAMPLE *KARKHANAS*

Number of Looms	Increasing		Constant		Decreasing		Total		Total
	Independent	Dependent	Independent	Dependent	Independent	Dependent	Independent	Dependent	
1 Loom	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	—	1
2 Looms	—	1	1	—	—	—	1	1	2
3 Looms	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Looms	—	1	1	7	3	2	4	10	14
5 Looms	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	1
6 Looms	—	1	1	1	—	1	1	3	4
Total	—	3	4	9	3	3	7	15	22
7 Looms	—	1	1	—	1	2	2	3	5
8 Looms	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	2	2
9 Looms	—	1	—	1	—	—	—	2	2
10 Looms	—	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	1
11 to 15 Looms	1	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	2
16 to 20 "	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	2	4
21 to 25 "	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	2
26 to 30 "	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
31 to 35 "	1	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	1
36 to 40 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41 to 45 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46 to 50 "	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	1
51 to 80 "	3	—	—	—	—	—	3	—	3
Total	9	4	2	4	3	2	14	10	24
Grand Total	9	7	6	15	6	5	21	25	46

The table shows that 25 units out of 46 or 54 per cent were dependent. In the group of 21 independent units, only 7 were small workshops and the remaining 14 factories. Thus the factories seemed to have greater surviving capacity than the workshops. Again in the group of factories, independent units with more than 10 looms not only survived but prospered. Of the 22 workshops 15 were dependent and 7 independent. Thus dependent workshops had greater chances of surviving than independent ones. Again, in the case of workshops, groups of less than 4 looms had a

very poor rate of survival, while in the case of 4 looms it was the highest, viz., 14 out of 22.

2. *Labour Structure*: It is the size of a unit of production that determines its labour structure. A small weaving establishment with one or two looms can be worked on the family basis. But if there are more, outside labour is required to be employed. Whether an establishment will be worked partly on wage-earners and partly on members of the family or purely on wage-earners is determined by the intensity of the need for supervision and the number of male members in the family capable of exercising it. As the number of employees went on increasing, the question of supervision and other incidental work assumed so much importance that male members in the *karkhandar's* family could not profitably be spared to weave on looms by themselves. This explains why big factories were worked purely on outside labour. All the stages in the evolution of the labour structure described above were found existing in Sholapur as will be evidenced by Table No. 16.

TABLE NO. 16. *KARKHANAS* IN THE SAMPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF LABOUR EMPLOYED

	Working on Their Own	Working on Wage Earners	Partly on Wage Earners and Partly on Own	Total
Independent	12	22	8	42
Dependent	7	19	34	60
Partly Dependent	—	—	5	5
Total	19	41	47	107

The table shows that out of 19 units working on their own, 12 were independent and the remaining dependent, while the corresponding figures for the group of units working on outside labour were 22 and 19. Again, in the last group of units working partly on their own and partly on outside labour, 34 out of 47 or 72 per cent were dependents. All this means that there was no definite relationship between the economic status of weaving *karkhanas* and their labour structure. The independent units could be grouped into two classes: one of small units with 4 or less than 4 looms and the other of bigger ones. In the group of small units, nearly 50 per cent of units were working on their own, while in that of bigger ones, 75 per cent of units were working purely on wage earners. To give a clear idea about the labour structure in relation to the size of units, Table No. 17 is prepared.

TABLE NO. 17. KARKHANAS OF DIFFERENT SIZES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE ECONOMIC STATUS OF LABOUR EMPLOYED

No. of Looms	Working on Their Own	Working on Wage Earners	Partly on Wage Earners and Partly on Their Own	Total
1 Loom	15	1	1	16
2 Looms	1	1	5	11
3 Looms	1	1	4	8
4 Looms	1	1	21	30
5 Looms	1	1	2	4
6 Looms	1	1	1	6
Total	19	21	35	75
7 Looms	1	1	5	5
8 Looms	1	1	1	5
9 Looms	1	1	1	5
10 Looms	1	1	1	2
11 to 15 Looms	1	1	1	4
16 to 20 "	1	1	1	4
21 to 25 "	1	1	2	3
26 to 30 "	1	1	1	1
31 to 35 "	1	1	1	1
46 to 50 "	1	1	1	1
51 and over	1	1	1	5
Total	—	20	12	32
Grand Total	19	41	47	107

The table shows that as the number of looms increased, the number of units working on their own rapidly decreased, so much so that even in the group of 4 looms there was not a single unit which was working on its own. The other important fact that the table reveals is that in the case of workshops 28 per cent of them were worked on outside labour, while the corresponding figure in the group of factories was 62.5 per cent. Similarly, out of 47 establishments which were working partly on household and partly on outside labour, 35 or about 74 per cent were workshops. Thus, as the size of units of work became larger and larger, greater and greater reliance was required to be placed on outside labour.

The labour engaged in the industry could be divided into three classes. The first consisted of a managerial staff, the second of skilled workers and the third of unskilled workers including apprentices. All the persons belonging to the first two classes worked on the premises of a weaving establishment and their number could be correctly ascertained. But as regards the third, there was considerable difficulty in ascertaining the exact number of workers attached to a unit; for some of the preparatory processes were almost always done by workers working outside a weaving establishment. For instance, warps were prepared in warping factories, and the work of sizing the warp was generally dis-

tributed to outworkers. Some amount of unwinding work was also entrusted to outsiders. We did not, therefore, include the outworkers in preparatory processes in our study of the labour structure.

In 107 units of work, 1,648 persons were covered by our survey. Amongst them 125 belonged to the managerial staff. The remaining 1,523 persons were engaged in work involving manual labour of skilled or unskilled type. Out of them, 848 were skilled and 675 unskilled. Generally speaking, adult males were found engaged in the skilled type of work, *viz.*, weaving, and females and children in unskilled work. Of the 1,648 persons, 109 persons of the managerial staff, 89 from the skilled and 203 from the unskilled workers belonged to the *karkhandars'* families. The remaining 1,247 were employed on a remuneration basis. All the above figures bring out clearly the relative position and importance of each class of workers.

No relationship was found to exist between the economic status of a weaving establishment and its cost of labour per loom. Table No. 18 shows at a glance the relative position of each group of looms in relation to its labour structure.

The comparative position of each loom in every group (Table No. 22) in respect of rent and staff was of particular interest. Broadly speaking, the bigger the size of a unit of work, proportionately less was the labour cost per loom. Upto the group of 10 looms, weaving establishments with an even number of handlooms enjoyed comparatively greater economies in production than those with odd numbers. This explained why there were more weaving establishments in Sholapur with an even number of looms than with odd ones. In workshops, the cost of labour and rent was the second lowest, after the 6 looms-group, in the group of 4 looms. But since units of less than 4 looms did not "survive," we may safely conclude that the unit of 4 looms was the minimum economic unit in the group of workshops in the handloom industry of Sholapur.

(a) *Managerial Staff*: It comprised almost always the owners of weaving establishments, except when paid clerks were employed. The work of a manager-owner was to bring in raw materials, to get all the preparatory processes done on them, to see that articles of the required description were produced, to see that the quality of wares did not deteriorate, to dispose of the finished articles and to do all other incidental supervisory work. Generally speaking, no separate staff was required in the case of small establishments to carry out the usual functions of a manager. But in 65 units with 4 or less than 4 looms, there were only 31 persons engaged in managerial work. A redundant number of persons was found in the managerial staff of small and medium

TABLE NO. 18. *KARKHANAS* OF DIFFERENT SIZES AND THE LABOUR FORCE EMPLOYED IN THEM

Number of Looms	No. of Units	Total No. of Looms	LABOUR FORCE									Average No. of Labourers Per Loom	Annual Average Rent Per Loom in Rs.		
			Managerial		Skilled		Unskilled			Total					
			Unpaid Male	Paid Male	Unpaid Male	Paid Male	Unpaid Female	Paid Female	Children	Unpaid	Paid			Total	
1 Loom	16	16	2	—	15	1	16	—	—	—	—	—	34	2.12	18.50
2 Looms	11	22	7	—	11	11	14	4	—	1	—	—	48	2.18	18.53
3 Looms	8	24	4	—	8	16	14	6	—	—	—	—	48	2.00	18.85
4 Looms	30	120	18	—	26	94	43	43	10	—	—	—	234	1.95	12.85
5 Looms	4	20	4	—	2	18	6	11	1	—	—	—	42	2.10	14.33
6 Looms	6	36	8	—	3	33	11	12	1	—	—	—	68	1.88	9.63
Total	75	238	43	—	65	173	104	76	13	—	—	—	474	1.99	13.77
7 Looms	5	35	4	—	13	22	13	13	5	—	—	—	70	2.00	14.57
8 Looms	5	40	3	—	7	33	13	15	2	—	—	—	73	1.82	13.43
9 Looms	3	27	4	—	1	26	6	11	6	—	—	—	54	2.00	15.00
10 Looms	2	20	3	—	—	20	6	8	2	—	—	—	39	1.95	17.50
11 to 15 Looms	4	52	9	1	—	52	10	21	14	—	—	—	107	2.06	17.11
16 to 20 "	4	70	10	1	1	69	12	41	13	—	—	—	147	2.10	19.11
21 to 25 "	3	70	11	1	2	68	12	29	14	—	—	—	137	1.96	14.36
26 to 30 "	1	30	3	3	—	30	4	13	7	—	—	—	60	2.00	—
31 to 35 "	1	32	4	—	—	32	4	20	10	—	—	—	70	2.19	—
36 to 40 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
41 to 45 "	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
46 to 50 "	1	46	4	—	—	46	6	22	8	—	—	—	86	1.87	15.21
50 to 80 "	3	188	11	10	—	188	13	79	30	—	—	—	331	1.76	14.44
Total	32	610	66	16	24	586	99	272	111	—	—	—	1,174	1.92	14.59
Grand Total	107	848	109	16	89	759	203	348	124	—	—	—	1,648	1.94	14.33

sized units of work. In big factories, members of the *karkhandars'* families were not sufficient to cope with the work, and paid clerks, full or part time, were required to be employed sometimes. The clerks were given, in most cases, the work of keeping accounts. In all, 7 factory-owners were found employing clerks; 3 employing one each, 3 employing 3 each and only one employing 4 clerks. Their terms of employment were not uniform in all the 7 units. Five full-time clerks were found employed on daily wages ranging from three annas to fourteen and a half annas per day, 3 on a monthly basis with a fixed salary of Rs. 7-8-0 and Rs. 8 on a yearly basis with the annual salary ranging from Rs. 100 to Rs. 250.

(b) *Skilled Workers*: Weaving being a skilled type of work, only weavers were included in this class. Thus there were at least as many skilled workers as there were looms. Out of the total of 848 skilled workers, 759 were wage workers. The skilled workers were mostly adolescents and adult males, because the process of weaving was so laborious and monotonous that females did not easily stand the strain. A few women workers were, however, found working on looms in Sholapur. Similarly, not a few boys of the age of twelve years and onwards were employed to work on a loom. The weavers were paid by piece-rates. The wages were fixed for a unit of *sarees* of full normal size. The rate of wages was determined by any one or more of the following factors: the length of a *saree*, counts of yarn to be woven and the amount of exertion involved in weaving a particular type of *saree*. Thus the piece-rate for weaving a "*dandia*" (a *saree* of 5 or 6 yds. \times 36" or 38") varied between two and a half annas and four and a half annas per *saree*, the exact rate being fixed according to the type of the *saree* to be woven, or the urgency of the work and/or the mutual relations existing between a *karkhandar* and a weaver. The number of the count of yarn used for warp and weft also influenced the rate. Thus wages for weaving a *saree* in medium and high counts were higher than those for coarse counts. Similarly, the amount of exertion involved in weaving was also a determining factor. Thus, in the case of weaving a type of *saree* known as *kondichikki*, three treadles were required to be worked in the pit below, which necessitated a greater amount of skill causing, of course, more exertion and involving more time than was involved in weaving other simple types. The wages for weaving a *kondichikki saree* were as high as nine annas per piece of *saree*. Generally speaking, wages paid by a dependent *karkhandar* to his weavers were lower than those paid to their weavers by independent *karkhandars*. As the weaving wages constituted from 18 to 22 per cent of the total cost of production of a *saree*, and secondly, as the handloom weavers were the least organized class of workers, they ultimately suffered from a glut in the market

of handloom products. In times of over-production, dealers in handloom wares tried to safeguard themselves against losses by cutting down the prices or wages they paid to *karkhandars* who, in turn, devised their own means of restricting the production, such as dismissals, lowering of piece-rates and slackening of the supervision over the work of the weavers. Recourse to the second means was being taken in most cases in Sholapur. Similarly, as a step in the direction of curtailment of the cost of production, sharp cuts in the wages of artisans had often been resorted to by handloom *karkhandars*. This resulted in a gradual decline in the income of handloom weavers.⁵ To give a rough idea as to how wages of weaving were cut down, wages paid for weaving three types of *sarees* for 6 consecutive years are given in Table No. 19.

TABLE NO. 19. RATES OF WAGES FOR WEAVING THREE TYPES OF SAREES (1933-38)

Type of Saree	1933	1934	1935	1936	1937	1938
	Rs.As.Ps.	Rs.As.Ps.	Rs.As.Ps.	Rs.As.Ps.	Rs.As.Ps.	Rs.As.Ps.
Nipani 8 yds. x 48"	0-11-0	0-10-6	0-9-0	0-8-0	0-8-0	0-8-0
Maheshwari 8½ yds. x 48"	1-0-0	0-14-0	0-12-0	0-9-0	0-8-0	0-8-0
Ilkal 8 yds. x 46"	0-7-6	0-7-0	0-6-6	0-6-3	0-6-0	0-6-0

The Bombay Economic and Industrial Enquiry Committee (1938-40) have pointed out in this behalf that if wages ruling in 1938 for weaving the three above types of *sarees* were compared with the corresponding rates in 1925, the decline in wages amounted to 50 per cent, 48 per cent and 59 per cent respectively.⁶

Owners of weaving establishments were not interested in enforcing discipline as regards the hours of work, since weavers were paid by results. But generally they worked from 7 or 8 o'clock in the morning till 5 o'clock in the evening with 2 to 3 hours' rest for the midday meal. Though the weaver was nominally at the loom for 9 to 10 hours, the hours of his effective work did not exceed 5 to 6. *Chilim* smoking and tobacco chewing were a great drag on his work. This explains why the output in relation to hours of work was low and why some artisans were driven to night shifts and to work for the whole month without taking weekly

⁵ It is said that owing to the decline in their income "a large number of handweavers... took to 'beedi'-making for a livelihood and this has since been their mainstay." (Page 21.) This statement of the Fact Finding Committee might be true in respect of other weaving centres in the country, but so far as Sholapur handloom industry was concerned there was no justification for it. The fact was that many women in weavers' families had taken to "beedi"-making, but no weaver in Sholapur had ever done so; for the income from weaving in Sholapur had never gone so low as to make "beedi"-making more attractive than weaving itself.

⁶ "Report," p. 99. The fall in wages in Sholapur was not so steep, however, as compared to other weaving centres in the Province, owing to its labour being comparatively more organised.

holidays. Most of the weavers stopped their work after 4 o'clock in the evening on every weekly bazaar day and took a complete holiday on every *amavasya* day. So also, a complete or partial holiday was enjoyed by them on almost all important Hindu holidays. In some cases, weavers were paid wages on every bazaar day, i.e., Tuesday, and on Wednesday in others. While making the weekly payment, dues payable by the weavers were recovered by *karkhandars* at a flat rate of about 20 to 25 per cent of the wages.

Some *karkhandars* insisted that a bond of regular service should be signed by the weavers before taking up employment in their *karkhanas*. They made advances for marriages and other purposes to those weavers who agreed to repay the debt by a regular service in the *karkhana*. The advances so given generally ranged from Rs. 20 to Rs. 100, and in some cases even more. "A part of the agreement allows the weavers triennial visits to their native places; by another article the employer is bound to provide the weaver with living tenements. The agreement provides work for the women but the rates are not guaranteed. It also empowers the *karkhandar* to revise the piece-rates of the weaver when necessary. In a few agreements, curiously enough, a condition is included that whenever a weaver leaves for his native place, he must leave behind him his wife and children in the *karkhana*, presumably as hostages, in the event of the weaver trying to shirk the burden of the loan. The general safeguard against such occurrences is provided in an article embodied in the agreement which empowers the *karkhandar* to keep back as security a certain portion of the weavers' wages. In the majority of cases, these agreements are observed to the letter."⁷ The agreement completely destroyed the freedom of the workers. They could not leave one *karkhana* and join another, unless they had paid in full the debt of the first *karkhandar*. Some unconscientious and unscrupulous *karkhandars* tried to take advantage of the straitened circumstances of weavers by lowering, directly or indirectly, the rates of their wages. They at times imposed fines for bad workmanship. They made the weavers do, in some cases, work other than weaving. The living tenements which the *karkhandars* undertook to provide free were in most cases dingy, dark and thoroughly insanitary. Moreover, they were no longer free. Many complaints were made that *karkhandars* had started charging one anna per head, for paying the municipal taxes on water, privy, etc. To compensate, so to say, all this, the *karkhandars* gave a few free meals to the workers on the *Ganesh Chaturthi* day and other ceremonial occasions. Some *karkhandars* distributed at the end of the year a bonus in some form or other.

(c) *Unskilled: Women:* Excluding outworkers, 675 workers were recorded as actually working on the premises of *karkhanas*.

The unskilled or semi-skilled workers were entrusted with the work of preparatory processes. This group consisted mainly of women and children. Of the 675 workers, 124 were children and the rest women. Again, in the 551 female workers, 203 belonged to *karkhandars'* families which meant that every unit of work had, on an average, nearly two female workers from the *karkhandar's* family itself. The remaining 348 paid female workers came from wage-workers' families, and so stayed on the premises of the establishment. The remuneration for their work was paid along with the weavers. Rates of wages prevalent in Sholapur for preparatory processes have been presented earlier. (See Table Nos. 5 and 7.)

Children: Out of 124 children recorded as working in 107 weaving establishments, only 3 belonged to the families of *karkhandars*. Generally speaking, children were employed in weaving establishments as a part of their industrial training. They earned while they learnt the trade. The terms of their employment were in no wise uniform in all the units. It was found that 8 children were allowed to learn the trade by moving about on the premises of *karkhanas* and were not remunerated in any way. Three children had been admitted in *karkhanas* for their training, on the condition that the *karkhandars* were to provide them free boarding and clothing. The remaining 110 children were being paid in cash. Out of them, 38 were getting upto Rs. 30 per year, 41 between Rs. 30 to Rs. 50 per year, and the rest more than Rs. 50 per year. Thirteen children were found employed on daily wages at rates ranging from two annas to four annas. The children employed were almost always males, but in one solitary case a girl was recorded to have been admitted in a *karkhana* for training.

Till 1940 there was no apprenticeship system in the handloom industry of Sholapur, nor was it a compulsory system. There was no specific standard of skill which an apprentice had to attain before he could begin to work as a trained weaver. The boys of independent artisans learnt the trade by the method of "following-up," i.e., the system in which "a youth works as a helper, assistant or mate." But this was not possible for the boys of all the employees.⁸ But in the generality of cases, their boys had to start in life and had to "get to know" the trade by actually entering, on conditions described earlier, into "regular service" in a *karkhana*. In many cases the boys had to work without wages for a period varying from six months to one year. There were no fixed stages by which the boys completed the whole course of training. When in regular service, they were given even household work. If they remained absent from work, their

⁸ Children of some employees who lived on the premises of a "karkhana" got an opportunity to pick up some processes by seeing and actually doing them informally.

wages were cut. The treatment usually accorded them was inhuman, unbearable and disgusting. Besides these there were some boys who did not bind themselves to a *karkhandar* for any long period. They went from one *karkhana* to the other. The number of such "learners by migration" was very small in Sholapur. The boys of caste-weavers were rarely attracted by the Technical School in which training in weaving was imparted.

Only two sections of the Factories' Act—one relating to the hours of work and the other concerning a weekly holiday—had been made applicable in Sholapur in 1940. A big hue and cry was raised in the beginning by local *karkhandars* against this. Every Wednesday was observed as a holiday, not only in factories but also in small workshops. Nightshifts were no longer witnessed in factories.

3. *Technical Structure:* The technical structure of the handloom industry in Sholapur was not well developed. The loom in common use was the pit-loom with a fly-shuttle sley and with the drop box arrangement made in some cases. Not a single loom in Sholapur was fitted with a Jacquard. All the principal movements in weaving, such as shedding, picking, beating, taking up, were required to be done by the weaver himself. No economy was possible in the cost of weaving. But there was great scope for effecting economy in the cost of preparatory processes, for the percentage of cost under that head to the total cost of production ranged between 5 to 7 per cent. The methods adopted in preparatory processes with one or two exceptions were primitive. Some improved methods were found to have been adopted in the case of unwinding and winding of warp yarn and in preparing the warp. The growing number of warping mills in Sholapur was certainly a hopeful sign. The method of sizing not only suffered from many disadvantages but was the costliest of all the preparatory processes. The cheaper and handier warping-cum-sizing machine designed by the Department of Industries, Bombay, for the individual weaver having two to three looms, was not seen in Sholapur till 1940. It was said that one local *karkhandar* who tried to adopt it was not successful! Similarly, the improved machines for pirn-winding and for unwinding of weft yarn were not in use in Sholapur. The artisan's conservatism was not the main obstacle to the weaver's taking up of the new implements. It was his utter lack of financial resources and lack of proper knowledge that explained his behaviour.

4. *Capital Structure:* The capital flowed into the local handloom industry through three different channels. The first source was the capital owned by the *karkhandars* themselves. Most of the self-owned capital was generally exhausted in purchasing the required tools and appliances. The amount of such fixed capital

originally invested could not be estimated. The remaining small portion of the self-owned capital was utilised for purchasing yarn and for paying wages of weaving and preparatory processes. But in course of business, the original working capital fell far short of the requirements, which necessitated borrowing. The second source of supply was the capital borrowed from private source. The capital from this source took the form of cash or credit. The cash capital was supplied by (i) Multani money-lenders, (ii) other local money-lenders and (iii) to some extent by broker-stockists.

(i) *Multanis*: The Multani money-lenders, it was said, almost forced loans upon weaving *karkhandars* on their personal security, for expanding their business. Their document was in the form of a *hundi* or draft, which was required to be signed by the debtor-*karkhandar* and counter-signed by two sureties, the *hundi* becoming payable generally after three to four months. In some cases, their *hundis* became due for payment even after six months. While advancing the loan, the Multanis deducted interest at the rate of ten to twelve annas per Rs. 100 per mensem, for the period for which the *hundi* was to run. When a *hundi* became due for payment, the Multanis demanded immediate payment. They did not allow a single day of grace. It was said that if the debtor-*karkhandar* failed to make the payment on demand, they harassed him, filed a suit in the court and recovered their money. For five years or so preceding our survey, the Multani money-lenders had started allowing the concession to their clients of repaying their debt by daily instalments of not less than Rs. 25, but they did not allow interest on the amount of daily instalments. Thus their rate of interest amounted to 13 to 14 per cent per annum, even though apparently it was 8 to 9 per cent. The Multanis used to deposit or discount these *hundis* in the local branch offices of the Imperial Bank of India and the Central Bank of India, and got money from them at the rate of 3 per cent per annum. If a *hundi*, as deposited or discounted at the bank, was dishonoured, the Multanis instantly used to make payment to the bank concerned. Thus they had earned for themselves a very good reputation with the local banks. There were only three to four Multani money-lenders in Sholapur in 1940. Before that there were more than ten. Their advances to the local weaving and dyeing *karkhandars* were then estimated at 1½ lacs of rupees.

(ii) *Money-lenders Other Than Multanis*: Their resources, being limited, the advances made by these money-lenders to weaving and dyeing *karkhandars* hardly exceeded Rs. 50,000. They advanced loans at the same rate as or at times even at a higher rate of interest than that of the Multanis, but only on some substantial security. Small amounts were advanced even on promis-

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sory notes. The repayment of the debt had to be made in cash as in the case of the Multanis.

(iii) *Broker-stockists*: There were a few broker-stockists in Sholapur who used to advance loans to their *asamis*. In such dealings a condition was laid down that the debtor *karkhandar* was to repay the debt within a settled period by selling their goods to them. In some cases the price of the ware was settled for the whole period at the time of advancing the loan. While in others, particular kinds of *sarees* were to be sold by the debtor to the stockist money-lender at the ruling market rates each time. In this way, over one lac of rupees was estimated to be circulating in the industry.

Credit in the form of raw materials to the tune of 2½ lacs of rupees was estimated to have been given by merchants of yarn and dye-stuffs, to their customers. Our study of 107 weaving establishments showed that credit worth over Rs. 35,000 was taken in the form of raw materials by about 80 establishments. While the total indebtedness of 93 establishments on the score of business only approximated to Rs. 44,280. It will thus be seen that credit, in the form of raw materials taken for working a loom, exceeded Rs. 45 on an average.

Yet another source of capital was the bank. The local branch of the Imperial Bank of India had been financing the handloom industry for over a decade, and it was calculated in 1940 that its investment in the industry approximated to Rs. 1,50,000. The nature of its dealings could well be summed up in these words: "Clean demand, cash credit." The bank used to advance money to a *karkhandar* on his personal credit, the *karkhandar* concerned being required to give a sound party as a surety. The debtor was made to open his account in the bank. The bank allowed the party to draw or overdraw on that account upto a limit fixed by the amount of the loan. The bank charged interest at the rate of 6 per cent per annum. At the end of every 3 months all the interest due had to be paid by the debtor and in a 6 months' period the whole amount, including interest, had to be paid off. The bank did not advance a loan of any great amount to the same party on the same terms within a period of two months from the completion of the first transaction. The bank, it was said, was never required to go to law for the recovery of its loan. But the conditions of the bank regarding the amount of loan available at any one time, the period and the mode of its repayment, etc., scared away weaving *karkhandars* and drove them into the hands of Multanis who were ready to advance money in the nick of time and on personal credit.

5. *Marketing Structure; Purchasing of Raw Materials*: The organization for the supply of raw materials of the handloom in-

industry was of great importance, because it was here that the capitalist middleman came into the picture. In only 24 cases out of 107 it was found that the weaving *karkhandars* could purchase their requisite quantity of yarn with ready cash. About 78 per cent of the total weaving *karkhandars* had to depend for the supply of their raw materials on the credit allowed by the yarn dealers. Big *karkhandars* could wring from the dealers concessions in regard to prices, time for payment, etc., since they purchased large quantities of yarn from them. But in the case of small *karkhandars*, this was not possible. Of the 83 *karkhandars* who were found depending on the credit of yarn dealers, 64 were small *karkhandars*. The increasing dependence of the small *karkhandars* on yarn dealers constituted one of their weaknesses, because they had to pay retail prices which were always higher than the wholesale ones by one to two annas. They were still higher by a few annas per bundle, particularly in case of customers who wanted to purchase yarn on credit and who were not financially sound in the estimation of the dealer concerned.⁹ Besides, the general tendency of retail prices to rise with the rise in wholesale prices but to fail to adjust themselves promptly to the fall in the latter, rendered the position of small *karkhandars* still more disadvantageous. Again "the artisan often gets yarn of counts actually inferior to what it is alleged to be by the seller." Similarly, "in the case of dyed yarn the weaver is often deceived and gets supplies of yarn dyed with loose colours with the result that the colouring fades quickly and leaves a bad name for the handloom weaver's products." In spite of all these disadvantages, the small *karkhandar* had to put up with the yarn dealers, since "he has nowhere else to go to purchase his raw materials and moreover, nobody else will give him credit."¹⁰

The organisation for the supply of raw materials comprised three modes of dealings. Firstly, raw materials were purchased directly by a weaving *karkhandar* either with cash or on credit. Secondly, raw materials upto a certain amount were advanced to small *karkhandars* by either big *karkhandars* or stockist-merchants under a price or wage contract. Lastly, raw materials were supplied by some producers' co-operative society. All these three modes were found persisting in Sholapur. Table No. 20 sets out the relevant data.

It shows that in 80 units out of 107, *karkhandars* bought the requisite quantity of yarn directly from yarn dealers either with cash or credit. Among these 80 *karkhandars*, 42 were independent and 38 dependent. In the group of 42 independent units of work,

⁹ From the evidence tendered before the Fact Finding Committee, it appears that the addition made to the price of yarn sold on credit to weavers ranged between 4 and 25 per cent on the cost price. (Page 94.)

¹⁰ "Report of the Bombay Economic and Industrial Committee," (1940), p. 96.

TABLE NO. 20. *KARKHANDAS* OF DIFFERENT SIZES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE METHOD OF OBTAINING RAW MATERIALS

No. of Looms	Direct		Buying		Supplied by <i>karkhandars</i> and Dealers to Dependents	Supplied by the Co-operative Society	Total
	Independent	Dependent	Independent	Dependent			
1 Loom	11	3	1	—	—	—	16
2 Looms	7	3	1	—	—	—	11
3 Looms	2	4	2	—	—	—	8
4 Looms	6	12	11	—	—	—	30
5 Looms	—	2	2	—	—	—	4
6 Looms	1	3	2	—	—	—	6
Total	27	27	19	2	—	—	75
7 Looms	2	2	1	—	—	—	5
8 Looms	—	2	3	—	—	—	5
9 Looms	1	2	—	—	—	—	3
10 Looms	1	1	—	—	—	—	2
11 to 15 Looms	3	1	—	—	—	—	4
16 to 20 "	2	2	—	—	—	—	4
21 to 25 "	1	1	1	—	—	—	3
26 to 30 "	—	—	1	—	—	—	1
31 to 35 "	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
46 to 50 "	1	—	—	—	—	—	1
51 and over	3	—	—	—	—	—	3
Total	15	11	6	—	—	—	32
Grand Total	42	38	25	2	—	—	107

27 were workshops and the rest factories. Out of these 27 small *karkhandars*, 8 completed their transactions with cash payment, 5 of them selling their wares by *gujari*. It will thus be seen that in the group of workshops, over 62 per cent of *karkhandars* selling their finished products by *gujari* could afford to purchase their yarn with cash. While in the case of factories, only 2 out of 15 big *karkhandars* purchased their yarn with cash. It seems that the factory-owners, as a class, were required to take credit from yarn dealers. In the case of dependent *karkhandars*, loans were advanced under a price contract for the purchase of yarn, either by big *karkhandars* or by stockist-merchants. In their case, curiously enough, all *karkhandars*, except one, were found to have taken credit even from yarn dealers, while *karkhandars* who did not look to yarn dealers for their supply of yarn formed 25 per cent of the total. They got yarn and other raw materials under a wage-contract with big *karkhandars* or stockist-merchants. Of these 25 *karkhandars*, 16 got their supply from *karkhandars* and the remaining 9 from stockist dealers. Lastly, there was the class of *karkhandars* who depended for their supply of yarn on the Sholapur District Industrial Co-operative Association. Only 2 *karkhandars* were found taking recourse to this agency of supply.

The value of the total quantity of raw materials consumed in 107 units of work by 848 looms amounted to Rs. 2,72,073-8-0. Thus the proportion of value of raw materials to value of cloth came to 64.37 per cent in Sholapur, while in Nasik it worked out at 64.00 per cent.¹¹ The per loom consumption of raw materials amounted to Rs. 320-13-4. According to this calculation, the value of the total annual consumption of raw materials in Sholapur exceeded 23 lacs of rupees, and of grey yarn alone about Rs. 17,00,000.¹² The comparative position of each group of looms regarding the consumption of raw materials is shown in Table No. 21.

TABLE NO. 21. RENT, THE AVERAGE VALUE OF RAW MATERIALS USED AND OF PRODUCTION IN KARKHANAS OF DIFFERENT SIZES

Number of Looms	Annual Per Loom Average				
	Average Staff Per Loom	Rent.	Value of Production	Consumption of Raw Material	Per Cent
	No.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	
1 Loom	2.12	18.50	244.75	158.80	64.91
2 Looms	2.18	18.53	364.09	232.90	64.47
3 Looms	2.00	18.85	381.12	246.13	64.57
4 Looms	1.95	12.85	438.95	281.99	64.24
5 Looms	2.10	14.33	400.00	262.53	65.62
6 Looms	1.88	9.63	428.22	276.75	64.62
Total	1.99	13.77	408.24	263.17	64.47
7 Looms	2.00	14.57	440.71	283.56	64.34
8 Looms	1.82	13.43	438.12	285.36	65.11
9 Looms	2.00	15.00	451.85	296.78	65.65
10 Looms	1.95	17.50	537.50	355.00	66.04
11 to 15 Looms	2.06	17.11	526.92	344.71	65.42
16 to 20 "	2.10	19.11	522.85	346.08	66.17
21 to 25 "	1.96	14.56	431.43	283.56	65.72
26 to 30 "	2.00	—	500.00	316.68	63.33
31 to 35 "	2.19	—	587.50	375.00	63.83
36 to 40 "	—	—	—	—	—
41 to 45 "	—	—	—	—	—
46 to 50 "	1.87	15.21	559.78	352.27	63.14
50 to 80 "	1.76	14.44	622.34	389.63	62.67
Total	1.92	14.59	530.92	343.40	64.55
Grand Total	1.94	14.33	497.22	320.83	64.52

Very many variations are seen in the column of "per loom average annual consumption of raw materials" and in the next column of "proportion of cost on raw materials to the total value." It could generally be said that the variations were due to the difference in the proportion of high, coarse or medium counts of

¹¹ "Report of the Bombay Economic and Industrial Survey Committee," p. 61.

¹² The total annual consumption of grey yarn in Sholapur, according to rough calculations, came to about 3,50,000 boxes of 10 lbs. each.

yarn used, the economy effected in purchasing the raw materials, the relative position of each group in obtaining high or low prices for its products, etc.

6. *Size of Production:* In the 107 weaving establishments, selected in our sample, there were 848 weavers in all. Out of them only 9 weavers were producing men's garments. On classifying them it was found that only one was engaged in producing turbans, one in producing *dhoties* and *uparnis* and the remaining seven in producing shirting. Thus the production of men's garments in Sholapur was quite negligible as compared to that of women's. Out of 839 weavers producing women's garments, only one was producing *khans* or bodice pieces and 838 coloured *sarees* with silk or cotton borders. Sholapur specialized in producing *sarees*.

Nearly 19 types of *sarees* were produced in Sholapur. No information that could convincingly show when and at whose instance a particular type was introduced in Sholapur, was available. Toward the close of the last century the number of such types hardly exceeded five to seven. Thus nearly 13 new types were evolved during the last 40 years. 838 looms in our sample produced in all 2,00,069 *sarees* of 19 types.

Table No. 22 shows the number of looms engaged in producing each type of *saree* and also the annual production of each type. It will be clear that even in 1940 there were only 6 dominant types in producing each of which more than 50 looms were working. Out of the 838 looms, 776 were found engaged in producing them. This meant that the production in the remaining types of *sarees* was relatively of little importance.

The average annual outturn of *sarees* per loom was about 239, while the average annual production in value per loom amounted to Rs. 503-2-8. Per loom averages, of annual production of each group of looms, differed from those—for the total. They also differed from group to group as Table No. 23 shows.

It further shows that among the workshops the best possible results were obtained only in case of the group of four looms. The variations were due to a number of reasons such as the proportion of high, coarse or medium count of yarn used, the type and the quality of the product, the economic status of *karkhandars* in the group, etc. As regards the size of an establishment and the type of production undertaken by it, no general statement could be made; for even in small establishments more than one type of *sarees* was produced. On the other hand, in some exceptional cases *sarees* of only one type were produced even though there were a number of looms in the *karkhana*. The share of each group of looms in the production of different types of *sarees* is shown in Table No. 24.

**TABLE NO. 22. DETAILS RELATING TO PRODUCTION OF
DIFFERENT VARIETIES OF SAREES**

	Full Length Sarees											
	Coarse			Medium			High			Total		
	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.
Banhatti ..	13	2,992	6,750	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	2,992	6,750
Baramati ..	2	420	970	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	420	970
Bavadhan ..	4	980	2,275	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	980	2,275
Bhingar ..	5	1,150	2,125	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1,150	2,125
Bhivandi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	240	600	1	240	600
Elkal ..	155	35,508	69,562	17	4,004	10,595	74	16,162	42,595	246	55,674	1,22,752
Fancy Patal ..	7	1,650	3,320	1	250	520	86	23,070	57,070	94	24,970	60,390
Faras Peti ..	77	18,797	39,009	—	—	—	11	2,208	5,675	88	21,005	44,684
Gomi ..	—	—	—	5	1,200	2,450	—	—	—	5	1,200	2,450
Kondichikki ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	200	500	1	200	500
Madan Villas ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	480	1,200	2	480	1,200
Maheswari ..	25	5,635	8,600	—	—	—	50	11,439	27,160	75	17,134	35,760
Manmohan ..	8	2,225	5,375	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	2,225	5,375
Minerva ..	2	350	1,075	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	350	1,075
Mysore ..	12	2,640	6,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	2,640	6,600
Nagapur Gujrati ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	200	500	1	200	500
Narali ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nipani ..	64	14,189	28,856	—	—	—	5	1,200	2,540	69	15,389	31,396
Shamsunder ..	123	29,660	68,474	—	—	—	3	600	1,500	126	30,260	69,974
Total ..	497	1,16,256	2,42,991	23	5,454	13,565	234	55,799	1,39,340	754	1,77,509	3,95,896

TABLE NO. 22 (Contd.)

	Short Length Sarees											
	Coarse			Medium			High			Total		
	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.
Banhatti ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Baramati ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bavadhan ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bhingar ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Bhivandi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Elkal ..	28	8,017	7,528	—	—	—	7	904	1,597	35	8,921	9,125
Fancy Patal ..	1	250	250	1	250	320	8	3,404	4,080	10	3,904	4,650
Faras Peti ..	10	2,565	3,200	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	2,565	3,200
Gomi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Kondichikki ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Madan Villas ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Maheswari ..	10	2,900	2,525	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	2,900	2,525
Manmohan ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Minerva ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Mysore ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Nagapur Gujrati ..	—	—	—	3	720	1,250	—	—	—	3	720	1,250
Narali ..	3	600	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	600	1,000
Nipani ..	2	540	525	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	540	525
Shamsunder ..	11	2,410	3,485	—	—	—	—	—	—	11	2,410	3,485
Total ..	65	17,282	18,513	4	970	1,570	15	4,308	5,677	84	22,560	25,760

TABLE NO. 22 (Contd.)

	Total											
	Coarse			Medium			High			Total		
	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.
Banhatti ..	13	2,992	6,750	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	2,992	6,750
Baramati ..	2	420	970	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	420	970
Bavadhan ..	4	980	2,275	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	980	2,275
Bhingar ..	5	1,150	2,125	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	1,150	2,125
Bhivandi ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	240	600	1	240	600
Elkal ..	183	43,525	77,090	17	4,004	10,595	81	17,066	44,192	281	64,595	1,31,877
Fancy Patal ..	8	1,900	3,570	2	500	840	94	26,474	61,150	104	28,874	65,040
Faras Peti ..	87	21,962	42,209	—	—	—	11	2,208	5,675	98	23,570	47,884
Gomi ..	—	—	—	5	1,200	2,450	—	—	—	5	1,200	2,450
Kondichikki ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	200	500	1	200	500
Madan Villas ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	480	1,200	2	480	1,200
Maheswari ..	35	8,595	11,125	—	—	—	50	11,439	27,160	85	20,034	38,285
Manmohan ..	8	2,225	5,375	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	2,225	5,375
Minerva ..	2	350	1,075	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	350	1,075
Mysore ..	12	2,640	6,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	12	2,640	6,600
Nagapur Gujrati ..	—	—	—	3	720	1,250	1	200	500	4	920	1,750
Narali ..	3	600	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	600	1,000
Nipani ..	66	14,729	29,381	—	—	—	5	1,200	2,540	71	15,929	31,921
Shamsunder ..	134	32,070	71,959	—	—	—	3	600	1,500	137	32,670	73,459
Total ..	562	1,33,538	2,61,504	27	6,424	15,135	249	60,107	1,45,017	838	2,00,069	4,21,656

TABLE NO. 23. PRODUCTION OF DIFFERENT VARIETIES OF SAREES
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE SIZE OF KARKHANAS

Number of Looms	Full Length Sarees												
	Coarse Counts			Medium Counts			High Counts			Total			
	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Per Loom Average No.
1 Loom ..	6	1,154	1,838	—	—	—	1	275	500	7	1,429	2,338	204.14
2 Looms ..	15	5,020	5,575	1	144	300	3	480	1,350	19	3,644	7,225	191.79
3 Looms ..	20	4,367	8,265	—	—	—	—	—	—	20	4,367	8,265	218.35
4 Looms ..	82	19,192	36,047	2	500	1,575	22	5,032	10,475	106	24,724	48,097	233.25
5 Looms ..	15	3,360	5,950	—	—	—	5	1,000	2,050	20	4,360	8,000	218.00
6 Looms ..	20	4,253	7,846	—	—	—	10	2,112	5,370	30	6,365	13,216	212.17
Total ..	158	35,346	65,521	3	644	1,875	41	8,899	19,745	202	44,889	87,141	222.22
7 Looms ..	24	4,860	9,465	—	—	—	7	1,344	4,700	31	6,204	14,165	200.13
8 Looms ..	19	3,900	7,400	—	—	—	15	2,925	7,500	34	6,825	14,900	200.74
9 Looms ..	14	2,920	5,500	—	—	—	10	2,000	5,700	24	4,920	11,200	205.00
10 Looms ..	3	1,225	2,125	—	—	—	14	3,175	8,300	19	4,400	10,425	231.58
11 to 15 Looms ..	25	5,940	12,900	—	—	—	23	5,040	13,500	48	10,980	26,400	228.75
16 to 20 " ..	49	12,295	25,325	—	—	—	21	4,440	11,275	70	16,735	36,600	239.07
21 to 25 " ..	57	13,330	26,715	—	—	—	—	—	—	57	13,330	26,715	233.86
26 to 30 " ..	30	7,000	15,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	7,000	15,000	233.33
31 to 35 " ..	16	3,840	9,240	15	3,610	9,240	—	—	—	31	7,450	18,480	240.32
46 to 50 " ..	—	—	—	5	1,200	2,450	—	—	—	42	10,320	24,850	245.71
51 to 80 " ..	100	25,600	63,800	—	—	—	37	9,120	22,400	166	44,456	1,10,020	267.81
Total ..	339	80,910	1,77,470	20	4,810	11,690	193	46,900	1,19,595	552	1,32,620	3,08,755	240.25
Grand Total ..	497	1,16,256	2,42,991	23	5,454	13,565	234	55,799	1,39,340	754	1,77,509	3,95,896	235.42

TABLE NO. 23 (Contd.)

Number of Looms	Short Length Sarees												
	Coarse Counts'			Medium Counts			High Counts			Total			
	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Per Loom Average No.
1 Loom ..	5	1,036	808	—	—	—	1	380	300	6	1,416	1,108	236.00
2 Looms ...	3	800	725	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	800	725	266.67
3 Looms ...	1	275	210	—	—	—	1	24	72	2	299	282	149.50
4 Looms ...	10	3,090	3,025	3	720	1,250	1	200	300	14	4,010	4,575	286.43
5 Looms ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 Looms ...	6	1,775	2,200	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	1,775	2,200	295.83
Total ..	25	6,976	6,968	3	720	1,250	3	604	672	31	8,300	8,890	267.74
7 Looms ..	4	1,056	1,260	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1,056	1,260	264.00
8 Looms ...	6	1,440	1,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	6	1,440	1,600	240.00
9 Looms ...	3	600	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	600	1,000	200.00
10 Looms ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	200	325	1	200	325	200.00
11 to 15 Looms ...	4	1,100	1,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	1,100	1,000	275.00
16 to 20 " ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
21 to 25 " ...	13	3,210	3,485	—	—	—	—	—	—	13	3,210	3,485	246.92
26 to 30 " ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31 to 35 " ...	—	—	—	1	250	320	—	—	—	1	250	320	250.00
46 to 50 " ...	—	—	—	—	—	—	4	480	900	4	480	900	120.00
51 to 80 " ...	10	2,900	3,200	—	—	—	7	3,024	3,780	17	5,924	6,980	348.47
Total ..	40	10,306	11,545	1	250	320	12	3,704	5,005	53	14,260	16,870	269.06
Grand Total ..	65	17,282	18,518	4	970	1,570	15	4,308	5,677	84	22,560	25,760	268.57

TABLE NO. 23 (Contd.)

Number of Looms	Total												
	Coarse Counts			Medium Counts			High Counts			Total			
	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Looms No.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Per Loom Average No.
1 Loom ..	11	2,190	2,646	—	—	—	2	655	800	13	2,845	3,446	218.85
2 Looms ..	18	3,820	6,300	1	144	300	3	480	1,350	22	4,444	7,950	202.00
3 Looms ..	21	4,542	8,475	—	—	—	1	24	72	22	4,666	8,547	212.09
4 Looms ..	92	22,282	39,072	5	1,220	2,825	23	5,232	10,775	120	28,734	52,672	239.45
5 Looms ..	15	3,360	5,950	—	—	—	5	1,000	2,050	20	4,360	8,000	218.00
6 Looms ..	26	6,028	10,046	—	—	—	10	2,112	5,370	36	8,140	15,416	226.11
Total ..	183	42,322	72,489	6	1,364	3,125	44	9,503	20,417	233	53,189	96,031	228.28
7 Looms ..	28	5,916	10,725	—	—	—	7	1,344	4,700	35	7,260	15,425	207.43
8 Looms ..	25	5,340	9,000	—	—	—	15	2,925	7,500	40	8,265	16,500	206.63
9 Looms ..	17	3,520	6,500	—	—	—	10	2,000	5,700	27	5,520	12,200	204.44
10 Looms ..	5	1,225	2,125	—	—	—	15	3,375	8,625	20	4,600	10,750	230.00
11 to 15 Looms ..	29	7,040	13,900	—	—	—	23	5,040	13,500	52	12,080	27,400	232.30
16 to 20 " ..	49	12,295	25,325	—	—	—	21	4,440	11,275	70	16,735	36,600	239.07
21 to 25 " ..	70	16,524	30,200	—	—	—	—	—	—	70	16,540	30,200	236.29
26 to 30 " ..	30	7,000	15,000	—	—	—	—	—	—	30	7,000	15,000	233.33
31 to 35 " ..	16	3,840	9,240	16	3,860	9,560	—	—	—	32	7,700	18,800	240.63
46 to 50 " ..	—	—	—	5	1,200	2,450	41	9,600	23,300	46	10,800	25,750	234.78
51 to 80 " ..	110	28,500	67,000	—	—	—	73	21,880	50,000	183	50,380	1,17,000	275.30
Total ..	379	91,216	1,89,015	21	5,060	12,010	205	50,604	1,24,600	605	1,46,880	3,25,625	242.78
Grand Total ..	562	1,33,538	2,61,504	27	6,424	15,135	249	60,107	1,45,017	838	2,00,069	4,21,656	236.75

TABLE NO. 24. PRODUCTION OF VARIOUS TYPES OF
SAREES BY KARKHANAS OF DIFFERENT SIZES

	Banhatti		Baramati		Bavadhan		Bhingar		Bhivandi		Ilkal		Fancy	Patal	
	Number of Looms	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.		
1 Loom	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,750	1,971	655	800
2 Looms	..	432	725	420	970	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,700	3,430	250	250
3 Looms	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,669	2,782	—	—
4 Looms	..	1,660	3,850	—	—	—	—	1,150	2,125	—	—	7,399	12,675	2,010	3,550
5 Looms	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,360	8,000	—	—
6 Looms	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,420	7,339	—	—
Total	..	2,092	4,575	420	970	—	—	1,150	2,125	—	—	20,298	36,197	2,915	4,600
7 Looms	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,466	8,000	1,344	4,700
8 Looms	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,290	6,000	1,995	4,920
9 Looms	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	416	950	—	—
10 Looms	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,375	8,625	—	—
11 to 15 Looms	..	—	—	—	—	500	1,175	—	—	—	—	7,780	17,750	240	500
16 to 20 "	..	900	2,175	—	—	—	—	—	—	240	600	2,820	7,035	—	—
21 to 25 "	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,650	6,350	—	—
26 to 30 "	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,000	15,000	—	—
31 to 35 "	..	—	—	—	—	480	1,100	—	—	—	—	3,360	8,720	500	840
46 to 50 "	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,880	7,200	—	—
51 to 80 "	..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5,260	10,050	21,880	50,000
Total	..	900	2,175	—	—	980	2,275	—	—	240	600	44,297	95,680	25,959	60,960
Grand Total	..	2,992	6,750	420	970	980	2,275	1,150	2,125	240	600	64,595	1,31,877	28,874	65,560

TABLE NO. 24 (Contd.)

Number of Looms	Faraspeti		Goni		Kondichikki		Madan Vilas		Maharwari		Manmohan		Minerva	
	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.
1 Loom ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	200	275	—	—	—	—
2 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
3 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
4 Looms ..	3,205	5,550	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,637	3,225	—	—	—	—
5 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
6 Looms ..	1,509	2,464	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,780	2,805	—	—	—	—
Total ..	4,714	8,014	—	—	—	—	—	—	3,617	6,305	—	—	—	—
7 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
8 Looms ..	1,440	1,600	—	—	200	500	—	—	190	430	—	—	350	1,075
9 Looms ..	2,488	4,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,800	5,200	—	—	—	—
10 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,225	2,125	—	—	—	—
11 to 15 Looms ..	500	1,125	—	—	—	—	—	—	960	2,200	—	—	—	—
16 to 20 " ..	1,940	4,855	—	—	—	—	480	1,200	4,040	6,000	2,225	5,375	—	—
21 to 25 " ..	7,640	15,640	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,250	1,925	—	—	—	—
26 to 30 " ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
31 to 35 " ..	480	1,100	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
36 to 50 " ..	768	2,000	1,200	2,450	—	—	—	—	5,952	14,100	—	—	—	—
51 to 80 " ..	3,600	8,950	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total ..	18,856	39,870	1,300	2,450	200	500	480	1,200	16,417	31,980	2,225	5,375	350	1,075
Grand Total ..	23,570	47,884	1,200	2,450	200	500	480	1,200	20,034	38,285	2,225	5,375	350	1,075

TABLE NO. 24 (Contd.)

Number of Looms	Mysore		Nagpur Gujarati		Narali		Nipani		Shamsunder		Total	
	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.	Volume No.	Value Rs.
1 Loom ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	240	400	2,845	3,446
2 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,020	1,700	622	875	4,444	7,950
3 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,772	3,315	1,225	2,450	4,666	8,547
4 Looms ..	—	—	920	1,750	—	—	7,275	13,822	3,478	6,125	28,734	52,672
5 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,360	8,000
6 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	672	1,374	759	1,434	8,140	15,416
Total ..	—	—	920	1,750	—	—	10,739	20,211	6,324	11,284	53,189	96,031
7 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	250	475	1,200	2,250	7,260	15,425
8 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	800	1,975	8,265	16,500
9 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	600	1,000	—	—	216	450	5,520	12,200
10 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4,600	10,750
11 to 15 Looms ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	600	1,400	1,500	3,250	12,080	27,400
16 to 20 " ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	1,440	3,060	2,650	6,300	16,735	36,600
21 to 25 " ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	500	875	2,500	5,410	16,540	30,200
26 to 30 " ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7,000	15,000
31 to 35 " ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	2,400	5,900	490	1,140	7,700	18,800
46 to 50 " ..	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10,800	25,750
51 to 80 " ..	2,640	6,600	—	—	—	—	—	—	17,000	41,400	50,380	1,17,000
Total ..	2,640	6,600	—	—	600	1,000	5,190	11,710	26,346	62,175	1,46,880	3,25,625
Grand Total ..	2,640	6,600	920	1,750	600	1,000	15,929	31,921	32,670	73,459	2,00,069	4,21,656

Before studying the types, the total production of *sarees* in Sholapur may well be examined according to the counts of yarn used. Sholapur did not consume yarn of less than 20 counts as will be seen from Table No. 25. The table presents numerous

TABLE NO. 25. CLASSIFICATION OF *SAREES* PRODUCED ACCORDING TO THE COUNT OF YARN USED IN THEIR MANUFACTURE

Count of Yarn	Number of Sarees		
	Full Length	Short Length	Total
Coarse Count			
24 ^s x 20 ^s	7,975	—	7,975
24 ^s x 24 ^s	960	500	1,460
30 ^s x 20 ^s	1,920	—	1,920
30 ^s x 24 ^s	41,624	7,038	48,682
30 ^s x 30 ^s	63,777	9,724	73,501
Total	1,16,256	17,282	1,33,538
Medium Counts			
30 ^s x 40 ^s	1,200	—	1,200
40 ^s x 30 ^s	500	—	500
40 ^s x 40 ^s	3,754	970	4,724
Total	5,454	970	6,424
High Counts			
40 ^s x 60 ^s	17,027	860	17,887
60 ^s x 24 ^s	720	—	720
60 ^s x 40 ^s	19,856	3,048	22,904
60 ^s x 64 ^s	420	—	420
60 ^s x 84 ^s	4,752	—	4,752
64 ^s x 24 ^s	480	—	480
64 ^s x 64 ^s	1,000	—	1,000
84 ^s x 60 ^s	10,144	400	10,544
84 ^s x 80 ^s	1,200	—	1,200
84 ^s x 84 ^s	200	—	200
Total	55,799	4,308	60,107
Grand Total	1,77,509	22,560	2,00,069

variations in the combination of counts of yarn used for manufacturing *sarees*. All the 19 combinations could be classified into 3 divisions. The first division comprised all the combinations of counts from 20 to 30. Here direct competition of mills was severely felt. Some of the mills in Sholapur, Barsi and Khandesh manufactured *sarees* by using yarn of 24^s to 32^s counts. The second division included all combinations of counts from 30 to 40. And the third division comprised the remaining 10 combinations. In Sholapur, yarn of counts exceeding 84^s was not used

in any appreciable quantity. The classification of the production into the above divisions showed that 1,33,538, or 66.8 per cent of the total *sarees* were in the first division, 6,424 or 3.2 per cent *sarees* in the second, and the remaining 60,107 in the third. Thus more than two-thirds of the *sarees* produced in Sholapur had to face the direct competition of mills, and the remaining, the indirect competition of power-looms.

Generally speaking, small independent weaving establishments with one or two looms, undertook production in any one combination of counts, either coarse, medium or high, irrespective of the type of *saree*, because with the change in counts of warp-yarn, the weavers were required to make corresponding changes in reeds and healds. Dependent establishments had to turn out *sarees* of whatever count of warp-yarn was supplied to them. If a dependent *karkhandar* had more than one loom, he reserved one or two looms for each of different counts supplied to him. Such reservation was also done in establishments having a number of looms working in them. Table No. 23 shows that the production in small weaving establishments consisted largely of coarse counts, while big factories undertook production of *sarees* in high and medium counts of yarn, because of the better prices they fetched. But there were two groups in which production only in coarse counts was carried on. That was because 3 out of 4 units of work falling under them were dependents. And the remaining unit produced that type of *saree* which, though in coarse counts, fetched better prices.

The study of 19 types of *sarees* produced in Sholapur according to the counts of yarn used, showed that in 13 types yarn of only one of the coarse, medium or high counts was used. There was no variety as regards the counts of yarn used. While in the remaining 6 types, which accounted for 92 per cent of the total production, *sarees* were manufactured in all the counts of yarn as will be seen from Table No. 22. This shows that Sholapur had not developed till 1940 production in 13 types as completely as could be desired.

"Textile fabrics frequently take their names from the place where they first acquired excellence and retain them long after the local manufacture has been transferred elsewhere, and sometimes the name itself is transferred to an altogether different style of manufacture," writes Dr. Birdwood.¹³ These remarks of Dr. Birdwood explained the names given to 10 out of 19 types of *sarees* produced in Sholapur. Most of the types have maintained with varying degrees their original pattern, while some others

¹³ "Industrial Arts of India," Vol. II, 1880, p. 72.

seemed to have changed from the original beyond recognition. The type locally known as "Nagpur-Gujrathi" was a case in point.

Most of the names of types were associated with a particular type of design in their borders, while some *sarees* got known from the pattern, weave and/or counts of yarn used in their ground. They were manufactured with any type of design in their borders. *Pofali*, *Khaskhasi*, *Rasta*, *Kondichikki*, *Yeluwa*, *Lukkha* were some of the names by which the ground of a *saree* was known. The patterns in the ground were formed by means of checks. For forming checks two or more coloured threads were used either lengthwise and breadthwise, or only lengthwise. In some cases the threads were arranged close to each other while in others less closely, as in *Pofali*. The checks were small or large. In *Kondichikki* and *Khaskhasi* the checks were very small, formed by arranging two threads in juxtaposition, bothwise. But in *Kondichikki*, the threads forming checks breadthwise did not pass through the reeds in the border. In *Pofali* the checks were large, formed by two threads bothwise, not arranged close to each other. In *Yeluwa*, there was only one thread which formed a cross breadthwise, there being some threads of different colours set in the space between the two threads that formed the lengthwise checks. In *Rasta*, there were only lengthwise coloured threads, stripes running on the face of the ground.

Two styles were employed in obtaining designs on the borders of *sarees*. One was conventional and the other non-conventional. In the latter class could be included all kinds of designs in *Fancy Lugadis* or *Patals*. In conventional style there were three main kinds. The first and the most prevalent design was formed by means of "gomis"¹⁴ and "bugdis."¹⁵ Sometimes only *gomis* were arranged in 3 or 4 rows, thus giving rise to a separate type of *saree*. In others, only *bugdis* were so arranged as to form small triangles on the face of the borders, there being also 3 rows of *bugdis*, the design so obtained being known as *Faraspeti*.¹⁶ But in most cases, both *gomis* and *bugdis* were used to get different designs in the borders. Besides these two, a thick stripe of coloured threads of silk or rayon known in vernacular as "toda" was also sometimes employed. By arranging in various ways, all or any two or any one of the above devices, 15 different types of *sarees* were evolved. The second kind of design found in Sholapur was *Narali*. In this design, diagonally arranged squares were set in three stripes, one broad and two narrow, the *bugdis* being so arranged as to get a design of a bell on the side of the ground. In *Nipani* or *Dhanwad* there were four rows of small flower designs called "ruijul" and two rows of *bugdis* arranged one upon an-

¹⁴ "Gomi" is a small herringbone stripe (like a small arrow) of artificial silk or rayon.

¹⁵ A row of "bugdis" or "karwatis" make a saw-like design.

¹⁶ "Faraspeti" is a design which looks like the diamond weave reversed.

other, their faces being on the same side. The 6 main types of sarees which formed the bulk of production in Sholapur are studied in detail in the following pages.

(i) *Ilkal*: The name of this type was derived from the place of that name in Bijpur District. The "ground" of an *Ilkal saree* could be of any pattern, but the design in the border was always of a particular conventional style. In the design of an *Ilkal saree*, there were generally 3 or 4 rows of *gomis*, and on the side of the ground there were two rows of *bugdis*, arranged opposite each other. Each row of *gomis* had 2 thin lines of different colours on both sides and 4 lines were arranged between the 2 rows of *bugdis*. The colours of the ground, border designs and lines were so arranged as to enhance the attractiveness of the border as a whole. Sometimes pure silk was used in the borders. In the "heading" or *Padar* artificial silk was used in most cases, and in a few cases there was a heading known in vernacular as "*Tope Padar*."¹⁷ But as sarees with "*Tope Padar*" were dearer in value, their production was limited, since the demand for them was limited. Nearly a third of the saree-production in Sholapur consisted of the *Ilkal* type and 281 looms out of 838 were engaged in its production. The production of *Ilkal sarees* was undertaken not only in coarse counts but also in medium and high counts. Out of the total production of *Ilkal sarees*, 67 per cent was in coarse counts, 6 per cent in medium and the rest, viz., 26 per cent in high counts. It will thus be seen that the bulk of the production of *Ilkal lugadis* was intended to meet the lower class demand, rural or urban. Many types of sarees had been evolved from this original type by making slight changes here and there.

(ii) *Fancy Patals*: There was nothing conventional regarding this type of production. Every day new border-designs, each simpler than the existing ones, were being added. The ground was either plain or covered with large or medium-sized "checks." Nearly 15 per cent of the total production in Sholapur consisted of this type. Every year nearly 29,000 *Fancy Patals*, worth over Rs. 65,000, were produced on 104 out of 838 looms studied. The general belief that production of this type of saree was restricted to only high count yarn was true in regard to sarees produced on powerlooms. Powerlooms produced *Fancy Patals* in counts between 84^s and 150^s. But in the case of *Fancy Patals* produced on handlooms in Sholapur, 6.5 per cent of their total production consisted of coarse counts, 2 per cent of medium and 91 per cent of high counts. The counts which were termed "high" in Sholapur were not really so, technically speaking, e.g. 84/2^s was nothing but 42^s single. Thus over 92 per cent of the production was in medium counts.

¹⁷ The "*Padar*" when woven in solid red coloured silk even in the border was known as "*Tope Padar*." But when a wavy design was introduced in the "*Padar*" which did not enter the borders, the "*Padar*" was called "*Tene Tope Padar*."

(iii) *Faraspeti*: Of the 838 looms, 98 were engaged in producing this type of *saree*. The ground of a *Faraspeti saree* might have any pattern, but the design in the border was always of conventional style, as described before. Generally speaking, yellow coloured artificial silk thread was always used to obtain *Faraspeti* design on the borders. The production of this type was mainly intended to meet lower class demand, because over 90 per cent of the production was in coarse counts and the remaining in high counts. In most cases, artificial and in some cases pure silk was used in the heading of *Faraspeti sarees*.

(iv) *Maheshwari*: This type of *saree* derived its name from Maheshwar in Indore State where it first acquired excellence. This type was first devised under the kind patronage of the late Ranee Ahilyabai of Indore.¹⁸ In the *saree* known as *Maheshwari* in Sholapur there were 2 rows of *gomis* and 2 of *bugdis*, the *bugdis* being arranged in such a way as to have their faces to the same side. The two rows of *gomis* were separated from those of *bugdis* by a thick stripe, called "*toda*," which was generally of the same colour as that of the *gomis*. One row of *bugdis* was always in one colour and the other of a colour different from the first, but usually of the same colour as that of the *gomis*. In Sholapur, some types evolved both from *Ilkal* and *Maheshwari* known as *Kisansunder*, *Rupsunder*, etc. were produced. Of the 838 looms 85 were found producing over 20,000 pure *Maheshwari sarees* annually, valued at Rs. 38,000. On analysing the production according to the counts of yarn used, it was found that 4 per cent of the production was in coarse counts and the rest in high counts.

(v) *Nipani*: This type of *saree* derived its title from Nipani in the Belgaum District. In this type, the border was broad and there were four rows of *ruiful* designs on the border. Two of the rows in consecutive order were arranged close to each other, leaving much space between the second and the third. Each had two thick yellow lines on both the sides. To the side of the ground, there were two more rows of yellow *bugdis*, both of them facing the ground. In order of the number of looms working and also of the annual production, this type ranked last amongst the six types. Only 71 looms out of 838 were found engaged in producing annually over 12,000 *Nipani* or *Dhanwad sarees* worth about Rs. 32,000. Of this production 92 per cent was in coarse counts and the remaining in high counts.

(vi) *Shyamsunder*: This type seemed to have been evolved from *Ilkal*. In *Shyamsunder* as in *Ilkal* there were 4 rows of *gomis*, more artistically worked out. Unlike *Ilkal*, there were 3 rows of small *bugdis*. Except for these two little improvements

¹⁸ "Maheshwari Lugadi," B. K. Deshpande, Commerce and Industries Department, Indore, 1932.

TABLE NO. 26. DETAILS OF THE COST OF PRODUCTION OF SIX TYPES OF SAREES

	Ilkal	Fancy Patal	Faraspeti	Maheshwari	Nipani	Shyamsunder
Counts in Warp, Weft and Border	30S x 24S 42S/2 and 120S/2	84S/2 x 60S 80S/2 and 150S/2	40S x 40S 42S/2 and 120S/2	40S x 40S 60S and 150S/2	30S x 24S 42S/2 and 120S/2	30S x 30S 64S/2 and 120S/2
Length	8½ yds.	9 yds.	8½ yds.	9 yds.	8 yds.	8½ yds.
Breadth: Ground	40"	46"	40"	44"	36"	36"
Border	6"	6"	6"	6"	10"	9"
Reeds Per Inch: Ground	36	44	48	45	40	40
Border	160+156 in all	64+128 in all	76+204 in all	145+144 in all	68+96 in all	80+210 in all
Average Picks Per Inch	in the design	in the design	in the design	in the design	in the design	in the design
Selling Price	Rs. 1-15-0	2-10-0	1-15-0	2-5-0	1-13-0	2-4-0
Residue	Rs. 0-4-4	0-6-6	0-4-9	0-4-7	0-4-7	0-4-9½

	Cost in Rs.	% of Total Cost	Cost in Rs.	% of Total Cost	Cost in Rs.	% of Total Cost	Cost in Rs.	% of Total Cost	Cost in Rs.	% of Total Cost	Cost in Rs.	% of Total Cost
Warp ..	0-5-3	42.81	0-10-11	35.79	0-5-10	33.65	0-8-8	34.06	0-4-2	33.79	0-5-3*	31.37
Weft ..	0-6-2		0-1-9½		0-3-0		0-2-4½		0-4-1		0-4-6½	
Warping and Sizing ..	0-7-3½		0-12-0		0-6-8		0-11-7		0-7-10		0-11-7	
	0-0-11	3.44	0-0-4	00.94	0-1-3	4.76	0-1-3½	4.20	0-0-11	3.75	0-0-11	2.94
			(No Sizing)									
Unwinding of Weft												
Yarn	0-0-3½	3.60	0-0-4½	4.15	0-0-4½	5.73	0-0-4½	4.42	0-0-3	3.75	0-0-3	3.48
Joining and Twisting of Warps ..	0-0-3		0-0-4		0-0-4½		0-0-4½		0-0-3		0-0-5	
Pirn Winding ..	0-0-6		0-0-9		0-0-9		0-0-9		0-0-5		0-0-6	
Weaving ..	0-6-0	22.81	0-9-0	21.09	0-8-0	30.49	0-7-0	21.59	0-6-6	26.63	0-7-9	25.10
Total Cost ..	1-10-8	100.00	2-3-6	100.00	1-10-3	100.00	2-0-5	100.00	1-8-5	100.00	1-15-2½	100.00

there was nothing new in *Shyamsunder*. The ground could be of any pattern as in the case of *Ilkal*, but the border of a *Shyamsunder saree* was relatively broader than that of the latter. This type seemed to be newly introduced in Sholapur. But in 1940, 137 looms were engaged in producing *sarees* of this type. In the order of the number of looms working, *Shyamsunder* stood second and *Ilkal* first. So, also, in the case of annual production, *Shyamsunder* was next only to *Ilkal*. The production of *Shyamsunder sarees* was mostly confined to coarse counts.

The cost of production of each one of the above six types can also be studied with advantage. Table No. 26 presents the locally collected data in this connection.

In calculating the cost of production in Table No. 26, the cost of silk was not included, as the use of silk both in the case of borders and the heading of a *saree* was not uniform. In some cases, pure silk was used in borders also, while in others it was not used even in the heading of *sarees*. Silk heading cost generally from two to three annas extra. Secondly, the calculation of dyeing charges presented some difficulty. Charges for dyeing 10 lbs. of yarn varied from *saree* to *saree* according to the colour of the warp and weft yarn used in their manufacture. Correspondingly there were variations in the cost of raw materials. Thirdly, some items in the cost of production were purposely omitted such as rent, repairing and overhauling charges, interest on capital, supervision charges, depreciation charges, etc., as they varied from one unit of work to another. Moreover some of them could not be precisely ascertained.

The table shows that the raw materials formed the biggest item of all, accounting for from 59 to 73 per cent of the total cost. Apart from the cost of the borders, it could generally be said that the percentage of the cost of raw materials varied with the counts of yarn used. In the medium counts the percentage was higher than in the coarse ones, and in high counts, higher than in medium ones. The percentage of the cost of raw materials, when compared with the value of the *saree* instead of with the total cost, went down, and varied between 50 and 61. In the "manufacturing cost," weaving was the major item, claiming from 21 to over 26 per cent of the total cost, while in some cases the percentage rose even to 30. The cost of sizing was much higher than that of warping. Where no sizing was required, the cost of warping came to less than one per cent of the total cost. Including sizing it ranged from about 3 to 5 per cent. Other preparatory processes absorbed among themselves from 3.5 to 6 per cent of the total cost.

It is possible to compare the cost of production of a *saree* of the same description, produced in Sholapur at two different

TABLE NO. 27. COMPARATIVE COSTS OF PRODUCTION
OF SAREES FOR 1900 AND 1939

Description		Manufacturing Cost						
		Raw Material Including Silk	Warping and Sizing	J. and T. Unwinding and Firm Winding	Weaving	Total	Selling Price	Margin
		Ra. As. Ps.	Ra. As. Ps.	Ra. As. Ps.	Ra. As. Ps.	Ra. As. Ps.	Ra. As. Ps.	Ra. As. Ps.
Coloured Sarees of 305 x 305 with 9 yds. x 47"	1900	1- 5- 6 0- 5- 0 (Silk)	0- 2- 5	0- 1- 7	0- 8- 0	2- 6- 6	2- 8- 0	0- 1- 6
	1939	1- 5- 4½ 0- 3- 0 (Silk)	0- 0- 11	0- 1- 2	0- 7- 9	2- 2- 2½	2- 4- 0	0- 1- 9½

dates. For comparison, the year 1900, for which detailed figures are available, and the year 1939 are taken. Table No. 27 sets out the data.

The table shows that in both the years, there was no difference worth noting in the cost of raw materials required as well as the wages for weaving. The difference in the cost of preparatory processes was markedly large. Cost of sizing was Rs. 0-1-7 in 1900 while it was only 6½ pies in 1939. So also warping charges were less by 5½ pies in 1939 than in 1900. Similarly, there was also a reduction in the cost of other preparatory processes.¹⁹ The reduction in the cost was probably due to the employment of more efficient methods of work in almost all the preparatory processes, which consequently resulted in the lowering of rates of wages.

Since there was a direct price competition of mill-made *sarees* and indirect competition of powerloom *sarees* and *Fancy Patals* with *sarees* produced on handlooms, it is necessary to compare the relative efficiency of the handloom and the powerloom from the viewpoint of cost, and also to analyse under what conditions the economies in cost were secured and explain their implications. But such a comparison was very difficult. The difficulty arose from the fact that identical goods were not produced both on powerlooms and handlooms. It was, however, possible to compare the cost of production of comparable goods.²⁰

The allocation of the cost of producing two comparable goods on the handloom and the powerloom under its different component heads shows that each of them had some inherent advantages over the other. The one great advantage the powerloom enjoyed was in the preparatory processes. In weaving also, the production on the powerloom was ordinarily 4 to 5 times that of the handloom. These two advantages were enjoyed by the powerloom at the sacrifice of the quality and the durability of the cloth produced. So far as quality was concerned, the handloom had much in its favour. "In good weaving, according to artistic principles, a fabric is finished when it leaves the loom, but in modern textile manufacture... the most ingenious machinery is used to give a superficial appearance of finish to material which when it leaves the loom is unsaleable. The finish conceals the inferiority of the

¹⁹ All data regarding 1900 have been taken from "A Note on the Special Relief of Weavers," by Mr. T. J. Pitre in the Municipal Administration Report, 1900-1901.

²⁰ Dr. Venkatraman has compared manufacturing costs of such kinds of goods in his "Annexure to the Economics of the Handloom Industry." His conclusions were: "(1) the manufacturing cost in the powerloom is generally lower than what it is in the handloom... (2) But this difference in the manufacturing cost per yard of handloom cloth is due partly to the larger number of picks per inch in the handloom 'saree' (28 warp and weft). The competing 'sarees' are nearly of the loom cloth is due partly to the superior count of yarn used for the weft... (3) This price reduction is possible (in the case of powerlooms) by lowering the quality of the cloth." Op. cit.

fabric."²¹ And this is due to the fact that "a loom is a machine in which the force required to work it, does not usually exceed the strength of one man, and any excess of the force required absolutely prevents good weaving."²² The greater durability of the cloth produced on the handloom was attributed by Mr. H. H. Ghose to the methods adopted by the handloom weavers for warping and sizing;²³ while "to the large percentage of strength left in the yarn during hand weaving and to the closer beat up of the wet weft," by Mr. D. M. Amalsad.²⁴ The greatest advantage that the handloom possessed was negligible overhead costs. While on the powerloom, the overhead costs arising from expensive machinery, building and other equipment, and the recurring costs such as the repair and maintenance charges, taxes, fuel and power charges, cost of establishment, supervision, etc. were very heavy. This constituted one of its limiting factors. There seemed to be not much scope for economising, even by increasing the size of the unit of production.²⁵ Besides, the great losses that many weaving mills were sustaining and the number of weaving mills that were annually going into liquidation before the present war were clear indications that "powerloom weaving is not as economically sound as it is generally assumed."²⁶ But "the more the cost of weaving in the Indian mills is reduced, the quicker the handloom industry of India will disappear."²⁷

The handloom industry of Sholapur has experienced since 1925 severe competition from mill-made *sarees*. The annual production of mill-made *sarees* had gone up to about 9 to 10 lakhs of pieces, a couple of years previous to this survey.²⁸ The Jam Mills had started producing *sarees* and the Vishnu-Laxmi Mills which were formerly producing on a small scale, had also

21 "The Basis for Artistic and Industrial Revival in India," E. B. Havard, 1912, pp. 154-55.

22 *Ibid.*, p. 162.

23 "The Advancement of the Industry," p. 158. Also compare the "Report on the Industrial Survey of C. P. and Berar," 1908-09, p. 220, and Chatterton's "Industrial Evolution," p. 30.

24 "Handloom Weaving in the Madras Presidency."

25 G. T. Jones in his "Increasing Returns: A study of the Relation Between the Size and Efficiency of Industries," mentions that he found no growth in the size of Lancashire Weaving Mills in contrast with that of Spinning Mills.

26 "Cotton Cloth Impasse," by Amalsad, p. 13.

For detailed study of the comparative cost of production on the handloom and the powerloom cf. (1) "Hand-Spinning and Hand-Weaving," by Puntambekar and Varadachari; (2) "Economics of Khaddar," by R. B. Gregg, Chapters III and VI; (3) "Handloom Industry in the Madras Presidency," by K. S. Venkataraman, Chapters XVI and XVII. The relative position of handloom and powerloom has been summed up very efficiently by M. P. Gandhi in his book, "The Indian Cotton Textile Industry," p. 86.

27 "The Cotton Industry of India," Arno S. Pearse, p. 28.

28 The fact of the competition of mills with the handlooms in regard to "sarees" has been accepted by the Fact Finding Committee. The Committee unmistakably observed: "We have got several samples of coloured 'sarees' from Bombay, e.g., No. 13 (Dhulia Mill 'saree', 205 warp and weft) and No. 14 (Sholapur handloom 'saree', 205 warp and weft). The competing 'sarees' are nearly of the same counts of yarn, colour, border etc., although there are slight differences." (Page 169.)

increased their production. It should not be supposed that the competition was only from local mills. The Pratap Mills of Dhulia and Chalisgaon in Khandesh and the Azamshahi Mills of Varangal, which were managed by the Nizam's Government, were also in the field, the former producing about 3,00,000 *sarees* per year and the latter about 80,000 *sarees* per year. Mill-made *sarees* of Sholapur used to be exported to the Central Provinces and Berar, United Provinces, Nizam's Dominions, Khandesh, Konkan and Gujarat. The percentages of their distribution in the above areas were estimated as 5, 10, 10, and 10 respectively. This meant that the handloom *sarees* of Sholapur had to compete with those of Pratap Mills and Azamshahi in their respective territories. The competition was very severe between the Pratap Mills and the Sholapur handlooms in the markets of Khandesh and the Central Provinces, so much so that the Sholapur handloom product was on the verge of being ousted from those markets. Further, it should be remembered that the mill *sarees* of Sholapur were exported to the same markets as the Sholapur handloom products.

The *sarees* produced in the mills were of three types, (1) *Macchi (Gomi)*; (2) *Varhadi (Gomi and Ruiful)* and (3) Dark Blue *sarees* with *Gomi* or *Ruiful*. These *sarees* were generally produced in counts between 20^s and 32^s. By 1940 the percentages of production of each of the above types were about 15 *Macchi*, 25 *Varahadi* and the remaining 60 Dark Blue. No information regarding the percentage of production according to the counts of yarn used was available. The *Macchi* type of *saree* had a good sale in the Konkan and the United Provinces. While the *Varhadi* was exported to Berar and the Nizam's Dominions. The Dark Blue *sarees*, however, had a good demand in the Central Provinces. The prices of all the mill-made *sarees* including those of Pratap and Azamshahi Mills were lower than those of handloom *sarees*. The *Macchi saree* was sold at one rupee, the *Varhadi* at Re. 1-3-0 and the Dark Blue at between Re. 1-3-3 and Re. 1-3-9. Hardly one per cent of Sholapur mill-made *sarees* had fast colours, while almost all the *Dhulia sarees* were fast colour *sarees*, so that they were sold at a price 6 pies higher than those of the Sholapur Mills, while the Azamshahi Mills of Warangal used to sell their Dark Blue *sarees* at about Re. 1-1-6 per *saree*.²⁹ As compared to these, the handloom *sarees* were very dear. The mill *sarees* had some defects however. They were not of sufficient length and breadth. Their dimensions were generally 39" broad and 7 yds. long, while *sarees* produced on handlooms were generally 44" onward broad and 7½ to 9 yds. long. The quality and the variety of designs of handloom *sarees* also influenced the decision of customers. The texture of the mill-made *sarees* was very rough as compared to the hand-

²⁹ It is necessary to mention here that the information regarding the volume of production for all the mills referred to above is not first hand.

loom sarees. Similarly, in case of designs, there were a limited number of designs available in mill-made sarees upto 1940, while the handloom supplied a large variety. The Sholapur handloom industry was, therefore, able to hold its own, though with great difficulty, even in the face of a severe and prolonged spell of depression of over a decade. This signal success of the Sholapur handloom industry had been attributed to the "fairly good organisation of the Handloom Industry... which has secured to it good selling facilities" and owing to which "the prices of the handloom cloth of Sholapur have not declined to the same extent as in other centres."³⁰ But for a long time this also had been showing signs of breaking down under the great pressure of competition from mills and powerlooms.

It is generally pleaded on behalf of the mills that it was not they, but the powerlooms, that were competing with the handlooms in women's garments. The truth or otherwise of the first part of this statement has already been examined. We shall, therefore, proceed to examine the position of powerloom factories in relation to the handloom.

Generally speaking, the powerloom factories, excepting those at Malegaon, used to produce goods in high count yarn. Some big factories at other places also used to produce sarees and *patals* in coarse count, but the proportion of such production was very small. For want of any factual data it was not possible to estimate the volume of production of the powerloom factories as assorted under different counts. But it must have been considerable, since the *patals* and sarees produced in powerloom factories competed not only with those produced on the handloom but also with mill-made sarees. In this triangular competition, the economic position of powerlooms was far better than the other two competitors, because their goods were more attractive from the viewpoint of border, design, fashion and fancy in colours than either the handlooms or the mills. As between mills and powerloom factories, the latter produced goods of the desired dimensions, in addition to all the above specialities. As between the powerloom and the handloom, however, the former enjoyed the advantages of lower cost of production and attractive finish. So far as prices were concerned, in the same coarse counts, the position of mills seemed to be invincible, and the handloom ranked last, there being a slight difference between the prices of powerloom sarees and handloom sarees. To be more concrete, a mill-made saree could be bought at a price varying from Re. 1 to Re. 1-4-0, the powerloom saree at Re. 1-12-0 and onwards, while the handloom saree could be had at a price which was in excess of the price of a powerloom saree by two to three annas.

³⁰ "Annual Report of the Department of Industries, Bombay," 1929-30, p. 29.

The powerloom factories of Sangli, Ichalkaranji, Sholapur (Marda's), Bhivandi and some other places produced *sarees* and *patals* with or without silk borders, while those at Bombay (Swastik) and Bhivandi produced them with gold and silver thread border. All this production was in high count yarn and the prices of the *sarees* were never below Rs. 3-8-0 in or about 1940. They were intended to meet the demand of advanced classes of society and as such they did not come into direct competition with the bulk of the production of the Sholapur handloom industry which catered largely for the lower class custom. They competed indirectly as substitutes.³¹

The powerloom factories of Malegaon and Bhivandi, the latter on a very small scale, produced *sarees* and *patals* of yarn of coarse counts. Malegaon catered mainly for the lower class demand, while Bhivandi produced for the custom of the higher-lower class. But both these centres competed with Sholapur in the Bombay market, so much so that it was feared that the Bombay market might soon be captured completely by Malegaon and Bhivandi, ousting Sholapur permanently from the field.³² But in other markets, the competition was not so severely felt as in Bombay. The real competition existed between Malegaon and Sholapur, since both of them produced for the same class of customers and there, too, the Malegaon articles were cheaper in price, though inferior in texture, than the Sholapur handloom-made *sarees*. To take a concrete illustration, *Maheshwari sarees* in 40" x 60" counts of yarn were produced in Sholapur, Bhivandi and Malegaon. The Bhivandi *saree* was very superior in quality to that of either centre, while the Malegaon *saree* was the cheapest of all. Sholapur stood in between, both as regards quality and price. This brings out the nature of the competition that Sholapur had to face, especially in the Bombay market.³³ But, fortunately enough, the area of such direct competition was very limited till 1940. As Sholapur *sarees* were superior to Malegaon *sarees* both in quality and patterns and since the demand for Sholapur *sarees* in rural parts was rooted in convention, it was hoped that Malegaon would not be able to compete with Sholapur at least in markets other than Bombay for many more years to come.

Marketing Structure; Sale of Finished Products: With the steady encroachment by mill and powerloom products on what used to be the handloom weavers' preserve viz., women's garments, increasing difficulty had been felt by handloom weavers in mar-

³¹ The extent of such indirect or what the Fact Finding Committee calls, quality competition, was not large in respect of the Sholapur handloom industry.

³² It was reported that the Bombay market had been already lost to Sholapur products due to the competition of Malegaon "*sarees*."

³³ In India, where the consideration of prices weighs more heavily with customers than anything else, the slightly higher price of the handloom "*saree*" than the competing mill "*saree*" does make a good deal of difference, notwithstanding the superiority of the former in respect of the quality, elegance, dimensions, etc.

keting their products. As the severity of the competition grew, the problem of marketing assumed greater importance. Before the present war it had become the problem of problems to hand-loom weavers.

In 1940, hawking, *sowkar* shop, the regular shop of a merchant and of the Co-operative Society, were the main marketing methods found in Sholapur. Table No. 28 gives a broad idea about the marketing organization of 107 units of work according to their distribution in different wards.

TABLE NO. 28. *KARKHANAS* IN THE SAMPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO WARDS AND MARKETING ORGANIZATION

Name of the Peth	Independent	"Gujari"	Dependent "Asami"	Partly Dependent and Partly Independent	Total
Ganesh	3	—	1	1	5
Guruwar	1	5	4	—	8
Jodbhavi	2	8	5	2	17
Mangalwar	1	—	—	—	1
Pachha	1	7	10	1	19
Raviwar	1	1	16	—	18
Sakhar	8	1	14	—	23
Shaniwar	3	2	8	1	14
Somwar	—	—	2	—	2
Total	20	22	60	5	107

The method of regular shop distribution persisted in the case of independent *karkhandars* and that of *sowkar* shops in dependent *karkhandars*. These methods of distribution could be found in weaving establishments, both independent and dependent, with any number of looms working in them. The method of sale by hawking or the *gujari* system obtained only in the case of weaving establishments, having upto 4 looms as shown in Table No. 29.

This method became gradually impracticable as the number of looms increased. The hawking or *gujari* system was the simplest method of distribution in which the manufacturer himself sold his products directly to consumers. But in Sholapur this system had almost lost its former simplicity; for the weaver had to dispose of his products to shop-keepers, as he rarely came across a customer who might buy it. In case of independent *karkhandars*, however, most of them maintained their own small house-shops and sold their manufactures by retail through it. But such sales were very limited, taking into account their total production. So they sold their goods either directly to retailers or through brokers. The dependent *karkhandars* were bound either by a price contract or by a wage contract to deliver their goods to a big *karkhandar* or a stockist-dealer. Where a big, independent *karkhandar* supplied raw materials to *asamis*, the disposal of the wares received

TABLE NO. 29. KARKHANAS OF DIFFERENT SIZES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO MARKETING ORGANIZATION

No. of Looms	Independent	"Gujari"	Dependent "Asamis"	* Partly Dependent and Partly Independent	Total
1 Loom	2	9	5	—	16
2 Looms	1	—	—	1	11
3 Looms	—	—	—	—	8
4 Looms	1	—	—	1	30
5 Looms	—	—	—	—	4
6 Looms	1	—	—	1	6
Total	5	22	45	3	75
7 Looms	2	—	3	—	5
8 Looms	—	—	—	1	5
9 Looms	1	—	—	—	3
10 Looms	1	—	—	—	2
11 to 15 Looms	3	—	—	—	4
16 to 20 "	2	—	—	—	4
21 to 25 "	1	—	—	1	3
26 to 30 "	—	—	—	—	1
31 to 35 "	1	—	—	—	1
46 to 50 "	1	—	—	—	1
51 and over	3	—	—	—	3
Total	15	—	15	2	32
Grand Total	20	22	60	5	107

under the contract was in the same manner as in the case of independent *karkhandars*. But where he was a stockist-dealer, the finished product had to pass through a number of stages before it reached the hands of the consumer. In the handloom industry of Sholapur, no such term as "wholesaler" was heard of. The stockist, who was a broker, sometimes performed the functions of a wholesaler. He bought the finished product from his *asamis*, and sometimes even from independent *karkhandars*, during periods of low prices, and when the price rose in the brisk season, he sold them to wholesale or retail dealers directly or through some other brokers, who placed with him rush orders for export. Thus he acted as a broker when selling goods to an outside wholesale dealer and as a wholesaler himself when distributing his stocks to retailers at their convenience. Anyhow, a finished product passed through four or five stages, beginning with the producer and ending with the consumer. In 1940 the number of such big stockists in Sholapur was between 20 and 25.

In dealing with the extra charges levied by the middlemen, we should first think of those who supplied work to weaving *karkhandars*. The supplier of work, either a big *karkhandar* or a

stockist-dealer, charged from half an anna to one anna extra per piece of *saree* received by him. Then came the brokers who had formed an Association of themselves. The Association formulated certain rules governing the transactions of its members, but in actual practice they were not strictly observed. Till 1937, the brokers frequently used to make inroads on the earnings of *karkhandars*. They "demanded a higher rate of discount, viz., 8 to 9 per cent over the cash price offered by them for the finished articles; whereas the *karkhandars* decided amongst themselves not to accept a rate higher than 3 per cent. This tentative agreement worked for a year or two, but owing to the dishonesty of a few, the organization of *karkhandars* collapsed and the brokers began to dictate their own terms."³⁴ But in 1936 the *karkhandars'* Association came into existence, and a final agreement was reached in 1937 between the Association of Brokers on the one hand and that of the *karkhandars* on the other. According to that agreement it was resolved that the members of the Sholapur Handloom Weaving Merchants' Association should give the following preferential terms only to the members of the Brokers' Association, Sholapur.

(1) No commission should be allowed either on the purchase or the sale of handloom products, and that a *karkhandar* member must allow or give discount to the member-broker at the rate of Re. 1-9-0 only per Rs. 100 worth of goods. (2) On the goods referred to above, one month's credit may be given. After the lapse of that period, the bill must be paid on the first Tuesday. (3) The selling *karkhandar* should ascertain from the broker concerned, whether he was ready to complete the transaction by cash payment. But if the broker pays the bill on the first Tuesday from the date of the transaction (more than 9 days should in no case elapse between the two dates), the payment should be deemed as good, as the cash payment. In all cases of cash payment, the selling *karkhandar* must pay to the broker twelve annas as commission on every Rs. 100 worth of goods. (4) If payment of the bill was not made in time, interest at the rate of 8 per cent per mensem must be paid by the broker. (5) "Branding" of the product was left to the sweet will of both the parties concerned.

The execution of this agreement was left to the parties concerned, which meant much scope for the moneyed brokers to dominate and to dictate their terms to the other party. The brokers were finally responsible for payment to the producer. They generally earned from half an anna to one anna on a piece of *saree* handled by them. On *sarees* of coarse counts they used to get comparatively little profit. Some of the wholesalers branded the goods they handled. Generally speaking, the packing charges, railway freight, etc. were borne by their customers. The brokers had to grant eight days' credit to their customers. If payment was

³⁴ N. M. Joshi, *op. cit.*, p. 114.

not made in time, they charged interest at a rate which was never less than 6 per cent per annum. Sometimes the goods were exported to wholesale dealers outside and thence distributed to retailers. The retailers had to make up the costs incurred in brokerage, railway freight, interest on capital, remuneration for his own services, rent, etc. After meeting all these items of costs, he charged his own profits thereon. Putting together all the charges levied by different agencies through which the product passed, there was never less than 25 per cent increase over its original price, the major portion of the percentage being absorbed by the retailer as his profits.³⁵

No change worth the name had taken place in the extent of area from which orders used to be placed for Sholapur handloom products. There was a change in the degree of the demand. According to rough estimates in 1940, the following were the normal percentages of sales in the given areas: Bombay 13 per cent wholesale and 2 per cent retail, Konkan 10 per cent, Poona and Satara Districts and Kolhapur State 25 per cent, Karnatak 10 per cent, Khandesh and Nasik Districts 15 per cent, Central Provinces and Berar 5 per cent, and the remaining 15 per cent in the Nizam's Dominions and the Sholapur District. Some changes had occurred in the percentage in some of the above areas. A definite change was also taking place in the type of *saree* demanded in a particular area. The case of a *saree* known as *Chargomi* illustrated the point. This type of *saree* was produced in Irabatti's Kalabhuvan on a very large scale. The demand for it was mainly from the lower middle class in the Konkan, the only condition being that the *saree* should be 9 yds. long and 48 ins. broad. The demand continued to be steady till the *Maheshwari saree* was introduced in the Konkan market. With the introduction of the *Maheshwari saree*, the *Chargomi saree* began to be looked upon as comparatively dearer than the *Maheshwari* one, because by spending some few annas more a better type of *Maheshwari saree* could be had.³⁶ In this way, the *Chargomi* was being ousted from the Konkan market by the *Maheshwari saree*. By 1940 there was, in the Konkan, over 90 per cent reduction in the sales of this particular type of *saree*. Such changes had come, in varying degree, over the demand for some other types also. But generally speaking, there was something like a conventional demand in each area of the market. The *sarees* to be sold in the Karnatak must have a broad border and heading.

³⁵ The Fact Finding Committee have pointed out (p. 139) that the commission charged by the middleman, in the case of handloom products, ranged from 10 to 100 per cent, while in the case of mills the commission charged was about 2 to 4 per cent.

³⁶ This is a clear instance of quality competition. In respect of powerloom "sarees" of fine counts, such competition with Sholapur handloom "sarees" did persist in some urban markets.

The types of *saree* generally demanded in the Karnatak market were *Nipani*, *Ilkal*, *Kondichikki*, etc. while *sarees* having narrow borders found a ready market in Khandesh, C. P. and Berar. In Poona and Satara District, *Ilkal* and *Maheshwari sarees* with medium sized border could readily be sold.

It may generally be said that the bulk of the demand for Sholapur handloom *sarees* came from rural areas and there, too, from lower and lower-middle classes. At least, in that market, Sholapur *sarees* seemed to have been valued more by the consumers for their fancy colours, new and attractive designs, guaranteed length and breadth, etc.

CHAPTER IV

ASSOCIATIONS IN THE INDUSTRY

THE first known attempt at concerted action on the part of some producers of handloom wares in Sholapur was made in the closing year of the last century. Many more attempts in the same direction were witnessed in the years that followed. But in almost all of them the initiative came from persons outside the industry. The producers showed very little or no capacity for organising themselves for a common cause, until the year 1930. In that year an unsuccessful attempt was made by the *karkhandars* themselves to form an association for resisting the demand of brokers for a higher discount rate. After this, three new organisations were started by three different sections in the industry to safeguard and promote their respective interests. These are described in detail below.

The Sholapur Yarn Merchants' Association: The wholesale yarn dealers in Sholapur had formed an Association called "The Sholapur Yarn Merchants' Association." It was reorganised in 1935. In the year 1938-39 there were 21 members in this Association. Out of them twelve were Marwadis, six Lingayats, two Salis and one Gular. All of them, with the exception of one or two, had their shops in Sakkar Peth. The Association had prescribed an arbitration fee of four annas for disputes involving a sum of Rs. 25, and Re. 1 for those involving larger amounts, the fee to be paid by the complainant. During the year 1938-39, sixteen disputes involving a total sum of Rs. 11,450 were settled by the Association by means of arbitration. Arbiters were empowered by the rules of the Association to examine account books of the parties concerned. The Association had framed certain rules regarding the transaction of business for the guidance of its members. According to Rule No. 35, every member of the Association had to transact business with cash, but might grant 4 days' credit to his customers for undyed yarn and 15 days' credit for dyed yarn. If payment was readily made, a commission of 6 per cent per annum was to be deducted from the bill.

Sholapur Dyeing Merchants' Association: Dyeing-factory owners in Sholapur had formed an Association of their own in 1935, known as the "Sholapur Dyeing Merchants' Association." It was reorganized in 1937, and a new policy of enrolling merchants dealing in dyed yarn as members, was laid down. At the time of our survey there were 54 members on the register of the Association. The members were divided into three classes according to the work of dyeing done by each in a year. Members of the third

class were dealers in dyed yarn and did not by themselves undertake any dyeing work. There were 20 members in the first class, 15 in the second and the rest in the third. Annual subscriptions were different for different classes of members. This Association was the prototype of the Sholapur Yarn Merchants' Association, so far as its objects, constitution, rules, usages, etc. were concerned. The Association had laid down that interest at 9 per cent per annum should be charged on bills which were not paid in the stipulated period of 15 days. The Yarn Merchants' Association had sanctioned 6 per cent per annum as the rate of interest under the same conditions.

The Handloom Weaving Merchants' Association, Sholapur: This Association was a sort of commercial guild. It was a society of retail and wholesale merchants of handloom wares. Rule No. 6 in its constitution laid down that "any merchant or a firm who/which, having himself/itself produced or got produced handloom wares, deals in them can become a member." A note to this rule further explained that "a weaver working for wages (or on a wage-contract) is not included (in this definition) and (so) cannot become a member of the Association." Whether a worker working on price contract was allowed to become a member of the Association was not definitely known. We believe he was.

The important aims and objects of the Sholapur Handloom Weaving Merchants' Association were: (a) To redress the grievances of the merchants of handloom wares; (b) to settle privately, disputes and complaints arising from the business; (c) to establish suitable conventions and customs in the business, and to give publicity to them. The power of framing, amending, altering, etc., of rules of the Association was vested in the General Body.¹ The General Body met every year for electing the Executive Committee and sanctioning the budget for the ensuing year. The Executive Committee consisted of 21 members including a President, a Vice-President, a Secretary, an Under-Secretary and a Cashier. It could admit or reject applications for membership and could fine and even expel any member for breach of a rule or for conduct contrary to the objects of the Association. In such cases, the aggrieved party could appeal to the General Body, whose decision was final. Rule No. 9 (2) went to the extent of prohibiting any legal action against such a decision. The Executive Committee used to elect a sub-committee for arbitrating in matters of disputes.² This sub-committee could order any party

¹ The right of a member in this regard was restricted by Rule No. 25, which stated: "No Member can move a resolution or suggest a rule purporting to amend or repeal a resolution or a rule passed by the General Body or by the Executive Committee, within three months of its so passing."

² The subcommittee functioned only when the disputes were between members of this Association and persons who were not members of the Sholapur Cloth Brokers' Association. When the other party was a member of the latter, the disputes were settled by a Joint Committee of both the Associations.

to the dispute to produce all or any document or account books before the Committee. Refusal to do so was liable to fine. An appeal against the decision of the sub-committee lay before the Executive Committee, whose decision was considered as final. The appellant, if he was not a member of the Association, had to pay the arbitration fee of Re. 1 and the amount in dispute in advance.

An idea of the adjudication work done by the arbitration sub-committee of the Association during the years 1936-37 to 1938-39 can be had from Table No. 30.

TABLE NO. 30. ADJUDICATION WORK OF THE SHOLAPUR HANDLOOM WEAVERS' ASSOCIATION (1936-37 TO 1938-39)

Year	No. of Applications	Amount Involved	Decided by Arbitration	Settled by Compromise	Pending
1936-1937	10	(Rs.) 7,784-8-6	(Rs.) 559-9-0	6,991-12-6	233-4-0
1937-1938	11	9,071-2-9	2,468-10-9	127-4-0	475-4-0
1938-1939	5	1,377-6-0	81-2-3	1,896-3-9	—

The following disputes between the members of this and the Sholapur Cloth Brokers' Association were settled by the Joint Committee of both the Associations during the same period. (Table No. 31.)

TABLE NO. 31. DATA RELATING TO THE SETTLEMENT OF DISPUTES BETWEEN HANDLOOM WEAVING MERCHANTS AND CLOTH BROKERS (1936-37 TO 1938-39)

Year	No. of Applications	Amount Involved	Decided by Arbitration	Settled by Compromise	Pending
1936-1937	19	(Rs.) 4,328-13-3	(Rs.) 1,394-9-9	1,368-12-6	1,568-8-0
1937-1938	25	1,533-5-3	420-8-3	333-15-0	778-14-0
1938-1939	29	9,352-8-0	165-5-9	4,649-7-3	4,537-12-0

The work done by the Association in establishing new conventions and customs, was the most important of all.

The agreement reached between this Association, on the one hand, and the Sholapur Cloth Brokers' Association on the other, has been referred to already. The interests of the two groups in this Association, i.e., producers and merchants' brokers, were not identical. Members doing brokers' business had held some of the

important positions in the Association from its very inception. It was to be regretted that they did not care to safeguard the interests of the producers as diligently as they would have done their own. The term in the agreement which stated that payment even after 9 days should be considered as cash payment and for that the producer must allow the brokers a rebate of twelve annas per hundred rupees' worth of goods sold through him, was a sufficient proof for our allegation.

The number of members on the roll of the Association was about 165. Thus all the merchants were not members of the Association. The annual expenditure of the Association on different items ranged roughly between Rs. 450 and Rs. 550, while its annual income approximated to about Rs. 850. The Association had a cash balance of about Rs. 1,800.

The Asamis Sangh: There were about 900 *asamis* working in Sholapur in 1940. Even though their number was so large, they had been the least articulate about their difficulties and grievances ever since the *asami* system came into vogue in Sholapur. The *asamis*, as a class, were very poor, illiterate and miserably lacking in the capacity to organise. In starting the present Association in 1939, the initiative was taken by some *karkhandars*. It was started as a weapon to combat the application of the Factories' Act to the local handloom industry. The Association, as it was in 1940, thought fit to co-operate, when necessary, with the Handloom Workers' Union.

Some of the objects of the Handloom *Asamis' Sangh* in Sholapur were (a) to safeguard the interests of the *asamis*; (b) to see that the *asamis* as well as wage-workers made a living on the industry, (c) to strive for the abolition of the system of price contract. Any *karkhandar* who made over finished articles to merchants or sold by *gujari* could become a member of the Association. It is difficult to understand how producers selling their manufactures by *gujari* and *asamis* were considered as on the same level. The *asamis* had no freedom, as we have seen earlier, to deal with the articles produced, while a weaver practising *gujari* was his own master, so far as the disposal of his goods was concerned. There was practically nothing in common between the *asami* and the *gujari* system. Probably the resultant effect of both these systems being the same, *viz.*, the dwindling of the producer's profit, the common sufferers made a common cause in starting this Association.

Some of the immediate grievances of the *asamis* were: (1) The distributors of work (*karkhandars* and merchants), while making payment, deducted from the total amount of the bill one per cent as commission or rebate. According to the *asamis*, there was

no justification whatsoever for this convention. (2) The distributors of work changed their orders from time to time. This involved much loss of time and money to the *asamis* in making suitable arrangements for the production of the ordered goods. Their demand in this respect was that the orders should be uniform, i.e., for a particular type of *saree* in particular counts of yarn for a fairly long time. (3) In slack seasons, the distributors of work cut the rates of wages suddenly and tried to maintain them till the debt was repaid. The rise in rates of wages did never correspond with the rise in prices of the finished products. Even during the subsistence of a wage-contract for a previously settled period, the distributors altered the original terms according to their sweet will and imposed them on the *asamis* concerned.

Sholapur Handloom Workers' Union: This was first started some 7 to 8 years previous to the survey by some weaver-caste youths with the guidance and substantial help of some of the enlightened young men working in the local branch of the "Lal Bavta Girani Kamgar Sangh." The greatest advantage that the organisers of the new Union possessed was that of language. As they themselves were caste-weavers, they knew the ins and outs of the industry, and particularly the system of recruitment. The Union was largely responsible for the application of the Factories' Act to the local handloom industry and also for the control by Government of local prices of raw materials required for the industry, such as yarn, dye-stuffs, etc. The demand made by the Union for dearness allowance due to the war also partially bore fruit and in 1940 they were getting one anna extra per piece of *saree* woven by them. The day-to-day work of the Union consisted in getting the grievances of individual workers redressed. The worker had to file an application in the office of the Union, stating therein his complaint. He had to pay a nominal fee along with the application and had to become a member of the Union. From July 28, 1939 to January 25, 1940, 52 applications were received by the Union. But 7 of them were concerned with the family affairs of the complainant workers. Out of the remaining 45 applications, 5 were instituted by *karkhandars*, and the rest by weavers. Four applicant *karkhandars* requested the Union to recover on their behalf, debt payable to them by their weavers, while one *asami karkhandar* approached the Union, seeking relief from a merchant in respect of the price of his articles. The complaints lodged by weavers were not all against *karkhandars*. Out of the 47 applications, 5 were against co-workers and 7 related to domestic affairs. Table No. 32 shows the nature of the complaints lodged by workers against *karkhandars*.

On receiving a complaint, the Union tried to see whether a compromise could be arrived at between the complainant and the person against whom the complaint was lodged. If the latter

refused to give the relief sought for, the Union had no sanctions against him. But generally some kind of compromise was reached.

The Union had its own constitution under which its officials were elected annually.

TABLE NO. 32. CLASSIFICATION OF COMPLAINTS LODGED BY WORKERS AGAINST KARKHANDARS

No. of Complaints	For Joining the Union	For Not Paying Rent	For Doing or Not Doing Work Other Than Weaving	For Complaining About the Irregular Supply of Work	Fine for Bad Workmanship	For Money Matters, Payment of Wages, Recovery of Debt, Execution of Bond	For Exposing Matters Regarding the Karkhanda
	2	3	4	2	1	23	1

SECTION II

HANDLOOM WEAVERS IN SHOLAPUR AND CO-OPERATION

Sholapur District Weavers' Central Co-operative Association, Ltd., Sholapur: This Association came into existence in 1930. In one sense, the Association was not new as it was formed by amalgamating two different co-operative societies which had been working for weavers for a number of years. The amalgamated societies were: "Sholapur Weavers' Urban Co-operative Credit Society," and "Sholapur District Weavers' Central Co-operative Union." The following is a short history of each:

Sholapur Weavers' Urban Co-operative Credit Society was started in 1912. Mr. P. N. Mehta, after his elaborate survey of the handloom industry, reached the conclusion, which was endorsed by the Government, that the first need was to improve the economic position of weavers, preferably by organising co-operative credit societies. It was, so to speak, to implement the above recommendation of Mr. Mehta, that this society was started. The object of the society was to relieve weavers of their indebtedness to money-lenders, by providing easy credit for them. As in other credit societies, loans were advanced to members against the security of property or on the surety of two other members. For lack of data it is not possible to state with how much initial capital and with how many members the society commenced work, and with what results. The society continued doing only credit business till the last,³ when it had a working capital of Rs. 18,000. But with

³ "Annual Report of the Co-operative Department, Bombay," 1925, p. 30.

all this considerable capital, it was not doing very useful work,⁴ though the reason for it was not indicated by any report of the Co-operative Department, Bombay. For some years in the beginning, however, the society seemed to have worked satisfactorily, so much so that the Government was pleased to give gratis to the society a small piece of land in the heart of the weavers' locality, which is even now owned by the present Co-operative Association.

Sholapur District Weavers' Central Co-operative Union was started in 1922. It was intended by the promoters of this Union that it should serve as a central store of yarn and other raw materials to the weavers who, owing to lack of capital, were required to sell their manufactures at whatever price they fetched in order to purchase a new instalment of raw materials. The Union used to purchase yarn and other raw materials wholesale from the mills and advance loans, in cash or kind, to weavers on the security of manufactured cloth when there was no market for it. The Union did very little work in the first few years of its existence, because it "started work under very unfavourable auspices." Its progress was very slow but it showed signs of doing a much greater work when normal conditions returned.⁵ But, unfortunately, the Union could not come up to the expectations entertained about it by its promoters. It began to suffer from lack of capital and, therefore, it could not serve the purposes for which it was originally organised.⁶ It was, therefore, thought that a new association, formed by amalgamating the Weavers' Co-operative Credit Society with this Union, and backed by increased financial strength and with revised bye-laws, would be able to serve as a real central Purchase and Sale Agency for the weavers. The new association formed was the "Sholapur District Weavers' Central Co-operative Society, Ltd."

The Sholapur District Weavers' Co-operative Society began functioning in 1930, with a share capital of Rs. 8,809. The gross capital of the society, including Reserve Fund, etc., approximated Rs. 16,500. At the commencement of the work, there were 255 members on the roll of the society which continued the purchase and sale business of the old Weavers' Union. Besides this it also began giving loans to the members of the society for industrial purposes. The latter function of the society seemed to have attracted a large number of members into its fold, as can be gauged from the report on the working of the society for 1935-36. In that year there were 411 members of the society. The increase in the number of members raised the share capital from Rs. 8,809 to Rs. 11,909. In 1938-39, however, the membership had declined

⁴ Ibid, 1930, p. 71.

⁵ "Annual Report of the Co-operative Department, Bombay," 1925, p. 30.

⁶ Ibid, 1930, p. 71.

to 405. The share-capital had also decreased. The purchase and sale business of the society was also rapidly increasing, but the profits were falling. In 1935-36, the total sales of the society amounted to Rs. 18,750, while the gross profits earned were Rs. 1,105-8-3. In 1938-39, however, the society was able to sell Rs. 41,771-12-6 worth of raw materials and Rs. 4,513-8-3 worth of finished products, but the gross profits had dwindled down to Rs. 560-6-0. Though the total sales had increased by about 250 per cent, the profits had declined by over 55 per cent. This might have been due to the considerable volume of finished unsold products on hand. Hardly 50 units of work, covering about 200 looms, were getting the benefit of the society in 1940 in purchasing raw materials. Considering the number of looms working in Sholapur, the society had only touched the fringe of the industry as a whole.

The other activity of the society of giving loans to members was also progressing. Many members seemed to have availed themselves of this facility allowed by the society under its bye-laws. In 1935-36, 268 out of the total of 411, or over 65 per cent, of the members had borrowed from the society. In that year over Rs. 17,000 were recovered from the then outstanding debts due by the members to the society, while new loans to the tune of Rs. 18,750 were advanced to members again, the total unrecovered amount of the loan being Rs. 23,125. The proportion of the recovered to unrecovered amount of loan, in that year, was 43 per cent, which, taking into consideration the severe depression in trade, was certainly not unsatisfactory, the society receiving an interest of Rs. 1,984-15-4 for that year.

The society was working under the revised bye-laws. The affairs of the society were governed by a Managing Committee of 9 members, elected annually by ordinary members from amongst themselves. The day-to-day administration of the society was looked after by a paid manager, assisted by a permanent staff. The manager and some of the staff were appointed under the grant received by the society from the Marketing Scheme of the Central Government for handloom products. The financial position of the society was very sound, so much so that large amounts of deposits were being kept with it. But as a large amount of Weavers' Guild Fund was handed over to the society in 1936, it refused to accept deposits, having had no necessity of additional capital for its business.

The results achieved by the co-operative movement in respect of the handloom industry were not encouraging. This was due to many reasons. The co-operative movement sought to help weavers in three ways: (1) In providing easy credits to them and relieving them from the clutches of money-lenders; (2) in purchasing raw

materials required for the industry at wholesale prices and selling them to members; and in selling their manufactures, as their agents, thus eliminating the profits of middlemen, and lastly (3) in organising producers' societies. The first and the second were tried in Sholapur but were found ineffective. Their failure to produce the desired effects was due to the inelastic character of the bye-laws under which societies had to work. Take, for instance, the condition of advancing loans. It was not possible for a poor weaver to give adequate security of property, nor was it possible for him to produce two members who might stand surety for him. Such being the case, the societies were not of any use to weavers for whom they were intended. Only *karkhandars* with some means could and did take advantage of the facility. This is exactly what was happening in the case of this co-operative association. Moreover, the purchase and sale societies had to face a peculiar difficulty. Most weavers were in debt to their *sawkars*, and were not allowed by them to use the society's yarn until their debts were paid off. Besides yarn dealers attempted to inveigle the members by selling yarn temporarily at a loss. The greatest difficulty of such societies lay in the seasonal character of the cloth market. But, fortunately, the co-operative society in Sholapur did not suffer from these two difficulties, firstly, because the field covered by the present society was so limited that the yarn dealers were not afraid of losing their usual custom due to its working, and secondly, the seasonal factor in the Sholapur cloth market was not felt to any appreciable extent, and to face this factor, the society possessed sufficient capital. Lastly, the democratic character of the societies themselves had proved to be a hindrance in the way of their proper working.

CHAPTER V

REFORM AND RECONSTRUCTION OF HANDLOOM INDUSTRY

SECTION I

HISTORY OF PAST ATTEMPTS

THE Famine Commission of 1880 recommended that the handicraftsmen who were affected by famines should be given relief in their own trades, not only with a view to providing the unemployed with appropriate work, but also with a view to "protect the skill of the artisans, which was likely to deteriorate on general relief works, and which was necessary for the future development of those handicrafts." According to this recommendation, relief to weavers of Sholapur in their own trade was organised first in 1890-92, by the Bombay Government. It was also organised in subsequent famines. The granting of such semi-gratuitous relief by employment in their own craft to such weavers as were deemed incapable of gaining a livelihood on ordinary relief work, was given legal recognition by Sec. 193 of the Bombay Famine Relief Code, 1927. But while doing so, the management of the relief work was almost completely entrusted to the municipalities, in order "to secure the responsibility of organized local bodies for the proper performance of the work." But no municipalities undertook this type of relief work. The only exceptions to them were the Municipalities of Sholapur, Yeola and Gokak. The relief work done by Sholapur Municipality was approvingly referred to in their report by the Indian Famine Commission of 1898. According to it, "the Collector of Sholapur, acting in co-operation of the (Sholapur) Municipality, was the only officer who spent time and money on this object."¹ The system of relief followed was to give orders for certain kinds of cloth and when they were complied with, payment was made. By organising the relief work in that way the Government was able to earn a net profit of Rs. 1,848. But the relief organised by the Government with the assistance of the Municipality in 1899 was perhaps "the biggest" that had ever been attempted in India.² The success of the scheme was most marked. It was, save for an initial advance from the Municipality of Rs. 2,000, entirely financed from the Charitable Fund. Three weaving sheds were started for destitute artisans who had no looms and implements of their own, while advances of yarn and money were made to those who had the means of carrying on their craft in their own houses. At the

¹ "Report of the Commission," 1898, p. 184.

² "Report of the Central Executive Committee, Indian Famine Charitable Fund," 1900, p. 96.

height of the distress, "relief was at one time being given to between 7,000 and 8,000 weavers, and a sum of about Rs. 30,000 was utilized for this purpose.³ Besides this sum, Rs. 5,000 was contributed by the Americo-Indian Relief Fund, and yarn to the value of Rs. 25,000 was advanced by a philanthropic gentleman, Mr. Virchand Dipchand, C.I.E. The advances made to weavers were nearly all repaid in the shape of finished articles and the results as a whole were gratifying. The balance left over after the close of the relief operations was utilised for starting the Sholapur Weavers' Guild, under Municipal supervision. Another institution, on the lines of an industrial bank, for the village weavers in Sholapur Taluka and Akkalkot State, was organised from the balance of the same fund.

After the famine, the Government of Bombay continued its assistance to weavers through its Co-operative Department. The Department helped some well-wishers of Sholapur handloom industry in organising co-operative credit and co-operative purchase-sale societies in 1912 and 1922 respectively. Besides, the Department tried to popularise in Sholapur the fly-shuttle, the "Sholapur Dobby" invented by the late Rao Saheb T. J. Pitre, and the double fly-shuttle sley which was perfected by the late Mr. L. V. Tikekar of Sholapur and Mr. S. V. Wagh of the Department. Weavers of Sholapur responded remarkably. The fly-shuttle was "in general use" in Sholapur in 1912, so much so that the Department engaged some weavers from there and sent them to Dharwar, Gadag, Malegaon, and Dharangaon⁴ to work the new looms. Then the Department of Industries was created in 1921. Its achievement in different directions till 1936 has already been appraised by Mr. N. M. Joshi in his "Urban Handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan." It may be mentioned here that the Department did nothing in particular for Sholapur weavers,

"The Government of India Marketing Scheme" was brought into operation in the Bombay Presidency in 1935 by the Department of Industries in collaboration with the Co-operative Department. Under that scheme 5 district Industrial Co-operative Associations were started for the sale of the handloom products. The Sholapur Weavers' Co-operative Society received a grant from the Government under this scheme. Under the same scheme a Marketing Officer in 1935 and a Textile Designer in 1939 were appointed by the Industries' Department to help the handloom weavers. The Bombay Industrial and Economic Enquiry Committee have expressed their satisfaction at the work done by these two officers since their appointment.

³ "Report on the Famine in the Bombay Presidency, 1899-1902," Vol. I. p. 63.

⁴ "Annual Report of the Co-operative Department, Government of Bombay, 1912," p. 13.

The Government of Bombay decided in 1939 to apply the Indian Factories' Act, 1934, to the handloom industry. As a first step, the Government decided to apply only two Sections of the Act—one restricting the number of working hours a day and the other declaring compulsory observance of one holiday in a week. Even though the evil of irregular work was of the weavers' own making, Government intervention in that respect was quite necessary from the viewpoint of their hygiene and health. To enable weavers to make full use of their leisure time for recreation, the Government opened in 1941 one Welfare Centre in the handloom weavers' locality in Sholapur.

The Sholapur Municipality: As pointed out earlier, the Municipality of Sholapur took an active part in organising and managing semi-gratuitous relief to weavers in all the famines since 1890-92. The fund left over was utilized for starting a Weavers' Guild under its supervision. The day-to-day management of the guild was looked after by a committee. Without being co-operative, the guild was doing very good work for the weavers.⁵ The Weavers' Guild achieved success in reviving the local weaving industry "by the simple expedient of making arrangement to provide the weavers with raw materials on reasonable terms, advancing them cash at reasonable rates in the slack season, and enabling them to obtain the best market price for their labour—all of which advantages are denied them by the rapacious village money-lender. In three years the condition of 300 weavers had greatly improved, 25 of them had paid off all their old debts and recovered their mortgaged property from the *sawkars*; and at the same time the scheme had given a fair dividend on the capital used."⁶ In addition the Guild maintained a department for new experiments.⁷ The experiments were conducted by weavers themselves, without the usual risk to individual pockets. But what improvements this department did introduce in the local handloom industry are not yet known. Another activity of the Guild lay in the direction of the retail selling of yarn. A yarn store was opened in an imposing building in Sholapur. The Guild ceased functioning in 1918 and the Managing Committee decided to place its working capital amounting to Rs. 29,000 at the disposal of the Collector of Sholapur and the Registrar of the Co-operative Societies, Bombay, for encouraging Weavers' Societies in Sholapur city and district.⁸ What exigencies compelled the Committee to close the Guild is

5 "Annual Report of the Co-operative Department, Government of Bombay, 1909-10," pp. 6, 7.

6 "The Basis for Artistic and Industrial Revival in India," E. B. Havell, 1912, p. 179.

7 "Annual Report of the Co-operative Department, Bombay, 1909-10," pp. 6, 7.

8 *Ibid.*, 1919, p. 18.

not known. The fund has been handed over to the Sholapur District Weavers' Central Co-operative Society. The credit for starting and managing the Guild so successfully goes to the late Rao Sahab T. J. Pitre, the Chief Officer of the Sholapur Municipality.

In 1925 a scheme was formulated by the late Rao Bahadur Dr. V. V. Mulay, the President of the Municipality, to establish a sort of weavers' colony in the vicinity of Sholapur city. Under this scheme, the Municipality acquired a suitable site from the Government of Bombay, divided it into a number of small plots, and rented them to weavers on concession terms. Later on, the Municipality changed its mind and decided to sell the plots outright to settlers on the following conditions: (1) The plot must be sold to a weaver, whenever it is to be sold; (2) The building or shed erected on the plot must be utilized by its owner for his own residential purposes and for his own looms. The scheme proved a complete success, and we now have a well-planned and beautiful colony of weavers known as Bhadravati Peth in Sholapur.

Lastly, the Municipality started its own technical school. The school included in its curriculum the teaching of weaving along with other crafts. It succeeded in coming to an understanding with the local mills in regard to further education and employment of the students passing out from the school. The school was lavishly paying scholarships to students in the weaving class, the amount for which was received from the Vishnu-Laxmi Mills.⁹ This scheme also was planned and executed by the late Rao Bahadur Dr. V. V. Mulay.

Christian Mission: The Christian missionaries in Sholapur organised relief to weavers on the lines of a bank in the famines. The bank was purely a philanthropic institution and did not contain any of the co-operative principles. "The bank advanced yarn at one anna over cost price on one month's credit, it made advances on finished articles which it took over and sold, retaining the sum advanced plus interest at 3 per cent and handing over the balance of the sale price to the weaver. It also made advances on personal security at the same rate of interest."¹⁰ The weavers employed by this bank were able to turn out the cloth used for clothing the police at a cheaper rate than that usually paid for it.¹¹ But after the famines the bank was not heard of.

⁹ For the past couple of years the mills have stopped giving scholarships to students in the weaving section of the school, because they themselves have started training boys in weaving in their mills.

¹⁰ "Report on the Industrial Survey of G. P. and Berar, 1908-09," p. 30.

¹¹ "Report of the Indian Famine Commission of 1898," p. 299.

SECTION II

PROPOSALS FOR THE FUTURE

THE handloom industry needs to be reconstructed on scientific lines both in its productive and its distributive aspects. It is proposed to suggest, in this section, some practical lines on which the work of reconstruction can proceed. While doing so, it is inevitable that the discussion and even the suggestions may transgress the narrow geographical limits of a place like Sholapur and develop on general lines.

The direct and indirect competition between the handloom on the one hand and the powerloom and the mill on the other has been indicated previously, and we shall now discuss some schemes by means of which the competition of mills can be checked.¹

There are four possible ways of achieving this: (1) Completely prohibiting mills from producing goods that are produced on handlooms and in which competition exists. (2) Without restricting mill production, regulating the market by dividing it between the mill industry and the handloom industry, under a statutory enactment, accompanied by a duty, if necessary, to prevent encroachment of the mill market on the handloom market. (3) Without restricting the mill production, to impose a duty on mill-made cloth which enters into competition with the handloom wares, and lastly, (4) Without restricting the out-put of the mill cloth, to pay a subsidy or subvention to the handloom weavers on the basis of their production.

Let us examine the merits and demerits of each of the above possible schemes, and see which of them is most suitable for adoption.

(1) Totally prohibiting the mill production of competitive goods is impossible without ruining the textile mill industry, because in coarse and medium counts, there may be scarcely a fabric which is usually produced in a mill, but which is not woven on a handloom, either to order or to stock. The adoption of this scheme will restrict the field of mill-production, firstly, to the cloth made of fine counts, and secondly, to cloth with special weaves, but in coarse and medium counts. Again, for the success of the scheme, the competition of the imported cloth must be stopped by means of high import duties. Thus the adoption of the scheme would entail an almost permanent and heavy burden on the con-

¹ Ante, pp. 58-61.

sumer, in the form of high prices. Besides, it would harm the interests of the cotton growers.

(2) Any such scheme, according to the Bombay Industrial and Economic Enquiry Committee, offers scope for "a possible action." But this scheme will not work, in our opinion, in favour of the handloom, unless the cost of producing cloth on the handloom is reduced to its lowest possible limit, because the cost of production on handloom, as it stands at present, may still leave room for textile mills to encroach on its market, even after paying the prescribed duty. This scheme is further likely to encourage monopoly prices to rule in respective markets, and if such a monopoly position is once granted to the handloom industry, we are afraid there will be no impelling motive for the weavers to reduce their costs of production. And without this there will be a constant fear of the mill market encroaching on the handloom market. Besides, consumers will be taxed unnecessarily.

(3) Under this scheme also, the consumer will be taxed to the extent of the difference between the cost of production on a handloom and a powerloom. To make the burden on the consumer as light as possible, the Government should fix maximum prices of handloom wares that suffer from the competition of the mill, after allowing due remuneration to all the agencies that lie between the producer and the consumer. This is a scheme under which the consumers have to suffer and sacrifice the least. Besides, the hope of increasing the amount of profit might impel the handloom weaver to reduce his cost of production, because when the maximum prices are fixed, the reduction in costs will be the only course left to him for earning more profits. The Tariff Board in 1932 lent its support to this kind of proposal and recommended a cess of 3 pies per pound of cloth. This cess, being very small, might not be avoided by the mills, and would not fall heavily on them. But that would not afford, we are afraid, a sufficient measure of relief to the handloom weaver.

(4) The chief merit of this system is that the consumer is not directly taxed though it undoubtedly entails a burden on the taxpayers. But under this scheme the uneconomic unit of production manages to survive, which otherwise would have been weeded out by competition. Besides, the granting of subsidy makes the grantee absolutely reliant on it, so much so that he is not able to stand on his own legs when the subsidy is stopped. But if this scheme is managed properly it is likely to give satisfactory results. The Government of Bombay was giving a subsidy of one anna per yard of *khaddar* woven in the province.² But considering

² "Report of the Bombay Industrial and Economic Enquiry Committee," 1940, p. 152.

the large number of handloom weavers in the Bombay Presidency and the production of different styles of cloth, both of competitive and non-competitive character, as also the difficulty of fixing rates of subsidy to be granted to each competitive type, this scheme might prove to be a very complicated one.

On striking the balance of merits and defects of all the above schemes, we have to suggest a scheme which will combine in it the salient features of the third and the fourth. Under the proposed scheme, all articles produced in mills and competing with the handloom wares, should be taxed. The measure of the tax (or duty) would be the difference between costs of production of two identical or comparable goods made, one on the handloom, and the other on the powerloom. The proceeds of the duty will be used for the payment of subsidies. But the subsidies should not be paid to producers, but to an organisation or reliable firms which would themselves arrange to purchase the goods or the portion thereof for disposal.³ The scheme that we have suggested will solve, at one and the same time, both the difficulties of weavers, viz., competition of the mill and the difficulty of marketing. We have pointed out before how small *karkhandars* are too poor to be able to hold on their stocks. A Government institution cannot carry stock of this kind. "The alternative is to find reliable firms each of which would undertake to purchase a particular class or type of articles as soon as they are made and then market them."⁴ The firms of stockist-merchants in Sholapur are doing the business which reliable firms should take up. If some of them are induced to seek recognition to do the business in particular types of *sarees* produced in Sholapur, the difficulty of creating a new organisation will be solved. Such a recognised firm should "be given a suitable subsidy on a sliding scale depending on the value of the goods which it purchases."⁵ These firms should be under an obligation to purchase all the goods produced and not to make purchases of similar articles from others. The rates at which the finished products would be purchased should be settled beforehand, with a guarantee to weavers against losses due to fluctuations in prices of raw materials. For safeguarding the position of weavers against such losses, arrangements for the purchase of raw materials required will have to be made at the same time. A scheme alternative to the previous price-fixing one would be that products may be purchased by the buying agents (in Sholapur the recognised stockist's firm) not at a price fixed in advance, "but at a price which bears a definite relation to the ruling price of the yarn used."⁶ We hope that if proper and strict

³ "Report of the Industries Reorganisation Committee," U. P., 1934, p. 40.

⁴ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁵ *Ibid.*, p. 40.

⁶ "The Industries Reorganisation Committee," U. P., p. 41.

supervision is exercised on the transactions of the recognised firms, the *karkhandars* will be able to get due remuneration for their work and will have no cause to complain. When their difficulties are solved, they should be compelled to pay higher rates of wages to their workers, by establishing Trade Boards, on English lines, for every district, to lay down, control and enforce the minimum rates in the industries concerned.

Any scheme devised to check the unequal competition between the handloom and the powerloom entails a burden on the general consuming public, so it should never become a permanent feature. It is considered necessary because "even the well organised handloom factories, working on modern lines and adapting themselves to meet changes in the fashion, style, etc. of the consuming public, find it very difficult to compete with mills worked by power."⁷ But even then, its continuance for over ten years or so cannot be justified. Such a scheme is intended to give time to the handloom weaving industry to organise itself on scientific lines. It is not intended to serve as a lever to artificially bolster up un-economic producers and to enable them to remain in the industry as before.

Even after proving the existence of competition between the handlooms on the one hand and the mills and powerlooms on the other, the Fact Finding Committee have indicated no specific direction of eliminating it. They opined and rightly too, that the question of discouraging or encouraging any line of production can only be considered with special reference to localities or regions. But they have enunciated a general principle for guidance in this connection. They say: "A gradual process of economic adjustment has been going on, and in the result each industry is coming to produce what it could most efficiently and cheaply. This process must be helped and not hindered." (Page 179.) At another place, the committee expressed the view that "where this (competition) is due to an inherent advantage for the mills (and powerlooms?), it would be wisdom for handweavers to change over to other less competitive lines." (Page 211.) The principle laid down by the Committee, though logically perfectly sound, would nowise help the solution of the real problem. If the process of gradual economic adjustment is allowed free play, the machine must ultimately triumph, howsoever cheap the labour of the worker might be, with the result that the field of the handlooms would dwindle down, ere long, to a few non-competitive and very costly speciality lines. But this result runs counter to the Committee's desire, for various economic, strategic and other reasons, to maintain on the present scale, the premier handicraft

⁷ "Preliminary Report on the Survey of Cottage Industries in the Malabar, South Kanara and Nilgiri Districts," 1928, D. Narayana Rao, p. 10.

industry of India, *viz.*, the handloom weaving. In the absence of industrialization in the country on a scale large enough to absorb the labour displaced from the handicraft by the machine, the adoption of the principle of gradual economic adjustment is bound to spell unemployment and suffering to millions of people dependent on the industry. The crux of the present problem has been, in the words of the Fact Finding Committee themselves, "not so much of the handloom industry surviving as of the handloom weaver himself surviving." (Page 204.) This means that the period of transition between the present handicraft and the ultimate machine stage should be bridged in such a way as to avoid violent industrial dislocation and to minimise the hardships of the hand-weaver. This object can never be achieved, rather it will be entirely defeated, by the adoption of the principle of gradual economic adjustment.

That the present plight of the handloom weaver is due to the competition of mills and powerlooms as well as to the defective organisation of the industry, is perfectly true. But it has been the experience of some fairly well organised handloom weaving centres in the country that even they cannot stand the competition of the machine. The case of Sholapur, whose organisational capacity has been extolled even by the Fact Finding Committee, is finding it increasingly difficult day by day to survive in the face of competition. This proves the point that only improving the organisation of the industry will not go a long way in enabling it to survive in the face of competition. The solution, therefore, lies in granting protection to the industry at least for ten years in the first instance and then revising the policy after every five years or so. The Fact Finding Committee have not recognised at all the principle of statutory protection. They aim at narrowing down the field of competition and for that they have suggested that "some sort of reservation should be made for the handloom weavers." But such agreement should come about by mutual agreement between the mills (and the powerlooms?) and the handlooms, the former voluntarily agreeing to place some restriction on themselves in respect of the production of certain styles of cloth in certain counts. Even if such agreement was feasible, we do not believe that it would ever result in favour of the handloom weavers who happen to be the weakest party to the agreement. The problem is, therefore, not going to be solved by expressing in this way mere platitudes or pious wishes. For that, either the sphere of mill-production should be statutorily demarcated or their production should be taxed to the extent of the difference between the cost of production on a handloom and a powerloom and proceeds thereof paid to the handloom weaver by way of a subvention.

The present distressing condition of the handloom weaving industry cannot wholly be attributed to the unequal competition be-

tween the handloom and the powerloom. At least a part of it must be attributed to the productive and the distributive organisation of the handloom weaving industry as it stands today.

The technological progress in the industry is handicapped by the present inefficient distribution. The Bombay Industrial and Economic Committee endorsed the same view. If the handloom industry requires help and guidance in any direction, it is required most in solving their marketing problem. We shall begin with distribution and try to indicate some lines which, we hope, will be helpful in solving the problem of marketing handloom goods.

For organising distribution on scientific lines, the first and foremost thing that needs to be done is to undertake a series of "Market Researches." For carrying on such researches, the country should be divided into a number of regions, on the basis of the uniform cultural standard of the population living in it, because in a region having a uniform cultural standard, there is generally found to exist what is known as a "conventional demand" for particular types of articles, wares, etc. peculiarly limited to it. To give a concrete example, in the region formed by the Marathi-speaking population in the Bombay Presidency, Central Provinces and Berar and the Nizam's Dominions, there is a demand for particular types of *sarees* and other garments which will not be met with anywhere else in the whole of India. The aim of the research should be to give "demand schedules" or lists of the requisite properties of handloom wares and the methods of marketing them. The general character of the consumer, his buying habits, his methods of effecting purchases, etc. should also be given in detail.

The next step will be towards specialisation. Centres of production in a given region that have some kind of economic advantage in producing certain types of brands in certain counts, should be made to produce those types only. If Sholapur, for instance, can produce *sarees* in coarse and medium counts with some profit, and if Ahmednagar produces *sarees* or fancy *patals* with comparatively greater advantage than Sholapur, Sholapur should be advised to specialise in coarse counts and Ahmednagar in high counts. But while achieving this, care should be exercised to see that "uneconomic and unfit" units of production do not come into being and continue to live. Such kind of specialisation will enable the producers to evade competition between one centre of production and the other.

One of the great defects of handloom products is the total want of standardisation of either quality or prices. This partly explains why they are not favoured by piece-goods mer-

chants. This also creates a great difficulty in dealing in them in wholesale and in seeking foreign markets. If trade in handloom products is to be expanded, standardisation is quite essential. Their standardisation can proceed along the following four lines: (1) Standardisation of quality, (2) standardisation of dimensions and measures, (3) standardisation of patterns, and finally, (4) standardisation of prices. The Bombay Industrial and Economic Enquiry Committee has recommended in this behalf that "the Government should make provision for testing the products of local industries for quality and issue certificates."⁸ The sub-committee of the Industrial Survey Committee, C. P., for the Wardha District, has also made a similar suggestion in their report.⁹ If the Government sets up an agency for the purpose, the standardisation will soon be an accomplished fact. But in the absence of the Government agency or a guild, the Sholapur handloom weavers should themselves evolve an agency for guaranteeing the quality of the product, as is being done in Ahmednagar, for guaranteeing the fastness of the colour of the handloom wares produced there.

The handloom products are attractive neither in appearance nor in texture. It is because the handloom goods are not "finished" as in the textile mills. The Sholapur District Weavers' Central Co-operative Association should establish a finishing and calendaring plant in Sholapur for the local weavers.

When the handloom products are thus made to answer the essential requisites of a "demand schedule," and the general, necessary qualities of marketable goods, the next step toward reconstruction will be to evolve efficient machinery for marketing them; We have seen in the marketing organisation of the handloom industry in Sholapur how the goods pass through a number of intermediary agencies before they reach the hands of the actual consumers. It is necessary to study the part played by each of the intermediaries in the distributive system, and also the fairness or otherwise of the charges levied by each for his service. This will help us to know which intermediaries can and need be eliminated. Our aim should always be to lower, as far as possible, the costs of distribution, without impairing in any way the efficiency of the machinery.

The operations involved in the process of distribution are of two kinds, essentials and non-essentials. The essential operations of the distributor are: (1) obtaining information about possible markets and prospective customers, (2) sorting, grading, packing and preparation of goods for sale, (3) transportation of finished articles, (4) warehousing and financing stocks of finished goods. His non-essential operations are: (1) elaborate organisation

⁸ "Report," 1940, p. 168.

⁹ "Report," 1938-39, p. 24.

to collect that minimum of information about the consumer and his requirements and (2) advertising in all its aspects and ramifications. Now as regards the first essential operation, the distributor does practically nothing in India. The second operation is in most cases done by the producer. In Sholapur the branding of goods was left to the sweet will of the broker and the producer concerned. A big stockist-brokers' firm in Sholapur incurred all the expenses on that score, but the expenses were almost negligible in their case. The transportation costs were borne by the retailer and varied inversely with the size of each consignment. The last operation of holding and financing stocks may be divided into three groups: (a) cost of providing warehouse accommodation, (b) the cost of financing stocks and, lastly (c) the cost of bearing the risk of loss, whether through accident, depreciation or change in value. So far as the handloom industry in Sholapur was concerned, no special warehousing arrangements were made anywhere. The length of the holding period at each stage of distribution depended on the rapidity of turnover. The demand for the handloom wares was seasonal. It was very brisk in the marriage season which commenced roughly from December and ended with June. In this period of about six months, many important fairs and festivals were also held in honour of local deities at several places. The holding period of the stockist could not exceed at the most, six months. It was generally not more than two months.¹⁰ The holding period of a retailer could not be exactly gauged, but it must have been less than that of a stockist. Taking into consideration the high rate of interest in Sholapur, which, in some cases, went upto 18 per cent,¹¹ the cost of stock financing could not have been inconsiderable. As regards risk-bearing, the stockist safeguarded himself, as we have seen before, by cutting down the price or wage to be paid to the producer. Besides, the commodity in which he dealt there was something like a conventional demand which was subject to very slight and slow changes. So the actual cost to the stockist on this particular item must have been very little. In case of non-essential operations, the stockist wholesaler in Sholapur practically incurred no expenditure. Taking all these costs incurred by the wholesaler (stockist in Sholapur) into account, we do not see any reason for his charging higher rates for his service. We do not know what he actually charges to a retailer. For carrying out successfully some of the above operations, we suggest that some big stockist-firms in Sholapur should combine into one joint firm. The proposed firm should be for particular markets only. It will enable its partners to undertake some operations which they have neglected hithertofore, and that, too, with proportionately less costs. If the partners

¹⁰ "Evidence Before Bombay Provincial Banking Enquiry Committee," by T. R. Kanna and others, Evidence Vol. I, 1929-30, p. 590.

¹¹ *Ibid.*, p. 590.

come to a further understanding among themselves, they will be able to eliminate competition amongst themselves in particular parts of their market. But the least thing that the firm can and should do is to carry on an advertising campaign for the brands which its partners deal in. In Sholapur, this operation of advertising goods seemed to be nobody's business. Producers had hitherto totally neglected it. It was surprising to find that most of the local producers did not possess even sample pieces of the types of *sarees* produced in their own establishments. They relied, it seems, on the dealers, wholesale and retail, for this. But unfortunately the wholesaler-stockists have failed to fulfil the expectations entertained about them by the producers. There is, however, great scope yet for attracting customers, actual and prospective, by means of advertisement. We, therefore, suggest that the device of branding goods should be adopted along with other devices like advertisement in railways, cinemas, museums, etc., engaging travelling agents like the K. P. K. R. of Bhavani in the Madras Presidency, issuing sample-books, catalogues, and price-lists and other possible devices by the proposed combined firm of stockists, and if possible by big producers in Sholapur. The Government also can do much to help the industry in this connection. The opening of a Commercial Intelligence Bureau to supply information to dealers and producers regarding prospective markets, requirements of the customers in the existing market, the opening of a Commercial Museum (as recommended by the Industries Reorganisation Committee of U. P., 1934),¹² helping the industrialists and dealers in getting freight concessions from railways, are some of the ways in which the Government can help the industry.

In marketing the manufactures of small weaving *karkhandars*, the co-operative society can do much. If the society would advance money to the *karkhandars* on the hypothecation of their goods, and after selling them, hand over the balance of the proceeds to them, after deducting the sum advanced plus interest, say at 3 per cent, it will be a great help to them. If the society is conducted on the lines of the Sholapur Weavers' Guild, there is no reason why it should fail to fulfil this object. To enable the society to undertake such marketing work on a large scale, the Government should provide capital to the society, if need be, and also amend the present bye-laws so as to allow the society full scope for doing the work efficiently.

The last but not the least important problem is that of introducing new designs and patterns; for if the changes in the character of the demand are not reflected in the changes in the types of production, the marketing organisation, howsoever efficient it may

¹² "Report," p. 40.

be, will be of little avail. In the Bombay Presidency, a designer was appointed in 1939 under the Government of India's Marketing Scheme. Upto 1940 the Department of Industries, Bombay, had introduced a number of new designs and patterns in shirtings, coatings, door-curtains, towels, etc. But the Department did not seem to have directed much of its attention to the improvement of the present designs and patterns in *sarees*, which is the staple product of the handloom industry of the Bombay Deccan.

Our aim, while reorganising the production side of the industry, should always be that of increasing its efficiency. The inefficiency arises in several branches of production due to (i) the existence of uneconomic units of production in the industry; (ii) the existence of inefficient labour; (iii) insufficiently improved equipment of weaving establishments, (iv) the lack of cheap and adequate finance; and (v) the defective marketing arrangements for the purchase of raw materials. We shall discuss each of them in their natural order and suggest improvements.

(i) Size of a Unit of Production: With the expansion of the local handloom industry in Sholapur, the size of manufacturing units also grew, but not to the same extent. This gave rise to an anomaly. It is said that in Sholapur the handloom industry works on a factory basis. This is true so far as the volume of production is concerned. But from the viewpoint of number, about 70 per cent of *karkhanas* were small in size—say having up to 6 looms. This difference in the size of the establishments had its bearing on the efficiency of production. We have seen before how the cost of some factors of production varied with the variations in size. This statement must be taken with some reservation; because it was found that a larger size of upto 6 looms did not always bring more economy than that of a smaller one of 4 looms. In order to increase the efficiency of small units, the increasing sub-division of functions and the adoption of standardisation needs to be encouraged. By the latter is "meant reducing the number of models or sizes and turning out more of each with a saving in those overhead costs which each separate size or model involves."¹³

(ii) Increasing Efficiency of the Handloom Weavers: The inefficiency of handloom weavers is proverbial. We have discussed earlier the reasons which affect the efficiency of the weaver. The weaver should have been able to weave a piece of cloth six to fifteen yards in a day of ten hours, varying according to the dimensions of the cloth, the count of yarn used, the number of picks per inch, the pattern woven and the kind of loom used. But actually, he was weaving from five to six yards per day. The adoption of the factory basis to cure this has proved a failure at Salem and Madras,¹⁴ and this is also true of Sholapur.

¹³ G. T. Jones, op. cit.

¹⁴ "Industrial Evolution in India," Sir Alfred Chatterton, 1912, p. 218.

A solution in the direction of increasing the efficiency of weavers lies in giving them technical and general elementary education. Improving the condition of places of work, restricting the hours of work, provision of a weekly holiday, undertaking of welfare work in weavers, are some other ways of improving the efficiency of the weaver. The efforts by the Government of Bombay toward improving the conditions of weavers by applying the Indian Factories' Act to the handloom industry in the Bombay Presidency, and also by opening some welfare centres in the city of Sholapur, are welcome in this connection. The enforcement of the Factories' Act had yielded very satisfactory results in 1939. The Report for 1939 shows that the average weekly output of handloom industry was 15.26 before the enforcement of the Act, but since its enforcement it has risen to 15.29.¹⁵ The result speaks for itself. It refutes, in a very convincing manner, the argument advanced by weaving *karkhandars* that "the enforcement of the Act would, by reducing the total output, retard the progress of the industry."

When we speak of increasing the efficiency of weavers, it must be remembered that the efficiency can be increased always in relation to the technical equipment of a factory. For the attainment of this important end of securing maximum effort on the part of the weaver, "standardisation of tools and equipment, . . . the issuance of instruction cards to the men, the training of the employee in the most improved and scientific ways of performing his work, . . . more satisfactory systems for the management of stores," are quite necessary. The original reason for the infusion of standardisation into scientific management was a demand for it on the part of scientific rate-fixing. We shall have to resort to standardisation of tools, etc., for devising and executing our differential rate system.

(iii) The Improvement in the Present Equipment of a Weaving Establishment: In Sholapur the use of the fly-shuttle had become universal. The loom in vogue in Sholapur was the pit-loom fitted with a fly-shuttle sley. They used this loom because no better loom had been evolved, and amongst all the other existing types of looms, this loom was considered as ideal so far as its merits were concerned. The only improvement lies in the direction of gentler handling of the warps, the threads of which are frequently broken. If this improvement is brought about, the efficiency of the weaver will be increased and less time will be wasted in mending broken threads. The other improvement which is necessary, is the arrangement of a warp-beam. The Department of Industries, Bombay, has successfully worked in that direction, and has been car-

¹⁵ "Report on the Working of Factories' Act," Bombay Presidency, 1939-40.

rying on propaganda amongst weavers to adopt the warp-beam that it has invented. The most cogent argument forwarded against the use of the warp-beam is that if it is meant for long warps, "it is a question whether these long warps would not be too long even for the more speedy loom, locking up more money than the weaver could afford, while the length of the time that he would take before the warp was finished might cause the sizing to deteriorate."¹⁶ Mr. Chatterton also expresses doubt regarding the use of a long warp.¹⁷ Taking into account the present financial circumstances of the weaver, the use of a long warp is impossible, unless somebody supplies it to him. If the Government is making some arrangement for the supply of long warps to weavers and also in marketing the finished articles that the weavers will turn out, then only the adoption of the warp-beam will be a practical proposition. So also, if the standardisation of production is to be introduced in order to reduce the overhead costs, the long warps and the warp-beam will be of great help to weavers. In that case, an arrangement should be made for supplying ready beamed-warps by the mills. But if the warp-beam is meant for short warps also, and if beamed-warps are to be supplied by the mills, "they would probably charge a good deal more for short warps." They would also find it difficult, if not impossible, to produce warps of any great variety of counts or colours."¹⁸ It is due to these limitations, it seems, that the warp-beam is not becoming as popular as a fly-shuttle.

The device of Jacquard is worth adopting for getting intricate designs in the ground. Its use is demonstrated in the Nizam's Dominions, but nothing seems to have been done by the Bombay Department of Industries. With regard to the preliminary processes, we have seen that the powerloom enjoys a great advantage over the handloom. The proportion of costs on preliminary processes is not very high in Sholapur. We have seen that the machine invented by the Department of Industries for sizing was not introduced in Sholapur till 1940. If sizing and warping could be done at one and the same time in a plant, and if such sized warps could be supplied to weavers, there would be not only saving in time, but also in cost. We do not know why a separate warping and sizing establishment should not be started either by an industrialist or by the Government in Sholapur, where there will be ample work available for the plant to be sufficiently employed.¹⁹ This proposal will not get support from the weavers themselves for two reasons. They will object to it, not so much because of the fact that the superiority of handwoven goods depends very largely upon the indigenous methods of sizing, as the raising of a new plant will deprive their women of an important source of employ-

¹⁶ "Report on the Industrial Survey of C. P. and Berar," 1909-10, p. 30.

¹⁷ "The Industrial Evolution in India," p. 221.

¹⁸ "Report on the Industrial Survey of C. P. and Berar," 1909-10, p. 30.

¹⁹ Even a slasher-sizing machine can be used economically at Sholapur.

ment. The last argument is more weighty, involving as it does the question of the employment of some thousands of women of caste-weavers. For giving work to these women, the introduction of more looms, as recommended by Dr. K. S. Venkatram, is suggested.²⁰ This new employment will yield a comparatively higher remuneration to them. Moreover, they will not be required to work out of doors, and much economy will be effected in preparing sized warps in a sizing plant.

Another equally important item in the cost of production is the item of joining and twisting the warp threads. This item is costly and will remain so for many years to come. If more economies are effected in the costs incurred on preliminary processes, the handloom industry will be better fitted to stand the competition of the powerloom. This along with a finishing and calendaring plant will make the technical structure of the industry in Sholapur almost perfect.

(iv) **The Provision of Cheap and Adequate Finance:** Capital is required for an industry for three purposes: (a) for purchasing the equipment of a factory, (b) for purchasing the raw materials required for the industry, and lastly, (c) for holding the finished articles until they are demanded at a just price and, at the same time, for continuing production. It is an admitted fact that it is the present financial position of the weaver and not his conservatism that comes in the way of making full use of the modern inventions in tools and appliances. The lack of finance is the only thing that ties down the weavers to the old methods. For removing this long-standing deficiency, the Government of Bombay should pass a "State Aid to Industries Act," on the lines of the C. P. Act. XII of 1933. Under this Act, long-term loans should be advanced for industrial purposes. Along with this, improved appliances should be sold to weavers on a "hire-purchase" system, as is done in the U. P.²¹ The execution of the Act should be left to the Department of Industries. For providing credit for the purchase of raw materials and for holding goods from the market until better prices are offered, co-operation has been accepted on every hand as the best remedy. The recommendation made by Mr. N. M. Joshi,²² of establishing pawn-shops to be conducted on sound lines by the Municipalities in the several centres, also deserves full support.

(v) **Improving Marketing.** **The Purchase of Raw Materials:** A steady supply of yarns of reputed count and quality to handloom weavers at reasonable rates needs also to be ensured. The Sholapur weavers in their memorandum submitted to the Bombay Industrial and Economic Enquiry Committee, 1938, complained

²⁰ "The Handloom Industry in the Madras Presidency," 1939, p. 244.

²¹ "Report of the Industrial Reorganisation Committee," p. 60.

²² "Urban Handicrafts of the Bombay Deccan," p. 185.

that "the rates of the yarn are regulated on the demand for the yarn. Reduction in the prices of the cotton has very little bearing on the prices of yarn. The mills, therefore, obtain great profits in the sale of the yarn consumed by the handloom weavers." This complaint is not without foundation. As regards the quality, the Bombay Industrial and Economic Committee, 1938, has pointed out how "the artisan often gets yarn of counts actually inferior to what it is alleged to be by the seller."²³ Complaints of fraudulent practices in the sale of yarn were made before the Committee at a number of centres. Similarly, in the case of dyed yarn, the weaver is often deceived both as regards the fastness of the colour and the count of yarn. Besides, "the cotton yarns supplied by many Indian mills are badly reeled, contain many knots, do not possess the tensile strength necessary for warp and are often not of the declared count."²⁴ It is suggested, therefore, that false labelling and short reeling be penalised. In some places, however, the supply of yarn to weavers is not steady or regular. It is, therefore, highly essential that the Government should take certain steps so that a regular supply of yarn of specified qualities and at reasonable prices is ensured. Weavers' societies may arrange with spinning mills for the supply of yarn as suggested by Dr. Venkat Raman.²⁵

Mr. Joshi suggests the rejuvenation of the old guild and the transfer of certain functions to it. We are not hopeful about the success of such a step. So far as Sholapur is concerned, the fusion of different interests such as the big *karkhandars*, *asamis*, and labourers, into one "craft guild" seems utterly impossible. We, therefore, think that under the present circumstances, the rejuvenation of the old guild will not serve any useful purpose.

²³ "Report," p. 96.

²⁴ Amalsad, Cotton Cloth Impasse, quoted by Dr. K. S. Venkat Raman, op. cit., p. 241.

²⁵ "Handloom Industry in the Madras Presidency," p. 241.

CHAPTER VI

SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF PADMASALIS

SECTION I—MIGRATION OF PADMASALIS

THE Padmasali community has migrated to Sholapur from the Telangana division of the Nizam's Dominions, which formed a part of its supposed original habitat. The Telangana division is constituted of the Medak, Mahbubnagar, Nalgonda, Nizamabad, Warangal, Adilabad and Karimnagar districts. It has an average annual rainfall of thirty-three inches and has fairly extensive irrigational facilities in addition. The principal food-crops of the region are rice, jowar and bajri. The staple food of the people is rice, supplemented by jowar and bajri. The toddy palms are extensively cultivated on account of their sap, which when drawn and allowed to ferment, produces an intoxicating beverage, which is largely consumed by the people in the region.

According to the census of 1931, 84 per cent of the population of Telangana was composed of Hindus, about 8 per cent Mohammedans, about 2 per cent Christians and the rest of other religions. In spite of this, the influences of Mohammedanism and Christianity were considerable on poor and socially backward Hindu communities. Amongst Hindus, the Komati community occupied a very high position in the caste system. The Vaishnavite Marwaris ranked next in social hierarchy. The position of both these communities as traders and capitalists further raised their social status. Communities standing at lower rungs of the social ladder, therefore, naturally used to follow and imitate them in respect of rituals, costumes, etc.

Among other industries, cotton spinning and weaving was the calling of a large number of people in Telangana. About 70 per cent, or 78,058 of the total handlooms in Hyderabad State were plied in this division alone. The industry was highly concentrated in the Karimnagar district. Nalgonda district stood second. The number of caste weavers in the industry was estimated at or about 2,80,000, or nearly 2.25 per cent of the total population. Weavers included Padmasali, Sali, Devang, Kosubi, Devanga, Devangalu, Devana, Jyandra, Salawar, Chennawar, Momins and others. But the competition of machine goods had already adversely affected the industry. Consequently an ever increasing number of weavers were deserting their hereditary occupation or alternatively migrating to other weaving centres outside the Nizam's Dominions. The income of those still in the industry had sunk low, and the petty *karkhandar* and the weaver were deeply in debt to money-lenders.

The hygienic condition of Telangana was far from satisfactory. The excessive irrigation with no drainage system to carry off the surplus water, had proved the source of much malaria, which prejudicially affected the material and physical development and well-being of the people. Plague, cholera, small-pox and other diseases also used to levy a heavy toll of death on the population.

In respect of literacy, the Telangana division was extremely backward. The proportion of literacy in it was 72 males and 8 females per thousand of the population. The degree of literacy varied according to castes constituting the Brahminic Hindu community, and the higher the caste the larger was the proportion of literates. The proportion of literacy among weaving communities was 20 persons per 1,000 population.

A considerably large percentage of weaver caste population in Telangana was found still plying their looms in small villages. These villages due to defective means of communication, were not necessarily connected with the towns or with each other, with the result that the economic and social life of the people living in them was not disturbed by outside influences. The community life was the special feature of the Telangana villages. The *Panchayat* or the community organisation reigned supreme in the social life of the villagers. Even the slightest necessary violation of a custom was looked upon by the elders of a village with intense suspicion and misgiving, and the person violating it would get the customary punishment for the same.

The physical and social environment in Telangana had considerably reacted upon the life of the Padmasalis. As a result of their diet, intemperate habits, unhygienic conditions, sedentary occupations, etc., they had developed an extremely poor physique with very little stamina. After strenuous work, continuously for two to three hours, they used to evince signs of fatigue and exhaustion and required short respite at intervals. Their ignorance and isolation had made them conservative, meek and submissive to the authority of the caste *Panchayat*. Modernism had not yet affected their simplicity of life and thought. They were hard-working, courteous and hospitable. Their poverty, drunkenness and deep indebtedness had produced in them a sort of recklessness and improvidence. They were very honest in their social dealings. The degeneration of their business morality was primarily due to difficulties in eking out an existence by honest means.

Migration, it is commonly believed, arises principally from the difficulty of finding adequate means of livelihood in one's native place as a result of over-population, a failure of crops or any other calamity. As a result of the severe competition from mills during about the last two decades, the handloom industry

in the Nizam's Dominions had been hit hard and was declining. Though wages earned by weavers in Telangana compared favourably with those ruling in Sholapur,¹ employment was not assured to weavers and members of their families for the whole year as in Sholapur. This had been the main reason for the migration of the Padmasalis to Sholapur. During the last twenty-five years or so, widespread and complete failure of crops in Telangana had not been as frequent as before, owing to the availability of extensive irrigational facilities. Hygienic conditions in Telangana, though showing some improvement in recent years, still left much to be desired. Plague and/or cholera visited the division almost regularly every year, thus encouraging migration to Sholapur to some extent at least. And yet the migrant Padmasalis did not seem to be dissatisfied in any way with their lot in Sholapur. The emigration was proceeding in 1940 with rapid pace in some districts of Telangana. Sholapur, Ahmednagar, Ahmedabad, Surat, Bombay, Poona and Sangamner were some of the chief places in the Bombay Presidency to which Telangana people, especially Padmasalis, migrated.²

Our study of 541 Padmasali families in Sholapur revealed that they had migrated from 12 out of 16 districts of the Hyderabad Dominions. A very large proportion, about 94 per cent, had come from Telangana proper. Out of 54 families, only eleven had migrated to Sholapur from Ahmednagar, Bijapur and Kurundwad in the Bombay Presidency. Table No. 33 shows the classification of 541 Padmasali families by districts and also by occupations.

The table shows that Warangal, Karimnagar, Medak and Nalgonda districts accounted for the bulk of the Padmasali immigrants in Sholapur. Karimnagar district alone contributed over 40 per cent of the Padmasali population in Sholapur. Nalgonda, Medak and Warangal ranked next in order of their respective

1 When converted into British currency, the wages that obtained in Telangana no doubt looked low when compared to Sholapur. But the difference in the wage-level was offset by the low level of prices of almost all necessities there. Wages prevailing in Telangana for different processes involved in the weaving industry are as follows (all are quoted in local currency): (i) Weaving—6 to 7 annas; (ii) Sizing—12 annas per box of 248; (iii) Warming—8 annas per box of 248; (iv) Unwinding—3 annas 4 pies per box of 208; (v) Filling of spools—5 pies per "saree"; (vi) Preparing shafts of beards—8 annas (pure wages); (vii) Joining and twisting—1 anna each time, and (viii) Preparing the "fani"—15 annas (for 18 Punjas). All these figures were collected by me in January 1940 at Karimnagar, the largest weaving centre in the Hyderabad Dominions. They represented fairly correctly the wages prevailing in other Telangana Districts also. Similarly prices of some important typical commodities were also collected there. Below are given retail war-time prices of selected commodities. They are quoted in seers per local rupee which exchanged for 14½ annas of British currency. Rice—5 seers, jowar—8 seers, maize—9 seers, paddy—13 seers, tur-dal—7 seers, chana dal—4 seers, wheat—4½ seers, salt—9 seers, chilly—2 seers, sweet-oil—2 seers, castor-oil (used for lighting purposes)—2 seers, raw sugar—4½ seers, sugar—2 seers, ghee—1 seer, mills—6 seers, mutton—2 seers, kerosene—annas 4 per bottle, fuel—3 to 4 rupees per cart (sufficient for 5 to 6 months). In pre-war days the prices must have been still lower. If they are converted into British currency and in British weights and measures, they are lower than those at Sholapur.

2 There may be historical causes for this migration mentioned above. We have referred to them in the case of Sholapur in Part I of this publication.

share. The table further reveals the reluctance of these immigrants to give up their hereditary occupation of handloom weaving. In this respect Warangal stood first. Not a single family coming from there had deserted its traditional occupation. While in the case of Medak, 33 per cent of the families had given up handloom weaving. Nalgonda stood second with over 10 per cent and Karimnagar last, with a little less than 2 per cent. In Atraji-Balda, the district surrounding Hyderabad City, there was comparatively very little handloom weaving, so it was not surprising that all the immigrants from there had taken to more profitable occupations.

TABLE NO. 33. CLASSIFICATION OF SAMPLE FAMILIES BY THE DISTRICT OF ORIGIN

	Hyderabad City	Atraji-Balda	Warangal	Karimnagar	Medak	Nizamabad	Mahabubnagar	Nalgonda	Aurangabad	Nander	Gulbarga	Raichur	Bidar	Others	Total
1 Hereditary Occupation	1	—	32	220	44	3	2	79	—	1	5	1	5	50	443
2 Deserters	1	6	—	5	22	1	—	12	2	1	1	—	1	45	98
Total	2	6	32	225	66	4	2	91	2	2	6	1	6	96	541

We shall now go on to trace the period from which the migration of the Padmasalis to Sholapur began. For this purpose we shall restrict our study to four districts only, viz., Warangal, Karimnagar, Nalgonda and Medak. Table No. 34 sets out the classification of 414 families from the four districts by the period of their migration.

TABLE NO. 34. MIGRANT FAMILIES FROM SOME DISTRICTS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO PERIOD SINCE IMMIGRATION

Period Since Immigration	Warangal	Karimnagar	Medak	Nalgonda	Total
Less than 1 year	3	14	4	5	26
1-3 years	30	30	6	11	52
3-5 "	30	32	5	7	51
5-10 "	35	35	10	19	87
10-20 "	35	47	15	28	93
21 years and over	11	47	26	21	105
Total	32	225	66	91	414

It appears from the table that the average number of families migrating to Sholapur per year goes on diminishing as we go down in descending order. This was due to the residual effect. To leave a residual effect of a given magnitude, the total immigration must have been much larger when it actually took place. But since we have no evidence to ascertain it, the comparison of spans in the table will be misleading. Table No. 35 shows how these immigrant families coming to Sholapur at different periods, had settled down in different parts of the city.

TABLE NO. 35. DISTRIBUTION OF IMMIGRANT FAMILIES ACCORDING TO WARDS AND THE PERIOD SINCE IMMIGRATION

Name of Peths	Less Than 1 Year	1 to 3 Years	3 to 5 Years	5 to 10 Years	10 to 15 Years	15 to 20 Years	21 Years and Over	Total
Began	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	3
Ganesh	—	2	—	3	—	—	4	11
Guruwar	—	—	1	3	—	—	4	10
Jodbhavi	3	11	6	7	5	4	12	46
E. Mangalwar	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Murariji	—	—	1	6	6	4	17	35
Pachha	6	14	16	23	16	8	15	98
Raviwar	10	9	14	23	10	6	8	80
Sakhar	6	11	13	20	13	11	35	109
Shaniwar	—	1	—	—	—	2	—	15
Somwar	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	3
Total	26	52	51	87	56	37	105	414

This migrant population tried to maintain connections with its native region. When the handloom industry in Sholapur was prosperous, some twenty years back, and wages were high, a large number of Padmasali weavers used to pay frequent visits to their native places in Telangana. But of late their visits had become few and far between. Our enquiry revealed that those who visited their native places for some reason or other, did so once or twice in two or three years. On going into the reasons of their visits it was found that 81 families had some proprietary interests in their native lands. Most of them had a house, and a very few owned pieces of agricultural land. 191 families had their relations staying in their native places. Very few families visited their native places for performing marriage ceremonies and other rituals. Quite a negligible number of persons went to their villages for considerations of health and for paying homage to their village deity. Owing to their depressed condition many wage-earning Padmasali families found it very difficult to pay even a single visit in a couple of years to their native places, and so they were settling down at Sholapur permanently. *Karkhandars* and those working in local textile mills had made Sholapur almost their

permanent abode. Yet they visited their native places occasionally. Generally the heads of families alone used to go there for a couple of days for looking after their property.

Broadly speaking, the flow of the Padmasali population into Sholapur was far greater than out of it. The population was found to be in the neighbourhood of 25,000 by 1925 or so, when a census of the community was taken in connection with the levying of a small tax for religious purposes. But it was estimated to have grown to about 30,000 towards 1940. This means that there was an increase of 5,000 during a period of about fifteen years. It was not, however, possible to calculate the increase in the population for any one year. The usual annual exodus of weavers to their native places used to commence roughly at the commencement of the monsoon when slackness, at least to a slight extent, spread over the handloom industry in Sholapur. The weavers who went to their native places returned by the end of the monsoon. But there was no such season of immigration. It went on continuously all the year round, which made detection very difficult.

The other weaver communities in Sholapur had also immigrated from the Nizam's Dominions and/or Karnatak. The Togata community, for instance, had come to Sholapur in the first quarter of the last century, from the region comprising Mahbubnagar district in Hyderabad State, Cuddappa, Kurnool and other districts round about them in the Madras Presidency. The mother tongue of the community is Telugu. The Jyandra and Kurhishetty castes had migrated from Kanarese-speaking parts of the Nizam's Dominions, like Raichur, Gulbarga and a part of Mahbubnagar district, and other districts in the Bombay and Madras Presidencies adjoining them. The Momins are probably local converts of the Koshti or Sali class. Their proselytization was said to have taken place in the fourteenth century at the hands of an Arabic preacher, Pir Syed Hussein Gaisudaraz, or Khav Bunda Nawaz, who died in 1408 (825 H) at Gulbarga. Sholapur Momins called themselves the disciples of the Pirjada, the descendants of the saint, and paid them yearly tribute.³ Besides these, a certain number of families had migrated to Sholapur from adjoining districts in Hyderabad State.

SECTION II—SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC CONDITIONS OF PADMASALIS

IN ORDER to get some idea about the social and economic conditions of the weaver communities in Sholapur, I conducted a survey of some selected families. For facilitating the selection, a thorough enumeration of all the families of the communities concerned was carried out and a list of names prepared. From this

³ "Sholapur District Gazetteer," p. 208.

list, the first name was taken as the initial number and every sixteenth name was selected, by mere counting, as a sample for the survey. In case of *karkhandars*, however, no new selection was made. All the *karkhandars* whose questionnaires were filled in for the survey of the handloom industry, were selected for this survey also. In all, 541 families were selected from the Padmasali community for the detailed enquiry. Out of them, 438 or 80 per cent were from the working class population, and the remaining 103 or 29 per cent from the *karkhandars*. In both cases, the percentage of the families in the sample to the total number worked out at about 7. Table No. 36 shows how the sample was distributed among the different wards of the city.

TABLE NO. 36. DISTRIBUTION OF SAMPLE FAMILIES ACCORDING TO WARDS AND OCCUPATIONS

Petha	Working Class Families		Karkhandars	Total
	Hand Loom Weaving	Mill and Others		
Begam	2	4	—	6
Ganesh	14	—	4	18
Guruwar	11	—	6	17
Jodbhavi	41	7	16	64
E. Mangalwar	2	—	3	5
Murarji	—	42	—	42
Pachha	89	9	18	116
Raviwar	70	10	19	99
Sakhar	95	17	22	134
Shaniwar	13	9	13	35
Somwar	3	—	2	5
Total	340	98	103	541

In regard to other communities, no uniform standard was applied while selecting the sample-units, because of their varying numbers and relative importance. Random samples were, therefore, selected from the weaving communities other than Padmasali. The numbers of families sampled out from each community are given below:

	Selected	Census
Swakul and Sukh Sali	5	238
Togata	11	189
Kurhinshetty	11	179
Jyandra	11	290
Khetri	7	231
Momins	10	395
Others	5	387
	60	1,909

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Thus, 601 families were selected for the survey, quite independently of any local considerations. But while conducting the actual enquiry, it was found that in about a dozen cases the selected family had shifted elsewhere or gone to its native place or was reluctant to part with any useful information. In all such cases, names registered earlier in the list were substituted.

Generally, two difficulties were encountered in filling out the questionnaire. The first was regarding the ages of persons. In almost all cases they were not known to the head of the family. They had, therefore, to be recorded after ascertaining them in terms of some notable event in the past life of the family such as epidemics, communal riots in the city and so on. The ages given in the questionnaire were thus mere estimates. The other difficulty related to the income of a family. Information regarding one month's income could easily be obtained. From this figure the annual income was estimated and was verified whenever necessary. The estimated annual income fitted into our broad income-groups as appropriately as if it was the exact figure, and served the purpose of ascertaining the proportion between poverty and well being. As most of the wage-earning weavers had no source of income other than wages, our difficulty was not great.

It may be well to consider at the outset the size of the 601 families under survey. Table No. 37 shows their classification according to the number of members in each.

TABLE NO. 37. FAMILIES IN THE SAMPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF MEMBERS

Family	Padmasalis				Swakul Sali	Jyandra	Kurinabetty	Togata	Khetri	Others	Momin	Total
	Weavers	Deserters	Karkhandai	Total								
1 Member	75	2	2	79	2	—	1	2	—	—	—	84
2 Members	62	15	5	80	—	2	1	1	1	—	1	89
3 "	49	9	15	73	1	—	4	—	1	—	1	85
4 "	59	19	9	87	1	—	1	2	1	—	—	93
5 "	37	18	12	67	—	—	—	2	3	—	1	73
6 "	32	8	10	50	—	4	1	1	—	—	2	58
7 "	9	11	14	34	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	37
8 "	11	6	5	22	1	—	2	—	—	—	1	26
9 "	3	4	—	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	13
10 "	1	4	9	14	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	14
11 to 15 "	2	3	13	18	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	24
16 to 20 "	—	1	3	4	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	5
Total	340	98	103	541	5	11	11	11	7	5	10	601
Population	1,173	527	721	2,421	17	80	55	46	38	16	59	2,732
Average size of a family	3.45	5.38	7.00	4.46	3.40	7.27	5.00	4.18	5.43	3.20	5.90	4.55

The total average size for the whole of the Padmasali community came to 4.47, which was lower than the average for all the weaver communities under survey, by 0.08. The difference between these two averages was due to the fact that nearly 15 per cent of the Padmasali families were single member families. In the Padmasali community itself, the averages for the three classes differed widely. The average for the weavers alone was less than the total average by 1.02. Over 53 per cent or 186 of the families were below the average for the group, and over 71 per cent below the total average. The average size of deserters' families was about 5.38, which was higher by 1.93 and 1.9 than the averages for the weavers and the total respectively. About 25 per cent of the families were below the average for weavers and 43 per cent below the total average. It means that 58 per cent of the families of deserters were composed of more than 4.47 members each. The corresponding figure of weavers was only 28 per cent. In the case of the *karkhandars*' class again, the average was the highest of all, viz., 7.00. It was higher than the total average by 2.53 per cent and than those for weavers and deserters by 3.55 and 1.62 per cent respectively. It will thus be seen that an average weaver family was the smallest while that of a *karkhandar* the largest, a deserters' family coming in between. Nearly 70 per cent of *karkhandars*' families were above the total average. Before we mention the reasons for the variations, one point needs some clarification. The classes into which the Padmasali community is here divided were merely economic and did not connote biological or other differences. The variation in the size of families in the three classes was due to the composition of families comprising them. About 22 per cent of weavers had their families, wholly or partly, at their native places. Their children were brought to Sholapur when they attained working age. As against this, the entire family of deserters and *karkhandars* stayed at Sholapur. This difference should not be overlooked while going through these pages. The other reason was disclosed by correlating the size with the income of the family. This showed that the average size of the family increased progressively with their income. With the increase in income the number of members in an average family appeared to increase and the family became more and more composite. The same was true in case of other weaver communities in Sholapur.

Weaver caste families in Sholapur especially of the Padmasalis, were not uniformly constituted. Some were unitary, and others composite,⁴ barring, of course, all uni-member families. A unitary family was supposed to be constituted of those members only, the maintenance of whom developed as a legal liability upon the head

⁴ These words are used to connote the same meaning as a natural family and a joint household, used in reports on working class families' budgets published by the Department of Labour, Bombay.

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of a family. Thus a Hindu man was legally bound to maintain his father and mother (but not the step-mother), unmarried daughters and infant sons. But in the case of sons, a man might be held morally responsible for maintaining them till they were capable of earning their own livelihood. Taking into consideration the normal practice among the communities under survey, we included all male children below the age of fourteen in unitary families. All non-unitary families were considered as composite. Composite families were constituted in many different ways. Table No. 38 shows the constitution of 601 weaver-caste families in Sholapur.

TABLE NO. 38. FAMILIES IN THE SAMPLE CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO FAMILY TYPE

	Padmasalis				Swakul sali	Togata	Karinbhety	Jyandra	Khetri	Others	Mominis	Total
	Weavers	Deserters	Karkhandars	Total								
I One-Member families	75	2	2	79	2	2	1	—	—	—	—	84
II Multi-Member families												
(a) Unitary												
(i) Man and a woman	41	8	2	51	—	—	1	2	1	1	1	57
(ii) Man, woman, and children	100	28	26	154	1	1	3	1	1	—	2	163
(iii) Man, woman, children, or parents	23	16	9	50	1	2	2	1	1	2	1	60
Total	166	52	37	255	2	3	6	4	3	3	4	280
(b) Composite												
(i) Man and woman with sons above 14 years of age	32	18	32	82	—	2	1	2	3	—	2	92
(ii) Brothers only	44	2	9	55	—	1	1	2	—	1	2	62
(iii) Brothers with parents	22	14	16	52	—	1	2	1	—	—	2	58
(iv) Others	1	10	7	18	1	2	—	2	1	1	—	25
Total	99	44	64	207	1	6	4	7	4	2	6	237
Total of a and b	265	96	101	462	3	9	10	11	7	5	10	517
Grand Total (I & II)	340	98	103	541	5	11	11	11	7	5	10	601

It will be seen from this table that over 22 per cent of Padmasali weaver families were composed of only one member. The corresponding figures for deserters and *karkhandars* were 2 per cent each. The higher percentage in case of weavers was due partially to their economic condition. The migratory character of the community, the uncertain character of employment in Sholapur and such other factors were also responsible for the same. The other fact that calls for our attention is that over 64 per cent

of *karkhandars'* families were composite. The corresponding percentages for deserters and weavers were 44 and 29 respectively. On breaking the "composite" head into its sub-groups, it was found that in the case of weavers, only one family was included in "others," while 10 and 7 families of deserters and *karkhandars* respectively fell under the same head. The analysis of both the latter figures presented a number of different interesting combinations. In the case of deserters, the following persons were found combined with the primary, unitary or composite families, or forming separate families themselves: married or widowed daughters 1; one or more sisters in similar condition 3; sons-in-law 2; two widows of the same man 1; mother-in-law 1; foster relatives 1; deceased husband's brother 1; brother's wife (husband living or widowed) 2. The analysis of 7 *karkhandars'* families was as follows: sons-in-law 2; mothers-in-law 2; brother's wife 2 and uncle 1. The existence of such combinations could only be explained in terms of the economic and social conditions of the families concerned.

The third fact that stands out clearly and prominently is that the proportion of joint families, in the sense of Hindu law, was not at any rate great amongst the Padmasalis in Sholapur. It was the highest, *viz.*, 25 in the case of *karkhandars*; weavers and deserters following with 19 and 16 per cent respectively. Stated broadly, to have more members in the family was an asset in the sense of additional hands to assist, in the case of *karkhandars*, and so over 64 per cent of their families were composite. In contrast to this, 52 and 45 per cent of deserters' and weavers' families were composite.

Before proceeding further with the analysis of the weaver-caste families under survey, we wish to enquire into the composition of the population covered, since it raises a number of socio-economic problems. For instance, how many are young and how many are elderly in the population? These are the two groups most likely to be dependent upon their relatives for support. Again, how many children are there requiring to be educated and how many young people making their entry into industry?

In order to answer broadly these and such other questions, it will be convenient to divide the population into age groups. But to render the results comparable with those of the census, we have followed the age-groups as in the Census Reports. The classification by age of the weaver population covered by our enquiry, is presented in Table No. 39.

In order to render the results comparable *inter se*, and with those for Sholapur city as a whole, the total population in each class of Padmasalis has been reduced to 1,000 as a common denominator in Table No. 40, and corresponding figures for the

TABLE NO. 39. MEMBERS OF SAMPLE FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO AGE

Age	Hindus				Muslims							Total
	Padmasali				Swakulali	Togala	Kurbhishetty	Jyandra	Khetri	Others	Mominis	
	Weaver	Deserters	Karkhandars	Total								
0 below 5 yrs.	170	91	112	373	2	7	11	11	2	1	8	415
5 " 10 "	149	69	99	317	4	5	5	11	5	2	7	356
10 " 15 "	120	50	85	255	1	4	3	8	10	—	11	292
15 " 20 "	118	44	73	237	—	5	4	11	5	2	4	268
20 " 30 "	259	89	126	474	3	9	7	11	5	5	10	522
30 " 40 "	180	69	87	336	1	2	10	12	2	1	8	372
40 " 50 "	83	43	55	181	3	5	3	7	3	2	3	207
50 " 60 "	55	28	40	123	3	6	5	5	3	4	3	151
60 yrs. and over	39	44	42	125	1	3	7	4	3	1	5	149
Total	1,173	527	721	2,421	17	46	55	80	38	16	59	2,732

city are set out side by side with those for the Padmasalis. In the case of the other communities, no such reduction was made, because their population covered by our enquiry was very small.

Some figures in these tables call for special mention. For instance, it is possible to see at a glance that deserters had more infants (0 to 5 years) than any other class and even the average for the whole city. But they had the fewest children of the age group of 10 to 15. Among the weavers, on the other hand, the proportion of infants was almost identical with the average for the city. The consideration of the age group of 15 to 20 shows that all the three classes were below the total average, the deserters being the lowest with 83.5 or below the average by 24.5. Similarly in regard to the population of over 60 years of age, the deserters and *karkhandars* stood out in glaring contrast with the averages both for the weavers and the city, the latter two being closely parallel. Among the deserters there were 83.5 persons of over 60 years in a population of 1,000. This figure was higher than the average for the city by 49.5, and by about 25 than that of *karkhandars*. Further, it will be seen that adults between the ages of 21 and 40 were 37.4 of the whole weaver-class population, while the corresponding populations of deserters and *karkhandars* were 29.8 per cent and 29.5 per cent respectively.

The number of females to each 100 males in different age groups for all the three classes of Padmasalis and the corresponding figures for the whole city of Sholapur are set out in Table No. 41.

TABLE NO. 40. AGE COMPOSITION OF PADMASALI POPULATION IN THE SAMPLE COMPARED WITH THE AGE COMPOSITION OF SHOLAPUR CITY POPULATION

Padmasali					Sholapur City as a Whole (1931 Census)
	Weavers	Deserters	Karkhandars	Total	
0 to below 5 years	144.9	172.7	155.3	154.4	143
5 " 10 "	128.0	130.9	137.3	130.9	117
10 " 15 "	102.3	95.0	117.9	105.8	110
Total	375.2	398.6	410.5	391.1	370
15 to below 20 years	99.6	83.5	104.1	95.8	108
20 " 30 "	220.8	168.9	174.8	195.5	211
30 " 40 "	153.5	130.9	120.6	139.7	144
40 " 50 "	70.8	81.7	76.3	74.8	86
Total	544.7	465.0	475.8	505.8	549
50 to below 60 years	46.9	52.9	55.5	50.8	47
60 years and over	33.2	83.5	58.2	51.7	34
Total	80.1	136.4	113.7	102.5	81
Grand Total	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000	1,000

The table shows that, in weavers and deserters, females were in the majority in the age group of 0 to 5. There they exceeded fairly largely, the average for the whole city. The corresponding figure for *karkhandars* lagged far behind that average. In the next age group of 5 to 15 years, the number of females in the population was identical with that for the city in the case of weavers, exceeded the average in the case of *karkhandars*, and fell short by 15 in the case of deserters. Further, there were fewer females per 100 weaver males population in the age-group of 15 to 45 years than those for the whole city. The corresponding figures for the other two classes exceeded the average by 18 and 14 respectively. In the last age group, the proportion of females (44) in the weaver population was far below the average (99). In the case of *karkhandars*, it also lagged behind that for the city but not as much as the weavers. The vertical column in the table considered irrespective of age, showed that nowhere except in the class of deserters (419) was there a preponderance of females over males. In the city there were 370 females for every 400 males. The corresponding figures for weavers and *karkhandars* were 312 and 329 respectively.

TABLE NO. 41. SEX COMPOSITION AND SEX RATIO IN
DIFFERENT AGE GROUPS IN THE PADMASALI
POPULATION IN THE SAMPLE

Age Group	Weavers			Deserters			Karkhandars			Total			No. of Females to 1,000 Males				
	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Males	Females	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Karkhandars	Total	Sholapur
0 to below 5 years	77	93	170	36	54	90	67	45	112	180	192	372	120	150	67	107	100
5 " 15 "	141	128	269	68	53	121	91	93	184	300	274	574	91	78	102	91	91
15 " 45 "	405	231	636	121	118	239	174	163	337	700	512	1,212	57	98	94	73	80
45 years and over	68	30	98	40	37	77	53	35	88	161	102	263	44	35	66	63	99

The marital condition of the Padmasali population covered by our enquiry is presented in Table No. 42.

The table reveals a number of interesting facts. Firstly, in the group of non-adults, i.e., below 15 years of age, more than 95 per cent of males were unmarried, the percentage being highest in weavers (99) and lowest in deserters (95), the *karkhandars* coming in between. While in the case of females the percentage of unmarried went down as low as 70 in the case of weavers, the corresponding figure for deserters, highest amongst the three, was 84, and that for *karkhandars* was slightly above that of weavers. In this group, only one female was recorded as a widow. This was due, perhaps, to the fact that no girls of the age below 15 years remained widows for long, but got themselves married as soon as a suitable partner was forthcoming. Amongst weavers, who were the most conservative and illiterate of all, 30 per cent of girls were married before they attained the age of 15. In case of adults, however, 6 to 7 per cent of males were unmarried and not a single adult female was recorded under that head. Here again, 91 per cent females among weavers were married and the rest widowed. The corresponding figures for deserters and *karkhandars* were 76 per cent and 88 per cent respectively. As regards widows, deserters stood at the top with 24 per cent, *karkhandars*, 12 per cent and weavers, 9 per cent following it. Comparatively, there were fewer widowers than widows in every class. Out of 1,407 married persons, irrespective of sex and age, in the whole of the Padmasali community, weavers accounted for over 50 per cent, *karkhandars* for about 29 per cent and deserters for the rest. As regards sex, it would be seen that 759 males as against 648 females were married. Thus more males than females were married after 14 years of age. Further, out of the total 872 unmarried persons, 527 or 60 per cent were males, and 345 or 40 per cent were females. But they did not belong to the same age-group. Most of the unmarried males were non-adults while no adult female was found unmarried. In case of widowed persons, however, 55 or about 40 per cent were males and the rest females. Out of 1,054 earners among the weavers and deserters, 903 were married, 84 unmarried, 37 were widows and 32 widowers.

Table No. 43 presents the relevant data about literacy by age and sex. Irrespective of age and sex, 1,625 out of 2,032 persons, or about 80 per cent of the population of over 5 years age, were illiterate and only 274 persons or 12 per cent of the population were literate, in the sense that they could write a letter to a friend or a relative and read a reply thereto. In other words, 132 persons per thousand were literate, the corresponding figure for the whole city being 158. The analysis of the above figures, by sex and age, gave still further disappointing results. Only about

TABLE NO. 42. MEMBERS OF SAMPLE FAMILIES
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO CIVIL CONDITION

	Weavers								Deserters							
	Males				Females				Males				Females			
	Married	Unmarried	Widower	Total	Married	Unmarried	Widow	Total	Married	Unmarried	Widower	Total	Married	Unmarried	Widow	Total
0 upto 15 years	2	215	—	217	65	156	—	221	5	99	—	104	17	90	—	107
Percentage	.9	99.1	—	100.0	29.4	70.6	—	100.0	4.8	95.2	—	100.0	15.8	84.2	—	100.0
15 years and over	409	35	30	474	236	—	25	261	140	11	10	161	118	—	37	155
Percentage	86.3	7.4	6.3	100.0	90.4	—	9.6	100.0	87.0	6.8	6.2	100.0	76.1	—	23.9	100.0
Total	411	250	30	691	301	156	25	482	145	110	10	265	135	90	37	262
Percentage	59.48	36.18	4.34	100.0	62.44	32.37	5.19	100.0	54.72	41.51	3.77	100.0	51.53	34.35	14.12	100.0

TABLE NO. 42 (Contd.)

	Karkhandars								Total							
	Males				Females				Males				Females			
	Married	Unmarried	Widower	Total	Married	Unmarried	Widow	Total	Married	Unmarried	Widower	Total	Married	Unmarried	Widow	Total
0 upto 15 years	5	153	—	158	38	99	1	138	12	467	—	479	120	345	1	466
Percentage	3.2	96.8	—	100.0	27.5	71.8	.7	100.0	2.5	97.5	—	100	25.8	74.0	0.2	100
15 years and over	198	14	15	227	174	—	24	198	747	60	55	862	528	—	86	614
Percentage	87.3	6.1	6.6	100.0	87.9	—	12.1	100.0	86.6	7.0	6.4	100	86.0	—	14.0	100
Total	203	167	15	385	212	99	25	336	759	527	55	1,341	648	345	87	1,080
Percentage	52.72	43.38	3.90	100.0	63.10	29.46	7.44	100.0	56.6	39.3	4.1	100	60.0	31.9	8.1	100

NOTE.—Divorced and deserted women are not shown separately, but are included under married women.

0.9 per cent females of the total female population of over 5 years of age was recorded as literate as against 23 per cent for males of the corresponding age. In regard to age, however, it would be seen that only 6 male children were returned as literate and 128 educated. In terms of percentages, about 0.7 per cent children of either sex, and between the ages of 5 and 15 years, were literate and 14 per cent were educands. This means that 85 per cent of the children of school-going age were illiterate. As regards adults, only 8 males were educands. Out of the total population (1,476) of either sex, 268 or about 20 per cent were returned as literate. The above figure included only 8 females. Out of the 274 literate persons 151 were earning.

On comparing the three classes in the Padmasali community, *inter se*, we find that the weavers, as a class, were the most backward amongst the three, both in respect of males and females, and in either age-groups. In case of male adult literates, the group of *karkhandars* stood highest (48 per cent) followed closely by deserters (42 per cent), the corresponding figure for weavers being only 18 per cent. Secondly, in the case of non-adult educands, the weavers' group was the last, with only 15 per cent. Here it was found that 42 per cent non-adult male children of deserters were sent to schools as against 29 of *karkhandars*. The percentage in case of *karkhandars* was low because the children were made to work on preparatory processes at home rather than sent to schools. The difference in the percentages of literacy between the weavers on the one hand and the deserters and *karkhandars* on the other, could partially be explained by the difference in their economic condition.

Coming now to the important problem of earners and dependents, we find that among 541 Padmasali families under enquiry there were 1,483 earners, 918 dependents and 20 unemployed. In addition to those at Sholapur there were 1,144 dependents at native places who partially depended for their maintenance upon their relatives at Sholapur.⁵ Table No. 44 shows the distribution of earners, dependents, and unemployed in the three classes of Padmasalis.

In the case of the *karkhandars* there were about 62 per cent earners, and this percentage was the highest of all. However, as almost all of them worked for themselves and consequently were not paid any remuneration, we need not discuss their case at length. As regards the other two classes, no relation can be established between earners and dependents without dealing with the

⁵ Our figures show that nearly Rs. 8,500 were being remitted to them from Sholapur in a single year. Thus the average remittance per head works out at Rs. 7-8-9 per year. Out of 228 families at native places, 150 received remittances from their relatives at Sholapur.

TABLE NO. 43. MEMBERS OF SAMPLE FAMILIES
CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO LITERACY

Age	Weavers								Deserters							
	Males				Females				Males				Females			
	Literate	Illiterate	Educands	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Educands	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Educands	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Educands	Total
0 upto 15 years	3	105	32	140	—	127	1	128	1	23	44	68	—	52	1	53
Percentage	2.2	75	22.0	100.0	—	99.2	.8	100.0	1.5	33.8	64.7	100.0	—	98.1	1.9	100.0
15 years and over	83	391	—	474	1	260	—	261	68	69	4	141	3	155	—	158
Percentage	17.5	82.5	—	100.0	.2	99.8	—	100.0	48.3	48.9	2.8	100.0	1.9	98.1	—	100.0
Total	86	496	32	614	1	387	1	389	69	92	48	209	3	207	1	211
Percentage	14.0	80.8	5.2	100.0	.2	99.6	.2	100.0	33.0	44.0	23.0	100.0	1.4	97.8	.8	100.0

TABLE NO. 43 (Contd.)

	Karkhandara								Total							
	Males				Females				Males				Females			
	Literate	Illiterate	Educands	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Educands	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Educands	Total	Literate	Illiterate	Educands	Total
0 upto 15 years	2	44	45	91	—	91	2	93	6	172	121	299	—	270	4	274
Percentage	2.2	48.4	49.4	100.0	—	97.8	2.2	100.0	2.0	57.5	40.5	100	—	98.5	1.5	100
15 years and over	109	114	4	227	4	194	—	198	260	574	8	842	8	609	—	617
Percentage	48.0	50.2	1.8	100.0	2.2	97.8	—	100.0	30.9	68.2	0.9	100	1.3	98.7	—	100
Total	111	158	49	318	4	285	2	291	266	746	129	1,141	8	879	4	891
Percentage	35.5	49.6	15.9	—	1.4	97.9	.7	100.0	25.3	65.4	11.3	100	0.9	98.7	0.4	100

TABLE NO. 44. MEMBERS OF SAMPLE FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO ECONOMIC STATUS

Classes	Earners	Dependents	Unemployed	Total	Dependents At Native Places
Weavers	801	365	7	1,173	536
Deserters	235	282	12	527	36
Karkhandars	445	275	1	721	—
Total	1,479	922	20	2,421	572

constitution of families. A classification of families by number of earners and dependents is presented in Table No. 45.

The table shows that 43 per cent of weavers' and over 45 per cent of deserters' families had two earners each, while 23 per cent of weavers' families and 17 per cent of deserters' families had only one each. As the number of earners went on increasing, the percentage of families, in the case of deserters and weavers, steadily declined, excepting in the last group. As regards dependents, however, there were 166 or 49 per cent of the total families for weavers which had no dependents at all. The corresponding percentage for deserters was only 14. Roughly 20 per cent, 14 per cent and 18 per cent of deserters' families had 3, 4 and 5 and more dependents respectively. While the corresponding figures for weavers were 9, 4.5 and 1 respectively. The average number of dependents per family came to 1.7 for weavers and 2.8 for deserters. While the average number of earners per family was the same, viz., 2.4 for both the classes.

Since a number of families in both the classes of Padmasalis were composite, it would be of great interest to analyse them by earning groups. Table No. 46 shows this in relation to the number of dependents of all ages.

It shows that in over 14 per cent of deserters' families, as against little over 1 per cent of weavers', there was only one male earner. In over 20 per cent of the weavers' families children were working along with other adult earners, while among deserters the corresponding per centage was only 6. This shows the tendency among the deserters of not sending their children to work. Thirdly, the last column shows that among weavers there were no broken families i.e., families in which the male wage-earner was dead or incapacitated. Even among deserters the proportion of such families was very small.

TABLE NO. 45. CLASSIFICATION OF SAMPLE FAMILIES
OF WEAVERS AND DESERTERS BY NUMBER OF
EARNERS AND NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS

Earnings	No Earners			1 Earner			2 Earners			3 Earners			4 Earners			5 or More			6 and More			Total		
	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total
No. Dependents	—	—	—	75	2	77	59	8	67	15	3	18	9	1	10	8	—	8	—	—	—	166	14	180
1 "	—	—	—	3	5	8	33	5	38	14	1	15	4	2	6	8	2	10	—	—	—	62	15	77
2 "	—	—	—	1	1	2	36	13	49	13	4	17	7	—	7	4	1	5	—	—	—	61	19	80
3 "	—	—	—	—	4	4	13	9	22	11	4	15	1	2	3	6	1	7	—	—	—	31	20	51
4 "	—	—	—	—	3	3	8	1	9	5	5	10	1	2	3	1	2	3	—	—	—	15	13	28
5 or more "	—	—	—	—	2	2	2	9	11	1	1	2	—	1	1	2	4	6	—	—	—	5	17	22
Total	—	—	—	79	17	96	151	45	196	59	18	77	22	8	30	29	10	39	—	—	—	340	98	438

TABLE NO. 46. SAMPLE FAMILIES OF WEAVERS AND DESERTERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO EARNER STATUS AND NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS

No. Depends	Man Living Alone and Working			Man Only Working			Two or More Adult Males			One Man and Children			Husband and Wife			Husband Wife and Children			One or More Men and Women			One or More Men and Women and Children			Widows or Other Women			Total		
	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total
No. Depends	—	—	—	75	2	77	19	—	19	10	—	10	33	7	40	5	—	5	14	4	18	10	—	10	—	1	1	166	14	180
1 "	—	—	—	5	4	7	2	—	2	1	—	1	32	5	37	9	—	9	7	2	9	8	5	11	—	1	1	62	15	77
2 "	—	—	—	1	1	2	—	3	3	—	—	—	35	13	48	6	1	7	10	1	11	9	1	10	—	—	—	61	20	81
3 "	—	—	—	—	4	4	—	3	3	—	—	—	15	8	21	3	—	3	9	5	14	5	—	5	—	—	—	30	20	50
4 and More	—	—	—	—	5	5	—	2	2	—	—	—	9	6	15	2	—	2	9	15	24	1	1	2	—	—	—	21	29	50
Total	—	—	—	79	16	95	21	8	29	11	—	11	122	39	161	25	1	26	49	27	76	33	5	38	—	2	2	340	98	438

We have seen in the above table that in 75 families children were found working. How many children were earning along with others, can be gauged from Table No. 47.

TABLE NO. 47. FAMILIES OF WEAVERS AND DESERTERS WITH CHILD EARNERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE TOTAL NUMBER OF DEPENDENTS

	One Child Earning With Others			Two Children Earning With Others			Three Children Earning With Others			Total		
	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total	Weavers	Deserters	Total
No. Dependents	18	—	18	6	—	6	1	—	1	25	—	25
1 "	13	2	15	4	1	5	1	—	1	18	3	21
2 "	14	2	16	1	—	1	—	—	—	15	2	17
3 "	6	1	7	2	—	2	—	—	—	8	—	8
4 or More "	3	1	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	3	1	4
Total	54	5	59	13	1	14	2	—	2	69	6	75

In 72 per cent of cases of weavers only one child was earning. In regard to deserters, however, over 83 per cent of families had only one child earning, and there was not a single case in which 3 or more children were found earning along with others.

The distribution of the Padmasali population under survey by age and sex, distinguishing earners from non-earners, is set out in Table No. 48.

The table shows that in the case of earners of either class, the concentration seemed as usual to lie in the age-group of 15 to 55 years. Further, males among deserters and females among weavers were found working in large numbers after the age of 55. In regard to children, there seemed to be a vast contrast between the two classes, for 47 male and 41 female children of the weavers' class were earning, in contrast to 2 and 3 respectively among deserters. As regards non-earners, it might generally be said that weavers had more dependents (351) of either sex in the lowest age-group than in the highest (14), while deserters had a comparatively larger number of dependents in the highest age-group. The other fact that needs special mention is that the number of dependent males and females capable of earning in the case of weavers was very small as compared with that of deserters.

TABLE NO. 48. MEMBERS OF SAMPLE FAMILIES OF
WEAVERS AND DESERTERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO
AGE, SEX, AND ECONOMIC STATUS

Age	Sex	Weavers				Deserters				Total			
		Earners	Non-earners	Unemployed	Total	Earners	Non-earners	Unemployed	Total	Earners	Non-earners	Unemployed	Total
0 to 10	Male	9	153	—	162	—	78	—	78	9	231	—	240
	Female	1	156	—	157	—	82	—	82	1	238	—	239
	Total	10	309	—	319	—	160	—	160	10	469	—	479
10 to 15	Male	38	18	—	56	2	24	—	26	40	42	—	82
	Female	40	24	—	64	5	20	—	25	45	44	—	89
	Total	78	42	—	120	7	44	—	51	85	86	—	171
Group 0 to 15	Male	47	171	—	218	2	102	—	104	49	273	—	322
	Female	41	180	—	221	5	102	—	107	46	282	—	328
	Total	88	351	—	439	7	204	—	211	95	555	—	650
15 to 55	Male	447	1	5	453	117	11	8	136	564	12	13	589
	Female	244	1	2	247	91	37	2	130	335	38	4	377
	Total	691	2	7	700	208	48	10	266	899	50	17	966
55 and Over	Male	14	6	—	20	12	11	2	25	26	17	2	45
	Female	8	6	—	14	6	19	—	25	14	25	—	39
	Total	22	12	—	34	18	30	2	50	40	42	2	84
Group 15 to 55 and Over	Male	461	7	5	473	129	22	10	161	590	29	15	634
	Female	252	7	2	261	97	56	2	155	349	63	4	416
	Total	713	14	7	734	226	78	12	316	939	92	19	1,050
Grand Total	Male	508	178	5	691	131	124	10	265	639	302	15	956
	Female	293	187	2	482	102	158	2	262	395	345	4	744
Total		801	365	7	1,173	233	282	12	527	1,034	647	19	1,700

TABLE NO. 49. EARNERS IN SAMPLE FAMILIES OF
WEAVERS AND DESERTERS CLASSIFIED ACCORDING
TO OCCUPATIONS AND WARDS

Ward	Type of Family	Handloom Industry									Mill Workers				Other Occupations				Total	Unemployed
		Weavers	Sixets	Winder	Unwinder	Warper	Joiner and Twister	Preparation Weaving	Apprentice	Total	Weaving	Winding	Other	Total	Bidi	Service, etc.	Other	Total		
Begam	Weaver	5	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	8	—
	Deserter	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	1	2	1	—	—	3	2	—	5	10	1
Ganesh	Weaver	20	—	7	5	—	—	—	—	33	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	2	36	—
	Deserter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Guruwar	Weaver	16	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	20	1	2	—	—	3	1	—	1	24	—
	Deserter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Jodbhavi	Weaver	57	—	21	10	1	—	—	—	100	1	—	—	—	1	—	—	1	102	1
	Deserter	—	3	—	1	—	—	—	—	4	3	2	—	—	1	—	1	2	11	2
Mangalwar	Weaver	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2	—
East	Deserter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Morarji	Weaver	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserter	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
Pachha	Weaver	105	3	38	20	2	—	—	—	175	50	4	2	—	56	20	1	22	79	6
	Deserter	1	4	—	6	1	—	—	—	12	8	1	—	—	3	—	—	1	178	—
Raviwar	Weaver	91	—	31	19	3	—	—	—	158	—	2	—	—	2	—	—	1	161	3
	Deserter	2	6	—	4	2	—	—	—	15	10	—	—	—	4	—	—	5	32	1
Sakhar	Weaver	129	—	60	24	—	—	—	—	231	—	2	—	—	7	—	—	4	242	—
	Deserter	1	7	—	12	—	—	—	—	20	11	3	—	—	4	—	—	4	48	—
Shahiwar	Weaver	15	—	6	9	—	—	—	—	33	4	1	—	—	5	—	—	10	38	1
	Deserter	1	1	—	7	—	—	—	—	9	9	5	—	—	3	—	—	4	29	—
Somwar	Weaver	7	—	1	1	1	—	—	—	10	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	10	—
	Deserter	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total	Weaver	447	5	163	90	8	12	1	42	770	7	15	—	22	5	4	—	9	801	7
	Deserter	6	21	—	30	4	—	1	—	62	93	18	10	121	36	8	6	50	233	12
	Total	453	26	163	120	12	12	2	42	832	100	33	10	143	41	12	6	59	1,034	19

It would be seen from Table No. 49 that 23 per cent males and 18 per cent females had deserted their traditional occupation. These deserters first tried to seek employment in the weaving and the winding departments of local mills, that being allied to their hereditary trade, and required very little preliminary training. The occupation of *bidi*-making needed a short period of apprenticeship.

The analysis of deserters showed very little occupational mobility. In almost all cases children took to their parental occupation, unless specially directed otherwise.

Table No. 50 shows that more females than males were working between the ages of 10 to 15 years, the percentages being 11 and 6 respectively, but in the earlier group, more males than females were found employed. The same was the case with the highest age group, *viz.*, 55 years and over.

Certain occupations were exclusively followed by males and others by females. Stated generally, the occupations that demanded a certain amount of strength and stamina were followed by males, while others involving less strength were followed by females. But there were certain exceptions to the above rule. In the case of apprenticeship, however, only one female was employed, and this was an exception. Considering the group of unemployed, which accounted for about 2 per cent of the population under enquiry, 15 males as against 4 females were found without any work.

All the above workers had followed their occupation for different periods of time, as shown in Table No. 50.

Some of the processes mentioned above were so closely related to each other that movement took place, more often than not, from one to the other. The occupations of winding and unwinding were the case in point. Further, for doing certain processes like joining and twisting, no separate staff was employed. The same person was sometimes seen doing more than one type of work. The table shows that 454, or over 50 per cent of the workers employed in the handloom industry, had spent five or more than five years in their respective occupations. The corresponding percentage for the deserters was 53. Again, many more persons had been recruited into the industry during the 6 months preceding our enquiry than at any previous time within 5 years. On breaking the figure, unwinding and warping alone accounted for about 65 per cent of the total. The figure for the same period of apprenticeship exceeded that for the preceding period by 50 per cent. This increase in number was due to the fact that there were no occupations other than handloom weaving which could give employment, though on very low remuneration, to any number of people. They had no other choice but to enter the handloom industry. In re-

TABLE NO. 50. EARNERS IN SAMPLE FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO OCCUPATIONS, AGE, LITERACY, DURATION IN THE OCCUPATION, AND ANNUAL EARNINGS

Occupation	Family Type	No. of Earners	Age Composition										
			Male				Female						
			0-10	10-15	15-55	55 and Over	0-10	10-15	15-55	55 and Over			
(A) Handloom Weaving	Weavers	447	—	7	427	15	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(i) Weaving	Deserters	6	—	—	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ii) Sizing	Weavers	5	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	4	—	—	—
	Deserters	21	—	1	—	—	—	3	—	15	—	2	—
(iii) Winding	Weavers	165	—	—	1	1	—	14	—	148	—	1	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(iv) Unwinding	Weavers	90	—	2	—	—	—	24	—	59	—	5	—
	Deserters	30	—	—	—	1	—	1	—	24	—	4	—
(v) Warping	Weavers	8	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	7	—	1	—
	Deserters	4	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	3	—	—	—
(vi) Joining and Twisting	Weavers	12	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	8	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(vii) Prep. Heads	Weavers	1	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(viii) Apprentice	Weavers	42	8	27	6	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total A	Weavers	770	8	38	437	14	—	1	39	226	—	7	—
	Deserters	62	—	1	6	2	—	—	4	43	—	6	—
(B) Mill Workers	Weavers	7	—	—	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(i) Weaving	Deserters	93	—	—	87	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ii) Winding	Weavers	15	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—
	Deserters	18	—	—	4	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—
(iii) Others	Weavers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	10	—	—	9	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total B	Weavers	22	—	—	8	—	—	—	—	14	—	—	—
	Deserters	121	—	—	100	7	—	—	—	14	—	—	—
(C) Other Occupations	Weavers	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	4	—	—	—
(i) Bidi	Deserters	36	—	—	1	1	—	—	1	34	—	—	—
(ii) Service	Weavers	4	1	—	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	8	—	1	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—
(iii) Remaining	Weavers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	6	—	—	5	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total C	Weavers	9	1	—	2	1	—	—	1	4	—	—	—
	Deserters	50	—	1	11	2	—	—	1	34	—	1	—
Grand Total	Weavers	801	9	38	447	15	—	1	40	244	—	7	—
	Deserters	233	—	2	117	11	—	—	5	91	—	7	—
Unemployed	Weavers	7	—	—	5	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—
	Deserters	12	—	—	8	2	—	—	—	2	—	—	—

TABLE NO. 50 (Contd.)

Educational Status	Family Type	Illiterate	Literate	Duration in the Occupation									
				0-6 Months	7-12 Months	1-2 Years	2-5 Years	5-10 Years	10-20 Years	20 and Over	Not Given		
(A) Handloom Weaving													
(i) Weaving	Weavers	369	78	23	12	24	48	106	127	107	—		
	Deserters	6	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	3	—		
(ii) Sizing	Weavers	5	—	1	1	—	—	1	—	—	1		
	Deserters	21	—	2	2	4	—	—	2	3	—		
(iii) Winding	Weavers	163	—	58	24	15	24	20	9	13	—		
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
(iv) Unwinding	Weavers	90	—	26	8	8	11	13	10	12	—		
	Deserters	30	—	1	2	1	6	5	4	9	—		
(v) Weaving	Weavers	8	—	3	1	—	2	—	1	1	—		
	Deserters	3	1	—	—	—	3	—	—	—	—		
(vi) Joining and Twisting	Weavers	11	—	5	1	3	—	—	—	—	—		
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
(vii) Prep. Heads	Weavers	1	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—		
	Deserters	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
(viii) Apprentice	Weavers	38	4	18	11	4	4	2	—	—	—		
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
Total A	Weavers	687	83	134	58	55	92	143	147	133	8		
	Deserters	61	1	2	4	3	15	10	6	15	7		
(B) Mill Workers													
(i) Weaving	Weavers	7	—	2	—	—	2	1	—	—	—		
	Deserters	51	42	5	5	6	11	9	29	25	—		
(ii) Winding	Weavers	15	—	—	—	—	2	1	—	1	—		
	Deserters	17	1	1	1	2	4	3	6	1	—		
(iii) Others	Weavers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	Deserters	4	6	3	1	—	1	—	3	1	—		
Total B	Weavers	22	—	2	3	—	4	2	7	1	3		
	Deserters	72	49	9	7	8	16	12	38	27	4		
(C) Other Occupations													
(i) Bidi	Weavers	5	—	1	—	1	1	2	—	—	—		
	Deserters	34	2	2	5	7	15	3	3	1	—		
(ii) Service	Weavers	3	—	—	—	2	1	—	—	—	—		
	Deserters	2	6	—	3	—	1	1	1	1	—		
(iii) Remaining	Weavers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—		
	Deserters	3	3	2	—	—	—	3	—	—	—		
Total C	Weavers	8	1	2	—	3	2	2	—	—	—		
	Deserters	39	11	4	8	7	16	7	4	2	2		
Grand Total	Weavers	717	84	138	61	58	98	147	154	134	11		
	Deserters	172	61	15	19	18	47	29	48	44	13		
Unemployed	Weavers	6	1	5	1	1	—	—	—	—	—		
	Deserters	9	3	4	5	3	—	—	—	—	—		

TABLE NO. 50 (Contd.)

Occupation	Family Type	Annual Earnings (Rs.)																
		0-10	11-15	16-25	26-50	51-75	76-100	101-200	201-300	301-500	501 and Over	Not Given	No Pay					
(A) Handloom Weaving																		
(i) Weaving	Weavers	1	1	—	26	83	241	94	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ii) Sizing	Weavers	1	—	2	1	4	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	8	—	5	5	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(iii) Winding	Weavers	33	17	50	61	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(iv) Unwinding	Weavers	61	27	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	22	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(v) Warping	Weavers	1	3	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(vi) Joining and Twisting	Weavers	1	1	7	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(vii) Prep. Heads	Weavers	—	—	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(viii) Apprentice	Weavers	1	11	12	13	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total A	Weavers	99	60	76	105	86	241	96	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
	Deserters	30	3	6	9	10	1	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
(B) Mill Workers																		
(i) Weaving	Weavers	—	—	1	—	1	—	3	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	1	—	—	—	2	7	25	19	37	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ii) Winding	Weavers	—	—	2	—	3	5	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	2	6	8	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(iii) Others	Weavers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	—	5	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
Total B	Weavers	—	—	3	—	4	5	8	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	1	—	—	1	4	13	38	22	37	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	3
(C) Other Occupations																		
(i) Bidi	Weavers	—	—	1	2	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	3	24	5	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
(ii) Service	Weavers	1	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	3	2	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
(iii) Remaining	Weavers	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	—	—	1	2	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Total C	Weavers	1	—	1	3	3	1	—	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	—	—	—	6	26	6	7	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Grand Total	Weavers	100	60	80	108	93	247	104	2	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	5
	Deserters	31	3	6	16	40	20	47	22	39	4	—	—	—	—	—	—	1
Unemployed	Weavers	—	—	1	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
	Deserters	1	—	—	1	2	3	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—

gard to deserters, the figures in the first three columns showed no wide margin. Here the occupation of *bidi*-making revealed interesting facts. Only 20 per cent of workers had been in that occupation 6 years ago. It meant that there had been an increase of about 80 per cent during the period of 5 years. Since *bidi*-making stood on the same level in respect of conditions of work as winding or other allied occupations in the handloom industry, this increase was really significant. In the handloom weaving industry of Poona, it was noticed that many weaver-caste women discarded their hereditary occupation to take up the more remunerative one of *bidi*-making.*

Since workers covered by our enquiry followed no less than 14 different occupations, and as such were paid at different piece or time rates, they received different amounts of wages.

The table establishes the divergence between wages earned by those who were still in the hereditary occupation and those who had discarded it for good. They show that 47 per cent of the total weavers as against 8.4 per cent of deserters, earned annually, on an average, less than Rs. 50. About 12 per cent in the former class earned from Rs. 51 to Rs. 75 every year, as against 18.3 per cent of deserters. The next higher income group, *viz.*, Rs. 76 to 100 included 29.4 per cent, highest of all, for the former class and only 13 per cent for the latter. But as we move downwards to higher income groups, the number in case of weavers tails off abruptly.* For instance, 11.9 per cent of weavers received annually wages of between Rs. 101 to Rs. 200, and only 0.1 per cent incomes exceeded Rs. 200. In contrast, 60.7 per cent of deserters earned every year income exceeding Rs. 100.

Let us now consider each occupation separately. To start with apprentices, no one of them earned more than Rs. 50 per year. These wages were earned mostly by male children of ages below 15 years. At the commencement of apprenticeship, wages paid for full-time work were very low. But as training advanced wages also increased. The period of apprenticeship lasted for varying periods, upto 5 years, but in two cases it was found extended upto between 5 to 10 years!

Weaving could be undertaken by adult males, so the figure in the first column of the table represented wages for full-time work of a year. In the same column, the concentration (53.4) was found in the income group of Rs. 76 to Rs. 100, and then shading off, on both sides, almost in equal degrees.⁶ Similarly.

*"Poona: A Socio-Economic Survey," Part I, Economic, D. R. Gadgil and others. Gokhale Institute of Politics and Economics, Publication No. 12, 1943, p. 122.

⁶As the income group Rs. 100 to 200 was not subdivided it gives a wrong impression about the income of the weavers, which was found to be between Rs. 100 to 150.

the figure 26 (in the income group of Rs. 26 to 50) needed to be interpreted with certain reservations. The figure included beginners who were not yet out of their teens, the middle-aged and persons advanced in age, who, though still giving what service they could, were unable to put the same energy and zest into their work, and also those who had no responsibility of maintaining a home and family.

The processes of sizing, winding, unwinding and warping were generally done by female workers. Amongst them, sizing, being the most irksome of all, was more remunerative than any other. But here, too, the maximum wages received for a year ranged between Rs. 50 and Rs. 75. As for other processes, unwinding was the least remunerative. About 70 per cent of women working on this process earned less than Rs. 10 per year. But it required practically no training and involved very little exertion besides patience. In joining and twisting, mostly children were employed. The work of preparing healds was a skilled type of work. This explained the higher wages of workers engaged in it.

Coming now to occupations other than handloom weaving, we face different facts. Wages earned in the weaving and the winding departments of a mill stand in glaring contrast with those received in the same departments of the handloom industry. In both the industries, the wages were paid at piece-rates. But the rates of wages in the mill were higher than those in the handloom industry. Besides, more work was turned out due to the agency of the machine with the result that higher income was earned even at a lower rate of wages. There were some other reasons for the above difference in wages which we shall presently consider.

Weaving in mills was done by males for full time, as in the handloom industry. But here only 12.0 per cent of workers received as wages less than Rs. 100 a year as against 78.8 per cent in case of handloom weavers. Of the total number of weavers in mills 27.5 per cent earned wages ranging between Rs. 101 and Rs. 200 a year, 20 per cent from Rs. 201 to 300; 39.4 per cent from Rs. 301 to 500 and 1.9 per cent more than Rs. 501 a year.

In the winding department of mills, mostly women were employed as full-time workers. Their earnings were less than those of weavers in mills, but more than those of weavers and winders in the handloom industry. Table No. 50 shows that 76.4 per cent women winders in mills earned more than Rs. 76 a year. Out of them 38.2 per cent received wages ranging between Rs. 101 and Rs. 200, while only 29.9 per cent of hand-weavers could earn that much income. Not only that, but 2.9 per cent of winders could earn from Rs. 201 to Rs. 300, while only 0.2 per cent of weavers could reach that level of wages.

In *bidi*-making also, which was followed mostly by women, higher incomes were earned as compared to those occupations relating to preparatory processes in the handloom industry. In respect of income earned, it compared favourably to a certain extent with hand-weaving.

As regards service and "other occupations owned" we refrain from passing any comments on them, for they stand on quite a different footing from the handloom weaving industry. The figures themselves are eloquent enough.

Turning now to the last column of the unemployed, we find that very small incomes were earned by them. They could earn that much income because they were not out of work for the whole year. On analysing the figures, it was found that 9 persons were out of work only for a period not exceeding 3 months, 6 for a period ranging between 4 months and one year and only 4 persons were unemployed for a period of more than one year. But as the percentage of unemployed was very small, we did not go into any further details. Still, it might be pointed out that 5 out of 19 were formerly working in local textile mills. Out of the remaining 14, who were thrown out of employment from the handloom industry, it might be asserted that most of them were returned as unemployed, because they were incapacitated due to illness or any other cause, or were voluntarily unemployed.

We may now study further the phenomenon of low wages earned by handloom weavers, as compared with their *confreeres* in the textile industry of Sholapur. We have already indicated two important factors affecting it. Another factor to which we wish to draw attention is that handloom weavers did not work for full time, say for 8 hours in a day, nor did they work for all days, excepting holidays, in a year. By this we refer to their absenteeism. This absenteeism was due to several reasons. Dr. K. S. Venkatraman has studied the absenteeism of Sholapur handloom weavers in his Appendix to the "Handloom Weaving Industry of Madras Presidency." For this purpose, he scrutinised the records of certain weaving *karkhandars* in Sholapur. The frequency of absenteeism in each month of workers in *karkhanas* studied by him are given on page 146.

From these figures it was calculated that 132 out of 2,328 working weeks were lost, which represented an average absenteeism of 5.67 per cent. The period from *Jeshtha* to *Ashwin* (June to October roughly) recorded abnormal absenteeism. Dr. Venkatraman then went on to find out the number of weeks lost by each worker and prepared the subjoined table to show the frequency of absence.

Months	No. of Permanent Weavers	No. of Weavers Absent	Percentage of Absenteeism	
Shak Year				
1857	<i>Kartik</i>	51	1	2
	<i>Margashirsha</i>	49	3	6
	<i>Pausha</i>	48	1	2
	<i>Magha</i>	47	2	4
	<i>Falguna</i>	46	3	6
1858	<i>Chaitra</i>	45	1	2.2
	<i>Vaishakh</i>	44	1	2.2
	<i>Jeshtha</i>	45	3	6.6
	<i>Ashadha</i>	45	2	4.4
	<i>Adhik Ashadha</i>	43	3	6.9
	<i>Shrawan</i>	42	3	7.1
	<i>Bhadrapad</i>	41	5	12.2
	<i>Ashwin</i>	41	6	14.6

No. of Weavers	No. of Weeks Lost by Each
16	nil
7	1
4	2
2	4
1	6
1	7
1	8
2	9
10	10 and over

(Loss of working days on account of communal feasts and festivals like Amavasya, Diwali, etc., are not included here.)

According to Dr. Venkatraman, the causes of their absence from work, in order of importance, were as follows: (a) Marriage and other domestic engagements necessitating absence. This cause accounted for about 30 per cent of their total absenteeism. (b) Ill-health of the weaver or a member of his family. The absenteeism due to this reason was generally high in monsoon months. Ten out of the total of 132 weeks lost in the year were calculated to have been lost amongst 10 cases due to persistent illness of weavers or their near relatives. (c) Idleness and wilful neglect of work. The idiosyncrasies of weavers, their easy ways of life and other psychological factors were responsible for this cause of absenteeism. Lastly (d) slack trade and unemployment. Slackness in trade generally commenced with *Jeshtha*, when heavy rains render sizing in streets difficult. Owing to this slackness, the weavers get comparatively little work. Seizing this opportunity, weavers go to their native places.

Besides absenteeism, weavers were by no means conscientious workers as there was no urge behind their work. The system of payment by piece-rates opened a possibility of earning more money. But the weavers never availed themselves of it. In this respect mill-weavers showed a contrast to handloom weavers. The former worked in quite different surroundings from those of the latter. Besides, the proportion of literacy in mill-weavers was higher than in handloom weavers. Of the total of 375, 78 handloom weavers or 20.8 per cent were recorded as literate. Out of them 66 could read and write Telugu, 5 Marathi and 7 both Telugu and Marathi. Against this must be set the figures of literates among mill-weavers. Here 44 out of the total of 58 or 76 per cent of weavers were returned as literate. On breaking this figure it was found that 23 were literate in Telugu, 11 in Marathi, 9 in both and only 1 in Kanarese.

We now go on to discuss the principal factor determining the economic circumstances of the working-class families of Padmasalis, *viz.*, income; and to find out the proportion of families, whose incomes were insufficient for their needs.

Wages, as seen earlier, formed the main source of income. In 90 per cent of weavers' and in 82 per cent of deserters' families, wages were the only source of income. As compared to the earned income the unearned income from other sources was infinitesimal in case of weavers while in the case of deserters it amounted to about 6 per cent. The supplementary sources of income were: (1) House rent; (2) Agriculture; (3) Occupations owned; (4) Profession; (5) Boarders and lodgers, and lastly, (6) Tobacco allowance.

The house rent was an additional source of income to only 17 deserters, amounting annually to an income of Rs. 1,827-12-0. The average annual income for each family from this source amounted to Rs. 106-5-0. The minimum amount of rent received was Rs. 25, while the maximum recorded was Rs. 260. The ownership of a house meant something more than this. Besides fetching a certain amount of income, it saved the family an amount which it would otherwise have had to spend on rent. The proportion of this indirect income could not, however, be ascertained, owing to lack of adequate information regarding the number of rooms or floor space occupied by the family, and the rate of rent per *khan* prevailing in the locality in which the house was situated. In their native places a good many weavers owned houses but no rent accrued to them on their account.

Only two weavers' families and one deserter's family were returned as receiving income from their agricultural lands at their respective native places. The net annual income received from this source approximated to Rs. 210, but income from this source

was quite uncertain. The deserter's family received Rs. 50 while the other two Rs. 80 each from the sale of the agricultural produce from their lands.

As regards other occupations owned, only one deserter's family owned a grocer's shop which yielded an income of Rs. 500 every year. It formed 31 per cent of the total income of the family concerned. Unlike the incomes from the first two sources, this was an earned income.

Only two weavers' families were deriving income from the practice of professions. The head of one family practised, in his leisure time, as a *vaidya*, and earned, on an average, Rs. 60 per year. This accounted for about 43 per cent of the total income of his family. One of the earners in the other family was acting as a priest of Padmasalis. The income accruing from this source, namely, Rs. 15 a year, formed only 5.5 per cent of its total annual income.

The other source of income was boarders and lodgers admitted by the family. Twenty-five or 7.3 per cent of weavers' families had their income supplemented by this source. Generally speaking, the admitting of one boarder added, on an average, Rs. 4-8-0 to Rs. 5 per month or from Rs. 54 to Rs. 60 per year to the income of the family. But in the majority of cases only one boarder was found to have been admitted. The receipts from this source, however, formed not a small proportion of the total family income of weavers.

Lastly, the income of a weaver's family was supplemented by the tobacco allowance. It was the practice in the handloom industry of Sholapur for the *karkhandars* to supply tobacco free of charge to weavers for their pipe. Instead of giving this very slight indirect increment in wage, which could not be appreciated readily by weavers, some *karkhandars* had introduced the system of paying a tobacco allowance. The allowance was payable only if the weavers had produced at least 4 *sarees* in a week. Thus the system worked as a check against fall in production below the minimum, and also saved for the *karkhandars*, in case weavers failed to reach the minimum fixed, a small amount which they would otherwise have had to spend for supplying tobacco. In all respects, the system compared favourably with the one adopted by the Sholapur Textile Mills, of paying a part of wages in the form of grain.

The allowance for tobacco was first fixed at one anna per week. But many a weaver complained that some *karkhandars* had cut it down to 9 pies. Our returns showed that 125 or about 37 per cent of weavers received the allowance during the year under 1939-40. Thus, about Rs. 375 were received by 125 weavers by

way of allowance in that year. Whether the allowance was a supplementary source of income or not, depended upon the market price of tobacco. But it is reckoned here as a source, because the amount received on that account was available for making the necessary adjustment in the weekly budgets of handloom weavers in Sholapur.

Table No. 51 shows the comparative economic position of weavers' and deserters' families and also their average annual income *per capita*.

TABLE NO. 51. INCOME OF FAMILIES OF WEAVERS AND DESERTERS IN THE SAMPLE

	Source of Income		Total Annual Income Earned and Unearned	Average Annual Income	
	Earned	Unearned		Per Family	Per Capita
	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.	Rs.
Weavers	47,968	2,110	50,078	147.3	42.69
Deserters	35,961	2,377	38,338	391.2	72.75
Total	83,929	4,487	88,416	201.9	52.01

It will be seen from the above table that the average monthly income of a weaver's family came to about Rs. 12-4-0 and the *per capita* income for the same period approximated to Rs. 3-8-0. The corresponding figures for deserters were Rs. 32-9-0 and Rs. 14-10-8 respectively.⁷ The *per capita* monthly income of deserters was about 69 per cent greater than that of weavers.

In all the families of weavers, and in the large majority of deserters, wages of all the members were pooled together, along with any other available income. Table No. 52 shows the frequency distribution both for weavers' and deserters' families, according to different grades of income groups.

In the income group of Rs. 100 to 125, 100 or 29.4 per cent of families were found. Of weaver-class families, 208 or 68 per cent had an income from Rs. 100 to 200, about 11 per cent from Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 and only 5 per cent more than Rs. 300. The table further

⁷ It would be of some interest here to recall corresponding figures for certain untouchable classes of Maharashtra, surveyed by Dr. M. G. Bhagat. He has pointed out that the total average monthly income for 5 communities (namely, Mahar, Chambhar, Mang, Dhar and Bhangi) was Rs. 13.5, while it ranged between 11.1 and 28.2 amongst the communities themselves. Similarly, their *per capita* monthly income varied between 1.2 and 5.2, with the total average of 2.0. Thus it would be clear that Puchhalali weavers, as a class, were in a better situation than the untouchable classes of Maharashtra. "Untouchables of Maharashtra," Reprint from the Journal of the University of Bombay, Vol. 1, Part I, July 1935, p. 15.

TABLE NO. 52. DISTRIBUTION OF FAMILIES OF
WEAVERS AND DESERTERS BY NUMBER OF EARNERS
AND INCOME GROUPS

Income Groups \$a	Number of Families With the Following No. of Earners											
	One	Two	Three	Four	Five and More	Total	One	Two	Three	Four	Five and More	Total
	Weavers						Deserters					
50 to 75	9	5	4	1	1	14	2	1	1	1	1	2
75 to 100	4	3	2	1	1	6	1	2	1	1	1	3
100 to 125	2	2	2	1	1	10	1	2	1	1	1	3
125 to 150	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	3
150 to 200	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	3
200 to 300	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	3
300 to 400	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	3
400 to 500	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	3
501 and Over	1	1	1	1	1	5	1	1	1	1	1	3
Total	79	151	59	22	29	340	17	45	18	8	9	97

reveals that 203 or about 55 per cent of families were below the average for the class Rs. 147.2, and about 84 per cent below the total average for Padmasalis, viz., Rs. 201.8. As regards deserters, 78 per cent of the families had an annual income of Rs. 200. The corresponding percentage for weavers was only 16. Nearly 83 per cent of deserters' families were above the average for weavers and 40 per cent above that for deserters, while the corresponding figures for weavers were about 34 per cent and 1.7 per cent respectively.

The table shows that the family income increases with the increase in the number of earners. But, when one recalls the rates of wages at which handloom workers were paid, their low efficiency, etc., one wonders as to how the aggregate income of so many families exceeded Rs. 200. On analysing some of them, it was found that in 23 families the income from the handloom industry was supplemented by receipts from other more remunerative occupations. In all, 27 persons were employed in occupations other than handloom weaving. Sixteen persons, 11 females and 9 males, were employed in local textile mills, 4 females in *bidi*-making, 2 males in private service, and one male worked as a coolie.

The actual amounts of incomes, taken by themselves, do not give any idea of their adequacy. For that depends on the relation between the income and the number and requirements of the people who had to live on it. It was necessary to find the proportion of families whose incomes were insufficient for their needs and who might be described as living in poverty.

The term poverty can not be defined absolutely since the meaning attached to it varied from place to place and from time to time. For our purpose, we adopted the definition adopted for the Social Survey of Merseyside. Poverty was defined there in the following words: "A family is deemed to be in poverty if the joint income of the members, supposing it were all available and wisely spent, would not suffice to purchase for them the necessaries of life, taking into account the age and sex constitution of the family."⁸

To ascertain the extent of poverty resulting from inadequate income, it was first necessary to fix a minimum standard of living and afterwards to find out the amount of income required to reach that standard. If the income failed to reach that level, the family was in poverty. There were two approaches to this problem. One was "by way of norms elaborated by physiologists, hygienists, housing specialists and others." The other followed "the method of setting up standard budgets for population groups at different levels of income."⁹ We followed the first method.

⁸ Vol. I, p. 148.

⁹ "Report of the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee," Bombay, Vol. II, 1940, pp. 60, 61.

The norms elaborated by physiologists, hygienists and others are established in relation to the necessities of life, which in their turn depended upon the accepted standard of living. The standard adopted was bound to be arbitrary and thus varying from country to country, from time to time within the same country, and from class to class at the same time in the same community. So, in order that our standard should bear a reasonable relation to facts, we wish to follow the standard evolved by the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee (Bombay), while discussing the problem of the "living wage standard,"¹⁰ for the labourers of the Presidency. But before we go to apply this standard to handloom workers under survey, it was quite necessary to know how it was elaborated, because it would give us some idea as to how far it was in relation to the economic conditions of handloom weavers in Sholapur.

In respect of the primary needs of a person, food, shelter, clothing, warmth, etc., the Committee set down certain standards below which textile workers in the Presidency should never be forced to live, considering, of course, their present standard of living. In determining the expenditure on food, the Committee followed the universal method of arriving at the minimum food standard adopted for the adult male, based on physiological requirements of health and efficiency. And in view of the general higher cost of living in the Bombay Presidency, they fixed the expenditure on food at Rs. 7-8-0 per month per adult man, including therein the expenditure on "extras."

In respect of housing, the Committee, endorsing the recommendation of the Rent Enquiry Committee, Bombay, held that a floor area of 180 sq. feet was the minimum for a family of four in Bombay, and the standard might be put a little higher in less over-crowded cities of the Presidency. The Committee, after calculating rent at the prevailing rate for the minimum floor area, put it at Rs. 4-8-0 for Sholapur. But since handloom weavers were charged no rent, this item had to be dropped while determining the adequacy or otherwise of their income.¹¹

As regards items of expenditure other than food and rent, the Committee worked out a standard for themselves. In regard to expenditure on clothing, the Committee, while emphasizing the inadequacy of the bedding material and dress, were not in a position to provide any increase. After scrutinizing the expenditure on conventional necessities, barring payments to dependents and expenditure on liquor or toddy, the total expenditure for an average family of 3 adult equivalents, was put down at Rs. 4-13-5 for

¹⁰ Ibid. Vol. II. pp. 70-78.

¹¹ Of late some "karkhandars" have ceased providing free housing to their weavers. The weavers have to make their own arrangements.

Sholapur. Besides these items, the Committee drew pointed attention to the expenditures that were required to be incurred on medical relief, education, etc., and after including all these expenditures, excepting those incurred on food and rent, placed the minimum expenditure between Rs. 15 and Rs. 20 per month.

Putting together the expenditures on all the items, the Committee set up for Sholapur a standard range of between Rs. 42 and Rs. 45 for a family of 3 adult-equivalents. If expenditures on rent and some other sundries were deducted from these figures so as to make the standard applicable to handloom weavers, it would work out at Rs. 12 per adult unit per month or Rs. 144 for the year. According to this, not a single family of handloom weavers in Sholapur attained this standard. Even a large proportion of deserters' families, whose incomes were admittedly higher than those of handloom workers, failed to reach it.

The results look so striking because the standard of living set up by the Committee was not intended for the handloom weavers, who had extremely low conventional standards of living. So an arbitrary standard was necessary to be set up which would have some relation to their standard of life. Before we go on to evolve it, one essential point needs to be made clear that any attempt to lower Dr. Aykroyd's minimum food standard means maintaining the physical efficiency of workers at the present low level. But in order to make our ideal attainable, we intend to relate it to the present economic conditions of weavers.

Dr. Aykroyd, while arriving at the minimum standard, tried to evolve a well-balanced diet. He had included therein not only a certain amount of proteins, carbohydrates, and fats, but had provided for the necessary vitamins and inorganic substances like calcium, phosphorus, iron, iodine, potassium, sodium, etc. But the handloom weavers' diet fell far below this standard and cost them from Rs. 3-12-0 to Rs. 4 per head per month in normal times. The results of such an ill-balanced and non-nourishing diet were the general ill-health, inefficiency, lack of resisting and enduring power, poor physique and stunted growth of the weaver-caste population.

In order to avoid the above results, something of more nutritive value must be provided in their diet. If about 33 per cent extra¹² was allowed on the cost of food mentioned above for making up deficiencies in the diet of animal products and of fresh vegetables, it would be an ideal diet for weavers, in relation, of course, to the low level of their earnings before 1940. The food charges

¹² The figure was worked out in 1940 on the following assumption. If a quarter-seer of milk was allowed to every adult man every day, it would cost about Rs. 1-4-0 for a month at the then ruling rate in Sholapur, namely, 6 seers per rupee. Meat, ghee, or any other animal products and vegetables could be substituted for the calculated quantity of milk.

per adult male would then amount to Rs. 5 to 20. As for clothing, the average expenditure, which used to range between Rs. 3 and Rs. 4 per head before the war, provided neither protection against inclement weather nor an adequate reserve for a change. The bedding provision of weavers was most unsatisfactory. A very large majority use the same *chadar*, or *wakal* or *kambal* both for spreading on the ground and as a cover-sheet. If 50 per cent extra expenditure could be allowed on clothing, the conditions of weavers would be greatly improved. In case of lighting and fuel, we estimated the expenditure per head per month before the war at 3 annas and 4 pies. On miscellaneous items we allowed Rs. 5 per head for the year. This much allowance for a year could not be considered as inadmissible or extravagant.

We thus arrived at the following standard which might be called an irreducible minimum. (Table No. 53.) It provided for a little better life with a probable slight increase in physical efficiency. This might be accepted as a goal to be aimed at and was not far out of reach.

TABLE NO. 53. CLASSIFICATION OF STANDARD ANNUAL EXPENDITURE PER ADULT UNIT

Item	Annual Expenditure Per Adult Unit
1. Food	Rs. 61- 8- 0
2. Clothing and Bedding	" 6- 0- 0
3. Fuel and Lighting	" 2- 8- 0
4. Miscellaneous Like Medicine, Fees, Amusement, Education, etc.	" 5- 0- 0
	Rs. 75- 0- 0

As regards deserters, the standard of life set up by the Committee was in keeping with facts and so required no modifications. Thus, we had two different standards for the two economic classes amongst Padmasalis, one for weavers and the other for deserters. For converting the total number of members in a family into standard consumption units we adopted the following scale:

	Coefficient
Adult male	1.0
Adult female, above 50 years	1.0
Adult female, below 50 years	0.875
Child 4 to 14 years	0.625
Child below 4 years	0.375

With a view to getting an idea as to how much income falls to the share of each, we correlated the number of equivalent adults

with the annual income of the family. Table No. 54 shows the frequency distribution of the annual income per adult-equivalent per year.

TABLE NO. 54. FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO INCOME PER ADULT UNIT

Income Per Adult Equivalent	Weavers	Deserters
Less than Rs. 50	137	11
Rs. 50 to 75	95	27
" 75 to 90	21	14
" 90 to 105	6	11
" 105 to 120	—	13
" 120 to 135	—	6
" 135 to 150	—	7
" 150 to 175	—	3
Rs. 175 and More	—	4
Total	259	96

While compiling the table, families composed of mere adult male members, one or more, were left out, for it was thought that their inclusion would yield biased results. If taken by themselves, they would have been returned in income groups of above Rs. 90. But they were not necessarily single men with a single man's responsibility. In a large majority of cases, they were married men with families at their native places, depending for their support entirely or, to a large extent, on remittances sent by them. Under such circumstances, the income per adult-equivalent, in their case also, would not have materially differed from those married men living at Sholapur with their families.

The table shows that in 89 per cent of the weaver-class families, the income per adult unit was less than Rs. 75, the minimum standard elaborated by us for the handloom weavers. In 137 or 53 per cent of families, the income was barely sufficient to provide the minimum good standard, let alone clothing, warmth, etc. It meant that 53 per cent of families were steeped in dire poverty, and the remaining 36 per cent slightly on a higher level, but definitely below the poverty line. About 11 per cent of families were found above the minimum standard because some of their members, having discarded their traditional occupation, had taken up new ones which were more remunerative. And as such, if they were to be judged by the standard set up by the Textile Labour Enquiry Committee for mill workers, they were below it. It would, therefore, be seen that their well-being was more apparent than real. *As regards deserters who were mostly mill workers, only four families were found above the standard elaborated for them. About 54 per cent of their families were above the standard set up by us for handloom weavers, but below that of the Com-

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mittee. A further 38 per cent of deserters' families were below our standard. Considering the amount of strain which the minding of a machine entails, these families might be considered as underfed and definitely on a starvation level.

Table No. 55 shows the correlation between the number of adult-equivalents in families, and the family incomes.

TABLE NO. 55. FAMILIES CLASSIFIED BY THE NUMBER OF ADULT UNITS AND INCOME GROUPS

Income Groups Rs.	Number of Adult Equivalents													
	Weavers							Deserters						
	1	2	3	4	5	More Than Five	Total	1	2	3	4	5	More Than Five	Total
30 to 75	7	4	3	—	—	—	14	1	1	—	—	—	—	2
75 to 100	40	7	15	2	1	—	65	1	3	—	—	—	—	
100 to 125	25	20	27	20	5	5	100	—	—	1	—	1	—	
125 to 150	3	12	20	12	4	—	51	—	4	1	—	—	—	
150 to 200	—	18	10	11	12	6	57	—	—	2	2	1	—	
200 to 300	—	3	3	9	14	7	36	—	2	4	4	3	2	
300 to 400	—	—	1	—	5	5	11	—	1	9	6	3	4	
400 to 500	—	—	—	1	—	3	4	—	2	2	5	4	10	
More Than Rs. 500	—	—	—	—	—	2	2	—	—	—	—	2	14	
Total	75	64	79	55	41	26	340	2	13	20	19	14	30	98

The table is self-evident and brings out clearly the poverty of Padmasali workers of both the classes.

The poverty of Padmasali workers had been attributed by many observers to their vices. They argued that their poverty was due to the injudicious expenditure of their incomes. This means, in the terminology of Mr. Seebohm Rowntree, that it was not primary but secondary poverty.¹³ In order to find the truth or otherwise of the above argument, we gathered data regarding the habits of the people under enquiry. Our enquiry revealed that earners only had unhealthy or unclean habits, but not all of them. About 61 per cent or 644 persons of both weavers' and deserters' classes were found having one or the other habit. Table No. 56 shows their frequency distribution by their habits.

The table shows that smoking, drinking and eating in restaurants were the widely prevalent habits amongst Padmasali workers. 536 persons were addicted to smoking, 523 indulged in drinking and 233 in hotelling, alone or with one or more of the other habits. Table No. 57 shows the frequency distribution of 644 persons, according to the number of habits indulged in by them.

¹³ For the definitions of both these terms cf. "Poverty, a Study of Town Life," 1901, Chapter IV.

TABLE NO. 56. MEMBERS OF SAMPLE FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THEIR ADDICTIONS

Type of Addictions	No. of Persons Addicted
Tobacco Chewing	25
Smoking	28
Drinking	17
Smoking and Drinking	390
Eating in Restaurant Only	14
Snuff Sniffing	6
Two or More of the Above Habits	164
Total	644

TABLE NO. 57. NUMBER OF PERSONS IN THE SAMPLE FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE NUMBER OF ADDICTIONS

Addictions	No. of Persons
One Addiction Only	90
Two Addictions	450
Three Addictions	88
Four Addictions	16
More Than Four Addictions	—
Total	644

Males were addicted to almost all the habits, but tobacco chewing, drinking and snuff-sniffing only were indulged in by females. Smoking was very rarely found among females. Drinking, unlike other habits, was so much engrained in the socio-religious life of the Padmasalis, that both men and women indulged in it quite freely without the slightest compunction. Visiting a toddy-beeth was one of the greatest recreations to Padmasali weavers. But the rise in prices of toddy and liquor in the wake of the enforcement in Sholapur of certain prohibition-rules reduced the number of visits to toddy booths. The expenditure on habits when compared to the total income of the family was definitely low, but the proportion seemed to rise with the rise in income, as will be seen from Table No. 58 showing frequency distribution of proportions of expenditure on habits.

Leaving aside cases of recklessness, the proportion of expenditure on such habits to the total income of the family never exceeded 10 per cent in 60 per cent of weaver-class families. The proportion was rather high among deserters in higher income groups. If the amount of money spent on habits had been more wisely spent, it would have helped the weavers a little to improve their economic condition. But it would never have enabled them to lift up their heads above poverty. We, therefore, think

that the poverty of Padmasali weavers was "primary," that is to say, due to inadequate incomes and not due to unwise expenditure.

TABLE NO. 58. FAMILIES CLASSIFIED ACCORDING TO THE PROPORTION OF EXPENDITURE ON ADDICTIONS

Proportion Groups of Expenditure on Habits to the Total Income of the Family	Padmasali	
	Weavers	Deserters
Below 5 per cent	40	6
5 to 10 "	81	3
10 to 15 "	122	14
15 to 20 "	42	29
20 to 25 "	28	24
25 to 30 "	10	10
30 to 35 "	4	6
35 to 40 "	4	2
40 to 50 "	1	2
Above 50 "	1	1
Unspecified	3	1
	4	—
Total	340	98

The poverty affected very seriously the health and nutrition not only of the present generation of Padmasalis but also of the rising one. The composition of the diet of Padmasali workers showed glaring deficiencies. It consisted chiefly of coarse par-boiled rice, pulse, soup (*dal*), vegetables and tamarind water. Even though they were non-vegetarian, the proportion of meat and fish in their diet was exceedingly small. Milk, ghee and butter were luxuries unknown to them except on holidays. In their usual diet, "protective" foods were represented only by vegetable proteins furnished by *dal* and by a small quantity of non-leafy vegetables. Green leafy vegetables were consumed to a very small extent, while fruits were totally absent from their usual diet. Besides this, the diet did not provide enough vitamins or accessory food factors. Babies were usually nursed on rice water and children fed on cereal and a few coarse vegetables.

To add to these deficiencies, certain preparations of food, adopted by Padmasali women, greatly impaired whatever nutritive value their diet originally had. Rice, for instance, which is poor in proteins, was so prepared that it became useless as a nutritive food. The water left after boiling rice, was removed at a late stage. The water so removed from the boiling rice was used as a paste in sizing warps of *sarees*. The inadequate and ill-balanced diet of the workers had affected their physique as well as their efficiency.

The other effect of poverty was heavy indebtedness. We could get information regarding indebtedness from almost all the families under enquiry except four—one weaver's and three deserters' families.

TABLE NO. 59. CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES OF
WEAVERS ACCORDING TO TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME AND
AMOUNT OF DEBT

Income Group	Not Given	No Debt	Below Rs. 25	25-50	50-75	75-100	100-125	125-150	150-200	200-300	300-400	400-500	500 and More	Total (Excludes Not Given Cases)
Upto Rs 50	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
" 50 to 75	—	—	4	5	2	—	—	—	—	2	—	—	—	14
" 75 to 100	—	—	10	24	10	7	4	2	—	—	—	—	—	63
" 100 to 125	—	—	23	31	12	11	—	2	—	—	—	—	—	100
" 125 to 150	—	—	7	19	9	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	51
" 150 to 200	—	—	12	11	10	5	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	55
" 200 to 300	—	—	4	5	4	6	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	26
" 300 to 400	—	—	—	—	1	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	11
" 400 to 500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	4
Over Rs 500	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	2
Total	1	12	60	94	48	37	25	20	10	22	5	1	5	339
Percentage	—	3.54	17.70	27.73	14.16	10.91	7.37	5.90	2.95	6.49	1.47	0.29	1.47	100

TABLE NO. 60. CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES OF
DESERTERS ACCORDING TO TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME AND
AMOUNT OF DEBT

Income Group	Not Given	No Debt	Below Rs. 25	25-50	50-75	75-100	100-125	125-150	150-200	200-300	300-400	400-500	500 and More	Total (Excluding Not Given Cases)
Upto Rs. 50	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
" 50 to 75	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
" 75 to 100	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
" 100 to 125	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
" 125 to 150	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
" 150 to 200	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
" 200 to 300	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
" 300 to 400	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
" 400 to 500	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Over Rs. 500	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
Total	3	9	3	4	3	13	6	11	9	16	9	5	7	95
Percentage	—	9.47	3.16	4.21	3.16	13.68	6.32	11.58	9.47	16.84	9.47	5.26	7.37	100

In most cases, the amounts of debt were quoted in Nizam's currency. With a view to obtaining a uniform standard, they were converted into British currency at the exchange rate ruling in 1939 (*viz.*, rupee one of Nizam's currency equals 14 annas and 6 pies of British currency). The data gathered in this connection is presented in a number of separate tables. (Tables No. 59-63.)

Table No. 59 shows that among weavers indebtedness was more marked in families with incomes ranging between Rs. 100 and Rs. 125. Out of the total number of indebted families, 29.4 per cent were accounted for by those comprising the above income range. As incomes rose, the number of families in debt went on decreasing. As regards the amount of debt incurred, there was concentration in the group ranging from Rs. 25 to Rs. 50 which accounted for 27.73 per cent of the total. Again, 66 or about 17.70 per cent of families had a debt of less than Rs. 25. It would thus be seen that about 40 per cent of debts were small, that is, below Rs. 50. Further, as the amount of debt increased, the number of debtors decreased, with two exceptions: first, in case of the debt-group ranging between Rs. 200 and Rs. 300 and second, in case of the last group of over Rs. 500.

Amongst deserters (Table No. 60), the impact of indebtedness appeared to fall on the higher income groups. But here, also, it was heaviest on families with an annual income ranging between Rs. 400 and Rs. 500. The income group of Rs. 300 to Rs. 400 ranked next with 23.5 per cent. The income groups of over Rs. 500 and Rs. 200 to Rs. 300 claimed an equal proportion of debtors. As regards debts incurred by deserters, it might generally be said that they were larger than those of the weavers. About 17 per cent of their families owed debts ranging from Rs. 200 to Rs. 300. Small loans were taken by only 8 per cent families. The same was the percentage in regard to the group of over Rs. 500. The corresponding percentages for weavers were 45 and 1.5 respectively.

In order to get a still clearer idea about the indebtedness of the Padmasali families under enquiry, Table No. 61 was prepared.

The table shows that about 32 per cent of weavers' families owed debts to the extent of 25 to 50 per cent and about 24 per cent families as much as 51 to 100 per cent of their total annual income. In 14.5 per cent cases, the indebtedness exceeded 100 per cent. They included 15 or 4.4 per cent families which had debts double their total annual income. In deserters' class also, less than one-third of the families had debts of between 25 per cent and 50 per cent of their income. But the number of families whose indebtedness exceeded this range was frightfully large in about 50 per cent. Of these 33 per cent owed debts exceeding their total annual income.

TABLE NO. 61. CLASSIFICATION OF FAMILIES ACCORDING TO THE PROPORTION OF THEIR DEBT TO TOTAL ANNUAL INCOME

Proportions	Weavers		Deserters	
	Number of Families	Percentage	Number of Families	Percentage
Less Than 5%	8	2.36	1	1.05
5 to 10 "	10	2.95	1	1.05
10 to 15 "	22	6.49	1	1.05
15 to 20 "	18	5.31	7	7.37
20 to 25 "	32	9.44	5	5.26
25 to 50 "	108	31.86	26	27.37
50 to 75 "	45	13.27	15	15.79
75 to 100 "	37	10.91	8	8.42
100 to 200 "	32	9.44	15	15.79
200% and More	12	3.54	9	9.47
No Debt	15	4.43	7	7.37
	339	100	95	100

The proportion of indebtedness was higher among deserters than among weavers, as can be seen from Table No. 62.

TABLE NO. 62. INDEBTEDNESS OF WEAVERS AND DESERTERS COMPARED

	No. of Families Who Had Given Information	Total Indebtedness	Average Indebtedness Per Family	Average Total Annual Income Per Family
Weavers	339	28,996	85.53	147.3
Deserters	95	22,952	241.60	391.2
Total	434	51,948	119.70	201.9

In the case of both weavers and deserters, the average indebtedness per family was over seven times their average monthly income. Weavers unlike deserters, borrowed small amounts, paid them off, and again borrowed. Table No. 63 gives an analysis of the causes of their indebtedness.

The table shows that nuptial ceremonies accounted for 34.3 per cent of the weavers' total indebtedness, and 38.1 per cent of that of deserters. Padmasali workers were in the habit of spending money on these ceremonies much beyond their means. About 32 per cent or 108 weaver-class families, as against 39 per cent of deserters' had incurred debt on this score.¹⁴ Any single amount

¹⁴ The corresponding percentage in the case of the untouchable classes of Mahasabha was higher than these. M. G. Bhagat, op. cit., pp. 22, 27.

TABLE NO. 63. CLASSIFICATION OF INDEBTEDNESS OF WEAVERS AND DESERTERS ACCORDING TO ITS CAUSES

Causes	Weavers		Deserters	
	Amount Rs.	Per Cent	Amount Rs.	Per Cent Family
Marriage and Nuptial Ceremonies	9,954	34.33	8,749	38.12
Building and Repairs of House	4,921	16.97	2,050	8.93
Old Outstanding Debts	3,349	11.55	2,426	10.57
Sickness and Funerals	559	1.93	865	3.77
Unemployment	40	0.14	200	0.87
Caste-dinners	10	0.03	—	—
Maintenance	3,726	12.85	1,955	8.52
Business	2,310	7.97	481	2.14
Agriculture	167	0.58	—	—
Surety for Others	110	0.38	—	—
Repaying Old Debt	758	2.61	450	1.96
Travelling	862	2.97	100	0.44
Remittances to Native Place	719	2.48	119	0.52
Two or More of the Above Causes	1,511	5.21	5,357	24.21
Total	28,996	100.00	22,952	100.00

borrowed varied from Rs. 20 to a few hundred rupees. The next two important causes of indebtedness in the case of weavers related to building and repairs of houses and maintenance. In regard to the first, the table shows a marked difference between weavers and deserters. The percentage of debt incurred by the latter on this account was smaller than that for weavers. The reason for this was that deserters, due to the nature of their employment, were permanently settling down at Sholapur, and thus giving up the idea of owning a house at their native places. As regards maintenance, it might be pointed out that 100 or 30 per cent of weavers' families, as against 8.9 per cent of deserters' had to incur debts on this account. Many more families had to borrow frequently small amounts for the same purpose, but since the loans were not utilised for maintenance only, they were classified under the last item *viz.*, "two or more of the above causes." If all the amounts spent on maintenance were pooled, the percentage of indebtedness on that account would have been far higher than that shown in the table. The frequent borrowing of small amounts suggested that they were consumption loans. Some of them were owned to grocers from whom weavers purchased their food grains and other things, on credit. An interest was charged on the unpaid amount of the bill. The next important cause of indebtedness was the repayment of old debts. Weavers and deserters presented almost the same percentage. Some of these debts were ancestral and were so old that many weavers hardly knew the amount of debt, the rate of interest, etc. Most of them were incurred at their native

places, and whenever demand for payment was made by the money-lenders from there, the weavers remitted to them small amounts which generally went to pay off the interest only.

Most of the loans advanced either by *karkhandars* or *sawcars* to weavers and deserters were on personal security. The *sawcars* demanded promissory notes and two sureties for large amounts. The rate of interest charged ranged between 18¾ per cent and 37½ per cent. In some extreme cases, it went upto 56¼ per cent. Sometimes the "instalment system" was adopted. In this system, the promissory note was written for a higher amount which included 25 per cent interest, and the amount so specified had to be paid in 10 equal monthly instalments. In all such dealings the debtors had to spend some five to six rupees in the initial stage by way of writing charges of the promissory note, one month's interest in advance, the *khusali* of the *sowcar* and so on.

So far as social and economic results of indebtedness were concerned, dealings with *karkhandars* were extremely harmful, notwithstanding the fact that *karkhandars* frequently advanced small amounts to their weavers free of interest and without demanding the repayment of arrears, the only condition being that the debtor weavers should not give up the employment in their *karkhanas* unless and until the debts due by them (*karkhandars*) were completely paid off. Due to their extremely meagre income, weavers were not in a position to lay by something every month to pay off their debts or pay them off by instalments even. If they desired to get rid of their *karkhandars*, they had to take resort either to new *karkhandars* or *sowcars* for fresh loans, which prospect was none too enviable. Thus the condition reduced considerably the freedom of weavers and tied them down to *karkhandars* almost permanently. Besides, weavers were provided with free quarters on the premises of *kharkhanas* which ensured the repayment of the loan. The whole of the family lived there as a security. If a weaver absconded, all the members of his family were kept as hostages. *Karkhandars*, while paying weekly wages, used to deduct a certain proportion of the debt from them. Sometimes no deductions were made at the request of weavers. Thus debts due by *karkhandars* remained unpaid for months and years together. Not a small number of unscrupulous *karkhandars* exploited this helpless state of the weavers. They cut down unjustifiably the rates of wages for different processes in the industry. Some of them had reduced the tobacco allowance of weavers to 9 pies per week. While others had levied a charge of one anna per week on every family staying on the premises of *karkhanas* for the payment of municipal dues. But owing to their indebtedness to *karkhandars*, weavers had to put up with all these incursions meekly and submissively. Their economic status was no wise better than that of serfs.

Still another effect of the poverty of Padmasali weavers was the deplorable condition of their housing. Weavers were provided with free quarters on the premises of the *karkhana* in which they were employed. In the absence of any special arrangement, they were generally allotted the space-area required for one loom. In one corner of the shed or hall a little space was also given them for cooking purposes. They were required to make room for sleeping at night by winding up the warps of *sarees*. In the old types of buildings, cases of the floor becoming damp even in the hot season were not a few. Light and ventilation were wanting not only in old but also in new buildings. Very few windows were generally constructed either in the walls or in the roof of *karkhanas*, with the result that light sufficient to work inside was not available. If the roof of the building was constructed of corrugated iron sheets—and in a large majority of cases they were—some of the sheets were removed temporarily to let light come in during working hours. Some buildings were constructed mostly of corrugated iron sheets—even their side walls were made of them. In summer, when the temperature of Sholapur rises as high as 112 degrees, F., it is worth imagining how hot and sultry weavers might be feeling inside. The heat was simply unbearable, but they had to work nevertheless, in order to earn their meagre daily wage.

Owing to the lack of windows, the smoke of the *chula* was prevented from going out of the room or work-shed, causing a great nuisance and trouble to weavers working inside. In the absence of adequate air and light, the inside of a *karkhana* presented a very disgusting, filthy and nauseating appearance. The unpleasant smell of the gum-paste which was used for applying to *sarees*, permeated the whole of the inside atmosphere. The lack of any sense of cleanliness on the part of weavers and members of their family made the situation still worse. In such an atmosphere, which was none too pleasant and invigorating, the tick of the fly-shuttle went on monotonously. It was, therefore, no wonder if weavers evinced signs of fatigue and exhaustion after continuous work for an hour or two.

Besides, a large number of *karkhanas*, used also as tenements, had no water-taps. A large number still were without privies. Weavers and their families residing therein had, therefore, to make use of public water-taps and privies which were not always near. Consequently, the inadequacy of the water-supply was severely felt by the weavers. Their women were required to bring water from a distance, which involved great trouble and loss of working-time. Besides, bathrooms had not always been provided in a fairly large number of tenements. To add to these, the drainage arrangements in a good many tenements were far from satis-

factory. The practising of cleaner habits was thus rendered difficult for weavers, even if they had the desire.

The lack of privacy and overcrowding were the other defects in the housing of Padmasali weavers. Since no rooms were allotted to them, they got no privacy. Overcrowding was not a universal state in wards of the city in which Padmasalis lived. The average floor space occupied by a member of a weaver's family worked out at 52.5 sq. ft. in Sakhar Peth. Considering the corresponding figure for mill-workers in Sholapur, which was 36 square feet only, the floorspace occupied by a Padsamali weaver was really satisfactory. But in some tenements in the old peths of the city—and their number was not small—the floor space occupied by a person was less than that given above.

When such are the deplorable conditions of tenements provided by *karkhandars*, one would be tempted to ask as to why the weavers stayed there. The answer was clear—they were given free. If the weavers would think of having better and more hygienic housing, they would be required to pay rent for them, and this they could not afford to do with their meagre incomes. Besides, they were also afraid that by staying outside the premises of their *karkhanas* they would not get advances from *karkhandars* as ungrudgingly and as frequently as when they did live there.

CHAPTER VII

ETHNOLOGY, MYTHOLOGY AND RELIGION OF PADMASALIS

THE weaver-castes engaged in the handloom industry of Sholapur in 1940 were (i) Padmasali, (ii) Togata, (iii) Jyandra, (iv) Kurvinshetty, (v) Devanga Koshti, (vi) Hatkar, (vii) Nilkanthi, (viii) Swakul Sali, (ix) Suk Sali, (x) Khetri and (xi) Lingayat Koshti. "All of them, if their ethnic origins are traced, will appear to have sprung up from one original caste," says Enthoven. According to him, weaving began with the manufacture of coarse blankets from the wool of the sheep tended by shepherds, and was originally a shepherd's occupation. In support of this, he points to the weaving caste known as Hatkar which is a sub-division of the great Dhangar or shepherd caste.¹ But nothing could be said definitely regarding Mr. Enthoven's views for lack of evidence.

Regarding the origin of the name Hatkar, it was stated that "at one time all the Hatkars were Lingayats. Several hundred years ago, a certain Devangad Ayya persuaded some of them to wear the sacred thread instead of Linga and to rub their brows with sandal instead of with cowdung ashes. The obstinacy with which they have stuck to their new religion is generally believed to be the origin of the name of Hatkar."² But this story seems improbable. Other explanations also have been given to show the derivation of the name. One thing remains beyond a shadow of doubt that the Hatkars in Sholapur wore a *linga* and their rank in the scheme of social precedence among Lingayats was below Non-Panchamsali with Ashtavarna rights. Their's was an endogamous group without Ashtavarna rights.³

The designations of various weaving castes, like Bunkar, Joria, Koshti, Sali and others, appear to have been derived from Sanskrit words which are related to the weaving of cloths—either silken or cotton. Thus, the weaver's is the functional or occupational type of caste. Later on, many tribes either because some of their members followed weaving or because some of them intermarried with the members of the weaver caste-in-formation, had contributed their names to sub-castes. This was how many of the occupational castes had come to possess sub-castes bearing tribal names. The Sali, a weaving caste of the Maratha districts, has Abir, Maratha and Chambhar sub-castes, thus announcing their origin from the dif-

¹ Enthoven, "Castes and Tribes of Bombay Presidency," 1920, p. 302.

² *Ibid.*, p. 302.

³ Risley, "People of India," 1908, p. xxxvii in Appendix II.

ferent ethnic and occupational groups.⁴ Many weaving sub-castes were evolved by interbreeding. The Jyandra or Jandrol and Suk-Sali castes in Sholapur, for instance, were looked down upon by their compeer castes for having sprung from impure origin. There was no interdining, much less intermarrying between a Swakul Sali and a Suk Sali and also between a Kurvinshetty and a Jyandra. Religious differences also played no less important a part in the formation of subdivisions which later on divided into castes. The weaver caste, for instance, was split up under the influence of Lingayatism. Lingayat Koshti as distinguished from Maratha (Hindu) Koshti is a case in point. The Padma or Padmasalis had Hindu and Lingayat divisions which were endogamous.⁵ The Jyandra and Kurvinshetty and the Nilkanthi castes in Sholapur had more affinity toward Lingayatism than Hinduism. The latter even wear the *linga*.

It is very difficult to say when these sub-castes arose. But with a view to establish the ancient Brahminical origin of their respective castes or with a view to show that whatever usage prevailed today did not come into existence yesterday, but had been so from the beginning of time, many mystical legends, connected with mythological personages, had been composed and made current. It is stated, for instance, that Devang was created by Shiva to cover the nudity of mankind. The Koshtis say that they were Brahmans, who, for refusing to give the Jain saint, Parasnath, a piece of cloth, were cursed and told they would become weavers and never prosper.⁶ Togatas claim to be sons of Chandeshwari, who threw some rice on the fire, from which sprang a host of warriors, whose descendants they are.⁷ The Kurvinshetty caste traces its origin from 101 Rudras who were brought into existence by the God Shiva with a view to smash Rakshasas. But their holy scriptures, which they worshipped, but which they did not consider as original, mentioned the Mlencha world and the prophet Mahomad.⁸ The considerations of space do not permit us to dwell upon the origin of all the weaver castes in Sholapur in more detail. We shall, therefore, consider the case of the Padmasalis who number thousands in Sholapur.

To account for their origin, Padmasalis tell the following legend: "At the creation of the world, men were naked, and so the God Shiva asked Markandeya Muni, who was sixteen years old, to weave cloth. To enable him to do so, he performed a sacrifice and from the sacred fire arose Bhavana Rishi, the celestial weaver,

⁴ Ghurye, "Caste and Race in India," p. 33.

⁵ Enthoven, op. cit., p. 302.

⁶ Enthoven, op. cit., p. 302.

⁷ E. Thurston, "Castes and Tribes of Southern India," Vol. VII, 1909, p. 170. (For detailed study of Togatas, refer to "Togatulu Virudu," a book written in Telugu.)

⁸ The original scripture, it was told, is at Mysore. The one that was at Sholapur was copied from the original. It is written in Marathi script from the original Kanarese.

bearing a bundle of threads obtained from the lotus which sprang from Vishnu's navel. Bhavana Rishi made cloths and presented them to the Devatas, and offered a cloth to Bhairava also. This he refused to accept as it was the last, and not the first, which is usually rolled up and kept on the loom. Finding it unsuitable for wearing, Bhairava uttered a curse that the clothes made should wear out in six months. Accordingly, Shiva asked Bhavana to procure him a tiger's skin for wearing. Narada came to the assistance of Bhavana, and told him to go to Udayagiri, where Bhadravati, the daughter of Surya, was doing penance to secure Bhavana as her husband. She promised to secure a skin if he would marry her. To this he consented and, in due course, received the tiger's skin. Making the tiger his *vahanam* (vehicle), he proceeded to the abode of Shiva (Kailasam) and on his way thither met a Rakshasa, whom he killed in a fight. In the course of the fight he sweated profusely. From the sweat proceeded Adigadu, Padigadu and Baludu.⁹ When he eventually reached Shiva, the tiger, on being thrown on the sacred ashes, cast its skin, which Shiva appropriated. In consequence of the legend the tiger was being held in reverence by the Padmasalis, who believe that tigers would never molest them."¹⁰

Bhavana married Prasannavati, also the daughter of Surya.¹¹ Prasannavati and Bhadravati bore him 101 sons, who became the anonymous founders or progenitors of 101 sections or *gotras* of the caste. For the benefit of mankind the latter were initiated into their father's trade, which they transmitted to their descendants.

One more legend concerning the origin of Padmasalis, given in the Baramahal records (Sec. III, Inhabitants) is quoted by Mr. E. Thurston. It is as follows: "In former days, the other sects of weavers used annually to present a piece of cloth to a *rishi* or saint, named Markandeyulu. One year they omitted to make their offering at the customary period, which neglect enraged the *rishi*, who performed a *yaga* or sacrifice of fire, and, by the power of *mantras* or prayers, he caused a man to spring up out of the fire of the sacrifice, and called him Padma Saliwarlu, and directed him to weave a piece of cloth for his use. This he did, and presented it to the *rishi*, saying 'Oh! Swami, who is thy servant to worship, and how is he to obtain *moksham* or admittance to the presence of the supreme?' The *rishi* answered 'Pay adoration to me, and thou wilt obtain *moksham*.'"¹²

This legend fails to explain the existence of the so-called 101 *gotras* of the caste.

⁹ E. Thurston, "Castes and Tribes of S. India," 1909, Vol. V, p. 450.

¹⁰ L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, "Mysore Tribes and Castes," 1931, Vol. IV, p. 559.

¹¹ L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, "Mysore Tribes and Castes," 1931, Vol. IV, p. 559. Compare the legend about the origin of Kharias, Vol. I, p. 29.

¹² E. Thurston, "Castes and Tribes," Vol. V, 1909, p. 451.

In a Telugu book, published by a Padmasali,¹³ an attempt has been made to trace the genealogy of the caste from Bhrigu Rishi, with the help of certain Puranas and some literature concerning Padmasalis.¹⁴ The genealogy or "family history" given therein is as follows: Bhrigu Maharishi—Dhata Maharishi—Mrikandu Maharishi—Markandeya Maharishi—Bhavana Rishi—101 Padmasalis. The book had thrown no special light upon the origin of the caste, but its author had tried to trace it from the Vedic period.

Three kinds of classes of mendicants, whom Mr. E. Thurston calls beggars, are attached to the Padmasalis. They are: Sadhana Surulu, Padiga Rajulu or Koonepuli Vandlu and Inaka-mukku Bhatrajus. Concerning the origin of Sadhana Surulu, Buchanan¹⁵ gives the following account: "The whole *shalay* formerly wore the *linga*; but a house having been possessed by a devil, and this sect having been called upon to cast him out, all their prayers were of no avail. At length ten persons, having thrown aside the *linga*, and offered up their supplications to Vishnu, succeeded in expelling the enemy, and ever afterwards followed the worship of this god in which they have been imitated by many of their brethren. The descendants of these ten men are called Sadhana Ashorlu." One more legend was current about the origin of the Sadhana Surulus. One of the (101) sons of Bhavana Rishi who was lame became the progenitor of the class of beggars known as Sadhan Surulus.¹⁶ The Padiga Rajulu were the descendants of three persons who sprang up from the sweat of Bhavana Rishi. They never worked, had dedicated themselves to God, and had lived upon the charity of the industrious section of the castes with whom they had disdained to marry. The kind of mendicants known as Padiga Rajulu or Koonepuli Vandlu often visited Sholapur for keeping up-to-date the pedigree of each Padmasali family. They used to get a specified fee from the caste for their services. Other classes of mendicants were not found in Sholapur.

Besides the division into Lingayat and Hindus, the Padmasali caste was further divided into a number of exogamous divisions. These divisions were denoted by family names, with which were associated the names of some *rishis*. There were 101 of such different families,¹⁷ some bearing names of familiar objects, but it was difficult to find out the significance of these family names. A great number of these exogamous septs bore names partly of

¹³ Guntak Narsayya, "Bhrugwadul Prabhawamu."

¹⁴ Mr. Guntak Narsayya mentions the following literature as available: "Kul-granthas," (i) "Bhavana Rishi Puran," (ii) "Bhavan Rishi Puran Saram," (iii) "Padmasali Vamsh Prakashak Saram," (iv) "Bhrigu-Santati Saram," (v) "Padmasali Vidhi Grantham" (Chap. II). He has also drawn upon "Harikatha" and "Yakshaganamu," p. 53.

¹⁵ "Journey from Madras Through Mysore," Canara and Malabar, 1807, pp. 255-56.

¹⁶ Syed Sirajul Hassan, "Tribes and Castes of Hyderabad Dominion," p. 536.

¹⁷ For a list of the family names, see pp. 266-70, "The Mysore Castes and Tribes."

a totemistic and partly of a territorial character.¹⁸ There were, however, no hypergamous divisions in the caste.¹⁹

Let us now consider the rank of Padmasalis in other Sali castes and also in the scheme of social precedence of Hindus. The name "Sali" is of Sanskrit origin, being a corruption of the Sanskrit word "*Salika*," a weaver, while the title "Padma" seems to be prefixed as a mark of distinction. "The Sholapur Salis are split up into six divisions, Bangad, Maratha, Padma, Sukh, Tikale and Togati," says Mr. Enthoven. As regards their respective social rank, he explains that the Maratha Salis were considered to be the highest in the social scale. They did not eat with the others. The rest ate together but did not intermarry.²⁰ All the subdivisions except Padmasali, referred to by Mr. Enthoven, are either originally from the Maratha country or settled there for a long time and it was, therefore, natural that they looked down upon Padmasalis, coming as they did from a different region, and speaking as they did quite a different tongue. But these conditions of 1901 had changed considerably by 1940. Tikale and Bangad communities were no longer found in the handloom industry of Sholapur. The Maratha Salis—Swakul and Suk in Sholapur—interdined with Padmasalis, but not on ceremonial occasions. The taboo was not so strict in 1940 as it was formerly. Out of the present migrant communities in Sholapur, Hatkar, Devang, Kurvinshetty, Jyandra, Nilkanthi, and Lingayat Koshti castes were Lingayats by religion, and they did not mix freely with other non-Lingayat castes. There was no question of intermarrying. Even the interdining was not freely allowed and practised. In respect of Padmasalis themselves, they were split up by religious and territorial differences. As the caste people had migrated to different parts, they had assumed different names such as Chaunewar in Marathawada, Padmasali, Salewar, etc. Their social customs also varied. But, nevertheless, they had formed no endogamous groups. Formerly, the embracing of Lingayatism by a few Padmasalis, however, made a considerable difference. But in Sholapur there was not only interdining but also intermarrying amongst Hindu Salis and Lingayat Salis in 1940. There seemed to be an exception in the case of Pancham-Salis migrating to Sholapur from Mahbubnagar District in the Nizam's Dominions. They were Lingayat Padmasalis. Hindu Salis interdined with them but did not intermarry and looked down upon them. In Sholapur, there were no such endogamous groups as Padmasalis and Pathu (corrupted into Pad) Salis, both of them tracing their descent from Markandeya, as were found in Mysore State.²¹ Even in the case of Vaishnavite Padmasalis, people from the Andhra country

18 Syed Sirajul Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 537.

19 L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

20 Enthoven, "Castes and Tribes of Bombay Presidency," 1920, Vol. I, p. 303.

21 L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 561.

looked down upon those of Sholapur for not universally wearing the sacred thread, and so they used to show reluctance to dine with the latter.

Among Lingayat Salis or weavers, Panchamsalis belonged to the first class, after Jangam and Banjigas, all of whom formed hypergamous groups. While Padsalis, Kurvinshetty and Padmasalis belonged to the second class, non-Panchamsali group with Ashtavarna rights. Devang, Hatkar and Jada belonged to the third, without Ashtavarna rights.²²

In the Hindu scheme of social precedence, the social standing of Salis was found to differ according to the difference in languages spoken. For instance, in the Bombay Presidency, Salis (Salvis) and Koshtis belonged to the fourth group of the third class of Vaishyas,²³ while in the Telugu region, according to their social status, they were ranked as below the Brahmans. Komati, Golla, Kapu and others, and Salis, Togata and others²⁴ ate cooked food from their hands.²⁵ They claimed to be superior to Nhavi and Dhobis and partook of no kind of food with them.²⁶ They were nevertheless Sudras who habitually employed Brahmans as Purohits and whose touch was supposed to pollute.²⁷ They certainly did not belong to the group called Nava Sayakas or the 9 Sudra Castes.²⁸ In Medak district of Hyderabad State some of them engaged priests from among themselves.²⁹ This tendency was visibly growing of late, not only in other Telugu districts of the Nizam's Dominions but also in Sholapur. The Padmasalis did not eat the leavings of other castes.

As regards the status of a caste in the scheme of social precedence, Mr. Risley has tried to establish a formula with the help of anthropometric measurements. He observes: "If we take a series of castes in Bengal, Bihar, U. P. of Agra and Oudh or Madras and arrange them in the order of the average nasal index so that the caste with the finest nose shall be at the top, and that with the coarsest at the bottom of the list, it will be found that this order substantially corresponds with the accepted order of social precedence."³⁰ But this statement of Risley was not borne out by physical facts so far as the Andhra people, of whom Padmasalis form a part, were concerned. For comparing different caste groups Mr. Risley had made use of averages, without indicating the standard deviation in each case. The latter had, therefore, become mere abstractions. Again the averages given by Mr. E.

²² Risley, "People of India," 1906, pp. xxxvi and xxxvii in App. II.

²³ Ibid, Appendix II, p. xxxv.

²⁴ Ghurye, *op. cit.*, p. 110.

²⁵ Syed Sirajul Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

²⁶ Ibid, p. 342.

²⁷ Risley, *op. cit.*, App. II, p. xxxvii.

²⁸ I. N. Bhattacharya, "Hindu Castes and Sects," 1896, p. 228.

²⁹ Syed Sirajul Hassan, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, p. 537.

³⁰ Risley, *op. cit.*, p. 29.

Thurston were very crude in so far as the absolute measurements seemed to have been recorded in centimetres. The order of castes, however, that might be evolved from the averages, given by Risley³¹ and by E. Thurston,³² did not conform to the order actually existing in the Telugu speaking parts of the Madras Presidency and the Nizam's Dominions.³³ After having scientifically compared anthropometric measurements of Brahmans and the upper section of non-Brahman communities of the Telugu population of Andhra, Dr. H. S. Guha of the Anthropological Survey of India had to arrive at a conclusion quite different from that of Risley. Concerning them he observes, "I have no doubt that they do not differ in any essential character and may strictly be regarded as samples of the same population. The caste division in this case, therefore, lacks racial or biological basis and is to be regarded as a social bifurcation only. Whatever may be the state of things in Northern India, on which Mr. Risley's conclusions were based, there is no doubt that so far at least as the Andhra people are concerned, anthropometry does not lend support to the racial separation of the Brahmans from upper classes of the general population."³⁴ And it may be shown that there was very little difference between a Komati and a Togata, the mean nasal index of the two being 77.8 and 77.5 respectively.³⁵ The significance of this comparison is enhanced when we remember that the average nasal index of the Deshtha Brahman, the highest subcaste in social precedence in the region under consideration, was 75.8 and those of Padmasali, Devang, Suka Sali and Sukun Sali were 73.2, 74.6, 74.8 and 74.8 respectively.³⁶ All these castes, including the Brahmans, fall into the group of the mesorhine (medium noses) with an index of from 70 to 85. As regards the stature, the distribution of stature in India on the whole, seemed to suggest that race differences played a larger part here than they did in Europe. But the indigenous handloom weavers showed the lowest mean stature yet recorded, a fact which was probably due to the unwholesome surroundings in which they lived.³⁷ So the stature could not be held as a reliable indication of the race, so far as the weavers were concerned.

Thus we come to the problem of the ethnical origin of the Padmasalis and other Telugu weaver castes in Sholapur. No ethnographic survey of these communities had ever been taken upto 1940. Mr. E. Thurston had taken anthropometric measurements of some 30 persons belonging to these castes, in the district of Bellary in the Madras Presidency. But as no seriations

31 "Madras Census Report," 1901, p. 396.

32 *Op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. lxviii-lxxiii.

33 *Ante*, p. 172.

34 "Census of India," 1931, Vol. xliii, Nizam's Dominions, p. 280.

35 Risley, *op. cit.*, Appendix IV, pp. cvii.

36 Risley, *op. cit.*, App. IV, p. cxii.

37 *Ibid.*, p. 50.

or absolute measurements concerning them were available for any other region, it was very difficult to draw any conclusion as regards their actual distribution. For more scientific conclusions about these castes, fresh measurements are required to be taken. Basing his statement on the available data, Dr. Ghurye had included Salis into what he called the "Western type."³⁸ The characteristics of this type being medium heads (meso or mesati-cephalic) with a slight tendency towards broad,³⁹ and the nasal index in most communities being below 78. According to Mr. Risley, however, the Padmasali and other Telugu weaver castes belonged to the Dravidian type with an affinity in a more or less degree to the Scytho-Dravidian type. But in the absence of absolute anthropometric measurements of the whole of the communities concerned, it was unsafe to make any assertion regarding the interaction between the peoples of the Dravidian type and those of the Scytho-Dravidian or Western type.

Amongst Padmasalis there were two main groups—one of orthodox Hindus and the other of Lingayats. The Lingayats averred that the whole Sali community formerly wore *linga*, but some of them later on followed the worship of Vishnu. In support of this, they cited the legend of the alleged expulsion of a devil from a house, due to supplications of ten persons to Vishnu, after having thrown away the *linga*.⁴⁰ The men that so separated by following the worship of Vishnu, were, according to them, Padmasalis. The legend about the conversion of Padmasalis to Lingayatism leads one to believe that the Lingayats had separated from the main body.⁴¹ It is said that the ancestor of the Lingayat or Jangam Salis found a Siva Lingam besmeared with *vibhuti* in a pit under his loom and this was interpreted as the God's command to him to become Lingayat.⁴² Lingayat Salis were not known as Padmasalis, but as Samay or Jangam Salis, while the worshippers of Vishnu were called Padmasalis. The Samay and Padma Salis were two distinct communities that never used to intermarry and had separate hereditary chiefs. But conversion from one to the other used to take place freely. In Sholapur there were very few families of Jangam Salis. They followed the tenets of Lingayatism and observed all the ceremonies and forms of worships prescribed by the sect. The *Gurus* of Samay Salis were the

³⁸ Op. cit., p. 121.

³⁹ The cephalic measurements of certain weaving communities in Madras Decan, have been given by Mr. E. Thurston, as below: (See op. cit., Vol. I, pp. lxxviii-lxxviii.)

	Dimensions of Head				Cephalic Index				
	Length		Breadth		Breadth		Breadth		
	Ave.	Max.	Min.	Ave.	Max.	Min.	Ave.	Max.	Min.
Padmasali	178	190	165	141	151	132	78.7	86.2	72.8
Togota	177	190	162	142	148	136	80.0	88.1	73.7
Devanga	180	196	170	145	155	136	80.8	87.1	74.7
Suka Sali	177	188	166	145	150	134	81.1	89.2	76.1

⁴⁰ Ante, p. 170.

⁴¹ L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, op. cit., p. 561.

⁴² Siraj-ul-Hassan, op. cit., p. 537.

Einaru of Pancham Banijigas, and their sacred books were Basava Puran and Shaliyishwar Puran.⁴³

The Padmasali caste contained worshippers of both Siva and Vishnu and they were distinguishable by different marks on their foreheads. The Vaishnavite Padmasalis followed Ramanuja's *Vishishtadvaita Mata* or doctrine of qualified non-duality.⁴⁴ All castes were admitted to Ramanuja's sect with the provision that they respected traditional caste distinctions.⁴⁵ The other distinguishing mark of this system of philosophy was the fusion into one uniform monotheistic creed of the various elements of differing faiths of south and north India.⁴⁶ All this explains why large numbers of Padmasalis accepted this creed in preference to the Saiva Mata. There was another reason for it. The Dasari Community, which ministers to the Padmasalis as priests on religious occasions, had unmistakable leaning towards Vaishnavism and was active in converting to that creed all the castes to which it ministered as priests.⁴⁷ Padmasalis painted the outer wall of their houses with a red powder, called *kava*, and drew on it white streaks of *rangoli* resembling the *tilak* of Ramanujites. The *Guru* of the Padmasalis was Tata Acharya, one of the hereditary chiefs of the Sri Vaishnava Brahmans. He used to live at Doda Balapura and bestow *updes* and *chakrantikam* but was represented at Sholapur by a deputy, a Vaidika Brahman, who attended at births, marriages and burials.⁴⁸ All this clearly showed the influence of Sri Vaishnavism on the Padmasali community as a whole.

Sri Vaishnavite Padmasalis were called Tirumandharis, as they marked their foreheads with a *tiruman*, resembling the letter U or V. The perpendicular red or yellow streak in it, representing Sri or Lakshmi (the consort of Vishnu) bisected the space between the arms painted with the white magnesium or calcareous clay called *tiruman*. The Saivites, however, were called Vibhutidharis, because they besmeared their foreheads with three horizontal lines of *vibhuti*. Some of the Saivite Padmasalis even wore *linga*, like Lingayats, but followed the Markandeya Puran and other rituals prescribed for Vaishnava Padmasalis. The distinction in the sect was no bar to intermarriage. The working class population of the community in Sholapur was not meticulous about the mark or *tilak* on their foreheads showing the system of philosophy they followed. Some Vaishnavite Padmasalis marked only a red or yellow streak on their forehead instead of the *tiruman*. All this was per-

43 For details about the Samay Shalay caste, refer pp. 254, 55. Buchanan's Journey from Madras through Mysore and Malabar, 1807.

44 For detailed exposition of different "matas" and "Sampradayas," refer R. G. Bhandarkar's "Vaishnavism and Saivism."

45 The Vaishnavas of Gujarath, Thoothi, 1935, p. 90.

46 E. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, op. cit., Vol. II, p. 259.

47 Mysore Census Report, 1891, p. 238, quotation taken from "Hindu Castes and Sects," J. N. Bhattacharya, 1896, p. 438.

48 Buchanan, op. cit., p. 256.

haps due to the fact that the masses of the community were quite ignorant about these externals of the philosophical systems and those that had accepted them did not understand their tenets completely. In Andhradesh the externals of either systems were followed with greater strictness. In case of diet also, Sholapur Vaishnav Padmasalis were not strict in observing the restrictions laid down by Ramanuj.

Quite a negligible number of Padmasalis in Sholapur were found wearing a *mala* or necklace and followed the *Varkari* sect. They made pilgrimages to Pandharpur, Alandi, etc. In Telangana and Andhra this sect was unheard of amongst the Padmasalis. In the special caste of the Padmasalis the deity was Markandeya, to whom worship was offered on the full moonday of *Vaishakha*. In Sholapur a special temple was dedicated to him. But no such temples were found dedicated to Markandeya in Telangana. The fact that the Padmasalis considered Markandeya as their caste deity, was interpreted to show their leanings towards Saiva Mata. Because, as the story in Markandeya Puran had it, Markandeya was short-lived, and it was due to his extreme devotion to him that Shiva protected him (Markandeya) from the shackles of death. But in the Madras Presidency Bhavana Rishi was considered as the caste deity, for whom, in some places, special temples were erected. A festival in honour of this deity was celebrated annually, when the god and goddess, represented by two decorated pots placed on the model of a tiger (*vyaghra vahanam*), were offered large quantities of rice and vegetables, which were distributed as *prasad* among the loom-owners, *pujaris*, headmen, fasting celebrants, etc.⁴⁹ In Sholapur no temple was dedicated to Bhavana Rishi, however. In addition to these patron gods, the Padmasalis worshipped Vyankatesh, Narsimh, Rajrajeshwar, Hanuman, Ganesh and others.

Besides these, many goddesses were worshipped by this caste. In the month of *Kartik*, women worshipped Bhadravati, the female progenitor of the caste, to whom a special temple was dedicated in Sholapur, and after whom a ward or peth of the city was named. The worship of the impersonation of the female energy in the form of Mother Earth, prevailing amongst non-Aryan tribes in the cult of the village goddesses, was witnessed among Padmasalis also. The Mother cult constituted the bulk of their religious practices and sentiments. According to this cult, all good and bad luck emanated from the mothers. It was they who, when angry, sent diseases and death. The cult was represented by numerous village goddesses. The goddesses bore a multitude of names and were associated with an equal diversity of attributes. They had become associated with diseases with which they were supposed to afflict mankind. The offerings to these village guardian deities marked

⁴⁹ E. Thurston, op. cit. Vol. IV, p. 449

the two-fold conception of the goddess. In her benevolent form she was the mother of all things, giver of corn, producer of fertility in man and beast. Accordingly, she was presented with offerings of flowers, milk or the fruits of the earth. In her malevolent form she was appeased by blood sacrifice of animals. The theory underlying the practice of sacrifice was the desire to attain communion with the goddess by joining with her in the consumption of the flesh of the victim or the fruit of the earth, offered at her feet.

It was generally recognised that there were seven sisters or goddesses. The names of these sisters varied in different regions. The Padmasalis called them Chaudeshwaramma, Pochamma, Yellamma, Mahishamma, Mariamma, Kaliamma, and Durgamma. They were vaguely regarded as wives of Siva. Out of these, Chaudeshwaramma, a sylvan deity supposed to reside in a margosa tree, was considered as the special goddess of the Sali cult.⁵⁰ It was averred by Devangas that the Padmasalis took away the body of Chaudeshwaramma, leaving them the head.⁵¹ But very little was heard of this goddess amongst the Padmasalis of Sholapur and Telangana. She was the patron goddess of the Togatas. Pochamma, Mahishamma and Mariamma (the goddesses of smallpox, cholera, plague, influenza and other diseases) were much dreaded by the Padmasalis, both in Sholapur and Telangana. If anybody in the family was suffering from smallpox, cholera or any other disease, the goddess of the appropriate disease was approached and prayers offered to ward off the evil spirit concerned. The suffering family had to perform a pacifying ceremony, known as *bonam*. In this ceremony, a woman from the afflicted family carried on her head a pile of earthen pots, in the top most of which a lamp was kept burning (probably representing the goddess) in a ceremonious procession to the temple of the goddess concerned. Free use of branches of the *neem* tree, turmeric, *kumkum*, lemon fruit, incense, etc., used to mark the ceremony. The woman carrying the goddess was supposed to be possessed by her. On reaching the temple, the goddess was worshipped and some kind of sacrifice offered to her. Some offered a large number of kids, with or without a buffalo in addition. The head of the slaughtered animal was placed before the grim deity with an earthen lamp burning above it. The meat was ultimately served to the invited guests, along with the other delicacies consecrated to the goddess. In Sholapur, the goddess Pochamma was worshipped every year in the month of *Ashadh*, while in Telangana the ceremony used to be performed in Magh Sud. 15. The mothers were worshipped on such auspicious occasions as a wedding ("Pochamma-Pandgu"). For this purpose they were installed in the house itself, and an animal sacrifice offered. On all such occasions toddy and liquor

⁵⁰ "Measure Caste and Tribes" Vol. IV, p. 566.
⁵¹ R. Thurston *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 540.

were copiously consumed. The local goddesses like Rupabhavani and Ambabai also claimed votaries from the Padmasali community. All this showed signs of the reputable side of the Sakti cult. Brahmans did not minister as priests at such observances. In the worship of all animistic deities, Kumbhars or Dhobis officiated as priests and claimed a part of the animal offerings made to the deity concerned.⁵²

Certain animals and trees were also worshipped by Padmasalis. The animals included the cobra and the tiger. The former was worshipped on the Nagpanchami day in *Shravan*. The tiger, being the *vahana* or carrier of Markandeya, was revered and worshipped along with him. The bull and the cow were also revered by the Padmasalis and tulsī, *vad* and *pipal* trees were also objects of worship.

Padmasalis were found worshipping Mohammedan *pirs* and *maulalis*, but the proportion of such worshippers was very small both in Sholapur and Telangana. In Telangana, it was told, the *pir* and *maulali*-worship was fast declining.

As in other Hindu castes, fetish worship was witnessed in the Padmasali community also. The root idea of the fetish was that the object was occupied by some spirit. The Padmasalis worshipped weaving apparatus and other implements on the Ganesh Chaturthi day. A legend justified the practice. One day Parameshwar asked Sumant, who was born from the mouth of Parameshwar and who was the founder of the caste according to their sacred books, to give him a piece of cloth to wear. As Sumant had none, Siva prayed to the minor gods who became the instruments of weaving, and for this reason weaving tools had the names of gods and sages.⁵³ But the reason for their worship on the Ganesh Chaturthi day was not traceable. Similarly, the Padmasalis worshipped the bow and arrow on the full moonday of *Sharvan*. The origin of this worship was traced to the fact that on that very day Bhavana Rishi killed the Rakshasas in a fight, with the help of a bow and arrows, as he was proceeding to the abode of Siva.⁵⁴

The practice of ancestor worship persisted in the Padmasali community, too. All the male and female ascendants upto the third degree, received systematic worship when the funeral ceremonies (*shradha*) were performed on the anniversary of the death of any one of them or on any day in the dark half of the month of *Bhadrapad*. The ancestors were also worshipped on auspicious occasions such as marriages, by the performance of a *shradha* called *nandi*. But they were not worshipped on other occasions.

⁵² Siraj-ul-Hassan, op. cit., p. 542.

⁵³ Enthoven, "Bombay Castes and Tribes," 1920, Vol. I, p. 303.

⁵⁴ Ante, n. 169.

as high-class Brahmans did. The worship of holy men and saints was not totally absent among the Padmasalis.

The Padmasalis had begun of late to call themselves Brahmans. They give out that the god Surya, being pleased with what their 101 progenitors did, gave them a fifth Veda called Padma Veda. And so they claimed that they belonged to Padma *sakha* and Markandeya *sutra*, analogous to the *sakhas* and *sutras* of the Brahmans. Some of the anonymous sections of the Padmasalis bore the names of Brahmanical *gotras*. But in the regulation of their marriages, the Padmasalis followed the family names and the authority of the *gotras* was practically disregarded. It was also found that many illiterate members of the caste were utterly ignorant of the existence of the *gotras*.⁵⁵ All this showed that the Brahmanical *gotras* had been borrowed in comparatively recent times.

The Padmasalis professed to have followed rites prescribed for Brahmans, till the beginning of the Kali age. Their fall from this status was attributed to a certain legend. It was said that one of their castemen, named Padmaksha, declined to reveal the virtues of a miraculous gem which Brahma had given to their caste, to Ganapati, who sought to learn the secret which they had been enjoined to keep, and who on his wish not being gratified, cursed them to fall from their high status. It was said, however, that one Parabrahmamurti, born in Srirama Agrahara, pleased Ganapati by his *tapas*, and got the curse removed, so that after 5,000 years of the Kali age, they should regain their lost position. This Parabrahmamurti, otherwise known as Padmabhavacharya, it was said, redistributed the caste into 96 *gotras*, arranged in 8 groups, and established 4 *mathas* and *gurus* for them.⁵⁶ The legend failed to account for the existence of 101 *gotras*.

The caste being widely scattered, the degree of ceremonial purity of its social customs varied in different regions. In Andhradesh, all Brahmanical rites were reported to be strictly observed. The Padmasalis there tried to abstain from flesh and liquor, looked upon widow marriage as a degraded act and wore the sacred thread. This tendency had taken deep root in the Telugu districts of the Nizam's Dominions. The innovation of wearing the sacred thread was said to have been brought about in Sholapur by one Mr. Pattabhisitaramayya in or about 1890, when the first thread ceremony in Sholapur took place. But other Brahmanical rites or *samskaras*, were not strictly observed as will be seen from the following account. The *samskaras* or purificatory ceremonies mark the different stages of a man's life from conception in the womb of his mother to his marriage, and afterwards death.

⁵⁵ Siraj-ul-Hassan, op. cit., p. 538.

⁵⁶ L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 560.

(i) **GARBHADANA OR THE CEREMONY OF IMPREGNATION:** If a girl had attained puberty before her marriage, no distinct consummation ceremony was held. The Garbhadana *mantras* were recited at the time of the *Nagbali* ceremony, while the actual consummation used to take place later. If a girl attained puberty after her marriage, the impregnation ceremony was performed within sixteen days from the girl's attainment of puberty. On that day a feast used to be arranged for relations of the girl, friends and other kinsmen, who presented gifts to the boy and the girl. Toddy or liquor was also copiously consumed. Amongst the Padmasalis of Sholapur there was a convention to get the previous permission of the Peddamanishis or caste-elders for the performance of this ceremony. The Peddamanishis used to demand no fees for granting such permission.

There was no universal practice amongst the Padmasalis of performing the Brahmanical rites prescribed for the ceremony. But whenever and wherever they were performed they generally included the *shanti* rites, if the girl had come of age at an inauspicious hour.

During the pregnancy of the girl, customary rites, like filling the lap of the girl with a cocoa-nut, areca nuts, etc. and a bodice-piece, and also of arranging feasts at different places in different months, for satisfying her desires arising out of the pregnancy, were performed amongst the Padmasalis, as in other Hindu castes. When the wife had entered the sixth month of her pregnancy the husband was not allowed to carry a corpse, or to take part in building a house. The first delivery of the girl generally used to take place at her parents' house where she went either in the seventh or ninth month of her pregnancy.

(ii) **DELIVERY AND CHILD-BIRTH:** On the commencement of the labour of childbirth, a woman was lodged in the confinement room. A fire was lighted at the door for ordinary purposes and to keep off evil spirits. Some iron articles (the iron being the averter of evil) was placed in the room and the woman was made to lie with her head towards any cardinal point, except south, which is believed to be inauspicious. Should the delivery be delayed, the powers of the evil spirits were believed to be in the ascendant. She was then advised to invoke the blessings of the household gods, to drink charmed water or to step seven times over the rice-pounder which was supposed to hasten labour. As soon as the child was born, everybody would remain silent, until the placenta was removed, lest the child might ascend into the womb. An astrologer was invited to cast the horoscope of the child. After delivery, a Padmasali mother was in a state of impurity for about ten or twenty-one days. The goddess Satwai was worshipped on the fifth day after the birth with the sacrifice of goats and sheep.

and married females feasted. In *linga*-wearing families, the Jangam (priest) was invited to tie the *linga* to the child on the sixth-day. The father of the child first worshipped the *linga*, washing it with sugar, honey, milk and ghee while the Jangam recited the *mantras*. After the worship, the *linga* was tied to the child's arm with a thread composed of 108 lines twisted together. The priest then touched the child with the toe of his right foot and handed it over to the mother.⁵⁷

(iii) **NAMKARAN OR THE NAMING CEREMONY:** A pacification ceremony, called *shanti*, used to be performed before the Namkaran ceremony, on the tenth or eleventh day, if the child was born at an ill-omened time. The naming ceremony used to take place generally on the twelfth day, if the child was a male, and on the thirteenth, if a female; but on any day within twenty-one days. The day was celebrated with a feast to relatives and friends. The main ceremony of naming was done in the evening, in which the grandmother, aunt and other married women took part. They put the child in the cradle, after worshipping a cow-dung cone meant to represent the god Ganesh. A round stone was first put into the cradle, probably to symbolise a wish that the child should be as strong and as long-lived as the stone. In common with other Hindus, the Padmasalis followed the practice of naming the child after its ancestry. They did not share in the belief that no two persons in the same family should bear the same name. Amongst the Padmasalis, the father and the son or two full brothers were found to have the same name. In such cases, they distinguished one from the other by affixing a term before the name, denoting the age; for instance, younger Ramayya, elder Ramayya, and so on. The usual honorific terms were *ayya* for males, as in Narsayya, Ramayya, Balayya; and *amma* for females. In families, with Lingayat inclinations or coming from the Kannad-speaking tract, the terms *appa* for males and *akka* for females were also used. As in the Bombay Deccan, the Padmasalis first mention their own names, then their fathers' and lastly their surnames, i.e. Ramayya Balayya Kota. Padmasali mothers used to commence the household work and that of their trade, one month after their delivery.

(iv) **CHUDAKARMA (*Chaulam*):** This was the first ceremony performed on the child, of either sex, of Padmasalis. The time for the tonsure ceremony though not fixed, used to take place generally in the third year or even earlier. The ceremony was performed before some deity in discharge of a vow, as in other Hindu castes. The number of locks to be kept and their place depended on the family custom.

(v) **UPANAYAN OR THREAD CEREMONY:** This *samskar* makes a man *Dviija* (twice-born), and is therefore the most important

⁵⁷ L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 565.

of all. But it was performed in exceptional cases by the Padmasalis of Sholapur. The fact of the observance of this important ceremony in exceptional cases in a convention-ridden caste like the Padmasali, shows that the Brahmanical *samskaras* were not originally there but were borrowed later on with the hope of raising the social status.

(vi) **VIVAHA OR MARRIAGE CEREMONY:** In the regulation of their marriages the Padmasalis followed the family names, and the authority of the *gotras* was practically disregarded. A man was forbidden to marry a woman belonging to his own section. As to prohibited degrees, the Padmasalis used to take into consideration three degrees on either side. Thus, a man could not marry the daughter of his maternal aunt, paternal aunt or sister. In an exceptional case in Sholapur, the paternal aunt's daughter was found to have been married to her maternal uncle's son. Similarly, the custom of *menarikam* (marrying one's maternal uncle's daughter) existed amongst the Padmasalis also, but it had not become a rigid law as among the Komatis.⁵⁸ Out of 670 cases for which information was obtained at Sholapur, 178 fell under *menarikam*. It was said that as soon as a daughter was born, the paternal aunt claimed her as her son's wife; and her permission was required for marrying the girl to any other boy. Padmasalis did not marry their younger sister's daughters. Exchange of daughters was permitted, but was not popular, owing to the belief that one couple prospers while the other fails to do so.⁵⁹ Polygamy was allowed. Usually a second wife was not taken unless the first proved barren or incurably diseased. A man could marry two sisters, but not simultaneously, and it was said that a wife's younger sister could not be married during the wife's lifetime. This was found to be disregarded in Sholapur, only in exceptional cases. Two brothers could marry two sisters; the elder marrying the elder, the younger, the younger sister. Polyandry was unknown to the Padmasalis.

Padmasalis practised infant marriages. Marriages in cradles were not uncommon some fifteen years back, but lately, the girls have been married before they reached their tenth year. There was no restriction as regards the marriagable age for males, but generally it took place after they had attained the age of fifteen. The following figures show the age at first marriage of Padmasali women who supplied us the relevant data:

Below 3 years	----	15
3 to 5 years	----	76
6th year	----	47
7th year	----	71

⁵⁸ Siraj-ul-Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 341.

⁵⁹ L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV.

8th year	----	88
9th year	----	57
10th year	----	88
10 to 14 years	----	164
Total	----	606

In Hyderabad, if a husband could not be procured for a girl before she had reached the age of puberty, it is said that she was turned out of the caste. Such a girl either became A²dipata (a hand-maid in a rich zamindar's house) or took to concubinage.⁶⁰ But no such cruel practice was heard of in Sholapur. In Mysore State, no sort of penalty was imposed on the girl in such cases.⁶¹ No information was available as regards the practice in the Madras Presidency. Similarly, amongst Padmasalis in Mysore State a woman remaining unmarried all her life was not frowned at, but such cases were unknown even there.⁶² In Sholapur no such cases were heard of. Padmasalis had no system of marrying their girls to a sword, or trees, or dedicating them to temples.⁶³

There was no limit amongst the Padmasalis as regards the ages of the bride and the bridegroom. Generally, the difference between their ages at the first marriage was about ten years or even more. As a Telugu adage has it, a girl aged three years gets a husband of thirty years of age. But it was rapidly becoming obsolete. The following figures show the difference in the ages of the husband and wife in families for whom relevant data was available:

Difference in the Ages of the Husband and Wife	No. of Cases
Less than 3 years	---- 8
3 to 5 years	---- 78
5 to 10 year	---- 307
10 to 15 years	---- 132
15 to 20 years	---- 51
20 to 25 years	---- 13
25 to 30 years	---- 7

Marriages were arranged by the parents or guardians of the parties. The initiative was taken by the bridegroom's father. When a suitable girl was found, a proposal of marriage was formally sent by the father of the boy to the parents of the girl. With some Padmasalis it was customary not to make a direct proposal. For example, the proposal was made by way of a query, "Will you please serve us *Ambil* (sour *Kanji*)?" "Who wants it?" asks the girl's father. Then the name of the boy is

60 Siraj-ul-Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 539.

61 L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, p. 562.

62 *Ibid.*, p. 562.

63 *Ibid.*, p. 562.

revealed. In the Madras Presidency, a sumptuous meal was asked for by the boy's party.⁶⁴ Then the parents of the girl after considering the status, blood relationship, etc., of the boy, either refused or signified their assent to the proposal. On the acceptance of the proposal, a Brahman astrologer was called upon to examine whether the horoscopes of the bride and bridegroom agreed. The horoscopes agreeing, they proceeded to decide the details concerning wedding expenses, the amount of dowry to be paid, the jewels and clothes to be presented to the bride on the wedding-day and so on. The making of the proposal by the bridegroom's party and its acceptance by the bride's father took place in a formal ceremony called *mata*. To commemorate it sugar, betel-leaves and areca nuts were distributed to all persons assembled. According to a convention the parents of the boy had to entertain all persons present on the occasion with toddy or liquor. This had assumed so much importance that the main ceremony and purpose paled into insignificance before it. To do away with it many attempts were made by social reformers in Sholapur. To check it a fee of Rs. 5 was levied on the parties concerned by way of the "right of God." Some other edible articles were substituted for toddy and liquor. But all of them were of no avail. The entertainment with toddy or liquor by the parents of a boy was considered by some conservative people as a mark of distinction.

Dowry was not universal among the Padmasalis. In Sholapur it was paid by the parents of the bride to the bridegroom. The amount of dowry depended upon the economic position of both the parties concerned. The same held good even in Telangana. But at some places like Karimabad (Warangal district) it was a fixed sum, e.g., Rs. 30, while at others it varied, e.g., Rs. 116, 216, 316 and so on. The sum of Rs. 16, added to the round figure, represented the presents (*katnam*) to the bridegroom's party (Rs. 15) and the fee for *Kanyadana* (Re. 1). The amount of the *katnam* was always settled first. The practice of dowry seemed to have been adopted by the Padmasalis from the Komatis, who held a very high status in the social hierarchy and who formed a very rich and influential class in the Warangal district. A widower was not required to pay anything higher for his second marriage.⁶⁵ In Mysore State the bride price was Rs. 25.⁶⁶

Some days after the *mata*, one more ceremony known as *Gattividyam* used to take place. On this occasion the god Siva was worshipped and details of the marriage settled. Betel leaves and areca nuts were distributed to *Panchas* (caste-elders) and other people. This ceremony made the marriage promise irrevocable. A breach of the latter entailed the displeasure of the castemen who

⁶⁴ E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 452.

⁶⁵ L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, p. 564.

⁶⁶ This reflects the influence of "tera," so prevalent among the non-Brahman castes in the State, on the Padmasali community there. Vide "Marriage and Family in Mysore," M. N. Shrinivas, 1942, Chap. II.

imposed a fine in consequence. But even then an occurrence of some ill omen or other, supposed to be a token of divine disapproval, was regarded as a sufficient excuse for breaking it.

The ceremony of *Gattividyam* was not celebrated with drinking toddy or liquor. The fee levied on the bridegroom's party for this ceremony was Rs. 4. Sometimes the ceremony known as *Pradanam* (giving) used to take place along with it. The marriage ceremony generally commenced with the *Pradanam*. To celebrate *Gattividyam* the bride's father had to give a caste dinner.

The wedding-day was fixed on consulting a Brahman astrologer. The marriage ceremonies lasted for 4 to 5 days, according to the financial condition of both the parties. On the first day the Pochamma and Pinamma worship,⁶⁷ the invocation of Markandeya (the patron deity), propitiation of the spirits of ancestors, analogous to *nandi-shradha* among Brahmans, were performed separately both by the bride and the bridegroom. A marriage pandal was set up on the same evening. On this occasion the elderly men of the group worshipped Markandeya and appointed 5 Pendlipeddalus or elders for the marriage, 2 for the bride's side and 3 for the bridegroom's, whose duty it was to set up the pandal, distribute invitations, carry the bride and the bridegroom from place to place and do all the other incidental work from the beginning to the end of the marriage ceremony. For all these services they used to get a fee of Rs. 7 to 8, which was divided equally amongst them all.

Padmasalis who belonged to the right-hand faction of the Panas or professions, claimed the exclusive privilege of having twelve pillars in the marriage pandal (allowing to the left faction—Devangas are included in it—only eleven).⁶⁸ Besides these twelve, there was one pillar known as *Talikhambamu* (pillar of the mother), analogous to the *muhurtamedha* in the pandals of the Brahmans. To this pillar (known also as milk-post), a *Parivata* or a *Regimanu*, i.e., a pipal tree twig brought by the maternal uncle of the girl, was tied.⁶⁹ All the pillars were then worshipped and lamps placed in front of each. On this day, the ceremony of *Pradanam* (Padmasalis call it *Prathanam*) used to take place in the bride's house. The bride was made to worship Markandeya and Ganesh and the *Pradan-hungaram*, (ring), other jewels and clothes were presented by the bridegroom's parents. The fee levied on the bridegroom's party by elderly men (*Panchas*) for this ceremony was Rs. 2. Women from both the sides kept on singing songs all the time. The ceremony was rounded up for the day with a sumptuous feast and by exchanging betel-nuts and by the throwing of red powder as well.

⁶⁷ Ante, p. 177.

⁶⁸ "Mysore and Coorg Gazetteer," Vol. I, p. 319.

⁶⁹ L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, op. cit., Vol. IV, p. 563.

On the first day, turmeric powder was applied to the bride and the bridegroom in their respective homes, the bridegroom a short while after the bride, a part of the turmeric used by the bride being sent for the use of the bridegroom. The bridal pair were not allowed to wash it off until the day of the Nagbali ceremony.

On the next day, in the morning, five *sumangalis* (married women) pounded rice in a wooden mortar with two wooden pestles tied together and consecrated by fastening to them a piece of turmeric and two areca-nuts. After that, they proceeded to grind turmeric in grinding mills. Both the turmeric powder and the pounded rice were then collected in a heap and reserved for use on the occasion of the wedding. In Sholapur they called this ceremony *suvipata*; in Telangana, *kottanam*. This was followed by *araveni kundulu*; in Sholapur they called it *airan kundulu*. In its essence, it consisted of ceremoniously bringing pots from the house of a potter, as among the Komatis. But amongst the Padmasalis of Sholapur there was a different practice. They took from five to thirteen pots according to the custom of the family and carried them to a neighbour's house where they were whitewashed and painted with three vertical red stripes and arranged in two piles. Then they were brought in state to the pandal. It was the privilege of the eldest daughter to carry the *kundulu* accompanied by her husband. Failing her, it was the privilege of the sister. In her absence also, any related woman could carry the pots. These ceremonies were performed by both parties separately. The preliminary ceremonies over, the bridegroom was taken in procession, carried by the *pendlipeddalu* or riding on a horse, to the bride's house. On its way the party waited in Hanuman's temple where they were greeted by the bride's party by throwing red powder. The bridegroom's party was feasted here on this occasion and betel leaves and areca-nuts distributed to the assembly. Among some Padmasalis, the bridegroom left the house, feigning anger, and sat in a temple. A procession from the bride's house, with a mock bride, a boy disguised as a bride, went to him to bring him to the marriage pandal. At the entrance of the bride's house, cooked rice mixed with curds was waved round the bridegroom's face and then thrown to evil spirits with a view to averting their baneful influence. Then followed the ceremony of *mailapolu*. The bride and the bridegroom were seated on a square of rice, with a brass vessel filled with water at each of its corners. The vessels were encircled five times with a raw cotton thread. The bridal pair were smeared with oil by a barber and bathed by five *sumangalis* with warm water. The bridegroom subsequently stooping over the bride, the water in the vessels was poured over them.

After tying the *kankan*, the bridal pair worshipped the *airan kundalu* and *bashingas* (head ornaments made of paper). Their

brow was adorned with the *bashingas*. They then set to worship Ganapati and Varuna. At this stage, the bridegroom was invested with the sacred thread, under the guidance of the family priest, a ceremony which was supposed to entitle him to take a wife and to enter upon his duties as a householder. The bride was then brought out, attired in white clothes, and made to stand facing the bridegroom, he also standing. A curtain was interposed between them, *mantras* were chanted by the priests and grains of rice (sometimes of jowar) thrown over the heads of the bridal pair by the priests and by the assembly of men and women. This ceremony required previous permission of the *Peddamanishi*.

The bridal pair were then made to place a mixture of cumin seeds and molasses on each other's head and to tread upon each other's feet. In some exceptional cases, the *lajahoma* took place at this stage. The *pusti* or *mangalsutram* was worshipped by the bridal pair and passed on to elders for being touched and blessed by them. The bridegroom then tied it round the bride's neck and put silver rings on her toes. This was followed by the *kanyadan* or "the gift of the virgin." Amongst Padmasalis the right of *kanyadan* exclusively rested with the maternal uncle and his wife. Failing them, father and mother, and in their absence, any person belonging to the same *gotra* as that of the bride, could perform the ceremony. *Kanyadana* by the father's sister was unheard of amongst the Padmasalis of Sholapur, but in Telangana such cases were not rare. When the pair, authorised by the custom to make the gift of the virgin, came forward, they were asked, "Whence do you come?" They answered "From Kashi." When questioned as to the purpose of their coming, they replied, "To perform the *kanyadana* ceremony." In this ceremony, the maternal uncle's wife poured water upon the palm of her husband who allowed it to drop into the cupped hands of the bride from where it trickled down in the bridegroom's cupped hands and fell into the plate underneath. The whole ceremony symbolised that the bride had been formally presented to the bridegroom who, on his part, had formally accepted her. The bridal pair attired themselves in new clothes and the fringes of their garments were tied together in a knot, formally signifying their union. They threw rice three times over each other's head and were blessed by elders with the presentation of three handfuls of rice. Wedding presents were then given to the newly married pair by the parents, relatives and other friends. In the evening, the bridegroom pointed out the star of Arundhati, one among those of the Great Bear, to his wife, perhaps as an emblem of matrimonial virtue and constancy. Padmasalis called this ceremony *chukka*. After *chukka*, the bridal pair were taken round in a procession to make obeisance to the family gods.

Next morning the bridal pair were bathed and taken round to a Hanuman's temple. The *nagbali* ceremony was then performed in the marriage pandal. A platform was raised of earth brought in procession by the bridal pair from an ant-hill. The platform was surrounded by five to thirteen earthen pots (as many as were taken in the *airan kundulu* ceremony) encircled with cotton thread and by conical heaps of food, topped with lighted lamps. In the centre of the platform the pair were seated on a wooden cot facing east. They then untied each other's *kankana*. When this was done, the father of the bridegroom swore that he would give polite treatment to his daughter-in-law. A similar oath was repeated by the bride's father in regard to his son-in-law. On putting the *kankanas* and ornaments in *airan kundulu*, the bridal pair were asked to take them out together. This ceremony only suggested who was going to dominate in their married life. In Telangana as well as in the Madras Presidency a nose-ring was dropped in a plate full of milk. The bridal pair were then made to enact the drama of domestic life with a wooden doll as their child. The doll was placed in a cradle and rocked to and fro while a lullaby was sung by all the women present. This was followed by the removal of the *bashingas* from the brow of the bridal pair and the worship of *airan kundulu*. The *pendlipeddalu* marched five times round the pair, one holding a balance, the other a sword and the rest bearing incense-pots, etc. in their hands. Such rounds were called *dandaks*. At the end of the last *dandak* they took with them the bride and the bridegroom and walked straight into the house, none of them turning back to see the *bali*. The *nagbali* was claimed by a washerman and removed by him immediately.

In the last ceremony, known as *ampur-sasa*, Markandeya was worshipped. Some useful articles were presented to the bridegroom by the bride's parents. The *atlu* or cakes kept hanging in the marriage pandal, were removed and patted on the back of the newly-wedded couple. The couple and others were then entertained with *atalu*. The marriage pandal was then removed, which suggested that the marriage was over. But amongst Padmasalis there was an interesting practice to suggest it. Two areca nuts and five pice coins were tied in a knot in a cotton muffler, which was dipped in a red solution of *kav* and patted on the back of *Pendlipeddalu*. This was just like a public announcement of the end of the marriage ceremony. The elderly man of the caste (*Peddamanishi*) got a fee for attending the ceremony of *ampur-sasa* which sometimes took place on the sixteenth day from the wedding. This ceremony over, the turmeric smeared over the body of the bridal pair, was washed off. Relatives of both the parties were entertained on this occasion with rice and other materials used at the time of *pradanam*.

In Telangana, the marriage ceremonies were performed in the same way as described above excepting some slight differences in the details here and there, or in their sequence. The *poshamma-pandgu*, for instance, was performed in Telangana at the close of the marriage, and not at the commencement as in Sholapur.

After the marriage, the bride continued to stay with her parents, till she reached the age of puberty. She visited her father-in-law at intervals. Her parents never hesitated or complained at the time of sending her to her father-in-law's house, and so got no presents from the latter. The parents of the girl had to give presents to their son-in-law and invite his relatives to dinner on festive occasions like Diwali, etc., according to their economic condition. A ceremony known as *sarebiyam* had to be performed within one or three years after the wedding. It consisted of filling the lap of the girl with 101 pieces of cocoanut kernels, dry dates, almonds, areca nuts, etc. Presents had to be given to the young couple on the occasion. The father of the girl did not take food in her house till she gave birth to a child.

(vii) **DIVORCE:** A Padmasali woman guilty of adultery could be divorced with the permission of the caste Panchayat, in whose presence she was driven out of her husband's house. Divorced women married again by the same rite as widows, but in Mysore a divorced woman could not remarry.⁷⁰ In Telangana, there were many cases where women asked for a divorce from their husbands on the grounds of continued absence from home for several years or for immoral acts on their part. Such instances of wives demanding divorce were not known in Sholapur.

(viii) **ADULTERY:** In support of the existence of adultery amongst the Padmasalis of Sholapur, the following arguments were advanced: (1) Many workers, keeping their families away at their native places, stay alone at Sholapur. (2) The difference between the ages of husband and wife makes their union impossible in a great many cases for about seven to eight years. (3) The excessive indulgence in drinking toddy and liquor results in recklessness on the part of males. (4) Very few prostitutes lived in the weavers' locality. Though the above arguments did not positively establish adultery, they nevertheless gave strong grounds for inferring its existence. In Telangana several cases of adultery amongst the Padmasali women were reported. All such cases were taken to caste-elders for settlement. Adultery was not abhorred and could be condoned by payment of a fine to the caste by the adulterer. Economic considerations seemed to outweigh moral ones. In some cases the husband of the adultress demanded divorce from her. "Adultery cases have been a fruitful source of income to Panchas, and the powers vested in them in this regard were

70 L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 564.

often misused by Panchas," was the view expressed by many responsible persons in Telangana. Sexual licence before marriage was not tolerated in Mysore State, and subsequent marriage with a lover, though of the same caste, was not recognised as condoning such a fault.

(ix) **WIDOW MARRIAGE OR UDKHI:** This was practised by the caste in Telangana as well as in Sholapur. In Andhradesh⁷¹ and Mysore State⁷² it was not allowed. A widow having children could also remarry both in Sholapur and Telangana. If she had no children, her marriage was performed, according to a high authority in the community at Hyderabad, in more or less the same manner as the first marriage. A widow's marriage in Telangana took place at night in the dark fortnight of the month. It was celebrated at the house of the man marrying. The widow wore a new saree and bodice given by the new husband. The two were seated on a wooden plank and the man tied an old *pusti* to the widow in the presenece of the assembly. The rite was concluded with a caste dinner. The next morning the pair visited Hanuman's temple.

The *udakhi* was performed at Sholapur in the same way as in Telangana. The only difference being that the worship of Ganesh and *Mailapolu* was added to it in Sholapur and Brahman priests invited to attend the entire ceremony.

There were certain restrictions regarding persons whom a widow could remarry. She could not marry any member of her late husband's *kula* or family. The custom of *levirate*, in which the younger brother of the deceased husband was regarded as the most suitable husband for the widow, was not found amongst the Padmasalis. She must avoid the prohibited degrees binding upon her before marriage. When a bachelor married a widow, he was first formally wedded to a *rui* plant which rendered him a widower in the eyes of society.

A movement towards the abolition of widow marriage was set on foot by a self-conscious and ambitious section of the caste in Andhradesh and Telangana, but it had not found any support in Sholapur till 1940.

(x) **PUBERTY:** A Padmasali girl was considered impure for three days. On the fourth day she had an oil-bath and was admitted into the house. Every evening the girl was gracefully adorned with jewels and garlands of flowers and exhibited to caste women. The women invited treated the girl to feasts and filled her lap with

⁷¹ Oral information received at Hyderabad.

⁷² L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 564.

bodice pieces, cocoanut kernels, areca nuts, etc. This continued for sixteen days.

Carrying with them on a tray, sugar, cocoanuts, betel leaves and areca nuts, the near of kin of the girl went in state, with music playing, to her husband's house to announce the girl's coming of age. The reformist element in the community resented this method of conveying the news.

Adult male members of both the parties met together to settle on an auspicious day, in consultation with a priest, for the *garbhadan* ceremony. The assembly celebrated the occasion with *khushali* in which they were liberally supplied with toddy by the father-in-law of the girl.

After a child or two, Padmasali women did not observe pollution during every menstruation course. The same was the practice in the Warangal division also.

(xi) MAJORITY AND INITIATION CEREMONIES: On attaining his majority, a Padmasali youth could not shave his beard if his father was living. He had to undergo a ceremony known as *gad-dampani* or *vadakalaggam*. The ceremony resembled, to a certain extent, that of marriage. At the time of the *mailapolu*, a barber was called to shave the beard of the boy. The boy was smeared with turmeric powder and grains of rice were thrown over him, as in the marriage, at the hands of a Brahman priest. No ceremony was performed for initiating a Padmasali boy into the hereditary trade. At Jagtyal in the Karimnagar district (Hyderabad State), the initiation ceremony was performed till 1940 in a great many cases. But the practice is dying out everywhere, in Telangana as well as in Sholapur.

(xii) ADOPTION: A childless man or a widow could adopt a son, provided he belonged to the same section as his or hers. But by custom a sister's son was usually adopted. The adopted boy was prevented from marrying in both the sections, that of his natural father and of his adoptive father. As per the Madras School of Mitakshara, a boy must be adopted before his *upanayan* ceremony and not afterwards. But according to the Bombay School a man having a wife and children could be taken in adoption. The Padmasalis, in Sholapur, followed the Madras School.

(xiii) INHERITANCE: The Padmasalis followed the Hindu law of inheritance. A sonless father usually adopted his sister's son or made him his son-in-law, whereupon the latter was entitled by a tribal usage "*illatum*" to inherit his father-in-law's property. Sometimes the eldest son was granted an extra share or *Jethanga*.⁷³

The decisions of caste-elders in the matter of the disposal of the property were respected, but were not binding. Padmasalis had no trials by ordeal. An oath taken in a temple was, of course, considered to be of greater sanctity than one taken elsewhere.

(xiv) FUNERAL CEREMONIES: This was the last or *antya samskar*. When a death occurred in a family the *Peddamanishi* was to be informed. They appointed four persons in the absence of nearer relatives of the dead, to carry the corpse to the cemetery. The persons so appointed were paid a fee of Re. 1 to Re. 1-4-0 for their services and were entertained with toddy in addition.

In general, the dead were cremated by Tirumandharis or Sri Vaishnav Padmasalis and buried by Vibhutidharis or Shaivite Padmasalis. But even amongst Tirumandharis, in exceptional cases, unmarried persons, persons dying of cholera or smallpox and children before teething were buried. Tirumandharis in a very distressed condition were reported to have been burying their dead. In case of Tirumandharis, Dasaris conducted the obsequies, while the Vibhutidharis engaged Jangams to officiate as funeral priests. The former carried dead bodies on a bier as in other Hindu castes, while the Vibhutidharis and Lingayat Salis employed a *vimana* or *mantap* for the same purpose, and buried the dead in a sitting posture, with the head turned toward the south. On the day of the death, a priest, whosoever he might be, was informed. The dead body was worshipped after bathing it, a *tulshi* leaf and the *pusti* of the wife, if the dead man was married, was put into his mouth. If the dead person was a married woman, a *saree* and *choli* were offered to her and her lap filled in the customary way, at the hands of *sumangalis*. In case of Vibhutidharis, however, the dead body was attired in new clothes and its brow was besmeared with *vibhuti*. It was customary, in some places, to offer a fowl to the corpse before it was removed from the house, and if the death occurred on a Saturday or Sunday, a fowl was tied to the bier and burnt with the corpse.⁷⁴ This was done in the belief that otherwise another death would very soon take place. As the proverb has it, "A Saturday corpse will not go alone." In Sholapur a fowl had never been seen tied to a bier, but an egg of a hen was used on the occasion of worshipping the corpse. Amongst Vibhutidharis, as the corpse was never worshipped, no question arose about the practice referred to above. On the way to the funeral ground the corpse was laid on the ground and water poured into its mouth. In Sholapur, Padmasalis of either sect carried the corpse in a procession with the music of *dhapla* or *halgya*, as among Lingayats. In Telangana, no such custom prevailed originally, but the Padmasalis from there have begun, of late, imitating Sholapurians in this respect. Among Tiru-

⁷⁴ E. Thurston, op. cit., Vol. V, p. 453.

mandharies the performer of the obsequies carried in his hand a pot smouldering with the embers taken from the fire prepared in front of the house. It was with this fire that the corpse was first lighted up. On reaching the funeral ground, the corpse was disposed of either by burning or burying, as prescribed by the custom. The chief mourner took the earthen pot, now filled with water, round the funeral bier, and holes were made in it by the priest, through which water trickled out. On the way home, the chief mourner and his brother had themselves shaved and took a bath.

On the next day, in Telangana⁷⁵ (on the fifth day after the death), the bones and ashes of the cremated corpse were collected and thrown into any sacred stream. On the third day, the burial ground was first worshipped and milk poured on it. After that fried grams and other things which the deceased liked in his/her life-time, were deposited there. A *vashim* was present on this occasion who sounded his conch shell. Some Padmasalis offered on this day *pindas* or balls of cooked rice, for the benefit of the soul of the deceased, while others did so on the tenth day. In some Padmasali families there was a practice of offering a goat to the deceased and of feasting its meat on the cremation ground itself. Other relatives and friends were feasted on this occasion, mostly at home. To all those present sacred *arrack* (liquor) in lieu of holy water (*tirtham*) was given by the priest. But the practice of offering *pindas* to the deceased was not widespread amongst the Padmasalis.

On the tenth day, all the above ceremonies were repeated, but nobody dined on the cremation ground. In the Madras Presidency⁷⁶ and also in some parts of Telangana⁷⁷ all these ceremonies were performed on the fifth day. Amongst Vibhutidharies, *agnates* did not take their meals on the burial ground. In both sects, caste people were entertained at a funeral feast on the tenth day after death. In Sholapur, the chief mourner was offered toddy by the caste people. In Telangana it was the reverse. This custom was severely deprecated by young reformists in the community.

Agnates were mourned five days (in Sholapur for ten days) by Tirumandharies and three days by Vibhutidharies, during which the mourners abstained from flesh, sweetmeats and milk.⁷⁸ In Mysore the *agnates* observed pollution for twelve days for the death of adults and three days for the death of children and a daughter's son.⁷⁹ The same was the practice in Sholapur. The Lingayat Salis did not observe pollution.

75 Siraj-ul-Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

76 E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. V, p. 453.

77 Oral evidence received in Telangana.

78 Siraj-ul-Hassan, *op. cit.*, p. 542.

79 L. K. Anantakrishna Iyer, *op. cit.*, Vol. IV, p. 556.

Tirumandharis performed *shradha* on the tenth day and afterwards repeated the ceremony on the anniversary of the death, when balls of rice and libation "ūl" water (*ūlodak*) were offered for the propitiation of the departed soul. All the deceased ancestors were propitiated likewise on the *Pitri Amavasya* in the month of *Bhadrapad*.

If the first wife died, a small earthen pot was set up in her name and worshipped annually or periodically, by the second wife.⁸⁰

Magico-religious Beliefs: Padmasalis, like other caste people in Hinduism, were oppressed from the cradle to the grave with the fear that they might be haunted by evil spirits who were supposed to afflict mankind with all kinds of sickness and misfortune. Their strong faith in the efficacy of the ritualistic cults led them to adopt various magical or semi-magical devices which according to their belief were capable not only of securing protection but of destroying an enemy. A careful examination of the domestic ceremonies performed at marriage, conception, birth, puberty, initiation and death, revealed that they consisted of various charms and other magical devices intended to protect bride and bridegroom, mother and child, youth and maiden and the mourners of the dead. Even in their daily life, Padmasalis were constantly beset by the fear of danger from spirits of various kinds and from the potency of the evil eye. If a person was afflicted by any malady, he would rather undergo the exorcising process, known as *Utar*, for getting rid of it than consult a physician. "An *Utar*" in the words of Mr. Enthoven,⁸¹ "is the making of a sacrificial offering of the nature of a scapegoat, and consists of black mud-pots open and broad at the top and containing offerings of food, a yard of dark-red silk fabric, one rupee and four annas in cash, pieces of charcoal, red lead, surmo-lead ore used as eye-powder, an iron nail and three cocoanuts. Very often a trident is drawn in red lead and oil on the outer sides of the black earthen vessel. The exorcist carries the offering in his hands with a drawn sword in a procession, to the noise of the jingling of the anklets of his companions, the beating of drums and the rattling of cymbals. After placing it in the cemetery, the procession returns with tumultuous shouts of joy and much jinglings of anklets." The spirits were also conciliated by keeping cooked food, broken cocoanuts and lemons for them by the roadside, or at a place where four roads met, after waving them round the person suffering from a malady.

Religion and Hereditary Occupation: In Telangana no day was considered as inauspicious for plying the trade. In Shola-

⁸⁰ This corresponds to "Huvilya" rite performed by some non-Brahman castes in Mysore State. "Marriage and Family Life in Mysore," M. N. Shrinivas, 1942, pp. 165, 166.

⁸¹ "The Folk-Lore of Bombay," 1924, pp. 172, 173.

pur, work was stopped on every *Amavasya* day. As described earlier, the weaving appliances were worshipped on the Ganesh Chaturthi day. Further, the *tur* or the beam on which the woven cloth is wound up was used for seating the bridal pair at the time of *mailapolu* ceremony in some places. Besides these minor links, their occupation was nowise connected with the religious life of the Padmasalis.

Other weaving castes of Lingayat religion in Sholapur like Devang, Lingayat Koshtis, Hatkar, Nilkanthis, Kurvinshettis and Jyandra, followed Lingayats in the matter of worshipping gods and other religious and magico-religious ceremonies. But their customs and practices showed diversity, in so far as they came from different regions. Wherever they had come in close contact with Telugu or Maratha communities, they had adopted some of their rites or practices. The same was the case with the Swakul and Sukh Salis in Sholapur. The Togatas, as a community, were Vaishnavas, but their patron goddess was Chaudeshwari in whose honour a festival was performed in Sholapur on the full moon day of *Shravana*. The worship of mother goddesses in the Togata, Jyandra, Swakul Sali and Sukh Sali communities evinced signs of the reputable side of Sakti cult. Sacrifice of animals was offered to their goddesses and *arrack* or liquor distributed as the holy water (*tirtham*). Religious ceremonies followed by Togatas were the blending of those in the Telugu and Canara countries. Khatris, in Sholapur, who claimed to have come from *Cheul* in the Kolaba district about 150 years ago, worshipped the ordinary Hindu gods and goddesses, and their favourite household gods were Khandoba, Narsoba and Renuka. Their priests were Brahmans whom they treated with respect. They practised widow-marriage and polygamy. Their religious ceremonies were, to a certain extent, analogous to those of Brahmans.

The last, but not the least important, community of weavers in Sholapur was that of Momins. They are Sunnis of the Hanafi sect, and performed all the important Muslim ceremonies. Still, certain of their ceremonies betrayed their original religion. They married among themselves and formed a separate body amongst Muslims. They paid great respect to the Gulburga Saint, as stated earlier. Momins buried a roll of written paper containing the pedigree of the Saint with their dead under the belief that the angels of death Munkir and Nakir would cease to tease the spirit of the dead when they saw the paper.⁸²

The religious ceremonies and customs described above set up a standard value in the religious life of the communities under survey. All the spiritual actions and behaviour of an individual

⁸² "Gazetteer, Sholapur District," 1884, p. 208.

member were generally measured in terms of it. If he fell short of the general expectation crystallised in the standard, he might bring down upon himself disapproval, ridicule or even censure of his community. It was, therefore, highly essential for a person in a custom-ridden community like Padmasali, to conform to the standard as far as possible. If the latter required that a particular ceremony should be performed in a particular way and at a particular time, or caste people should be entertained with a sumptuous dinner or toddy in celebration of a particular ceremony, one had to do it without any considerations to the contrary. It was no matter even if such conformity to the standard meant a great financial burden or even ruin to a great many people in the community.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMMUNAL LIFE OF THE PADMASALIS

THERE were two fundamental limitations to the development of the communal life of the Padmasalis and other weaving communities in Sholapur. The first was economic. About 86 per cent of the Padmasalis were so poor that the problem of eking out a living was all in all to them. To earn the meagre wages that they were getting, they had to work from early morning till late at night. Since their dwellings and working places were the same, even a few hours' peaceful rest could not be had. Such being the case, there was no wonder if they had no mind and energy to participate in social activities. Before this problem of livelihood, the force of religion had paled into background. Padmasali men and women were never seen visiting Markandeya's temple, except on a few religious occasions. The bonds of acquaintance and relationship usually witnessed in the village did not persist in the city. Padmasalis migrating at different times from different places in a wide region comprising six to seven districts of the Nizam's Dominions, had settled down in different wards of the city and were in the employ of different *karkhandars*, with the result that even the people from the same village got fewer opportunities for communicating, much less for maintaining social contact. Amongst Padmasalis, there was no stratification, social or economic, which might render social life difficult. Weaving *karkhandars*, except those who ran the factory entirely on hired labour, never posed as being higher in social and economic status than their employees.

Broadly stated, the social life of the Padmasalis was limited to a small universe whose physical boundaries were set by a tenement house. This universe included as many families as there were looms. All the families in it generally worked under a common employer, had common grievances and shared in the common amenities of life supplied by the employer. This created a common feeling amongst the members of their families resulting in sympathy and affection, and manifested itself in numerous co-operative activities of pleasure, religion, industry and so on that were possible under the conditions of tenement-house life. The extent of communication and the warmth of fellowship was found greater if some of them happened to belong to the same place. In every-day life the fellow-feeling used to manifest itself in direct help to each other in times of need.

Outside the tenement house the people did not take a live interest in communal organisations, even though they felt their

influence. They blindly conformed to communal standards of life and thought and observed, fairly strictly, communal taboos relating to occupation, drink, food, marriage and personal purity. In short, their role in the social life of the community was completely passive.

Padmasali labourers working in the textile mills enjoyed more social life than their *confreeres* in the handloom industry. This was because of three reasons. Firstly, they earned better wages and were better off. Secondly, as their hours of work were fixed, they had some leisure every evening. Thirdly, as they were moving in a modern atmosphere, their outlook toward life had broadened. They were in touch with newspapers. In the evening some of them visited cinema theatres, government recreation centres and the public park, while some others visited toddy or liquor shops, or hotels and restaurants. They moved freely with their neighbours and friends. The number of Padmasali workers joining trade unions was not negligible, but they did not take any active interest in communal matters.

There were, however, a few literate and well-to-do people in the community, who took an active part in running the communal organisations and in starting new ones. These were the people who moulded public opinion in whatever manner they liked. Their personal greatness, interests, rivalries, etc. were reflected in the communal organisations.

The caste *Panchayat* easily stood first amongst all the communal organisations of the Padmasalis. Regarding the power of caste *Panchayat*, it is said that in bygone days each *Panchayat* protected the interests of the caste as a whole and prevented the disobedience of caste rules. The principle that a caste might look after its own affairs was recognised by the then existing governments, but under the British it has received a severe blow with the establishment of civil and criminal courts to consider claims and complaints regarding personal liberty, honour and dishonour under a new code of law. Persons dissatisfied with the decisions of the caste *Panchayat* can now appeal to outside authority. The position summed up above is theoretically accurate, in so far as the arbitration powers of caste *Panchayats* were concerned. But in backward communities, like the Padmasali, individualistic tendencies had not yet become wide-spread and consequently one came across a few cases in which justice, according to law, was sought from outside authority. The caste *Panchayat* still guided the communal life of the Padmasalis, and its influence was felt in almost all social and religious matters concerning the community.

The term *Panchayat* generally denotes either a general meeting of the members of a particular caste or a select committee of five chosen from among them. The two forms were found existing

side by side amongst the Padmasalis of Sholapur. In daily life, however, the influence of the *Panchayat* was felt through the select committee.

The caste *Panchayat* is likened to the guild in mediæval Europe and India. The guilds were organised with certain economic motives, like restricting competition, fixing prices, determining the relations between a master, journeymen and apprentices, training of apprentices and so on. These economic functions were oftentimes supplemented by educational, religious, philanthropic (as in Peking) and also civic (as is found in English craft guilds) activities. But in Padmasali and other weaver-caste *Panchayats* there were no traces of any economic activity. They seemed to be designed to meet purely social or religious needs. A *Panchayat* and a guild, therefore, resembled each other only so far as social or philanthropic activities were concerned. The regulation and control of their trade had never been looked upon as their functions by weaver-caste *Panchayats* in Sholapur. There were separate organisations for dealing with matters relating to the handloom industry in which all the castes interested in the industry were represented.

In 1940 there were 27 caste *Panchayats* of Sholapur Padmasalis, known as *Fads* or *Fands*.¹ Really speaking, there should have been only one caste *Panchayat*. The question, therefore, suggested itself as to how and why did so many caste *Panchayats* arise? The answers to it lay in the history of the Padmasali caste *Panchayat* in Sholapur. The earliest date from which we could trace it was the year 1715 of the Shalivahan Era (or about 1794 A.D.). A document of that year, bearing the date Bhadrpad Sud. 11, referred to the existence of four *Panchayats* or *Fads*. It was written in connection with a controversy regarding the priority of *tyagam* rights. It decided that priority went to that *Fad* which was first in existence in Sholapur. While settling the right, it explained how different *Fads* or groups came into existence.

The Falmari's was the first *Panchayat* in Sholapur. Two more *Panchayats* or *Fads* came into existence, one after the other, as the Padmasali population increased. Every time, later immigrants differed more or less from their predecessors in their habits, manners, customs, etc., with the result that they formed their separate groups or *Fads*. The fourth *Fad*, however, arose out of a controversy.

¹ They are known by the following names: (1) Narsayya Kampu Falmari, (2) Musalappa Tukaram Jatla, (3) Tukaram Gajul, (4) Sidram Narsappa Kongari, (5) Nagappa Sheshappa Sanga, (6) Pandoba Bhaganna Kedari, (7) Tukaram Vithoba Bonakurti, (8) Papayya Sangayya Soma, (9) Vithoba Narsayya Erganti, (10) Karzappa Akul, (11) Lachmayya Dekappa Naral, (12) Narsayya Vithoba Shalapur, (13) Prabhu Allamayya Anna, (14) Erappa Nagul, (15) Erappa Siddam, (16) Ramayya Narsappa Tyarla, (17) Shripati Nandlal, (18) Sitaram Vyankatnaru Irabatti, (19) Chinnayya Chilka, (20) Poshetty Yerwa, (21) Erappa Iyanchi, (22) Poshetty Vyankappa Urat, (23) Mailaya Mergu, (24) Chandrayya Battul, (25) Bhangarayya Mugadyal, (26) Balayya Adam.

A woman named Bagamma was ostracised by the caste *Panchayat* in Poona for violating a social taboo. When the woman came to Sholapur, a number of families, thinking that she was unjustifiably banished from the caste, dined with her. This enraged the Poona *Panchayat*, who demanded of Sholapur *Panchayats* that the families concerned should be turned out of the caste. Accordingly a number of families were excommunicated. These families formed a separate *Panchayat* of their own. Later on, the woman concerned, having gone through a purificatory ceremony, was reinstated in the caste, and an amicable settlement was reached between all the four *Panchayats* in Sholapur. The last quarter of the nineteenth century proved very fruitful in regard to the number of *Panchayats*. During this period the population of Padmasalis in Sholapur grew enormously. The handloom industry also thrived. Many weaver families acquired prominence on account of their business abilities. Ambition and personal rivalries got the upper hand in the community with the result that the number of *Panchayats* or *Fads* increased from 4 to 22. The number of *Fads* remained stationary at this figure, for another quarter of a century. After that, a certain communal issue brought about a division of *Panchayats* into two great factions. Due to irreconcilable quarrels between them, the work of communal institutions began to suffer. So with a view to conducting the institutions independently of each other, one faction brought into existence four new *Panchayats* or *Fads*. This move widened the gulf between the two contending factions. Points of difference grew stronger and more numerous. At last, the question of the newly created four *Panchayats* came to the forefront in the defamation case of Tukaram Ramayya Kanna and Vyankayya Balayya Bet Vs. Vithoba Shivayya Vaddepalli and others. When the case was still pending before the First Class Magistrate, an attempt at compounding the case by means of private arbitration was made. The late K. B. Haji Hajratkhan, who then acted as an arbiter, decided amongst other things that "a declaration, signed by the leaders of all the 26 *Fads*, should be published announcing that the four new *Fads* were created by the unanimous decision of all 22 *Fads*." But the arbitration failed and the case was finally decided in the court against Mr. Vaddepalli and others. Then some influential leaders of the community from outside brought about on the 30th of March, 1927,² a compromise between the parties on the basis of the Hajratkhan-Award.

Under the terms of this compromise, recognition was granted to the four newly created *Panchayats*. It was also agreed by both the parties that a new *Panchayat* should be started, whenever necessary, by the permission of the heads of all the 26 *Panchayats* or

² The compromise between the two factions was declared to the public by publishing a pamphlet in Marathi.

Fānds. But in spite of this, party considerations still prevailed at the time of granting such a permission. It was complained that permission to start a new *Panchayat* was granted to the inhabitants of Bhavanarishi Peth, while a similar request by the Padmasalis of Warad's chawl in Morarji Peth was turned down.

In regard to the rise of new *Panchayats*, one interesting incident needs to be mentioned here. One Yellappa Vyankappa Channa from Bhavanarishi Peth got a bond, signed by five persons from the same Peth, purporting to give him hereditary rights of *Panchas* over the very Peth. When the whole incident came to light after some time, the man was served with a notice denying the rights of *Panchas* to him.

It would thus be seen that personal considerations like ambition, rivalries, etc., of influential persons in the community and social controversies were the chief factors responsible for bringing about new *Panchayats* in Sholapur. The theory of the difference in manners, customs, etc., explained the rise of a few *Panchayats* only. Even in Telangana more than one caste *Panchayat* was found amongst the Padmasalis in one and the same village, though there was no difference of manners, customs, etc. The theory of the growth in population also falls short in explaining the existence of many *Panchayats* in the same village. Similarly, the theory of consent, which was responsible for the rise of five *Panchayats* in Sholapur, does not seem to have played so prominent a part in other communities and places.

To whatever cause they might have owed their origin, the 27 caste *Panchayats* in Sholapur redounded to the advantage of the entire Padmasali community because a man was no longer under any social obligation to entertain all his fellow-castemen at a dinner on ceremonial occasions in his family. He could now extend invitations only to persons in his *Fand*. This was considered by the bulk of the Padmasali population as a great relief in their depressed economic condition.

For all purposes, internal as well as external, every *Panchayat* or *Fand* was largely an autonomous unit, but nonetheless not democratic. The rights and privileges of all *Fands*, except the first one of Falmari, were equal. But relations amongst them all were anything but cordial, and the priority of rights had been the cause of many a quarrel. For some years, these quarrels raged so violently that they invoked Government's refusal to grant permission to take Markandeya's idol in procession through the city. Conditions have considerably changed since the establishment of "Sholapur Akhil Padmasali Gnyati Samstha," in 1931. This organisation had become so powerful that it controlled the working of *Panchayats* even. The *Panchayat* had, however, not yet lost its importance as the basic institution of the community.

Every caste *Panchayat* of Padmasalis in Sholapur had its membership confined only to permanent residents of the city. Its jurisdiction was not restricted to any one Peth, its members being scattered in various parts of the city. Its membership was not further restricted to the families coming from the same places as of *Panchas*. Membership was a family right which, once acquired, could be inherited. A member could change his *Fand* and join another after paying the entrance fee in the latter. There was no prescribed entrance fee for the membership of a *Panchayat*. As the fee was appropriated by the heads of *Panchayats* for their own private use, it ranged from a few annas to a few rupees according to their sweet will. If a member was ostracised for violating certain caste taboos, he could be reinstated in it on undergoing a punishment given by its head. But if his offence was a caste offence, like marrying a woman of another caste, his children, begotten from such a woman, were debarred from admission. But there was no specific rule on the subject. It was largely a social question. A change of occupation did not deprive a man of his membership.

Legally speaking, membership of a *Panchayat* was purely optional. The actual practice, however, showed varying degrees of compulsion. Although caste *Panchayats* were restricted in the use of physical force, the weapons of the boycott and social ostracism still remained with them. In many cases it was not so much a question of forcing castemen to join a *Panchayat*, as of practical necessity of joining it, if one was to live in the community concerned. Thus, even the migratory families had to owe allegiance to one or the other of the local caste *Panchayats*. But as they had no lasting interests in Sholapur, they, like working-class Padmasalis, were apathetic to the activities of *Panchas*. The result of all this had been that the *de facto* authority rested with its head, though theoretically it lay in the general body consisting of 50 to 200 members.

The duties of the members of a *Panchayat* were very simple. True to the traditional deference for those in authority, the ordinary member had merely to obey and leave the responsibilities to the elders who had been placed in control. Owing to the acknowledged lack of interest, he never attended meetings of the general body of his *Panchayat*. By becoming a member of a *Panchayat* he enjoyed certain social privileges. He could get help from his castemen on all auspicious and inauspicious occasions, when it was required most. The only thing he had to do was to inform the head of his *Panchayat*, who managed everything for him. Another very precious privilege of *Panchayat* membership was the assurance of proper disposal of his body after his death, without any considerations of his personal finances. Besides, if his

Panchayat owned a set of utensils and other useful articles, he could get them free of charge when necessary.

For every *Panchayat* of Padmasalis in Sholapur there was one leader *Panch* called a *Chaudhari*. The most important qualifications for holding the post of a *Chaudhari* was advanced age, good reputation, upright character and executive ability. They called the *Chaudhari* in Telugu, *Peddamanishi*, which suggests that he must be an elderly man with high social status. *Chaudharis* were never elected by the general body of castemen, but were only recognised as such. Once a *Chaudhari* got recognition, he held his position by hereditary right, conferred by custom. The dignity of the *Panchayat* was represented by its *Chaudhari*, so that the usual rule was for the son to succeed, provided he was fit to uphold the moral and financial standing of the family and the *Panchayat*. If a *Chaudhari* was a minor, his duties were carried out by deputy leaders, till he attained his majority. But according to Rule No. 4 of the Sholapur Akhil Padmasali Gnyati Samstha, a *Peddamanashi* must be a major. The question, therefore, arose whether a minor could become a *Peddamanashi*, as in Telangana. Even though the term of office of a *Chaudhari* was for life, he could be set aside if his leadership was not satisfactory to the people in his *Panchayat*, or for his misconduct or for any other reason. The *Chaudhari* of Shripati Nandlal *Fand* in Sholapur was deprived of some of his rights for alleged misconduct by the decision of the general body of the *Panchayat*. But such instances were very rare.

Every *Peddamanashi* in Sholapur appointed two deputy leaders, known as *Bagalmistris*, to assist him in his duties or to act in his absence. In Telangana, there was no such convention. The tenure of office of these deputy leaders was for three years, but they were eligible for reappointment for a period of another three years. But if any one of them became unfit to hold his position for reasons stated in Rule Nos. 5, 6, and 7 of the Gnyati Samstha, the *Chaudhari* was bound to appoint a substitute for him. In case he reappointed the former man or failed to appoint any man, the right of appointment reverted to the Gnyati Samstha.

The supposed duties and rights of a *Chaudhari* or *Peddamanashi* could be classified into three main groups as follows: (a) religious, (b) social and (c) arbitative.

(a) *Religious Duties and Rights of a Chaudhari*: (i) No religious ceremonies could take place in the house of any member of a *Fand* without the knowledge of the *Chaudhari* of that *Fand*. His previous permission had to be obtained for the performance of certain ceremonies like marriage, *garbhadan*, etc. This convention ensured smooth performance of the ceremonies concerned.

(ii) Every *Panchayat* or *Fand* had its own idol of Mahadev of which the *Chaudhari* was the main custodian. This idol was worshipped by the *Chaudhari*, and summoned to bear witness on certain occasions like *gattividyam*, *pradanam*, etc., in a marriage ceremony. For this service a *Chaudhari* got a nominal fee.

(iii) Again, the *Chaudhari* was the custodian of the "arrow" of the *Fand*, which was worshipped and taken in procession from his residence along with the idol of Markandeya, on the full moon-day of *Shravan*.

(iv) It was the right of the *Chaudhari* to distribute the *prasad* of Markandeya to the people of his *Fand*. This right of the *Chaudhari* might look insignificant, but the fact that many quarrels had taken place amongst the *Fands* for it showed the value attached to it by *Chaudharis*.

(v) A *Koonepuli* could not write the *tyagam* or pedigree of any family without the consent of the *Chaudhari* to whose *Fand* the family was attached. The *Koonepuli* must first secure from the *Chaudhari* a list of the names of the families in his *Fand*.

(b) *Social Rights and Duties of the Chaudhari*: Every caste or community had its own traditional usages and customs, and it was the avowed business of a *Chaudhari* to enforce obedience to them. The usages and customs generally took the form of certain restrictions relating to occupation, drink, food, marriage and personal purity, prescribed by the caste concerned.

(i) In regard to occupation, even in 1940 children of artisans, unless otherwise directed, generally followed the ancestral occupation. Nothing, however, prevented a change of occupation. No fine was inflicted on any man for sending his son to learn a new trade, as is reported by Dr. Hopkins to be the case in certain places in Jeypur State.³ As for the Padmasalis in Sholapur, it was found that there were about 275 families whose occupations were nowise connected with their hereditary craft. On analysing this figure it was revealed that nearly 200 families were engaged in private service, 10 to 12 families in the grocer's trade, 15 to 20 in dyeing, 2 in the timber trade and the remaining in liberal professions as *vaidya* (20) and teachers (2 to 3). This clearly shows that caste-rules did not bar Padmasalis from any occupation which was not considered as impure.

(ii) Amongst the Padmasalis there was no taboo on drink. Liquor was used in certain religious ceremonies and distributed afterwards as *tirtham*. But owing to the aspiration of rising high in the social hierarchy, certain informed sections of the Padmasalis in Telangana had begun viewing with disapproval, for the

³ "India Old and New," 1902, p. 183.

last couple of decades, this practice of drinking toddy and liquor. But by 1940 it had not crystallised into a social taboo against drinking in Sholapur.

(iii) In regard to food, there were no restrictions on Padmasalis as to the kind of food they might or might not eat. Even though a certain number of their *gotras* represented totems, there were no restrictions on the eating, or using, or killing, or injuring the animal or bird or plant that constituted the totems. No religious or quasi-religious attitude was held by the Padmasalis towards the totemic species. But they revered the cow and did not eat beef.

A Padmasali could take all kinds of food from higher castes, but boiled milk, cooked sweetmeats, fresh fruits and other kinds of dry and uncooked food from any caste lower than his own could be accepted. Most of the population observed this taboo.

In Sholapur, food restrictions applied equally to both men and women. In certain tribal communities women must not only eat with anyone outside the tribe, but also avoid eating with anyone outside their own subtribe. Padmasali women were not guarded so strictly. In the Madras Presidency,⁴ when girls attained puberty, they were forbidden to eat meat during their ceremonial pollution. There was no such restriction in Sholapur.

(iv) Caste rules in regard to marriage barred the Padmasalis from contracting certain matrimonial unions. Exogamy, totems, and the patrilineal system of reckoning kinship were still the main features of the Padmasali caste. Marriage was therefore tabooed within families bearing the same name. The caste rules regarding the prohibited degrees were also observed.

It was a convention amongst the Padmasalis, redounding to the advantages of both the parties, that when *mata* was followed by *gattividyam*, the contract for the marriage could not be rescinded by either party without the consent of the *Chaudharis* of *Fands* concerned. The enforcement of this convention, however, depended upon the sweet will of the *Chaudharis*. If persons of high status were involved in the breach, no action was taken against them by the *Chaudharis*. In some cases, the *Chaudharis* themselves, after being bribed by an interested party, took part in setting the convention aside. Still, cases were not few in which this rule was strictly enforced by the *Chaudharis*.

- Caste rules did not allow a Padmasali man or woman to marry a non-Padmasali woman or man. Children begotten from such

⁴ E. Thurston, *op. cit.*, Vol. V.

a marriage could not become members of the caste *Panchayat*, unless their Padmasali father went through the atonement ceremony. If a woman married with a non-Padmasali man, she automatically went out of her original caste, and the *Panchas* had no authority over her.

(v) As regards personal purity, the feeling that certain animals are impure and that you should not touch them, that certain actions should be followed by a bath, that one should not take water for drinking from or dine with people of a caste believed to be lower than one's self, that the touch of some castes considered as impure pollutes one, all persisted amongst the Padmasalis too, in more or less degree. Like other Hindu castes, the Padmasalis looked upon with severity any dealing with untouchables. The enforcement by the Padmasalis of these caste rules was claimed as forming part of a "caste question," in one defamation case.⁵ But the issue was left undecided.

(vi) It was the avowed duty of a *Chaudhari* to collect funds from the people of his *Panchayat* for certain communal purposes like the celebration of the anniversary of Markandeya, communal feasts and so on. Any member obstructing a *Chaudhari* in this work could be severely dealt with. Some persons were excommunicated for about twenty-five years for the same offence by the then existing Temple Committee.

(c) *Rights of a Chaudhari in Respect of Arbitration:* A *Chaudhari* settled all social and religious matters arising in his own *Fand*, particularly violations of taboos and disputes of a civil nature. Even in cases of a criminal nature, his authority was restricted to offences of a minor character, i.e., cases which were compoundable outside the court. Most of the disputes referred to a *Chaudhari* for amicable settlement, related to marital life and matters arising out of the wedding ceremony itself. In some adultery cases divorce was sought by either party, by way of relief, because the caste *Panchayat* alone could sanction a divorce.

Punishments for breaches of social or socio-religious taboos were proportioned according to their respective gravity in the estimation of the community and also according to persons involved in committing them. Offenders were in the first instance sentenced to pay a token fine for offence of a minor character,

⁵ The case referred to here was the famous case of Tukaram Ramayya Kanna and Venkayya Balayya Bet vs. Vithoba Shivayya Vaddepalli and three others. In this case, it was complained that the defendants called a meeting of the castemen in which they made speeches based upon hearsay, alleging that Messrs. Kanna and Bet had sexual intercourse with an untouchable woman at Bombay and that they should therefore be excommunicated. While it was pleaded on behalf of the defendants that as a compromise was reached between the contending parties the suit should be dismissed, and that it involved a caste question, but the Court refused to grant this plea on the ground that no compromise was reached. The defendants were sentenced to pay a fine, and this sentence was upheld by both the higher appellate courts.

but if they continued to act in the same manner, by disregarding the authority of a *Chaudhari*, then they were dealt with severely. Boycott and excommunication were considered to be powerful weapons in the hands of a *Chaudhari*. For a grave communal offence, the sentence of excommunication was passed by a *Chaudhari* in consultation with the general body of *Panchayat* whose authority was final. The penalty of excommunication could be called off only after ceremonial purification or a communal feast. But amongst the Padmasalis purificatory ceremonies were not so common. Penalty feasts after excommunication generally took the form of entertaining the *Panchayat* with toddy or liquor. At the time of his readmission into the caste, the man was asked to pay a lump sum in the name of the patron-deity. In the generality of cases, except when the offence involved a flagrant breach of a social or religious taboo, all matters were compounded by a *Chaudhari* with a fine, and were not allowed to proceed to the extent of excommunication. This maintained the integrity and prestige of the community. But it also left much scope for *Chaudharis* to misuse their authority. A person could get a favourable decision by winning over the *Chaudhari* of his *Fand* by means of bribes. In Telangana responsible people believed that the Sholapur *Panchas* were responsible for the disruption of the married life of many a person. They thought that the *Panchas* unnecessarily dabbled in such delicate matters, and induced either party to ask for a divorce on the grounds of infidelity or any other strong reason, and made money in the whole dealing.

Padmasali caste rules prescribing certain social or socio-religious taboos, were not fixed and rigid. They were often far more dreaded than the official Criminal Code. Because a violation of a taboo might even mean excommunication and boycott, these sanctions weighed heavily on the family concerned in communities in which individualism had not yet taken root. The excommunicated family was cut off socially from the caste. There was no other alternative for the excommunicated family but to yield to the dictates of the caste-*Panchayat*. But if the ostracised family could wield influence upon the castemen, then the pinch of the boycott was not felt at all. The caste rules were not then strictly enforced.

The office of *Chaudhari* did not merely mean a high social honour and status, but it also carried certain pecuniary advantages. Since the presence of a *Chaudhari* was considered necessary at social and religious functions, he demanded a fee for his attendance. For exercising his powers of arbitration he also got a fee. He was to be entertained, on certain occasions, with toddy or liquor. The fee demanded by a *Chaudhari* was never prohibitive. It ranged between some annas and a few rupees. In addition to his legitimate fee, a *Chaudhari* got bribes from interested persons

in his *Fand*. Most of the *Chaudharis* treated these earnings as their private income and a very few utilised them for purchasing useful articles for their *Fands*, while some others spent them on charity.

To sum up, the *Panchayats* played an important role in the communal life of the people. But the misuse of their power by *Panchas*, the general social and economic status of *Chaudharis*, their intrigues for the furtherance of their personal interests and such other factors contributed in bringing down this ancient and useful institution in permanent disrepute. The *Chaudharis*, too, had to atone for their own and their predecessors' sins of commission and omission. They were shorn of their highly valued powers. They could not now rule in the same despotic manner as of old. Firstly, the Government had dealt a very severe blow to their important power of arbitration by empowering civil and criminal courts to try all kinds of cases, except those involving a caste question. Secondly, the Sholapur Padmasali Gnyati Samstha, which was the fruit of the co-operation of the *Panchayats* themselves, controlled and regulated their working. *Chaudharis* could be set aside by it for their gross misbehaviour or for any other strong reason. Appeals, in arbitration cases, could lie to it and it was the final authority in settling matters relating to boycott and excommunication. Yet, the latter body could not succeed in dissolving these nuclear institutions of *Panchayats*. They would continue to function at least in a limited sphere, in communities like the *Padmasalis*, so long as the general feeling of caste consciousness had not broken down and new ideas of individual initiative had not taken root.

The Sholapur Padmasali Gnyati Samstha was started in 1931. It was said that it was started by some persons in place of the old Markandeya Temple Committee, "in order to keep secret from the public their unauthorised expenditure, and to liquidate their liabilities." In support of this allegation it was pointed out that a sum of over Rs. 13,000 was due to the Committee by about 41 persons, and that the public was not taken into confidence at the time of starting this new organisation. These charges were then refuted by its president, but not to the satisfaction of all. The controversy raged for many days, and disclosed certain facts which revealed that the allegations were true. Some responsible persons had really refused to submit accounts of the money collected by them, and had even declined to hand over their balances to the committee. Certain amounts were later on recovered through the court. The transformation of the old Temple Committee into the Gnyati Samstha was, however, done with the consent of the heads of all the twenty-seven *Panchayats* in Sholapur.

The management of the Markandeya Temple looked after by the Temple Committee formerly, was the main object of the Gnyati

Samstha. Its other objects included (i) The bringing about of the economic, moral and social upliftment of the entire community; (ii) The maintenance and education of orphans and poor children; (iii) The disposal of unclaimed corpses; (iv) The settlement of disputes within the community by means of arbitration, and lastly, (v) The formulation of rules and regulations for the conduct of caste *Panchayats*.

The desire to have a temple of Markandeya stirred the then existing *Panchayats* to purchase a plot for the temple in the name of five persons in 1880. These five persons, and after their death their heirs assisted by two more persons, formed as it were an executive committee which managed the affairs of the temple till 1918, when the Markandeya Temple Committee was formally created. The main tasks entrusted to the committee included, (a) To collect funds for building purposes; (b) To expedite the work of the erection of the Markandeya temple; and (c) To set up a fitting idol of the deity in it. The Committee resolved to raise a fund by levying a small temple tax on every Padmasali family. But the proposal failed to catch the imagination of a small section of the community, which openly opposed it. The Committee, with a view to nipping the opposition in the bud, took disciplinary action against the recalcitrant members and declared them excommunicated. The work of collecting funds then went on smoothly. A large number of persons, authorised for the task, participated in it, but some of them failed to submit their accounts to the Committee, and retained the funds with them. Their recovery meant an embitterment of relations. With the funds the Committee could command, the building of the main temple and its outer hall were completed. The Committee then proceeded to set up the idol of Markandeya in it. The question, therefore, arose as to whether they should set up the idol in black stone they already had, or go in for a new one of white marble. On this issue the whole community was divided into two great factions. One of the factions, thinking that it was in the fitness of things that the new temple should have a new beautiful idol, demanded a white marble idol, while its attachment and devotion to the former idol made the other stand for the old one of black stone. But in the end the latter view prevailed and the idol in black stone was reinstated in the new temple with a grand inaugural celebration. The controversy, in course of time, was lost upon the Padmasali masses, but it did not fail to leave deep marks in the hearts of their leaders. Their differences, even of a personal character, have increased since then in number and strength, and there was a crop of criminal suits against each other. The temple's building work remained incomplete. Balances of the temple fund could not be recovered from many a person.

Such was the condition of the "Markandeya Temple Committee" when its legacy was taken over by the Gnyati Samstha.

The old differences and disputes continued in the new organisation. When a proposal of registering it was mooted by one section, it was opposed by might and main by the other, so much so that the other party intimated its opposition to the Registrar of Societies at Bombay. Annual presidential election in the Samstha roused the parties to measure their strength every time. When permission from the District Magistrate of Sholapur to take out a procession of Markandeya's idol was sought by one party, it was opposed by the other. To do away with this embarrassing situation, many local and outside leaders mediated between the parties, but with no results. On 31st October, 1937, Mr. Raju, the then Assistant Collector of Sholapur, suggested the following terms on which a compromise could be effected between the two parties:

(1) The organisation should be registered,

(2) The general body of the organisation should consist of 81 members—*Chaudharis* of all the 27 *Fands* and 2 persons elected from each *Fand*,

(3) Markandeya's Prasad should be distributed by *Fands* according to their priority,

(4) The permit for taking out a procession of Markandeya's idol should be sought by the President in his own name.

These terms apparently brought about reconciliation between the parties, but the building work of the temple continued to be ignored as before, and balances due from many persons remained unrecovered. So, in order to attract the attention of the entire Padmasali community, and also to bring moral pressure of the public to bear upon the contending parties, some youths of the Padmasali Samaj Seva Mandal resorted to a hunger-strike on the 12th April, 1939. The hunger-strike had the desired effect. A general meeting of the community was held, which appointed a sub-committee of two persons to arbitrate in the matter. The sub-committee recommended that,

(1) The general body of the Gnyati Samstha should consist of 71 members—the body of 61 members as was constituted then should elect 10 outsiders as its members;

(2) The new body, after the election of its office-bearers, should decide the question of registering the organisation;

(3) For drawing up the accounts of balances of the temple fund, a sub-committee of 2 persons should be appointed;

(4) There should be a new election of the Cremation-Ground Committee.

Some of these terms were implemented, while the enthusiasm about the others again subsided. A sub-committee to enquire into the balances was appointed, but no progress was made in their work by the committee till February 1940. New elections of the Cremation-Ground Committee had taken place, but the charge of work was not handed over to it by the old office-bearers. The constitution of the General Body of the Gnyati Samstha remained as it was before.

Owing to these unending quarrels, the Gnyati Samstha could not carry out the philanthropic, educational and social activities specified in its objectives. Upto 1940 its educational activities were insignificant. It celebrated three religious functions under its direct supervision and contributed Rs. 3 for the disposal of an unclaimed dead body of a Padmasali.

The Gnyati Samstha had brought day-to-day management of the temple on a sound footing. For meeting all the expenses of the temple, it had levied a series of taxes, as the right of *Mar-kandeya*, on certain ceremonies in a marriage. Rule No. 64 of its constitution declared the rates of taxation as follows:

	From Bridegroom	From Bride
(1) Betrothal Ceremony	Rs. 5	—
(2) Confirmation Ceremony <i>Gattividyam</i>	Rs. 6	Rs. 2
(3) Remarriage	Rs. 6	—

These rates of taxation could not be modified except by the majority of three-fourths of its members, nor could they be evaded. Rule No. 67 (b) penalised any attempt at evasion on the part of any person with excommunication, and advised all persons who ministered to the Padmasalis as priests, not to perform the marriage ceremony unless the receipt of fees for the *gattividyam* was produced. The *Chaudharis* were bound to hand over the collection of fees to the treasurer of the Samstha. Failure to do so on their part for three months forfeited their membership in the Samstha (See Rule 3 (7) and No. 64). On the payment of the balance due, they become eligible for its membership again.

Another notable achievement of the Gnyati Samstha was the control it had acquired on all the Padmasali *Fands* in Sholapur. According to its Rule No. 65, it could create a new *Fand* by the decision of a three-fourths' majority. It could dismiss deputy-leaders (*Bagalmistris*) appointed by *Chaudharis*, without assigning any reason, but with the concurrence of two-thirds of its members. Not only that, but it could even set aside a *Chaudhari*, and in one solitary case it had exercised this authority. One *Chaudhari* (of *Nandal Fand*) was dismissed by it for squandering funds collected for the purpose of utensils, on drinking toddy and liquor.

He then approached the Samstha with a request to grant him permission to start a new *Fand*, but before his request was granted, he distributed the prasad of Markandeya, and was sentenced to pay a fine of Rs. 20.

In matters of arbitration also, the Gnyati Samstha was the supreme authority in the community. If a *Chaudhari* failed to decide a dispute within a period of one month from the day of its submission to him, the general body of the Samstha settled it by a majority vote. It heard appeals filed to it against decisions of *Chaudharis*. It controlled not only the working of the *Panchayats* but also the activities of *Koonepulis*.

The general body of the Gnyati Samstha consisted of 61 members, comprising four classes. The *Chaudharis* of all the 27 *Fands* were its *ex-officio* members and held the position permanently, subject to the condition of good behaviour. These *Chaudharis* appointed their assistants, one in each *Fand*, who also became its members for 3 years. The third class consisted of elected members. Seven persons from the community were elected by the 54 members, to hold the position for 3 years. The latter two classes of members could become disqualified by remaining absent from three consecutive meetings of the general body. The fourth class of membership was of patrons. Persons donating an amount or property worth from Rs. 500 to Rs. 5,000 to the Samstha could become its members for varying periods exceeding 3 years.

For carrying out day-to-day working of the Samstha an executive committee consisting of 11 or 12 persons was elected from amongst the members for a period of three years. The president, vice-president, one or more secretaries, and the treasurer were the *ex-officio* members of the executive committee. Questions of communal interest were decided, both in the executive committee and the general body, by a majority vote. The general body could modify or annul its former resolutions at any time by a three-fourths' majority vote, and by a simple majority if a period of one year had elapsed since its passing. The general body could also modify the objects of the Samstha by the vote of three-fourths of its members.

The main property held in ownership by the Gnyati Samstha was the Markandeya Temple itself. The plot on which the present temple was situated, 80 feet long by 70 feet broad, was purchased in 1880 for Rs. 621. The building of the temple, including the outer hall, was 32 feet by 20 feet, and a row of cells was built around it. The building work, commenced some 23 or 24 years back, was not complete by 1940. It had already cost over Rs. 50,000 and required a sum of Rs. 6 to 7,000 more. Almost all the invested amount was collected through contributions from the Padmasali population in Sholapur. Donations, ear-marked for

building particular parts of the temple, were not few, however. The Samstha had recently purchased three plots just opposite the temple for Rs. 2,400. As a result of the compromise, following the hunger-strike, a sum of Rs. 7,600 which was lying in the Court owing to internal disputes, was withdrawn with the concurrence of both the contending parties and deposited in a local bank in the "building-fund account."

Sources of income of the temple were numerous. The main source of income was the levy of taxes on certain religious ceremonies which would fetch annually, on an average, a sum of Rs. 1,500. But, owing to one reason or another, amounts collected on this score were not received in full by the Gnyati Samstha, with the result that its income dwindled down to Rs. 600-700. The other source was arbitration fees, but since some *Chaudharis* appropriated it for their own use, the Samstha got practically nothing from it. The Samstha owned a farm at Mundhewadi and a house in Sholapur, both fetching a net annual income of about Rs. 50. The last source of income was the offerings, in kind or cash, presented by the public, to Markandeya. But the earnings, on this account, were negligible.

The main item of expenditure was the temple itself. The staff, which was maintained for its upkeep, consisted of six persons, including a priest, a treasurer, a clerk and others and entailed a monthly expenditure of Rs. 40. Besides, three grand festivals were celebrated in the temple every year. They included the anniversary of Markandeya's birth and the procession of Markandeya's idol along with Arrows on the full moon day of *Shravan*. The latter two functions were celebrated on a grand scale. The yearly expenditure on account of the temple thus amounted to Rs. 1,200-1,300. Special contributions were collected to meet special expenditures.

The other association, under the direct control of the Gnyati Samstha, was the Padmasali Cremation-Ground Committee, established in 1931. For maintaining a separate cremation or burial ground for the Padmasalis, a plot of 58 acres, situated on the Sholapur-Akalkot road, was purchased for about Rs. 5,800. But sufficient funds were not at hand. So in order to raise the requisite amount, a scheme was prepared. Under this scheme well-to-do Padmasali persons were invited to reserve sub-plots of 40 ft. by 40 ft. each, for the members of their own families, by donating Rs. 201 to the Committee. The scheme proved successful and 40 persons availed themselves of the opportunity. These donors formed the general body of the Cremation-Ground Committee which elected its own president and secretary. The day-to-day work of the Committee was supervised and carried out by a managing committee of 15 members appointed by the general body. But for over

five years preceding 1940, the constitution of this association was suspended, due to internal quarrels.

The cremation ground, except the 40 reserved sub-plots and the garden, was allowed to be used free of charge by the Padmasalis, for cremation and burial purposes. All this ground was let every year by auction as a grazing land, which fetched on an average a sum of Rs. 200. The Committee had sunk a well in this ground. It employed a permanent staff of five persons for digging pits for burials, and for looking after the garden. Formerly, the family in which a death occurred, had to employ its own coolies for digging the pit, but recently the Committee started lending the services of its employees for the same purpose at a charge of Rs. 1-8-0. The maintenance of the garden and the burial staff entailed an annual expenditure of about Rs. 1,000. Besides, it had to pay a land revenue of Rs. 50 per year.

OTHER VOLUNTARY ASSOCIATIONS

The Padmasali Samaj was started in 1914, with the objects of "spreading literacy, fostering good will and unity amongst the Padmasalis and for bringing about social reforms in the entire community." Donors of Rs. 100, subscribers and well-wishers could become members of the Samaj. The constitution of the Samaj was in abeyance at the time of writing. Rule No. 42 of its constitution laid down that help should be given gratis to students taking primary education, and on the condition of repayment, to students in high schools and colleges. The terms of repayment in each case were decided by the general body, on its own merits. The Samaj had, however, restricted its help to primary students only, spending from Rs. 70-75 every year. The Samaj owned the spacious "Padmasali Building" in Sakhar Peth which was a gift to the Samaj by Mr. Shivayya Bhumayya Waddepalli. For the upkeep of the building and Municipal taxes, the Samaj used to spend annually about Rs. 80. In the compound of the building there was a temple of Shree Vishweshwar, built out of a donation ear-marked for it. The building was formerly used by the Samaj for conducting a free Marathi-Telugu primary school and a free library, but both the latter institutions had to be closed later on for want of a sufficient number of students and readers respectively. Even in 1940 there was a standing offer of a gift of a house, if the Samaj undertook to conduct a Telugu school in it. The Samaj had a cash balance of Rs. 8,000-9,000 in 1940. It was in no way connected with the Sholapur Padmasali Gnyati Samatha.

The Padmasali Tarun Mandal (Youth League) was started in 1929, with the objects of accomplishing prohibition and bringing about social reforms in the community. An attempt was made by

some persons to plant palm trees in the cremation ground. The Mandal brought public pressure to bear upon them by resorting to a hunger strike with the result that the attempt had to be given up. For the abolition of the general practice in the community of entertaining people with toddy or liquor on certain ceremonial occasions like a marriage, death, etc., the Mandal conducted house-to-house propaganda. Every member of the Mandal had to take an oath that he would never drink toddy or liquor on any occasion. The non-observance of the oath made him liable to pay a fine of Rs. 5. On the full-moon day of *Shravan* the Mandal conducted a public sacred-thread-wearing ceremony. In *Bhadrapad* it celebrated the Ganapati festival when extempore competition or public lectures were arranged and prizes distributed to successful candidates in the competition by way of encouragement. In the month of *Falgun* it conducted a propaganda campaign, instructing the public as to how the Holi festival should be celebrated. It had also done some work in effecting unity between the two contending parties in the community. But the greatest achievement of the Mandal was its "Padmasali Orphanage for Students." A member had to pay an entrance fee of Rs. 2 and a subscription of 4 annas per month. The Mandal was a registered body, with an elaborate constitution.

The Padmasali Orphanage for Students was opened by the Mandal in 1937. Nearly 25 students of ages between 6 and 18 years were maintained in it in 1940. Students were given primary education in Telugu and Marathi. The Mandal was annually spending on the orphanage a sum of Rs. 1,400 which was raised through subscriptions and donations in cash and kind. A certain gentleman from Bombay donated a hand-set to the scouts of the orphanage. Many Padmasalis engaged the band of the orphanage on ceremonial occasions and paid for it. This became a source of income to the Mandal. The orphanage was conducted entirely on the support of the public.

The Padmasali Samaj Seva Mandal was started for the eradication of the social evil of drunkenness, for the advancement of education in the community, for the organisation and uplift of Padmasali labour and the reformation of the entire community in general. The Mandal was not getting sufficient backing from the community due to its insistence that drinking toddy and eating meat should be tabooed on all occasions of religious ceremonies, and also due to the socialistic tendencies of some of its members. The workers of the Seva Mandal, though small in number, stood next to none in their enthusiasm and activities. They took active part in almost all the public and communal activities in the city. The Mandal conducted a free library. The annual expenditure of the Seva Mandal was met by subscriptions of its members.

Before concluding the discussion about the communal life of the Padmasalis, we shall deal with the relations between these communal organisations and the local civic body. Broadly stated, the relation between them was colourless. The Municipal Administration, being entrusted with the education, health and hygiene, etc., of the entire city, encouraged the educational activities of the communal bodies by giving them grants-in-aid and other possible help. The Sholapur Municipality, at the instance of the communal organisations of the Padmasalis and others, presented to Government the question of introducing Telugu as a medium of instruction for Telugu boys and girls. The matter was awaiting reply from Government by 1940. Besides these educational activities, the Municipality was nowise connected with the communal organisations, the latter bodies, too, did not take any interest in municipal affairs. They did not contest municipal elections, nor did they try to get their social grievances redressed from the latter body. In the local Municipality there were always 5 or 6 Padmasali members, but due to various local reasons, communal rivalries and Municipal rivalries reacted on each other, thereby making joint action by them all almost impossible. The interplay of both the forces maintained and intensified the already existing differences and quarrels in the community. The conditions, however, considerably changed by 1938, when all the Padmasali members in the Municipality formed a block, but for whose support a majority could not be formed. Owing to this important key-position, a young man from the community, Mr. M. R. Pully, had the unique chance of becoming the President of the Sholapur Municipality for the first time in its history of over 90 years.

The general remarks made earlier in these pages regarding the social life of the Padmasalis and their *Panchayats* applied *mutatis mutandis* to the people of other weaver-communities in Sholapur. In major communities there were a number of *Fands*, as amongst the Padmasalis, which had arisen probably due to social controversies and personal rivalries. But in matters relating to their patron-deity, they co-operated with each other. Most of them had their own communal property consisting mainly of temples and a mosque in case of Momins.

CHAPTER IX

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

THE study of the social and economic conditions of Padmasalis in the preceding chapters, has disclosed that the population was labouring under the following disabilities: (i) Ignorance and illiteracy; (ii) Dire poverty; (iii) Malnutrition; (iv) Indebtedness; (v) Insanitary housing, and (vi) Unhealthy or unclean habits.

The root cause of all the social evils of the Padmasalis was their dire poverty. Unless that was wiped out, no reform in any direction was possible.

As a result of the competition of the mills and power-looms, their hereditary occupation, handloom weaving, was hit hard. Consequently the income of the wage-workers had gone so low as to be insufficient to attain a standard of living which might be considered as minimum for them. So unless this competition was eliminated and the industry established on a firm ground, nothing could be done to ameliorate their condition. On this fundamental basis the following measures have been suggested:

As the poverty of the Padmasali workers was primary, that is, due to inadequate incomes, our first concern should, therefore, be to increase their wages, which formed the only source of their family income. There was one recognised approach to this problem, namely, to establish a minimum wage for them by statutory enactment. Such a legal minimum wage should be sufficient to enable workers to reach the irreducible minimum standard evolved by us earlier in these pages. To reach this minimum standard, wages should be increased by 50 per cent or more through the agency of trade boards, as in England. When once that standard was established, the wage system should be so manipulated as to offer workers an inducement to earn more income.¹

The next important line in which reform was urgently needed was that of liquidating the ignorance and illiteracy of the Padmasali workers. We have already discussed the attainments of the Padmasali men, women and children in this field. The entire female population was illiterate. As for males, the proportion varied with the economic classes. Weavers, who formed 80 per cent of the Padmasali population in Sholapur, recorded about 7 per cent as literates and about 3 per cent as educands. The latter figure showed that a large number of children of school-going age

¹ This can be done by the differential wage-system which we have discussed and recommended earlier.

were not sent to schools and those that were sent left them at the earliest possible moment and almost never attended a high school. But their evidences of educational backwardness were hardly greater than could be expected of children coming from illiterate homes, where education was no part of the family mores and where little children were made to earn because more income was now desired and oftentimes greatly needed. Lack of interest and meagre attainment in education, low wages and economic exploitation, superstition and fatalism and cheap amusements were some of the characteristics of the Padmasali workers, attributable largely to the fundamental factor-of ignorance.

The problem of liquidating ignorance and illiteracy should be attacked from two directions. First as regards the education of children, which is the obligatory function of the Municipality, the educational organisations in the community should only shoulder the responsibility of bearing incidental expenses on behalf of parents. Secondly, as regards the adult education, the communal organisations should concentrate their entire attention on this important problem and start free night classes for the purpose.

As regards the education of children in the city, it is gratifying to note that the Sholapur Municipality was pledged, in the presidential regime of the late R. B. Dr. V. V. Mulay, to the policy of introducing free and compulsory primary education amongst them. But owing to the opposition from the public and also because of the financial stringency, the pledge could not be entirely implemented. It had already been introduced in many wards of the city, including those of the weavers. For the success of this scheme many things are required. Firstly, in case of Telugu boys and girls, the medium of Telugu should be introduced. Secondly, since education was an economic problem with the poor, the Municipality should offer some allurements to parents of poor boys and girls. If food and milk, free of charge, could be provided to children during school hours, their feeding problem would be partially solved for parents, and the opposition would be silenced. Besides food, the health of children must be looked after by the Municipality, by giving them free nursing and medical aid. Lastly, in order to enlist the support of the public and to secure their hearty co-operation, an intensive propaganda must be carried out by social workers and leaders in the Padmasali community itself, because no scheme of this character, however perfect and necessary it might be, would be successful without it.

As for the malnutrition of the Padmasalis, we have already said enough. If our industrial production was to attain a high standard of efficiency, the health and well-being of workers must be our prime consideration. The working class suffers from mal-

nutrition mainly due to poverty, but when poverty has been relieved by the device of a legal minimum wage, an intensive propaganda campaign regarding nutritional knowledge should be carried on in a scientific way amongst the workers.

As regards indebtedness, a legislation of the type of a Money-lenders' Act should be made applicable to transactions between weavers and their creditors including *karkhandars*, to prevent some of the grossest abuses. If courts had the power to open and review accounts, if creditors were compelled to pass proper receipts and supply copies of accounts periodically to their debtors, if the rate of interest to be treated usurious were not fixed too high, some relief would be obtained by the weaver-communities in Sholapur. Further, if the provisions of *dandupat* were made applicable to debts incurred in the Nizam's Dominions, it would certainly give very great relief to a large majority of weavers.

The insanitary conditions of living of the Padmasali weavers in Sholapur adversely affected personal cleanliness and hygiene, leading to debility, lassitude, fatigue, and unfitness, etc. In Sholapur the problem had become complicated, due to the fact that the place of work and the place of living coincided. It should be tackled by the Municipality. Various alternative methods are there to do it. It might build a large number of houses on its own initiative, and either let them out or sell them to poor weavers on the hire-purchase system. It might also acquire suitable building land and lay out sites upon which the workers with some means might be allowed to build dwelling houses according to approved designs. The sites might be leased out for a long period, and not sold outright, in order that the Municipality might retain its control and power of supervision over the property. The existing houses might be improved and private buildings licensed after strict scrutiny of the plan, the minimum provision for accommodation, ventilation and sanitation being insisted upon.² Of these possible alternatives, the Sholapur Municipality had striven to follow the first two. As regards the first, the Municipality had not built up houses on its own initiative, but made an attempt in that direction by renting and selling out to people sites on which plinths were being constructed. The other alternative of leasing out to people laid-out sites, was followed by the Municipality both in Bhadravati and Bhavanarishi wards and it had proved a success. But since weavers were men of very little means, the buildings erected by them were not uniform, with the result that the whole site did not lend an attractive view. We, therefore, suggest that the Municipality should take in hand this problem of housing the labour in healthy and decent houses by erecting its own buildings, as is done in several large cities in India,

² "Labour and Housing in Bangalore City," K. R. Shrinivas and C. Narasimha Moorthy, p. 38.

like Calcutta, Bombay, Madras, Bangalore and others. For this purpose the procedure followed in Bangalore might be adopted, by effecting necessary changes to suit the conditions of Sholapur. A Housing Trust, with representatives of the Municipality, the Government and the employers of labour, should be constituted. The funds required for the execution of the scheme should be contributed by the three agencies so as to distribute the financial burden equitably amongst them all.³

But as the carrying out of the entire scheme might naturally involve a number of years, the Municipality should immediately take in hand the improvement of the present housing conditions by means of licensing buildings after strict scrutiny.

Much of the prevailing intemperance has been traced to unhealthy home conditions. It was not entirely so in the case of the Padmasali workers. They drank toddy not because of its exhilarating quality but because the habit was engrained in their community, perhaps by the long and continuous practice of centuries. Mere prohibition would ultimately fail in weaning the Padmasalis away from toddy. As soon as restrictions were removed, they would relapse into their age-long habit. But if some interest, in the direction of recreating life in a more healthy manner, could be created in them, and at the same time if prices of toddy were raised so high as to make them unattractive for them, the habit might, in course of time, die out. Many more Government Recreation Centres, one for each ward, should be started in workers' localities, and their present sphere of activities increased so as to make them still more attractive.

The communal life of the Padmasalis was none too enviable. Under the seeming fusion of old factions into the Sholapur Padmasali Gnyati Samstha, old rivalries and controversies seemed still to be raging. A large majority of *Fands* and the Gnyati Samstha itself were started by *Chaudharies* for their own pecuniary considerations. The registration of their Gnyati Samstha, as a charitable institution, under the Societies' Registration Act would ensure a more healthy life for the community. The accounts of the Samstha audited by registered auditors, would have to be submitted to Government. The present tendencies of certain *Chaudharies* to withhold the dues of the Samstha would be checked. Further, with additional funds in hand, the Gnyati Samstha would be in a better position to extend its sphere of activities.

As for religious reforms, they cannot be effected in one day. The customs and practices which the reformist element in the community viewed with disapproval, had come down by a long tradition. The same was the case with magico-religious beliefs, and

³ As for details of the scheme, refer to pages 50 to 54 of "Labour and Housing in Bangalore City."

they were not the exclusive traits of the Padmasalis. Ignorance was the root cause of all of them. With the spread of literacy and knowledge, many of them would automatically fall into abeyance. It would be well, therefore, for the reformists to direct their attention to the spread of literacy.

A hearty co-operation from the workers themselves would be needed for the success of any reform, religious, social or economic. They had no idea of what a decent and full life could be. Some attainable ideal of a fuller and more decent life than their existing one should be constantly set before them by example. To offer more opportunities to workers to mix with people of advanced classes was one way of doing it. People of higher social status should often be invited to take part in the activities of the Recreation Clubs of the workers.

The amelioration of the condition of about 30,000 Padmasali workers in Sholapur is an ideal worth striving for by social workers. If the attention of the public can be directed to the pitiable social and economic conditions of the Padmasalis, the purpose in undertaking this survey will have been more than served.